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The Complete Works of

PROCOPIUS

(c. AD 500-c. 554)



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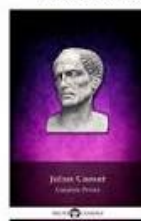
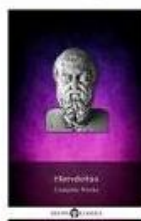
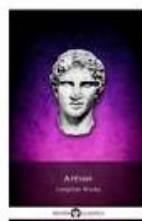
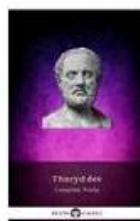
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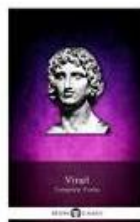
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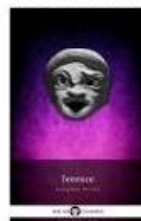
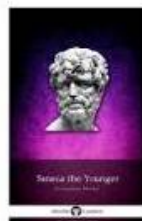
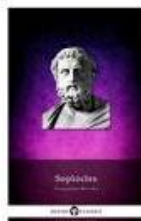
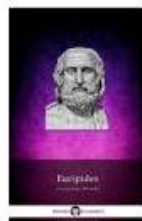
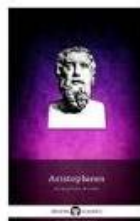
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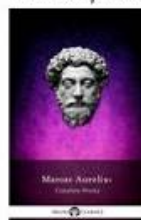
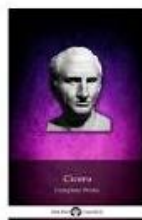
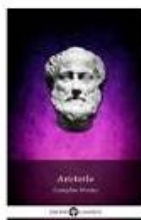
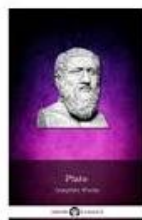
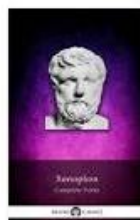
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The Complete Works of
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA



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The Translations



Caesarea, formerly in the Roman Province Palaestina Prima and now a town in Israel, located mid-way between Tel Aviv and Haifa — Procopius' birthplace



Ancient ruins at Caesarea

THE WARS OF JUSTINIAN



Translated by H. B. Dewing

Procopius' most important work, *The Wars of Justinian*, is composed of eight books and recounts the Persian Wars of the emperors Justinus and Justinian. It is believed that the first seven books were originally published as a whole in c. AD 545, but were updated several years later, with the latest event mentioned belonging to early 551. The first two books are popularly known as *The Persian War* and concern the conflict between the Romans and Sassanid Persia in Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Lazica and Caucasian Iberia. Procopius details the campaigns of the Sasanian Shah Kavadh I, the Nika riots in Constantinople in 532, the war by Kavadh's successor, Khosrau I, in 540 and his destruction of Antioch and the transportation of its inhabitants to Mesopotamia, as well as reporting on the great plague that devastated Constantinople in 542. These books also cover in detail the early career of the Roman general Belisarius, Procopius' patron.

The next two books, known as *The Vandal War*, deal with Belisarius' successful campaign against the Vandal kingdom in Roman Africa. The remaining books cover *The Gothic War*, including Belisarius' attempts to recapture Italy, then under the rule of the Ostrogoths, with accounts of the sieges of Naples and Rome. The later addition of the eighth book, *The Gothic War IV*, concerns events in 552/553, when a Roman army led by the eunuch Narses finally destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom. This book also covers campaigns both in Italy and on the Eastern frontier.

The Wars of Justinian was largely influential on later Byzantine history-writing and a continuation of Procopius' work was written after his death by the poet and historian Agathias of Myrina. Procopius' great work consists largely of military history, with much scarce information about peoples, places and special events. A diligent and judicious narrator of facts and developments, Procopius often reveals adept powers of description, demonstrating a just treatment of the empire's enemies, while boldly criticising the emperor Justinian.



Golden coin of Kavadh I, (c. 473-531) was the Sassanid king of Persia from 488 to 531. A son of Peroz I (457–484), he was crowned by the nobles in place of his deposed and blinded uncle Balash (484–488).



The Hippodrome in Istanbul — site of the Nika Riots, which took place over the course of a week in Constantinople in AD 532. It was the most violent riot in the history of the city, with nearly half the city being burned or destroyed and tens of thousands of people killed.

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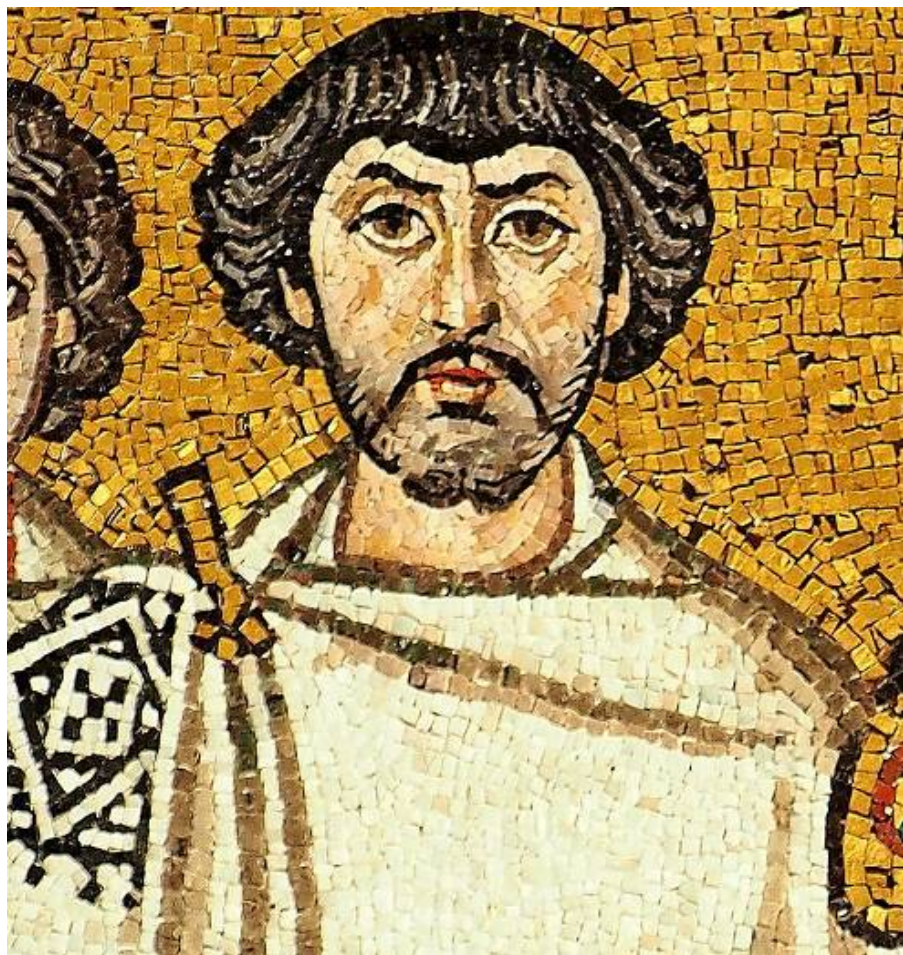
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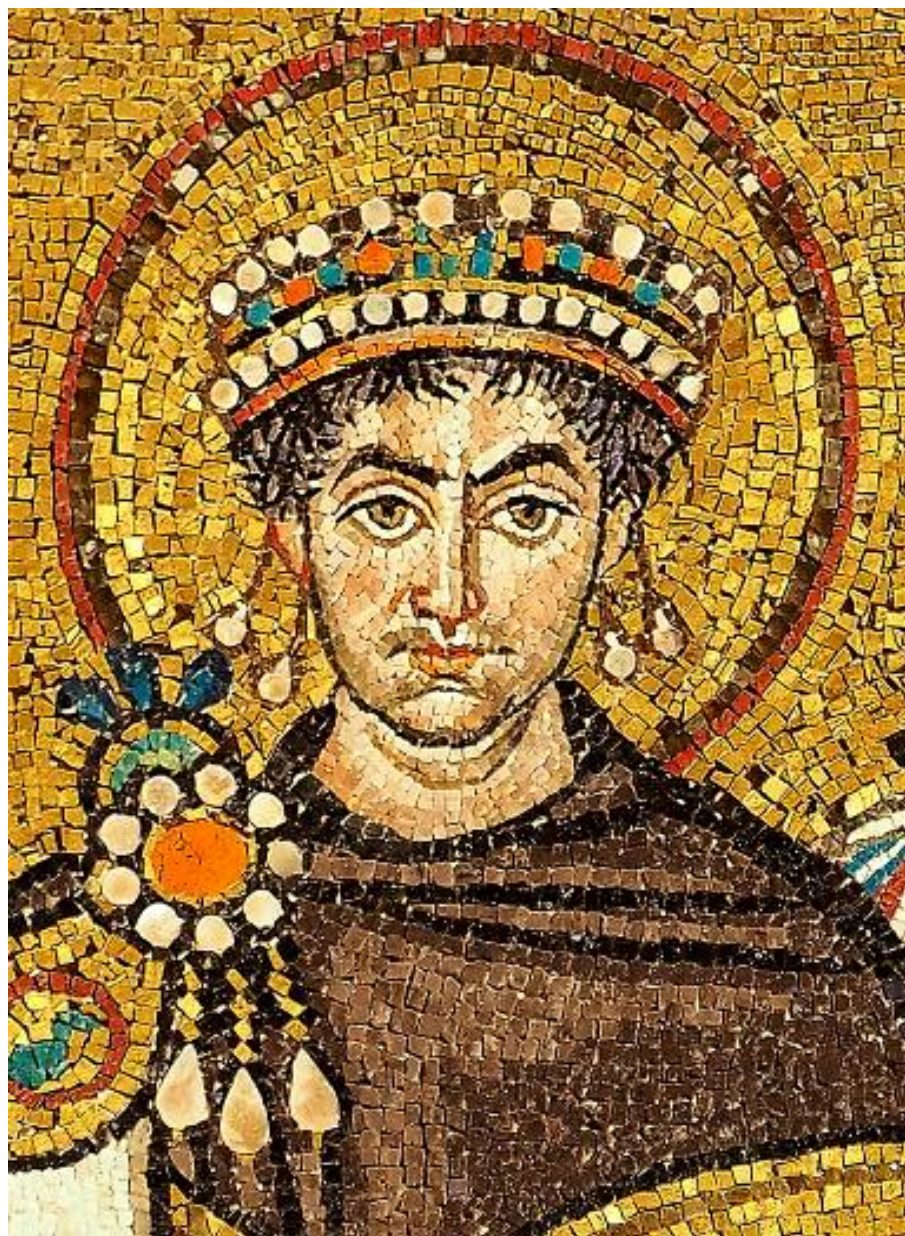
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Mosaic of Belisarius, Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy



Mosaic of Justinian I, San Vitale, Ravenna, 6th century A.D.

INTRODUCTION

Procopius is known to posterity as the historian of the eventful reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.), and the chronicler of the great deeds of the general Belisarius. He was born late in the fifth century in the city of Caesarea in Palestine. As to his education and early years we are not informed, but we know that he studied to fit himself for the legal profession. He came as a young man to Constantinople, and seems to have made his mark immediately. For as early as the year 527 he was appointed legal adviser and private secretary to Belisarius, then a very young man who had been serving on the staff of the general Justinian, and had only recently been advanced to the office of general. Shortly after this Justinian was called by his uncle Justinus to share the throne of the Roman Empire, and four months later Justinus died, leaving Justinian sole emperor of the Romans. Thus the stage was set for the scenes which are presented in the pages of Procopius. His own activity continued till well nigh the end of Justinian's life, and he seems to have outlived his hero, Belisarius.

During the eventful years of Belisarius' campaigning in Africa, in Italy, and in the East, Procopius was moving about with him and was an eyewitness of the events he describes in his writings. In 527 we find him in Mesopotamia; in 533 he accompanied Belisarius to Africa; and in 536 he journeyed with him to Italy. He was therefore quite correct in the assertion which he makes rather modestly in the introduction of his history, that he was better qualified than anyone else to write the history of that period. Besides his intimacy with Belisarius it should be added that his position gave him the further advantage of a certain standing at the imperial court in Constantinople, and brought him the acquaintance of many of the leading men of his day. Thus we have the testimony of one intimately associated with the administration, and this, together with the importance of the events through which he lived, makes his record exceedingly interesting as well as historically important. One must admit that his position was not one to encourage impartiality in his presentation of facts, and that the imperial favour was not won by plain speaking; nevertheless we have before us a man who could not obliterate himself enough to play the abject flatterer always, and he gives us the reverse, too, of his brilliant picture, as we shall see presently.

Procopius' three works give us a fairly complete account of the reign of Justinian up till near the year 560 A.D., and he has done us the favour of setting forth three different points of view which vary so widely that posterity has sometimes found it difficult to reconcile them. His greatest work, as well as his earliest, is the *History of the Wars*, in eight books. The material is not arranged strictly according to chronological sequence, but so that the progress of events may be traced separately in each one of three wars. Thus the first two books are given over to the Persian wars, the next two contain the account

of the war waged against the Vandals in Africa, the three following describe the struggle against the Goths in Italy. These seven books were published together first, and the eighth book was added later as a supplement to bring the history up to about the date of 554, being a general account of events in different parts of the empire. It is necessary to bear in mind that the wars described separately by Procopius overlapped one another in time, and that while the Romans were striving to hold back the Persian aggressor they were also maintaining armies in Africa and in Italy. In fact the Byzantine empire was making a supreme effort to re-establish the old boundaries, and to reclaim the territories lost to the barbarian nations. The emperor Justinian was fired by the ambition to make the Roman Empire once more a world power, and he drained every resource in his eagerness to make possible the fulfilment of this dream. It was a splendid effort, but it was doomed to failure; the fallen edifice could not be permanently restored.

The history is more general than the title would imply, and all the important events of the time are touched upon. So while we read much of the campaigns against the nations who were crowding back the boundaries of the old empire, we also hear of civic affairs such as the great Nika insurrection in Byzantium in 532; similarly a careful account is given of the pestilence of 540, and the care shewn in describing the nature of the disease shews plainly that the author must have had some acquaintance with the medical science of the time.

After the seventh book of the *History of the Wars* Procopius wrote the *Anecdota*, or *Secret History*. Here he freed himself from all the restraints of respect or fear, and set down without scruple everything which he had been led to suppress or gloss over in the *History* through motives of policy. He attacks unmercifully the emperor and empress and even Belisarius and his wife Antonina, and displays to us one of the blackest pictures ever set down in writing. It is a record of wanton crime and shameless debauchery, of intrigue and scandal both in public and in private life. It is plain that the thing is overdone, and the very extravagance of the calumny makes it impossible to be believed; again and again we meet statements which, if not absolutely impossible, are at least highly improbable. Many of the events of the *History* are presented in an entirely new light; we seem to hear one speaking out of the bitterness of his heart. It should be said, at the same time, that there are very few contradictions in statements of fact. The author has plainly singled out the empress Theodora as the principal victim of his venomous darts, and he gives an account of her early years which is both shocking and disgusting, but which, happily, we are not forced to regard as true. It goes without saying that such a work as this could not have been published during the lifetime of the author, and it appears that it was not given to the world until after the death of Justinian in 565.

Serious doubts have been entertained in times past as to the authenticity of the *Anecdota*, for at first sight it seems impossible that the man who wrote in

the calm tone of the *History* and who indulged in the fulsome praise of the panegyric *On the Buildings* could have also written the bitter libels of the *Anecdota*. It has come to be seen, however, that this feeling is not supported by any unanswerable arguments, and it is now believed to be highly probable at least, that the *Anecdota* is the work of Procopius. Its bitterness may be extreme and its calumnies exaggerated beyond all reason, but it must be regarded as prompted by a reaction against the hollow life of the Byzantine court.

The third work is entitled *On the Buildings*, and is plainly an attempt to gain favour with the emperor. We can only guess as to what the immediate occasion was for its composition. It is plain, however, that the publication of the *History* could not have aroused the enthusiasm of Justinian; there was no attempt in it to praise the emperor, and one might even read an unfavourable judgment between the lines. And it is not at all unlikely that he was moved to envy by the praises bestowed upon his general, Belisarius. At any rate the work *On the Buildings* is written in the empty style of the fawning flatterer. It is divided into six short books and contains an account of all the public buildings of Justinian's reign in every district of the empire. The subject was well chosen and the material ample, and Procopius lost no opportunity of lauding his sovereign to the skies. It is an excellent example of the florid panegyric style which was, unfortunately, in great favour with the literary world of his own as well as later Byzantine times. But in spite of its faults, this work is a record of the greatest importance for the study of the period, since it is a storehouse of information concerning the internal administration of the empire.

The style of Procopius is in general clear and straightforward, and shews the mind of one who endeavours to speak the truth in simple language wherever he is not under constraint to avoid it. At the same time he is not ignorant of the arts of rhetoric, and especially in the speeches he is fond of introducing sounding phrases and sententious statements. He was a great admirer of the classical writers of prose, and their influence is everywhere apparent in his writing; in particular he is much indebted to the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, and he borrows from them many expressions and turns of phrase. But the Greek which he writes is not the pure Attic, and we find many evidences of the influence of the contemporary spoken language.

Procopius writes at times as a Christian, and at times as one imbued with the ideas of the ancient religion of Greece. Doubtless his study of the classical writers led him into this, perhaps unconsciously. At any rate it seems not to have been with him a matter in which even consistency was demanded. It was politic to espouse the religion of the state, but still he often allows himself to speak as if he were a contemporary of Thucydides.

The text followed is that of Haury, issued in the Teubner series, 1905-1913.

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The *editio princeps* of Procopius was published by David Hoeschel, Augsburg, 1607; the *Secret History* was not included, and only summaries of the six books of the work *On the Buildings* were given. The edition is not important except as being the first.

The *Secret History* was printed for the first time separately with a Latin translation by Alemannus, Lyon, 1623.

The first complete edition was that of Maltretus, Paris, 1661-63, reprinted in Venice, 1729; the edition included a Latin translation of all the works, which was taken over into the edition of Procopius in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* by Dindorf, Bonn, 1833-38.

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1971. The Teubner edition in 4 volumes by J. Haury (1905-1913) has been re-edited by G. Wirth.

BOOK I. THE PERSIAN WAR

Procopius of Caesarea has written the history of the wars which Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, waged against the barbarians of the East and of the West, relating separately the events of each one, to the end that the long course of time may not overwhelm deeds of singular importance through lack of a record, and thus abandon them to oblivion and utterly obliterate them. The memory of these events he deemed would be a great thing and most helpful to men of the present time, and to future generations as well, in case time should ever again place men under a similar stress. For men who purpose to enter upon a war or are preparing themselves for any kind of struggle may derive some benefit from a narrative of a similar situation in history, inasmuch as this discloses the final result attained by men of an earlier day in a struggle of the same sort, and foreshadows, at least for those who are most prudent in planning, what outcome present events will probably have. Furthermore he had assurance that he was especially competent to write the history of these events, if for no other reason, because it fell to his lot, when appointed adviser to the general Belisarius, to be an eye-witness of practically all the events to be described. It was his conviction that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to poetry, truth alone is appropriate to history. In accordance with this principle he has not concealed the failures of even his most intimate acquaintances, but has written down with complete accuracy everything which befell those concerned, whether it happened to be done well or ill by them.

It will be evident that no more important or mightier deeds are to be found in history than those which have been enacted in these wars, — provided one wishes to base his judgment on the truth. For in them more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable. There are those, for example, who call the soldiers of the present day “bowmen,” while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as “hand-to-hand fighters,” “shield-men,” and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present, — an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term derived from their art, they were neither carried by horse nor protected by spear or shield. In fact there was no protection at all for their bodies; they entered battle on foot, and were compelled to conceal themselves, either singling out the shield of some comrade, or seeking safety behind a tombstone on a mound, from which position they could neither save themselves in case of rout, nor fall upon a

flying foe. Least of all could they participate in a decisive struggle in the open, but they always seemed to be stealing something which belonged to the men who were engaged in the struggle. And apart from this they were so indifferent in their practice of archery that they drew the bowstring only to the breast, so that the missile sent forth was naturally impotent and harmless to those whom it hit. Such, it is evident, was the archery of the past. But the bowmen of the present time go into battle wearing corselets and fitted out with greaves which extend up to the knee. From the right side hang their arrows, from the other the sword. And there are some who have a spear also attached to them and, at the shoulders, a sort of small shield without a grip, such as to cover the region of the face and neck. They are expert horsemen, and are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight. They draw the bowstring along by the forehead about opposite the right ear, thereby charging the arrow with such an impetus as to kill whoever stands in the way, shield and corselet alike having no power to check its force. Still there are those who take into consideration none of these things, who reverence and worship the ancient times, and give no credit to modern improvements. But no such consideration will prevent the conclusion that most great and notable deeds have been performed in these wars. And the history of them will begin at some distance back, telling of the fortunes in war of the Romans and the Medes, their reverses and their successes.

II

[408 A.D.] When the Roman Emperor Arcadius was at the point of death in Byzantium, having a malechild, Theodosius, who was still unweaned, he felt grave fears not only for him but for the government as well, not knowing how he should provide wisely for both. For he perceived that, if he provided a partner in government for Theodosius, he would in fact be destroying his own son by bringing forward against him a foe clothed in the regal power; while if he set him alone over the empire, many would try to mount the throne, taking advantage, as they might be expected to do, of the helplessness of the child. These men would rise against the government, and, after destroying Theodosius, would make themselves tyrants without difficulty, since the boy had no kinsman in Byzantium to be his guardian. For Arcadius had no hope that the boy's uncle, Honorius, would succour him, inasmuch as the situation in Italy was already troublesome. And he was equally disturbed by the attitude of the Medes, fearing lest these barbarians should trample down the youthful emperor and do the Romans irreparable harm. When Arcadius was confronted with this difficult situation, though he had not shewn himself sagacious in other matters, he devised a plan which was destined to preserve without trouble both his child and his throne, either as a result of conversation with certain of the learned men, such as are usually found in numbers among the advisers of a sovereign, or from some divine inspiration which came to him. For in drawing up the writings of his will, he designated the child as his successor to the throne, but appointed as guardian over him Isdigerdes, the Persian King, enjoining upon him earnestly in his will to preserve the empire for Theodosius by all his power and foresight. So Arcadius died, having thus arranged his private affairs as well as those of the empire. But Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he saw this writing which was duly delivered to him, being even before a sovereign whose nobility of character had won for him the greatest renown, did then display a virtue at once amazing and remarkable. For, loyally observing the behests of Arcadius, he adopted and continued without interruption a policy of profound peace with the Romans, and thus preserved the empire for Theodosius. Indeed, he straightway dispatched a letter to the Roman senate, not declining the office of guardian of the Emperor Theodosius, and threatening war against any who should attempt to enter into a conspiracy against him.

[441 A.D.] When Theodosius had grown to manhood and was in the prime of life, and Isdigerdes had been taken from the world by disease, Vararanes, the Persian King, invaded the Roman domains with a mighty army; however he did no damage, but returned to his home without accomplishing anything. This came about in the following way. Anatolius, General of the East, had, as it happened, been sent by the Emperor Theodosius as ambassador to the Persians, alone and unaccompanied; as he approached the Median army,

solitary as he was, he leapt down from his horse, and advanced on foot toward Vararanes. And when Vararanes saw him, he enquired from those who were near who this man could be who was coming forward. And they replied that he was the general of the Romans. Thereupon the king was so dumbfounded by this excessive degree of respect that he himself wheeled his horse about and rode away, and the whole Persian host followed him. When he had reached his own territory, he received the envoy with great cordiality, and granted the treaty of peace on the terms which Anatolius desired of him; one condition, however, he added, that neither party should construct any new fortification in his own territory in the neighbourhood of the boundary line between the two countries. When this treaty had been executed, both sovereigns then continued to administer the affairs of their respective countries as seemed best to them.

III

At a later time the Persian King Perozes became involved in a war concerning boundaries with the nation of the Ephthalitae Huns, who are called White Huns, gathered an imposing army, and marched against them. The Ephthalitae are of the stock of the Huns in fact as well as in name; however they do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us, for they occupy a land neither adjoining nor even very near to them; but their territory lies immediately to the north of Persia; indeed their city, called Gorgo, is located over against the Persian frontier, and is consequently the centre of frequent contests concerning boundary lines between the two peoples. For they are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but for a long period have been established in a goodly land. As a result of this they have never made any incursion into the Roman territory except in company with the Median army. They are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances which are not ugly. It is also true that their manner of living is unlike that of their kinsmen, nor do they live a savage life as they do; but they are ruled by one king, and since they possess a lawful constitution, they observe right and justice in their dealings both with one another and with their neighbours, in no degree less than the Romans and the Persians. Moreover, the wealthy citizens are in the habit of attaching to themselves friends to the number of twenty or more, as the case may be, and these become permanently their banquet-companions, and have a share in all their property, enjoying some kind of a common right in this matter. Then, when the man who has gathered such a company together comes to die, it is the custom that all these men be borne alive into the tomb with him.

Perozes, marching against these Ephthalitae, was accompanied by an ambassador, Eusebius by name, who, as it happened, had been sent to his court by the Emperor Zeno. Now the Ephthalitae made it appear to their enemy that they had turned to flight because they were wholly terrified by their attack, and they retired with all speed to a place which was shut in on every side by precipitous mountains, and abundantly screened by a close forest of wide-spreading trees. Now as one advanced between the mountains to a great distance, a broad way appeared in the valley, extending apparently to an indefinite distance, but at the end it had no outlet at all, but terminated in the very midst of the circle of mountains. So Perozes, with no thought at all of treachery, and forgetting that he was marching in a hostile country, continued the pursuit without the least caution. A small body of the Huns were in flight before him, while the greater part of their force, by concealing themselves in the rough country, got in the rear of the hostile army; but as yet they desired not to be seen by them, in order that they might advance well into the trap and get as far as possible in among the mountains, and thus be no longer able to turn back. When the Medes began to realize all this (for they now began to

have a glimmering of their peril), though they refrained from speaking of the situation themselves through fear of Perozes, yet they earnestly entreated Eusebius to urge upon the king, who was completely ignorant of his own plight, that he should take counsel rather than make an untimely display of daring, and consider well whether there was any way of safety open to them. So he went before Perozes, but by no means revealed the calamity which was upon them; instead he began with a fable, telling how a lion once happened upon a goat bound down and bleating on a mound of no very great height, and how the lion, bent upon making a feast of the goat, rushed forward with intent to seize him, but fell into a trench exceedingly deep, in which was a circular path, narrow and endless (for it had no outlet anywhere), which indeed the owners of the goat had constructed for this very purpose, and they had placed the goat above it to be a bait for the lion. When Perozes heard this, a fear came over him lest perchance the Medes had brought harm upon themselves by their pursuit of the enemy. He therefore advanced no further, but, remaining where he was, began to consider the situation. By this time the Huns were following him without any concealment, and were guarding the entrance of the place in order that their enemy might no longer be able to withdraw to the rear. Then at last the Persians saw clearly in what straits they were, and they felt that the situation was desperate; for they had no hope that they would ever escape from the peril. Then the king of the Ephthalitae sent some of his followers to Perozes; he upbraided him at length for his senseless foolhardiness, by which he had wantonly destroyed both himself and the Persian people, but he announced that even so the Huns would grant them deliverance, if Perozes should consent to prostrate himself before him as having proved himself master, and, taking the oaths traditional among the Persians, should give pledges that they would never again take the field against the nation of the Ephthalitae. When Perozes heard this, he held a consultation with the Magi who were present and enquired of them whether he must comply with the terms dictated by the enemy. The Magi replied that, as to the oath, he should settle the matter according to his own pleasure; as for the rest, however, he should circumvent his enemy by craft. And they reminded him that it was the custom among the Persians to prostrate themselves before the rising sun each day; he should, therefore, watch the time closely and meet the leader of the Ephthalitae at dawn, and then, turning toward the rising sun, make his obeisance. In this way, they explained, he would be able in the future to escape the ignominy of the deed. Perozes accordingly gave the pledges concerning the peace, and prostrated himself before his foe exactly as the Magi had suggested, and so, with the whole Median army intact, gladly retired homeward.

IV

Not long after this, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he was eager to avenge himself upon the Huns for the insult done him. He therefore straightway gathered together from the whole land all the Persians and their allies, and led them against the Ephthalitae; of all his sons he left behind him only one, Cabades by name, who, as it happened, was just past the age of boyhood; all the others, about thirty in number, he took with him. The Ephthalitae, upon learning of his invasion, were aggrieved at the deception they had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and bitterly reproached their king as having abandoned them to the Medes. He, with a laugh, enquired of them what in the world of theirs he had abandoned, whether their land or their arms or any other part of their possessions. They thereupon retorted that he had abandoned nothing, except, forsooth, the one opportunity on which, as it turned out, everything else depended. Now the Ephthalitae with all zeal demanded that they should go out to meet the invaders, but the king sought to restrain them at any rate for the moment. For he insisted that as yet they had received no definite information as to the invasion, for the Persians were still within their own boundaries. So, remaining where he was, he busied himself as follows. In the plain where the Persians were to make their irruption into the land of the Ephthalitae he marked off a tract of very great extent and made a deep trench of sufficient width; but in the centre he left a small portion of ground intact, enough to serve as a way for ten horses. Over the trench he placed reeds, and upon the reeds he scattered earth, thereby concealing the true surface. He then directed the forces of the Huns that, when the time came to retire inside the trench, they should draw themselves together into a narrow column and pass rather slowly across this neck of land, taking care that they should not fall into the ditch. And he hung from the top of the royal banner the salt over which Perozes had once sworn the oath which he had disregarded in taking the field against the Huns. Now as long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory, he remained at rest; but when he learned from his scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo which lies on the extreme Persian frontier, and that departing thence they were now advancing against his army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops inside the trench, he sent forward a small detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy in the plain, and, when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed to the rear, keeping in mind his command concerning the trench as soon as they drew near to it. They did as directed, and, as they approached the trench, they drew themselves into a narrow column, and all passed over and joined the rest of the army. But the Persians, having no means of perceiving the stratagem, gave chase at full speed across a very level plain, possessed as they were by a spirit of fury against the enemy, and fell into the trench, every man of them, not alone the

first but also those who followed in the rear. For since they entered into the pursuit with great fury, as I have said, they failed to notice the catastrophe which had befallen their leaders, but fell in on top of them with their horses and lances, so that, as was natural, they both destroyed them, and were themselves no less involved in ruin. Among them were Perozes and all his sons. And just as he was about to fall into this pit, they say that he realized the danger, and seized and threw from him the pearl which hung from his right ear, — a gem of wonderful whiteness and greatly prized on account of its extraordinary size — in order, no doubt, that no one might wear it after him; for it was a thing exceedingly beautiful to look upon, such as no king before him had possessed. This story, however, seems to me untrustworthy, because a man who found himself in such peril would have thought of nothing else; but I suppose that his ear was crushed in this disaster, and the pearl disappeared somewhere or other. This pearl the Roman Emperor then made every effort to buy from the Ephthalitae, but was utterly unsuccessful. For the barbarians were not able to find it although they sought it with great labour. However, they say that the Ephthalitae found it later and sold it to Cabades.

The story of this pearl, as told by the Persians, is worth recounting, for perhaps to some it may not seem altogether incredible. For they say that it was lodged in its oyster in the sea which washes the Persian coast, and that the oyster was swimming not far from the shore; both its valves were standing open and the pearl lay between them, a wonderful sight and notable, for no pearl in all history could be compared with it at all, either in size or in beauty. A shark, then, of enormous size and dreadful fierceness, fell in love with this sight and followed close upon it, leaving it neither day nor night; even when he was compelled to take thought for food, he would only look about for something eatable where he was, and when he found some bit, he would snatch it up and eat it hurriedly; then overtaking the oyster immediately, he would sate himself again with the sight he loved. At length a fisherman, they say, noticed what was passing, but in terror of the monster he recoiled from the danger; however, he reported the whole matter to the king, Perozes. Now when Perozes heard his account, they say that a great longing for the pearl came over him, and he urged on this fisherman with many flatteries and hopes of reward. Unable to resist the importunities of the monarch, he is said to have addressed Perozes as follows: "My master, precious to a man is money, more precious still is his life, but most prized of all are his children; and being naturally constrained by his love for them a man might perhaps dare anything. Now I intend to make trial of the monster, and hope to make thee master of the pearl. And if I succeed in this struggle, it is plain that henceforth I shall be ranked among those who are counted blessed. For it is not unlikely that thou, as King of Kings, wilt reward me with all good things; and for me it will be sufficient, even if it so fall out that I gain no reward, to have shewn myself a benefactor of my master. But if it must needs be that I become the prey of this monster, thy task indeed it will be, O King, to requite my children for their

father's death. Thus even after my death I shall still be a wage-earner among those closest to me, and thou wilt win greater fame for thy goodness, — for in helping my children thou wilt confer a boon upon me, who shall have no power to thank thee for the benefit — because generosity is seen to be without alloy only when it is displayed towards the dead.” With these words he departed. And when he came to the place where the oyster was accustomed to swim and the shark to follow, he seated himself there upon a rock, watching for an opportunity of catching the pearl alone without its admirer. As soon as it came about that the shark had happened upon something which would serve him for food, and was delaying over it, the fisherman left upon the beach those who were following him for this service, and made straight for the oyster with all his might; already he had seized it and was hastening with all speed to get out of the water, when the shark noticed him and rushed to the rescue. The fisherman saw him coming, and, when he was about to be overtaken not far from the beach, he hurled his booty with all his force upon the land, and was himself soon afterwards seized and destroyed. But the men who had been left upon the beach picked up the pearl, and, conveying it to the king, reported all that had happened. Such, then, is the story which the Persians relate, just as I have set it down, concerning this pearl. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

[484 A.D.] Thus Perozes was destroyed and the whole Persian army with him. For the few who by chance did not fall into the ditch found themselves at the mercy of the enemy. As a result of this experience a law was established among the Persians that, while marching in hostile territory, they should never engage in any pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been driven back by force. Thereupon those who had not marched with Perozes and had remained in their own land chose as their king Cabades, the youngest son of Perozes, who was then the only one surviving. At that time, then, the Persians became subject and tributary to the Ephthalitae, until Cabades had established his power most securely and no longer deemed it necessary to pay the annual tribute to them. And the time these barbarians ruled over the Persians was two years.

V

But as time went on Cabades became more high-handed in the administration of the government, and introduced innovations into the constitution, among which was a law which he promulgated providing that Persians should have communal intercourse with their women, a measure which by no means pleased the common people. [486 A.D.] Accordingly they rose against him, removed him from the throne, and kept him in prison in chains. They then chose Blases, the brother of Perozes, to be their king, since, as has been said, no male offspring of Perozes was left, and it is not lawful among the Persians for any man by birth a common citizen to be set upon the throne, except in case the royal family be totally extinct. Blases, upon receiving the royal power, gathered together the nobles of the Persians and held a conference concerning Cabades; for it was not the wish of the majority to put the man to death. After the expression of many opinions on both sides there came forward a certain man of repute among the Persians, whose name was Gousanastades, and whose office that of “chanaranges” (which would be the Persian term for general); his official province lay on the very frontier of the Persian territory in a district which adjoins the land of the Ephthalitae. Holding up his knife, the kind with which the Persians were accustomed to trim their nails, of about the length of a man’s finger, but not one-third as wide as a finger, he said: “You see this knife, how extremely small it is; nevertheless it is able at the present time to accomplish a deed, which, be assured, my dear Persians, a little later two myriads of mail-clad men could not bring to pass.” This he said hinting that, if they did not put Cabades to death, he would straightway make trouble for the Persians. But they were altogether unwilling to put to death a man of the royal blood, and decided to confine him in a castle which it is their habit to call the “Prison of Oblivion.” For if anyone is cast into it, the law permits no mention of him to be made thereafter, but death is the penalty for the man who speaks his name; for this reason it has received this title among the Persians. On one occasion, however, the History of the Armenians relates that the operation of the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was suspended by the Persians in the following way.

There was once a truceless war, lasting two and thirty years, between the Persians and the Armenians, when Pacurius was king of the Persians, and of the Armenians, Arsaces, of the line of the Arsacidae. And by the long continuance of this war it came about that both sides suffered beyond measure, and especially the Armenians. But each nation was possessed by such great distrust of the other that neither of them could make overtures of peace to their opponents. In the meantime it happened that the Persians became engaged in a war with certain other barbarians who lived not far from the Armenians. Accordingly the Armenians, in their eagerness to make a

display to the Persians of their goodwill and desire for peace, decided to invade the land of these barbarians, first revealing their plan to the Persians. Then they fell upon them unexpectedly and killed almost the whole population, old and young alike. Thereupon Pacurius, who was overjoyed at the deed, sent certain of his trusted friends to Arsaces, and giving him pledges of security, invited him to his presence. And when Arsaces came to him he shewed him every kindness, and treated him as a brother on an equal footing with himself. Then he bound him by the most solemn oaths, and he himself swore likewise, that in very truth the Persians and Armenians should thenceforth be friends and allies to each other; thereafter he straightway dismissed Arsaces to return to his own country.

Not long after this certain persons slandered Arsaces, saying that he was purposing to undertake some seditious enterprise. Pacurius was persuaded by these men and again summoned him, intimating that he was anxious to confer with him on general matters. And he, without any hesitation at all, came to the king, taking with him several of the most warlike among the Armenians, and among them Bassicius, who was at once his general and counsellor; for he was both brave and sagacious to a remarkable degree. Straightway, then, Pacurius heaped reproach and abuse upon both Arsaces and Bassicius, because, disregarding the sworn compact, they had so speedily turned their thoughts toward secession. They, however, denied the charge, and swore most insistently that no such thing had been considered by them. At first, therefore, Pacurius kept them under guard in disgrace, but after a time he enquired of the Magi what should be done with them. Now the Magi deemed it by no means just to condemn men who denied their guilt and had not been explicitly found guilty, but they suggested to him an artifice by which Arsaces himself might be compelled to become openly his own accuser. They bade him cover the floor of the royal tent with earth, one half from the land of Persia, and the other half from Armenia. This the king did as directed. Then the Magi, after putting the whole tent under a spell by means of some magic rites, bade the king take his walk there in company with Arsaces, reproaching him meanwhile with having violated the sworn agreement. They said, further, that they too must be present at the conversation, for in this way there would be witnesses of all that was said. Accordingly Pacurius straightway summoned Arsaces, and began to walk to and fro with him in the tent in the presence of the Magi; he enquired of the man why he had disregarded his sworn promises, and was setting about to harass the Persians and Armenians once more with grievous troubles. Now as long as the conversation took place on the ground which was covered with the earth from the land of Persia, Arsaces continued to make denial, and, pledging himself with the most fearful oaths, insisted that he was a faithful subject of Pacurius. But when, in the midst of his speaking, he came to the centre of the tent where they stepped upon Armenian earth, then, compelled by some unknown power, he suddenly changed the tone of his words to one of defiance, and from then on ceased not to threaten Pacurius

and the Persians, announcing that he would have vengeance upon them for this insolence as soon as he should become his own master. These words of youthful folly he continued to utter as they walked all the way, until turning back, he came again to the earth from the Persian land. Thereupon, as if chanting a recantation, he was once more a suppliant, offering pitiable explanations to Pacurius. But when he came again to the Armenian earth, he returned to his threats. In this way he changed many times to one side and the other, and concealed none of his secrets. Then at length the Magi passed judgment against him as having violated the treaty and the oaths. Pacurius flayed Bassicius, and, making a bag of his skin, filled it with chaff and suspended it from a lofty tree. As for Arsaces, since Pacurius could by no means bring himself to kill a man of the royal blood, he confined him in the Prison of Oblivion.

After a time, when the Persians were marching against a barbarian nation, they were accompanied by an Armenian who had been especially intimate with Arsaces and had followed him when he went into the Persian land. This man proved himself a capable warrior in this campaign, as Pacurius observed, and was the chief cause of the Persian victory. For this reason Pacurius begged him to make any request he wished, assuring him that he would be refused nothing by him. The Armenian asked for nothing else than that he might for one day pay homage to Arsaces in the way he might desire. Now it annoyed the king exceedingly, that he should be compelled to set aside a law so ancient; however, in order to be wholly true to his word, he permitted that the request be granted. When the man found himself by the king's order in the Prison of Oblivion, he greeted Arsaces, and both men, embracing each other, joined their voices in a sweet lament, and, bewailing the hard fate that was upon them, were able only with difficulty to release each other from the embrace. Then, when they had sated themselves with weeping and ceased from tears, the Armenian bathed Arsaces, and completely adorned his person, neglecting nothing, and, putting on him the royal robe, caused him to recline on a bed of rushes. Then Arsaces entertained those present with a royal banquet just as was formerly his custom. During this feast many speeches were made over the cups which greatly pleased Arsaces, and many incidents occurred which delighted his heart. The drinking was prolonged until nightfall, all feeling the keenest delight in their mutual intercourse; at length they parted from each other with great reluctance, and separated thoroughly imbued with happiness. Then they tell how Arsaces said that after spending the sweetest day of his life, and enjoying the company of the man he had missed most of all, he would no longer willingly endure the miseries of life; and with these words, they say, he dispatched himself with a knife which, as it happened, he had purposely stolen at the banquet, and thus departed from among men. Such then is the story concerning this Arsaces, related in the Armenian History just as I have told it, and it was on that occasion that the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was set aside. But I must return to the

point from which I have strayed.

VI

While Cabades was in the prison he was cared for by his wife, who went in to him constantly and carried him supplies of food. Now the keeper of the prison began to make advances to her, for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon. And when Cabades learned this from his wife, he bade her give herself over to the man to treat as he wished. In this way the keeper of the prison came to be familiar with the woman, and he conceived for her an extraordinary love, and as a result permitted her to go in to her husband just as she wished, and to depart from there again without interference from anyone. Now there was a Persian notable, Seoses by name, a devoted friend of Cabades, who was constantly in the neighbourhood of this prison, watching his opportunity, in the hope that he might in some way be able to effect his deliverance. And he sent word to Cabades through his wife that he was keeping horses and men in readiness not far from the prison, and he indicated to him a certain spot. Then one day as night drew near Cabades persuaded his wife to give him her own garment, and, dressing herself in his clothes, to sit instead of him in the prison where he usually sat. In this way, therefore, Cabades made his escape from the prison. For although the guards who were on duty saw him, they supposed that it was the woman, and therefore decided not to hinder or otherwise annoy him. At daybreak they saw in the cell the woman in her husband's clothes, and were so completely deceived as to think that Cabades was there, and this belief prevailed during several days, until Cabades had advanced well on his way. As to the fate which befell the woman after the stratagem had come to light, and the manner in which they punished her, I am unable to speak with accuracy. For the Persian accounts do not agree with each other, and for this reason I omit the narration of them.

Cabades, in company with Seoses, completely escaped detection, and reached the Ephthalitae Huns; there the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and then, since Cabades was now his son-in-law, he put under his command a very formidable army for a campaign against the Persians. This army the Persians were quite unwilling to encounter, and they made haste to flee in every direction. And when Cabades reached the territory where Gousanastades exercised his authority, he stated to some of his friends that he would appoint as chanaranges the first man of the Persians who should on that day come into his presence and offer his services. But even as he said this, he repented his speech, for there came to his mind a law of the Persians which ordains that offices among the Persians shall not be conferred upon others than those to whom each particular honour belongs by right of birth. For he feared lest someone should come to him first who was not a kinsman of the present chanaranges, and that he would be compelled to set aside the law in order to keep his word. Even as he was considering this matter, chance brought it about that, without dishonouring the law, he could still keep his

word. For the first man who came to him happened to be Adergoudounbades, a young man who was a relative of Gousanastades and an especially capable warrior. He addressed Cabades as “Lord,” and was the first to do obeisance to him as king, and besought him to use him as a slave for any service whatever. [488 A.D.] So Cabades made his way into the royal palace without any trouble, and, taking Blases destitute of defenders, he put out his eyes, using the method of blinding commonly employed by the Persians against malefactors, that is, either by heating olive oil and pouring it, while boiling fiercely, into the wide-open eyes, or by heating in the fire an iron needle, and with this pricking the eyeballs. Thereafter Blases was kept in confinement, having ruled over the Persians two years. Gousanastades was put to death and Adergoudounbades was established in his place in the office of chanaranges, while Seoses was immediately proclaimed “adrastadaran salanes,” — a title designating the one set in authority over all magistrates and over the whole army. Seoses was the first and only man who held this office in Persia; for it was conferred on no one before or after that time. And the kingdom was strengthened by Cabades and guarded securely; for in shrewdness and activity he was surpassed by none.

VII.

A little later Cabades was owing the king of the Ephthalitae a sum of money which he was not able to pay him, and he therefore requested the Roman emperor Anastasius to lend him this money. Whereupon Anastasius conferred with some of his friends and enquired of them whether this should be done; and they would not permit him to make the loan. For, as they pointed out, it was inexpedient to make more secure by means of their money the friendship between their enemies and the Ephthalitae; indeed it was better for the Romans to disturb their relations as much as possible. It was for this reason, and for no just cause, that Cabades decided to make an expedition against the Romans. [502 A.D.] First he invaded the land of the Armenians, moving with such rapidity as to anticipate the news of his coming, and, after plundering the greater part of it in a rapid campaign, he unexpectedly arrived at the city of Amida, which is situated in Mesopotamia, and, although the season was winter, he invested the town. Now the citizens of Amida had no soldiers at hand, seeing that it was a time of peace and prosperity, and in other respects were utterly unprepared; nevertheless they were quite unwilling to yield to the enemy, and shewed an unexpected fortitude in holding out against dangers and hardships.

Now there was among the Syrians a certain just man, Jacobus by name, who had trained himself with exactitude in matters pertaining to religion. This man had confined himself many years before in a place called Endielon, a day's journey from Amida, in order that he might with more security devote himself to pious contemplation. The men of this place, assisting his purpose, had surrounded him with a kind of fencing, in which the stakes were not continuous, but set at intervals, so that those who approached could see and hold converse with him. And they had constructed for him a small roof over his head, sufficient to keep off the rain and snow. There this man had been sitting for a long time, never yielding either to heat or cold, and sustaining his life with certain seeds, which he was accustomed to eat, not indeed every day, but only at long intervals. Now some of the Ephthalitae who were overrunning the country thereabout saw this Jacobus and with great eagerness drew their bows with intent to shoot at him. But the hands of every one of them became motionless and utterly unable to manage the bow. When this was noised about through the army and came to the ears of Cabades, he desired to see the thing with his own eyes; and when he saw it, both he and the Persians who were with him were seized with great astonishment, and he entreated Jacobus to forgive the barbarians their crime. And he forgave them with a word, and the men were released from their distress. Cabades then bade the man ask for whatever he wished, supposing that he would ask for a great sum of money, and he also added with youthful recklessness that he would be refused nothing by him. But he requested Cabades to grant to him all the men

who during that war should come to him as fugitives. This request Cabades granted, and gave him a written pledge of his personal safety. And great numbers of men, as might be expected, came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there; for the deed became widely known. Thus, then, did these things take place.

Cabades, in besieging Amida, brought against every part of the defences the engines known as rams; but the townspeople constantly broke off the heads of the rams by means of timbers thrown across them. However, Cabades did not slacken his efforts until he realized that the wall could not be successfully assailed in this way. For, though he battered the wall many times, he was quite unable to break down any portion of the defence, or even to shake it; so secure had been the work of the builders who had constructed it long before. Failing in this, Cabades raised an artificial hill to threaten the city, considerably overtopping the wall; but the besieged, starting from the inside of their defences, made a tunnel extending under the hill, and from there stealthily carried out the earth, until they hollowed out a great part of the inside of the hill. However, the outside kept the form which it had at first assumed, and afforded no opportunity to anyone of discovering what was being done. Accordingly many Persians mounted it, thinking it safe, and stationed themselves on the summit with the purpose of shooting down upon the heads of those inside the fortifications. But with the great mass of men crowding upon it with a rush, the hill suddenly fell in and killed almost all of them. Cabades, then, finding no remedy for the situation, decided to raise the siege, and he issued orders to the army to retreat on the morrow. Then indeed the besieged, as though they had no thought of their danger, began laughingly from the fortifications to jeer at the barbarians. Besides this some courtesans shamelessly drew up their clothing and displayed to Cabades, who was standing close by, those parts of a woman's body which it is not proper that men should see uncovered. This was plainly seen by the Magi, and they thereupon came before the king and tried to prevent the retreat, declaring as their interpretation of what had happened that the citizens of Amida would shortly disclose to Cabades all their secret and hidden things. So the Persian army remained there.

Not many days later one of the Persians saw close by one of the towers the mouth of an old underground passage, which was insecurely concealed with some few small stones. In the night he came there alone, and, making trial of the entrance, got inside the circuit-wall; then at daybreak he reported the whole matter to Cabades. The king himself on the following night came to the spot with a few men, bringing ladders which he had made ready. And he was favoured by a piece of good fortune; for the defence of the very tower which happened to be nearest to the passage had fallen by lot to those of the Christians who are most careful in their observances, whom they call monks. These men, as chance would have it, were keeping some annual religious festival to God on that day. When night came on they all felt great weariness

on account of the festival, and, having sated themselves with food and drink beyond their wont, they fell into a sweet and gentle sleep, and were consequently quite unaware of what was going on. So the Persians made their way through the passage inside the fortifications, a few at a time, and, mounting the tower, they found the monks still sleeping and slew them to a man. When Cabades learned this, he brought his ladders up to the wall close by this tower. It was already day. And those of the townsmen who were keeping guard on the adjoining tower became aware of the disaster, and ran thither with all speed to give assistance. Then for a long time both sides struggled to crowd back the other, and already the townsmen were gaining the advantage, killing many of those who had mounted the wall, and throwing back the men on the ladders, and they came very near to averting the danger. But Cabades drew his sword and, terrifying the Persians constantly with it, rushed in person to the ladders and would not let them draw back, and death was the punishment for those who dared turn to leave. As a result of this the Persians by their numbers gained the upper hand and overcame their antagonists in the fight. So the city was captured by storm on the eightieth day after the beginning of the siege. [Jan. 11, 503 A.D.] There followed a great massacre of the townspeople, until one of the citizens — an old man and a priest — approached Cabades as he was riding into the city, and said that it was not a kingly act to slaughter captives. Then Cabades, still moved with passion, replied: “But why did you decide to fight against me?” And the old man answered quickly: “Because God willed to give Amida into thy hand not so much because of our decision as of thy valour.” Cabades was pleased by this speech, and permitted no further slaughter, but he bade the Persians plunder the property and make slaves of the survivors, and he directed them to choose out for himself all the notables among them.

A short time after this he departed, leaving there to garrison the place a thousand men under command of Glonas, a Persian, and some few unfortunates among the citizens of Amida who were destined to minister as servants to the daily wants of the Persians; he himself with all the remainder of the army and the captives marched away homeward. These captives were treated by Cabades with a generosity befitting a king; for after a short time he released all of them to return to their homes, but he pretended that they had escaped from him by stealth; and the Roman Emperor, Anastasius, also shewed them honour worthy of their bravery, for he remitted to the city all the annual taxes for the space of seven years, and presented all of them as a body and each one of them separately with many good things, so that they came fully to forget the misfortunes which had befallen them. But this happened in later years.

VIII

At that time the Emperor Anastasius, upon learning that Amida was being besieged, dispatched with all speed an army of sufficient strength. But in this army there were general officers in command of every symmory, while the supreme command was divided between the following four generals: Areobindus, at that time General of the East, the son-in-law of Olyvrius, who had been Emperor in the West not long before; Celer, commander of the palace troops (this officer the Romans are accustomed to call "magister"); besides these still, there were the commanders of troops in Byzantium, Patricias, the Phrygian, and Hypatius, the nephew of the emperor; these four, then, were the generals. With them also was associated Justinus, who at a later time became emperor upon the death of Anastasius, and Patriciolus with his son Vitalianus, who raised an armed insurrection against the Emperor Anastasius not long afterwards and made himself tyrant; also Pharesmanes, a native of Colchis, and a man of exceptional ability as a warrior, and the Goths Godidisklus and Bessas, who were among those Goths who had not followed Theoderic when he went from Thrace into Italy, both of them men of the noblest birth and experienced in matters pertaining to warfare; many others, too, who were men of high station, joined this army. For such an army, they say, was never assembled by the Romans against the Persians either before or after that time. However, all these men did not assemble in one body, nor did they form a single army as they marched, but each commander by himself led his own division separately against the enemy. And as manager of the finances of the army Apion, an Aegyptian, was sent, a man of eminence among the patricians and extremely energetic; and the emperor in a written statement declared him partner in the royal power, in order that he might have authority to administer the finances as he wished.

Now this army was mustered with considerable delay, and advanced with little speed. As a result of this they did not find the barbarians in the Roman territory; for the Persians had made their attack suddenly, and had immediately withdrawn with all their booty to their own land. Now no one of the generals desired for the present to undertake the siege of the garrison left in Amida, for they learned that they had carried in a large supply of provisions; but they made haste to invade the land of the enemy. However they did not advance together against the barbarians but they encamped apart from one another as they proceeded. When Cabades learned this (for he happened to be close by), he came with all speed to the Roman frontier and confronted them. But the Romans had not yet learned that Cabades was moving against them with his whole force, and they supposed that some small Persian army was there. Accordingly the forces of Areobindus established their camp in a place called Arzamon, at a distance of two days' journey from the city of Constantina, and those of Patricius and Hypatius in a place called

Siphrios, which is distant not less than three hundred and fifty stades from the city of Amida. As for Celer, he had not yet arrived.

Areobindus, when he ascertained that Cabades was coming upon them with his whole army, abandoned his camp, and, in company with all his men, turned to flight and retired on the run to Constantina. And the enemy, coming up not long afterwards, captured the camp without a man in it and all the money it contained. From there they advanced swiftly against the other Roman army. Now the troops of Patricius and Hypatius had happened upon eight hundred Ephthalitae who were marching in advance of the Persian army, and they had killed practically all of them. Then, since they had learned nothing of Cabades and the Persian army, supposing that they had won the victory, they began to conduct themselves with less caution. At any rate they had stacked their arms and were preparing themselves a lunch; for already the appropriate time of day was drawing near. Now a small stream flowed in this place and in it the Romans began to wash the pieces of meat which they were about to eat; some, too, distressed by the heat, were bathing themselves in the stream; and in consequence the brook flowed on with a muddy current. But while Cabades, learning what had befallen the Ephthalitae, was advancing against the enemy with all speed, he noticed that the water of the brook was disturbed, and divining what was going on, he came to the conclusion that his opponents were unprepared, and gave orders to charge upon them immediately at full speed. [Aug., 503 A.D.] Straightway, then, they fell upon them feasting and unarmed. And the Romans did not withstand their onset, nor did they once think of resistance, but they began to flee as each one could; and some of them were captured and slain, while others climbed the hill which rises there and threw themselves down the cliff in panic and much confusion. And they say that not a man escaped from there; but Patricius and Hypatius had succeeded in getting away at the beginning of the onset. After this Cabades retired homeward with his whole army, since hostile Huns had made an invasion into his land, and with this people he waged a long war in the northerly portion of his realm. In the meantime the other Roman army also came, but they did nothing worth recounting, because, it seems, no one was made commander-in-chief of the expedition; but all the generals were of equal rank, and consequently they were always opposing one another's opinions and were utterly unable to unite. However Celer, with his contingent, crossed the Nymphius River and made some sort of an invasion into Arzanene. This river is one very close to Martyropolis, about three hundred stades from Amida. So Celer's troops plundered the country thereabout and returned not long after, and the whole invasion was completed in a short time.

IX

After this Areobindus went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, while the other generals reached Amida, and, in spite of the winter season, invested it. And although they made many attempts they were unable to carry the fortress by storm, but they were on the point of accomplishing their object by starvation; for all the provisions of the besieged were exhausted. The generals, however, had ascertained nothing of the straits in which the enemy were; but since they saw that their own troops were distressed by the labour of the siege and the wintry weather, and at the same time suspected that a Persian army would be coming upon them before long, they were eager to quit the place on any terms whatever. The Persians, on their part, not knowing what would become of them in such terrible straits, continued to conceal scrupulously their lack of the necessities of life, and made it appear that they had an abundance of all provisions, wishing to return to their homes with the reputation of honour. So a proposal was discussed between them, according to which the Persians were to deliver over the city to the Romans upon receipt of one thousand pounds of gold. Both parties then gladly executed the terms of the agreement, and the son of Glonos, upon receiving the money, delivered over Amida to the Romans. For Glonos himself had already died in the following manner.

When the Romans had not yet encamped before the city of Amida but were not far from its vicinity, a certain countryman, who was accustomed to enter the city secretly with fowls and loaves and many other delicacies, which he sold to this Glonos at a great price, came before the general Patricius and promised to deliver into his hands Glonos and two hundred Persians, if he should receive from him assurance of some requital. And the general promised that he should have everything he desired, and thus dismissed the fellow. He then tore his garments in a dreadful manner, and, assuming the aspect of one who had been weeping, entered the city. And coming before Glonos, and tearing his hair he said: "O Master, I happened to be bringing in for you all the good things from my village, when some Roman soldiers chanced upon me (for, as you know, they are constantly wandering about the country here in small bands and doing violence to the miserable country-folk), and they inflicted upon me blows not to be endured, and, taking away everything, they departed, — the robbers, whose ancient custom it is to fear the Persians and to beat the farmers. But do you, O Master, take thought to defend yourself and us and the Persians. For if you go hunting into the outskirts of the city, you will find rare game. For the accursed rascals go about by fours or fives to do their robbery." Thus he spoke. And Glonos was persuaded, and enquired of the fellow about how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for him to carry out the enterprise. He said that about fifty would do, for they would never meet more than five of them going together;

however, in order to forestall any unexpected circumstance, it would do no harm to take with him even one hundred men; and if he should double this number it would be still better from every point of view; for no harm could come to a man from the larger number. Glonos accordingly picked out two hundred horsemen and bade the fellow lead the way for them. But he insisted that it was better for him to be sent first to spy out the ground, and, if he should bring back word that he had seen Romans still going about in the same districts, that then the Persians should make their sally at the fitting moment. Accordingly, since he seemed to Glonos to speak well, he was sent forward by his own order. Then he came before the general Patricius and explained everything; and the general sent with him two of his own body-guard and a thousand soldiers. These he concealed about a village called Thilasamon, forty stades distant from Amida, among valleys and woody places, and instructed them to remain there in this ambush; he himself then proceeded to the city on the run, and telling Glonos that the prey was ready, he led him and the two hundred horsemen upon the ambush of the enemy. And when they passed the spot where the Romans were lying in wait, without being observed by Glonos or any of the Persians, he roused the Romans from their ambuscade and pointed out to them the enemy. And when the Persians saw the men coming against them, they were astounded at the suddenness of the thing, and were in much distress what to do. For neither could they retire to the rear, since their opponents were behind them, nor were they able to flee anywhere else in a hostile land. But as well as they could under the circumstances, they arrayed themselves for battle and tried to drive back their assailants; but being at a great disadvantage in numbers they were vanquished, and all of them together with Glonos were destroyed. Now when the son of Glonos learned of this, being deeply grieved and at the same time furious with anger because he had not been able to defend his father, he fired the sanctuary of Symeon, a holy man, where Glonos had his lodging. It must be said, however, that with the exception of this one building, neither Glonos nor Cabades, nor indeed any other of the Persians, saw fit either to tear down or to destroy in any other way any building in Amida at any rate, or outside this city. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

[504 A.D.] Thus the Romans by giving the money recovered Amida two years after it had been captured by the enemy. And when they got into the city, their own negligence and the hardships under which the Persians had maintained themselves were discovered. For upon reckoning the amount of grain left there and the number of barbarians who had gone out, they found that rations for about seven days were left in the city, although Glonos and his son had been for a long time doling out provisions to the Persians more sparingly than they were needed. For to the Romans who had remained with them in the city, as I have stated above, they had decided to dispense nothing at all from the time when their enemy began the siege; and so these men at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and laid hold on every forbidden thing, and at the last

they even tasted each other's blood. So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their lack of self-control, because they had shewn themselves wanting in obedience to them, when it was possible to capture as prisoners of war such a multitude of Persians and the son of Glones and the city itself, while they had in consequence attached to themselves signal disgrace by carrying Roman money to the enemy, and had taken Amida from the Persians by purchasing it with silver. [506 A.D.] After this the Persians, since their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes; both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace. Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the events touching the Caspian Gates.

X

The Taurus mountain range of Cilicia passes first Cappadocia and Armenia and the land of the so-called Persarmenians, then also Albania and Iberia and all the other countries in this region, both independent and subject to Persia. For it extends to a great distance, and as one proceeds along this range, it always spreads out to an extraordinary breadth and rises to an imposing height. And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of old the Caspian Gates. From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides. When this was observed by Alexander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in the aforesaid place and established a fortress there. And this was held by many men in turn as time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Anastasius. Now when this Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian Gates to the Romans. But the Emperor Anastasius was incapable of doing anything without careful investigation, nor was it his custom to act thus: reasoning, therefore, that it was impossible for him to support soldiers in a place which was destitute of all good things, and which had nowhere in the neighbourhood a nation subject to the Romans, he expressed deep gratitude to the man for his good-will toward him, but by no means accepted this proposition. So Ambazouces died of disease not long afterwards, and Cabades overpowered his sons and took possession of the Gates.

The Emperor Anastasius, after concluding the treaty with Cabades, built a city in a place called Daras, exceedingly strong and of real importance, bearing the name of the emperor himself. Now this place is distant from the city of Nisibis one hundred stades lacking two, and from the boundary line which divides the Romans from the Persians about twenty-eight. And the Persians, though eager to prevent the building, were quite unable to do so,

being constrained by the war with the Huns in which they were engaged. But as soon as Cabades brought this to an end, he sent to the Romans and accused them of having built a city hard by the Persian frontier, though this had been forbidden in the agreement previously made between the Medes and the Romans. At that time, therefore, the Emperor Anastasius desired, partly by threats, and partly by emphasizing his friendship with him and by bribing him with no mean sum of money, to deceive him and to remove the accusation. And another city also was built by this emperor, similar to the first, in Armenia, hard by the boundaries of Persarmenia; now in this place there had been a village from of old, but it had taken on the dignity of a city by the favour of the Emperor Theodosius even to the name, for it had come to be named after him. But Anastasius surrounded it with a very substantial wall, and thus gave offence to the Persians no less than by the other city; for both of them are strongholds menacing their country.

XI

[Aug. 1, 518 A.D.] And when a little later Anastasius died, Justinus received the empire, forcing aside all the kinsmen of Anastasius, although they were numerous and also very distinguished. Then indeed a sort of anxiety came over Cabades, lest the Persians should make some attempt to overthrow his house as soon as he should end his life; for it was certain that he would not pass on the kingdom to any one of his sons without opposition. For while the law called to the throne the eldest of his children Caoses by reason of his age, he was by no means pleasing to Cabades; and the father's judgment did violence to the law of nature and of custom as well. And Zames, who was second in age, having had one of his eyes struck out, was prevented by the law. For it is not lawful for a one-eyed man or one having any other deformity to become king over the Persians. But Chosroes, who was born to him by the sister of Aspebedes, the father loved exceedingly; seeing, however, that all the Persians, practically speaking, felt an extravagant admiration for the manliness of Zames (for he was a capable warrior), and worshipped his other virtues, he feared lest they should rise against Chosroes and do irreparable harm to the family and to the kingdom. Therefore it seemed best to him to arrange with the Romans to put an end both to the war and the causes of war, on condition that Chosroes be made an adopted son of the Emperor Justinus; for only in this way could he preserve stability in the government. Accordingly he sent envoys to treat of this matter and a letter to the Emperor Justinus in Byzantium. And the letter was written in this wise: "Unjust indeed has been the treatment which we have received at the hands of the Romans, as even you yourself know, but I have seen fit to abandon entirely all the charges against you, being assured of this, that the most truly victorious of all men would be those who, with justice on their side, are still willingly overcome and vanquished by their friends. However I ask of you a certain favour in return for this, which would bind together in kinship and in the good-will which would naturally spring from this relation not only ourselves but also all our subjects, and which would be calculated to bring us to a satiety of the blessings of peace. My proposal, then, is this, that you should make my son Chosroes, who will be my successor to the throne, your adopted son."

When this message was brought to the Emperor Justinus, he himself was overjoyed and Justinian also, the nephew of the emperor, who indeed was expected to receive from him the empire. And they were making all haste to perform the act of setting down in Writing the adoption, as the law of the Romans prescribes — and would have done so, had they not been prevented by Proclus, who was at that time a counsellor to the emperor, holding the office of quaestor, as it is called, a just man and one whom it was manifestly impossible to bribe; for this reason he neither readily proposed any law, nor was he willing to disturb in any way the settled order of things; and he at that

time also opposed the proposition, speaking as follows: "To venture on novel projects is not my custom, and indeed I dread them more than any others; for where there is innovation security is by no means preserved. And it seems to me that, even if one should be especially bold in this matter, he would feel reluctance to do the thing and would tremble at the storm which would arise from it; for I believe that nothing else is before our consideration at the present time than the question how we may hand over the Roman empire to the Persians on a seemly pretext. For they make no concealment nor do they employ any blinds, but explicitly acknowledging their purpose they claim without more ado to rob us of our empire, seeking to veil the manifestness of their deceit under a shew of simplicity, and hide a shameless intent behind a pretended unconcern. And yet both of you ought to repel this attempt of the barbarians with all your power; thou, O Emperor, in order that thou mayst not be the last Emperor of the Romans, and thou, O General, that thou mayst not prove a stumbling block to thyself as regards coming to the throne. For other crafty devices which are commonly concealed by a pretentious shew of words might perhaps need an interpreter for the many, but this embassy openly and straight from the very first words means to make this Chosroes, whoever he is, the adopted heir of the Roman Emperor. For I would have you reason thus in this matter: by nature the possessions of fathers are due to their sons and while the laws among all men are always in conflict with each other by reason of their varying nature, in this matter both among the Romans and among all barbarians they are in agreement and harmony with each other, in that they declare sons to be masters of their fathers' inheritance. Take this first resolve if you choose: if you do you must agree to all its consequences."

Thus spoke Proclus; and the emperor and his nephew gave ear to his words and deliberated upon what should be done. In the meantime Cabades sent another letter also to the Emperor Justinus, asking him to send men of repute in order to establish peace with him, and to indicate by letter the manner in which it would be his desire to accomplish the adoption of his son. And then, indeed, still more than before Proclus decried the attempt of the Persians, and insisted that their concern was to make over to themselves as securely as possible the Roman power. And he proposed as his opinion that the peace should be concluded with them with all possible speed, and that the noblest men should be sent by the emperor for this purpose; and that these men must answer plainly to Cabades, when he enquired in what manner the adoption of Chosroes should be accomplished, that it must be of the sort befitting a barbarian, and his meaning was that the barbarians adopt sons, not by a document, but by arms and armour. Accordingly the Emperor Justinus dismissed the envoys, promising that men who were the noblest of the Romans would follow them not long afterwards, and that they would arrange a settlement regarding the peace and regarding Chosroes in the best possible way. He also answered Cabades by letter to the same effect. Accordingly there were sent from the Romans Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius, the late

emperor, a patrician who also held the office of General of the East, and Rufinus, the son of Silvanus, a man of note among the patricians and known to Cabades through their fathers; from the Persians came one of great power and high authority, Seoses by name, whose title was *adrastadaran salanes*, and Mebodes, who held the office of magister. These men came together at a certain spot which is on the boundary line between the land of the Romans and the Persians: there they met and negotiated as to how they should do away with their differences and settle effectually the question of the peace. Chosroes also came to the Tigris River, which is distant from the city of Nisibis about two days journey, in order that, when the details of the peace should seem to both parties to be as well arranged as possible, he might betake himself in person to Byzantium. Now many words were spoken on both sides touching the differences between them, and in particular Seoses made mention of the land of Colchis, which is now called Lazica, saying that it had been subject to the Persians from of old and that the Romans had taken it from them by violence and held it on no just grounds. When the Romans heard this, they were indignant to think that even Lazica should be disputed by the Persians. And when they in turn stated that the adoption of Chosroes must take place just as is proper for a barbarian, it seemed to the Persians unbearable. The two parties therefore separated and departed homeward, and Chosroes with nothing accomplished was off to his father, deeply injured at what had taken place and vowing vengeance on the Romans for their insult to him.

After this Mebodes began to slander Seoses to Cabades, saying that he had proposed the discussion of Lazica purposely, although he had not been instructed to do so by his master, thereby frustrating the peace, and also that he had had words previously with Hypatius, who was by no means well-disposed toward his own sovereign and was trying to prevent the conclusion of peace and the adoption of Chosroes; and many other accusations also were brought forward by the enemies of Seoses, and he was summoned to trial. Now the whole Persian council gathered to sit in judgment moved more by envy than by respect for the law. For they were thoroughly hostile to his office, which was unfamiliar to them, and also were embittered by the natural temper of the man. For while Seoses was a man quite impossible to bribe, and a most exact respecter of justice, he was afflicted with a degree of arrogance not to be compared with that of any other. This quality, indeed, seems to be inbred in the Persian officials, but in Seoses even they thought that the malady had developed to an altogether extraordinary degree. So his accusers said all those things which have been indicated above, and added to this that the man was by no means willing to live in the established fashion or to uphold the institutions of the Persians. For he both revered strange divinities, and lately, when his wife had died, he had buried her, though it was forbidden by the laws of the Persians ever to hide in the earth the bodies of the dead. The judges therefore condemned the man to death, while Cabades, though seeming

to be deeply moved with sympathy as a friend of Seoses, was by no means willing to rescue him. He did not, on the other hand, make it known that he was angry with him, but, as he said, he was not willing to undo the laws of the Persians, although he owed the man the price of his life, since Seoses was chiefly responsible both for the fact that he was alive and also that he was king. Thus, then, Seoses was condemned and was removed from among men. And the office which began with him ended also with him. For no other man has been made *adrastadaran salanes*. Rufinus also slandered Hypatius to the emperor. As a result of this the emperor reduced him from his office, and tortured most cruelly certain of his associates only to find out that this slander was absolutely unsound; beyond this, however, he did Hypatius no harm.

XII

Immediately after this, Cabades, though eager to make some kind of an invasion into the land of the Romans, was utterly unable to do so on account of the following obstacle which happened to arise. The Iberians, who live in Asia, are settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates, which lie to the north of them. Adjoining them on the left towards the west is Lazica, and on the right towards the east are the Persian peoples. This nation is Christian and they guard the rites of this faith more closely than any other men known to us, but they have been subjects of the Persian king, as it happens, from ancient times. And just then Cabades was desirous of forcing them to adopt the rites of his own religion. And he enjoined upon their king, Gourgenes, to do all things as the Persians are accustomed to do them, and in particular not under any circumstances to hide their dead in the earth, but to throw them all to the birds and dogs. For this reason, then, Gourgenes wished to go over to the Emperor Justinus, and he asked that he might receive pledges that the Romans would never abandon the Iberians to the Persians. And the emperor gave him these pledges with great eagerness, and he sent Probus, the nephew of the late emperor Anastasius, a man of patrician rank, with a great sum of money to Bosphorus, that he might win over with money an army of Huns and send them as allies to the Iberians. This Bosphorus is a city by the sea, on the left as one sails into the so-called Euxine Sea, twenty days journey distant from the city of Cherson, which is the limit of the Roman territory. Between these cities everything is held by the Huns. Now in ancient times the people of Bosphorus were autonomous, but lately they had decided to become subject to the Emperor Justinus. Probus, however, departed from there without accomplishing his mission, and the emperor sent Peter as general with some Huns to Lazica to fight with all their strength for Gourgenes. Meanwhile Cabades sent a very considerable army against Gourgenes and the Iberians, and as general a Persian bearing the title of "varizes," Boes by name. Then it was seen that Gourgenes was too weak to withstand the attack of the Persians, for the help from the Romans was insufficient, and with all the notables of the Iberians he fled to Lazica, taking with him his wife and children and also his brothers, of whom Peranius was the eldest. And when they had reached the boundaries of Lazica, they remained there, and, sheltering themselves by the roughness of the country, they took their stand against the enemy. And the Persians followed after them but did nothing deserving even of mention since the circumstance of the rough country was against them.

Thereafter the Iberians presented themselves at Byzantium and Petrus came to the emperor at his summons; and from then on the emperor demanded that he should assist the Lazi to guard their country, even against their will, and he sent an army and Eirenaeus in command of it. Now there are two fortresses in Lazica which one comes upon immediately upon entering

their country from the boundaries of Iberia, and the defence of them had been from of old in charge of the natives, although they experienced great hardship in this matter; for neither corn nor wine nor any other good thing is produced there. Nor indeed can anything be carried in from elsewhere on account of the narrowness of the paths, unless it be carried by men. However, the Lazi were able to live on a certain kind of millet which grows there, since they were accustomed to it. These garrisons the emperor removed from the place and commanded that Roman soldiers should be stationed there to guard the fortresses. And at first the Lazi with difficulty brought in provisions for these soldiers, but later they gave up the service and the Romans abandoned these forts, whereupon the Persians with no trouble took possession of them. This then happened in Lazica.

And the Romans, under the leadership of Sittas and Belisarius, made an inroad into Persarmenia, a territory subject to the Persians, where they plundered a large tract of country and then withdrew with a great multitude of Armenian captives. These two men were both youths and wearing their first beards, body-guards of the general Justinian, who later shared the empire with his uncle Justinus. But when a second inroad had been made by the Romans into Armenia, Narses and Aratius unexpectedly confronted them and engaged them in battle. These men not long after this came to the Romans as deserters, and made the expedition to Italy with Belisarius; but on the present occasion they joined battle with the forces of Sittas and Belisarius and gained the advantage over them. An invasion was also made near the city of Nisibis by another Roman army under command of Libelarius of Thrace. This army retired abruptly in flight although no one came out against them. And because of this the emperor reduced Libelarius from his office and appointed Belisarius commander of the troops in Daras. It was at that time that Procopius, who wrote this history, was chosen as his adviser. [527 A.D.]

XIII

[Apr. 1, 527] Not long after this Justinus, who had declared his nephew Justinian emperor with him, died, and thus the empire came to Justinian alone. [Aug. 1, 527] This Justinian commanded Belisarius to build a fortress in a place called Mindouos, which is over against the very boundary of Persia, on the left as one goes to Nisibis. He accordingly with great haste began to carry out the decision of the emperor, and the fort was already rising to a considerable height by reason of the great number of artisans. But the Persians forbade them to build any further, threatening that, not with words alone but also with deeds, they would at no distant time obstruct the work. When the emperor heard this, inasmuch as Belisarius was not able to beat off the Persians from the place with the army he had, he ordered another army to go thither, and also Coutzes and Bouzes, who at that time commanded the soldiers in Libanus. These two were brothers from Thrace, both young and inclined to be rash in engaging with the enemy. So both armies were gathered together and came in full force to the scene of the building operations, the Persians in order to hinder the work with all their power, and the Romans to defend the labourers. And a fierce battle took place in which the Romans were defeated, and there was a great slaughter of them, while some also were made captive by the enemy. Among these was Coutzes himself. All these captives the Persians led away to their own country, and, putting them in chains, confined them permanently in a cave; as for the fort, since no one defended it any longer, they razed what had been built to the ground.

After this the Emperor Justinian appointed Belisarius General of the East and bade him make an expedition against the Persians. And he collected a very formidable army and came to Daras. Hermogenes also came to him from the emperor to assist in setting the army in order, holding the office of magister; this man was formerly counsellor to Vitalianus at the time when he was at war with the Emperor Anastasius. The emperor also sent Rufinus as ambassador, commanding him to remain in Hierapolis on the Euphrates River until he himself should give the word. For already much was being said on both sides concerning peace. Suddenly, however, someone reported to Belisarius and Hermogenes that the Persians were expected to invade the land of the Romans, being eager to capture the city of Daras. And when they heard this, they prepared for the battle as follows. [July, 530] Not far from the gate which lies opposite the city of Nisibis, about a stone's throw away, they dug a deep trench with many passages across it. Now this trench was not dug in a straight line, but in the following manner. In the middle there was a rather short portion straight, and at either end of this there were dug two cross trenches at right angles to the first; and starting from the extremities of the two cross trenches, they continued two straight trenches in the original direction to a very great distance. Not long afterwards the Persians came with

a great army, and all of them made camp in a place called Ammodios, at a distance of twenty stades from the city of Daras. Among the leaders of this army were Pityaxes and the one-eyed Baresmanas. But one general held command over them all, a Persian, whose title was "mirranes" (for thus the Persians designate this office), Perozes by name. This Perozes immediately sent to Belisarius bidding him make ready the bath: for he wished to bathe there on the following day. Accordingly the Romans made the most vigorous preparations for the encounter, with the expectation that they would fight on the succeeding day.

At sunrise, seeing the enemy advancing against them, they arrayed themselves as follows. The extremity of the left straight trench which joined the cross trench, as far as the hill which rises here, was held by Bouzes with a large force of horsemen and by Pharas the Erulian with three hundred of his nation. On the right of these, outside the trench, at the angle formed by the cross trench and the straight section which extended from that point, were Sunicas and Aigan, Massagetae by birth, with six hundred horsemen, in order that, if those under Bouzes and Pharas should be driven back, they might, by moving quickly on the flank, and getting in the rear of the enemy, be able easily to support the Romans at that point. On the other wing also they were arrayed in the same manner; for the extremity of the straight trench was held by a large force of horsemen, who were commanded by John, son of Nicetas, and by Cyril and Marcellus; with them also were Germanus and Dorotheus; while at the angle on the right six hundred horsemen took their stand, commanded by Simmas and Ascan, Massagetae, in order that, as has been said, in case the forces of John should by any chance be driven back, they might move out from there and attack the rear of the Persians. Thus all along the trench stood the detachments of cavalry and the infantry. And behind these in the middle stood the forces of Belisarius and Hermogenes. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves, amounting to five-and-twenty thousand; but the Persian army consisted of forty thousand horse and foot, and they all stood close together facing the front, so as to make the front of the phalanx as deep as possible. Then for a long time neither side began battle with the other, but the Persians seemed to be wondering at the good order of the Romans, and appeared at a loss what to do under the circumstances.

In the late afternoon a certain detachment of the horsemen who held the right wing, separating themselves from the rest of the army, came against the forces of Bouzes and Pharas. And the Romans retired a short distance to the rear. The Persians, however, did not pursue them, but remained there, fearing, I suppose, some move to surround them on the part of the enemy. Then the Romans who had turned to flight suddenly rushed upon them. And the Persians did not withstand their onset and rode back to the phalanx, and again the forces of Bouzes and Pharas stationed themselves in their own position. In this skirmish seven of the Persians fell, and the Romans gained possession of their bodies; thereafter both armies remained quietly in position. But one

Persian, a young man, riding up very close to the Roman army, began to challenge all of them, calling for whoever wished to do battle with him. And no one of the whole army dared face the danger, except a certain Andreas, one of the personal attendants of Bouzes, not a soldier nor one who had ever practised at all the business of war, but a trainer of youths in charge of a certain wrestling school in Byzantium. Through this it came about that he was following the army, for he cared for the person of Bouzes in the bath; his birthplace was Byzantium. This man alone had the courage, without being ordered by Bouzes or anyone else, to go out of his own accord to meet the man in single combat. And he caught the barbarian while still considering how he should deliver his attack, and hit him with his spear on the right breast. And the Persian did not bear the blow delivered by a man of such exceptional strength, and fell from his horse to the earth. Then Andreas with a small knife slew him like a sacrificial animal as he lay on his back, and a mighty shout was raised both from the city wall and from the Roman army. But the Persians were deeply vexed at the outcome and sent forth another horseman for the same purpose, a manly fellow and well favoured as to bodily size, but not a youth, for some of the hair on his head already shewed grey. This horseman came up along the hostile army, and, brandishing vehemently the whip with which he was accustomed to strike his horse, he summoned to battle whoever among the Romans was willing. And when no one went out against him, Andreas, without attracting the notice of anyone, once more came forth, although he had been forbidden to do so by Hermogenes. So both rushed madly upon each other with their spears, and the weapons, driven against their corselets, were turned aside with mighty force, and the horses, striking together their heads, fell themselves and threw off their riders. And both the two men, falling very close to each other, made great haste to rise to their feet, but the Persian was not able to do this easily because his size was against him, while Andreas, anticipating him (for his practice in the wrestling school gave him this advantage), smote him as he was rising on his knee, and as he fell again to the ground dispatched him. Then a roar went up from the wall and from the Roman army as great, if not greater, than before; and the Persians broke their phalanx and withdrew to Ammodios, while the Romans, raising the pæan, went inside the fortifications; for already it was growing dark. Thus both armies passed that night.

XIV

On the following day ten thousand soldiers arrived who had been summoned by the Persians from the city of Nisibis, and Belisarius and Hermogenes wrote to the mirranes as follows: "The first blessing is peace, as is agreed by all men who have even a small share of reason. It follows that if any one should be a destroyer of it, he would be most responsible not only to those near him but also to his whole nation for the troubles which come. The best general, therefore, is that one who is able to bring about peace from war. But you, when affairs were well settled between the Romans and the Persians, have seen fit to bring upon us a war without cause, although the counsels of each king are looking toward peace, and although our envoys are already present in the neighbourhood, who will at no distant time settle all the points of dispute in talking over the situation together, unless some irreparable harm coming from your invasion proves sufficient to frustrate for us this hope. But lead away as soon as possible your army to the land of the Persians, and do not stand in the way of the greatest blessings, lest at some time you be held responsible by the Persians, as is probable, for the disasters which will come to pass." When the mirranes saw this letter brought to him, he replied as follows: "I should have been persuaded by what you write, and should have done what you demand, were the letter not, as it happens, from Romans, for whom the making of promises is easy, but the fulfilment of the promises in deed most difficult and beyond hope, especially if you sanction the agreement by any oaths. We, therefore, despairing in view of your deception, have been compelled to come before you in arms, and as for you, my dear Romans, consider that from now on you will be obliged to do nothing else than make war against the Persians. For here we shall be compelled either to die or grow old until you accord to us justice in deed." Such was the reply which the mirranes wrote back. And again Belisarius and his generals wrote as follows: "O excellent mirranes, it is not fitting in all things to depend upon boasting, nor to lay upon one's neighbours reproaches which are justified on no grounds whatever. For we said with truth that Rufinus had come to act as an envoy and was not far away, and you yourself will know this at no remote time. But since you are eager for deeds of war, we shall array ourselves against you with the help of God, who will, we know, support us in the danger, being moved by the peaceful inclination of the Romans, but rebuking the boastfulness of the Persians and your decision to resist us when we invite you to peace. And we shall array ourselves against you, having prepared for the conflict by fastening the letters written by each of us on the top of our banners." Such was the message of this letter. And the mirranes again answered as follows: "Neither are we entering upon the war without our gods, and with their help we shall come before you, and I expect that on the morrow they will bring the Persians into Daras. But let the bath and lunch be in readiness for me within the

fortifications.” When Belisarius and his generals read this, they prepared themselves for the conflict.

On the succeeding day the mirranes called together all the Persians at about sunrise and spoke as follows: “I am not ignorant that it is not because of words of their leaders, but because of their individual bravery and their shame before each other that the Persians are accustomed to be courageous in the presence of dangers. But seeing you considering why in the world it is that, although the Romans have not been accustomed heretofore to go into battle without confusion and disorder, they recently awaited the advancing Persians with a kind of order which is by no means characteristic of them, for this reason I have decided to speak some words of exhortation to you, so that it may not come about that you be deceived by reason of holding an opinion which is not true. For I would not have you think that the Romans have suddenly become better warriors, or that they have acquired any more valour or experience, but that they have become more cowardly than they were previously; at any rate they fear the Persians so much that they have not even dared to form their phalanx without a trench. And not even with this did they begin any fighting, but when we did not join battle with them at all, joyfully and considering that matters had gone better for them than they had hoped, they withdrew to the wall. For this reason too it happened that they were not thrown into confusion, for they had not yet come into the dangers of battle. But if the fighting comes to close quarters, fear will seize upon them, and this, together with their inexperience, will throw them, in all probability, into their customary disorder. Such, therefore, is the case with regard to the enemy; but do you, O men of Persia, call to mind the judgment of the King of Kings. For if you do not play the part of brave men in the present engagement, in a manner worthy of the valour of the Persians, an inglorious punishment will fall upon you.” With this exhortation the mirranes began to lead his army against the enemy. Likewise Belisarius and Hermogenes gathered all the Romans before the fortifications, and encouraged them with the following words: “You know assuredly that the Persians are not altogether invincible, nor too strong to be killed, having taken their measure in the previous battle; and that, although superior to them in bravery and in strength of body, you were defeated only by reason of being rather heedless of your officers, no one can deny. This thing you now have the opportunity to set right with no trouble. For while the adversities of fortune are by no means such as to be set right by an effort, reason may easily become for a man a physician for the ills caused by himself. If therefore you are willing to give heed to the orders given, you will straightway win for yourselves the superiority in battle. For the Persians come against us basing their confidence on nothing else than our disorder. But this time also they will be disappointed in this hope, and will depart just as in the previous encounter. And as for the great numbers of the enemy, by which more than anything else they inspire fear, it is right for you to despise them. For their whole infantry is nothing more than a crowd of

pitiable peasants who come into battle for no other purpose than to dig through walls and to despoil the slain and in general to serve the soldiers. For this reason they have no weapons at all with which they might trouble their opponents, and they only hold before themselves those enormous shields in order that they may not possibly be hit by the enemy. Therefore if you shew yourselves brave men in this struggle, you will not only conquer the Persians for the present, but you will also punish them for their folly, so that they will never again make an expedition into the Roman territory.”

When Belisarius and Hermogenes had finished this exhortation, since they saw the Persians advancing against them, they hastily drew up the soldiers in the same manner as before. And the barbarians, coming up before them, took their stand facing the Romans. But the mirranes did not array all the Persians against the enemy, but only one half of them, while he allowed the others to remain behind. These were to take the places of the men who were fighting and to fall upon their opponents with their vigour intact, so that all might fight in constant rotation. But the detachment of the so-called Immortals alone he ordered to remain at rest until he himself should give the signal. And he took his own station at the middle of the front, putting Pityaxes in command on the right wing, and Baresmanas on the left. In this manner, then, both armies were drawn up. Then Pharas came before Belisarius and Hermogenes, and said: “It does not seem to me that I shall do the enemy any great harm if I remain here with the Eruli; but if we conceal ourselves on this slope, and then, when the Persians have begun the fight, if we climb up by this hill and suddenly come upon their rear, shooting from behind them, we shall in all probability do them the greatest harm.” Thus he spoke, and, since it pleased Belisarius and his staff, he carried out this plan.

But up to midday neither side began battle. As soon, however, as the noon hour was passed, the barbarians began the fight, having postponed the engagement to this time of the day for the reason that they are accustomed to partake of food only towards late afternoon, while the Romans have their meal before noon; and for this reason they thought that the Romans would never hold out so well, if they assailed them while hungry. At first, then, both sides discharged arrows against each other, and the missiles by their great number made, as it were, a vast cloud; and many men were falling on both sides, but the missiles of the barbarians flew much more thickly. For fresh men were always fighting in turn, affording to their enemy not the slightest opportunity to observe what was being done; but even so the Romans did not have the worst of it. For a steady wind blew from their side against the barbarians, and checked to a considerable degree the force of their arrows. Then, after both sides had exhausted all their missiles, they began to use their spears against each other, and the battle had come still more to close quarters. On the Roman side the left wing was suffering especially. For the Cadiseni, who with Pityaxes were fighting at this point, rushing up suddenly in great numbers, routed their enemy, and crowding hard upon the fugitives, were

killing many of them. When this was observed by the men under Sunicas and Aigan, they charged against them at full speed. But first the three hundred Eruli under Pharas from the high ground got in the rear of the enemy and made a wonderful display of valorous deeds against all of them and especially the Cadiseni. And the Persians, seeing the forces of Sunicas too already coming up against them from the flank, turned to a hasty flight. And the rout became complete, for the Romans here joined forces with each other, and there was a great slaughter of the barbarians. On the Persian right wing not fewer than three thousand perished in this action, while the rest escaped with difficulty to the phalanx and were saved. And the Romans did not continue their pursuit, but both sides took their stand facing each other in line. Such was the course of these events.

But the mirranes stealthily sent to the left a large body of troops and with them all the so-called Immortals. And when these were noticed by Belisarius and Hermogenes, they ordered the six hundred men under Sunicas and Aigan to go to the angle on the right, where the troops of Simmas and Ascan were stationed, and behind them they placed many of Belisarius men. So the Persians who held the left wing under the leadership of Baresmanas, together with the Immortals, charged on the run upon the Romans opposite them, who failed to withstand the attack and beat a hasty retreat. Thereupon the Romans in the angle, and all who were behind them, advanced with great ardour against the pursuers. But inasmuch as they came upon the barbarians from the side, they cut their army into two parts, and the greater portion of them they had on their right, while some also who were left behind were placed on their left. Among these happened to be the standard bearer of Baresmanas, whom Sunicas charged and struck with his spear. And already the Persians who were leading the pursuit perceived in what straits they were, and, wheeling about, they stopped the pursuit and went against their assailants, and thus became exposed to the enemy on both sides. For those in flight before them understood what was happening and turned back again. The Persians, on their part, with the detachment of the Immortals, seeing the standard inclined and lowered to the earth, rushed all together against the Romans at that point with Baresmanas. There the Romans held their ground. And first Sunicas killed Baresmanas and threw him from his horse to the ground. As a result of this the barbarians were seized with great fear and thought no longer of resistance, but fled in utter confusion. And the Romans, having made a circle as it were around them, killed about five thousand. Thus both armies were all set in motion, the Persians in retreat, and the Romans in pursuit. In this part of the conflict all the foot-soldiers who were in the Persian army threw down their shields and were caught and wantonly killed by their enemy. However, the pursuit was not continued by the Romans over a great distance. For Belisarius and Hermogenes refused absolutely to let them go farther, fearing lest the Persians through some necessity should turn about and rout them while pursuing recklessly, and it seemed to them sufficient to preserve the victory

unmarred. For on that day the Persians had been defeated in battle by the Romans, a thing which had not happened for a long time. Thus the two armies separated from each other. And the Persians were no longer willing to fight a pitched battle with the Romans. However, some sudden attacks were made on both sides, in which the Romans were not at a disadvantage. Such, then, was the fortune of the armies in Mesopotamia.

And Cabades sent another army into the part of Armenia which is subject to the Romans. This army was composed of Persarmenians and Sunitae, whose land adjoins that of the Alani. There were also Huns with them, of the stock called Sabiri, to the number of three thousand, a most warlike race. And Mermeroes, a Persian, had been made general of the whole force. When this army was three days' march from Theodosiopolis, they established their camp and, remaining in the land of the Persarmenians, made their preparations for the invasion. Now the general of Armenia was, as it happened, Dorotheus, a man of discretion and experienced in many wars. And Sittas held the office of general in Byzantium, and had authority over the whole army in Armenia. These two, then, upon learning that an army was being assembled in Persarmenia, straightway sent two body-guards with instructions to spy out the whole force of the enemy and report to them. And both of these men got into the barbarian camp, and after noting everything accurately, they departed. And they were travelling toward some place in that region, when they happened unexpectedly upon hostile Huns. By them one of the two, Dagaris by name, was made captive and bound, while the other succeeded in escaping and reported everything to the generals. They then armed their whole force and made an unexpected assault upon the camp of their enemy; and the barbarians, panic-stricken by the unexpected attack, never thought of resistance, but fled as best each one could. Thereupon the Romans, after killing a large number and plundering the camp, immediately marched back.

Not long after this Mermeroes, having collected the whole army, invaded the Roman territory, and they came upon their enemy near the city of Satala. There they established themselves in camp and remained at rest in a place called Octava, which is fifty-six stades distant from the city. Sittas therefore led out a thousand men and concealed them behind one of the many hills which surround the plain in which the city of Satala lies. Dorotheus with the rest of the army he ordered to stay inside the fortifications, because they thought that they were by no means able to withstand the enemy on level ground, since their number was not fewer than thirty thousand, while their own forces scarcely amounted to half that number. On the following day the barbarians came up close to the fortifications and busily set about closing in the town. But suddenly, seeing the forces of Sittas who by now were coming down upon them from the high ground, and having no means of estimating their number, since owing to the summer season a great cloud of dust hung over them, they thought they were much more numerous than they were, and, hurriedly abandoning their plan of closing in the town, they hastened to mass their force into a small space. But the Romans anticipated the movement and, separating their own force into two detachments, they set upon them as they were retiring from the fortifications; and when this was seen by the whole

Roman army, they took courage, and with a great rush they poured out from the fortifications and advanced against their opponents. They thus put the Persians between their own troops, and turned them to flight. However, since the barbarians were greatly superior to their enemy in numbers, as has been said, they still offered resistance, and the battle had become a fierce fight at close quarters. And both sides kept making advances upon their opponents and retiring quickly, for they were all cavalry. Thereupon Florentius, a Thracian, commanding a detachment of horse, charged into the enemy's centre, and seizing the general's standard, forced it to the ground, and started to ride back. And though he himself was overtaken and fell there, hacked to pieces, he proved to be the chief cause of the victory for the Romans. For when the barbarians no longer saw the standard, they were thrown into great confusion and terror, and retreating, got inside their camp, and remained quiet, having lost many men in the battle; and on the following day they all returned homeward with no one following them up, for it seemed to the Romans a great and very noteworthy thing that such a great multitude of barbarians in their own country had suffered those things which have just been narrated above, and that, after making an invasion into hostile territory, they should retire thus without accomplishing anything and defeated by a smaller force.

At that time the Romans also acquired certain Persian strongholds in Persarmenia, both the fortress of Bolum and the fortress called Pharangium, which is the place where the Persians mine gold, which they take to the king. It happened also that a short time before this they had reduced to subjection the Tzanic nation, who had been settled from of old in Roman territory as an autonomous people; and as to these things, the manner in which they were accomplished will be related here and now.

As one goes from the land of Armenia into Persarmenia the Taurus lies on the right, extending into Iberia and the peoples there, as has been said a little before this, while on the left the road which continues to descend for a great distance is overhung by exceedingly precipitous mountains, concealed forever by clouds and snow, from which the Phasis River issues and flows into the land of Colchis. In this place from the beginning lived barbarians, the Tzanic nation, subject to no one, called Sani in early times; they made plundering expeditions among the Romans who lived round about, maintaining a most difficult existence, and always living upon what they stole; for their land produced for them nothing good to eat. Wherefore also the Roman emperor sent them each year a fixed amount of gold, with the condition that they should never plunder the country thereabout. And the barbarians had sworn to observe this agreement with the oaths peculiar to their nation, and then, disregarding what they had sworn, they had been accustomed for a long time to make unexpected attacks and to injure not only the Armenians, but also the Romans who lived next to them as far as the sea; then, after completing their inroad in a short space of time, they would immediately betake themselves again to their homes. And whenever it *so* happened that they chanced upon a

Roman army, they were always defeated in the battle, but they proved to be absolutely beyond capture owing to the strength of their fastnesses. In this way Sittas had defeated them in battle before this war; and then by many manifestations of kindness in word and in deed he had been able to win them over completely. For they changed their manner of life to one of a more civilized sort, and enrolled themselves among the Roman troops, and from that time they have gone forth against the enemy with the rest of the Roman army. They also abandoned their own religion for a more righteous faith, and all of them became Christians. Such then was the history of the Tzani.

Beyond the borders of this people there is a cañon whose walls are both high and exceedingly steep, extending as far as the Caucasus mountains. In it are populous towns, and grapes and other fruits grow plentifully. And this canon for about the space of a three days' journey is tributary to the Romans, but from there begins the territory of Persarmenia; and here is the gold-mine which, with the permission of Cabades, was worked by one of the natives, Symeon by name. When this Symeon saw that both nations were actively engaged in the war, he decided to deprive Cabades of the revenue. Therefore he gave over both himself and Pharangium to the Romans, but refused to deliver over to either one the gold of the mine. And as for the Romans, they did nothing, thinking it sufficient for them that the enemy had lost the income from there, and the Persians were not able against the will of the Romans to force the inhabitants of the place to terms, because they were baffled by the difficult country.

At about the same time Narses and Aratius who at the beginning of this war, as I have stated above, had an encounter with Sittas and Belisarius in the land of the Persarmenians, came together with their mother as deserters to the Romans; and the emperor's steward, Narses, received them (for he too happened to be a Persarmenian by birth), and he presented them with a large sum of money. When this came to the knowledge of Isaac, their youngest brother, he secretly opened negotiations with the Romans, and delivered over to them the fortress of Bolum, which lies very near the limits of Theodosiopolis. For he directed that soldiers should be concealed somewhere in the vicinity, and he received them into the fort by night, opening stealthily one small gate for them. Thus he too came to Byzantium.

XVI

Thus matters stood with the Romans. But the Persians, though defeated by Belisarius in the battle at Daras, refused even so to retire from there, until Rufinus, coming into the presence of Cabades, spoke as follows: "O King, I have been sent by thy brother, who reproaches thee with a just reproach, because the Persians for no righteous cause have come in arms into his land. But it would be more seemly for a king who is not only mighty, but also wise as thou art, to secure a peaceful conclusion of war, rather than, when affairs have been satisfactorily settled, to inflict upon himself and his people unnecessary confusion. Wherefore also I myself have come here with good hopes, in order that from now on both peoples may enjoy the blessings which come from peace." So spoke Rufinus. And Cabades replied as follows: "O son of Silvanus, by no means try to reverse the causes, understanding as you do best of all men that you Romans have been the chief cause of the whole confusion. For we have taken the Caspian Gates to the advantage of both Persians and Romans, after forcing out the barbarians there, since Anastasius, the Emperor of the Romans, as you yourself doubtless know, when the opportunity was offered him to buy them with money, was not willing to do so, in order that he might not be compelled to squander great sums of money in behalf of both nations by keeping an army there perpetually. And since that time we have stationed that great army there, and have supported it up to the present time, thereby giving you the privilege of inhabiting the land unplundered as far as concerns the barbarians on that side, and of holding your own possessions with complete freedom from trouble. But as if this were not sufficient for you, you have also made a great city, Daras, as a stronghold against the Persians, although this was explicitly forbidden in the treaty which Anatolius arranged with the Persians; and as a result of this it is necessary for the Persian state to be afflicted with the difficulties and the expense of two armies, the one in order that the Massagetae may not be able fearlessly to plunder the land of both of us, and the other in order that we may check your inroads. When lately we made a protest regarding these matters and demanded that one of two things should be done by you, either that the army sent to the Caspian Gates should be sent by both of us, or that the city of Daras should be dismantled, you refused to understand what was said, but saw fit to strengthen your plot against the Persians by a greater injury, if we remember correctly the building of the fort in Mindouos. And even now the Romans may choose peace, or they may elect war, by either doing justice to us or going against our rights. For never will the Persians lay down their arms, until the Romans either help them in guarding the gates, as is just and right, or dismantle the city of Daras." With these words Cabades dismissed the ambassador, dropping the hint that he was willing to take money from the Romans and have done with the causes of the war. This was reported to the emperor by Rufinus when

he came to Byzantium. [531 A.D.] Hermogenes also came thither not long afterwards, and the winter came to a close; thus ended the fourth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

XVII

At the opening of spring a Persian army under the leadership of Azarethes invaded the Roman territory. They were fifteen thousand strong, all horsemen. With them was Alamoundaras, son of Saccice, with a very large body of Saracens. But this invasion was not made by the Persians in the customary manner; for they did not invade Mesopotamia, as formerly, but the country called Commagene of old, but now Euphratesia, a point from which, as far as we know, the Persians never before conducted a campaign against the Romans. But why the land was called Mesopotamia and why the Persians refrained from making their attack at this point is what I now propose to relate.

There is a mountain in Armenia which is not especially precipitous, two-and-forty stades removed from Theodosiopolis and lying toward the north from it. From this mountain issue two springs, forming immediately two rivers, the one on the right called the Euphrates, and the other the Tigris. One of these, the Tigris, descends, with no deviations and with no tributaries except small ones emptying into it, straight toward the city of Amida. And continuing into the country which lies to the north of this city it enters the land of Assyria. But the Euphrates at its beginning flows for a short distance, and is then immediately lost to sight as it goes on; it does not, however, become subterranean, but a very strange thing happens. For the water is covered by a bog of great depth, extending about fifty stades in length and twenty in breadth; and reeds grow in this mud in great abundance. But the earth there is of such a hard sort that it seems to those who chance upon it to be nothing else than solid ground, so that both pedestrians and horsemen travel over it without any fear. Nay more, even wagons pass over the place in great numbers every day, but they are wholly insufficient to shake the bog or to find a weak spot in it at any point. The natives burn the reeds every year, to prevent the roads being stopped up by them, and once, when an exceedingly violent wind struck the place, it came about that the fire reached the extremities of the roots, and the water appeared at a small opening; but in a short time the ground closed again, and gave the spot the same appearance which it had had before. From there the river proceeds into the land called Celesene, where was the sanctuary of Artemis among the Taurians, from which they say Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, fled with Orestes and Pylades, bearing the statue of Artemis. For the other temple which has existed even to my day in the city of Comana is not the one "Among the Taurians." But I shall explain how this temple came into being.

When Orestes had departed in haste from the Taurians with his sister, it so happened that he contracted some disease. And when he made inquiry about the disease they say that the oracle responded that his trouble would not abate until he built a temple to Artemis in a spot such as the one among the

Taurians, and there cut off his hair and named the city after it. So then Orestes, going about the country there, came to Pontus, and saw a mountain which rose steep and towering, while below along the extremities of the mountain flowed the river Iris. Orestes, therefore, supposing at that time that this was the place indicated to him by the oracle, built there a great city and the temple of Artemis, and, shearing off his hair, named after it the city which even up to the present time has been called Comana. The story goes on that after Orestes had done these things, the disease continued to be as violent as before, if not even more so. Then the man perceived that he was not satisfying the oracle by doing these things, and he again went about looking everywhere and found a certain spot in Cappadocia very closely resembling the one among the Taurians. I myself have often seen this place and admired it exceedingly, and have imagined that I was in the land of the Taurians. For this mountain resembles the other remarkably, since the Taurus is here also and the river Sarus is similar to the Euphrates there. So Orestes built in that place an imposing city and two temples, the one to Artemis and the other to his sister Iphigenia, which the Christians have made sanctuaries for themselves, without changing their structure at all. This is called even now Golden Comana, being named from the hair of Orestes, which they say he cut off there and thus escaped from his affliction. But some say that this disease from which he escaped was nothing else than that of madness which seized him after he had killed his own mother. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

From Tauric Armenia and the land of Celesene the River Euphrates, flowing to the right of the Tigris, flows around an extensive territory, and since many rivers join it and among them the Arsinus, whose copious stream flows down from the land of the so-called Persarmenians, it becomes naturally a great river, and flows into the land of the people anciently called White Syrians but now known as the Lesser Armenians, whose first city, Melitene, is one of great importance. From there it flows past Samosata and Hierapolis and all the towns in that region as far as the land of Assyria, where the two rivers unite with each other into one stream which bears the name of the Tigris. The land which lies outside the River Euphrates, beginning with Samosata, was called in ancient times Commagene, but now it is named after the river. But the land inside the river, that namely which is between it and the Tigris, is appropriately named Mesopotamia; however, a portion of it is called not only by this name, but also by certain others. For the land as far as the city of Amida has come to be called Armenia by some, while Edessa together with the country around it is called Osroene, after Osroes, a man who was king in that place in former times, when the men of this country were in alliance with the Persians. After the time, therefore, when the Persians had taken from the Romans the city of Nisibis and certain other places in Mesopotamia, whenever they were about to make an expedition against the Romans, they disregarded the land outside the River Euphrates, which was for the most part unwatered and deserted by men, and gathered themselves here with no

trouble, since they were in a land which was their own and which lay very close to the inhabited land of their enemy, and from here they always made their invasions.

When the mirranes, defeated in battle and with the greater part of his men lost, came back to the Persian land with the remainder of his army, he received bitter punishment at the hands of King Cabades. For he took away from him a decoration which he was accustomed to bind upon the hair of his head, an ornament wrought of gold and pearls. Now this is a great dignity among the Persians, second only to the kingly honour. For there it is unlawful to wear a gold ring or girdle or brooch or anything else whatsoever, except a man be counted worthy to do so by the king.

Thereafter Cabades began to consider in what manner he himself should make an expedition against the Romans. For after the mirranes had failed in the manner I have told, he felt confidence in no one else. While he was completely at a loss as to what he should do, Alamoundaras, the king of the Saracens, came before him and said: "Not everything, O Master, should be entrusted to fortune, nor should one believe that all wars ought to be successful. For this is not likely and besides it is not in keeping with the course of human events, but this idea is most unfortunate for those who are possessed by it. For when men who expect that all the good things will come to them fail at any time, if it so happen, they are distressed more than is seemly by the very hope which wrongly led them on. Therefore, since men have not always confidence in fortune, they do not enter into the danger of war in a straightforward way, even if they boast that they surpass the enemy in every respect, but by deception and divers devices they exert themselves to circumvent their opponents. For those who assume the risk of an even struggle have no assurance of victory. Now, therefore, O King of Kings, neither be thus distressed by the misfortune which has befallen Mirranes, nor desire again to make trial of fortune. For in Mesopotamia and the land of Osroene, as it is called, since it is very close to thy boundaries, the cities are very strong above all others, and now they contain a multitude of soldiers such as never before, so that if we go there the contest will not prove a safe one; but in the land which lies outside the River Euphrates, and in Syria which adjoins it, there is neither a fortified city nor an army of any importance. For this I have often heard from the Saracens sent as spies to these parts. There too, they say, is the city of Antioch, in wealth and size and population the first of all the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire; and this city is unguarded and destitute of soldiers. For the people of this city care for nothing else than fêtes and luxurious living, and their constant rivalries with each other in the theatres. Accordingly, if we go against them unexpectedly, it is not at all unlikely that we shall capture the city by a sudden attack, and that we shall return to the land of the Persians without having met any hostile army, and before the troops in Mesopotamia have learned what has happened. As for lack of water or of any kind of provisions, let no such thought occur to thee;

for I myself shall lead the army wherever it shall seem best.”

When Cabades heard this he could neither oppose nor distrust the plan. For Alamoundaras was most discreet and well experienced in matters of warfare, thoroughly faithful to the Persians, and unusually energetic, — a man who for a space of fifty years forced the Roman state to bend the knee. For beginning from the boundaries of Aegypt and as far as Mesopotamia he plundered the whole country, pillaging one place after another, burning the buildings in his track and making captives of the population by the tens of thousands on each raid, most of whom he killed without consideration, while he gave up the others for great sums of money. And he was confronted by no one at all. For he never made his inroad without looking about, but so suddenly did he move and so very opportunely for himself, that, as a rule, he was already off with all the plunder when the generals and the soldiers were beginning to learn what had happened and to gather themselves against him. If, indeed, by any chance, they were able to catch him, this barbarian would fall upon his pursuers while still unprepared and not in battle array, and would rout and destroy them with no trouble; and on one occasion he made prisoners of all the soldiers who were pursuing him together with their officers. These officers were Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John, the son of Lucas, whom he gave up indeed later, thereby gaining for himself no mean or trivial wealth. And, in a word, this man proved himself the most difficult and dangerous enemy of all to the Romans. The reason was this, that Alamoundaras, holding the position of king, ruled alone over all the Saracens in Persia, and he was always able to make his inroad with the whole army wherever he wished in the Roman domain; and neither any commander of Roman troops, whom they call “duces,” nor any leader of the Saracens allied with the Romans, who are called “phylarchs,” was strong enough with his men to array himself against Alamoundaras; for the troops stationed in the different districts were not a match in battle for the enemy. [531 A.D.] For this reason the Emperor Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans had never before been done. However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him. In this way it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time, for he lived to a very advanced age.

XVIII

This man's suggestion at that time therefore pleased Cabades, and he chose out fifteen thousand men, putting in command of them Azarethes, a Persian, who was an exceptionally able warrior, and he bade Alamoundaras lead the expedition. So they crossed the River Euphrates in Assyria, and, after passing over some uninhabited country, they suddenly and unexpectedly threw their forces into the land of the so-called Commagenae. This was the first invasion made by the Persians from this point into Roman soil, as far as we know from tradition or by any other means, and it paralyzed all the Romans with fear by its unexpectedness. And when this news came to the knowledge of Belisarius, at first he was at a loss, but afterwards he decided to go to the rescue with all speed. So he established a sufficient garrison in each city in order that Cabades with another hostile army might not come there and find the towns of Mesopotamia utterly unguarded, and himself with the rest of the army went to meet the invasion; and crossing the River Euphrates they moved forward in great haste. Now the Roman army amounted to about twenty thousand foot and horse, and among them not less than two thousand were Isaurians. The commanders of cavalry were all the same ones who had previously fought the battle at Daras with Mirranes and the Persians, while the infantry were commanded by one of the body-guards of the Emperor Justinian, Peter by name. The Isaurians, however, were under the command of Longinus and Stephanacius. Arethas also came there to join them with the Saracen army. When they reached the city of Chalcis, they encamped and remained there, since they learned that the enemy were in a place called Gabboulon, one hundred and ten stades away from Chalcis. When this became known to Alamoundaras and Azarethes, they were terrified at the danger, and no longer continued their advance, but decided to retire homeward instantly. Accordingly they began to march back, with the River Euphrates on the left, while the Roman army was following in the rear. And in the spot where the Persians bivouacked each night the Romans always tarried on the following night. For Belisarius purposely refused to allow the army to make any longer march because he did not wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, but he considered that it was sufficient for them that the Persians and Alamoundaras, after invading the land of the Romans, should retire from it in such a fashion, betaking themselves to their own land without accomplishing anything. And because of this all secretly mocked him, both officers and soldiers, but not a man reproached him to his face.

Finally the Persians made their bivouac on the bank of the Euphrates just opposite the city of Callinicus. From there they were about to march through a country absolutely uninhabited by man, and thus to quit the land of the Romans; for they purposed no longer to proceed as before, keeping to the bank of the river. The Romans had passed the night in the city of Sura, and,

removing from there, they came upon the enemy just in the act of preparing for the departure. [A, 531] Now the feast of Easter was near and would take place on the following day; this feast is revered by the Christians above all others, and on the day before it they are accustomed to refrain from food and drink not only throughout the day, but for a large part of the night also they continue the fast. Then, therefore, Belisarius, seeing that all his men were passionately eager to go against the enemy, wished to persuade them to give up this idea (for this course had been counselled by Hermogenes also, who had come recently on an embassy from the emperor); he accordingly called together all who were present and spoke as follows: "O Romans, whither are you rushing? and what has happened to you that you are purposing to choose for yourselves a danger which is not necessary? Men believe that there is only one victory which is unalloyed, namely to suffer no harm at the hands of the enemy, and this very thing has been given us in the present instance by fortune and by the fear of us that overpowers our foes. Therefore it is better to enjoy the benefit of our present blessings than to seek them when they have passed. For the Persians, led on by many hopes, undertook an expedition against the Romans, and now, with everything lost, they have beaten a hasty retreat. So that if we compel them against their will to abandon their purpose of withdrawing and to come to battle with us, we shall win no advantage whatsoever if we are victorious, — for why should one rout a fugitive? — while if we are unfortunate, as may happen, we shall both be deprived of the victory which we now have, not robbed of it by the enemy, but flinging it away ourselves, and also we shall abandon the land of the emperor to lie open hereafter to the attacks of the enemy without defenders. Moreover this also is worth your consideration, that God is always accustomed to succour men in dangers which are necessary, not in those which they choose for themselves. And apart from this it will come about that those who have nowhere to turn will play the part of brave men even against their will, while the obstacles which are to be met by us in entering the engagement are many; for a large number of you have come on foot and all of us are fasting. I refrain from mentioning that some even now have not arrived." So spoke Belisarius.

But the army began to insult him, not in silence nor with any concealment, but they came shouting into his presence, and called him weak and a destroyer of their zeal; and even some of the officers joined with the soldiers in this offence, thus displaying the extent of their daring. And Belisarius, in astonishment at their shamelessness, changed his exhortation and now seemed to be urging them on against the enemy and drawing them up for battle, saying that he had not known before their eagerness to fight, but that now he was of good courage and would go against the enemy with a better hope. He then formed the phalanx with a single front, disposing his men as follows: on the left wing by the river he stationed all the infantry, while on the right where the ground rose sharply he placed Arethas and all his Saracens; he himself with the cavalry took his position in the centre. Thus the Romans arrayed

themselves. And when Azarethes saw the enemy gathering in battle line, he exhorted his men with the following words: "Persians as you are, no one would deny that you would not give up your valour in exchange for life, if a choice of the two should be offered. But I say that not even if you should wish, is it within your power to make the choice between the two. For as for men who have the opportunity to escape from danger and live in dishonour it is not at all unnatural that they should, if they wish, choose what is most pleasant instead of what is best; but for men who are bound to die, either gloriously at the hands of the enemy or shamefully led to punishment by your Master, it is extreme folly not to choose what is better instead of what is most shameful. Now, therefore, when things stand thus, I consider that it befits you all to bear in mind not only the enemy but also your own Lord and so enter this battle."

After Azarethes also had uttered these words of exhortation, he stationed the phalanx opposite his opponents, assigning the Persians the right wing and the Saracens the left. Straightway both sides began the fight, and the battle was exceedingly fierce. For the arrows, shot from either side in very great numbers, caused great loss of life in both armies, while some placed themselves in the interval between the armies and made a display of valorous deeds against each other, and especially among the Persians they were falling by the arrows in great numbers. For while their missiles were incomparably more frequent, since the Persians are almost all bowmen and they learn to make their shots much more rapidly than any other men, still the bows which sent the arrows were weak and not very tightly strung, so that their missiles, hitting a corselet, perhaps, or helmet or shield of a Roman warrior, were broken off and had no power to hurt the man who was hit. The Roman bowmen are always slower indeed, but inasmuch as their bows are extremely stiff and very tightly strung, and one might add that they are handled by stronger men, they easily slay much greater numbers of those they hit than do the Persians, for no armour proves an obstacle to the force of their arrows. Now already two-thirds of the day had passed, and the battle was still even. Then by mutual agreement all the best of the Persian army advanced to attack the Roman right wing, where Arethas and the Saracens had been stationed. But they broke their formation and moved apart, so that they got the reputation of having betrayed the Romans to the Persians. For without awaiting the oncoming enemy they all straightway beat a hasty retreat. So the Persians in this way broke through the enemy's line and immediately got in the rear of the Roman cavalry. Thus the Romans, who were already exhausted both by the march and the labour of the battle, — and besides this they were all fasting so far on in the day, — now that they were assailed by the enemy on both sides, held out no longer, but the most of them in full flight made their way to the islands in the river which were close by, while some also remained there and performed deeds both amazing and remarkable against the enemy. Among these was Ascan who, after killing many of the notables among the

Persians, was gradually hacked to pieces and finally fell, leaving to the enemy abundant reason to remember him. And with him eight hundred others perished after shewing themselves brave men in this struggle, and almost all the Isaurians fell with their leaders, without even daring to lift their weapons against the enemy. For they were thoroughly inexperienced in this business, since they had recently left off farming and entered into the perils of warfare, which before that time were unknown to them. And yet just before these very men had been most furious of all for battle because of their ignorance of warfare, and were then reproaching Belisarius with cowardice. They were not in fact all Isaurians but the majority of them were Lycaones.

Belisarius with some few men remained there, and as long as he saw Ascan and his men holding out, he also in company with those who were with him held back the enemy; but when some of Ascan's troops had fallen, and the others had turned to flee wherever they could, then at length he too fled with his men and came to the phalanx of infantry, who with Peter were still fighting, although not many in number now, since the most of them too had fled. There he himself gave up his horse and commanded all his men to do the same thing and on foot with the others to fight off the oncoming enemy. And those of the Persians who were following the fugitives, after pursuing for only a short distance, straightway returned and rushed upon the infantry and Belisarius with all the others. Then the Romans turned their backs to the river so that no movement to surround them might be executed by the enemy, and as best they could under the circumstances were defending themselves against their assailants. And again the battle became fierce, although the two sides were not evenly matched in strength; for foot-soldiers, and a very few of them, were fighting against the whole Persian cavalry. Nevertheless the enemy were not able either to rout them or in any other way to overpower them. For standing shoulder to shoulder they kept themselves constantly massed in a small space, and they formed with their shields a rigid, unyielding barricade, so that they shot at the Persians more conveniently than they were shot at by them. Many a time after giving up, the Persians would advance against them determined to break up and destroy their line, but they always retired again from the assault unsuccessful. For their horses, annoyed by the clashing of the shields, reared up and made confusion for themselves and their riders. Thus both sides continued the struggle until it had become late in the day. And when night had already come on, the Persians withdrew to their camp, and Belisarius accompanied by some few men found a freight-boat and crossed over to the island in the river, while the other Romans reached the same place by swimming. On the following day many freight-boats were brought to the Romans from the city of Callinicus and they were conveyed thither in them, and the Persians, after despoiling the dead, all departed homeward. However they did not find their own dead less numerous than the enemy's.

When Azarethes reached Persia with his army, although he had prospered

in the battle, he found Cabades exceedingly ungrateful, for the following reason. It is a custom among the Persians that, when they are about to march against any of their foes, the king sits on the royal throne, and many baskets are set there before him; and the general also is present who is expected to lead the army against the enemy; then the army passes along before the king, one man at a time, and each of them throws one weapon into the baskets; after this they are sealed with the king's seal and preserved; and when this army returns to Persia, each one of the soldiers takes one weapon out of the baskets. A count is then made by those whose office it is to do so of all the weapons which have not been taken by the men, and they report to the king the number of the soldiers who have not returned, and in this way it becomes evident how many have perished in the war. Thus the law has stood from of old among the Persians. Now when Azarethes came into the presence of the king, Cabades enquired of him whether he came back with any Roman fortress won over to their side, for he had marched forth with Alamoundaras against the Romans, with the purpose of subduing Antioch. And Azarethes said that he had captured no fortress, but that he had conquered the Romans and Belisarius in battle. So Cabades bade the army of Azarethes pass by, and from the baskets each man took out a weapon just as was customary. But since many weapons were left, Cabades rebuked Azarethes for the victory and thereafter ranked him among the most unworthy. So the victory had this conclusion for Azarethes.

XIX

At that time the idea occurred to the Emperor Justinian to ally with himself the Aethiopians and the Homeritae, in order to injure the Persians. I shall now first explain what part of the earth these nations occupy, and then I shall point out in what manner the emperor hoped that they would be of help to the Romans. The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending toward the south; on the other side a country deserted by men extends northward to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than one thousand stades distant from the city of Aelas. On this island Hebrews had lived from of old in autonomy, but in the reign of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans. From there on there comes a great open sea. And those who sail into this part of it no longer see the land on the right, but they always anchor along the left coast when night comes on. For it is impossible to navigate in the darkness on this sea, since it is everywhere full of shoals. But there are harbours there and great numbers of them, not made by the hand of man, but by the natural contour of the land, and for this reason it is not difficult for mariners to find anchorage wherever they happen to be.

This coast immediately beyond the boundaries of Palestine is held by Saracens, who have been settled from of old in the Palm Groves. These groves are in the interior, extending over a great tract of land, and there absolutely nothing else grows except palm trees. The Emperor Justinian had received these palm groves as a present from Abochorabus, the ruler of the Saracens there, and he was appointed by the emperor captain over the Saracens in Palestine. And he guarded the land from plunder constantly, for both to the barbarians over whom he ruled and no less to the enemy, Abochorabus always seemed a man to be feared and an exceptionally energetic fellow. Formally, therefore, the emperor holds the Palm Groves, but for him really to possess himself of any of the country there is utterly impossible. For a land completely destitute of human habitation and extremely dry lies between, extending to the distance of a ten days' journey; moreover the Palm Groves themselves are by no means worth anything, and Abochorabus only gave the form of a gift, and the emperor accepted it with full knowledge of the fact. So much then for the Palm Groves. Adjoining this people there are other Saracens in possession of the coast, who are called Maddeni and who are subjects of the Homeritae. These Homeritae dwell in the land on the farther side of them on the shore of the sea. And beyond them many other nations are said to be settled as far as the man-eating Saracens.

Beyond these are the nations of India. But regarding these matters let each one speak as he may wish.

About opposite the Homeritae on the opposite mainland dwell the Aethiopians who are called Auxomitae, because their king resides in the city of Auxomis. And the expanse of sea which lies between is crossed in a voyage of five days and nights, when a moderately favouring wind blows. For here they are accustomed to navigate by night also, since there are no shoals at all in these parts; this portion of the sea has been called the Red Sea by some. For the sea which one traverses beyond this point as far as the shore and the city of Aelas has received the name of the Arabian Gulf, inasmuch as the country which extends from here to the limits of the city of Gaza used to be called in olden times Arabia, since the king of the Arabs had his palace in early times in the city of Petrae. Now the harbour of the Homeritae from which they are accustomed to put to sea for the voyage to Aethiopia is called Bulicas; and at the end of the sail across the sea they always put in at the harbour of the Adulitae. But the city of Adulis is removed from the harbour a distance of twenty stades (for it lacks only so much of being on the sea), while from the city of Auxomis it is a journey of twelve days.

All the boats which are found in India and on this sea are not made in the same manner as are other ships. For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance, nor indeed are the planks fastened together by iron nails going through and through, but they are bound together with a kind of cording. The reason is not as most persons suppose, that there are certain rocks there which draw the iron to themselves (for witness the fact that when the Roman vessels sail from Aelas into this sea, although they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Aethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea and of the land which lies on either side of it.

From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow (for rocks rise to an exceedingly great height at no great distance from the Nile and spread over the rest of the country), while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive

burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their own habitations, and to settle along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied. For in this way he thought that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least, and that they would possess themselves of the land given them, as being their own, and would probably beat off the Blemyes and the other barbarians. And since this pleased the Nobatae, they made the migration immediately, just as Diocletian directed them, and took possession of all the Roman cities and the land on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. Then it was that this emperor decreed that to them and to the Blemyes a fixed sum of gold should be given every year with the stipulation that they should no longer plunder the land of the Romans. And they receive this gold even up to my time, but none the less they overrun the country there. Thus it seems that with all barbarians there is no means of compelling them to keep faith with the Romans except through the fear of soldiers to hold them in check. And yet this emperor went so far as to select a certain island in the River Nile close to the city of Elephantine and there construct a very strong fortress in which he established certain temples and altars for the Romans and these barbarians in common, and he settled priests of both nations in this fortress, thinking that the friendship between them would be secure by reason of their sharing the things sacred to them. And for this reason he named the place Philae. Now both these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatae, believe in all the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also reverence Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus. But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the sun. These sanctuaries in Philae were kept by these barbarians even up to my time, but the Emperor Justinian decided to tear them down. Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I have mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, being commander of the troops there, tore down the sanctuaries at the emperor's order, and put the priests under guard and sent the statues to Byzantium. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

At about the time of this war Hellestheaeus, the king of the Aethiopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of this faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite mainland were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews, and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day call Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both the king and many of the Homeritae. He then set up in his stead a Christian king, a Homerite by birth, by name Esimiphaeus, and, after ordaining that he should pay a tribute to the Aethiopians every year, he returned to his home. In this Aethiopian army many slaves and all who were readily disposed to crime were quite unwilling to follow the king back, but were left behind and remained there because of their desire for the land of the Homeritae; for it is an extremely goodly land.

These fellows at a time not long after this, in company with certain others, rose against the king Esimiphaeus and put him in confinement in one of the fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abramus by name. Now this Abramus was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Aethiopia. When Hellestheaeus learned this, he was eager to punish Abramus together with those who had revolted with him for their injustice to Esimiphaeus, and he sent against them an army of three thousand men with one of his relatives as commander. This army, once there, was no longer willing to return home, but they wished to remain where they were in a goodly land, and so without the knowledge of their commander they opened negotiations with Abramus; then when they came to an engagement with their opponents, just as the fighting began, they killed their commander and joined the ranks of the enemy, and so remained there. But Hellestheaeus was greatly moved with anger and sent still another army against them; this force engaged with Abramus and his men, and, after suffering a severe defeat in the battle, straightway returned home. Thereafter the king of the Aethiopians became afraid, and sent no further expeditions against Abramus. After the death of Hellestheaeus, Abramus agreed to pay tribute to the king of the Aethiopians who succeeded him, and in this way he strengthened his rule. But this happened at a later time.

At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer

compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name “seric”). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caïsus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. This Caïsus was by birth of the captain’s rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.

Hermogenes, as soon as the battle on the Euphrates had taken place, came before Cabades to negotiate with him, but he accomplished nothing regarding the peace on account of which he had come, since he found him still swelling with rage against the Romans; for this reason he returned unsuccessful. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, having been removed from the office which he held, in order that he might march against the Vandals; but Sittas, as had been decreed by the Emperor Justinian, went to the East in order to guard that portion of the empire. And the Persians once more invaded Mesopotamia with a great army under command of Chanaranges and Aspebedes and Mermeroës. Since no one dared to engage with them, they made camp and began the siege of Martyropolis, where Bouzes and Bessas had been stationed in command of the garrison. This city lies in the land called Sophanene, two hundred and forty stades distant from the city of Amida toward the north; it is just on the River Nymphius which divides the land of the Romans and the Persians. So the Persians began to assail the fortifications, and, while the besieged at first withstood them manfully, it did not seem likely that they would hold out long. For the circuit-wall was quite easily assailable in most parts, and could be captured very easily by a Persian siege, and besides they did not have a sufficient supply of provisions, nor indeed had they engines of war nor anything else that was of any value for defending themselves. Meanwhile Sittas and the Roman army came to a place called Attachas, one hundred stades distant from Martyropolis, but they did not dare to advance further, but established their camp and remained there. Hermogenes also was with them, coming again as ambassador from Byzantium. At this point the following event took place.

It has been customary from ancient times both among the Romans and the Persians to maintain spies at public expense; these men are accustomed to go secretly among the enemy, in order that they may investigate accurately what is going on, and may then return and report to the rulers. Many of these men, as is natural, exert themselves to act in a spirit of loyalty to their nation, while some also betray their secrets to the enemy. At that time a certain spy who had been sent from the Persians to the Romans came into the presence of the Emperor Justinian and revealed many things which were taking place among the barbarians, and, in particular, that the nation of the Massagetae, in order to injure the Romans, were on the very point of going out into the land of Persia, and that from there they were prepared to march into the territory of the Romans, and unite with the Persian army. When the emperor heard this, having already a proof of the man's truthfulness to him, he presented him with a handsome sum of money and persuaded him to go to the Persian army which was besieging the Martyropolitans, and announce to the barbarians there that these Massagetae had been won over with money by the Roman

emperor, and were about to come against them that very moment. The spy carried out these instructions, and coming to the army of the barbarians he announced to Chanaranges and the others that an army of Huns hostile to them would at no distant time come to the Romans. And when they heard this, they were seized with terror, and were at a loss how to deal with the situation.

At this juncture it came about that Cabades became seriously ill, and he called to him one of the Persians who were in closest intimacy with him, Mebodes by name, and conversed with him concerning Chosroes and the kingdom, and said he feared the Persians would make a serious attempt to disregard some of the things which had been decided upon by him. But Mebodes asked him to leave the declaration of his purpose in writing, and bade him be confident that the Persians would never dare to disregard it. So Cabades set it down plainly that Chosroes should become king over the Persians. The document was written by Mebodes himself, and Cabades immediately passed from among men. [Sept. 13, 531] And when everything had been performed as prescribed by law in the burial of the king, then Caoses, confident by reason of the law, tried to lay claim to the office, but Mebodes stood in his way, asserting that no one ought to assume the royal power by his own initiative but by vote of the Persian notables. So Caoses committed the decision in the matter to the magistrates, supposing that there would be no opposition to him from there. But when all the Persian notables had been gathered together for this purpose and were in session, Mebodes read the document and stated the purpose of Cabades regarding Chosroes, and all, calling to mind the virtue of Cabades, straightway declared Chosroes King of the Persians.

Thus then Chosroes secured the power. But at Martyropolis, Sittas and Hermogenes were in fear concerning the city, since they were utterly unable to defend it in its peril, and they sent certain men to the enemy, who came before the generals and spoke as follows: "It has escaped your own notice that you are becoming wrongfully an obstacle to the king of the Persians and to the blessings of peace and to each state. For ambassadors sent from the emperor are even now present in order that they may go to the king of the Persians and there settle the differences and establish a treaty with him; but do you as quickly as possible remove from the land of the Romans and permit the ambassadors to act in the manner which will be of advantage to both peoples. For we are ready also to give as hostages men of repute concerning these very things, to prove that they will be actually accomplished at no distant date." Such were the words of the ambassadors of the Romans. It happened also that a messenger came to them from the palace, who brought them word that Cabades had died and that Chosroes, son of Cabades, had become king over the Persians, and that in this way the situation had become unsettled. And as a result of this the generals heard the words of the Romans gladly, since they feared also the attack of the Huns. The Romans therefore straightway gave as hostages Martinus and one of the body-guards of Sittas, Senecius by name; so

the Persians broke up the siege and made their departure promptly. And the Huns not long afterward invaded the land of the Romans, but since they did not find the Persian army there, they made their raid a short one, and then all departed homeward.

Straightway Rufinus and Alexander and Thomas came to act as ambassadors with Hermogenes, and they all came before the Persian king at the River Tigris. And when Chosroes saw them, he released the hostages. Then the ambassadors coaxed Chosroes, and spoke many beguiling words most unbecoming to Roman ambassadors. By this treatment Chosroes became tractable, and agreed to establish a peace with them that should be without end for the price of one hundred and ten "centenaria," on condition that the commander of troops in Mesopotamia should be no longer at Daras, but should spend all his time in Constantina, as was customary in former times; but the fortresses in Lazica he refused to give back, although he himself demanded that he should receive back from the Romans both Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum. (Now the "centenarium" weighs one hundred pounds, for which reason it is so called; for the Romans call one hundred "centum"). He demanded that this gold be given him, in order that the Romans might not be compelled either to tear down the city of Daras or to share the garrison at the Caspian Gates with the Persians. However the ambassadors, while approving the rest, said that they were not able to concede the fortresses, unless they should first make enquiry of the emperor concerning them. It was decided, accordingly, that Rufinus should be sent concerning them to Byzantium, and that the others should wait until he should return. And it was arranged with Rufinus that seventy days' time be allowed until he should arrive. When Rufinus reached Byzantium and reported to the emperor what Chosroes' decision was concerning the peace, the emperor commanded that the peace be concluded by them on these terms.

In the meantime, however, a report which was not true reached Persia saying that the Emperor Justinian had become enraged and put Rufinus to death. Chosroes indeed was much perturbed by this, and, already filled with anger, he advanced against the Romans with his whole army. But Rufinus met him on the way as he was returning not far from the city of Nisibis. Therefore they proceeded to this city themselves, and, since they were about to establish the peace, the ambassadors began to convey the money thither. But the Emperor Justinian was already repenting that he had given up the strong holds of Lazica, and he wrote a letter to the ambassadors expressly commanding them by no means to hand them over to the Persians. For this reason Chosroes no longer saw fit to make the treaty; and then it came to the mind of Rufinus that he had counselled more speedily than safely in bringing the money into the land of Persia. Straightway, therefore, he threw himself on the earth, and lying prone he entreated Chosroes to send the money back with them and not march immediately against the Romans, but to put off the war to some other time. And Chosroes bade him rise from the ground, promising that he would grant all these things. So the ambassadors with the money came to Daras and

the Persian army marched back.

Then indeed the fellow-ambassadors of Rufinus began to regard him with extreme suspicion themselves, and they also denounced him to the emperor, basing their judgment on the fact that Chosroes had been persuaded to concede him everything which he asked of him. However, the emperor showed him no disfavour on account of this. At a time not long after this Rufinus himself and Hermogenes were again sent to the court of Chosroes, and they immediately came to agreement with each other concerning the treaty, subject to the condition that both sides should give back all the places which each nation had wrested from the other in that war, and that there should no longer be any military post in Daras; as for the Iberians, it was agreed that the decision rested with them whether they should remain there in Byzantium or return to their own fatherland. And there were many who remained, and many also who returned to their ancestral homes. [532 A.D.] Thus, then, they concluded the so-called “endless peace,” when the Emperor Justinian was already in the sixth year of his reign. And the Romans gave the Persians Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum together with the money, and the Persians gave the Romans the strongholds of Lazica. The Persians also returned Dagaris to the Romans, and received in return for him another man of no mean station. This Dagaris in later times often conquered the Huns in battle when they had invaded the land of the Romans, and drove them out; for he was an exceptionally able warrior. Thus both sides in the manner described made secure the treaty between them.

Straightway it came about that plots were formed against both rulers by their subjects; and I shall now explain how this happened. Chosroes, the son of Cabades, was a man of an unruly turn of mind and strangely fond of innovations. For this reason he himself was always full of excitement and alarms, and he was an unfailing cause of similar feelings in all others. All, therefore, who were men of action among the Persians, in vexation at his administration, were purposing to establish over themselves another king from the house of Cabades. And since they longed earnestly for the rule of Zames, which was made impossible by the law by reason of the disfigurement of his eye, as has been stated, they found upon consideration that the best course for them was to establish in power his child Cabades, who bore the same name as his grandfather, while Zames, as guardian of the child, should administer the affairs of the Persians as he wished. So they went to Zames and disclosed their plan, and, urging him on with great enthusiasm, they endeavoured to persuade him to undertake the thing. And since the plan pleased him, they were purposing to assail Chosroes at the fitting moment. But the plan was discovered and came to the knowledge of the king, and thus their proceedings were stopped. For Chosroes slew Zames himself and all his own brothers and those of Zames together with all their male offspring, and also all the Persian notables who had either begun or taken part in any way in the plot against him. Among these was Aspebedes, the brother of Chosroes' mother.

Cabades, however, the son of Zames, he was quite unable to kill; for he was still being reared under the chanaranges, Adergoudounbades. But he sent a message to the chanaranges, bidding him himself kill the boy he had reared; for he neither thought it well to shew mistrust, nor yet had he power to compel him. The chanaranges, therefore, upon hearing the commands of Chosroes, was exceedingly grieved and, lamenting the misfortune, he communicated to his wife and Cabades' nurse all that the king had commanded. Then the woman, bursting into tears and seizing the knees of her husband, entreated him by no means to kill Cabades. They therefore consulted together, and planned to bring up the child in the most secure concealment, and to send word in haste to Chosroes that Cabades had been put out of the world for him. And they sent word to the king to this effect, and concealed Cabades in such a way that the affair did not come to the notice of any one, except Varrames, their own child, and one of the servants who seemed to them to be in every way most trustworthy. But when, as time went on, Cabades came of age, the chanaranges began to fear lest what had been done should be brought to light; he therefore gave Cabades money and bade him depart and save himself by flight wherever he could. At that time, then, Chosroes and all the others were in ignorance of the fact that the chanaranges had carried this thing through.

At a later time Chosroes was making an invasion into the land of Colchis

with a great army, as will be told in the following narrative. And he was followed by the son of this same chanaranges, Varrames, who took with him a number of his servants, and among them the one who shared with him the knowledge of what had happened to Cabades; while there Varrames told the king everything regarding Cabades, and he brought forward the servant agreeing with him in every particular. When Chosroes learned this he was forthwith exceedingly angry, and he counted it a dreadful thing that he had suffered such things at the hand of a man who was his slave; and since he had no other means of getting the man under his hand he devised the following plan. When he was about to return homeward from the land of Colchis, he wrote to this chanaranges that he had decided to invade the land of the Romans with his whole army, not, however, by a single inroad into the country, but making two divisions of the Persian army, in order that the attack might be made upon the enemy on both sides of the River Euphrates. Now one division of the army he himself, as was natural, would lead into the hostile land, while to no one else of his subjects would he grant the privilege of holding equal honour with the king in this matter, except to the chanaranges himself on account of his valour. It was necessary, therefore, that the chanaranges should come speedily to meet him as he returned, in order that he might confer with him and give him all the directions which would be of advantage to the army, and that he should bid his attendants travel behind him on the road. When the chanaranges received this message, he was overjoyed at the honour shown him by the king, and in complete ignorance of his own evil plight, he immediately carried out the instructions. But in the course of this journey, since he was quite unable to sustain the toil of it (for he was a very old man), he relaxed his hold on the reins and fell off his horse, breaking the bone in his leg. It was therefore necessary for him to remain there quietly and be cared for, and the king came to that place and saw him. And Chosroes said to him that with his leg in such a plight it was not possible that he make the expedition with them, but that he must go to one of the fortresses in that region and receive treatment there from the physicians. Thus then Chosroes sent the man away on the road to death, and behind him followed the very men who were to destroy him in the fortress, — a man who was in fact as well as in name an invincible general among the Persians, who had marched against twelve nations of barbarians and subjected them all to King Cabades. After Adergoudounbades had been removed from the world, Varrames, his son, received the office of chanaranges. Not long after this either Cabades himself, the son of Zames, or someone else who was assuming the name of Cabades came to Byzantium; certainly he resembled very closely in appearance Cabades, the king. And the Emperor Justinian, though in doubt concerning him, received him with great friendliness and honoured him as the grandson of Cabades. So then fared the Persians who rose against Chosroes.

Later on Chosroes destroyed also Mebodes for the following reason. While the king was arranging a certain important matter, he directed Zaberganes who

was present to call Mebodes. Now it happened that Zaberganes was on hostile terms with Mebodes. When he came to him, he found him marshalling the soldiers under his command, and he said that the king summoned him to come as quickly as possible. And Mebodes promised that he would follow directly as soon as he should have arranged the matter in hand; but Zaberganes, moved by his hostility to him, reported to Chosroes that Mebodes did not wish to come at present, claiming to have some business or other. Chosroes, therefore, moved with anger, sent one of his attendants commanding Mebodes to go to the tripod. Now as to what this is I shall explain forthwith. An iron tripod stands always before the palace; and whenever anyone of the Persians learns that the king is angry with him, it is not right for such a man to flee for refuge to a sanctuary nor to go elsewhere, but he must seat himself by this tripod and await the verdict of the king, while no one at all dares protect him. There Mebodes sat in pitiable plight for many days, until he was seized and put to death at the command of Chosroes. Such was the final outcome of his good deeds to Chosroes.

[Jan. 1, 532] At this same time an insurrection broke out unexpectedly in Byzantium among the populace, and, contrary to expectation, it proved to be a very serious affair, and ended in great harm to the people and to the senate, as the following account will shew. In every city the population has been divided for a long time past into the Blue and the Green factions; but within comparatively recent times it has come about that, for the sake of these names and the seats which the rival factions occupy in watching the games, they spend their money and abandon their bodies to the most cruel tortures, and even do not think it unworthy to die a most shameful death. And they fight against their opponents knowing not for what end they imperil themselves, but knowing well that, even if they overcome their enemy in the fight, the conclusion of the matter for them will be to be carried off straightway to the prison, and finally, after suffering extreme torture, to be destroyed. So there grows up in them against their fellow men a hostility which has no cause, and at no time does it cease or disappear, for it gives place neither to the ties of marriage nor of relationship nor of friendship, and the case is the same even though those who differ with respect to these colours be brothers or any other kin. They care neither for things divine nor human in comparison with conquering in these struggles; and it matters not whether a sacrilege is committed by anyone at all against God, or whether the laws and the constitution are violated by friend or by foe; nay even when they are perhaps ill supplied with the necessities of life, and when their fatherland is in the most pressing need and suffering unjustly, they pay no heed if only it is likely to go well with their "faction"; for so they name the bands of partisans. And even women join with them in this unholy strife, and they not only follow the men, but even resist them if opportunity offers, although they neither go to the public exhibitions at all, nor are they impelled by any other cause; so that I, for my part, am unable to call this anything except a disease of the soul. This, then, is pretty well how matters stand among the people of each and every city.

But at this time the officers of the city administration in Byzantium were leading away to death some of the rioters. But the members of the two factions, conspiring together and declaring a truce with each other, seized the prisoners and then straightway entered the prison and released all those who were in confinement there, whether they had been condemned on a charge of stirring up sedition, or for any other unlawful act. And all the attendants in the service of the city government were killed indiscriminately; meanwhile, all of the citizens who were sane-minded were fleeing to the opposite mainland, and fire was applied to the city as if it had fallen under the hand of an enemy. The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippus, and the portion of the imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares

were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure. During this time the emperor and his consort with a few members of the senate shut themselves up in the palace and remained quietly there. Now the watch-word which the populace passed around to one another was Nika, and the insurrection has been called by this name up to the present time.

The praetorian prefect at that time was John the Cappadocian, and Tribunianus, a Pamphylian by birth, was counsellor to the emperor; this person the Romans call "quaestor." One of these two men, John, was entirely without the advantages of a liberal education; for he learned nothing while attending the elementary school except his letters, and these, too, poorly enough; but by his natural ability he became the most powerful man of whom we know. For he was most capable in deciding upon what was needful and in finding a solution for difficulties. But he became the basest of all men and employed his natural power to further his low designs; neither consideration for God nor any shame before man entered into his mind, but to destroy the lives of many men for the sake of gain and to wreck whole cities was his constant concern. So within a short time indeed he had acquired vast sums of money, and he flung himself completely into the sordid life of a drunken scoundrel; for up to the time of lunch each day he would plunder the property of his subjects, and for the rest of the day occupy himself with drinking and with wanton deeds of lust. And he was utterly unable to control himself, for he ate food until he vomited, and he was always ready to steal money and more ready to bring it out and spend it. Such a man then was John. Tribunianus, on the other hand, both possessed natural ability and in educational attainments was inferior to none of his contemporaries; but he was extraordinarily fond of the pursuit of money and always ready to sell justice for gain; therefore every day, as a rule, he was repealing some laws and proposing others, selling off to those who requested it either favour according to their need.

Now as long as the people were waging this war with each other in behalf of the names of the colours, no attention was paid to the offences of these men against the constitution; but when the factions came to a mutual understanding, as has been said, and so began the sedition, then openly throughout the whole city they began to abuse the two and went about seeking them to kill. Accordingly the emperor, wishing to win the people to his side, instantly dismissed both these men from office. And Phocas, a patrician, he appointed praetorian prefect, a man of the greatest discretion and fitted by nature to be a guardian of justice; Basilides he commanded to fill the office of quaestor, a man known among the patricians for his agreeable qualities and a notable besides. However, the insurrection continued no less violently under them. Now on the fifth day of the insurrection in the late afternoon the Emperor Justinian gave orders to Hypatius and Pompeius, nephews of the late

emperor, Anastasius, to go home as quickly as possible, either because he suspected that some plot was being matured by them against his own person, or, it may be, because destiny brought them to this. But they feared that the people would force them to the throne (as in fact fell out), and they said that they would be doing wrong if they should abandon their sovereign when he found himself in such danger. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he inclined still more to his suspicion, and he bade them quit the palace instantly. Thus, then, these two men betook themselves to their homes, and, as long as it was night, they remained there quietly.

But on the following day at sunrise it became known to the people that both men had quit the palace where they had been staying. So the whole population ran to them, and they declared Hypatius emperor and prepared to lead him to the market-place to assume the power. But the wife of Hypatius, Mary, a discreet woman, who had the greatest reputation for prudence, laid hold of her husband and would not let go, but cried out with loud lamentation and with entreaties to all her kinsmen that the people were leading him on the road to death. But since the throng overpowered her, she unwillingly released her husband, and he by no will of his own came to the Forum of Constantine, where they summoned him to the throne; then since they had neither diadem nor anything else with which it is customary for a king to be clothed, they placed a golden necklace upon his head and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans. By this time the members of the senate were assembling, — as many of them as had not been left in the emperor's residence, — and many expressed the opinion that they should go to the palace to fight. But Origenes, a man of the senate, came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow Romans, it is impossible that the situation which is upon us be solved in any way except by war. Now war and royal power are agreed to be the greatest of all things in the world. But when action involves great issues, it refuses to be brought to a successful conclusion by the brief crisis of a moment, but this is accomplished only by wisdom of thought and energy of action, which men display for a length of time. Therefore if we should go out against the enemy, our cause will hang in the balance, and we shall be taking a risk which will decide everything in a brief space of time; and, as regards the consequences of such action, we shall either fall down and worship Fortune or reproach her altogether. For those things whose issue is most quickly decided, fall, as a rule, under the sway of fortune. But if we handle the present situation more deliberately, not even if we wish shall we be able to take Justinian in the palace, but he will very speedily be thankful if he is allowed to flee; for authority which is ignored always loses its power, since its strength ebbs away with each day. Moreover we have other palaces, both Placillianae and the palace named from Helen, which this emperor should make his headquarters and from there he should carry on the war and attend to the ordering of all other matters in the best possible way." So spoke Origenes. But the rest, as a crowd is accustomed to do, insisted more excitedly and thought that the

present moment was opportune, and not least of all Hypatius (for it was fated that evil should befall him) bade them lead the way to the hippodrome. But some say that he came there purposely, being well-disposed toward the emperor.

Now the emperor and his court were deliberating as to whether it would be better for them if they remained or if they took to flight in the ships. And many opinions were expressed favouring either course. And the Empress Theodora also spoke to the following effect: "As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way. For in the case of those whose interests have come into the greatest danger nothing else seems best except to settle the issue immediately before them in the best possible way. My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not also to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from this purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud." When the queen had spoken thus, all were filled with boldness, and, turning their thoughts towards resistance, they began to consider how they might be able to defend themselves if any hostile force should come against them. Now the soldiers as a body, including those who were stationed about the emperor's court, were neither well disposed to the emperor nor willing openly to take an active part in fighting, but were waiting for what the future would bring forth. All the hopes of the emperor were centred upon Belisarius and Mundus, of whom the former, Belisarius, had recently returned from the Persian war bringing with him a following which was both powerful and imposing, and in particular he had a great number of spearmen and guards who had received their training in battles and the perils of warfare. Mundus had been appointed general of the Illyrians, and by mere chance had happened to come under summons to Byzantium on some necessary errand, bringing with him Erulian barbarians.

When Hypatius reached the hippodrome, he went up immediately to where the emperor is accustomed to take his place and seated himself on the royal throne from which the emperor was always accustomed to view the equestrian and athletic contests. And from the palace Mundus went out through the gate which, from the circling descent, has been given the name of the Snail. Belisarius meanwhile began at first to go straight up toward Hypatius himself and the royal throne, and when he came to the adjoining structure where there

has been a guard of soldiers from of old, he cried out to the soldiers commanding them to open the door for him as quickly as possible, in order that he might go against the tyrant. But since the soldiers had decided to support neither side, until one of them should be manifestly victorious, they pretended not to hear at all and thus put him off. So Belisarius returned to the emperor and declared that the day was lost for them, for the soldiers who guarded the palace were rebelling against him. The emperor therefore commanded him to go to the so-called Bronze Gate and the propylaea there. So Belisarius, with difficulty and not without danger and great exertion, made his way over ground covered by ruins and half-burned buildings, and ascended to the stadium. And when he had reached the Blue Colonnade which is on the right of the emperor's throne, he purposed to go against Hypatius himself first; but since there was a small door there which had been closed and was guarded by the soldiers of Hypatius who were inside, he feared lest while he was struggling in the narrow space the populace should fall upon him, and after destroying both himself and all his followers, should proceed with less trouble and difficulty against the emperor. Concluding, therefore, that he must go against the populace who had taken their stand in the hippodrome — a vast multitude crowding each other in great disorder — he drew his sword from its sheath and, commanding the others to do likewise, with a shout he advanced upon them at a run. But the populace, who were standing in a mass and not in order, at the sight of armoured soldiers who had a great reputation for bravery and experience in war, and seeing that they struck out with their swords unsparingly, beat a hasty retreat. Then a great outcry arose, as was natural, and Mundus, who was standing not far away, was eager to join in the fight, — for he was a daring and energetic fellow — but he was at a loss as to what he should do under the circumstances; when, however, he observed that Belisarius was in the struggle, he straightway made a sally into the hippodrome through the entrance which they call the Gate of Death. Then indeed from both sides the partisans of Hypatius were assailed with might and main and destroyed. When the rout had become complete and there had already been great slaughter of the populace, Boraedes and Justus, nephews of the Emperor Justinian, without anyone daring to lift a hand against them, dragged Hypatius down from the throne, and, leading him in, handed him over together with Pompeius to the emperor. And there perished among the populace on that day more than thirty thousand. But the emperor commanded the two prisoners to be kept in severe confinement. Then, while Pompeius was weeping and uttering pitiable words (for the man was wholly inexperienced in such misfortunes), Hypatius reproached him at length and said that those who were about to die unjustly should not lament. For in the beginning they had been forced by the people against their will, and afterwards they had come to the hippodrome with no thought of harming the emperor. And the soldiers killed both of them on the following day and threw their bodies into the sea. The emperor confiscated all their property for the

public treasury, and also that of all the other members of the senate who had sided with them. Later, however, he restored to the children of Hypatius and Pompeius and to all others the titles which they had formerly held, and as much of their property as he had not happened to bestow upon his friends. This was the end of the insurrection in Byzantium.

Tribunianus and John were thus deprived of office, but at a later time they were both restored to the same positions. And Tribunianus lived on in office many years and died of disease, suffering no further harm from anyone. For he was a smooth fellow and agreeable in every way and well able by the excellence of his education to throw into the shade his affliction of avarice. But John was oppressive and severe alike with all men, inflicting blows upon those whom he met and plundering without respect absolutely all their money; consequently in the tenth year of his office he rightly and justly atoned for his lawless conduct in the following manner.

The Empress Theodora hated him above all others. And while he gave offence to the woman by the wrongs he committed, he was not of a mind to win her by flattery or by kindness in any way, but he openly set himself in opposition to her and kept slandering her to the emperor, neither blushing before her high station nor feeling shame because of the extraordinary love which the emperor felt for her. When the queen perceived what was being done, she purposed to slay the man, but in no way could she do this, since the Emperor Justinian set great store by him. And when John learned of the purpose of the queen regarding him, he was greatly terrified. And whenever he went into his chamber to sleep, he expected every night that some one of the barbarians would fall upon him to slay him; and he kept peeping out of the room and looking about the entrances and remained sleepless, although he had attached to himself many thousands of spearmen and guards, a thing which had been granted to no prefect before that time. But at daybreak, forgetting all his fears of things divine and human, he would become again a plague to all the Romans both in public and in private. And he conversed commonly with sorcerers, and constantly listened to profane oracles which portended for him the imperial office, so that he was plainly walking on air and lifted up by his hopes of the royal power. But in his rascality and the lawlessness of his conduct there was no moderation or abatement. And there was in him absolutely no regard for God, and even when he went to a sanctuary to pray and to pass the night, he did not do at all as the Christians are wont to do, but he clothed himself in a coarse garment appropriate to a priest of the old faith which they are now accustomed to call Hellenic, and throughout that whole night mumbled out some unholy words which he had practised, praying that the mind of the emperor might be still more under his control, and that he himself might be free from harm at the hands of all men.

At this time Belisarius, after subjugating Italy, came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor with his wife Antonina, in order to march against the Persians. And while in the eyes of all others he was an honoured and distinguished person, as was natural, John alone was hostile to him and worked actively against him, for no other reason than that he drew the hatred

of all to himself, while Belisarius enjoyed an unequalled popularity. And it was on him that the hope of the Romans centred as he marched once more against the Persians, leaving his wife in Byzantium. Now Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, (for she was the most capable person in the world to contrive the impossible,) purposing to do a favour to the empress, devised the following plan. John had a daughter, Euphemia, who had a great reputation for discretion, but a very young woman and for this reason very susceptible; this girl was exceedingly loved by her father, for she was his only child. By treating this young woman kindly for several days Antonina succeeded most completely in winning her friendship, and she did not refuse to share her secrets with her. And on one occasion when she was present alone with her in her room she pretended to lament the fate which was upon her, saying that although Belisarius had made the Roman empire broader by a goodly measure than it had been before, and though he had brought two captive kings and so great an amount of wealth to Byzantium, he found Justinian ungrateful; and in other respects she slandered the government as not just. Now Euphemia was overjoyed by these words, for she too was hostile to the present administration by reason of her fear of the empress, and she said: "And yet, dearest friend, it is you and Belisarius who are to blame for this, seeing that, though you have opportunity, you are not willing to use your power." And Antonina replied quickly: "It is because we are not able, my daughter, to undertake revolutions in camp, unless some of those here at home join with us in the task. Now if your father were willing, we should most easily organize this project and accomplish whatever God wills." When Euphemia heard this, she promised eagerly that the suggestion would be carried out, and departing from there she immediately brought the matter before her father. And he was pleased by the message (for he inferred that this undertaking offered him a way to the fulfilment of his prophecies and to the royal power), and straightway without any hesitation he assented, and bade his child arrange that on the following day he himself should come to confer with Antonina and give pledges. When Antonina learned the mind of John, she wished to lead him as far as possible astray from the understanding of the truth, so she said that for the present it was inadvisable that he should meet her, for fear lest some suspicion should arise strong enough to prevent proceedings; but she was intending straightway to depart for the East to join Belisarius. When, therefore, she had quit Byzantium and had reached the suburb (the one called Rufinianae which was the private possession of Belisarius), there John should come as if to salute her and to escort her forth on the journey, and they should confer regarding matters of state and give and receive their pledges. In saying this she seemed to John to speak well, and a certain day was appointed to carry out the plan. And the empress, hearing the whole account from Antonina, expressed approval of what she had planned, and by her exhortations raised her enthusiasm to a much higher pitch still.

When the appointed day was at hand, Antonina bade the empress farewell

and departed from the city, and she went to Rufinianae, as if to begin on the following day her journey to the East; hither too came John at night in order to carry out the plan which had been agreed upon. Meanwhile the empress denounced to her husband the things which were being done by John to secure the tyranny, and she sent Narses, the eunuch, and Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards to Rufinianae with numerous soldiers, in order that they might investigate what was going on, and, if they found John setting about a revolution, that they might kill the man forthwith and return. So these departed for this task. But they say that the emperor got information of what was being done and sent one of John's friends to him forbidding him on any condition to meet Antonina secretly. But John (since it was fated that he should fare ill), disregarding the emperor's warning, about midnight met Antonina, close by a certain wall behind which she had stationed Narses and Marcellus with their men that they might hear what was said. There, while John with unguarded tongue was assenting to the plans for the attack and binding himself with the most dread oaths, Narses and Marcellus suddenly set upon him. But in the natural confusion which resulted the body-guards of John (for they stood close by) came immediately to his side. And one of them smote Marcellus with his sword, not knowing who he was, and thus John was enabled to escape with them, and reached the city with all speed. And if he had had the courage to go straightway before the emperor, I believe that he would have suffered no harm at his hand; but as it was, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and gave the empress opportunity to work her will against him at her pleasure.

[May, 541] Thus, then, from being prefect he became a private citizen, and rising from that sanctuary he was conveyed to another, which is situated in the suburb of the city of Cyzicus called by the Cyzicenes Artace. There he donned the garb of a priest, much against his will, not a bishop's gown however, but that of a presbyter, as they are called. But he was quite unwilling to perform the office of a priest lest at some time it should be a hindrance to his entering again into office; for he was by no means ready to relinquish his hopes. All his property was immediately confiscated to the public treasury, but a large proportion of this the emperor remitted to him, for he was still inclined to spare him. There it was possible for John to live, disregarding all dangers and enjoying great wealth, both that which he himself had concealed and that which by the decision of the emperor remained with him, and to indulge in luxury at his pleasure, and, if he had reasoned wisely, to consider his present lot a happy one. For this reason all the Romans were exceedingly vexed with the man, because, forsooth, after proving himself the basest of all demons, contrary to his deserts he was leading a life happier than before. But God, I think, did not suffer John's retribution to end thus, but prepared for him a greater punishment. And it fell out thus.

There was in Cyzicus a certain bishop named Eusebius, a man harsh to all who came in his way, and no less so than John; this man the Cyzicenes

denounced to the emperor and summoned to justice. And since they accomplished nothing inasmuch as Eusebius circumvented them by his great power, certain youths agreed together and killed him in the market-place of Cyzicus. Now it happened that John had become especially hostile to Eusebius, and hence the suspicion of the plot fell upon him. Accordingly men were sent from the senate to investigate this act of pollution. And these men first confined John in a prison, and then this man who had been such a powerful prefect, and had been inscribed among the patricians and had mounted the seat of the consuls, than which nothing seems greater, at least in the Roman state, they made to stand naked like any robber or footpad, and thrashing him with many blows upon his back, compelled him to tell his past life. And while John had not been clearly convicted as guilty of the murder of Eusebius, it seemed that God's justice was exacting from him the penalties of the world. Thereafter they stripped him of all his goods and put him naked on board a ship, being wrapped in a single cloak, and that a very rough one purchased for some few obols; and wherever the ship anchored, those who had him in charge commanded him to ask from those he met bread or obols. Thus begging everywhere along the way he was conveyed to the city of Antinous in Aegypt. And this is now the third year during which they have been guarding him there in confinement. As for John himself, although he has fallen into such troubles, he has not relinquished his hope of royal power, but he made up his mind to denounce certain Alexandrians as owing money to the public treasury. Thus then John the Cappadocian ten years afterward was overtaken by this punishment for his political career.

At that time the Emperor again designated Belisarius General of the East, and, sending him to Libya, gained over the country, as will be told later on in my narrative. When this information came to Chosroes and the Persians, they were mightily vexed, and they already repented having made peace with the Romans, because they perceived that their power was extending greatly. And Chosroes sent envoys to Byzantium, and said that he rejoiced with the Emperor Justinian, and he asked with a laugh to receive his share of the spoils from Libya, on the ground that the emperor would never have been able to conquer in the war with the Vandals if the Persians had not been at peace with him. So then Justinian made a present of money to Chosroes, and not long afterwards dismissed the envoys.

In the city of Daras the following event took place. There was a certain John there serving in a detachment of infantry; this man, in conspiracy with some few of the soldiers, but not all, took possession of the city, essaying to make himself tyrant. Then he established himself in a palace as if in a citadel, and was strengthening his tyranny every day. And if it had not happened that the Persians were continuing to keep peace with the Romans, irreparable harm would have come from this affair to the Romans. But as it was, this was prevented by the agreement which had already been reached, as I have said. On the fourth day of the tyranny some soldiers conspired together, and by the advice of Mamas, the priest of the city, and Anastasius, one of the notable citizens, they went up to the palace at high noon, each man hiding a small sword under his garment. And first at the door of the courtyard they found some few of the body-guards, whom they slew immediately. Then they entered the men's apartment and laid hold upon the tyrant; but some say that the soldiers were not the first to do this, but that while they were still hesitating in the courtyard and trembling at the danger, a certain sausage-vendor who was with them rushed in with his cleaver and meeting John smote him unexpectedly. But the blow which had been dealt him was not a fatal one, this account goes on to say, and he fled with a great outcry and suddenly fell among these very soldiers. Thus they laid hands upon the man and immediately set fire to the palace and burned it, in order that there might be left no hope from there for those making revolutions; and John they led away to the prison and bound. And one of them, fearing lest the soldiers, upon learning that the tyrant survived, might again make trouble for the city, killed John, and in this way stopped the confusion. Such, then, was the progress of events touching this tyranny.

BOOK II. THE PERSIAN WAR (Continued)

Not long after this Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius had begun to win Italy also for the Emperor Justinian, was no longer able to restrain his thoughts but he wished to discover pretexts, in order that he might break the treaty on some grounds which would seem plausible. And he conferred with Alamoundaras concerning this matter and commanded him to provide causes for war. So Alamoundaras brought against Arethas, the charge that he, Arethas, was doing him violence in a matter of boundary lines, and he entered into conflict with him in time of peace, and began to overrun the land of the Romans on this pretext. And he declared that, as for him, he was not breaking the treaty between the Persians and Romans, for neither one of them had included him in it. And this was true. For no mention of Saracens was ever made in treaties, on the ground that they were included under the names of Persians and Romans. Now this country which at that time was claimed by both tribes of Saracens is called Strata, and extends to the south of the city of Palmyra; nowhere does it produce a single tree or any of the useful growth of corn-lands, for it is burned exceedingly dry by the sun, but from of old it has been devoted to the pasturage of some few flocks. Now Arethas maintained that the place belonged to the Romans, proving his assertion by the name which has long been applied to it by all (for Strata signifies "a paved road" in the Latin tongue), and he also adduced the testimonies of men of the oldest times. Alamoundaras, however, was by no means inclined to quarrel concerning the name, but he claimed that tribute had been given him from of old for the pasturage there by the owners of the flocks. The Emperor Justinian therefore entrusted the settlement of the disputed points to Strategius; a patrician and administrator of the royal treasures, and besides a man of wisdom and of good ancestry, and with him Summus, who had commanded the troops in Palestine. This Summus was the brother of Julian, who not long before had served as envoy to the Aethiopians and Homeritae. And the one of them, Summus, insisted that the Romans ought not to surrender the country, but Strategius begged of the emperor that he should not do the Persians the favour of providing them with pretexts for the war which they already desired, for the sake of a small bit of land and one of absolutely no account, but altogether unproductive and unsuitable for crops. The Emperor Justinian, therefore, took the matter under consideration, and a long time was spent in the settlement of the question.

But Chosroes, the King of the Persians, claimed that the treaty had been broken by Justinian, who had lately displayed great opposition to his house, in that he had attempted in time of peace to attach Alamoundaras to himself. For, as he said, Summus, who had recently gone to the Saracen ostensibly to arrange matters, had hoodwinked him by promises of large sums of money on condition that he should join the Romans, and he brought forward a letter

which, he alleged, the Emperor Justinian had written to Alamoundaras concerning these things. He also declared that he had sent a letter to some of the Huns, in which he urged them to invade the land of the Persians and to do extensive damage to the country thereabout. This letter he asserted to have been put into his hands by the Huns themselves who had come before him. So then Chosroes, with these charges against the Romans, was purposing to break off the treaty. But as to whether he was speaking the truth in these matters, I am not able to say.

II

At this point Vittigis, the leader of the Goths, already worsted in the war, sent two envoys to him to persuade him to march against the Romans; but the men whom he sent were not Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and so make negotiations useless, but Ligurian priests who were attracted to this enterprise by rich gifts of money. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy assuming the pretended name of bishop which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. And when in the course of the journey they came to the land of Thrace, they attached to themselves a man from there to be an interpreter of the Syriac and the Greek tongues, and without being detected by any of the Romans, they reached the land of Persia. For inasmuch as they were at peace, they were not keeping a strict guard over that region. And coming before Chosroes they spoke as follows: "It is true, O King, that all other envoys undertake their task for the sake of advantages to themselves as a rule, but we have been sent by Vittigis, the king of the Goths and the Italians, in order to speak in behalf of thy kingdom; and consider that he is now present before thee speaking these words. If anyone should say, O King, putting all in a word, that thou hast given up thy kingdom and all men everywhere to Justinian, he would be speaking correctly. For since he is by nature a meddler and a lover of those things which in no way belong to him, and is not able to abide by the settled order of things, he has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state. Accordingly (since he was neither able alone to assail the Persians, nor with the Persians opposing him to proceed against the others), he decided to deceive thee with the pretence of peace, and by forcing the others to subjection to acquire mighty forces against thy state. Therefore, after having already destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subjugated the Moors, while the Goths because of their friendship stood aside for him, he has come against us bringing vast sums of money and many men. Now it is evident that, if he is able also to crush the Goths utterly, he will with us and those already enslaved march against the Persians, neither considering the name of friendship nor blushing before any of his sworn promises. While, therefore, some hope of safety is still left thee, do not do us any further wrong nor suffer it thyself, but see in our misfortunes what will a little later befall the Persians; and consider that the Romans could never be well-disposed to thy kingdom, and that when they become more powerful, they will not hesitate at all to display their enmity toward the Persians. Use, therefore, this good chance while the time fits, lest thou seek for it after it has ceased. For when once the time of opportunity has passed, it is not its nature to return again. And it is better by anticipating to be in security, than by delaying beyond the opportune time to suffer the most miserable fate possible at the hands of the

enemy.”

When Chosroes heard this, it seemed to him that Vittigis advised well, and he was still more eager to break off the treaty. For, moved as he was by envy toward the Emperor Justinian, he neglected completely to consider that the words were spoken to him by men who were bitter enemies of Justinian. But because he wished the thing he willingly consented to be persuaded. And he did the very same thing a little later in the case of the addresses of the Armenians and of the Lazi, which will be spoken of directly. And yet they were bringing as charges against Justinian the very things which would naturally be encomiums for a worthy monarch, namely that he was exerting himself to make his realm larger and much more splendid. For these accusations one might make also against Cyrus, the King of the Persians, and Alexander, the Macedonian. But justice is never accustomed to dwell together with envy. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was purposing to break off the treaty.

III

At this same time another event also occurred; it was as follows. That Symeon who had given Pharangium into the hands of the Romans persuaded the Emperor Justinian, while the war was still at its height, to present him with certain villages of Armenia. And becoming master of these places, he was plotted against and murdered by those who had formerly possessed them. After this crime had been committed, the perpetrators of the murder fled into the land of Persia. They were two brothers, sons of Perozes. And when the Emperor heard this, he gave over the villages to Amazaspes, the nephew of Symeon, and appointed him ruler over the Armenians. This Amazaspes, as time went on, was denounced to the Emperor Justinian by one of his friends, Acacius by name, on the ground that he was abusing the Armenians and wished to give over to the Persians Theodosiopolis and certain other fortresses. After telling this, Acacius, by the emperor's will, slew Amazaspes treacherously, and himself secured the command over the Armenians by the gift of the emperor. And being base by nature, he gained the opportunity of displaying his inward character, and he proved to be the most cruel of all men toward his subjects. For he plundered their property without excuse and ordained that they should pay an unheard-of tax of four centenaria. But the Armenians, unable to bear him any longer, conspired together and slew Acacius and fled for refuge to Pharangium.

Therefore the emperor sent Sittas against them from Byzantium. For Sittas had been delaying there since the time when the treaty was made with the Persians. So he came to Armenia, but at first he entered upon the war reluctantly and exerted himself to calm the people and to restore the population to their former habitations, promising to persuade the emperor to remit to them the payment of the new tax. But since the emperor kept assailing him with frequent reproaches for his hesitation, led on by the slanders of Adolius, the son of Acacius, Sittas at last made his preparations for the conflict. First of all he attempted by means of promises of many good things to win over some of the Armenians by persuasion and to attach them to his cause, in order that the task of overpowering the others might be attended with less difficulty and toil. And the tribe called the Aspetiani, great in power and in numbers, was willing to join him. And they went to Sittas and begged him to give them pledges in writing that, if they abandoned their kinsmen in the battle and came to the Roman army, they should remain entirely free from harm, retaining their own possessions. Now Sittas was delighted and wrote to them in tablets, giving them pledges just as they desired of him; he then sealed the writing and sent it to them. Then, confident that by their help he would be victorious in the war without fighting, he went with his whole army to a place called Oenochalakon, where the Armenians had their camp. But by some chance those who carried the tablets went by another road and did not

succeed at all in meeting the Aspetiani. Moreover a portion of the Roman army happened upon some few of them, and not knowing the agreement which had been made, treated them as enemies. And Sittas himself caught some of their women and children in a cave and slew them, either because he did not understand what had happened or because he was angry with the Aspetiani for not joining him as had been agreed.

But they, being now possessed with anger, arrayed themselves for battle with all the rest. But since both armies were on exceedingly difficult ground where precipices abounded, they did not fight in one place, but scattered about among the ridges and ravines. So it happened that some few of the Armenians and Sittas with not many of his followers came close upon each other, with only a ravine lying between them. Both parties were horsemen. Then Sittas with a few men following him crossed the ravine and advanced against the enemy; the Armenians, after withdrawing to the rear, stopped, and Sittas pursued no further but remained where he was. Suddenly someone from the Roman army, an Erulian by birth, who had been pursuing the enemy, returning impetuously from them came up to Sittas and his men. Now as it happened Sittas had planted his spear in the ground; and the Erulian's horse fell upon this with a great rush and shattered it. And the general was exceedingly annoyed by this, and one of the Armenians, seeing him, recognized him and declared to all the others that it was Sittas. For it happened that he had no helmet on his head. Thus it did not escape the enemy that he had come there with only a few men. Sittas, then, upon hearing the Armenian say this, since his spear, as has been said, lay broken in two on the ground, drew his sword and attempted immediately to recross the ravine. But the enemy advanced upon him with great eagerness, and a soldier overtaking him in the ravine struck him a glancing blow with his sword on the top of his head; and he took off the whole scalp, but the steel did not injure the bone at all. And Sittas continued to press forward still more than before, but Artabanes, son of John of the Arsacidae, fell upon him from behind and with a thrust of his spear killed him. Thus Sittas was removed from the world after no notable fashion, in a manner unworthy of his valour and his continual achievements against the enemy, a man who was extremely handsome in appearance and a capable warrior, and a general second to none of his contemporaries. But some say that Sittas did not die at the hand of Artabanes, but that Solomon, a very insignificant man among the Armenians, destroyed him.

After the death of Sittas the emperor commanded Bouzes to go against the Armenians; and he, upon drawing near, sent to them promising to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and all the Armenians, and asking that some of their notables should come to confer with him on these matters. Now the Armenians as a whole were unable to trust Bouzes nor were they willing to receive his proposals. But there was a certain man of the Arsacidae who was especially friendly with him, John by name, the father of Artabanes, and this man, trusting in Bouzes as his friend came to him with his son-in-law,

Bassaces, and a few others; but when these men had reached the spot where they were to meet Bouzes on the following day, and had made their bivouac there, they perceived that they had come into a place surrounded by the Roman army. Bassaces, the son-in-law, therefore earnestly entreated John to fly. And since he was not able to persuade him, he left him there alone, and in company with all the others eluded the Romans, and went back again by the same road. And Bouzes found John alone and slew him; and since after this the Armenians had no hope of ever reaching an agreement with the Romans, and since they were unable to prevail over the emperor in war, they came before the Persian king led by Bassaces, an energetic man. And the leading men among them came at that time into the presence of Chosroes and spoke as follows: "Many of us, O Master, are Arsacidæ, descendants of that Arsaces who was not unrelated to the Parthian kings when the Persian realm lay under the hand of the Parthians, and who proved himself an illustrious king, inferior to none of his time. Now we have come to thee, and all of us have become slaves and fugitives, not, however, of our own will, but under most hard constraint, as it might seem by reason of the Roman power, but in truth, O King, by reason of thy decision, — if, indeed, he who gives the strength to those who wish to do injustice should himself justly bear also the blame of their misdeeds. Now we shall begin our account from a little distance back in order that you may be able to follow the whole course of events. Arsaces, the last king of our ancestors, abdicated his throne willingly in favour of Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, on condition that all who should belong to his family through all time should live unhampered in every respect, and in particular should in no case be subject to taxation. And we have preserved the agreement, until you, the Persians, made this much-vaunted treaty, which, as we think, one would not err in calling a sort of common destruction. For from that time, disregarding friend and foe, he who is in name thy friend, O King, but in fact thy enemy, has turned everything in the world upside down and wrought complete confusion. And this thou thyself shalt know at no distant time, as soon as he is able to subdue completely the people of the West. For what thing which was before forbidden has he not done? or what thing which was well established has he not disturbed? Did he not ordain for us the payment of a tax which did not exist before, and has he not enslaved our neighbours, the Tzani, who were autonomous, and has he not set over the king of the wretched Lazi a Roman magistrate? — an act neither in keeping with the natural order of things nor very easy to explain in words. Has he not sent generals to the men of Bosphorus, the subjects of the Huns, and attached to himself the city which in no way belongs to him, and has he not made a defensive alliance with the Aethiopian kingdoms, of which the Romans had never even heard? More than this he has made the Homeritæ his possession and the Red Sea, and he is adding the Palm Groves to the Roman dominion. We omit to speak of the fate of the Libyans and of the Italians. The whole earth is not large enough for the man; it is too small a thing for him to conquer

all the world together. But he is even looking about the heavens and is searching the retreats beyond the ocean, wishing to gain for himself some other world. Why, therefore, O King, dost thou still delay? Why dost thou respect that most accursed peace, in order forsooth that he may make thee the last morsel of all? If it is thy wish to learn what kind of a man Justinian would shew himself toward those who yield to him, the example is to be sought near at hand from ourselves and from the wretched Lazi; and if thou wishest to see how he is accustomed to treat those who are unknown to him and who have done him not the least wrong, consider the Vandals and the Goths and the Moors. But the chief thing has not yet been spoken. Has he not made efforts in time of peace to win over by deception thy slave, Alamoundaras, O most mighty King, and to detach him from thy kingdom, and has he not striven recently to attach to himself the Huns who are utterly unknown to him, in order to make trouble for thee? And yet an act more strange than this has not been performed in all time. For since he perceived, as I think, that the overthrow of the western world would speedily be accomplished, he has already taken in hand to assail you of the East, since the Persian power alone has been left for him to grapple with. The peace, therefore, as far as concerns him, has already been broken for thee, and he himself has set an end to the endless peace. For they break the peace, not who may be first in arms, but they who may be caught plotting against their neighbours in time of peace. For the crime has been committed by him who attempts it, even though success be lacking. Now as for the course which the war will follow, this is surely clear to everyone. For it is not those who furnish causes for war, but those who defend themselves against those who furnish them, who are accustomed always to conquer their enemies. Nay more, the contest will not be evenly matched for us even in point of strength. For, as it happens, the majority of the Roman soldiers are at the end of the world, and as for the two generals who were the best they had, we come here having slain the one, Sittas, and Belisarius will never again be seen by Justinian. For disregarding his master, he has remained in the West, holding the power of Italy himself. So that when thou goest against the enemy, no one at all will confront thee, and thou wilt have us leading the army with good will, as is natural, and with a thorough knowledge of the country.” When Chosroes heard this he was pleased, and calling together all who were of noble blood among the Persians, he disclosed to all of them what Vittigis had written and what the Armenians had said, and laid before them the question as to what should be done. Then many opinions were expressed inclining to either side, but finally it was decided that they must open hostilities against the Romans at the beginning of spring. [339 A.D.] For it was the late autumn season, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. The Romans, however, did not suspect this, nor did they think that the Persians would ever break the so-called endless peace, although they heard that Chosroes blamed their emperor for his successes in the West, and that he preferred against him the charges which I

have lately mentioned.

IV

[539 A.D.] At that time also the comet appeared, at first about as long as a tall man, but later much larger. And the end of it was toward the west and its beginning toward the east, and it followed behind the sun itself. For the sun was in Capricorn and it was in Sagittarius. And some called it "the swordfish" because it was of goodly length and very sharp at the point, and others called it "the bearded star"; it was seen for more than forty days. Now those who were wise in these matters disagreed utterly with each other, and one announced that one thing, another that another thing was indicated by this star; but I only write what took place and I leave to each one to judge by the outcome as he wishes. Straightway a mighty Hunnic army crossing the Danube River fell as a scourge upon all Europe, a thing which had happened many times before, but which had never brought such a multitude of woes nor such dreadful ones to the people of that land. For from the Ionian Gulf these barbarians plundered everything in order as far as the suburbs of Byzantium. And they captured thirty-two fortresses in Illyricum, and they carried by storm the city of Cassandria (which the ancients called Potidaea, as far as we know), never having fought against walls before. And taking with them the money and leading away one hundred and twenty thousand captives, they all retired homeward without encountering any opposition. In later times too they often came there and brought upon the Romans irreparable calamity. This same people also assailed the wall of the Chersonesus, where they overpowered those who were defending themselves from the wall, and approaching through the surf of the sea, scaled the fortifications on the so-called Black Gulf; thus they got within the long wall, and falling unexpectedly upon the Romans in the Chersonesus they slew many of them and made prisoners of almost all the survivors. Some few of them also crossed the strait between Sestus and Abydus, and after plundering the Asiatic country, they returned again to the Chersonesus, and with the rest of the army and all the booty betook themselves to their homes. In another invasion they plundered Illyricum and Thessaly and attempted to storm the wall at Thermopylae; and since the guards on the walls defended them most valiantly, they sought out the ways around and unexpectedly found the path which leads up the mountain which rises there. In this way they destroyed almost all the Greeks except the Peloponnesians, and then withdrew. And the Persians not long afterwards broke off the treaty and wrought such harm to the Romans of the East as I shall set forth immediately.

Belisarius, after humbling Vittigis, the king of the Goths and Italians, brought him alive to Byzantium. And I shall now proceed to tell how the army of the Persians invaded the land of the Romans. When the Emperor Justinian perceived that Chosroes was eager for war, he wished to offer him some counsel and to dissuade him from the undertaking. Now it happened that a

certain man had come to Byzantium from the city of Daras, Anastasius by name, well known for his sagacity; he it was who had broken the tyranny which had been established recently in Daras. Justinian therefore wrote a letter and sent it by this Anastasius to Chosroes; and the message of the letter was as follows: "It is the part of men of discretion and those by whom divine things are treated with due respect, when causes of war arise, and in particular against men who are in the truest sense friends, to exert all their power to put an end to them; but it belongs to foolish men and those who most lightly bring on themselves the enmity of Heaven to devise occasions for war and insurrection which have no real existence. Now to destroy peace and enter upon war is not a difficult matter, since the nature of things is such as to make the basest activities easy for the most dishonourable men. But when they have brought about war according to their intention, to return again to peace is for men, I think, not easy. And yet thou chargest me with writing letters which were not written with any dark purpose, and thou hast now made haste to interpret these with arbitrary judgment, not in the sense in which we conceived them when we wrote them, but in a way which will be of advantage to thee in thy eagerness to carry out thy plans not without some pretext. But for us it is possible to point out that thy Alamoundaras recently overran our land and performed outrageous deeds in time of peace, to wit, the capture of towns, the seizure of property, the massacre and enslavement of such a multitude of men, concerning which it will be thy duty not to blame us, but to defend thyself. For the crimes of those who have done wrong are made manifest to their neighbours by their acts, not by their thoughts. But even with these things as they are, we have still decided to hold to peace, but we hear that thou in thy eagerness to make war upon the Romans art fabricating accusations which do not belong to us at all. Natural enough, this; for while those who are eager to preserve the present order of things repel even those charges against their friends which are most pressing, those who are not satisfied with established friendships exert themselves to provide even pretexts which do not exist. But this would not seem to be becoming even to ordinary men, much less to kings. But leaving aside these things do thou consider the number of those who will be destroyed on both sides in the course of the war, and consider well who will justly bear the blame for those things which will come to pass, and ponder upon the oaths which thou didst take when thou didst carry away the money, and consider that if, after that, thou wrongly dishonour them by some tricks or sophistries, thou wouldst not be able to pervert them; for Heaven is too mighty to be deceived by any man." When Chosroes saw this message, he neither made any immediate answer nor did he dismiss Anastasius, but he compelled him to remain there.

[540 A.D.] When the winter was already reaching its close, and the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian was ending, Chosroes, son of Cabades, invaded the land of the Romans at the opening of spring with a mighty army, and openly broke the so-called endless peace. But he did not enter by the country between the rivers, but advanced with the Euphrates on his right. On the other side of the river stands the last Roman stronghold which is called Circesium, an exceedingly strong place, since the River Aborras, a large stream, has its mouth at this point and mingles with the Euphrates, and this fortress lies exactly in the angle which is made by the junction of the two rivers. And a long second wall outside the fortress cuts off the land between the two rivers, and completes the form of a triangle around Circesium. Chosroes, therefore, not wishing to make trial of so strong a fortress and not having in mind to cross the River Euphrates, but rather to go against the Syrians and Cilicians, without any hesitation led his army forward, and after advancing for what, to an unencumbered traveller, is about a three-days' journey along the bank of the Euphrates, he came upon the city of Zenobia; this place Zenobia had built in former times, and, as was natural, she gave her name to the city. Now Zenobia was the wife of Odonathus, the ruler of the Saracens of that region, who had been on terms of peace with the Romans from of old. This Odonathus rescued for the Romans the Eastern Empire when it had come under the power of the Medes; but this took place in former times. Chosroes then came near to Zenobia, but upon learning that the place was not important and observing that the land was untenanted and destitute of all good things, he feared lest any time spent by him there would be wasted on an affair of no consequence and would be a hindrance to great undertakings, and he attempted to force the place to surrender. But meeting with no success, he hastened his march forward.

After again accomplishing a journey of equal extent, he reached the city of Sura, which is on the River Euphrates, and stopped very close to it. There it happened that the horse on which Chosroes was riding neighed and stamped the ground with his foot. And the Magi considered the meaning of this incident and announced that the place would be captured. Chosroes then made camp and led his army against the fortifications to assail the wall. Now it happened that a certain Arsaces, an Armenian by birth, was commander of the soldiers in the town; and he made the soldiers mount the parapets, and fighting from there most valiantly slew many of the enemy, but was himself struck by an arrow and died. And then, since it was late in the day, the Persians retired to their camp in order to assail the wall again on the following day; but the Romans were in despair since their leader was dead, and were purposing to make themselves suppliants of Chosroes. On the following day, therefore, they sent the bishop of the city to plead for them and to beg that the

town be spared; so he took with him some of his attendants, who carried fowls and wine and clean loaves, and came before Chosroes; there he threw himself on the ground, and with tears supplicated him to spare a pitiable population and a city altogether without honour in the eyes of the Romans, and one which in past times had never been of any account to the Persians, and which never would be such thereafter; and he promised that the men of Sura would give him ransom worthy of themselves and the city which they inhabited. But Chosroes was angry with the townsmen because, being the first he had met of all the Romans, they had not willingly received him into their city, but even daring to raise their arms against him had slain a large number of Persian notables. However he did not disclose his anger, but carefully concealed it behind a smooth countenance, in order that by carrying out the punishment of the inhabitants of Sura he might make himself in the eyes of the Romans a fearful person and one not to be resisted. For by acting in this way he calculated that those who would from time to time come in his way would yield to him without trouble. Accordingly with great friendliness he caused the bishop to rise, and receiving the gifts, gave the impression, in a way, that he would immediately confer with the notables of the Persians concerning the ransom of the townsmen, and would settle their request favourably. Thus he dismissed the bishop and his following without any suspicion of the plot, and he sent with him certain of the men of note among the Persians, who were to be ostensibly an escort. These men he secretly commanded to go with him as far as the wall, encouraging him and cheering him with fair hopes, so that he and all those with him should be seen by those inside rejoicing and fearing nothing. But when the guards had set the gate open and were about to receive them into the city, they were to throw a stone or block of wood between the threshold and the gate and not allow them to shut it, but should themselves for a time stand in the way of those who wished to close it; for not long afterwards the army would follow them.

After giving these directions to the men Chosroes made ready the army, and commanded them to advance upon the city on the run whenever he should give the signal. So when they came close to the fortifications, the Persians bade farewell to the bishop and remained outside, and the townsmen, seeing that the man was exceedingly happy and that he was being escorted in great honour by the enemy, forgetting all their difficulties opened the gate wide, and received the priest and his following with clapping of hands and much shouting. And when all got inside, the guards began to push the gate in order to close it, but the Persians flung down a stone, which they had provided, between it and the threshold. And the guards pushed and struggled still more, but were quite unable to get the gate back to the threshold. On the other hand they dared not open it again, since they perceived that it was held by the enemy. But some say that it was not a stone but a block of wood which the Persians threw into the gateway. When the townsmen had as yet scarcely realized the plot, Chosroes was at hand with his whole army, and the

barbarians forced back and flung open the gate, which was soon carried by storm. Straightway, then, Chosroes, filled with wrath, plundered the houses and put to death great numbers of the population; all the remainder he reduced to slavery, and setting fire to the whole city razed it to the ground. Then he dismissed Anastasius, bidding him announce to the Emperor Justinian where in the world he had left Chosroes, son of Cabades.

Afterwards either through motives of humanity or of avarice, or as granting a favour to a woman whom he had taken as a captive from the city, Euphemia by name, Chosroes decided to shew some kindness to the inhabitants of Sura; for he had conceived for this woman an extraordinary love (for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon), and had made her his wedded wife. He sent, accordingly, to Sergiopolis, a city subject to the Romans, named from Sergius, a famous saint, distant from the captured city one hundred and twenty-six stades and lying to the south of it in the so-called Barbarian Plain, and bade Candidus, the bishop of the city, purchase the captives, twelve thousand in number, for two centenaria. But the bishop, alleging that he had no money, refused absolutely to undertake the matter. Chosroes therefore requested him to set down in a document the agreement that he would give the money at a later time, and thus to purchase for a small sum such a multitude of slaves. Candidus did as directed, promising to give the money within a year, and swore the most dire oaths, specifying that he should receive the following punishment if he should not give the money at the time agreed upon, that he should pay double the amount and should himself be no longer a priest, as one who had neglected his sworn promise. And after setting down these things in writing, Candidus received all the inhabitants of Sura. And some few among them survived, but the majority, unable to support the misery which had fallen to their lot, succumbed soon afterwards. After the settlement of this affair Chosroes led his army forward.

VI

It had happened a little before this that the emperor had divided into two parts the military command of the East, leaving the portion as far as the River Euphrates under the control of Belisarius who formerly held the command of the whole, while the portion from there as far as the Persian boundary he entrusted to Bouzes, commanding him to take charge of the whole territory of the East until Belisarius should return from Italy. Bouzes therefore at first remained at Hierapolis, keeping his whole army with him; but when he learned what had befallen Sura, he called together the first men of the Hierapolitans and spoke as follows: "Whenever men are confronted with a struggle against an assailant with whom they are evenly matched in strength, it is not at all unreasonable that they should engage in open conflict with the enemy; but for those who are by comparison much inferior to their opponents it will be more advantageous to circumvent their enemy by some kind of tricks than to array themselves openly against them and thus enter into foreseen danger. How great, now, the army of Chosroes is you are assuredly informed. And if, with this army, he wishes to capture us by siege, and if we carry on the fight from the wall, it is probable that, while our supplies will fail us, the Persians will secure all they need from our land, where there will be no one to oppose them. And if the siege is prolonged in this way, I believe too that the fortification wall will not withstand the assaults of the enemy, for in many places it is most susceptible to attack, and thus irreparable harm will come to the Romans. But if with a portion of the army we guard the wall of the city, while the rest of us occupy the heights about the city, we shall make attacks from there at times upon the camp of our antagonists, and at times upon those who are sent out for the sake of provisions, and thus compel Chosroes to abandon the siege immediately and to make his retreat within a short time; for he will not be at all able to direct his attack without fear against the fortifications, nor to provide any of the necessities for so great an army." So spoke Bouzes; and in his words he seemed to set forth the advantageous course of action, but of what was necessary he did nothing. For he chose out all that portion of the Roman army which was of marked excellence and was off. And where in the world he was neither any of the Romans in Hierapolis, nor the hostile army was able to learn. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But the Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, immediately sent his nephew Germanus with three hundred followers in great disorder, promising that after no great time a numerous army would follow. And Germanus, upon reaching Antioch, went around the whole circuit of the wall; and the greater part of it he found secure, for along that portion of it which lies on the level ground the River Orontes flows, making it everywhere difficult of access, and the portion which is on higher ground rises upon steep

hills and is quite inaccessible to the enemy; but when he attained the highest point, which the men of that place are accustomed to call Orocasias, he noticed that the wall at that point was very easy to assail. For there happens to be in that place a rock, which spreads out to a very considerable width, and rises to a height only a little less than the fortifications. He therefore commanded that they should either cut off the rock by making a deep ditch along the wall, lest anyone should essay to mount from there upon the fortifications, or that they should build upon it a great tower and connect its structure with the wall of the city. But to the architects of public buildings it seemed that neither one of these things should be done. For, as they said, the work would not be completed in a short time with the attack of the enemy so imminent, while if they began this work and did not carry it to completion, they would do nothing else than shew to the enemy at what point in the wall they should make their attack. Germanus, though disappointed in this plan, had some hope at first because he expected an army from Byzantium. But when, after considerable time had passed, no army arrived from the emperor nor was expected to arrive, he began to fear lest Chosroes, learning that the emperor's nephew was there, would consider it more important than any other thing to capture Antioch and himself, and for this reason would neglect everything else and come against the city with his whole army. The natives of Antioch also had these things in mind, and they held a council concerning them, at which it seemed most advisable to offer money to Chosroes and thus escape the present danger.

Accordingly they sent Megas, the bishop of Beroea, a man of discretion who at that time happened to be tarrying among them, to beg for mercy from Chosroes; and departing from there he came upon the Median army not far from Hierapolis. And coming into the presence of Chosroes, he entreated him earnestly to have pity upon men who had committed no offence against him and who were not able to hold out against the Persian army. For it was becoming to a king least of all men to trample upon and do violence to those who retreated before him and were quite unwilling to array themselves against him; for not one of the things which he was then doing was a kingly or honourable act, because, without affording any time for consideration to the Roman emperor, so that he might either make the peace secure as might seem well to both sovereigns, or make his preparations for war in accordance with a mutual agreement, as was to be expected, he had thus recklessly advanced in arms against the Romans, while their emperor did not as yet know what had come upon them. When Chosroes heard this, he was utterly unable by reason of his stupidity to order his mind with reason and discretion, but still more than before he was lifted up in spirit. He therefore threatened to destroy all the Syrians and Cilicians, and bidding Megas follow him, he led his army to Hierapolis. When he had come there and established his camp, since he saw that the fortifications were strong and learned that the city was well garrisoned with soldiers, he demanded money from the Hierapolitans, sending to them

Paulus as interpreter. This Paulus had been reared in Roman territory and had gone to an elementary school in Antioch, and besides he was said to be by birth of Roman extraction. But in spite of everything the inhabitants were exceedingly fearful for the fortifications, which embraced a large tract of land as far as the hill which rises there, and besides they wished to preserve their land unplundered; accordingly they agreed to give two thousand pounds of silver. Then indeed Megas entreated Chosroes in behalf of all the inhabitants of the East, and would not cease his entreaty, until Chosroes promised him that he would accept ten centenaria of gold and depart from the whole Roman empire.

VII

Thus, then, on that day Megas departed thence and went on the way to Antioch, while Chosroes after receiving the ransom was moving toward Beroea. This city lies between Antioch and Hierapolis, at a distance from both of two-days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. Now while Megas, who travelled with a small company, advanced very quickly, the Persian army was accomplishing only one half of the distance which he travelled each day. And so on the fourth day he reached Antioch, while the Persians came to the suburb of Beroea. And Chosroes immediately sent Paulus and demanded money of the Beroeans, not only as much as he had received from the Hierapolitans, but double the amount, since he saw that their wall in many places was very vulnerable. As for the Beroeans, since they could by no means place confidence in their fortifications, they gladly agreed to give all, but after giving two thousand pounds of silver, they said that they were not able to give the remainder. And since Chosroes pressed them on this account, on the following night all of them fled for refuge into the fortress which is on the acropolis together with the soldiers who had been stationed there to guard the place. And on the following day men were sent to the city by Chosroes in order to receive the money; but on coming near the fortifications they found all the gates closed, and being unable to discover any man, they reported the situation to the king. And he commanded them to set ladders against the wall and to make trial of mounting it, and they did as directed. Then since no one opposed them, they got inside the fortifications and opened the gates at their leisure, and received into the city the whole army and Chosroes himself. By this time the king was furious with anger and he fired nearly the whole city. He then mounted the acropolis and decided to storm the fortress. There indeed the Roman soldiers while valiantly defending themselves slew some of the enemy; but Chosroes was greatly favoured by fortune by reason of the folly of the besieged, who had not sought refuge in this fortress by themselves, but along with all their horses and other animals, and by this inconsiderate act they were placed at a great disadvantage and began to be in danger. For since there was only one spring there and the horses and mules and other animals drank from it when they should not have done so, it came about that the water was exhausted. Such, then, was the situation of the Beroeans.

Megas, upon reaching Antioch and announcing the terms arranged by him with Chosroes, failed utterly to persuade them to carry out this agreement. For it happened that the Emperor Justinian had sent John, the son of Rufinus, and Julian, his private secretary, as ambassadors to Chosroes. The person holding this office is styled "a secretis" by the Romans; for secrets they are accustomed to call "secreta." These men had reached Antioch and were remaining there. Now Julian, one of the ambassadors, explicitly forbade everybody to give money to the enemy, or to purchase the cities of the

emperor, and besides he denounced to Germanus the chief priest Ephraemius, as being eager to deliver over the city to Chosroes. For this reason Megas returned unsuccessful. But Ephraemius, the bishop of Antioch, fearing the attack of the Persians, went into Cilicia. There too came Germanus not long afterwards, taking with him some few men but leaving the most of them in Antioch.

Megas then came in haste to Beroea, and in vexation at what had taken place, he charged Chosroes with having treated the Beroeans outrageously; for while, as it seemed, he had sent him to Antioch to arrange the treaty, he had both plundered the property of the citizens, though they had committed no wrong at all, and had compelled them to shut themselves up in that fortress, and had then set fire to the city and razed it to the ground in defiance of right. To this Chosroes replied as follows: "Verily, my friend, you yourself are responsible for these things, in having compelled us to delay here; for as it is, you have arrived, not at the appointed time, but far behind it. And as for the strange conduct of your fellow-citizens, my most excellent sir, why should one make speeches of great length? For after agreeing to give us a fixed amount of silver for their own safety, they even now do not think it necessary to fulfil the agreement, but placing such complete confidence in the strength of their position, they are disregarding us absolutely, while we are compelled to undertake the siege of a fortress, as you surely see. But for my part, I have hope that with the help of the gods I shall have vengeance upon them shortly, and execute upon the guilty the punishment for the Persians whom I have lost wrongfully before this wall." So spoke Chosroes, and Megas replied as follows: "If one should consider that as king thou art making these charges against men who are in pitiable and most dishonoured plight, he would be compelled without a word of protest to agree with what thou hast said; for authority which is unlimited is bound by its very nature to carry with it also supremacy in argument; but if one be permitted to shake off all else and to espouse the truth of the matter, thou wouldst have, O King, nothing with which justly to reproach us; but mayst thou hear all mildly. First, as for me, since the time when I was sent to declare to the men of Antioch the message which thou didst send them, seven days have passed (and what could be done more quickly than this?) and now coming into thy presence I find these things accomplished by thee against my fatherland; but these men, having already lost all that is most valuable, thereafter have only one struggle to engage in — that for life — and have come, I think, so to be masters of the situation that they can no longer be compelled to pay thee any of the money. For to pay a thing which one does not possess could not be made possible for a man by any device. From of old indeed have the names of things been well and suitably distinguished by men; and among these distinctions is this, that want of power is separated from want of consideration. For when the latter by reason of intemperance of mind proceeds to resistance, it is accustomed to be detested, as is natural, but when the former, because of the impossibility of

performing a service, is driven to the same point, it deserves to be pitied. Permit, therefore, O King, that, while we receive as our portion all the direst misfortunes, we may take with us this consolation at least, that we should not seem to have been ourselves responsible for the things which have befallen us. And as for money, consider that what thou hast taken into thy possession is sufficient for thee, not weighing this by thy position, but with regard to the power of the Beroeans. But beyond this do not force us in any way, lest perchance thou shouldst seem unable to accomplish the thing to which thou hast set thy hand; for excess is always punished by meeting obstacles that cannot be overcome, and the best course is not to essay the impossible. Let this, then, be my defence for the moment in behalf of these men. But if I should be able to have converse with the sufferers, I should have something else also to say which has now escaped me.” So spoke Megas, and Chosroes permitted him to go into the acropolis. And when he had gone there and learned all that had happened concerning the spring, weeping he came again before Chosroes, and lying prone on the ground insisted that no money at all was left to the Beroeans, and entreated him to grant him only the lives of the men. Moved by the tearful entreaties of the man Chosroes fulfilled his request, and binding himself by an oath, gave pledges to all on the acropolis. Then the Beroeans, after coming into such great danger, left the acropolis free from harm, and departing went each his own way. Among the soldiers some few followed them, but the majority came as willing deserters to Chosroes, putting forth as their grievance that the government owed them their pay for a long time; and with him they later went into the land of Persia.

VIII

[June 540 A.D.] Then Chosroes (since Megas said that he had by no means persuaded the inhabitants of Antioch to bring him the money) went with his whole army against them. Some of the population of Antioch thereupon departed from there with their money and fled as each one could. And all the rest likewise were purposing to do the same thing, and would have done so had not the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Theoctistus and Molatzes, who arrived in the meantime with six thousand men, fortified them with hope and thus prevented their departure. Not long after this the Persian army also came. There they all pitched their tents and made camp fronting on the River Orontes and not very far from the stream. Chosroes then sent Paulus up beside the fortifications and demanded money from the men of Antioch, saying that for ten centenaria of gold he would depart from there, and it was obvious that he would accept even less than this for his withdrawal. And on that day their ambassadors went before Chosroes, and after speaking at length concerning the breaking of the peace and hearing much from him, they retired. But on the morrow the populace of Antioch (for they are not seriously disposed, but are always engaged in jesting and disorderly performance) heaped insults upon Chosroes from the battlements and taunted him with unseemly laughter; and when Paulus came near the fortifications and exhorted them to purchase freedom for themselves and the city for a small sum of money, they very nearly killed him with shots from their bows, and would have done so if he had not seen their purpose in time and guarded against it. On account of this Chosroes, boiling with anger, decided to storm the wall.

On the following day, accordingly, he led up all the Persians against the wall and commanded a portion of the army to make assaults at different points along the river, and he himself with the most of the men and best troops directed an attack against the height. For at this place, as has been stated by me above, the wall of fortification was most vulnerable. Thereupon the Romans, since the structure on which they were to stand when fighting was very narrow, devised the following remedy. Binding together long timbers they suspended them between the towers, and in this way they made these spaces much broader, in order that still more men might be able to ward off the assailants from there. So the Persians, pressing on most vigorously from all sides, were sending their arrows thickly everywhere, and especially along the crest of the hill. Meanwhile the Romans were fighting them back with all their strength, not soldiers alone, but also many of the most courageous youths of the populace. But it appeared that those who were attacking the wall there were engaged in a battle on even terms with their enemy. For the rock which was broad and high and, as it were, drawn up against the fortifications caused the conflict to be just as if on level ground. And if anyone of the Roman army had had the courage to get outside the fortifications with three hundred men

and to anticipate the enemy in seizing this rock and to ward off the assailants from there, never, I believe, would the city have come into any danger from the enemy. For the barbarians had no point from which they could have conducted their assault, for they would be exposed to missiles from above both from the rock and from the wall; but as it was (for it was fated that Antioch be destroyed by this army of the Medes), this idea occurred to no one. So then while the Persians were fighting beyond their power, since Chosroes was present with them and urging them on with a mighty cry, giving their opponents not a moment in which to look about or guard against the missiles discharged from their bows, and while the Romans, in great numbers and with much shouting, were defending themselves still more vigorously, the ropes with which the beams had been bound together, failing to support the weight, suddenly broke asunder and the timbers together with all those who had taken their stand on them fell to the ground with a mighty crash. When this was heard by other Romans also, who were fighting from the adjoining towers, being utterly unable to comprehend what had happened, but supposing that the wall at this point had been destroyed, they beat a hasty retreat. Now many young men of the populace who in former times had been accustomed to engage in factional strife with each other in the hippodromes descended into the city from the fortification wall, but they refused to flee and remained where they were, while the soldiers with Theoctistus and Molatzes straightway leaped upon the horses which happened to be ready there and rode away to the gates, telling the others a tale to the effect that Bouzes had come with an army and they wished to receive them quickly into the city, and with them to ward off the enemy. Thereupon many of the men of Antioch and all the women with their children made a great rush toward the gates; but since they were crowded by the horses, being in very narrow quarters, they began to fall down. The soldiers, however, sparing absolutely no one of those before them, all kept riding over the fallen still more fiercely than before, and a great many were killed there, especially about the gates themselves.

But the Persians, with no one opposing them, set ladders against the wall and mounted with no difficulty. And quickly reaching the battlements, for a time they were by no means willing to descend, but they seemed like men looking about them and at a loss what to do, because, as it seems to me, they supposed that the rough ground was beset with some ambuscades of the enemy. For the land inside the fortifications which one traverses immediately upon descending from the height is an uninhabited tract extending for a great distance and there are found there rocks which rise to a very great height, and steep places. But some say that it was by the will of Chosroes that the Persians hesitated. For when he observed the difficulty of the ground and saw the soldiers fleeing, he feared lest by reason of some necessity they should turn back from their retreat and make trouble for the Persians, and thus become an obstacle, as might well happen, in the way of his capturing a city which was both ancient and of great importance and the first of all the cities which the

Romans had throughout the East both in wealth and in size and in population and in beauty and in prosperity of every kind. Hence it was that, considering everything else of less account, he wished to allow the Roman soldiers freely to avail themselves of the chance for flight. For this reason too the Persians also made signs to the fugitives with their hands, urging them to flee as quickly as possible. So the soldiers of the Romans together with their commanders took a hasty departure, all of them, through the gate which leads to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch; for from this gate alone the Persians kept away while the others were seized; and of the populace some few escaped with the soldiers. Then when the Persians saw that all the Roman soldiers had gone on, they descended from the height and got into the middle of the city. There, however, many of the young men of Antioch engaged in battle with them, and at first they seemed to have the upper hand in the conflict. Some of them were in heavy armour, but the majority were unarmed and using only stones as missiles. And pushing back the enemy they raised the paean, and with shouts proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant, as if they had won the victory.

At this point Chosroes, seated on the tower which is on the height, summoned the ambassadors, wishing to say something. And one of his officers, Zaberganes, thinking that he wished to have words with the ambassadors concerning a settlement, came quickly before the king and spoke as follows: "Thou dost not seem to me, O Master, to think in the same way as do the Romans concerning the safety of these men. For they both before fighting offer insults to thy kingdom, and when they are defeated dare the impossible and do the Persians irreparable harm, as if fearing lest some reason for shewing them humanity should be left in thee; but thou art wishing to pity those who do not ask to be saved, and hast shewn zeal to spare those who by no means wish it. Meanwhile these men have set an ambush in a captured city and are destroying the victors by means of snares, although all the soldiers have long since fled from them." When Chosroes heard this, he sent a large number of the best troops against them, and these not long afterwards returned and announced that nothing untoward had come to pass. For already the Persians had forced back the citizens by their numbers and turned them to flight, and a great slaughter took place there. For the Persians did not spare persons of any age and were slaying all whom they met, old and young alike. At that time they say that two women of those who were illustrious in Antioch got outside the fortifications, but perceiving that they would fall into the hands of the enemy (for they were already plainly seen going about everywhere), went running to the River Orontes, and, fearing lest the Persians should do them some insult, they covered their faces with their veils and threw themselves into the river's current and were carried out of sight. Thus the inhabitants of Antioch were visited with every form of misfortune.

IX

Then Chosroes spoke to the ambassadors as follows: "Not far from the truth, I think, is the ancient saying that God does not give blessings unmixed, but He mingles them with troubles and then bestows them upon men. And for this reason we do not even have laughter without tears, but there is always attached to our successes some misfortune, and to our pleasures pain, not permitting anyone to enjoy in its purity such good fortune as is granted. For this city, which is of altogether preeminent importance in fact as well as in name in the land of the Romans I have indeed succeeded in capturing with the least exertion, since God has provided the victory all at once for us, as you doubtless see. But when I behold the massacre of such a multitude of men, and the victory thus drenched with blood, there arises in me no sense of the delight that should follow my achievement. And for this the wretched men of Antioch are to blame, for when the Persians were storming the wall they did not prove able to keep them back, and then when they had already triumphed and had captured the city at the first cry these men with unreasoned daring sought to die fighting against them in close combat. So while all the notables of the Persians were harassing me unceasingly with their demand that I should drag the city as with a net and destroy all the captives, I was commanding the fugitives to press on still more in their flight, in order that they might save themselves as quickly as possible. For to trample upon captives is not holy." Such high-sounding and airy words did Chosroes speak to the ambassadors, but nevertheless it did not escape them why he gave time to the Romans in their flight.

For he was the cleverest of all men at saying that which was not, and in concealing the truth, and in attributing the blame for the wrongs which he committed to those who suffered the wrong; besides he was ready to agree to everything and to pledge the agreement with an oath, and much more ready to forget completely the things lately agreed to and sworn to by him, and for the sake of money to debase his soul without reluctance to every act of pollution — a past master at feigning piety in his countenance, and absolving himself in words from the responsibility of the act. This man well displayed his own peculiar character on a certain occasion at Sura; for after he had hoodwinked the inhabitants of the city by a trick and had destroyed them in the manner which I have described, although they had previously done him no wrong at all, he saw, while the city was being captured, a comely woman and one not of lowly station being dragged by her left hand with great violence by one of the barbarians; and the child, which she had only lately weaned, she was unwilling to let go, but was dragging it with her other hand, fallen, as it was, to the ground since it was not able to keep pace with that violent running. And they say that he uttered a pretended groan, and making it appear to all who were present at that time including Anastasius the ambassador that he was all

in tears, he prayed God to exact vengeance from the man who was guilty of the troubles which had come to pass. Now Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, was the one whom he wished to have understood, though he knew well that he himself was most responsible for everything. Endowed with such a singular nature Chosroes both became King of the Persians (for ill fortune had deprived Zames of his eye, he who in point of years had first right to the kingdom, at any rate after Caoses, whom Cabades for no good reason hated), and with no difficulty he conquered those who revolted against him, and all the harm which he purposed to do the Romans he accomplished easily. For every time when Fortune wishes to make a man great, she does at the fitting times those things which she has decided upon, with no one standing against the force of her will; and she neither regards the man's station, nor purposes to prevent the occurrence of things which ought not to be, nor does she give heed that many will blaspheme against her because of these things, mocking scornfully at that which has been done by her contrary to the deserts of the man who receives her favour; nor does she take into consideration anything else at all, if only she accomplish the thing which has been decided upon by her. But as for these matters, let them be as God wishes.

Chosroes commanded the army to capture and enslave the survivors of the population of Antioch, and to plunder all the property, while he himself with the ambassadors descended from the height to the sanctuary which they call a church. There Chosroes found stores of gold and silver so great in amount that, though he took no other part of the booty except these stores, he departed possessed of enormous wealth. And he took down from there many wonderful marbles and ordered them to be deposited outside the fortifications, in order that they might convey these too to the land of Persia. When he had finished these things, he gave orders to the Persians to burn the whole city. And the ambassadors begged him to withhold his hand only from the church, for which he had carried away ransom in abundance. This he granted to the ambassadors, but gave orders to burn everything else; then, leaving there a few men who were to fire the city, he himself with all the rest retired to the camp where they had previously set up their tents.

A short time before this calamity God displayed a sign to the inhabitants of that city, by which He indicated the things which were to be. For the standards of the soldiers who had been stationed there for a long time had been standing previously toward the west, but of their own accord they turned and stood toward the east, and then returned again to their former position untouched by anyone. This the soldiers shewed to many who were near at hand and among them the manager of finances in the camp, while the standards were still trembling. This man, Tatianus by name, was an especially discreet person, a native of Mopsuestia. But even so those who saw this sign did not recognize that the mastery of the place would pass from the western to the eastern king, in order, evidently, that escape might be utterly impossible for those who were bound to suffer those things which came to pass.

But I become dizzy as I write of such a great calamity and transmit it to future times, and I am unable to understand why indeed it should be the will of God to exalt on high the fortunes of a man or of a place, and then to cast them down and destroy them for no cause which appears to us. For it is wrong to say that with Him all things are not always done with reason, though he then endured to see Antioch brought down to the ground at the hands of a most unholy man, a city whose beauty and grandeur in every respect could not even so be utterly concealed.

So, then, after the city had been destroyed, the church was left solitary, thanks to the activity and foresight of the Persians to whom this work was assigned. And there were also left about the so-called Cerataeum many houses, not because of the foresight of any man, but, since they were situated at the extremity of the city, and not connected with any other building, the fire failed entirely to reach them. The barbarians burned also the parts outside the fortifications, except the sanctuary which is dedicated to St. Julianus and the houses which stand about this sanctuary. For it happened that the ambassadors had taken up their lodgings there. As for the fortifications, the Persians left them wholly untouched.

A little later the ambassadors again came to Chosroes and spoke as follows: "If our words were not addressed to thee in thy presence, O King, we should never believe that Chosroes, the son of Cabades, had come into the land of the Romans in arms, dishonouring the oaths which have recently been sworn by thee — for such pledges are regarded as the last and most firm security of all things among men to guarantee mutual trust and truthfulness — and breaking the treaty, though hope in treaties is the only thing left to those who are living in insecurity because of the evil deeds of war. For one might say of such a state of affairs that it is nothing else than the transformation of the habits of men into those of beasts. For in a time when no treaties at all are made, there will remain certainly war without end, and war which has no end

is always calculated to estrange from their proper nature those who engage in it. With what intent, moreover, didst thou write to thy brother not long ago that he himself was responsible for the breaking of the treaty? Was it not obviously with the admission that the breaking of treaties is an exceedingly great evil? If therefore he has done no wrong, thou art not acting justly now in coming against us; but if it happen that thy brother has done any such thing, yet let thy complaint have its fulfilment thus far, and go no farther, that thou mayst shew thyself superior. For he who submits to be worsted in evil things would in better things justly be victorious. And yet we know well that the Emperor Justinian has never gone contrary to the treaty, and we entreat thee not to do the Romans such harm, from which there will be no advantage to the Persians, and thou wilt gain only this, that thou wilt have wrongfully wrought deeds of irreparable harm upon those who have recently made peace with thee." So spoke the ambassadors.

And Chosroes, upon hearing this, insisted that the treaty had been broken by the Emperor Justinian; and he enumerated the causes of war which the Emperor afforded, some of them of real importance and others idle and fabricated without any reason; most of all he wished to shew that the letters written by him to Alamoundaras and the Huns were the chief cause of the war, just as I have stated above. But as for any Roman who had invaded the land of Persia, or who had made a display of warlike deeds, he was unable either to mention or to point out such a one. The ambassadors, however, referred the charges in part not to Justinian but to certain of those who had served him, while in the case of others they took exception to what he had said on the ground that the things had not taken place as stated. Finally Chosroes made the demand that the Romans give him a large sum of money, but he warned them not to hope to establish peace for all time by giving money at that moment only. For friendship, he said, which is made by men on terms of money is generally spent as fast as the money is used up. It was necessary, therefore, that the Romans should pay some definite annual sum to the Persians. "For thus," he said, "the Persians will keep the peace secure for them, guarding the Caspian Gates themselves and no longer feeling resentment at them on account of the city of Daras, in return for which the Persians themselves will be in their pay forever." "So," said the ambassadors, "the Persians desire to have the Romans subject and tributary to themselves." "No," said Chosroes, "but the Romans will have the Persians as their own soldiers for the future, dispensing to them a fixed payment for their service; for you give an annual payment of gold to some of the Huns and to the Saracens, not as tributary subjects to them, but in order that they may guard your land unplundered for all time." After Chosroes and the ambassadors had spoken thus at length with each other, they at last came to terms, agreeing that Chosroes should forthwith take from the Romans fifty centenaria, and that, receiving a tribute of five more centenaria annually for all time, he should do them no further harm, but taking with him hostages from the ambassadors to

pledge the keeping of the agreement, should make his departure with the whole army to his native land, and that there ambassadors sent from the Emperor Justinian should arrange on a firm basis for the future the compact regarding the peace.

XI

Then Chosroes went to Seleucia, a city on the sea, one hundred and thirty stades distant from Antioch; and there he neither met nor harmed a single Roman, and he bathed himself alone in the sea-water, and after sacrificing to the sun and such other divinities as he wished, and calling upon the gods many times, he went back. And when he came to the camp, he said that he had a desire to see the city of Apamea which was in the vicinity for no other reason than that of his interest in the place. And the ambassadors unwillingly granted this also, but only on condition that after seeing the city and taking away with him from there one thousand pounds of silver, he should, without inflicting any further injury, march back. But it was evident to the ambassadors and to all the others that Chosroes was setting out for Apamea with this sole purpose, that he might lay hold upon some pretext of no importance and plunder both the city and the land thereabout. Accordingly he first went up to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, where he expressed great wonder at the grove and at the fountains of water; for both of these are very well worth seeing. And after sacrificing to the nymphs he departed, doing no further damage than burning the sanctuary of the archangel Michael together with certain other buildings, for the following reason. A Persian gentleman of high repute in the army of the Persians and well known to Chosroes, the king, while riding on horseback came in company with some others to a precipitous place near the so-called Tretum, where is a temple of the archangel Michael, the work of Evaris. This man, seeing one of the young men of Antioch on foot and alone concealing himself there, separated from the others and pursued him. Now the young man was a butcher, Aeimachus by name. When he was about to be overtaken, he turned about unexpectedly and threw a stone at his pursuer which hit him on the forehead and penetrated to the membrane by the ear. And the rider fell immediately to the ground, whereupon the youth drew out his sword and slew him. Then at his leisure he stripped him of his weapons and all his gold and whatever else he had on his person, and leaping upon his horse rode on. And whether by the favour of fortune or by his knowledge of the country, he succeeded completely in eluding the Persians and making good his escape. When Chosroes learned this, he was deeply grieved at what had happened, and commanded some of his followers to burn the sanctuary of the archangel Michael which I have mentioned above. And they, thinking that the sanctuary at Daphne was the one in question, burned it with the buildings about it, and they supposed that the commands of Chosroes had been executed. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Chosroes with his whole army proceeded on the way to Apamea. Now there is a piece of wood one cubit in length in Apamea, a portion of the cross on which the Christ in Jerusalem once endured the punishment not unwillingly, as is generally agreed, and which in ancient times had been

conveyed there secretly by a man of Syria. And the men of olden times, believing that it would be a great protection both for themselves and for the city, made for it a sort of wooden chest and deposited it there; and they adorned this chest with much gold and with precious stones and they entrusted it to three priests who were to guard it in all security; and they bring it forth every year and the whole population worship it during one day. Now at that time the people of Apamea, upon learning that the army of the Medes was coming against them, began to be in great fear. And when they heard that Chosroes was absolutely untruthful, they came to Thomas, the chief priest of the city, and begged him to shew them the wood of the cross, in order that after worshipping it for the last time they might die. And he did as they requested. Then indeed it befell that a sight surpassing both description and belief was there seen. For while the priest was carrying the wood and shewing it, above him followed a flame of fire, and the portion of the roof over him was illuminated with a great and unaccustomed light. And while the priest was moving through every part of the temple, the flame continued to advance with him, keeping constantly the place above him in the roof. So the people of Apamea, under the spell of joy at the miracle, were wondering and rejoicing and weeping, and already all felt confidence concerning their safety. And Thomas, after going about the whole temple, laid the wood of the cross in the chest and covered it, and suddenly the light had ceased. Then upon learning that the army of the enemy had come close to the city, he went in great haste to Chosroes. And when the king enquired of the priest whether it was the will of the citizens of Apamea to marshal themselves on the wall against the army of the Medes, the priest replied that no such thing had entered the minds of the men. "Therefore," said Chosroes, "receive me into the city accompanied by a few men with all the gates opened wide." And the priest said "Yes, for I have come here to invite thee to do this very thing." So the whole army pitched their tents and made camp before the fortifications.

Then Chosroes chose out two hundred of the best of the Persians and entered the city. But when he had got inside the gates, he forgot willingly enough what had been agreed upon between himself and the ambassadors, and he commanded the bishop to give not only one thousand pounds of silver nor even ten times that amount, but whatsoever treasures were stored there, being all of gold and silver and of marvellous great size. And I believe that he would not have shrunk from enslaving and plundering the whole city, unless some divine providence had manifestly prevented him; to such a degree did avarice overpower him and the desire of fame turn his mind. For he thought the enslavement of the cities a great glory for himself, considering it absolutely nothing that disregarding treaties and compacts he was performing such deeds against the Romans. This attitude of Chosroes will be revealed by what he undertook to do concerning the city of Daras during his withdrawal at this same time, when he treated his agreements with absolute disregard, and also by what he did to the citizens of Callinicus a little later in time of peace, as

will be told by me in the following narrative. But God, as has been said, preserved Apamea. Now when Chosroes had seized all the treasures, and Thomas saw that he was already intoxicated with the abundance of the wealth, then bringing out the wood of the cross with the chest, he opened the chest and displaying the wood said: "O most mighty King, these alone are left me out of all the treasures. Now as for this chest (since it is adorned with gold and precious stones), we do not begrudge thy taking it and keeping it with all the rest, but this wood here, it is our salvation and precious to us, this, I beg and entreat thee, give to me." So spoke the priest. And Chosroes yielded and fulfilled the request.

Afterwards, being filled with a desire for popular applause, he commanded that the populace should go up into the hippodrome and that the charioteers should hold their accustomed contests. And he himself went up there also, eager to be a spectator of the performances. And since he had heard long before that the Emperor Justinian was extraordinarily fond of the Venetus colour, which is blue, wishing to go against him there also, he was desirous of bringing about victory for the green. So the charioteers, starting from the barriers, began the contest, and by some chance he who was clad in the blue happened to pass his rival and take the lead. And he was followed in the same tracks by the wearer of the green colour. And Chosroes, thinking that this had been done purposely, was angry, and he cried out with a threat that the Caesar had wrongfully surpassed the others, and he commanded that the horses which were running in front should be held up, in order that from then on they might contend in the rear; and when this had been done just as he commanded, then Chosroes and the green faction were accounted victorious. At that time one of the citizens of Apamea came before Chosroes and accused a Persian of entering his house and violating his maiden daughter. Upon hearing this, Chosroes, boiling with anger, commanded that the man should be brought. And when he came before him, he directed that he should be impaled in the camp. And when the people learned this, they raised a mighty shout as loud as they could, demanding that the man be saved from the king's anger. And Chosroes promised that he would release the man to them, but he secretly impaled him not long afterwards. So after these things had been thus accomplished, he departed and marched back with the whole army.

XII

And when he came to the city of Chalcis, eighty-four stades distant from the city of Beroea, he again seemed to forget the things which had been agreed upon, and encamping not far from the fortifications he sent Paulus to threaten the inhabitants of Chalcis, saying that he would take the city by siege, unless they should purchase their safety by giving ransom, and should give up to the Persians all the soldiers who were there together with their leader. And the citizens of Chalcis were seized with great fear of both sovereigns, and they swore that, as for soldiers, there were absolutely none of them in the city, although they had hidden Adonachus, the commander of the soldiers, and others as well in some houses, in order that they might not be seen by the enemy; and with difficulty they collected two centenaria of gold, for the city they inhabited was not very prosperous, and they gave them to Chosroes as the price of their lives and thus saved both the city and themselves.

From there on Chosroes did not wish to continue the return journey by the road he had come, but to cross the River Euphrates and gather by plunder as much money as possible from Mesopotamia. He therefore constructed a bridge at the place called Obbane, which is forty stades distant from the fortress in Barbalissum; then he himself went across and gave orders to the whole army to cross as quickly as possible, adding that he would break up the bridge on the third day, and he appointed also the time of the day. And when the appointed day was come, it happened that some of the army were left who had not yet crossed, but without the least consideration for them he sent the men to break up the bridge. And those who were left behind returned to their native land as each one could.

Then a sort of ambition came over Chosroes to capture the city of Edessa. For he was led on to this by a saying of the Christians, and it kept irritating his mind, because they maintained that it could not be taken, for the following reason. There was a certain Augarus in early times, toparch of Edessa (for thus the kings of the different nations were called then). Now this Augarus was the most clever of all men of his time, and as a result of this was an especial friend of the Emperor Augustus. For, desiring to make a treaty with the Romans, he came to Rome; and when he conversed with Augustus, he so astonished him by the abundance of his wisdom that Augustus wished never more to give up his company; for he was an ardent lover of his conversation, and whenever he met him, he was quite unwilling to depart from him. A long time, therefore, was consumed by him in this visit. And one day when he was desirous of returning to his native land and was utterly unable to persuade Augustus to let him go, he devised the following plan. He first went out to hunt in the country about Rome; for it happened that he had taken considerable interest in the practice of this sport. And going about over a large tract of country, he captured alive many of the animals of that region, and he

gathered up and took with him from each part of the country some earth from the land; thus he returned to Rome bringing both the earth and the animals. Then Augustus went up into the hippodrome and seated himself as was his wont, and Augarus came before him and displayed the earth and the animals, telling over from what district each portion of earth was and what animals they were. Then he gave orders to put the earth in different parts of the hippodrome, and to gather all the animals into one place and then to release them. So the attendants did as he directed. And the animals, separating from each other, went each to that portion of earth which was from the district in which it itself had been taken. And Augustus looked upon the performance carefully for a very long time, and he was wondering that nature untaught makes animals miss their native land. Then Augarus, suddenly laying hold upon his knees, said: "But as for me, O Master, what thoughts dost thou think I have, who possess a wife and children and a kingdom, small indeed, but in the land of my fathers?" And the emperor, overcome and compelled by the truth of his saying, granted not at all willingly that he should go away, and bade him ask besides whatever he wished. And when Augarus had secured this, he begged of Augustus to build him a hippodrome in the city of Edessa. And he granted also this. Thus then Augarus departed from Rome and came to Edessa. And the citizens enquired of him whether he had come bringing any good thing for them from the Emperor Augustus. And he answering said he had brought to the inhabitants of Edessa pain without loss and pleasure without gain, hinting at the fortune of the hippodrome.

At a later time when Augarus was well advanced in years, he was seized with an exceedingly violent attack of gout. And being distressed by the pains and his inability to move in consequence of them, he carried the matter to the physicians, and from the whole land he gathered all who were skilled in these matters. But later he abandoned these men (for they did not succeed in discovering any cure for the trouble), and finding himself helpless, he bewailed the fate which was upon him. But about that time Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and moving among the men of Palestine, shewing manifestly by the fact that he never sinned at all, and also by his performing even things impossible, that he was the Son of God in very truth; for he called the dead and raised them up as if from sleep, and opened the eyes of men who had been born blind, and cleansed those whose whole bodies were covered with leprosy, and released those whose feet were maimed, and he cured all the other diseases which are called by the physicians incurable. When these things were reported to Augarus by those who travelled from Palestine to Edessa, he took courage and wrote a letter to Jesus, begging him to depart from Judaea and the senseless people there, and to spend his life with him from that time forward. When the Christ saw this message, he wrote in reply to Augarus, saying distinctly that he would not come, but promising him health in the letter. And they say that he added this also that never would the city be liable to capture by the barbarians. This final portion of the letter was entirely

unknown to those who wrote the history of that time; for they did not even make mention of it anywhere; but the men of Edessa say that they found it with the letter, so that they have even caused the letter to be inscribed in this form on the gates of the city instead of any other defence. The city did in fact come under the Medes a short time afterwards, not by capture however, but in the following manner. A short time after Augarus received the letter of the Christ, he became free from suffering, and after living on in health for a long time, he came to his end. But that one of his sons who succeeded to the kingdom shewed himself the most unholy of all men, and besides committing many other wrongs against his subjects, he voluntarily went over to the Persians, fearing the vengeance which was to come from the Romans. But long after this the citizens of Edessa destroyed the barbarian guards who were dwelling with them, and gave the city into the hands of the Romans. * * * he is eager to attach it to his cause, judging by what has happened in my time, which I shall present in the appropriate place. And the thought once occurred to me that, if the Christ did not write this thing just as I have told it, still, since men have come to believe in it, He wishes to guard the city uncaptured for this reason, that He may never give them any pretext for error. As for these things, then, let them be as God wills, and so let them be told.

For this reason it seemed to Chosroes at that time a matter of moment to capture Edessa. And when he came to Batne, a small stronghold of no importance, one day's journey distant from Edessa, he bivouacked there for that night, but at early dawn he was on the march to Edessa with his whole army. But it fell out that they lost their way and wandered about, and on the following night bivouacked in the same place; and they say that this happened to them a second time also. When with difficulty Chosroes reached the neighbourhood of Edessa, they say that suppuration set in in his face and his jaw became swollen. For this reason he was quite unwilling to make an attempt on the city, but he sent Paulus and demanded money from the citizens. And they said that they had absolutely no fear concerning the city, but in order that he might not damage the country they agreed to give two centenaria of gold. And Chosroes took the money and kept the agreement.

XIII

At that time also the Emperor Justinian wrote a letter to Chosroes, promising to carry out the agreement which had been made by him and the ambassadors regarding the peace. When this message was received by Chosroes, he released the hostages and made preparations for his departure, and he wished to sell off all the captives from Antioch. And when the citizens of Edessa learned of this, they displayed an unheard-of zeal. For there was not a person who did not bring ransom for the captives and deposit it in the sanctuary according to the measure of his possessions. And there were some who even exceeded their proportionate amount in so doing. For the harlots took off all the adornment which they wore on their persons, and threw it down there, and any farmer who was in want of plate or of money, but who had an ass or a sheep, brought this to the sanctuary with great zeal. So there was collected an exceedingly great amount of gold and silver and money in other forms, but not a bit of it was given for ransom. For Bouzes happened to be present there, and he took in hand to prevent the transaction, expecting that this would bring him some great gain. Therefore Chosroes moved forward, taking with him all the captives. And the citizens of Carrhae met him holding out to him great sums of money; but he said that it did not belong to him because the most of them are not Christians but are of the old faith.

But when, likewise, the citizens of Constantina offered money, he accepted it, although he asserted that the city belonged to him from his fathers. [503 A.D.] For at the time when Cabades took Amida, he wished also to capture Edessa and Constantina. But when he came near to Edessa he enquired of the Magi whether it would be possible for him to capture the city, pointing out the place to them with his right hand. But they said that the city would not be captured by him by any device, judging by the fact that in stretching out his right hand to it he was not giving thereby the sign of capture or of any other grievous thing, but of salvation. And when Cabades heard this, he was convinced and led his army on to Constantina. And upon arriving there, he issued orders to the whole army to encamp for a siege. Now the priest of Constantina was at that time Baradotus, a just man and especially beloved of God, and his prayers for this reason were always effectual for whatever he wished; and even seeing his face one would have straightway surmised that this man was most completely acceptable to God. This Baradotus came then to Cabades bearing wine and dried figs and honey and unblemished loaves, and entreated him not to make an attempt on a city which was not of any importance and which was very much neglected by the Romans, having neither a garrison of soldiers nor any other defence, but only the inhabitants, who were pitiable folk. Thus spoke the priest; and Cabades promised that he would grant him the city freely, and he presented him with all the food-supplies which had been prepared by him for the army in anticipation of the siege, an exceedingly great

quantity; and thus he departed from the land of the Romans. For this reason it was that Chosroes claimed that the city belonged to him from his fathers.

And when he reached Daras, he began a siege; but within the city the Romans and Martinus, their general (for it happened that he was there), made their preparations for resistance. Now the city is surrounded by two walls, the inner one of which is of great size and a truly wonderful thing to look upon (for each tower reaches to a height of a hundred feet, and the rest of the wall to sixty), while the outer wall is much smaller, but in other respects strong and one to be reckoned with seriously. And the space between has a breadth of not less than fifty feet; in that place the citizens of Daras are accustomed to put their cattle and other animals when an enemy assails them. At first then Chosroes made an assault on the fortifications toward the west, and forcing back his opponents by overwhelming numbers of missiles, he set fire to the gates of the small wall. However no one of the barbarians dared to get inside. Next he decided to make a tunnel secretly at the eastern side of the city. For at this point alone can the earth be dug, since the other parts of the fortifications were set upon rock by the builders. So the Persians began to dig, beginning from their trench. And since this was very deep, they were neither observed by the enemy nor did they afford them any means of discovering what was being done. So they had already gone under the foundations of the outer wall, and were about to reach the space between the two walls and soon after to pass also the great wall and take the city by force; but since it was not fated to be captured by the Persians, someone from the camp of Chosroes came alone about midday close to the fortifications, whether a man or something else greater than man, and he made it appear to those who saw him that he was collecting the weapons which the Romans had a little before discharged from the wall against the barbarians who were assailing them. And while doing this and holding his shield before him, he seemed to be bantering those who were on the parapet and taunting them with laughter. Then he told them of everything and commanded them all to be on the watch and to take all possible care for their safety. After revealing these things he was off, while the Romans with much shouting and confusion were ordering men to dig the ground between the two walls. The Persians, on the other hand, not knowing what was being done, were pushing on the work no less than before. So while the Persians were making a straight way underground to the wall of the city, the Romans by the advice of Theodoras, a man learned in the science called mechanics, were constructing their trench in a cross-wise direction and making it of sufficient depth, so that when the Persians had reached the middle point between the two circuit-walls they suddenly broke into the trench of the Romans. And the first of them the Romans killed, while those in the rear by fleeing at top speed into the camp saved themselves. For the Romans decided by no means to pursue them in the dark. So Chosroes, failing in this attempt and having no hope that he would take the city by any device thereafter, opened negotiations with the besieged, and carrying away a

thousand pounds of silver he retired into the land of Persia. When this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he was no longer willing to carry the agreement into effect, charging Chosroes with having attempted to capture the city of Daras during a truce. Such were the fortunes of the Romans during the first invasion of Chosroes; and the summer drew to its close.

XIV

Now Chosroes built a city in Assyria in a place one day's journey distant from the city of Ctesiphon, and he named it the Antioch of Chosroes and settled there all the captives from Antioch, constructing for them a bath and a hippodrome and providing that they should have free enjoyment of their other luxuries besides. For he brought with him charioteers and musicians both from Antioch and from the other Roman cities. Besides this he always provisioned these citizens of Antioch at public expense more carefully than in the fashion of captives, and he required that they be called king's subjects, so as to be subordinate to no one of the magistrates, but to the king alone. And if any one else too who was a Roman in slavery ran away and succeeded in escaping to the Antioch of Chosroes, and if he was called a kinsman by any one of those who lived there, it was no longer possible for the owner of this captive to take him away, not even if he who had enslaved the man happened to be a person of especial note among the Persians.

Thus, then, the portent which had come to the citizens of Antioch in the reign of Anastasius reached this final fulfilment for them. For at that time a violent wind suddenly fell upon the suburb of Daphne, and some of the cypresses which were there of extraordinary height were overturned from the extremities of their roots and fell to the earth — trees which the law forbade absolutely to be cut down. [526 A.D.] Accordingly, a little later, when Justinus was ruling over the Romans, the place was visited by an exceedingly violent earthquake, which shook down the whole city and straightway brought to the ground the most and the finest of the buildings, and it is said that at that time three hundred thousand of the population of Antioch perished. And finally in this capture the whole city, as has been said, was destroyed. Such, then, was the calamity which befell the men of Antioch.

And Belisarius came to Byzantium from Italy, summoned by the emperor; and after he had spent the winter in Byzantium, the emperor sent him as general against Chosroes and the Persians at the opening of spring, together with the officers who had come with him from Italy, one of whom, Valerianus, he commanded to lead the troops in Armenia. [541 A.D.] For Martinus had been sent immediately to the East, and for this reason Chosroes found him at Daras, as has been stated above. And among the Goths, Vittigis remained in Byzantium, but all the rest marched with Belisarius against Chosroes. At that time one of the envoys of Vittigis, he who was assuming the name of bishop, died in the land of Persia, and the other one remained there. And the man who followed them as interpreter withdrew to the land of the Romans, and John, who was commanding the troops in Mesopotamia, arrested him near the boundaries of Constantina, and bringing him into the city confined him in a prison; there the man in answer to his enquiries related everything which had been done. Such, then, was the course of these events. And Belisarius and his

followers went in haste, since he was eager to anticipate Chosroes' making any second invasion into the land of the Romans.

But in the meantime Chosroes was leading his army against Colchis, where the Lazi were calling him in for the following reason. The Lazi at first dwelt in the land of Colchis as subjects of the Romans, but not to the extent of paying them tribute or obeying their commands in any respect, except that, whenever their king died, the Roman emperor would send emblems of the office to him who was about to succeed to the throne. And he, together with his subjects, guarded strictly the boundaries of the land in order that hostile Huns might not proceed from the Caucasus mountains, which adjoin their territory, through Lazica and invade the land of the Romans. And they kept guard without receiving money or troops from the Romans and without ever joining the Roman armies, but they were always engaged in commerce by sea with the Romans who live on the Black Sea. For they themselves have neither salt nor grain nor any other good thing, but by furnishing skins and hides and slaves they secured the supplies which they needed. But when the events came to pass in which Gourgenes, the king of the Iberians, was concerned, as has been told in the preceding narrative, Roman soldiers began to be quartered among the Lazi; and these barbarians were annoyed by the soldiers, and most of all by Peter, the general, a man who was prone to treat insolently those who came into contact with him. This Peter was a native of Arzanene, which is beyond the River Nymphius, a district subject to the Persians from of old, but while still a child he had been captured and enslaved by the Emperor Justinus at the time when Justinus, after the taking of Amida, was invading the land of the Persians with Celer's army. And since his owner showed him great kindness, he attended the school of a grammatist. And at first he became secretary to Justinus, but when, after the death of Anastasius, Justinus took over the Roman empire, Peter was made a general, and he degenerated into a slave of avarice, if anyone ever did, and shewed himself very fatuous in his treatment of all.

And later the Emperor Justinian sent different officers to Lazica, and among them John, whom they called Tzibus, a man of obscure and ignoble descent, but who had climbed to the office of general by virtue of no other thing than that he was the most accomplished villain in the world and most successful in discovering unlawful sources of revenue. This man unsettled and threw into confusion all the relations of the Romans and the Lazi. He also persuaded the Emperor Justinian to build a city on the sea in Lazica, Petra by name; and there he sat as in a citadel and plundered the property of the Lazi. For the salt, and all other cargoes which were considered necessary for the Lazi, it was no longer possible for the merchants to bring into the land of Colchis, nor could they purchase them elsewhere by sending for them, but he set up in Petra the so-called "monopoly" and himself became a retail dealer and overseer of all the handling of these things, buying everything and selling

it to the Colchians, not at the customary rates, but as dearly as possible. At the same time, even apart from this, the barbarians were annoyed by the Roman army quartered upon them, a thing which had not been customary previously. Accordingly, since they were no longer able to endure these things, they decided to attach themselves to the Persians and Chosroes, and immediately they sent to them envoys who were to arrange this without the knowledge of the Romans. These men had been instructed that they should take pledges from Chosroes that he would never give up the Lazi against their will to the Romans, and that with this understanding they should bring him with the Persian army into the land.

Accordingly the envoys went to the Persians, and coming secretly before Chosroes they said: "If any people in all time have revolted from their own friends in any manner whatsoever and attached themselves wrongfully to men utterly unknown to them, and after that by the kindness of fortune have been brought back once more with greatest rejoicing to those who were formerly their own, consider, O Most mighty King, that such as these are the Lazi. For the Colchians in ancient times, as allies of the Persians, rendered them many good services and were themselves treated in like manner; and of these things there are many records in books, some of which we have, while others are preserved in thy palace up to the present time. But at a later time it came about that our ancestors, whether neglected by you or for some other reason (for we are unable to ascertain anything certain about this matter), became allies of the Romans. And now we and the king of Lazica give to the Persians both ourselves and our land to treat in any way you may desire. And we beg of you to think thus concerning us: if, on the one hand, we have suffered nothing outrageous at the hands of the Romans, but have been prompted by foolish motives in coming to you, reject this prayer of ours straightway, considering that with you likewise the Colchians will never be trustworthy (for when a friendship has been dissolved, a second friendship formed with others becomes, owing to its character, a matter of reproach); but if we have been in name friends of the Romans, but in fact their loyal slaves, and have suffered impious treatment at the hands of those who have tyrannized over us, receive us, your former allies, and acquire as slaves those whom you used to treat as friends, and shew your hatred of a cruel tyranny which has risen thus on our borders, by acting worthily of that justice which it has always been the tradition of the Persians to defend. For the man who himself does no wrong is not just, unless he is also accustomed to rescue those who are wronged by others when he has it in his power. But it is worth while to tell a few of the things which the accursed Romans have dared to do against us. In the first place they have left our king only the form of royal power, while they themselves have appropriated the actual authority, and he sits a king in the position of a servant, fearing the general who issues the orders; and they have put upon us a multitude of soldiery, not in order to guard the land against those who harass us (for not one of our neighbours except, indeed, the

Romans has disturbed us), but in order that they may confine us as in a prison and make themselves masters of our possessions. And purposing to make more speedy the robbery of what we have, behold, O King, what sort of a design they have formed; the supplies which are in excess among them they compel the Lazi to buy against their will, while those things which are most useful to them among the products of Lazica these fellows demand to buy, as they put it, from us, the price being determined in both cases by the judgment of the stronger party. And thus they are robbing us of all our gold as well as of the necessities of life, using the fair name of trade, but in fact oppressing us as thoroughly as they possibly can. And there has been set over us as ruler a huckster who has made our destitution a kind of business by virtue of the authority of his office. The cause of our revolt, therefore, being of this sort, has justice on its side; but the advantage which you yourselves will gain if you receive the request of the Lazi we shall forthwith tell. To the realm of Persia you will add a most ancient kingdom, and as a result of this you will have the power of your sway extended, and it will come about that you will have a part in the sea of the Romans through our land, and after thou hast built ships in this sea, O King, it will be possible for thee with no trouble to set foot in the palace in Byzantium. For there is no obstacle between. And one might add that the plundering of the land of the Romans every year by the barbarians along the boundary will be under your control. For surely you also are acquainted with the fact that up till now the land of the Lazi has been a bulwark against the Caucasus mountains. So with justice leading the way, and advantage added thereto, we consider that not to receive our words with favour would be wholly contrary to good judgment." So spoke the envoys.

And Chosroes, delighted by their words, promised to protect the Lazi, and enquired of the envoys whether it was possible for him to enter the land of Colchis with a large army. For he said that previously he had heard many persons report that the land was exceedingly hard to traverse even for an unimpeded traveller, being extremely rugged and covered very extensively by thick forests of wide-spreading trees. But the envoys stoutly maintained to him that the way through the country would be easy for the whole Persian army, if they cut the trees and threw them into the places which were made difficult by precipices. And they promised that they themselves would be guides of the route, and would take the lead in this work for the Persians. Encouraged by this suggestion, Chosroes gathered a great army and made his preparations for the inroad, not disclosing the plan to the Persians except those alone to whom he was accustomed to communicate his secrets, and commanding the envoys to tell no one what was being done; and he pretended that he was setting out into Iberia, in order to settle matters there; for a Hunnic tribe, he kept saying in explanation, had assailed the Persian domain at that point.

XVI

At this time Belisarius had arrived in Mesopotamia and was gathering his army from every quarter, and he also kept sending men into the land of Persia to act as spies. And wishing himself to encounter the enemy there, if they should again make an incursion into the land of the Romans, he was organizing on the spot and equipping the soldiers, who were for the most part without either arms or armour, and in terror of the name of the Persians. Now the spies returned and declared that for the present there would be no invasion of the enemy; for Chosroes was occupied elsewhere with a war against the Huns. And Belisarius, upon learning this, wished to invade the land of the enemy immediately with his whole army. Arethas also came to him with a large force of Saracens, and besides the emperor wrote a letter instructing him to invade the enemy's country with all speed. He therefore called together all the officers in Daras and spoke as follows: "I know that all of you, my fellow officers, are experienced in many wars, and I have brought you together at the present time, not in order to stir up your minds against the enemy by addressing to you any reminder or exhortation (for I think that you need no speech that prompts to daring), but in order that we may deliberate together among ourselves, and choose rather the course which may seem fairest and best for the cause of the emperor. For war is wont to succeed by reason of careful planning more than by anything else. Now it is necessary that those who gather for deliberation should make their minds entirely free from modesty and from fear. For fear, by paralyzing those who have fallen into it, does not allow the reason to choose the nobler part, and modesty obscures what has been seen to be the better course and leads investigation the opposite way. If, therefore, it seems to you that any purpose has been formed either by our mighty emperor or by me concerning the present situation, let no thought of this enter your minds. For, as for him, he is altogether ignorant of what is being done, and is therefore unable to adapt his moves to opportune moments; there is therefore no fear but that in going contrary to him we shall do that which will be of advantage to his cause. And as for me, since I am human, and have come here from the West after a long interval, it is impossible that some of the necessary things should not escape me. So it behoves you, without any too modest regard for my opinion, to say outright whatever is going to be of advantage for ourselves and for the emperor. Now in the beginning, fellow officers, we came here in order to prevent the enemy from making any invasion into our land, but at the present time, since things have gone better for us than we had hoped, it is possible for us to make his land the subject of our deliberation. And now that you have been gathered together for this purpose, it is fair, I think, that you should tell without any concealment what seems to each one best and most advantageous." Thus spoke Belisarius.

And Peter and Bouzes urged him to lead the army without any hesitation

against the enemy's country. And their opinion was followed immediately by the whole council. Rhecithancus, however, and Theoctistus, the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, said that, while they too had the same wish as the others concerning the invasion, they feared that if they abandoned the country of Phoenicia and Syria, Alamoundaras would plunder it at his leisure, and that the emperor would be angry with them because they had not guarded and kept unplundered the territory under their command, and for this reason they were quite unwilling to join the rest of the army in the invasion. But Belisarius said that the opinion of these two men was not in the least degree true; for it was the season of the vernal equinox, and at this season the Saracens always dedicated about two months to their god, and during this time never undertook any inroad into the land of others. Agreeing, therefore, to release both of them with their followers within sixty days, he commanded them also to follow with the rest of the army. So Belisarius was making his preparation for the invasion with great zeal.

XVII

But Chosroes and the Median army, after crossing Iberia, reached the territory of Lazica under the leadership of the envoys; there with no one to withstand them they began to cut down the trees which grow thickly over that very mountainous region, rising to a great height, and spreading out their branches remarkably, so that they made the country absolutely impassable for the army; and these they threw into the rough places, and thus rendered the road altogether easy. And when they arrived in the centre of Colchis (the place where the tales of the poets say that the adventure of Medea and Jason took place), Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, came and did obeisance to Chosroes, the son of Cabades, as Lord, putting himself together with his palace and all Lazica into his hand.

Now there is a coast city named Petra in Colchis, on the sea which is called the Euxine, which in former times had been a place of no importance, but which the Emperor Justinian had rendered strong and otherwise conspicuous by means of the circuit-wall and other buildings which he erected. When Chosroes ascertained that the Roman army was in that place with John, he sent an army and a general, Aniabedes, against them in order to capture the place at the first onset. But John, upon learning of their approach, gave orders that no one should go outside the fortifications nor allow himself to be seen from the parapet by the enemy, and he armed the whole army and stationed them in the vicinity of the gates, commanding them to keep silence and not allow the least sound of any kind to escape from them. So the Persians came close to the fortifications, and since nothing of the enemy was either seen or heard by them they thought that the Romans had abandoned the city and left it destitute of men. For this reason they closed in still more around the fortifications, so as to set up ladders immediately, since no one was defending the wall. And neither seeing nor hearing anything of the enemy, they sent to Chosroes and explained the situation. And he sent the greater part of the army, commanding them to make an attempt upon the fortifications from all sides, and he directed one of the officers to make use of the engine known as a ram around the gate, while he himself, seated on the hill which lies very close to the city, became a spectator of the operations. And straightway the Romans opened the gates all of a sudden, and unexpectedly fell upon and slew great numbers of the enemy, and especially those stationed about the ram; the rest with difficulty made their escape together with the general and were saved. And Chosroes, filled with rage, impaled Aniabedes, since he had been outgeneralled by John, a tradesman and an altogether unwarlike man. But some say that not Aniabedes, but the officer commanding the men who were working the ram was impaled. And he himself broke camp with the whole army, and coming close to the fortifications of Petra, made camp and began a siege. On the following day he went completely around the fortifications, and

since he suspected that they could not support a very strong attack, he decided to storm the wall. And bringing up the whole army there, he opened the action, commanding all to shoot with their bows against the parapet. The Romans, meanwhile, in defending themselves, made use of their engines of war and all their bows. At first, then, the Persians did the Romans little harm, although they were shooting their arrows thick and fast, while at the same time they suffered severely at the hands of the Romans, since they were being shot at from an elevation. But later on (since it was fated that Petra be captured by Chosroes), John by some chance was shot in the neck and died, and as a result of this the other Romans ceased to care for anything. Then indeed the barbarians withdrew to their camp; for it was already growing dark; but on the following day they planned to assail the fortifications by an excavation, as follows.

The city of Petra is on one side inaccessible on account of the sea, and on the other on account of the sheer cliffs which rise there on every hand; indeed it is from this circumstance that the city has received the name it bears. And it has only one approach on the level ground, and that not very broad; for exceedingly high cliffs overhang it on either side. At that point those who formerly built the city provided that that portion of the wall should not be open to attack by making long walls which ran along beside either cliff and guarded the approach for a great distance. And they built two towers, one in each of these walls, not following the customary plan, but as follows. They refused to allow the space in the middle of the structure to be empty, but constructed the entire towers from the ground up to a great height of very large stones which fitted together, in order that they might never be shaken down by a ram or any other engine. Such, then, are the fortifications of Petra. But the Persians secretly made a tunnel into the earth and got under one of the two towers, and from there carried out many of the stones and in their place put wood, which a little later they burned. And the flame, rising little by little, weakened the stones, and all of a sudden shook the whole tower violently and straightway brought it down to the ground. And the Romans who were on the tower perceived what was being done in sufficient time so that they did not fall with it to the ground, but they fled and got inside the city wall. And now it was possible for the enemy to storm the wall from the level, and thus with no trouble to take the city by force. The Romans, therefore, in terror, opened negotiations with the barbarians, and receiving from Chosroes pledges concerning their lives and their property, they surrendered to him both themselves and the city. [541 A.D.] Thus Chosroes captured Petra. And finding the treasures of John, which were extremely rich, he took them himself, but besides this neither he himself nor anyone else of the Persians touched anything, and the Romans, retaining their own possessions, mingled with the Median army.

XVIII

Meantime Belisarius and the Roman army, having learned nothing of what was being done there, were going in excellent order from the city of Daras toward Nisibis. And when they had reached the middle of their journey, Belisarius led the army to the right where there were abundant springs of water and level ground sufficient for all to camp upon. And there he gave orders to make a camp at about forty-two stades from the city of Nisibis. But all the others marvelled greatly that he did not wish to camp close to the fortifications, and some were quite unwilling to follow him. Belisarius therefore addressed those of the officers who were about him thus: "It was not my wish to disclose to all what I am thinking. For talk carried about through a camp cannot keep secrets, for it advances little by little until it is carried out even to the enemy. But seeing that the majority of you are allowing yourselves to act in a most disorderly manner, and that each one wishes to be himself supreme commander in the war, I shall now say among you things about which one ought to keep silence, mentioning, however, this first, that when many in an army follow independent judgments it is impossible that anything needful be done. Now I think that Chosroes, in going against other barbarians, has by no means left his own land without sufficient protection, and in particular this city which is of the first rank and is set as a defence to his whole land. In this city I know well that he has stationed soldiers in such number and of such valour as to be sufficient to stand in the way of our assaults. And the proof of this you have near at hand. For he put in command of these men the general Nabedes, who, after Chosroes himself at least, seems to be first among the Persians in glory and in every other sort of honour. This man, I believe, will both make trial of our strength and will permit of our passing by on no other condition than that he be defeated by us in battle. If, therefore, the conflict should be close by the city, the struggle will not be even for us and the Persians. For they, coming out from their stronghold against us, in case of success, should it so happen, will feel unlimited confidence in assailing us, and in case of defeat they will easily escape from our attack. For we shall only be able to pursue them a short distance, and from this no harm will come to the city, which you surely see cannot be captured by storming the wall when soldiers are defending it. But if the enemy engage with us here and we conquer them, I have great hopes, fellow officers, of capturing the city. For while our antagonists are fleeing a long way, we shall either mingle with them and rush inside the gates with them, as is probable, or we shall anticipate them and compel them to turn and escape to some other place, and thus render Nisibis without its defenders easy of capture for us."

When Belisarius had said this, all the others except Peter were convinced, and they made camp and remained with him. He, however, associating with himself John, who commanded the troops in Mesopotamia and had no small

part of the army, came up to a position not far removed from the fortifications, about ten stades away, and remained quietly there. But Belisarius marshalled the men who were with him as if for combat, and sent word to Peter and his men also to hold themselves in array for battle, until he himself should give the signal; and he said that he knew well that the barbarians would attack them about midday, remembering, as they surely would, that while they themselves are accustomed to partake of food in the late afternoon, the Romans do so about midday. So Belisarius gave this warning; but Peter and his men disregarded his commands, and about midday, being distressed by the sun (for the place is exceedingly dry and hot), they stacked their arms, and with never a thought of the enemy began to go about in disorderly fashion and eat gourds which grew there. And when this was observed by Nabedes, he led the Persian army running at full speed against them. And the Romans, since they did not fail to observe that the Persians were coming out of the fortifications (for they were seen clearly because moving over a level plain), sent to Belisarius urging him to support them, and they themselves snatched up their arms, and in disorder and confusion confronted their foe. But Belisarius and his men, even before the messenger had reached them, discovered by the dust the attack of the Persians, and went to the rescue on the run. And when the Persians came up, the Romans did not withstand their onset, but were routed without any difficulty, and the Persians, following close upon them, killed fifty men, and seized and kept the standard of Peter. And they would have slain them all in this pursuit, for the Romans had no thought of resistance, if Belisarius and the army with him had not come upon them and prevented it. For as the Goths, first of all, came upon them with long spears in close array, the Persians did not await their attack but beat a hasty retreat. And the Romans together with the Goths followed them up and slew a hundred and fifty men. For the pursuit was only of short duration, and the others quickly got inside the fortifications. Then indeed all the Romans withdrew to the camp of Belisarius, and the Persians on the following day set up on a tower instead of a trophy the standard of Peter, and hanging sausages from it they taunted the enemy with laughter; however, they no longer dared to come out against them, but they guarded the city securely.

XIX

And Belisarius, seeing that Nisibis was exceedingly strong, and having no hope regarding its capture, was eager to go forward, in order that he might do the enemy some damage by a sudden inroad. Accordingly he broke camp and moved forward with the whole army. And after accomplishing a day's journey, they came upon a fortress which the Persians call Sisauranon. There were in that place besides the numerous population eight hundred horsemen, the best of the Persians, who were keeping guard under command of a man of note, Bleschames by name. And the Romans made camp close by the fortress and began a siege, but, upon making an assault upon the fortifications, they were beaten back, losing many men in the fight. For the wall happened to be extremely strong, and the barbarians defended it against their assailants with the greatest vigour. Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and spoke as follows: "Experience in many wars, fellow officers, has made it possible for us in difficult situations to foresee what will come to pass, and has made us capable of avoiding disaster by choosing the better course. You understand, therefore, how great a mistake it is for an army to proceed into a hostile land, when many strongholds and many fighting men in them have been left in the rear. Now exactly this has happened to us in the present case. For if we continue our advance, some of the enemy from this place as well as from the city of Nisibis will follow us secretly and will, in all probability, handle us roughly in places which are for them conveniently adapted for an ambuscade or some other sort of attack. And if, by any chance, a second army confronts us and opens battle, it will be necessary for us to array ourselves against both, and we should thus suffer irreparable harm at their hands. And in saying this I do not mention the fact that if we fail in the engagement, should it so happen, we shall after that have absolutely no way of return left to the land of the Romans. Let us not therefore by reason of most ill-considered haste seem to have been our own despoilers, nor by our eagerness for strife do harm to the cause of the Romans. For stupid daring leads to destruction, but discreet hesitation is well adapted always to save those who adopt such a course. Let us therefore establish ourselves here and endeavour to capture this fortress, and let Arethas with his forces be sent into the country of Assyria. For the Saracens are by nature unable to storm a wall, but the cleverest of all men at plundering. And some of the soldiers who are good fighters will join them in the invasion, so that, if no opposition presents itself to them, they may overwhelm those who fall in their way, and if any hostile force encounters them, they may be saved easily by retiring to us. And after we have captured the fortress, if God wills, then with the whole army let us cross the River Tigris, without having to fear mischief from anyone in our rear, and knowing well how matters stand with the Assyrians."

These words of Belisarius seemed to all well spoken, and he straightway

put the plan into execution. Accordingly he commanded Arethas with his troops to advance into Assyria, and with them he sent twelve hundred soldiers, the most of whom were from among his own guard, putting two guardsmen in command of them, Trajan and John who was called the Glutton, both capable warriors. These men he directed to obey Arethas in everything they did, and he commanded Arethas to pillage all that lay before him and then return to the camp and report how matters stood with the Assyrians with regard to military strength. So Arethas and his men crossed the River Tigris and entered Assyria. There they found a goodly land and one which had been free from plunder for a long time, and undefended besides; and moving rapidly they pillaged many of the places there and secured a great amount of rich plunder. And at that time Belisarius captured some of the Persians and learned from them that those who were inside the fortress were altogether out of provisions. For they do not observe the custom which is followed in the cities of Daras and Nisibis, where they put away the annual food-supply in public store-houses, and now that a hostile army had fallen upon them unexpectedly they had not anticipated the event by carrying in any of the necessities of life. And since a great number of persons had taken refuge suddenly in the fortress, they were naturally hard pressed by the want of provisions. When Belisarius learned this, he sent George, a man of the greatest discretion with whom he shared his secrets, to test the men of the place, in the hope that he might be able to arrange some terms of surrender and thus take the place. And George succeeded, after addressing to them many words of exhortation and of kindly invitation, in persuading them to take pledges for their safety and to deliver themselves and the fortress to the Romans. Thus Belisarius captured Sisauranon, and the inhabitants, all of whom were Christians and of Roman origin, he released unscathed, but the Persians he sent with Bleschames to Byzantium, and razed the fortification wall of the fortress to the ground. And the emperor not long afterwards sent these Persians and Bleschames to Italy to fight against the Goths. Such, then, was the course of events which had to do with the fortress of Sisauranon.

But Arethas, fearing lest he should be despoiled of his booty by the Romans, was now unwilling to return to the camp. So he sent some of his followers ostensibly for the purpose of reconnoitring, but secretly commanding them to return as quickly as possible and announce to the army that a large hostile force was at the crossing of the river. For this reason, then, he advised Trajan and John to return by another route to the land of the Romans. So they did not come again to Belisarius, but keeping the River Euphrates on the right they finally arrived at the Theodosiopolis which is near the River Aborrhhas. But Belisarius and the Roman army, hearing nothing concerning this force, were disturbed, and they were filled with fear and an intolerable and exaggerated suspicion. And since much time had been consumed by them in this siege, it came about that many of the soldiers were taken there with a troublesome fever; for the portion of Mesopotamia which is

subject to the Persians is extremely dry and hot. And the Romans were not accustomed to this and especially those who came from Thrace; and since they were living their daily life in a place where the heat was excessive and in stuffy huts in the summer season, they became so ill that the third part of the army were lying half-dead. The whole army, therefore, was eager to depart from there and return as quickly as possible to their own land, and most of all the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Rhecithancus and Theoctistus, who saw that the time which was the sacred season of the Saracens had in fact already passed. They came, indeed, frequently to Belisarius and entreated him to release them immediately, protesting that they had given over to Alamoundaras the country of Lebanon and Syria, and were sitting there for no good reason.

Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and opened a discussion. Then John, the son of Nicetas, rose first and spoke as follows: "Most excellent Belisarius, I consider that in all time there has never been a general such as you are either in fortune or in valour. And this reputation has come to prevail not alone among the Romans, but also among all barbarians. This fair name, however, you will preserve most securely, if you should be able to take us back alive to the land of the Romans; for now indeed the hopes which we may have are not bright. For I would have you look thus at the situation of this army. The Saracens and the most efficient soldiers of the army crossed the River Tigris, and one day, I know not how long since, they found themselves in such a plight that they have not even succeeded in sending a messenger to us, and Rhecithancus and Theoctistus will depart, as you see surely, believing that the army of Alamoundaras is almost at this very moment in the midst of Phoenicia, pillaging the whole country there. And among those who are left the sick are so numerous that those who will care for them and convey them to the land of the Romans are fewer in number than they are by a great deal. Under these circumstances, if it should fall out that any hostile force should come upon us, either while remaining here or while going back, not a man would be able to carry back word to the Romans in Daras of the calamity which had befallen us. For as for going forward, I consider it impossible even to be spoken of. While, therefore, some hope is still left, it will be of advantage both to make plans for the return and to put the plans into action. For when men have come into danger and especially such danger as this, it is downright folly for them to devote their thoughts not to safety, but to opposition to the enemy." So spoke John, and all the others expressed approval, and becoming disorderly, they demanded that the retreat be made with all speed. Accordingly Belisarius laid the sick in the carts and let them lead the way, while he led the army behind them. And as soon as they got into the land of the Romans, he learned everything which had been done by Arethas, but he did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon him, for he never came into his sight again. So ended the invasion of the Romans.

And after Chosroes had taken Petra, it was announced to him that

Belisarius had invaded the Persian territory, and the engagement near the city of Nisibis was reported, as also the capture of the fortress of Sisauranon, and all that the army of Arethas had done after crossing the River Tigris. Straightway, then, he established a garrison in Petra, and with the rest of the army and those of the Romans who had been captured he marched away into the land of Persia. Such, then, were the events which took place in the second invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, and passed the winter there.

[542 A.D.] At the opening of spring Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the third time began an invasion into the land of the Romans with a mighty army, keeping the River Euphrates on the right. And Candidus, the priest of Sergiopolis, upon learning that the Median army had come near there, began to be afraid both for himself and for the city, since he had by no means carried out at the appointed time the agreement which he had made; accordingly he went into the camp of the enemy and entreated Chosroes not to be angry with him because of this. For as for money, he had never had any, and for this reason he had not even wished in the first place to deliver the inhabitants of Sura, and though he had supplicated the Emperor Justinian many times on their behalf, he had failed to receive any help from him. But Chosroes put him under guard, and, torturing him most cruelly, claimed the right to exact from him double the amount of money, just as had been agreed. And Candidus entreated him to send men to Sergiopolis to take all the treasures of the sanctuary there. And when Chosroes followed this suggestion, Candidus sent some of his followers with them. So the inhabitants of Sergiopolis, receiving into the city the men sent by Chosroes, gave them many of the treasures, declaring that nothing else was left them. But Chosroes said that these were by no means sufficient for him, and demanded that he should receive others still more than these. Accordingly he sent men, ostensibly to search out with all diligence the wealth of the city, but in reality to take possession of the city. But since it was fated that Sergiopolis should not be taken by the Persians, one of the Saracens, who, though a Christian, was serving under Alamoundaras, Ambrus by name, came by night along the wall of the city, and reporting to them the whole plan, bade them by no means receive the Persians into the city. Thus those who were sent by Chosroes returned to him unsuccessful, and he, boiling with anger, began to make plans to capture the city. He accordingly sent an army of six thousand, commanding them to begin a siege and to make assaults upon the fortifications. And this army came there and commenced active operations, and the citizens of Sergiopolis at first defended themselves vigorously, but later they gave up, and in terror at the danger, they were purposing to give over the city to the enemy. For, as it happened, they had not more than two hundred soldiers. But Ambrus, again coming along by the fortifications at night, said that within two days the Persians would raise the siege since their water supply had failed them absolutely. For this reason they did not by any means open negotiations with the enemy, and the barbarians, suffering with thirst, removed from there and came to Chosroes. However, Chosroes never released Candidus. For it was necessary, I suppose, that since he had disregarded his sworn agreement, he should be a priest no longer. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But when Chosroes arrived at the land of the Commagenae which they call

Euphratesia, he had no desire to turn to plundering or to the capture of any stronghold, since he had previously taken everything before him as far as Syria, partly by capture and partly by exacting money, as has been set forth in the preceding narrative. And his purpose was to lead the army straight for Palestine, in order that he might plunder all their treasures and especially those in Jerusalem. For he had it from hearsay that this was an especially goodly land and peopled by wealthy inhabitants. And all the Romans, both officers and soldiers, were far from entertaining any thought of confronting the enemy or of standing in the way of their passage, but manning their strongholds as each one could, they thought it sufficient to preserve them and save themselves.

The Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, again sent Belisarius against them. And he came with great speed to Euphratesia since he had no army with him, riding on the government post-horses, which they are accustomed to call “veredi,” while Justus, the nephew of the emperor, together with Bouzes and certain others, was in Hierapolis where he had fled for refuge. And when these men heard that Belisarius was coming and was not far away, they wrote a letter to him which ran as follows: “Once more Chosroes, as you yourself doubtless know, has taken the field against the Romans, bringing a much greater army than formerly; and where he is purposing to go is not yet evident, except indeed that we hear he is very near, and that he has injured no place, but is always moving ahead. But come to us as quickly as possible, if indeed you are able to escape detection by the army of the enemy, in order that you yourself may be safe for the emperor, and that you may join us in guarding Hierapolis.” Such was the message of the letter. But Belisarius, not approving the advice given, came to the place called Europum, which is on the River Euphrates. From there he sent about in all directions and began to gather his army, and there he established his camp; and the officers in Hierapolis he answered with the following words: “If, now, Chosroes is proceeding against any other peoples, and not against subjects of the Romans, this plan of yours is well considered and insures the greatest possible degree of safety; for it is great folly for those who have the opportunity of remaining quiet and being rid of trouble to enter into any unnecessary danger; but if, immediately after departing from here, this barbarian is going to fall upon some other territory of the Emperor Justinian, and that an exceptionally good one, but without any guard of soldiers, be assured that to perish valorously is better in every way than to be saved without a fight. For this would justly be called not salvation but treason. But come as quickly as possible to Europum, where, after collecting the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy as God permits.” And when the officers saw this message, they took courage, and leaving there Justus with some few men in order to guard Hierapolis, all the others with the rest of the army came to Europum.

But Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius with the whole Roman army had encamped at Europum, decided not to continue his advance, but sent one of the royal secretaries, Abandanes by name, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, to Belisarius, in order to find out by inspection what sort of a general he might be, but ostensibly to make a protest because the Emperor Justinian had not sent the ambassadors to the Persians at all in order that they might settle the arrangements for the peace as had been agreed. When Belisarius learned this, he did as follows. He himself picked out six thousand men of goodly stature and especially fine physique, and set out to hunt at a considerable distance from the camp. Then he commanded Diogenes, the guardsman, and Adolius, the son of Acacius, to cross the river with a thousand horsemen and to move about the bank there, always making it appear to the enemy that if they wished to cross the Euphrates and proceed to their own land, they would never permit them to do so. This Adolius was an Armenian by birth, and he always served the emperor while in the palace as privy counsellor (those who enjoy this honour are called by the Romans "silentiarii"), but at that time he was commander of some Armenians. And these men did as directed.

Now when Belisarius had ascertained that the envoy was close at hand, he set up a tent of some heavy cloth, of the sort which is commonly called a "pavilion," and seated himself there as one might in a desolate place, seeking thus to indicate that he had come without any equipment. And he arranged the soldiers as follows. On either side of the tent were Thracians and Illyrians, with Goths beyond them, and next to these Eruli, and finally Vandals and Moors. And their line extended for a great distance over the plain. For they did not remain standing always in the same place, but stood apart from one another and kept walking about, looking carelessly and without the least interest upon the envoy of Chosroes. And not one of them had a cloak or any other outer garment to cover the shoulders, but they were sauntering about clad in linen tunics and trousers, and outside these their girdles. And each one had his horse-whip, but for weapons one had a sword, another an axe, another an uncovered bow. And all gave the impression that they were eager to be off on the hunt with never a thought of anything else. So Abandanes came into the presence of Belisarius and said that the king Chosroes was indignant because the agreement previously made had not been kept, in that the envoys had not been sent to him by Caesar (for thus the Persians call the emperor of the Romans), and as a result of this Chosroes had been compelled to come into the land of the Romans in arms. But Belisarius was not terrified by the thought that such a multitude of barbarians were encamped close by, nor did he experience any confusion because of the words of the man, but with a laughing, care-free countenance he made answer, saying: "This course which

Chosroes has followed on the present occasion is not in keeping with the way men usually act. For other men, in case a dispute should arise between themselves and any of their neighbours, first carry on negotiations with them, and whenever they do not receive reasonable satisfaction, then finally go against them in war. But he first comes into the midst of the Romans, and then begins to offer suggestions concerning peace." With such words as these he dismissed the ambassador.

And when Abandanes came to Chosroes, he advised him to take his departure with all possible speed. For he said he had met a general who in manliness and sagacity surpassed all other men, and soldiers such as he at least had never seen, whose orderly conduct had roused in him the greatest admiration. And he added that the contest was not on an even footing as regards risk for him and for Belisarius, for there was this difference, that if he conquered, he himself would conquer the slave of Caesar, but if he by any chance were defeated, he would bring great disgrace upon his kingdom and upon the race of the Persians; and again the Romans, if conquered, could easily save themselves in strongholds and in their own land, while if the Persians should meet with any reverse, not even a messenger would escape to the land of the Persians. Chosroes was convinced by this admonition and wished to turn back to his own country, but he found himself in a very perplexing situation. For he supposed that the crossing of the river was being guarded by the enemy, and he was unable to march back by the same road, which was entirely destitute of human habitation, since the supplies which they had at the first when they invaded the land of the Romans had already entirely failed them. At last after long consideration it seemed to him most advantageous to risk a battle and get to the opposite side, and to make the journey through a land abounding in all good things. Now Belisarius knew well that not even a hundred thousand men would ever be sufficient to check the crossing of Chosroes. For the river at many places along there can be crossed in boats very easily, and even apart from this the Persian army was too strong to be excluded from the crossing by an enemy numerically insignificant. But he had at first commanded the troops of Diogenes and Adolius, together with the thousand horsemen, to move about the bank at that point in order to confuse the barbarian by a feeling of helplessness. But after frightening this same barbarian, as I have said, Belisarius feared lest there should be some obstacle in the way of his departing from the land of the Romans. For it seemed to him a most significant achievement to have driven away from there the army of Chosroes, without risking any battle against so many myriads of barbarians with soldiers who were very few in number and who were in abject terror of the Median army. For this reason he commanded Diogenes and Adolius to remain quiet.

Chosroes, accordingly, constructed a bridge with great celerity and crossed the River Euphrates suddenly with his whole army. For the Persians are able to cross all rivers without the slightest difficulty because when they are on the

march they have in readiness hook-shaped irons with which they fasten together long timbers, and with the help of these they improvise a bridge on the spur of the moment wherever they may desire. And as soon as he had reached the land on the opposite side, he sent to Belisarius and said that he, for his part, had bestowed a favour upon the Romans in the withdrawal of the Median army, and that he was expecting the envoys from them, who ought to present themselves to him at no distant time. Then Belisarius also with the whole Roman army crossed the River Euphrates and immediately sent to Chosroes. And when the messengers came into his presence, they commended him highly for his withdrawal and promised that envoys would come to him promptly from the emperor, who would arrange with him that the terms which had previously been agreed upon concerning the peace should be put into effect. And they asked of him that he treat the Romans as his friends in his journey through their land. This too he agreed to carry out, if they should give him some one of their notable men as a hostage to make this compact binding, in order that they might carry out their agreement. So the envoys returned to Belisarius and reported the words of Chosroes, and he came to Edessa and chose John, the son of Basilius, the most illustrious of all the inhabitants of Edessa in birth and in wealth, and straightway sent him, much against his will, as a hostage to Chosroes. And the Romans were loud in their praises of Belisarius and he seemed to have achieved greater glory in their eyes by this affair than when he brought Gelimer or Vittigis captive to Byzantium. For in reality it was an achievement of great importance and one deserving great praise, that, at a time when all the Romans were panic-stricken with fear and were hiding themselves in their defences, and Chosroes with a mighty army had come into the midst of the Roman domain, a general with only a few men, coming in hot haste from Byzantium just at that moment, should have set his camp over against that of the Persian king, and that Chosroes unexpectedly, either through fear of fortune or of the valour of the man or even because deceived by some tricks, should no longer continue his advance, but should in reality take to flight, though pretending to be seeking peace.

But in the meantime Chosroes, disregarding the agreement, took the city of Callinicus which was entirely without defenders. For the Romans, seeing that the wall of this city was altogether unsound and easy of capture, were tearing down portions of it in turn and restoring them with new construction. Now just at that time they had torn down one section of it and had not yet built in this interval; when, therefore, they learned that the enemy were close at hand, they carried out the most precious of their treasures, and the wealthy inhabitants withdrew to other strongholds, while the rest without soldiers remained where they were. And it happened that great numbers of farmers had gathered there. These Chosroes enslaved and razed everything to the ground. A little later, upon receiving the hostage, John, he retired to his own country. And the Armenians who had submitted to Chosroes received pledges from the Romans and came with Bassaces to Byzantium. Such was the

fortune of the Romans in the third invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, in order to be sent again to Italy, since the situation there was already full of difficulties for the Romans.

[542 A.D.] During these times there was a pestilence, by which the whole human race came near to being annihilated. Now in the case of all other scourges sent from Heaven some explanation of a cause might be given by daring men, such as the many theories propounded by those who are clever in these matters; for they love to conjure up causes which are absolutely incomprehensible to man, and to fabricate outlandish theories of natural philosophy, knowing well that they are saying nothing sound, but considering it sufficient for them, if they completely deceive by their argument some of those whom they meet and persuade them to their view. But for this calamity it is quite impossible either to express in words or to conceive in thought any explanation, except indeed to refer it to God. For it did not come in a part of the world nor upon certain men, nor did it confine itself to any season of the year, so that from such circumstances it might be possible to find subtle explanations of a cause, but it embraced the entire world, and blighted the lives of all men, though differing from one another in the most marked degree, respecting neither sex nor age. For much as men differ with regard to places in which they live, or in the law of their daily life, or in natural bent, or in active pursuits, or in whatever else man differs from man, in the case of this disease alone the difference availed naught. And it attacked some in the summer season, others in the winter, and still others at the other times of the year. Now let each one express his own judgment concerning the matter, both sophist and astrologer, but as for me, I shall proceed to tell where this disease originated and the manner in which it destroyed men.

It started from the Aegyptians who dwell in Pelusium. Then it divided and moved in one direction towards Alexandria and the rest of Aegypt, and in the other direction it came to Palestine on the borders of Aegypt; and from there it spread over the whole world, always moving forward and travelling at times favourable to it. For it seemed to move by fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it. For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants; and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior. And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time. And it came as follows. Apparitions

of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled for refuge they were dying constantly. But later on they were unwilling even to give heed to their friends when they called to them, and they shut themselves up in their rooms and pretended that they did not hear, although their doors were being beaten down, fearing, obviously, that he who was calling was one of those demons. But in the case of some the pestilence did not come on in this way, but they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the creature who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were written down in the number of those who were to die. But with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body shewed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body which is called "boubon," that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the armpit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs.

Up to this point, then, everything went in about the same way with all who had taken the disease. But from then on very marked differences developed; and I am unable to say whether the cause of this diversity of symptoms was to be found in the difference in bodies, or in the fact that it followed the wish of Him who brought the disease into the world. For there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease. For those who were under the spell of the coma forgot all those who were familiar to them and seemed to be sleeping constantly. And if anyone cared for them, they would eat without waking, but some also were neglected, and these would die directly through lack of sustenance. But those who were seized with delirium suffered from insomnia and were victims of a distorted imagination; for they suspected that

men were coming upon them to destroy them, and they would become excited and rush off in flight, crying out at the top of their voices. And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout. For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing. For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they, kept patting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them. And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds. They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height. And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

Now some of the physicians who were at a loss because the symptoms were not understood, supposing that the disease centred in the bubonic swellings, decided to investigate the bodies of the dead. And upon opening some of the swellings, they found a strange sort of carbuncle that had grown inside them.

Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death. Moreover I am able to declare this, that the most illustrious physicians predicted that many would die, who unexpectedly escaped entirely from suffering shortly afterwards, and that they declared that many would be saved, who were destined to be carried off almost immediately. So it was that in this disease there was no cause which came within the province of human reasoning; for in all cases the issue tended to be something unaccountable. For example, while some were helped by bathing, others were harmed in no less degree. And of those who received no care many died, but others, contrary to reason, were saved. And again, methods of treatment shewed different results

with different patients. Indeed the whole matter may be stated thus, that no device was discovered by man to save himself, so that either by taking precautions he should not suffer, or that when the malady had assailed him he should get the better of it; but suffering came without warning and recovery was due to no external cause.

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease. For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore. However, they say that three women in confinement survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived.

Now in those cases where the swelling rose to an unusual size and a discharge of pus had set in, it came about that they escaped from the disease and survived, for clearly the acute condition of the carbuncle had found relief in this direction, and this proved to be in general an indication of returning health; but in cases where the swelling preserved its former appearance there ensued those troubles which I have just mentioned. And with some of them it came about that the thigh was withered, in which case, though the swelling was there, it did not develop the least suppuration. With others who survived the tongue did not remain unaffected, and they lived on either lisping or speaking incoherently and with difficulty.

Now the disease in Byzantium ran a course of four months, and its greatest virulence lasted about three. And at first the deaths were a little more than the normal, then the mortality rose still higher, and afterwards the tale of dead reached five thousand each day, and again it even came to ten thousand and still more than that. Now in the beginning each man attended to the burial of the dead of his own house, and these they threw even into the tombs of others, either escaping detection or using violence; but afterwards confusion and disorder everywhere became complete. For slaves remained destitute of masters, and men who in former times were very prosperous were deprived of the service of their domestics who were either sick or dead, and many houses became completely destitute of human inhabitants. For this reason it came about that some of the notable men of the city because of the universal destitution remained unburied for many days.

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work; this man held the position of announcer of imperial messages, always announcing to the emperor the petitions of his clients, and declaring to them in turn whatever his wish was. In the Latin tongue the Romans designate this office by the term "referendarius." So those who had not as yet fallen into complete destitution in their domestic affairs attended individually to the burial of those connected with them. But Theodorus, by giving out the emperor's money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for. And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed; but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae, and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder; and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

At that time all the customary rites of burial were overlooked. For the dead were not carried out escorted by a procession in the customary manner, nor were the usual chants sung over them, but it was sufficient if one carried on his shoulders the body of one of the dead to the parts of the city which bordered on the sea and flung him down; and there the corpses would be thrown upon skiffs in a heap, to be conveyed wherever it might chance. At that time, too, those of the population who had formerly been members of the

factions laid aside their mutual enmity and in common they attended to the burial rites of the dead, and they carried with their own hands the bodies of those who were no connections of theirs and buried them. Nay, more, those who in times past used to take delight in devoting themselves to pursuits both shameful and base, shook off the unrighteousness of their daily lives and practised the duties of religion with diligence, not so much because they had learned wisdom at last nor because they had become all of a sudden lovers of virtue, as it were — for when qualities have become fixed in men by nature or by the training of a long period of time, it is impossible for them to lay them aside thus lightly, except, indeed, some divine influence for good has breathed upon them — but then all, so to speak, being thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free. But these things were displayed to the world in later times.

During that time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of Byzantium, but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or mourning the dead. And if one did succeed in meeting a man going out, he was carrying one of the dead. And work of every description ceased, and all the trades were abandoned by the artisans, and all other work as well, such as each had in hand. Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot. Certainly it seemed a difficult and very notable thing to have a sufficiency of bread or of anything else; so that with some of the sick it appeared that the end of life came about sooner than it should have come by reason of the lack of the necessities of life. And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys, and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home. Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium. And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

[545 A.D.] Now it happened that Chosroes had come from Assyria to a place toward the north called Adarbiganon, from which he was planning to make an invasion into the Roman domain through Persarmenia. In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians reverence above all other gods. There the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult an oracle on those matters which are of the greatest importance. This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia in ancient times. There someone who had been sent from Byzantium to Chosroes announced that Constantianus and Sergius would come before him directly as envoys to arrange the treaty. Now these two men were both trained speakers and exceedingly clever; Constantianus was an Illyrian by birth, and Sergius was from the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. And Chosroes remained quiet expecting these men. But in the course of the journey thither Constantianus became ill and much time was consumed; in the meantime it came about that the pestilence fell upon the Persians. For this reason Nabedes, who at that time held the office of general in Persarmenia, sent the priest of the Christians in Dubios by direction of the king to Valerianus, the general in Armenia, in order to reproach the envoys for their tardiness and to urge the Romans with all zeal toward peace. And he came with his brother to Armenia, and, meeting Valerianus, declared that he himself, as a Christian, was favourably disposed toward the Romans, and that the king Chosroes always followed his advice in every matter; so that if the ambassadors would come with him to the land of Persia, there would be nothing to prevent them from arranging the peace as they wished. Thus then spoke the priest; but the brother of the priest met Valerianus secretly and said that Chosroes was in great straits: for his son had risen against him in an attempt to set up a tyranny, and he himself together with the whole Persian army had been taken with the plague; and this was the reason why he wished just now to settle the agreement with the Romans. When Valerianus heard this, he straightway dismissed the bishop, promising that the envoys would come to Chosroes at no distant time, but he himself reported the words which he had heard to the Emperor Justinian. This led the emperor immediately to send word to him and to Martinus and the other commanders to invade the enemy's territory as quickly as possible. For he knew well that no one of the enemy would stand in their way. And he commanded them to gather all in one place and so make their invasion into Persarmenia. When the commanders received these letters, all of them together with their followers began to gather into the land of Armenia.

And already Chosroes had abandoned Adarbiganon a little before through fear of the plague and was off with his whole army into Assyria, where the pestilence had not as yet become epidemic. Valerianus accordingly encamped

close by Theodosiopolis with the troops under him; and with him was arrayed Narses, who had with him Armenians and some of the Eruli. And Martinus, the General of the East, together with Ildiger and Theoctistus, reached the fortress of Citharizon, and fixing his camp there, remained on the spot. This fortress is separated from Theodosiopolis by a journey of four days. There too Peter came not long afterwards together with Adolius and some other commanders. Now the troops in this region were commanded by Isaac, the brother of Narses. And Philemouth and Beros with the Eruli who were under them came into the territory of Chorzianene, not far from the camp of Martinus. And Justus, the emperor's nephew, and Peranius and John, the son of Nicetas, together with Domentiolus and John, who was called the Glutton, made camp near the place called Phison, which is close by the boundaries of Martyropolis. Thus then were encamped the Roman commanders with their troops; and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand men. Now all these troops were neither gathered into one place, nor indeed was there any general meeting for conference. But the generals sent to each other some of their followers and began to make enquiries concerning the invasion. Suddenly, however, Peter, without communicating with anyone, and without any careful consideration, invaded the hostile land with his troops. And when on the following day this was found out by Philemouth and Beros, the leaders of the Eruli, they straightway followed. And when this in turn came to the knowledge of Martinus and Valerianus and their men, they quickly joined in the invasion. And all of them a little later united with each other in the enemy's territory, with the exception of Justus and his men, who, as I have said, had encamped far away from the rest of the army, and learned later of their invasion; then, indeed, they also invaded the territory of the enemy as quickly as possible at the point where they were, but failed altogether to unite with the other commanders. As for the others, they proceeded in a body straight for Doubios, neither plundering nor damaging in any other way the land of the Persians.

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there. And the priest of the Christians is called "Catholicos" in the Greek tongue, because he presides alone over the whole region. Now at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Doubios on the right as one travels from the land of the Romans, there is a mountain difficult of ascent and moreover precipitous, and a village crowded into very narrow space by the rough country about, Anglon by name. Thither Nabedes withdrew with his whole army as soon as he learned of the inroad of the enemy, and, confident in his strength of position, he shut himself in. Now the village lies at the extremity of the mountain, and there is a strong fortress bearing the same name as this village on the steep mountain side. So Nabedes with stones and carts blocked up the entrances into the village and thus made it still more difficult of access. And in front of it he dug a sort of trench and stationed the army there, having filled some old cabins with ambuscades of infantrymen. Altogether the Persian army amounted to four thousand men.

While these things were being done in this way, the Romans reached a place one day's journey distant from Anglon, and capturing one of the enemy who was going out as a spy they enquired where in the world Nabedes was then. And he asserted that the man had retired from Anglon with the whole Median army. And when Narses heard this, he was indignant, and he heaped reproaches and abuse upon his fellow-commanders for their hesitation. And others, too, began to do the very same thing, casting insults upon one another; and from then on, giving up all thought of battle and danger, they were eager to plunder the country thereabout. The troops broke camp, accordingly, and without the guidance of generals and without observing any definite formation, they moved forward in complete confusion; for neither had they any countersign among themselves, as is customary in such perilous situations, nor were they arranged in their proper divisions. For the soldiers marched forward, mixed in with the baggage train, as if going to the ready plunder of great wealth. But when they came near to Anglon, they sent out spies who returned to them announcing the array of the enemy. And the generals were thunder-struck by the unexpectedness of it, but they considered it altogether disgraceful and unmanly to turn back with an army of such great size, and so they disposed the army in its three divisions, as well as the

circumstances permitted, and advanced straight toward the enemy. Now Peter held the right wing and Valerianus the left, while Martinus and his men arrayed themselves in the centre. And when they came close to their opponents, they halted, preserving their formation, but not without disorder. The cause for this was to be found in the difficulty of the ground, which was very badly broken up, and in the fact that they were entering battle in a formation arranged on the spur of the moment. And up to this time the barbarians, who had gathered themselves into a small space, were remaining quiet, considering the strength of their antagonists, since the order had been given them by Nabedes not under any circumstances to begin the fighting, but if the enemy should assail them, to defend themselves with all their might.

And first Narses with the Eruli and those of the Romans who were under him, engaged with the enemy, and after a hard hand-to-hand struggle, he routed the Persians who were before him. And the barbarians in flight ascended on the run to the fortress, and in so doing they inflicted terrible injury upon one another in the narrow way. And then Narses urged his men forward and pressed still harder upon the enemy, and the rest of the Romans joined in the action. But all of a sudden the men who were in ambush, as has been said, came out from the cabins along the narrow alleys, and killed some of the Eruli, falling unexpectedly upon them, and they struck Narses himself a blow on the temple. And his brother Isaac carried him out from among the fighting men, mortally wounded. And he died shortly afterwards, having proved himself a brave man in this engagement. Then, as was to be expected, great confusion fell upon the Roman army, and Nabedes let out the whole Persian force upon his opponents. And the Persians, shooting into great masses of the enemy in the narrow alleys, killed a large number without difficulty, and particularly of the Eruli who had at the first fallen upon the enemy with Narses and were fighting for the most part without protection. For the Eruli have neither helmet nor corselet nor any other protective armour, except a shield and a thick jacket, which they gird about them before they enter a struggle. And indeed the Erulian slaves go into battle without even a shield, and when they prove themselves brave men in war, then their masters permit them to protect themselves in battle with shields. Such is the custom of the Eruli.

And the Romans did not withstand the enemy and all of them fled as fast as they could, never once thinking of resistance and heedless of shame or of any other worthy motive. But the Persians, suspecting that they had not turned thus to a shameless flight, but that they were making use of some ambuscades against them, pursued them as far as the rough ground extended and then turned back, not daring to fight a decisive battle on level ground, a few against many. The Romans, however, and especially all the generals, supposing that the enemy were continuing the pursuit without pause, kept fleeing still faster, wasting not a moment; and they were urging on their horses as they ran with whip and voice, and throwing their corselets and other accoutrements in haste

and confusion to the ground. For they had not the courage to array themselves against the Persians if they overtook them, but they placed all hope of safety in their horses' feet, and, in short, the flight became such that scarcely any one of their horses survived, but when they stopped running, they straightway fell down and expired. And this proved a disaster for the Romans so great as to exceed anything that had ever befallen them previously. For great numbers of them perished and still more fell into the hands of the enemy. And their weapons and draught animals which were taken by the enemy amounted to such an imposing number that Persia seemed as a result of this affair to have become richer. And Adolius, while passing through a fortified place during this retreat — it was situated in Persarmenia — was struck on the head by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants of the town, and died there. As for the forces of Justus and Peranius, they invaded the country about Taraunon, and after gathering some little plunder, immediately returned.

[544 A.D.] And in the following year, Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the fourth time invaded the land of the Romans, leading his army towards Mesopotamia. Now this invasion was made by this Chosroes not against Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, nor indeed against any other man, but only against the God whom the Christians reverence. For when in the first invasion he retired, after failing to capture Edessa, both he and the Magi, since they had been worsted by the God of the Christians, fell into a great dejection. Wherefore Chosroes, seeking to allay it, uttered a threat in the palace that he would make slaves of all the inhabitants of Edessa and bring them to the land of Persia, and would turn the city into a pasture for sheep. Accordingly when he had approached the city of Edessa with his whole army, he sent some of the Huns who were following him against that portion of the fortifications of the city which is above the hippodrome, with the purpose of doing no further injury than seizing the flocks which the shepherds had stationed there along the wall in great numbers: for they were confident in the strength of the place, since it was exceedingly steep, and supposed that the enemy would never dare to come so very close to the wall. So the barbarians were already laying hold of the sheep, and the shepherds were trying most valiantly to prevent them. And when a great number of Persians had come to the assistance of the Huns, the barbarians succeeded in detaching something of a flock from there, but Roman soldiers and some of the populace made a sally upon the enemy and the battle became a hand-to-hand struggle; meanwhile the flock of its own accord returned again to the shepherds. Now one of the Huns who was fighting before the others was making more trouble for the Romans than all the rest. And some rustic made a good shot and hit him on the right knee with a sling, and he immediately fell headlong from his horse to the ground, which thing heartened the Romans still more. And the battle which had begun early in the morning ended at midday, and both sides withdrew from the engagement thinking that they had the advantage. So the Romans went inside the fortifications, while the barbarians pitched their tents and made camp in a body about seven stades from the city.

Then Chosroes either saw some vision or else the thought occurred to him that if, after making two attempts, he should not be able to capture Edessa, he would thereby cover himself with much disgrace. Accordingly he decided to sell his withdrawal to the citizens of Edessa for a great sum of money. On the following day, therefore, Paulus the interpreter came along by the wall and said that some of the Roman notables should be sent to Chosroes. And they with all speed chose out four of their illustrious men and sent them. When these men reached the Median camp, they were met according to the king's order by Zaberganes, who first terrified them with many threats and then enquired of them which course was the more desirable for them, whether that

leading to peace, or that leading to war. And when the envoys agreed that they would choose peace rather than the dangers of war, Zaberganes replied: "Therefore it is necessary for you to purchase this for a great sum of money." And the envoys said that they would give as much as they had provided before, when he came against them after capturing Antioch. And Zaberganes dismissed them with laughter, telling them to deliberate most carefully concerning their safety and then to come again to the Persians. And a little later Chosroes summoned them, and when they came before him, he recounted how many Roman towns he had previously enslaved and in what manner he had accomplished it; then he threatened that the inhabitants of Edessa would receive more direful treatment at the hands of the Persians, unless they should give them all the wealth which they had inside the fortifications; for only on this condition, he said, would the army depart. When the envoys heard this, they agreed that they would purchase peace from Chosroes, if only he would not prescribe impossible conditions for them: but the outcome of a conflict, they said, was plainly seen by no one at all before the struggle. For there was never a war whose outcome might be taken for granted by those who waged it. Thereupon Chosroes in anger commanded the envoys to be gone with all speed.

On the eighth day of the siege he formed the design of erecting an artificial hill against the circuit wall of the city; accordingly he cut down trees in great numbers from the adjacent districts and, without removing the leaves, laid them together in a square before the wall, at a point which no missile from the city could reach; then he heaped an immense amount of earth right upon the trees and above that threw on a great quantity of stones, not such as are suitable for building, but cut at random, and only calculated to raise the hill as quickly as possible to a great height. And he kept laying on long timbers in the midst of the earth and the stones, and made them serve to bind the structure together, in order that as it became high it should not be weak. But Peter, the Roman general (for he happened to be there with Martinus and Peranius), wishing to check the men who were engaged in this work, sent some of the Huns who were under his command against them. And they, by making a sudden attack, killed a great number; and one of the guardsmen, Argek by name, surpassed all others, for he alone killed twenty-seven. From that time on, however, the barbarians kept a careful guard, and there was no further opportunity for anyone to go out against them. But when the artisans engaged in this work, as they moved forward, came within range of missiles, then the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance from the city wall, using both their slings and their bows against them. Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goat's hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the "agesta" (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited

arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there. And then the Romans, falling into a great fear, sent the envoys to Chosroes in great trepidation, and with them Stephanus, a physician of marked learning among those of his time at any rate, who also had once cured Cabades, the son of Perozes, when ill, and had been made master of great wealth by him. He, therefore, coming into the presence of Chosroes with the others, spoke as follows: "It has been agreed by all from of old that kindness is the mark of a good king. Therefore, most mighty King, while busying thyself with murders and battles and the enslavement of cities it will perhaps be possible for thee to win the other names, but thou wilt never by any means have the reputation of being 'good.' And yet least of all cities should Edessa suffer any adversity at thy hand. For there was I born, who, without any foreknowledge of what was coming to pass, fostered thee from childhood and counselled thy father to appoint thee his successor in the kingdom, so that to thee I have proved the chief cause of the kingship of Persia, but to my fatherland of her present woes. For men, as a general thing, bring down upon their own heads the most of the misfortunes which are going to befall them. But if any remembrance of such benefaction comes to thy mind, do us no further injury, and grant me this requital, by which, O King, thou wilt escape the reputation of being most cruel." Such were the words of Stephanus. But Chosroes declared that he would not depart from there until the Romans should deliver to him Peter and Peranius, seeing that, being his hereditary slaves, they had dared to array themselves against him. And if it was not their pleasure to do this, the Romans must choose one of two alternatives, either to give the Persians five hundred centenaria of gold, or to receive into the city some of his associates who would search out all the money, both gold and silver, as much as was there, and bring it to him, allowing everything else to remain in the possession of the present owners. Such then were the words which Chosroes hurled forth, being in hopes of capturing Edessa with no trouble. And the ambassadors (since all the conditions which he had announced to them seemed impossible), in despair and great vexation, proceeded to the city. And when they had come inside the city-wall, they reported the message from Chosroes, and the whole city was filled with tumult and lamentation.

Now the artificial hill was rising to a great height and was being pushed forward with much haste. And the Romans, being at a loss what to do, again sent off the envoys to Chosroes. And when they had arrived in the enemy's camp, and said that they had come to make entreaty concerning the same things, they did not even gain a hearing of any kind from the Persians, but they were insulted and driven out from there with a great tumult, and so returned to the city. At first, then, the Romans tried to over-top the wall opposite the hill by means of another structure. But since the Persian work was already rising far above even this, they stopped their building and persuaded Martinus to make the arrangements for a settlement in whatever

way he wished. He then came up close to the enemy's camp and began to converse with some of the Persian commanders. But they, completely deceiving Martinus, said that their king was desirous of peace, but that he was utterly unable to persuade the Roman Emperor to have done with his strife with Chosroes and to establish peace with him at last. And they mentioned as evidence of this the fact that Belisarius, who in power and dignity was far superior to Martinus, as even he himself would not deny, had recently persuaded the king of the Persians, when he was in the midst of Roman territory, to withdraw from there into Persia, promising that envoys from Byzantium would come to him at no distant time and establish peace securely, but that he had done none of the things agreed upon, since he had found himself unable to overcome the determination of the Emperor Justinian.

XXVII

In the meantime the Romans were busying themselves as follows: They made a tunnel from the city underneath the enemy's embankment, commanding the diggers not to leave this work until they should get under the middle of the hill. By this means they were planning to burn the embankment. But as the tunnel advanced to about the middle of the hill, a sound of blows, as it were, came to the ears of those Persians who were standing above. And perceiving what was being done, they too began from above and dug on both sides of the middle, so that they might catch the Romans who were doing the damage there. But the Romans found it out and abandoned this attempt, throwing earth into the place which had been hollowed out, and then began to work on the lower part of the embankment at the end which was next to the wall, and by taking out timbers and stones and earth they made an open space just like a chamber; then they threw in there dry trunks of trees of the kind which burn most easily, and saturated them with oil of cedar and added quantities of sulphur and bitumen. So, then, they were keeping these things in readiness; and meanwhile the Persian commanders in frequent meetings with Martinus were carrying on conversations with him in the same strain as the one I have mentioned, making it appear that they would receive proposals in regard to peace. But when at last their hill had been completed, and had been raised to a great elevation, approaching the circuit-wall of the city and rising far above it in height, then they sent Martinus away, definitely refusing to arrange the treaty, and they intended from then on to devote themselves to active warfare.

Accordingly the Romans straightway set fire to the tree-trunks which had been prepared for this purpose. But when the fire had burned only a certain portion of the embankment, and had not yet been able to penetrate through the whole mass, the wood was already entirely exhausted. But they kept throwing fresh wood into the pit, not slackening their efforts for a moment. And when the fire was already active throughout the whole embankment, some smoke appeared at night rising from every part of the hill, and the Romans, who were not yet willing to let the Persians know what was being done, resorted to the following device: They filled small pots with coals and fire and threw these and also ignited arrows in great numbers to all parts of the embankment. And the Persians who were keeping guard there, began to go about in great haste and extinguish these, and they supposed that the smoke arose from them. But since the trouble increased, the barbarians rushed up to help in great numbers, and the Romans, shooting them from the wall, killed many. And Chosroes too came there about sunrise, followed by the greater part of the army, and, upon mounting the hill, he first perceived what the trouble was. For he disclosed the fact that the cause of the smoke was underneath, not in the missiles which the enemy were hurling, and he ordered the whole army to come to the rescue with all speed. And the Romans, taking courage, began to insult them, while

the barbarians were at work, some throwing on earth, and others water, where the smoke appeared, hoping thus to get the better of the trouble; however, they were absolutely unable to accomplish anything. For where the earth was thrown on, the smoke, as was natural, was checked at that place, but not long afterwards it rose from another place, since the fire compelled it to force its way out wherever it could. And where the water fell most plentifully it only succeeded in making the bitumen and the sulphur much more active, and caused them to exert their full force upon the wood near by; and it constantly drove the fire forward, since the water could not penetrate inside the embankment in a quantity at all sufficient to extinguish the flame by its abundance. And in the late afternoon the smoke became so great in volume that it was visible to the inhabitants of Carrhae and to some others who dwelt far beyond them. And since a great number of Persians and of Romans had gone up on top of the embankment, a fight took place and a hand-to-hand struggle to drive each other off, and the Romans were victorious. Then even the flames rose and appeared clearly above the embankment, and the Persians abandoned this undertaking.

On the sixth day after this, at early dawn, they made an assault secretly upon a certain part of the circuit-wall with ladders, at the point which is called the Fort. And since the Romans who were keeping guard there were sleeping a quiet, peaceful sleep, as the night was drawing to its close, they silently set the ladders against the wall and were already ascending. But one of the rustics alone among the Romans happened to be awake, and he with a shout and a great noise began to rouse them all. And a hard struggle ensued in which the Persians were worsted, and they retired to their camp, leaving the ladders where they were; these the Romans drew up at their leisure. But Chosroes about midday sent a large part of the army against the so-called Great Gate in order to storm the wall. And the Romans went out and confronted them, not only soldiers, but even rustics and some of the populace, and they conquered the barbarians in battle decisively and turned them to flight. And while the Persians were still being pursued, Paulus, the interpreter, came from Chosroes, and going into the midst of the Romans, he reported that Rhecinarius had come from Byzantium to arrange the peace; and thus the two armies separated. Now it was already some days since Rhecinarius had arrived at the camp of the barbarians. But the Persians had by no means disclosed this fact to the Romans, plainly awaiting the outcome of the attempts upon the wall which they had planned, in order that, if they should be able to capture it, they might seem in no way to be violating the treaty, while if defeated, as actually happened, they might draw up the treaty at the invitation of the Romans. And when Rhecinarius had gone inside the gates, the Persians demanded that those who were to arrange the peace should come to Chosroes without any delay, but the Romans said that envoys would be sent three days later; for that just at the moment their general, Martinus, was unwell.

And Chosroes, suspecting that the reason was not a sound one, prepared

for battle. And at that time he only threw a great mass of bricks upon the embankment; but two days later he came against the fortifications of the city with the whole army to storm the wall. And at every gate he stationed some of the commanders and a part of the army, encircling the whole wall in this way, and he brought up ladders and war-engines against it. And in the rear he placed all the Saracens with some of the Persians, not in order to assault the wall, but in order that, when the city was captured, they might gather in the fugitives and catch them as in a drag-net. Such, then, was the purpose of Chosroes in arranging the army in this way. And the fighting began early in the morning, and at first the Persians had the advantage. For they were in great numbers and fighting against a very small force, since the most of the Romans had not heard what was going on and were utterly unprepared. But as the conflict advanced the city became full of confusion and tumult, and the whole population, even women and little children, were going up on to the wall. Now those who were of military age together with the soldiers were repelling the enemy most vigorously, and many of the rustics made a remarkable shew of valorous deeds against the barbarians. Meanwhile the women and children, and the aged also, were gathering stones for the fighters and assisting them in other ways. Some also filled numerous basins with olive-oil, and after heating them over fire a sufficient time everywhere along the wall, they sprinkled the oil, while boiling fiercely, upon the enemy who were assailing the wall, using a sort of whisk for the purpose, and in this way harassed them still more. The Persians, therefore, soon gave up and began to throw down their arms, and coming before the king, said that they were no longer able to hold out in the struggle. But Chosroes, in a passion of anger, drove them all on with threats and urged them forward against the enemy. And the soldiers with much shouting and tumult brought up the towers and the other engines of war to the wall and set the ladders against it, in order to capture the city with one grand rush. But since the Romans were hurling great numbers of missiles and exerting all their strength to drive them off, the barbarians were turned back by force; and as Chosroes withdrew, the Romans taunted him, inviting him to come and storm the wall. Only Azarethes at the so-called Soinian Gate was still fighting with his men, at the place which they call Tripurgia. And since the Romans at this point were not a match for them, but were giving way before their assaults, already the outer wall, which they call an outwork, had been torn down by the barbarians in many places, and they were pressing most vigorously upon those who were defending themselves from the great circuit-wall; but at last Peranius with a large number of soldiers and some of the citizens went out against them and defeated them in battle and drove them off. And the assault which had begun early in the morning ended in the late afternoon, and both sides remained quiet that night, the Persians fearing for their defences and for themselves, and the Romans gathering stones and taking them to the parapets and putting everything else in complete readiness, so as to fight against the enemy on the

morrow when they should attack the wall. Now on the succeeding day not one of the barbarians came against the fortifications; but on the day after that a portion of the army, urged on by Chosroes, made an assault upon the so-called Gate of Barlaus; but the Romans sallied forth and confronted them, and the Persians were decisively beaten in the engagement, and after a short time retired to the camp. And then Paulus, the interpreter of the Persians, came along by the wall and called for Martinus, in order that he might make the arrangements for the truce. Thus Martinus came to conference with the commanders of the Persians, and they concluded an agreement, by which Chosroes received five centenaria from the inhabitants of Edessa, and left them, in writing, the promise not to inflict any further injury upon the Romans; then, after setting fire to all his defences, he returned homeward with his whole army.

XXVIII

At about this time two generals of the Romans died, Justus, the nephew of the emperor, and Peranius, the Iberian, of whom the former succumbed to disease, while Peranius fell from his horse in hunting and suffered a fatal rupture. The emperor therefore appointed others in their places, dispatching Marcellus, his own nephew who was just arriving at the age of manhood, and Constantianus, who a little earlier had been sent as an envoy with Sergius to Chosroes. Then the Emperor Justinian sent Constantianus and Sergius a second time to Chosroes to arrange the truce. And they overtook him in Assyria, at the place where there are two towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, built by the Macedonians who after Alexander, the son of Philip, ruled over the Persians and the other nations there. These two towns are separated by the Tigris River only, for they have nothing else between them. There the envoys met Chosroes, and they demanded that he should give back to the Romans the country of Lazica, and establish peace with them on a thoroughly secure basis. But Chosroes said that it was not easy for them to come to terms with each other, unless they should first declare an armistice, and then should continue to go back and forth to each other without so much fear and settle their differences and make a peace which should be on a secure basis for the future. And it was necessary, he said, that in return for this continued armistice the Roman Emperor should give him money and should also send a certain physician, Tribunus by name, in order to spend some specified time with him. For it happened that this physician at a former time had rid him of a severe disease, and as a result of this he was especially beloved and greatly missed by him. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he immediately sent both Tribunus and the money, amounting to twenty centenaria. [545 A.D.] In this way the treaty was made between the Romans and the Persians for five years, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And a little later Arethas and Alamoundaras, the rulers of the Saracens, waged a war against each other by themselves, unaided either by the Romans or the Persians. And Alamoundaras captured one of the sons of Arethas in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and straightway sacrificed him to Aphrodite; and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians. Later they both came together in battle with their whole armies, and the forces of Arethas were overwhelmingly victorious, and turning their enemy to flight, they killed many of them. And Arethas came within a little of capturing alive two of the sons of Alamoundaras; however, he did not actually succeed. Such, then, was the course of events among the Saracens.

But it became clear that Chosroes, the Persian king, had made the truce with the Romans with treacherous intent, in order that he might find them remiss on account of the peace and inflict upon them some grave injury. For in

the third year of the truce he devised the following schemes. There were in Persia two brothers, Phabrizus and Isdigousnas, both holding most important offices there and at the same time reckoned to be the basest of all the Persians, and having a great reputation for their cleverness and evil ways. Accordingly, since Chosroes had formed the purpose of capturing the city of Daras by a sudden stroke, and to move all the Colchians out of Lazica and establish in their place Persian settlers, he selected these two men to assist him in both undertakings. For it seemed to him that it would be a lucky stroke and a really important achievement to win for himself the land of Colchis and to have it in secure possession, reasoning that this would be advantageous to the Persian empire in many ways. In the first place they would have Iberia in security forever afterwards, since the Iberians would not have anyone with whom, if they revolted, they might find safety; for since the most notable men of these barbarians together with their king, Gourgenes, had looked towards revolt, as I have stated in the preceding pages, the Persians from that time on did not permit them to set up a king over themselves, nor were the Iberians single-minded subjects of the Persians, but there was much suspicion and distrust between them. And it was evident that the Iberians were most thoroughly dissatisfied and that they would attempt a revolution shortly if they could only seize upon some favourable opportunity. Furthermore, the Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire. For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them. But most of all he hoped that the subjugation of Lazica would afford this advantage to the Persians, that starting from there they might overrun with no trouble both by land and by sea the countries along the Euxine Sea, as it is called, and thus win over the Cappadocians and the Galatians and Bithynians who adjoin them, and capture Byzantium by a sudden assault with no one opposing them. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was anxious to gain possession of Lazica, but in the Lazi he had not the least confidence. For since the time when the Romans had withdrawn from Lazica, the common people of the country naturally found the Persian rule burdensome. For the Persians are beyond all other men singular in their ways, and they are excessively rigid as regards the routine of daily life. And their laws are difficult of access for all men, and their requirements quite unbearable. But in comparison with the Lazi the difference of their thinking and living shews itself in an altogether exceptional degree, since the Lazi are Christians of the most thorough-going kind, while all the Persian views regarding religion are the exact opposite of theirs. And apart from this, salt is produced nowhere in Lazica, nor indeed does grain grow there nor the vine nor any other good thing. But from the Romans along the coast everything is brought in to them by ship, and even so they do not pay gold to the traders, but hides and slaves and whatever else happens to be found there in great

abundance; and when they were excluded from this trade, they were, as was to be expected, in a state of constant vexation. When, therefore, Chosroes perceived this, he was eager to anticipate with certainty any move on their part to revolt against him. And upon considering the matter, it seemed to him to be the most advantageous course to put Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, out of the way as quickly as possible, and to move the Lazi in a body out of the country, and then to colonize this land with Persians and certain other nations.

When Chosroes had matured these plans, he sent Isdigousnas to Byzantium, ostensibly to act as an envoy, and he picked out five hundred of the most valorous of the Persians and sent them with him, directing them to get inside the city of Daras, and to take their lodgings in many different houses, and at night to set these all on fire, and, while all the Romans were occupied with this fire, as was natural, to open the gates immediately, and receive the rest of the Persian army into the city. For word had been sent previously to the commander of the city of Nisibis to conceal a large force of soldiers near by and hold them in readiness. For in this way Chosroes thought that they would destroy all the Romans with no trouble, and seizing the city of Daras, would hold it securely. But someone who knew well what was being arranged, a Roman who had come to the Persians as a deserter a little earlier, told everything to George, who was staying there at the time; now this was the same man whom I mentioned in the preceding pages as having persuaded the Persians who were besieged in the fortress of Sisauranon to surrender themselves to the Romans. George therefore met this ambassador at the boundary line between Roman and Persian soil and said that this thing he was doing was not after the fashion of an embassy, and that never had so numerous a body of Persians stopped for the night in a city of the Romans. For he ought, he said, to have left behind all the rest in the town of Ammodios, and must himself enter the city of Daras with some few men. Now Isdigousnas was indignant and appeared to take it ill, because he had been insulted wrongfully, in spite of the fact that he was dispatched on an embassy to the Roman emperor. But George, paying no heed to him in his fury, saved the city for the Romans. For he received Isdigousnas into the city with only twenty men.

So having failed in this attempt, the barbarian came to Byzantium as if on an embassy, bringing with him his wife and two daughters (for this was his pretext for the crowd which had been gathered about him); but when he came before the emperor, he was unable to say anything great or small about any serious matter, although he wasted no less than ten months in Roman territory. However, he gave the emperor the gifts from Chosroes, as is customary, and a letter, in which Chosroes requested the Emperor Justinian to send word whether he was enjoying the best possible health. Nevertheless the Emperor Justinian received this Isdigousnas with more friendliness and treated him with greater honour than any of the other ambassadors of whom we know. So true was this that, whenever he entertained him, he caused Braducius, who followed him as interpreter, to recline with him on the couch, a thing which

had never before happened in all time. For no one ever saw an interpreter become a table-companion of even one of the more humble officials, not to speak of a king. But he both received and dismissed this man in a style more splendid than that which befits an ambassador, although he had undertaken the embassy for no serious business, as I have said. For if anyone should count up the money expended and the gifts which Isdigousnas carried with him when he went away, he will find them amounting to more than ten centenaria of gold. So the plot against the city of Daras ended in this way for Chosroes.

His first move against Lazica was as follows. He sent into the country a great amount of lumber suitable for the construction of ships, explaining to no one what his purpose was in so doing, but ostensibly he was sending it in order to set up engines of war on the fortifications of Petra. Next he chose out three hundred able warriors of the Persians, and sent them there under command of Phabrizus, whom I have lately mentioned, ordering him to make away with Goubazes as secretly as possible; as for the rest, he himself would take care. Now when this lumber had been conveyed to Lazica, it happened that it was struck suddenly by lightning and reduced to ashes. And Phabrizus, upon arriving in Lazica with the three hundred, began to contrive so that he might carry out the orders received by him from Chosroes regarding Goubazes. Now it happened that one of the men of note among the Colchians, Pharsanses by name, had quarrelled with Goubazes and in consequence had become exceedingly hostile to him, and now he did not dare at all to go into the presence of the king. When this was learned by Phabrizus, he summoned Pharsanses and in a conference with him disclosed the whole project, and enquired of the man in what way he ought to go about the execution of the deed. And it seemed best to them after deliberating together that Phabrizus should go into the city of Petra, and should summon Goubazes there, in order to announce to him what the king had decided concerning the interests of the Lazi. But Pharsanses secretly revealed to Goubazes what was being prepared. He, accordingly, did not come to Phabrizus at all, but began openly to plan a revolt. Then Phabrizus commanded the other Persians to attend as carefully as they could to the guarding of Petra, and to make everything as secure as possible against a siege, and he himself with the three hundred returned homeward without having accomplished his purpose. And Goubazes reported to the Emperor Justinian the condition in which they were, and begged him to grant forgiveness for what the Lazi had done in the past, and to come to their defence with all his strength, since they desired to be rid of the Median rule. For if left by themselves the Colchians would not be able to repel the power of the Persians.

[549 A.D.] When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he was overjoyed, and sent seven thousand men under the leadership of Dagisthaeus and a thousand Tzani to the assistance of the Lazi. And when this force reached the land of Colchis, they encamped together with Goubazes and the Lazi about the fortifications of Petra and commenced a siege. But since the Persians who were there made a most stalwart defence from the wall, it came about that much time was spent in the siege; for the Persians had put away an ample store of victuals in the town. And Chosroes, being greatly disturbed by these things, dispatched a great army of horse and foot against the besiegers, putting Mermeroes in command of them. And when Goubazes learned of this, he

considered the matter together with Dagisthaeus and acted in the manner which I shall presently set forth.

The river Boas rises close to the territory of the Tzani among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangium. And at first its course inclines to the right for a great distance, and its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the territory of the Iberians lies on the right, and the end of the Caucasus lies directly opposite. In that place many nations have their homes, and among them the Alani and Abasgi, who are Christians and friends of the Romans from of old; also the Zechi, and after them the Huns who bear the name Sabeiri. But when this river reaches the point which marks the termination of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters also are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of Phasis instead of Boas; and it becomes a navigable stream as far as the so-called Euxine Sea into which it empties; and on either side of it lies Lazica. Now on the right of the stream particularly the whole country for a great distance is populated by the people of Lazica as far as the boundary of Iberia. For all the villages of the Lazi are here beyond the river, and towns have been built there from of old, among which are Archaeopolis, a very strong place, and Sebastopolis, and the fortress of Pitius, and Scanda and Sarapanis over against the boundary of Iberia. Moreover there are two cities of the greatest importance in that region, Rhodopolis and Mocheresis. But on the left of the river, while the country belongs to Lazica as far as one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, the land is without human habitation. Adjoining this land is the home of the Romans who are called Pontic. Now it was in the territory of Lazica, in the part which was altogether uninhabited, that the Emperor Justinian founded the city of Petra in my own time. This was the place where John, surnamed Tzibus, established the monopoly, as I have told in the previous narrative, and gave cause to the Lazi to revolt. And as one leaves the city of Petra going southward, the Roman territory commences immediately, and there are populous towns there, and one which bears the name of Rhizaeum, also Athens and certain others as far as Trapezus. Now when the Lazi brought in Chosroes, they crossed the River Boas and came to Petra keeping the Phasis on the right, because, as they said, they would thus provide against being compelled to spend much time and trouble in ferrying the men across the River Phasis, but in reality they did not wish to display their own homes to the Persians. And yet Lazica is everywhere difficult to traverse both to the right and to the left of the River Phasis. For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes "clisurae" when they put their own word into a Greek form.) But since at that time Lazica happened to be unguarded, the Persians had reached Petra very easily with the Lazi who were their guides.

But on this occasion Goubazes, upon learning of the advance of the

Persians, directed Dagisthaeus to send some men to guard with all their strength the pass which is below the River Phasis, and he bade him not on any account to abandon the siege until they should be able to capture Petra and the Persians in it. He himself meanwhile with the whole Colchian army came to the frontier of Lazica, in order to devote all his strength to guarding the pass there. Now it happened that long before he had persuaded the Alani and Sabeiri to form an alliance with him, and they had agreed for three centenaria not merely to assist the Lazi in guarding the land from plunder, but also to render Iberia so destitute of men that not even the Persians would be able to come in from there in the future. And Goubazes had promised that the emperor would give them this money. So he reported the agreement to the Emperor Justinian and besought him to send this money for the barbarians and afford the Lazi some consolation in their great distress. He also stated that the treasury owed him his salary for ten years, for though he was assigned a post among the privy counsellors in the palace, he had received no payment from it since the time when Chosroes came into the land of Colchis. And the Emperor Justinian intended to fulfil this request, but some business came up to occupy his attention and he did not send the money at the proper time. So Goubazes was thus engaged.

But Dagisthaeus, being a rather young man and by no means competent to carry on a war against Persia, did not handle the situation properly. For while he ought to have sent certainly the greater part of the army to the pass, and perhaps should have assisted in person in this enterprise, he sent only one hundred men, just as if he were managing a matter of secondary importance. He himself, moreover, though besieging Petra with the whole army, accomplished nothing, although the enemy were few. For while they had been at the beginning not less than fifteen hundred, they had been shot at by Romans and Lazi in their fighting at the wall for a long time, and had made a display of valour such as no others known to us have made, so that many were falling constantly and they were reduced to an exceedingly small number. So while the Persians, plunged in despair and at a loss what to do, were remaining quiet, the Romans made a trench along the wall for a short space, and the circuit-wall at this point fell immediately. But it happened that inside this space there was a building which did not stand back at all from the circuit-wall, and this reached to the whole length of the fallen portion; thus, taking the place of the wall for the besieged, it rendered them secure none the less. But this was not sufficient greatly to disturb the Romans. For knowing well that by doing the same thing elsewhere they would capture the city with the greatest ease, they became still more hopeful than before. For this reason Dagisthaeus sent word to the emperor of what had come to pass, and proposed that prizes of victory should be in readiness for him, indicating what rewards the emperor should bestow upon himself and his brother; for he would capture Petra after no great time. So the Romans and the Tzani made a most vigorous assault upon the wall, but the Persians unexpectedly withstood them, although

only a very few were left. And since the Romans were accomplishing nothing by assaulting the wall, they again turned to digging. And they went so far in this work that the foundations of the circuit-wall were no longer on solid ground, but stood for the most part over empty space, and, in the nature of things, would fall almost immediately. And if Dagisthaeus had been willing immediately to apply fire to the foundations, I think that the city would have been captured by them straightway; but, as it was, he was awaiting encouragement from the emperor, and so, always hesitating and wasting time, he remained inactive. Such, then, was the course of events in the Roman camp.

But Mermeroes, after passing the Iberian frontier with the whole Median army, was moving forward with the River Phasis on his right. For he was quite unwilling to go through the country of Lazica, lest any obstacle should confront him there. For he was eager to save the city of Petra and the Persians in it, even though a portion of the circuit-wall had fallen down suddenly. For it had been hanging in the air, as I have said; and volunteers from the Roman army to the number of fifty got inside the city, and raised the shout proclaiming the Emperor Justinian triumphant. These men were led by a young man of Armenian birth, John by name, the son of Thomas whom they used to call by the surname Gouzes. This Thomas had built many of the strongholds about Lazica at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor an intelligent person. Now John, when the Persians joined battle with his men, was wounded and straightway withdrew to the camp with his followers, since no one else of the Roman army came to support him. Meanwhile the Persian Mirranes who commanded the garrison in Petra, fearing for the city, directed all the Persians to keep guard with the greatest diligence, and he himself went to Dagisthaeus, and addressed him with fawning speeches and deceptive words, agreeing readily to surrender the city not long afterwards. In this way he succeeded in deceiving him so that the Roman army did not immediately enter the city.

Now when the army of Mermeroes came to the pass, the Roman garrison, numbering one hundred men, confronted them there and offered a stalwart resistance, and they held in check their opponents who were attempting the entrance. But the Persians by no means withdrew, but those who fell were constantly replaced by others, and they kept advancing, trying with all their strength to force their way in. Among the Persians more than a thousand perished, but at last the Romans were worn out with killing, and, being forced back by the throng, they withdrew, and running up to the heights of the mountain there were saved. Dagisthaeus, upon learning this, straightway abandoned the siege without giving any commands to the army, and proceeded to the River Phasis; and all the Romans followed him, leaving their possessions behind in the camp. And when the Persians observed what was being done, they opened their gates and came forth, and approached the tents of the enemy in order to capture the camp. But the Tzani, who had not followed after Dagisthaeus, as it happened, rushed out to defend the camp, and they routed the enemy without difficulty and killed many. So the Persians fled inside their fortifications, and the Tzani, after plundering the Roman camp proceeded straight for Rhizaëum. And from there they came to Athens and betook themselves to their homes through the territory of the Trapezuntines.

And Mermeroes and the Median army came there on the ninth day after the

withdrawal of Dagisthaeus; and in the city they found left of the Persian garrison three hundred and fifty men wounded and unfit for fighting, and only one hundred and fifty men unhurt; for all the rest had perished. Now the survivors had in no case thrown the bodies of the fallen outside the fortifications, but though stifled by the evil stench, they held out in a manner beyond belief, in order that they might not afford the enemy any encouragement for the prosecution of the siege, by letting them know that most of their number had perished. And Mermeroes remarked by way of a taunt that the Roman state was worthy of tears and lamentation, because they had come to such a state of weakness that they had been unable by any device to capture one hundred and fifty Persians without a wall. And he was eager to build up the portions of the circuit-wall which had fallen down; but since at the moment he had neither lime nor any of the other necessary materials for the building ready at hand, he devised the following plan. Filling with sand the linen bags in which the Persians had carried their provisions into the land of Colchis, he laid them in the place of the stones, and the bags thus arranged took the place of the wall. And choosing out three thousand of his able fighting men, he left them there, depositing with them victuals for no great length of time, and commanding them to attend to the building of the fortifications; then he himself with all the rest of the army turned back and marched away.

But since, if he went from there by the same road, no means of provisioning his army was available, since he had left everything in Petra which had been brought in by the army from Iberia, he planned to go by another route through the mountains, where he learned that the country was inhabited, in order that by foraging there he might be able to live off the land. In the course of this journey one of the notables among the Lazi, Phoubelis by name, laid an ambush for the Persians while camping for the night, bringing with him Dagisthaeus with two thousand of the Romans; and these men, making a sudden attack, killed some of the Persians who were grazing their horses, and after securing the horses as plunder they shortly withdrew. Thus, then, Mermeroes with the Median army departed from there.

But Goubazes, upon learning what had befallen the Romans both at Petra and at the pass, did not even so become frightened, nor did he give up the guarding of the pass where he was, considering that their hope centred in that place. For he understood that, even if the Persians had been able by forcing back the Romans on the left of the River Phasis to cross over the pass and get into Petra, they could thereby inflict no injury upon the land of the Lazi, since they were utterly unable to cross the Phasis, in particular because no ships were at their disposal. For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a very great distance, without mingling at all with the sea-water. Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of

the sea. Moreover, the Lazi have erected fortresses all along the right bank of the river, in order that, even when the enemy are ferried across in boats, they may not be able to disembark on the land.

The Emperor Justinian at this time sent to the nation of the Sabeiri the money which had been agreed upon, and he rewarded Goubazes and the Lazi with additional sums of money. And it happened that long before this time he had sent another considerable army also to Lazica, which had not yet arrived there. The commander of this army was Rhecithancus, from Thrace, a man of discretion and a capable warrior. Such then was the course of these events.

Now when Mermeroes got into the mountains, as I have said, he was anxious to fill Petra with provisions from there. For he did not by any means think that the victuals which they had brought in with them would suffice for the garrison there, amounting to three thousand men. But since the supplies they found along the way barely sufficed for the provisioning of that army, which numbered no less than thirty thousand, and since on this account they were able to send nothing at all of consequence to Petra, upon consideration he found it better for them that the greater part of the army should depart from the land of Colchis, and that some few should remain there, who were to convey to the garrison in Petra the most of the provisions which they might find, while using the rest to maintain themselves comfortably. He therefore selected five thousand men and left them there, appointing as commanders over them Phabrizus and three others. For it seemed to him unnecessary to leave more men there, since there was no enemy at all. And he himself with the rest of the army came into Persarmenia and remained quietly in the country around Doubios.

Now the five thousand, upon coming nearer to the frontier of Lazica, encamped in a body beside the Phasis River, and from there they went about in small bands and plundered the neighbouring country. Now when Goubazes perceived this, he sent word to Dagisthaeus to hasten there to his assistance: for it would be possible for them to do the enemy some great harm. And he did as directed, moving forward with the whole Roman army with the River Phasis on the left, until he came to the place where the Lazi were encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Now it happened that the Phasis could be forded at this point, a fact which neither the Romans nor the Persians suspected in the least because of their lack of familiarity with these regions; but the Lazi knew it well, and they made the crossing suddenly and joined the Roman army. And the Persians chose out a thousand men of repute among them and sent them forth, that no one might advance against the camp to harm it. And two of this force, who had gone out ahead of their fellows to reconnoitre, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy and informed them of the whole situation. The Romans, therefore, and the Lazi fell suddenly upon the thousand men, and not one of them succeeded in escaping, but the most of them were slain, while some also were captured; and through these the men of Goubazes and Dagisthaeus succeeded in learning the numbers of

the Median army and the length of the journey to them and the condition in which they then were. They therefore broke camp and marched against them with their whole army, calculating so that they would fall upon them well on in the night; their own force amounted to fourteen thousand men. Now the Persians, having no thought of an enemy in their minds, were enjoying a long sleep; for they supposed that the river was impassable, and that the thousand men, with no one to oppose them, were making a long march somewhere. But the Romans and Lazi at early dawn unexpectedly fell upon them, and they found some still buried in slumber and others just roused from sleep and lying defenceless upon their beds. Not one of them, therefore, thought of resistance, and the majority were caught and killed, while some also were captured by the enemy, among whom happened to be one of the commanders; only a few escaped in the darkness and were saved. And the Romans and Lazi captured the camp and all the standards, and they also secured many weapons and a great deal of money as plunder, besides great numbers of horses and mules. And pursuing them for a very great distance they came well into Iberia. There they happened upon certain others of the Persians also and slew a great number. Thus the Persians departed from Lazica; and the Romans and Lazi found there all the supplies, including great quantities of flour, which the barbarians had brought in from Iberia, in order to transport them to Petra, and they burned them all. And they left a large number of Lazi in the pass, so that it might no longer be possible for the Persians to carry in supplies to Petra, and they returned with all the plunder and the captives. [549 A.D.] And the fourth year of the truce between the Romans and Persians came to an end, being the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And John the Cappadocian one year before this came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor. For at that time the Empress Theodora had reached the term of her life. However, he was quite unable to recover any of his former dignities, but he continued to hold the priestly honour against his will; and yet the vision had often come to the man that he would arrive at royalty. For the divine power is accustomed to tempt those whose minds are not solidly grounded by nature, by holding before their vision, on great and lofty hopes, that which is counted splendid among men. At any rate the marvel-mongers were always predicting to this John many such imaginary things, and especially that he was bound to be clothed in the garment of Augustus. Now there was a certain priest in Byzantium, Augustus by name, who guarded the treasures of the temple of Sophia. So when John had been shorn and declared worthy of the priestly dignity by force, inasmuch as he had no garment becoming a priest, he had been compelled by those who were in charge of this business to put on the cloak and the tunic of this Augustus who was near by, and in this, I suppose, his prophecy reached its fulfilment.

BOOK III. THE VANDALIC WAR

I

Such, then, was the final outcome of the Persian War for the Emperor Justinian; and I shall now proceed to set forth all that he did against the Vandals and the Moors. But first shall be told whence came the host of the Vandals when they descended upon the land of the Romans. After Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, had departed from the world, having proved himself one of the most just of men and an able warrior, his kingdom was taken over by his two sons, Arcadius, the elder, receiving the Eastern portion, and Honorius, the younger, the Western. [Jan. 17, 395 A.D.] But the Roman power had been thus divided as far back as the time of Constantine and his sons; for he transferred his government to Byzantium, and making the city larger and much more renowned, allowed it to be named after him.

Now the earth is surrounded by a circle of ocean, either entirely or for the most part (for our knowledge is not as yet at all clear in this matter); and it is split into two continents by a sort of outflow from the ocean, a flow which enters at the western part and forms this Sea which we know, beginning at Gadira and extending all the way to the Maeotic Lake. Of these two continents the one to the right, as one sails into the Sea, as far as the Lake, has received the name of Asia, beginning at Gadira and at the southern of the two Pillars of Heracles. Septem is the name given by the natives to the fort at that point, since seven hills appear there; for "septem" has the force of "seven" in the Latin tongue. And the whole continent opposite this was named Europe. And the strait at that point separates the two continents by about eighty-four stades, but from there on they are kept apart by wide expanses of sea as far as the Hellespont. For at this point they again approach each other at Sestus and Abydus, and once more at Byzantium and Chalcedon as far as the rocks called in ancient times the "Dark Blue Rocks," where even now is the place called Hieron. For at these places the continents are separated from one another by a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.

Now the distance from one of the Pillars of Heracles to the other, if one goes along the shore and does not pass around the Ionian Gulf and the sea called the Euxine but crosses from Chalcedon to Byzantium and from Dryous to the opposite mainland, is a journey of two hundred and eighty-five days for an unencumbered traveller. For as to the land about the Euxine Sea, which extends from Byzantium to the Lake, it would be impossible to tell everything with precision, since the barbarians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, make the shore of that sea quite impossible for the Romans to traverse — except, indeed, that from Byzantium to the mouth of the Ister is a journey of twenty-two days, which should be added to the measure of Europe by one making the computation. And on the Asiatic side, that is from Chalcedon to the Phasis River, which, flowing from the country of the Colchians, descends into the Pontus, the journey is accomplished in forty

days. So that the whole Roman domain, according to the distance along the sea at least, attains the measure of a three hundred and forty-seven days' journey, if, as has been said, one ferries over the Ionian Gulf, which extends about eight hundred stades from Dryous. For the passage across the gulf amounts to a journey of not less than four days. Such, then, was the size of the Roman empire in the ancient times.

And there fell to him who held the power in the West the most of Libya, extending ninety days' journey — for such is the distance from Gadira to the boundaries of Tripolis in Libya; and in Europe he received as his portion territory extending seventy-five days' journey — for such is the distance from the northern of the Pillars of Heracles to the Ionian Gulf. And one might add also the distance around the gulf. And the emperor of the East received territory extending one hundred and twenty days' journey, from the boundaries of Cyrene in Libya as far as Epidamnus, which lies on the Ionian Gulf and is called at the present time Dyrrachium, as well as that portion of the country about the Euxine Sea which, as previously stated, is subject to the Romans. Now one day's journey extends two hundred and ten stades, or as far as from Athens to Megara. Thus, then, the Roman emperors divided either continent between them. And among the islands Britain, which is outside the Pillars of Heracles and by far the largest of all islands, was counted, as is natural, with the West; and inside the Pillars, Ebusa, which lies in the Mediterranean in what we may call the Propontis, just inside the opening where the ocean enters, about seven days' journey from the opening, and two others near it, Majorica and Minorica, as they are called by the natives, were also assigned to the Western empire. And each of the islands in the Sea itself fell to the share of that one of the two emperors within whose boundaries it happened to lie.

II

Now while Honorius was holding the imperial power in the West, barbarians took possession of his land; and I shall tell who they were and in what manner they did so. [395-423 A.D.] There were many Gothic nations in earlier times, just as also at the present, but the greatest and most important of all are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepaedes. In ancient times, however, they were named Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni; and there were some too who called these nations Getic. All these, while they are distinguished from one another by their names, as has been said, do not differ in anything else at all. For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith, and have one language called Gothic; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group. This people used to dwell above the Ister River from of old. Later on the Gepaedes got possession of the country about Singidunum and Sirmium, on both sides of the Ister River, where they have remained settled even down to my time.

But the Visigoths, separating from the others, removed from there and at first entered into an alliance with the Emperor Arcadius, but at a later time (for faith with the Romans cannot dwell in barbarians), under the leadership of Alaric, they became hostile to both emperors, and, beginning with Thrace, treated all Europe as an enemy's land. Now the Emperor Honorius had before this time been sitting in Rome, with never a thought of war in his mind, but glad, I think, if men allowed him to remain quiet in his palace. But when word was brought that the barbarians with a great army were not far off, but somewhere among the Taulantii, he abandoned the palace and fled in disorderly fashion to Ravenna, a strong city lying just about at the end of the Ionian Gulf, while some say that he brought in the barbarians himself, because an uprising had been started against him among his subjects; but this does not seem to me trustworthy, as far, at least, as one can judge of the character of the man. And the barbarians, finding that they had no hostile force to encounter them, became the most cruel of all men. For they destroyed all the cities which they captured, especially those south of the Ionian Gulf, so completely that nothing has been left to my time to know them by, unless, indeed, it might be one tower or one gate or some such thing which chanced to remain. And they killed all the people, as many as came in their way, both old and young alike, sparing neither women nor children. Wherefore even up to the present time Italy is sparsely populated. They also gathered as plunder all the money out of all Europe, and, most important of all, they left in Rome nothing whatever of public or private wealth when they moved on to Gaul. But I shall now tell how Alaric captured Rome.

After much time had been spent by him in the siege, and he had not been

able either by force or by any other device to capture the place, he formed the following plan. Among the youths in the army whose beards had not yet grown, but who had just come of age, he chose out three hundred whom he knew to be of good birth and possessed of valour beyond their years, and told them secretly that he was about to make a present of them to certain of the patricians in Rome, pretending that they were slaves. And he instructed them that, as soon as they got inside the houses of those men, they should display much gentleness and moderation and serve them eagerly in whatever tasks should be laid upon them by their owners; and he further directed them that not long afterwards, on an appointed day at about midday, when all those who were to be their masters would most likely be already asleep after their meal, they should all come to the gate called Salarian and with a sudden rush kill the guards, who would have no previous knowledge of the plot, and open the gates as quickly as possible. After giving these orders to the youths, Alaric straightway sent ambassadors to the members of the senate, stating that he admired them for their loyalty toward their emperor, and that he would trouble them no longer, because of their valour and faithfulness, with which it was plain that they were endowed to a remarkable degree, and in order that tokens of himself might be preserved among men both noble and brave, he wished to present each one of them with some domestics. After making this declaration and sending the youths not long afterwards, he commanded the barbarians to make preparations for the departure, and he let this be known to the Romans. And they heard his words gladly, and receiving the gifts began to be exceedingly happy, since they were completely ignorant of the plot of the barbarian. For the youths, by being unusually obedient to their owners, averted suspicion, and in the camp some were already seen moving from their positions and raising the siege, while it seemed that the others were just on the point of doing the very same thing. But when the appointed day had come, Alaric armed his whole force for the attack and was holding them in readiness close by the Salarian Gate; for it happened that he had encamped there at the beginning of the siege. And all the youths at the time of the day agreed upon came to this gate, and, assailing the guards suddenly, put them to death; then they opened the gates and received Alaric and the army into the city at their leisure. [Aug. 24, 410 A.D.] And they set fire to the houses which were next to the gate, among which was also the house of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stood half-burned up to my time; and after plundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romans, they moved on. At that time they say that the Emperor Honorius in Ravenna received the message from one of the eunuchs, evidently a keeper of the poultry, that Rome had perished. And he cried out and said, "And yet it has just eaten from my hands!" For he had a very large cock, Rome by name; and the eunuch comprehending his words said that it was the city of Rome which had perished at the hands of Alaric, and the emperor with a sigh of relief answered quickly: "But I, my good fellow,

thought that my fowl Rome had perished." So great, they say, was the folly with which this emperor was possessed.

But some say that Rome was not captured in this way by Alaric, but that Proba, a woman of very unusual eminence in wealth and in fame among the Roman senatorial class, felt pity for the Romans who were being destroyed by hunger and the other suffering they endured; for they were already even tasting each other's flesh; and seeing that every good hope had left them, since both the river and the harbour were held by the enemy, she commanded her domestics, they say, to open the gates by night.

Now when Alaric was about to depart from Rome, he declared Attalus, one of their nobles, emperor of the Romans, investing him with the diadem and the purple and whatever else pertains to the imperial dignity. And he did this with the intention of removing Honorius from his throne and of giving over the whole power in the West to Attalus. With such a purpose, then, both Attalus and Alaric were going with a great army against Ravenna. But this Attalus was neither able to think wisely himself, nor to be persuaded by one who had wisdom to offer. So while Alaric did not by any means approve the plan, Attalus sent commanders to Libya without an army. Thus, then, were these things going on.

And the island of Britain revolted from the Romans, and the soldiers there chose as their king Constantinus, a man of no mean station. [407 A.D.] And he straightway gathered a fleet of ships and a formidable army and invaded both Spain and Gaul with a great force, thinking to enslave these countries. But Honorius was holding ships in readiness and waiting to see what would happen in Libya, in order that, if those sent by Attalus were repulsed, he might himself sail for Libya and keep some portion of his own kingdom, while if matters there should go against him, he might reach Theodosius and remain with him. For Arcadius had already died long before, and his son Theodosius, still a very young child, held the power of the East. [408-450 A.D.] But while Honorius was thus anxiously awaiting the outcome of these events and tossed amid the billows of uncertain fortune, it so chanced that some wonderful pieces of good fortune befell him. For God is accustomed to succour those who are neither clever nor able to devise anything of themselves, and to lend them assistance, if they be not wicked, when they are in the last extremity of despair; such a thing, indeed, befell this emperor. For it was suddenly reported from Libya that the commanders of Attalus had been destroyed, and that a host of ships was at hand from Byzantium with a very great number of soldiers who had come to assist him, though he had not expected them, and that Alaric, having quarrelled with Attalus, had stripped him of the emperor's garb and was now keeping him under guard in the position of a private citizen. [411 A.D.] And afterwards Alaric died of disease, and the army of the Visigoths under the leadership of Adaulphus proceeded into Gaul, and Constantinus, defeated in battle, died with his sons. However the Romans never succeeded in recovering Britain, but it remained from that time

on under tyrants. And the Goths, after making the crossing of the Ister, at first occupied Pannonia, but afterwards, since the emperor gave them the right, they inhabited the country of Thrace. And after spending no great time there they conquered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.

III

Now the Vandals dwelling about the Maeotic Lake, since they were pressed by hunger, moved to the country of the Germans, who are now called Franks, and the river Rhine, associating with themselves the Alani, a Gothic people. Then from there, under the leadership of Godigisclus, they moved and settled in Spain, which is the first land of the Roman empire on the side of the ocean. At that time Honorius made an agreement with Godigisclus that they should settle there on condition that it should not be to the detriment of the country. But there was a law among the Romans, that if any persons should fail to keep their property in their own possession, and if, meanwhile, a time amounting to thirty years should pass, that these persons should thenceforth not be entitled to proceed against those who had forced them out, but they were excluded by demurrer from access to the court; and in view of this he established a law that whatever time should be spent by the Vandals in the Roman domain should not by any means be counted toward this thirty-year demurrer. And Honorius himself, when the West had been driven by him to this pass, died of disease. [Aug. 27, 423 A.D.] Now before this, as it happened, the royal power had been shared by Honorius with Constantius, the husband of Placidia, the sister of Arcadius and Honorius; but he lived to exercise the power only a few days, and then, becoming seriously ill, he died while Honorius was still living, [421 A.D.] having never succeeded in saying or in doing anything worth recounting; for the time was not sufficient during which he lived in possession of the royal power. Now a son of this Constantius, Valentinian, a child just weaned, was being reared in the palace of Theodosius, but the members of the imperial court in Rome chose one of the soldiers there, John by name, as emperor. This man was both gentle and well-endowed with sagacity and thoroughly capable of valorous deeds. At any rate he held the tyranny five years and directed it with moderation, and he neither gave ear to slanderers nor did he do any unjust murder, willingly at least, nor did he set his hand to robbing men of money; but he did not prove able to do anything at all against the barbarians, since his relations with Byzantium were hostile. Against this John, Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, sent a great army and Aspar and Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, as generals, and wrested from him the tyranny and gave over the royal power to Valentinian, who was still a child. And Valentinian took John alive, and he brought him out in the hippodrome of Aquileia with one of his hands cut off and caused him to ride in state on an ass, and then after he had suffered much ill treatment from the stage-performers there, both in word and in deed, he put him to death. [426 A.D.] Thus Valentinian took over the power of the West. But Placidia, his mother, had reared this emperor and educated him in an altogether effeminate manner, and in consequence he was filled with wickedness from childhood. For he associated mostly with sorcerers and those who busy themselves with the

stars, and, being an extraordinarily zealous pursuer of love affairs with other men's wives, he conducted himself in a most indecent manner, although he was married to a woman of exceptional beauty. [455 A.D.] And not only was this true, but he also failed to recover for the empire anything of what had been wrested from it before, and he both lost Libya in addition to the territory previously lost and was himself destroyed. And when he perished, it fell to the lot of his wife and his children to become captives. Now the disaster in Libya came about as follows.

There were two Roman generals, Aetius and Boniface, especially valiant men and in experience of many wars inferior to none of that time at least. These two came to be at variance in regard to matters of state, but they attained to such a degree of highmindedness and excellence in every respect that if one should call either of them "the last of the Romans" he would not err, so true was it that all the excellent qualities of the Romans were summed up in these two men. One of these, Boniface, was appointed by Placidia general of all Libya. Now this was not in accord with the wishes of Aetius, but he by no means disclosed the fact that it did not please him. For their hostility had not as yet come to light, but was concealed behind the countenance of each. But when Boniface had got out of the way, Aetius slandered him to Placidia, saying that he was setting up a tyranny and had robbed her and the emperor of all Libya, and he said that it was very easy for her to find out the truth; for if she should summon Boniface to Rome, he would never come. And when the woman heard this, Aetius seemed to her to speak well and she acted accordingly. But Aetius, anticipating her, wrote to Boniface secretly that the mother of the emperor was plotting against him and wished to put him out of the way. And he predicted to him that there would be convincing proof of the plot; for he would be summoned very shortly for no reason at all. Such was the announcement of the letter. And Boniface did not disregard the message, for as soon as those arrived who were summoning him to the emperor, he refused to give heed to the emperor and his mother, disclosing to no one the warning of Aetius. So when Placidia heard this, she thought that Aetius was exceedingly well-disposed towards the emperor's cause and took under consideration the question of Boniface. But Boniface, since it did not seem to him that he was able to array himself against the emperor, and since if he returned to Rome there was clearly no safety for him, began to lay plans so that, if possible, he might have a defensive alliance with the Vandals, who, as previously stated, had established themselves in Spain not far from Libya. There Godigisclus had died and the royal power had fallen to his sons, Gontharis, who was born to him from his wedded wife, and Gizeric, of illegitimate birth. But the former was still a child and not of very energetic temper, while Gizeric had been excellently trained in warfare, and was the cleverest of all men. Boniface accordingly sent to Spain those who were his own most intimate friends and gained the adherence of each of the sons of Godigisclus on terms of complete equality, it being agreed that each

one of the three, holding a third part of Libya, should rule over his own subjects; but if a foe should come against any one of them to make war, that they should in common ward off the aggressors. On the basis of this agreement the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira and came into Libya, and the Visigoths in later times settled in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Boniface, remembering the character of the man and considering how strange his action was, were greatly astonished to think that Boniface was setting up a tyranny, and some of them at the order of Placidia went to Carthage. There they met Boniface, and saw the letter of Aetius, and after hearing the whole story they returned to Rome as quickly as they could and reported to Placidia how Boniface stood in relation to her. And though the woman was dumbfounded, she did nothing unpleasant to Aetius nor did she upbraid him for what he had done to the emperor's house, for he himself wielded great power and the affairs of the empire were already in an evil plight; but she disclosed to the friends of Boniface the advice Aetius had given, and, offering oaths and pledges of safety, entreated them to persuade the man, if they could, to return to his fatherland and not to permit the empire of the Romans to lie under the hand of barbarians. And when Boniface heard this, he repented of his act and of his agreement with the barbarians, and he besought them incessantly, promising them everything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not receive his words with favour, but considered that they were being insulted, he was compelled to fight with them, and being defeated in the battle, he retired to Hippo Regius, a strong city in the portion of Numidia that is on the sea. There the Vandals made camp under the leadership of Gizeric and began a siege; for Gontharis had already died. And they say that he perished at the hand of his brother. The Vandals, however, do not agree with those who make this statement, but say that Gontharis' was captured in battle by Germans in Spain and impaled, and that Gizeric was already sole ruler when he led the Vandals into Libya. This, indeed, I have heard from the Vandals, stated in this way. But after much time had passed by, since they were unable to secure Hippo Regius either by force or by surrender, and since at the same time they were being pressed by hunger, they raised the siege. And a little later Boniface and the Romans in Libya, since a numerous army had come from both Rome and Byzantium and Aspar with them as general, decided to renew the struggle, and a fierce battle was fought in which they were badly beaten by the enemy, and they made haste to flee as each one could. And Aspar betook himself homeward, and Boniface, coming before Placidia, acquitted himself of the suspicion, showing that it had arisen against him for no true cause.

IV

So the Vandals, having wrested Libya from the Romans in this way, made it their own. And those of the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to slavery and held under guard. Among these happened to be Marcian, who later upon the death of Theodosius assumed the imperial power. At that time, however, Gizeric commanded that the captives be brought into the king's courtyard, in order that it might be possible for him, by looking at them, to know what master each of them might serve without degradation. And when they were gathered under the open sky, about midday, the season being summer, they were distressed by the sun and sat down. And somewhere or other among them Marcian, quite neglected, was sleeping. Then an eagle flew over him spreading out his wings, as they say, and always remaining in the same place in the air he cast a shadow over Marcian alone. And Gizeric, upon seeing from the upper storey what was happening, since he was an exceedingly discerning person, suspected that the thing was a divine manifestation, and summoning the man enquired of him who he might be. And he replied that he was a confidential adviser of Aspar; such a person the Romans call a "domesticus" in their own tongue. And when Gizeric heard this and considered first the meaning of the bird's action, and then remembered how great power Aspar exercised in Byzantium, it became evident to him that the man was being led to royal power. He therefore by no means deemed it right to kill him, reasoning that, if he should remove him from the world, it would be very clear that the thing which the bird had done was nothing (for he would not honour with his shadow a king who was about to die straightway), and he felt, too, that he would be killing him for no good cause; and if, on the other hand, it was fated that in later times the man should become king, it would never be within his power to inflict death upon him; for that which has been decided upon by God could never be prevented by a man's decision. But he bound Marcian by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms against the Vandals at least. [450 A.D.] Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when at a later time Theodosius died he received the empire. And in all other respects he proved himself a good emperor, but he paid no attention at all to affairs in Libya. But this happened in later times.

At that time Gizeric, after conquering Aspar and Boniface in battle, displayed a foresight worth recounting, whereby he made his good fortune most thoroughly secure. For fearing lest, if once again an army should come against him from both Rome and Byzantium, the Vandals might not be able to use the same strength and enjoy the same fortune, (since human affairs are wont to be overturned by Heaven and to fail by reason of the weakness of men's bodies), he was not lifted up by the good fortune he had enjoyed, but rather became moderate because of what he feared, and so he made a treaty

with the Emperor Valentinian providing that each year he should pay to the emperor tribute from Libya, and he delivered over one of his sons, Honoric, as a hostage to make this agreement binding. So Gizeric both showed himself a brave man in the battle and guarded the victory as securely as possible, and, since the friendship between the two peoples increased greatly, he received back his son Honoric. And at Rome Placidia had died before this time, and after her, Valentinian, her son, also died, having no male offspring, but two daughters had been born to him from Eudoxia, the child of Theodosius. And I shall now relate in what manner Valentinian died.

There was a certain Maximus, a Roman senator, of the house of that Maximus who, while usurping the imperial power, was overthrown by the elder Theodosius and put to death, and on whose account also the Romans celebrate the annual festival named from the defeat of Maximus. This younger Maximus was married to a woman discreet in her ways and exceedingly famous for her beauty. For this reason a desire came over Valentinian to have her to wife. And since it was impossible, much as he wished it, to meet her, he plotted an unholy deed and carried it to fulfilment. For he summoned Maximus to the palace and sat down with him to a game of draughts, and a certain sum was set as a penalty for the loser; and the emperor won in this game, and receiving Maximus' ring as a pledge for the agreed amount, he sent it to his house, instructing the messenger to tell the wife of Maximus that her husband bade her come as quickly as possible to the palace to salute the queen Eudoxia. And she, judging by the ring that the message was from Maximus, entered her litter and was conveyed to the emperor's court. And she was received by those who had been assigned this service by the emperor, and led into a certain room far removed from the women's apartments, where Valentinian met her and forced her, much against her will. And she, after the outrage, went to her husband's house weeping and feeling the deepest possible grief because of her misfortune, and she cast many curses upon Maximus as having provided the cause for what had been done. Maximus, accordingly, became exceedingly aggrieved at that which had come to pass, and straightway entered into a conspiracy against the emperor; but when he saw that Aetius was exceedingly powerful, for he had recently conquered Attila, who had invaded the Roman domain with a great army of Massagetae and the other Scythians, the thought occurred to him that Aetius would be in the way of his undertaking. And upon considering this matter, it seemed to him that it was the better course to put Aetius out of the way first, paying no heed to the fact that the whole hope of the Romans centred in him. And since the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the emperor were well-disposed toward him, he persuaded the emperor by their devices that Aetius was setting on foot a revolution. And Valentinian, judging by nothing else than the power and valour of Aetius that the report was true, put the man to death. [Sept. 21, 454 A.D.] Whereupon a certain Roman made himself famous by a saying which he uttered. For when the emperor enquired of him whether he had done well

in putting Aetius to death, he replied saying that, as to this matter, he was not able to know whether he had done well or perhaps otherwise, but one thing he understood exceedingly well, that he had cut off his own right hand with the other.

So after the death of Aetius, Attila, since no one was a match for him, plundered all Europe with no trouble and made both emperors subservient and tributary to himself. For tribute money was sent to him every year by the emperors. At that time, while Attila was besieging Aquileia, a city of great size and exceedingly populous situated near the sea and above the Ionian Gulf, they say that the following good fortune befell him. For they tell the story that, when he was able to capture the place neither by force nor by any other means, he gave up the siege in despair, since it had already lasted a long time, and commanded the whole army without any delay to make their preparations for the departure, in order that on the morrow all might move from there at sunrise. And the following day about sunrise, the barbarians had raised the siege and were already beginning the departure, when a single male stork which had a nest on a certain tower of the city wall and was rearing his nestlings there suddenly rose and left the place with his young. And the father stork was flying, but the little storks, since they were not yet quite ready to fly, were at times sharing their father's flight and at times riding upon his back, and thus they flew off and went far away from the city. And when Attila saw this (for he was most clever at comprehending and interpreting all things), he commanded the army, they say, to remain still in the same place, adding that the bird would never have gone flying off at random from there with his nestlings, unless he was prophesying that some evil would come to the place at no distant time. Thus, they say, the army of the barbarians settled down to the siege once more, and not long after that a portion of the wall — the very part which held the nest of that bird — for no apparent reason suddenly fell down, and it became possible for the enemy to enter the city at that point, and thus Aquileia was captured by storm. Such is the story touching Aquileia.

Later on Maximus slew the emperor with no trouble and secured the tyranny, and he married Eudoxia by force. [455 A.D.] For the wife to whom he had been wedded had died not long before. And on one occasion in private he made the statement to Eudoxia that it was all for the sake of her love that he had carried out all that he had done. And since she felt a repulsion for Maximus even before that time, and had been desirous of exacting vengeance from him for the wrong done Valentinian, his words made her swell with rage still more against him, and led her on to carry out her plot, since she had heard Maximus say that on account of her the misfortune had befallen her husband. And as soon as day came, she sent to Carthage entreating Gizeric to avenge Valentinian, who had been destroyed by an unholy man, in a manner unworthy both of himself and of his imperial station, and to deliver her, since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of the tyrant. And she impressed it upon Gizeric that, since he was a friend and ally and so great a

calamity had befallen the imperial house, it was not a holy thing to fail to become an avenger. For from Byzantium she thought no vengeance would come, since Theodosius had already departed from the world and Marcian had taken over the empire. [Mar. 17, 455 A.D.]

V

And Gizeric, for no other reason than that he suspected that much money would come to him, set sail for Italy with a great fleet. And going up to Rome, since no one stood in his way, he took possession of the palace. Now while Maximus was trying to flee, the Romans threw stones at him and killed him, and they cut off his head and each of his other members and divided them among themselves. But Gizeric took Eudoxia captive, together with Eudocia and Placidia, the children of herself and Valentinian, and placing an exceedingly great amount of gold and other imperial treasure in his ships sailed to Carthage, having spared neither bronze nor anything else whatsoever in the palace. He plundered also the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and tore off half of the roof. Now this roof was of bronze of the finest quality, and since gold was laid over it exceedingly thick, it shone as a magnificent and wonderful spectacle. But of the ships with Gizeric, one, which was bearing the statues, was lost, they say, but with all the others the Vandals reached port in the harbour of Carthage. Gizeric then married Eudocia to Honoric, the elder of his sons; but the other of the two women, being the wife of Olybrius, a most distinguished man in the Roman senate, he sent to Byzantium together with her mother, Eudoxia, at the request of the emperor. Now the power of the East had by now fallen to Leon, who had been set in this position by Aspar, since Marcian had already passed from the world. [457 A.D.]

Afterwards Gizeric devised the following scheme. He tore down the walls of all the cities in Libya except Carthage, so that neither the Libyans themselves, espousing the cause of the Romans, might have a strong base from which to begin a rebellion, nor those sent by the emperor have any ground for hoping to capture a city and by establishing a garrison in it to make trouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it seemed that he had counselled well and had ensured prosperity for the Vandals in the safest possible manner; but in later times when these cities, being without walls, were captured by Belisarius all the more easily and with less exertion, Gizeric was then condemned to suffer much ridicule, and that which for the time he considered wise counsel turned out for him to be folly. For as fortunes change, men are always accustomed to change with them their judgments regarding what has been planned in the past. And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves, together with their estates and all their money, to his sons Honoric and Genzon. For Theodorus, the youngest son, had died already, being altogether without offspring, either male or female. And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates, which were both very numerous and excellent, and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called "Vandals' estates" up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to

be at the same time free men; and they had the privilege of going away wheresoever they wished. And Gizeric commanded that all the lands which he had given over to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowed to remain in the hands of the former owners, but assessed so large a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the government that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into exile or killed. For charges were brought against them of many sorts, and heavy ones too; but one charge seemed to be the greatest of all, that a man, having money of his own, was hiding it. Thus the Libyans were visited with every form of misfortune.

The Vandals and the Alani he arranged in companies, appointing over them no less than eighty captains, whom he called “chiliarchs,” making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amounted to eighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times, at least, to amount to no more than fifty thousand men. However, after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbarians with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous people. But the names of the Alani and all the other barbarians, except the Moors, were united in the name of Vandals. At that time, after the death of Valentinian, Gizeric gained the support of the Moors, and every year at the beginning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything; and when the land had become destitute of men and of money, he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. And so he plundered Illyricum and the most of the Peloponnesus and of the rest of Greece and all the islands which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy, and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. And one day when he had embarked on his ship in the harbour of Carthage, and the sails were already being spread, the pilot asked him, they say, against what men in the world he bade them go. And he in reply said: “Plainly against those with whom God is angry.” Thus without any cause he kept making invasions wherever chance might lead him.

VI

And the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Vandals because of these things, was gathering an army against them; and they say that this army amounted to about one hundred thousand men. And he collected a fleet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, shewing great generosity to both soldiers and sailors, for he feared lest from a parsimonious policy some obstacle might arise to hinder him in his desire to carry out his punishment of the barbarians. Therefore, they say, thirteen hundred centenaria were expended by him to no purpose. But since it was not fated that the Vandals should be destroyed by this expedition, he made Basiliscus commander-in-chief, the brother of his wife Berine, a man who was extraordinarily desirous of the royal power, which he hoped would come to him without a struggle if he won the friendship of Aspar. For Aspar himself, being an adherent of the Arian faith, and having no intention of changing it for another, was unable to enter upon the imperial office, but he was easily strong enough to establish another in it, and it already seemed likely that he would plot against the Emperor Leon, who had given him offence. So they say that since Aspar was then fearful lest, if the Vandals were defeated, Leon should establish his power most securely, he repeatedly urged upon Basiliscus that he should spare the Vandals and Gizeric.

[467 A.D.] Now before this time Leon had already appointed and sent Anthemius, as Emperor of the West, a man of the senate of great wealth and high birth, in order that he might assist him in the Vandalic war. And yet Gizeric kept asking and earnestly entreating that the imperial power be given to Olybrius, who was married to Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian, and on account of his relationship well-disposed toward him, and when he failed in this he was still more angry and kept plundering the whole land of the emperor. Now there was in Dalmatia a certain Marcellianus, one of the acquaintances of Aetius and a man of repute, who, after Aetius had died in the manner told above, no longer deigned to yield obedience to the emperor, but beginning a revolution and detaching all the others from allegiance, held the power of Dalmatia himself, since no one dared encounter him. But the Emperor Leon at that time won over this Marcellianus by very careful wheedling, and bade him go to the island of Sardinia, which was then subject to the Vandals. And he drove out the Vandals and gained possession of it with no great difficulty. And Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis in Libya, and after conquering the Vandals of that district in battle, he easily captured the cities, and leaving his ships there, led his army on foot toward Carthage. Such, then, was the sequence of events which formed the prelude of the war.

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage no less than two hundred and eighty stades (now it so happened that a temple

of Hermes had been there from of old, from which fact the place was named Mercurium; for the Romans call Hermes "Mercurius"), and if he had not purposely played the coward and hesitated, but had undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the first onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection without their even thinking of resistance; so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor, when the report was brought to him that Sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. But, as it was, the general's hesitation, whether caused by cowardice or treachery, prevented this success. And Gizeric, profiting by the negligence of Basiliscus, did as follows. Arming all his subjects in the best way he could, he filled his ships, but not all, for some he kept in readiness empty, and they were the ships which sailed most swiftly. And sending envoys to Basiliscus, he begged him to defer the war for the space of five days, in order that in the meantime he might take counsel and do those things which were especially desired by the emperor. They say, too, that he sent also a great amount of gold without the knowledge of the army of Basiliscus and thus purchased this armistice. And he did this, thinking, as actually did happen, that a favouring wind would rise for him during this time. And Basiliscus, either as doing a favour to Aspar in accordance with what he had promised, or selling the moment of opportunity for money, or perhaps thinking it the better course, did as he was requested and remained quietly in the camp, awaiting the moment favourable to the enemy.

But the Vandals, as soon as the wind had arisen for them which they had been expecting during the time they lay at rest, raised their sails and, taking in tow the boats which, as has been stated above, they had made ready with no men in them, they sailed against the enemy. And when they came near, they set fire to the boats which they were towing, when their sails were bellied by the wind, and let them go against the Roman fleet. And since there were a great number of ships there, these boats easily spread fire wherever they struck, and were themselves readily destroyed together with those with which they came in contact. And as the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet was filled with tumult, as was natural, and with a great din that rivalled the noise caused by the wind and the roaring of the flames, as the soldiers together with the sailors shouted orders to one another and pushed off with their poles the fire-boats and their own ships as well, which were being destroyed by one another in complete disorder. And already the Vandals too were at hand ramming and sinking the ships, and making booty of such of the soldiers as attempted to escape, and of their arms as well. But there were also some of the Romans who proved themselves brave men in this struggle, and most of all John, who was a general under Basiliscus and who had no share whatever in his treason. For a great throng having surrounded his ship, he stood on the deck, and turning from side to side kept killing very great numbers of the enemy from there, and when he perceived that the ship was

being captured, he leaped with his whole equipment of arms from the deck into the sea. And though Genzon, the son of Gizeric, entreated him earnestly not to do this, offering pledges and holding out promises of safety, he nevertheless threw himself into the sea, uttering this one word, that John would never come under the hands of dogs.

So this war came to an end, and Heracleius departed for home; for Marcellianus had been destroyed treacherously by one of his fellow-officers. And Basiliscus, coming to Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Christ the Great God ("Sophia" the temple is called by the men of Byzantium who consider that this designation is especially appropriate to God), and although, by the intercession of Berine, the queen, he escaped this danger, he was not able at that time to reach the throne, the thing for the sake of which everything had been done by him. For the Emperor Leon not long afterwards destroyed both Aspar and Ardaburius in the palace, because he suspected that they were plotting against his life. [471 A.D.] Thus, then, did these events take place.

VII

[Aug. 11, 472 A.D.] Now Anthemius, the emperor of the West, died at the hand of his son-in-law Rhecimer, and Olybrius, succeeding to the throne, a short time afterward suffered the same fate. [Oct. 10, 472 A.D.] And when Leon also had died in Byzantium, the imperial office was taken over by the younger Leon, the son of Zeno and Ariadne, the daughter of Leon, while he was still only a few days old. And his father having been chosen as partner in the royal power, the child forthwith passed from the world. [474 A.D.] Majorinus also deserves mention, who had gained the power of the West before this time. For this Majorinus, who surpassed in every virtue all who have ever been emperors of the Romans, did not bear lightly the loss of Libya, but collected a very considerable army against the Vandals and came to Liguria, intending himself to lead the army against the enemy. For Majorinus never showed the least hesitation before any task and least of all before the dangers of war. But thinking it not inexpedient for him to investigate first the strength of the Vandals and the character of Gizeric and to discover how the Moors and Libyans stood with regard to friendship or hostility toward the Romans, he decided to trust no eyes other than his own in such a matter. Accordingly he set out as if an envoy from the emperor to Gizeric, assuming some fictitious name. And fearing lest, by becoming known, he should himself receive some harm and at the same time prevent the success of the enterprise, he devised the following scheme. His hair, which was famous among all men as being so fair as to resemble pure gold, he anointed with some kind of dye, which was especially invented for this purpose, and so succeeded completely in changing it for the time to a dark hue. And when he came before Gizeric, the barbarian attempted in many ways to terrify him, and in particular, while treating him with engaging attention, as if a friend, he brought him into the house where all his weapons were stored, a numerous and exceedingly noteworthy array. Thereupon they say that the weapons shook of their own accord and gave forth a sound of no ordinary or casual sort, and then it seemed to Gizeric that there had been an earthquake, but when he got outside and made enquiries concerning the earthquake, since no one else agreed with him, a great wonder, they say, came over him, but he was not able to comprehend the meaning of what had happened. So Majorinus, having accomplished the very things he wished, returned to Liguria, and leading his army on foot, came to the Pillars of Heracles, purposing to cross over the strait at that point, and then to march by land from there against Carthage. And when Gizeric became aware of this, and perceived that he had been tricked by Majorinus in the matter of the embassy, he became alarmed and made his preparations for war. And the Romans, basing their confidence on the valour of Majorinus, already began to have fair hopes of recovering Libya for the empire. [461 A.D.] But meantime Majorinus was attacked by the disease of dysentery and died, a man who had

shewn himself moderate toward his subjects, and an object of fear to his enemies. [July 24, 474 A.D.] And another emperor, Nepos, upon taking over the empire, and living to enjoy it only a few days, died of disease, and Glycerius after him entered into this office and suffered a similar fate. [474-475 A.D.] And after him Augustus assumed the imperial power. There were, moreover, still other emperors in the West before this time, but though I know their names well, I shall make no mention of them whatever. For it so fell out that they lived only a short time after attaining the office, and as a result of this accomplished nothing worthy of mention. Such was the course of events in the West.

But in Byzantium Basiliscus, being no longer able to master his passion for royal power, made an attempt to usurp the throne, and succeeded without difficulty, since Zeno, together with his wife, sought refuge in Isauria, which was his native home. [471 A.D.] And while he was maintaining his tyranny for a year and eight months he was detested by practically everyone and in particular by the soldiers of the court on account of the greatness of his avarice. And Zeno, perceiving this, collected an army and came against him. And Basiliscus sent an army under the general Harmatus in order to array himself against Zeno. But when they had made camp near one another, Harmatus surrendered his army to Zeno, on the condition that Zeno should appoint as Caesar Harmatus' son Basiliscus, who was a very young child, and leave him as successor to the throne upon his death. And Basiliscus, deserted by all, fled for refuge to the same sanctuary as formerly. And Acacius, the priest of the city, put him into the hands of Zeno, charging him with impiety and with having brought great confusion and many innovations into the Christian doctrine, having inclined toward the heresy of Eutyches. And this was so. And after Zeno had thus taken over the empire a second time, he carried out his pledge to Harmatus formally by appointing his son Basiliscus Caesar, but not long afterwards he both stripped him of the office and put Harmatus to death. And he sent Basiliscus together with his children and his wife into Cappadocia in the winter season, commanding that they should be destitute of food and clothes and every kind of care. And there, being hard pressed by both cold and hunger, they took refuge in one another's arms, and embracing their loved ones, perished. And this punishment overtook Basiliscus for the policy he had pursued. These things, however, happened in later times.

But at that time Gizeric was plundering the whole Roman domain just as much as before, if not more, circumventing his enemy by craft and driving them out of their possessions by force, as has been previously said, and he continued to do so until the emperor Zeno came to an agreement with him and an endless peace was established between them, by which it was provided that the Vandals should never in all time perform any hostile act against the Romans nor suffer such a thing at their hands. And this peace was preserved by Zeno himself and also by his successor in the empire, Anastasius And it

remained in force until the time of the emperor Justinus. But Justinian, who was the nephew of Justinus, succeeded him in the imperial power, and it was in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass, in the manner which will be told in the following narrative. [477 A.D.] Gizeric, after living on a short time, died at an advanced age, having made a will in which he enjoined many things upon the Vandals and in particular that the royal power among them should always fall to that one who should be the first in years among all the male offspring descended from Gizeric himself. So Gizeric, having ruled over the Vandals thirty-nine years from the time when he captured Carthage, died, as I have said.

VIII

And Honoric, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the throne, Genzon having already departed from the world. During the time when this Honoric ruled the Vandals they had no war against anyone at all, except the Moors. For through fear of Gizeric the Moors had remained quiet before that time, but as soon as he was out of their way they both did much harm to the Vandals and suffered the same themselves. And Honoric shewed himself the most cruel and unjust of all men toward the Christians in Libya. For he forced them to change over to the Arian faith, and as many as he found not readily yielding to him he burned, or destroyed by other forms of death; and he also cut off the tongues of many from the very throat, who even up to my time were going about in Byzantium having their speech uninjured, and perceiving not the least effect from this punishment; but two of these, since they saw fit to go in to harlots, were thenceforth no longer able to speak. And after ruling over the Vandals eight years he died of disease; and by that time the Moors dwelling on Mt. Aurasium had revolted from the Vandals and were independent (this Aurasium is a mountain of Numidia, about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage and fronting the south); and indeed they never came under the Vandals again, since the latter were unable to carry on a war against Moors on a mountain difficult of access and exceedingly steep.

After the death of Honoric the rule of the Vandals fell to Gundamundus, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric. [485 A.D.] For he, in point of years, was the first of the offspring of Gizeric. This Gundamundus fought against the Moors in numerous encounters, and after subjecting the Christians to still greater suffering, he died of disease, being now at about the middle of the twelfth year of his reign. [496 A.D.] And his brother Trasamundus took over the kingdom, a man well-favoured in appearance and especially gifted with discretion and highmindedness. However he continued to force the Christians to change their ancestral faith, not by torturing their bodies as his predecessors had done, but by seeking to win them with honours and offices and presenting them with great sums of money; and in the case of those who would not be persuaded, he pretended he had not the least knowledge of what manner of men they were. And if he caught any guilty of great crimes which they had committed either by accident or deliberate intent, he would offer such men, as a reward for changing their faith, that they should not be punished for their offences. And when his wife died without becoming the mother of either male or female offspring, wishing to establish the kingdom as securely as possible, he sent to Theoderic, the king of the Goths, asking him to give him his sister Amalafrida to wife, for her husband had just died. And Theoderic sent him not only his sister but also a thousand of the notable Goths as a bodyguard, who were followed by a host of attendants amounting to about five thousand fighting men. And Theoderic also presented his sister with one of the

promontories of Sicily, which are three in number, — the one which they call Lilybaeum, — and as a result of this Trasamundus was accounted the strongest and most powerful of all those who had ruled over the Vandals. He became also a very special friend of the emperor Anastasius. It was during the reign of Trasamundus that it came about that the Vandals suffered a disaster at the hands of the Moors such as had never befallen them before that time.

There was a certain Cabaon ruling over the Moors of Tripolis, a man experienced in many wars and exceedingly shrewd. This Cabaon, upon learning that the Vandals were marching against him, did as follows. First of all he issued orders to his subjects to abstain from all injustice and from all foods tending towards luxury and most of all from association with women; and setting up two palisaded enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and in the other he shut the women, and he threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone should go to the women's palisade. And after this he sent spies to Carthage with the following instructions: whenever the Vandals in going forth on the expedition should offer insult to any temple which the Christians reverence, they were to look on and see what took place; and when the Vandals had passed the place, they were to do the opposite of everything which the Vandals had done to the sanctuary before their departure. And they say that he added this also, that he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians worshipped, but it was probable that if He was powerful, as He was said to be, He should wreak vengeance upon those who insulted Him and defend those who honoured Him. So the spies came to Carthage and waited quietly, observing the preparation of the Vandals; but when the army set out on the march to Tripolis, they followed, clothing themselves in humble garb. And the Vandals, upon making camp the first day, led their horses and their other animals into the temples of the Christians, and sparing no insult, they acted with all the unrestrained lawlessness natural to them, beating as many priests as they caught and lashing them with many blows over the back and commanding them to render such service to the Vandals as they were accustomed to assign to the most dishonoured of their domestics. And as soon as they had departed from there, the spies of Cabaon did as they had been directed to do; for they straightway cleansed the sanctuaries and took away with great care the filth and whatever other unholy thing lay in them, and they lighted all the lamps and bowed down before the priests with great reverence and saluted them with all friendliness; and after giving pieces of silver to the poor who sat about these sanctuaries, they then followed after the army of the Vandals. And from then on along the whole route the Vandals continued to commit the same offences and the spies to render the same service. And when they were coming near the Moors, the spies anticipated them and reported to Cabaon what had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were somewhere near by. And Cabaon, upon learning this, arranged for the encounter as follows. He marked off a circle in the plain where he was

about to make his palisade, and placed his camels turned sideways in a circle as a protection for the camp, making his line fronting the enemy about twelve camels deep. Then he placed the children and the women and all those who were unfit for fighting together with their possessions in the middle, while he commanded the host of fighting men to stand between the feet of those animals, covering themselves with their shields. And since the phalanx of the Moors was of such a sort, the Vandals were at a loss how to handle the situation; for they were neither good with the javelin nor with the bow, nor did they know how to go into battle on foot, but they were all horsemen, and used spears and swords for the most part, so that they were unable to do the enemy any harm at a distance; and their horses, annoyed at the sight of the camels, refused absolutely to be driven against the enemy. And since the Moors, by hurling javelins in great numbers among them from their safe position, kept killing both their horses and men without difficulty, because they were a vast throng, they began to flee, and, when the Moors came out against them, the most of them were destroyed, while some fell into the hands of the enemy; and an exceedingly small number from this army returned home. Such was the fortune which Trasamundus suffered at the hands of the Moors. And he died at a later time, having ruled over the Moors twenty-seven years.

IX

[523 A.D.] And Ilderic, the son of Honoric, the son of Gizeric, next received the kingdom, a ruler who was easily approached by his subjects and altogether gentle, and he shewed himself harsh neither to the Christians nor to anyone else, but in regard to affairs of war he was a weakling and did not wish this thing even to come to his ears. Hoamer, accordingly, his nephew and an able warrior, led the armies against any with whom the Vandals were at war; he it was whom they called the Achilles of the Vandals. During the reign of this Ilderic the Vandals were defeated in Byzacium by the Moors, who were ruled by Antalas, and it so fell out that they became enemies instead of allies and friends to Theoderic and the Goths in Italy. For they put Amalafrida in prison and destroyed all the Goths, charging them with revolutionary designs against the Vandals and Ilderic. However, no revenge came from Theoderic, for he considered himself unable to gather a great fleet and make an expedition into Libya, and Ilderic was a very particular friend and guest-friend of Justinian, who had not yet come to the throne, but was administering the government according to his pleasure; for his uncle Justinus, who was emperor, was very old and not altogether experienced in matters of state. And Ilderic and Justinian made large presents of money to each other.

Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, Gelimer, the son of Geilaris, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric, who was of such age as to be second only to Ilderic, and for this reason he was expected to come into the kingdom very soon. This man was thought to be the best warrior of his time, but for the rest he was a cunning fellow and base at heart and well versed in undertaking revolutionary enterprises and in laying hold upon the money of others. Now this Gelimer, when he saw the power coming to him, was not able to live in his accustomed way, but assumed to himself the tasks of a king and usurped the rule, though it was not yet due him; and since Ilderic in a spirit of friendliness gave in to him, he was no longer able to restrain his thoughts, but allying with himself all the noblest of the Vandals, he persuaded them to wrest the kingdom from Ilderic, as being an unwarlike king who had been defeated by the Moors, and as betraying the power of the Vandals into the hand of the Emperor Justinus, in order that the kingdom might not come to him, because he was of the other branch of the family; for he asserted slanderously that this was the meaning of Ilderic's embassy to Byzantium, and that he was giving over the empire of the Vandals to Justinus. And they, being persuaded, carried out this plan. [530 A.D.] Thus Gelimer seized the supreme power, and imprisoned Ilderic, after he had ruled over the Vandals seven years, and also Hoamer and his brother Euagees.

[527 A.D.] But when Justinian heard these things, having already received the imperial power, he sent envoys to Gelimer in Libya with the following letter: "You are not acting in a holy manner nor worthily of the will of Gizeric,

keeping in prison an old man and a kinsman and the king of the Vandals (if the counsels of Gizeric are to be of effect), and robbing him of his office by violence, though it would be possible for you to receive it after a short time in a lawful manner. Do you therefore do no further wrong and do not exchange the name of king for the title of tyrant, which comes but a short time earlier. But as for this man, whose death may be expected at any moment, allow him to bear in appearance the form of royal power, while you do all the things which it is proper that a king should do; and wait until you can receive from time and the law of Gizeric, and from them alone, the name which belongs to the position. For if you do this, the attitude of the Almighty will be favourable and at the same time our relations with you will be friendly." Such was his message. But Gelimer sent the envoys away with nothing accomplished, and he blinded Hoamer and also kept Ilderic and Euagees in closer confinement, charging them with planning flight to Byzantium. And when this too was heard by the Emperor Justinian, he sent envoys a second time and wrote as follows: "We, indeed, supposed that you would never go contrary to our advice when we wrote you the former letter. But since it pleases you to have secured possession of the royal power in the manner in which you have taken and now hold it, get from it whatever Heaven grants. But do you send to us Ilderic, and Hoamer whom you have blinded, and his brother, to receive what comfort they can who have been robbed of a kingdom or of sight; for we shall not let the matter rest if you do not do this. And I speak thus because we are led by the hope which I had based on our friendship. And the treaty with Gizeric will not stand as an obstacle for us. For it is not to make war upon him who has succeeded to the kingdom of Gizeric that we come, but to avenge Gizeric with all our power."

When Gelimer had read this, he replied as follows: "King Gelimer to the Emperor Justinian. Neither have I taken the office by violence nor has anything unholy been done by me to my kinsmen. For Ilderic, while planning a revolution against the house of Gizeric, was dethroned by the nation of the Vandals; and I was called to the kingdom by my years, which gave me the preference, according to the law at least. Now it is well for one to administer the kingly office which belongs to him and not to make the concerns of others his own. Hence for you also, who have a kingdom, meddling in other's affairs is not just; and if you break the treaty and come against us, we shall oppose you with all our power, calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold." The Emperor Justinian, upon receiving this letter, having been angry with Gelimer even before then, was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya; and since he was quick at forming a plan and prompt in carrying out his decisions, Belisarius, the General of the East, was summoned and came to him immediately, no announcement having been made to him nor to anyone else that he was about to lead an army against Libya, but it was

given out that he had been removed from the office which he held. And straightway the treaty with Persia was made, as has been told in the preceding narrative.

And when the Emperor Justinian considered that the situation was as favourable as possible, both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took under consideration the situation in Libya. But when he disclosed to the magistrates that he was gathering an army against the Vandals and Gelimer, the most of them began immediately to show hostility to the plan, and they lamented it as a misfortune, recalling the expedition of the Emperor Leon and the disaster of Basiliscus, and reciting how many soldiers had perished and how much money the state had lost. But the men who were the most sorrowful of all, and who, by reason of their anxiety, felt the keenest regret, were the pretorian prefect, whom the Romans call "praetor," and the administrator of the treasury, and all to whom had been assigned the collection of either public or imperial taxes, for they reasoned that while it would be necessary for them to produce countless sums for the needs of the war, they would be granted neither pardon in case of failure nor extension of time in which to raise these sums. And every one of the generals, supposing that he himself would command the army, was in terror and dread at the greatness of the danger, if it should be necessary for him, if he were preserved from the perils of the sea, to encamp in the enemy's land, and, using his ships as a base, to engage in a struggle against a kingdom both large and formidable. The soldiers, also, having recently returned from a long, hard war, and having not yet tasted to the full the blessings of home, were in despair, both because they were being led into sea-fighting, — a thing which they had not learned even from tradition before then, — and because they were sent from the eastern frontier to the West, in order to risk their lives against Vandals and Moors. But all the rest, as usually happens in a great throng, wished to be spectators of new adventures while others faced the dangers.

But as for saying anything to the emperor to prevent the expedition, no one dared to do this except John the Cappadocian, the pretorian prefect, a man of the greatest daring and the cleverest of all men of his time. For this John, while all the others were bewailing in silence the fortune which was upon them, came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "O Emperor, the good faith which thou dost shew in dealing with thy subjects enables us to speak frankly regarding anything which will be of advantage to thy government, even though what is said and done may not be agreeable to thee. For thus does thy wisdom temper thy authority with justice, in that thou dost not consider that man only as loyal to thy cause who serves thee under any and all conditions, nor art thou angry with the man who speaks against thee, but by weighing all things by pure reason alone, thou hast often shewn that it involves us in no danger to oppose thy purposes. Led by these considerations, O Emperor, I have come to offer this advice, knowing that, though I shall give perhaps offence at the moment, if it so chance, yet in the future the loyalty

which I bear you will be made clear, and that for this I shall be able to shew thee as a witness. For if, through not hearkening to my words, thou shalt carry out the war against the Vandals, it will come about, if the struggle is prolonged for thee, that my advice will win renown. For if thou hast confidence that thou wilt conquer the enemy, it is not at all unreasonable that thou shouldst sacrifice the lives of men and expend a vast amount of treasure, and undergo the difficulties of the struggle; for victory, coming at the end, covers up all the calamities of war. But if in reality these things lie on the knees of God, and if it behoves us, taking example from what has happened in the past, to fear the outcome of war, on what grounds is it not better to love a state of quiet rather than the dangers of mortal strife? Thou art purposing to make an expedition against Carthage, to which, if one goes by land, the journey is one of a hundred and forty days, and if one goes by water, he is forced to cross the whole open sea and go to its very end. So that he who brings thee news of what will happen in the camp must needs reach thee a year after the event. And one might add that if thou art victorious over thy enemy, thou couldst not take possession of Libya while Sicily and Italy lie in the hands of others; and at the same time, if any reverse befall thee, O Emperor, the treaty having already been broken by thee, thou wilt bring the danger upon our own land. In fact, putting all in a word, it will not be possible for thee to reap the fruits of victory, and at the same time any reversal of fortune will bring harm to what is well established. It is before an enterprise that wise planning is useful. For when men have failed, repentance is of no avail, but before disaster comes there is no danger in altering plans. Therefore it will be of advantage above all else to make fitting use of the decisive moment."

Thus spoke John; and the Emperor Justinian, hearkening to his words, checked his eager desire for the war. But one of the priests whom they call bishops, who had come from the East, said that he wished to have a word with the emperor. And when he met Justinian, he said that God had visited him in a dream, and bidden him go to the emperor and rebuke him, because, after undertaking the task of protecting the Christians in Libya from tyrants, he had for no good reason become afraid. "And yet," He had said, "I will Myself join with him in waging war and make him lord of Libya." When the emperor heard this, he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, and he began to collect the army and the ships, and to make ready supplies of weapons and of food, and he announced to Belisarius that he should be in readiness, because he was very soon to act as general in Libya. Meanwhile Pudentius, one of the natives of Tripolis in Libya, caused this district to revolt from the Vandals, and sending to the emperor he begged that he should despatch an army to him; for, he said, he would with no trouble win the land for the emperor. And Justinian sent him Tattimuth and an army of no very great size. This force Pudentius joined with his own troops and, the Vandals being absent, he gained possession of the land and made it subject to the emperor. And Gelimer,

though wishing to inflict punishment upon Pudentius, found the following obstacle in his way.

There was a certain Godas among the slaves of Gelimer, a Goth by birth, a passionate and energetic fellow possessed of great bodily strength, but appearing to be well-disposed to the cause of his master. To this Godas Gelimer entrusted the island of Sardinia, in order both to guard the island and to pay over the annual tribute. But he neither could digest the prosperity brought by fortune nor had he the spirit to endure it, and so he undertook to establish a tyranny, and he refused to continue the payment of the tribute, and actually detached the island from the Vandals and held it himself. And when he perceived that the Emperor Justinian was eager to make war against Libya and Gelimer, he wrote to him as follows:

“It was neither because I yielded to folly nor because I had suffered anything unpleasant at my master’s hands that I turned my thoughts towards rebellion, but seeing the extreme cruelty of the man both toward his kinsmen and toward his subjects, I could not, willingly at least, be reputed to have a share in his inhumanity. For it is better to serve a just king than a tyrant whose commands are unlawful. But do thou join with me to assist in this my effort and send soldiers so that I may be able to ward off my assailants.”

And the emperor, on receiving this letter, was pleased, and he sent Eulogius as envoy and wrote a letter praising Godas for his wisdom and his zeal for justice, and he promised an alliance and soldiers and a general, who would be able to guard the island with him and to assist him in every other way, so that no trouble should come to him from the Vandals. But Eulogius, upon coming to Sardinia, found that Godas was assuming the name and wearing the dress of a king and that he had attached a body-guard to his person. And when Godas read the emperor’s letter, he said that it was his wish to have soldiers, indeed, come to fight along with him, but as for a commander, he had absolutely no desire for one. And having written to the emperor in this sense, he dismissed Eulogius.

XI

The emperor, meanwhile, not having yet ascertained these things, was preparing four hundred soldiers with Cyril as commander, who were to assist Godas in guarding the island. And with them he also had in readiness the expedition against Carthage, ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horsemen, gathered from the regular troops and from the "foederati." Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political system, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality. For the Romans call treaties with their enemies "foedera." But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, since time will by no means consent to keep names attached to the things to which they were formerly applied, but conditions are ever changing about according to the desire of men who control them, and men pay little heed to the meaning which they originally attached to a name. And the commanders of the foederati were Dorotheus, the general of the troops in Armenia, and Solomon, who was acting as manager for the general Belisarius; (such a person the Romans call "domesticus." Now this Solomon was a eunuch, but it was not by the devising of man that he had suffered mutilation, but some accident which befell him while in swaddling clothes had imposed this lot upon him); and there were also Cyprian, Valerian, Martinus, Althias, John, Marcellus, and the Cyril whom I have mentioned above; and the commanders of the regular cavalry were Rufinus and Aïgan, who were of the house of Belisarius, and Barbatius and Pappus, while the regular infantry was commanded by Theodorus, who was surnamed Cteanus, and Terentius, Zaïdus, Marcian, and Sarapis. And a certain John, a native of Epidamnus, which is now called Dyrrachium, held supreme command over all the leaders of infantry. Among all these commanders Solomon was from a place in the East, at the very extremity of the Roman domain, where the city called Daras now stands, and Aïgan was by birth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns; and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them also four hundred Eruli, whom Pharas led, and about six hundred barbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetae, all mounted bowmen; these were led by Sinnion and Balas, men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highest degree. And for the whole force five hundred ships were required, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thousand medimni, nor any one less than three thousand. And in all the vessels together there were thirty thousand sailors, Egyptians and Ionians for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed over all the ships, Calonymus of Alexandria. And they had also ships of war prepared as for sea-fighting, to the number of ninety-two, and they were single-banked ships covered by decks, in order that the men rowing them might if possible

not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such boats are called “dromones” by those of the present time; for they are able to attain a great speed. In these sailed two thousand men of Byzantium, who were all rowers as well as fighting men; for there was not a single superfluous man among them. And Archelaus was also sent, a man of patrician standing who had already been pretorian prefect both in Byzantium and in Illyricum, but he then held the position of prefect of the army; for thus the officer charged with the maintenance of the army is designated. But as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius, who was in command of the troops of the East for the second time. And he was followed by many spearmen and many guards as well, men who were capable warriors and thoroughly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the emperor gave him written instructions, bidding him do everything as seemed best to him, and stating that his acts would be final, as if the emperor himself had done them. The writing, in fact, gave him the power of a king. Now Belisarius was a native of Germania, which lies between Thrace and Illyricum. These things, then, took place in this way.

Gelimer, however, being deprived of Tripolis by Pudentius and of Sardinia by Godas, scarcely hoped to regain Tripolis, since it was situated at a great distance and the rebels were already being assisted by the Romans, against whom just at that moment it seemed to him best not to take the field; but he was eager to get to the island before any army sent by the emperor to fight for his enemies should arrive there. He accordingly selected five thousand of the Vandals and one hundred and twenty ships of the fastest kind, and appointing as general his brother Tzazon, he sent them off. And so they were sailing with great enthusiasm and eagerness against Godas and Sardinia. In the meantime the Emperor Justinian was sending off Valerian and Martinus in advance of the others in order to await the rest of the army in the Peloponnesus. And when these two had embarked upon their ships, it came to the emperor’s mind that there was something which he wished to enjoin upon them, — a thing which he had wished to say previously, but he had been so busied with the other matters of which he had to speak that his mind had been occupied with them and this subject had been driven out. He summoned them, accordingly, intending to say what he wished, but upon considering the matter, he saw that it would not be propitious for them to interrupt their journey. He therefore sent men to forbid them either to return to him or to disembark from their ships. And these men, upon coming near the ships, commanded them with much shouting and loud cries by no means to turn back, and it seemed to those present that the thing which had happened was no good omen and that never would one of the men in those ships return from Libya to Byzantium. For besides the omen they suspected that a curse also had come to the men from the emperor, not at all by his own will, so that they would not return. Now if anyone should so interpret the incident with regard to these two commanders, Valerian and Martinus, he will find the original opinion untrue. But there was

a certain man among the body-guards of Martinus, Stotzas by name, who was destined to be an enemy of the emperor, to make an attempt to set up a tyranny, and by no means to return to Byzantium, and one might suppose that curse to have been turned upon him by Heaven. But whether this matter stands thus or otherwise, I leave to each one to reason out as he wishes. But I shall proceed to tell how the general Belisarius and the army departed.

XII

[533 A.D.] In the seventh year of Justinian's reign, at about the spring equinox, the emperor commanded the general's ship to anchor off the point which is before the royal palace. Thither came also Epiphanius, the chief priest of the city, and after uttering an appropriate prayer, he put on the ships one of the soldiers who had lately been baptized and had taken the Christian name. And after this the general Belisarius and Antonina, his wife, set sail. And there was with them also Procopius, who wrote this history; now previously he had been exceedingly terrified at the danger, but later he had seen a vision in his sleep which caused him to take courage and made him eager to go on the expedition. For it seemed in the dream that he was in the house of Belisarius, and one of the servants entering announced that some men had come bearing gifts; and Belisarius bade him investigate what sort of gifts they were, and he went out into the court and saw men who carried on their shoulders earth with the flowers and all. And he bade him bring these men into the house and deposit the earth they were carrying in the portico; and Belisarius together with his guardsmen came there, and he himself reclined on that earth and ate of the flowers, and urged the others to do likewise; and as they reclined and ate, as if upon a couch, the food seemed to them exceedingly sweet. Such, then, was the vision of the dream.

And the whole fleet followed the general's ship, and they put in at Perinthus, which is now called Heracleia, where five days' time was spent by the army, since at that place the general received as a present from the emperor an exceedingly great number of horses from the royal pastures, which are kept for him in the territory of Thrace. And setting sail from there, they anchored off Abydus, and it came about as they were delaying there four days on account of the lack of wind that the following event took place. Two Massagetae killed one of their comrades who was ridiculing them, in the midst of their intemperate drinking; for they were intoxicated. For of all men the Massagetae are the most intemperate drinkers. Belisarius, accordingly, straightway impaled these two men on the hill which is near Abydus. And since all, and especially the relatives of these two men, were angry and declared that it was not in order to be punished nor to be subject to the laws of the Romans that they had entered into an alliance (for their own laws did not make the punishment for murder such *as* this, they said); and since they were joined in voicing the accusation against the general even by Roman soldiers, who were anxious that there should be no punishment for their offences, Belisarius called together both the Massagetae and the rest of the army and spoke as follows: "If my words were addressed to men now for the first time entering into war, it would require a long time for me to convince you by speech how great a help justice is for gaining the victory. For those who do not understand the fortunes of such struggles think that the outcome of war

lies in strength of arm alone. But you, who have often conquered an enemy not inferior to you in strength of body and well endowed with valour, you who have often tried your strength against your opponents, you, I think, are not ignorant that, while it is men who always do the fighting in either army, it is God who judges the contest as seems best to Him and bestows the victory in battle. Now since this is so, it is fitting to consider good bodily condition and practice in arms and all the other provision for war of less account than justice and those things which pertain to God. For that which may possibly be of greatest advantage to men in need would naturally be honoured by them above all other things. Now the first proof of justice would be the punishment of those who have committed unjust murder. For if it is incumbent upon us to sit in judgment upon the actions which from time to time are committed by men toward their neighbours, and to adjudge and to name the just and the unjust action, we should find that nothing is more precious to a man than his life. And if any barbarian who has slain his kinsman expects to find indulgence in his trial on the ground that he was drunk, in all fairness he makes the charge so much the worse by reason of the very circumstance by which, as he alleges, his guilt is removed. For it is not right for a man under any circumstances, and especially when serving in an army, to be so drunk as readily to kill his dearest friends; nay, the drunkenness itself, even if the murder is not added at all, is worthy of punishment; and when a kinsman is wronged, the crime would clearly be of greater moment as regards punishment than when committed against those who are not kinsmen, at least in the eyes of men of sense. Now the example is before you and you may see what sort of an outcome such actions have. But as for you, it is your duty to avoid laying violent hands upon anyone without provocation, or carrying off the possessions of others; for I shall not overlook it, be assured, and I shall not consider anyone of you a fellow-soldier of mine, no matter how terrible he is reputed to be to the foe, who is not able to use clean hands against the enemy. For bravery cannot be victorious unless it be arrayed along with justice.” So spoke Belisarius. And the whole army, hearing what was said and looking up at the two men impaled, felt an overwhelming fear come over them and took thought to conduct their lives with moderation, for they saw that they would not be free from great danger if they should be caught doing anything unlawful.

XIII

After this Belisarius bethought him how his whole fleet should always keep together as it sailed and should anchor in the same place. For he knew that in a large fleet, and especially if rough winds should assail them, it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and scattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So after considering the matter, he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper corner for about one third of their length, and he erected upright poles on the prow of each, and hung lights from them, so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable; then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them.

And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they proceeded more leisurely to Malea, where the calm proved of the greatest advantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exceedingly large ships, as night came on everything was thrown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme peril. At that time both the pilots and the rest of the sailors shewed themselves skilful and efficient, for while shouting at the top of their voices and making a great noise they kept pushing the ships apart with their poles, and cleverly kept the distances between their different vessels; but if a wind had arisen, whether a following or a head wind, it seems to me that the sailors would hardly have preserved themselves and their ships. But as it was, they escaped, as I have said, and put in at Taenarum, which is now called Caenopolis. Then, pressing on from there, they touched at Methone, and found Valerian and Martinus with their men, who had reached the same place a short time before. And since there were no winds blowing, Belisarius anchored the ships there, and disembarked the whole army; and after they were on shore he assigned the commanders their positions and drew up the soldiers. And while he was thus engaged and no wind at all arose, it came about that many of the soldiers were destroyed by disease caused in the following manner.

The pretorian prefect, John, was a man of worthless character, and so skilful at devising ways of bringing money into the public treasury to the detriment of men that I, for my part, should never be competent to describe this trait of his. But this has been said in the preceding pages, when I was brought to this point by my narrative. But I shall tell in the present case in what manner he destroyed the soldiers. The bread which soldiers are destined to eat in camp must of necessity be put twice into the oven, and be cooked so

carefully as to last for a very long period and not spoil in a short time, and loaves cooked in this way necessarily weigh less; and for this reason, when such bread is distributed, the soldiers generally received as their portion one-fourth more than the usual weight. John, therefore, calculating how he might reduce the amount of firewood used and have less to pay to the bakers in wages, and also how he might not lose in the weight of the bread, brought the still uncooked dough to the public baths of Achilles, in the basement of which the fire is kept burning, and bade his men set it down there. And when it seemed to be cooked in some fashion or other, he threw it into bags, put it on the ships, and sent it off. And when the fleet arrived at Methone, the loaves disintegrated and returned again to flour, not wholesome flour, however, but rotten and becoming mouldy and already giving out a sort of oppressive odour. And the loaves were dispensed by measure to the soldiers by those to whom this office was assigned, and they were already making the distribution of the bread by quarts and bushels. And the soldiers, feeding upon this in the summer time in a place where the climate is very hot, became sick, and not less than five hundred of them died; and the same thing was about to happen to more, but Belisarius prevented it by ordering the bread of the country to be furnished them. And reporting the matter to the emperor, he himself gained in favour, but he did not at that time bring any punishment upon John.

These events, then, took place in the manner described. And setting out from Methone they reached the harbour of Zacynthus, where they took in enough water to last them in crossing the Adriatic Sea, and after making all their other preparations, sailed on. But since the wind they had was very gentle and languid, it was only on the sixteenth day that they came to land at a deserted place in Sicily near which Mount Aetna rises. And while they were being delayed in this passage, as has been said, it so happened that the water of the whole fleet was spoiled, except that which Belisarius himself and his table-companions were drinking. For this alone was preserved by the wife of Belisarius in the following manner. She filled with water jars made of glass and constructed a small room with planks in the hold of the ship where it was impossible for the sun to penetrate, and there she sank the jars in sand, and by this means the water remained unaffected. So much, then, for this.

XIV

And as soon as Belisarius had disembarked upon the island, he began to feel restless, knowing not how to proceed, and his mind was tormented by the thought that he did not know what sort of men the Vandals were against whom he was going, and how strong they were in war, or in what manner the Romans would have to wage the war, or what place would be their base of operations. But most of all he was disturbed by the soldiers, who were in mortal dread of sea-fighting and had no shame in saying beforehand that, if they should be disembarked on the land, they would try to show themselves brave men in the battle, but if hostile ships assailed them, they would turn to flight; for, they said, they were not able to contend against two enemies at once, both men and water. Being at a loss, therefore, because of all these things, he sent Procopius, his adviser, to Syracuse, to find out whether the enemy had any ships in ambush keeping watch over the passage across the sea, either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya, and from what point as base it would be advantageous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Vandals. And he bade him, when he should have accomplished his commands, return and meet him at the place called Caucana, about two hundred stades distant from Syracuse, where both he and the whole fleet were to anchor. But he let it be understood that he was sending him to buy provisions, since the Goths were willing to give them a market, this having been decided upon by the Emperor Justinian and Amalasountha, the mother of Antalaric, who was at that time a boy being reared under the care of his mother, Amalasountha, and held sway over both the Goths and the Italians. For when Theoderic had died and the kingdom came to his nephew, Antalaric, who had already before this lost his father, Amalasountha was fearful both for her child and for the kingdom and cultivated the friendship of Justinian very carefully, and she gave heed to his commands in all matters and at that time promised to provide a market for his army and did so.

Now when Procopius reached Syracuse, he unexpectedly met a man who had been a fellow-citizen and friend of his from childhood, who had been living in Syracuse for a long time engaged in the shipping business, and he learned from him what he wanted; for this man showed him a domestic who had three days before that very day come from Carthage, and he said that they need not suspect that there would be any ambush set for the fleet by the Vandals. For from no one in the world had they learned that an army was coming against them at that time, but all the active men among the Vandals had actually a little before gone on an expedition against Godas. And for this reason Gelimer, with no thought of an enemy in his mind and regardless of Carthage and all the other places on the sea, was staying in Hermione, which is in Byzacium, four days' journey distant from the coast; so that it was

possible for them to sail without fearing any difficulty and to anchor wherever the wind should call them. When Procopius heard this, he took the hand of the domestic and walked to the harbour of Arethousa where his boat lay at anchor, making many enquiries of the man and searching out every detail. And going on board the ship with him, he gave orders to raise the sails and to make all speed for Caucana. And since the master of the domestic stood on the shore wondering that he did not give him back the man, Procopius shouted out, when the ship was already under way, begging him not to be angry with him; for it was necessary that the domestic should meet the general, and, after leading the army to Libya, would return after no long time to Syracuse with much money in his pocket.

But upon coming to Caucana they found all in deep grief. For Dorotheus, the general of the troops of Armenia, had died there, leaving to the whole army a great sense of loss. But Belisarius, when the domestic had come before him and related his whole story, became exceedingly glad, and after bestowing many praises upon Procopius, he issued orders to give the signal for departure with the trumpets. And setting sail quickly they touched at the islands of Gaulus and Melita, which mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas. There a strong east wind arose for them, and on the following day it carried the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "Shoal's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days' journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller.

And when they came near the shore, the general bade them furl the sails, throw out anchors from the ships, and make a halt; and calling together all the commanders to his own ship, he opened a discussion with regard to the disembarkation. Thereupon many speeches were made inclining to either side, and Archelaus came forward and spoke as follows:

"I admire, indeed, the virtue of our general, who, while surpassing all by far in judgment and possessing the greatest wealth of experience, and at the same time holding the power alone, has proposed an open discussion and bids each one of us speak, so that we shall be able to choose whichever course seems best, though it is possible for him to decide alone on what is needful and at his leisure to put it into execution as he wishes. But as for you, my fellow officers — I do not know how I am to say it easily — one might wonder that each one did not hasten to be the first to oppose the disembarkation. And yet I understand that the making of suggestions to those who are entering upon a perilous course brings no personal advantage to him who offers the advice, but as a general thing results in bringing blame upon him. For when things go well for men, they attribute their success to their own judgment or to fortune, but when they fail, they blame only the one who has advised them. Nevertheless I shall speak out. For it is not right for those who deliberate about safety to shrink from blame. You are purposing to disembark on the enemy's land, fellow-officers; but in what harbour are you planning to place the ships in safety? Or in what city's wall will you find security for yourselves? Have you not then heard that this promontory — I mean from Carthage to Iouce — extends, they say, for a journey of nine days, altogether without harbours and lying open to the wind from whatever quarter it may blow? And not a single walled town is left in all Libya except Carthage, thanks to the decision of Gizeric. And one might add that in this place, they say, water is entirely lacking. Come now, if you wish, let us suppose that some adversity befall us, and with this in view make the decision. For that those who enter into contests of arms should expect no difficulty is not in keeping with human experience nor with the nature of things. If, then, after we have disembarked upon the mainland, a storm should fall upon us, will it not be necessary that one of two things befall the ships, either that they flee away as far as possible, or perish upon this promontory? Secondly, what means will there be of supplying us with necessities? Let no one look to me as the officer charged with the maintenance of the army. For every official, when deprived of the means of administering his office, is of necessity reduced to the name and character of a private person. And where shall we deposit our superfluous arms or any other part of our necessities when we are compelled to receive the attack of the barbarians? Nay, as for this, it is not well even to say how it will turn out. But I think that we ought to make straight for Carthage. For they

say that there is a harbour called Stagnum not more than forty stades distant from that city, which is entirely unguarded and large enough for the whole fleet. And if we make this the base of our operations, we shall carry on the war without difficulty. And I, for my part, think it likely that we shall win Carthage by a sudden attack, especially since the enemy are far away from it, and that after we have won it we shall have no further trouble. For it is a way with all men's undertakings that when the chief point has been captured, they collapse after no long time. It behoves us, therefore, to bear in mind all these things and to choose the best course." So spoke Archelaus.

And Belisarius spoke as follows: "Let no one of you, fellow-officers, think that my words are those of censure, nor that they are spoken in the last place to the end that it may become necessary for all to follow them, of whatever sort they may be. For I have heard what seems best to each one of you, and it is becoming that I too should lay before you what I think, and then with you should choose the better course. But it is right to remind you of this fact, that the soldiers said openly a little earlier that they feared the dangers by sea and would turn to flight if a hostile ship should attack them, and we prayed God to shew us the land of Libya and allow us a peaceful disembarkation upon it. And since this is so, I think it the part of foolish men first to pray to receive from God the more favourable fortune, then when this is given them, to reject it and go in the contrary direction. And if we do sail straight for Carthage and a hostile fleet encounters us, the soldiers will remain without blame, if they flee with all their might — for a delinquency announced beforehand carries with it its own defence — but for us, even if we come through safely, there will be no forgiveness. Now while there are many difficulties if we remain in the ships, it will be sufficient, I think, to mention only one thing, — that by which especially they wish to frighten us when they hold over our heads the danger of a storm. For if any storm should fall upon us, one of two things, they say, must necessarily befall the ships, either that they flee far from Libya or be destroyed upon this headland. What then under the present circumstances will be more to our advantage to choose? to have the ships alone destroyed, or to have lost everything, men and all? But apart from this, at the present time we shall fall upon the enemy unprepared, and in all probability shall fare as we desire; for in warfare it is the unexpected which is accustomed to govern the course of events. But a little later, when the enemy have already made their preparation, the struggle we shall have will be one of strength evenly matched. And one might add that it will be necessary perhaps to fight even for the disembarkation, and to seek for that which now we have within our grasp but over which we are deliberating as a thing not necessary. And if at the very time, when we are engaged in conflict, a storm also comes upon us, as often happens on the sea, then while struggling both against the waves and against the Vandals, we shall come to regret our prudence. As for me, then, I say that we must disembark upon the land with all possible speed, landing horses and arms and whatever else we consider necessary for our use,

and that we must dig a trench quickly and throw a stockade around us of a kind which can contribute to our safety no less than any walled town one might mention, and with that as our base must carry on the war from there if anyone should attack us. And if we shew ourselves brave men, we shall lack nothing in the way of provisions. For those who hold the mastery over their enemy are lords also of the enemy's possessions; and it is the way of victory, first to invest herself with all the wealth, and then to set it down again on that side to which she inclines. Therefore, for you both the chance of safety and of having an abundance of good things lies in your own hands."

When Belisarius had said this, the whole assembly agreed and adopted his proposal, and separating from one another, they made the disembarkation as quickly as possible, about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shore the general bade both soldiers and sailors dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And they did as directed. And since a great throng was working and fear was stimulating their enthusiasm and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dug on the same day, but the stockade was also completed and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all around. Then, indeed, while they were digging the trench, something happened which was altogether amazing. A great abundance of water sprang forth from the earth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzacium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water sufficed for all uses of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procopius said that he rejoiced at the abundance of water, not so much because of its usefulness, as because it seemed to him a symbol of an easy victory, and that Heaven was foretelling a victory to them. This, at any rate, actually came to pass. So for that night all the soldiers bivouacked in the camp, setting guards and doing everything else as was customary, except, indeed, that Belisarius commanded five bowmen to remain in each ship for the purpose of a guard, and that the ships-of-war should anchor in a circle about them, taking care that no one should come against them to do them harm.

XVI

But on the following day, when some of the soldiers went out into the fields and laid hands on the fruit, the general inflicted corporal punishment of no casual sort upon them, and he called all the army together and spoke as follows: "This using of violence and the eating of that which belongs to others seems at other times a wicked thing only on this account, that injustice is in the deed itself, as the saying is; but in the present instance so great an element of detriment is added to the wrongdoing that — if it is not too harsh to say so — we must consider the question of justice of less account and calculate the magnitude of the danger that may arise from your act. For I have disembarked you upon this land basing my confidence on this alone, that the Libyans, being Romans from of old, are unfaithful and hostile to the Vandals, and for this reason I thought that no necessities would fail us and, besides, that the enemy would not do us any injury by a sudden attack. But now this your lack of self-control has changed it all and made the opposite true. For you have doubtless reconciled the Libyans to the Vandals, bringing their hostility round upon your own selves. For by nature those who are wronged feel enmity toward those who have done them violence, and it has come round to this that you have exchanged your own safety and a bountiful supply of good things for some few pieces of silver, when it was possible for you, by purchasing provisions from willing owners, not to appear unjust and at the same time to enjoy their friendship to the utmost. Now, therefore, the war will be between you and both Vandals and Libyans, and I, at least, say further that it will be against God himself, whose aid no one who does wrong can invoke. But do you cease trespassing wantonly upon the possessions of others, and reject a gain which is full of dangers. For this is that time in which above all others moderation is able to save, but lawlessness leads to death. For if you give heed to these things, you will find God propitious, the Libyan people well-disposed, and the race of the Vandals open to your attack."

With these words Belisarius dismissed the assembly. And at that time he heard that the city of Syllectus was distant one day's journey from the camp, lying close to the sea on the road leading to Carthage, and that the wall of this city had been torn down for a long time, but the inhabitants of the place had made a barrier on all sides by means of the walls of their houses, on account of the attacks of the Moors, and guarded a kind of fortified enclosure; he, accordingly, sent one of his spearmen, Boriades, together with some of the guards, commanding them to make an attempt on the city, and, if they captured it, to do no harm in it, but to promise a thousand good things and to say that they had come for the sake of the people's freedom, that so the army might be able to enter into it. And they came near the city about dusk and passed the night hidden in a ravine. But at early dawn, meeting country folk going into the city with waggons, they entered quietly with them and with no

trouble took possession of the city. And when day came, no one having begun any disturbance, they called together the priest and all the other notables and announced the commands of the general, and receiving the keys of the entrances from willing hands, they sent them to the general.

On the same day the overseer of the public post deserted, handing over all the government horses. And they captured also one of those who are occasionally sent to bear the royal responses, whom they call “veredarii”; and the general did him no harm but presented him with much gold and, receiving pledges from him, put into his hand the letter which the Emperor Justinian had written to the Vandals, that he might give it to the magistrates of the Vandals. And the writing was as follows: “Neither have we decided to make war upon the Vandals, nor are we breaking the treaty of Gizeric, but we are attempting to dethrone your tyrant, who, making light of the testament of Gizeric, has imprisoned your king and is keeping him in custody, and those of his relatives whom he hated exceedingly he put to death at the first, and the rest, after robbing them of their sight, he keeps under guard, not allowing them to terminate their misfortunes by death. Do you, therefore, join forces with us and help us in freeing yourselves from so wicked a tyranny, in order that you may be able to enjoy both peace and freedom. For we give you pledges in the name of God that these things will come to you by our hand.” Such was the message of the emperor’s letter. But the man who received this from Belisarius did not dare to publish it openly, and though he shewed it secretly to his friends, he accomplished nothing whatever of consequence.

XVII

And Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the march to Carthage. He chose out three hundred of his guards, men who were able warriors, and handed them over to John, who was in charge of the expenditures of the general's household; such a person the Romans call "optio." And he was an Armenian by birth, a man gifted with discretion and courage in the highest degree. This John, then, he commanded to go ahead of the army, at a distance of not less than twenty stades, and if he should see anything of the enemy, to report it with all speed, so that they might not be compelled to enter into battle unprepared. And the allied Massagetae he commanded to travel constantly on the left of the army, keeping as many stades away or more; and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he suspected that it would not be long before Gelimer, following them from Hermione, would make an attack upon them. And these precautions were sufficient, for on the right side there was no fear, since they were travelling not far from the coast. And he commanded the sailors to follow along with them always and not to separate themselves far from the army, but when the wind was favouring to lower the great sails, and follow with the small sails, which they call "dolones," and when the wind dropped altogether to keep the ships under way as well as they could by rowing.

And when Belisarius reached Syllectus, the soldiers behaved with moderation, and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kindness, won the Libyans to his side so completely that thereafter he made the journey as if in his own land; for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we completed the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, or in a camp made as thoroughly secure as the circumstances permitted. Thus we passed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumetum and reached the place called Grasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the ruler of the Vandals and a park the most beautiful of all we know. For it is excellently watered by springs and has a great wealth of woods. And all the trees are full of fruit; so that each one of the soldiers pitched his tent among fruit-trees, and though all of them ate their fill of the fruit, which was then ripe, there was practically no diminution to be seen in the fruit.

But Gelimer, as soon as he heard in Hermione that the enemy were at hand, wrote to his brother Ammatas in Carthage to kill Ilderic and all the others, connected with him either by birth or otherwise, whom he was keeping under guard, and commanded him to make ready the Vandals and all others in the city serviceable for war, in order that, when the enemy got inside the narrow

passage at the suburb of the city which they call Decimum, they might come together from both sides and surround them and, catching them as in a net, destroy them. And Ammatas carried this out, and killed Ilderic, who was a relative of his, and Euagees, and all the Libyans who were intimate with them. For Hoamer had already departed from the world. And arming the Vandals, he made them ready, intending to make his attack at the opportune moment. But Gelimer was following behind, without letting it be known to us, except, indeed, that, on that night when we bivouacked in Grasse, scouts coming from both armies met each other, and after an exchange of blows they each retired to their own camp, and in this way it became evident to us that the enemy were not far away. As we proceeded from there it was impossible to discern the ships. For high rocks extending well into the sea cause mariners to make a great circuit, and there is a projecting headland, inside of which lies the town of Hermes. Belisarius therefore commanded Archelaus, the prefect, and Calonymus, the admiral, not to put in at Carthage, but to remain about two hundred stades away until he himself should summon them. And departing from Grasse we came on the fourth day to Decimum, seventy stades distant from Carthage.

XVIII

And on that day Gelimer commanded his nephew Gibamundus with two thousand of the Vandals to go ahead of the rest of the army on the left side, in order that Ammatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer himself from the rear, and Gibamundus from the country to the left, might unite and accomplish the task of encircling the enemy with less difficulty and exertion. But as for me, during this struggle I was moved to wonder at the ways of Heaven and of men, noting how God, who sees from afar what will come to pass, traces out the manner in which it seems best to him that things should come to pass, while men, whether they are deceived or counsel aright, know not that they have failed, should that be the issue, or that they have succeeded, God's purpose being that a path shall be made for Fortune, who presses on inevitably toward that which has been foreordained. For if Belisarius had not thus arranged his forces, commanding the men under John to take the lead, and the Massagetae to march on the left of the army, we should never have been able to escape the Vandals. And even with this planned so by Belisarius, if Ammatas had observed the opportune time, and had not anticipated this by about the fourth part of a day, never would the cause of the Vandals have fallen as it did; but as it was, Ammatas came to Decimum about midday, in advance of the time, while both we and the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that he did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Vandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible, while he with a few men and not even the pick of the army came into conflict with John's men. And he killed twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, and he himself fell, having shewn himself a brave man in this engagement. And the rout, after Ammatas fell, became complete, and the Vandals, fleeing at top speed, swept back all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were advancing in no order and not drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that; for they were coming in bands of twenty or thirty. And seeing the Vandals under Ammatas fleeing, and thinking their pursuers were a great multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And John and his men, killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the gates of Carthage. And there was so great a slaughter of Vandals in the course of the seventy stades that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy twenty thousand strong.

At the same time Gibamundus and his two thousand came to Pedion Halon, which is forty stades distant from Decimum on the left as one goes to Carthage, and is destitute of human habitation or trees or anything else, since the salt in the water permits nothing except salt to be produced there; in that place they encountered the Huns and were all destroyed. Now there was a certain man among the Massagetae, well gifted with courage and strength of

body, the leader of a few men; this man had the privilege handed down from his fathers and ancestors to be the first in all the Hunnic armies to attack the enemy. For it was not lawful for a man of the Massagetae to strike first in battle and capture one of the enemy until, indeed, someone from this house began the struggle with the enemy. So when the two armies had come not far from each other, this man rode out and stopped alone close to the army of the Vandals. And the Vandals, either because they were dumbfounded at the courageous spirit of the man or perhaps because they suspected that the enemy were contriving something against them, decided neither to move nor to shoot at the man. And I think that, since they had never had experience of battle with the Massagetae, but heard that the nation was very warlike, they were for this reason terrified at the danger. And the man, returning to his compatriots, said that God had sent them these strangers as a ready feast. Then at length they made their onset and the Vandals did not withstand them, but breaking their ranks and never thinking of resistance, they were all disgracefully destroyed.

XIX

But we, having learned nothing at all of what had happened, were going on to Decimum. And Belisarius, seeing a place well adapted for a camp, thirty-five stades distant from Decimum, surrounded it with a stockade which was very well made, and placing all the infantry there and calling together the whole army, he spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the decisive moment of the struggle is already at hand; for I perceive that the enemy are advancing upon us; and the ships have been taken far away from us by the nature of the place; and it has come round to this that our hope of safety lies in the strength of our hands. For there is not a friendly city, no, nor any other stronghold, in which we may put our trust and have confidence concerning ourselves. But if we should show ourselves brave men, it is probable that we shall still overcome the enemy in the war; but if we should weaken at all, it will remain for us to fall under the hand of the Vandals and to be destroyed disgracefully. And yet there are many advantages on our side to help us on toward victory; for we have with us both justice, with which we have come against our enemy (for we are here in order to recover what is our own), and the hatred of the Vandals toward their own tyrant. For the alliance of God follows naturally those who put justice forward, and a soldier who is ill-disposed toward his ruler knows not how to play the part of a brave man. And apart from this, we have been engaged with Persians and Scythians all the time, but the Vandals, since the time they conquered Libya, have seen not a single enemy except naked Moors. And who does not know that in every work practice leads to skill, while idleness leads to inefficiency? Now the stockade, from which we shall have to carry on the war, has been made by us in the best possible manner. And we are able to deposit here our weapons and everything else which we are not able to carry when we go forth; and when we return here again, no kind of provisions can fail us. And I pray that each one of you, calling to mind his own valour and those whom he has left at home, may so march with contempt against the enemy."

After speaking these words and uttering a prayer after them, Belisarius left his wife and the barricaded camp to the infantry, and himself set forth with all the horsemen. For it did not seem to him advantageous for the present to risk an engagement with the whole army, but it seemed wise to skirmish first with the horsemen and make trial of the enemy's strength, and finally to fight a decisive battle with the whole army. Sending forward, therefore, the commanders of the *foederati*, he himself followed with the rest of the force and his own spearmen and guards. And when the *foederati* and their leaders reached Decimum, they saw the corpses of the fallen — twelve comrades from the forces of John and near them Ammatas and some of the Vandals. And hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight, they were vexed, being at a loss as to where they ought to go. But while they

were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared from the south and a little later a very large force of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible, since the enemy were bearing down upon them. And the opinions of the commanders were divided. For some thought that they ought to close with their assailants, but the others said that their force was not sufficient for this. And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leadership of Gelimer, who was following a road between the one which Belisarius was travelling and the one by which the Massagetae who had encountered Gibamundus had come. But since the land was hilly on both sides, it did not allow him to see either the disaster of Gibamundus or Belisarius' stockade, nor even the road along which Belisarius' men were advancing. But when they came near each other, a contest arose between the two armies as to which should capture the highest of all the hills there. For it seemed a suitable one to encamp upon, and both sides preferred to engage with the enemy from there. And the Vandals, coming first, took possession of the hill by crowding off their assailants and routed the enemy, having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place seven stades distant from Decimum, where, as it happened, Uliaris, the personal guard of Belisarius, was, with eight hundred guardsmen. And all supposed that Uliaris would receive them and hold his position, and together with them would go against the Vandals; but when they came together, these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius.

From then on I am unable to say what happened to Gelimer that, having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy, unless one ought to refer foolish actions also to God, who, whenever He purposes that some adversity shall befall a man, touches first his reason and does not permit that which will be to his advantage to come to his consideration. For if, on the one hand, he had made the pursuit immediately, I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him, but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fear they inspired in the Romans; or if, on the other hand, he had even ridden straight for Carthage, he would easily have killed all John's men, who, heedless of everything else, were wandering about the plain one by one or by twos and stripping the dead. And he would have preserved the city with its treasures, and captured our ships, which had come rather near, and he would have withdrawn from us all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his brother, he turned to lamentations, and, in caring for his burial, he blunted the edge of his opportunity — an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again. Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives, bade them stop, and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length; then, after hearing of the death of

Ammatas and the pursuit of John, and learning what he wished concerning the place and the enemy, he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians, having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared, did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there, and the battle ended at night. Now the Vandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium, whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading into Numidia. So the men with John and the Massagetae returned to us about dusk, and after learning all that had happened and reporting what they had done, they passed the night with us in Decimum.

But on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius came up and we all proceeded together on the road toward Carthage, which we reached in the late evening; and we passed the night in the open, although no one hindered us from marching into the city at once. For the Carthaginians opened the gates and burned lights everywhere and the city was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who had been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to guard against any ambuscade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from having freedom to turn to plundering, as they might under the concealment of night. On that day, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland, and the Carthaginians, for they already sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium, and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king's palace a room filled with darkness, which the Carthaginians call Ancon, where all were cast with whom the tyrant was angry. In that place, as it happened, many of the eastern merchants had been confined up to that time. For Gelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having urged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed, all of them, this having been decided upon by Gelimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum; to such an extremity of danger did they come. The guard of this prison, upon hearing what had taken place in Decimum and seeing the fleet inside the point, entered the room and enquired of the men, who had not yet learned the good news, but were sitting in the darkness and expecting death, what among their possessions they would be willing to give up and be saved. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures, but required them all to swear that, if they escaped, they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them the whole story, and tearing off a plank from the side toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them.

But the men on the ships, having as yet heard nothing of what the army had done on the land, were completely at a loss, and slackening their sails they sent to the town of Mercurium; there they learned what had taken place at Decimum, and becoming exceedingly joyful sailed on. And when, with a favouring wind blowing, they came to within one hundred and fifty stades of Carthage, Archelaus and the soldiers bade them anchor there, fearing the warning of the general, but the sailors would not obey. For they said that the promontory at that point was without a harbour and also that the indications were that a well-known storm, which the natives call Cypriana, would arise immediately. And they predicted that, if it came upon them in that place, they

would not be able to save even one of the ships. And it was as they said. So they slackened their sails for a short time and deliberated; and they did not think they ought to try for Mandracium (for they shrank from violating the commands of Belisarius, and at the same time they suspected that the entrance to Mandracium was closed by the chains, and besides they feared that this harbour was not sufficient for the whole fleet) but Stagnum seemed to them well situated (for it is forty stades distant from Carthage), and there was nothing in it to hinder them, and also it was large enough for the whole fleet. There they arrived about dusk and all anchored, except, indeed, that Calonymus with some of the sailors, disregarding the general and all the others, went off secretly to Mandracium, no one daring to hinder him, and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians.

On the following day Belisarius commanded those on the ships to disembark, and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation, he marched into Carthage; for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at length of how much good fortune had come to them because they had displayed moderation toward the Libyans, and he exhorted them earnestly to preserve good order with the greatest care in Carthage. For all the Libyans had been Romans in earlier times and had come under the Vandals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hands of these barbarians. For this very reason the emperor had entered into war with the Vandals, and it was not holy that any harm should come from them to the people whose freedom they had made the ground for taking the field against the Vandals. [Sept. 15, 533 A.D.] After such words of exhortation he entered Carthage, and, since no enemy was seen by them, he went up to the palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. There a crowd of merchants and other Carthaginians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus by oaths to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus, taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn, for the moment made the money his plunder, but not long afterwards he paid his just penalty in Byzantium. For being taken with the disease called apoplexy, he became insane and bit off his own tongue and then died. But this happened at a later time.

But then, since the hour was appropriate, Belisarius commanded that lunch be prepared for them, in the very place where Gelimer was accustomed to entertain the leaders of the Vandals. This place the Romans call "Delphix," not in their own tongue, but using the Greek word according to the ancient custom. For in the palace at Rome, where the dining couches of the emperor were placed, a tripod had stood from olden times, on which the emperor's cupbearers used to place the cups. Now the Romans call a tripod "Delphix," since they were first made at Delphi, and from this both in Byzantium and wherever there is a king's dining couch they call the room "Delphix"; for the Romans follow the Greek also in calling the emperor's residence "Palatium." For a Greek named Pallas lived in this place before the capture of Troy and built a noteworthy house there, and they called this dwelling "Palatium"; and when Augustus received the imperial power, he decided to take up his first residence in that house, and from this they call the place wherever the emperor resides "Palatium." So Belisarius dined in the Delphix and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for Gelimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domestics of Gelimer served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory and making a display of the fact that all things are hers and that nothing is the private possession of any man. And it fell to the lot of Belisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to enter a subject city without confusion, even if they numbered only five hundred, and especially if they made the entry unexpectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this general showed themselves so orderly that there was not a single act of insolence nor a threat, and indeed nothing happened to hinder the business of the city; but in a captured city, one which had changed its government and shifted its allegiance, it came about that no man's household was excluded from the privileges of the marketplace; on the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings, just as usual, and the soldiers themselves, getting their lunch by purchase from the market, rested as each one wished.

Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuit-wall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and easy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down, and it was for this reason, the Carthaginians said, that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be impossible in a short time to restore such a circuit-wall to a safe condition. And they said that an old oracle had been uttered by the children in earlier

times in Carthage, to the effect that “gamma shall pursue beta, and again beta itself shall pursue gamma.” And at that time it had been spoken by the children in play and had been left as an unexplained riddle, but now it was perfectly clear to all. For formerly Gizeric had driven out Boniface and now Belisarius was doing the same to Gelimer. This, then, whether it was a rumour or an oracle, came out as I have stated.

At that time a dream also came to light, which had been seen often before this by many persons, but without being clear as to how it would turn out. And the dream was as follows. Cyprian, a holy man, is revered above all others by the Carthaginians. And they have founded a very noteworthy temple in his honour before the city on the sea-shore, in which they conduct all other customary services, and also celebrate there a festival which they call the “Cypriana”; and the sailors are accustomed to name after Cyprian the storm, which I mentioned lately, giving it the same name as the festival, since it is wont to come on at the time at which the Libyans have always been accustomed to celebrate the festival. This temple the Vandals took from the Christians by violence in the reign of Honoric. And they straightway drove out their priests from the temple in great dishonour, and themselves thereafter attended to the sacred festival which, they said, now belonged to the Arians. And the Libyans, indeed, were angry on this account and altogether at a loss, but Cyprian, they say, often sent them a dream saying that there was not the least need for the Christians to be concerned about him; for he himself as time went on would be his own avenger. And when the report of this was passed around and came to all the Libyans, they were expecting that some vengeance would come upon the Vandals at some time because of this sacred festival, but were unable to conjecture how in the world the vision would be realized for them. Now, therefore, when the emperor’s expedition had come to Libya, since the time had already come round and would bring the celebration of the festival on the succeeding day, the priests of the Arians, in spite of the fact that Ammatas had led the Vandals to Decimum, cleansed the whole sanctuary and were engaged in hanging up the most beautiful of the votive offerings there, and making ready the lamps and bringing out the treasures from the store-houses and preparing all things with exactness, arranging everything according to its appropriate use. But the events in Decimum turned out in the manner already described. And the priests of the Arians were off in flight, while the Christians who conform to the orthodox faith came to the temple of Cyprian, and they burned all the lamps and attended to the sacred festival just as is customary for them to perform this service, and thus it was known to all what the vision of the dream was foretelling. This, then, came about in this way.

And the Vandals, recalling an ancient saying, marvelled, understanding clearly thereafter that for a man, at least, no hope could be impossible nor any possession secure. And what this saying was and in what manner it was spoken I shall explain. When the Vandals originally, pressed by hunger, were about to remove from their ancestral abodes, a certain part of them was left behind who were reluctant to go and not desirous of following Godigisclus. And as time went on it seemed to those who had remained that they were well off as regards abundance of provisions, and Gizeric with his followers gained possession of Libya. And when this was heard by those who had not followed Godigisclus, they rejoiced, since thenceforth the country was altogether sufficient for them to live upon. But fearing lest at some time much later either the very ones who had conquered Libya, or their descendants, should in some way or other be driven out of Libya and return to their ancestral homes (for they never supposed that the Romans would let Libya be held for ever), they sent ambassadors to them. And these men, upon coming before Gizeric, said that they rejoiced with their compatriots who had met with such success, but that they were no longer able to guard the land of which he and his men had thought so little that they had settled in Libya. They prayed therefore that, if they laid no claim to their fatherland, they would bestow it as an unprofitable possession upon themselves, so that their title to the land might be made as secure as possible, and if anyone should come to do it harm, they might by no means disdain to die in behalf of it. Gizeric, accordingly, and all the other Vandals thought that they spoke fairly and justly, and they were in the act of granting everything which the envoys desired of them. But a certain old man who was esteemed among them and had a great reputation for discretion said that he would by no means permit such a thing. "For in human affairs," he said, "not one thing stands secure; nay, nothing which now exists is stable for all time for men, while as regards that which does not yet exist, there is nothing which may not come to pass." When Gizeric heard this, he expressed approval and decided to send the envoys away with nothing accomplished. Now at that time both he himself and the man who had given the advice were judged worthy of ridicule by all the Vandals, as foreseeing the impossible. But when these things which have been told took place, the Vandals learned to take a different view of the nature of human affairs and realized that the saying was that of a wise man.

Now as for those Vandals who remained in their native land, neither remembrance nor any name of them has been preserved to my time. For since, I suppose, they were a small number, they were either overpowered by the neighbouring barbarians or they were mingled with them not at all unwillingly and their name gave way to that of their conquerors. Indeed, when the Vandals were conquered at that time by Belisarius, no thought occurred to them to go

from there to their ancestral homes. For they were not able to convey themselves suddenly from Libya to Europe, especially as they had no ships at hand, but paid the penalty there for all the wrongs they had done the Romans and especially the Zacynthians. For at one time Gizeric, falling suddenly upon the towns in the Peloponnesus, undertook to assault Taenarum. And being repulsed from there and losing many of his followers he retired in complete disorder. And while he was still filled with anger on account of this, he touched at Zacynthus, and having killed many of those he met and enslaved five hundred of the notables, he sailed away soon afterwards. And when he reached the middle of the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, he cut into small pieces the bodies of the five hundred and threw them all about the sea without the least concern. But this happened in earlier times.

But at that time Gelimer, by distributing much money to the farmers among the Libyans and shewing great friendliness toward them, succeeded in winning many to his side. These he commanded to kill the Romans who went out into the country, proclaiming a fixed sum of gold for each man killed, to be paid to him who did the deed. And they killed many from the Roman army, not soldiers, however, but slaves and servants, who because of a desire for money went up into the villages stealthily and were caught. And the farmers brought their heads before Gelimer and departed receiving their pay, while he supposed that they had slain soldiers of the enemy.

At that time Diogenes, the aide of Belisarius, made a display of valorous deeds. For having been sent, together with twenty-two of the body-guards, to spy upon their opponents, he came to a place two days' journey distant from Carthage. And the farmers of the place, being unable to kill these men, reported to Gelimer that they were there. And he chose out and sent against them three hundred horsemen of the Vandals, enjoining upon them to bring all the men alive before him. For it seemed to him a most remarkable achievement to make captive a personal aide of Belisarius with twenty-two body-guards. Now Diogenes and his party had entered a certain house and were sleeping in the upper storey, having no thought of the enemy in mind, since, indeed, they had learned that their opponents were far away. But the Vandals, coming there at early dawn, thought it would not be to their advantage to destroy the doors of the house or to enter it in the dark, fearing lest, being involved in a night encounter, they might themselves destroy one another, and at the same time, if that should happen, provide a way of escape for a large number of the enemy in the darkness. But they did this because cowardice had paralyzed their minds, though it would have been possible for them with no trouble, by carrying torches or even without these, to catch their enemies in their beds not only without weapons, but absolutely naked besides. But as it was, they made a phalanx in a circle about the whole house and especially at the doors, and all took their stand there. But in the meantime it so happened that one of the Roman soldiers was roused from sleep, and he, noticing the noise which the Vandals made as they talked stealthily among themselves and moved with their weapons, was able to comprehend what was being done, and rousing each one of his comrades silently, he told them what was going on. And they, following the opinion of Diogenes, all put on their clothes quietly and taking up their weapons went below. There they put the bridles on their horses and leaped upon them unperceived by anyone. And after standing for a time by the court-yard entrance, they suddenly opened the door there, and straightway all came out. And then the Vandals immediately closed with them, but they accomplished nothing. For the Romans rode hard, covering themselves with their shields and warding off their assailants with

their spears. And in this way Diogenes escaped the enemy, losing two of his followers, but saving the rest. He himself, however, received three blows in this encounter on the neck and the face, from which indeed he came within a little of dying, and one blow also on the left hand, as a result of which he was thereafter unable to move his little finger. This, then, took place in this way.

And Belisarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engaged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admiration about the circuit-wall, and setting stakes close together along it he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this, but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians, but also to Gelimer himself at a later time. For when he came as a captive to Carthage, he marvelled when he saw the wall and said that his own negligence had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This, then, was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage.

But Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, reached Sardinia with the expedition which has been mentioned above and disembarked at the harbour of Caranalis; and at the first onset he captured the city and killed the tyrant Godas and all the fighting men about him. And when he heard that the emperor's expedition was in the land of Libya, having as yet learned nothing of what had been done there, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "Know, O King of the Vandals and Alani, that the tyrant Godas has perished, having fallen into our hands, and that the island is again under thy kingdom, and celebrate the festival of triumph. And as for the enemy who have had the daring to march against our land, expect that their attempt will come to the same fate as that experienced by those who in former times marched against our ancestors." And those who took this letter sailed into the harbour of Carthage with no thought of the enemy in mind. And being brought by the guards before the general, they put the letter into his hands and gave him information on the matters about which he enquired, being thunderstruck at what they beheld and awed at the suddenness of the change; however, they suffered nothing unpleasant at the hand of Belisarius.

At this same time another event also occurred as follows. A short time before the emperor's expedition reached Libya, Gelimer had sent envoys into Spain, among whom were Gothaeus and Fuscias, in order to persuade Theudis, the ruler of the Visigoths, to establish an alliance with the Vandals. And these envoys, upon disembarking on the mainland after crossing the strait at Gadira, found Theudis in a place situated far from the sea. And when they had come up to the place where he was, Theudis received them with friendliness and entertained them heartily, and during the feast he pretended to enquire how matters stood with Gelimer and the Vandals. Now since these envoys had travelled to him rather slowly, it happened that he had heard from others everything which had befallen the Vandals. For one merchant ship sailing for trade had put out from Carthage on the very same day as the army marched into the city, and finding a favouring wind, had come to Spain. From those on this ship Theudis learned all that had happened in Libya, but he forbade the merchants to reveal it to anyone, in order that this might not become generally known. And when Gothaeus and his followers replied that everything was as well as possible for them, he asked them for what purpose, then, they had come. And when they proposed the alliance, Theudis bade them go to the sea-coast; "For from there," he said, "you will learn of the affairs at home with certainty." And the envoys, supposing that the man was in his cups and his words were not sane, remained silent. But when on the following day they met him and made mention of the alliance, and Theudis used the same words a second time, then at length they understood that some change of fortune had befallen them in Libya, but never once thinking of

Carthage they sailed for the city. And upon coming to land close by it and happening upon Roman soldiers, they put themselves in their hands to do with them as they wished. And from there they were led away to the general, and reporting the whole story, they suffered no harm at his hand. These things, then, happened thus. And Cyril, upon coming near to Sardinia and learning what had happened to Godas, sailed to Carthage, and there, finding the Roman army and Belisarius victorious, he remained at rest; and Solomon was sent to the emperor in order to announce what had been accomplished.

But Gelimer, upon reaching the plain of Boulla, which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller, not far from the boundaries of Numidia, began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors, however, joined his alliance, and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and requested that the symbols of office be sent them from him according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already received them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Now these symbols are a staff of silver covered with gold, and a silver cap, — not covering the whole head, but like a crown and held in place on all sides by bands of silver, — a kind of white cloak gathered by a golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a Thessalian cape, and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them, and presented each one of them with much money. However, they did not come to fight along with him, nor, on the other hand, did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants, they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. Thus, then, matters stood with the Romans.

But Gelimer sent one of the Vandals to Sardinia with a letter to his brother Tzazon. And he went quickly to the coast, and finding by chance a merchant-ship putting out to sea, he sailed into the harbour of Caranalis and put the letter into the hands of Tzazon. Now the message of the letter was as follows:

“It was not, I venture to think, Godas who caused the island to revolt from us, but some curse of madness sent from Heaven which fell upon the Vandals. For by depriving us of you and the notables of the Vandals, it has seized and carried off from the house of Gizeric absolutely all the blessings which we enjoyed. For it was not to recover the island for us that you sailed from here, but in order that Justinian might be master of Libya. For that which Fortune had decided upon previously it is now possible to know from the outcome. Belisarius, then, has come against us with a small army, but valour straightway departed and fled from the Vandals, taking good fortune with her. For Ammatas and Gibamundus have fallen, because the Vandals lost their courage, and the horses and shipyards and all Libya and, not least of all, Carthage itself, are held already by the enemy. And the Vandals are sitting here, having paid with their children and wives and all their possessions for their failure to play the part of brave men in battle, and to us is left only the

plain of Boulla, where our hope in you has set us down and still keeps us. But do you have done with such matters as rebel tyrants and Sardinia and the cares concerning these things, and come to us with your whole force as quickly as possible. For when men find the very heart and centre of all in danger, it is not advisable for them to consider minutely other matters. And struggling hereafter in common against the enemy, we shall either recover our previous fortune, or gain the advantage of not bearing apart from each other the hard fate sent by Heaven.”

When this letter had been brought to Tzazon, and he had disclosed its contents to the Vandals, they turned to wailing and lamentation, not openly, however, but concealing their feelings as much as possible and avoiding the notice of the islanders, silently among themselves they bewailed the fate which was upon them. And straightway setting in order matters in hand just as chance directed, they manned the ships. And sailing from there with the whole fleet, on the third day they came to land at the point of Libya which marks the boundary between the Numidians and Mauretanians. And they reached the plain of Boulla travelling on foot, and there joined with the rest of the army. And in that place there were many most pitiable scenes among the Vandals, which I, at least, could never relate as they deserve. For I think that even if one of the enemy themselves had happened to be a spectator at that time, he would probably have felt pity, in spite of himself, for the Vandals and for human fortune. For Gelimer and Tzazon threw their arms about each other’s necks, and could not let go, but they spoke not a word to each other, but kept wringing their hands and weeping, and each one of the Vandals with Gelimer embraced one of those who had come from Sardinia, and did the same thing. And they stood for a long time as if grown together and found such comfort as they could in this, and neither did the men of Gelimer think fit to ask about Godas (for their present fortune had prostrated them and caused them to reckon such things as had previously seemed to them most important with those which were now utterly negligible), nor could those who came from Sardinia bring themselves to ask about what had happened in Libya. For the place was sufficient to permit them to judge of what had come to pass. And indeed they did not make any mention even of their own wives and children, knowing well that whoever of theirs was not there had either died or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus, then, did these things happen.

BOOK IV. THE VANDALIC WAR (Continued)

Gelimer, seeing all the Vandals gathered together, led his army against Carthage. And when they came close to it, they tore down a portion of the aqueduct, — a structure well worth seeing — which conducted water into the city, and after encamping for a time they withdrew, since no one of the enemy came out against them. And going about the country there they kept the roads under guard and thought that in this way they were besieging Carthage; however, they did not gather any booty, nor plunder the land, but took possession of it as their own. And at the same time they kept hoping that there would be some treason on the part of the Carthaginians themselves and such of the Roman soldiers as followed the doctrine of Arius. They also sent to the leaders of the Huns, and promising that they would have many good things from the Vandals, entreated them to become their friends and allies. Now the Huns even before this had not been well-disposed toward the cause of the Romans, since they had not indeed come to them willingly as allies (for they asserted that the Roman general Peter had given an oath and then, disregarding what had been sworn, had thus brought them to Byzantium), and accordingly they received the words of the Vandals, and promised that when they should come to real fighting they would turn with them against the Roman army. But Belisarius had a suspicion of all this (for he had heard it from the deserters), and also the circuit-wall had not as yet been completed entirely, and for these reasons he did not think it possible for his men to go out against the enemy for the present, but he was making his preparations within as well as possible. And one of the Carthaginians, Laurus by name, having been condemned on a charge of treason and proved guilty by his own secretary, was impaled by Belisarius on a hill before the city, and as a result of this the others came to feel a sort of irresistible fear and refrained from attempts at treason. And he courted the Massagetæ with gifts and banquets and every other manner of flattering attention every day, and thus persuaded them to disclose to him what Gelimer had promised them on condition of their turning traitors in the battle. And these barbarians said that they had no enthusiasm for fighting, for they feared that, if the Vandals were vanquished, the Romans would not send them back to their native land, but they would be compelled to grow old and die right there in Libya; and besides they were also concerned, they said, about the booty, lest they be robbed of it. Then indeed Belisarius gave them pledges that, if the Vandals should be conquered decisively, they would be sent without the least delay to their homes with all their booty, and thus he bound them by oaths in very truth to assist the Romans with all zeal in carrying through the war.

And when all things had been prepared by him in the best way possible, and the circuit-wall had been already completed, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows: "As for exhortation, fellow Romans, I do not

know that it is necessary to make any to you, — men who have recently conquered the enemy so completely that Carthage here and the whole of Libya is a possession of your valour, and for this reason you will have no need of admonition that prompts to daring. For the spirits of those who have conquered are by no means wont to be overcome. But I think it not untimely to remind you of this one thing, that, if you on the present occasion but prove equal to your own selves in valour, straightway there will be an end for the Vandals of their hopes, and for you of the battle. Hence there is every reason why you should enter into this engagement with the greatest eagerness. For ever sweet to men is toil coming to an end and reaching its close. Now as for the host of the Vandals, let no one of you consider them. For not by numbers of men nor by measure of body, but by valour of soul, is war wont to be decided. And let the strongest motive which actuates men come to your minds, namely, pride in past achievement. For it is a shame, for those at least who have reason, to fall short of one's own self and to be found inferior to one's own standard of valour. For I know well that terror and the memory of misfortunes have laid hold upon the enemy and compel them to become less brave, for the one fills them with fear because of what has already happened, and the other brushes aside their hope of success. For Fortune, once seen to be bad, straightway enslaves the spirit of those who have fallen in her way. And I shall explain how the struggle involves for you at the present time a greater stake than formerly. For in the former battle the danger was, if things did not go well for us, that we should not take the land of others; but now, if we do not win the struggle, we shall lose the land which is our own. In proportion, then, as it is easier to possess nothing than to be deprived of what one has, just so now our fear touches our most vital concerns more than before. And yet formerly we had the fortune to win the victory with the infantry absent, but now, entering the battle with God propitious and with our whole army, I have hopes of capturing the camp of the enemy, men and all. Thus, then, having the end of the war ready at hand, do not by reason of any negligence put it off to another time, lest you be compelled to seek for the opportune moment after it has run past us. For when the fortune of war is postponed, its nature is not to proceed in the same manner as before, especially if the war be prolonged by the will of those who are carrying it on. For Heaven is accustomed to bring retribution always upon those who abandon the good fortune which is present. But if anyone considers that the enemy, seeing their children and wives and most precious possessions in our hands, will be daring beyond reason and will incur risks beyond the strength which they have, he does not think rightly. For an overpowering passion springing up in the heart in behalf of what is most precious is wont to diminish men's actual strength and does not allow them to make full use of their present opportunities. Considering, then, all these things, it behooves you to go with great contempt against the enemy."

II

After such words of exhortation, Belisarius sent out all the horsemen on the same day, except five hundred, and also the guardsmen and the standard, which the Romans call "bandum," entrusting them to John the Armenian, and directing him to skirmish only, if opportunity should arise. And he himself on the following day followed with the infantry forces and the five hundred horsemen. And the Massagetae, deliberating among themselves, decided, in order to seem in friendly agreement with both Gelimer and Belisarius, neither to begin fighting for the Romans nor to go over to the Vandals before the encounter, but whenever the situation of one or the other army should be bad, then to join the victors in their pursuit of the vanquished. Thus, then, had this matter been decided upon by the barbarians. And the Roman army came upon the Vandals encamped in Tricamarum, one hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. So they both bivouacked there at a considerable distance from one another. And when it was well on in the night, a prodigy came to pass in the Roman camp as follows. The tips of their spears were lighted with a bright fire and the points of them seemed to be burning most vigorously. This was not seen by many, but it filled with consternation the few who did see it, not knowing how it would come out. And this happened to the Romans in Italy again at a much later time. And at that time, since they knew by experience, they believed it to be a sign of victory. But now, as I have said, since this was the first time it had happened, they were filled with consternation and passed the night in great fear.

And on the following day Gelimer commanded the Vandals to place the women and children and all their possessions in the middle of the stockade, although it had not the character of a fort, and calling all together, he spoke as follows: "It is not to gain glory, or to retrieve the loss of empire alone, O fellow Vandals, that we are about to fight, so that even if we wilfully played the coward and sacrificed these our belongings we might possibly live, sitting at home and keeping our own possessions; but you see, surely, that our fortunes have come round to such a pass that, if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy, we shall, if we perish, leave them as masters of these our children and our wives and our land and all our possessions, while if we survive, there will be added our own enslavement and to behold all these enslaved; but if, indeed, we overcome our foes in the war, we shall, if we live, pass our lives among all good things, or, after the glorious ending of our lives, there will be left to our wives and children the blessings of prosperity, while the name of the Vandals will survive and their empire be preserved. For if it has ever happened to any men to be engaged in a struggle for their all, we now more than all others realize that we are entering the battle-line with our hopes for all we have resting wholly upon ourselves. Not for our bodies, then, is our fear, nor in death is our danger, but in being defeated by the enemy. For

if we lose the victory, death will be to our advantage. Since, therefore, the case stands so, let no one of the Vandals weaken, but let him proudly expose his body, and from shame at the evils that follow defeat let him court the end of life. For when a man is ashamed of that which is shameful, there is always present with him a dauntless courage in the face of danger. And let no recollection of the earlier battle come into your minds. For it was not by cowardice on our part that we were defeated, but we tripped upon obstacles interposed by fortune and were overthrown. Now it is not the way of the tide of fortune to flow always in the same direction, but every day, as a rule, it is wont to change about. In manliness it is our boast that we surpass the enemy, and that in numbers we are much superior; for we believe that we surpass them no less than tenfold. And why shall I add that many and great are the incentives which, now especially, urge us on to valour, naming the glory of our ancestors and the empire which has been handed down to us by them? For in our case that glory is obscured by our unlikeness to our kindred, while the empire is bent upon fleeing from us as unworthy. And I pass over in silence the wails of these poor women and the tears of our children, by which, as you see, I am now so deeply moved that I am unable to prolong my discourse. But having said this one thing, I shall stop, — that there will be for us no returning to these most precious possessions if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy. Remembering these things, shew yourselves brave men and do not bring shame upon the fame of Gizeric.”

After speaking such words, Gelimer commanded his brother Tzazon to deliver an exhortation separately to the Vandals who had come with him from Sardinia. And he gathered them together a little apart from the camp and spoke as follows: “For all the Vandals, fellow soldiers, the struggle is in behalf of those things which you have just heard the king recount, but for you, in addition to all the other considerations, it so happens that you are vying with yourselves. For you have recently been victorious in a struggle for the maintenance of our rule, and you have recovered the island for the empire of the Vandals; there is every reason, therefore, for you to make still greater display of your valour. For those whose hazard involves the greatest things must needs display the greatest zeal for warfare also. Indeed, when men who struggle for the maintenance of their rule are defeated, should it so happen, they have not failed in the most vital part; but when men are engaged in battle for their all, surely their very lives are influenced by the outcome of the struggle. And for the rest, if you shew yourselves brave men at the present time, you will thereby prove with certainty that the destruction of the tyrant Godas was an achievement of valour on your part; but if you weaken now, you will be deprived of even the renown of those deeds, as of something which does not belong to you at all. And yet, even apart from this, it is reasonable to think that you will have an advantage over the rest of the Vandals in this battle. For those who have failed are dismayed by their previous fortune, while those who have encountered no reverse enter the

struggle with their courage unimpaired. And this too, I think, will not be spoken out of season, that if we conquer the enemy, it will be you who will win the credit for the greatest part of the victory, and all will call you saviours of the nation of the Vandals. For men who achieve renown in company with those who have previously met with misfortune naturally claim the better fortune as their own. Considering all these things, therefore, I say that you should bid the women and children who are lamenting their fate to take courage even now, should summon God to fight with us, should go with enthusiasm against the enemy, and lead the way for our compatriots into this battle.”

III

After both Gelimer and Tzazon had spoken such exhortations, they led out the Vandals, and at about the time of lunch, when the Romans were not expecting them, but were preparing their meal, they were at hand and arrayed themselves for battle along the bank of the stream. Now the stream at that place is an ever-flowing one, to be sure, but its volume is so small that it is not even given a special name by the inhabitants of the place, but it is designated simply as a brook. So the Romans came to the other bank of this river, after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances, and arrayed themselves as follows. The left wing was held by Martinus and Valerian, John, Cyprian, Althias, and Marcellus, and as many others as were commanders of the *foederati*; and the right was held by Pappas, Barbatus, and Aïgan, and the others who commanded the forces of cavalry. And in the centre John took his position, leading the guards and spearmen of Belisarius and carrying the general's standard. And Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen, leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could avoid so doing, and at that time especially, since they had in mind the purpose which has previously been explained, it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of the army. Such, then, was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals, either wing was held by the chiliarchs, and each one led the division under him, while in the centre was Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But Gelimer himself was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had been previously given to all the Vandals to use neither spear nor any other weapon in this engagement except their swords.

After a considerable time had passed and no one began the battle, John chose out a few of those under him by the advice of Belisarius and crossing the river made an attack on the centre, where Tzazon crowded them back and gave chase. And the Romans in flight came into their own camp, while the Vandals in pursuit came as far as the stream, but did not cross it. And once more John, leading out more of the guardsmen of Belisarius, made a dash against the forces of Tzazon, and again being repulsed from there, withdrew to the Roman camp. And a third time with almost all the guards and spearmen of Belisarius he took the general's standard and made his attack with much shouting and a great noise. But since the barbarians manfully withstood them and used only their swords, the battle became fierce, and many of the noblest of the Vandals fell, and among them Tzazon himself, the brother of Gelimer. Then at last the whole Roman army was set in motion, and crossing the river they advanced upon the enemy, and the rout, beginning at the centre, became

complete; for each of the Roman divisions turned to flight those before them with no trouble. And the Massagetae, seeing this, according to their agreement among themselves joined the Roman army in making the pursuit, but this pursuit was not continued for a great distance. For the Vandals entered their own camp quickly and remained quiet, while the Romans, thinking that they would not be able to fight it out with them inside the stockade, stripped such of the corpses as had gold upon them and retired to their own camp. And there perished in this battle, of the Romans less than fifty, but of the Vandals about eight hundred.

But Belisarius, when the infantry came up in the late afternoon, moved as quickly as he could with the whole army and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer, realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his army was coming against him straightway, without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence what was taking place. And for some time it escaped the notice of the Vandals that Gelimer had run away, but when they all perceived that he had fled, and the enemy were already plainly seen, then indeed the men began to shout and the children cried out and the women wailed. And they neither took with them the money they had nor did they heed the laments of those dearest to them, but every man fled in complete disorder just as he could. And the Romans, coming up, captured the camp, money and all, with not a man in it; and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night, killing all the men upon whom they happened, and making slaves of the women and children. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been found, at least in one place. For the Vandals had plundered the Roman domain for a long time and had transferred great amounts of money to Libya, and since their land was an especially good one, nourishing abundantly with the most useful crops, it came about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply, but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety-five years during which the Vandals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth, amounting to an extraordinary sum, returned once more on that day into the hands of the Romans. So this battle and the pursuit and the capture of the Vandals' camp happened three months after the Roman army came to Carthage, at about the middle of the last month, which the Romans call "December." [533 A.D.]

IV

Then Belisarius, seeing the Roman army rushing about in confusion and great disorder, was disturbed, being fearful throughout the whole night lest the enemy, uniting by mutual agreement against him, should do him irreparable harm. And if this thing had happened at that time in any way at all, I believe that, not one of the Romans would have escaped and enjoyed this booty. For the soldiers, being extremely poor men, upon becoming all of a sudden masters of very great wealth and of women both young and extremely comely, were no longer able to restrain their minds or to find any satiety in the things they had, but were so intoxicated, drenched as they were by their present good fortunes, that each one wished to take everything with him back to Carthage. And they were going about, not in companies but alone or by twos, wherever hope led them, searching out everything roundabout among the valleys and the rough country and wherever there chanced to be a cave or anything such as might bring them into danger or ambush. For neither did fear of the enemy nor their respect for Belisarius occur to them, nor indeed anything else at all except the desire for spoils, and being overmastered by this they came to think lightly of everything else. And Belisarius, taking note of all this, was at a loss as to how he should handle the situation. But at daybreak he took his stand upon a certain hill near the road, appealing to the discipline which no longer existed and heaping reproaches upon all, soldiers and officers alike. Then indeed, those who chanced to be near, and especially those who were of the household of Belisarius, sent the money and slaves which they had to Carthage with their tentmates and messmates, and themselves came up beside the general and gave heed to the orders given them.

And he commanded John, the Armenian, with two hundred men to follow Gelimer, and without slackening their speed either night or day to pursue him, until they should take him living or dead. And he sent word to his associates in Carthage to lead into the city all the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in sanctuaries in the places about the city, giving them pledges and taking away their weapons, that they might not begin an uprising, and to keep them there until he himself should come. And with those who were left he went about everywhere and gathered the soldiers hastily, and to all the Vandals he came upon he gave pledges for their safety. For it was no longer possible to catch anyone of the Vandals except as a suppliant in the sanctuaries. And from these he took away their weapons and sent them, with soldiers to guard them, to Carthage, not giving them time to unite against the Romans. And when everything was as well settled as possible, he himself with the greater part of the army moved against Gelimer with all speed. But John, after continuing the pursuit five days and nights, had already come not far from Gelimer, and in fact he was about to engage with him on the following day. But since it was not fated that Gelimer should be captured by John, the following obstacle was

contrived by fortune. Among those pursuing with John it happened that there was Uliaris, the aide of Belisarius. Now this man was a passionate fellow and well favoured in strength of heart and body, but not a very serious man, but one who generally took delight in wine and buffoonery. This Uliaris on the sixth day of the pursuit, being drunk, saw a bird sitting in a tree at about sunrise, and he quickly stretched his bow and despatched a missile at the bird. And he missed the bird, but John, who was behind it, he hit in the neck by no will of his own. And since the wound was mortal, John passed away a short time afterwards, leaving great sorrow at his loss to the Emperor Justinian and Belisarius, the general, and to all the Romans and Carthaginians. For in manliness and every sort of virtue he was well endowed, and he shewed himself, to those who associated with him, gentle and equitable to a degree quite unsurpassed. Thus, then, John fulfilled his destiny. As for Uliaris, when he came to himself, he fled to a certain village which was near by and sat as a suppliant in the sanctuary there. And the soldiers no longer pressed the pursuit of Gelimer, but they cared for John as long as he survived, and when he had died they carried out all the customary rites in his burial, and reporting the whole matter to Belisarius they remained where they were. And as soon as he heard of it, he came to John's burial, and bewailed his fate. And after weeping over him and grieving bitterly at the whole occurrence, he honoured the tomb of John with many gifts and especially by providing for it a regular income. However, he did nothing severe to Uliaris, since the soldiers said that John had enjoined upon them by the most dread oaths that no vengeance should come to him, since he had not performed the unholy deed with deliberate intent.

Thus, then, Gelimer escaped falling into the hands of the enemy on that day. And from that time on Belisarius pursued him, but upon reaching a strong city of Numidia situated on the sea, ten days distant from Carthage, which they call Hippo Regius, he learned that Gelimer had ascended the mountain Papua and could no longer be captured by the Romans. Now this mountain is situated at the extremity of Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer, and an ancient city named Medeus lies on the outskirts of the mountain. There Gelimer rested with his followers. But as for Belisarius, he was not able to make any attempt at all on the mountain, much less in the winter season, and since his affairs were still in an uncertain state, he did not think it advisable to be away from Carthage; and so he chose out soldiers, with Pharas as their leader, and set them to maintain the siege of the mountain. Now this Pharas was energetic and thoroughly serious and upright in every way, although he was an Erulian by birth. And for an Erulian not to give himself over to treachery and drunkenness, but to strive after uprightness, is no easy matter and merits abundant praise. But not only was it Pharas who maintained orderly conduct, but also all the Erulians who followed him. This

Pharas, then, Belisarius commanded to establish himself at the foot of the mountain during the winter season and to keep close guard, so that it would neither be possible for Gelimer to leave the mountain nor for any supplies to be brought in to him. And Pharas acted accordingly. Then Belisarius turned to the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries in Hippo Regius, — and there were many of them and of the nobility — and he caused them all to accept pledges and arise, and then he sent them to Carthage with a guard. And there it came about that the following event happened to him.

In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface, a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceedingly faithful to Gelimer. At the beginning of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and placing all the royal treasure in it commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius, and if he should see that the situation was not favourable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adverse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Hippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a very severe storm had fallen upon them and the waves of the sea were rising to a great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan sea, and then it occurred to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got outside the harbour, they encountered great danger in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon giving Gelimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure.

V

And when he returned to Carthage, he put all the Vandals in readiness, so that at the opening of spring he might send them to Byzantium; and he sent out an army to recover for the Romans everything which the Vandals ruled. And first he sent Cyril to Sardinia with a great force, having the head of Tzazon, since these islanders were not at all willing to yield to the Romans, fearing the Vandals and thinking that what had been told them as having happened in Tricamarum could not be true. And he ordered this Cyril to send a portion of the army to Corsica, and to recover for the Roman empire the island, which had been previously subject to the Vandals; this island was called Cynus in early times, and is not far from Sardinia. So he came to Sardinia and displayed the head of Tzazon to the inhabitants of the place, and he won back both the islands and made them tributary to the Roman domain. And to Caesarea in Mauretania Belisarius sent John with an infantry company which he usually commanded himself; this place is distant from Carthage a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller, as one goes towards Gadir and the west; and it is situated upon the sea, having been a great and populous city from ancient times. Another John, one of his own guardsmen, he sent to Gadir on the strait and by one of the Pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call "Septem." And to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in, called Ebusa and Majorica and Minorica by the natives, he sent Apollinarius, who was a native of Italy, but had come while still a lad to Libya. And he had been rewarded with great sums of money by Ilderich, who was then leader of the Vandals, and after Ilderich had been removed from the office and was in confinement, as has been told in the previous narrative, he came to the Emperor Justinian with the other Libyans who were working in the interest of Ilderich, in order to entreat his favour as a suppliant. And he joined the Roman expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals, and proved himself a brave man in this war and most of all at Tricamarum. And as a result of his deeds there Belisarius entrusted to him these islands. And later Belisarius sent an army also into Tripolis to Pudentius and Tattimuth, who were being pressed by the Moors there, and thus strengthened the Roman power in that quarter.

He also sent some men to Sicily in order to take the fortress in Lilybaeum, as belonging to the Vandals' kingdom, but he was repulsed from there, since the Goths by no means saw fit to yield any part of Sicily, on the ground that this fortress did not belong to the Vandals at all. And when Belisarius heard this, he wrote to the commanders who were there as follows: "You are depriving us of Lilybaeum, the fortress of the Vandals who are the slaves of the emperor, and are not acting justly nor in a way to benefit yourselves, and you wish to bring upon your ruler, though he does not so will it and is far distant from the scene of these actions, the hostility of the great emperor,

whose good-will he has, having won it with great labour. And yet how could you but seem to be acting contrary to the ways of men, if you recently allowed Gelimer to hold the fortress, but have decided to wrest from the emperor, Gelimer's master, the possessions of the slave? You, at least, should not act thus, most excellent sirs. But reflect that, while it is the nature of friendship to cover over many faults, hostility does not brook even the smallest misdeeds, but searches the past for every offence, and allows not its enemy to grow rich on what does not in the least belong to them. Moreover, the enemy fights to avenge the wrongs which it says have been done to its ancestors; and whereas, if friendship thus turned to hostility fails in the struggle, it suffers no loss of its own possessions, yet if it succeeds, it teaches the vanquished to take a new view of the indulgence which has been shewn them in the past. See to it, then, that you neither do us further harm nor suffer harm yourselves, and do not make the great emperor an enemy to the Gothic nation, when it is your prayer that he be propitious toward you. For be well assured that, if you lay claim to this fortress, war will confront you immediately, and not for Lilybaeum alone, but for all the possessions you claim as yours, though not one of them belongs to you."

Such was the message of the letter. And the Goths reported these things to the mother of Antalaric, and at her direction made the following reply: "The letter which you have written, most excellent Belisarius, carries sound admonition, but pertinent to some other men, not to us the Goths. For there is nothing of the Emperor Justinian's which we have taken and hold; may we never be so mad as to do such a thing! The whole of Sicily we claim because it is our own, and the fortress of Lilybaeum is one of its promontories. And if Theoderic gave his sister, who was the consort of the king of the Vandals, one of the trading-ports of Sicily for her use, this is nothing. For this fact could not afford a basis for any claim on your part. But you, O General, would be acting justly toward us, if you should be willing to make the settlement of the matters in dispute between us, not as an enemy, but as a friend. And there is this difference, that friends are accustomed to settle their disagreements by arbitration, but enemies by battle. We, therefore, shall commit this matter to the Emperor Justinian, to arbitrate in whatever manner seems to him lawful and just. And we desire that the decisions you make shall be as wise as possible, rather than as hasty as possible, and that you, therefore, await the decision of your emperor." Such was the message of the letter of the Goths. And Belisarius, reporting all to the emperor, remained quiet until the emperor should send him word what his wish was.

VI

But Pharas, having by this time become weary of the siege for many reasons, and especially because of the winter season, and at the same time thinking that the Moors there would not be able to stand in his way, undertook the ascent of Papua with great zeal. Accordingly he armed all his followers very carefully and began the ascent. But the Moors rushed to the defence, and since they were on ground which was steep and very hard to traverse, their efforts to hinder those making the ascent were easily accomplished. But Pharas fought hard to force the ascent, and one hundred and ten of his men perished in this struggle, and he himself with the remainder was beaten back and retired; and as a result of this he did not dare to attempt the ascent again, since the situation was against him, but he established as careful a guard as possible, in order that those on Papua, being pressed by hunger, might surrender themselves; and he neither permitted them to run away nor anything to be brought in to them from outside. Then, indeed, it came about that Gelimer and those about him, who were nephews and cousins of his and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery which no one could describe, however eloquent he might be, in a way which would equal the facts. For of all the nations which we know that of the Vandals is the most luxurious, and that of the Moors the most hardy. For the Vandals, since the time when they gained possession of Libya, used to indulge in baths, all of them, every day, and enjoyed a table abounding in all things, the sweetest and best that the earth and sea produce. And they wore gold very generally, and clothed themselves in the Medic garments, which now they call "seric," and passed their time, thus dressed, in theatres and hippodromes and in other pleasureable pursuits, and above all else in hunting. And they had dancers and mimes and all other things to hear and see which are of a musical nature or otherwise merit attention among men. And the most of them dwelt in parks, which were well supplied with water and trees; and they had great numbers of banquets, and all manner of sexual pleasures were in great vogue among them. But the Moors live in stuffy huts both in winter and in summer and at every other time, never removing from them either because of snow or the heat of the sun or any other discomfort whatever due to nature. And they sleep on the ground, the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a fleece under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change their clothing with the seasons, but they wear a thick cloak and a rough shirt at all times. And they have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it to flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not a whit different from that of animals. Since the Moors, then, were of a such a sort, the followers of Gelimer, after living with them for a long time and changing their accustomed manner of life to such a miserable existence, when at last even the necessities

of life had failed, held out no longer, but death was thought by them most sweet and slavery by no means disgraceful.

Now when this was learned by Pharas, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "I too am a barbarian and not accustomed to writing and speaking, nor am I skilful in these matters. But that which I am forced as a man to know, having learned from the nature of things, this I am writing you. What in the world has happened to you, my dear Gelimer, that you have cast, not yourself alone, but your whole family besides, into this pit? Is it, forsooth, that you may avoid becoming a slave? But this is assuredly nothing but youthful folly, and making of 'liberty' a mere shibboleth, as though liberty were worth possessing at the price of all this misery! And, after all, do you not consider that you are, even now, a slave to the most wretched of the Moors, since your only hope of being saved, if the best happens, is in them? And yet why would it not be better in every way to be a slave among the Romans and beggared, than to be monarch on Mount Papua with Moors as your subjects? But of course it seems to you the very height of disgrace even to be a fellow slave with Belisarius! Away with the thought, most excellent Gelimer. Are not we, who also are born of noble families, proud that we are now in the service of an emperor? And indeed they say that it is the wish of the Emperor Justinian to have you enrolled in the senate, thus sharing in the highest honour and being a patrician, as we term that rank, and to present you with lands both spacious and good and with great sums of money, and that Belisarius is willing to make himself responsible for your having all these things, and to give you pledges. Now as for all the miseries which fortune has brought you, you are able to bear with fortitude whatever comes from her, knowing that you are but a man and that these things are inevitable; but if fortune has purposed to temper these adversities with some admixture of good, would you of yourself refuse to accept this gladly? Or should we consider that the good gifts of fortune are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? Yet such is not the opinion of even the utterly senseless; but you, it would seem, have now lost your good judgment, steeped as you are in misfortunes. Indeed, discouragement is wont to confound the mind and to be transformed to folly. If, however, you can bear your own thoughts and refrain from rebelling against fortune when she changes, it will be possible at this very moment for you to choose that which will be wholly to your advantage, and to escape from the evils which hang over you."

When Gelimer had read this letter and wept bitterly over it, he wrote in reply as follows: "I am both deeply grateful to you for the advice which you have given me and I also think it unbearable to be a slave to an enemy who wrongs me, from whom I should pray God to exact justice, if He should be propitious to me, — an enemy who, though he had never experienced any harm from me either in deeds which he suffered or in words which he heard, provided a pretext for a war which was unprovoked, and reduced me to this state of misfortune, bringing Belisarius against me from I know not where.

And yet it is not at all unlikely that he also, since he is but a man, though he be emperor too, may have something befall him which he would not choose. But as for me, I am not able to write further. For my present misfortune has robbed me of my thoughts. Farewell, then, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre and one loaf of bread and a sponge, I pray you.” When this reply was read by Pharas, he was at a loss for some time, being unable to understand the final words of the letter, until he who had brought the letter explained that Gelimer desired one loaf because he was eager to enjoy the sight of it and to eat it, since from the time when he went up upon Papua he had not seen a single baked loaf. A sponge also was necessary for him; for one of his eyes, becoming irritated by lack of washing, was greatly swollen. And being a skilful harpist he had composed an ode relating to his present misfortune, which he was eager to chant to the accompaniment of a lyre while he wept out his soul. When Pharas heard this, he was deeply moved, and lamenting the fortune of men, he did as was written and sent all the things which Gelimer desired of him. However he relaxed the siege not a whit, but kept watch more closely than before.

VII

And already a space of three months had been spent in this siege and the winter was coming to an end. And Gelimer was afraid, suspecting that his besiegers would come up against him after no great time; and the bodies of most of the children who were related to him were discharging worms in this time of misery. And though in everything he was deeply distressed, and looked upon everything, — except, indeed, death, — with dissatisfaction, he nevertheless endured the suffering beyond all expectation, until it happened that he beheld a sight such as the following. A certain Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little corn, and making of it a very tiny cake, threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth. For thus it is the custom among the Moors to bake their loaves. And beside this hearth two children were sitting, in exceedingly great distress by reason of their hunger, the one being the son of the very woman who had thrown in the cake, and the other a nephew of Gelimer; and they were eager to seize the cake as soon as it should seem to them to be cooked. And of the two children the Vandal got ahead of the other and snatched the cake first, and, though it was still exceedingly hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him, and he threw it into his mouth and was eating it, when the other seized him by the hair of the head and struck him over the temple and beat him again and thus compelled him with great violence to cast out the cake which was already in his throat. This sad experience Gelimer could not endure (for he had followed all from the beginning), and his spirit was weakened and he wrote as quickly as possible to Pharas as follows: “If it has ever happened to any man, after manfully enduring terrible misfortunes, to take a course contrary to that which he had previously determined upon, consider me to be such a one, O most excellent Pharas. For there has come to my mind your advice, which I am far from wishing to disregard. For I cannot resist fortune further nor rebel against fate, but I shall follow straightway wherever it seems to her best to lead; but let me receive the pledges, that Belisarius guarantees that the emperor will do everything which you recently promised me. For I, indeed, as soon as you give the pledges, shall put both myself into your hands and these kinsmen of mine and the Vandals, as many as are here with us.”

Such were the words written by Gelimer in this letter. And Pharas, having signified this to Belisarius, as well as what they had previously written to each other, begged him to declare as quickly as possible what his wish was. And Belisarius (since he was greatly desirous of leading Gelimer alive to the emperor), as soon as he had read the letter, became overjoyed and commanded Cyprian, a leader of foederati, to go to Papua with certain others, and directed them to give an oath concerning the safety of Gelimer and of those with him, and to swear that he would be honoured before the emperor and would lack nothing. And when these men had come to Pharas, they went with him to a

certain place by the foot of the mountain, where Gelimer came at their summons, and after receiving the pledges just as he wished he came with them to Carthage. And it happened that Belisarius was staying for a time in the suburb of the city which they call Aclas. Accordingly Gelimer came before him in that place, laughing with such laughter as was neither moderate nor the kind one could conceal, and some of those who were looking at him suspected that by reason of the extremity of his affliction he had changed entirely from his natural state and that, already beside himself, he was laughing for no reason. But his friends would have it that the man was in his sound mind, and that because he had been born in a royal family, and had ascended the throne, and had been clothed with great power and immense wealth from childhood even to old age, and then being driven to flight and plunged into great fear had undergone the sufferings on Papua, and now had come as a captive, having in this way had experience of all the gifts of fortune, both good and evil, for this reason, they believed, he thought that man's lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter. Now concerning this laughter of Gelimer's, let each one speak according to his judgment, both enemy and friend. But Belisarius, reporting to the emperor that Gelimer was a captive in Carthage, asked permission to bring him to Byzantium with him. At the same time he guarded both him and all the Vandals in no dishonour and proceeded to put the fleet in readiness.

Now many other things too great to be hoped for have before now been experienced in the long course of time, and they will continue as long as the fortunes of men are the same as they now are; for those things which seem to reason impossible are actually accomplished, and many times those things which previously appeared impossible, when they have befallen, have seemed to be worthy of wonder; but whether such events as these ever took place before I am not able to say, wherein the fourth descendant of Gizeric, and his kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength, were completely undone in so short a time by five thousand men coming in as invaders and having not a place to cast anchor. For such was the number of the horsemen who followed Belisarius, and carried through the whole war against the Vandals. For whether this happened by chance or because of some kind of valour, one would justly marvel at it. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

VIII

So the Vandalic war ended thus. But envy, as is wont to happen in cases of great good fortune, was already swelling against Belisarius, although he provided no pretext for it. For some of the officers slandered him to the emperor, charging him, without any grounds whatever, with seeking to set up a kingdom for himself, a statement for which there was no basis whatever. But the emperor did not disclose these things to the world, either because he paid no heed to the slander, or because this course seemed better to him. But he sent Solomon and gave Belisarius the opportunity to choose whichever of two things he desired, either to come to Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, or to remain there and send them. And Belisarius, since it did not escape him that the officers were bringing against him the charge of seeking supreme power, was eager to get to Byzantium, in order that he might clear himself of the charge and be able to proceed against his slanderers. Now as to the manner in which he learned of the attempt of his accusers, I shall explain. When those who denounced him wished to present this slander, fearing lest the man who was to carry their letter to the emperor should be lost at sea and thus put a stop to their proceedings, they wrote the aforesaid accusation on two tablets, purposing to send two messengers to the emperor in two ships. And one of these two sailed away without being detected, but the second, on account of some suspicion or other, was captured in Mandracium, and putting the writing into the hands of his captors, he made known what was being done. So Belisarius, having learned in this way, was eager to come before the emperor, as has been said. Such, then, was the course of these events at Carthage.

But the Moors who dwelt in Byzacium and in Numidia turned to revolt for no good reason, and they decided to break the treaty and to rise suddenly against the Romans. And this was not out of keeping with their peculiar character. For there is among the Moors neither fear of God nor respect for men. For they care not either for oaths or for hostages, even though the hostages chance to be the children or brothers of their leaders. Nor is peace maintained among the Moors by any other means than by fear of the enemies opposing them. Now I shall set forth in what manner the treaty was made by them with Belisarius and how it was broken. When it came to be expected that the emperor's expedition would arrive in Libya, the Moors, fearing lest they should receive some harm from it, consulted the oracles of their women. For it is not lawful in this nation for a man to utter oracles, but the women among them as a result of some sacred rites become possessed and foretell the future, no less than any of the ancient oracles. So on that occasion, when they made enquiry, as has been said, the women gave the response: "There shall be a host from the waters, the overthrow of the Vandals, destruction and defeat of the Moors, when the general of the Romans shall come unbearded." When the Moors heard this, since they saw that the emperor's army had come from the

sea, they began to be in great fear and were quite unwilling to fight in alliance with the Vandals, but they sent to Belisarius and established peace, as has been stated previously, and then remained quiet and waited for the future, to see how it would fall out. And when the power of the Vandals had now come to an end, they sent to the Roman army, investigating whether there was anyone unbearded among them holding an office. And when they saw all wearing full beards, they thought that the oracle did not indicate the present time to them, but one many generations later, interpreting the saying in that way which they themselves wished. Immediately, therefore, they were eager to break the treaty, but their fear of Belisarius prevented them. For they had no hope that they would ever overcome the Romans in war, at least with him present. But when they heard that he was making his departure together with his guards and spearmen, and that the ships were already being filled with them and the Vandals, they suddenly rose in arms and displayed every manner of outrage upon the Libyans. For the soldiers were both few in each place on the frontier and still unprepared, so that they would not have been able to stand against the barbarians as they made inroads at every point, nor to prevent their incursions, which took place frequently and not in an open manner. But men were being killed indiscriminately and women with their children were being made slaves, and the wealth was being plundered from every part of the frontier and the whole country was being filled with fugitives. These things were reported to Belisarius when he was just about setting sail. And since it was now too late for him to return himself, he entrusted Solomon with the administration of Libya and he also chose out the greatest part of his own guards and spearmen, instructing them to follow Solomon and as quickly as possible to punish with all zeal those of the Moors who had risen in revolt and to exact vengeance for the injury done the Romans. And the emperor sent another army also to Solomon with Theodoras, the Cappadocian, and Ildiger, who was the son-in-law of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius. And since it was no longer possible to find the revenues of the districts of Libya set down in order in documents, as the Romans had recorded them in former times, inasmuch as Gizeric had upset and destroyed everything in the beginning, Tryphon and Eustratius were sent by the emperor, in order to assess the taxes for the Libyans each according to his proportion. But these men seemed to the Libyans neither moderate nor endurable.

IX

Belisarius, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honours, except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For he displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers until he reached the place where the imperial throne is. And there was booty, — first of all, whatever articles are wont to be set apart for the royal service, — thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consort to ride, and much jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and all the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric had despoiled the Palatium in Rome, as has been said in the preceding narrative), and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. And one of the Jews, seeing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them to be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romans, and that now the Roman army has captured that the Vandals." When this had been brought to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christians in Jerusalem. And there were slaves in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himself, wearing some sort of a purple garment upon his shoulders, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of body. And when Gelimer reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofty seat and the people standing on either side and realized as he looked about in what an evil plight he was, he neither wept nor cried out, but ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew scripture: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." And when he came before the emperor's seat, they stripped off the purple garment, and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian. This also Belisarius did, as being a suppliant of the emperor along with him. And the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic and his offspring and all those of the family of the Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money, and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised in Galatia and

permitted him to live there together with his family. However, Gelimer was by no means enrolled among the patricians, since he was unwilling to change from the faith of Arius.

[Jan. 1, 535 A.D.] A little later the triumph was celebrated by, Belisarius in the ancient manner also. For he had the fortune to be advanced to the office of consul, and therefore was borne aloft by the captives, and as he was thus carried in his curule chair, he threw to the populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war. For the people carried off the silver plate and golden girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals' wealth of other sorts as a result of Belisarius' consulship, and it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old custom was being revived. These things, then, took place in Byzantium in the manner described.

And Solomon took over the army in Libya; but in view of the fact that the Moors had risen against him, as has been told previously, and that everything was in suspense, he was at a loss how to treat the situation. For it was reported that the barbarians had destroyed the soldiers in Byzacium and Numidia and that they were pillaging and plundering everything there. But what disturbed most of all both him and all Carthage was the fate which befell Aïgan, the Massagete, and Rufinus, the Thracian, in Byzacium. For both were men of great repute both in the household of Belisarius and in the Roman army, one of them, Aïgan, being among the spearmen of Belisarius, while the other, as the most courageous of all, was accustomed to carry the standard of the general in battle; such an officer the Romans call "bandifer." Now at the time referred to these two men were commanding detachments of cavalry in Byzacium, and when they saw the Moors plundering everything before them and making all the Libyans captives, they watched in a narrow pass with their followers for those who were escorting the booty, and killed them and took away all the captives. And when a report of this came to the commanders of the barbarians, Coutzinas and Esdilasas and Iourphouthes and Medisinissas, who were not far away from this pass, they moved against them with their whole army in the late afternoon. And the Romans, being a very few men and shut off in a narrow place in the midst of many thousands, were not able to ward off their assailants. For wherever they might turn, they were always shot at from the rear. Then, indeed, Rufinus and Aïgan with some few men ran to the top of a rock which was near by and from there defended themselves against the barbarians. Now as long as they were using their bows, the enemy did not dare come directly to a hand-to-hand struggle with them, but they kept hurling their javelins among them; but when all the arrows of the Romans were now exhausted, the Moors closed with them, and they defended themselves with their swords as well as the circumstances permitted. But since they were overpowered by the multitude of the barbarians, Aïgan fell there with his whole body hacked to pieces, and Rufinus was seized by the enemy and led away. But straightway one of the commanders, Medisinissas, fearing lest he should escape and again make trouble for them, cut off his head and taking it to his home shewed it to his wives, for it was a remarkable sight on account of the extraordinary size of the head and the abundance of hair. And now, since the narration of the history has brought me to this point, it is necessary to tell from the beginning whence the nations of the Moors came to Libya and how they settled there.

When the Hebrews had withdrawn from Egypt and had come near the boundaries of Palestine, Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the journey, died, and the leadership was passed on to Joshua, the son of Nun, who led this people into Palestine, and, by displaying a valour in war greater

than that natural to a man, gained possession of the land. And after overthrowing all the nations he easily won the cities, and he seemed to be altogether invincible. Now at that time the whole country along the sea from Sidon as far as the boundaries of Egypt was called Phoenicia. And one king in ancient times held sway over it, as is agreed by all who have written the earliest accounts of the Phoenicians. In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, the Gergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews. Now when these nations saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, they emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to Egypt, which adjoined their country. And finding there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since there has been a great population in Aegypt from ancient times, they proceeded to Libya. And they established numerous cities and took possession of the whole of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles, and there they have lived even up to my time, using the Phoenician tongue. They also built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phoenician tongue: "We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun." There were also other nations settled in Libya before the Moors, who on account of having been established there from of old were said to be children of the soil. And because of this they said that Antaeus, their king, who wrestled with Heracles in Clipea, was a son of the earth. And in later times those who removed from Phoenicia with Dido came to the inhabitants of Libya as to kinsmen. And they willingly allowed them to found and hold Carthage. But as time went on Carthage became a powerful and populous city. And a battle took place between them and their neighbours, who, as has been said, had come from Palestine before them and are called Moors at the present time, and the Carthaginians defeated them and compelled them to live a very great distance away from Carthage. Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in war, and settled the Moors at the extremity of the inhabited land of Libya, and made the Carthaginians and the other Libyans subject and tributary to themselves. And after this the Moors won many victories over the Vandals and gained possession of the land now called Mauretania, extending from Gadira as far as the boundaries of Caesarea, as well as the most of Libya which remained. Such, then, is the story of the settlement of the Moors in Libya.

XI

Now when Solomon heard what had befallen Rufinus and Aïgan, he made ready for war and wrote as follows to the commanders of the Moors: "Other men than you have even before this had the ill fortune to lose their senses and to be destroyed, men who had no means of judging beforehand how their folly would turn out. But as for you, who have the example near at hand in your neighbours, the Vandals, what in the world has happened to you that you have decided to raise your hands against the great emperor and throw away your own security, and that too when you have given the most dread oaths in writing and have handed over your children as pledges to the agreement? Is it that you have determined to make a kind of display of the fact that you have no consideration either for God or for good faith or for kinship itself or for safety or for any other thing at all? And yet, if such is your practice in matters which concern the divine, in what ally do you put your trust in marching against the emperor of the Romans? And if you are taking the field to the destruction of your children, what in the world is it in behalf of which you have decided to endanger yourselves? But if any repentance has by now entered your hearts for what has already taken place, write to us, that we may satisfactorily arrange with you touching what has already been done; but if your madness has not yet abated, expect a Roman war, which will come upon you together with the oaths which you have violated and the wrong which you are doing to your own children."

Such was the letter which Solomon wrote. And the Moors replied as follows: "Belisarius deluded us with great promises and by this means persuaded us to become subjects of the Emperor Justinian; but the Romans, while giving us no share in any good thing, expected to have us, though pinched with hunger, as their friends and allies. Therefore it is more fitting that you should be called faithless than that the Moors should be. For the men who break treaties are not those who, when manifestly wronged, bring accusation against their neighbours and turn away from them, but those who expect to keep others in faithful alliance with them and then do them violence. And men make God their enemy, not when they march against others in order to recover their own possessions, but when they get themselves into danger of war by encroaching upon the possessions of others. And as for children, that will be your concern, who are not permitted to marry more than one wife; but with us, who have, it may be, fifty wives living with each of us, offspring of children can never fail."

When Solomon had read this letter, he decided to lead his whole army against the Moors. So after arranging matters in Carthage, he proceeded with all his troops to Byzacium. And when he reached the place which is called Mammes, where the four Moorish commanders, whom I have mentioned a little before, were encamped, he made a stockade for himself. Now there are

lofty mountains there, and a level space near the foothills of the mountains, where the barbarians had made preparations for the battle and arranged their fighting order as follows. They formed a circle of their camels, just as, in the previous narrative, I have said Cabaon did, making the front about twelve deep. And they placed the women with the children within the circle; (for among the Moors it is customary to take also a few women, with their children, to battle, and these make the stockades and huts for them and tend the horses skilfully, and have charge of the camels and the food; they also sharpen the iron weapons and take upon themselves many of the tasks in connection with the preparation for battle); and the men themselves took their stand on foot in between the legs of the camels, having shields and swords and small spears which they are accustomed to hurl like javelins. And some of them with their horses remained quietly among the mountains. But Solomon disregarded one half of the circle of the Moors, which was towards the mountain, placing no one there. For he feared lest the enemy on the mountain should come down and those in the circle should turn about and thus make the men drawn up there exposed to attack on both sides in the battle. But against the remainder of the circle he drew up his whole army, and since he saw the most of them frightened and without courage, on account of what had befallen Aïgan and Rufinus, and wishing to admonish them to be of good cheer, he spoke as follows: "Men who have campaigned with Belisarius, let no fear of these men enter your minds, and, if Moors gathered to the number of fifty thousand have already defeated five hundred Romans, let not this stand for you as an example. But call to mind your own valour, and consider that while the Vandals defeated the Moors, you have become masters of the Vandals in war without any effort, and that it is not right that those who have conquered the greater should be terrified before those who are inferior. And indeed of all men the Moorish nation seems to be the most poorly equipped for war's struggle. For the most of them have no armour at all, and those who have shields to hold before themselves have only small ones which are not well made and are not able to turn aside what strikes against them. And after they have thrown those two small spears, if they do not accomplish anything, they turn of their own accord to flight. So that it is possible for you, after guarding against the first attack of the barbarians, to win the victory with no trouble at all. But as to your equipment of arms, you see, of course, how great is the difference between it and that of your opponents. And apart from this, both valour of heart and strength of body and experience in war and confidence because you have already conquered all your enemies, — all these advantages you have; but the Moors, being deprived of all these things, put their trust only in their own great throng. And it is easier for a few who are most excellently prepared to conquer a multitude of men not good at warfare than it is for the multitude to defeat them. For while the good soldier has his confidence in himself, the cowardly man generally finds that the very number of those arrayed with him produces a want of room that is full of peril.

Furthermore, you are warranted in despising these camels, which cannot fight for the enemy, and when struck by our missiles will, in all probability, become the cause of considerable confusion and disorder among them. And the eagerness for battle which the enemy have acquired on account of their former success will be your ally in the fight. For daring, when it is kept commensurate with one's power, will perhaps be of some benefit even to those who make use of it, but when it exceeds one's power it lends into danger. Bearing these things in mind and despising the enemy, observe silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour." Thus spoke Solomon.

And the commanders of the Moors also, seeing the barbarians terrified at the orderly array of the Romans, and wishing to recall their host to confidence again, exhorted them in this wise: "That the Romans have human bodies, the kind that yield when struck with iron, we have been taught, O fellow-soldiers, by those of them whom we have recently met, the best of them all, some of whom we have overwhelmed with our spears and killed, and the others we have seized and made our prisoners of war. And not only is this so, but it is now possible to see also that we boast great superiority over them in numbers. And, furthermore, the struggle for us involves the very greatest things, either to be masters of all Libya or to be slaves to these braggarts. It is therefore necessary for us to be in the highest degree brave men at the present time. For it is not expedient that those whose all is at stake should be other than exceedingly courageous. And it behoves us to despise the equipment of arms which the enemy have. For if they come on foot against us, they will not be able to move rapidly, but will be worsted by the agility of the Moors, and their cavalry will be terrified both by the sight of the camels, and by the noise they make, which, rising above the general tumult of battle, will, in all likelihood, throw them into disorder. And if anyone by taking into consideration the victory of the Romans over the Vandals thinks them not to be withstood, he is mistaken in his judgment. For the scales of war are, in the nature of the case, turned by the valour of the commander or by fortune; and Belisarius, who was responsible for their gaining the mastery over the Vandals, has now, thanks to Heaven, been removed out of our way. And, besides, we too have many times conquered the Vandals and stripped them of their power, and have thus made the victory over them a more feasible and an easier task for the Romans. And now we have reason to hope to conquer this enemy also if you shew yourselves brave men in the struggle."

After the officers of the Moors had delivered this exhortation, they began the engagement. And at first there arose great disorder in the Roman army. For their horses were offended by the noise made by the camels and by the sight of them, and reared up and threw off their riders and the most of them fled in complete disorder. And in the meantime the Moors were making sallies and hurling all the small spears which they had in their hands, thus causing

the Roman army to be filled with tumult, and they were hitting them with their missiles while they were unable either to defend themselves or to remain in position. But after this, Solomon, observing what was happening, leaped down from his horse himself first and caused all the others to do the same. And when they had dismounted, he commanded the others to stand still, and, holding their shields before them and receiving the missiles sent by the enemy, to remain in their position; but he himself, leading forward not less than five hundred men, made an attack upon the other portion of the circle. These men he commanded to draw their swords and kill the camels which stood at that point. Then the Moors who were stationed there beat a hasty retreat, and the men under Solomon killed about two hundred camels, and straightway, when the camels fell, the circle became accessible to the Romans. And they advanced on the run into the middle of the circle where the women of the Moors were sitting; meanwhile the barbarians in consternation withdrew to the mountain which was close by, and as they fled in complete disorder the Romans followed behind and killed them. And it is said that ten thousand of the Moors perished in this encounter, while all the women together with the children were made slaves. And the soldiers secured as booty all the camels which they had not killed. Thus the Romans with all their plunder went to Carthage to celebrate the festival of triumph.

XII

But the barbarians, being moved with anger, once more took the field in a body against the Romans, leaving behind not one of their number, and they began to overrun the country in Byzacium, sparing none of any age of those who fell in their way. And when Solomon had just marched into Carthage it was reported that the barbarians with a great host had come into Byzacium and were plundering everything there. He therefore departed quickly with his whole army and marched against them. And when he reached Bourgaon, where the enemy were encamped, he remained some days in camp over against them, in order that, as soon as the Moors should get on level ground, he might begin the battle. But since they remained on the mountain, he marshalled his army and arrayed it for battle; the Moors, however, had no intention of ever again engaging in battle with the Romans in level country (for already an irresistible fear had come over them), but on the mountain they hoped to overcome them more easily. Now Mt. Bourgaon is for the most part precipitous and on the side toward the east extremely difficult to ascend, but on the west it is easily accessible and rises in an even slope. And there are two lofty peaks which rise up, forming between them a sort of vale, very narrow, but of incredible depth. Now the barbarians left the peak of the mountain unoccupied, thinking that on this side no hostile movement would be made against them; and they left equally unprotected the space about the foot of the mountain where Bourgaon was easy of access. But at the middle of the ascent they made their camp and remained there, in order that, if the enemy should ascend and begin battle with them, they might at the outset, being on higher ground, shoot down upon their heads. They also had on the mountain many horses, prepared either for flight or for the pursuit, if they should win the battle.

Now when Solomon saw that the Moors were unwilling to fight another battle on the level ground, and also that the Roman army was opposed to making a siege in a desert place, he was eager to come to an encounter with the enemy on Bourgaon. But inasmuch as he saw that the soldiers were stricken with terror because of the multitude of their opponents, which was many times greater than it had been in the previous battle, he called together the army and spoke as follows: "The fear which the enemy feel toward you needs no other arraignment, but voluntarily pleads guilty, bringing forward, as it does, the testimony of its own witnesses. For you see, surely, our opponents gathered in so many tens and tens of thousands, but not daring to come down to the plain and engage with us, unable to feel confidence even in their own selves, but taking refuge in the difficulty of this place. It is therefore not even necessary to address any exhortation to you, at the present time at least. For those to whom both the circumstances and the weakness of the enemy give courage, need not, I think, the additional assistance of words. But of this one

thing it will be needful to remind you, that if we fight out this engagement also with brave hearts, it will remain for us, having defeated the Vandals and reduced the Moors to the same fortune, to enjoy all the good things of Libya, having no thought whatever of an enemy in our minds. But as to preventing the enemy from shooting down upon our heads, and providing that no harm come to us from the nature of the place, I myself shall make provision."

After making this exhortation Solomon commanded Theodorus, who led the "excubitores" (for thus the Romans call their guards), to take with him a thousand infantrymen toward the end of the afternoon and with some of the standards to go up secretly on the east side of Bourgaon, where the mountain is most difficult of ascent and, one might say, impracticable, commanding him that, when they arrived near the crest of the mountain, they should remain quietly there and pass the rest of the night, and that at sunrise they should appear above the enemy and displaying the standards commence to shoot. And Theodorus did as directed. And when it was well on in the night, they climbed up the precipitous slope and reached a point near the peak without being noticed either by the Moors or even by any of the Romans; for they were being sent out, it was said, as an advance guard, to prevent anyone from coming to the camp from the outside to do mischief. And at early dawn Solomon with the whole army went up against the enemy to the outskirts of Bourgaon. And when morning had come and the enemy were seen near at hand, the soldiers were completely at a loss, seeing the summit of the mountain no longer unoccupied, as formerly, but covered with men who were displaying Roman standards; for already some daylight was beginning to shew. But when those on the peak began their attack, the Romans perceived that the army was their own and the barbarians that they had been placed between their enemy's forces, and being shot at from both sides and having no opportunity to ward off the enemy, they thought no more of resistance but turned, all of them, to a hasty flight. And since they could neither run up to the top of Bourgaon, which was held by the enemy, nor go to the plain anywhere over the lower slopes of the mountain, since their opponents were pressing upon them from that side, they went with a great rush to the vale and the unoccupied peak, some even with their horses, others on foot. But since they were a numerous throng fleeing in great fear and confusion, they kept killing each other, and as they rushed into the vale, which was exceedingly deep, those who were first were being killed constantly, but their plight could not be perceived by those who were coming up behind. And when the vale became full of dead horses and men, and the bodies made a passage from Bourgaon to the other mountain, then the remainder were saved by making the crossing over the bodies. And there perished in this struggle, among the Moors fifty thousand, as was declared by those of them who survived, but among the Romans no one at all, nor indeed did anyone receive even a wound, either at the hand of the enemy or by any accident happening to him, but they all enjoyed this victory unscathed. All of the leaders of the barbarians

also made their escape, except Esdilasas, who received pledges and surrendered himself to the Romans. So great, however, was the multitude of women and children whom the Romans seized as booty, that they would sell a Moorish boy for the price of a sheep to any who wished to buy. And then the remainder of the Moors recalled the saying of their women, to the effect that their nation would be destroyed by a beardless man.

So the Roman army, together with its booty and with Esdilasas, marched into Carthage; and those of the barbarians who had not perished decided that it was impossible to settle in Byzacium, lest they, being few, should be treated with violence by the Libyans who were their neighbours, and with their leaders they went into Numidia and made themselves suppliants of Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium. And the only Moors who remained in Byzacium were those led by Antalas, who during this time had kept faith with the Romans and together with his subjects had remained unharmed.

XIII

But during the time when these things were happening in Byzacium, Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium, bringing more than thirty thousand fighting men, was plundering the country of Numidia and enslaving many of the Libyans. Now it so happened that Althias in Centuriaie was keeping guard over the forts there; and he, being eager to take from the enemy some of their captives, went outside the fort with the Huns who were under his command, to the number of about seventy. And reasoning that he was not able to cope with such a great multitude of Moors with only seventy men, he wished to occupy some narrow pass, so that, while the enemy were marching through it, he might be able to snatch up some of the captives. And since there are no such roads there, because flat plains extend in every direction, he devised the following plan.

There is a city not far distant, named Tigisis, then an unwallled place, but having a great spring at a place which was very closely shut in. Althias therefore decided to take possession of this spring, reasoning that the enemy, compelled by thirst, would surely come there; for there is no other water at all close by. Now it seemed to all upon considering the disparity of the armies that his plan was insane. But the Moors came up feeling very much wearied and greatly oppressed by the heat in the summer weather, and naturally almost overcome by an intense thirst, and they made for the spring with a great rush, having no thought of meeting any obstacle. But when they found the water held by the enemy, they all halted, at a loss what to do, the greatest part of their strength having been already expended because of their desire for water. Iaudas therefore had a parley with Althias and agreed to give him the third part of the booty, on condition that the Moors should all drink. But Althias was by no means willing to accept the proposal, but demanded that he fight with him in single combat for the booty. And this challenge being accepted by Iaudas, it was agreed that if it so fell out that Althias was overcome, the Moors should drink. And the whole Moorish army was rejoiced, being in good hope, since Althias was lean and not tall of body, while Iaudas was the finest and most warlike of all the Moors. Now both of them were, as it happened, mounted. And Iaudas hurled his spear first, but as it was coming toward him Althias succeeded with amazing skill in catching it with his right hand, thus filling Iaudas and the enemy with consternation. And with his left hand he drew his bow instantly, for he was ambidextrous, and hit and killed the horse of Iaudas. And as he fell, the Moors brought another horse for their commander, upon which Iaudas leaped and straightway fled; and the Moorish army followed him in complete disorder. And Althias, by thus taking from them the captives and the whole of the booty, won a great name in consequence of this deed throughout all Libya. Such, then, was the course of these events.

And Solomon, after delaying a short time in Carthage, led his army toward Mt. Aurasium and Iaudas, alleging against him that, while the Roman army was occupied in Byzacium, he had plundered many of the places in Numidia. And this was true. Solomon was also urged on against Iaudas by the other commanders of the Moors, Massonas and Ortaías, because of their personal enmity; Massonas, because his father Mephanias, who was the father-in-law of Iaudas, had been treacherously slain by him, and Ortaías, because Iaudas, together with Mastinas, who ruled over the barbarians in Mauretania, had purposed to drive him and all the Moors whom he ruled from the land where they had dwelt from of old. So the Roman army, under the leadership of Solomon, and those of the Moors who came into alliance with them, made their camp on the river Abigas, which flows along by Aurasium and waters the land there. But to Iaudas it seemed inexpedient to array himself against the enemy in the plain, but he made his preparations on Aurasium in such a way as seemed to him would offer most difficulty to his assailants. This mountain is about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage, and the largest of all known to us. For its circuit is a three days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And for one wishing to go upon it the mountain is difficult of access and extremely wild, but as one ascends and reaches the level ground, plains are seen and many springs which form rivers and a great number of altogether wonderful parks. And the grain which grows here, and every kind of fruit, is double the size of that produced in all the rest of Libya. And there are fortresses also on this mountain, which are neglected, by reason of the fact that they do not seem necessary to the inhabitants. For since the time when the Moors wrested Aurasium from the Vandals, not a single enemy had until now ever come there or so much as caused the barbarians to be afraid that they would come, but even the populous city of Tamougadis, situated against the mountain on the east at the beginning of the plain, was emptied of its population by the Moors and razed to the ground, in order that the enemy should not only not be able to encamp there, but should not even have the city as an excuse for coming near the mountain. And the Moors of that place held also the land to the west of Aurasium, a tract both extensive and fertile. And beyond these dwelt other nations of the Moors, who were ruled by Ortaías, who had come, as was stated above, as an ally to Solomon and the Romans. And I have heard this man say that beyond the country which he ruled there was no habitation of men, but desert land extending to a great distance, and that beyond that there are men, not black-skinned like the Moors, but very white in body and fair-haired. So much, then, for these things.

And Solomon, after bribing the Moorish allies with great sums of money and earnestly exhorting them, began the ascent of Mt. Aurasium with the whole army arrayed as for battle, thinking that on that day he would do battle with the enemy and just as he was have the matter out with them according as fortune should wish. Accordingly the soldiers did not even take with them any food, except a little, for themselves and their horses. And after proceeding

over very rough ground for about fifty stades, they made a bivouac. And covering a similar distance each day they came on the seventh day to a place where there was an ancient fortress and an ever-flowing stream. The place is called "Shield Mountain" by the Romans in their own tongue. Now it was reported to them that the enemy were encamped there, and when they reached this place and encountered no enemy, they made camp and, preparing themselves for battle, remained there; and three days' time was spent by them in that place. And since the enemy kept altogether out of their way, and their provisions had failed, the thought came to Solomon and to the whole army that there had been some plot against them on the part of the Moors who were their allies; for these Moors were not unacquainted with the conditions of travel on Aurasium, and understood, probably, what had been decided upon by the enemy; they were stealthily going out to meet them each day, it was said, and had also frequently been sent to their country by the Romans to reconnoitre, and had decided to make nothing but false reports, in order, no doubt, that the Romans, with no prior knowledge of conditions, might make the ascent of Mt. Aurasium without supplies for a longer time or without preparing themselves otherwise in the way which would be best. And, all things considered, the Romans were suspicious that an ambush had been set for them by men who were their allies and began to be afraid, reasoning that the Moors are said to be by nature untrustworthy at all times and especially whenever they march as allies with the Romans or any others against Moors. So, remembering these things, and at the same time being pinched by hunger, they withdrew from there with all speed without accomplishing anything, and, upon reaching the plain, constructed a stockade.

After this Solomon established a part of the army in Numidia to serve as a guard and with the remainder went to Carthage, since it was already winter. There he arranged and set everything in order, so that at the beginning of spring he might again march against Aurasium with a larger equipment and, if possible, without Moors as allies. At the same time he prepared generals and another army and a fleet of ships for an expedition against the Moors who dwell in the island of Sardinia; for this island is a large one and flourishing besides, being about two thirds as large as Sicily (for the perimeter of the island makes a journey of twenty days for an unencumbered traveller); and lying, as it does, between Rome and Carthage, it was oppressed by the Moors who dwelt there. For the Vandals in ancient times, being enraged against these barbarians, sent some few of them with their wives to Sardinia and confined them there. But as time went on they seized the mountains which are near Caranalis, at first making plundering expeditions secretly upon those who dwelt round about, but when they became no less than three thousand, they even made their raids openly, and with no desire for concealment plundered all the country there, being called Barbaricini by the natives. It was against these barbarians, therefore, that Solomon was preparing the fleet during that winter. Such, then, was the course of events in Libya.

XIV

And in Italy during these same times the following events took place. Belisarius was sent against Theodatus and the Gothic nation by the Emperor Justinian, and sailing to Sicily he secured this island with no trouble. And the manner in which this was done will be told in the following pages, when the history leads me to the narration of the events in Italy. For it has not seemed to me out of order first to record all the events which happened in Libya and after that to turn to the portion of the history touching Italy and the Goths.

During this winter Belisarius remained in Syracuse and Solomon in Carthage. And it came about during this year that a most dread portent took place. For the sun gave forth its light without brightness, like the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed exceedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it shed were not clear nor such as it is accustomed to shed. And from the time when this thing happened men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor any other thing leading to death. And it was the time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his reign. [536-537 A.D.]

[536 A.D.] At the opening of spring, when the Christians were celebrating the feast which they call Easter, there arose a mutiny among the soldiers in Libya. I shall now tell how it arose and to what end it came.

After the Vandals had been defeated in the battle, as I have told previously, the Roman soldiers took their daughters and wives and made them their own by lawful marriage. And each one of these women kept urging her husband to lay claim to the possession of the lands which she had owned previously, saying that it was not right or fitting if, while living with the Vandals, they had enjoyed these lands, but after entering into marriage with the conquerors of the Vandals they were then to be deprived of their possessions. And having these things in mind, the soldiers did not think that they were bound to yield the lands of the Vandals to Solomon, who wished to register them as belonging to the commonwealth and to the emperor's house and said that while it was not unreasonable that the slaves and all other things of value should go as booty to the soldiers, the land itself belonged to the emperor and the empire of the Romans, which had nourished them and caused them to be called soldiers and to be such, not in order to win for themselves such land as they should wrest from the barbarians who were trespassing on the Roman empire, but that this land might come to the commonwealth, from which both they and all others secured their maintenance. This was one cause of the mutiny. And there was a second, concurrent, cause also, which was no less, perhaps even more, effective in throwing all Libya into confusion. It was as follows: In the Roman army there were, as it happened, not less than one thousand soldiers of the Arian faith; and the most of these were barbarians, some of these being of the Erulian nation. Now these men were urged on to the mutiny by the priests of the Vandals with the greatest zeal. For it was not

possible for them to worship God in their accustomed way, but they were excluded both from all sacraments and from all sacred rites. For the Emperor Justinian did not allow any Christian who did not espouse the orthodox faith to receive baptism or any other sacrament. But most of all they were agitated by the feast of Easter, during which they found themselves unable to baptize their own children with the sacred water, or do anything else pertaining to this feast. And as if these things were not sufficient for Heaven, in its eagerness to ruin the fortunes of the Romans, it so fell out that still another thing provided an occasion for those who were planning the mutiny. For the Vandals whom Belisarius took to Byzantium were placed by the emperor in five cavalry squadrons, in order that they might be settled permanently in the cities of the East; he also called them the "Vandals of Justinian," and ordered them to betake themselves in ships to the East. Now the majority of these Vandal soldiers reached the East, and, filling up the squadrons to which they had been assigned, they have been fighting against the Persians up to the present time; but the remainder, about four hundred in number, after reaching Lesbos, waiting until the sails were bellied with the wind, forced the sailors to submission and sailed on till they reached the Peloponnesus. And setting sail from there, they came to land in Libya at a desert place, where they abandoned the ships, and, after equipping themselves, went up to Mt. Aurasium and Mauretania. Elated by their accession, the soldiers who were planning the mutiny formed a still closer conspiracy among themselves. And there was much talk about this in the camp and oaths were already being taken. And when the rest were about to celebrate the Easter festival, the Arians, being vexed by their exclusion from the sacred rites, purposed to attack them vigorously.

And it seemed best to their leading men to kill Solomon in the sanctuary on the first day of the feast, which they call the great day. [March 23, 536 A.D.] And they were fortunate enough not to be found out, since no one disclosed this plan. For though there were many who shared in the horrible plot, no word of it was divulged to any hostile person as the orders were passed around, and thus they succeeded completely in escaping detection, for even the spearmen and guards of Solomon for the most part and the majority of his domestics had become associated with this mutiny because of their desire for the lands. And when the appointed day had now come, Solomon was sitting in the sanctuary, utterly ignorant of his own misfortune. And those who had decided to kill the man went in, and, urging one another with nods, they put their hands to their swords, but they did nothing nevertheless, either because they were filled with awe of the rites then being performed in the sanctuary, or because the fame of the general caused them to be ashamed, or perhaps also some divine power prevented them.

And when the rites on that day had been completely performed and all were betaking themselves homeward, the conspirators began to blame one another with having turned soft-hearted at no fitting time, and they postponed

the plot for a second attempt on the following day. And on the next day they acted in the same manner and departed from the sanctuary without doing anything, and entering the market place, they reviled each other openly, and every single man of them called the next one soft-hearted and a demoralizer of the band, not hesitating to censure strongly the respect felt for Solomon. For this reason, indeed, they thought that they could no longer without danger remain in Carthage, inasmuch as they had disclosed their plot to the whole city. The most of them, accordingly, went out of the city quickly and began to plunder the lands and to treat as enemies all the Libyans whom they met; but the rest remained in the city, giving no indication of what their own intentions were but pretending ignorance of the plot which had been formed.

But Solomon, upon hearing what was being done by the soldiers in the country, became greatly disturbed, and ceased not exhorting those in the city and urging them to loyalty toward the emperor. And they at first seemed to receive his words with favour, but on the fifth day, when they heard that those who had gone out were secure in their power, they gathered in the hippodrome and insulted Solomon and the other commanders without restraint. And Theodorus, the Cappadocian, being sent there by Solomon, attempted to dissuade them and win them by kind words, but they listened to nothing of what was said. Now this Theodorus had a certain hostility against Solomon and was suspected of plotting against him. For this reason the mutineers straightway elected him general over them by acclamation, and with him they went with all speed to the palace carrying weapons and raising a great tumult. There they killed another Theodorus, who was commander of the guards, a man of the greatest excellence in every respect and an especially capable warrior. And when they had tasted this blood, they began immediately to kill everyone they met, whether Libyan or Roman, if he were known to Solomon or had money in his hands; and then they turned to plundering, going up into the houses which had no soldiers to defend them and seizing all the most valuable things, until the coming of night, and drunkenness following their toil, made them cease.

And Solomon succeeded in escaping unnoticed into the great sanctuary which is in the palace, and Martinus joined him there in the late afternoon. And when all the mutineers were sleeping, they went out from the sanctuary and entered the house of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, who compelled them to dine although they had no desire to do so, and conveyed them to the harbour and put them on the skiff of a certain ship, which happened to have been made ready there by Martinus. And Procopius also, who wrote this history, was with them, and about five men of the house of Solomon. And after accomplishing three hundred stades they reached Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, and, since they had reached safety, Solomon straightway commanded Martinus to go into Numidia to Valerian and the others who shared his command, and endeavour to bring it about that each one of them, if it were in any way possible, should appeal to some of the soldiers known to him, either with

money or by other means, and bring them back to loyalty toward the emperor. And he sent a letter to Theodorus, charging him to take care of Carthage and to handle the other matters as should seem possible to him, and he himself with Procopius went to Belisarius at Syracuse. And after reporting everything to him which had taken place in Libya, he begged him to come with all speed to Carthage and defend the emperor, who was suffering unholy treatment at the hands of his own soldiers, Solomon, then, was thus engaged.

But the mutineers, after plundering everything in Carthage, gathered in the plain of Boulla, and chose Stotzas, one of the guards of Martinus, and a passionate and energetic man, as tyrant over them, with the purpose of driving the emperor's commanders out of all Libya and thus gaining control over it. And he armed the whole force, amounting to about eight thousand men, and led them on to Carthage, thinking to win over the city instantly with no trouble. He sent also to the Vandals who had run away from Byzantium with the ships and those who had not gone there with Belisarius in the beginning, either because they had escaped notice, or because those who were taking off the Vandals at that time took no account of them. Now they were not fewer than a thousand, and after no great time they joined Stotzas and the army with enthusiasm. And a great throng of slaves also came to him. And when they drew near Carthage, Stotzas sent orders that the people should surrender the city to him as quickly as possible, on condition of their remaining free from harm. But those in Carthage and Theodorus, in reply to this, refused flatly to obey, and announced that they were guarding Carthage for the emperor. And they sent to Stotzas Joseph, the secretary of the emperor's guards, a man of no humble birth and one of the household of Belisarius, who had recently been sent to Carthage on some mission to them, and they demanded that Stotzas should go no further in his violence. But Stotzas, upon hearing this, straightway killed Joseph and commenced a siege. And those in the city, becoming terrified at the danger, were purposing to surrender themselves and Carthage to Stotzas under an agreement. Such was the course of events in the army in Libya.

But Belisarius selected one hundred men from his own spearmen and guards, and taking Solomon with him, sailed into Carthage with one ship at about dusk, at the time when the besiegers were expecting that the city would be surrendered to them on the following day. And since they were expecting this, they bivouacked that night. But when day had come and they learned that Belisarius was present, they broke up camp as quickly as possible and disgracefully and in complete disorder beat a hasty retreat. And Belisarius gathered about two thousand of the army and, after urging them with words to be loyal to the emperor and encouraging them with large gifts of money, he began the pursuit of the fugitives. And he overtook them at the city of Membresa, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. There both armies made camp and prepared themselves for battle, the forces of Belisarius making their entrenchment at the River Bagradas, and the others in a high and difficult position. For neither of them saw fit to enter the city, since it was without walls. And on the day following they joined battle, the mutineers trusting in their numbers, and the troops of Belisarius despising their enemy as both without sense and without generals. And Belisarius, wishing that these

thoughts should be firmly lodged in the minds of his soldiers, called them all together and spoke as follows: —

“The situation, fellow-soldiers, both for the emperor and for the Romans, falls far short of our hopes and of our prayers. For we have now come to a combat in which even the winning of the victory will not be without tears for us, since we are fighting against kinsmen and men who have been reared with us. But we have this comfort in our misfortune, that we are not ourselves beginning the battle, but have been brought into the conflict in our own defence. For he who has framed the plot against his dearest friends and by his own act has dissolved the ties of kinship, dies not, if he perishes, by the hands of his friends, but having become an enemy is but making atonement to those who have suffered wrong. And that our opponents are public enemies and barbarians and whatever worse name one might call them, is shewn not alone by Libya, which has become plunder under their hands, nor by the inhabitants of this land, who have been wrongfully slain, but also by the multitude of Roman soldiers whom these enemies have dared to kill, though they have had but one fault to charge them with — loyalty to their government. And it is to avenge these their victims that we have now come against them, having with good reason become enemies to those who were once most dear. For nature has made no men in the world either friends or opponents to one another, but it is the actions of men in every case which, either by the similarity of the motives which actuate them unite them in alliance, or by the difference set them in hostility to each other, making them friends or enemies as the case may be. That, therefore, we are fighting against men who are outlaws and enemies of the state, you must now be convinced; and now I shall make it plain that they deserve to be despised by us. For a throng of men united by no law, but brought together by motives of injustice, is utterly unable by nature to play the part of brave men, since valour is unable to dwell with lawlessness, but always shuns those who are unholy. Nor, indeed, will they preserve discipline or give heed to the commands given by Stotzas. For when a tyranny is newly organized and has not yet won that authority which self-confidence gives, it is, of necessity, looked upon by its subjects with contempt. Nor is it honoured through any sentiment of loyalty, for a tyranny is, in the nature of the case, hated; nor does it lead its subjects by fear, for timidity deprives it of the power to speak out openly. And when the enemy is handicapped in point of valour and of discipline, their defeat is ready at hand. With great contempt, therefore, as I said, we should go against this enemy of ours. For it is not by the numbers of the combatants, but by their orderly array and their bravery, that prowess in war is wont to be measured.”

So spoke Belisarius. And Stotzas exhorted his troops as follows: “Men who with me have escaped our servitude to the Romans, let no one of you count it unworthy to die on behalf of the freedom which you have won by your courage and your other qualities. For it is not so terrible a thing to grow old and die in the midst of ills, as to return again to it after having gained

freedom from oppressive conditions. For the interval which has given one a taste of deliverance makes the misfortune, naturally enough, harder to bear. And this being so, it is necessary for you to call to mind that after conquering the Vandals and the Moors you yourselves have enjoyed the labours of war, while others have become masters of all the spoils. And consider that, as soldiers, you will be compelled all your lives to be acquainted with the dangers of war, either in behalf of the emperor's cause, if, indeed, you are again his slaves, or in behalf of your own selves, if you preserve this present liberty. And whichever of the two is preferable, this it is in your power to choose, either by becoming faint-hearted at this time, or by preferring to play the part of brave men. Furthermore, this thought also should come to your minds, — that if, having taken up arms against the Romans, you come under their power, you will have experience of no moderate or indulgent masters, but you will suffer the extreme of punishment, and, what is more, your death will not have been unmerited. To whomsoever of you, therefore, death comes in this battle, it is plain that it will be a glorious death; and life, if you conquer the enemy, will be independent and in all other respects happy; but if you are defeated, — I need mention no other bitterness than this, that all your hope will depend upon the mercy of those men yonder. And the conflict will not be evenly matched in regard to strength. For not only are the enemy greatly surpassed by us in numbers, but they will come against us without the least enthusiasm, for I think that they are praying for a share of this our freedom.” Such was the speech of Stotzas.

As the armies entered the combat, a wind both violent and exceedingly troublesome began to blow in the faces of the mutineers of Stotzas. For this reason they thought it disadvantageous for them to fight the battle where they were, fearing lest the wind by its overpowering force should carry the missiles of the enemy against them, while the impetus of their own missiles would be very seriously checked. They therefore left their position and moved toward the flank, reasoning that if the enemy also should change front, as they probably would, in order that they might not be assailed from the rear, the wind would then be in their faces. But Belisarius, upon seeing that they had left their position and in complete disorder were moving to his flank, gave orders immediately to open the attack. And the troops of Stotzas were thrown into confusion by the unexpected move, and in great disorder, as each one could, they fled precipitately, and only when they reached Numidia did they collect themselves again. Few of them, however, perished in this action, and most of them were Vandals. For Belisarius did not pursue them at all, for the reason that it seemed to him sufficient, since his army was very small, if the enemy, having been defeated for the present, should get out of his way. And he gave the soldiers the enemy's stockade to plunder, and they took it with not a man inside. But much money was found there and many women, the very women because of whom this war took place. After accomplishing this, Belisarius marched back to Carthage. And someone coming from Sicily

reported to him that a mutiny had broken out in the army and was about to throw everything into confusion, unless he himself should return to them with all speed and take measures to prevent it. He there therefore arranged matters in Libya as well as he could and, entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, went to Sicily.

And the Roman commanders in Numidia, hearing that the troops of Stotzas had come and were gathering there, prepared for battle. Now the commanders were as follows: of foederati, Marcellus and Cyril, of the cavalry forces, Barbatus, and of infantry Terentius and Sarapis. All, however, took their commands from Marcellus, as holding the authority in Numidia. He, therefore, upon hearing that Stotzas with some few men was in a place called Gazophyla, about two days' journey distant from Constantina, wished to anticipate the gathering of all the mutineers, and led his army swiftly against them. And when the two armies were near together and the battle was about to commence, Stotzas came alone into the midst of his opponents and spoke as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers, you are not acting justly in taking the field against kinsmen and those who have been reared with you, and in raising arms against men who in vexation at your misfortunes and the wrongs you have suffered have decided to make war upon the emperor and the Romans. Or do you not remember that you have been deprived of the pay which has been owing you for a long time back, and that you have been robbed of the enemy's spoil, which the law of war has set as prizes for the dangers of battle? And that the others have claimed the right to live sumptuously all their lives upon the good things of victory, while you have followed as if their servants? If, now, you are angry with me, it is within your power to vent your wrath upon this body, and to escape the pollution of killing the others; but if you have no charge to bring against me, it is time for you to take up your weapons in your own behalf." So spoke Stotzas; and the soldiers listened to his words and greeted him with great favour. And when the commanders saw what was happening, they withdrew in silence and took refuge in a sanctuary which was in Gazophyla. And Stotzas combined both armies into one and then went to the commanders. And finding them in the sanctuary, he gave pledges and then killed them all.

XVI

When the emperor learned this, he sent his nephew Germanus, a man of patrician rank, with some few men to Libya. And Symmachus also and Domnicus, men of the senate, followed him, the former to be prefect and charged with the maintenance of the army, while Domnicus was to command the infantry forces. For John, who had held the office of prefect, had already died of disease. And when they had sailed into Carthage, Germanus counted the soldiers whom they had, and upon looking over the books of the scribes where the names of all the soldiers were registered, he found that the third part of the army was in Carthage and the other cities, while all the rest were arrayed with the tyrant against the Romans. He did not, therefore, begin any fighting, but bestowed the greatest care upon his army. And considering that those left in Carthage were the kinsmen or tentmates of the enemy, he kept addressing many winning words to all, and in particular said that he had himself been sent by the emperor to Libya in order to defend the soldiers who had been wronged and to punish those who had unprovoked done them any injury. And when this was found out by the mutineers, they began to come over to him a few at a time. And Germanus both received them into the city in a friendly manner and, giving pledges, held them in honour, and he gave them their pay for the time during which they had been in arms against the Romans. And when the report of these acts was circulated and came to all, they began now to detach themselves in large numbers from the tyrant and to march to Carthage. Then at last Germanus, hoping that in the battle he would be evenly matched in strength with his opponents, began to make preparations for the conflict.

But in the meantime Stotzas, already perceiving the trouble, and fearing lest by the defection of still others of his soldiers the army should be reduced still more, was pressing for a decisive encounter immediately and trying to take hold of the war with more vigour. And since he had some hope regarding the soldiers in Carthage, that they would come over to him, and thought that they would readily desert if he came near them, he held out the hope to all his men; and after encouraging them exceedingly in this way, he advanced swiftly with his whole army against Carthage. And when he had come within thirty-five stades of the city, he made camp not far from the sea, and Germanus, after arming his whole army and arraying them for battle, marched forth. And when they were all outside the city, since he had heard what Stotzas was hoping for, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows:

“That there is nothing, fellow-soldiers, with which you can justly reproach the emperor, and no fault which you can find with what he has done to you, this, I think, no one of you all could deny; for it was he who took you as you came from the fields with your wallets and one small frock apiece and brought you together in Byzantium, and has caused you to be so powerful that

the Roman state now depends upon you. And that he has not only been treated with wanton insult, but has also suffered the most dreadful of all things at your hands, you yourselves, doubtless, know full well. And desiring that you should preserve the memory of these things for ever, he has dismissed the accusations brought against you for your crimes, asking that this debt alone be due to him from you — shame for what you have done. It is reasonable, therefore, that you, being thus regarded by him, should learn anew the lesson of good faith and correct your former folly. For when repentance comes at the fitting time upon those who have done wrong, it is accustomed to make those who have been injured indulgent; and service which comes in season is wont to bring another name to those who have been called ungrateful.

“And it will be needful for you to know well this also, that if at the present time you shew yourselves completely loyal to the emperor, no remembrance will remain of what has gone before. For in the nature of things every course of action is characterized by men in accordance with its final outcome; and while a wrong which has once been committed can never be undone in all time, still, when it has been corrected by better deeds on the part of those who committed it, it receives the fitting reward of silence and generally comes to be forgotten. Moreover, if you act with any disregard of duty toward these accursed rascals at the present time, even though afterwards you fight through many wars in behalf of the Romans and often win the victory over the enemy, you will never again be regarded as having requited the emperor as you can requite him to-day. For those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain for themselves a fairer apology. As regards the emperor, then, let each one of you reason in some such way. But as for me, I have not voluntarily done you any injustice, and I have displayed my goodwill to you by all possible means, and now, facing this danger, I have decided to ask this much of you all: let no man advance with us against the enemy contrary to his judgement. But if anyone of you is already desirous of arraying himself with them, without delay let him go with his weapons to the enemy’s camp, granting us this one favour, that it be not stealthily, but openly, that he has decided to do us wrong. Indeed, it is for this reason that I am making my speech, not in Carthage, but after coming on the battle-field, in order that I might not be an obstacle to anyone who desires to desert to our opponents, since it is possible for all without danger to shew their disposition toward the state.” Thus spoke Germanus. And a great uproar ensued in the Roman army, for each one demanded the right to be the first to display to the general his loyalty to the emperor and to swear the most dread oaths in confirmation.

XVII

Now for some time the two armies remained in position opposite each other. But when the mutineers saw that nothing of what Stotzas had foretold was coming to pass, they began to be afraid as having been unexpectedly cheated of their hope, and they broke their ranks and withdrew, and marched off to Numidia, where were their women and the money from their booty. And Germanus too came there with the whole army not long afterwards, having made all preparations in the best way possible and also bringing along many wagons for the army. And overtaking his opponents in a place which the Romans call *Scalae Veteres*, he made his preparations for battle in the following manner. Placing the wagons in line facing the front, he arrayed all the infantry along them under the leadership of Domnicus, so that by reason of having their rear in security they might fight with the greater courage. And the best of the horsemen and those who had come with him from Byzantium he himself had on the left of the infantry, while all the others he placed on the right wing, not marshalled in one body but in three divisions. And Ildiger led one of them, Theodoras the Cappadocian another, while the remaining one, which was larger, was commanded by John, the brother of Pappus, with three others. Thus did the Romans array themselves.

And the mutineers took their stand opposite them, not in order, however, but scattered, more in the manner of barbarians. And at no great distance many thousands of Moors followed them, who were commanded by a number of leaders, and especially by Iaudas and Ortaïas. But not all of them, as it happened, were faithful to Stotzas and his men, for many had sent previously to Germanus and agreed that, when they came into the fight, they would array themselves with the emperor's army against the enemy. However, Germanus could not trust them altogether, for the Moorish nation is by nature faithless to all men. It was for this reason also that they did not array themselves with the mutineers, but remained behind, waiting for what would come to pass, in order that with those who should be victorious they might join in the pursuit of the vanquished. Such was the purpose, then, of the Moors, in following behind and not mingling with the mutineers.

And when Stotzas came close to the enemy and saw the standard of Germanus, he exhorted his men and began to charge against him. But the mutinous Eruli who were arrayed about him did not follow and even tried with all their might to prevent him, saying that they did not know the character of the forces of Germanus, but that they did know that those arrayed on the enemy's right would by no means withstand them. If, therefore, they should advance against these, they would not only give way themselves and turn to flight, but would also, in all probability, throw the rest of the Roman army into confusion; but if they should attack Germanus and be driven back and put to rout, their whole cause would be ruined on the spot. And Stotzas

was persuaded by these words, and permitted the others to fight with the men of Germanus, while he himself with the best men went against John and those arrayed with him. And they failed to withstand the attack and hastened to flee in complete disorder. And the mutineers took all their standards immediately, and pursued them as they fled at top speed, while some too charged upon the infantry, who had already begun to abandon their ranks. But at this juncture Germanus himself, drawing his sword and urging the whole of that part of the army to do the same, with great difficulty routed the mutineers opposed to him and advanced on the run against Stotzas. And then, since he was joined in this effort by the men of Ildiger and Theodorus, the two armies mingled with each other in such a way that, while the mutineers were pursuing some of their enemy, they were being overtaken and killed by others. And as the confusion became greater and greater, the troops of Germanus, who were in the rear, pressed on still more, and the mutineers, falling into great fear, thought no longer of resistance. But neither side could be distinguished either by their own comrades or by their opponents. For all used one language and the same equipment of arms, and they differed neither in figure nor in dress nor in any other thing whatever. For this reason the soldiers of the emperor by the advice of Germanus, whenever they captured anyone, asked who he was; and then, if he said that he was a soldier of Germanus, they bade him give the watchword of Germanus, and if he was not at all able to give this, they killed him instantly. In this struggle one of the enemy got by unnoticed and killed the horse of Germanus, and Germanus himself fell to the ground and came into danger, and would have been lost had not his guards quickly saved him by forming an enclosure around him and mounting him on another horse.

As for Stotzas, he succeeded in this tumult in escaping with a few men. But Germanus, urging on his men, went straight for the enemy's camp. There he was encountered by those of the mutineers who had been stationed to guard the stockade. A stubborn fight took place around its entrance, and the mutineers came within a little of forcing back their opponents, but Germanus sent some of his followers and bade them make trial of the camp at another point. These men, since no one was defending the camp at this place, got inside the stockade with little trouble. And the mutineers, upon seeing them, rushed off in flight, and Germanus with all the rest of the army dashed into the enemy's camp. There the soldiers, finding it easy to plunder the goods of the camp, neither took any account of the enemy nor paid any further heed to the exhortations of their general, since booty was at hand. For this reason Germanus, fearing lest the enemy should get together and come upon them, himself with some few men took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, uttering many laments and urging his unheeding men to return to good order. And many of the Moors, when the rout had taken place in this way, were now pursuing the mutineers, and, arraying themselves with the emperor's troops, were plundering the camp of the vanquished. But Stotzas, at first having confidence in the Moorish army, rode to them in order to renew the battle. But

perceiving what was being done, he fled with a hundred men, and succeeded with difficulty in making his escape. And once more many gathered about him and attempted to engage with the enemy, but being repulsed no less decisively than before, if not even more so, they all came over to Germanus. And Stotzas alone with some few Vandals withdrew to Mauretania, and taking to wife the daughter of one of the rulers, remained there. And this was the conclusion of that mutiny.

XVIII

Now there was among the body-guards of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, a certain Maximinus, an exceedingly base man. This Maximinus had first got a very large number of the soldiers to join with him in a conspiracy against the government, and was now purposing to attempt a tyranny. And being eager to associate with himself still more men, he explained the project to others and especially to Asclepiades, a native of Palestine, who was a man of good birth and the first of the personal friends of Theodorus. Now Asclepiades, after conversing with Theodorus, straightway reported the whole matter to Germanus. And he, not wishing as yet, while affairs were still unsettled, to begin any other disturbance, decided to get the best of the man by cajoling and flattering him rather than by punishment, and to bind him by oaths to loyalty toward the government. Accordingly, since it was an old custom among all Romans that no one should become a body-guard of one of the commanders, unless he had previously taken the most dread oaths and given pledges of his loyalty both toward his own commander and toward the Roman emperor, he summoned Maximinus, and praising him for his daring, directed him to be one of his body-guards from that time forth. And he, being overjoyed at the extraordinary honour, and conjecturing that his project would in this way get on more easily, took the oath, and though from that time forth he was counted among the body-guards of Germanus, he did not hesitate to disregard his oaths immediately and to strengthen much more than ever his plans to achieve the tyranny.

Now the whole city was celebrating some general festival, and many of the conspirators of Maximinus at about the time of lunch came according to their agreement to the palace, where Germanus was entertaining his friends at a feast, and Maximinus took his stand beside the couches with the other body-guards. And as the drinking proceeded, someone entered and announced to Germanus that many soldiers were standing in great disorder before the door of the court, putting forward the charge that the government owed them their pay for a long period. And he commanded the most trusty of the guards secretly to keep close watch over Maximinus, allowing him in no way to perceive what was being done. Then the conspirators with threats and tumult proceeded on the run to the hippodrome, and those who shared their plan with them gathered gradually from the houses and were assembling there. And if it had so chanced that all of them had come together, no one, I think, would have been able easily to destroy their power; but, as it was, Germanus anticipated this, and, before the greater part had yet arrived, he straightway sent against them all who were well-disposed to himself and to the emperor. And they attacked the conspirators before they expected them. And then, since Maximinus, for whom they were waiting to begin the battle for them, was not with them, and they did not see the crowd gathered to help them, as

they had thought it would be, but instead even beheld their fellow-soldiers unexpectedly fighting against them, they consequently lost heart and were easily overcome in the struggle and rushed off in flight and in complete disorder. And their opponents slew many of them, and they also captured many alive and brought them to Germanus. Those, however, who had not already come to the hippodrome gave no indication of their sentiment toward Maximinus. And Germanus did not see fit to go on and seek them out, but he enquired whether Maximinus, since he had sworn the oath, had taken part in the plot. And since it was proved that, though numbered among his own bodyguards he had carried on his designs still more than before, Germanus impaled him close by the fortifications of Carthage, and in this way succeeded completely in putting down the sedition. As for Maximinus, then, such was the end of his plot.

XI

[539-540 A.D.] And the emperor summoned Germanus together with Symmachus and Domnicus and again entrusted all Libya to Solomon, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and he provided him with an army and officers, among whom were Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanas, and John, the son of Sisiniolus. For Martinus and Valerianus had already before this gone under summons to Byzantium. And Solomon sailed to Carthage, and having rid himself of the sedition of Stotzas, he ruled with moderation and guarded Libya securely, setting the army in order, and sending to Byzantium and to Belisarius whatever suspicious elements he found in it, and enrolling new soldiers to equal their number, and removing those of the Vandals who were left and especially all their women from the whole of Libya. And he surrounded each city with a wall, and guarding the laws with great strictness, he restored the government completely. And Libya became under his rule powerful as to its revenues and prosperous in other respects.

And when everything had been arranged by him in the best way possible, he again made an expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Aurasium. And first he sent forward Gontharis, one of his own body-guards and an able warrior, with an army. Now Gontharis came to the Abigas River and made camp near Bagaïs, a deserted city. And there he engaged with the enemy, but was defeated in battle, and retiring to his stockade was already being hard pressed by the siege of the Moors. But afterwards Solomon himself arrived with his whole army, and when he was sixty stades away from the camp which Gontharis was commanding, he made a stockade and remained there; and hearing all that had befallen the force of Gontharis, he sent them a part of his army and bade them keep up the fight against the enemy with courage. But the Moors, having gained the upper hand in the engagement, as I have said, did as follows. The Abigas River flows from Aurasium, and descending into a plain, waters the land just as the men there desire. For the natives conduct this stream to whatever place they think it will best serve them at the moment, for in this plain there are many channels, into which the Abigas is divided, and entering all of them, it passes underground, and reappears again above the ground and gathers its stream together. This takes place over the greatest part of the plain and makes it possible for the inhabitants of the region, by stopping up the waterways with earth, or by again opening them, to make use of the waters of this river as they wish. So at that time the Moors shut off all the channels there and thus allowed the whole stream to flow about the camp of the Romans. As a result of this, a deep, muddy marsh formed there through which it was impossible to go; this terrified them exceedingly and reduced them to a state of helplessness. When this was heard by Solomon, he came quickly. But the barbarians, becoming afraid, withdrew to the foot of Aurasium. And in a place which they call Babosis they made camp and

remained there. So Solomon moved with his whole army and came to that place. And upon engaging with the enemy, he defeated them decisively and turned them to flight. Now after this the Moors did not think it advisable for them to fight a pitched battle with the Romans; for they did not hope to overcome them in this kind of contest; but they did have hope, based on the difficult character of the country around Aurasium, that the Romans would in a short time give up by reason of the sufferings they would have to endure and would withdraw from there, just as they formerly had done. The most of them, therefore, went off to Mauretania and the barbarians to the south of Aurasium, but Iaudas with twenty thousand of the Moors remained there. And it happened that he had built a fortress on Aurasium, Zerboule by name. Into this he entered with all the Moors and remained quiet. But Solomon was by no means willing that time should be wasted in the siege, and learning that the plains about the city of Tamougade were full of grain just becoming ripe, he led his army into them, and settling himself there, began to plunder the land. Then, after firing everything, he returned again to the fortress of Zerboule.

But during this time, while the Romans were plundering the land, Iaudas, leaving behind some of the Moors, about as many as he thought would be sufficient for the defence of the fortress, himself ascended to the summit of Aurasium with the rest of the army, not wishing to stand siege in the fort and have provisions fail his forces. And finding a high place with cliff's on all sides of it and concealed by perpendicular rocks, Toumar by name, he remained quietly there. And the Romans besieged the fortress of Zerboule for three days. And using their bows, since the wall was not high, they hit many of the barbarians upon the parapets. And by some chance it happened that all the leaders of the Moors were hit by these missiles and died. And when the three days' time had passed and night came on, the Romans, having learned nothing of the death of the leaders among the Moors, were planning to break up the siege. For it seemed better to Solomon to go against Iaudas and the multitude of the Moors, thinking that, if he should be able to capture that force by siege, the barbarians in Zerboule would with less trouble and difficulty yield to the Romans. But the barbarians, thinking that they could no longer hold out against the siege, since all their leaders had now been destroyed, decided to flee with all speed and abandon the fortress. Accordingly they fled immediately in silence and without allowing the enemy in any way to perceive it, and the Romans also at daybreak began to prepare for departure. And since no one appeared on the wall, although the besieging army was withdrawing, they began to wonder and fell into the greatest perplexity among themselves. And in this state of uncertainty they went around the fortress and found the gate open from which the Moors had departed in flight. And entering the fortress they treated everything as plunder, but they had no thought of pursuing the enemy, for they had set out with light equipment and were familiar with the country round about. And when they had plundered everything, they set guards over the fortress, and all moved forward on foot.

And coming to the place Toumar, where the enemy had shut themselves in and were remaining quiet, they encamped near by in a bad position, where there would be no supply of water, except a little, nor any other necessary thing. And after much time had been spent and the barbarians did not come out against them at all, they themselves, no less than the enemy, if not even more, were hard pressed by the siege and began to be impatient. And more than anything else, they were distressed by the lack of water; this Solomon himself guarded, giving each day no more than a single cupful to each man. And since he saw that they were openly discontented and no longer able to bear their present hardships, he planned to make trial of the place, although it was difficult of access, and called all together and exhorted them as follows: "Since God has granted to the Romans to besiege the Moors on Aurasium, a thing which hitherto has been beyond hope and now, to such as do not see what is actually being done, is altogether incredible, it is necessary that we too should lend our aid to the help that has come from above, and not prove false to this favour, but undergoing the danger with enthusiasm, should reach after the good fortune which is to come from success. For in every case the turning of the scales of human affairs depends upon the moment of opportunity; but if a man, by wilful cowardice, is traitor to his fortune, he cannot justly blame it, having by his own action brought the guilt upon himself. Now as for the Moors, you see their weakness surely and the place in which they have shut themselves up and are keeping guard, deprived of all the necessities of life. And as for you, one of two things is necessary, either without feeling any vexation at the siege to await the surrender of the enemy, or, if you shrink from this, to accept the victory which goes with the danger. And fighting against these barbarians will be the more free from danger for us, inasmuch as they are already fighting with hunger and I think they will never even come to an engagement with us. Having these things in mind at the present time, it behooves you to execute all your orders with eagerness."

After Solomon had made this exhortation, he looked about to see from what point it would be best for his men to make an attempt on the place, and for a long time he seemed to be in perplexity. For the difficult nature of the ground seemed to him quite too much to contend with. But while Solomon was considering this, chance provided a way for the enterprise as follows. There was a certain Gezon in the army, a foot-soldier, "optio" of the detachment to which Solomon belonged; for thus the Romans call the paymaster. This Gezon, either in play or in anger, or perhaps even moved by some divine impulse, began to make the ascent alone, apparently going against the enemy, and not far from him went some of his fellow-soldiers, marvelling greatly at what he was doing. And three of the Moors, who had been stationed to guard the approach, suspecting that the man was coming

against them, went on the run to confront him. But since they were in a narrow way, they did not proceed in orderly array, but each one went separately. And Gezon struck the first one who came upon him and killed him, and in this way he despatched each of the others. And when those in the rear perceived this, they advanced with much shouting and tumult against the enemy. And when the whole Roman army both heard and saw what was being done, without waiting either for the general to lead the way for them or for the trumpets to give the signal for battle, as was customary, nor indeed even keeping their order, but making a great uproar and urging one another on, they ran against the enemy's camp. There Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanes, made a splendid display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And by this the Moors were terror-stricken, and when they learned that their guards also had been destroyed, they straightway turned to flight where each one could, and the most of them were overtaken in the difficult ground and killed. And Iaudas himself, though struck by a javelin in the thigh, still made his escape and withdrew to Mauretania. But the Romans, after plundering the enemy's camp, decided not to abandon Aurasium again, but to guard fortresses which Solomon was to build there, so that this mountain might not be again accessible to the Moors.

Now there is on Aurasium a perpendicular rock which rises in the midst of precipices; the natives call it the Rock of Geminianus; there the men of ancient times had built a tower, making it very small as a place of refuge, strong and unassailable, since the nature of the position assisted them. Here, as it happened, Iaudas had a few days previously deposited his money and his women, setting one old Moor in charge as guardian of the money. For he could never have suspected that the enemy would either reach this place, or that they could in all time capture the tower by force. But the Romans at that time, searching through the rough country of Aurasium, came there, and one of them, with a laugh, attempted to climb up to the tower; but the women began to taunt him, ridiculing him as attempting the impossible; and the old man, peering out from the tower, did the same thing. But when the Roman soldier, climbing with both hands and feet, had come near them, he drew his sword quietly and leaped forward as quickly as he could, and struck the old man a fair blow on the neck, and succeeded in cutting it through. And the head fell down to the ground, and the soldiers, now emboldened and holding to one another, ascended to the tower, and took out from there both the women and the money, of which there was an exceedingly great quantity. And by means of it Solomon surrounded many of the cities in Libya with walls.

And after the Moors had retired from Numidia, defeated in the manner described, the land of Zabe, which is beyond Mt. Aurasium and is called "First Mauretania," whose metropolis is Sitiphis, was added to the Roman empire by Solomon as a tributary province; for of the other Mauretania Caesarea is the first city, where was settled Mastigas with his Moors, having the whole country there subject and tributary to him, except, indeed, the city

of Caesarea. For this city Belisarius had previously recovered for the Romans, as has been set forth in the previous narrative; and the Romans always journey to this city in ships, but they are not able to go by land, since Moors dwell in that country. And as a result of this all the Libyans who were subjects of the Romans, coming to enjoy secure peace and finding the rule of Solomon wise and very moderate, and having no longer any thought of hostility in their minds, seemed the most fortunate of all men.

But in the fourth year after this it came about that all their blessings were turned to the opposite. [543-544 A.D.] For in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian, Cyrus and Sergius, the sons of Bacchus, Solomon's brother, were assigned by the emperor to rule over the cities in Libya, Cyrus, the elder, to have Pentapolis, and Sergius Tripolis. And the Moors who are called Leuathae came to Sergius with a great army at the city of Leptimagna, spreading the report that the reason they had come was this, that Sergius might give them the gifts and insignia of office which were customary and so make the peace secure. But Sergius, persuaded by Pudentius, a man of Tripolis, of whom I made mention in the preceding narrative as having served the Emperor Justinian against the Vandals at the beginning of the Vandalic War, received eighty of the barbarians, their most notable men, into the city, promising to fulfil all their demands; but he commanded the rest to remain in the suburb. Then after giving these eighty men pledges concerning the peace, he invited them to a banquet. But they say that these barbarians had come into the city with treacherous intent, that they might lay a trap for Sergius and kill him. And when they came into conference with him, they called up many charges against the Romans, and in particular said that their crops had been plundered wrongfully. And Sergius, paying no heed to these things, rose from the seat on which he was sitting, with intent to go away. And one of the barbarians, laying hold upon his shoulder, attempted to prevent him from going. Then the others began to shout in confusion, and were already rushing together about him. But one of the body-guards of Sergius, drawing his sword, despatched that Moor. And as a result of this a great tumult, as was natural, arose in the room, and the guards of Sergius killed all the barbarians. But one of them, upon seeing the others being slain, rushed out of the house where these things were taking place, unnoticed by anyone, and coming to his tribemates, revealed what had befallen their fellows. And when they heard this, they betook themselves on the run to their own camp and together with all the others arrayed themselves in arms against the Romans. Now when they came near the city of Leptimagna, Sergius and Pudentius confronted them with their whole army. And the battle becoming a hand-to-hand fight, at first the Romans were victorious and slew many of the enemy, and, plundering their camp, secured their goods and enslaved an exceedingly great number of women and children. But afterwards Pudentius, being possessed by a spirit of reckless daring, was killed; and Sergius with the Roman army, since it was already growing dark, marched into Leptimagna.

At a later time the barbarians took the field against the Romans with a greater array. And Sergius went to join his uncle Solomon, in order that he too might go to meet the enemy with a larger army; and he found there his brother Cyrus also. And the barbarians, coming into Byzacium, made raids and

plundered a great part of the country there; and Antalas (whom I mentioned in the preceding narrative as having remained faithful to the Romans and as being for this reason sole ruler of the Moors in Byzacium) had by now, as it happened, become hostile to Solomon, because Solomon had deprived him of the maintenance with which the emperor had honoured him and had killed his brother, charging him with responsibility for an uprising against the people of Byzacium. So at that time Antalas was pleased to see these barbarians, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with them, led them against Solomon and Carthage.

And Solomon, as soon as he heard about this, put his whole army in motion and marched against them, and coming upon them at the city of Tebesta, distant six days' journey from Carthage, he established his camp in company with the sons of his brother Bacchus, Cyrus and Sergius and Solomon the younger. And fearing the multitude of the barbarians, he sent to the leaders of the Leuathae, reproaching them because, while at peace with the Romans, they had taken up arms and come against them, and demanding that they should confirm the peace existing between the two peoples, and he promised to swear the most dread oaths, that he would hold no remembrance of what they had done. But the barbarians, mocking his words, said that he would of course swear by the sacred writings of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call Gospels. Now since Sergius had once taken these oaths and then had slain those who trusted in them, it was their desire to go into battle and make a test of these same sacred writings, to see what sort of power they had against the perjurers, in order that they might first have absolute confidence in them before they finally entered into the agreement. When Solomon heard this, he made his preparations for the combat.

And on the following day he engaged with a portion of the enemy as they were bringing in a very large booty, conquered them in battle, seized all their booty and kept it under guard. And when the soldiers were dissatisfied and counted it an outrage that he did not give them the plunder, he said that he was awaiting the outcome of the war, in order that they might distribute everything then, according to the share that should seem to suit the merit of each. But when the barbarians advanced a second time, with their whole army, to give battle, this time some of the Romans stayed behind and the others entered the encounter with no enthusiasm. At first, then, the battle was evenly contested, but later, since the Moors were vastly superior by reason of their great numbers, the most of the Romans fled, and though Solomon and a few men about him held out for a time against the missiles of the barbarians, afterwards they were overpowered by the enemy, and fleeing in haste, reached a ravine made by a brook which flowed in that region. And there Solomon's horse stumbled and threw him to the ground, and his body-guards lifted him quickly in their arms and set him upon his horse. But overcome by great pain and unable to hold the reins longer, he was overtaken and killed by the barbarians, and many of his guards besides. Such was the end of Solomon's life.

After the death of Solomon, Sergius, who, as has been said, was his nephew, took over the government of Libya by gift of the emperor. And this man became the chief cause of great ruin to the people of Libya, and all were dissatisfied with his rule — the officers because, being exceedingly stupid and young both in character and in years, he proved to be the greatest braggart of all men, and he insulted them for no just cause and disregarded them, always using the power of his wealth and the authority of his office to this end; and the soldiers disliked him because he was altogether unmanly and weak; and the Libyans, not only for these reasons, but also because he had shown himself strangely fond of the wives and the possessions of others. But most of all John, the son of Sisiniolus, was hostile to the power of Sergius; for, though he was an able warrior and was a man of unusually fair repute, he found Sergius absolutely ungrateful. For this reason neither he nor anyone else at all was willing to take up arms against the enemy. But almost all the Moors were following Antalas, and Stotzas came at his summons from Mauretania. And since not one of the enemy came out against them, they began to sack the country, making plunder of everything without fear. At that time Antalas sent to the Emperor Justinian a letter, which set forth the following:

“That I am a slave of thy empire not even I myself would deny, but the Moors, having suffered unholy treatment at the hands of Solomon in time of peace, have taken up arms under the most severe constraint, not lifting them against thee, but warding off our personal enemy; and this is especially true of me. For he not only decided to deprive me of the maintenance, which Belisarius long before specified and thou didst grant, but he also killed my own brother, although he had no wrongdoing to charge against him. We have therefore taken vengeance upon him who wronged us. And if it is thy will that the Moors be in subjection to thy empire and serve it in all things as they are accustomed to do, command Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, to depart from here and return to thee, and send another general to Libya. For thou wilt not be lacking in men of discretion and more worthy than Sergius in every way; for as long as this man commands thy army, it is impossible for peace to be established between the Romans and the Moors.”

Such was the letter written by Antalas. But the emperor, even after reading these things and learning the common enmity of all toward Sergius, was still unwilling to remove him from his office, out of respect for the virtues of Solomon and especially the manner of his death. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Solomon, the brother of Sergius, who was supposed to have disappeared from the world together with his uncle Solomon, was forgotten by his brother and by the rest as well; for no one had learned that he was alive. But the Moors, as it happened, had taken him alive, since he was very young;

and they enquired of him who he was. And he said that he was a Vandal by birth, and a slave of Solomon. He said, moreover, that he had a friend, a physician, Pegasus by name, in the city of Laribus near by, who would purchase him by giving ransom. So the Moors came up close to the fortifications of the city and called Pegasus and displayed Solomon to him, and asked whether it was his pleasure to purchase the man. And since he agreed to purchase him, they sold Solomon to him for fifty pieces of gold. But upon getting inside the fortifications, Solomon taunted the Moors as having been deceived by him, a mere lad; for he said that he was no other than Solomon, the son of Bacchus and nephew of Solomon. And the Moors, being deeply stung by what had happened, and counting it a terrible thing that, while having a strong security for the conduct of Sergius and the Romans, they had relinquished it so carelessly, came to Laribus and laid siege to the place, in order to capture Solomon with the city. And the besieged, in terror at being shut in by the barbarians, for they had not even carried in provisions, as it happened, opened negotiations with the Moors, proposing that upon receiving a great sum of money they should straightway abandon the siege. Whereupon the barbarians, thinking that they could never take the city by force — for the Moors are not at all practised in the storming of walls — and at the same time not knowing that provisions were scarce for the besieged, welcomed their words, and when they had received three thousand pieces of gold, they abandoned the siege, and all the Leuathæ retired homeward.

But Antalas and the army of the Moors were gathering again in Byzacium and Stotzas was with them, having some few soldiers and Vandals. And John, the son of Sisiniolus, being earnestly entreated by the Libyans, gathered an army and marched against them. Now Himerius, the Thracian, was commander of the troops in Byzacium, and at that time he was ordered by John to bring with him all the troops there, together with the commanders of each detachment, and come to a place called Menephesse, which is in Byzacium, and join his force there. But later, upon hearing that the enemy were encamped there, John wrote to Himerius telling what had happened and directing him to unite with his forces at another place, that they might not go separately, but all together, to encounter the enemy. But by some chance those who had this letter, making use of another road, were quite unable to find Himerius, and he together with his army, coming upon the camp of the enemy, fell into their hands. Now there was in this Roman army a certain youth, Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoenician and a native of Emesa, commanding a detachment of horse. This man alone, together with the soldiers under him, fifty in number, engaged with the enemy. And for some time they held out, but later, being overpowered by the great multitude, they ran to the top of a hill in the neighbourhood on which there was also a fort, but one which offered no security. For this reason they surrendered themselves to their opponents when they ascended the hill to attack them. And the Moors killed neither him nor any of the soldiers, but they made prisoners of the whole force; and Himerius they kept under guard, and handed over his soldiers to Stotzas, since they agreed with great readiness to march with the rebels against the Romans; Himerius, however, they threatened with death, if he should not carry out their commands. And they commanded him to put into their hands by some device the city of Hadrumentum on the sea. And since he declared that he was willing, they went with him against Hadrumentum. And upon coming near the city, they sent Himerius a little in advance with some of the soldiers of Stotzas, dragging along, as it seemed, some Moors in chains, and they themselves followed behind. And they directed Himerius to say to those in command of the gates of the city that the emperor's army had won a decisive victory, and that John would come very soon, bringing an innumerable multitude of Moorish captives; and when in this manner the gates had been opened to them, he was to get inside the fortifications together with those who went with him. And he carried out these instructions. And the citizens of Hadrumentum, being deceived in this way (for they could not distrust the commander of all the troops in Byzacium), opened wide the gates and received the enemy. Then, indeed, those who had entered with Himerius drew their swords and would not allow the guards there to shut the gates again, but straightway received the whole army of the Moors into the city. And the barbarians, after plundering it

and establishing there some few guards, departed. And of the Romans who had been captured some few escaped and came to Carthage, among whom were Severianus and Himerius. For it was not difficult for those who wished it to make their escape from Moors. And many also, not at all unwillingly, remained with Stotzas.

Not long after this one of the priests, Paulus by name, who had been appointed to take charge of the sick, in conferring with some of the nobles, said: "I myself shall journey to Carthage and I am hopeful that I shall return quickly with an army, and it will be your care to receive the emperor's forces into the city." So they attached some ropes to him and let him down by night from the fortifications, and he, coming to the sea-shore and happening upon a fishing-vessel which was thereabouts, won over the masters of this boat by great sums of money and sailed off to Carthage. And when he had landed there and come into the presence of Sergius, he told the whole story and asked him to give him a considerable army in order to recover Hadrumetum. And since this by no means pleased Sergius, inasmuch as the army in Carthage was not great, the priest begged him to give him some few soldiers, and receiving not more than eighty men, he formed the following plan. He collected a large number of boats and skiffs and embarked on them many sailors and Libyans also, clad in the garments which the Roman soldiers are accustomed to wear. And setting off with the whole fleet, he sailed at full speed straight for Hadrumetum. And when he had come close to it, he sent some men stealthily and declared to the notables of the city that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had recently come to Carthage, and had sent a very considerable army to the citizens of Hadrumetum. And he bade them take courage at this and open for them one small gate that night. And they carried out his orders. Thus Paulus with his followers got inside the fortifications, and he slew all the enemy and recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor; and the rumour about Germanus, beginning there, went even to Carthage. And the Moors, as well as Stotzas and his followers, upon hearing this, at first became terrified and went off in flight to the extremities of Libya, but later, upon learning the truth, they counted it a terrible thing that they, after sparing all the citizens of Hadrumetum, had suffered such things at their hands. For this reason they made raids everywhere and wrought unholy deeds upon the Libyans, sparing no one whatever his age, and the land became at that time for the most part depopulated. For of the Libyans who had been left some fled into the cities and some to Sicily and the other islands. But almost all the notables came to Byzantium, among whom was Paulus also, who had recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor. And the Moors with still less fear, since no one came out against them, were plundering everything, and with them Stotzas, who was now powerful. For many Roman soldiers were following him, some who had come as deserters, and others who had been in the beginning captives but now remained with him of their own free will. And John, who was indeed a man of some reputation among the Moors, was remaining quiet because of the

extreme hostility he had conceived against Sergius.

At this time the emperor sent to Libya, with some few soldiers, another general, Areobindus, a man of the senate and of good birth, but not at all skilled in matters of warfare. And he sent with him Athanasius, a prefect, who had come recently from Italy, and some few Armenians led by Artabanes and John, sons of John, of the line of the Arsacidae, who had recently left the Persian army and as deserters had come back to the Romans, together with the other Armenians. And with Areobindus was his sister and Prejecta, his wife, who was the daughter of Vigilantia, the sister of the Emperor Justinian. The emperor, however, did not recall Sergius, but commanded both him and Areobindus to be generals of Libya, dividing the country and the detachments of soldiers between them. And he enjoined upon Sergius to carry on the war against the barbarians in Numidia, and upon Areobindus to direct his operations constantly against the Moors in Byzacium. And when this expedition lauded at Carthage, Sergius departed forthwith for Numidia with his own army, and Areobindus, upon learning that Antalas and Stotzas were encamped near the city of Siccaveneria, which is three days' journey distant from Carthage, commanded John, the son of Sisiniolus, to go against them, choosing out whatever was best of the army; and he wrote to Sergius to unite with the forces of John, in order that they might all with one common force engage with the enemy. Now Sergius decided to pay no heed to the message and have nothing to do with this affair, and John with a small army was compelled to engage with an innumerable host of the enemy. And there had always been great enmity between him and Stotzas, and each one used to pray that he might become the slayer of the other before departing from the world. At that time, accordingly, as soon as the fighting was about to come to close quarters, both rode out from their armies and came against each other. And John drew his bow, and, as Stotzas was still advancing, made a successful shot and hit him in the right groin, and Stotzas, mortally wounded, fell there, not yet dead, but destined to survive this wound only a little time. And all came up immediately, both the Moorish army and those who followed Stotzas, and placing Stotzas with little life in him against a tree, they advanced upon their enemy with great fury; and since they were far superior in numbers, they routed John and all the Romans with no difficulty. Then, indeed, they say, John remarked that death had now a certain sweetness for him, since his prayer regarding Stotzas had reached fulfilment. And there was a steep place near by, where his horse stumbled and threw him off. And as he was trying to leap upon the horse again, the enemy caught and killed him, a man who had shown himself great both in reputation and in valour. And Stotzas learned this and then died, remarking only that now it was most sweet to die. In this battle John, the Armenian, brother of Artabanes, also died, after making a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And the emperor, upon hearing this, was

very deeply grieved because of the valour of John; and thinking it inexpedient for the two generals to administer the province, he immediately recalled Sergius and sent him to Italy with an army, and gave over the whole power of Libya to Areobindus.

And two months after Sergius had departed from there, Gontharis essayed to set up a tyranny in the following manner. He himself, as it happened, was commanding the troops in Numidia and spending his time there for that reason, but he was secretly treating with the Moors that they might march against Carthage. Forthwith, therefore, an army of the enemy, having been gathered into one place from Numidia and Byzacium, went with great zeal against Carthage. And the Numidians were commanded by Coutzinas and Iaudas, and the men of Byzacium by Antalas. And with him was also John, the tyrant, and his followers; for the mutineers, after the death of Stotzas, had set him up as ruler over themselves. And when Areobindus learned of their attack, he summoned to Carthage a number of the officers with their men, and among them Gontharis. And he was joined also by Artabanes and the Armenians. Areobindus, accordingly, bade Gontharis lead the whole army against the enemy. And Gontharis, though he had promised to serve him zealously in the war, proceeded to act as follows. One of his servants, a Moor by birth and a cook by trade, he commanded to go to the enemy's camp, and to make it appear to all others that he had run away from his master, but to tell Antalas secretly that Gontharis wished to share with him the rule of Libya. So the cook carried out these directions, and Antalas heard the word gladly, but made no further reply than to say that worthy enterprises are not properly brought to pass among men by cooks. When this was heard by Gontharis, he immediately sent to Antalas one of his body-guards, Ulitheus by name, whom he had found especially trustworthy in his service, inviting him to come as close as possible to Carthage. For, if this were done, he promised him to put Areobindus out of the way. So Ulitheus without the knowledge of the rest of the barbarians made an agreement with Antalas that he, Antalas, should rule Byzacium, having half the possessions of Areobindus and taking with him fifteen hundred Roman soldiers, while Gontharis should assume the dignity of king, holding the power over Carthage and the rest of Libya. And after settling these matters he returned to the Roman camp, which they had made entirely in front of the circuit-wall, distributing among themselves the guarding of each gate. And the barbarians not long afterwards proceeded straight for Carthage in great haste, and they made camp and remained in the place called Decimum. And departing from there on the following day, they were moving forward. But some of the Roman army encountered them, and engaging with them unexpectedly, slew a small number of the Moors. But these were straightway called back by Gontharis, who rebuked them for acting with reckless daring and for being willing to give the Romans foreknowledge of the danger into which they were thrown.

But in the meantime Areobindus sent to Coutzinas secretly and began to treat with him with regard to turning traitor. And Coutzinas promised him

that, as soon as they should begin the action, he would turn against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacium. For the Moors keep faith neither with any other men nor with each other. This Areobindus reported to Gontharis. And he, wishing to frustrate the enterprise by having it postponed, advised Areobindus by no means to have faith in Coutzinas, unless he should receive from him his children as hostages. So Areobindus and Coutzinas, constantly sending secret messages to each other, were busying themselves with the plot against Antalas. And Gontharis sent Ulitheus once more and made known to Antalas what was being done. And he decided not to make any charges against Coutzinas nor did he allow him to know that he had discovered the plot, nor indeed did he disclose anything of what had been agreed upon by himself and Gontharis. But though enemies and hostile at heart to one another, they were arrayed together with treacherous intent, and each of them was marching with the other against his own particular friend. With such purposes Coutzinas and Antalas were leading the Moorish army against Carthage. And Gontharis was intending to kill Areobindus, but, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at sole power, he wished to do this secretly in battle, in order that it might seem that the plot had been made by others against the general, and that he had been compelled by the Roman army to assume command over Libya. Accordingly he circumvented Areobindus by deceit, and persuaded him to go out against the enemy and engage with them, now that they had already come close to Carthage. He decided, therefore, that on the following day he would lead the whole army against the enemy at sunrise. But Areobindus, being very inexperienced in this matter and reluctant besides, kept holding back for no good reason. For while considering how he should put on his equipment of arms and armour, and making the other preparations for the sally, he wasted the greatest part of the day. He accordingly put off the engagement to the following day and remained quiet. But Gontharis, suspecting that he had hesitated purposely, as being aware of what was being done, decided openly to accomplish the murder of the general and make his attempt at the tyranny.

And on the succeeding day he proceeded to act as follows. Opening wide the gates where he himself kept guard, he placed huge rocks under them, that no one might be able easily to shut them, and he placed armoured men with bows in their hands about the parapet in great numbers, and he himself, having put on his breastplate, took his stand between the gates. And his purpose in doing this was not that he might receive the Moors into the city; for the Moors, being altogether fickle, are suspicious of all men. And it is not unnatural that they are so; for whoever is by nature treacherous toward his neighbours is himself unable to trust anyone at all, but he is compelled to be suspicious of all men, since he estimates the character of his neighbour by his own mind. For this reason, then, Gontharis did not hope that even the Moors would trust him and come inside the circuit-wall, but he made this move in order that Areobindus, falling into great fear, might straightway rush off in flight, and, abandoning Carthage as quickly as he could, might betake himself to Byzantium. And he would have been right in his expectation had not winter come on just then and frustrated his plan. [544-545 A.D.] And Areobindus, learning what was being done, summoned Athanasius and some of the notables. And Artabanes also came to him from the camp with two others and he urged Areobindus neither to lose heart nor to give way to the daring of Gontharis, but to go against him instantly with all his men and engage him in battle, before any further trouble arose. At first, then, Areobindus sent to Gontharis one of his friends, Phredas by name, and commanded him to test the other's purpose. And when Phredas returned and reported that Gontharis by no means denied his intention of seizing the supreme power, he purposed immediately to go against him arrayed for battle.

But in the meantime Gontharis slandered Areobindus to the soldiers, saying that he was a coward and not only possessed with fear of the enemy, but at the same time quite unwilling to give them, his soldiers, their pay, and that he was planning to run away with Anastasius and that they were about to sail very soon from Mandracium, in order that the soldiers, fighting both with hunger and with the Moors, might be destroyed; and he enquired whether it was their wish to arrest both and keep them under guard. For thus he hoped either that Areobindus, perceiving the tumult, would turn to flight, or that he would be captured by the soldiers and ruthlessly put to death. Moreover he promised that he himself would advance to the soldiers money of his own, as much as the government owed them. And they were approving his words and were possessed with great wrath against Areobindus, but while this was going on Areobindus together with Artabanes and his followers came there. And a battle took place on the parapet and below about the gate where Gontharis had taken his stand, and neither side was worsted. And all were about to gather from the camps, as many as were well disposed to the emperor, and capture

the mutineers by force. For Gontharis had not as yet deceived all, but the majority remained still uncorrupted in mind. But Areobindus, seeing then for the first time the killing of men (for he had not yet, as it happened, become acquainted with this sight), was terror-stricken and, turning coward, fled, unable to endure what he saw.

Now there is a temple inside the fortifications of Carthage hard by the sea-shore, the abode of men who are very exact in their practice of religion, whom we have always been accustomed to call "monks"; this temple had been built by Solomon not long before, and he had surrounded it with a wall and rendered it a very strong fortress. And Areobindus, fleeing for refuge, rushed into the monastery, where he had already sent his wife and sister. Then Artabanes too ran away, and all the rest withdrew from Carthage as each one could. And Gontharis, having taken the city by assault, with the mutineers took possession of the palace, and was already guarding both the gates and the harbour most carefully. First, then, he summoned Athanasius, who came to him without delay, and by using much flattery Athanasius made it appear that what had been done pleased him exceedingly. And after this Gontharis sent the priest of the city and commanded Areobindus, after receiving pledges, to come to the palace, threatening that he would besiege him if he disobeyed and would not again give him pledges of safety, but would use every means to capture and put him to death. So the priest, Reparatus, stoutly declared to Areobindus that in accordance with the decision of Gontharis he would swear that no harm would come to him from Gontharis, telling also what he had threatened in case he did not obey. But Areobindus became afraid and agreed that he would follow the priest immediately, if the priest, after performing the rite of the sacred bath in the usual manner, should swear to him by that rite and then give him pledges for his safety. So the priest did according to this. And Areobindus without delay followed him, clad in a garment which was suitable neither for a general nor for any one else in military service, but altogether appropriate to a slave or one of private station; this garment the Romans call "casula" in the Latin tongue. And when they came near the palace, he took in his hands the holy scriptures from the priest, and so went before Gontharis. And falling prone he lay there a long time, holding out to him the suppliant olive-branch and the holy scriptures, and with him was the child which had been counted worthy of the sacred bath by which the priest had given him the pledge, as has been told. And when, with difficulty, Gontharis had raised him to his feet, he enquired of Gontharis in the name of all things holy whether his safety was secure. And Gontharis now bade him most positively to be of good cheer, for he would suffer no harm at his hands, but on the following day would be gone from Carthage with his wife and his possessions. Then he dismissed the priest Reparatus, and bade Areobindus and Athanasius dine with him in the palace. And during the dinner he honoured Areobindus, inviting him to take his place first on the couch; but after the dinner he did not let him go, but compelled him to sleep in a chamber

alone; and he sent there Uliheus with certain others to assail him. And while he was wailing and crying aloud again and again and speaking many entreating words to them to move them to pity, they slew him. Athanasius, however, they spared, passing him by, I suppose, on account of his advanced age.

XXVII

And on the following day Gontharis sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but decided to deprive him of the money and of the soldiers. Antalas, therefore, was outraged, because he was not carrying out anything of what had been agreed with him, and at the same time, upon considering what Gontharis had sworn and what he had done to Areobindus, he was incensed. For it did not seem to him that one who had disregarded such oaths would ever be faithful either to him or to anyone else at all. So after considering the matter long with himself, he was desirous of submitting to the Emperor Justinian; for this reason, then, he marched back. And learning that Marcentius, who commanded the troops in Byzacium, had fled to one of the islands which lie off the coast, he sent to him, and telling him the whole story and giving pledges, persuaded him by kind words to come to him. And Marcentius remained with Antalas in the camp, while the soldiers who were on duty in Byzacium, being well disposed to the emperor, were guarding the city of Hadrumetum. But the soldiers of Stotzas, being not less than a thousand, perceiving what was being done, went in great haste, with John leading them, to Gontharis; and he gladly received them into the city. Now there were five hundred Romans and about eighty Huns, while all the rest were Vandals. And Artabanes, upon receiving pledges, went up to the palace with his Armenians, and promised to serve the tyrant according to his orders. But secretly he was purposing to destroy Gontharis, having previously communicated this purpose to Gregorius, his nephew, and to Artasires, his body-guard. And Gregorius, urging him on to the undertaking, spoke as follows:

“Artabanes, the opportunity is now at hand for you, and you alone, to win the glory of Belisarius — nay more, even to surpass that glory by far. For he came here, having received from the emperor a most formidable army and great sums of money, having officers accompanying him and advisers in great numbers, and a fleet of ships whose like we have never before heard tell of, and numerous cavalry, and arms, and everything else, to put it in a word, prepared for him in a manner worthy of the Roman empire. And thus equipped he won back Libya for the Romans with much toil. But all these achievements have so completely come to naught, that they are, at this moment, as if they had never been — except indeed, that there is at present left to the Romans from the victory of Belisarius the losses they have suffered in lives and in money, and, in addition, that they are no longer able even to guard the good things they won. But the winning back of all these things for the emperor now depends upon the courage and judgment and right hand of you alone. Therefore consider that you are of the house of the Arsacidae by ancient descent, and remember that it is seemly for men of noble birth to play the part of brave men always and in all places. Now many remarkable deeds have been performed by you in behalf of freedom. For when you were still

young, you slew Acacius, the ruler of the Armenians, and Sittas, the general of the Romans, and as a result of this becoming known to the king Chosroes, you campaigned with him against the Romans. And since you have reached so great a station that it devolves upon you not to allow the Roman power to lie subject to a drunken dog, show at this time that it was by reason of noble birth and a valorous heart that at the former time, good sir, you performed those deeds; and I as well as Artasires here will assist you in everything, so far as we have the power, in accordance with your commands.”

So spoke Gregorius; and he excited the mind of Artabanes still more against the tyrant. But Gontharis, bringing out the wife and the sister of Areobindus from the fortress, compelled them to remain at a certain house, showing them no insult by any word or deed whatsoever, nor did they have provisions in any less measure than they needed, nor were they compelled to say or to do anything except, indeed, that Prejecta was forced to write to her uncle that Gontharis was honouring them exceedingly and that he was altogether guiltless of the murder of her husband, and that the base deed had been done by Ulitheus, Gontharis by no means approving. And Gontharis was persuaded to do this by Pasiphilus, a man who had been foremost among the mutineers in Byzacium, and had assisted Gontharis very greatly in his effort to establish the tyranny. For Pasiphilus maintained that, if he should do this, the emperor would marry the young woman to him, and in view of his kinship with her would give also a dowry of a large sum of money. And Gontharis commanded Artabanes to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium. For Coutzinas, having quarrelled with Antalas, had separated from him openly and allied himself with Gontharis; and he gave Gontharis his son and his mother as hostages. So the army, under the leadership of Artabanes, proceeded immediately against Antalas. And with Artabanes was John also, the commander of the mutineers of Stotzas, and Ulitheus, the body-guard of Gontharis; and there were Moors also following him, led by Coutzinas. And after passing by the city of Hadrumetum, they came upon their opponents somewhere near there, and making a camp a little apart from the enemy, they passed the night. And on the day after that John and Ulitheus, with a detachment of the army, remained there, while Artabanes and Coutzinas led their army against their opponents. And the Moors under Antalas did not withstand their attack and rushed off in flight. But Artabanes of a sudden wilfully played the coward, and turning his standard about marched off towards the rear. For this reason Ulitheus was purposing to kill him when he came into the camp. But Artabanes, by way of excusing himself, said he feared lest Marcentius, coming to assist the enemy from the city of Hadrumetum, where he then happened to be, would do his forces irreparable harm; but Gontharis, he said, ought to march against the enemy with the whole army. And at first he considered going to Hadrumetum with his followers and uniting with the emperor's forces. But after long deliberation it seemed to him better to put Gontharis out of the world and thus free both the

emperor and Libya from a difficult situation. Returning, accordingly, to Carthage, he reported to the tyrant that he would need a larger army to meet the enemy. And Gontharis, after conferring with Pasiphilus, consented, indeed, to equip his whole army, but purposed to place a guard in Carthage, and in person to lead the army against the enemy. Each day, therefore, he was destroying many men toward whom he felt any suspicion, even though groundless. And he gave orders to Pasiphilus, whom he was intending to appoint in charge of the garrison of Carthage, to kill all the Greeks without any consideration.

XXVIII

And after arranging everything else in the very best way, as it seemed to him, Gontharis decided to entertain his friends at a banquet, with the intention of making his departure on the following day. And in a room where there were in readiness three couches which had been there from ancient times, he made the banquet. So he himself reclined, as was natural, upon the first couch, where were also Athanasius and Artabanes, and some of those known to Gontharis, and Peter, a Thracian by birth, who had previously been a body-guard of Solomon. And on both the other couches were the first and noblest of the Vandals. John, however, who commanded the mutineers of Stotzas; was entertained by Pasiphilus in his own house, and each of the other leaders wherever it suited the several friends of Gontharis to entertain them. Artabanes, accordingly, when he was bidden to this banquet, thinking that this occasion furnished him a suitable opportunity for the murder of the tyrant, was planning to carry out his purpose. He therefore disclosed the matter to Gregorius and to Artasires and three other body-guards, bidding the body-guards get inside the hall with their swords (for when commanders are entertained at a banquet it is customary for their body-guards to stand behind them), and after getting inside to make an attack suddenly, at whatever moment should seem to them most suitable; and Artasires was to strike the first blow. At the same time he directed Gregorius to pick out a large number of the most daring of the Armenians and bring them to the palace, carrying only their swords in their hands (for it is not lawful for the escort of officers in a city to be armed with anything else), and leaving these men in the vestibule, to come inside with the body-guards; and he was to tell the plan to no one of them, but to make only this explanation, that he was suspicious of Gontharis, fearing that he had called Artabanes to this banquet to do him harm, and therefore wished that they should stand beside the soldiers of Gontharis who had been stationed there on guard, and giving the appearance of indulging in some play, they were to take hold of the shields which these guards carried, and waving them about and otherwise moving them keep constantly turning them up and down; and if any tumult or shouting took place within, they were to take up these very shields and come to the rescue on the run. Such were the orders which Artabanes gave, and Gregorius proceeded to put them into execution. And Artasires devised the following plan: he cut some arrows into two parts and placed them on the wrist of his left arm, the sections reaching to his elbow. And after binding them very carefully with straps, he laid over them the sleeve of his tunic. And he did this in order that, if anyone should raise his sword over him and attempt to strike him, he might avoid the chance of suffering serious injury; for he had only to thrust his left arm in front of him, and the steel would break off as it crashed upon the wood, and thus his body could not be reached at any point.

With such purpose, then, Artasires did as I have said. And to Artabanus he spoke as follows: "As for me, I have hopes that I shall prove equal to the undertaking and shall not hesitate, and also that I shall touch the body of Gontharis with this sword; but as for what will follow, I am unable to say whether God in His anger against the tyrant will co-operate with me in this daring deed, or whether, avenging some sin of mine, He will stand against me there and be an obstacle in my way. If, therefore, you see that the tyrant is not wounded in a vital spot, do you kill me with my sword without the least hesitation, so that I may not be tortured by him into saying that it was by your will that I rushed into the undertaking, and thus not only perish myself most shamefully, but also be compelled against my will to destroy you as well." And after Artasires had spoken such words he too, together with Gregorius and one of the body-guards, entered the room where the couches were and took his stand behind Artabanus. And the rest, remaining by the guards, did as they had been commanded.

So Artasires, when the banquet had only just begun, was purposing to set to work, and he was already touching the hilt of his sword. But Gregorius prevented him by saying in the Armenian tongue that Gontharis was still wholly himself, not having as yet drunk any great quantity of wine. Then Artasires groaned and said: "My good fellow, how fine a heart I have for the deed, and now you have for the moment wrongfully hindered me!" And as the drinking went on, Gontharis, who by now was thoroughly saturated with wine, began to give portions of the food to the body-guards, yielding to a generous mood. And they, upon receiving these portions, went outside the building immediately and were about to eat them, leaving beside Gontharis only three body-guards, one of whom happened to be Ulitheus. And Artasires also started to go out in order to taste the morsels with the rest. But just then a kind of fear came over him lest, when he should wish to draw his sword, something might prevent him. Accordingly, as soon as he got outside, he secretly threw away the sheath of the sword, and taking it naked under his arm, hidden by his cloak, he rushed in to Gontharis, as if to say something without the knowledge of the others. And Artabanus, seeing this, was in a fever of excitement, and became exceedingly anxious by reason of the surpassing magnitude of the issue at stake; he began to move his head, the colour of his countenance changed repeatedly, and he seemed to have become altogether like one inspired, on account of the greatness of the undertaking. And Peter, upon seeing this, understood what was being done, but he did not disclose it to any of the others, because, being well disposed to the emperor, he was exceedingly pleased by what was going on. And Artasires, having come close to the tyrant, was pushed by one of the servants, and as he retreated a little to the rear, the servant observed that his sword was bared and cried out saying: "What is this, my excellent fellow?" And Gontharis, putting his hand to his right ear, and turning his face, looked at him. And Artasires struck him with his sword as he did so, and cut off a piece of his scalp

together with his fingers. And Peter cried out and exhorted Artasires to kill the most unholy of all men. And Artabanes, seeing Gontharis leaping to his feet (for he reclined close to him), drew a two-edged dagger which hung by his thigh — a rather large one — and thrusting it into the tyrant's left side clean up to the hilt, left it there. And the tyrant none the less tried to leap up, but having received a mortal wound, he fell where he was. Ulitheus then brought his sword down upon Artasires as if to strike him over the head; but he held his left arm above his head, and thus profited by his own idea in the moment of greatest need. For since Ulitheus' sword had its edge turned when it struck the sections of arrows on his arm, he himself was unscathed, and he killed Ulitheus with no difficulty. And Peter and Artabanes, the one seizing the sword of Gontharis and the other that of Ulitheus who had fallen, killed on the spot those of the body-guards who remained. Thus there arose, as was natural, an exceedingly great tumult and confusion. And when this was perceived by those of the Armenians who were standing by the tyrant's guards, they immediately picked up the shields according to the plan which had been arranged with them, and went on the run to the banquet-room. And they slew all the Vandals and the friends of Gontharis, no one resisting.

Then Artabanes enjoined upon Athanasius to take charge of the money in the palace: for all that had been left by Areobindus was there. And when the guards learned of the death of Gontharis, straightway many arrayed themselves with the Armenians; for the most of them were of the household of Areobindus. With one accord, therefore, they proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant. And the cry, coming forth from a multitude of men, and being, therefore, an exceedingly mighty sound, was strong enough to reach the greater part of the city. Wherefore those who were well-disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and straightway killed them, some while enjoying sleep, others while taking food, and still others while they were awe-struck with fear and in terrible perplexity. And among these was Pasiphilus, but not John, for he with some of the Vandals fled to the sanctuary. To these Artabanes gave pledges, and making them rise from there, sent them to Byzantium, and having thus recovered the city for the emperor, he continued to guard it. And the murder of the tyrant took place on the thirty-sixth day of the tyranny, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. [545-546 A.D.]

And Artabanes won great fame for himself from this deed among all men. And straightway Prejecta, the wife of Areobindus, rewarded him with great sums of money, and the emperor appointed him general of all Libya. But not long after this Artabanes entreated the emperor to summon him to Byzantium, and the emperor fulfilled his request. And having summoned Artabanes, he appointed John, the brother of Pappus, sole general of Libya. And this John, immediately upon arriving in Libya, had an engagement with Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium, and conquering them in battle, slew many; and he wrested from these barbarians all the standards of Solomon, and sent them to

the emperor — standards which they had previously secured as plunder, when Solomon had been taken from the world. And the rest of the Moors he drove as far as possible from the Roman territory. But at a later time the Leuathae came again with a great army from the country about Tripolis to Byzacium, and united with the forces of Antalas. And when John went to meet this army, he was defeated in the engagement, and losing many of his men, fled to Laribus. And then indeed the enemy, overrunning the whole country there as far as Carthage, treated in a terrible manner those Libyans who fell in their way. But not long afterward John collected those of the soldiers who had survived, and drawing into alliance with him many Moors and especially those under Coutzinas, came to battle with the enemy and unexpectedly routed them. And the Romans, following them up as they fled in complete disorder, slew a great part of them, while the rest escaped to the confines of Libya. Thus it came to pass that those of the Libyans who survived, few as they were in number and exceedingly poor, at last and after great toil found some peace.

BOOK V. THE GOTHIC WAR

I

Such, then, were the fortunes of the Romans in Libya. I shall now proceed to the Gothic War, first telling all that befell the Goths and Italians before this war.

During the reign of Zeno[A] in Byzantium the power in the West was held by Augustus, whom the Romans used to call by the diminutive name Augustulus because he took over the empire while still a lad,[B] his father Orestes, a man of the greatest discretion, administering it as regent for him. Now it happened that the Romans a short time before had induced the Sciri and Alani and certain other Gothic nations to form an alliance with them; and from that time on it was their fortune to suffer at the hand of Alaric and Attila those things which have been told in the previous narrative. And in proportion as the barbarian element among them became strong, just so did the prestige of the Roman soldiers forthwith decline, and under the fair name of alliance they were more and more tyrannized over by the intruders and oppressed by them; so that the barbarians ruthlessly forced many other measures upon the Romans much against their will and finally demanded that they should divide with them the entire land of Italy. And indeed they commanded Orestes to give them the third part of this, and when he would by no means agree to do so, they killed him immediately.[C] Now there was a certain man among the Romans named Odoacer, one of the bodyguards of the emperor, and he at that time agreed to carry out their commands, on condition that they should set him upon the throne. And when he had received the supreme power in this way, [D] he did the emperor no further harm, but allowed him to live thenceforth as a private citizen. And by giving the third part of the land to the barbarians, and in this way gaining their allegiance most firmly, he held the supreme power securely for ten years.

DATES:

[A]474-491 A.D.

[B]July 31, 475 A.D.

[C]July 28, 476 A.D.

[D]July 28, 476 A.D.

It was at about this same time that the Goths also, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, took up arms against the Romans under the leadership of Theoderic, a man who was of patrician rank and had attained the consular office in Byzantium. But the Emperor Zeno, who understood how to settle to his advantage any situation in which he found himself, advised Theoderic to proceed to Italy, attack Odoacer, and win for himself and the Goths the western dominion. For it was better for him, he said, especially as he had attained the senatorial dignity, to force out a usurper

and be ruler over all the Romans and Italians than to incur the great risk of a decisive struggle with the emperor.

Now Theoderic was pleased with the suggestion and went to Italy, and he was followed by the Gothic host, who placed in their waggons the women and children and such of their chattels as they were able to take with them. And when they came near the Ionian Gulf, they were quite unable to cross over it, since they had no ships at hand; and so they made the journey around the gulf, advancing through the land of the Taulantii and the other nations of that region. Here the forces of Odoacer encountered them, but after being defeated in many battles, they shut themselves up with their leader in Ravenna and such other towns as were especially strong. [E] And the Goths laid siege to these places and captured them all, in one way or another, as it chanced in each case, except that they were unable to capture, either by surrender or by storm, the fortress of Caesena, which is three hundred stades distant from Ravenna, and Ravenna itself, where Odoacer happened to be. For this city of Ravenna lies in a level plain at the extremity of the Ionian Gulf, lacking two stades of being on the sea, and it is so situated as not to be easily approached either by ships or by a land army. Ships cannot possibly put in to shore there because the sea itself prevents them by forming shoals for not less than thirty stades; consequently the beach at Ravenna, although to the eye of mariners it is very near at hand, is in reality very far away by reason of the great extent of the shoal-water. And a land army cannot approach it at all; for the river Po, also called the Eridanus, which flows past Ravenna, coming from the boundaries of Celtica, and other navigable rivers together with some marshes, encircle it on all sides and so cause the city to be surrounded by water. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place every day. For early in the morning the sea forms a kind of river and comes up over the land for the distance of a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and becomes navigable in the midst of the mainland, and then in the late afternoon it turns back again, causing the inlet to disappear, and gathers the stream to itself. All those, therefore, who have to convey provisions into the city or carry them out from there for trade or for any other reason, place their cargoes in boats, and drawing them down to the place where the inlet is regularly formed, they await the inflow of the water. And when this comes, the boats are lifted little by little from the ground and float, and the sailors on them set to work and from that time on are seafaring men. And this is not the only place where this happens, but it is the regular occurrence along the whole coast in this region as far as the city of Aquileia. However, it does not always take place in the same way at every time, but when the light of the moon is faint, the advance of the sea is not strong either, but from the first half-moon until the second the inflow has a tendency to be greater. So much for this matter.

DATES:

[E] 489 A.D.

But when the third year had already been spent by the Goths and Theoderic in their siege of Ravenna, the Goths, who were weary of the siege, and the followers of Odoacer, who were hard pressed by the lack of provisions, came to an agreement with each other through the mediation of the priest of Ravenna, the understanding being that both Theoderic and Odoacer should reside in Ravenna on terms of complete equality. And for some time they observed the agreement; but afterward Theoderic caught Odoacer, as they say, plotting against him, and bidding him to a feast with treacherous intent slew him, and in this way, after gaining the adherence of such of the hostile barbarians as chanced to survive, he himself secured the supremacy over both Goths and Italians. And though he did not claim the right to assume either the garb or the name of emperor of the Romans, but was called “rex” to the end of his life (for thus the barbarians are accustomed to call their leaders), still, in governing his own subjects, he invested himself with all the qualities which appropriately belong to one who is by birth an emperor. For he was exceedingly careful to observe justice, he preserved the laws on a sure basis, he protected the land and kept it safe from the barbarians dwelling round about, and attained the highest possible degree of wisdom and manliness. And he himself committed scarcely a single act of injustice against his subjects, nor would he brook such conduct on the part of anyone else who attempted it, except, indeed, that the Goths distributed among themselves the portion of the lands which Odoacer had given to his own partisans. And although in name Theoderic was a usurper, yet in fact he was as truly an emperor as any who have distinguished themselves in this office from the beginning; and love for him among both Goths and Italians grew to be great, and that too contrary to the ordinary habits of men. For in all states men’s preferences are divergent, with the result that the government in power pleases for the moment only those with whom its acts find favour, but offends those whose judgment it violates. But Theoderic reigned for thirty-seven years, and when he died, he had not only made himself an object of terror to all his enemies, but he also left to his subjects a keen sense of bereavement at his loss. And he died in the following manner.[F]

DATE:

[F] 526 A.D.

Symmachus and his son-in-law Boetius were men of noble and ancient lineage, and both had been leading men in the Roman senate and had been consuls. But because they practised philosophy and were mindful of justice in a manner surpassed by no other men, relieving the destitution of both citizens and strangers by generous gifts of money, they attained great fame and thus led men of the basest sort to envy them. Now such persons slandered them to Theoderic, and he, believing their slanders, put these two men to death, on the ground that they were setting about a revolution, and made their property confiscate to the public treasury. And a few days later, while he was dining,

the servants set before him the head of a great fish. This seemed to Theoderic to be the head of Symmachus newly slain. Indeed, with its teeth set in its lower lip and its eyes looking at him with a grim and insane stare, it did resemble exceedingly a person threatening him. And becoming greatly frightened at the extraordinary prodigy and shivering excessively, he retired running to his own chamber, and bidding them place many covers upon him, remained quiet. But afterwards he disclosed to his physician Elpidius all that had happened and wept for the wrong he had done Symmachus and Boetius. Then, having lamented and grieved exceedingly over the unfortunate occurrence, he died not long afterward. This was the first and last act of injustice which he committed toward his subjects, and the cause of it was that he had not made a thorough investigation, as he was accustomed to do, before passing judgment on the two men.

II

After his death[G] the kingdom was taken over by Atalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter; he had reached the age of eight years and was being reared under the care of his mother Amalasuntha. For his father had already departed from among men. And not long afterward Justinian succeeded to the imperial power in Byzantium. [H]Now Amalasuntha, as guardian of her child, administered the government, and she proved to be endowed with wisdom and regard for justice in the highest degree, displaying to a great extent the masculine temper. As long as she stood at the head of the government she inflicted punishment upon no Roman in any case either by touching his person or by imposing a fine. Furthermore, she did not give way to the Goths in their mad desire to wrong them, but she even restored to the children of Symmachus and Boetius their fathers' estates. Now Amalasuntha wished to make her son resemble the Roman princes in his manner of life, and was already compelling him to attend the school of a teacher of letters. And she chose out three among the old men of the Goths whom she knew to be prudent and refined above all the others, and bade them live with Atalaric. But the Goths were by no means pleased with this. For because of their eagerness to wrong their subjects they wished to be ruled by him more after the barbarian fashion. On one occasion the mother, finding the boy doing some wrong in his chamber, chastised him; and he in tears went off thence to the men's apartments. And some Goths who met him made a great to-do about this, and reviling Amalasuntha insisted that she wished to put the boy out of the world as quickly as possible, in order that she might marry a second husband and with him rule over the Goths and Italians. And all the notable men among them gathered together, and coming before Amalasuntha made the charge that their king was not being educated correctly from their point of view nor to his own advantage. For letters, they said, are far removed from manliness, and the teaching of old men results for the most part in a cowardly and submissive spirit. Therefore the man who is to shew daring in any work and be great in renown ought to be freed from the timidity which teachers inspire and to take his training in arms. They added that even Theoderic would never allow any of the Goths to send their children to school; for he used to say to them all that, if the fear of the strap once came over them, they would never have the resolution to despise sword or spear. And they asked her to reflect that her father Theoderic before he died had become master of all this territory and had invested himself with a kingdom which was his by no sort of right, although he had not so much as heard of letters. "Therefore, O Queen," they said, "have done with these tutors now, and do you give to Atalaric some men of his own age to be his companions, who will pass through the period of youth with him and thus give him an impulse toward that excellence which is in keeping with the custom of barbarians."

DATES:

[G]526 A.D.

[H]527 A.D.

When Amalasuntha heard this, although she did not approve, yet because she feared the plotting of these men, she made it appear that their words found favour with her, and granted everything the barbarians desired of her. And when the old men had left Atalaric, he was given the company of some boys who were to share his daily life, — lads who had not yet come of age but were only a little in advance of him in years; and these boys, as soon as he came of age, by enticing him to drunkenness and to intercourse with women, made him an exceptionally depraved youth, and of such stupid folly that he was disinclined to follow his mother's advice. Consequently he utterly refused to champion her cause, although the barbarians were by now openly leaguering together against her; for they were boldly commanding the woman to withdraw from the palace. But Amalasuntha neither became frightened at the plotting of the Goths nor did she, womanlike, weakly give way, but still displaying the dignity befitting a queen, she chose out three men who were the most notable among the barbarians and at the same time the most responsible for the sedition against her, and bade them go to the limits of Italy, not together, however, but as far apart as possible from one another; but it was made to appear that they were being sent in order to guard the land against the enemy's attack. But nevertheless these men by the help of their friends and relations, who were all still in communication with them, even travelling a long journey for the purpose, continued to make ready the details of their plot against Amalasuntha.

And the woman, being unable to endure these things any longer, devised the following plan. Sending to Byzantium she enquired of the Emperor Justinian whether it was his wish that Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theoderic, should come to him; for she wished to depart from Italy as quickly as possible. And the emperor, being pleased by the suggestion, bade her come and sent orders that the finest of the houses in Epidamnus should be put in readiness, in order that when Amalasuntha should come there, she might lodge in it and after spending such time there as she wished might then betake herself to Byzantium. When Amalasuntha learned this, she chose out certain Goths who were energetic men and especially devoted to her and sent them to kill the three whom I have just mentioned, as having been chiefly responsible for the sedition against her. And she herself placed all her possessions, including four hundred centenaria of gold, in a single ship and embarked on it some of those most faithful to her and bade them sail to Epidamnus, and, upon arriving there, to anchor in its harbour, but to discharge from the ship nothing whatever of its cargo until she herself should send orders. And she did this in order that, if she should learn that the three men had been destroyed, she might remain there and summon the ship back, having no further fear from

her enemies; but if it should chance that any one of them was left alive, no good hope being left her, she purposed to sail with all speed and find safety for herself and her possessions in the emperor's land. Such was the purpose with which Amalasuntha was sending the ship to Epidamnus; and when it arrived at the harbour of that city, those who had the money carried out her orders. But a little later, when the murders had been accomplished as she wished, Amalasuntha summoned the ship back and remaining at Ravenna strengthened her rule and made it as secure as might be.

III

There was among the Goths one Theodatus by name, son of Amalafrida, the sister of Theoderic, a man already of mature years, versed in the Latin literature and the teachings of Plato, but without any experience whatever in war and taking no part in active life, and yet extraordinarily devoted to the pursuit of money. This Theodatus had gained possession of most of the lands in Tuscany, and he was eager by violent methods to wrest the remainder from their owners. For to have a neighbour seemed to Theodatus a kind of misfortune. Now Amalasuntha was exerting herself to curb this desire of his, and consequently he was always vexed with her and resentful. He formed the plan, therefore, of handing over Tuscany to the Emperor Justinian, in order that, upon receiving from him a great sum of money and the senatorial dignity, he might pass the rest of his life in Byzantium. After Theodatus had formed this plan, there came from Byzantium to the chief priest of Rome two envoys, Hypatius, the priest of Ephesus, and Demetrius, from Philippi in Macedonia, to confer about a tenet of faith, which is a subject of disagreement and controversy among the Christians. As for the points in dispute, although I know them well, I shall by no means make mention of them; for I consider it a sort of insane folly to investigate the nature of God, enquiring of what sort it is. For man cannot, I think, apprehend even human affairs with accuracy, much less those things which pertain to the nature of God. As for me, therefore, I shall maintain a discreet silence concerning these matters, with the sole object that old and venerable beliefs may not be discredited. For I, for my part, will say nothing whatever about God save that He is altogether good and has all things in His power. But let each one say whatever he thinks he knows about these matters, both priest and layman. As for Theodatus, he met these envoys secretly and directed them to report to the Emperor Justinian what he had planned, explaining what has just been set forth by me.

But at this juncture Atalaric, having plunged into a drunken revel which passed all bounds, was seized with a wasting disease. Wherefore Amalasuntha was in great perplexity; for, on the one hand, she had no confidence in the loyalty of her son, now that he had gone so far in his depravity, and, on the other, she thought that if Atalaric also should be removed from among men, her life would not be safe thereafter, since she had given offence to the most notable of the Goths. For this reason she was desirous of handing over the power of the Goths and Italians to the Emperor Justinian, in order that she herself might be saved. And it happened that Alexander, a man of the senate, together with Demetrius and Hypatius, had come to Ravenna. For when the emperor had heard that Amalasuntha's boat was anchored in the harbour of Epidamnus, but that she herself was still tarrying, although much time had passed, he had sent Alexander to investigate and report to him the whole situation with regard to Amalasuntha; but it was given out that the emperor

had sent Alexander as an envoy to her because he was greatly disturbed by the events at Lilybaeum which have been set forth by me in the preceding narrative, and because ten Huns from the army in Libya had taken flight and reached Campania, and Uliaris, who was guarding Naples, had received them not at all against the will of Amalasuntha, and also because the Goths, in making war on the Gepaedes about Sirmium, had treated the city of Gratiana, situated at the extremity of Illyricum, as a hostile town. So by way of protesting to Amalasuntha with regard to these things, he wrote a letter and sent Alexander.

And when Alexander arrived in Rome, he left there the priests busied with the matters for which they had come, and he himself, journeying on to Ravenna and coming before Amalasuntha, reported the emperor's message secretly, and openly delivered the letter to her. And the purport of the writing was as follows: "The fortress of Lilybaeum, which is ours, you have taken by force and are now holding, and barbarians, slaves of mine who have run away, you have received and have not even yet decided to restore them to me, and besides all this you have treated outrageously my city of Gratiana, though it belongs to you in no way whatever. Wherefore it is time for you to consider what the end of these things will some day be." And when this letter had been delivered to her and she had read it, she replied in the following words: "One may reasonably expect an emperor who is great and lays claim to virtue to assist an orphan child who does not in the least comprehend what is being done, rather than for no cause at all to quarrel with him. For unless a struggle be waged on even terms, even the victory it gains brings no honour. But thou dost threaten Atalaric on account of Lilybaeum, and ten runaways, and a mistake, made by soldiers in going against their enemies, which through some misapprehension chanced to affect a friendly city. Nay! do not thus; do not thou thus, O Emperor, but call to mind that when them wast making war upon the Vandals, we not only refrained from hindering thee, but quite zealously even gave thee free passage against the enemy and provided a market in which to buy the indispensable supplies, furnishing especially the multitude of horses to which thy final mastery over the enemy was chiefly due. And yet it is not merely the man who offers an alliance of arms to his neighbours that would in justice be called their ally and friend, but also the man who actually is found assisting another in war in regard to his every need. And consider that at that time thy fleet had no other place at which to put in from the sea except Sicily, and that without the supplies bought there it could not go on to Libya. Therefore thou art indebted to us for the chief cause of thy victory; for the one who provides a solution for a difficult situation is justly entitled also to the credit for the results which flow from his help. And what could be sweeter for a man, O Emperor, than gaining the mastery over his enemies? And yet in our case the outcome is that we suffer no slight disadvantage, in that we do not, in accordance with the custom of war, enjoy our share of the spoils. And now thou art also claiming the right to despoil us of Lilybaeum in

Sicily, which has belonged to the Goths from ancient times, a lone rock, O Emperor, worth not so much as a piece of silver, which, had it happened to belong to thy kingdom from ancient times, thou mightest in equity at least have granted to Atalaric as a reward for his services, since he lent thee assistance in the times of thy most pressing necessity.” Such was the message which Amalasuntha wrote openly to the emperor; but secretly she agreed to put the whole of Italy into his hands. And the envoys, returning to Byzantium, reported everything to the Emperor Justinian, Alexander telling him the course which had been decided upon by Amalasuntha, and Demetrius and Hypatius all that they had heard Theodatus say, adding that Theodatus enjoyed great power in Tuscany, where he had become owner of the most of the land and consequently would be able with no trouble at all to carry his agreement into effect. And the emperor, overjoyed at this situation, immediately sent to Italy Peter, an Illyrian by birth, but a citizen of Thessalonica, a man who was one of the trained speakers in Byzantium, a discreet and gentle person withal and fitted by nature to persuade men.

IV

But while these things were going on as I have explained, Theodatus was denounced before Amalasuntha by many Tuscans, who stated that he had done violence to all the people of Tuscany and had without cause seized their estates, taking not only all private estates but especially those belonging to the royal household, which the Romans are accustomed to call "patrimonium." For this reason the woman called Theodatus to an investigation, and when, being confronted by his denouncers, he had been proved guilty without any question, she compelled him to pay back everything which he had wrongfully seized and then dismissed him. And since in this way she had given the greatest offence to the man, from that time she was on hostile terms with him, exceedingly vexed as he was by reason of his fondness for money, because he was unable to continue his unlawful and violent practices.

At about this same time[I] Atalaric, being quite wasted away by the disease, came to his end, having lived eight years in office. As for Amalasuntha, since it was fated that she should fare ill, she took no account of the nature of Theodatus and of what she had recently done to him, and supposed that she would suffer no unpleasant treatment at his hands if she should do the man some rather unusual favour. She accordingly summoned him, and when he came, set out to cajole him, saying that for some time she had known well that it was to be expected that her son would soon die; for she had heard the opinion of all the physicians, who agreed in their judgment, and had herself perceived that the body of Atalaric continued to waste away. And since she saw that both Goths and Italians had an unfavourable opinion regarding Theodatus, who had now come to represent the race of Theoderic, she had conceived the desire to clear him of this evil name, in order that it might not stand in his way if he were called to the throne. But at the same time, she explained, the question of justice disturbed her, at the thought that those who claimed to have been wronged by him already should find that they had no one to whom they might report what had befallen them, but that they now had their enemy as their master. For these reasons, then, although she invited him to the throne after his name should have been cleared in this way, yet it was necessary, she said, that he should be bound by the most solemn oaths that while the title of the office should be conferred upon Theodatus, she herself should in fact hold the power no less than before. When Theodatus heard this, although he swore to all the conditions which Amalasuntha wished, he entered into the agreement with treacherous intent, remembering all that she had previously done to him. Thus Amalasuntha, being deceived by her own judgment and the oaths of Theodatus, established him in the office. And sending some Goths as envoys to Byzantium, she made this known to the Emperor Justinian.

DATE:

[I]Oct. 10, 534 A.D.

But Theodatus, upon receiving the supreme power, began to act in all things contrary to the hopes she had entertained and to the promises he had made. And after winning the adherence of the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her — and they were both numerous and men of very high standing among the Goths — he suddenly put to death some of the connections of Amalasuntha and imprisoned her, the envoys not having as yet reached Byzantium. Now there is a certain lake in Tuscany called Vulsina, within which rises an island, exceedingly small but having a strong fortress upon it. There Theodatus confined Amalasuntha and kept her under guard.[J] But fearing that by this act he had given offence to the emperor, as actually proved to be the case, he sent some men of the Roman senate, Liberius and Opilio and certain others, directing them to excuse his conduct to the emperor with all their power by assuring him that Amalasuntha had met with no harsh treatment at his hands, although she had perpetrated irreparable outrages upon him before. And he himself wrote in this sense to the emperor, and also compelled Amalasuntha, much against her will, to write the same thing.

DATE:

[J]Apr. 30, 535 A.D.

Such was the course of these events. But Peter had already been despatched by the emperor on an embassy to Italy with instructions to meet Theodatus without the knowledge of any others, and after Theodatus had given pledges by an oath that none of their dealings should be divulged, he was then to make a secure settlement with him regarding Tuscany; and meeting Amalasuntha stealthily he was to make such an arrangement with her regarding the whole of Italy as would be to the profit of either party. But openly his mission was to negotiate with regard to Lilybaeum and the other matters which I have lately mentioned. For as yet the emperor had heard nothing about the death of Atalaric or the succession of Theodatus to the throne, or the fate which had befallen Amalasuntha. And Peter was already on his way when he met the envoys of Amalasuntha and learned, in the first place, that Theodatus had come to the throne; and a little later, upon reaching the city of Aulon, which lies on the Ionian Gulf, he met there the company of Liberius and Opilio, and learned everything which had taken place, and reporting this to the emperor he remained there.

And when the Emperor Justinian heard these things, he formed the purpose of throwing the Goths and Theodatus into confusion; accordingly he wrote a letter to Amalasuntha, stating that he was eager to give her every possible support, and at the same time he directed Peter by no means to conceal this message, but to make it known to Theodatus himself and to all the Goths. And when the envoys from Italy arrived in Byzantium, they all, with a single

exception, reported the whole matter to the emperor, and especially Liberius; for he was a man unusually upright and honourable, and one who knew well how to shew regard for the truth; but Opilio alone declared with the greatest persistence that Theodatus had committed no offence against Amalasuntha. Now when Peter arrived in Italy, it so happened that Amalasuntha had been removed from among men. For the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her came before Theodatus declaring that neither his life nor theirs was secure unless Amalasuntha should be put out of their way as quickly as possible. And as soon as he gave in to them, they went to the island and killed Amalasuntha, — an act which grieved exceedingly all the Italians and the Goths as well. For the woman had the strictest regard for every kind of virtue, as has been stated by me a little earlier. Now Peter protested openly to Theodatus and the other Goths that because this base deed had been committed by them, there would be war without truce between the emperor and themselves. But Theodatus, such was his stupid folly, while still holding the slayers of Amalasuntha in honour and favour kept trying to persuade Peter and the emperor that this unholy deed had been committed by the Goths by no means with his approval, but decidedly against his will.

Meanwhile it happened that Belisarius had distinguished himself by the defeat of Gelimer and the Vandals. And the emperor, upon learning what had befallen Amalasuntha, immediately entered upon the war, being in the ninth year of his reign. And he first commanded Mundus, the general of Illyricum, to go to Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and make trial of Salones. Now Mundus was by birth a barbarian, but exceedingly loyal to the cause of the emperor and an able warrior. Then he sent Belisarius by sea with four thousand soldiers from the regular troops and the *foederati*, and about three thousand of the Isaurians. And the commanders were men of note: Constantinus and Bessas from the land of Thrace, and Peranius from Iberia which is hard by Media, a man who was by birth a member of the royal family of the Iberians, but had before this time come as a deserter to the Romans through enmity toward the Persians; and the levies of cavalry were commanded by Valentinus, Magnus, and Innocentius, and the infantry by Herodian, Paulus, Demetrius, and Ursicinus, while the leader of the Isaurians was Ennes. And there were also two hundred Huns as allies and three hundred Moors. But the general in supreme command over all was Belisarius, and he had with him many notable men as spearmen and guards. And he was accompanied also by Photius, the son of his wife Antonina by a previous marriage; he was still a young man wearing his first beard, but possessed the greatest discretion and shewed a strength of character beyond his years. And the emperor instructed Belisarius to give out that his destination was Carthage, but as soon as they should arrive at Sicily, they were to disembark there as it obliged for some reason to do so, and make trial of the island. And if it should be possible to reduce it to subjection without any trouble, they were to take possession and not let it go again; but if they should meet with any obstacle, they were to sail with all speed to Libya, giving no one an opportunity to perceive what their intention was.

And he also sent a letter to the leaders of the Franks as follows: "The Goths, having seized by violence Italy, which was ours, have not only refused absolutely to give it back, but have committed further acts of injustice against us which are unendurable and pass beyond all bounds. For this reason we have been compelled to take the field against them, and it is proper that you should join with us in waging this war, which is rendered yours as well as ours not only by the orthodox faith, which rejects the opinion of the Arians, but also by the enmity we both feel toward the Goths." Such was the emperor's letter; and making a gift of money to them, he agreed to give more as soon as they should take an active part. And they with all zeal promised to fight in alliance with him.

Now Mundus and the army under his command entered Dalmatia, and engaging with the Goths who encountered them there, defeated them in the

battle and took possession of Salones. As for Belisarius, he put in at Sicily and took Catana. And making that place his base of operations, he took over Syracuse and the other cities by surrender without any trouble; except, indeed, that the Goths who were keeping guard in Panormus, having confidence in the fortifications of the place, which was a strong one, were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius and ordered him to lead his army away from there with all speed. But Belisarius, considering that it was impossible to capture the place from the landward side, ordered the fleet to sail into the harbour, which extended right up to the wall. For it was outside the circuit-wall and entirely without defenders. Now when the ships had anchored there, it was seen that the masts were higher than the parapet. Straightway, therefore, he filled all the small boats of the ships with bowmen and hoisted them to the tops of the masts. And when from these boats the enemy were shot at from above, they fell into such an irresistible fear that they immediately delivered Panormus to Belisarius by surrender. As a result of this the emperor held all Sicily subject and tributary to himself. And at that time it so happened that there fell to Belisarius a piece of good fortune beyond the power of words to describe. For, having received the dignity of the consulship because of his victory over the Vandals, while he was still holding this honour, and after he had won the whole of Sicily, on the last day of his consulship,[K] he marched into Syracuse, loudly applauded by the army and by the Sicilians and throwing golden coins to all. This coincidence, however, was not intentionally arranged by him, but it was a happy chance which befell the man, that after having recovered the whole of the island for the Romans he marched into Syracuse on that particular day; and so it was not in the senate house in Byzantium, as was customary, but there that he laid down the office of the consuls and so became an ex-consul. Thus, then, did good fortune attend Belisarius.

DATE:

[K]Dec. 31, 535 A.D.

VI

And when Peter learned of the conquest of Sicily, he was still more insistent in his efforts to frighten Theodatus and would not let him go. But he, turning coward and reduced to speechlessness no less than if he himself had become a captive with Gelimer, entered into negotiations with Peter without the knowledge of any others, and between them they formed an agreement, providing that Theodatus should retire from all Sicily in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and should send him also a golden crown every year weighing three hundred litrae, and Gothic warriors to the number of three thousand whenever he should wish; and that Theodatus himself should have no authority to kill any priest or senator, or to confiscate his property for the public treasury except by the decision of the emperor; and that if Theodatus wished to advance any of his subjects to the patrician or some other senatorial rank this honour should not be bestowed by him, but he should ask the emperor to bestow it; and that the Roman populace, in acclaiming their sovereign, should always shout the name of the emperor first, and afterward that of Theodatus, both in the theatres and in the hippodromes and wherever else it should be necessary for such a thing to be done; furthermore, that no statue of bronze nor of any other material should ever be set up to Theodatus alone, but statues must always be made for both, and they must stand thus: on the right that of the emperor, and on the other side that of Theodatus. And after Theodatus had written in confirmation of this agreement he dismissed the ambassador.

But, a little later, terror laid hold upon the man's soul and brought him into fears which knew no bound and tortured his mind, filling him with dread at the name of war, and reminding him that if the agreement drawn up by Peter and himself did not please the emperor at all, war would straightway come upon him. Once more, therefore, he summoned Peter, who had already reached Albani, for a secret conference, and enquired of the man whether he thought that the agreement would be pleasing to the emperor. And he replied that he supposed it would. "But if," said Theodatus, "these things do not please the man at all, what will happen then?" And Peter replied "After that you will have to wage war, most noble Sir." "But what is this," he said; "is it just, my dear ambassador?" And Peter, immediately taking him up, said "And how is it not just, my good Sir, that the pursuits appropriate to each man's nature should be preserved?" "What, pray, may this mean?" asked Theodatus. "It means," was the reply, "that your great interest is to philosophize, while Justinian's is to be a worthy emperor of the Romans. And there is this difference, that for one who has practised philosophy it would never be seemly to bring about the death of men, especially in such great numbers, and it should be added that this view accords with the teachings of Plato, which you have evidently espoused, and hence it is unholy for you not to be free

from all bloodshed; but for him it is not at all inappropriate to seek to acquire a land which has belonged from of old to the realm which is his own.” Thereupon Theodatus, being convinced by this advice, agreed to retire from the kingship in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and both he and his wife took an oath to this effect. He then bound Peter by oaths that he would not divulge this agreement until he should see that the emperor would not accept the former convention. And he sent with him Rusticus, a priest who was especially devoted to him and a Roman citizen, to negotiate on the basis of this agreement. And he also entrusted a letter to these men.

So Peter and Rusticus, upon reaching Byzantium, reported the first decision to the emperor, just as Theodatus had directed them to do. But when the emperor was quite unwilling to accept the proposal, they revealed the plan which had been committed to writing afterwards. This was to the following effect: “I am no stranger to royal courts, but it was my fortune to have been born in the house of my uncle while he was king and to have been reared in a manner worthy of my race; and yet I have had little experience of wars and of the turmoils which wars entail. For since from my earliest years I have been passionately addicted to scholarly disputations and have always devoted my time to this sort of thing, I have consequently been up to the present time very far removed from the confusion of battles. Therefore it is utterly absurd that I should aspire to the honours which royalty confers and thus lead a life fraught with danger, when it is possible for me to avoid them both. For neither one of these is a pleasure to me; the first, because it is liable to satiety, for it is a surfeit of all sweet things, and the second, because lack of familiarity with such a life throws one into confusion. But as for me, if estates should be provided me which yielded an annual income of no less than twelve centenaria, I should regard the kingdom as of less account than them, and I shall hand over to thee forthwith the power of the Goths and Italians. For I should find more pleasure in being a farmer free from all cares than in passing my life amid a king’s anxieties, attended as they are by danger after danger. Pray send a man as quickly as possible into whose hands I may fittingly deliver Italy and the affairs of the kingdom.”

Such was the purport of the letter of Theodatus. And the emperor, being exceedingly pleased, replied as follows: “From of old have I heard by report that you were a man of discretion, but now, taught by experience, I know it by the decision you have reached not to await the issue of the war. For certain men who in the past have followed such a course have been completely undone. And you will never repent having made us friends instead of enemies. But you will not only have this that you ask at our hands, but you will also have the distinction of being enrolled in the highest honours of the Romans. Now for the present I have sent Athanasius and Peter, so that each party may have surety by some agreement. And almost immediately Belisarius also will visit you to complete all the arrangements which have been agreed upon between us.” After writing this the emperor sent Athanasius, the brother of

Alexander, who had previously gone on an embassy to Atalaric, as has been said, and for the second time Peter the orator, whom I have mentioned above, enjoining upon them to assign to Theodatus the estates of the royal household, which they call “patrimonium”; and not until after they had drawn up a written document and had secured oaths to fortify the agreement were they to summon Belisarius from Sicily, in order that he might take over the palace and all Italy and hold them under guard. And he wrote to Belisarius that as soon as they should summon him he should go thither with all speed.

VII

But meantime, while the emperor was engaged in these negotiations and these envoys were travelling to Italy, the Goths, under command of Asinarius and Gripas and some others, had come with a great army into Dalmatia. And when they had reached the neighbourhood of Salones, Mauricius, the son of Mundus, who was not marching out for battle but, with a few men, was on a scouting expedition, encountered them. A violent engagement ensued in which the Goths lost their foremost and noblest men, but the Romans almost their whole company, including their general Mauricius. And when Mundus heard of this, being overcome with grief at the misfortune and by this time dominated by a mighty fury, he went against the enemy without the least delay and regardless of order. The battle which took place was stubbornly contested, and the result was a Cadmean victory for the Romans. For although the most of the enemy fell there and their rout had been decisive, Mundus, who went on killing and following up the enemy wherever he chanced to find them and was quite unable to restrain his mind because of the misfortune of his son, was wounded by some fugitive or other and fell. Thereupon the pursuit ended and the two armies separated. And at that time the Romans recalled the verse of the Sibyl, which had been pronounced in earlier times and seemed to them a portent. For the words of the saying were that when Africa should be held, the "world" would perish together with its offspring. This, however, was not the real meaning of the oracle, but after intimating that Libya would be once more subject to the Romans, it added this statement also, that when that time came Mundus would perish together with his son. For it runs as follows: "Africa capta Mundus cum nato peribit." But since "mundus" in the Latin tongue has the force of "world," they thought that the saying had reference to the world. So much, then, for this. As for Salones, it was not entered by anyone. For the Romans went back home, since they were left altogether without a commander, and the Goths, seeing that not one of their nobles was left them, fell into fear and took possession of the strongholds in the neighbourhood; for they had no confidence in the defences of Salones, and, besides, the Romans who lived there were not very well disposed towards them.

When Theodatus heard this, he took no account of the envoys who by now had come to him. For he was by nature much given to distrust, and he by no means kept his mind steadfast, but the present fortune always reduced him now to a state of terror which knew no measure, and this contrary to reason and the proper understanding of the situation, and again brought him to the opposite extreme of unspeakable boldness. And so at that time, when he heard of the death of Mundus and Mauricius, he was lifted up exceedingly and in a manner altogether unjustified by what had happened, and he saw fit to taunt the envoys when they at length appeared before him. And when Peter on one

occasion remonstrated with him because he had transgressed his agreement with the emperor, Theodatus called both of them publicly and spoke as follows: "The position of envoys is a proud one and in general has come to be held in honour among all men; but envoys preserve for themselves these their prerogatives only so long as they guard the dignity of their embassy by the propriety of their own conduct. For men have sanctioned as just the killing of an envoy whenever he is either found to have insulted a sovereign or has had knowledge of a woman who is the wife of another." Such were the words with which Theodatus inveighed against Peter, not because he had approached a woman, but, apparently, in order to make good his claim that there were charges which might lead to the death of an ambassador. But the envoys replied as follows: "The facts are not, O Ruler of the Goths, as thou hast stated them, nor canst thou, under cover of flimsy pretexts, wantonly perpetrate unholy deeds upon men who are envoys. For it is not possible for an ambassador, even if he wishes it, to become an adulterer, since it is not easy for him even to partake of water except by the will of those who guard him. And as for the proposals which he has received from the lips of him who has sent him and then delivers, he himself cannot reasonably incur the blame which arises from them, in case they be not good, but he who has given the command would justly bear this charge, while the sole responsibility of the ambassador is to have discharged his mission. We, therefore, shall say all that we were instructed by the emperor to say when we were sent, and do thou hear us quietly; for if thou art stirred to excitement, all thou canst do will be to wrong men who are ambassadors. It is time, therefore, for thee of thine own free will to perform all that thou didst promise the emperor. This, indeed, is the purpose for which we have come. And the letter which he wrote to thee thou hast already received, but as for the writing which he sent to the foremost of the Goths, to no others shall we give it than to them." When the leading men of the barbarians, who were present, heard this speech of the envoys, they bade them give to Theodatus what had been written to them. And it ran as follows: "It has been the object of our care to receive you back into our state, whereat you may well be pleased. For you will come to us, not in order to be made of less consequence, but that you may be more honoured. And, besides, we are not bidding the Goths enter into strange or alien customs, but into those of a people with whom you were once familiar, though you have by chance been separated from them for a season. For these reasons Athanasius and Peter have been sent to you, and you ought to assist them in all things." Such was the purport of this letter. But after Theodatus had read everything, he not only decided not to perform in deed the promises he had made to the emperor, but also put the envoys under a strict guard.

But when the Emperor Justinian heard these things and what had taken place in Dalmatia, he sent Constantianus, who commanded the royal grooms, into Illyricum, bidding him gather an army from there and make an attempt on Salones, in whatever manner he might be able; and he commanded Belisarius

to enter Italy with all speed and to treat the Goths as enemies. So Constantianus came to Epidamnus and spent some time there gathering an army. But in the meantime the Goths, under the leadership of Gripas, came with another army into Dalmatia and took possession of Salones; and Constantianus, when all his preparations were as complete as possible, departed from Epidamnus with his whole force and cast anchor at Epidaurus which is on the right as one sails into the Ionian Gulf. Now it so happened that some men were there whom Gripas had sent out as spies. And when they took note of the ships and the army of Constantianus it seemed to them that both the sea and the whole land were full of soldiers, and returning to Gripas they declared that Constantianus was bringing against them an army of men numbering many tens of thousands. And he, being plunged into great fear, thought it inexpedient to meet their attack, and at the same time he was quite unwilling to be besieged by the emperor's army, since it so completely commanded the sea; but he was disturbed most of all by the fortifications of Salones (since the greater part of them had already fallen down), and by the exceedingly suspicious attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the place toward the Goths. And for this reason he departed thence with his whole army as quickly as possible and made camp in the plain which is between Salones and the city of Scardon. And Constantianus, sailing with all his ships from Epidaurus, put in at Lysina, which is an island in the gulf. Thence he sent forward some of his men, in order that they might make enquiry concerning the plans of Gripas and report them to him. Then, after learning from them the whole situation, he sailed straight for Salones with all speed. And when he had put in at a place close to the city, he disembarked his army on the mainland and himself remained quiet there; but he selected five hundred from the army, and setting over them as commander Siphilas, one of his own bodyguards, he commanded them to seize the narrow pass which, as he had been informed, was in the outskirts of the city. And this Siphilas did. And Constantianus and his whole land army entered Salones on the following day, and the fleet anchored close by. Then Constantianus proceeded to look after the fortifications of the city, building up in haste all such parts of them as had fallen down; and Gripas, with the Gothic army, on the seventh day after the Romans had taken possession of Salones, departed from there and betook themselves to Ravenna; and thus Constantianus gained possession of all Dalmatia and Liburnia, bringing over to his side all the Goths who were settled there. Such were the events in Dalmatia. And the winter drew to a close, and thus ended the first year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

VIII

And Belisarius, leaving guards in Syracuse and Panormus, crossed with the rest of the army from Messana to Rhegium (where the myths of the poets say Scylla and Charybdis were), and every day the people of that region kept coming over to him. For since their towns had from of old been without walls, they had no means at all of guarding them, and because of their hostility toward the Goths they were, as was natural, greatly dissatisfied with their present government. And Ebrimous came over to Belisarius as a deserter from the Goths, together with all his followers; this man was the son-in-law of Theodatus, being married to Theodenanthe, his daughter. And he was straightway sent to the emperor and received many gifts of honour and in particular attained the patrician dignity. And the army of Belisarius marched from Rhegium through Bruttium and Lucania, and the fleet of ships accompanied it, sailing close to the mainland. But when they reached Campania, they came upon a city on the sea, Naples by name, which was strong not only because of the nature of its site, but also because it contained a numerous garrison of Goths. And Belisarius commanded the ships to anchor in the harbour, which was beyond the range of missiles, while he himself made his camp near the city. He then first took possession by surrender of the fort which is in the suburb, and afterwards permitted the inhabitants of the city at their own request to send some of their notables into his camp, in order that they might tell what their wish was and, after receiving his reply, report to the populace. Straightway, therefore, the Neapolitans sent Stephanus. And he, upon coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

“You are not acting justly, O general, in taking the field against men who are Romans and have done no wrong, who inhabit but a small city and have over us a guard of barbarians as masters, so that it does not even lie in our power, if we desire to do so, to oppose them. But it so happens that even these guards had to leave their wives and children, and their most precious possessions in the hands of Theodatus before they came to keep guard over us. Therefore, if they treat with you at all, they will plainly be betraying, not the city, but themselves. And if one must speak the truth with no concealment, you have not counselled to your advantage, either, in coming against us. For if you capture Rome, Naples will be subject to you without any further trouble, whereas if you are repulsed from there, it is probable that you will not be able to hold even this city securely. Consequently the time you spend on this siege will be spent to no purpose.”

So spoke Stephanus. And Belisarius replied as follows:

“Whether we have acted wisely or foolishly in coming here is not a question which we propose to submit to the Neapolitans. But we desire that you first weigh carefully such matters as are appropriate to your deliberations and then act solely in accordance with your own interests. Receive into your

city, therefore, the emperor's army, which has come to secure your freedom and that of the other Italians, and do not choose the course which will bring upon you the most grievous misfortunes. For those who, in order to rid themselves of slavery or any other shameful thing, go into war, such men, if they fare well in the struggle, have double good fortune, because along with their victory they have also acquired freedom from their troubles, and if defeated they gain some consolation for themselves, in that, they have not of their own free will chosen to follow the worse fortune. But as for those who have the opportunity to be free without fighting, but yet enter into a struggle in order to make their condition of slavery permanent, such men, even if it so happens that they conquer, have failed in the most vital point, and if in the battle they fare less happily than they wished, they will have, along with their general ill-fortune, also the calamity of defeat. As for the Neapolitans, then, let these words suffice. But as for these Goths who are present, we give them the choice, either to array themselves hereafter on our side under the great emperor, or to go to their homes altogether immune from harm. Because, if both you and they, disregarding all these considerations, dare to raise arms against us, it will be necessary for us also, if God so wills, to treat whomever we meet as an enemy. If, however, it is the will of the Neapolitans to choose the cause of the emperor and thus to be rid of so cruel a slavery, I take it upon myself, giving you pledges, to promise that you will receive at our hands those benefits which the Sicilians lately hoped for, and with regard to which they were unable to say that we had sworn falsely."

Such was the message which Belisarius bade Stephanus take back to the people. But privately he promised him large rewards if he should inspire the Neapolitans with good-will toward the emperor. And Stephanus, upon coming into the city, reported the words of Belisarius and expressed his own opinion that it was inexpedient to fight against the emperor. And he was assisted in his efforts by Antiochus, a man of Syria, but long resident in Naples for the purpose of carrying on a shipping business, who had a great reputation there for wisdom and justice. But there were two men, Pastor and Asclepiodotus, trained speakers and very notable men among the Neapolitans, who were exceedingly friendly toward the Goths, and quite unwilling to have any change made in the present state of affairs. These two men, planning how they might block the negotiations, induced the multitude to demand many serious concessions, and to try to force Belisarius to promise on oath that they should forthwith obtain what they asked for. And after writing down in a document such demands as nobody would have supposed that Belisarius would accept, they gave it to Stephanus. And he, returning to the emperor's army, shewed the writing to the general, and enquired of him whether he was willing to carry out all the proposals which the Neapolitans made and to take an oath concerning them. And Belisarius promised that they should all be fulfilled for them and so sent him back. Now when the Neapolitans heard this, they were in favour of accepting the general's assurances at once and began to urge that

the emperor's army be received into the city with all speed. For he declared that nothing unpleasant would befall them, if the case of the Sicilians was sufficient evidence for anyone to judge by, since, as he pointed out, it had only recently been their lot, after they had exchanged their barbarian tyrants for the sovereignty of Justinian, to be, not only free men, but also immune from all difficulties. And swayed by great excitement they were about to go to the gates with the purpose of throwing them open. And though the Goths were not pleased with what they were doing, still, since they were unable to prevent it, they stood out of the way.

But Pastor and Asclepiodotus called together the people and all the Goths in one place, and spoke as follows: "It is not at all unnatural that the populace of a city should abandon themselves and their own safety, especially if, without consulting any of their notables, they make an independent decision regarding their all. But it is necessary for us, who are on the very point of perishing together with you, to offer as a last contribution to the fatherland this advice. We see, then, fellow citizens, that you are intent upon betraying both yourselves and the city to Belisarius, who promises to confer many benefits upon you and to swear the most solemn oaths in confirmation of his promises. Now if he is able to promise you this also, that to him will come the victory in the war, no one could deny that the course you are taking is to your advantage. For it is great folly not to gratify every whim of him who is to become master. But if this outcome lies in uncertainty, and no man in the world is competent to guarantee the decision of fortune, consider what sort of misfortunes your haste is seeking to attain. For if the Goths overcome their adversaries in the war, they will punish you as enemies and as having done them the foulest wrong. For you are resorting to this act of treason, not under constraint of necessity, but out of deliberate cowardice. So that even to Belisarius, if he wins the victory over his enemies, we shall perhaps appear faithless and betrayers of our rulers, and having proved ourselves deserters, we shall in all probability have a guard set over us permanently by the emperor. For though he who has found a traitor is pleased at the moment of victory by the service rendered, yet afterwards, moved by suspicion based upon the traitor's past, he hates and fears his benefactor, since he himself has in his own possession the evidences of the other's faithlessness. If, however, we shew ourselves faithful to the Goths at the present time, manfully submitting to the danger, they will give us great rewards in case they win the mastery over the enemy, and Belisarius, if it should so happen that he is the victor, will be prone to forgive. For loyalty which fails is punished by no man unless he be lacking in understanding. But what has happened to you that you are in terror of being besieged by the enemy, you who have no lack of provisions, have not been deprived by blockade of any of the necessities of life, and hence may sit at home, confident in the fortifications and in your garrison here? And in our opinion even Belisarius would not have consented to this agreement with us if he had any hope of capturing the city by force.

And yet if what he desired were that which is just and that which will be to our advantage, he ought not to be trying to frighten the Neapolitans or to establish his own power by means of an act of injustice on our part toward the Goths; but he should do battle with Theodatus and the Goths, so that without danger to us or treason on our part the city might come into the power of the victors.”

When they had finished speaking, Pastor and Asclepiodotus brought forward the Jews, who promised that the city should be in want of none of the necessities, and the Goths on their part promised that they would guard the circuit-wall safely. And the Neapolitans, moved by these arguments, bade Belisarius depart thence with all speed. He, however, began the siege. And he made many attempts upon the circuit-wall, but was always repulsed, losing many of his soldiers, and especially those who laid some claim to valour. For the wall of Naples was inaccessible, on one side by reason of the sea, and on the other because of some difficult country, and those who planned to attack it could gain entrance at no point, not only because of its general situation, but also because the ground sloped steeply. However, Belisarius cut the aqueduct which brought water into the city; but he did not in this way seriously disturb the Neapolitans, since there were wells inside the circuit-wall which sufficed for their needs and kept them from feeling too keenly the loss of the aqueduct.

IX

So the besieged, without the knowledge of the enemy, sent to Theodatus in Rome begging him to come to their help with all speed. But Theodatus was not making the least preparation for war, being by nature unmanly, as has been said before. And they say that something else happened to him, which terrified him exceedingly and reduced him to still greater anxiety. I, for my part, do not credit this report, but even so it shall be told. Theodatus even before this time had been prone to make enquiries of those who professed to foretell the future, and on the present occasion he was at a loss what to do in the situation which confronted him — a state which more than anything else is accustomed to drive men to seek prophecies; so he enquired of one of the Hebrews, who had a great reputation for prophecy, what sort of an outcome the present war would have. The Hebrew commanded him to confine three groups of ten swine each in three huts, and after giving them respectively the names of Goths, Romans, and the soldiers of the emperor, to wait quietly for a certain number of days. And Theodatus did as he was told. And when the appointed day had come, they both went into the huts and looked at the swine; and they found that of those which had been given the name of Goths all save two were dead, whereas all except a few were living of those which had received the name of the emperor's soldiers; and as for those which had been called Romans, it so happened that, although the hair of all of them had fallen out, yet about half of them survived. When Theodatus beheld this and divined the outcome of the war, a great fear, they say, came upon him, since he knew well that it would certainly be the fate of the Romans to die to half their number and be deprived of their possessions, but that the Goths would be defeated and their race reduced to a few, and that to the emperor would come, with the loss of but a few of his soldiers, the victory in the war. And for this reason, they say, Theodatus felt no impulse to enter into a struggle with Belisarius. As for this story, then, let each one express his views according to the belief or disbelief which he feels regarding it.

But Belisarius, as he besieged the Neapolitans both by land and by sea, was beginning to be vexed. For he was coming to think that they would never yield to him, and, furthermore, he could not hope that the city would be captured, since he was finding that the difficulty of its position was proving to be a very serious obstacle. And the loss of the time which was being spent there distressed him, for he was making his calculations so as to avoid being compelled to go against Theodatus and Rome in the winter season. Indeed he had already even given orders to the army to pack up, his intention being to depart from there as quickly as possible. But while he was in the greatest perplexity, it came to pass that he met with the following good fortune. One of the Isaurians was seized with the desire to observe the construction of the aqueduct, and to discover in what manner it provided the supply of water to

the city. So he entered it at a place far distant from the city, where Belisarius had broken it open, and proceeded to walk along it, finding no difficulty, since the water had stopped running because the aqueduct had been broken open. But when he reached a point near the circuit-wall, he came upon a large rock, not placed there by the hand of man, but a part of the natural formation of the place. And those who had built the aqueduct many years before, after they had attached the masonry to this rock, proceeded to make a tunnel from that point on, not sufficiently large, however, for a man to pass through, but large enough to furnish a passage for the water. And for this reason it came about that the channel of the aqueduct was not everywhere of the same breadth, but one was confronted by a narrow place at that rock, impassable for a man, especially if he wore armour or carried a shield. And when the Isaurian observed this, it seemed to him not impossible for the army to penetrate into the city, if they should make the tunnel at that point broader by a little. But since he himself was a humble person, and never had come into conversation with any of the commanders, he brought the matter before Paucaris, an Isaurian, who had distinguished himself among the guards of Belisarius. So Paucaris immediately reported the whole matter to the general. And Belisarius, being pleased by the report, took new courage, and by promising to reward the man with great sums of money induced him to attempt the undertaking, and commanded him to associate with himself some of the Isaurians and cut out a passage in the rock as quickly as possible, taking care to allow no one to become aware of what they were doing. Paucaris then selected some Isaurians who were thoroughly suitable for the work, and secretly got inside the aqueduct with them. And coming to the place where the rock caused the passage to be narrow, they began their work, not cutting the rock with picks or mattocks, lest by their blows they should reveal to the enemy what they were doing, but scraping it very persistently with sharp instruments of iron. And in a short time the work was done, so that a man wearing a corselet and carrying a shield was able to go through at that point.

But when all his arrangements were at length in complete readiness, the thought occurred to Belisarius that if he should by act of war make his entry into Naples with the army, the result would be that lives would be lost and that all the other things would happen which usually attend the capture of a city by an enemy. And straightway summoning Stephanus, he spoke as follows: "Many times have I witnessed the capture of cities and I am well acquainted with what takes place at such a time. For they slay all the men of every age, and as for the women, though they beg to die, they are not granted the boon of death, but are carried off for outrage and are made to suffer treatment that is abominable and most pitiable. And the children, who are thus deprived of their proper maintenance and education, are forced to be slaves, and that, too, of the men who are the most odious of all — those on whose hands they see the blood of their fathers. And this is not all, my dear Stephanus, for I make no mention of the conflagration which destroys all the property and blots out

the beauty of the city. When I see, as in the mirror of the cities which have been captured in times past, this city of Naples falling victim to such a fate, I am moved to pity both it and you its inhabitants. For such means have now been perfected by me against the city that its capture is inevitable. But I pray that an ancient city, which has for ages been inhabited by both Christians and Romans, may not meet with such a fortune, especially at my hands as commander of Roman troops, not least because in my army are a multitude of barbarians, who have lost brothers or relatives before the wall of this town; for the fury of these men I should be unable to control, if they should capture the city by act of war. While, therefore, it is still within your power to choose and to put into effect that which will be to your advantage, adopt the better course and escape misfortune; for when it falls upon you, as it probably will, you will not justly blame fortune but your own judgment.” With these words Belisarius dismissed Stephanus. And he went before the people of Naples weeping and reporting with bitter lamentations all that he had heard Belisarius say. But they, since it was not fated that the Neapolitans should become subjects of the emperor without chastisement, neither became afraid nor did they decide to yield to Belisarius.

X

Then at length Belisarius, on his part, made his preparations to enter the city as follows. Selecting at nightfall about four hundred men and appointing as commander over them Magnus, who led a detachment of cavalry, and Ennes, the leader of the Isaurians, he commanded them all to put on their corselets, take in hand their shields and swords, and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal. And he summoned Bessas and gave him orders to stay with him, for he wished to consult with him concerning a certain matter pertaining to the army. And when it was well on in the night, he explained to Magnus and Ennes the task before them, pointed out the place where he had previously broken open the aqueduct, and ordered them to lead the four hundred men into the city, taking lights with them. And he sent with them two men skilled in the use of the trumpet, so that as soon as they should get inside the circuit-wall, they might be able both to throw the city into confusion and to notify their own men what they were doing. And he himself was holding in readiness a very great number of ladders which had been constructed previously.

So these men entered the aqueduct and were proceeding toward the city, while he with Bessas and Photius remained at his post and with their help was attending to all details. And he also sent to the camp, commanding the men to remain awake and to keep their arms in their hands. At the same time he kept near him a large force — men whom he considered most courageous. Now of the men who were on their way to the city above half became terrified at the danger and turned back. And since Magnus could not persuade them to follow him, although he urged them again and again, he returned with them to the general. And Belisarius, after reviling these men, selected two hundred of the troops at hand, and ordered them to go with Magnus. And Photius also, wishing to lead them, leaped into the channel of the aqueduct, but Belisarius prevented him. Then those who were fleeing from the danger, put to shame by the railings of the general and of Photius, took heart to face it once more and followed with the others. And Belisarius, fearing lest their operations should be perceived by some of the enemy, who were maintaining a guard on the tower which happened to be nearest to the aqueduct, went to that place and commanded Bessas to carry on a conversation in the Gothic tongue with the barbarians there, his purpose being to prevent any clanging of the weapons from being audible to them. And so Bessas shouted to them in a loud voice, urging the Goths to yield to Belisarius and promising that they should have many rewards. But they jeered at him, indulging in many insults directed at both Belisarius and the emperor. Belisarius and Bessas, then, were thus occupied.

Now the aqueduct of Naples is not only covered until it reaches the wall, but remains covered as it extends to a great distance inside the city, being carried on a high arch of baked brick. Consequently, when the men under the

command of Magnus and Ennes had got inside the fortifications, they were one and all unable even to conjecture where in the world they were. Furthermore, they could not leave the aqueduct at any point until the foremost of them came to a place where the aqueduct chanced to be without a roof and where stood a building which had entirely fallen into neglect. Inside this building a certain woman had her dwelling, living alone with utter poverty as her only companion; and an olive tree had grown out over the aqueduct. So when these men saw the sky and perceived that they were in the midst of the city, they began to plan how they might get out, but they had no means of leaving the aqueduct either with or without their arms. For the structure happened to be very high at that point and, besides, offered no means of climbing to the top. But as the soldiers were in a state of great perplexity and were beginning to crowd each other greatly as they collected there (for already, as the men in the rear kept coming up, a great throng was beginning to gather), the thought occurred to one of them to make trial of the ascent. He immediately therefore laid down his arms, and forcing his way up with hands and feet, reached the woman's house. And seeing her there, he threatened to kill her unless she should remain silent. And she was terror-stricken and remained speechless. He then fastened to the trunk of the olive tree a strong strap, and threw the other end of it into the aqueduct. So the soldiers, laying hold of it one at a time, managed with difficulty to make the ascent. And after all had come up and a fourth part of the night still remained, they proceeded toward the wall; and they slew the garrison of two of the towers before the men in them had an inkling of the trouble. These towers were on the northern portion of the circuit-wall, where Belisarius was stationed with Bessas and Photius, anxiously awaiting the progress of events. So while the trumpeters were summoning the army to the wall, Belisarius was placing the ladders against the fortifications and commanding the soldiers to mount them. But it so happened that not one of the ladders reached as far as the parapet. For since the workmen had not made them in sight of the wall, they had not been able to arrive at the proper measure. For this reason they bound two together, and it was only by using both of them for the ascent that the soldiers got above the level of the parapet. Such was the progress of these events where Belisarius was engaged.

But on the side of the circuit-wall which faces the sea, where the forces on guard were not barbarians, but Jews, the soldiers were unable either to use the ladders or to scale the wall. For the Jews had already given offence to their enemy by having opposed their efforts to capture the city without a fight, and for this reason they had no hope if they should fall into their hands; so they kept fighting stubbornly, although they could see that the city had already been captured, and held out beyond all expectation against the assaults of their opponents. But when day came and some of those who had mounted the wall marched against them, then at last they also, now that they were being shot at from behind, took to flight, and Naples was captured by storm. By this time

the gates were thrown open and the whole Roman army came in. [L] But those who were stationed about the gates which fronted the east, since, as it happened, they had no ladders at hand, set fire to these gates, which were altogether unguarded; for that part of the wall had been deserted, the guards having taken to flight. And then a great slaughter took place; for all of them were possessed with fury, especially those who had chanced to have a brother or other relative slain in the fighting at the wall. And they kept killing all whom they encountered, sparing neither old nor young, and dashing into the houses they made slaves of the women and children and secured the valuables as plunder; and in this the Massagetae outdid all the rest, for they did not even withhold their hand from the sanctuaries, but slew many of those who had taken refuge in them, until Belisarius, visiting every part of the city, put a stop to this, and calling all together, spoke as follows:

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“Inasmuch as God has given us the victory and has permitted us to attain the greatest height of glory, by putting under our hand a city which has never been captured before, it behooves us on our part to shew ourselves not unworthy of His grace, but by our humane treatment of the vanquished, to make it plain that we have conquered these men justly. Do not, therefore, hate the Neapolitans with a boundless hatred, and do not allow your hostility toward them to continue beyond the limits of the war. For when men have been vanquished, their victors never hate them any longer. And by killing them you will not be ridding yourselves of enemies for the future, but you will be suffering a loss through the death of your subjects. Therefore, do these men no further harm, nor continue to give way wholly to anger. For it is a disgrace to prevail over the enemy and then to shew yourselves vanquished by passion. So let all the possessions of these men suffice for you as the rewards of your valour, but let their wives, together with the children, be given back to the men. And let the conquered learn by experience what kind of friends they have forfeited by reason of foolish counsel.”

After speaking thus, Belisarius released to the Neapolitans their women and children and the slaves, one and all, no insult having been experienced by them, and he reconciled the soldiers to the citizens. And thus it came to pass for the Neapolitans that on that day they both became captives and regained their liberty, and that they recovered the most precious of their possessions. For those of them who happened to have gold or anything else of value had previously concealed it by burying it in the earth, and in this way they succeeded in hiding from the enemy the fact that in getting back their houses they were recovering their money also. And the siege, which had lasted about twenty days, ended thus. As for the Goths who were captured in the city, not less than eight hundred in number, Belisarius put them under guard and kept them from all harm, holding them in no less honour than his own soldiers.

And Pastor, who had been leading the people upon a course of folly, as has been previously set forth by me, upon seeing the city captured, fell into a fit of apoplexy and died suddenly, though he had neither been ill before nor suffered any harm from anyone. But Asclepiodotus, who was engaged in this intrigue with him, came before Belisarius with those of the notables who survived. And Stephanus mocked and reviled him with these words: "See, O basest of all men, what evils you have brought to your fatherland, by selling the safety of the citizens for loyalty to the Goths. And furthermore, if things had gone well for the barbarians, you would have claimed the right to be yourself a hireling in their service and to bring to court on the charge of trying to betray the city to the Romans each one of us who have given the better counsel. But now that the emperor has captured the city, and we have been saved by the uprightness of this man, and you even so have had the hardihood recklessly to come into the presence of the general as if you had done no harm to the Neapolitans or to the emperor's army, you will meet with the punishment you deserve." Such were the words which Stephanus, who was deeply grieved by the misfortune of the city, hurled against Asclepiodotus. And Asclepiodotus replied to him as follows: "Quite unwittingly, noble Sir, you have been heaping praise upon us, when you reproach us for our loyalty to the Goths. For no one could ever be loyal to his masters when they are in danger, except it be by firm conviction. As for me, then, the victors will have in me as true a guardian of the state as they lately found in me an enemy, since he whom nature has endowed with the quality of fidelity does not change his conviction when he changes his fortune. But you, should their fortunes not continue to prosper as before, would readily listen to the overtures of their assailants. For he who has the disease of inconstancy of mind no sooner takes fright than he denies his pledge to those most dear." Such were the words of Asclepiodotus. But the populace of the Neapolitans, when they saw him returning from Belisarius, gathered in a body and began to charge him with responsibility for all that had befallen them. And they did not leave him until they had killed him and torn his body into small pieces. After that they came to the house of Pastor, seeking for the man. And when the servants insisted that Pastor was dead, they were quite unwilling to believe them until they were shown the man's body. And the Neapolitans impaled him in the outskirts of the town. Then they begged Belisarius to pardon them for what they had done while moved with just anger, and receiving his forgiveness, they dispersed. Such was the fate of the Neapolitans.

XI

But the Goths who were at Rome and in the country round about had even before this regarded with great amazement the inactivity of Theodatus, because, though the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he was unwilling to engage them in battle, and they felt among themselves much suspicion toward him, believing that he was betraying the cause of the Goths to the Emperor Justinian of his own free will, and cared for nothing else than that he himself might live in quiet, possessed of as much money as possible. Accordingly, when they heard that Naples had been captured, they began immediately to make all these charges against him openly and gathered at a place two hundred and eighty stades distant from Rome, which the Romans call Regata. And it seemed best to them to make camp in that place; for there are extensive plains there which furnish pasture for horses. And a river also flows by the place, which the inhabitants call Decennovium in the Latin tongue, because it flows past nineteen milestones, a distance which amounts to one hundred and thirteen stades, before it empties into the sea near the city of Taracina; and very near that place is Mt. Circaeum, where they say Odysseus met Circe, though the story seems to me untrustworthy, for Homer declares that the habitation of Circe was on an island. This, however, I am able to say, that this Mt. Circaeum, extending as it does far into the sea, resembles an island, so that both to those who sail close to it and to those who walk to the shore in the neighbourhood it has every appearance of being an island. And only when a man gets on it does he realize that he was deceived in his former opinion. And for this reason Homer perhaps called the place an island. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Goths, after gathering at Regata, chose as king over them and the Italians Vittigis, a man who, though not of a conspicuous house, had previously won great renown in the battles about Sirmium, when Theoderic was carrying on the war against the Gepaedes. Theodatus, therefore, upon hearing this, rushed off in flight and took the road to Ravenna. But Vittigis quickly sent Optaris, a Goth, instructing him to bring Theodatus alive or dead. Now it happened that this Optaris was hostile to Theodatus for the following cause. Optaris was wooing a certain young woman who was an heiress and also exceedingly beautiful to look upon. But Theodatus, being bribed to do so, took the woman he was wooing from him, and betrothed her to another. And so, since he was not only satisfying his own rage, but rendering a service to Vittigis as well, he pursued Theodatus with great eagerness and enthusiasm, stopping neither day nor night. And he overtook him while still on his way, laid him on his back on the ground, and slew him like a victim for sacrifice. Such was the end of Theodatus' life and of his rule, which had reached the third year.[M]

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[M]Dec. 536 A.D.

And Vittigis, together with the Goths who were with him, marched to Rome. And when he learned what had befallen Theodatus, he was pleased and put Theodatus' son Theodegisclus under guard. But it seemed to him that the preparations of the Goths were by no means complete, and for this reason he thought it better first to go to Ravenna, and after making everything ready there in the best possible way, then at length to enter upon the war. He therefore called all the Goths together and spoke as follows:

“The success of the greatest enterprises, fellow-soldiers, generally depends, not upon hasty action at critical moments, but upon careful planning. For many a time a policy of delay adopted at the opportune moment has brought more benefit than the opposite course, and haste displayed at an unseasonable time has upset for many men their hope of success. For in most cases those who are unprepared, though they fight on equal terms so far as their forces are concerned, are more easily conquered than those who, with less strength, enter the struggle with the best possible preparation. Let us not, therefore, be so lifted up by the desire to win momentary honour as to do ourselves irreparable harm; for it is better to suffer shame for a short time and by so doing gain an undying glory, than to escape insult for the moment and thereby, as would probably be the case, be left in obscurity for all after time. And yet you doubtless know as well as I that the great body of the Goths and practically our whole equipment of arms is in Gaul and Venetia and the most distant lands. Furthermore, we are carrying on against the nations of the Franks a war which is no less important than this one, and it is great folly for us to proceed to another war without first settling that one satisfactorily. For it is natural that those who become exposed to attack on two sides and do not confine their attention to a single enemy should be worsted by their opponents. But I say that we must now go straight from here to Ravenna, and after bringing the war against the Franks to an end and settling all our other affairs as well as possible, then with the whole army of the Goths we must fight it out with Belisarius. And let no one of you, I say, try to dissemble regarding this withdrawal, nor hesitate to call it flight. For the title of coward, fittingly applied, has saved many, while the reputation for bravery which some men have gained at the wrong time, has afterward led them to defeat. For it is not the names of things, but the advantage which comes from what is done, that is worth seeking after. For a man's worth is revealed by his deeds, not at their commencement, but at their end. And those do not flee before the enemy who, when they have increased their preparation, forthwith go against them, but those who are so anxious to save their own lives for ever that they deliberately stand aside. And regarding the capture of this city, let no fear come to any one of you. For if, on the one hand, the Romans are loyal to us, they will guard the city in security for the Goths, and they will not experience any hardship, for

we shall return to them in a short time. And if, on the other hand, they harbour any suspicions toward us, they will harm us less by receiving the enemy into the city; for it is better to fight in the open against one's enemies. None the less I shall take care that nothing of this sort shall happen. For we shall leave behind many men and a most discreet leader, and they will be sufficient to guard Rome so effectively that not only will the situation here be favourable for us, but also that no harm may possibly come from this withdrawal of ours."

Thus spoke Vittigis. And all the Goths expressed approval and prepared for the journey. After this Vittigis exhorted at length Silverius, the priest of the city, and the senate and people of the Romans, reminding them of the rule of Theoderic, and he urged upon all to be loyal to the nation of the Goths, binding them by the most solemn oaths to do so; and he chose out no fewer than four thousand men, and set in command over them Leuderis, a man of mature years who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, that they might guard Rome for the Goths. Then he set out for Ravenna with the rest of the army, keeping the most of the senators with him as hostages. And when he had reached that place, he made Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, who was a maiden now of marriageable age, his wedded wife, much against her will, in order that he might make his rule more secure by marrying into the family of Theoderic. After this he began to gather all the Goths from every side and to organize and equip them, duly distributing arms and horses to each one; and only the Goths who were engaged in garrison duty in Gaul he was unable to summon, through fear of the Franks. These Franks were called "Germani" in ancient times. And the manner in which they first got a foothold in Gaul, and where they had lived before that, and how they became hostile to the Goths, I shall now proceed to relate.

XII

As one sails from the ocean into the Mediterranean at Gadira, the land on the left, as was stated in the preceding narrative, is named Europe, while the land opposite to this is called Libya, and, farther on, Asia. Now as to the region beyond Libya I am unable to speak with accuracy; for it is almost wholly destitute of men, and for this reason the first source of the Nile, which they say flows from that land toward Egypt, is quite unknown. But Europe at its very beginning is exceedingly like the Peloponnesus, and fronts the sea on either side. And the land which is first toward the ocean and the west is named Spain, extending as far as the alps of the Pyrenees range. For the men of this country are accustomed to call a narrow, shut-in pass "alps." And the land from there on as far as the boundaries of Liguria is called Gaul. And in that place other alps separate the Gauls and the Ligurians. Gaul, however, is much broader than Spain, and naturally so, because Europe, beginning with a narrow peninsula, gradually widens as one advances until it attains an extraordinary breadth. And this land is bounded by water on either side, being washed on the north by the ocean, and having on the south the sea called the Tuscan Sea. And in Gaul there flow numerous rivers, among which are the Rhone and the Rhine. But the course of these two being in opposite directions, the one empties into the Tuscan Sea, while the Rhine empties into the ocean. And there are many lakes in that region, and this is where the Germans lived of old, a barbarous nation, not of much consequence in the beginning, who are now called Franks. Next to these lived the Arborychi, who, together with all the rest of Gaul, and, indeed, Spain also, were subjects of the Romans from of old. And beyond them toward the east were settled the Thuringian barbarians, Augustus, the first emperor, having given them this country. And the Burgundians lived not far from them toward the south, and the Suevi also lived beyond the Thuringians, and the Alamani, powerful nations. All these were settled there as independent peoples in earlier times.

But as time went on, the Visigoths forced their way into the Roman empire and seized all Spain and the portion of Gaul lying beyond the Rhone River and made them subject and tributary to themselves. By that time it so happened that the Arborychi had become soldiers of the Romans. And the Germans, wishing to make this people subject to themselves, since their territory adjoined their own and they had changed the government under which they had lived from of old, began to plunder their land and, being eager to make war, marched against them with their whole people. But the Arborychi proved their valour and loyalty to the Romans and shewed themselves brave men in this war, and since the Germans were not able to overcome them by force, they wished to win them over and make the two peoples kin by intermarriage. This suggestion the Arborychi received not at all unwillingly; for both, as it happened, were Christians. And in this way they

were united into one people, and came to have great power.

Now other Roman soldiers, also, had been stationed at the frontiers of Gaul to serve as guards. And these soldiers, having no means of returning to Rome, and at the same time being unwilling to yield to their enemy who were Arians, gave themselves, together with their military standards and the land which they had long been guarding for the Romans, to the Arborychi and Germans; and they handed down to their offspring all the customs of their fathers, which were thus preserved, and this people has held them in sufficient reverence to guard them even up to my time. For even at the present day they are clearly recognized as belonging to the legions to which they were assigned when they served in ancient times, and they always carry their own standards when they enter battle, and always follow the customs of their fathers. And they preserve the dress of the Romans in every particular, even as regards their shoes.

Now as long as the Roman polity remained unchanged, the emperor held all Gaul as far as the Rhone River; but when Odoacer changed the government into a tyranny, [N] then, since the tyrant yielded to them, the Visigoths took possession of all Gaul as far as the alps which mark the boundary between Gaul and Liguria. [O]But after the fall of Odoacer, the Thuringians and the Visigoths began to fear the power of the Germans, which was now growing greater (for their country had become exceedingly populous and they were forcing into subjection without any concealment those who from time to time came in their way), and so they were eager to win the alliance of the Goths and Theoderic. And since Theoderic wished to attach these peoples to himself, he did not refuse to intermarry with them. Accordingly he betrothed to Alaric the younger, who was then leader of the Visigoths, his own unmarried daughter Theodichusa, and to Hermenefridus, the ruler of the Thuringians, Amalaberga, the daughter of his sister Amalafrida. As a result of this the Franks refrained from violence against these peoples through fear of Theoderic, but they began a war against the Burgundians. But later on the Franks and the Goths entered into an offensive alliance against the Burgundians, agreeing that each of the two should send an army against them; and it was further agreed that if either army should be absent when the other took the field against the nation of the Burgundians and overthrew them and gained the land which they had, then the victors should receive as a penalty from those who had not joined in the expedition a fixed sum of gold, and that only on these terms should the conquered land belong to both peoples in common. So the Germans went against the Burgundians with a great army according to the agreement between themselves and the Goths; but Theoderic was still engaged with his preparations, as he said, and purposely kept putting off the departure of the army to the following day, and waiting for what would come to pass. Finally, however, he sent the army, but commanded the generals to march in a leisurely fashion, and if they should hear that the Franks had been victorious, they were thenceforth to go quickly, but if they should learn that any adversity had befallen them, they were to

proceed no farther, but remain where they were. So they proceeded to carry out the commands of Theoderic, but meanwhile the Germans joined battle alone with the Burgundians.[P] The battle was stubbornly contested and a great slaughter took place on both sides, for the struggle was very evenly matched; but finally the Franks routed their enemy and drove them to the borders of the land which they inhabited at that time, where they had many strongholds, while the Franks took possession of all the rest. And the Goths, upon hearing this, were quickly at hand. And when they were bitterly reproached by their allies, they blamed the difficulty of the country, and laying down the amount of the penalty, they divided the land with the victors according to the agreement made. And thus the foresight of Theoderic was revealed more clearly than ever, because, without losing a single one of his subjects, he had with a little gold acquired half of the land of his enemy. Thus it was that the Goths and Germans in the beginning got possession of a certain part of Gaul.

DATES:

[N]476 A.D.

[O]493 A.D.

[P]534 A.D.

But later on, when the power of the Germans was growing greater, they began to think slightly of Theoderic and the fear he inspired, and took the field against Alaric and the Visigoths. And when Alaric learned this, he summoned Theoderic as quickly as possible. And he set out to his assistance with a great army. In the meantime, the Visigoths, upon learning that the Germans were in camp near the city of Carcasiana, went to meet them, and making a camp remained quiet. But since much time was being spent by them in blocking the enemy in this way, they began to be vexed, and seeing that their land was being plundered by the enemy, they became indignant. And at length they began to heap many insults upon Alaric, reviling him on account of his fear of the enemy and taunting him with the delay of his father-in-law. For they declared that they by themselves were a match for the enemy in battle and that even though unaided they would easily overcome the Germans in the war. For this reason Alaric was compelled to do battle with the enemy before the Goths had as yet arrived. And the Germans, gaining the upper hand in this engagement, killed the most of the Visigoths and their ruler Alaric. [Q] Then they took possession of the greater part of Gaul and held it; and they laid siege to Carcasiana with great enthusiasm, because they had learned that the royal treasure was there, which Alaric the elder in earlier times had taken as booty when he captured Rome. Among these were also the treasures of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, a most noteworthy sight. [R]For the most of them were adorned with emeralds; and they had been taken from Jerusalem by the Romans in ancient times. Then the survivors of the Visigoths declared Giselic, an illegitimate son of Alaric, ruler over them, Amalaric, the son of

Theoderic's daughter, being still a very young child. And afterwards, when Theoderic had come with the army of the Goths, the Germans became afraid and broke up the siege. So they retired from there and took possession of the part of Gaul beyond the Rhone River as far as the ocean. And Theoderic, being unable to drive them out from there, allowed them to hold this territory, but he himself recovered the rest of Gaul. Then, after Giselic had been put out of the way, he conferred the rule of the Visigoths upon his grandson Amalaric, for whom, since he was still a child, he himself acted as regent. And taking all the money which lay in the city of Carcasiana, he marched quickly back to Ravenna; furthermore, he continued to send commanders and armies into Gaul and Spain, thus holding the real power of the government himself, and by way of providing that he should hold it securely and permanently, he ordained that the rulers of those countries should bring tribute to him. And though he received this every year, in order not to give the appearance of being greedy for money he sent it as an annual gift to the army of the Goths and Visigoths. And as a result of this, the Goths and Visigoths, as time went on, ruled as they were by one man and holding the same land, betrothed their children to one another and thus joined the two races in kinship.

DATES:

[Q]507 A.D.

[R]410 A.D.

But afterwards, Theudis, a Goth, whom Theoderic had sent as commander of the army, took to wife a woman from Spain; she was not, however, of the race of the Visigoths, but belonged to the house of one of the wealthy inhabitants of that land, and not only possessed great wealth but also owned a large estate in Spain. From this estate he gathered about two thousand soldiers and surrounded himself with a force of bodyguards, and while in name he was a ruler over the Goths by the gift of Theoderic, he was in fact an out and out tyrant. And Theoderic, who was wise and experienced in the highest degree, was afraid to carry on a war against his own slave, lest the Franks meanwhile should take the field against him, as they naturally would, or the Visigoths on their part should begin a revolution against him; accordingly he did not remove Theudis from his office, but even continued to command him, whenever the army went to war, to lead it forth. However, he directed the first men of the Goths to write to Theudis that he would be acting justly and in a manner worthy of his wisdom, if he should come to Ravenna and salute Theoderic. Theudis, however, although he carried out all the commands of Theoderic and never failed to send in the annual tribute, would not consent to go to Ravenna, nor would he promise those who had written to him that he would do so.

XIII

After Theoderic had departed from the world,[S] the Franks, now that there was no longer anyone to oppose them, took the field against the Thuringians, and not only killed their leader Hermenefridus but also reduced to subjection the entire people. But the wife of Hermenefridus took her children and secretly made her escape, coming to Theodatus, her brother, who was at that time ruling over the Goths. After this the Germans made an attack upon the Burgundians who had survived the former war, and defeating them in battle confined their leader in one of the fortresses of the country and kept him under guard, while they reduced the people to subjection and compelled them, as prisoners of war, to march with them from that time forth against their enemies, and the whole land which the Burgundians had previously inhabited they made subject and tributary to themselves. And Amalaric, who was ruling over the Visigoths, upon coming to man's estate, became thoroughly frightened at the power of the Germans and so took to wife the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Germans, and divided Gaul with the Goths and his cousin Atalaric. The Goths, namely, received as their portion the land to the east of the Rhone River, while that to the west fell under the control of the Visigoths. And it was agreed that the tribute which Theoderic had imposed should no longer be paid to the Goths, and Atalaric honestly and justly restored to Amalaric all the money which he had taken from the city of Carcasiana. Then, since these two nations had united with one another by intermarriage, they allowed each man who had espoused a wife of the other people to choose whether he wished to follow his wife, or bring her among his own people. And there were many who led their wives to the people they preferred and many also who were led by their wives. But later on Amalaric, having given offence to his wife's brother, suffered a great calamity. For while his wife was of the orthodox faith, he himself followed the heresy of Arius, and he would not allow her to hold to her customary beliefs or to perform the rites of religion according to the tradition of her fathers, and, furthermore, because she was unwilling to conform to his customs, he held her in great dishonour. And since the woman was unable to bear this, she disclosed the whole matter to her brother. For this reason, then, the Germans and Visigoths entered into war with each other. [T]And the battle which took place was for a long time very stoutly contested, but finally Amalaric was defeated, losing many of his men, and was himself slain. And Theudibert took his sister with all the money, and as much of Gaul as the Visigoths held as their portion. And the survivors of the vanquished emigrated from Gaul with their wives and children and went to Theudis in Spain, who was already acting the tyrant openly. Thus did the Goths and Germans gain possession of Gaul.

DATES:

[S]526 A.D.

[T]531 A.D.

But at a later time Theodatus, the ruler of the Goths, upon learning that Belisarius had come to Sicily, made a compact with the Germans, in which it was agreed that the Germans should have that portion of Gaul which fell to the Goths, and should receive twenty centenaria of gold, and that in return they should assist the Goths in this war. But before he had as yet carried out the agreement he fulfilled his destiny.[U] It was for this reason, then, that many of the noblest of the Goths, with Marcias as their leader, were keeping guard in Gaul. It was these men whom Vittigis was unable to recall from Gaul, and indeed he did not think them numerous enough even to oppose the Franks, who would, in all probability, overrun both Gaul and Italy, if he should march with his whole army against Rome. He therefore called together all who were loyal among the Goths and spoke as follows:

DATE:

[U]526 A.D.

“The advice which I have wished to give you, fellow-countrymen, in bringing you together here at the present time, is not pleasant, but it is necessary; and do you hear me kindly, and deliberate in a manner befitting the situation which is upon us. For when affairs do not go as men wish, it is inexpedient for them to go on with their present arrangements in disregard of necessity or fortune. Now in all other respects our preparations for war are in the best possible state. But the Franks are an obstacle to us; against them, our ancient enemies, we have indeed been spending both our lives and our money, but nevertheless we have succeeded in holding our own up to the present time, since no other hostile force has confronted us. But now that we are compelled to go against another foe, it will be necessary to put an end to the war against them, in the first place because, if they remain hostile to us, they will certainly array themselves with Belisarius against us; for those who have the same enemy are by the very nature of things induced to enter into friendship and alliance with each other. In the second place, even if we carry on the war separately against each army, we shall in the end be defeated by both of them. It is better, therefore, for us to accept a little loss and thus preserve the greatest part of our kingdom, than in our eagerness to hold everything to be destroyed by the enemy and lose at the same time the whole power of our supremacy. So my opinion is that if we give the Germans the provinces of Gaul which adjoin them, and together with this land all the money which Theodatus agreed to give them, they will not only be turned from their enmity against us, but will even lend us assistance in this war. But as to how at a later time, when matters are going well for us, we may regain possession of Gaul, let no one of you consider this question. For an ancient saying comes to my mind, which bids us ‘settle well the affairs of the present.’”

Upon hearing this speech the notables of the Goths, considering the plan advantageous, wished it to be put into effect. Accordingly envoys were immediately sent to the nation of the Germans, in order to give them the lands of Gaul together with the gold, and to make an offensive and defensive alliance. Now at that time the rulers of the Franks were Ildibert, Theudibert, and Cloadarius, and they received Gaul and the money, and divided the land among them according to the territory ruled by each one, and they agreed to be exceedingly friendly to the Goths, and secretly to send them auxiliary troops, not Franks, however, but soldiers drawn from the nations subject to them. For they were unable to make an alliance with them openly against the Romans, because they had a little before agreed to assist the emperor in this war. So the envoys, having accomplished the mission on which they had been sent, returned to Ravenna. At that time also Vittigis summoned Marcias with his followers.

XIV

But while Vittigis was carrying on these negotiations, Belisarius was preparing to go to Rome. He accordingly selected three hundred men from the infantry forces with Herodian as their leader, and assigned them the duty of guarding Naples. And he also sent to Cumae as large a garrison as he thought would be sufficient to guard the fortress there. For there was no stronghold in Campania except those at Cumae and at Naples. It is in this city of Cumae that the inhabitants point out the cave of the Sibyl, where they say her oracular shrine was; and Cumae is on the sea, one hundred and twenty-eight stades distant from Naples. Belisarius, then, was thus engaged in putting his army in order; but the inhabitants of Rome, fearing lest all the calamities should befall them which had befallen the Neapolitans, decided after considering the matter that it was better to receive the emperor's army into the city. And more than any other Silverius, the chief priest of the city, urged them to adopt this course. So they sent Fidelius, a native of Milan, which is situated in Liguria, a man who had been previously an adviser of Atalaric (such an official is called "quaestor" by the Romans), and invited Belisarius to come to Rome, promising to put the city into his hands without a battle. So Belisarius led his army from Naples by the Latin Way, leaving on the left the Appian Way, which Appius, the consul of the Romans, had made nine hundred years before and to which he had given his name.

Now the Appian Way is in length a journey of five days for an unencumbered traveller; for it extends from Rome to Capua. And the breadth of this road is such that two waggons going in opposite directions can pass one another, and it is one of the noteworthy sights of the world. For all the stone, which is mill-stone and hard by nature, Appius quarried in another place far away and brought there; for it is not found anywhere in this district. And after working these stones until they were smooth and flat, and cutting them to a polygonal shape, he fastened them together without putting concrete or anything else between them. And they were fastened together so securely and the joints were so firmly closed, that they give the appearance, when one looks at them, not of being fitted together, but of having grown together. And after the passage of so long a time, and after being traversed by many waggons and all kinds of animals every day, they have neither separated at all at the joints, nor has any one of the stones been worn out or reduced in thickness, — nay, they have not even lost any of their polish. Such, then, is the Appian Way.

But as for the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, it was not until they learned that the enemy were very near and became aware of the decision of the Romans, that they began to be concerned for the city, and, being unable to meet the attacking army in battle, they were at a loss; but later, with the permission of the Romans, they all departed thence and proceeded to

Ravenna, except that Leuderis, who commanded them, being ashamed, I suppose, because of the situation in which he found himself, remained there. And it so happened on that day that at the very same time when Belisarius and the emperor's army were entering Rome through the gate which they call the Asinarian Gate, the Goths were withdrawing from the city through another gate which bears the name Flaminian; and Rome became subject to the Romans again after a space of sixty years, on the ninth day of the last month, which is called "December" by the Romans, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. [V] Now Belisarius sent Leuderis, the commander of the Goths, and the keys of the gates to the emperor, but he himself turned his attention to the circuit-wall, which had fallen into ruin in many places; and he constructed each merlon of the battlement with a wing, adding a sort of flanking wall on the left side, in order that those fighting from the battlement against their assailants might never be hit by missiles thrown by those storming the wall on their left; and he also dug a moat about the wall of sufficient depth to form a very important part of the defences. And the Romans applauded the forethought of the general and especially the experience displayed in the matter of the battlement; but they marvelled greatly and were vexed that he should have thought it possible for him to enter Rome if he had any idea that he would be besieged, for it cannot possibly endure a siege because it cannot be supplied with provisions, since it is not on the sea, is enclosed by a wall of so huge a circumference, and, above all, lying as it does in a very level plain, is naturally exceedingly easy of access for its assailants. But although Belisarius heard all these criticisms, he nevertheless continued to make all his preparations for a siege, and the grain which he had in his ships when he came from Sicily he stored in public granaries and kept under guard, and he compelled all the Romans, indignant though they were, to bring all their provisions in from the country.

DATE:

[V]536 A.D.

At that time Pitzas, a Goth, coming from Samnium, also put himself and all the Goths who were living there with him into the hands of Belisarius, as well as the half of that part of Samnium which lies on the sea, as far as the river which flows through the middle of that district. For the Goths who were settled on the other side of the river were neither willing to follow Pitzas nor to be subjects of the emperor. And Belisarius gave him a small number of soldiers to help him guard that territory. And before this the Calabrians and Apulians, since no Goths were present in their land, had willingly submitted themselves to Belisarius, both those on the coast and those who held the interior.

Among the interior towns is Beneventus, which in ancient times the Romans had named "Maleventus," but now they call it Beneventus, avoiding the evil omen of the former name, "ventus" having the meaning "wind" in the Latin tongue. For in Dalmatia, which lies across from this city on the opposite mainland, a wind of great violence and exceedingly wild is wont to fall upon the country, and when this begins to blow, it is impossible to find a man there who continues to travel on the road, but all shut themselves up at home and wait. Such, indeed, is the force of the wind that it seizes a man on horseback together with his horse and carries him through the air, and then, after whirling him about in the air to a great distance, it throws him down wherever he may chance to be and kills him. And it so happens that Beneventus, being opposite to Dalmatia, as I have said, and situated on rather high ground, gets some of the disadvantage of this same wind. This city was built of old by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, when after the capture of Troy he was repulsed from Argos. And he left to the city as a token the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which his uncle Meleager had received as a prize of the hunt, and they are there even up to my time, a noteworthy sight and well worth seeing, measuring not less than three spans around and having the form of a crescent. There, too, they say that Diomedes met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was coming from Ilium, and in obedience to the oracle gave him the statue of Athena which he had seized as plunder in company with Odysseus, when the two went into Troy as spies before the city was captured by the Greeks. For they tell the story that when he fell sick at a later time, and made enquiry concerning the disease, the oracle responded that he would never be freed from his malady unless he should give this statue to a man of Troy. And as to where in the world the statue itself is, the Romans say they do not know, but even up to my time they shew a copy of it chiselled on a certain stone in the temple of Fortune, where it lies before the bronze statue of Athena, which is set up under the open sky in the eastern part of the temple. And this copy on the stone represents a female figure in the pose of a warrior and extending her spear as if for combat; but in spite of this she has a chiton reaching to the feet.

But the face does not resemble the Greek statues of Athena, but is altogether like the work of the ancient Egyptians. The Byzantines, however, say that the Emperor Constantine dug up this statue in the forum which bears his name and set it there. So much, then, for this.

In this way Belisarius won over the whole of that part of Italy which is south of the Ionian Gulf, as far as Rome and Samnium, and the territory north of the gulf, as far as Liburnia, had been gained by Constantianus, as has been said. But I shall now explain how Italy is divided among the inhabitants of the land. The Adriatic Sea sends out a kind of outlet far into the continent and thus forms the Ionian Gulf, but it does not, as in other places where the sea enters the mainland, form an isthmus at its end. For example, the so-called Crisaean Gulf, ending at Lechaëum, where the city of Corinth is, forms the isthmus of that city, about forty stades in breadth; and the gulf off the Hellespont, which they call the Black Gulf, makes the isthmus at the Chersonese no broader than the Corinthian, but of about the same size. But from the city of Ravenna, where the Ionian Gulf ends, to the Tuscan Sea is not less than eight days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And the reason is that the arm of the sea, as it advances, always inclines very far to the right. And below this gulf the first town is Dryus, which is now called Hydrus. And on the right of this are the Calabrians, Apulians, and Samnites, and next to them dwell the Piceni, whose territory extends as far as the city of Ravenna. And on the other side are the remainder of the Calabrians, the Bruttii, and the Lucani, beyond whom dwell the Campani as far as the city of Taracina, and their territory is adjoined by that of Rome. These peoples hold the shores of the two seas, and all the interior of that part of Italy. And this is the country called Magna Graecia in former times. For among the Bruttii are the Epizephyrian Locrians and the inhabitants of Croton and Thurii. But north of the gulf the first inhabitants are Greeks, called Epirotes, as far as the city of Epidamnus, which is situated on the sea. And adjoining this is the land of Precalis, beyond which is the territory called Dalmatia, all of which is counted as part of the western empire. And beyond that point is Liburnia, and Istria, and the land of the Veneti extending to the city of Ravenna. These countries are situated on the sea in that region. But above them are the Siscii and Suevi (not those who are subjects of the Franks, but another group), who inhabit the interior. And beyond these are settled the Carnii and Norici. On the right of these dwell the Dacians and Pannonians, who hold a number of towns, including Singidunum and Sirmium, and extend as far as the Ister River. Now these peoples north of the Ionian Gulf were ruled by the Goths at the beginning of this war, but beyond the city of Ravenna on the left of the river Po the country was inhabited by the Ligurians. And to the north of them live the Albani in an exceedingly good land called Langovilla, and beyond these are the nations subject to the Franks, while the country to the west is held by the Gauls and after them the Spaniards. On the right of the Po are Aemilia and the Tuscan peoples, which extend as far as the boundaries of Rome. So much,

then, for this.

XVI

So Belisarius took possession of all the territory of Rome as far as the river Tiber, and strengthened it. And when all had been settled by him in the best possible manner, he gave to Constantinus a large number of his own guards together with many spearmen, including the Massagetæ Zarter, Chorsomanus, and Aeschmanus, and an army besides, commanding him to go into Tuscany, in order to win over the towns of that region. And he gave orders to Bessas to take possession of Narnia, a very strong city in Tuscany. Now this Bessas was a Goth by birth, one of those who had dwelt in Thrace from of old and had not followed Theoderic when he led the Gothic nation thence into Italy, and he was an energetic man and a capable warrior. For he was both a general of the first rank, and a skilful man in action. And Bessas took Narnia not at all against the will of the inhabitants, and Constantinus won over Spolitium and Perusia and certain other towns without any trouble. For the Tuscans received him into their cities willingly. So after establishing a garrison in Spolitium, he himself remained quietly with his army in Perusia, the first city in Tuscany.

Now when Vittigis heard this, he sent against them an army with Unilas and Pissas as its commanders. And Constantinus confronted these troops in the outskirts of Perusia and engaged with them. The battle was at first evenly disputed, since the barbarians were superior in numbers, but afterwards the Romans by their valour gained the upper hand and routed the enemy, and while they were fleeing in complete disorder the Romans killed almost all of them; and they captured alive the commanders of the enemy and sent them to Belisarius. Now when Vittigis heard this, he was no longer willing to remain quietly in Ravenna, where he was embarrassed by the absence of Marcias and his men, who had not yet come from Gaul. So he sent to Dalmatia a great army with Asinarius and Uligisalus as its commanders, in order to recover Dalmatia for the Gothic rule. And he directed them to add to their own troops an army from the land of the Suevi, composed of the barbarians there, and then to proceed directly to Dalmatia and Salones. And he also sent with them many ships of war, in order that they might be able to besiege Salones both by land and by sea. But he himself was hastening to go with his whole army against Belisarius and Rome, leading against him horsemen and infantry to the number of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, and the most of them as well as their horses were clad in armour.

So Asinarius, upon reaching the country of the Suevi, began to gather the army of the barbarians, while Uligisalus alone led the Goths into Liburnia. And when the Romans engaged with them at a place called Scardon, they were defeated in the battle and retired to the city of Burnus; and there Uligisalus awaited his colleague. But Constantianus, upon hearing of the preparations of Asinarius, became afraid for Salones, and summoned the soldiers who were holding all the fortresses in that region. He then dug a moat

around the whole circuit-wall and made all the other preparations for the siege in the best manner possible. And Asinarius, after gathering an exceedingly large army of barbarians, came to the city of Burnus. There he joined Uligisalus and the Gothic army and proceeded to Salones. And they made a stockade about the circuit-wall, and also, filling their ships with soldiers, kept guard over the side of the fortifications which faced the sea. In this manner they proceeded to besiege Salones both by land and by sea; but the Romans suddenly made an attack upon the ships of the enemy and turned them to flight, and many of them they sunk, men and all, and also captured many without their crews. However, the Goths did not raise the siege, but maintained it vigorously and kept the Romans still more closely confined to the city than before. Such, then, were the fortunes of the Roman and Gothic armies in Dalmatia.

But Vittigis, upon hearing from the natives who came from Rome that the army which Belisarius had was very small, began to repent of his withdrawal from Rome, and was no longer able to endure the situation, but was now so carried away by fury that he advanced against them. And on his way thither he fell in with a priest who was coming from Rome. Whereupon they say that Vittigis in great excitement enquired of this man whether Belisarius was still in Rome, shewing that he was afraid he would not be able to catch him, but that Belisarius would forestall him by running away. But the priest, they say, replied that he need not be at all concerned about that; for he, the priest, was able to guarantee that Belisarius would never resort to flight, but was remaining where he was. But Vittigis, they say, kept hastening still more than before, praying that he might see with his own eyes the walls of Rome before Belisarius made his escape from the city.

XVII

But Belisarius, when he heard that the Goths were marching against him with their whole force, was in a dilemma. For he was unwilling, on the one hand, to dispense with the troops of Constantinus and Bessas, especially since his army was exceedingly small, and, on the other, it seemed to him inexpedient to abandon the strongholds in Tuscany, lest the Goths should hold these as fortresses against the Romans. So after considering the matter he sent word to Constantinus and Bessas to leave garrisons in the positions which absolutely required them, large enough to guard them, while they themselves with the rest of the army should come to Rome with all speed. And Constantinus acted accordingly. For he established garrisons in Perusia and Spolitium, and with all the rest of his troops marched off to Rome. But while Bessas, in a more leisurely manner, was making his dispositions in Narnia, it so happened that, since the enemy were passing that way, the plains in the outskirts of the city were filled with Goths. These were an advance guard preceding the rest of the army; and Bessas engaged with them and unexpectedly routed those whom he encountered and killed many; but then, since he was overpowered by their superior numbers, he retired into Narnia. And leaving a garrison there according to the instructions of Belisarius, he went with all speed to Rome, and reported that the enemy would be at hand almost instantly. For Narnia is only three hundred and fifty stades distant from Rome. But Vittigis made no attempt at all to capture Perusia and Spolitium; for these places are exceedingly strong and he was quite unwilling that his time should be wasted there, his one desire having come to be to find Belisarius not yet fled from Rome. Moreover, even when he learned that Narnia also was held by the enemy, he was unwilling to attempt anything there, knowing that the place was difficult of access and on steep ground besides; for it is situated on a lofty hill. And the river Arnus flows by the foot of the hill, and it is this which has given the city its name. There are two roads leading up to the city, the one on the east, and the other on the west. One of these is very narrow and difficult by reason of precipitous rocks, while the other cannot be reached except by way of the bridge which spans the river and provides a passage over it at that point. This bridge was built by Caesar Augustus in early times, and is a very noteworthy sight; for its arches are the highest of any known to us.

So Vittigis, not enduring to have his time wasted there, departed thence with all speed and went with the whole army against Rome, making the journey through Sabine territory. [W]And when he drew near to Rome, and was not more than fourteen stades away from it, he came upon a bridge over the Tiber River. There a little while before Belisarius had built a tower, furnished it with gates, and stationed in it a guard of soldiers, not because this is the only point at which the Tiber could be crossed by the enemy (for there are both boats and bridges at many places along the river), but because he

wished the enemy to have to spend more time in the journey, since he was expecting another army from the emperor, and also in order that the Romans might bring in still more provisions. For if the barbarians, repulsed at that point, should try to cross on a bridge somewhere else, he thought that not less than twenty days would be consumed by them, and if they wished to launch boats in the Tiber to the necessary number, a still longer time would probably be wasted by them. These, then, were the considerations which led him to establish the garrison at that point; and the Goths bivouacked there that day, being at a loss and supposing that they would be obliged to storm the tower on the following day; but twenty-two deserters came to them, men who were barbarians by race but Roman soldiers, from the cavalry troop commanded by Innocentius. Just at that time it occurred to Belisarius to establish a camp near the Tiber River, in order that they might hinder still more the crossing of the enemy and make some kind of a display of their own daring to their opponents. But all the soldiers who, as has been stated, were keeping guard at the bridge, being overcome with terror at the throng of Goths and quailing at the magnitude of their danger, abandoned by night the tower they were guarding and rushed off in flight. But thinking that they could not enter Rome, they stealthily marched off toward Campania, either because they were afraid of the punishment the general would inflict or because they were ashamed to appear before their comrades.

DATE:

[W]Feb. 21, 537 A.D.

XVIII

On the following day the Goths destroyed the gates of the tower with no trouble and made the crossing, since no one tried to oppose them. But Belisarius, who had not as yet learned what had happened to the garrison, was bringing up a thousand horsemen to the bridge over the river, in order to look over the ground and decide where it would be best for his forces to make camp. But when they had come rather close, they met the enemy already across the river, and not at all willingly they engaged with some of them. And the battle was carried on by horsemen on both sides. Then Belisarius, though he was safe before, would no longer keep the general's post, but began to fight in the front ranks like a soldier; and consequently the cause of the Romans was thrown into great danger, for the whole decision of the war rested with him. But it happened that the horse he was riding at that time was unusually experienced in warfare and knew well how to save his rider; and his whole body was dark grey, except that his face from the top of his head to the nostrils was the purest white. Such a horse the Greeks call "phalius" and the barbarians "balan." And it so happened that the most of the Goths threw their javelins and other missiles at him and at Belisarius for the following reason. Those deserters who on the previous day had come to the Goths, when they saw Belisarius fighting in the front ranks, knowing well that, if he should fall, the cause of the Romans would be ruined instantly, cried aloud urging them to "shoot at the white-faced horse." Consequently this saying was passed around and reached the whole Gothic army, and they did not question it at all, since they were in a great tumult of fighting, nor did they know clearly that it referred to Belisarius. But conjecturing that it was not by mere accident that the saying had gained such currency as to reach all, the most of them, neglecting all others, began to shoot at Belisarius. And every man among them who laid any claim to valour was immediately possessed with a great eagerness to win honour, and getting as close as possible they kept trying to lay hold of him and in a great fury kept striking with their spears and swords. But Belisarius himself, turning from side to side, kept killing as they came those who encountered him, and he also profited very greatly by the loyalty of his own spearmen and guards in this moment of danger. For they all surrounded him and made a display of valour such, I imagine, as has never been shewn by any man in the world to this day; for, holding out their shields in defence of both the general and his horse, they not only received all the missiles, but also forced back and beat off those who from time to time assailed him. And thus the whole engagement was centred about the body of one man. In this struggle there fell among the Goths no fewer than a thousand, and they were men who fought in the front ranks; and of the household of Belisarius many of the noblest were slain, and Maxentius, the spearman, after making a display of great exploits against the enemy. But by some chance

Belisarius was neither wounded nor hit by a missile on that day, although the battle was waged around him alone.

Finally by their valour the Romans turned the enemy to flight, and an exceedingly great multitude of barbarians fled until they reached their main army. For there the Gothic infantry, being entirely fresh, withstood their enemy and forced them back without any trouble. And when another body of cavalry in turn reinforced the Goths, the Romans fled at top speed until they reached a certain hill, which they climbed, and there held their position. But the enemy's horsemen were upon them directly, and a second cavalry battle took place. There Valentinus, the groom of Photius, the son of Antonina, made a remarkable exhibition of valour. For by leaping alone into the throng of the enemy he opposed himself to the onrush of the Goths and thus saved his companions. In this way the Romans escaped, and arrived at the fortifications of Rome, and the barbarians in pursuit pressed upon them as far as the wall by the gate which has been named the Salarian Gate. But the people of Rome, fearing lest the enemy should rush in together with the fugitives and thus get inside the fortifications, were quite unwilling to open the gates, although Belisarius urged them again and again and called upon them with threats to do so. For, on the one hand, those who peered out of the tower were unable to recognise the man, for his face and his whole head were covered with gore and dust, and at the same time no one was able to see very clearly, either; for it was late in the day, about sunset. Moreover, the Romans had no reason to suppose that the general survived; for those who had come in flight from the rout which had taken place earlier reported that Belisarius had died fighting bravely in the front ranks. So the throng of the enemy, which had rushed up in strength and possessed with great fury, were purposing to cross the moat straightway and attack the fugitives there; and the Romans, finding themselves massed along the wall, after they had come inside the moat, and so close together that they touched one another, were being crowded into a small space. Those inside the fortifications, however, since they were without a general and altogether unprepared, and being in a panic of fear for themselves and for the city, were quite unable to defend their own men, although these were now in so perilous a situation.

Then a daring thought came to Belisarius, which unexpectedly saved the day for the Romans. For urging on all his men he suddenly fell upon the enemy. And they, even before this, had been in great disorder because of the darkness and the fact that they were making a pursuit, and now when, much to their surprise, they saw the fugitives attacking them, they supposed that another army also had come to their assistance from the city, and so were thrown into a great panic and all fled immediately at top speed. But Belisarius by no means rushed out to pursue them, but returned straightway to the wall. And at this the Romans took courage and received him and all his men into the city. So narrowly did Belisarius and the emperor's cause escape peril; and the battle which had begun early in the morning did not end until night. And

those who distinguished themselves above all others by their valour in this battle were, among the Romans, Belisarius, and among the Goths, Visandus Vandalarius, who had fallen upon Belisarius at the first when the battle took place about him, and did not desist until he had received thirteen wounds on his body and fell. And since he was supposed to have died immediately, he was not cared for by his companions, although they were victorious, and he lay there with the dead. But on the third day, when the barbarians had made camp hard by the circuit-wall of Rome and had sent some men in order to bury their dead and to perform the customary rites of burial, those who were searching out the bodies of the fallen found Visandus Vandalarius with life still in him, and one of his companions entreated him to speak some word to him. But he could not do even this, for the inside of his body was on fire because of the lack of food and the thirst caused by his suffering, and so he nodded to him to put water into his mouth. Then when he had drunk and become himself again, they lifted and carried him to the camp. And Visandus Vandalarius won a great name for this deed among the Goths, and he lived on a very considerable time, enjoying the greatest renown. This, then, took place on the third day after the battle.

But at that time Belisarius, after reaching safety with his followers, gathered the soldiers and almost the whole Roman populace to the wall, and commanded them to burn many fires and keep watch throughout the whole night. And going about the circuit of the fortifications, he set everything in order and put one of his commanders in charge of each gate. But Bessas, who took command of the guard at the gate called the Praenestine, sent a messenger to Belisarius with orders to say that the city was held by the enemy, who had broken in through another gate which is across the Tiber River and bears the name of Pancratius, a holy man. And all those who were in the company of Belisarius, upon hearing this, urged him to save himself as quickly as possible through some other gate. He, however, neither became panic-stricken, nor did he hesitate to declare that the report was false. And he also sent some of his horsemen across the Tiber with all speed, and they, after looking over the ground there, brought back word that no hostile attack had been made on the city in that quarter. He therefore sent immediately to each gate and instructed the commanders everywhere that, whenever they heard that the enemy had broken in at any other part of the fortifications, they should not try to assist in the defence nor abandon their post, but should remain quiet; for he himself would take care of such matters. And he did this in order that they might not be thrown into disorder a second time by a rumour which was not true.

But Vittigis, while the Romans were still in great confusion, sent to the Salarian Gate one of his commanders, Vacis by name, a man of no mean station. And when he had arrived there, he began to reproach the Romans for their faithlessness to the Goths and upbraided them for the treason which he said they had committed against both their fatherland and themselves, for they

had exchanged the power of the Goths for Greeks who were not able to defend them, although they had never before seen any men of the Greek race come to Italy except actors of tragedy and mimes and thieving sailors. Such words and many like them were spoken by Vacis, but since no one replied to him, he returned to the Goths and Vittigis. As for Belisarius, he brought upon himself much ridicule on the part of the Romans, for though he had barely escaped from the enemy, he bade them take courage thenceforth and look with contempt upon the barbarians; for he knew well, he said, that he would conquer them decisively. Now the manner in which he had come to know this with certainty will be told in the following narrative. At length, when it was well on in the night, Belisarius, who had been fasting up to this time, was with difficulty compelled by his wife and those of his friends who were present to taste a very little bread. Thus, then, the two armies passed this night.

XIX

But on the following day they arrayed themselves for the struggle, the Goths thinking to capture Rome by siege without any trouble on account of the great size of the city, and the Romans defending it. Now the wall of the city has fourteen large gates and several smaller ones. And the Goths, being unable with their entire army to envelop the wall on every side, made six fortified camps from which they harassed the portion of the wall containing five gates, from the Flaminian as far as the one called the Praenestine Gate; and all these camps were made by them on the left bank of the Tiber River. Wherefore the barbarians feared lest their enemy, by destroying the bridge which bears the name of Mulvius, should render inaccessible to them all the land on the right bank of the river as far as the sea, and in this way have not the slightest experience of the evils of a siege, and so they fixed a seventh camp across the Tiber in the Plain of Nero, in order that the bridge might be between their two armies. So in this way two other gates came to be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the Aurelian (which is now named after Peter, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, since he lies not far from there) and the Transtiburtine Gate. Thus the Goths surrounded only about one-half of the wall with their army, but since they were in no direction wholly shut off from the wall by the river, they made attacks upon it throughout its whole extent whenever they wished.

Now the way the Romans came to build the city-wall on both sides of the river I shall now proceed to tell. In ancient times the Tiber used to flow alongside the circuit-wall for a considerable distance, even at the place where it is now enclosed. But this ground, on which the wall rises along the stream of the river, is flat and very accessible. And opposite this flat ground, across the Tiber, it happens that there is a great hill where all the mills of the city have been built from of old, because much water is brought by an aqueduct to the crest of the hill, and rushes thence down the incline with great force. For this reason the ancient Romans determined to surround the hill and the river bank near it with a wall, so that it might never be possible for an enemy to destroy the mills, and crossing the river, to carry on operations with ease against the circuit-wall of the city. So they decided to span the river at this point with a bridge, and to attach it to the wall; and by building many houses in the district across the river they caused the stream of the Tiber to be in the middle of the city. So much then for this.

And the Goths dug deep trenches about all their camps, and heaped up the earth, which they took out from them, on the inner side of the trenches, making this bank exceedingly high, and they planted great numbers of sharp stakes on the top, thus making all their camps in no way inferior to fortified strongholds. And the camp in the Plain of Nero was commanded by Marcias (for he had by now arrived from Gaul with his followers, with whom he was

encamped there), and the rest of the camps were commanded by Vittigis with five others; for there was one commander for each camp. So the Goths, having taken their positions in this way, tore open all the aqueducts, so that no water at all might enter the city from them. Now the aqueducts of Rome are fourteen in number, and were made of baked brick by the men of old, being of such breadth and height that it is possible for a man on horseback to ride in them. And Belisarius arranged for the defence of the city in the following manner. He himself held the small Pincian Gate and the gate next to this on the right, which is named the Salarian. For at these gates the circuit-wall was assailable, and at the same time it was possible for the Romans to go out from them against the enemy. The Praenestine Gate he gave to Bessas. And at the Flaminian, which is on the other side of the Pincian, he put Constantinus in command, having previously closed the gates and blocked them up most securely by building a wall of great stones on the inside, so that it might be impossible for anyone to open them. For since one of the camps was very near, he feared least some secret plot against the city should be made there by the enemy. And the remaining gates he ordered the commanders of the infantry forces to keep under guard. And he closed each of the aqueducts as securely as possible by filling their channels with masonry for a considerable distance, to prevent anyone from entering through them from the outside to do mischief.

But after the aqueducts had been broken open, as I have stated, the water no longer worked the mills, and the Romans were quite unable to operate them with any kind of animals owing to the scarcity of all food in time of siege; indeed they were scarcely able to provide for the horses which were indispensable to them. And so Belisarius hit upon the following device. Just below the bridge which I lately mentioned as being connected with the circuit-wall, he fastened ropes from the two banks of the river and stretched them as tight as he could, and then attached to them two boats side by side and two feet apart, where the flow of the water comes down from the arch of the bridge with the greatest force, and placing two mills on either boat, he hung between them the mechanism by which mills are customarily turned. And below these he fastened other boats, each attached to the one next behind in order, and he set the water-wheels between them in the same manner for a great distance. So by the force of the flowing water all the wheels, one after the other, were made to revolve independently, and thus they worked the mills with which they were connected and ground sufficient flour for the city. Now when the enemy learned this from the deserters, they destroyed the wheels in the following manner. They gathered large trees and bodies of Romans newly slain and kept throwing them into the river; and the most of these were carried with the current between the boats and broke off the mill-wheels. But Belisarius, observing what was being done, contrived the following device against it. He fastened above the bridge long iron chains, which reached completely across the Tiber. All the objects which the river brought down

struck upon these chains, and gathered there and went no farther. And those to whom this work was assigned kept pulling out these objects as they came and bore them to the land. And Belisarius did this, not so much on account of the mills, as because he began to think with alarm that the enemy might get inside the bridge at this point with many boats and be in the middle of the city before their presence became known. Thus the barbarians abandoned the attempt, since they met with no success in it. And thereafter the Romans continued to use these mills; but they were entirely excluded from the baths because of the scarcity of water. However, they had sufficient water to drink, since even for those who lived very far from the river it was possible to draw water from wells. But as for the sewers, which carry out from the city whatever is unclean, Belisarius was not forced to devise any plan of safety, for they all discharge into the Tiber River, and therefore it was impossible for any plot to be made against the city by the enemy in connection with them.

Thus, then, did Belisarius make his arrangements for the siege. And among the Samnites a large company of children, who were pasturing flocks in their own country, chose out two among them who were well favoured in strength of body, and calling one of them by the name of Belisarius, and naming the other Vittigis, bade them wrestle. And they entered into the struggle with the greatest vehemence and it so fell out that the one who impersonated Vittigis was thrown. Then the crowd of boys in play hung him to a tree. But a wolf by some chance appeared there, whereupon the boys all fled, and the one called Vittigis, who was suspended from the tree, remained for some time suffering this punishment and then died. And when this became known to the Samnites, they did not inflict any punishment upon these children, but divining the meaning of the incident declared that Belisarius would conquer decisively. So much for this.

But the populace of Rome were entirely unacquainted with the evils of war and siege. When, therefore, they began to be distressed by their inability to bathe and the scarcity of provisions, and found themselves obliged to forgo sleep in guarding the circuit-wall, and suspected that the city would be captured at no distant date; and when, at the same time, they saw the enemy plundering their fields and other possessions, they began to be dissatisfied and indignant that they, who had done no wrong, should suffer siege and be brought into peril of such magnitude. And gathering in groups by themselves, they railed openly against Belisarius, on the ground that he had dared to take the field against the Goths before he had received an adequate force from the emperor. And these reproaches against Belisarius were secretly indulged in also by the members of the council which they call the senate. And Vittigis, hearing all this from the deserters and desiring to embroil them with one another still more, and thinking that in this way the affairs of the Romans would be thrown into great confusion, sent to Belisarius some envoys, among whom was Albis. And when these men came before Belisarius, they spoke as follows in the presence of the Roman senators and all the commanders of the army:

“From of old, general, mankind has made true and proper distinctions in the names they give to things; and one of these distinctions is this — rashness is different from bravery. For rashness, when it takes possession of a man, brings him into danger with discredit, but bravery bestows upon him an adequate prize in reputation for valour. Now one of these two has brought you against us, but which it is you will straightway make clear. For if, on the one hand, you placed your confidence in bravery when you took the field against the Goths, there is ample opportunity, noble sir, for you to do the deeds of a brave man, since you have only to look down from your wall to see the army of the enemy; but if, on the other hand, it was because you were possessed by

rashness that you came to attack us, certainly you now repent you of the reckless undertaking. For the opinions of those who have made a desperate venture are wont to undergo a change whenever they find themselves in serious straits. Now, therefore, do not cause the sufferings of these Romans to be prolonged any further, men whom Theoderic fostered in a life not only of soft luxury but also of freedom, and cease your resistance to him who is the master both of the Goths and of the Italians. Is it not monstrous that you should sit in Rome hemmed in as you are and in abject terror of the enemy, while the king of this city passes his time in a fortified camp and inflicts the evils of war upon his own subjects? But we shall give both you and your followers an opportunity to take your departure forthwith in security, retaining all your possessions. For to trample upon those who have learned to take a new view of prudence we consider neither holy nor worthy of the ways of men. And, further, we should gladly ask these Romans what complaints they could have had against the Goths that they betrayed both us and themselves, seeing that up to this time they have enjoyed our kindness, and now are acquainted by experience with the assistance to be expected from you."

Thus spoke the envoys. And Belisarius replied as follows: "It is not to rest with you to choose the moment for conference. For men are by no means wont to wage war according to the judgment of their enemies, but it is customary for each one to arrange his own affairs for himself, in whatever manner seems to him best. But I say to you that there will come a time when you will want to hide your heads under the thistles but will find no shelter anywhere. As for Rome, moreover, which we have captured, in holding it we hold nothing which belongs to others, but it was you who trespassed upon this city in former times, though it did not belong to you at all, and now you have given it back, however unwillingly, to its ancient possessors. And whoever of you has hopes of setting foot in Rome without a fight is mistaken in his judgment. For as long as Belisarius lives, it is impossible for him to relinquish this city." Such were the words of Belisarius. But the Romans, being overcome by a great fear, sat in silence, and, even though they were abused by the envoys at length for their treason to the Goths, dared make no reply to them, except, indeed, that Fidelius saw fit to taunt them. This man was then praetorian prefect, having been appointed to the office by Belisarius, and for this reason he seemed above all others to be well disposed toward the emperor.

XXI

The envoys then betook themselves to their own army. And when Vittigis enquired of them what manner of man Belisarius was and how his purpose stood with regard to the question of withdrawing from Rome, they replied that the Goths were hoping for vain things if they supposed that they would frighten Belisarius in any way whatsoever. And when Vittigis heard this, he began in great earnest to plan an assault upon the wall, and the preparations he made for the attempt upon the fortifications were as follows. He constructed wooden towers equal in height to the enemy's wall, and he discovered its true measure by making many calculations based upon the courses of stone. And wheels were attached to the floor of these towers under each corner, which were intended, as they turned, to move the towers to any point the attacking army might wish at a given time, and the towers were drawn by oxen yoked together. After this he made ready a great number of ladders, that would reach as far as the parapet, and four engines which are called rams. Now this engine is of the following sort. Four upright wooden beams, equal in length, are set up opposite one another. To these beams they fit eight horizontal timbers, four above and an equal number at the base, thus binding them together. After they have thus made the frame of a four-sided building, they surround it on all sides, not with walls of wood or stone, but with a covering of hides, in order that the engine may be light for those who draw it and that those within may still be in the least possible danger of being shot by their opponents. And on the inside they hang another horizontal beam from the top by means of chains which swing free, and they keep it at about the middle of the interior. They then sharpen the end of this beam and cover it with a large iron head, precisely as they cover the round point of a missile, or they sometimes make the iron head square like an anvil. And the whole structure is raised upon four wheels, one being attached to each upright beam, and men to the number of no fewer than fifty to each ram move it from the inside. Then when they apply it to the wall, they draw back the beam which I have just mentioned by turning a certain mechanism, and then they let it swing forward with great force against the wall. And this beam by frequent blows is able quite easily to batter down and tear open a wall wherever it strikes, and it is for this reason that the engine has the name it bears, because the striking end of the beam, projecting as it does, is accustomed to butt against whatever it may encounter, precisely as do the males among sheep. Such, then, are the rams used by the assailants of a wall. And the Goths were holding in readiness an exceedingly great number of bundles of faggots, which they had made of pieces of wood and reeds, in order that by throwing them into the moat they might make the ground level, and that their engines might not be prevented from crossing it. Now after the Goths had made their preparations in this manner, they were eager to make an assault upon the wall.

But Belisarius placed upon the towers engines which they call "ballistae." Now these engines have the form of a bow, but on the under side of them a grooved wooden shaft projects; this shaft is so fitted to the bow that it is free to move, and rests upon a straight iron bed. So when men wish to shoot at the enemy with this, they make the parts of the bow which form the ends bend toward one another by means of a short rope fastened to them, and they place in the grooved shaft the arrow, which is about one half the length of the ordinary missiles which they shoot from bows, but about four times as wide. However, it does not have feathers of the usual sort attached to it, but by inserting thin pieces of wood in place of feathers, they give it in all respects the form of an arrow, making the point which they put on very large and in keeping with its thickness. And the men who stand on either side wind it up tight by means of certain appliances, and then the grooved shaft shoots forward and stops, but the missile is discharged from the shaft, and with such force that it attains the distance of not less than two bow-shots, and that, when it hits a tree or a rock, it pierces it easily. Such is the engine which bears this name, being so called because it shoots with very great force. And they fixed other engines along the parapet of the wall adapted for throwing stones. Now these resemble slings and are called "wild asses." And outside the gates they placed "wolves," which they make in the following manner. They set up two timbers which reach from the ground to the battlements; then they fit together beams which have been mortised to one another, placing some upright and others crosswise, so that the spaces between the intersections appear as a succession of holes. And from every joint there projects a kind of beak, which resembles very closely a thick goad. Then they fasten the cross-beams to the two upright timbers, beginning at the top and letting them extend half way down, and then lean the timbers back against the gates. And whenever the enemy come up near them, those above lay hold of the ends of the timbers and push, and these, falling suddenly upon the assailants, easily kill with the projecting beaks as many as they may catch. So Belisarius was thus engaged.

On the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege the Goths moved against the fortifications at about sunrise under the leadership of Vittigis in order to assault the wall, and all the Romans were struck with consternation at the sight of the advancing towers and rams, with which they were altogether unfamiliar. But Belisarius, seeing the ranks of the enemy as they advanced with the engines, began to laugh, and commanded the soldiers to remain quiet and under no circumstances to begin fighting until he himself should give the signal. Now the reason why he laughed he did not reveal at the moment, but later it became known. The Romans, however, supposing him to be hiding his real feelings by a jest, abused him and called him shameless, and were indignant that he did not try to check the enemy as they came forward. But when the Goths came near the moat, the general first of all stretched his bow and with a lucky aim hit in the neck and killed one of the men in armour who were leading the army on. And he fell on his back mortally wounded, while the whole Roman army raised an extraordinary shout such as was never heard before, thinking that they had received an excellent omen. And twice did Belisarius send forth his bolt, and the very same thing happened again a second time, and the shouting rose still louder from the circuit-wall, and the Romans thought that the enemy were conquered already. Then Belisarius gave the signal for the whole army to put their bows into action, but those near himself he commanded to shoot only at the oxen. And all the oxen fell immediately, so that the enemy could neither move the towers further nor in their perplexity do anything to meet the emergency while the fighting was in progress. In this way the forethought of Belisarius in not trying to check the enemy while still at a great distance came to be understood, as well as the reason why he had laughed at the simplicity of the barbarians, who had been so thoughtless as to hope to bring oxen up to the enemy's wall. Now all this took place at the Salarian Gate. But Vittigis, repulsed at this point, left there a large force of Goths, making of them a very deep phalanx and instructing the commanders on no condition to make an assault upon the fortifications, but remaining in position to shoot rapidly at the parapet, and give Belisarius no opportunity whatever to take reinforcements to any other part of the wall which he himself might propose to attack with a superior force; he then went to the Praenestine Gate with a great force, to a part of the fortifications which the Romans call the "Vivarium," where the wall was most assailable. Now it so happened that engines of war were already there, including towers and rams and a great number of ladders.

But in the meantime another Gothic assault was being made at the Aurelian Gate in the following manner. The tomb of the Roman Emperor Hadrian stands outside the Aurelian Gate, removed about a stone's throw from the fortifications, a very noteworthy sight. For it is made of Parian marble, and

the stones fit closely one upon the other, having nothing at all between them. And it has four sides which are all equal, each being about a stone's throw in length, while their height exceeds that of the city wall; and above there are statues of the same marble, representing men and horses, of wonderful workmanship. But since this tomb seemed to the men of ancient times a fortress threatening the city, they enclosed it by two walls, which extend to it from the circuit-wall, and thus made it a part of the wall. And, indeed, it gives the appearance of a high tower built as a bulwark before the gate there. So the fortifications at that point were most adequate. Now Constantinus, as it happened, had been appointed by Belisarius to have charge of the garrison at this tomb. And he had instructed him also to attend to the guarding of the adjoining wall, which had a small and inconsiderable garrison. For, since that part of the circuit-wall was the least assailable of all, because the river flows along it, he supposed that no assault would be made there, and so stationed an insignificant garrison at that place, and, since the soldiers he had were few, he assigned the great majority to the positions where there was most need of them. For the emperor's army gathered in Rome at the beginning of this siege amounted at most to only five thousand men. But since it was reported to Constantinus that the enemy were attempting the crossing of the Tiber, he became fearful for that part of the fortifications and went thither himself with all speed, accompanied by some few men to lend assistance, commanding the greater part of his men to attend to the guarding of the gate and the tomb. But meanwhile the Goths began an assault upon the Aurelian Gate and the Tower of Hadrian, and though they had no engines of war, they brought up a great quantity of ladders, and thought that by shooting a vast number of arrows they would very easily reduce the enemy to a state of helplessness and overpower the garrison there without any trouble on account of its small numbers. And as they advanced, they held before them shields no smaller than the long shields used by the Persians, and they succeeded in getting very close to their opponents without being perceived by them. For they came hidden under the colonnade which extends to the church of the Apostle Peter. From that shelter they suddenly appeared and began the attack, so that the guards were neither able to use the engine called the ballista (for these engines do not send their missiles except straight out), nor, indeed, could they ward off their assailants with their arrows, since the situation was against them on account of the large shields. But the Goths kept pressing vigorously upon them, shooting many missiles at the battlements, and they were already about to set their ladders against the wall, having practically surrounded those who were fighting from the tomb; for whenever the Goths advanced they always got in the rear of the Romans on both flanks; and for a short time consternation fell upon the Romans, who knew not what means of defence they should employ to save themselves, but afterwards by common agreement they broke in pieces the most of the statues, which were very large, and taking up great numbers of stones thus secured, threw them with both hands down upon the heads of the

enemy, who gave way before this shower of missiles. And as they retreated a little way, the Romans, having by now the advantage, plucked up courage, and with a mighty shout began to drive back their assailants by using their bows and hurling stones at them. And putting their hands to the engines, they reduced their opponents to great fear, and their assault was quickly ended. And by this time Constantinus also was present, having frightened back those who had tried the river and easily driven them off, because they did not find the wall there entirely unguarded, as they had supposed they would. And thus safety was restored at the Aurelian Gate.

But at the gate beyond the Tiber River, which is called the Pancratian Gate, a force of the enemy came, but accomplished nothing worth mentioning because of the strength of the place; for the fortifications of the city at this point are on a steep elevation and are not favourably situated for assaults. Paulus was keeping guard there with an infantry detachment which he commanded in person. In like manner they made no attempt on the Flaminian Gate, because it is situated on a precipitous slope and is not very easy of access. The "Reges," an infantry detachment, were keeping guard there with Ursicinus, who commanded them. And between this gate and the small gate next on the right, which is called the Pincian, a certain portion of the wall had split open of its own accord in ancient times, not clear to the ground, however, but about half way down, but still it had not fallen or been otherwise destroyed, though it leaned so to either side that one part of it appeared outside the rest of the wall and the other inside. And from this circumstance the Romans from ancient times have called the place "Broken Wall" in their own tongue. But when Belisarius in the beginning undertook to tear down this portion and rebuild it, the Romans prevented him, declaring that the Apostle Peter had promised them that he would care for the guarding of the wall there. This Apostle is revered by the Romans and held in awe above all others. And the outcome of events at this place was in all respects what the Romans contemplated and expected. For neither on that day nor throughout the whole time during which the Goths were besieging Rome did any hostile force come to that place, nor did any disturbance occur there. And we marvelled indeed that it never occurred to us nor to the enemy to remember this portion of the fortifications during the whole time, either while they were making their assaults or carrying out their designs against the wall by night; and yet many such attempts were made. It was for this reason, in fact, that at a later time also no one ventured to rebuild this part of the defences, but up to the present day the wall there is split open in this way. So much, then, for this.

And at the Salarian Gate a Goth of goodly stature and a capable warrior, wearing a corselet and having a helmet on his head, a man who was of no mean station in the Gothic nation, refused to remain in the ranks with his comrades, but stood by a tree and kept shooting many missiles at the parapet. But this man by some chance was hit by a missile from an engine which was on a tower at his left. And passing through the corselet and the body of the man, the missile sank more than half its length into the tree, and pinning him to the spot where it entered the tree, it suspended him there a corpse. And when this was seen by the Goths they fell into great fear, and getting outside the range of missiles, they still remained in line, but no longer harassed those on the wall.

But Bessas and Peranius summoned Belisarius, since Vittigis was pressing

most vigorously upon them at the Vivarium. And he was fearful concerning the wall there (for it was most assailable at that point, as has been said), and so came to the rescue himself with all speed, leaving one of his friends at the Salarian Gate. And finding that the soldiers in the Vivarium dreaded the attack of the enemy, which was being pressed with great vigour and by very large numbers, he bade them look with contempt upon the enemy and thus restored their confidence. Now the ground there was very level, and consequently the place lay open to the attacks of any assailant. And for some reason the wall at that point had crumbled a great deal, and to such an extent that the binding of the bricks did not hold together very well. Consequently the ancient Romans had built another wall of short length outside of it and encircling it, not for the sake of safety (for it was neither strengthened with towers, nor indeed was there any battlement built upon it, nor any other means by which it would have been possible to repulse an enemy's assault upon the fortifications), but in order to provide for an unseemly kind of luxury, namely, that they might confine and keep there lions and other wild animals. And it is for this reason that this place has been named the Vivarium; for thus the Romans call a place where untamed animals are regularly cared for. So Vittigis began to make ready various engines at different places along the wall and commanded the Goths to mine the outside wall, thinking that, if they should get inside that, they would have no trouble in capturing the main wall, which he knew to be by no means strong. But Belisarius, seeing that the enemy was undermining the Vivarium and assaulting the fortifications at many places, neither allowed the soldiers to defend the wall nor to remain at the battlement, except a very few, although he had with him whatever men of distinction the army contained. But he held them all in readiness below about the gates, with their corselets on and carrying only swords in their hands. And when the Goths, after making a breach in the wall, got inside the Vivarium, he quickly sent Cyprian with some others into the enclosure against them, commanding them to set to work. And they slew all who had broken in, for these made no defence and at the same time were being destroyed by one another in the cramped space about the exit. And since the enemy were thrown into dismay by the sudden turn of events and were not drawn up in order, but were rushing one in one direction and one in another, Belisarius suddenly opened the gates of the circuit-wall and sent out his entire army against his opponents. And the Goths had not the least thought of resistance, but rushed off in flight in any and every direction, while the Romans, following them up, found no difficulty in killing all whom they fell in with, and the pursuit proved a long one, since the Goths, in assaulting the wall at that place, were far away from their own camps. Then Belisarius gave the order to burn the enemy's engines, and the flames, rising to a great height, naturally increased the consternation of the fugitives.

Meanwhile it chanced that the same thing happened at the Salarian Gate also. For the Romans suddenly opened the gates and fell unexpectedly upon

the barbarians, and, as these made no resistance but turned their backs, slew them; and they burned the engines of war which were within their reach. And the flames at many parts of the wall rose to a great height, and the Goths were already being forced to retire from the whole circuit-wall; and the shouting on both sides was exceedingly loud, as the men on the wall urged on the pursuers, and those in the camps bewailed the overwhelming calamity they had suffered. Among the Goths there perished on that day thirty thousand, as their leaders declared, and a larger number were wounded; for since they were massed in great numbers, those fighting from the battlement generally hit somebody when they shot at them, and at the same time those who made the sallies destroyed an extraordinary number of terrified and fleeing men. And the fighting at the wall, which had commenced early in the morning, did not end until late in the afternoon. During that night, then, both armies bivouacked where they were, the Romans singing the song of victory on the fortifications and lauding Belisarius to the skies, having with them the spoils stripped from the fallen, while the Goths cared for their wounded and bewailed their dead.

And Belisarius wrote a letter to the emperor of the following purport: "We have arrived in Italy, as thou didst command, and we have made ourselves masters of much territory in it and have taken possession of Rome also, after driving out the barbarians who were here, whose leader, Leuderis, I have recently sent to you. But since we have stationed a great number of soldiers both in Sicily and in Italy to guard the strongholds which we have proved able to capture, our army has in consequence been reduced to only five thousand men. But the enemy have come against us, gathered together to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. And first of all, when we went out to spy upon their forces along the Tiber River and were compelled, contrary to our intention, to engage with them, we lacked only a little of being buried under a multitude of spears. And after this, when the barbarians attacked the wall with their whole army and assaulted the fortifications at every point with sundry engines of war, they came within a little of capturing both us and the city at the first onset, and they would have succeeded had not some chance snatched us from ruin. For achievements which transcend the nature of things may not properly and fittingly be ascribed to man's valour, but to a stronger power. Now all that has been achieved by us hitherto, whether it has been due to some kind fortune or to valour, is for the best; but as to our prospects from now on, I could wish better things for thy cause. However, I shall never hide from you anything that it is my duty to say and yours to do, knowing that while human affairs follow whatever course may be in accordance with God's will, yet those who are in charge of any enterprise always win praise or blame according to their own deeds. Therefore let both arms and soldiers be sent to us in such numbers that from now on we may engage with the enemy in this war with an equality of strength. For one ought not to trust everything to fortune, since fortune, on its part, is not given to following the same course forever. But do thou, O Emperor, take this thought to heart, that if at this time the barbarians win the victory over us, we shall be cast out of Italy which is thine and shall lose the army in addition, and besides all this we shall have to bear the shame, however great it may be, that attaches to our conduct. For I refrain from saying that we should also be regarded as having ruined the Romans, men who have held their safety more lightly than their loyalty to thy kingdom. Consequently, if this should happen, the result for us will be that the successes we have won thus far will in the end prove to have been but a prelude to calamities. For if it had so happened that we had been repulsed from Rome and Campania and, at a much earlier time, from Sicily, we should only be feeling the sting of the lightest of all misfortunes, that of having found ourselves unable to grow wealthy on the possessions of others. And again, this too is worthy of consideration by you, that it has never been possible even for many times ten thousand men to guard Rome for any considerable length of

time, since the city embraces a large territory, and, because it is not on the sea, is shut off from all supplies. And although at the present time the Romans are well disposed toward us, yet when their troubles are prolonged, they will probably not hesitate to choose the course which is better for their own interests. For when men have entered into friendship with others on the spur of the moment, it is not while they are in evil fortune, but while they prosper, that they are accustomed to keep faith with them. Furthermore, the Romans will be compelled by hunger to do many things they would prefer not to do. Now as for me, I know I am bound even to die for thy kingdom, and for this reason no man will ever be able to remove me from this city while I live; but I beg thee to consider what kind of a fame such an end of Belisarius would bring thee."

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. And the emperor, greatly distressed, began in haste to gather an army and ships, and sent orders to the troops of Valerian and Martinus to proceed with all speed. For they had been sent, as it happened, with another army at about the winter solstice, with instructions to sail to Italy. But they had sailed as far as Greece, and since they were unable to force their way any farther, they were passing the winter in the land of Aetolia and Acarnania. And the Emperor Justinian sent word of all this to Belisarius, and thus filled him and all the Romans with still greater courage and confirmed their zeal.

At this time it so happened that the following event took place in Naples. There was in the market-place a picture of Theoderic, the ruler of the Goths, made by means of sundry stones which were exceedingly small and tinted with nearly every colour. At one time during the life of Theoderic it had come to pass that the head of this picture fell apart, the stones as they had been set having become disarranged without having been touched by anyone, and by a coincidence Theoderic finished his life forthwith. And eight years later the stones which formed the body of the picture fell apart suddenly, and Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, immediately died. And after the passage of a short time, the stones about the groin fell to the ground, and Amalasuntha, the child of Theoderic, passed from the world. Now these things had already happened as described. But when the Goths began the siege of Rome, as chance would have it, the portion of the picture from the thighs to the tips of the feet fell into ruin, and thus the whole picture disappeared from the wall. And the Romans, divining the meaning of the incident, maintained that the emperor's army would be victorious in the war, thinking that the feet of Theoderic were nothing else than the Gothic people whom he ruled, and, in consequence, they became still more hopeful.

In Rome, moreover, some of the patricians brought out the Sibylline oracles, declaring that the danger which had come to the city would continue only up till the month of July. For it was fated that at that time someone should be appointed king over the Romans, and thenceforth Rome should have no longer any Getic peril to fear; for they say that the Goths are of the

Getic race. And the oracle was as follows: "In the fifth (Quintilis) month . . . under . . . as king nothing Getic longer. . . ." And they declared that the "fifth month" was July, some because the siege began on the first day of March, from which July is the fifth month, others because March was considered the first month until the reign of Numa, the full year before that time containing ten months and our July for this reason having its name Quintilis. But after all, none of these predictions came true. For neither was a king appointed over the Romans at that time, nor was the siege destined to be broken up until a year later, and Rome was again to come into similar perils in the reign of Totila, ruler of the Goths, as will be told by me in the subsequent narrative. For it seems to me that the oracle does not indicate this present attack of the barbarians, but some other attack which has either happened already or will come at some later time. Indeed, in my opinion, it is impossible for a mortal man to discover the meaning of the Sibyl's oracles before the actual event. The reason for this I shall now set forth, having read all the oracles in question. The Sibyl does not invariably mention events in their order, much less construct a well-arranged narrative, but after uttering some verse or other concerning the troubles in Libya she leaps straightway to the land of Persia, thence proceeds to mention the Romans, and then transfers the narrative to the Assyrians. And again, while uttering prophecies about the Romans, she foretells the misfortunes of the Britons. For this reason it is impossible for any man soever to comprehend the oracles of the Sibyl before the event, and it is only time itself, after the event has already come to pass and the words can be tested by experience, that can shew itself an accurate interpreter of her sayings. But as for these things, let each one reason as he desires. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

When the Goths had been repulsed in the fight at the wall, each army bivouacked that night in the manner already described. But on the following day Belisarius commanded all the Romans to remove their women and children to Naples, and also such of their domestics as they thought would not be needed by them for the guarding of the wall, his purpose being, naturally, to forestall a scarcity of provisions. And he issued orders to the soldiers to do the same thing, in case anyone had a male or female attendant. For, he went on to say, he was no longer able while besieged to provide them with food to the customary amount, but they would have to accept one half their daily ration in actual supplies, taking the remainder in silver. So they proceeded to carry out his instructions. And immediately a great throng set out for Campania. Now some, who had the good fortune to secure such boats as were lying at anchor in the harbour of Rome, secured passage, but the rest went on foot by the road which is called the Appian Way. And no danger or fear, as far as the besiegers were concerned, arose to disturb either those who travelled this way on foot or those who set out from the harbour. For, on the one hand, the enemy were unable to surround the whole of Rome with their camps on account of the great size of the city, and, on the other, they did not dare to be found far from the camps in small companies, fearing the sallies of their opponents. And on this account abundant opportunity was afforded for some time to the besieged both to move out of the city and to bring provisions into it from outside. And especially at night the barbarians were always in great fear, and so they merely posted guards and remained quietly in their camps. For parties were continually issuing from the city, and especially Moors in great numbers, and whenever they found their enemies either asleep or walking about in small companies (as is accustomed to happen often in a large army, the men going out not only to attend to the needs of nature, but also to pasture horses and mules and such animals as are suitable for food), they would kill them and speedily strip them, and if perchance a larger number of the enemy should fall upon them, they would retire on the run, being men swift of foot by nature and lightly equipped, and always distancing their pursuers in the flight. Consequently, the great majority were able to withdraw from Rome, and some went to Campania, some to Sicily, and others wherever they thought it was easier or better to go. But Belisarius saw that the number of soldiers at his command was by no means sufficient for the whole circuit of the wall, for they were few, as I have previously stated, and the same men could not keep guard constantly without sleeping, but some would naturally be taking their sleep while others were stationed on guard. At the same time he saw that the greatest part of the populace were hard pressed by poverty and in want of the necessities of life; for since they were men who worked with their hands, and all they had was what they got from day to day, and since

they had been compelled to be idle on account of the siege, they had no means of procuring provisions. For these reasons Belisarius mingled soldiers and citizens together and distributed them to each post, appointing a certain fixed wage for an unenlisted man for each day. In this way companies were made up which were sufficient for the guarding of the wall, and the duty of keeping guard on the fortifications during a stated night was assigned to each company, and the members of the companies all took turns in standing guard. In this manner, then, Belisarius did away with the distress of both soldiers and citizens.

But a suspicion arose against Silverius, the chief priest of the city, that he was engaged in treasonable negotiations with the Goths, and Belisarius sent him immediately to Greece, and a little later appointed another man, Vigilius by name, to the office of chief priest. And he banished from Rome on the same charge some of the senators, but later, when the enemy had abandoned the siege and retired, he restored them again to their homes. Among these was Maximus, whose ancestor Maximus had committed the crime against the Emperor Valentinian. And fearing lest the guards at the gates should become involved in a plot, and lest someone should gain access from the outside with intent to corrupt them with money, twice in each month he destroyed all the keys and had new ones made, each time of a different design, and he also changed the guards to other posts which were far removed from those they had formerly occupied, and every night he set different men in charge of those who were doing guard-duty on the fortifications. And it was the duty of these officers to make the rounds of a section of the wall, taking turns in this work, and to write down the names of the guards, and if anyone was missing from that section, they put another man on duty in his stead for the moment, and on the morrow reported the missing man to Belisarius himself, whoever he might be, in order that the fitting punishment might be given him. And he ordered musicians to play their instruments on the fortifications at night, and he continually sent detachments of soldiers, especially Moors, outside the walls, whose duty it was always to pass the night about the moat, and he sent dogs with them in order that no one might approach the fortifications, even at a distance, without being detected.

At that time some of the Romans attempted secretly to force open the doors of the temple of Janus. This Janus was the first of the ancient gods whom the Romans call in their own tongue "Penates." And he has his temple in that part of the forum in front of the senate-house which lies a little above the "Tria Fata"; for thus the Romans are accustomed to call the Moirai. And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square, but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue, is of bronze, and not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces, one of which is turned toward the east and the other toward the west. And there are brazen doors fronting each face, which the Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and

prosperity, but when they had war they opened them. But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly. And those who had attempted to do this escaped detection; and no investigation of the act was made, as was natural in a time of great confusion, since it did not become known to the commanders, nor did it reach the ears of the multitude, except of a very few.

Now Vittigis, in his anger and perplexity, first sent some of his bodyguards to Ravenna with orders to kill all the Roman senators whom he had taken there at the beginning of this war. And some of them, learning of this beforehand, succeeded in making their escape, among them being Vergentinus and Reparatus, the brother of Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, both of whom betook themselves into Liguria and remained there; but all the rest were destroyed. After this Vittigis, seeing that the enemy were enjoying a large degree of freedom, not only in taking out of the city whatever they wished, but also in bringing in provisions both by land and by sea, decided to seize the harbour, which the Romans call "Portus."

This harbour is distant from the city one hundred and twenty-six stades; for Rome lacks only so much of being on the sea; and it is situated where the Tiber River has its mouth. Now as the Tiber flows down from Rome, and reaches a point rather near the sea, about fifteen stades from it, the stream divides into two parts and makes there the Sacred Island, as it is called. As the river flows on the island becomes wider, so that the measure of its breadth corresponds to its length, for the two streams have between them a distance of fifteen stades; and the Tiber remains navigable on both sides. Now the portion of the river on the right empties into the harbour, and beyond the mouth the Romans in ancient times built on the shore a city, which is surrounded by an exceedingly strong wall; and it is called, like the harbour, "Portus." But on the left at the point where the other part of the Tiber empties into the sea is situated the city of Ostia, lying beyond the place where the river-bank ends, a place of great consequence in olden times, but now entirely without walls. Moreover, the Romans at the very beginning made a road leading from Portus to Rome, which was smooth and presented no difficulty of any kind. And many barges are always anchored in the harbour ready for service, and no small number of oxen stand in readiness close by. Now when the merchants reach the harbour with their ships, they unload their cargoes and place them in the barges, and sail by way of the Tiber to Rome; but they do not use sails or oars at all, for the boats cannot be propelled in the stream by any wind since the river winds about exceedingly and does not follow a straight course, nor can oars be employed, either, since the force of the current is always against them. Instead of using such means, therefore, they fasten ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen, and so draw them just like waggons up to Rome. But on the other side of the river, as one goes from the city of Ostia to Rome, the road is shut in by woods and in general lies neglected, and is not even near the bank of the Tiber, since there is no towing of barges on that road.

So the Goths, finding the city at the harbour unguarded, captured it at the first onset and slew many of the Romans who lived there, and so took possession of the harbour as well as the city. And they established a thousand

of their number there as guards, while the remainder returned to the camps. In consequence of this move it was impossible for the besieged to bring in the goods which came by sea, except by way of Ostia, a route which naturally involved great labour and danger besides. For the Roman ships were not even able to put in there any longer, but they anchored at Anthium, a day's journey distant from Ostia. And they found great difficulty in carrying the cargoes thence to Rome, the reason for this being the scarcity of men. For Belisarius, fearing for the fortifications of Rome, had been unable to strengthen the harbour with any garrison at all, though I think that if even three hundred men had been on guard there, the barbarians would never have made an attempt on the place, which is exceedingly strong.

XXVII

This exploit, then, was accomplished by the Goths on the third day after they were repulsed in the assault on the wall. But twenty days after the city and harbour of Portus were captured, Martinus and Valerian arrived, bringing with them sixteen hundred horsemen, the most of whom were Huns and Sclaveni and Antae, who are settled above the Ister River not far from its banks. And Belisarius was pleased by their coming and thought that thenceforth his army ought to carry the war against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, he commanded one of his own bodyguards, Trajan by name, an impetuous and active fighter, to take two hundred horsemen of the guards and go straight towards the enemy, and as soon as they came near the camps to go up on a high hill (which he pointed out to him) and remain quietly there. And if the enemy should come against them, he was not to allow the battle to come to close quarters, nor to touch sword or spear in any case, but to use bows only, and as soon as he should find that his quiver had no more arrows in it, he was to flee as hard as he could with no thought of shame and retire to the fortifications on the run. Having given these instructions, he held in readiness both the engines for shooting arrows and the men skilled in their use. Then Trajan with the two hundred men went out from the Salarian Gate against the camp of the enemy. And they, being filled with amazement at the suddenness of the thing, rushed out from the camps, each man equipping himself as well as he could. But the men under Trajan galloped to the top of the hill which Belisarius had shewn them, and from there began to ward off the barbarians with missiles. And since their shafts fell among a dense throng, they were for the most part successful in hitting a man or a horse. But when all their missiles had at last failed them, they rode off to the rear with all speed, and the Goths kept pressing upon them in pursuit. But when they came near the fortifications, the operators of the engines began to shoot arrows from them, and the barbarians became terrified and abandoned the pursuit. And it is said that not less than one thousand Goths perished in this action. A few days later Belisarius sent Mundilas, another of his own bodyguard, and Diogenes, both exceptionally capable warriors, with three hundred guardsmen, commanding them to do the same thing as the others had done before. And they acted according to his instructions. Then, when the enemy confronted them, the result of the encounter was that no fewer than in the former action, perhaps even more, perished in the same way. And sending even a third time the guardsman Oilas with three hundred horsemen, with instructions to handle the enemy in the same way, he accomplished the same result. So in making these three sallies, in the manner told by me, Belisarius destroyed about four thousand of his antagonists.

But Vittigis, failing to take into account the difference between the two armies in point of equipment of arms and of practice in warlike deeds, thought

that he too would most easily inflict grave losses upon the enemy, if only he should make his attack upon them with a small force. He therefore sent five hundred horsemen, commanding them to go close to the fortifications, and to make a demonstration against the whole army of the enemy of the very same tactics as had time and again been used against them, to their sorrow, by small bands of the foe. And so, when they came to a high place not far from the city, but just beyond the range of missiles, they took their stand there. But Belisarius selected a thousand men, putting Bessas in command, and ordered them to engage with the enemy. And this force, by forming a circle around the enemy and always shooting at them from behind, killed a large number, and by pressing hard upon the rest compelled them to descend into the plain. There a hand-to-hand battle took place between forces not evenly matched in strength, and most of the Goths were destroyed, though some few with difficulty made their escape and returned to their own camp. And Vittigis reviled these men, insisting that cowardice had been the cause of their defeat, and undertaking to find another set of men to retrieve the loss after no long time, he remained quiet for the present; but three days later he selected men from all the camps, five hundred in number, and bade them make a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. Now as soon as Belisarius saw that these men had come rather near, he sent out against them fifteen hundred men under the commanders Martinus and Valerian. And a cavalry battle taking place immediately, the Romans, being greatly superior to the enemy in numbers, routed them without any trouble and destroyed practically all of them.

And to the enemy it seemed in every way a dreadful thing and a proof that fortune stood against them, if, when they were many and the enemy who came against them were few, they were defeated, and when, on the other hand, they in turn went in small numbers against their enemy, they were likewise destroyed. Belisarius, however, received a public vote of praise from the Romans for his wisdom, at which they not unnaturally marvelled greatly, but in private his friends asked him on what he had based his judgment on that day when he had escaped from the enemy after being so completely defeated, and why he had been confident that he would overcome them decisively in the war. And he said that in engaging with them at the first with only a few men he had noticed just what the difference was between the two armies, so that if he should fight his battles with them with a force which was in strength proportionate to theirs, the multitudes of the enemy could inflict no injury upon the Romans by reason of the smallness of their numbers. And the difference was this, that practically all the Romans and their allies, the Huns, are good mounted bowmen, but not a man among the Goths has had practice in this branch, for their horsemen are accustomed to use only spears and swords, while their bowmen enter battle on foot and under cover of the heavy-armed men. So the horsemen, unless the engagement is at close quarters, have no means of defending themselves against opponents who use the bow, and therefore can easily be reached by the arrows and destroyed; and as for the

foot-soldiers, they can never be strong enough to make sallies against men on horseback. It was for these reasons, Belisarius declared, that the barbarians had been defeated by the Romans in these last engagements. And the Goths, remembering the unexpected outcome of their own experiences, desisted thereafter from assaulting the fortifications of Rome in small numbers and also from pursuing the enemy when harassed by them, except only so far as to drive them back from their own camps.

XXVIII

But later on the Romans, elated by the good fortune they had already enjoyed, were with one accord eager to do battle with the whole Gothic army and thought that they should make war in the open field. Belisarius, however, considering that the difference in size of the two armies was still very great, continued to be reluctant to risk a decisive battle with his whole army; and so he busied himself still more with his sallies and kept planning them against the enemy. But when at last he yielded his point because of the abuse heaped upon him by the army and the Romans in general, though he was willing to fight with the whole army, yet nevertheless he wished to open the engagement by a sudden sally. And many times he was frustrated when he was on the point of doing this, and was compelled to put off the attack to the following day, because he found to his surprise that the enemy had been previously informed by deserters as to what was to be done and were unexpectedly ready for him. For this reason, then, he was now willing to fight a decisive battle even in the open field, and the barbarians gladly came forth for the encounter. And when both sides had been made ready for the conflict as well as might be, Belisarius gathered his whole army and exhorted them as follows:

“It is not because I detected any cowardice on your part, fellow-soldiers, nor because I was terrified at the strength of the enemy, that I have shrunk from the engagement with them, but I saw that while we were carrying on the war by making sudden sallies matters stood well with us, and consequently I thought that we ought to adhere permanently to the tactics which were responsible for our success. For I think that when one’s present affairs are going to one’s satisfaction, it is inexpedient to change to another course of action. But since I see that you are eager for this danger, I am filled with confidence and shall never oppose your ardour. For I know that the greatest factor in the decision of war is always the attitude of the fighting men, and it is generally by their enthusiasm that successes are won. Now, therefore, the fact that a few men drawn up for battle with valour on their side are able to overcome a multitude of the enemy, is well known by every man of you, not by hearsay, but by daily experience of fighting. And it will rest with you not to bring shame upon the former glories of my career as general, nor upon the hope which this enthusiasm of yours inspires. For the whole of what has already been accomplished by us in this war must of necessity be judged in accordance with the issue of the present day. And I see that the present moment is also in our favour, for it will, in all probability, make it easier for us to gain the mastery over the enemy, because their spirit has been enslaved by what has gone before. For when men have often met with misfortune, their hearts are no longer wont to thrill even slightly with manly valour. And let no one of you spare horse or bow or any weapon. For I will immediately provide you with others in place of all that are destroyed in the battle.”

After speaking these words of exhortation, Belisarius led out his army through the small Pincian Gate and the Salarian Gate, and commanded some few men to go through the Aurelian Gate into the Plain of Nero. These he put under the command of Valentinus, a commander of a cavalry detachment, and he directed him not to begin any fighting, or to go too close to the camp of the enemy, but constantly to give the appearance of being about to attack immediately, so that none of the enemy in that quarter might be able to cross the neighbouring bridge and come to the assistance of the soldiers from the other camps. For since, as I have previously stated, the barbarians encamped in the Plain of Nero were many, it seemed to him sufficient if these should all be prevented from taking part in the engagement and be kept separated from the rest of the army. And when some of the Roman populace took up arms and followed as volunteers, he would not allow them to be drawn up for battle along with the regular troops, fearing lest, when they came to actual fighting, they should become terrified at the danger and throw the entire army into confusion, since they were labouring men and altogether unpractised in war. But outside the Pancratian Gate, which is beyond the Tiber River, he ordered them to form a phalanx and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal, reasoning, as actually proved to be the case, that if the enemy in the Plain of Nero should see both them and the men under Valentinus, they would never dare leave their camp and enter battle with the rest of the Gothic army against his own forces. And he considered it a stroke of good luck and a very important advantage that such a large number of men should be kept apart from the army of his opponents.

Such being the situation, he wished on that day to engage in a cavalry battle only; and indeed most of the regular infantry were now unwilling to remain in their accustomed condition, but, since they had captured horses as booty from the enemy and had become not unpractised in horsemanship, they were now mounted. And since the infantry were few in number and unable even to make a phalanx of any consequence, and had never had the courage to engage with the barbarians, but always turned to flight at the first onset, he considered it unsafe to draw them up at a distance from the fortifications, but thought it best that they should remain in position where they were, close by the moat, his purpose being that, if it should so happen that the Roman horsemen were routed, they should be able to receive the fugitives and, as a fresh body of men, help them to ward off the enemy.

But there were two men among his bodyguards, a certain Principius, who was a man of note and a Pisidian by birth, and Tarmutus, an Isaurian, brother of Ennes who was commander of the Isaurians. These men came before Belisarius and spoke as follows: "Most excellent of generals, we beg you neither to decide that your army, small as it is and about to fight with many tens of thousands of barbarians, be cut off from the phalanx of the infantry, nor to think that one ought to treat with contumely the infantry of the Romans, by means of which, as we hear, the power of the ancient Romans was brought

to its present greatness. For if it so happens that they have done nothing of consequence in this war, this is no evidence of the cowardice of the soldiers, but it is the commanders of the infantry who would justly bear the blame, for they alone ride on horseback in the battle-line and are not willing to consider the fortunes of war as shared by all, but as a general thing each one of them by himself takes to flight before the struggle begins. But do you keep all the commanders of infantry, since you see that they have become cavalry and that they are quite unwilling to take their stand beside their subordinates, and include them with the rest of the cavalry and so enter this battle, but permit us to lead the infantry into the combat. For since we also are unmounted, as are these troops, we shall do our part in helping them to support the attack of the multitude of barbarians, full of hope that we shall inflict upon the enemy whatever chastisement God shall permit.”

When Belisarius heard this request, at first he did not assent to it; for he was exceedingly fond of these two men, who were fighters of marked excellence, and he was unwilling to have a small body of infantry take such a risk. But finally, overborne by the eagerness of the men, he consented to leave only a small number of their soldiers, in company with the Roman populace, to man the gates and the battlement along the top of the wall where the engines of war were, and to put the rest under command of Principius and Tarmutus, ordering them to take position in the rear in regular formation. His purpose in this was, in the first place, to keep these troops from throwing the rest of the army into confusion if they themselves should become panic-stricken at the danger, and, in the second place, in case any division of the cavalry should be routed at any time, to prevent the retreat from extending to an indefinite distance, but to allow the cavalry simply to fall back upon the infantry and make it possible for them, with the infantry's help, to ward off the pursuers.

In this fashion the Romans had made their preparations for the encounter. As for Vittigis, he had armed all the Goths, leaving not a man behind in the camps, except those unfit for fighting. And he commanded the men under Marcias to remain in the Plain of Nero, and to attend to the guarding of the bridge, that the enemy might not attack his men from that direction. He himself then called together the rest of the army and spoke as follows:

“It may perhaps seem to some of you that I am fearful about my sovereignty, and that this is the motive which has led me, in the past, to shew a friendly spirit toward you and, on the present occasion, to address you with seductive words in order to inspire you with courage. And such reasoning is not out of accord with the ways of men. For unenlightened men are accustomed to shew gentleness toward those whom they want to make use of, even though these happen to be in a much humbler station than they, but to be difficult of access to others whose assistance they do not desire. As for me, however, I care neither for the end of life nor for the loss of power. Nay, I should even pray that I might put off this purple to-day, if a Goth were to put it on. And I have always regarded the end of Theodatus as one of the most fortunate, in that he was privileged to lose both his sovereignty and his life at the hands of men of his own nation. For a calamity which falls upon an individual without involving his nation also in destruction does not lack an element of consolation, in the view, at least, of men who are not wanting in wisdom. But when I reflect upon the fate of the Vandals and the end of Gelimer, the thoughts which come to my mind are of no ordinary kind; nay, I seem to see the Goths and their children reduced to slavery, your wives ministering in the most shameful of all ways to the most hateful of men, and myself and the granddaughter of Theoderic led wherever it suits the pleasure of those who are now our enemies; and I would have you also enter this battle fearing lest this fate befall us. For if you do this, on the field of battle you will count the end of life as more to be desired than safety after defeat. For noble men consider that there is only one misfortune — to survive defeat at the hands of their enemy. But as for death, and especially death which comes quickly, it always brings happiness to those who were before not blest by fortune. It is very clear that if you keep these thoughts in mind as you go through the present engagement, you will not only conquer your opponents most easily, few as they are and Greeks, but will also punish them forthwith for the injustice and insolence with which they, without provocation, have treated us. For although we boast that we are their superiors in valour, in numbers, and in every other respect, the boldness which they feel in confronting us is due merely to elation at our misfortunes; and the only asset they have is the indifference we have shewn. For their self-confidence is fed by their undeserved good fortune.”

With these words of exhortation Vittigis proceeded to array his army for battle, stationing the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the two wings. He did not, however, draw up his phalanx far from the camps, but very near them, in order that, as soon as the rout should take place, the enemy might easily be overtaken and killed, there being abundance of room for the pursuit. For he expected that if the struggle should become a pitched battle in the plain, they would not withstand him even a short time; since he judged by the great disparity of numbers that the army of the enemy was no match for his own.

So the soldiers on both sides, beginning in the early morning, opened battle; and Vittigis and Belisarius were in the rear urging on both armies and inciting them to fortitude. And at first the Roman arms prevailed, and the barbarians kept falling in great numbers before their archery, but no pursuit of them was made. For since the Gothic cavalry stood in dense masses, other men very easily stepped into the places of those who were killed, and so the loss of those who fell among them was in no way apparent. And the Romans evidently were satisfied, in view of their very small number, that the struggle should have such a result for them. So after they had by midday carried the battle as far as the camps of their opponents, and had already slain many of the enemy, they were anxious to return to the city if any pretext should present itself to them. In this part of the action three among the Romans proved themselves brave men above all others, Athenodorus, an Isaurian, a man of fair fame among the guards of Belisarius, and Theodoriscus and George, spearmen of Martinus and Cappadocians by birth. For they constantly kept going out beyond the front of the phalanx, and there despatched many of the barbarians with their spears. Such was the course of events here.

But in the Plain of Nero the two armies remained for a long time facing one another, and the Moors, by making constant sallies and hurling their javelins among the enemy, kept harrying the Goths. For the Goths were quite unwilling to go out against them through fear of the forces of the Roman populace which were not far away, thinking, of course, that they were soldiers and were remaining quiet because they had in mind some sort of an ambush against themselves with the object of getting in their rear, exposing them to attack on both sides, and thus destroying them. But when it was now the middle of the day, the Roman army suddenly made a rush against the enemy, and the Goths were unexpectedly routed, being paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. And they did not succeed even in fleeing to their camp, but climbed the hills near by and remained quiet. Now the Romans, though many in number, were not all soldiers, but were for the most part a throng of men without defensive armour. For inasmuch as the general was elsewhere, many sailors and servants in the Roman camp, in their eagerness to have a share in the war, mingled with that part of the army. And although by their mere numbers they did fill the barbarians with consternation and turn them to flight, as has been said, yet by reason of their lack of order they lost the day for the

Romans. For the intermixture of the above-mentioned men caused the soldiers to be thrown into great disorder, and although Valentinus kept constantly shouting orders to them, they could not hear his commands at all. For this reason they did not even follow up the fugitives or kill a man, but allowed them to stand at rest on the hills and in security to view what was going on. Nor did they take thought to destroy the bridge there, and thus prevent the city from being afterwards besieged on both sides; for, had they done so, the barbarians would have been unable to encamp any longer on the farther side of the Tiber River. Furthermore, they did not even cross the bridge and get in the rear of their opponents who were fighting there with the troops of Belisarius. And if this had been done, the Goths, I think, would no longer have thought of resistance, but they would have turned instantly to flight, each man as he could. But as it was, they took possession of the enemy's camp and turned to plundering his goods, and they set to work carrying thence many vessels of silver and many other valuables. Meanwhile the barbarians for some time remained quietly where they were and observed what was going on, but finally by common consent they advanced against their opponents with great fury and shouting. And finding men in complete disorder engaged in plundering their property, they slew many and quickly drove out the rest. For all who were caught inside the camp and escaped slaughter were glad to cast their plunder from their shoulders and take to flight.

While these things were taking place in the Plain of Nero, meantime the rest of the barbarian army stayed very near their camps and, protecting themselves with their shields, vigorously warded off their opponents, destroying many men and a much larger number of horses. But on the Roman side, when those who had been wounded and those whose horses had been killed left the ranks, then, in an army which had been small even before, the smallness of their numbers was still more evident, and the difference between them and the Gothic host was manifestly great. Finally the horsemen of the barbarians who were on the right wing, taking note of this, advanced at a gallop against the enemy opposite them. And the Romans there, unable to withstand their spears, rushed off in flight and came to the infantry phalanx. However, the infantry also were unable to hold their ground against the oncoming horsemen, and most of them began to join the cavalry in flight. And immediately the rest of the Roman army also began to retire, the enemy pressing upon their heels, and the rout became decisive. But Principius and Tarmutus with some few of the infantry of their command made a display of valorous deeds against the Goths. For as they continued to fight and disdained to turn to flight with the others, most of the Goths were so amazed that they halted. And consequently the rest of the infantry and most of the horsemen made their escape in greater security. Now Principius fell where he stood, his whole body hacked to pieces, and around him fell forty-two foot-soldiers. But Tarmutus, holding two Isaurian javelins, one in each hand, continued to thrust them into his assailants as he turned from side to side, until, finally, he

desisted because his body was covered with wounds; but when his brother Ennes came to the rescue with a detachment of cavalry, he revived, and running swiftly, covered as he was with gore and wounds, he made for the fortifications without throwing down either of his javelins. And being fleet of foot by nature, he succeeded in making his escape, in spite of the plight of his body, and did not fall until he had just reached the Pincian Gate. And some of his comrades, supposing him to be dead, lifted him on a shield and carried him. But he lived on two days before he died, leaving a high reputation both among the Isaurians and in the rest of the army.

The Romans, meanwhile, being by now thoroughly frightened, attended to the guarding of the wall, and shutting the gates they refused, in their great excitement, to receive the fugitives into the city, fearing that the enemy would rush in with them. And such of the fugitives as had not already got inside the fortifications, crossed the moat, and standing with their backs braced against the wall were trembling with fear, and stood there forgetful of all valour and utterly unable to ward off the barbarians, although they were pressing upon them and were about to cross the moat to attack them. And the reason was that most of them had lost their spears, which had been broken in the engagement and during the flight, and they were not able to use their bows because they were huddled so closely together. Now so long as not many defenders were seen at the battlement, the Goths kept pressing on, having hopes of destroying all those who had been shut out and of overpowering the men who held the circuit-wall. But when they saw a very great number both of soldiers and of the Roman populace at the battlements defending the wall, they immediately abandoned their purpose and rode off thence to the rear, heaping much abuse upon their opponents. And the battle, having begun at the camps of the barbarians, ended at the moat and the wall of the city.

BOOK VI. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

After this the Romans no longer dared risk a battle with their whole army; but they engaged in cavalry battles, making sudden sallies in the same manner as before, and were generally victorious over the barbarians. Foot-soldiers also went out from both sides, not, however, arrayed in a phalanx, but accompanying the horsemen. And once Bessas in the first rush dashed in among the enemy carrying his spear and killed three of their best horsemen and turned the rest to flight. And another time, when Constantinus had led out the Huns in the Plain of Nero in the late afternoon, and saw that they were being overpowered by the superior numbers of their opponents, he took the following measures. There has been in that place from of old a great stadium where the gladiators of the city used to fight in former times, and the men of old built many other buildings round about this stadium; consequently there are, as one would expect, narrow passages all about this place. Now on the occasion in question, since Constantinus could neither overcome the throng of the Goths nor flee without great danger, he caused all the Huns to dismount from their horses, and on foot, in company with them, took his stand in one of the narrow passages there. Then by shooting from that safe position they slew large numbers of the enemy. And for some time the Goths withstood their missiles. For they hoped, as soon as the supply of missiles in the quivers of the Huns should be exhausted, to be able to surround them without any trouble, take them prisoners, and lead them back to their camp. But since the Massagetae, who were not only good bowmen but also had a dense throng to shoot into, hit an enemy with practically every shot, the Goths perceived that above half their number had perished, and since the sun was about to set, they knew not what to do and so rushed off in flight. Then indeed many of them fell; for the Massagetae followed them up, and since they know how to shoot the bow with the greatest accuracy even when running at great speed, they continued to discharge their arrows no less than before, shooting at their backs, and kept up the slaughter. And thus Constantinus with his Huns came back to Rome at night.

And when Peranius, not many days later, led some of the Romans through the Salarian Gate against the enemy, the Goths, indeed, fled as hard as they could, but about sunset a counter-pursuit was made suddenly, and a Roman foot-soldier, becoming greatly confused, fell into a deep hole, many of which were made there by the men of old, for the storage of grain, I suppose. And he did not dare to cry out, supposing that the enemy were encamped near by, and was not able in any way whatever to get out of the pit, for it afforded no means of climbing up; he was therefore compelled to pass the night there. Now on the next day, when the barbarians had again been put to flight, one of the Goths fell into the same hole. And there the two men were reconciled to mutual friendship and good-will, brought together as they were by their

necessity, and they exchanged solemn pledges, each that he would work earnestly for the salvation of the other; and then both of them began shouting with loud and frantic cries. Now the Goths, following the sound, came and peered over the edge of the hole, and enquired who it was who shouted. At this, the Roman, in accordance with the plan decided upon by the two men, kept silence, and the Goth in his native tongue said that he had just recently fallen in there during the rout which had taken place, and asked them to let down a rope that he might come up. And they as quickly as possible threw down the ends of ropes, and, as they thought, were pulling up the Goth, but the Roman laid hold of the ropes and was pulled up, saying only that if he should go up first the Goths would never abandon their comrade, but if they should learn that merely one of the enemy was there they would take no account of him. So saying, he went up. And when the Goths saw him, they wondered and were in great perplexity, but upon hearing the whole story from him they drew up his comrade next, and he told them of the agreement they had made and of the pledges both had given. So he went off with his companions, and the Roman was released unharmed and permitted to return to the city. After this horsemen in no great numbers armed themselves many times for battle, but the struggles always ended in single combats, and the Romans were victorious in all of them. Such, then, was the course of these events.

A little after this an engagement took place in the Plain of Nero, wherein various small groups of horsemen were engaged in pursuing their opponents in various directions; in one group was Chorsamantis, a man of note among the guards of Belisarius, by birth a Massagete, who with some others was pursuing seventy of the enemy. And when he had got well out in the plain the other Romans rode back, but Chorsamantis went on with the pursuit alone. As soon as the Goths perceived this, they turned their horses about and came against him. And he advanced into their midst, killed one of the best of them with his spear, and then went after the others, but they again turned and rushed off in flight. But they were ashamed before their comrades in the camp, who, they suspected, could already see them, and wished to attack him again. They had, however, precisely the same experience as before and lost one of their best men, and so turned to flight in spite of their shame, and after Chorsamantis had pursued them as far as their stockade he returned alone. And a little later, in another battle, this man was wounded in the left shin, and it was his opinion that the weapon had merely grazed the bone. However, he was rendered unfit for fighting for a certain number of days by reason of this wound, and since he was a barbarian he did not endure this patiently, but threatened that he would right speedily have vengeance upon the Goths for this insult to his leg. So when not long afterwards he had recovered and was drunk at lunch time, as was his custom, he purposed to go alone against the enemy and avenge the insult to his leg; and when he had come to the small Pincian Gate he stated that he was sent by Belisarius to the enemy's camp.

And the guards at the gate, who could not doubt the word of a man who was the best of the guards of Belisarius, opened the gates and allowed him to go wherever he would. And when the enemy spied him, they thought at first that some deserter was coming over to them, but when he came near and put his hand to his bow, twenty men, not knowing who he might be, went out against him. These he easily drove off, and then began to ride back at a walk, and when more Goths came against him he did not flee. But when a great throng gathered about him and he still insisted upon fighting them, the Romans, watching the sight from the towers, suspected that the man was crazy, but they did not yet know that it was Chorsamantis. At length, after making a display of great and very noteworthy deeds, he found himself surrounded by the army of the enemy, and paid the penalty for his unreasonable daring. And when Belisarius and the Roman army learned this, they mourned greatly, lamenting that the hope which all placed in the man had come to naught.

II

Now a certain Euthalius, at about the spring equinox, came to Taracina from Byzantium with the money which the emperor owed the soldiers. And fearing lest the enemy should come upon him on the road and both rob him of the money and kill him, he wrote to Belisarius requesting him to make the journey to Rome safe for him. Belisarius accordingly selected one hundred men of note from among his own bodyguards and sent them with two spearmen to Taracina to assist him in bringing the money. And at the same time he kept trying to make the barbarians believe that he was about to fight with his whole army, his purpose being to prevent any of the enemy from leaving the vicinity, either to bring in provisions or for any other purpose. But when he found out that Euthalius and his men would arrive on the morrow, he arrayed his army and set it in order for battle, and the barbarians were in readiness. Now throughout the whole forenoon he merely held his soldiers near the gates; for he knew that Euthalius and those who accompanied him would arrive at night. Then, at midday, he commanded the army to take their lunch, and the Goths did the same thing, supposing that he was putting off the engagement to the following day. A little later, however, Belisarius sent Martinus and Valerian to the Plain of Nero with the troops under their command, directing them to throw the enemy's camp into the greatest possible confusion. And from the small Pincian Gate he sent out six hundred horsemen against the camps of the barbarians, placing them under command of three of his own spearmen, Artasires, a Persian, and Bochas, of the race of the Massagetae, and Cutilas, a Thracian. And many of the enemy came out to meet them. For a long time, however, the battle did not come to close quarters, but each side kept retreating when the other advanced and making pursuits in which they quickly turned back, until it looked as if they intended to spend the rest of the day at this sort of thing. But as they continued, they began at last to be filled with rage against each other. The battle then settled down to a fierce struggle in which many of the best men on both sides fell, and support came up for each of the two armies, both from the city and from the camps. And when these fresh troops were mingled with the fighters the struggle became still greater. And the shouting which filled the city and the camps terrified the combatants. But finally the Romans by their valour forced back the enemy and routed them.

In this action Cutilas was struck in the middle of the head by a javelin, and he kept on pursuing with the javelin still embedded in his head. And after the rout had taken place, he rode into the city at about sunset together with the other survivors, the javelin in his head waving about, a most extraordinary sight. During the same encounter Arzes, one of the guards of Belisarius, was hit by one of the Gothic archers between the nose and the right eye. And the point of the arrow penetrated as far as the neck behind, but it did not shew

through, and the rest of the shaft projected from his face and shook as the man rode. And when the Romans saw him and Cutilas they marvelled greatly that both men continued to ride, paying no heed to their hurt. Such, then, was the course of events in that quarter.

But in the Plain of Nero the barbarians had the upper hand. For the men of Valerian and Martinus, fighting with a great multitude of the enemy, withstood them stoutly, to be sure, but suffered most terribly, and came into exceedingly great danger. And then Belisarius commanded Bochas to take his troops, which had returned from the engagement unwearied, men as well as horses, and go to the Plain of Nero. Now it was already late in the day. And when the men under Bochas had come to the assistance of the Romans, suddenly the barbarians were turned to flight, and Bochas, who had impetuously followed the pursuit to a great distance, came to be surrounded by twelve of the enemy, who carried spears. And they all struck him at once with their spears. But his corselet withstood the other blows, which therefore did not hurt him much; but one of the Goths succeeded in hitting him from behind, at a place where his body was uncovered, above the right armpit, very close to the shoulder, and smote the youth, though not with a mortal stroke, nor even one which brought him into danger of death. But another Goth struck him in front and pierced his left thigh, and cut the muscles there; it was not a straight blow, however, but only a slanting cut. But Valerian and Martinus saw what was happening, and coming to his rescue as quickly as possible, they routed the enemy, and both took hold of the bridle of Bochas' horse, and so came into the city. Then night came on and Euthalius entered the city with the money.

And when all had returned to the city, they attended to the wounded men. Now in the case of Arzes, though the physicians wished to draw the weapon from his face, they were for some time reluctant to do so, not so much on account of the eye, which they supposed could not possibly be saved, but for fear lest, by the cutting of membranes and tissues such as are very numerous in that region, they should cause the death of a man who was one of the best of the household of Belisarius. But afterwards one of the physicians, Theoctistus by name, pressed on the back of his neck and asked whether he felt much pain. And when the man said that he did feel pain, he said, "Then both you yourself will be saved and your sight will not be injured." And he made this declaration because he inferred that the barb of the weapon had penetrated to a point not far from the skin. Accordingly he cut off that part of the shaft which shewed outside and threw it away, and cutting open the skin at the back of the head, at the place where the man felt the most pain, he easily drew toward him the barb, which with its three sharp points now stuck out behind and brought with it the remaining portion of the weapon. Thus Arzes remained entirely free from serious harm, and not even a trace of his wound was left on his face. But as for Cutilas, when the javelin was drawn rather violently from his head (for it was very deeply embedded), he fell into a

swoon. And since the membranes about the wound began to be inflamed, he fell a victim to phrenitis and died not long afterwards. Bochas, however, immediately had a very severe hemorrhage in the thigh, and seemed like one who was presently to die. And the reason for the hemorrhage, according to what the physicians said, was that the blow had severed the muscle, not directly from the front, but by a slanting cut. In any event he died three days later. Because of these things, then, the Romans spent that whole night in deep grief; while from the Gothic camps were heard many sounds of wailing and loud lamentation. And the Romans indeed wondered, because they thought that no calamity of any consequence had befallen the enemy on the previous day, except, to be sure, that no small number of them had perished in the encounters. This had happened to them before in no less degree, perhaps even to a greater degree, but it had not greatly distressed them, so great were their numbers. However, it was learned on the following day that men of the greatest note from the camp in the Plain of Nero were being bewailed by the Goths, men whom Bochas had killed in his first charge.

And other encounters also, though of no great importance, took place, which it has seemed to me unnecessary to chronicle. This, however, I will state, that altogether sixty-seven encounters occurred during this siege, besides two final ones which will be described in the following narrative. And at that time the winter drew to its close, and thus ended the second year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

III

But at the beginning of the spring equinox famine and pestilence together fell upon the inhabitants of the city. There was still, it is true, some grain for the soldiers, though no other kind of provisions, but the grain-supply of the rest of the Romans had been exhausted, and actual famine as well as pestilence was pressing hard upon them. And the Goths, perceiving this, no longer cared to risk a decisive battle with their enemy, but they kept guard that nothing in future should be brought in to them. Now there are two aqueducts between the Latin and the Appian Ways, exceedingly high and carried on arches for a great distance. These two aqueducts meet at a place fifty stades distant from Rome and cross each other, so that for a little space they reverse their relative position. For the one which previously lay to the right from then on continues on the left side. And again coming together, they resume their former places, and thereafter remain apart. Consequently the space between them, enclosed, as it is, by the aqueducts, comes to be a fortress. And the barbarians walled up the lower arches of the aqueducts here with stones and mud and in this way gave it the form of a fort, and encamping there to the number of no fewer than seven thousand men, they kept guard that no provisions should thereafter be brought into the city by the enemy.

Then indeed every hope of better things abandoned the Romans, and every form of evil encompassed them round about. As long as there was ripe grain, however, the most daring of the soldiers, led on by lust of money, went by night to the grain-fields not far from the city mounted on horses and leading other horses after them. Then they cut off the heads of grain, and putting them on the horses which they led, would carry them into the city without being seen by the enemy and sell them at a great price to such of the Romans as were wealthy. But the other inhabitants lived on various herbs such as grow in abundance not only in the outskirts but also inside the fortifications. For the land of the Romans is never lacking in herbs either in winter or at any other season, but they always flourish and grow luxuriantly at all times. Wherefore the besieged also pastured their horses in those places. And some too made sausages of the mules that died in Rome and secretly sold them. But when the corn-lands had no more grain and all the Romans had come into an exceedingly evil plight, they surrounded Belisarius and tried to compel him to stake everything on a single battle with the enemy, promising that not one of the Romans would be absent from the engagement. And when he was at a loss what to do in that situation and greatly distressed, some of the populace spoke to him as follows:

“General, we were not prepared for the fortune which has overtaken us at the present time; on the contrary, what has happened has been altogether the opposite of our expectations. For after achieving what we had formerly set our hearts upon, we have now come into the present misfortune, and we realize at

length that our previous opinion that we did well to crave the emperor's watchful care was but folly and the beginning of the greatest evils. Indeed, this course has brought us to such straits that at the present time we have taken courage to use force once more and to arm ourselves against the barbarians. And while we may claim forgiveness if we boldly come into the presence of Belisarius — for the belly knows not shame when it lacks its necessities — our plight must be the apology for our rashness; for it will be readily agreed that there is no plight more intolerable for men than a life prolonged amid the adversities of fortune. And as to the fortune which has fallen upon us, you cannot fail to see our distress. These fields and the whole country have fallen under the hand of the enemy; and this city has been shut off from all good things for we know not how long a time. And as for the Romans, some already lie in death, and it has not been their portion to be hidden in the earth, and we who survive, to put all our terrible misfortunes in a word, only pray to be placed beside those who lie thus. For starvation shews to those upon whom it comes that all other evils can be endured, and wherever it appears it is attended by oblivion of all other sufferings, and causes all other forms of death, except that which proceeds from itself, to seem pleasant to men. Now, therefore, before the evil has yet mastered us, grant us leave on our own behalf to take up the struggle, which will result either in our overcoming the enemy or in deliverance from our troubles. For when delay brings men hope of safety, it would be great folly for them prematurely to enter into a danger which involves their all, but when tarrying makes the struggle more difficult, to put off action even for a little time is more reprehensible than immediate and precipitate haste."

So spoke the Romans. And Belisarius replied as follows: "Well, as for me, I have been quite prepared for your conduct in every respect, and nothing that has happened has been contrary to my expectation. For long have I known that a populace is a most unreasoning thing, and that by its very nature it cannot endure the present or provide for the future, but only knows how rashly in every case to attempt the impossible and recklessly to destroy itself. But as for me, I shall never, willingly at least, be led by your carelessness either to destroy you or to involve the emperor's cause in ruin with you. For war is wont to be brought to a successful issue, not by unreasoning haste, but by the use of good counsel and forethought in estimating the turn of the scale at decisive moments. You, however, act as though you were playing at dice, and want to risk all on a single cast; but it is not my custom to choose the short course in preference to the advantageous one. In the second place, you promise that you will help us do battle against the enemy; but when have you ever taken training in war? Or who that has learned such things by the use of arms does not know that battle affords no room for experiment? Nor does the enemy, on his part, give opportunity, while the struggle is on, to practise on him. This time, indeed, I admire your zeal and forgive you for making this disturbance; but that you have taken this action at an unseasonable time and

that the policy of waiting which we are following is prudent, I shall now make clear. The emperor has gathered for us from the whole earth and despatched an army too great to number, and a fleet such as was never brought together by the Romans now covers the shore of Campania and the greater part of the Ionian Gulf. And within a few days these reinforcements will come to us and bring with them all kinds of provisions, to put an end to our destitution and to bury the camps of the barbarians under a multitude of missiles. I have therefore reasoned that it was better to put off the time of conflict until they are present, and thus gain the victory in the war with safety, than to make a show of daring in unreasoning haste and thus throw away the salvation of our whole cause. To secure their immediate arrival and to prevent their loitering longer shall be my concern.”

IV

With these words Belisarius encouraged the Roman populace and then dismissed them; and Procopius, who wrote this history, he immediately commanded to go to Naples. For a rumour was going about that the emperor had sent an army there. And he commissioned him to load as many ships as possible with grain, to gather all the soldiers who at the moment had arrived from Byzantium, or had been left about Naples in charge of horses or for any other purpose whatever — for he had heard that many such were coming to the various places in Campania — and to withdraw some of the men from the garrisons there, and then to come back with them, convoying the grain to Ostia, where the harbour of the Romans was. And Procopius, accompanied by Mundilas the guardsman and a few horsemen, passed out by night through the gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul, eluding the enemy's camp which had been established very close to the Appian Way to keep guard over it. And when Mundilas and his men, returning to Rome, announced that Procopius had already arrived in Campania without meeting any of the barbarians, — for at night, they said, the enemy never went outside their camp, — everybody became hopeful, and Belisarius, now emboldened, devised the following plan. He sent out many of his horsemen to the neighbouring strongholds, directing them, in case any of the enemy should come that way in order to bring provisions into their camps, that they should constantly make sallies upon them from their positions and lay ambushes everywhere about this region, and thus keep them from succeeding; on the contrary, they should with all their might hedge them in, so that the city might be in less distress than formerly through lack of provisions, and also that the barbarians might seem to be besieged rather than to be themselves besieging the Romans. So he commanded Martinus and Trajan with a thousand men to go to Taracina. And with them he sent also his wife Antonina, commanding that she be sent with a few men to Naples, there to await in safety the fortune which would befall the Romans. And he sent Magnus and Sinthues the guardsman, who took with them about five hundred men, to the fortress of Tibur, one hundred and forty stades distant from Rome. But to the town of Albani, which was situated on the Appian Way at the same distance from the city, he had already, as it happened, sent Gontharis with a number of Eruli, and these the Goths had driven out from there by force not long afterward.

Now there is a certain church of the Apostle Paul, fourteen stades distant from the fortifications of Rome, and the Tiber River flows beside it. In that place there is no fortification, but a colonnade extends all the way from the city to the church, and many other buildings which are round about it render the place not easy of access. But the Goths shew a certain degree of actual respect for sanctuaries such as this. And indeed during the whole time of the war no harm came to either church of the two Apostles at their hands, but all

the rites were performed in them by the priests in the usual manner. At this spot, then, Belisarius commanded Valerian to take all the Huns and make a stockade by the bank of the Tiber, in order that their horses might be kept in greater security and that the Goths might be still further checked from going at their pleasure to great distances from their camps. And Valerian acted accordingly. Then, after the Huns had made their camp in the place where the general directed, he rode back to the city.

So Belisarius, having accomplished this, remained quiet, not offering battle, but eager to carry on the defence from the wall, if anyone should advance against it from outside with evil intent. And he also furnished grain to some of the Roman populace. But Martinus and Trajan passed by night between the camps of the enemy, and after reaching Taracina sent Antonina with a few men into Campania; and they themselves took possession of the fortified places in that district, and using them as their bases of operations and making thence their sudden attacks, they checked such of the Goths as were moving about in that region. As for Magnus and Sinthues, in a short time they rebuilt such parts of the fortress as had fallen into ruin, and as soon as they had put themselves in safety, they began immediately to make more trouble for the enemy, whose fortress was not far away, not only by making frequent raids upon them, but also by keeping such of the barbarians as were escorting provision-trains in a constant state of terror by the unexpectedness of their movements; but finally Sinthues was wounded in his right hand by a spear in a certain battle, and since the sinews were severed, he became thereafter unfit for fighting. And the Huns likewise, after they had made their camp near by, as I have said, were on their part causing the Goths no less trouble, so that these as well as the Romans were now feeling the pressure of famine, since they no longer had freedom to bring in their food-supplies as formerly. And pestilence too fell upon them and was destroying many, and especially in the camp which they had last made, close by the Appian Way, as I have previously stated. And the few of their number who had not perished withdrew from that camp to the other camps. The Huns also suffered in the same way, and so returned to Rome. Such was the course of events here. But as for Procopius, when he reached Campania, he collected not fewer than five hundred soldiers there, loaded a great number of ships with grain, and held them in readiness. And he was joined not long afterwards by Antonina, who immediately assisted him in making arrangements for the fleet.

At that time the mountain of Vesuvius rumbled, and though it did not break forth in eruption, still because of the rumbling it led people to expect with great certainty that there would be an eruption. And for this reason it came to pass that the inhabitants fell into great terror. Now this mountain is seventy stades distant from Naples and lies to the north of it — an exceedingly steep mountain, whose lower parts spread out wide on all sides, while its upper portion is precipitous and exceedingly difficult of ascent. But on the summit of Vesuvius and at about the centre of it appears a cavern of such depth that

one would judge that it extends all the way to the bottom of the mountain. And it is possible to see fire there, if one should dare to peer over the edge, and although the flames as a rule merely twist and turn upon one another, occasioning no trouble to the inhabitants of that region, yet, when the mountain gives forth a rumbling sound which resembles bellowing, it generally sends up not long afterward a great quantity of ashes. And if anyone travelling on the road is caught by this terrible shower, he cannot possibly survive, and if it falls upon houses, they too fall under the weight of the great quantity of ashes. But whenever it so happens that a strong wind comes on, the ashes rise to a great height, so that they are no longer visible to the eye, and are borne wherever the wind which drives them goes, falling on lands exceedingly far away. And once, they say, they fell in Byzantium and so terrified the people there, that from that time up to the present the whole city has seen fit to propitiate God with prayers every year; and at another time they fell on Tripolis in Libya. Formerly this rumbling took place, they say, once in a hundred years or even more, but in later times it has happened much more frequently. This, however, they declare emphatically, that whenever Vesuvius belches forth these ashes, the country round about is bound to flourish with an abundance of all crops. Furthermore, the air on this mountain is very light and by its nature the most favourable to health in the world. And indeed those who are attacked by consumption have been sent to this place by physicians from remote times. So much, then, may be said regarding Vesuvius.

V

At this time another army also arrived by sea from Byzantium, three thousand Isaurians who put in at the harbour of Naples, led by Paulus and Conon, and eight hundred Thracian horsemen who landed at Dryus, led by John, the nephew of the Vitalian who had formerly been tyrant, and with them a thousand other soldiers of the regular cavalry, under various commanders, among whom were Alexander and Marcentius. And it happened that Zeno with three hundred horsemen had already reached Rome by way of Samnium and the Latin Way. And when John with all the others came to Campania, provided with many waggons by the inhabitants of Calabria, his troops were joined by five hundred men who, as I have said, had been collected in Campania. These set out by the coast road with the waggons, having in mind, if any hostile force should confront them, to make a circle of the waggons in the form of a stockade and thus to ward off the enemy; and they commanded the men under Paulus and Conon to sail with all speed and join them at Ostia, the harbour of Rome; and they put sufficient grain in the waggons and loaded all the ships, not only with grain, but also with wine and all kinds of provisions. And they, indeed, expected to find the forces of Martinus and Trajan in the neighbourhood of Taracina and to have their company from that point on, but when they approached Taracina, they learned that these forces had recently been recalled and had retired to Rome.

But Belisarius, learning that the forces of John were approaching and fearing that the enemy might confront them in greatly superior numbers and destroy them, took the following measures. It so happened that the enemy had encamped very close to the Flaminian Gate; this gate Belisarius himself had blocked up at the beginning of this war by a structure of stone, as has been told by me in the previous narrative, his purpose of course being to make it difficult for the enemy either to force their way in or to make any attempt upon the city at that point. Consequently no engagement had taken place at this gate, and the barbarians had no suspicion that there would be any attack upon them from there. Now Belisarius tore down by night the masonry which blocked this gate, without giving notice to anyone at all, and made ready the greatest part of the army there. And at daybreak he sent Trajan and Diogenes with a thousand horsemen through the Pincian Gate, commanding them to shoot missiles into the camps, and as soon as their opponents came against them, to flee without the least shame and to ride up to the fortifications at full speed. And he also stationed some men inside this gate. So the men under Trajan began to harass the barbarians, as Belisarius had directed them to do, and the Goths, gathering from all the camps, began to defend themselves. And both armies began to move as fast as they could toward the fortifications of the city, the one giving the appearance of fleeing, and the other supposing that they were pursuing the enemy.

But as soon as Belisarius saw the enemy take up the pursuit, he opened the Flaminian Gate and sent his army out against the barbarians, who were thus taken unawares. Now it so happened that one of the Gothic camps was on the road near this gate, and in front of it there was a narrow passage between steep banks which was exceedingly difficult of access. And one of the barbarians, a man of splendid physique and clad in a corselet, when he saw the enemy advancing, reached this place before them and took his stand there, at the same time calling his comrades and urging them to help in guarding the narrow passage. But before any move could be made Mundilas slew him and thereafter allowed none of the barbarians to go into this passage. The Romans therefore passed through it without encountering opposition, and some of them, arriving at the Gothic camp near by, for a short time tried to take it, but were unable to do so because of the strength of the stockade, although not many barbarians had been left behind in it. For the trench had been dug to an extraordinary depth, and since the earth taken from it had invariably been placed along its inner side, this reached a great height and so served as a wall; and it was abundantly supplied with stakes, which were very sharp and close together, thus making a palisade. These defences so emboldened the barbarians that they began to repel the enemy vigorously. But one of the guards of Belisarius, Aquilinus by name, an exceedingly active man, seized a horse by the bridle and, bestriding it, leaped from the trench into the middle of the camp, where he slew some of the enemy. And when his opponents gathered about him and hurled great numbers of missiles, the horse was wounded and fell, but he himself unexpectedly made his escape through the midst of the enemy. So he went on foot with his companions toward the Pincian Gate. And overtaking the barbarians, who were still engaged in pursuing Roman horsemen, they began to shoot at them from behind and killed some of them.

Now when Trajan and his men perceived this, since they had meanwhile been reinforced by the horsemen who had been standing near by in readiness, they charged at full speed against their pursuers. Then at length the Goths, being now outgeneraled and unexpectedly caught between the forces of their enemy, began to be killed indiscriminately. And there was great slaughter of them, and very few escaped to their camps, and that with difficulty; meanwhile the others, fearing for the safety of all their strongholds, shut themselves in and remained in them thereafter, thinking that the Romans would come against them without the least delay. In this action one of the barbarians shot Trajan in the face, above the right eye and not far from the nose. And the whole of the iron point, penetrated the head and disappeared entirely, although the barb on it was large and exceedingly long, but the remainder of the arrow immediately fell to the ground without the application of force by anyone, in my opinion because the iron point had never been securely fastened to the shaft. Trajan, however, paid no heed to this at all, but continued none the less killing and pursuing the enemy. But in the fifth year

afterward the tip of the iron of its own accord began to project visibly from his face. And this is now the third year since it has been slowly but steadily coming out. It is to be expected, therefore, that the whole barb will eventually come out, though not for a long time. But it has not been an impediment to the man in any way. So much then for these matters.

VI

Now the barbarians straightway began to despair of winning the war and were considering how they might withdraw from Rome, inasmuch as they had suffered the ravages both of the pestilence and of the enemy, and were now reduced from many tens of thousands to a few men; and, not least of all, they were in a state of distress by reason of the famine, and while in name they were carrying on a siege, they were in fact being besieged by their opponents and were shut off from all necessities. And when they learned that still another army had come to their enemy from Byzantium both by land and by sea — not being informed as to its actual size, but supposing it to be as large as the free play of rumour was able to make it, — they became terrified at the danger and began to plan for their departure. They accordingly sent three envoys to Rome, one of whom was a Roman of note among the Goths, and he, coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

“That the war has not turned out to the advantage of either side each of us knows well, since we both have had actual experience of its hardships. For why should anyone in either army deny facts of which neither now remains in ignorance. And no one, I think, could deny, at least no one who does not lack understanding, that it is only senseless men who choose to go on suffering indefinitely merely to satisfy the contentious spirit which moves them for the moment, and refuse to find a solution of the troubles which harass them. And whenever this situation arises, it is the duty of the commanders on both sides not to sacrifice the lives of their subjects to their own glory, but to choose the course which is just and expedient, not for themselves alone, but also for their opponents, and thus to put an end to present hardships. For moderation in one’s demands affords a way out of all difficulties, but it is the very nature of contentiousness that it cannot accomplish any of the objects which are essential. Now we, on our part, have deliberated concerning the conclusion of this war and have come before you with proposals which are of advantage to both sides, wherein we waive, as we think, some portion even of our rights. And see to it that you likewise in your deliberations do not yield to a spirit of contentiousness respecting us and thus destroy yourselves as well as us, in preference to choosing the course which will be of advantage to yourselves. And it is fitting that both sides should state their case, not in continuous speech, but each interrupting the other on the spur of the moment, if anything that is said shall seem inappropriate. For in this way each side will be able to say briefly whatever it is minded to say, and at the same time the essential things will be accomplished.” Belisarius replied: “There will be nothing to prevent the debate from proceeding in the manner you suggest, only let the words spoken by you be words of peace and of justice.”

So the ambassadors of the Goths in their turn said: “You have done us an injustice, O Romans, in taking up arms wrongfully against us, your friends

and allies. And what we shall say is, we think, well known to each one of you as well as to ourselves. For the Goths did not obtain the land of Italy by wresting it from the Romans by force, but Odoacer in former times dethroned the emperor, changed the government of Italy to a tyranny, and so held it. And Zeno, who then held the power of the East, though he wished to avenge his partner in the imperial office and to free this land from the usurper, was unable to destroy the authority of Odoacer. Accordingly he persuaded Theoderic, our ruler, although he was on the point of besieging him and Byzantium, not only to put an end to his hostility towards himself, in recollection of the honour which Theoderic had already received at his hands in having been made a patrician and consul of the Romans, but also to punish Odoacer for his unjust treatment of Augustulus, and thereafter, in company with the Goths, to hold sway over the land as its legitimate and rightful rulers. It was in this way, therefore, that we took over the dominion of Italy, and we have preserved both the laws and the form of government as strictly as any who have ever been Roman emperors, and there is absolutely no law, either written or unwritten, introduced by Theoderic or by any of his successors on the throne of the Goths. And we have so scrupulously guarded for the Romans their practices pertaining to the worship of God and faith in Him, that not one of the Italians has changed his belief, either willingly or unwillingly, up to the present day, and when Goths have changed, we have taken no notice of the matter. And indeed the sanctuaries of the Romans have received from us the highest honour; for no one who has taken refuge in any of them has ever been treated with violence by any man; nay, more, the Romans themselves have continued to hold all the offices of the state, and not a single Goth has had a share in them. Let someone come forward and refute us, if he thinks that this statement of ours is not true. And one might add that the Goths have conceded that the dignity of the consulship should be conferred upon Romans each year by the emperor of the East. Such has been the course followed by us; but you, on your side, did not take the part of Italy while it was suffering at the hands of the barbarians and Odoacer, although it was not for a short time, but for ten years, that he treated the land outrageously; but now you do violence to us who have acquired it legitimately, though you have no business here. Do you therefore depart hence out of our way, keeping both that which is your own and whatever you have gained by plunder.”

And Belisarius said: “Although your promise gave us to understand that your words would be brief and temperate, yet your discourse has been both long and not far from fraudulent in its pretensions. For Theoderic was sent by the Emperor Zeno in order to make war on Odoacer, not in order to hold the dominion of Italy for himself. For why should the emperor have been concerned to exchange one tyrant for another? But he sent him in order that Italy might be free and obedient to the emperor. And though Theoderic disposed of the tyrant in a satisfactory manner, in everything else he shewed an extraordinary lack of proper feeling; for he never thought of restoring the

land to its rightful owner. But I, for my part, think that he who robs another by violence and he who of his own will does not restore his neighbour's goods are equal. Now, as for me, I shall never surrender the emperor's country to any other. But if there is anything you wish to receive in place of it, I give you leave to speak."

And the barbarians said: "That everything which we have said is true no one of you can be unaware. But in order that we may not seem to be contentious, we give up to you Sicily, great as it is and of such wealth, seeing that without it you cannot possess Libya in security."

And Belisarius replied: "And we on our side permit the Goths to have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and was subject to the Romans in early times. For it is only fair to make an equal return to those who first do a good deed or perform a kindness."

The barbarians: "Well, then, if we should make you a proposal concerning Campania also, or about Naples itself, will you listen to it?"

Belisarius: "No, for we are not empowered to administer the emperor's affairs in a way which is not in accord with his wish."

The barbarians: "Not even if we impose upon ourselves the payment of a fixed sum of money every year?"

Belisarius: "No, indeed. For we are not empowered to do anything else than guard the land for its owner."

The barbarians: "Come now, we must send envoys to the emperor and make with him our treaty concerning the whole matter. And a definite time must also be appointed during which the armies will be bound to observe an armistice."

Belisarius: "Very well; let this be done. For never shall I stand in your way when you are making plans for peace."

After saying these things they each left the conference, and the envoys of the Goths withdrew to their own camp. And during the ensuing days they visited each other frequently and made the arrangements for the armistice, and they agreed that each side should put into the hands of the other some of its notable men as hostages to ensure the keeping of the armistice.

VII

But while these negotiations were in progress at Rome, meanwhile the fleet of the Isaurians put in at the harbour of the Romans and John with his men came to Ostia, and not one of the enemy hindered them either while bringing their ships to land or while making their camp. But in order that they might be able to pass the night safe from a sudden attack by the enemy, the Isaurians dug a deep trench close to the harbour and kept a constant guard by shifts of men, while John's soldiers made a barricade of their waggons about the camp and remained quiet. And when night came on Belisarius went to Ostia with a hundred horsemen, and after telling what had taken place in the engagement and the agreement which had been made between the Romans and the Goths and otherwise encouraging them, he bade them bring their cargoes and come with all zeal to Rome. "For," he said, "I shall take care that the journey is free from danger." So he himself at early dawn rode back to the city, and Antonina together with the commanders began at daybreak to consider means of transporting the cargoes. But it seemed to them that the task was a hard one and beset with the greatest difficulties. For the oxen could hold out no longer, but all lay half-dead, and, furthermore, it was dangerous to travel over a rather narrow road with the waggons, and impossible to tow the barges on the river, as had formerly been the custom. For the road which is on the left of the river was held by the enemy, as stated by me in the previous narrative, and not available for the use of the Romans at that time, while the road on the other side of it is altogether unused, at least that part of it which follows the river-bank. They therefore selected the small boats belonging to the larger ships, put a fence of high planks around them on all sides, in order that the men on board might not be exposed to the enemy's shots, and embarked archers and sailors on them in numbers suitable for each boat. And after they had loaded the boats with all the freight they could carry, they waited for a favouring wind and set sail toward Rome by the Tiber, and a portion of the army followed them along the right bank of the river to support them. But they left a large number of Isaurians to guard the ships. Now where the course of the river was straight, they found no trouble in sailing, simply raising the sails of the boats; but where the stream wound about and took a course athwart the wind, and the sails received no impulse from it, the sailors had no slight toil in rowing and forcing the boats against the current. As for the barbarians, they sat in their camps and had no wish to hinder their enemy, either because they were terrified at the danger, or because they thought that the Romans would never by such means succeed in bringing in any provisions, and considered it contrary to their own interest, when a matter of no consequence was involved, to frustrate their hope of the armistice which Belisarius had already promised. Moreover, the Goths who were in Portus, though they could see their enemy constantly sailing by almost near enough to touch, made no move against

them, but sat there wondering in amazement at the plan they had hit upon. And when the Romans had made the voyage up the river many times in the same way, and had thus conveyed all the cargoes into the city without interference, the sailors took the ships and withdrew with all speed, for it was already about the time of the winter solstice; and the rest of the army entered Rome, except, indeed, that Paulus remained in Ostia with some of the Isaurians.

And afterwards they gave hostages to one another to secure the keeping of the armistice, the Romans giving Zeno, and the Goths Ulias, a man of no mean station, with the understanding that during three months they should make no attack upon one another, until the envoys should return from Byzantium and report the will of the emperor. And even if the one side or the other should initiate offences against their opponents, the envoys were nevertheless to be returned to their own nation. So the envoys of the barbarians went to Byzantium escorted by Romans, and Ildiger, the son-in-law of Antonina, came to Rome from Libya with not a few horsemen. And the Goths who were holding the stronghold at Portus abandoned the place by the order of Vittigis because their supplies were exhausted, and came to the camp in obedience to his summons. Whereupon Paulus with his Isaurians came from Ostia and took possession of it and held it. Now the chief reason why these barbarians were without provisions was that the Romans commanded the sea and did not allow any of the necessary supplies to be brought in to them. And it was for this reason that they also abandoned at about the same time a sea-coast city of great importance, Centumcellae by name, that is, because they were short of provisions. This city is large and populous, lying to the west of Rome, in Tuscany, distant from it about two hundred and eighty stades. And after taking possession of it the Romans went on and extended their power still more, for they took also the town of Albani, which lies to the east of Rome, the enemy having evacuated it at that time for the same reason, and they had already surrounded the barbarians on all sides and now held them between their forces. The Goths, therefore, were in a mood to break the agreement and do some harm to the Romans. So they sent envoys to Belisarius and asserted that they had been unjustly treated during a truce; for when Vittigis had summoned the Goths who were in Portus to perform some service for him, Paulus and the Isaurians had seized and taken possession of the fort there for no good reason. And they made this same false charge regarding Albani and Centumcellae, and threatened that, unless he should give these places back to them, they would resent it. But Belisarius laughed and sent them away, saying that this charge was but a pretext, and that no one was ignorant of the reason why the Goths had abandoned these places. And thereafter the two sides were somewhat suspicious of one another.

But later, when Belisarius saw that Rome was abundantly supplied with soldiers, he sent many horsemen to places far distant from Rome, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian, and the horsemen under his

command, eight hundred in number, to pass the winter near the city of Alba, which lies in Picenum; and with him he sent four hundred of the men of Valerian, whom Damianus, the nephew of Valerian, commanded, and eight hundred men of his own guards who were especially able warriors. And in command of these he put two spearmen, Suntas and Adegis, and ordered them to follow John wherever he should lead; and he gave John instructions that as long as he saw the enemy was keeping the agreement made between them, he should remain quiet; but whenever he found that the armistice had been violated by them, he should do as follows: With his whole force he was to make a sudden raid and overrun the land of Picenum, visiting all the districts of that region and reaching each one before the report of his coming. For in this whole land there was virtually not a single man left, since all, as it appeared, had marched against Rome, but everywhere there were women and children of the enemy and money. He was instructed, therefore, to enslave or plunder whatever he found, taking care never to injure any of the Romans living there. And if he should happen upon any place which had men and defences, as he probably would, he was to make an attempt upon it with his whole force. And if he was able to capture it, he was to go forward, but if it should so happen that his attempt was unsuccessful, he was to march back or remain there. For if he should go forward and leave such a fortress in his rear, he would be involved in the greatest danger, since his men would never be able to defend themselves easily, if they should be harassed by their opponents. He was also to keep the whole booty intact, in order that it might be divided fairly and properly among the army. Then with a laugh he added this also: "For it is not fair that the drones should be destroyed with great labour by one force, while others, without having endured any hardship at all, enjoy the honey." So after giving these instructions, Belisarius sent John with his army.

And at about the same time Datius, the priest of Milan, and some notable men among the citizens came to Rome and begged Belisarius to send them a few guards. For they declared that they were themselves able without any trouble to detach from the Goths not only Milan, but the whole of Liguria also, and to recover them for the emperor. Now this city is situated in Liguria, and lies about half way between the city of Ravenna and the Alps on the borders of Gaul; for from either one it is a journey of eight days to Milan for an unencumbered traveller; and it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and in population and in general prosperity. And Belisarius promised to fulfil their request, but detained them there during the winter season.

VIII

Such was the course of these events. But the envy of fortune was already swelling against the Romans, when she saw their affairs progressing successfully and well, and wishing to mingle some evil with this good, she inspired a quarrel, on a trifling pretext, between Belisarius and Constantinus; and how this grew and to what end it came I shall now go on to relate. There was a certain Presidius, a Roman living at Ravenna, and a man of no mean station. This Presidius had given offence to the Goths at the time when Vittigis was about to march against Rome, and so he set out with some few of his domestics ostensibly on a hunting expedition, and went into exile; he had communicated his plan to no one and took none of his property with him, except indeed that he himself carried two daggers, the scabbards of which happened to be adorned with much gold and precious stones. And when he came to Spolantium, he lodged in a certain temple outside the fortifications. And when Constantinus, who happened to be still tarrying there, heard of this, he sent one of his guards, Maxentius, and took away from him both the daggers for no good reason. The man was deeply offended by what had taken place, and set out for Rome with all speed and came to Belisarius, and Constantinus also arrived there not long afterward; for the Gothic army was already reported to be not far away. Now as long as the affairs of the Romans were critical and in confusion, Presidius remained silent; but when he saw that the Romans were gaining the upper hand and that the envoys of the Goths had been sent to the emperor, as has been told by me above, he frequently approached Belisarius reporting the injustice and demanding that he assist him in obtaining his rights. And Belisarius reproached Constantinus many times himself, and many times through others, urging him to clear himself of the guilt of an unjust deed and of a dishonouring report. But Constantinus — for it must needs be that evil befall him — always lightly evaded the charge and taunted the wronged man. But on one occasion Presidius met Belisarius riding on horseback in the forum, and he laid hold of the horse's bridle, and crying out with a loud voice asked whether the laws of the emperor said that, whenever anyone fleeing from the barbarians comes to them as a suppliant, they should rob him by violence of whatever he may chance to have in his hands. And though many men gathered about and commanded him with threats to let go his hold of the bridle, he did not let go until at last Belisarius promised to give him the daggers. On the following day, therefore, Belisarius called Constantinus and many of the commanders to an apartment in the palace, and after going over what had happened on the previous day urged him even at that late time to restore the daggers. But Constantinus refused to do so; nay, he would more gladly throw them into the waters of the Tiber than give them to Presidius. And Belisarius, being by now mastered by anger, enquired whether Constantinus did not think that he was subject to his orders.

And he agreed to obey him in all other things, for this was the emperor's will; this command, however, which at the present time he was laying upon him, he would never obey. Belisarius then commanded his guards to enter, whereupon Constantinus said: "In order, plainly, to have them kill me." "By no means," said Belisarius, "but to have them compel your bodyguard Maxentius, who forcibly carried away the daggers for you, to restore to the man what he took from him by violence." But Constantinus, thinking that he was to die that very instant, wished to do some great deed before he should suffer anything himself. He accordingly drew the dagger which hung by his thigh and suddenly thrust it at the belly of Belisarius. And he in consternation stepped back, and by throwing his arms around Bessas, who was standing near, succeeded in escaping the blow. Then Constantinus, still boiling with anger, made after him; but Ildiger and Valerian, seeing what was being done, laid hold of his hands, one of the right and the other of the left, and dragged him back. And at this point the guards entered whom Belisarius had summoned a moment before, snatched the dagger of Constantinus from his hand with great violence, and seized him amid a great uproar. At the moment they did him no harm, out of respect, I suppose, to the officers present, but led him away to another room at the command of Belisarius, and at a somewhat later time put him to death. This was the only unholy deed done by Belisarius, and it was in no way worthy of the character of the man; for he always shewed great gentleness in his treatment of all others. But it had to be, as I have said, that evil should befall Constantinus.

IX

And the Goths not long after this wished to strike a blow at the fortifications of Rome. And first they sent some men by night into one of the aqueducts, from which they themselves had taken out the water at the beginning of this war. And with lamps and torches in their hands they explored the entrance into the city by this way. Now it happened that not far from the small Pincian Gate an arch of this aqueduct had a sort of crevice in it, and one of the guards saw the light through this and told his companions; but they said that he had seen a wolf passing by his post. For at that point it so happened that the structure of the aqueduct did not rise high above the ground, and they thought that the guard had imagined the wolf's eyes to be fire. So those barbarians who explored the aqueduct, upon reaching the middle of the city, where there was an upward passage built in olden times leading to the palace itself, came upon some masonry there which allowed them neither to advance beyond that point nor to use the ascent at all. This masonry had been put in by Belisarius as an act of precaution at the beginning of this siege, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative. So they decided first to remove one small stone from the wall and then to go back immediately, and when they returned to Vittigis, they displayed the stone and reported the whole situation. And while he was considering his scheme with the best of the Goths, the Romans who were on guard at the Pincian Gate recalled among themselves on the following day the suspicion of the wolf. But when the story was passed around and came to Belisarius, the general did not treat the matter carelessly, but immediately sent some of the notable men in the army, together with the guardsman Diogenes, down into the aqueduct and bade them investigate everything with all speed. And they found all along the aqueduct the lamps of the enemy and the ashes which had dropped from their torches, and after observing the masonry where the stone had been taken out by the Goths, they reported to Belisarius. For this reason he personally kept the aqueduct under close guard; and the Goths, perceiving it, desisted from this attempt.

But later on the barbarians went so far as to plan an open attack against the fortifications. So they waited for the time of lunch, and bringing up ladders and fire, when their enemy were least expecting them, made an assault upon the small Pincian Gate, emboldened by the hope of capturing the city by a sudden attack, since not many soldiers had been left there. But it happened that Ildiger and his men were keeping guard at that time; for all were assigned by turns to guard-duty. So when he saw the enemy advancing in disorder, he went out against them before they were yet drawn up in line of battle and while they were advancing in great disarray, and routing those who were opposite him without any trouble he slew many. And a great outcry and commotion arose throughout the city, as was to be expected, and the Romans gathered as quickly as possible to all parts of the fortifications; whereupon the

barbarians after a short time retired to their camp baffled.

But Vittigis resorted again to a plot against the wall. Now there was a certain part of it that was especially vulnerable, where the bank of the Tiber is, because at this place the Romans of old, confident in the protection afforded by the stream, had built the wall carelessly, making it low and altogether without towers; Vittigis therefore hoped to capture the city rather easily from that quarter. For indeed there was not even any garrison there of any consequence, as it happened. He therefore bribed with money two Romans who lived near the church of Peter the Apostle to pass along by the guards there at about nightfall carrying a skin full of wine, and in some way or other, by making a show of friendship, to give it to them, and then to sit drinking with them well on into the night; and they were to throw into the cup of each guard a sleep-producing drug which Vittigis had given them. And he stealthily got ready some skiffs, which he kept at the other bank; as soon as the guards should be overcome by sleep, some of the barbarians, acting in concert, were to cross the river in these, taking ladders with them, and make the assault on the wall. And he made ready the entire army with the intention of capturing the whole city by storm. After these arrangements were all complete, one of the two men who had been prepared by Vittigis for this service (for it was not fated that Rome should be captured by this army of the Goths) came of his own accord to Belisarius and revealed everything, and told who the other man was. So this man under torture brought to light all that he was about to do and displayed the drug which Vittigis had given him. And Belisarius first mutilated his nose and ears and then sent him riding on an ass into the enemy's camp. And when the barbarians saw him, they realised that God would not allow their purposes to have free course, and that therefore the city could never be captured by them.

X

But while these things were happening, Belisarius wrote to John and commanded him to begin operations. And he with his two thousand horsemen began to go about the land of Picenum and to plunder everything before him, treating the women and children of the enemy as slaves. And when Ulitheus, the uncle of Vittigis, confronted him with an army of Goths, he defeated them in battle and killed Ulitheus himself and almost the whole army of the enemy. For this reason no one dared any longer to engage with him. But when he came to the city of Auximus, though he learned that it contained a Gothic garrison of inconsiderable size, yet in other respects he observed that the place was strong and impossible to capture. And for this reason he was quite unwilling to lay siege to it, but departing from there as quickly as he could, he moved forward. And he did this same thing at the city of Urbinus, but at Ariminum, which is one day's journey distant from Ravenna, he marched into the city at the invitation of the Romans. Now all the barbarians who were keeping guard there were very suspicious of the Roman inhabitants, and as soon as they learned that this army was approaching, they withdrew and ran until they reached Ravenna. And thus John secured Ariminum; but he had meanwhile left in his rear a garrison of the enemy both at Auximus and at Urbinus, not because he had forgotten the commands of Belisarius, nor because he was carried away by unreasoning boldness, since he had wisdom as well as energy, but because he reasoned — correctly, as it turned out — that if the Goths learned that the Roman army was close to Ravenna, they would instantly break up the siege of Rome because of their fears regarding this place. And in fact his reasoning proved to be true. For as soon as Vittigis and the army of the Goths heard that Ariminum was held by him, they were plunged into great fear regarding Ravenna, and abandoning all other considerations, they straightway made their withdrawal, as will be told by me directly. And John won great fame from this deed, though he was renowned even before. For he was a daring and efficient man in the highest degree, unflinching before danger, and in his daily life shewing at all times a certain austerity and ability to endure hardship unsurpassed by any barbarian or common soldier. Such a man was John. And Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, who was exceedingly hostile to her husband because he had taken her to wife by violence in the beginning, upon learning that John had come to Ariminum was absolutely overcome by joy, and sending a messenger to him opened secret negotiations with him concerning marriage and the betrayal of the city.

So these two kept sending messengers to each other without the knowledge of the rest and arranging these matters. But when the Goths learned what had happened at Ariminum, and when at the same time all their provisions had failed them, and the three months' time had already expired, they began to make their withdrawal, although they had not as yet received any information

as far as the envoys were concerned. Now it was about the spring equinox, and one year had been spent in the siege and nine days in addition, when the Goths, having burned all their camps, set out at daybreak. And the Romans, seeing their opponents in flight, were at a loss how to deal with the situation. For it so happened that the majority of the horsemen were not present at that time, since they had been sent to various places, as has been stated by me above, and they did not think that by themselves they were a match for so great a multitude of the enemy. However, Belisarius armed all the infantry and cavalry. And when he saw that more than half of the enemy had crossed the bridge, he led the army out through the small Pincian Gate, and the hand-to-hand battle which ensued proved to be equal to any that had preceded it. At the beginning the barbarians withstood their enemy vigorously, and many on both sides fell in the first encounter; but afterwards the Goths turned to flight and brought upon themselves a great and overwhelming calamity; for each man for himself was rushing to cross the bridge first. As a result of this they became very much crowded and suffered most cruelly, for they were being killed both by each other and by the enemy. Many, too, fell off the bridge on either side into the Tiber, sank with all their arms, and perished. Finally, after losing in this way the most of their number, the remainder joined those who had crossed before. And Longinus the Isaurian and Mundilas, the guards of Belisarius, made themselves conspicuous for their valour in this battle. But while Mundilas, after engaging with four barbarians in turn and killing them all, was himself saved, Longinus, having proved himself the chief cause of the rout of the enemy, fell where he fought, leaving the Roman army great regret for his loss.

XI

Now Vittigis with the remainder of his army marched toward Ravenna; and he strengthened the fortified places with a great number of guards, leaving in Clusium, the city of Tuscany, one thousand men and Gibimer as commander, and in Urventus an equal number, over whom he set Albilas, a Goth, as commander. And he left Uligisalus in Tudera with four hundred men. And in the land of Picenum he left in the fortress of Petra four hundred men who had lived there previously, and in Auximus, which is the largest of all the cities of that country, he left four thousand Goths selected for their valour and a very energetic commander, Visandus by name, and two thousand men with Moras in the city of Urbinus. There are also two other fortresses, Caesena and Monteferetra, in each of which he established a garrison of not less than five hundred men. Then he himself with the rest of the army moved straight for Ariminum with the purpose of laying siege to it.

But it happened that Belisarius, as soon as the Goths had broken up the siege of Rome, had sent Ildiger and Martinus with a thousand horsemen, in order that by travelling more quickly by another road they might arrive at Ariminum first, and he directed them promptly to remove John from the city and all those with him, and to put in their place fully enough men to guard the city, taking them from the fortress which is on the Ionian Gulf, Ancon by name, two days' journey distant from Ariminum. For he had already taken possession of it not long before, having sent Conon with no small force of Isaurians and Thracians. It was his hope that if unsupported infantry under commanders of no great note should hold Ariminum, the Gothic forces would never undertake its siege, but would regard it with contempt and so go at once to Ravenna, and that if they should decide to besiege Ariminum, the provisions there would suffice for the infantry for a somewhat longer time; and he thought also that two thousand horsemen, attacking from outside with the rest of the army, would in all probability do the enemy great harm and drive them more easily to abandon the siege. It was with this purpose that Belisarius gave such orders to Martinus and Ildiger and their men. And they, by travelling over the Flaminian Way, arrived long before the barbarians. For since the Goths were moving in a great throng, they proceeded in a more leisurely manner, and they were compelled to make certain long detours, both because of the lack of provisions, and because they preferred not to pass close to the fortresses on the Flaminian Way, Narnia and Spolitium and Perusia, since these were in the hands of the enemy, as has been stated above.

When the Roman army arrived at Petra, they made an attack upon the fortress there, regarding it as an incident of their expedition. Now this fortress was not devised by man, but it was made by the nature of the place; for the road passes through an extremely mountainous country at that place. On the right of this road a river descends which no man can ford because of the

swiftness of the current, and on the left not far away rises a sheer rock which reaches to such a height that men who might chance to be standing on its summit, as seen by those below, resemble in size the smallest birds. And in olden times there was no passage through as one went forward. For the end of the rock reaches to the very stream of the river, affording no room for those who travel that way to pass by. So the men of ancient times constructed a tunnel at that point, and made there a gate for the place. And they also closed up the greatest part of the other entrance, leaving only enough space for a small gate there also, and thus rendered the place a natural fortress, which they call by the fitting name of Petra. So the men of Martinus and Ildiger first made an attack upon one of the two gates, and shot many missiles, but they accomplished nothing, although the barbarians there made no defence at all; but afterwards they forced their way up the cliff behind the fortress and hurled stones from there upon the heads of the Goths. And they, hurriedly and in great confusion, entered their houses and remained quiet. And then the Romans, unable to hit any of the enemy with the stones they threw, devised the following plan. They broke off large pieces from the cliff and, many of them pushing together, hurled them down, aiming at the houses. And wherever these in their fall did no more than just graze the building, they yet gave the whole fortress a considerable shock and reduced the barbarians to great fear. Consequently the Goths stretched out their hands to those who were still about the gate and surrendered themselves and the fort, with the condition that they themselves should remain free from harm, being slaves of the emperor and subject to Belisarius. And Ildiger and Martinus removed the most of them and led them away, putting them on a basis of complete equality with themselves, but some few they left there, together with their wives and children. And they also left something of a garrison of Romans. Thence they proceeded to Ancon, and taking with them many of the infantry in that place on the third day reached Ariminum, and announced the will of Belisarius. But John was not only unwilling himself to follow them, but also proposed to retain Damianus with the four hundred. So they left there the infantry and retired thence with all speed, taking the spearmen and guards of Belisarius.

XII

And not long afterward Vittigis and his whole army arrived at Ariminum, where they established their camp and began the siege. And they immediately constructed a wooden tower higher than the circuit-wall of the city and resting on four wheels, and drew it toward that part of the wall which seemed to them most vulnerable. But in order that they might not have the same experience here which they had before the fortifications of Rome, they did not use oxen to draw the tower, but hid themselves within it and thus hauled it forward. And there was a stairway of great breadth inside the tower on which the barbarians in great numbers were to make the ascent easily, for they hoped that as soon as they should place the tower against the fortifications, they would have no trouble in stepping thence to the parapet of the wall; for they had made the tower high with this in view. So when they had come close to the fortifications with this engine of war, they remained quiet for the time, since it was already growing dark, and stationing guards about the tower they all went off to pass the night, supposing that they would meet with no obstacle whatever. And indeed there was nothing in their way, not even a trench between them and the wall, except an exceedingly small one.

As for the Romans, they passed the night in great fear, supposing that on the morrow they would perish. But John, neither yielding to despair in face of the danger nor being greatly agitated by fear, devised the following plan. Leaving the others on guard at their posts, he himself took the Isaurians, who carried pickaxes and various other tools of this kind, and went outside the fortifications; it was late in the night and no word had been given beforehand to anyone in the city; and once outside the wall, he commanded his men in silence to dig the trench deeper. So they did as directed, and as they dug they kept putting the earth which they took out of the trench upon the side of it nearer the city-wall, and there it served them as an earthwork. And since they were unobserved for a long time by the enemy, who were sleeping, they soon made the trench both deep and sufficiently wide, at the place where the fortifications were especially vulnerable and where the barbarians were going to make the assault with their engine of war. But far on in the night the enemy, perceiving what was being done, charged at full speed against those who were digging, and John went inside the fortifications with the Isaurians, since the trench was now in a most satisfactory condition.

But at daybreak Vittigis noted what had been accomplished and in his exceeding vexation at the occurrence executed some of the guards; however, he was as eager as before to bring his engine to bear, and so commanded the Goths to throw a great number of faggots as quickly as possible into the trench, and then by drawing the tower over them to bring it into position. This they proceeded to do as Vittigis commanded, with all zeal, although their opponents kept fighting them back from the wall with the utmost vigour. But

when the weight of the tower came upon the faggots they naturally yielded and sank down. For this reason the barbarians were quite unable to go forward with the engine, because the ground became still more steep before them, where the Romans had heaped up the earth as I have stated. Fearing, therefore, that when night came on the enemy would sally forth and set fire to the engine, they began to draw it back again. This was precisely what John was eager to prevent with all his power, and so he armed his soldiers, called them all together, and exhorted them as follows:

“My men, who share this danger common to us all, if it would please any man among you to live and see those whom he has left at home, let him realize that the only hope he has of obtaining these things lies in nothing but his own hands. For when Belisarius sent us forth in the beginning, hope and desire for many things made us eager for the task. For we never suspected that we should be besieged in the country along the coast, since the Romans command the sea so completely, nor would one have supposed that the emperor’s army would so far neglect us. But apart from these considerations, at that time we were prompted to boldness by an opportunity to display our loyalty to the state and by the glory which we should acquire in the sight of all men as the result of our struggles. But as things now stand, we cannot possibly survive save by courage, and we are obliged to undergo this danger with no other end in view than the saving of our own lives. Therefore, if any of you perchance lay claim to valour, all such have the opportunity to prove themselves brave men, if any men in the world have, and thereby to cover themselves with glory. For they achieve a fair name, not who overpower those weaker than themselves, but who, though inferior in equipment, still win the victory by the greatness of their souls. And as for those in whom the love of life has been more deeply implanted, it will be of advantage to these especially to be bold, for it is true of all men, as a general thing, that when their fortunes stand on the razor’s edge, as is now the case with us, they may be saved only by scorning the danger.”

With these words John led his army out against the enemy, leaving some few men to guard the battlement. But the enemy withstood them bravely, and the battle became exceedingly fierce. And with great difficulty and late in the day the barbarians succeeded in bringing the tower back to their own camp. However, they lost so great a number of their fighting men that they decided thenceforth to make no further attacks upon the wall, but in despair of succeeding that way, they remained quiet, expecting that their enemy would yield to them under stress of famine. For all their provisions had already failed them completely, since they had not found any place from which they could bring in a sufficient supply.

Such was the course of events here. But as for Belisarius, he sent to the representatives of Milan a thousand men, Isaurians and Thracians. The Isaurians were commanded by Ennes, the Thracians by Paulus, while Mundilas was set over them all and commanded in person, having as his

guard some few of the guardsmen of Belisarius. And with them was also Fidelius, who had been made praetorian prefect. For since he was a native of Milan, he was regarded as a suitable person to go with this army, having as he did some influence in Liguria. They set sail, accordingly, from the harbour of Rome and put in at Genoa, which is the last city in Tuscany and well situated as a port of call for the voyage to Gaul and to Spain. There they left their ships and travelling by land moved forward, placing the boats of the ships on their waggons, in order that nothing might prevent their crossing the river Po. It was by this means, in any event, that they made the crossing of the river. And when they reached the city of Ticinum, after crossing the Po, the Goths came out against them and engaged them in battle. And they were not only numerous but also excellent troops, since all the barbarians who lived in that region had deposited the most valuable of their possessions in Ticinum, as being a place which had strong defences, and had left there a considerable garrison. So a fierce battle took place, but the Romans were victorious, and routing their opponents, they slew a great number and came within a little of capturing the city in the pursuit. For it was only with difficulty that the barbarians succeeded in shutting the gates, so closely did their enemy press upon their heels. And as the Romans were marching away, Fidelius went into a temple there to pray, and was the last to leave. But by some chance his horse stumbled and he fell. And since he had fallen very near the fortifications, the Goths seeing him came out and killed him without being observed by the enemy. Wherefore, when this was afterwards discovered by Mundilas and the Romans, they were greatly distressed.

Then, leaving Ticinum, they arrived at the city of Milan and secured this city with the rest of Liguria without a battle. When Vittigis learned about this, he sent a large army with all speed and Uraías, his own nephew, as commander. And Theudibert, the leader of the Franks, sent him at his request ten thousand men as allies, not of the Franks themselves, but Burgundians, in order not to appear to be doing injury to the emperor's cause. For it was given out that the Burgundians made the expedition willingly and of their own choice, not as obeying the command of Theudibert. And the Goths, joined by these troops, came to Milan, made camp and began a siege when the Romans were least expecting them. At any rate the Romans, through this action, found it impossible to bring in any kind of provisions, but they were immediately in distress for want of necessities. Indeed, even the guarding of the walls was not being maintained by the regular soldiers, for it so happened that Mundilas had occupied all the cities near Milan which had defences, namely Bergomum, Comum, and Novaria, as well as some other strongholds, and in every place had established a considerable garrison, while he himself with about three hundred men remained in Milan, and with him Ennes and Paulus. Consequently and of necessity the inhabitants of the city were regularly keeping guard in turn. Such was the progress of events in Liguria, and the winter drew to its close, and the third year came to an end in this war, the

history of which Procopius has written.

XIII

And Belisarius at about the time of the summer solstice marched against Vittigis and the Gothic army, leaving a few men to act as a garrison in Rome, but taking all the others with him. And he sent some men to Tudera and Clusium, with orders to make fortified camps there, and he was intending to follow them and assist in besieging the barbarians at those places. But when the barbarians learned that the army was approaching, they did not wait to face the danger, but sent envoys to Belisarius, promising to surrender both themselves and the two cities, with the condition that they should remain free from harm. And when he came there, they fulfilled their promise. And Belisarius removed all the Goths from these towns and sent them to Sicily and Naples, and after establishing a garrison in Clusium and in Tudera, he led his army forward.

But meanwhile Vittigis had sent another army, under command of Vacimus, to Auximus, commanding it to join forces with the Goths there, and with them to go against the enemy in Ancon and make an attempt upon that fortress. Now this Ancon is a sort of pointed rock, and indeed it is from this circumstance that it has taken its name; for it is exceedingly like an "elbow." And it is about eighty stades distant from the city of Auximus, whose port it is. And the defences of the fortress lie upon the pointed rock in a position of security, but all the buildings outside, though they are many, have been from ancient times unprotected by a wall. Now as soon as Conon, who was in command of the garrison of the place, heard that the forces of Vacimus were coming against him and were already not far away, he made an exhibition of thoughtless folly. For thinking it too small a thing to preserve free from harm merely the fortress and its inhabitants together with the soldiers, he left the fortifications entirely destitute of soldiers, and leading them all out to a distance of about five stades, arrayed them in line of battle, without, however, making the phalanx a deep one at all, but thin enough to surround the entire base of the mountain, as if for a hunt. But when these troops saw that the enemy were greatly superior to them in number, they turned their backs and straightway fled to the fortress. And the barbarians, following close upon them, slew on the spot most of their number — those who did not succeed in getting inside the circuit-wall in time — and then placed ladders against the wall and attempted the ascent. Some also began burning the houses outside the fortress. And the Romans who resided habitually in the fortress, being terror-stricken at what was taking place, at first opened the small gate and received the soldiers as they fled in complete disorder. But when they saw the barbarians close at hand and pressing upon the fugitives, fearing that they would charge in with them, they closed the gates as quickly as they could, and letting down ropes from the battlement, saved a number by drawing them up, and among them Conon himself. But the barbarians scaled the wall by means

of their ladders and came within a little of capturing the fortress by storm, and would have succeeded if two men had not made a display of remarkable deeds by valorously pushing off the battlements those who had already got upon the wall; one of these two was a bodyguard of Belisarius, a Thracian named Ulimuth, and the other a bodyguard of Valerian, named Gouboulgoudou, a Massagete by birth. These two men had happened by some chance to come by ship to Ancon a little before; and in this struggle, by warding off with their swords those who were scaling the wall, they saved the fortress contrary to expectation, but they themselves were carried from the battlement half dead, their whole bodies hacked with many wounds.

At that time it was reported to Belisarius that Narses had come with a great army from Byzantium and was in Picenum. Now this Narses was a eunuch and guardian of the royal treasures, but for the rest keen and more energetic than would be expected of a eunuch. And five thousand soldiers followed him, of whom the several detachments were commanded by different men, among whom were Justinus, the general of Illyricum, and another Narses, who had previously come to the land of the Romans as a deserter from the Armenians who are subject to the Persians; with him had come his brother Aratius, who, as it happened, had joined Belisarius a little before this with another army. And about two thousand of the Erulian nation also followed him, commanded by Visandus and Aluith and Phanitheus.

XIV

Now as to who in the world the Eruli are, and how they entered into alliance with the Romans, I shall forthwith explain. They used to dwell beyond the Ister River from of old, worshipping a great host of gods, whom it seemed to them holy to appease even by human sacrifices. And they observed many customs which were not in accord with those of other men. For they were not permitted to live either when they grew old or when they fell sick, but as soon as one of them was overtaken by old age or by sickness, it became necessary for him to ask his relatives to remove him from the world as quickly as possible. And these relatives would pile up a quantity of wood to a great height and lay the man on top of the wood, and then they would send one of the Eruli, but not a relative of the man, to his side with a dagger; for it was not lawful for a kinsman to be his slayer. And when the slayer of their relative had returned, they would straightway burn the whole pile of wood, beginning at the edges. And after the lire had ceased, they would immediately collect the bones and bury them in the earth. And when a man of the Eruli died, it was necessary for his wife, if she laid claim to virtue and wished to leave a fair name behind her, to die not long afterward beside the tomb of her husband by hanging herself with a rope. And if she did not do this, the result was that she was in ill repute thereafter and an offence to the relatives of her husband. Such were the customs observed by the Eruli in ancient times.

But as time went on they became superior to all the barbarians who dwelt about them both in power and in numbers, and, as was natural, they attacked and vanquished them severally and kept plundering their possessions by force. And finally they made the Lombards, who were Christians, together with several other nations, subject and tributary to themselves, though the barbarians of that region were not accustomed to that sort of thing; but the Eruli were led to take this course by love of money and a lawless spirit. [X]When, however, Anastasius took over the Roman empire, the Eruli, having no longer anyone in the world whom they could assail, laid down their arms and remained quiet, and they observed peace in this way for a space of three years. But the people themselves, being exceedingly vexed, began to abuse their leader Rodolphus without restraint, and going to him constantly they called him cowardly and effeminate, and railed at him in a most unruly manner, taunting him with certain other names besides. And Rodolphus, being quite unable to bear the insult, marched against the Lombards, who were doing no wrong, without charging against them any fault or alleging any violation of their agreement, but bringing upon them a war which had no real cause. And when the Lombards got word of this, they sent to Rodolphus and made enquiry and demanded that he should state the charge on account of which the Eruli were coming against them in arms, agreeing that if they had deprived the Eruli of any of the tribute, then they would instantly pay it with

large interest; and if their grievance was that only a moderate tribute had been imposed upon them, then the Lombards would never be reluctant to make it greater. Such were the offers which the envoys made, but Rodolphus with a threat sent them away and marched forward. And they again sent other envoys to him on the same mission and supplicated him with many entreaties. And when the second envoys had fared in the same way, a third embassy came to him and forbade the Eruli on any account to bring upon them a war without excuse. For if they should come against them with such a purpose, they too, not willingly, but under the direst necessity, would array themselves against their assailants, calling upon God as their witness, the slightest breath of whose favour, turning the scales, would be a match for all the strength of men; and He, in all likelihood, would be moved by the causes of the war and would determine the issue of the fight for both sides accordingly. So they spoke, thinking in this way to terrify their assailants, but the Eruli, shrinking from nothing whatever, decided to meet the Lombards in battle. And when the two armies came close to one another, it so happened that the sky above the Lombards was obscured by a sort of cloud, black and very thick, but above the Eruli it was exceedingly clear. And judging by this one would have supposed that the Eruli were entering the conflict to their own harm; for there can be no more forbidding portent than this for barbarians as they go into battle. However, the Eruli gave no heed even to this, but in absolute disregard of it they advanced against their enemy with utter contempt, estimating the outcome of war by mere superiority of numbers. But when the battle came to close quarters, many of the Eruli perished and Rodolphus himself also perished, and the rest fled at full speed, forgetting all their courage. And since their enemy followed them up, the most of them fell on the field of battle and only a few succeeded in saving themselves.

DATE:

[X]491 A.D.

For this reason the Eruli were no longer able to tarry in their ancestral homes, but departing from there as quickly as possible they kept moving forward, traversing the whole country which is beyond the Ister River, together with their wives and children. But when they reached a land where the Rogi dwelt of old, a people who had joined the Gothic host and gone to Italy, they settled in that place. But since they were pressed by famine, because they were in a barren land, they removed from there not long afterward, and came to a place close to the country of the Gepaedes. And at first the Gepaedes permitted them to dwell there and be neighbours to them, since they came as suppliants. But afterwards for no good reason the Gepaedes began to practise unholy deeds upon them. For they violated their women and seized their cattle and other property, and abstained from no wickedness whatever, and finally began an unjust attack upon them. And the Eruli, unable to bear all this any longer, crossed the Ister River and decided to

live as neighbours to the Romans in that region; this was during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, who received them with great friendliness and allowed them to settle where they were. But a short time afterwards these barbarians gave him offence by their lawless treatment of the Romans there, and for this reason he sent an army against them. And the Romans, after defeating them in battle, slew most of their number, and had ample opportunity to destroy them all. But the remainder of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the generals and begged them to spare their lives and to have them as allies and servants of the emperor thereafter. And when Anastasius learned this, he was pleased, and consequently a number of the Eruli were left; however, they neither became allies of the Romans, nor did they do them any good.

But when Justinian took over the empire,[Y] he bestowed upon them good lands and other possessions, and thus completely succeeded in winning their friendship and persuaded them all to become Christians. As a result of this they adopted a gentler manner of life and decided to submit themselves wholly to the laws of the Christians, and in keeping with the terms of their alliance they are generally arrayed with the Romans against their enemies. They are still, however, faithless toward them, and since they are given to avarice, they are eager to do violence to their neighbours, feeling no shame at such conduct. And they mate in an unholy manner, especially men with asses, and they are the basest of all men and utterly abandoned rascals.

DATE:

[Y]527 A.D.

Afterwards, although some few of them remained at peace with the Romans, as will be told by me in the following narrative, all the rest revolted for the following reason. The Eruli, displaying their beastly and fanatical character against their own “rex,” one Ochus by name, suddenly killed the man for no good reason at all, laying against him no other charge than that they wished to be without a king thereafter. And yet even before this, while their king did have the title, he had practically no advantage over any private citizen whomsoever. But all claimed the right to sit with him and eat with him, and whoever wished insulted him without restraint; for no men in the world are less bound by convention or more unstable than the Eruli. Now when the evil deed had been accomplished, they were immediately repentant. For they said that they were not able to live without a ruler and without a general; so after much deliberation it seemed to them best in every way to summon one of their royal family from the island of Thule. And the reason for this I shall now explain.

XV

When the Eruli, being defeated by the Lombards in the above-mentioned battle, migrated from their ancestral homes, some of them, as has been told by me above, made their home in the country of Illyricum, but the rest were averse to crossing the Ister River, but settled at the very extremity of the world; at any rate, these men, led by many of the royal blood, traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni, as they are called. After these they passed by the nations of the Dani, without suffering violence at the hands of the barbarians there. Coming thence to the ocean, they took to the sea, and putting in at Thule, remained there on the island.

Now Thule is exceedingly large; for it is more than ten times greater than Britain. And it lies far distant from it toward the north. On this island the land is for the most part barren, but in the inhabited country thirteen very numerous nations are settled; and there are kings over each nation. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place each year. For the sun at the time of the summer solstice never sets for forty days, but appears constantly during this whole time above the earth. But not less than six months later, at about the time of the winter solstice, the sun is never seen on this island for forty days, but never-ending night envelops it; and as a result of this dejection holds the people there during this whole time, because they are unable by any means to mingle with one another during this interval. And although I was eager to go to this island and become an eye-witness of the things I have told, no opportunity ever presented itself. However, I made enquiry from those who come to us from the island as to how in the world they are able to reckon the length of the days, since the sun never rises nor sets there at the appointed times. And they gave me an account which is true and trustworthy. For they said that the sun during those forty days does not indeed set just as has been stated, but is visible to the people there at one time toward the east, and again toward the west. Whenever, therefore, on its return, it reaches the same place on the horizon where they had previously been accustomed to see it rise, they reckon in this way that one day and night have passed. When, however, the time of the nights arrives, they always take note of the courses of the moon and stars and thus reckon the measure of the days. And when a time amounting to thirty-five days has passed in this long night, certain men are sent to the summits of the mountains — for this is the custom among them — and when they are able from that point barely to see the sun, they bring back word to the people below that within five days the sun will shine upon them. And the whole population celebrates a festival at the good news, and that too in the darkness. And this is the greatest festival which the natives of Thule have; for, I imagine, these islanders always become terrified, although they see the same thing happen every year, fearing that the sun may at some time

fail them entirely.

But among the barbarians who are settled in Thule, one nation only, who are called the Scythophini, live a kind of life akin to that of the beasts. For they neither wear garments of cloth nor do they walk with shoes on their feet, nor do they drink wine nor derive anything edible from the earth. For they neither till the land themselves, nor do their women work it for them, but the women regularly join the men in hunting, which is their only pursuit. For the forests, which are exceedingly large, produce for them a great abundance of wild beasts and other animals, as do also the mountains which rise there. And they feed exclusively upon the flesh of the wild beasts slain by them, and clothe themselves in their skins, and since they have neither flax nor any implement with which to sew, they fasten these skins together by the sinews of the animals, and in this way manage to cover the whole body. And indeed not even their infants are nursed in the same way as among the rest of mankind. For the children of the Scythophini do not feed upon the milk of women nor do they touch their mother's breast, but they are nourished upon the marrow of the animals killed in the hunt, and upon this alone. Now as soon as a woman gives birth to a child, she throws it into a skin and straightway hangs it to a tree, and after putting marrow into its mouth she immediately sets out with her husband for the customary hunt. For they do everything in common and likewise engage in this pursuit together. So much for the daily life of these barbarians.

But all the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ very much from the rest of men, but they reverence in great numbers gods and demons both of the heavens and of the air, of the earth and of the sea, and sundry other demons which are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers. And they incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices, and make oblations to the dead, but the noblest of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war; for they sacrifice him to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god. And the manner in which they offer up the captive is not by sacrificing him on an altar only, but also by hanging him to a tree, or throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some of the other most cruel forms of death. Thus, then, do the inhabitants of Thule live. And one of their most numerous nations is the Gauti, and it was next to them that the incoming Eruli settled at the time in question.

On the present occasion, therefore, the Eruli who dwelt among the Romans, after the murder of their king had been perpetrated by them, sent some of their notables to the island of Thule to search out and bring back whomsoever they were able to find there of the royal blood. And when these men reached the island, they found many there of the royal blood, but they selected the one man who pleased them most and set out with him on the return journey. But this man fell sick and died when he had come to the country of the Dani. These men therefore went a second time to the island and secured another man, Datius by name. And he was followed by his brother

Aordus and two hundred youths of the Eruli in Thule. But since much time passed while they were absent on this journey, it occurred to the Eruli in the neighbourhood of Singidunum that they were not consulting their own interests in importing a leader from Thule against the wishes of the Emperor Justinian. They therefore sent envoys to Byzantium, begging the emperor to send them a ruler of his own choice. And he straightway sent them one of the Eruli who had long been sojourning in Byzantium, Suartuas by name. At first the Eruli welcomed him and did obeisance to him and rendered the customary obedience to his commands; but not many days later a messenger arrived with the tidings that the men from the island of Thule were near at hand. And Suartuas commanded them to go out to meet those men, his intention being to destroy them, and the Eruli, approving his purpose, immediately went with him. But when the two forces were one day's journey distant from each other, the king's men all abandoned him at night and went over of their own accord to the newcomers, while he himself took to flight and set out unattended for Byzantium. Thereupon the emperor earnestly undertook with all his power to restore him to his office, and the Eruli, fearing the power of the Romans, decided to submit themselves to the Gepaedes. This, then, was the cause of the revolt of the Eruli.

XVI

BELISARIUS and Narses came together with their two armies near the city of Firmum, which lies on the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and is one day's journey distant from the city of Auximus. In that place they began to hold conferences with all the commanders of the army, considering at what particular point it would be most to their advantage to make the first attack upon the enemy. For if, on the one hand, they should proceed against the forces besieging Ariminum, they suspected that the Goths in Auximus would in all probability, taking them in the rear, inflict irreparable harm both upon them and upon the Romans who lived in that region; but, on the other hand, they were anxious concerning the besieged, dreading lest by reason of their lack of provisions they should suffer some great misfortune. Now the majority were hostile toward John, and made their speeches accordingly; and the charge they brought against him was that he had been moved by unreasoning daring and a desire to gain great sums of money to place himself in his present dangerous position, and that he would not allow the operations of the war to be carried out in due order nor in the manner prescribed by Belisarius. But Narses, who loved John above all other men, beginning to be fearful lest Belisarius should give way to the words of the officers and treat the situation at Ariminum as of secondary importance, spoke as follows:

"Fellow officers, you are not debating a question of the customary sort, nor are you holding this council regarding a situation about which one would naturally be in doubt, but in circumstances where it is possible even for those who have had no experience of war to make their choice offhand and in so doing to choose the better course. For if it seems to be true that each of these two alternatives offers to those who fail an equal degree of danger and evenly balanced possibilities of mischief, it is altogether worth while to deliberate and to go most thoroughly into the arguments, and only then to make our decision regarding the situation before us. But if we should wish to put off the assault upon Auximus to some other time, the penalty we shall suffer will involve in no way any vital interest of ours; for what difference could arise during the interval? But if we fail at Ariminum, we shall in all probability, if it is not too bitter a thing to say, shatter the strength of the Romans. Now if John treated your commands with insolence, most excellent Belisarius, the atonement you have already exacted from him is surely ample, since it is now in your power either to save him in his reverse or to abandon him to the enemy. But see that you do not exact from the emperor and from us the penalty for mistakes committed by John through ignorance. For if the Goths capture Ariminum at the present juncture, it will be their good fortune to have made captive a capable Roman general, as well as a whole army and a city subject to the emperor. And the calamity will not stop with this, but it will also have such weight as to determine the fortune of the war in every field.

For you should reason thus regarding the enemy, that they are still, even at the present time, far superior to us in the number of their soldiers, and they have lost their courage only because of the many reverses they have suffered. And this is natural; for the adversity of fortune has taken away all their confidence. If, therefore, they meet with success at the present time, they will at no distant date recover their spirit and thereafter they will carry on this war with a boldness, not merely equal to ours, but actually much greater. For it is a way with those who are freeing themselves from a difficult situation always to have a better heart than those who have not yet met with disaster." Thus spoke Narses.

At this time a soldier who had escaped from Ariminum by slipping through the guard of the barbarians came into the camp and shewed Belisarius a letter which John had written to him, conveying the following message: "Know that for a long time all our provisions have been exhausted, that we are no longer able either to hold out against the populace or to ward off our assailants, and that within seven days we shall unwillingly surrender both ourselves and this city to the enemy; for beyond this time we are absolutely unable to overcome the necessity which is upon us, and this necessity, I think, will be a sufficient apology in our behalf, if we do anything which is unseemly." Thus, then, did John write. But Belisarius, on his part, was sorely perplexed and plunged into the greatest uncertainty. For while he was fearful concerning the besieged, he suspected, at the same time, that the enemy in Auximus would overrun the whole country round about and plunder it with never a fear, and also that they would ambush his own army from behind at every opportunity, and especially whenever he joined battle with his opponents, and would thus in all probability do the Romans great and irreparable harm. Finally, however, he did as follows. He left Aratius with a thousand men there, instructing them to make a camp by the sea, at a distance of two hundred stades from Auximus. These troops he commanded neither to move away from that position nor to fight a decisive action with the enemy, except in so far as to drive them off from the camp, if they should ever make an attack upon it. For he hoped by this course to make it certain that the barbarians, seeing Romans encamped close by, would remain quietly in Auximus and never follow his own army to do it harm. And he despatched by sea a very considerable army commanded by Herodian, Uliaris and Narses the brother of Aratius. But Ildiger was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, and he was instructed by Belisarius to sail straight for Ariminum, taking care not to attempt putting in to shore near the city while the land army was still far behind; for they would be proceeding by a road not far from the coast. And he ordered another army under command of Martinus to march along the coast, keeping near these ships, and instructing them that, when they came close to the enemy, they should burn a greater number of camp-fires than usual and not in proportion to the actual numbers of the army, and thus lead their opponents to believe their numbers to be much greater than they actually were. He himself,

meanwhile, went by another road far removed from the shore with Narses and the rest of the army, passing through the city of Urvisalia, which in earlier times Alaric destroyed so completely that nothing whatever has been left of its former grandeur, except a small remnant of a single gate and of the floor of the adjoining edifice.

XVII

IN that place it was my fortune to see the following sight. When the army of John came into Picenum, the people of that region, as was natural, were thrown into great confusion. And among the women, some took hurriedly to flight, wherever each one found it possible, while others were captured and led away in a disorderly manner by those who chanced upon them. Now a certain woman of this city had, as it happened, just given birth to a child, and had abandoned the infant, leaving it in its swaddling clothes lying upon the ground; and whether she sought safety in flight or was captured by someone or other, she did not succeed in getting back again to that place; for assuredly it fell out that she disappeared from the world or at least from Italy. So the infant, being thus abandoned, began to cry. But a lone she-goat, seeing it, felt pity and came near, and gave the infant her udder (for she too, as it happened, had recently brought forth young) and guarded it carefully, lest a dog or wild beast should injure it. And since the confusion was long continued, it came about that the infant partook of this food for a very long time. But later, when it became known to the people of Picenum that the emperor's army had come there to injure the Goths, but that the Romans would suffer no harm from it, they all returned immediately to their homes. And when such of the women as were Romans by birth came to Urvisalia with the men, and saw the infant still alive in its swaddling clothes, they were utterly unable to comprehend what had happened and considered it very wonderful that the infant was living. And each of them who chanced to be at that time able to do so offered her breast. But neither would the infant now have anything to do with human milk, nor was the goat at all willing to let it go, but as it kept bleating unceasingly about the infant, it seemed to those present to be feeling the greatest resentment that the women came near it and disturbed it as they did, and, to put all in a word, she insisted upon claiming the babe as her own. Consequently the women no longer disturbed the infant, and the goat continued to nourish it free from fear and to guard it with every care. Wherefore the inhabitants of the place appropriately called this infant Aegisthus. And when I happened to be sojourning in that place, by way of making a display of the strange sight they took me near the infant and purposely hurt it so that it might cry out. And the infant, annoyed by those hurting it, began to cry; whereupon the goat, which was standing about a stone's throw away from it, hearing the cry, came running and bleating loudly to its side, and took her stand over it, so that no one might be able to hurt it again. Such then is the story of this Aegisthus.

But Belisarius was advancing through the mountains in this region. For seeing that he was greatly inferior to his opponents in numbers, he did not wish to engage in an open battle with them, since he could see that the barbarians were actually paralyzed by their previous defeats; and he thought that, as soon as they learned that a hostile army was coming upon them from

all sides, they would not once think of resistance, but would without the least hesitation turn to flight. And indeed he arrived at a correct opinion regarding the situation, and his suppositions were not at variance with what the future was to bring forth. For when they had reached a point in the mountains where they were about one day's journey distant from Ariminum, they happened upon a small company of Goths who were travelling on some necessary errand. And these Goths, falling in unexpectedly with a hostile army, were quite unable to get away from the road before they were attacked by the missiles of those who marched in the van, and some fell on the spot, while others, after receiving wounds, succeeded in hiding themselves by scrambling up some of the high cliffs close by. From that position they watched the Roman army collecting over all the rough ground, and they supposed them to be many more than they really were. And seeing the standards of Belisarius there also, they realized that he was leading this army in person. Then night came on and the Romans bivouacked where they were, while the wounded Goths went stealthily to the camp of Vittigis. And reaching it about midday, they displayed their wounds and declared that Belisarius would be upon them almost at once with an army past numbering. Then the Goths began to prepare for battle to the north of the city of Ariminum, for they thought that the enemy would come from that direction, and they were all constantly looking toward the heights of the mountain. But when, as night came upon them, they had laid down their weapons and were resting, they saw many camp-fires to the east of the city, about sixty stades away — these were the fires which the troops of Martinus were burning — and they fell into a state of helpless fear; for they suspected that they would be surrounded by the enemy at daybreak. So for that night they bivouacked in such a state of fear; but on the succeeding day at sunrise they saw a fleet of ships in overwhelming numbers bearing down upon them, and being plunged into speechless terror, they made a rush to flee. And while they were packing up their luggage as quickly as they could, there arose so much confusion and shouting among them that they neither paid heed to the commands given nor did they think of anything else than how each man for himself could get away first from the camp and place himself inside the fortifications of Ravenna. And if the besieged had only had some strength or daring left in them, they could have killed great numbers of the enemy on the spot by making a sally from the city, and the whole war would have ended there. But, as it was, this was prevented by the great fear which had taken possession of them because of their past experiences, and by the weakness which had come upon many owing to the lack of provisions. So the barbarians, leaving there some of their possessions in the excess of their confusion, began to run as fast as they could go on the road to Ravenna.

XVIII

AMONG the Romans, Ildiger and his men were the first to arrive at the enemy's camp, and they made slaves of such of the Goths as had remained there suffering from sickness of one kind or another, and collected all the valuables which the Goths had left in their flight. And Belisarius with his whole army arrived at midday. And when he saw John and his men pale and dreadfully emaciated, he said to him, hinting at the rashness of his audacious deed, that he owed a debt of gratitude to Ildiger. But John said that he recognized his obligation, not to Ildiger, but to Narses, the emperor's steward, implying, I suppose, that Belisarius had not come to his defence very willingly, but only after being persuaded by Narses. And from that time both these men began to regard each other with great suspicion. It was for this reason that the friends of Narses even tried to prevent him from marching with Belisarius, and they sought to shew him how disgraceful it was for one who shared the secrets of the emperor not to be commander-in-chief of the army, but to take orders from a mere general. For they expressed the view that Belisarius would never willingly share with him the command of the army on equal terms, but that, if he wished to take command of the Roman army for himself, he would be followed by the greater part of the soldiers, and much the best ones too, together with their commanders. For the Eruli, they said, and Narses' own spearmen and guards, and the troops commanded by Justinus and John himself, together with the forces of Aratius and the other Narses, amounted to not less than ten thousand men, brave soldiers and especially capable warriors, and they did not wish the subjugation of Italy to be reckoned to the credit of Belisarius alone, but desired that Narses too should carry off his share of the honour. For they supposed that he had left the society of the emperor, not that by facing danger himself he might establish the glory of Belisarius, but presumably in order that by making a display of deeds of wisdom and bravery he might become famous among all men. Furthermore, they said, even Belisarius would thenceforth be unable to accomplish anything without these troops. For the greater part of the forces which he commanded had already been left behind in fortresses and cities which he had himself captured, and they enumerated them all, starting at Sicily and naming them in order as far as Picenum.

When Narses heard this, he was exceedingly pleased with the suggestion and could no longer restrain his mind or tolerate the existing arrangement. Often, therefore, when Belisarius thought proper to undertake some new enterprise, he would resort to different pretexts, now one and now another, and thus block the project he was urging. And Belisarius, perceiving this, called together all the commanders and spoke as follows:

"It seems to me, fellow officers, that I do not have the same opinion regarding this war as you have. For you, I see, are contemptuous of the enemy

as being completely vanquished. But my opinion is that by this confidence of yours we shall fall into a danger which can be foreseen, because I know that the barbarians have not been vanquished by us because of any lack of courage on their part or because of inferiority in numbers, but that it is by means of careful planning beforehand that they have been outgeneralled, and consequently have turned to flight from this place. And I fear that you may be deceived in regard to these facts because of your false estimate of the situation, and may thus do irreparable harm both to yourselves and to the cause of the Romans. For those who, accounting themselves victorious, are lifted up by their achievements are more readily destroyed than those who have indeed suffered an unexpected reverse, but thereafter are actuated by fear and abundant respect of their enemy. For while indifference has sometimes ruined men who were in good case, energy coupled with solicitude has often relieved those who had been unfortunate. For, on the one hand, when men allow themselves to drift into an attitude of unconcern, the measure of their strength is wont, as a rule, to be lessened, but, on the other hand, careful study of a situation is naturally calculated to instil vigour. Accordingly, let each one of you remember that Vittigis is in Ravenna with many tens of thousands of Goths, that Uraias is besieging Milan and has brought the whole of Liguria under his power, that Auximus is already filled with an array both numerous and formidable, and that many other places, as far as Urviventus, which is in the neighbourhood of Rome, are guarded by barbarian garrisons which are a match for us. Consequently the situation is more perilous for us at the present time than it formerly was, seeing that we have come to be, in a way, surrounded by the enemy. And this is not all, for I pass over the report that the Franks also have joined forces with them in Liguria, a thing which cannot fail to be remembered by all Romans with great fear. I state, therefore, as my opinion that a part of the army ought to be sent to Liguria and Milan, but that the rest should instantly proceed against Auximus and the enemy there, in order to accomplish whatever God permits; and afterwards we should also take in hand the other tasks of the war in whatever way seems best and most advantageous." So spoke Belisarius.

And Narses replied as follows: "In other respects, General, no one could deny that everything has been spoken by you with truth. But that the emperor's whole army here should be divided between Milan and Auximus alone I consider to be utterly inexpedient. It would not be at all unreasonable for you, on your part, to lead against these places such of the Romans as you yourself might wish, but we, on our part, shall take possession for the emperor of the territory of Aemilia, which the Goths are making the greatest effort to win for themselves, and we shall harass Ravenna in such a way that you will crush the enemy before you as you wish, while they are excluded from the hope of armies to support them. For if we should elect to join you in carrying on a siege at Auximus, the barbarians, I fear, will come upon us from Ravenna, with the result that we shall become exposed to the enemy on both

sides and, being at a distance from our base of supplies, we shall be destroyed on the spot.” Such were the words of Narses.

But Belisarius feared that, if the Romans should go against many places at once, it would come about that the emperor’s cause would be weakened and finally ruined by the confusion resulting therefrom, and so he shewed a letter from the Emperor Justinian which he had written to the commanders of the army, conveying the following message: “We have not sent our steward Narses to Italy in order to command the army; for we wish Belisarius alone to command the whole army in whatever manner seems to him to be best, and it is the duty of all of you to follow him in the interest of our state.” Such was the purport of the emperor’s letter. But Narses, laying hold of the final words of the letter, declared that Belisarius at the present time was laying plans contrary to the interest of the state; for this reason, he said, it was unnecessary for them to follow him.

XIX

UPON hearing this Belisarius sent Peranius with a numerous army to Urviventus with instructions to besiege it, while he himself led his army against Urbinus, a city of strong defences and guarded by a sufficient garrison of Goths (it is at a distance from the city of Ariminum of one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller), and as he led forth the army he was followed by Narses and John and all the others. And upon coming near the city, they encamped in two divisions along the foot of the hill; for they had not combined their forces at all, but the troops of Belisarius held the position to the east of the city, and those of Narses that to the west. Now the city of Urbinus is situated upon a hill which is round and exceedingly high. However, the hill is neither precipitous nor altogether impossible to climb, and it is difficult only by reason of being very steep, especially as one comes very close to the city. But it has one approach by level ground on the north. So the Romans were stationed for the siege as has been stated. Now Belisarius was of the opinion that the barbarians would somewhat readily make terms with the Romans for a surrender, believing that they had become terrified by the danger, and so he sent envoys to them, promising that they would receive many benefits, and exhorting them to become subjects of the emperor. These envoys stood near the gates (for the enemy would not receive them into the city), and spoke at length, making a great effort to win them over, but the Goths, confident in the strength of their position and their abundance of provisions, would not listen to their proposals, and bade the Romans depart from the city with all speed. So when Belisarius heard this, he ordered the army to collect thick poles and to make of them a long colonnade. This device was destined to cover the men hidden inside as they moved it forward close up to the gate at the particular point where the ground was level and carried on their operations against the wall. So the soldiers were engaged in this work.

But some of the intimates of Narses gathered around him and declared that Belisarius was undertaking an endless task and devising impracticable plans. For John, they said, had already made an attempt upon the place, and that too at a time when it was guarded by only a few men, and had perceived that it was altogether impregnable (and this was true), and they said that he ought to recover for the emperor the land of Aemilia. And since he was won over by this suggestion, Narses at night abandoned the siege, although Belisarius begged him earnestly to remain there and assist his own troops in capturing the city of Urbinus. So Narses and his followers went in haste to Ariminum with a portion of the army. And as soon as Moras and his barbarians saw at daybreak that one-half of the enemy had withdrawn, they began to shout taunts and bantering words from the fortifications at those who had remained. Belisarius, however, was purposing to storm the wall with his remaining

force. And while he was laying plans for this attack, an altogether wonderful piece of good fortune befell him. There was only one spring in Urbinus, and from it all the inhabitants of the city were drawing water. This spring of its own accord little by little dried up and began to give out. And in three days the water had left it to such an extent that the barbarians drawing from it were drinking the water along with mud. Consequently they decided to capitulate to the Romans. But Belisarius, who had not received any information of this, was still purposing to make an attempt upon the fortifications. And he armed his entire force and placed it in a circle about the whole hill, and then commanded a few men to move forward the colonnade of poles (for such is the name by which this device is customarily called) where the ground was level. So these men went into it and began to walk and to draw the colonnade with them, hidden from the eyes of the enemy. Thereupon, the barbarians, stretching forth their right hands from the parapet, begged to receive peace. But the Romans, not knowing anything of what had taken place regarding the spring, supposed that it was the combat and the Roman device which they dreaded. Both sides, at any rate, gladly refrained from battle. And the Goths surrendered both themselves and the city to Belisarius with the condition that they should remain free from harm and that they should become subjects of the emperor on terms of complete equality with the Roman army.

But Narses, upon hearing of this success, was filled with both astonishment and dejection. And he himself still remained quietly in Ariminum, but he ordered John to lead his whole army against Caesena. So they went, taking ladders with them. And when they came close to the fortress, they delivered an attack and made trial of the fortifications. But since the barbarians defended themselves manfully, many fell in the fight and among them Phanitheus, the leader of the Eruli. So John, failing to capture the fortress of Caesena at that time, saw fit to make no further attempt upon it, since it seemed to him impregnable, and he marched forward with Justinus and the rest of the army. And by a sudden move he succeeded in taking possession of an ancient city which is named Forocornelius; and since the barbarians constantly retired before him and never came to an engagement, he recovered the whole of Aemilia for the emperor. Such was the course of these events.

Now Belisarius, since he had captured Urbinus at about the winter solstice, thought it inexpedient to march against Auximus immediately; for he suspected that a long time would be consumed by his troops in besieging it. For it was impossible to take the place by storm because of the strength of its defences, and the barbarian garrison of the city was both numerous and composed of the best troops, as I have previously stated, and since they had plundered a large tract of country, they had brought in for themselves a great store of provisions. But he commanded Aratius with a numerous army to pass the winter in Firmum and to be on his guard that the barbarians in future should not be at liberty to make their raids from Auximus and fearlessly to carry on a campaign of violence in that region; he himself, however, led his army against Urviventus. For Peranius kept urging him to do this, since he had heard from the deserters that the Goths in that city had a scarcity of provisions, and he hoped that if, in addition to their lack of supplies, they should see Belisarius also present with his whole army, as they would suppose, they would give in the more readily, as indeed actually happened. For Belisarius, immediately upon reaching Urviventus, commanded the whole army to encamp in a place suitably situated, while he himself made a complete circuit of the city, looking carefully to see whether it was perhaps not impossible to capture it by storm. And it seemed to him that there was no possible means of taking the place by any manner of assault. However, he decided that it would not be altogether impossible to capture it by a secret stratagem.

For the city occupies a lone hill which springs from low-lying ground, being on the top level and smooth, but precipitous at the base. And round this hill there stand rocks of equal height which form, as it were, a circle about it, not immediately at the base of the hill, but about a stone's throw away. Upon this hill, then, the men of old built the city, and they neither placed walls around it nor constructed defences of any other kind, since the place seemed to them impregnable by nature. For there is only one approach to the city through the rocks, and if the inhabitants of the city only keep this under guard, they have nothing to fear from hostile attacks at any other point. For apart from the place where nature, as has been stated, constructed the approach to the city, a river which is always large and impassable occupies the space between the hill and the rocks which I have just mentioned. In view of this situation the Romans of old built a short piece of wall across this approach. And there is a gate in it, which the Goths were guarding at that time. Such is the situation of Urviventus.

And Belisarius commenced the siege with his whole army, hoping either to deliver an attack by way of the river or to bring the enemy to submission by famine. The barbarians, on their part, were for a time not utterly destitute of

provisions, though their supply was indeed too scanty for their needs, but still they held out beyond all expectation in enduring their suffering, never getting sufficient nourishment to satisfy them, and using each day only enough food so as not to die of starvation. But finally, when all their provisions had been exhausted, they began to eat skins and hides which they had previously soaked in water for a long time; for their commander Albilas, a man of especial note among the Goths, was sustaining them with empty hopes.

Now as time went on and brought again the summer season, the grain was already ripening uncared for in the cornlands, but in no such quantities as formerly — indeed it was much less. For since it had not been covered in the furrows, either by ploughs or by the hand of man, but lay upon the surface, the earth was able to make only a small portion of it take root. And since after that no one reaped it, when it had become fully ripe it fell again to the ground and nothing grew from it thereafter. And this same thing had happened also in Aemilia; and because of this situation the inhabitants of that region left their homes and went to Picenum, thinking that, since that country was on the sea, it could not be suffering from absolute lack of food supplies. And the Tuscans, no less than the others, were attacked by famine for the same cause; and as many of them as lived in the mountains were eating loaves made of the acorns of the oak trees, which they ground up just like grain. The natural result of this was that the most of the people fell victim to all manner of diseases, and it was only a few who threw these off and recovered. Indeed it is said that among the Roman farmers in Picenum not less than fifty thousand persons perished by famine, and a great many more north of the Ionian Gulf.

I shall now tell of the appearance which they came to have and in what manner they died, for I was an eye-witness. All of them first became lean and pale; for the flesh, being ill supplied with nourishment, according to the old saying “laid hold upon itself,” and the bile, having now the mastery of their bodies by reason of its excess, lent them almost its own appearance. And as the malady developed, all moisture left them, and the skin became very dry so that it resembled leather more than anything else, giving the appearance of having been fastened upon the bones. And as they changed from a livid to a black colour, they came to resemble torches thoroughly burned. And their faces always wore an expression of amazement, while they always had a dreadful sort of insane stare. And they died, some because of the lack of food, and others too by sating themselves too much with it. For since all the warmth which nature kindled within them had died away, whenever anyone fed them to satiety, and not little by little, just like infants newly born, the result was that, since they were as yet unable to digest the food, they died much more quickly. Some too, overcome by hunger, fed upon their comrades. And it is said that two women in a certain place in the country above the city of Ariminum ate seventeen men; for these women, as it happened, were the only inhabitants of the place who survived, and consequently it came about that strangers travelling that way lodged in the little house where these women

lived; so they would kill these strangers while they slept and eat them. Now the story goes that the eighteenth stranger was roused from sleep, just when these women were about to lay hands upon him, and leaping up and learning from them the whole story, killed both of them. Such, then, is the story which they tell. And the most of the people were so overcome by their hunger that if they happened upon a bit of grass anywhere, they would rush to it with great eagerness, and kneeling down, would try to pull it from the ground. Then, finding themselves unable to do so because all strength had left them, they would fall upon the grass and their outstretched hand and die. And no one ever laid them in the earth, for there was in fact not a man to concern himself about burying them; and yet they remained untouched by any of those numerous birds which have the habit of feeding upon dead bodies, for they offered nothing which the birds craved. For all the flesh, as I have previously stated, had already been consumed by starvation. Such was the manner in which famine visited the land.

Now when Belisarius heard that Uraias and the barbarians were besieging Milan, he sent Martinus and Uliaris against them with a numerous army. But when this force reached the River Po, which is one day's journey distant from Milan, they established a camp and remained there. And a long time was spent by them at that camp while they were deliberating about the crossing of the river. And when Mundilas heard this, he sent to them one of the Romans, Paulus by name. He accordingly passed through the lines of the enemy without being detected, and reached the bank of the Po. But he happened to find no ferry ready at the moment, and so he removed his clothing and, at great risk, made the crossing by swimming. So when he had betaken himself to the Roman camp and had come into the presence of the commanders, he spoke as follows:

"Martinus and Uliaris, you are not acting justly nor in a manner worthy of your own fame, seeing that in appearance you have come for the saving of the emperor's cause, but in reality to magnify the power of the Goths. For this city of Milan, which far surpasses practically all the other cities of Italy in point of size and population and in every other sort of prosperity, and, apart from these advantages, is an outpost against the Germans and the other barbarians, and has been thrown out to protect the whole Roman empire, so to speak, — this city, I say, has now fallen into great danger together with Mundilas and the emperor's army, harassed as it is by the enemy, and neglected meanwhile by you. And how much the emperor has been wronged by you in the present case, I refrain from stating. For the urgency of the moment does not allow me to use many words, seeking as I do quick assistance for the city, while some hope is still left. But you, I say, must come to the defence of the people of Milan in their peril with all possible speed. For if at the present crisis you act with any hesitation in coming to us, the result will be for us, on the one hand, to perish after suffering the most cruel fate possible, and for you, on the other, to have betrayed to the enemy the emperor's power. For those who may perchance open their gates to the enemy are not the only ones who are justly called traitors, but with equal, nay even greater, justice this name belongs to those who, though they have the power to defend those dearest to them when they are besieged, still choose the course of hesitation, which involves no danger, instead of engaging in the struggle, and thus probably give to their enemy the victory over them." Thus spoke Paulus, and Martinus and Uliaris sent him back with the promise to follow him right speedily. And he once more succeeded in getting through the barbarians unnoticed, entered Milan by night, and having roused the hopes of the soldiers and all the Romans, still more strengthened their purpose to be faithful to the emperor.

Nevertheless Martinus and his men continued to be reluctant to move and

remained where they were, and much time was consumed by them in hesitating in this way. But finally Martinus, wishing to clear himself of the charge, wrote to Belisarius as follows:

“You sent us hither in order to bring support to those endangered in Milan, and we have come in great haste, just as you commanded, as far as the River Po; but the army fears to cross this river, since we hear that a strong force of Goths are in Liguria, and a very great multitude of Burgundians with them; and against such an army we do not consider ourselves able to fight a decisive battle alone. But command John and Justinus, who are in our neighbourhood in the land of Aemilia, to come with all possible speed together with their troops and assist us in meeting this danger. For by going together from here we shall be enabled both to be safe ourselves and also to do some harm to the enemy.” Such was the content of Martinus’ letter. And Belisarius, upon reading it, commanded John and Justinus to join the forces of Martinus and go with all speed against Milan. But they said that they would do nothing except what Narses commanded them. Wherefore Belisarius wrote also to Narses as follows:

“Consider that the whole army of the emperor is one body, and that, if it does not display one single purpose, just as do the members of a man, but one part wishes to act separately from the others, what will be left to us is to perish utterly without having performed any of our duties. Therefore have done with Aemilia, which neither contains any fortress nor has any decisive importance for the Romans, at least at the present moment. But do you command John and Justinus without the least delay to go with the forces of Martinus straight against the enemy at Milan, for they are near at hand and sufficiently strong to overpower the barbarians. For it so happens that I myself have here no numerous army which I could possibly send, and even apart from this, I think it inexpedient for soldiers to go from here against Milan. For a great amount of time will be consumed in the journey so that they will fail to reach the city at the proper moment, and they will be quite unable on account of the length of the journey to use their horses against the enemy when they reach them. But if these men go with Martinus and Uliaris against Milan, they will in all probability both overcome the barbarians there and also take possession of Aemilia again without encountering any further resistance.” When this letter had been delivered to Narses and read by him, he himself sent orders to John and Justinus to go with the other army to Milan. And John a little later set out for the sea-coast, in order to bring boats from there, which were to enable the army to cross the river. But an illness which fell upon him put a stop to the undertaking.

But while the forces of Martinus were hesitating about the crossing of the river, and those of John were awaiting the instructions of Narses, a great amount of time was consumed, and the siege meantime continued to be pressed. And the besieged were already suffering extremely from the famine, and under the overwhelming necessity of their wretched situation the most of

them had begun to eat dogs and mice and other animals such as had never been eaten by man. So the barbarians sent envoys to Mundilas, bidding him surrender the city to them, with the condition that he himself and the soldiers should remain free from harm. But Mundilas agreed to do this only on condition that they not only give pledges for the safety of the Roman garrison, but also that they would do no harm to any one of the inhabitants. But since the enemy, though ready to give pledges to Mundilas and the soldiers, were moved by furious passion against the Ligurians and were evidently going to destroy them all, Mundilas called all the soldiers together and spoke as follows:

“If it has ever happened that any men before us, though having the opportunity to save their lives with disgrace, have chosen rather to die with fair fame, abandoning their immediate safety for a glorious end of life, such men I should wish you also to be at the present time, and not through fondness for life to pursue it even though it be involved in shame, and that too, contrary to the teaching of Belisarius, by which you have profited for a long time past, so that to be otherwise than noble and exceedingly courageous is for you sacrilege. For when men have once entered life, a single fate is advancing upon all of them — to die at the appointed time; but as to the manner of death men differ, for the most part, one from the other. And there is this difference, that cowards, as one might expect, in every case first bring upon themselves insult and ridicule from their enemies and then, at the exact time previously appointed, fulfil their destiny no whit the less; but it falls to the lot of noble men to suffer this with valour and an abundance of goodly fame. And apart from these considerations, if it had been possible to become slaves of the barbarians, and at the same time to save the people of the city, that at least might have brought us some forgiveness for saving ourselves so disgracefully. But if, in fact, we are bound to look on while such a great multitude of Romans is being destroyed by the hand of the enemy, this will be more bitter than any form of death of which a man could tell. For we should appear to be doing nothing more or less than helping the barbarians to perpetrate this dreadful deed. While, therefore, we are sufficiently our own masters to adorn necessity with valour, let us make glorious the fortune which has fallen upon us. And I say that we ought all to arm ourselves in the best possible manner, and advance upon the enemy when they are not expecting us. For the result for us will be one of two things: either fortune will have wrought for us in some way a success which transcends our present hope, or we, in achieving a happy end, shall have rid ourselves of our present troubles with the fairest fame.”

So spoke Mundilas; but not one of the soldiers was willing to undergo the danger, and they surrendered both themselves and the city on the terms which the enemy offered. And the barbarians did indeed inflict no harm upon the soldiers, simply putting them under guard with Mundilas, but the city they razed to the ground, killing all the males of every age to the number of not

less than three hundred thousand and reducing the women to slavery and then presenting them to the Burgundians by way of repaying them for their alliance. And when they found Reparatus, the pretorian prefect, they cut his body into small pieces and threw his flesh to the dogs. But Vergentinus (for he had been, as it happened, inside Milan) made his escape and betook himself with his followers to Dalmatia, passing through the land of the Veneti and the other nations of that region. And from there he went to the emperor bearing the message of this great calamity which had befallen the Romans. In consequence of this success the Goths took by surrender the other cities which happened to have Roman garrisons and again gained control over the whole of Liguria. As for Martinus and Uliaris, they marched back with their army toward Rome.

SUCH was the course of events in Liguria. And Belisarius, having not yet learned anything of what had happened in that field, was moving with his whole army into Picenum, since the winter was now coming to an end. But learning in the course of this journey what had befallen Milan, he grieved exceedingly. And never after that time would he allow Uliaris to come into his presence; but he wrote to the emperor everything which had taken place. And the emperor treated no one with severity on account of these things, but upon hearing of the disagreement between Belisarius and Narses, he recalled Narses immediately and appointed Belisarius commander-in-chief for the whole war. Thus it was that Narses returned to Byzantium, bringing some few of the soldiers. But the Eruli, seeing that Narses was departing from Italy, refused to remain there longer, although Belisarius promised that they would receive many benefits both from himself and from the emperor, if they remained; but they all packed up their luggage and withdrew, going first to Liguria. There they happened upon the army of Uraias, and they sold all the slaves and the animals they were taking with them to the enemy, and, having thus acquired a great amount of money, they took an oath that they would never array themselves against Goths or do battle with them. Thus they made their withdrawal in peace and came into the land of the Veneti. But upon meeting Vitalius there, they forthwith began to repent of the wrong they had done the Emperor Justinian. And seeking to clear themselves of the charge against them, they left there Visandus, one of their commanders, with his forces, but all the rest betook themselves to Byzantium under the leadership of Aluith and Philemuth, the latter having taken the command after Phanitheus was killed at Caesena.

Now Vittigis and the Goths with him, hearing that Belisarius at the beginning of spring would come against them and Ravenna, were plunged into great fear, and they began to take counsel regarding the situation which confronted them; and realizing as they did that they alone were not a match for their enemy in battle, they decided, after long deliberation, to invite the assistance of some other barbarians. In carrying out this purpose, however, they avoided the Germans, having already had experience of their crafty and untrustworthy character, being well content if they too should not come against the Goths with Belisarius, but should stand aside for both. But they sent envoys to Vaces, the ruler of the Lombards, offering great sums of money and inviting him to an offensive and defensive alliance. But these envoys, upon learning that Vaces was a friend and ally of the emperor, returned unsuccessful. It was natural, therefore, that Vittigis should be at a loss in these circumstances, and he was constantly calling together many of the elders. And from them he made many inquiries as to how he should form his plans and act in order that he might achieve the greatest success. Accordingly many

opinions were expressed by those who gathered for the council, some of them in no way adapted to the situation, and some too which contained suggestions worthy of some consideration. And among these suggestions this idea also was advanced, that the emperor of the Romans had plainly never been able to make war upon the barbarians in the West before the time when the treaty had been made with the Persians. For it was only then that the Van dais and Moors had been destroyed, and the Goths had suffered their present misfortunes. Consequently, if someone should once more rouse the hostility of the king of the Medes against the Emperor Justinian, the Romans thereafter would never be able, when once that nation had been stirred up to war against them, to carry on another war against any people in the world. This suggestion pleased both Vittigis himself and the other Goths.

It was decided, therefore, that envoys should be sent to Chosroes, the king of the Medes, but that they should not be Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and the negotiations be made useless, but Romans, who were to make him hostile to the Emperor Justinian. Accordingly they bribed two priests of Liguria with great sums of money to undertake this service. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy, assuming the appearance and the title of bishop, which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. Vittigis also entrusted to them a letter written to Chosroes and sent them off. And Chosroes, influenced by this very letter, committed acts of an outrageous character against the Romans in time of peace, as has been told by me in the preceding narrative. Now when the Emperor Justinian heard that Chosroes and the Persians were planning to this end, he decided to bring the war in the West to an end as quickly as possible, and to recall Belisarius in order that he might take the field against the Persians. So he immediately dismissed the envoys of Vittigis (for they happened to be still in Byzantium), promising that men would be sent by him to Ravenna who would draw up the treaty with the Goths in such form that the interests of both sides would be furthered. But Belisarius did not release these envoys to the enemy until they, in turn, had released the embassy of Athanasius and Peter. And when these men arrived at Byzantium, the emperor counted them worthy of the greatest gifts of honour, appointing Athanasius prefect of the pretorians in Italy, and giving Peter the office of “magister” as it is called. And the winter drew to a close, and the fourth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [529 A.D.]

XXIII

Now Belisarius wished first to capture Auximus and Fisula, and after that to march against Vittigis and Ravenna, with no one of the enemy any longer able to oppose his advance or to harass his rear.

He accordingly sent Cyprian and Justinus with their men and some of the Isaurians to Fisula, together with five hundred foot-soldiers from the detachment commanded by Demetrius; and they made camp about the fortress and commenced a siege of the barbarian garrison. And Martinus and John with their troops and another army, commanded by John whom they called the Glutton, he sent to the country along the Po River. These officers he commanded to take care that Uraias with his forces should not advance from Milan against his own army; and if they were not able to repel the enemy's attack, they were secretly to follow behind them and assail their rear. So they took possession of Dorthon, an unwallled city which lay on the river, and having established their camp remained there, while Belisarius himself went to the city of Auximus with eleven thousand men. Now this is the first of the cities in Picenum, being the metropolis, as the Romans are accustomed to call it.

And it is about eighty-four stades distant from the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and from the city of Ravenna a journey of three days and eighty stades. And it is situated upon a very high hill, having no approach at all upon the level ground, and for this reason it is entirely inaccessible for an enemy. In that city Vittigis had assembled all the most notable troops among the Goths and had established them there as a garrison, conjecturing that the Romans, unless they should first capture this city, would never dare to march against Ravenna.

Now when the Roman army arrived at Auximus, Belisarius commanded them all to encamp in a circle about the base of the hill. So they took their places by companies, and were setting up their huts at different points in the line; and the Goths, observing that the enemy were rather far apart from one another, and were not able easily to bring assistance to each other, since they were in a great plain, suddenly advanced upon them in the late afternoon, on the side to the east of the city, where Belisarius happened to be still engaged in making camp with his spearmen and guards. And the Romans took up their arms and began to defend themselves against their assailants as well as the circumstances permitted, and by their valour they forced them back with the greatest ease and routed them; and in following up their flight they reached the middle of the hill. There the barbarians turned upon them, and, confident in the strength of their position, made a stand against their pursuers; and since they were shooting from above, they slew many of them, until night coming on put a stop to the fighting. Thus the two armies separated and bivouacked that night. Now it happened that on the day before this encounter some of the Goths had been sent out to the country close by at early dawn in order to

gather provisions. These foraging parties, having learned nothing of the presence of the enemy, returned at night, and suddenly spying the fires of the Romans, they became greatly amazed and frightened. And many of them, who plucked up courage to take the risk and escaped detection by their enemy, entered Auximus. But as many as were overcome by terror and hid themselves for the time in any convenient clumps of trees with the intention of proceeding to Ravenna, all these not long afterward fell into hostile hands and were destroyed. And Belisarius, seeing that Auximus was exceedingly strong and securely placed, and that it was altogether impossible for him to make an attack upon the fortifications, was of the opinion that he could never take the place by storm, but he hoped by a close siege to reduce the enemy to want by cutting off their food supplies and thus to bring them into his power by the passage of time.

Now not far from the fortifications there was a place where the ground was covered with an abundant growth of grass, and this gave rise every day to an encounter between the Romans and the Goths. For every time the Romans saw their opponents cutting this grass for the sake of their horses, they would ascend the hill with a great rush, and, upon reaching the enemy, they would engage with them, and by making a display of valorous deeds, try to prevent them altogether from carrying off the grass; and they always slew many of the Goths in this place. Then the Goths, finding themselves no match for their enemy in valour, devised the following plan. They removed the wheels along with the axles from their waggons and held them in readiness; then, when they had commenced to cut the grass, as soon as they saw that the Romans, as they ascended, were at the middle of the hill, they released the wheels to rush down upon them from above. But by some chance it so happened that these wheels went all the way to the level ground without touching a single man. And since they had failed in this attempt, the barbarians on that occasion took to flight and got inside the fortifications, but after that they adopted the following plan. After filling the ravines which are close to the fortifications with ambuscades of the men of note among them, a few soldiers would shew themselves near the grass to the enemy, and when the fighting had come to close quarters, those in concealment would leap out from their ambuscades, and, being greatly superior to their opponents in number, and striking terror into them because they had not previously seen their assailants, they used to kill great numbers of them and always turned the rest to flight. And although those of the Romans who had kept their position in the camps did see the enemy rising from the ambuscades, and tried, with much shouting, to call their companions back, still they failed utterly to do so, since those fighting could not in the least hear their call, because, in the first place, they were separated from them by a great expanse of hillside, and, in the second place, the barbarians purposely always made a din to drown the voices by beating their weapons together.

And when Belisarius was in perplexity because of this situation, Procopius,

who wrote this history, came before him and said: "The men, General, who blew the trumpets in the Roman army in ancient times knew two different strains, one of which seemed unmistakably to urge the soldiers on and impel them to battle, while the other used to call the men who were fighting back to the camp, whenever this seemed to the general to be for the best. And by such means the generals could always give the appropriate commands to the soldiers, and they on their part were able to execute the commands thus communicated to them. For during actual combat the human voice is in no way adapted to give any clear instructions, since it obviously has to contend with the clash of arms on every side, and fear paralyzes the senses of those fighting. But since at the present time such skill has become obsolete through ignorance and it is impossible to express both commands by one trumpet, do you adopt the following course hereafter. With the cavalry trumpets urge on the soldiers to continue fighting with the enemy, but with those of the infantry call the men back to the retreat. For it is impossible for them to fail to recognize the sound of either one, for in the one case the sound comes forth from leather and very thin wood, and in the other from rather thick brass." So spoke Procopius.

And Belisarius was pleased by the suggestion, and calling together the whole army he spoke as follows:

"I consider that enthusiasm is beneficial and thoroughly praiseworthy, but only so long as it continues to be of a moderate sort and consequently brings no harm upon those under its spell. For every good thing, when in excess, is wont to change for the worse. Do you, therefore, from this time forth, not allow your enthusiasm for battle to cause you to fail of success; for to flee from one who is inflicting loss upon you is, as you surely know, no disgrace. But he who without looking about him goes into trouble which is before his eyes and, should it so happen, escapes from it, still stands convicted of folly; but the man truly noble is he who plays the part of a brave man in dangers that cannot be avoided. Now the barbarians, since they are unable to fight a decisive battle with us in the open, are trying to destroy us by laying snares. But for us it is more blameworthy to face the danger than to escape from their ambush. For nothing is more shameful than to fall in with the plans of the enemy. It will rest with me, accordingly, to see to it that you do not come unawares upon the ambuscades of the enemy. And it will be your duty, as soon as I give the signal, to retire with all speed. And this signal, soldiers, will be given by the trumpet of the infantry." So spoke Belisarius. And the soldiers, seeing the enemy near the grass, made a charge against them and killed a few of their number in the first onset. And one of the Moors saw among these fallen Goths one in particular whose person was adorned with gold, and laying hold of the hair of his head, he began to drag the corpse after him in order to strip it. But some Goth hurled a javelin at him, and with such a lucky aim that the weapon passed through both his legs, piercing the muscles which are behind the shins, with the result that his two legs were pinned

together by means of the javelin. But nevertheless the Moor kept holding the hair of the corpse and dragging it along. At this point the barbarians roused their men from ambush, and Belisarius, seeing from the camp what was being done, commanded the foot-soldiers to whom this duty was assigned to sound the trumpets quickly. And the Romans, hearing it, began immediately to withdraw gradually, taking up and carrying the Moor, javelin and all. And the Goths dared follow them no further, but returned unsuccessful

As time went on and the barbarians saw that their supply of food was coming to be exceedingly scant, they purposed to report their situation to Vittigis. And since no one of them dared set out on this mission (for they thought that they would never elude their besiegers), they devised the following plan. They first put in readiness the men whom they were intending to send to Vittigis, and then waited for a moonless night; when this came they put a letter into their hands, when it was well on in the night, and thereupon all raised a mighty shout at many parts of the circuit-wall. One would have supposed that they had been thrown into confusion owing to a violent attack of the enemy and an unexpected capture of the city. And the Romans, utterly unable to understand what was taking place, by the will of Belisarius remained quietly in the camps, suspecting that some stratagem would be carried out from the city and that an army from Ravenna bringing assistance to the enemy had come against them. And moved as they were by these fears, they thought it better for them to remain quietly in a secure position and thus save themselves than to go on a moonless night into a danger which could, in a way, be foreseen. By such means, therefore, the barbarians concealed their plan from the enemy and despatched the men on the way to Ravenna. And they, without being seen by a single one of the enemy, came before Vittigis on the third day and displayed the letter. And the writing was as follows: "When you appointed us, O King, for the garrison of Auximus, you said that you had placed in our keeping the keys of Ravenna itself and of your kingdom. And for this very reason you enjoined upon us to be on guard with every fibre of our being, that we should not by any act of ours betray the power of the Goths to the enemy, and you declared that, if we craved your assistance, you would be at hand with the whole army even before any messenger could announce your coming. Now as for us, we have, up to the present time, though fighting both with famine and with Belisarius, proved ourselves faithful guardians of your kingdom, but you have seen fit to aid us in no way whatsoever. You must consider, therefore, whether the Romans may not one day capture Auximus and take up the keys which you yourself are disregarding as they lie here, and thereby be excluded in future from none of your possessions." Such was the purport of the letter.

When it was brought to Vittigis and he saw it, he did at the moment send the men away with the promise that he would bring assistance to Auximus with the whole army of the Goths; but later, after long consideration, he continued to remain inactive. For, on the one hand, he suspected that the troops of John would follow up his rear and thus make him exposed to attack on two sides, and, on the other, he thought that Belisarius had with him a numerous force of able fighting men; consequently he fell into a sort of helpless fear. But chief among the many causes of his concern was the famine, which disturbed him greatly, since he had no source from which to provide

supplies for his army. For the Romans, on the one hand, being as they were masters of the sea and holding the fortress in Ancon, brought all their supplies from Sicily and Calabria and stored them in that place, and, at the proper time, easily got them from there. The Goths, on the other hand, if they marched into the land of Picenum, would have no means of securing provisions; this he fully realized, and so he found himself completely at a loss. So the men who had lately been sent to Vittigis from Auximus brought back his promise to the city without being detected by their enemy, and thus fortified the barbarians there with empty hopes. And Belisarius, upon hearing this from the deserters, ordered that a still stricter guard should be kept in order that no such thing might happen again. Such was the course of these events.

Meanwhile the troops of Cyprian and Justinus who were besieging Fisula were quite unable to make an assault upon the fortifications or even to get very close to them; for this fortress was difficult of access on every side. But the barbarians made frequent sallies against them, wishing rather to reach a decision by battle with the Romans than to be hard pressed by lack of provisions; and the engagements at first, indeed, proved indecisive, but after a time the Romans, now having the advantage, shut the enemy up within their wall and continued to guard them securely, so that no one could leave the city. So the barbarians, seeing that their provisions were failing, and finding themselves helpless in their present situation, sent to Vittigis without the knowledge of their enemy, begging him to bring them assistance with all speed, on the ground that they would not hold out very much longer. And Vittigis commanded Uraias to go to Ticinum with the army then in Liguria; for, after that, he declared, he too would come to the aid of the besieged himself with the whole Gothic army. And Uraias, acting accordingly, set in motion the whole army he had with him and went to Ticinum. And crossing the river Po, they came to the vicinity of the Roman camp. There they too made camp and established themselves over against their enemy, at a distance of about sixty stades from them. And neither side began an attack. For the Romans, on the one hand, deemed it sufficient if they should block the way for their enemy, so that they could not advance upon the besieging army, and the barbarians, on the other, were reluctant to fight a decisive battle with their enemy in that place, reasoning that, if they should fail in this engagement, they would ruin the whole cause of the Goths. For, in that case, they would no longer be able to unite with the troops of Vittigis and with him to give assistance to the besieged. So both sides, reasoning thus, continued to remain quiet.

AT this time the Franks, hearing that both Goths and Romans had suffered severely by the war, and thinking for this reason that they could with the greatest ease gain the larger part of Italy for themselves, began to think it preposterous that others should carry on a war for such a length of time for the rule of a land which was so near their own, while they themselves remained quiet and stood aside for both. So, forgetting for the moment their oaths and the treaties they had made a little before with both the Romans and the Goths (for this nation in matters of trust is the most treacherous in the world), they straightway gathered to the number of one hundred thousand under the leadership of Theudibert, and marched into Italy; they had a small body of cavalry about their leader, and these were the only ones armed with spears, while all the rest were foot-soldiers having neither bows nor spears, but each man carried a sword and shield and one axe. Now the iron head of this weapon was thick and exceedingly sharp on both sides, while the wooden handle was very short. And they are accustomed always to throw these axes at one signal in the first charge and thus to shatter the shields of the enemy and kill the men.

Thus the Franks crossed the Alps which separate the Gauls from the Italians, and entered Liguria. Now the Goths had previously been vexed at the thanklessness of the Franks, on the ground that, although they, the Goths, had often promised to give up to them a large territory and great sums of money in return for an alliance, these Franks had been unwilling to fulfil their own promise in any way; but when they heard that Theudibert was at hand with a great army, they were filled with rejoicing, lifted up, as they were, by the liveliest hopes and thinking that thereafter they would have the superiority over their enemy without a battle. As for the Germans, as long as they were in Liguria, they did no harm to the Goths, in order that these might make no attempt to stop them at the crossing of the Po. Consequently, when they reached the city of Ticinum, where the Romans of old had constructed a bridge over this river, those who were on guard there gave them every assistance and allowed them to cross the Po unmolested. But, upon getting control of the bridge, the Franks began to sacrifice the women and children of the Goths whom they found at hand and to throw their bodies into the river as the first-fruits of the war. For these barbarians, though they have become Christians, preserve the greater part of their ancient religion; for they still make human sacrifices and other sacrifices of an unholy nature, and it is in connection with these that they make their prophecies. And the Goths, upon seeing what was being done, fell into a kind of irresistible fear, took to flight and got inside the fortifications.

So the Germans, having crossed the Po, advanced to the Gothic camp, and the Goths were at first pleased to see them coming in small companies toward

their camp, thinking that these men had come to fight in alliance with them. But when a great throng of Germans had come up and opened an attack, and by hurling their axes were already slaying many, they turned their backs and rushed off in flight, and passing through the Roman camp ran along on the road to Ravenna. And the Romans, seeing them in flight, thought that Belisarius had come to support their own force and had both taken the camp of the enemy and dislodged them from it after defeating them in battle. And wishing to join forces with him, they took up their arms and went forth with all speed. But coming unexpectedly upon a hostile army, they were compelled, much against their will, to engage with them, and being badly worsted in the battle, they all fled, not to their camp, to which it was now impossible to return, but to Tuscany. And when they had at length reached safety, they reported to Belisarius all that had befallen them.

The Franks, having defeated both armies, as has been said, and having captured both camps without a single man in them, for the time being found provisions in the camps; but in a short time they had consumed all these on account of their great numbers, and, since the land was destitute of human habitation, they were unable to obtain any provisions except cattle and the water of the Po. But they were unable to digest this meat because of the great quantity of water they drank, and consequently the most of them were attacked by diarrhoea and dysentery, which they were quite unable to shake off because of the lack of proper food. Indeed they say that at least one-third of the Frankish army perished in this way. Hence it was that, as they were unable to go forward, they remained where they were.

Now when Belisarius heard that an army of Franks was in Italy and that the forces of Martinus and John had been defeated in battle and had fled, he was reduced to a state of perplexity, concerned as he was, not only for the whole army, but especially for the detachment conducting the siege of Fisula, since he learned that these barbarians were nearer to them than to any others. He therefore wrote immediately to Theudibert as follows: "I consider it unseemly in any case, O noble Theudibert, for a man who lays claim to excellence to fail to be truthful, but especially so when he is a ruler, as thou art, of nations of such vast numbers. But to violate oaths which are set down in writing and to disregard treaties — this would not be proper even for the most ignoble of men. And yet these very offences have been committed by thee in the present case, as thou knowest thyself, although it was only recently that thou didst agree to assist us in this war against the Goths. But, as matters now stand, far from holding thyself aloof from both nations, thou hast actually taken up arms in this rash manner and made an attack upon us. Do not thou, at least, my excellent friend, follow such a course, and that too when it involves an insult to the great emperor, who would surely not be likely to overlook the insult, or fail to exact atonement in the fullest measure. Now the best course is for each man to keep his own possessions in safety, and not, by laying claim to the possessions of others, to involve himself in any danger which concerns his

most vital interests.” When Theudibert had read this letter, perplexed as he was already by his present situation, and sharply reproached by the Germans, because, as they said, they were, for no good reason, dying in a deserted land, he broke camp with the survivors of the Franks and retired homeward with great speed.

THUS did Theudibert, after marching into Italy, take his departure. And the troops of Martinus and John returned in spite of the changed situation, in order that the enemy might not make any attack upon the Romans engaged in the siege. Now the Goths in Auximus, who had learned nothing concerning the coming of the Franks, had begun to despair of their hope from Ravenna which was so long deferred, and were purposing once more to address an appeal to Vittigis; but seeing that they were unable to elude the guards of the enemy, they were filled with grief. But later on their attention was drawn to one of the Romans — he was of the race of the Besi and named Burcentius, and had been assigned to the command of Narses, the Armenian — for they noted that he was keeping guard alone at midday, that no one should come out from the city to take the grass; and they went nearer and hailed him, and giving pledges that they would do him no harm, they urged him to come to meet them, promising that he would receive from them a large sum of money. And when they had come together, the barbarians besought the man to carry a certain letter to Ravenna, naming a fixed sum of gold to be paid to him immediately, and promising to give more when he should return bringing them a letter from Vittigis. And the soldier, won over by the money, agreed to perform this service, and he carried out his promise. For he received a sealed letter and carried it with all speed to Ravenna; and coming before Vittigis he delivered it to him. Now the message conveyed was as follows: “The situation in which we now find ourselves will be clearly revealed to you when you inquire who the bringer of this letter is. For not a Goth can find a way to get outside the fortifications. And as for food, the most available supply we have is the grass which grows by the wall, and even this at the present time we cannot so much as touch, except by losing many men in the struggle for it. And it becomes both thee and the Goths in Ravenna to consider what the end of all this will be for us.” When Vittigis had read this, he replied as follows: “Let no one think that we have ceased our efforts, dearest of all men, nor that we have come to be guilty of such a degree of baseness as to abandon utterly the cause of the Goths through sheer indifference. For, on my part, it was only recently that the preparations for departure had been made with all possible thoroughness, and Uraias with his whole army had come under summons from Milan. But the inroad of the Franks, coming upon us unexpectedly as it did, has made havoc of all our preparations, a result for which I, at least, could not justly hear the blame. For things which are beyond human power confer even upon those who fail the boon of being free from blame, since fortune draws upon herself whatever charge springs from what has befallen. Now, however, since we hear that Theudibert has got out of our way, we shall at no distant time, if God wills, come to you with the whole Gothic army. And it is needful for you to bear whatever falls to your lot manfully and as befits the

necessity which is upon you, calling to mind, first, your own valour, on account of which I chose you out from the whole army and established you in Auximus, and respecting also the reputation which you hold among all the Goths, and which prompted them to put you forward as a bulwark for Ravenna and for their own safety.” After writing this letter and rewarding the man with a large sum of money, Vittigis sent him away. And when he reached Auximus, he rejoined his comrades, giving as his excuse that some sickness or other had fallen upon him, and that for this reason he had been passing the time in a certain sanctuary not far away; and so he was appointed once more to guard-duty, to the very watch to which he had been accustomed, and unbeknown to all the Romans he gave the letter to the enemy; and when this was read to the people, it gave them all additional encouragement, although they were hard pressed by the famine. Wherefore they were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius, although he offered many enticements. But when no army had been reported as having left Ravenna, and they were already in extreme distress because of the lack of provisions, they once more sent Burcentius with a message stating only this, that after five days they would no longer be able to fight with the famine. And he returned to them a second time with a letter from Vittigis tantalizing them with similar hopes.

Now the Romans were distressed no less than the Goths, because they had been carrying on such a long siege in a deserted land, and they were completely baffled at seeing the barbarians refusing to give in to them although involved in so much suffering. In view of this situation Belisarius was eager to capture alive one of the men of note among the enemy, in order that he might learn what the reason might be why the barbarians were holding out in their desperate situation. And Valerian promised readily to perform such a service for him. For there were some men in his command, he said, from the nation of the Sclaveni, who are accustomed to conceal themselves behind a small rock or any bush which may happen to be near and pounce upon an enemy. In fact, they are constantly practising this in their native haunts along the river Ister, both on the Romans and on the barbarians as well. Belisarius was pleased by this suggestion and bade him see that the thing was done with all speed. So Valerian chose out one of the Sclaveni who was well suited as to size of body and especially active, and commanded him to bring a man of the enemy, assuring him that he would receive a generous reward from Belisarius. And he added that he could do this easily in the place where the grass was, because for a long time past the Goths had been feeding upon this grass, since their provisions were exhausted. So this barbarian at early dawn went close to the fortifications, and hiding himself in a bush and drawing his body into small compass, he remained in concealment near the grass. And at daybreak a Goth came there and began hastily to gather the blades of grass, suspecting no harm from the bush, but looking about frequently toward the enemy’s camp, lest anyone should attack him from there. Then the barbarian, falling unexpectedly upon the Goth from behind, made him captive, holding

him tightly about the waist with both hands, and thus carried him to the camp and handed him over to Valerian. And when he questioned the prisoner, asking what basis of confidence and what assurance the Goths could possibly have that they were absolutely unwilling to yield to the Romans, but were voluntarily enduring the most dreadful suffering, the Goth told Valerian the whole truth concerning Burcentius, and when he was brought before him he proved his guilt. As for Burcentius, when he perceived that he had been already found out, he concealed nothing of what he had done. Wherefore Belisarius handed him over to his comrades to do with him as they wished, and they not long afterwards burned him alive, the enemy looking on as they did so. Thus did Burcentius profit by his love for money.

XXVII

BUT when Belisarius saw that the barbarians continued none the less to hold out in their suffering, he was minded to carry out his plot against their water-supply, thinking that in this way he would accomplish the capture of his enemy with greater ease and facility. Now there was a spring on a steep slope to the north of Auximus, about a stone's throw distant from the circuit-wall, which discharged its water in a very small stream into a cistern which had been there from of old; and when the cistern became full from this small inflow, it was a matter of no difficulty for the inhabitants of Auximus to draw the water. This situation suggested to Belisarius that, if the water should not be collected there, the barbarians would never be able to till their jars from the spring's flow, because they would be exposed to the missiles of their enemy for a long time. Wishing, therefore, to destroy the cistern, he devised the following plan. He armed his whole force and drew it up in a circle about the circuit-wall as if for battle, giving his opponents the impression that he was about to make an attack upon their defences from all sides without the least delay. The Goths, consequently, fearing the attack, remained quietly at the battlements, with the intention of warding off their enemy from that position. But Belisarius meanwhile chose out five Isaurians who were skilled in masonry and conducted them to the cistern with mattocks and other implements suitable for cutting stone, concealing them as they went under a great number of shields; then he commanded them to put forth all their strength to break up and tear down the walls of the cistern as quickly as possible. As for the barbarians, as long as they suspected that these men were coming against the wall, they remained quiet, in order that they might come as close as possible and thus form an easy mark for their missiles, never once thinking what their real object was; but when they saw that the Isaurians had got inside the cistern, they began to hurl stones and discharge all kinds of missiles at them. Then indeed all the other Romans retired on the run, but the five Isaurians alone, who had now reached safety, began their work; for a sort of vault had been built over the cistern by the men of old in order to shade the water. So when they had got under this vault, they paid not the least heed to the enemy, although they were discharging missiles with great frequency.

In view of this the Goths could no longer endure to remain inside the fortifications, but opening the small gate on that side, they all rushed out against the Isaurians with great fury and tumult. And the Romans, urged on by Belisarius, made a countercharge with great enthusiasm. So a fierce battle took place in which for a long time they engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle, and there was great slaughter on both sides. But the men were falling more thickly among the Romans. For since the barbarians were defending themselves from a higher position, a few men could overpower many, and gaining superiority in the hand-to-hand struggle, they were killing more men

than those who were killed among themselves. However, the Romans were determined not to give in, feeling shame before Belisarius, who was present and urging them on with shouts. While this battle was in progress, it also happened that a missile came flying with a shrill whiz toward the belly of the general, having been directed there by one of the enemy either by some chance or with deliberate intent. And this missile was not seen at all by Belisarius. At any rate, he failed either to guard against it or to step aside to avoid it. But a certain spearman named Unigastus, who was standing beside him, saw it when it was not far from the belly of Belisarius, and by putting forth his right hand saved the general unexpectedly; but he himself, owing to the wound inflicted by the arrow, withdrew immediately, suffering severe pain. And after that, since the sinews had been severed, he was never able to use his hand again. And the battle, which had begun early in the morning, continued up to midday.

And seven men of the Armenians from the command of Narses and Aratius made a display of valorous deeds, running about the unfavourable ground, which was exceedingly steep, just as if on the level, and killing those of the enemy who from time to time made a stand against them, until they forced back the barbarians in that part of the line and routed them. Then the other Romans, seeing the enemy now giving way, began to pursue them and the rout became decisive, and the barbarians went back inside the fortifications. Now the Romans thought that the cistern had been destroyed and that the Isaurians had accomplished their whole task, but in fact they had been altogether unable to remove so much as one pebble from the masonry; for the artisans of old, who cared most of all for excellence in their work, had built this masonry in such a way as to yield neither to time nor to the attempts of men to destroy it. At any rate the Isaurians had accomplished nothing when, upon seeing that the Romans had won the position, they left the cistern and withdrew to the camp. Consequently Belisarius commanded the soldiers to throw into the water the dead bodies of animals and such herbs as nature has caused to be especially deadly for man and also to put in a kind of stone, very thoroughly burned, which in olden times they were accustomed to call "titanos," but which at the present time they call "asbestos," and thus to quench it in the water. And the soldiers did accordingly, but the barbarians made use of a well inside the fortifications which had an exceedingly scant supply of water, and thus they supplied themselves during this time, but with a smaller quantity than they needed. Thereafter Belisarius no longer exerted himself either to capture the place by storm or to carry out any plot with regard to the water or anything else, hoping that by famine alone he would overcome the enemy. And because of this purpose he exercised the greatest care in guarding the lines. The Goths, meanwhile, still expecting the army from Ravenna and being in great want of provisions, remained quiet.

By this time the Goths who were besieged in Fisula were beginning to be exceedingly hard pressed by famine, and, being unable to endure the

suffering, and despairing also of the hope from Ravenna, they decided to yield to their opponents. They accordingly opened negotiations with Cyprian and Justinus, and, upon receiving pledges for their lives, they surrendered both themselves and the fortress. Then Cyprian and his colleagues, taking them along with the Roman army, and after establishing a sufficient garrison at Fisula, came to Auximus. And Belisarius, from that time, was constantly displaying their leaders to the barbarians in Auximus and bidding them cling no longer to their insane purpose, but abandon their hope from Ravenna; for they, like the others, would never receive the least assistance, but after being utterly worn out by hardship they would none the less come to the same fate as had the garrison in Fisula. And they, after long deliberation among themselves, seeing that they could no longer hold out against the famine, were ready to receive his proposals and expressed a desire to surrender the city, on condition that they themselves suffer no harm and proceed with their belongings to Ravenna. As a result of this, Belisarius was altogether uncertain what to do in the situation before him, because, on the one hand, he thought it inexpedient that a body of the enemy of such marked excellence and so numerous besides should join forces with their comrades in Ravenna, and, on the other hand, he was quite unwilling to let slip the moment of opportunity, but wished to move against Ravenna and Vittigis while the situation was still unsettled. For the Franks were causing him great concern, since he fully expected that they would come to the assistance of the Goths almost immediately. And though he was eager to anticipate their arrival, he was unable to break up the siege with Auximus still uncaptured. The soldiers, furthermore, would not allow him to concede their property to the barbarians, displaying many wounds which they had received at their hands before the city and recounting all the struggles which had fallen to their lot during this siege; and they declared that the rewards for these sufferings were surely the spoils of the vanquished. But finally, since the Romans were compelled by the pressing need of the moment, and the Goths were overcome by the famine, they came to an agreement with each other, stipulating that the Romans should divide among themselves one half of their wealth, while the Goths should keep the rest and be subjects of the emperor. Both sides accordingly gave pledges to secure this agreement, the commanders of the Romans that the agreement should be binding, and the Goths that they would conceal nothing whatever of their wealth. Thus, then, they divided the whole of it between them, and the Romans, on their part, took possession of Auximus, while the barbarians mingled with the emperor's army.

XXVIII

AFTER the capture of Auximus, Belisarius made haste to lay siege to Ravenna, and he brought up his whole army against it. He also sent Magnus with a large force beyond Ravenna, with orders to move constantly along the bank of the river Po and keep guard, with the purpose of preventing the Goths thereafter from bringing in provisions by way of the river. Furthermore, Vitalius, who had come from Dalmatia with an army to join him, was guarding the other bank of the river. It was here that the Romans met with a piece of good fortune which made it perfectly clear that Fortune herself was determining the course of events for both sides. For the Goths had previously collected a large number of boats in Liguria and brought them down to the Po, and after filling them with grain and other provisions were purposing to set sail for Ravenna. But the water in this river fell so low at that time that it was altogether impossible to navigate upon it, until the Romans came up and seized the boats with all their cargoes. Then the river not long afterward returned to its proper volume and became navigable thereafter. And as far as we know from tradition, this had never happened to the river before. By this time the barbarians had already begun to experience some lack of provisions. For they were both unable to bring anything in by the Ionian Gulf, since their enemy commanded the sea everywhere, and they were shut off from the river. And the rulers of the Franks, learning what was going on and wishing to gain Italy for themselves, sent envoys to Vittigis, holding out a promise of an offensive and defensive alliance, on condition that they should rule the land jointly with him. Now when Belisarius heard this, he also sent envoys, among whom was Theodosius, who stood at the head of his own household, in order to speak against the Germans.

So the envoys of the Germans were admitted first to Vittigis presence and spoke to the following effect: "The rulers of the Germans have sent us to you, in the first place because they are vexed to hear that you are thus besieged by Belisarius, and, in the second place, because they are eager to avenge you with all possible speed in accordance with the terms of our alliance. Now we suppose that our army, numbering not less than five hundred thousand fighting men, has by now crossed the Alps, and we boast that they will bury the entire Roman army with their axes at the first onset. And you, on your part, ought to conform to the purpose, not of those who intend to enslave you, but of those who are entering into the danger of war because of their loyalty to the Goths. And apart from this, if, on the one hand, you unite your forces with ours, the Romans will have no hope left of facing both our armies in battle, but from the very outset and without any effort at all we shall gain the supremacy in the war. But if, on the other hand, the Goths choose to array themselves with the Romans, even in that case they will not withstand the Frankish nation (for the struggle will not be evenly matched in point of

strength), but the ultimate result for you will be defeat in the company of the most hostile of all men. But to plunge into a disaster which can be foreseen, when the opportunity is offered to be saved without danger, is utter folly. Besides, the Roman nation has proved itself altogether untrustworthy toward all barbarians, since by its very nature it is hostile to them. We therefore propose, if you are willing, to share with you the rule of all Italy, and we shall administer the land in whatever manner seems best. And for thee and the Goths the natural course to follow is that one which is destined to redound to your advantage.” Thus spoke the Franks.

And the envoys of Belisarius also came forward and spoke as follows. “That the multitude of the Germans will inflict no injury on the emperor’s army — and it is with this that they seek to scare you — why should one enter into a lengthy proof before you, seeing that you, certainly, have come to understand by long experience what wholly governs the course of war, and know that valour is in no circumstances wont to be overcome by mere throngs of men. For we need not add that, in point of fact, the emperor surpasses all others in the ability to outstrip his enemies in regard to multitude of soldiers. But as touching the loyalty of these Franks, which they proudly claim to shew toward all barbarians, this has been well displayed by them, first to the Thuringians and the Burgundian nation, and then to you also, their allies! And indeed we, on our part, should take pleasure in asking the Franks by what god they can possibly intend to swear when they declare that they will give you surety for their loyalty. For you understand surely in what manner they have honoured the one by whom they have already sworn — they who have received from you vast sums of money, as you know, and also the entire territory of Gaul as the price of their alliance, and yet have decided not merely to render you no assistance at all in your peril, but have actually taken up arms thus wantonly against you, if any account of those things which happened on the Po is preserved among you. But why need we demonstrate the impiety of the Franks by recounting past events? Nothing could be more unholy than this present embassy of theirs. For just as if they had forgotten the terms they themselves have agreed upon and the oaths they have taken to secure the treaty, they claim the right to share your all with you. And if they do actually obtain this from you, it befits you to consider what will be the end of their insatiable greed for money.”

Thus spoke the envoys of Belisarius in their turn. As for Vittigis, after long conference with the noblest of the Goths, he gave his preference to the proposed treaty with the emperor, and sent away the envoys of the Germans unsuccessful. And from that time the Goths and the Romans began directly to carry on negotiations with each other, but Belisarius was no whit the less on his guard to prevent the barbarians from bringing in provisions for themselves. Furthermore, he commanded Vitalius to go to Venetia and bring over as many of the towns of that region as possible, while he himself, with Ildiger, whom he had sent forward, was maintaining a guard over both banks

of the Po, in order that the barbarians might yield more readily through lack of provisions and make the treaty as he himself wished. And since he learned that a large amount of grain was still lying in storage in public warehouses inside Ravenna, he bribed one of the inhabitants of the city to set fire secretly to these same warehouses and destroy the grain with them. But they say that, in reality, it was by the will of Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, that they were destroyed. Now some few were led by the fact that the grain burned suddenly to believe that the thing had been carried out by a plot, but others suspected that the place had been struck by lightning. Still, whichever of the two views they took, both the Goths and Vittigis were, more than ever, plunged into a state of helplessness, unable as they were even to trust their own compatriots thereafter, and thinking that war was being waged against them by God Himself. Such was the course of these events.

Now there are numerous strongholds in the Alps which separate Gaul from Liguria, and which the Romans call the Cottian Alps. These strongholds were garrisoned, as had been the custom for many years, by many of the noblest of the Goths, who resided in them together with their wives and children; and when Belisarius heard that these garrisons wished to submit themselves to him, he sent to them one of his officers, Thomas by name, with some few men, with instructions to give pledges and accept the surrender of the barbarians there. And when they reached the Alps, Sisigis, who commanded the garrisons of that district, received them in one of the fortresses, and not only submitted himself but also urged each of the other commanders to do likewise. Just at this time Uraias, who had selected four thousand Ligurians and men from the fortresses in the Alps, was moving with all speed toward Ravenna with the intention of relieving the city. But when these men learned what had been done by Sisigis, they became fearful for their families and demanded that they should first go to them. Consequently Uraias entered the Cottian Alps with his whole army, and laid siege to Sisigis and the force of Thomas. Now when John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Martinus learned of this situation (for they happened to be very near the Po), they came to the rescue as quickly as possible with their whole army; and by falling suddenly upon some of the fortresses in the Alps, they captured them and made slaves of their inhabitants, and a large number of these captives, as chance would have it, proved to be children and waives of the men who were serving under Uraias. For the most of the men under his command were natives of these very fortresses. And when these men learned that their own homes had been captured, they detached themselves suddenly from the army of the Goths, having decided to go over to the troops under John, and as a result of this Uraias was able neither to accomplish anything there nor to bring assistance to the Goths endangered in Ravenna, but he returned unsuccessful with a few men to Liguria and remained quietly there. And Belisarius without interference held Vittigis and the nobles of the Goths confined in Ravenna.

IT was in these circumstances that envoys arrived from the emperor, Domnicus and Maximinus, both members of the senate, in order to make peace on the following terms. Vittigis was to receive one half of the royal treasure, and to rule over the territory which is north of the river Po; but the other half of the money was to fall to the emperor, and he was to make subject and tributary to himself all that lay south of the Po. So the envoys, having shewn the emperor's letter to Belisarius, betook themselves to Ravenna. And when the Goths and Vittigis had learned the purpose of their coming, they gladly agreed to make the treaty on these terms. But Belisarius, upon hearing this, was moved with vexation, counting it a great calamity that anyone should prevent him from winning the decisive victory of the whole war, when it was possible to do so with no trouble, and from leading Vittigis a captive to Byzantium. So when the envoys returned to him from Ravenna, he refused absolutely to ratify the agreement by his own signature. And when the Goths became aware of this, they began to feel that the Romans were offering them peace with treacherous intent, and became very suspicious of them; and they forthwith declared flatly that without both the signature and the oath of Belisarius they would never make a compact with the Romans.

And Belisarius, upon hearing that some of the commanders were criticizing him bitterly, on the ground that he was plainly plotting against the emperor's cause, and for this reason was quite unwilling to bring the war to an end, called them all together, and, in the presence of Domnicus and Maximinus, spoke as follows. "I am not alone in knowing that the fortune of war is by no means fixed and firm, but I think that each one of you shares this same view with me regarding it. For many men have been deceived by the hope of victory when it seemed certain that it would come to them, while men who, to all appearances, have met with disaster, have many a time had the fortune to triumph unexpectedly over their adversaries. Consequently I say that men deliberating with regard to peace should not put before them only the expectation of success, but reflecting that the result will be either way, they should make their choice of policy on this basis. In view of this, it has seemed best to me, at any rate, to bring to a conference you, my colleagues, and these envoys of the emperor, to the end that the present occasion may afford an opportunity to choose at our leisure whatever course may seem destined to be of advantage to the emperor, that after the event you may never bring any reproach against me. For it would be a thing most monstrous, first to be silent as long as it is possible to choose the better course, and later, upon surveying the outcome decreed by fortune, to bring accusations. Now as to the emperor's decision with a view to the conclusion of the war, and as to the wishes of Vittigis, you are of course well informed. And if you, too, think this course advantageous, let each man come forward and speak. If, however, you

think that you are able to recover the whole of Italy for the Romans and to gain the mastery over the enemy, nothing will prevent you from speaking with complete frankness." When Belisarius had thus spoken, all expressed the opinion with certainty that the emperor's decision was best, and that they would be unable to do the enemy any further harm. And Belisarius was pleased with the expression of the commanders' opinion, and asked them to set it down in writing, in order that they might never deny it. They accordingly wrote a document stating that they were unable to achieve superiority over their opponents in the war.

These deliberations, then, were being carried forward in the Roman camp. But the Goths, hard pressed by the famine and no longer able to endure their suffering, were in a state of suspense; for while they were hostile to the rule of Vittigis, seeing that he had been unfortunate in the extreme, still they were reluctant to yield to the emperor, fearing only this, that upon becoming slaves of the emperor they would be compelled to remove from Italy and go to Byzantium and settle there. So after deliberating among themselves, all the best of the Goths decided to declare Belisarius Emperor of the West. And sending to him secretly, they begged him to assume the royal power; for upon this condition, they declared, they would follow him gladly. But Belisarius was quite unwilling to assume the ruling power against the will of the emperor; for he had an extraordinary loathing for the name of tyrant, and furthermore he had, in fact, been bound by the emperor previously by most solemn oaths never during his lifetime to organize a revolution; still, in order to turn the situation before him to the best advantage, he let it appear that he received the proposals of the barbarians gladly. And Vittigis, perceiving this, became fearful, and saying that the deliberations of the Goths had arrived at the best possible result, he too secretly urged Belisarius to enter upon the royal power; for no one, he said, would stand in his way. Then indeed Belisarius again called together the envoys of the emperor and all the commanders and asked them whether it seemed to them a matter of great importance to make all the Goths with Vittigis captives, and to secure as plunder all their wealth, and recover the whole of Italy for the Romans. And they said that this would be for the Romans a great and overwhelming piece of good fortune, and they begged him to bring it about as quickly as possible, by whatever means he could. Accordingly Belisarius at once sent to Vittigis and the notables of the Goths some of his intimates, bidding them carry out what they had promised. And indeed the famine would not permit them to put off the matter to any other time, but, by its increasing pressure, was driving them to this decision. Consequently they again sent envoys to the camp of the Romans, with instructions to make some vague statement openly, but in secret to receive pledges from Belisarius, both that he would do no harm to anyone of the Goths, and that thenceforth he himself would be king of the Goths and Italians; this accomplished, they were to come with him and the Roman army into Ravenna. As for Belisarius, he swore to everything else, just as the

envoys required of him, but concerning the kingship he said that he would swear to Vittigis himself and the rulers of the Goths. And the envoys, thinking that he would never reject the kingship, but that he would strive for it above all other things, made not the least hesitation in urging him to come with them into Ravenna. Then Belisarius ordered Bessas and John and Narses and Aratius to go with their several commands to different places (for these were the men whom he suspected of being exceedingly hostile to him), and to provide provisions for themselves; for he alleged that it was no longer possible for him, in the place where he was, to bring in provisions for the whole army. So these officers, as well as Athanasius, the pretorian prefect, who had recently come from Byzantium, proceeded to carry out the instructions given them, but he himself with the remainder of the army marched into Ravenna with the envoys of the Goths. And loading a fleet of ships with grain and other provisions, he gave orders that they should sail with all speed into the harbour of Classes; for thus the Romans call the suburb of Ravenna where the harbour is.

And while I watched the entry of the Roman army into Ravenna at that time, an idea came to me, to the effect that it is not at all by the wisdom of men or by any other sort of excellence on their part that events are brought to fulfilment, but that there is some divine power which is ever warping their purposes and shifting them in such a way that there will be nothing to hinder that which is being brought to pass. For although the Goths were greatly superior to their opponents in number and in power, and had neither fought a decisive battle since they had entered Ravenna nor been humbled in spirit by any other disaster, still they were being made captives by the weaker army and were regarding the name of slavery as no insult. But when the women, as they sat at the gate, had seen the whole army (for they had heard from their husbands that the enemy were men of great size and too numerous to be counted), they all spat upon the faces of their husbands, and pointing with their hands to the victors, reviled them for their cowardice.

As for Belisarius, he held Vittigis under guard, but not in disgrace, and urged those of the barbarians who lived south of the river Po to go to their own lands and care for them unmolested. This he did because he felt that he would have no hostile force to deal with in that quarter, and that the Goths of that region would never unite, because he had, as it happened, previously established a large number of Roman troops in the towns there. So these Goths gladly made haste to return. And thus the Romans were now making their position secure, for in Ravenna at least they were no longer outnumbered by the Goths. He next took possession of the money in the palace, which he intended to convey to the emperor. But as for the private property of the Goths, neither did he take plunder from any individual, nor would he permit any other Roman to take such plunder, but each one of them preserved his property according to the terms of the agreement. Now when those of the barbarians who were keeping guard in the strongest of the towns heard that

both Ravenna and Vittigis were held by the Romans, they began to send envoys to Belisarius, craving permission to submit themselves by surrender and the places they guarded. And he most willingly furnished pledges to them all, and thus took over Tarbesium and such other strongholds as there were in Venetia. For Caesena was the only one remaining in Aemilia, and this he had previously taken over along with Ravenna. And the Goths who commanded these towns, as soon as they received the pledges, came to Belisarius and remained with him — all except Ildibadus, a man of note, who commanded the garrison in Verona; for though he too sent envoys to Belisarius on the same mission as the others, especially because Belisarius had found his children in Ravenna and taken possession of them, still he did not either come to Ravenna or submit himself to Belisarius. For fortune brought him to a situation which I shall now describe.

CERTAIN officers of the Roman army, out of malice toward Belisarius, began to slander him to the emperor, advancing against him a charge of usurpation for which there were no grounds whatever in his case. And the emperor, not so much because he was persuaded by these slanders as because the Medic war was already pressing upon him, summoned Belisarius to come as quickly as possible, in order to take the field against the Persians; meanwhile he commanded Bessas and John with the others to take charge of Italy, and directed Constantianus to go to Ravenna from Dalmatia. Now the Goths who inhabited the country to the north of the Po and of Ravenna, upon hearing that the emperor was summoning Belisarius, at first, indeed, paid no heed to the matter, thinking that Belisarius would never regard the kingdom of Italy as of less account than loyalty to Justinian. But when they learned that he was making preparations for his departure in real earnest, all the loyal Goths of that region who were still left formed a common purpose and went to Uraïas, the nephew of Vittigis, at Ticinum; and after first lamenting long with him, they spoke as follows:—"The man who has proved to be chiefly responsible for the present misfortunes of the nation of the Goths is no other than you. For we, on our part, should have long ago removed that uncle of yours from the kingship, seeing that he has led us in such a cowardly manner and with such ill fortune, just as we removed Theodatus, the nephew of Theoderic, unless, out of respect for the natural vigour which you seemed to display, we had decided to concede to Vittigis merely the title of king, but in fact to entrust to you alone the rule of the Goths. What, however, seemed then consideration, now stands out clearly as folly and the cause of these misfortunes of ours. For very many of the Goths, as you know, dear Uraïas, and our noblest, have perished in the war, and such nobles as are left among the survivors Belisarius will lead away along with Vittigis and all our wealth. And no one could deny that we too shall suffer this same fate a little later, seeing that we are reduced to a small and pitiable band. Since, therefore, such a dire fate has encompassed us, it will be preferable for us to die with glory rather than to see our wives and children led by the enemy to the extremities of the earth. And we shall, in all probability, accomplish something worthy of valorous men, if only we have you as leader of our struggles." Thus spoke the Goths.

And Uraïas replied as follows:—"You say that we ought in our present extremity to choose the peril of battle rather than slavery, and this opinion I share with you. But, on the other hand, I think it altogether inexpedient for me to ascend the throne of the Goths, in the first place because, being the nephew of Vittigis, a man who has been so unfortunate, I should appear to the enemy as worthy to be despised, since men believe that among kinsmen the like fortune is ever handed on from one to another; and, in the second place, I should seem to act impiously in usurping the rule of my uncle, and in case I

do this I shall probably have the most of you angry with me. But my opinion is that Ildibadus must become ruler of the Goths for this perilous enterprise, a man who has attained the highest excellence and is conspicuously energetic. And it is to be expected with certainty that Theudis also, the ruler of the Visigoths, seeing that he is Ildibadus' uncle, will assist him in the war because of his kinship. And this indeed will be ground for more confident hope in carrying on the struggle against our opponents."

When Uraïas, in his turn, had spoken thus, it seemed to all the Goths that his words pointed out the course which would be to their advantage. And Ildibadus was straightway summoned by them and came from Verona. Then, after clothing him in the purple, they declared him king of the Goths and entreated him to take the situation in hand and set matters right for them. Thus did Ildibadus come into the royal power. But a short time after this, he called all the Goths together and spoke as follows:—"All of you, fellow-soldiers, as I am well aware, have had experience in many wars, so that we shall probably never proceed to make war on the spur of the moment. For experience brings a man sober judgment, so that he is not wont to act rashly in any case. Now you ought, in fairness to yourselves, to call to recollection all that has befallen us heretofore, and make plans to meet the present situation with this in mind. For when forgetfulness of past events comes upon men, it often, through folly, exalts their minds at the wrong moment, and then, when their all is at stake, utterly overthrows them. Now when Vittigis placed himself in the hands of the enemy, it was not against your will nor did you strive to prevent him, but at that time you bowed before the adversities of fortune and considered that we should best consult our own interests by sitting at home and obeying Belisarius rather than by risking our lives in endless dangers. But now, upon hearing that Belisarius is setting out for Byzantium, you have decided to undertake a revolution. And yet each one of you ought to have taken into consideration that things do not always happen for men as they will them, but many times the outcome of events has unexpectedly gone contrary to what has been determined upon. For chance or a change of heart have a way of setting most things right when least expected; and even now it is by no means improbable that this is what will happen to Belisarius. It is better, therefore, to make enquiries of him first and to attempt to bring the man back to the earlier agreement, and only after this should you proceed to the next best step."

When Ildibadus had thus spoken, the Goths decided that he had counselled well, and he sent envoys to Ravenna with all speed. So these envoys, upon coming before Belisarius, reminded him of the agreement made with them and reproached him as a breaker of his promises, calling him a slave by his own choice, and chiding him because, they said, he did not blush at choosing servitude in place of the kingship; and with many other speeches of a similar sort they kept urging him to accept the rule. For, should he do so, they declared that Ildibadus would come of his own accord in order to lay down the purple at his feet and do obeisance to Belisarius as king of the Goths and

Italians. So the envoys, on their part, kept making these speeches, thinking that the man would without any hesitation take upon himself the kingly title immediately. But he, contrary to their expectation, refused them outright, saying that never, while the emperor Justinian lived, would Belisarius usurp the title of king. So they, upon hearing this, departed as quickly as possible and reported the whole matter to Ildibadus. And Belisarius took his way to Byzantium; and the winter drew to its close and the fifth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.[500 A.D.]

BOOK VII. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

THUS Belisarius departed, though the situation was still unsettled, and he arrived at Byzantium in company with Vittigis and the notables of the Goths and the children of Ildibadus, bringing with him all the treasure; and he was escorted by Ildiger, Valerian, Martinus, and Herodian only. Now the Emperor Justinian did indeed take pleasure in seeing Vittigis and his wife, and marvelled at both the beauty and the great stature of the barbarian throng. But upon receiving the wealth of Theoderic, a notable sight in itself, he merely set it forth for the members of the senate to view privately in the palace, being jealous because of the magnitude and splendour of the achievement; and neither did he bring it out before the people, nor did he accord to Belisarius the customary triumph, as he had done when he returned from his victory over Gelimer and the Vandals. However, the name of Belisarius was on the lips of all: to him were ascribed two victories, such as had never before fallen to the lot of any one man to achieve; he had brought two kings captive to Byzantium, and unexpectedly had made both the race and the possessions of Gizeric and of Theoderic Roman spoil — two kings than whom none, among barbarians at least, has ever been more illustrious; and he had brought back their wealth from the enemy and restored it once more to the state, and recovered for the empire in a short space of time almost one half of its territory on land and sea. And the Byzantines took delight in watching Belisarius as he came forth from his house each day and proceeded toward the market-place or as he returned to his house, and none of them could get enough of this sight. For his progress resembled a crowded festival procession, since he was always escorted by a large number of Vandals, as well as Goths and Moors. Furthermore, he had a fine figure and was tall and remarkably handsome. But his conduct was so meek and his attitude toward those who met him so affable that he seemed like a very poor man and one of no repute.

As a commander the love ever felt for him both by soldiers and peasants was irresistible, seeing that, in his treatment of his soldiers on the one hand, he was surpassed by none in generosity; (for when any had met with misfortune in battle, he used to console them by large presents of money for the wounds they had received, and to those who had distinguished themselves he presented bracelets and necklaces to wear as prizes, and when a soldier had lost in battle horse or bow or anything else whatsoever, another was straightway provided in its place by Belisarius); and in his treatment of the peasants, on the other hand, he won their affection because he shewed so much restraint and such consideration for them that it never fell to their lot to suffer any violence when Belisarius was general — nay, rather, all those whose land was visited by a large body of troops under his command unexpectedly found that they were enriched; for they always set their own

price upon everything sold to the soldiers. And whenever the crops were ripe, Belisarius used to watch closely that the cavalry in passing should not damage any man's grain. Also, when the fruit was ripe on the trees, not a single man was permitted to touch it. Furthermore, he possessed the virtue of self-restraint in a marvellous degree; and hence it was that he never would touch any woman other than his wedded wife. And so, although he took captive such great numbers of women from both the Vandals and the Goths, and such beautiful women as no man in the world, I suppose, has ever seen, he refused to allow any of them to come into his presence or meet him in any other way. In addition to all his other qualities, he was also remarkably shrewd, and in difficult situations he was able with unerring judgment to decide upon the best course of action. Furthermore, in the dangers of war he was both courageous without incurring unnecessary risks and daring to a degree without losing his cool judgment, either striking quickly or holding back his attack upon the enemy according to the requirements of the situation. Nay more, in desperate situations, on the one hand he shewed a spirit which was both full of confidence and unruffled by excitement, and in the fulness of success, on the other hand, he neither gave way to vanity nor rushed into indulgence; at any rate no man ever saw Belisarius intoxicated.

Now as long as he was in command of the Roman army both in Libya and in Italy, he was continually victorious and always acquired whatever lay before him. But when he had been brought back to Byzantium by imperial summons, his ability was recognized still more fully than in previous times and received most generous appreciation. For since by his own outstanding merit in every field he was prominent above all his fellows, and surpassed the generals of all time in the vastness of his wealth and the number of his bodyguards and spearmen, he was naturally looked upon by all officers and soldiers alike as a formidable person. For no one, I am sure, had the hardihood to resist his commands, and his men never refused to carry out whatever orders he gave, both respecting as they did his ability and fearing his power. For he used to equip seven thousand horsemen from his own household, and not one of these was an inferior man, but each of them could claim to stand first in the line of battle and to challenge the best of the enemy. Indeed, when Rome was beleaguered by the Goths, and the Roman elders were watching the progress of the struggle through the various engagements, they marvelled greatly and cried out that one man's household was destroying the power of Theoderic.

So Belisarius, having become, as was noted above, a man of power, both because of the respect accorded him and because of his sound judgment, continued to advise such measures as would prove in the interest of the emperor's cause and to carry out with independent judgment the decisions reached. But the other commanders, being, unlike him, on an equality with one another, and having no single thought in mind except to make sure of their own personal gain, had already begun both to plunder the Romans and to

put the civil population at the mercy of the soldiers, and neither were they themselves any longer giving heed to the requirements of the situation, nor could they secure obedience to their commands on the part of the soldiers. Consequently, many blunders were committed by them, and the entire fabric of the Roman power was utterly destroyed in a short space of time. And I shall now proceed to recount the story of these events as best I can.

When Ildibadus learned that Belisarius had departed from Ravenna and was on his way, he began to gather about him all the barbarians and as many of the Roman soldiers as were inclined to favour a revolution. And he sought by every means to strengthen his rule, and laboured diligently to recover for the Gothic nation the sovereignty of Italy. Now at the first not more than a thousand men followed him and they held only one city, Ticinum, but little by little all the inhabitants of Liguria and Venetia came over to his side.

Now there was a certain Alexander in Byzantium who held the office of comptroller of the state treasury; this official the Romans call “logothete,” using a Greek name. This man was always making charges against the soldiers for the losses they caused to the treasury of the state. And by subjecting them to trial for offences of this sort, he on his part quickly rose from obscurity to fame and from poverty to immense wealth, and not only this, but he also succeeded in collecting great sums of money for the emperor, surpassing all predecessors in this; but it was he, more than any other man, who was chiefly responsible for the deterioration of the army, in that the soldiers were both few and poor and reluctant to face the perils of war. The Byzantines indeed went so far as to call him by the name “Snips,” because it was an easy feat for him to cut off the edge all around a golden coin, and while thus making it as much smaller as he wished, still to preserve the circular shape it originally had. For they call the tool with which such work is done “snips.” This Alexander, then, it was whom the emperor sent to Italy after summoning Belisarius to return. And directly upon his arrival at Ravenna, he published an altogether unreasonable financial reckoning. For though the Italians had neither laid hands upon the emperor’s money nor committed any offence against the state, he summoned them, first of all, to face an investigation, laying to their charge the wrongs they had done Theoderic and the other Gothic rulers, and compelling them to pay whatever gains they had made, as he alleged, by deceiving the Goths. In the second place, he disappointed the soldiers by the niggardliness of the reckoning with which he repaid them for their wounds and dangers. Hence not only did the Italians become disaffected from the Emperor Justinian, but not one of the soldiers was willing any longer to undergo the dangers of war, and by wilfully refusing to fight, they caused the strength of the enemy to grow continually greater.

While the other commanders were remaining quiet on account of this situation, Vitalius alone (for he happened to have in Venetia a numerous army comprising with others a great throng of barbarian Eruli) had the courage to

do battle with Ildibadus, fearing, as actually happened, that at a later time when his power had grown greatly they would be no longer able to check him. But in the fierce battle which took place near the city of Tarbesium, Vitalius was badly defeated and fled, saving some few men, but losing the most of them there. In this battle many Eruli fell and among them Visandus, the leader of the Eruli, was killed. And Theudimund, the son of Mauricius and grandson of Mundus, a mere lad at the time, came indeed into danger of death, but succeeded in making his escape in company with Vitalius. As a result of this achievement the name of Ildibadus reached the emperor and spread over the whole world.

But after a time it so fell out that enmity sprang up between Uraïas and Ildibadus for the following reason. Uraïas had a wife who in wealth and personal beauty was adjudged first among all the women of these barbarians. This woman once went down to the bath clad in great magnificence of ornament and taking with her a very notable company of attendants. And seeing the wife of Ildibadus there in plain garments, she not only did her no obeisance as the consort of the king but otherwise too ignored and did her insult. For Ildibadus was still in poverty, having by no means come into royal wealth. And the wife of Ildibadus, being very much offended by the uncalled-for insult, came to her husband in tears and demanded that he avenge her for the outrageous treatment she had received from the wife of Uraïas. Accordingly Ildibadus first slandered Uraïas to the barbarians, imputing to him that he was intending to desert to the enemy, but a little later he put him to death by treachery, and thereby incurred the enmity of the Goths. For it was by no means in accordance with their wish that Uraïas should be thus unceremoniously removed from the world. And forthwith a large number of them formed a party and began to denounce Ildibadus vehemently as having committed an unholy deed. However, no one was willing to exact vengeance from him for this murder.

But there was one among them, Velas by name, who, though a Gepid by birth, had attained the dignity of serving among the king's guards. This man had wooed a woman fair to look upon, and he loved her with an extraordinary love; but while he was off on an expedition against the enemy, in order to make some attack upon them in company with certain others, Ildibadus, meantime, either through ignorance or prompted by some other motive, married his intended bride to someone else among the barbarians. And when Velas, returning from the army, heard this, being passionate by nature, he could not bear the insult thus done him, but decided immediately to kill Ildibadus, thinking that he would thereby render a welcome service to all the Goths. And so, when the king on a certain occasion was entertaining the noblest of the Goths at a banquet, he watched for an opportunity and put his plot into execution. For while the king is dining, it is customary for many persons to stand about him and among them his bodyguards. So when he had stretched out his hand to the food as he lay reclining upon the couch, Velas

suddenly smote his neck with his sword. And so, while the food was still grasped in the man's fingers, his head was severed and fell upon the table, and filled all those present with great consternation and amazement. Such, then, was the vengeance which overtook Ildibadus for the murder of Uraïas. And the winter drew to a close and the sixth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [541 A.D.]

II

THERE was a certain Eraric in the Gothic army, one of the Rogi by birth, a man possessed of great power among these barbarians. Now these Rogi are indeed a Gothic nation, but in ancient times they used to live as an independent people. But Theoderic had early persuaded them, along with certain other nations, to form an alliance with him, and they were absorbed into the Gothic nation and acted in common with them in all things against their enemies. But since they had absolutely no intercourse with women other than their own, each successive generation of children was of unmixed blood, and thus they had preserved the name of their nation among themselves. This Eraric, in the midst of the turmoil consequent upon the murder of Ildibadus, was suddenly proclaimed king by the Rogi. This act pleased the Goths not at all; however, the most of them had in fact fallen into great despondence be-

cause the hopes they had formerly placed in Ildibadus had been frustrated; for he, they felt, would have been able to recover the kingdom and the sovereignty of Italy for the Goths. Eraric, however, did nothing at all worthy of note; for after living in office five months he died in the following manner. There was a certain Totila, a nephew of Ildibadus, a man gifted with remarkable discretion, energetic in the extreme, and held in high esteem among the Goths. This Totila happened at that time to be in command of the Goths in Tarbesium. But when he learned that Ildibadus had been removed from among men in the manner described, he sent to Constantianus at Ravenna asking that pledges be given him for his safety, on condition that he hand over to the Romans both himself and the Goths whom he commanded along with Tarbesium. This proposal Constantianus heard gladly and swore to everything just as Totila requested, and a fixed day for the transaction was agreed upon by both, on which Totila and the Goths who were keeping guard in Tarbesium were to receive into the city some of the associates of Constantianus and put themselves and the city into their hands.

But already the Goths were becoming dissatisfied with the rule of Eraric, seeing the man to be incompetent to carry on the war against the Romans, and the most of them were openly abusing him as one who had stood in their way to great achievements, alleging that he had done away with Ildibadus. And finally they made an agreement among themselves and sent to Totila at Tarbesium, urging him to assume the royal power. For by now they were beginning to feel generally a keen sense of regret for the lost rule of Ildibadus, and so they began to turn their hope of victory toward his relative Totila, having come to feel confidence in the man because his wish was the same as theirs. As for Totila, when the messengers came before him, he, without any concealment, disclosed his agreement with the Romans, but said that, if the Goths should kill Eraric before the appointed day, he would both follow them and carry out everything in accordance with their desires. When the

barbarians heard this, they set about forming a plot to compass the destruction of Eraric. Such was the progress of events in the Gothic camp.

But in the meantime the Roman armies, though enjoying security as a result of the preoccupation of the enemy, were neither moving to unite their forces, nor were they planning any action against the barbarians. As for Eraric, he called together all the Goths and persuaded them to send envoys to the Emperor Justinian, who should beg him to make peace with them on the same terms on which he had been willing previously to conclude a treaty with Vittigis, on the condition, namely, that the Goths, holding the territory north of the Po, should withdraw from the rest of Italy. And since this was approved by the Goths, he chose out some of those especially intimate with him, including one Caballarius by name, and sent them as envoys. Now these envoys were ostensibly to treat of those matters which I have mentioned above, but secretly he instructed them to treat with the emperor of nothing else than how he might himself receive a great sum of money and be enrolled among the patricians in return for handing over the whole of Italy and laying aside his official title. So the envoys, upon reaching Byzantium, proceeded to treat of these matters. It was at this time that the Goths killed Eraric by treachery. And after his death, Totila took over the rule in accordance with the agreement made with them.

III

Now when the Emperor Justinian learned of the fate which had befallen Eraric and that the Goths had established Totila as ruler over them, he began to rebuke and censure the commanders of the army in Italy and gave them no respite. The consequence of this was that John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Bessas and Vitalius and all the others, after establishing garrisons in each city, gathered at Ravenna, where Constantianus and Alexander, whom I have mentioned previously, were quartered. And when they were all gathered together, it was decided that the best procedure for them was to march first against Verona, which is in Venetia, and then, after capturing that city and the Goths there, to move against Totila and Ticinum. So this Roman army was assembled with a strength of twelve thousand men, and its commanders were eleven in number, the first of whom were, as it happened, Constantianus and Alexander; and they marched straight toward the city of Verona. And when they had come to a place close to the city, about sixty stades away, they made camp in the plain there. For plains which are suitable for cavalry stretch out in every direction from this place and extend as far as the city of Mantua, which is one day's journey distant from the city of Verona.

Now there was a man of note among the Veneti, Marcian by name, who lived in a fortress not far distant from the city of Verona, and being as he was a staunch adherent of the emperor, he eagerly undertook to band over the city to the Roman army. And since one of the guards had been known to him from childhood, he sent to him some of his intimates and persuaded the man by means of a bribe to receive the emperor's army into the city. Then, when the guard of the gate had agreed, Marcian sent those who had arranged the matter with the guard to the commanders of the Roman army, in order both to report to them the arrangements made and to join them in forcing an entrance into the city by night. The commanders then decided that it was advisable for one of their number to go in advance with some few men; and if the guard should set the gates open for them, they were to hold them fast and receive the army in safety into the city. Now no one among them all was willing to undertake this perilous enterprise except Artabazes alone, an Armenian by birth but a man of exceptional ability in war, who not at all unwillingly offered himself for the undertaking. This man commanded some Persians whom Belisarius had, as it happened, sent to Byzantium from Persian territory along with Bleschames a little before this, after his capture of the fortress Sisauranon. So he on the present occasion selected one hundred men from the whole army and at a late hour of the night went up close to the fortifications. And when the guard, true to his agreement, opened the gate for them, some of them took their stand there and were urging the army to come, while the others mounted the wall and killed the men on guard there, assailing them as they did without warning. Then the whole Gothic force, upon perceiving their evil plight,

rushed off in flight through another gate.

Now there is a certain rock which rises to a great height facing the fortifications of Verona, from which it is possible to observe everything which is taking place in the city and to count the people in it, and, besides, to see for a very great distance over the plain. Thither the Goths retreated and remained quiet during the whole night. As for the Roman army, it advanced to a point within forty stades of the city, but proceeded no further, the generals being engaged in a dispute among themselves over the money in the city. And they still continued to wrangle over this plunder until day had now clearly dawned; but the Goths, after observing accurately from the height both the number of the enemy scattered through the city and the distance at which the rest of the army had halted from Verona, made a rush toward the city, and passed through the very gate through which, as it happened, they had previously departed; for those who had entered the city were unable even to hold this gate. So the Romans, taking counsel together, hastily sought safety on the parapet along the circuit-wall; and when the barbarians in great numbers assailed them at close quarters, they all, and Artabazes especially, made a display of remarkable deeds and warded off their assailants most vigorously.

At that moment the commanders of the Roman army had at last reached an agreement with each other regarding the money in Verona, and decided to proceed against the city with all the rest of the army. But finding the gates closed to them and the enemy warding them off most vigorously, they quickly marched to the rear, although they saw the others fighting inside the fortifications and begging them not to abandon them, but to remain there until they should save themselves by fleeing to them. So Artabazes and his men, being overcome by the numbers of the enemy and despairing of assistance from their own army, all leaped down outside the wall. Now all those who had the fortune to fall on smooth ground betook themselves unscathed to the Roman army, among whom was Artabazes also, but as many as fell on rough ground were all killed instantly. And when Artabazes had reached the Roman army, he proceeded with them, having heaped abuse and contumely upon them all; and after crossing the Eridanus, they entered the city of Faventia, which is in the land of Aemilia, one hundred and twenty stades distant from Ravenna.

IV

TOTILA, upon learning what had taken place at Verona, summoned many of the Goths from that city, and upon their arrival moved with his whole army, amounting to five thousand men, against his opponents. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned this, they began to deliberate over their situation. And Artabazes came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow-commanders, let no one of you think fit at the present time to despise the enemy because they are inferior to us in number, nor, because he is fighting against men enslaved by Belisarius, let him advance against them in a reckless frame of mind. For many a man, deceived by a false estimate of a situation, has brought about his own downfall, while others who have been filled with unjustified contempt of their foes have seen their whole power ruined thereby; and even apart from this, the very fact of their previous ill fortune lures these men on to attain a fairer lot. For when fortune has reduced a man to despair and robbed him of his fair hopes, it changes his nature and leads him to feel an extraordinary degree of daring. And it is not because I am moved by mere suspicion that I have made these statements before you, but because of the thorough acquaintance I have recently made with the daring of these men while engaged in mortal combat with them. And let no one think that I now marvel at their power because I was defeated along with a handful of men. For it is to those who shall come to blows with them that men's valour becomes revealed, whether those men are superior in number or inferior. My opinion then is that it will be more to our advantage to watch for the crossing of the river by the barbarians, and, while the crossing is in progress, and about half their men are across, to engage with them then, rather than after they have already assembled, all in one body. And let no man consider such a victory inglorious. For the outcome of events alone is wont to decide whether a deed shall be named glorious or inglorious, and it is the victors whom men are accustomed to praise without investigating the manner of the victory." So spoke Artabazes. But the commanders, owing to the divergence of their opinions, did nothing that they should, but continued to remain where they were and lose their opportunity by delay.

And now the army of the Goths had come very near, and when they were about to cross the river, Totila called them all together and exhorted them as follows: "My kinsmen, all other battles give promise, as a general thing, of a contest that will be more or less even and thereby incite the contending armies to the struggle, but we are entering this combat, not on an equality with our enemy as regards the advantages of fortune, but facing a very different situation. For they, even in case of a possible defeat, will be able after no long time to renew the fight against us. For there is left behind for them a numerous army quartered in the strongholds throughout the whole of Italy, and, furthermore, it is not at all improbable that another army will at a very

early date come to their assistance from Byzantium. But if we, on the other hand, suffer this same fate, there will be a final end of the name and hopes of the Goths. For from an army of two hundred thousand we have been reduced in the course of events to five thousand men. Having made such a preface, I think it not inappropriate to recall to your minds this fact also, that when you decided to take up arms with Ildibadus against the emperor, the number of your band amounted to no more than one thousand men, while your entire territory consisted of the city of Ticinum. But since you came off victors in the engagement, both our army and our territory have increased. So that if you are willing in this battle to display the same spirit of manly courage, I am hopeful that, as the war goes on, following its natural course, we shall accomplish the complete defeat of our opponents. For it always proves true that the victors increase both in numbers and in power. Let each one of you, therefore, be eager to join battle with the enemy with all your strength, understanding clearly that if we do not succeed in the present battle, it will be impossible to renew the struggle against our opponents. It is reasonable, furthermore, for us to grapple with the enemy with high hopes, taking courage from the unjust acts committed by them. For such has been their conduct towards their subjects that the Italians at the present time need no further punishment for the flagrant treason which they dared to commit against the Goths; so true is it that every form of evil, to put all in a word, has fallen to their lot from the hands of those whom they cordially received. And what enemy could be more easy to overcome than men whose deeds, even those done in God's name, are utterly wicked? Nay more, the very fear we inspire in them should properly be a further cause for confidence on our part as we enter the struggle. For those against whom we proceed are no other men than those who recently first penetrated into the middle of Verona, then abandoned it for no good reason, and, although not a man pursued them, yet even so rushed off in a disgraceful flight."

After delivering this exhortation Totila commanded three hundred of his troops to cross the river at a distance of about twenty stades from where he stood and get behind the enemy's camp, and when the battle should come to close quarters, to fall upon their rear, harassing them with their missiles and assailing them with all their strength, in order that the Romans might be thrown into confusion and abandon all thought of resistance. He himself, meanwhile, with the rest of the army straightway crossed the river and advanced directly upon his opponents; and the Romans immediately came out to meet him. And when, as both armies advanced, they came nearer to each other, a Goth, Valaris by name, tall of stature and of most terrifying mien, an active man withal and a good fighter, rode his horse out before the rest of the army and took his stand in the open space between the armies, clad in a corselet and wearing a helmet on his head; and he challenged all the Romans, if anyone was willing to do battle with him. Whereupon all remained quiet, being stricken with terror, save Artabazes alone, who advanced to fight the

man. So they rode their horses toward each other, and when they came close, both thrust their spears, but Artabazes, anticipating his opponent, delivered the first blow and pierced the right side of Valaris. And the barbarian, mortally wounded, was about to fall backward to the earth, but his spear, resting on the ground behind him and being braced against a rock, did not permit him to fall. As for Artabazes, he continued to press forward still more vigorously, driving the spear into the man's vitals; for as yet he did not suppose that he had already suffered a mortal wound. Thus it came about that Valaris' spear stood practically upright and its iron point encountered the corselet of Artabazes, and first, entering little by little, it went clear through the corselet, and then, slipping further, grazed the skin of Artabazes' neck. And by some chance the iron, as it pushed forward, cut an artery which lies in that region, and there was immediately a great flow of blood. However, the man experienced no feeling of pain, and he rode back to the Roman army, while Valaris fell dead on the spot. But the flow of blood from Artabazes' wound did not abate and on the third day afterwards he departed from among men; and this mishap shattered all the hopes of the Romans, since he was rendered unfit for fighting in the engagement which followed, and himself injured their cause in no small degree. For while he went out of range of missiles and was caring for his wound, the two armies engaged with each other.

But when the engagement was hottest, the three hundred barbarians suddenly appeared advancing behind the Roman army; and when the Romans saw these men, supposing as they did that their assailants were a great multitude, they fell into a panic and straightway rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. And the barbarians kept up a slaughter of Romans as they fled in complete disorder, and many of them they captured and held under guard, and they captured all the standards besides, a thing which had never before happened to the Romans. As for the commanders, each one of them as he could fled with only a few men, and finding safety in whatever cities they happened to reach they continued to guard them.

NOT long after this Totila sent an army against Justinus and Florentia, putting in command of the force the most warlike of the Goths, Vledas, Roderic, and Uliaris. And when they came to Florentia, they established themselves in camp about the wall and entered upon a siege. Thereupon Justinus, in great agitation because, as it happened, he had brought no provisions at all into the city, sent to Ravenna to the commanders of the Roman army, begging them to come to his assistance with all speed. And the messenger slipped unobserved through the enemy's lines by night, and upon reaching Ravenna reported the situation which confronted the garrison. As a result of this intelligence a considerable Roman army immediately started on the way to Florentia, under command of Bessas, Cyprian and John the nephew of Vitalian. When the Goths learned of this army through their scouts, they broke up the siege and withdrew to a place called Mucellis, one day's journey distant from Florentia. And when the Roman army had joined forces with Justinus, the commanders left there a few of his men to guard the city, but took the rest along with them and proceeded against the enemy.

And as they proceeded on their way it was decided that the most advantageous plan was for one of the commanders to choose out the most famous fighters in the whole army and with them go in advance of the others, and make a sudden and unexpected attack upon the enemy, while the rest of the army should proceed without quickening its pace and come upon the scene later. So they cast lots with this plan in view and awaited the decision of fortune in the matter. Now the lot fell out for John, but the commanders were no longer willing to carry out the agreement. Thus it was that John was compelled with his own troops alone to go in advance of the others and make an attack upon the enemy. But the barbarians, learning that their opponents were advancing upon them and being greatly terrified, decided to abandon the plain where they had established their camp, and in confusion ran to the top of a high hill which rises near by. And when the force of John arrived there, they too ran up against the enemy and opened the attack. But since the barbarians defended themselves vigorously, a violent struggle took place and many men on both sides, while making a remarkable display of heroism, were beginning to fall. Now though John had led a charge with loud shouting and tumult against the enemy opposite him, it so happened that one of his bodyguards was hit by a javelin thrown by one of the enemy and fell, as a result of this the Romans, now repulsed, began to retire to the rear.

By this time the remainder of the Roman army also had reached the plain, where they formed a phalanx and stood waiting. And if they had stood fast to give support to John's troops, which were now in full flight, they could have advanced all together upon the enemy, and not only would they have defeated them in the battle, but they would have been able also to capture practically

the whole force. But by some chance it so fell out that an untrue report was circulated through the Roman army to the effect that John had perished at the hand of one of his own bodyguards during the action then in progress. And when the report came to the commanders, they were no longer willing to hold their position, but they one and all began to retire in a disgraceful sort of retreat. For neither did they keep their troops in order, nor did they move off in any kind of groups, but each man for himself, just as he could, rushed off in headlong flight. And many indeed perished in this flight, and as for the rest, all such as were saved continued their flight for many days although they were not pursued at all. And some time afterwards they entered such strongholds as each one happened upon, and the report they carried to those they chanced to meet was only this, that John was dead. And consequently they were no longer in contact with each other, nor had they any purpose of uniting thereafter against the enemy, but each remained inside the circuit-wall of his own fort and began to prepare for a siege, fearing that the barbarians would come against him. Totila, meanwhile, was shewing great kindness to his prisoners, and thereby succeeded in winning their allegiance, and henceforth the most of them voluntarily served under him against the Romans. And the winter drew to its close, and the seventh year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [542 A.D.]

VI

AFTER this Totila took the fortresses of Caesena and Petra. And a little later he entered Tuscany and made trial of the places there; but since no one was willing to yield to him, he crossed the Tiber, and, carefully refraining from entering the territory of Rome at all, he advanced immediately into Campania and Samnium and with no trouble won the strong city of Beneventum, the walls of which he razed to the ground, in order that any army coming from Byzantium might not be able, by using this strong base, to cause trouble for the Goths. After this he decided to besiege Naples, because the inhabitants, in spite of his many winning words, were quite unwilling to receive him into the city. For Conon was keeping guard there with a force of a thousand Romans and Isaurians. And Totila himself with the greater part of the army made camp not far from the fortifications and remained quiet, but he sent off a part of the army and captured the fortress of Cumae and certain other strongholds, from which he succeeded in gathering in great sums of money. And finding the wives of the senators there, he not only refrained from offering them any insult, but actually shewed such kindness as to let them go free, and by this act he won a great name for wisdom and humanity among all Romans.

And since no hostile force was operating against him, he was constantly sending small detachments of the army round about and accomplishing results of great importance. In this way he brought the Brutii and Lucani under his sway, and gained Apulia as well as Calabria. And he himself collected the public taxes and also received the revenues from the land instead of those who owned the estates, and in all other matters he conducted himself as having become master of Italy. In consequence of this the Roman soldiers naturally did not receive their customary payments at the times appointed, and the emperor owed them great sums of money. Because of this situation the Italians, on the one hand, having been evicted from their property and finding themselves for the second time in very grave peril, were beginning to feel greatly dejected, while the soldiers, on the other hand, were shewing themselves increasingly insubordinate to their commanders, and were glad to remain inside the cities. So Constantianus was holding Ravenna, John Rome, Bessas Spolitium, Justinus Florentia, and Cyprian Perusia; and each one of the others was holding whatever town had originally provided him shelter and safety in his flight.

Upon hearing of these things, the emperor, in sore distress, made all haste to appoint Maximinus pretorian prefect of Italy, commissioning him to exercise authority over the commanders for the purpose of carrying on the war, and to furnish the soldiers with provisions according to their needs. And he sent a fleet of ships with him, manning them with Thracian and Armenian soldiers. The leader of the Thracians was Herodian, and of the Armenians Phazas the Iberian, nephew of Peranius; and a few Huns also sailed with

them. So Maximinus sailed forth from Byzantium with the whole fleet and reached Epirus in Greece, where for no good reason he proceeded to settle down and waste precious time. For he was utterly inexperienced in warlike deeds, and was consequently both timid and exceedingly prone to delay.

Later on the emperor sent Demetrius also as general, a man who had previously served under Belisarius as commander of a detachment of infantry. So Demetrius sailed to Sicily, and, upon learning that Conon and the inhabitants of Naples were exceedingly hard pressed by the siege, being altogether out of provisions, he wished indeed to go to their assistance with all speed, but was unable to do so because the force which followed him was so small as to be of little consequence, and so devised the following plan. Gathering as many ships as possible from all Sicily and filling them with grain and other provisions, he set sail, making it appear to his opponents that some enormous army was aboard the ships. And he judged the mind of the enemy correctly; for they thought that a great army was coming upon them, reaching this conclusion just because they had learned that a huge fleet was sailing from Sicily. And if Demetrius had been willing at the very first to steer straight for Naples, I believe that he would have both struck terror into the enemy and saved the city, without a man opposing him. But as it was, he felt that the danger involved was too great, and so did not put in to Naples at all, but sailing to the harbour of Rome began hastily to gather soldiers from there. But the soldiers at Rome, having been defeated by the barbarians and still regarding them with great awe, were by no means willing to follow Demetrius against Totila and the Goths. Thus it came about that he was compelled to go to Naples with only the troops who had come with him from Byzantium.

Now there was another Demetrius, a Cephallenian by birth, who had previously been a sailor and was thoroughly skilled in all matters pertaining to the sea and its dangers, and having sailed with Belisarius to Libya and to Italy, he had become noted for this skill of his; and for this reason the emperor had appointed him governor of Naples. And when the barbarians began to besiege the town, he was so carried away by a spirit of utter wantonness that he commenced to heap insults upon Totila, and continued often to do so, and the man was observed to have an exceedingly reckless tongue during this time of stress.

As the situation became worse and the loss of life among the besieged was becoming serious, this man, acting on the advice of Conon, had the daring to embark secretly on a skiff and go alone to the general Demetrius. And having, to everybody's surprise, made the voyage in safety and coming before Demetrius, he endeavoured with all his power to stir him to boldness, and urged him on to undertake the task before him. But Totila had heard the whole truth about this fleet and was holding many ships of the swiftest sort in readiness; and when the enemy put in at that part of the coast, not far from Naples, he came upon them unexpectedly, and filling them with consternation turned the whole force to flight. And although he killed many of them, he

captured a very large number, and there escaped only as many as succeeded at the first in leaping into the small boats of the ships, among whom was Demetrius the general. For the barbarians captured all the ships with their cargoes, crews and all, among whom they found Demetrius, the governor of Naples. And cutting off his tongue and both his hands, they did not indeed kill him, but released him thus mutilated to go where he would. This then was the penalty which Demetrius paid to Totila for an unbridled tongue.

VII

LATER on Maximinus also put in at Sicily with all his ships, and upon reaching Syracuse he remained quiet, being terrified at the perils of war. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned of his coming, they all sent to him with great eagerness, begging him to come to the rescue with all speed; and Conon sent a particularly urgent message from Naples, where he was most vigorously besieged by the barbarians; for by this time all their provisions had been exhausted. But Maximinus, after delaying through the whole critical period in such a state of terror, was finally moved by his fear of the emperor's threats and gave way before the abuse of the other commanders; so, while he himself still remained just where he was, he sent the whole army to Naples with Herodian, Demetrius and Phazas, the winter season being already very close upon them.

But when the Roman fleet had reached a point close to Naples, a violent wind came down upon them, raising an extraordinarily severe tempest. And the darkness covered everything, while the surging waters prevented the sailors from pulling their oars or handling the ships in any other way. And because of the roar of foaming waves they were no longer able to hear one another, but complete confusion prevailed and they were at the mercy of the wind's violence, which carried them, little as they wished it, to the very shore where the enemy were encamped. The barbarians, therefore, boarding the craft of their opponents at their leisure, began to kill the men and sink the ships without meeting any opposition. And they also captured along with many others the general Demetrius. But Herodian and Phazas with some few men succeeded in making their escape, because their ships did not come very close to the enemy's camp. Such was the fate of the Roman fleet.

And Totila fastened a cord about Demetrius' neck and so dragged him up to the wall of Naples, where he ordered him to advise the besieged no longer to ruin themselves by trusting in hopes of no avail, but to hand the city over as quickly as possible to the Goths and thus rid themselves of bitter hardships; for the emperor, he said, was unable thereafter to send them further aid, but in this fleet both their strength and their hope had utterly perished. So Demetrius spoke the words which Totila commanded. And the besieged, being now exceedingly hard pressed by famine and utter destitution, upon seeing the fate of Demetrius and hearing all his words, began to despair of every hope, and gave way to sorrowing and helplessness, and the city was filled with loud tumult and lamentation.

Afterwards Totila himself called them up to the battlement, and addressed them as follows: "Men of Naples, it is not because we have any charge or reproach to bring against you, that we have undertaken this present siege, but in order that we may be able, by freeing you from most hated masters, to repay you for the service you have rendered us during this war — a service

which has induced the enemy to treat you with the utmost severity. For it has come about that you alone among all the Italians have manifested the greatest loyalty to the Gothic nation and have fallen most unwillingly under the power of our opponents. So that, in the present circumstances, when we have been compelled to besiege you along with them, we naturally have a feeling of reluctance on account of your loyalty to us, although we are not carrying on the siege in order to harm the Neapolitans. Do not, therefore, in vexation at the miseries arising from the siege, think that you ought to regard the Goths with anger. For those who are striving to benefit their friends merit from them no blame, even though they be compelled to use unpleasant means in accomplishing the service they afford them. And as for the enemy, let not the least fear of them enter your hearts, and be not led by past events to think that they will gain the victory over us. For the unreasonable events of life, which are due to chance and contrary to expectation, are apt as time goes on to come to naught again. And such is the good-will which we feel toward you that we make the concession that both Conon and all his soldiers may go free from harm wherever they may wish, on the one condition that they yield the city to us and depart hence, taking with them all their own possessions; and nothing shall prevent our taking an oath to secure these promises and to guarantee the safety of the Neapolitans."

Thus spoke Totila; and both the Neapolitans and all the soldiers under command of Conon expressed approval; for the keen necessity of famine was pressing them hard. However, by way of guarding their allegiance to the emperor, and still expecting, as they did, that some assistance would come to them, they agreed to give up the city after thirty days. But Totila, wishing to dispel from their minds every hope of assistance from the emperor, appointed three months' time, with the stipulation that after this time they should do as had been agreed. He declared, further, that until the time was accomplished he would make no assault on the wall, nor employ any stratagem of any kind. The agreement was accordingly approved in this sense. But the besieged, without awaiting the appointed day (for they were utterly overcome by the lack of necessities), a little later received Totila and the barbarians into the city. And the winter drew to its close, and the eighth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.^[543 A.D.]

VIII

Now when Totila captured Naples, he made a display of kindness to his captives which was to be expected neither from an enemy nor from a barbarian. For finding sickness prevalent among the Romans owing to famine — and indeed their bodily strength had already been reduced by it — he feared lest, if they suddenly sated themselves with food, they would in all probability choke to death, and so he devised the following plan. Stationing guards both at the harbour and at the gates, he gave orders that no one should go away from the city. Then he himself, with a sort of provident parsimony, proceeded to issue food more sparingly than they desired it, adding each day only so much to the quantity that the increase from day to day seemed not to be noticed at all. And only after having thus built up their strength did he open the gates and allow each man to go wherever he wished.

As for Conon and the soldiers under his command, as many as were by no means satisfied to remain there he embarked on ships and bade them sail wherever they chose. And thinking that the return to Byzantium would bring disgrace upon them, they were purposing to sail with all speed for Rome. But since the wind stood against them and they were consequently quite unable to put out from the harbour, they were in great perplexity, fearing lest Totila, seeing he had been victorious, should decide to disregard his agreement in some measure, and they should suffer some great harm at his hand. When Totila perceived this, he called them all together and reassured them and gave still further confirmation of the pledges he had given, bidding them take courage immediately, mingle with the Gothic army with no fear, and buy from them their provisions and procure whatever else they lacked as from friends. But later, since the wind was still blowing against them and much time had been wasted, he provided them with both horses and pack animals, presented them with travelling-money, and bade them make the journey to Rome by land, sending with them some of the Gothic notables as an escort.

And he set about razing the wall of Naples to the ground, so that the Romans might not take possession of it again and, by using it as a strong base, make trouble for the Goths. For he preferred to reach an outright decision by a battle with them on a plain rather than to carry on a long contest by means of sundry devices of craft and cunning. But after tearing down a large part of it he left the rest.

While Totila was thus engaged, a certain Roman came before him — a Calabrian by birth — and made the charge that one of Totila's bodyguards had violated his daughter, who was a maiden, utterly against her will. Whereupon, seeing that the man did not deny the charge, Totila made haste to punish him for the offence and confined him in prison. But the most notable men among the barbarians began to feel alarm for him (for he was, as it happened, an active fellow and a good warrior), and so they straightway gathered together

and went before Totila with the request that he dismiss the charge against the man.

But he, gently and with no excitement, after hearing their statement, spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the reason for my speaking as I now do is not that I am yielding to a harsh inhumanity, or taking especial delight in the misfortunes of my kinsmen, but it is that I feel the greatest possible apprehension lest some mischance befall the Goths. Now I, for my part, know this, that the great majority of mankind twist and turn the names of things until they reverse their meaning. For, on the one hand, they are accustomed to call kindness that which is really lawlessness, the outcome of which is that everything respectable is brought to utter confusion; and, on the other hand, they call any man perverse and exceedingly difficult who wishes to preserve the lawful order with exactness — to the end, plainly, that by using these names as screens for their wanton deeds they may be able more fearlessly to do wrong and display their baseness. But I urge you not to sacrifice your own security for the sinful act of a single man, nor to assume any share yourselves in this foul sin, seeing that you have done no wrong. For the act of committing a sin and that of preventing the punishment of those who have committed sin are, in my judgment, on the same plane. I wish, accordingly, that you make your decision concerning the matter in hand taking this point of view — that two alternatives are now presented to your choice, either that this man should not pay the penalty for the wrong he has done or that the Gothic nation should be saved and achieve victory in the war. For I would have you consider this: we had, at the beginning of this war, a vast army unsurpassed both in renown and in actual experience of war; our wealth, to put all in a word, was too great to be reckoned; we possessed an extraordinary abundance of both horses and weapons; and, lastly, we held all the fortresses that there are in Italy. And truly these things are regarded as not entirely useless equipment when men are entering into a war. But while we were arrayed under Theodatus, a man who made less of justice than of his desire to become wealthy, the lawlessness of our daily conduct caused God to be in no wise propitious to us, and to what our fortune has come as a result of this you are, of course, well aware, as you know what kind of men and how few of them have defeated us. But now that God has inflicted upon us sufficient punishment for the sins we committed, he is once more ordering our lives in accordance with our desire, and, to speak comprehensively, he is guiding our affairs in a better way than we could have hoped for, inasmuch as we have had the fortune to be victorious over our enemies beyond the measure of our actual strength. To preserve, therefore, the justification of our victory by acting righteously will be more to our interest than, by reversing our course, to let it seem that we have become envious of our own selves. For it is not possible, no, not possible, for a man who commits injustice and does deeds of violence to win glory in battle, but the fortune of war is decreed according to the life of the individual man." Thus then spoke Totila. And the notables of the Goths, approving his words, no

longer begged for the bodyguard's release, but consented that he be treated in whatever manner Totila might deem best. And he executed the man not long afterwards, and gave to the injured girl all the money that belonged to him.

IX

WHILE Totila was thus engaged, meantime the commanders of the Roman army, as well as the soldiers, were plundering the possessions of their subjects, and they did not shrink from any act of insolence and licentiousness whatsoever, but the commanders, for their part, were revelling with mistresses inside the fortresses, while the soldiers, shewing themselves more and more insubordinate to their commanders, were falling into every form of lawlessness. As for the Italians, the result of the situation for them was that they all suffered most severely at the hands of both armies. For while, on the one hand, they were deprived of their lands by the enemy, the emperor's army, on the other hand, took all their household goods. And they were forced besides to suffer cruel torture and death for no good cause, being hard pressed as they were by the scarcity of food. For the soldiers, though utterly unable to defend them when maltreated by the enemy, not only refused to feel the least blush of shame at existing conditions, but actually made the people long for the barbarians by reason of the wrongs they committed. And Constantianus, being at a loss because of this situation, sent a letter to the Emperor Justinian, setting forth plainly that he was unable to hold out in the war against the Goths. And the other commanders, as if giving their vote in support of this view, indicated in this same letter their reluctance to carry on the struggle. Such then were the fortunes of the Italians.

Meantime Totila sent a letter to the Roman senate written in the following terms. "Such men as wrong their neighbours, being either the victims of ignorance or blinded by some forgetfulness that has come upon them, may fairly be forgiven by the victims of their ill-treatment. For their ignorance or forgetfulness, which led to their wrongdoing, also excuses it for the most part. If, however, any man does wrong as a result of deliberate intent solely, such a man will have nothing left with which even to defend his conduct. For it is not the deed alone, but also the intention, for which this man himself must, in justice, bear the responsibility. Therefore, since this is so, consider forthwith what defence you will possibly be able to make for your actions toward the Goths. Has it really come to pass that you are ignorant of the good deeds of Theoderic and Amalasuntha, or have they been blotted from your minds with the lapse of time and forgetfulness? No, indeed; neither one of these is true. For it was not in some small matter, nor toward your ancestors in olden times that their kindness was displayed, but it was in matter of vital importance, dear Romans, towards your very selves, recently and in days that are close at hand. But was it because you had been informed by hearsay or learned by experience the righteousness of the Greeks toward their subjects that you decided to abandon to them as you did the cause of the Goths and Italians? At any rate, you, for your part, have, I think, entertained them royally, but you know full well what sort of guests and friends you have found them, if you

have any recollection of the public accounts of Alexander. For I need make no mention of the soldiers and the commanders by whose friendliness and magnanimity you have profited; and it is precisely this conduct of these men which has brought their fortunes to such a pass. Now let no one of you think that I am moved by youthful ambition to bring these reproaches against them nor that I am inclined to boastful speech merely because I am a ruler of barbarians. For the overmastery of those men, I say, has not been a work of our valour, but I confidently maintain that a sort of vengeance has overtaken them for the wrongs you have suffered at their hands. How then could it fail to appear a most atrocious act on your part, that you, while God is exacting vengeance from them in your behalf, should cling fondly to that atrocity of theirs and be unwilling to be rid of the ills arising therefrom? Give yourselves, therefore, some ground for the defence you must make to the Goths, and give us, on the other hand, some ground for forgiveness toward you. And you will give this if, without proposing to await the conclusion of the war, now that there is only scant hope left you, and that too of no avail, you choose the better course and set right the wrongs which you have committed against *us*."

Such then was the message which the writing set forth; and now Totila, placing it in the hands of some of the captives, commanded them to go to Rome and give it to the senators. And they did this. But John prevented those who saw this letter from making any reply to Totila. For this reason Totila made a second attempt, writing a large number of short letters, in which he gave expression to the most solemn oaths, swearing in explicit terms that never would the Goths do any harm to anyone of the Romans. Now as to what persons conveyed these writings to Rome, I cannot speak; for all of them were posted late at night in the conspicuous places in the city, and only when it came day were they discovered; but the commanders of the Roman army entertained grave suspicions against the priests of the Arians, and consequently removed these all from the city immediately.

Totila, upon hearing this, sent a certain portion of his army into Calabria, bidding them make trial of the fortress at Dryus. But since the troops keeping guard in this fortress absolutely refused to yield to him, he commanded the force which had been sent there to institute a siege, while he, with the greater part of the army, went to the vicinity of Rome.

When the emperor heard this, he was greatly embarrassed, and, in spite of the fact that the Persians were still pressing him very hard, was compelled to send Belisarius against Totila. And the winter drew to a close, and the ninth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [544 A.D.]

X

THUS Belisarius, for the second time, went to Italy.

But since he had an exceedingly small number of soldiers — for it was quite impossible for him to detach his own troops from the army in Persia — he proceeded to travel about the whole of Thrace, and, by offering money, to gather fresh volunteers. And by the emperor's command he was accompanied by Vitalius, the General of Illyricum, who had recently returned from Italy, where he had left the Illyrian soldiers. So together they collected about four thousand men and went to Salones with the intention of going to Ravenna first of all and conducting the war from there in whatever manner might be possible. For they could in no wise effect a landing near Rome, either by keeping their movements secret from the enemy (since, as they had heard, the Goths were encamped both in Calabria and in Campania), nor by overpowering the enemy in any manner whatsoever; for they were going against them without sufficient strength to meet them on even terms.

In the meantime the Romans besieged in Dryus, seeing that their provisions had been absolutely exhausted, made an agreement with the besieging barbarians, stipulating that they would hand over the place by surrender, and a definite day was meanwhile agreed upon by both. But Belisarius loaded ships with provisions for a year's time and commanded Valentinus to sail with them to Dryus, and to remove the former garrison from the fortress as quickly as possible — for he learned that they had been much weakened by disease and famine — and to establish as a garrison in place of them some of the men sailing with him; for by this arrangement it would be comparatively easy for them, being fresh and not in want of any necessaries, to guard the fortress in security. So Valentinus, chancing to find a favourable wind, sailed with this fleet to Dryus, and arrived four days before the time appointed for the surrender; and finding the harbour unguarded, he took possession of it, and succeeded without trouble in entering the fortress. For the Goths, being confident in the agreement they had made, and supposing that they would encounter no obstacle in the interval, were now giving little heed to their operations against Dryus and were remaining quiet. Then, however, upon seeing the fleet suddenly bearing down upon them, they took fright and abandoned the siege, and going to a great distance from the place, they made camp and reported to Totila all that had befallen them. So close was the peril from which the fortress of Dryus escaped. But some of Valentinus' men, wishing to plunder the adjoining country, began to make excursions; and by some chance they encountered the enemy near the shore of the sea, and engaged with them. And being badly defeated in the battle, the most of them fled into the sea-water; in this way they lost one hundred and seventy men, and the rest withdrew to the fortress.

Valentinus, upon finding the previous garrison half dead, removed them

from the fortress, and substituted other fresh men, just as Belisarius had instructed him to do, and leaving them supplies for a year's time, returned with the rest of the army to Salones.

Then Belisarius, setting sail from there with the whole fleet, put in at Pola, where he remained for a short time, putting the army in order. But Totila, hearing that Belisarius had reached Pola, and wishing to discover the strength of the army which he was bringing, took the following measures. There was a certain Bonus, nephew of John, commanding the garrison in Genoa. He accordingly made use of this man's name and wrote a letter to Belisarius purporting to be from this Bonus, and urging him to come with all possible speed to their assistance, as they were in some extreme peril. Then he chose out five men of an especially inquisitive nature, put the letter into their hands, and instructed them to observe accurately the force of Belisarius, while palming themselves off as having been sent from Bonus. So when the men came before Belisarius, he received them with great friendliness, as was his custom. And after reading the letter, he bade them report back to Bonus that he would come with the whole army after no long time. Then, after they had looked over everything exactly as Totila had directed them to do, they returned to the Gothic camp and declared that the force of Belisarius was by no means considerable.

Meanwhile Totila captured the city of Tibur, which contained a guard of Isaurians, through an act of treason; this happened in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of the place were guarding the gates together with the Isaurians. These men, having quarrelled with the Isaurians who kept guard with them, although the Isaurians had given no cause for offence, now invited the enemy, who were encamped close by, to come in by night. But the Isaurians, on their part, adopted a common plan while the city was being captured, and practically all of them succeeded in making their escape. Among the inhabitants, however, not a man was spared by the Goths, but they were all killed, together with the priest of the city, in a manner which I shall by no means mention, although I know it well, in order that I may not leave records of inhuman cruelty to future times. Among these victims Catellus also perished, a man of note among the Italians. So the barbarians took possession of Tibur, and the Romans, in consequence, were no longer able to bring in their provisions from Tuscany by way of the Tiber. For the city, situated as it is fronting the river about a hundred and twenty stades above Rome, became thereafter an outpost against those wishing to sail into Rome by that route.

XI

SUCH was the fate which befell Tibur. As for Belisarius, he arrived at Ravenna with the whole fleet; there he gathered those of the Goths who were in the city and the Roman soldiers, and spoke as follows: "This is not the first occasion on which it has come to pass that the achievements of virtue have been brought to naught by wickedness. For from of old this is wholly natural in human affairs, and many a time the depravity of persons of the basest sort has been quite sufficient to frustrate and destroy the deeds of good men. And now, too, this very thing has ruined the cause of the emperor. And he, for his part, is so deeply concerned to correct the mistakes which have been made that he has considered the task of defeating the Persians as of less moment than this situation, and so has decided at the present time to dispatch me to you, in order that I may be able to set right and remedy whatever has been wrongly done by the commanders in their treatment of his soldiers or of the Goths. Now it is not human that no mistakes at all should be committed by anyone, nor is it possible in the natural progress of events; but the task of setting right the mistakes which have been made is one eminently befitting an emperor, and also one which can well afford consolation to his beloved subjects. For not only will you find riddance from your distress, but you will also straightway be privileged to understand and enjoy the emperor's goodwill toward you. And of all things in the world what could be a greater boon for a man than this? Seeing then that I am here with you for this very purpose, it is incumbent upon each one of you, in your turn, to exert himself to the utmost that you may profit by the service thus offered. If any one of you, then, chances to have relatives or friends with the usurper Totila, let him summon these as quickly as possible, explaining the emperor's purpose; for by such a course you could achieve both the blessings which flow from peace and those which fall from the hand of the mighty emperor. For I, for my part, have neither come here with a lust for war against anyone, nor should I ever, willingly at least, be an enemy of the subjects of the emperor. If, however, they consider it even now too trivial a thing to choose the course which is better for themselves, and if they take their stand against us, it will be necessary for us likewise, even though it be sorely against our will, to treat them as enemies."

So spoke Belisarius. But not one of the enemy came over to him, either Goth or Roman. Next he sent his bodyguard Thurimuth and some of his own troops with Vitalius and the Illyrian soldiers into Aemilia, commanding them to make trial of the towns there. So Vitalius with this force took up a position near the city of Bononia, and, after taking some of the neighbouring fortresses by surrender, remained inactive in Bononia. But not long after this the whole body of the Illyrians who were serving under him, suddenly and without having either experienced any hard treatment or heard any rebuke, withdrew

secretly from the town by night and betook themselves homeward. And sending envoys to the emperor, they begged him to grant them pardon, seeing that they had come to their homes in this manner for no other reason than that, after their long service in Italy without receiving the regular pay at all, the state now owed them a large sum of money. But it so happened that a Hunnic army had fallen upon the Illyrians and enslaved the women and children, and it was because of this intelligence, and also because they had a scarcity of provisions in Italy, that they withdrew. And though the emperor was at first angry with them, he afterwards forgave them.

Now Totila, upon learning of the withdrawal of the Illyrians, sent an army against Bononia in order to capture Vitalius and the troops with him by a swift attack. But Vitalius and Thurimuth laid ambuscades in several places and thus destroyed many of the attacking force and turned the rest to flight. There Nazares, a man of note and an Illyrian by birth, commander of the troops in Illyricum, surpassed all others by the remarkable exhibition he made of warlike deeds against the enemy. Thereupon Thurimuth came to Belisarius in Ravenna.

Then at length Belisarius sent three of his own bodyguards, Thurimuth, Ricilas and Sabinianus, with a thousand soldiers to the city of Auximus, in order to support Magnus and the Romans besieged there. This force, slipping past Totila and the enemy's camp by night, got inside of Auximus, and then began planning to make sallies against their opponents. So on the following day about noon, upon learning that some of the enemy were near at hand, they sallied forth with the purpose of confronting them; but, before proceeding, they decided to send scouts against them to spy out the enemy's strength so as not to make an attack on them without reconnoitring.

But Ricilas, the guardsman of Belisarius, who chanced to be drunk at the time, would not allow any others to go scouting, but he himself rode out alone on horseback and went on at full speed. And happening upon three Goths on a steep slope, he at first took his stand with the intention of opposing them; for he was a man of extraordinary bravery; but upon seeing many men rushing toward him from all sides, he made haste to flee. But his horse stumbled in a rough place, whereupon a great shout arose from the enemy and they all hurled their javelins at him. Then the Romans, hearing this uproar, came to the rescue on the run. And Ricilas was killed, being buried under a great number of spears, but the troops of Thurimuth routed their opponents, and lifting up the body carried it inside the city of Auximus; thus did Ricilas meet his death in a manner unworthy of his valour.

Thereupon Sabinianus and Thurimuth in conference with Magnus found it inadvisable for them to spend any more time there, reasoning that while clearly, owing to his numbers, they would never be a match for the enemy in battle, they would, on the other hand, by using up the supplies of the besieged, doom the city to still earlier capture by their opponents. And when this had been decided upon, they themselves and their thousand men began to prepare

for their departure, intending to make the beginning of their journey at night; but one of the soldiers forthwith deserted secretly to the enemy's camp and made known the plans of the Romans. Totila accordingly picked out two thousand men distinguished for their valour and, as night came on, set guards upon the roads at a distance of thirty stades from Auximus, keeping his movements entirely secret. So when these guards at about midnight saw the enemy passing by, they drew their swords and began their attack. And they killed two hundred of them, but Sabinianus and Thurimuth, together with the rest, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in escaping and fleeing into Ariminum. However, the Goths captured all the pack animals which were carrying the servants, the weapons, and the clothing of the soldiers.

There are two fortresses on the coast of the Ionian Gulf, Pisaurus and Fanus, situated between the cities of Auximus and Ariminum. They had been dismantled at the beginning of this war by Vittigis, who had burned the houses in them and torn down their walls to about half their height, in order that the Romans might not, by seizing them, make trouble for the Goths. One of these fortresses, Pisaurus, Belisarius decided to seize; for it seemed to him that the place was by its situation suitable for the pasturage of horses. So he sent by night some of his associates and secretly obtained the accurate measurements, as to breadth and height, of each one of the gate-ways. He next had gates made and bound with iron and then loaded them on boats and sent them off, commanding the men of Sabinianus and Thurimuth to fit these gates quickly to the walls and then to remain inside the circuit-wall, and, after thus insuring their safety, to build up in whatever manner possible such parts of the circuit-wall as had fallen down, putting in stones and mud and any other material whatsoever. So they carried out these instructions. But Totila, upon hearing what was going on, marched against them with a great army. And he made an attempt on the town and tarried near it for some time, but since he was unable to capture it, he returned baffled to his camp at Auximus.

The Romans, however, were no longer making sallies against the enemy, but at each fortress they were remaining inside the walls. Furthermore, even when Belisarius sent two of his guardsmen to Rome, Artasires, a Persian, and Barbation of Thrace, in order to assist Bessas in guarding the city, he instructed them by no means to make sallies against the enemy. As for Totila and the Gothic army, seeing that the force of Belisarius was not sufficient to array itself against them, they decided to harass the strongest of the towns. They accordingly made camp in Picenum before Firmum and Asculum, and commenced a siege. And the winter drew to a close, and the tenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [545 A.D.]

XII

Now Belisarius, finding himself utterly unable to give support to the besieged towns, sent John the nephew of Vitalian to Byzantium, first binding him by the most solemn oaths that he would make every effort to return as quickly as possible; and his mission was to beg the emperor to send them a large army and a generous supply of money, and, furthermore, both arms and horses. For even the few soldiers he had were unwilling to fight, asserting that the state owed them much money and that they themselves were in want of everything. And this was true. Belisarius also wrote a letter to the emperor recording these matters; and the letter set forth the following.

“We have arrived in Italy, most mighty emperor, without men, horses, arms, or money, and no man, I think, without a plentiful supply of these things, would ever be able to carry on a war. For though we did travel about most diligently through Thrace and Illyricum, the soldiers we gathered are an exceedingly small and pitiful band, men without a single weapon in their hands and altogether unpractised in fighting. And we see, on the other hand, that the men who were left in Italy are both insufficient in number and in abject terror of the enemy, their spirit having been utterly humbled by the many defeats they have suffered at their hands, — men who did not simply escape at random from their opponents, but even abandoned their horses and flung their weapons to the ground. And as for the revenue, it is impossible for us to derive any money from Italy, since it has again been taken by the enemy into their possession. Consequently, since we have fallen behind in regard to the payment of the soldiers, we find ourselves quite unable to impose our orders upon them; for the debt has taken away our right to command. And this also thou must know well, my master, that the majority of those serving in thy armies have deserted to the enemy. If, therefore, it was only necessary that Belisarius be sent to Italy, then thou hast made the best preparation possible for the war; for I am already in the very midst of Italy. If, however, it is thy will to overcome thy foes in the war, provision must also be made for the other necessary things. For no man could, I think, be a general without men to support him. It is therefore needful that, above all others, my spearmen and guards should be sent me, and, next to them, a very large force of Huns and other barbarians is needed, to whom money must also be given immediately.”

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. But as for John, though he spent a long time in Byzantium, he accomplished none of the objects of his mission; but he married the daughter of Germanus, the nephew of the emperor. In the meantime Totila captured Firmum and Asculum by surrender; and advancing into Tuscany, he began the siege of Spolitium and Asise. Now the garrison in Spolitium was commanded by Herodian and that in Asise by Sisifridus, who, though a Goth by birth, was exceedingly loyal to the Romans and the emperor's cause. Herodian, for his part, came to terms with the enemy, the

agreement being that they should remain quiet for thirty days; and if no assistance should come to the Romans within this time, he was to surrender both himself and the city together with the soldiers and the inhabitants to the Goths. And he furnished his son as a hostage for the keeping of this agreement. So when the appointed day came, and no Roman army had arrived from any quarter, Herodian and the whole garrison of Spolitium, in accordance with the agreement, put themselves and the city into the hands of Totila and the Goths. But they say that the hostility existing between Herodian and Belisarius was the real cause of his surrendering himself and Spolitium to the Goths; for Belisarius had threatened to call him to account for his previous record.

Such was the course of events as regards Spolitium. Sisifridus, on the other hand, in making a sally with his troops, lost the most of his men and perished himself. Thereupon the inhabitants of Asise, despairing of the situation, immediately handed the city over to the enemy. Totila also sent straightway to Cyprian, demanding that he surrender Perusia to him, attempting to terrify him in case he should disobey, but promising, on the other hand, to reward him with a large sum of money if he should carry out this order. But since he met with no success in dealing with Cyprian, he bribed one of his bodyguard, Ulifus by name, to kill him by treachery. Ulifus accordingly, meeting Cyprian by chance alone, killed him and got away in flight to Totila. But nevertheless the soldiers of Cyprian continued to guard the city for the emperor, and the Goths, consequently, decided to retire from Perusia.

XIII

AFTER this Totila moved against Rome, and upon coming near the city, he began a siege. He did no harm, however, to the farmers in this or any other part of Italy, but commanded them to continue tilling the soil without fear, just as they were accustomed to do, bringing to him the revenue which they had formerly brought to the public treasury and to the owners of the land. And when some Goths had come close up to the fortifications of Rome, Artasires and Barbation made a sally against them, though Bessas did not in the least approve their action, leading out a large number of their men to the attack. And they straightway killed many and turned the rest to flight. But in following up these men and allowing themselves to be drawn into a pursuit over a great distance, they fell into an ambush set by the enemy. Here they lost the most of their men, and they themselves, accompanied by a handful of men, succeeded only with difficulty in making their escape. And thereafter they no longer dared go out against their opponents, even though they were pressing their attack.

From this time on a severe famine afflicted the Romans, for they were no longer able to bring in any necessities from the country and the traffic by sea was cut off. For after the Goths captured Naples, they had stationed a navy of many light craft both there and at the so-called Aeolian Islands and at such other islands as lie off this coast, and with these they were keeping a close watch over the sea-route. Consequently such ships as put out from Sicily and started to sail to the harbour of Rome fell one and all into the hands of these patrols together with their crews.

Totila now sent an army into Aemilia, with orders to take the city of Placentia either by storm or by surrender. This is the chief city in the land of Aemilia and has strong defences, being situated on the river Eridanus, and it was the only city still left in that region subject to the Romans. So when this army came near Placentia, they offered terms to the garrison there to the end that they might hand over the city by surrender to Totila and the Goths. But since they met with no success, they made camp on the spot and began a siege, perceiving that the people in the city were in need of provisions.

At that time there arose a suspicion of treason among the commanders of the emperor's army in Rome against Cethegus, a patrician and leader of the Roman senate. For this reason he departed hastily for Centumcellae.

But Belisarius became alarmed both for Rome and for the whole Roman cause, since it was impossible to lend assistance from Ravenna in any case, and especially with a small army; and so he decided to remove from there and take possession of the district about Rome, in order that by being near at hand he might be able to go to the rescue of those in difficulty there. Indeed he repented having ever come to Ravenna at all, a course which he had taken earlier through the persuasion of Vitalius and not to the advantage of the

emperor's cause, since by shutting himself up in that place he had given the enemy a free hand to determine the course of the war as they wished. And to me it seemed either that Belisarius had chosen the worse course because it was fated at that time that the Romans should fare ill, or that he had indeed determined upon the better course, but God, having in mind to assist Totila and the Goths, had stood as an obstacle in his way, so that the best of the plans of Belisarius had turned out utterly contrary to his expectations. For those upon whom the wind of fortune blow's from a fair quarter, even though they make the worst plans, will meet with no calamity, since Heaven reverses these plans and brings them to an entirely favourable issue; but a man, I believe, who is under the ban of fortune utterly lacks the ability to plan wisely, being bereft of understanding and insight into the truth by the fact that he is fated to suffer ill. And even if he ever does make some plan adapted to the needs of the situation, still fortune straightway breathes contrariwise upon him after he has made such a plan, and perverts his wise purpose so as to bring about the most dire results. However, whether this is so or otherwise, I am unable to say.

Belisarius then appointed Justinus to command the garrison of Ravenna, and himself, with only a few men, journeyed thence through Dalmatia and the neighbouring lands to Epidamnus, where he remained quiet expecting an army from Byzantium. And writing a letter to the emperor, he reported the present situation. The emperor, therefore, not long afterward, sent him John the nephew of Vitalian and Isaac the Armenian, brother of Aratius and Narses, together with an army of barbarian and Roman soldiers. These troops reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius there.

The emperor also sent Narses the eunuch to the rulers of the Eruli, in order to persuade the most of them to march to Italy. And many of the Eruli followed him, commanded by Philemuth and certain others, and they came with him into the land of Thrace. For the intention was that, after passing the winter there, they should be despatched to Belisarius at the opening of spring. And they were accompanied also by John whom they called the Glutton. And it so fell out that during this journey they unexpectedly rendered a great service to the Romans. For a great throng of the barbarians, Sclaveni, had, as it happened, recently crossed the river Ister, plundered the adjoining country and enslaved a very great number of Romans. Now the Eruli suddenly came upon these barbarians and joined battle with them, and, although far outnumbered, they unexpectedly defeated them, and some they slew, and the captives they released one and all to go to their homes. At that time also Narses found a certain man who was pretending to the name of Chilbudius, a man of note who had once been a general of the Romans, and he easily succeeded in unmasking the plot. Here I shall give the facts of this story.

XIV

THERE was a certain Chilbudius of the household of the Emperor Justinian, who was exceedingly efficient in war, and, at the same time, so far superior to the lure of money that instead of a great property in his own right he had no possessions at all. This Chilbudius was appointed by the emperor, in the fourth year of his reign, to be General of Thrace, [531 A.D.] and was assigned to guard the river Ister, being ordered to keep watch so that the barbarians of that region could no longer cross the river, since the Huns and Antae and Sclaveni had already made the crossing many times and done irreparable harm to the Romans. And Chilbudius became such an object of terror to the barbarians that for the space of three years, during which time he remained there holding this office, not only did no one succeed in crossing the Ister against the Romans, but the Romans actually crossed over to the opposite side many times with Chilbudius and killed and enslaved the barbarians there. But three years later, when Chilbudius crossed the river, as was his custom, with a small force, the Sclaveni came against him with their entire strength; and a fierce battle taking place, many of the Romans fell and among them the general Chilbudius. Thereafter the river became free for the barbarians to cross at all times just as they wished, and the possessions of the Romans were rendered easily accessible; and the entire Roman empire found itself utterly incapable of matching the valour of one single man in the performance of this task.

But later on the Antae and Sclaveni became hostile to one another and engaged in a battle, in which it so fell out that the Antae were defeated by their opponents. Now in this battle one of the Sclaveni took captive a certain young man of the enemy named Chilbudius, who was just wearing his first beard, and took him off to his home. This Chilbudius, as time went on, became devoted to his master to an extraordinary degree and proved himself a vigorous warrior in dealing with the enemy. Indeed he exposed himself to danger many times to save his master, distinguishing himself by his deeds of valour, through which he succeeded in winning great renown. At about this time the Antae descended upon the land of Thrace and plundered and enslaved many of the Roman inhabitants; and they led these captives with them as they returned to their native abode.

Now chance brought one of these captives into the hands of a kind and gentle master. This man was a great rascal and one capable of circumventing and deceiving those who fell in his way. And since he was unable by any device to effect his return to the land of the Romans, much as he wished it, he conceived the following plan. Coming before his master, he praised him for his kindness and declared that God on account of this would bestow upon him blessings in abundance, and that he for his part would shew himself by no means ungrateful to a most kindly master; but, if only he was willing to give ear to the excellent suggestion which he had to offer, he would shortly put him

in possession of a great sum of money. For there was, he said, among the nation of the Sclaveni one Chilbudius the former general of the Romans, in the condition of a slave, while all the barbarians were ignorant as to who in the world he was. If, therefore, he was willing to pay out the price set upon Chilbudius and convey the man to the land of the Romans, it was not unlikely that he would acquire for himself from the emperor not only a fair reputation but also an enormous amount of money. By these words the Roman speedily persuaded his master, and he went with him into the midst of the Sclaveni; for these barbarians were already on peaceful terms and were mingling with one another without fear. Consequently they were able, by paying out a large sum of money to the master of Chilbudius, to purchase the man, and they departed with him immediately. And when they had come into their own country, the purchaser enquired of the man whether he was Chilbudius himself, the general of the Romans. And he did not hesitate to state truly all the facts in order, saying that he too was by birth of the Antae, and that while fighting with his compatriots against the Sclaveni, who were then at war with them, he had been captured by one of the enemy, but now, upon arriving in his native country, he too according to the law would be free from that time forth.

Thereupon the man who had paid out gold for him became speechless with vexation, seeing that he had failed of a hope of no moderate sort. But the Roman, wishing to reassure the man and to controvert the truth, so that no difficulty might arise to prevent his return to his home, still insisted that this man actually was that Chilbudius, but that he was afraid, clearly because he was in the midst of the barbarians, and so was quite unwilling to reveal the whole truth; if, however, he should get into the land of the Romans, he would not only not conceal the truth, but in all probability would actually take pride in that very name. Now at first these things were done without the knowledge of the other barbarians.

But when the report was carried about and reached the entire nation, practically all the Antae assembled to discuss the situation, and they demanded that the matter be made a public one, thinking that great benefit would come to them from the fact that they had now become masters of the Roman general Chilbudius. For these nations, the Sclaveni and the Antae, are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people.

It is also true that in all other matters, practically speaking, these two barbarian peoples have had from ancient times the same institutions and customs. For they believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as for fate, they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men, but whenever death stands close before them, either stricken with sickness or beginning a war, they make a promise that, if they escape, they will straightway make a sacrifice to the god in return for their

life; and if they escape, they sacrifice just what they have promised, and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice. They reverence, however, both rivers and nymphs and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to all these also, and they make their divinations in connection with these sacrifices. They live in pitiful hovels which they set up far apart from one another, but, as a general thing, every man is constantly changing his place of abode. When they enter battle, the majority of them go against their enemy on foot carrying little shields and javelins in their hands, but they never wear corselets. Indeed some of them do not wear even a shirt or a cloak, but gathering their trews up as far as to their private parts they enter into battle with their opponents. And both the two peoples have also the same language, an utterly barbarous tongue. Nay further, they do not differ at all from one another in appearance. For they are all exceptionally tall and stalwart men, while their bodies and hair are neither very fair or blonde, nor indeed do they incline entirely to the dark type, but they are all slightly ruddy in colour. And they live a hard life, giving no heed to bodily comforts, just as the Massagetæ do, and, like them, they are continually and at all times covered with filth; however, they are in no respect base or evildoers, but they preserve the Hunnic character in all its simplicity. In fact, the Sclaveni and Antæ actually had a single name in the remote past; for they were both called Spori in olden times, because, I suppose, living apart one man from another, they inhabit their country in a sporadic fashion. And in consequence of this very fact they hold a great amount of land; for they alone inhabit the greatest part of the northern bank of the Ister. So much then may be said regarding these peoples.

So on the present occasion the Antæ gathered together, as has been said, and tried to compel this man to agree with them in the assertion that he was Chilbudius, the Roman general himself. And they threatened, if he denied it, to punish him. But while this affair was progressing in the manner described, meantime the Emperor Justinian had sent some envoys to these very barbarians, through whom he expressed the desire that they should all settle in an ancient city, Turris by name, situated to the north of the river Ister. This city had been built by the Roman emperor Trajan in earlier times, but for a long time now it had remained unoccupied, after it had been plundered by the barbarians of that region. It was this city and the lands about it that the Emperor Justinian agreed to give them, asserting that it had belonged to the Romans originally; and he further agreed to give them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves, and to pay them great sums of money, on condition that they should remain at peace with him thereafter and constantly block the way against the Huns, when these wished to overrun the Roman domain.

When the barbarians heard this, they expressed approval and promised to carry out all the conditions, provided that he restore Chilbudius to the office of General of the Romans and assign him to assist them in the establishment of their city, stoutly maintaining, what they wished was so, that the man there

among them was Chilbudius. Thereupon the man himself, being lifted up by these hopes, began now to claim and to assert, as well as the others, that he was Chilbudius the Roman general. Indeed he was setting out for Byzantium on this mission when Narses, in the course of his journey, came upon him. And when he met the man and found him to be playing the part of an imposter, although he spoke in the Latin tongue and had already learned many of the personal peculiarities of Chilbudius and had been very successful in assuming them, he confined him in prison and compelled him to confess the whole truth, and thereafter brought him in his own train to Byzantium. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

WHILE the emperor was taking such measures as have been described, Belisarius on his part sent an army to the harbour of Rome under command of Valentinus and one of his own bodyguards, Phocas by name, an exceptionally able warrior, with instructions to join the garrison in Portus, which was commanded by Innocentius, and to assist them in guarding that fortress; and wherever they found it possible, they were to make excursions and harass the enemy's camp. Consequently, Valentinus and Phocas secretly sent a messenger into Rome bearing the intelligence to Bessas that they were at that moment about to make a sudden attack upon the stockade of their opponents; he should, therefore, on his part, select the most warlike of the soldiers in Rome, and, whenever he observed their assault, rush to their assistance, so that each of the two forces might be able to inflict some great injury upon the barbarians. Bessas, however, was by no means taken with this plan, notwithstanding the fact that he had as many as three thousand soldiers under him. Thus it was that Valentinus and Phocas with a force of five hundred descended unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp and killed a few men, and the tumult occasioned thereby soon reached the ears of the besieged. But seeing that no one came out from the city against the camp, they quickly retired to the harbour without suffering any loss.

So they sent to Bessas a second time, and first charging him with having had a regrettable attack of timidity, they declared that they would soon make another assault upon the enemy and urged that he too should fall upon the barbarians with all his strength at the proper moment. Bessas, however, still refused to make a sally against his opponents and risk a battle. Still Valentinus and Phocas were purposing to assail the enemy in larger force and had already made their preparations. But a certain soldier of Innocentius' command went as a deserter to Totila and carried the news that on the following day there would be an attack upon them from Portus. So Totila decided to fill with ambuscades of soldiers all the places which were adapted for this purpose. On the following day, therefore, Valentinus and Phocas fell into these ambuscades, and not only lost the most of their men, but were also killed themselves. And only a small handful made their escape with difficulty and betook themselves to Portus.

It was at this time that Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, who was then sojourning in Sicily, filled with grain as many ships as he could and sent them off, thinking that in some way or other those who were conveying the cargoes would be able to get into Rome. So these ships were sailing toward the Roman harbour, but the enemy spied them and got to the harbour a short time before the ships arrived; there they concealed themselves inside the walls, their purpose being that, as soon as the ships should come to the land there, they might capture them with no difficulty. And when all the men keeping

guard in Portus observed this, they went up to the battlement, every man of them, and by waving their cloaks strove to signal the men on the ships not to come ahead, but to turn aside and go elsewhere — anywhere in fact, where chance might lead them. But the men on the ships failed to comprehend what they were doing, supposing that the Romans in Portus were rejoicing and inviting them to the harbour, and since they had a favouring wind they quickly got inside the harbour. Now there were many Romans on board the ships, and among them a certain bishop named Valentinus. Then the barbarians arose from their hiding place and took possession of all the boats without encountering any resistance. And as for the bishop, they took him prisoner and led him before Totila, but all the rest they killed, and drawing the boats up on shore with their cargoes still in them, they departed.

And Totila made such enquiries of this priest as he wished, and then accused him of not telling the truth in any respect and so cut off both his hands. Such was the course of these events. And the winter drew to a close, and the eleventh year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [546 A.D.]

XVI

AND Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, in obedience to the emperor's summons, came to Byzantium from Sicily; for he had been waiting a considerable time in Sicily for this summons.

It was at about this time that the Romans besieged in Placentia, seeing that all their provisions had now been completely exhausted, resorted to foods of an unnatural sort under constraint of famine. In fact they had actually tasted each other's flesh. And it was because of this situation that they came to terms with the Goths and surrendered both themselves and Placentia to them. Such was the course of events here.

At Rome likewise, as it laboured under the siege of Totila, all the necessities of life had already failed. Now there was a certain man among the priests of Rome, Pelagius by name, holding the office of deacon; he had passed a considerable time in Byzantium and had there become especially intimate with the Emperor Justinian, and it so happened that he had a short time previously arrived at Rome possessed of a great fortune. And during this siege he had bestowed a great part of his fortune upon those destitute of the necessities of life; and thus, though he had been a notable person even before that time, among all the Italians, now quite naturally he won still greater renown for philanthropy. So the Romans, finding their situation desperate by reason of the famine, persuaded this Pelagius to go before Totila and negotiate for them an armistice of only a few days, the understanding to be that, if within the time of that armistice no help should reach them from Byzantium, they would surrender both themselves and the city to the Goths. Pelagius accordingly went on this mission to Totila. And when he came, Totila greeted him with great respect and friendliness, and then spoke first as follows:

"Among all barbarian peoples it is a well-nigh universal custom to reverence the office of ambassadors, and I for my part have always been eager to honour particularly those, such as yourself, who can lay claim to excellence. Now it is my opinion that the distinction between honour and insult to a man clothed with the office of ambassador is not made by a smiling countenance or bombastic utterances on the part of those who receive him, but either by simply speaking the truth or, on the other hand, by addressing him with insincere speeches. For signal honour, on the one hand, is conferred upon him who has not been dismissed until the truth has been disclosed to him with directness, but the greatest possible insult, on the other hand, has been heaped upon that ambassador who takes his departure after hearing only deceitful and insincere phrases. Now, therefore, O Pelagius, with the exception of three things you will never fail to receive from us whatever you may crave. These things, then, you had best avoid and pass by without mention, so that you may not, though having been yourself most to blame for failing to accomplish any of the objects of your coming, impute to us the blame for this failure. For the

inevitable consequence of making a request inappropriate to the actual situation is generally failure to gain one's object. I warn you, then, that you are to make no plea in the interest of either anyone of the Sicilians, or the fortifications of Rome, or the slaves who have put themselves under our protection. For it is impossible either for the Goths to shew any mercy to anyone of the Sicilians or for this wall to remain standing or for the slaves who have been serving in our army to return to the service of their former masters. And in order to avoid the appearance of advancing these demands in a spirit of unreason, we shall clear ourselves of that suspicion by stating our grounds immediately.

"In the first place, then, that island from ancient times enjoyed an unrivalled degree of prosperity, as evidenced by its revenues and by the abundance of the crops produced therein, so that it not only provided enough for its inhabitants, but you Romans also were abundantly supplied by importing annually as tribute the produce of Sicilian fields. It was for this reason that the Romans begged Theoderic at the beginning of his reign that no numerous garrison of Goths should be placed there, so that no check might be put upon the freedom of the inhabitants or their general prosperity. In such circumstances the enemy's army put in at Sicily with a force which was a match for us neither in numbers of men nor in any other respect whatever. But the Sicilians, upon seeing the fleet, did not report this to the Goths, did not even shut themselves into their strongholds, did not consent to shew hostility to our adversaries in any other manner, but opening the gates of their cities with all zeal received the army of the enemy with open arms, just as I suppose the most untrustworthy slaves would do, who had for a long time been watching for the favourable moment to escape from the hand of their owners and find some new and unknown masters. Then by using that island as a base, the enemy, as if fighting from an advanced fortress, without difficulty possessed themselves of all Italy and seized upon this city of Rome, having brought with them from Sicily such a great quantity of grain that, though they were besieged for an entire year, it continued to suffice for the whole population of the city. Such is the case of the Sicilians, whose misdeeds have been such that it will be utterly impossible for the Goths to shew them forgiveness, seeing that the gravity of the accusations sweeps away all compassion for the guilty.

"In the second place, it was within these walls that our enemy shut himself and from which he was quite unwilling to come down into the plain and array himself against us, but by crafty wiles and baffling tricks, he ever flouted the Goths from day to day, and thus became, quite undeservedly, master of our possessions. Consequently it is worth while for us to make provision that we shall not have this same experience a second time. For when men who have once met with a reverse through ignorance fall into the same evil plight again without providing against the calamity which has already become familiar to them by experience, men believe what has befallen them to be no adversity of

fortune, but in all likelihood a proof of the folly of the victims of the disaster. And one might add that the destruction of the walls of Rome will benefit you above all others. For you will not hereafter be shut in with others and excluded from all the necessities of life while you suffer siege at the hands of the assailants of the city, but, on the contrary, the two armies will stake their chances in open battle against one another, while you, without perils on your part, will simply become the prize of the victors. In the third place, regarding the slaves who have put themselves under our protection, we shall say only this, that if, after they have taken their places in our ranks against our adversaries and have received from us the promise that we will never abandon them to their former masters, we should at the present juncture decide to put them into your hands, we shall have no right to be trusted by you either. For it is impossible — impossible, I say — for the man who makes light of his covenant with the most unfortunate of men to give evidence of a spirit that can be relied on in dealing with anyone else, but he always carries along with him his untrustworthiness, just as he does any other characteristic that reveals his true nature in all his dealings with other men.”

Thus spoke Totila; and Pelagius replied as follows: “Though you began, excellent Sir, by saying that you have the very greatest admiration not only for me, but also for the ambassadorial title, you have in fact assigned us to the very lowest grade of dishonour. Indeed I for my part think that he who really insults one who is both friend and ambassador is not the man who may strike him on the head or otherwise maltreat him, but rather he who decides to allow his visitor to depart with his mission unaccomplished. For it is not with the purpose of achieving any honour at the hands of those who receive them that men are accustomed to submit to the labours of an embassy, but in order that they may return with some good accomplished to those who have sent them. Consequently, it will be more favourable to their purpose to have been treated with wanton contempt and still have accomplished some of the objects for which they came, than, after hearing more courteous words, to return disappointed in their hope. Turning now to the present situation, I know not what plea I ought to make concerning those things which you yourself have mentioned. For why should one importune him who had refused an agreement before hearing the plea? This, however, I could not leave unsaid, that it is clear what measure of kindness you are purposing to display toward the Romans who have taken up arms against you, seeing that, with regard to the Sicilians, you have determined to vent your enmity upon them without mercy, though they have in no way opposed you. But as for me, I shall give over my petition to you and refer my mission to God, who is accustomed to send retribution upon those who scorn the prayers of suppliants.”

XVII

WITH such words Pelagius departed. And when the Romans saw him returning unsuccessful, they fell into a state of helpless despair. For the famine, becoming still more acute, was working terrible havoc among them from day to day. The soldiers, however, had not yet exhausted their supplies, but they could still hold out. The Romans therefore gathered in a throng and came before Bessas and Conon, the commanders of the emperor's army; there with weeping and loud lamentation they spoke to them as follows: "The fate, Generals, which we see to be upon us at the present time is such that, if we actually had the power to commit some unholy deed against you, such a crime would have brought upon us no reproach. For the overwhelming constraint of necessity furnishes of itself a sufficient defence. But now, seeing that our strength cannot suffice for our defence, we have resorted to words and have come before you to make our position clear and to lament over our misfortune; and do you hear us with forbearance, not being stirred up by the boldness of our words, but judging it with due regard to the acuteness of our suffering. For he who has been compelled to despair of safety can no longer control his actions — no, nor his words — so as to preserve decorum. As for us, Generals, do not consider us to be either Romans or fellow-countrymen of yours, or even to have assimilated our ways of government to yours, and do not suppose that in the beginning we received the emperor's army into the city willingly, but regard us as enemies from the first and as men who have taken up arms against you, and later, when defeated in battle, have become your captive slaves simply in accordance with the customs of war. And do you furnish sustenance to these your captives, if not in quantities sufficient for our needs, at least in such measure as to make life possible, that by your so doing we too may survive and render you such service in return as it is fitting that slaves should render their masters. But if you find this difficult or contrary to your wish, then at least consent to release us from your hands, by which action you will gain this advantage that you will not be troubled by the burial of your slaves. And if even this favour is not left us, deign to put us to death and do not deprive us of an honourable end nor begrudge us death, which to us is the sweetest of all things, but by a single act free the Romans from ten thousand troubles." When Bessas and his officers heard this, they asserted, firstly, that to furnish them with provisions was impossible, secondly, that to put them to death would be unholy, and, thirdly, that even to release them was not without danger. But they insisted that Belisarius with the army from Byzantium would arrive right speedily, and after thus consoling them sent them away.

But the famine, becoming more severe as time went on, was greatly increasing its ravages, driving men to discover monstrous foods unknown to the natural desires of man. Now at first, since Bessas and Conon, who

commanded the garrison in Rome, had, as it happened, stored away a vast supply of grain for their own use within the walls of Rome, they as well as the soldiers were constantly taking from the portion assigned for their own needs and selling at a great price to such Romans as were rich; for the price of a bushel had reached seven gold pieces. Those however, whose domestic circumstances were such that they were unable to partake of food which was so much dearer, were able, by paying in cash one fourth of this price, to get their bushel measures filled with bran; this was their food and necessity made it most sweet and dainty to their taste. As for beef, whenever the bodyguards of Bessas captured an ox in making a sally, they sold it for fifty gold pieces. And if any man had a horse or any other animal which had died, this Roman was counted among those exceedingly fortunate, seeing that he was able to live luxuriously upon the flesh of a dead animal. But all the rest of the numerous inhabitants were eating nettles only, such as grow in abundance about the walls and among the ruins in all parts of the city. And in order to prevent the pungent herb from stinging their lips and throat they boiled them thoroughly before eating.

So long, then, as the Romans had their gold currency, they bought their grain and bran in the manner described and went their way; but when their supply of this had at length failed, then they brought all their household goods to the forum and exchanged them for their daily sustenance. But when, finally, the soldiers of the emperor had no grain which they could possibly sell to the Romans (except, indeed, that Bessas still had a little left), nor had the Romans anything with which to buy, they all turned to the nettles. But this food was insufficient for them, for it was utterly impossible to satisfy themselves with it, and consequently their flesh withered away almost entirely, while their colour, gradually turning to a livid hue, gave them a most ghostly appearance. And it happened to many that, even as they walked along chewing the nettles with their teeth, death came suddenly upon them and they fell to the ground. And now they were even beginning to eat each other's dung. There were many too, who, because of the pressure of the famine, destroyed themselves with their own hands; for they could no longer find either dogs or mice or any dead animal of any kind on which to feed.

Now there was a Roman in the city, the father of five children; and they gathered about him and, laying hold of his garment, kept demanding food. But he, without a word of lament and without letting it be seen that he was sorely troubled, but most steadfastly concealing all his suffering in his mind, bade the children follow him as if for the purpose of getting food. But when he came to the bridge over the Tiber, he tied his cloak over his face, thus concealing his eyes, and leaped from the bridge into the waters of the Tiber, the deed being witnessed both by his children and by all the Romans who were there.

From that time on the imperial commanders, upon receiving further money, released such of the Romans as desired to depart from the city. And only a

few were left in the city; for all the rest made their escape by flight in whatever manner proved possible for each one. But the most of these, since their strength had been utterly wasted away by the famine, perished as soon as they had begun their journey, whether by water or by land. Many too were caught on the road by the enemy and destroyed. To such a pass had come the fortune of the senate and people of Rome.

XVIII

WHEN the army under John and Isaac had reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius, John, on the one hand, urged that they ferry all the troops across the gulf and proceed by land with the whole army, meeting together whatever opposition might develop against them; but Belisarius, on the other hand, considered this plan inexpedient, and thought that more was to be gained by sailing to the neighbourhood of Rome; for in going by land they would consume a longer time, and would perhaps be confronted by some obstacle; John meanwhile was to march through the territory of the Calabrians and the other peoples of that region, drive out the few barbarians who were there, and, after reducing to submission the territory south of the Ionian Gulf, march to the neighbourhood of Rome and rejoin his friends; it was here, indeed, that Belisarius purposed to land with the rest of the army. For he thought that, since the Romans were suffering most cruelly in the siege, even the smallest delay would, in all probability, bring disaster to their cause. And if they went by sea and met with a favouring wind, it would be possible to land at the harbour of Rome on the fifth day, while an army marching by land from Dryus could not reach Rome even within forty days.

So Belisarius gave these directions to John and set sail from there with his whole fleet; but a violent wind fell upon them, and they put in at Dryus. And when the Goths who had been stationed there to besiege the fortress saw this fleet, they abandoned the siege and straightway betook themselves to the neighbourhood of Brundisium, a city two days' journey distant from Dryus, situated on the coast of the gulf and without walls; for they supposed that Belisarius would immediately pass through the strait at Dryus; and they reported their situation to Totila. He, for his part, put his own army in readiness to oppose Belisarius and commanded the Goths in Calabria to keep the passes under guard as best they could.

But when Belisarius, finding a favourable wind, sailed away from Dryus, the Goths in Calabria thought no more of him and began to conduct themselves carelessly, while Totila was content to remain quiet and to guard still more closely the approaches to Rome, so that it might be impossible to bring any kind of provisions into the city. And he devised the following structure on the Tiber. Observing a place where the river flows in a very narrow channel, about ninety stades distant from the city, he placed very long timbers, reaching from one bank to the other, so as to form a bridge at that point. Then he constructed two wooden towers, one on either bank, and placed in each one a garrison of warlike men, so that it might be no longer possible for boats of any kind whatever to make their way up from Portus and so enter the city.

Meanwhile Belisarius, on his part, landed at the harbour of Rome, while John with his army was remaining where he was. Then John ferried his force

over to Calabria, quite unobserved by the Goths, who, as stated above, were waiting in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. And he captured two of the enemy who were going out as scouts, one of whom he killed immediately; but the other laid hold of his knees and begged to be made a prisoner. "For," he said, "I shall not be useless to you and the Roman army." And when John asked him what advantage he could possibly confer upon the Romans and him if he was not destroyed, the man promised to enable him to fall upon the Goths while they had not the least expectation of such a thing. Then John said that his prayer should not fail to be heard, but first he must shew him the pastures of their horses. This too the barbarian agreed to do and so he went with him. And first, upon finding the enemy's horses pasturing, all the men who happened to be on foot leaped upon their backs; and there was a large number of such men comprising some of the best troops. Next they advanced at full speed upon the camp of their opponents. And the barbarians, being unarmed and utterly unprepared, and terror-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, were most of them destroyed where they stood, utterly forgetful of their valour, and only a small number succeeded in escaping and made their way to Totila.

Then John began to console and pacify all the Calabrians, endeavouring to win them to loyalty to the emperor and promising that they would receive many benefits both from the emperor and from the Roman army. Then, departing as quickly as he could from Brundisium, he captured a city, Canusium by name, which is situated approximately at the centre of Apulia and is distant from Brundisium five days' journey as one goes westward toward Rome. Twenty five stades away from this city of Canusium is Cannae, where they say the Romans in early times suffered their great disaster at the hand of Hannibal, the general of the Libyans. [216 B.C.]

In that city a certain Tullianus, son of Venantius, a Roman who possessed great power among the Brutii and Lucani, came before John and made charges against the emperor's army for the treatment they had previously meted out to the Italians, but he agreed that, if the army thereafter should treat them with some degree of consideration, he would hand over Bruttium and Lucania to the Romans, to be again subject and tributary to the emperor no less truly than they had been before. For it was not, he said, by their own will that they had yielded to men who were both barbarians and Arians, but because they had been placed under most dire constraint by their opponents, and had also been treated with injustice by the emperor's soldiers. And upon John's declaration that thereafter the Italians would receive every blessing from the army, Tullianus went with him. Consequently the soldiers no longer entertained any suspicion as regards the Italians, but the most of the territory south of the Ionian Gulf had become friendly to them and subject to the emperor.

But when Totila heard this, he selected three hundred of the Goths and sent them to Capua. These men he instructed that, whenever they saw the army of John marching thence toward Rome, they should simply follow him without

drawing attention to themselves; for he himself would attend to the rest. In consequence of this John became afraid that he would fall into some trap and be surrounded by the enemy, and so discontinued his movement to join Belisarius, and instead marched into the territory of the Bruttii and Lucani.

Now there was a certain Rhecimundus among the Goths, a man of note whom Totila had appointed to keep guard over Bruttium; he had under him some of the Goths as well as Roman soldiers and Moors who had deserted, and his instructions were to guard with these troops the Strait of Scylla and the adjoining coast, so that no one might be able fearlessly to set sail from there for Sicily nor to land there from the island. This army was surprised by John, whose presence had not been reported to them; and he fell upon them at a point between Rhegium and Vevon, threw them into consternation by a sudden attack, utterly heedless as they were of their valour, and turned them immediately to flight. And they sought refuge by fleeing to the mountain which rises near by, a difficult one to climb and generally precipitous; but John pursued them and reached the steep slopes along with the enemy, and thus, before they had as yet secured their position on the rough mountain-side, he engaged with them and killed many of the Moors and Roman soldiers, though they offered a most vigorous resistance, and captured by surrender Rhecimundus and the Goths together with all who remained.

After accomplishing this feat, John still continued to remain where he was, while Belisarius, constantly expecting John, remained inactive. And Belisarius kept reproaching him because he would not take the risk of meeting in battle the force on guard at Capua, only three hundred in number, and endeavour to make his way through, in spite of the fact that he had barbarians under his command who were men selected for their valour. But John abandoned that plan, and proceeded to a place in Apulia, called Cervarium, where he remained in idleness.

XIX

BELISARIUS, therefore, dreading that the besieged would do something desperate because of the lack of provisions, began to make plans to convey his supplies into Rome by some means or other. And since he plainly had no force sufficient to pit against the enemy, so that he could fight a decisive battle with them in the plain, he first arranged the following plan. He chose two skiffs of very unusual breadth and, after fastening them together and lashing them very firmly to one another, constructed a wooden tower upon them, making it much higher than those made by the enemy at their bridge. For he had previously had them accurately measured by sending some of his men, who, as it was made to appear, were going over to the barbarians as deserters. Next he built wooden walls upon two hundred swift-sailing boats and launched them in the Tiber, having caused openings to be made in all parts of the wooden walls, in order that his men might be able to shoot at the enemy through them. Finally he loaded grain and many other kinds of provisions on these boats and manned them with his most warlike soldiers. He also stationed other troops, both infantry and cavalry, on either side of the river in certain strong positions near the mouth of the Tiber, commanding them to remain at their posts and, if any of the enemy should threaten Portus, to prevent them with all their strength. But he stationed Isaac inside Portus, and it was to him that he entrusted both the city and his wife and whatever else he happened to possess there. And he directed him in no circumstances to go away from the city, not even if he learned that Belisarius had perished at the hand of the enemy, but to maintain a close and constant guard, so that, if any reverse should befall the Romans, they might have a place where they could take refuge and save themselves. For they held no other stronghold at all in that region, but the whole country in every direction was hostile to them.

Then he himself embarked on one of the swift boats and led on the fleet, giving orders to tow the boats on which he had constructed the tower. Now he had placed on the top of the tower a little boat which he had caused to be filled with pitch, sulphur, resin, and all the other substances on which fire naturally feeds most fiercely. And on the other bank of the river — that on the right as one goes from Portus to Rome — a force of infantry was also drawn up along the stream to support him. But he had sent word to Bessas the day before commanding that on the following day he should make a sally with a strong force and throw the enemy's camp into confusion; and indeed this was the same command that he had already sent him many a time before. But neither on previous occasions nor during the present battle did Bessas see fit to carry out his orders. For now he was the only one who still had any grain left, since of all the grain which the magistrates of Sicily had previously sent to Rome to suffice both for the soldiers and for the whole population, he had let an exceedingly small amount go to the populace, while he had taken for

himself the largest part on the pretext of providing for the soldiers and had hidden it away; and since he was selling this reserve to the senators at high prices, he by no means wished the siege to be broken.

Meanwhile Belisarius and the Roman fleet were making their way upstream in spite of the difficulty caused by the adverse current. The Goths, however, offered no opposition, but remained quietly in their fortified camps. But immediately upon coming close to the bridge, the Romans encountered a hostile guard; this force had been stationed on either side of the river to protect an iron chain which Totila had put in place there not long before, the which chain reached from one bank of the Tiber to the other, and its purpose was to make it difficult for the enemy to get even as far as the bridge. And they killed some of the guards with their missiles and turned the rest to flight, then lifted out the chain and went straight on toward the bridge. And as soon as they came up to it, they opened their attack, while the barbarians, shooting from the towers, were striving most vigorously to drive them back. By this time, too, the barbarians had started out from their fortified camps and were rushing to the bridge.

Just at that moment Belisarius brought the skiffs on which the tower had been built as close as possible to one of the towers of the enemy — the one which stood on the road to Portus at the very edge of the water — and gave orders to set fire to the little boat and throw it on top of the enemy's tower. And the Romans carried out this order. Now when this little boat fell upon the tower, it very quickly set fire to it, and not only was the tower itself consumed, but also all the Goths in it, to the number of about two hundred. And among those thus burned was Osdas, their commander, who was the most warlike of all the Goths. Whereupon the Romans took courage and began to discharge their missiles still faster than before against the barbarians who had come to the support of their comrades. As for the Goths, they were struck with consternation at the turn of events, and facing about rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. The Romans then began to destroy the bridge and were ready, after wrecking it in a twinkling, to go ahead and proceed into Rome with no further opposition. But, since this was not the will of fortune, some envious spirit interposed and contrived to ruin the cause of the Romans in the following manner.

While the two armies were engaged in the operations just described, meantime a report fraught with ill for the Romans reached Portus and the tidings spread that Belisarius was victorious and had taken up the chain after destroying the barbarians at that point, and all the rest which I have told above. Now when Isaac heard this, he could no longer contain himself, but was eager to have a hand in that glorious victory. So, disregarding the instructions of Belisarius, he was off as quickly as possible to the other side of the river. And he took with him a hundred horsemen from among the troops which Belisarius had stationed there, and advanced against the enemy's stockade, which was commanded by Ruderic, a capable warrior. Then he

made a sudden assault upon the barbarians in the camp and smote a certain number of them, including Ruderic who had come out against him. The Goths, for their part, immediately abandoned the camp and withdrew, either because they supposed that Isaac had a very large hostile force in the rear, or by way of deceiving their opponents so that they might be able to capture them, as actually happened.

So Isaac's men penetrated the hostile camp, and began to plunder the silver which lay there and the other valuables. But the Goths immediately returned and slew many of their opponents, but took Isaac alive along with some few others. Horsemen then hastened to Belisarius and reported that Isaac was in the hands of the enemy. Belisarius was thunderstruck at what he heard, and, without investigating in what manner Isaac could have been captured, but thinking that both Portus and his wife were lost and that complete disaster had fallen upon the Romans, in that no other stronghold remained where they could now take refuge and save themselves, he fell into a state of speechlessness, an experience which he had never had before. It was for this reason that he hastily withdrew his forces to the rear, with the intention of attacking the enemy while they were still in disorder and recovering the town at all costs.

So the Roman army withdrew from the bridge without accomplishing its object. But when Belisarius reached Portus, he learned of the madness of Isaac and perceived that his own excitement had been without reason; whereupon he was so overcome with sorrow at this adversity of fortune that he fell sick. For a fever came on which by its long continuance harassed him sorely and brought him into danger of death. Two days later it came about that Ruderic died, and Totila, being exceedingly grieved at his loss, put Isaac to death.

MEANWHILE Bessas continued to grow more wealthy than ever by retailing his grain, since his prices were fixed by the necessity of those who wanted it. And since he was entirely wrapped up in his concern for this traffic, he neither paid heed to the defence of the walls nor concerned himself with any other measures for security whatsoever, but any of the soldiers who so wished were allowed to neglect their duties; and meanwhile there was only an insignificant garrison on the walls, and even this received very little attention. For those who chanced from day to day to be assigned to guard duty were freely permitted to sleep, since no one was put in command of them who might possibly take some notice of such an act; nor did any officers consent to go the rounds of the fortifications, as had been customary, and inspect the guards to see what they were doing, and furthermore not one of the citizens was able to assist them in keeping guard; for an exceedingly small number, as I have said, were left in the city and these were wasted to the last degree by the famine.

Thus it came about that four Isaurians who were keeping guard by the Asinarian Gate did as follows: having waited carefully for that part of the night during which it always fell to the lot of the soldiers next them to sleep while the guarding of that portion of the wall devolved upon them, they fastened ropes to the battlement long enough to reach down to the ground, and laying hold of these with both hands got outside the fortifications; then they went before Totila and agreed to receive him and the Gothic army into the city; for, as they declared, they were able to do this without any trouble. And Totila promised that he would be exceedingly grateful to them if they made good these promises and that he would put them in possession of great sums of money; he then sent with them two of his men to look over the place from which these men claimed that the Goths could effect an entrance into the city. So this party came up beside the wall and, laying hold of the ropes, ascended to the battlement, where not a man uttered a sound or observed what was going on. So when they reached the top, the Isaurians shewed the barbarians everything, namely that those who wished to ascend would meet with no obstacle, and that after they had come up they would have complete freedom of action, meeting as they would with not the least resistance; then, after bidding them carry this report to Totila, they sent them away.

Now when Totila heard this report, he was, in a way, pleased at the intelligence, but, notwithstanding this, he felt a suspicion as regards the Isaurians and was not inclined to place very much confidence in them. Not many days later these men came to him again, urging him to undertake the enterprise. Totila thereupon sent two other men with them, with instructions that they too should make a thorough investigation of the whole situation and bring back a report. And these men, upon returning to him, made a report in

all respects like that of those previously sent. But during this time a large force of Roman soldiers, who were out on a reconnoitering expedition, charged upon ten Goths walking along a road not far from the city, and they took them prisoners and straightway brought them before Bessas. And he enquired of these barbarians what Totila's purpose really was; and the Goths said that he was in hopes that some of the Isaurians would deliver the city to him: for the story had already become known to many of the barbarians. But even when Bessas and Conon heard this, they treated the matter with great unconcern and took no heed of the report. And a third time the Isaurians came into the presence of Totila and tried to induce the man to do the deed. So he sent with them a number of men and among them one related to him by blood, and they, upon returning to him, reported the whole situation and encouraged him to proceed.

Totila, then, as soon as night came on, put his whole force under arms in silence and led them up near the Asinarian Gate. And he commanded four men who were conspicuous among the Goths for their bravery and strength to climb up the ropes with the Isaurians to the battlements, during that part of the night, of course, in which the guarding of that portion of the wall fell to the Isaurians while the others were taking their turn at sleeping. And when these men got inside the fortifications, they descended to the Asinarian Gate without meeting any opposition; there they shattered with axes both the wooden beam with which the Romans customarily made the gates fast by fitting it into recesses in the wall on either side, and also all the ironwork into which the guards always inserted their keys to shut the gates or open them according to the need of the moment. Then they swung the gates open, just as they wished to do, and without any trouble received Totila and the Gothic army into the city.

But Totila collected his men there in one place and would not allow them to scatter at all, for he feared that they would fall into some ambush set by the enemy. And tumult and confusion, as was natural, fell upon the city, and the most of the Roman soldiers were fleeing with their commanders through another gate, each one taking whatever course he found easy to follow, while only a few with the rest of the Romans were taking refuge in the sanctuaries. Among the patricians Decius and Basilius, in company with a few others (for horses happened to be at hand for them) succeeded in escaping with Bessas. But Maximus, Olyvrius, Orestes, and some others fled to the church of the Apostle Peter. Among the common people, however, it so fell out that only five hundred men had been left throughout the whole city, and these with difficulty found refuge in the sanctuaries. For all the rest of the population were gone, some having departed to other lands and some having been carried off by the famine, as I have stated above. Now many persons during that night kept reporting to Totila that both Bessas and the enemy were fleeing. But he, saying the report they had given was a pleasing one, would not permit a pursuit. "For what could be sweeter for a man," he said, "than a fleeing

enemy?"

When it was already day and there was now no suspicion left of any ambush, Totila, for his part, went to the church of the Apostle Peter to — pray, but the Goths began to slay — those who fell in their way. And in this manner there perished among the soldiers twenty-six, and among the people sixty. And when Totila had come to the sanctuary, Pelagius came before him carrying the Christian scriptures in his hand, and, making supplication in every manner possible, said "Spare thine own, O Master." And — Totila, — mocking him — with a haughty air of indifference, said "Now at — last, Pelagius, you have come to make yourself a suppliant before me."

"Yes" replied Pelagius, "at a time when God has made me your slave. Nay, spare your slaves, O Master, from now on." And Totila received this supplication with favour and forbade the Goths thereafter to kill any Roman at all, but he permitted them, while setting aside for him the most valuable of the property, to have unrestricted authority to plunder all the rest for themselves.

Now he found much of value in the houses of patricians, but most of all in the house where Bessas had lodged. For that ill-starred wretch had been only collecting for Totila the outrageous sums which, as set forth above, he had charged for the grain. And thus the Romans in general, and particularly the members of the senate, found themselves reduced to such straits that they clothed themselves in the garments of slaves and rustics, and lived by begging bread or any other food from their enemies; a very notable example of this change of fortune being that of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, who had been wife of Boetius, a woman who was always lavishing her wealth upon the needy. Indeed these wretches went about to all the houses and kept knocking at the doors and begging that they give them food, feeling no shame in doing so.

Now the Goths, on their part, were eager to put Rusticiana to death, bringing against her the charge that after bribing the commanders of the Roman army, she had destroyed the statues of Theoderic, her motive in so doing having been to avenge the murder not only of her father Symmachus, but also of her husband Boethius. But Totila would not permit her to suffer any harm, but he guarded both her and all the other women safe from insult, although the Goths were extremely eager to have intercourse with them. Consequently not one of them had the ill fortune to suffer personal insult, whether married, unwed, or widow, and Totila won great renown for moderation from this course.

Ox the day following the capture Totila gathered all the Goths together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is not with the purpose of making to you any new or unknown exhortation that I have brought you together in this place, but in order to say those very things which I have often said to you, and which you for your part have heeded with the result that the greatest of blessings have fallen to your lot. Do not, therefore, on this account regard this present exhortation as of little moment. For when words lead to good fortune, men ought not to feel surfeit of them, even though the speaker seem to wear out his hearers with much speaking; for they cannot reasonably reject the benefit gained from such words. Now what I would say is this: only yesterday, as it were, we assembled a host of two hundred thousand most warlike soldiers, we had at our disposal enormous wealth, and could display a lavish abundance of both horses and arms, we had a numerous company of mature men of the greatest discretion — a circumstance considered most advantageous for those entering upon a war — and yet, with all this in our favour, we were vanquished by five thousand Greeklings, and for no good reason were stripped of our power and everything else that was ours. But now it has been our fortune, though reduced to a small number, destitute of arms and in pitiable plight and without any experience at all, to gain the mastery over an enemy more than twenty thousand strong. Our experience, then, to put it in a word, has been such as I have described. But the causes of this outcome, though you know them full well, I must now state to you. The Goths in earlier times paid less heed to justice than to any other thing, and treated each other and their Roman subjects as well in an unholy manner; wherefore God was then moved to take the field against them on the side of their enemies. And so, although we were far superior to our opponents in number and in valour and in the general equipment for war, we were defeated by a power which was invisible and quite uncomprehended. It will therefore rest with you to guard your blessings — manifestly by continuing to observe justice. For if you change your course, God too will instantly change His favour and become hostile to you. For it is not His wont to fight with a race of men or a particular nation, but with such as shew the greater honour to justice. And for Him it is no labour to transfer his blessings from one people to the other. For whereas only to refrain from wrong-doing inheres in the will of man, God by His very nature has all things in His power. I say, therefore, that you must observe justice strictly both in your dealings with each other and with your subjects; for it would amount to the same thing to tell you to preserve your good fortune for ever."

After Totila had made this speech before the Goths, he likewise called together the members of the Roman senate, and reproached and abused them at length, saying that, although they had received many benefits from both

Theoderic and Atalaric, in that they themselves had always been appointed to the chief offices throughout the kingdom and had thus administered the government, and had, furthermore, amassed vast wealth, still they had acted with such ingratitude toward the Goths, their benefactors, that, regardless of their obligations, they had planned a revolt to their own harm, and brought in the Greeks to attack their fatherland, thus turning traitors to themselves on the impulse of the moment. Then, after enquiring whether they had ever suffered any personal harm at the hands of the Goths, he compelled them to state whether any good thing came to them from the Emperor Justinian, reviewing all that had happened in order: first, they had, he said, been stripped of practically all the offices; second, they had been maltreated by the *logothetes*, as they were called, in that they had been compelled to settle accounts for their treatment of the Goths during their official careers; and, third, although they were in dire straits on account of the war, they were paying the Greeks not a whit less in public taxes than in times of peace. And he included many other things too in his speech, such things as an angry master might be expected to say in upbraiding men who have become his slaves. Then he set before them Herodian and the Isaurians who had handed over the city to him, and said: "You, who have been reared together with the Goths, have not up to the present day seen fit to surrender to us even one empty town, but these men have received us into Rome itself and Spolitium. By this action you have been reduced to the rank of household slaves, while these men, seeing that they have really proved themselves friends and kinsmen of the Goths, will hold your offices hereafter " Now when the patricians heard this, they sat in silence. But Pelagius began to plead with Totila for them as men who had suffered reverse and misfortune, and would not let him go until he made them a promise of kind treatment and thus sent them away.

After this he sent Pelagius and one of the Roman orators, Theodoras by name, as envoys to the Emperor Justinian, having bound them by most solemn oaths that they would remain loyal to him and would make every effort to return to Italy as quickly as possible. And he instructed them to exert themselves to the utmost to secure peace for him from the emperor, in order, as he said, that he, for his part, might not be compelled to raze Rome entirely to the ground, to destroy the members of the senate, and to carry the war into Illyricum. And he also wrote a letter to the Emperor Justinian. Now the emperor had already heard of what had taken place in Italy. But when later on the envoys came before him, they delivered the message which Totila had instructed them to bring and put the letter into his hands.

Now the contents of the letter were as follows: "As to what has transpired in the city of Rome, since I suppose thou hast learned everything, I have decided to remain silent. But as to the purpose for which I have sent these envoys, thou shalt straightway be informed. We demand that thou, for thy part, take to thyself the advantages which flow from peace and also grant them to us. These advantages are recalled and exemplified most admirably in

the lives of Anastasius and Theoderic, who ruled as kings not long ago, and filled their whole reigns with peace and prosperity. And if this same condition should perchance please thee, thou wouldst properly be called my father, and thou wilt also have us hereafter as allies against whomsoever thou mayest wish to use us.” When the Emperor Justinian saw this letter thus brought to him, and heard all the words of the envoys, he dismissed them instantly, giving them only this reply and writing it to Totila, that he had made Belisarius supreme commander in the war, and that he, consequently, had full power to make such settlement with Totila as he wished.

BUT while these envoys were travelling to Byzantium and returning to Italy, the following events took place in Lucania. Tullianus gathered the rustics of that region and set a guard upon the pass (a very narrow one) which gives access to the district, with the purpose of preventing the enemy from entering to devastate the land of Lucania. And three hundred Antae also were helping them to keep guard, men whom John had left there previously, as it happened, at the request of Tullianus; for these barbarians excel all others in their ability to fight on rough ground. When Totila learned this, though he considered it inexpedient to assign Goths to the task, he gathered a multitude of rustics, and sent them with a very few Goths, with orders to try with all their strength to force the pass. When these two forces engaged in battle, a violent struggle ensued, each side striving to force the other back, but the Antae by their valour, and also because the very roughness of the ground was to their advantage, together with the rustics under Tullianus turned their opponents to flight; and a great number of them were slaughtered.

But when Totila learned this, he decided first to raze Rome to the ground, and then, while leaving the most of his army in that neighbourhood, to march with the rest against John and the Lucanians. Accordingly he tore down the fortifications in many places so that about one third of the defences were destroyed. And he was on the point also of burning the finest and most noteworthy of the buildings and making Rome a sheep-pasture, but Belisarius learned of his design and sent envoys with a letter to him. When these envoys came before Totila, they stated why they had come and delivered the letter, which conveyed the following.

“While the creation of beauty in a city which has not been beautiful before could only proceed from men of wisdom who understand the meaning of civilization, the destruction of beauty which already exists would be naturally expected only of men who lack understanding, and who are not ashamed to leave to posterity this token of their character.

Now among all the cities under the sun Rome is agreed to be the greatest and the most noteworthy. For it has not been created by the ability of one man, nor has it attained such greatness and beauty by a power of short duration, but a multitude of monarchs, many companies of the best men, a great lapse of time, and an extraordinary abundance of wealth have availed to bring together in that city all other things that are in the whole world, and skilled workers besides. Thus, little by little, have they built the city, such as you behold it, thereby leaving to future generations memorials of the ability of them all, so that insult to these monuments would properly be considered a great crime against the men of all time; for by such action the men of former generations are robbed of the memorials of their ability, and future generations of the sight of their works. Such, then, being the facts of the case,

be well assured of this, that one of two things must necessarily take place: — either you will be defeated by the emperor in this struggle, or, should it so fall out, you will triumph over him. Now, in the first place, supposing you are victorious, if you should dismantle Rome, you would not have destroyed the possession of some other man, but your own city, excellent Sir, and, on the other hand, if you preserve it, you will naturally enrich yourself by a possession the fairest of all; but if, in the second place, it should perchance fall to your lot to experience the worse fortune, in saving Rome you would be assured of abundant gratitude on the part of the victor, but by destroying the city you will make it certain that no plea for mercy will any longer be left to you, and in addition to this you will have reaped no benefit from the deed. Furthermore, a reputation that corresponds with your conduct will be your portion among all men, and it stands waiting for you according as you decide either way. For the quality of the acts of rulers determines, of necessity, the quality of the repute which they win from their acts.” Such was the letter of Belisarius.

And Totila, after reading it over many times and coming to realize accurately the significance of the advice, was convinced and did Rome no further harm. So he sent a statement of his decision to Belisarius and immediately dismissed the envoys. And he commanded the main body of the army to make camp not far from Rome at the town of Algedon, which is about one hundred and twenty stades distant from the city toward the west, and to remain quietly there, in order that the troops of Belisarius might have no freedom to go anywhere outside Portus; but with the rest of the army he himself marched against John and the Lucanians. As for the Romans, however, he kept the members of the senate with him, while all the others together with their wives and children he sent into Campania, refusing to allow a single soul in Rome, but leaving it entirely deserted.

When John learned that Totila was marching against him, he refused to remain longer in Apulia, but went hastily to Dryus. Now those patricians who were being taken into Campania sent certain of their domestics into Lucania, by direction of Totila, and bade their tenants abandon their present machinations, and till the fields as they were accustomed; for, the message announced, they would have the property of their masters. So they detached themselves from the Roman army, and remained quietly on the land; whereupon Tullianus made off in flight, and the three hundred Antae decided to follow John in his retreat. In this way the whole territory south of the Ionian Gulf, with the exception of Dryus, became once more subject to the Goths and Totila. And the barbarians by this time were filled with confidence and, scattering in small bands, began to overrun the whole country round about. When John learned this, he sent a numerous force of his men against them. And this force, falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, killed a large number. And Totila, as a result of this experience, became cautious and gathered all his troops together in the neighbourhood of Mt. Garganon, which rises near the

centre of Apulia, and encamping in the fortified enclosure of Hannibal the Libyan, he remained quiet.

XXIII

AT this time one of the men who had fled from Rome with Conon while the city was being captured — he was named Martinianus, a Byzantine by birth — came before Belisarius and asked permission to go to the enemy, pretending to be a deserter, and he promised to render the Romans a great service; and since this met with the approval of Belisarius, he went off. Now when Totila saw him, he was exceedingly pleased. For he heard that the youth had won fame in single combats, and he had also seen him many times. And since the man had two children and his wife among the captives, Totila immediately restored to him his wife and one of the children, but the other he continued to guard as a hostage, and sent Martinianus to Spolitium with a few others.

Now it so happened that when the Goths captured Spolitium by the surrender of Herodian, they had indeed razed the whole circuit-wall of the city to the ground, but they had thoroughly walled up the entrances of the structure in front of the city, which served for the keeping of wild animals and has come to be called an amphitheatre, and had established in it a garrison both of Goths and of Roman deserters, for the purpose of guarding the country round about. So when Martinianus had come to Spolitium, he succeeded in winning the friendship of fifteen soldiers, whom he persuaded to return to the Roman army after first accomplishing some great exploit against the barbarians. And he also sent some men to the commander of the garrison in Perusia, bidding him send an army to him at Spolitium with all possible speed, and explaining to him the whole situation. Now the garrison in Perusia was at that time commanded by Odalgan, a Hun, Cyprian having been treacherously removed from the world, as has been stated above, by one of his own bodyguards. And he came himself with an army to Spolitium.

Then, when Martinianus ascertained that this army was close at hand, he in company with the fifteen soldiers suddenly slew the commander of the garrison and, opening the gates, received all the Romans into the fortress. And the most of the enemy they slew, but they made some prisoners and brought them before Belisarius.

Shortly after this Belisarius conceived the idea of going up to Rome and seeing into what condition it had fallen. So he selected a thousand of his soldiers and with them went to the city. But a man of Rome went in haste to the enemy who were in camp at Algedon, and reported the presence of Belisarius' army. So the barbarians occupied the district in front of Rome with several ambuscades, and, when they saw that the force of Belisarius had come close upon them, they rose from their places of ambush and attacked them. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued, in which the Romans by their valour routed their enemy, and, after destroying the most of them, they withdrew immediately to Portus. Such was the course of events at Rome.

There is a city on the coast of Calabria called Tarentum, about two days' journey distant from Dryus, on the road from there to Thurii and Rhegium. Thither John came with a few men, at the invitation of the Tarentines, having established the rest of his command as a garrison in Dryus. And when he saw that this city was exceedingly large and entirely without defences, he thought that he would be utterly unable to defend the whole of it; but he observed that the sea to the north of the city formed a bay on either side of a very narrow strip of land, where the port of Tarentum is situated, and thus the space between the bays naturally forms an isthmus for a distance of not less than twenty stades; so he formed the following plan. He cut off from the rest of the city that portion which lay on the isthmus, and enclosed it by means of a wall extending from one bay to the other and along the wall he dug a deep trench. There he collected not only the Tarentines but also all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and he left them a garrison of considerable size. In this way all the Calabrians were now in a secure position and they consequently purposed to revolt from the Goths. Such was the course of events in this quarter.

Totila, for his part, occupied a very strong fortress in Lucania, situated close to the boundaries of Calabria, called Acherontis by the Romans; and after establishing there a garrison of not less than four hundred men, he himself with the rest of his army marched against Ravenna, leaving in Campania some of the barbarians, who were charged with the guarding of Roman prisoners, the members of the senate being in that place.

AT that time Belisarius conceived a daring and far-seeing plan, which in the beginning indeed appeared insane to those who first saw and heard of his actions. but its outcome proved to be a splendid achievement of marvellous importance. For he sallied forth, leaving behind only a few of his soldiers to keep guard in Portus, and went himself with the rest of his army to Rome, with the intention of trying with all his strength to establish himself in possession of the city. And since he was unable in a short time to rebuild all the portions of the wall which Totila had torn down, he did as follows. Gathering stones which lay close by, he threw them one on top of the other, regardless of order, without putting anything at all between the stones, since he had neither lime nor anything else of the sort, but caring only that the face of the masonry should be preserved, and he set a great quantity of stakes on the outside. Now he had previously, as it happened, dug deep trenches around the entire circuit-wall, as stated in the previous narrative. And since the whole army carried out this work with unbounded enthusiasm, in twenty-five days such parts of the fortifications as had been torn down had been finished in this manner. And all the Romans who lived in the neighbourhood gathered in the city, both because of their desire to make their homes in Rome, and also because they had for a time been scantily supplied with provisions and they found abundance there; for Belisarius had been able to bring this about by loading a great number of boats with all manner of provisions and bringing them up to Rome by the river.

When Totila heard this, he immediately set his whole army in motion and marched against Belisarius and Rome, before Belisarius had as yet been able to fit the gates to the wall. For it so happened that Totila had destroyed them all, and Belisarius had not up to that time succeeded in having gates built because of the lack of artisans. And when the barbarian army came near the city, they made camp for the moment and bivouacked on the bank of the Tiber, but on the following day at sunrise they advanced, filled with great fury and shouting as they came, to a position before the walls. But Belisarius had selected the most warlike of his soldiers and stationed them in the open gateways, commanding the rest to stand above and ward off the assailants from the wall with all their force. So a fierce battle ensued; for the barbarians, on their part, at first entertained the hope that they would capture the city at the first shout, but since the attempt proved difficult, and the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance, they gave way to rage and began to press upon the foe, their fury inspiring them to daring beyond their strength. The Romans, meanwhile, resisted with unexpected determination, the danger naturally arousing them to bravery. Consequently a great slaughter of the barbarians took place, since they were being shot at from a high position, and both armies were becoming very weary and distressed; and the battle, which had

begun in the morning, ended at night. Thereupon the barbarians repaired to their camps and passed the night there, caring for their wounded; as for the Romans, some were keeping guard on the wall, while others, who were the men most conspicuous of all for their bravery, were guarding the open gateways in relays, having placed *triboli* in great numbers in front of them, so that the enemy might not make a surprise attack upon them.

Now these *triboli* are of the following sort. Four spikes of equal length are fastened together at their butts in such a manner that their points form the outline of a triangle on every side. These they throw at random upon the ground, and because of their form three of the spikes all plant themselves very firmly upon the ground, while the remaining one stands up alone and always proves an obstacle for both men and horses. And as often as anybody rolls over one of these *triboli*, the spike which hitherto has chanced to stand up straight in the air becomes planted on the ground, but another one takes its place above, as an obstacle to those who wish to advance to the attack. Such are the *triboli*. So both sides bivouacked thus after the battle.

On the following day Totila decided to storm the wall again with his whole army, and the Romans proceeded to ward them off in the manner described; and gaining the upper hand in the engagement, they plucked up courage to make a sally against their enemy. And as the barbarians retreated, some of the Romans, in pursuing them, went to a considerable distance from the fortifications. These the barbarians were on the point of surrounding, so that they might be unable to return to the city. But Belisarius, noting what was taking place, sent a large number of his men to that point and thus succeeded in rescuing the force. After being repulsed in this way the barbarians withdrew, having lost many of their able fighting men, and bringing with them a great number of wounded to their camp. There they remained quiet, caring for their wounds and attending to their arms, many of which had now been destroyed, and putting everything else in readiness.

Many days later they again advanced against the wall with the purpose of storming it. But the Romans came out to meet them and joined battle. And by some chance the man who was bearing the standard of Totila received a mortal wound and not only fell from his horse himself, but also threw the standard to the ground. Whereupon those of the Romans who were fighting at the front made a rush with the intention of seizing the standard and the corpse. But the most courageous of the barbarians got there first, seized the standard, and also cut off the left hand of the corpse and took it with them. For the fallen man was wearing upon this hand a notable bracelet of gold, over which they were quite unwilling that their opponents should exult, and they sought thus to avoid the disgrace which its loss would involve. Then the barbarian army was turned to retreat in complete disorder, while the Romans despoiled what was left of the corpse, and in pursuing the enemy to a great distance killed many of them, and then returned to the city without the slightest loss.

Then all the notable Goths came to Totila and inveighed against him and

reproached him mercilessly for his lack of wisdom; after capturing Rome, they said, he had neither levelled the whole city to the ground so that it might be no longer possible for the enemy to take possession of it, nor had himself held it, but that which they had accomplished by a great expenditure of both labour and time, this he himself had undone in an altogether unreasonable manner. Thus it is by nature inbred in men to accommodate their judgment in every case to the outcome of events and to allow their mind to be dominated by the current of fortune, and to make their changes of opinion instantly as a result of this. It was indeed for this reason that while Totila was succeeding in his undertakings, the Goths had revered him equally with God, calling him an unvanquished and invincible leader, at the time when he allowed them to destroy only a portion of the defences of captured cities, but when he met with the reverse above mentioned, they did not feel it improper to inveigh against him, unmindful of what they had recently said about him, and going contrary to these declarations without the least hesitation. But these errors of judgment and others like them must inevitably be constantly committed by men, since they are due to human nature.

So Totila and his barbarians broke up the siege and went to the city of Tibur, having torn down practically all the bridges over the Tiber, that it might not be easy for the Romans to make an attack upon them. One bridge, however, which bears the name of Mulvius, they were quite unable to destroy, since it was very close to the city. And they decided to rebuild the fortress in Tibur with all their might; for they had dismantled it previously; and they deposited there all their possessions and remained quiet. As for Belisarius, having now less cause for fear, he fitted gates to the circuit-wall of Rome on every side, bound them with iron, and once more sent the keys to the emperor. And the winter drew to a close, and the twelfth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [547 A.D.]

LONG before this Totila had, as it happened, sent an army against Perusia, and they had encamped about the circuit-wall of the city and were maintaining a close siege of the Romans there. And since they perceived that the city was scantily supplied with provisions, they sent to Totila and begged him to come there with his whole army, thinking that they would thus capture Perusia and the Romans in it with less difficulty and labour.

Now Totila saw that the barbarians were not very eager to carry out his orders, and so he desired to deliver an exhortation to them. With this in view, he called them all together and spoke as follows.

"I have observed, fellow-soldiers, that you are cherishing toward me an unjustified anger, and at the same time that you bitterly resent that adversity of fortune which has befallen us; for this reason I have decided to bring you together on the present occasion, in order that I may be able to remove from your minds an impression which is absolutely wrong and bring you back to a better judgment, and also that you may appear neither to shew me an ingratitude which ill befits you, nor to be led by base motives to assume a thankless attitude toward the Deity. For it is of the very nature of human affairs that failure must come at times, and when any man, forgetting that he is human, shews himself rebellious against that which befalls him, he will himself naturally acquire a reputation for stupidity, and yet in no wise escape the necessity which fate has laid upon him. Now I wish to remind you of previous events, not so much in order to absolve myself from the blame for what has happened, as to demonstrate that this may with more justice be laid upon yourselves. For when Vittigis was entering upon this war at the very beginning, he did indeed tear down the walls of the coast towns Fanum and Pisanum, but Rome and the other cities of Italy without exception he exempted, not damaging them in the least. Consequently, while no trouble has come to the Goths from Fanum and Pisaurum, it was because of the circuit-walls of Rome and the other fortified places that trouble came to the Gauls and Vittigis after the manner that is well-known to you.

"Accordingly, when I accepted the royal power offered by you, I formed the reasonable purpose of emulating those deeds which had come to be regarded as better for us rather than to damage our cause by doing those things which had harmed us. For while men do not seem to differ greatly one from the other as far as nature is concerned, still some have had the advantage of experience, which, like a teacher, makes him who has learned her lesson superior in every respect to those who have not received such instruction. Accordingly, when we captured Beneventum, we razed its walls and straightway captured the other towns, whose circuit-walls we decided to raze in the same way, in order that the enemy's army might not be able, by having any strong base, to carry on the war by stratagem, but should at once be

compelled to come down to the plain and engage with us there. So while the enemy, for their part, were in flight, I was giving orders to raze such of the cities as were captured. And you, marvelling at my good judgment, aided and abetted this decision, and so, it would seem, made my actions your own. For he who praises the man who has done a deed becomes himself the agent of the deed no less than the other. But now you have reversed your position, my dearest Goths, simply because it has come about that Belisarius, by adopting a course of unreasonable daring, has unexpectedly attained the object for which he strove, and in consequence of this you have come to be astounded at the man as a marvel of courage. For men of daring are called courageous more readily than men of foresight are called safe. And the reason is that, while he who displays daring beyond the established bounds of conduct is honoured with the name and fame of a strenuous man, he who refrains from danger with careful judgment and meets with ill success draws upon him the responsibility for what happens, and even if he achieves the success he planned, he still seems, to foolish men at any rate, to have accomplished nothing by himself.

“And apart from this, you do not consider that you are angry with me for the things which, in reality, cause you resentment just now. Or do you really believe that Belisarius has won a glorious success against you — you who, though reduced to the condition of prisoners of war and runaway slaves, took up arms under me as your general and have proved yourselves able many a time to overcome him in battle? And yet if it was through my merit that you succeeded in accomplishing such things, out of respect for that merit you ought to be silent, remembering in the hour of men’s reverses that nothing can remain fixed; and if, on the other hand, it was some fortune which bestowed that victory upon you, it will profit you more to shew reverence toward her rather than vexation, so that you may not be compelled through failure to learn the true meaning of her favour. Indeed, how could it fail to appear inconsistent with a well-tempered spirit that men who have achieved for themselves many great successes not long ago and have now met with a slight reverse should allow their pride to be thus humbled? For such an attitude means purely and simply this, that you obstinately refuse to acknowledge that you are human. For never to make mistakes could be predicated only of God. Consequently I say that you must abandon this attitude and with all enthusiasm grapple with the enemy in Perusia. For if you prove able to capture them, Fortune will again smile upon you. For while that which has happened could never be undone by all eternity, still when fresh successes fall to the lot of those who have met with reverse, it comes about that the memory of evil days is made lighter.

“And you will achieve the mastery of Perusia without any trouble. For Cyprian, who was commander of the Romans there, has been put out of the way by fortune, coupled with our planning, and an ungoverned multitude, particularly when scantily supplied with the necessities of life, is quite incapable of offering a brave resistance. Nor indeed will anyone harm us from

the rear; for not only have I seen fit to destroy the bridges over the river, with this purpose, that we might suffer no loss from unexpected assaults, but it is also true that Belisarius and John are regarding each other with suspicion, a fact which can be seen from previous events. For the conflict of men's judgments, one with the other, is clearly detected by their actions. This indeed is the reason why they have not even been able to join forces with each other up to this time. For their mutual suspicion disconcerts each of them; and those who admit this feeling are bound to harbour envy and hostility besides. And when these passions assault men, no needful thing can be done." After this speech Totila led forth his army against Perusia, and, upon their arrival at that city, they made camp hard by the circuit-wall and established themselves for a siege.

WHILE these events were taking place in the manner described, John was meanwhile besieging the fortress of Acherontis; and since he was not making any progress, he conceived a daring plan, which not only effected the rescue of the Roman senate, but also caused him to win for himself an extraordinarily great renown among all men. For upon hearing that Totila and the Gothic army were engaged in assaulting the fortifications of Rome, he chose out the most illustrious of his horsemen, and, without announcing his plan to anyone at all, he rode with them into Campania (for Totila had, as it happened, left the members of the senate there), resting neither day nor night, in order that by making an unexpected attack he might be able to seize and rescue the senators, seeing that the towns there were entirely without defences.

Now it so happened that Totila at that very time began to be alarmed lest some of the enemy should, as in fact they did, come with the intention of striking a blow to rescue the prisoners, and he had accordingly sent an army of cavalry to Campania. Now when this force reached the city of Minturnae, it was decided that the better course for them was for the main body to remain quietly there and care for their horses (for they had become greatly fatigued on this journey), while they sent a few scouts to investigate the situation at Capua and the adjoining towns. Now the distance between the two places is not more than three hundred stades. They accordingly sent forward as scouts four hundred men whose horses were unwearied and whose strength was still unimpaired. And it so fell out by some chance that on that very day at the same time both John and his army and these same four hundred barbarians reached Capua, neither having heard anything previously of their opponents. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued on the spur of the moment; for no sooner did they see each other than they began fighting; but the Romans won a decisive victory and killed most of the enemy immediately. Only a few of the barbarians were able to escape, and these reached Minturnae in rapid flight. But when the others saw these men, some dripping with blood, some still actually carrying the missiles in their bodies, and others refusing to speak a word or give any account of what had happened, but still persisting in their retreat and openly displaying the terror which was in them, they leaped upon their horses immediately and joined in the flight. And when they came before Totila, they reported that there was an innumerable host of the enemy, seeking in this way to remove the shame of their flight.

Now it so happened that not less than seventy Roman soldiers of those who had previously deserted to the Goths were on their way into the towns of Campania, and these men decided to go over to John. And John found there only a few of the members of the senate, but practically all their wives. For during the capture of Rome many of the men followed the soldiers in flight and reached Portus, but the women were all captured. Clementinus, however,

a patrician, took refuge in one of the sanctuaries there and refused absolutely to follow the Roman army, for he had previously handed over to Totila and the Goths a stronghold which is close to Naples, and in all probability dreaded the wrath of the emperor for this reason. On the other hand, Orestes, who had been consul of the Romans, though he chanced to be near at hand, was obliged to remain, altogether against his will, owing to a scarcity of horses. John then immediately sent to Sicily the members of the senate together with the seventy soldiers who had come over to him.

Totila, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and eagerly sought an opportunity to inflict vengeance upon John for the deed. With this in view, he marched against him with the main body of his army, leaving a small part of his troops behind in order to keep guard. Now it so happened that John and his men, a thousand in number, had made camp in Lucania, having previously sent out scouts who were watching all the roads closely and keeping guard that no hostile army should approach to do them harm. But Totila had in mind that such would be the case, believing it impossible that John's force should settle in their camp without sending out scouts, and so he abandoned the customary roads and marched against them through the mountains, many of which in that region are precipitous and rise to a very great height — a feat which no one would have been able to suspect, for these mountains are considered in fact impassable. Meanwhile, the men thus sent out as scouts by John did indeed observe that a hostile army had got into that region, but they secured no definite information about it; however they feared what actually did take place, and so they too marched toward the Roman camp. And it so turned out that they arrived there at night together with the barbarians. But Totila, being now overmastered by violent passion and not weighing the consequences with careful judgment, reaped the fruits of his fatuous fury. For though he had under him an army ten times as large as that of his opponents, and though it was plain to be seen that for a stronger army it was of course advantageous to fight the decisive battle in broad daylight, and he should rather have engaged with his enemy at dawn in order that they might not be able to escape in the darkness, still he did not observe this precaution at all; for, in fact, he could have stretched a cordon about his opponents and immediately captured every man of them as in a net; but instead he gave way to his anger and fell upon the hostile army at an advanced hour of the night. And although not one of them thought of offering the least resistance, since the most were in fact still sleeping, none the less the Goths did not find themselves able to slay many, but they got up, and the majority, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in slipping away. And once outside the camp they ran up into the mountains, many of which rise close by, and thus were saved. Among these was John himself and Arufus, the leader of the Eruli. Of the Romans about a hundred perished.

Now there had been with John a certain Gilacius of the Armenian race, commander of a small force of Armenians. This Gilacius did not know how to

speak either Greek or Latin or Gothic or any other language except Armenian alone. When some of the Goths happened upon this man, they enquired who he might be. For they were quite averse to killing every man who came in their way, lest they be compelled to destroy each other in fighting at night, as might easily happen. But he was able to make them no answer except indeed that he was Gilacius, a general; for his title which he had received from the emperor he had heard many times and so had been able to learn it by heart. The barbarians, accordingly, perceiving by this that he was an enemy, made him a prisoner for the moment, but not long afterwards put the man to death. So John and Arufus fled with their followers as fast as they could go and made for Dryus, which they reached on the run, and the Goths plundered the Roman camp and then retired.

XXVII

THUS were the armies in Italy engaged. And the Emperor Justinian decided to send another army against the Goths and Totila, being led to do so by the dispatches of Belisarius, who kept urging him to take this action, having indicated many times the situation in which the Romans found themselves. Accordingly, he first sent Pacurius, the son of Peranius, and Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, with a few men. And they arrived in Italy and immediately united with the rest of the army. Later on he sent Verus with three hundred Eruli, and Varazes, an Armenian by birth, with eight hundred Armenians, and he recalled from his post Valerian, the General of Armenia, and ordered him to go to Italy with his attendant spearmen and guards, who numbered more than a thousand. Now Verus was the first to put in at Dryus, and he left his ships there, being quite unwilling to remain in that place, where John's army was, and went forward on horseback with his command. For this man was not of a serious temper, but was utterly addicted to the disease of drunkenness, and consequently he was always possessed by a spirit of reckless daring. And when they had come close to the city of Brundisium, they made camp and remained there.

And when Totila learned this, he said "Verus has one of two things, either a powerful army or a very silly head. Let us then proceed against him instantly, that either we may make trial of the man's army, or that he may realize his own silliness." So Totila with these words marched against him with a numerous army; and the Eruli, spying the enemy already at hand, took refuge in a wood which was close by. And the enemy surrounded them and killed more than two hundred, and were about to lay hands on Verus himself and the rest of the force who were hiding among the thorn-bushes, but fortune came to their aid and saved them unexpectedly. For the ships in which Varazes and the Armenians under him were sailing suddenly put in at the shore there. Now when Totila saw this, supposing the hostile army to be more numerous than it really was, he immediately set out and marched away from there, while Verus and his men were glad to reach their ships on the run. And Varazes decided to sail no farther, but proceeded with them to Tarentum, whither John the nephew of Vitalian also not long afterwards came with his whole army. Such was the course of these events.

Now the emperor wrote to Belisarius that he had sent him a numerous army with which he should unite in Calabria and so engage with the enemy. And in fact Valerian had already come down close to the Ionian Gulf, but he thought that, for the present at any rate, it was inexpedient for him to ferry across. For at that season of the year, he reasoned, provisions would not be sufficient for men and horses, since it was near the winter solstice. But he did send three hundred of his men to John with the promise that after spending the winter there he would also come himself at the beginning of spring.

Belisarius, accordingly, upon reading the emperor's letter, selected nine hundred men distinguished for valour, seven hundred horse-men and two hundred foot-soldiers, and leaving all the rest to guard that district, and appointing Conon commander over them, he immediately set sail for Sicily. And from there he again put out to sea purposing to sail to the harbour of Tarentum; and as he sailed by he had on his left the place called Scylaeum, at which the poets say that Scylla once lived, not because there really existed there the woman in the form of a beast, as they say, but rather because a certain fish, formerly called "scylax" and now "cyniscus" has been found in great abundance in this part of the strait from ancient times even down to my day. For names in the beginning are always appropriate to the things they describe, but rumour, carrying these names to other peoples, engenders there certain false opinions through ignorance of the facts. And as time goes on with this process, it immediately becomes a powerful builder, as it were, of the story, and allies itself with the poets, presumably because of the licence of their art, as witnesses of things that never happened. Thus, for example, the natives of the island of Cercyra have from ancient times called one headland of the island "Dog's Head" — the one toward the east — but others because of this name will have it that the people there are a kind of dog-headed folk. Indeed they even call some of the Pisidians "Wolf-Skulls," not because they have the heads of wolves, but because the mountain which rises there has received the name "Wolf-Helmet." Now as for these matters, let each one both think and speak as he wishes. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

XXVIII

So Belisarius was making haste to go straight to Tarentum. Now the shore there has approximately the form of a crescent, where the coast recedes and the sea advances in a gulf, as it were, far up into the land. But the distance, as one sails along this whole coast, extends to one thousand stades, and on either side of the opening of the gulf stand two cities, the one toward the west being Croton, and the one to the east Tarentum. And at the middle of this shore is the city of Thurii. But Belisarius was hindered by a storm and forced from his course by a violent wind and a high sea which would not permit his ships to make any progress at all; he therefore put in at the harbour of Croton.

And since he neither found any fortress there nor any place from which provisions could be brought in for the soldiers, Belisarius himself together with his wife remained there with the infantry, in order that from there he might be able to summon and organize John's army; but he ordered all the horsemen to go ahead and make camp at the passes leading into the country, placing in command of them Phazas the Iberian and the guardsman Barbation. For in this way he thought that they could secure all necessary supplies for their horses and themselves very easily, and would probably, too, be able in a narrow pass to repulse the enemy. For the mountains of Lucania extend as far as Bruttium, and standing as they do close to one another, they form there only two passes, which are exceedingly narrow, one of which has received the name "Rock of Blood" in the Latin tongue, while the natives are accustomed to call the other Lavula. Not far from these passes on the coast is Rusciane, the naval harbour of Thurii, while above it at a distance of about sixty stades is a very strong fortress built by the ancient Romans. This fortress had been occupied by John much earlier and he had established a considerable garrison in it.

Now the soldiers of Belisarius, upon reaching this district, chanced upon a hostile army, which Totila had sent for the purpose of making an attempt on the fortress there. And they engaged with them immediately and by their valour routed them without any difficulty, although they were far outnumbered, and they slew more than two hundred. Those who were left took to flight and when they came before Totila, reported everything that had befallen them. As for the Romans, they made camp and remained there, but since they were without proper commanders and had won a victory, they began to conduct themselves in a rather careless manner. For they neither stayed quietly gathered in one place, nor did they take up positions near the pass and guard the approaches, but, becoming negligent, they were sleeping at night in encampments very far removed from one another, and during the day they would go about searching for provisions, neither sending any men out as scouts nor taking any other measures for security.

Totila, consequently, upon learning everything, selected three thousand

horsemen from his whole army and went against the enemy. And falling upon them unexpectedly, not drawn up in battle formation but going about in the manner described, he threw them all into consternation and complete disorder. At this moment Phazas, who happened to be camping near by, encountered the enemy and made a display of valorous deeds, and he did, indeed, thus make himself the cause of the escape of a few men, but he himself perished together with all his men. This misfortune fell heavily upon the Romans, because they all pinned their hope on this detachment as an unusually efficient fighting force. Now as many as succeeded in fleeing saved themselves in such manner as each found possible. And Barbation, the guardsman of Belisarius, fled with two others as hard as he could, and was the first to reach Croton. There he reported how matters stood at the moment, and added that he thought the barbarians too would be at hand right speedily. And Belisarius, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and rushed on board the ships. So they set sail from there, and since a wind was blowing, they succeeded that day in reaching Messana in Sicily, which is seven hundred stades from Croton, being situated opposite to Rhegium.

AT about this time an army of Sclaveni crossed the river Ister and spread desolation throughout the whole of Illyricum as far as Epidamnus, killing or enslaving all who came in their way, young and old alike, and plundering their property. And they had already succeeded in capturing numerous strongholds of that region, which were then quite undefended, but which previously had been reputed to be strong-places, and they continued to roam about searching out everything at their own pleasure. And the commanders of the Illyrians kept following them with an army of fifteen thousand men, without, however, having the courage to get close to the enemy.

At that time also, earthquakes of extraordinary severity occurred many times during the winter season, both in Byzantium and in other places, always at night. And the inhabitants of these cities, supposing that they would be overwhelmed, fell into great fear, yet no harm befell them as a result of the earthquakes.

Then it was, too, that the river Nile rose above eighteen cubits and flooded all Egypt with water; and yet in the region of Thebes, which is higher upstream, the waters settled and receded at the appointed time and gave opportunity to the inhabitants of that district both to sow the land and to attend to their other tasks just as they were accustomed to do. But as for the country below, after the water had first covered the surface, it did not recede, but remained in the way throughout the time of sowing, a thing which had never happened before in all time; and there were places where the water, even after receding, flowed in again not long afterwards. Thus it came about that all the seeds, such as had been put into the ground in the interval, rotted. And by this strange occurrence the people were reduced to dire straits, while most of the animals died through lack of sustenance.

It was at that time also that the whale, which the Byzantines called Porphyrius, was caught. This whale had been annoying Byzantium and the towns about it for fifty years, not continuously, however, but disappearing sometimes for a rather long interval. And it sank many boats and terrified the passengers of many others, driving them from their course and carrying them off to great distances. It had consequently become a matter of concern to the Emperor Justinian to capture this creature, but he was unable by any device to accomplish his purpose. But I shall explain how it came to be captured in the present instance. It happened that while a deep calm prevailed over the sea, a very large number of dolphins gathered close to the mouth of the Euxine Sea. And suddenly they saw the whale and fled wherever each one could, but the most of them came in near the mouth of the Sangarius. Meanwhile the whale succeeded in capturing some of them, which he swallowed forthwith. And then, either still impelled by hunger or by a contentious spirit, it continued the pursuit no less than before, until, without noticing it, it had itself come very

close to the land. There it ran upon some very deep mud, and, though it struggled and exerted itself to the utmost to get out of it as quickly as possible, it still was utterly unable to escape from this shoal, but sank still deeper in the mud. Now when this was reported among all the people who dwelt round about, they straightway rushed upon the whale, and though they hacked at it most persistently with axes on all sides, even so they did not kill it, but they dragged it up with some heavy ropes. And they placed it on waggons and found its length to be about thirty cubits, and its breadth ten. Then, after forming several groups and dividing it accordingly, some ate the flesh immediately, while others decided to cure the portion which fell to them.

Now the Byzantines, observing the earthquakes and learning the circumstances of the Nile's rise and the capture of this whale, began straightway to prophesy that such and such things would take place, according to the taste of each. For men are wont, when present events baffle them, to utter awesome prophecies of the future, and, distracted by occurrences which trouble them, to infer, with no good reason, what the future will bring forth. But as for me, I shall leave to others prophecies and explanations of marvels; still, I know well that the lingering of the Nile on the fields did prove a cause of great calamities at that time at any rate, while the disappearance of the whale, on the other hand, unquestionably provided an escape from many troubles. However, some say that it was not the same whale that I mentioned, but another one that was captured. But I shall return to the point where I made the digression from my narrative.

Totila, after accomplishing what has been recounted, learning that the Romans in the fortress near Rusciane were beginning to feel the want of provisions, thought that he would capture them very quickly if they should be unable to bring in any supplies, and so he made camp close to the town and settled down for a siege. And the winter drew to a close and the thirteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.[548 A.D.]

THE Emperor Justinian now sent not less than two thousand infantry by sea to Sicily and ordered Valerian to join Belisarius without any delay. He accordingly crossed the sea and put in at Dryus where he found Belisarius together with his wife. At about this time Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, set off for Byzantium, intending to beg the empress to make larger provision for carrying on the war. But the Empress Theodora had fallen sick and passed from the world, having lived as queen twenty-one years and three months. [June 28, 548 A.D.]

Meanwhile the Romans who were being held under siege in the fortress near Rusciane, hard pressed, as they were, by the lack of necessary supplies, opened negotiations with the enemy and agreed that precisely at the middle of the summer season they would hand over the fortress, unless some relief came to them in the interval, on condition, however, that they should all remain free from harm. Now there were in this fortress many notables of the Italians, among whom was Deopheron the brother of Tullianus, while the Roman army was represented by three hundred Illyrian horsemen whom John had stationed in that place, appointing as commanders over them Chalazar the guardsman, a Massagete by birth and an especially able warrior, and Gudilas the Thracian; and there were also a hundred infantry sent by Belisarius to guard the fortress.

At that time also the soldiers who had been detailed by Belisarius for the garrison of Rome killed their commander Conon, bringing against him the charge of trafficking in grain and the other provisions to their detriment. And they sent some of the priests as envoys, firmly declaring that if the emperor did not exonerate them from guilt for this deed and remit to them within a specified time the back payment which the state owed them, they would without the slightest hesitation go over to Totila and the Goths. And the emperor fulfilled their request.

Belisarius now summoned John to Dryus and, together with him and Valerian and other commanders, he gathered a great fleet and sailed straight for Rusciane with all speed, being intent upon bringing relief to the besieged. And those in the fortress, seeing this fleet from their elevated position, revived their hopes and now decided not to yield to the enemy, although the day upon which they had agreed was already close at hand. First then a terrific storm came on, and for this reason and also because the coast there is altogether without harbours, the ships came to be scattered far apart from one another; thus it came about that considerable time was wasted. And when they had been collected in the harbour of Croton, they put out a second time for Rusciane. But when the barbarians saw them, they leaped upon their horses and came down to the beach, intending to prevent the disembarkation of their enemy. And Totila placed them for a great distance along the shore face to face with the prows of the ship, some with spears and some with bows ready

strung. This array struck terror to the hearts of the Romans when they saw it and they had not the courage to come close, but they first stopped their ships at a great distance and remained quiet for some time, and then, giving up the landing in despair, they all backed off and put to sea and sailed once more into the harbour of Croton.

There, after taking council together, they decided that it was better that Belisarius should proceed to Rome and there set matters in order as well as possible and bring in provisions, while John and Valerian should first disembark the men and horses on the shore and then march overland into Picenum, in order to throw into confusion those of the barbarians who were besieging the strongholds in that region. For they entertained the hope that Totila would be led by such moves to abandon the siege and follow them. Accordingly, John, for his part, accompanied by his troops, a thousand in number, carried out this plan; but Valerian, fearing the danger, went around through the Ionian Gulf with the ships and sailed straight for Ancon. For he thought that he could in this way reach Picenum with safety and unite with John. But even so Totila was unwilling to abandon the siege, but, while he himself remained settled there, he selected two thousand horsemen from the army and sent them into Picenum, in order to unite with the barbarians there and throw back the forces of John and Valerian.

The Romans who were besieged in the fortress at Rusciante, seeing that their provisions had now completely failed them and that they had no further hope of assistance from the Romans, sent Gudilas the guardsman and Deopheron the Italian to Totila and opened negotiations concerning their safety, begging him to pardon them for their deeds. And Totila promised that he would inflict punishment upon no one except Chalazar, seeing that he had disregarded the previous agreement, but he would remit the charge against all the others. On such terms he in person took over the fortress. And he cut off both the hands of Chalazar and his private parts and then killed him immediately; as for the soldiers, he ordered those who wished to do so to remain, keeping their own possessions, on condition that they array themselves thereafter with the Goths on terms of complete equality; indeed this was the same procedure which he had regularly followed when the other strongholds were captured; those, on the other hand, who were not at all satisfied to remain, he commanded to depart from there and go without equipment wherever they pleased, in order that no man in the world might march unwillingly under his standard. Thus, while eighty of the Roman army abandoned their possessions and came to Croton, the rest remained where they were with their possessions. The Italians, however, he deprived of all their property, though he left their persons entirely unharmed.

When Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, reached Byzantium after the decease of the empress, she begged the emperor to summon her husband thither. This she accomplished very readily. For the Persian war was now pressing the Emperor Justinian to the utmost, and influenced him to this

decision.

AT this time certain men formed a plot to assail the Emperor Justinian. And I shall now set forth how these men came to undertake this plot and the manner in which they were frustrated and never came to the accomplishment of their purpose. Artabanes, after slaying the tyrant Gontharis, as told in the preceding narrative, conceived an immoderate desire to take to wife the emperor's niece Preiecta, who was betrothed to him. Now she, too, desired this very ardently, not that she was led to this by love for the man, but because she acknowledged a heavy-debt of gratitude to him, seeing that he had not only avenged the murder of her husband Areobindus, but had also rescued and snatched her from peril when she was a captive and destined after no long time to become the unwilling consort of the tyrant Gontharis. Since, then, both wanted this, Artabanes sent Preiecta to the emperor, while he himself, though appointed to the post of General of all Libya, invented sundry untruthful pretexts to induce the emperor to summon him to Byzantium. For he was led on to do this by the hope of this marriage, which suggested to him many blessings that would flow from the union and, in particular, that he would thereafter not be far from the throne. For when men lay hold upon prosperity unexpectedly, their minds cannot remain stable, but in their hopes they ever keep going forward, until they are deprived even of the felicity that has been undeservedly theirs.

However, the emperor fulfilled his request and summoned Artabanes to Byzantium, while he appointed in his place another General of Libya, as has been related above. Now when Artabanes reached Byzantium, the common people admired him for his achievements and loved him for his other qualities. For he was both tall of stature and handsome, of a noble character and little given to speech. And the emperor had honoured him in a very unusual manner. For he had appointed him general of the troops in Byzantium and commander of the foederati, as well as clothing him with the dignity of consul. But as for Preiecta, Artabanes was quite unable to marry her. For he had already a wife who was a relative of his and had been married to him from childhood. This wife he had, for his part, repudiated long before, doubtless because one of those causes had developed such as lead to the estrangement of man and wife. She, for her part, as long as the affairs of Artabanes were not prosperous, had remained at home without causing any trouble, bearing her lot in silence. But when Artabanes had now become illustrious by his deeds and great by his good fortune, the woman could no longer bear her dishonour and came to Byzantium. There, making herself a suppliant of the empress, she demanded the right to take back her husband. Whereupon the empress, whose nature always led her to assist unfortunate women, decided to force Artabanes to accept her as his wife, although he rebelled violently, while John the son of Pompeius and nephew of Hypatius

made Preiecta his wedded wife. This calamity Artabanus did not bear lightly, but he became furious and said that one who had served the Romans so well... was now refused permission to lead in marriage the woman to whom he was betrothed and who shared with him a common desire to consummate the marriage, but he was, on the contrary, compelled for ever to share the couch of the one woman in the world most hateful to him — a situation which is bound inevitably to harass a man's soul. Consequently, a little later, as soon as the empress had passed from the world, he, without further ado, promptly and joyfully sent this wife away.

Now it happened that Germanus, who was nephew to the emperor, had a brother named Boraides. This Boraides, then, brother of Germanus, had recently died, leaving the most of his property to his brother and nephews. And though he had a wife and one daughter, he directed that the daughter should have only as much as the law required. Because of this, the emperor chose to champion the daughter's cause, an act which irritated Germanus exceedingly.

SUCH then were the relations of the emperor to Artabanes and to Germanus. There was also a certain Arsaces in Byzantium, an Armenian by birth and one of the Arsacidae, related to Artabanes by blood. This man had been detected not long before this in an attempt to harm the state, and he had been clearly convicted of treason, since he was negotiating with Chosroes, the Persian king, to stir up trouble for the Romans. But the emperor did him no further harm than to beat his back with not many blows and parade him through the city mounted on a camel; however, he did him no injury in either his person or his property, nor did he even penalize him by exile. But Arsaces was nevertheless incensed at what had taken place, and began to devise treacherous plans against both Justinian and the state. And when he saw that Artabanes, as his kinsman, was sharing his vexation, he began to stir him up still more, and, gaining the man's attention by crafty speeches, he ceased not day nor night to upbraid him, rebuking him for having been both courageous and faint-hearted out of season. For he had, on the one hand, given proof of his nobility of spirit in his attitude toward the misfortunes of others, in that he had put an end to the tyranny; indeed, though Gontharis was his friend and his host, he had laid hold of him with his own hand and slain him under no compulsion whatever. But at the present juncture, he said, he was utterly cowed, and he continued to sit there without a spark of manhood, though his fatherland was kept under strictest guard and exhausted by unwonted taxes, his father had been slain on the pretext of a treaty and covenant, and his whole family had been enslaved and was kept scattered to every corner of the Roman empire. But in spite of these facts Artabanes thought it sufficient for him to be a general of the Romans and merely bear the name of consul. "And you," he said, "do not share my sorrow in the least, though I am your kinsman and have suffered outrageous treatment, while I, for my part, pity you, my dear fellow, for the fortune you have suffered in the case of both those women, not only the one you have been cheated of wrongfully but also the other with whom you have been compelled to live. And yet it ill becomes anyone who has even a little spirit in him to refuse to undertake the murder of Justinian, nor should he hesitate nor entertain any fear, — a man who always sits unguarded in some lobby to a late hour of the night, eagerly unrolling the Christian scriptures in company with priests who are at the extremity of old age. Furthermore," he continued, "not one of the kinsmen of Justinian will oppose you. Indeed the most powerful of them all, Germanus, will, I believe, assist you with all his heart and his sons as well, seeing that they are young men and consequently boiling with fury against him; and I am in hopes that these men will actually carry through the enterprise of their own accord. For they have already suffered injustice at his hand such as neither we nor anyone else among the Armenians has suffered." By such speeches Arsaces ever

sought to cast a spell over Artabanes, and as soon as ever he saw him beginning to yield, he carried the matter to another Persarmenian, Chanaranges by name. Now this Chanaranges was a young man who, though comely of person, was not a man of serious character, but childish to an extraordinary degree.

So when Arsaces had brought him and Artabanes into mutual agreement, both in their thinking and in their speaking, he departed, promising to make Germanus and his sons of the same mind with them in regard to the undertaking. Now Justinus, the elder of the sons of Germanus, was a youth wearing his first beard, but an energetic fellow and unusually keen in action; indeed, as a result of these qualities, he had actually risen to the dignity of the consular chair not long before. Accordingly, Arsaces approached him and said that he wished to speak with him secretly in some sanctuary. When they had both entered the church, Arsaces first required Justinus to affirm on oath that he would never report their conversation to any man in the whole world, except his father alone. And after the man had sworn to this effect, he took him to task, because, on the one hand, he, a very close relative of the emperor, saw other men holding the offices of the state, common plebeian fellows with no claim to such distinction, while he himself, on the other hand, though he was now of such age that he was entitled to manage his own affairs, paid no heed to the fact that not only he himself, but also his father, and that, too, in spite of his high achievements, and his brother Justinian had to sit for ever in the place of private citizens. Nay more, he had not even been allowed to enter into the property of his uncle, to which he and no other had been heir as far as concerned the purpose of Boraides, but the greater part of it had been unjustly wrested from him. Still it was probable that they would be still further humiliated forthwith, as soon as Belisarius should arrive from Italy; for he was reported to be already somewhere in the heart of Illyricum. After such an introduction Arsaces sought to impel the youth to take part in the plot against the emperor, disclosing to him the agreement reached between himself, Artabanes and Chanaranges in regard to this business. Upon hearing this Justinus was greatly agitated and his head swam, but he told Arsaces flatly that neither he himself nor his father Germanus could ever do these things.

Then, while Arsaces reported to Artabanes what had happened, Justinus referred the whole matter to his father. He thereupon conferred with Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards, and they took the question under consideration whether it was advisable for them to report this matter to the emperor. Now this Marcellus was a man of very great dignity who observed silence in most matters, neither doing anything for the sake of money nor tolerating buffoonery in word or deed nor taking any pleasure in other forms of relaxation, but always living a kind of austere life to which pleasure was strange; but at the same time he was scrupulous in his observance of justice and a most ardent lover of truth. So he naturally would not on that occasion allow the report to be carried to the emperor. "For as for

you,” he said, “it is inexpedient that you should carry information of this thing. For if you should wish to say anything to the emperor in secret, Artabanus and his friends will straightway become suspicious that the matter has been denounced, and, if perchance Arsaces is able to escape unnoticed, the charge will remain unproved. And I, on the other hand, am not at all accustomed either to believe myself or to report to the emperor anything which I have not thoroughly verified. It is my desire, consequently, either that I hear the words with my own ears or that one of my intimates, by your contriving, hear the man saying something unmistakably clear about these matters.” When Germanus heard this, he bade his son Justinus arrange that the requirement of Marcellus should be carried out. He, however, was no longer able to say anything about this matter to Arsaces, since he had, as stated above, given him a flat refusal. Still he did enquire of Chanaranges whether Arsaces had recently approached him at the suggestion of Artabanus. “For I,” he said, “should never have had the courage to entrust any of my secrets to him, seeing he is such a man as he is. But if you should be willing yourself to tell me something to the point, we could, by deliberating in common, perhaps accomplish something really worth while.” Chanaranges then conferred with Artabanus about this and reported to Justinus each and every thing which Arsaces had previously told him.

Then, since Justinus agreed both to carry out everything himself and to bring his father to agreement with them, it was decided that Chanaranges should meet Germanus in conference, and a definite day was appointed for the interview. Germanus reported this to Marcellus and requested him to provide them one of his intimates who should hear with his own ears the words of Chanaranges. And he provided Leontius, the son-in-law of Athanasius, a man who had strict regard for justice and thoroughly capable of speaking the truth. This man Germanus introduced into his house and placed in a room where a thick curtain had been hung to conceal the couch on which he was accustomed to dine. And he hid Leontius inside this curtain, while he himself with his son Justinus remained outside. When Chanaranges came there, Leontius clearly heard him say everything which he, Artabanus, and Arsaces had planned. Among these things this too was mentioned, that, if they killed the emperor while Belisarius was still on the way to Byzantium, their purpose would not be advanced at all; for, though they might wish to establish Germanus on the throne, it was probable that Belisarius would gather a vast army from the towns of Thrace, and they would be unable by any device to repulse the man when he came against them in this way. It would consequently be necessary to postpone the execution of the plan until Belisarius should be present, but as soon as the man should reach Byzantium and should be closeted with the emperor in the palace, then, at some time late in the evening, they should go there unexpectedly, armed with daggers, and kill Marcellus and Belisarius as well as the emperor. For such a course of action would enable them thereafter to make such dispositions as they wished

without fear.

Even when Marcellus learned this from Leontius, he could not as yet make up his mind to report the matter to the emperor, being, as he was, still very reluctant to act, lest by excessive haste he should doom Artabanes on imperfect evidence. Germanus, however, revealed everything to Bouzes and Constantianus, fearing, as actually happened, that some suspicion would attach to him as a result of the delay.

Many days later, when word came that Belisarius was now close at hand, Marcellus reported the whole matter to the emperor, who immediately commanded Artabanes and his associates to be taken off to prison, entrusting to some of his officers the duty of torturing them. And when the whole conspiracy had now come to light and was clearly set down in writing, the emperor called a session of all the members of the senate in the palace, where they are accustomed to make their decisions regarding matters in dispute. When they had read over everything which had been stated by the men under examination, they nevertheless sought to involve Germanus and his son Justinus in the accusation, until Germanus, by presenting the testimony of Marcellus and Leontius, succeeded in clearing himself of the suspicion. For these men, as well as Constantianus and Bouzes, declared under oath that Germanus had concealed from them nothing whatever as far as concerned these matters, but that everything had happened as I have just related. The senators, consequently, straightway acquitted both him and his son unanimously as having committed no offence against the state.

But when all had gone within to the emperor's apartment, the emperor himself, who had become violently angry, began to complain and to speak with the greatest bitterness against Germanus, blaming him for the tardiness of his disclosure, and two of the officials, courting his favour, agreed with his opinion and seemed to share his displeasure. In this way they greatly increased the emperor's anger, eager as they were to be complacent to him in matters involving other men's misfortunes. But the others, cowed by fear, remained silent, yielding to him by not opposing his wish; Marcellus alone, however, by speaking with plain directness succeeded in saving the man. For taking the blame upon himself and speaking with all the emphasis in his power, he said that Germanus, for his part, had told him most seasonably what was going on, but that he himself, making a very careful and detailed investigation, had reported the matter more deliberately. And in this way he allayed the emperor's anger. So Marcellus won for himself great renown from this incident among all men, as one who in a moment of the gravest peril shewed his sterling quality. And the Emperor Justinian removed Artabanes from the office he held, but he did him no harm, nor in fact any one of the others, beyond keeping them all under guard without dishonour — in the palace, however, not in the public prison.

XXXIII

AT about this point in the war, the barbarians became unquestionably masters of the whole West. Thus, though the Romans had been at first decisively victorious in the Gothic war, as I have previously said, the final result for them was that not only had they consumed money and lives in prodigal fashion to no advantage, but they had also lost Italy besides, and had to look on while practically all the Illyrians and Thracians were being ravaged and destroyed in a pitiable manner by the barbarians, seeing they had now become their neighbours. And it came about as follows.

The Goths had at the beginning of this war given to the Germans all of Gaul which was subject to them, believing that they could never be able to array themselves against both nations, as has been said by me in the previous narrative. This act the Romans were not only unable to prevent, but the Emperor Justinian even encouraged it, in order that no obstacle might confront him through having these particular barbarians roused to war (for the Franks never considered that their possession of Gaul was secure except when the emperor had put the seal of his approval upon their title). And consequently the rulers of the Germans occupied Massilia, the colony of Phocaea, and all the sea-coast towns and gained control of that part of the sea. So as gentlemen of leisure they view the horse races at Arelatum, and also make a golden coin from the product of the mines in Gaul, not stamping the likeness of the Roman emperor on this stater, as is customary, but their own likeness. And yet, while the Persian king is accustomed to make silver coinage as he likes, still it is not considered right either for him or for any other sovereign in the whole barbarian world to imprint his own likeness on a gold stater, and that, too, though he has gold in his own kingdom; for they are unable to tender such a coin to those with whom they transact business, even though the parties concerned in the transaction happen to be barbarians. Thus, then, had matters proceeded as regards the Franks.

When the arms of the Goths and Totila had gained the upper hand in the war, the Franks assumed control of the largest part of Venetia with no right at all, the Romans, for their part, being unable to ward them off any longer, and the Goths being unable to carry on the war against the two peoples. Meanwhile the Gepaedes held the city of Sirmium and practically all the cities of Dacia, having taken possession of them at the moment the Emperor Justinian took them away from the Goths; and they not only enslaved the Romans of that region, but they were also constantly moving forward, plundering and doing violence to the Roman territory. Consequently the emperor was no longer giving them the contributions which it had long been customary for them to receive from the Romans. Now the Emperor Justinian had bestowed upon the Lombards the city of Noricum and the strongholds of Pannonia, as well as many other towns and a very great amount of money. It

was because of this that the Lombards departed from their ancestral homes and settled on the south side of the Ister River, not far from the Gepaedes. They then, in their turn, plundered the population of Dalmatia and Illyricum as far as the boundaries of Epidamnus, taking captives; and since some of the captives escaped and succeeded in getting back to their homes, these barbarians, on the ground that they were at peace with the Romans, went about through the Roman domain, and whenever they recognized any of the escaped captives there, they laid hold of them as if they were their own slaves who had run away, and, dragging them from their parents, carried them off with them to their own homes, no one opposing them. Other towns of Dacia also, about the city of Singidunum, had been taken over by the Eruli as a gift from the emperor, and here they are settled at the present time, overrunning and plundering Illyricum and the Thracian towns very generally. Some of them have even become Roman soldiers serving among the *foederati*, as they are called. So whenever envoys of the Eruli are sent to Byzantium, representing the very men who are plundering Roman subjects, they collect all their contributions from the emperor without the least difficulty and carry them off home.

XXXIV

THUS had the barbarians apportioned the Roman empire among themselves. But later on the Gepaedes and the Lombards, having come to be neighbours, became exceedingly hostile toward one another. And they were extremely enthusiastic in their desire to fight each other, so that each nation was eager to do battle with the enemy, and a fixed time had been determined upon for the encounter. But the Lombards, thinking that they alone by their own strength would never be a match for the Gepaedes in battle (for they were, in fact, outnumbered by their enemy), decided to invite the Romans to an alliance. Accordingly they sent envoys to the Emperor Justinian begging him to send them an army. And when the Gepaedes learned this, they too sent envoys to Byzantium to present the same request. Now the Gepaedes were ruled at that time by Thorisin, and the others by Adouin. So the Emperor Justinian decided indeed to hear the statement of each of them, but he did not wish them to come at the same time, but to appear before him separately. First the Lombards came into the emperor's presence and spoke as follows.

"We, for our part, O Emperor, have been astounded at the outrageous conduct of the Gepaedes, seeing that, although they have already perpetrated crimes both many and great against your realm, as we all know, they have now come before you to offer you, in fact, the greatest possible insult. For they, and they only, can be said to put the utmost insult upon their neighbours, who imagine that these are so very easily deceived that they come to them with the intention of profiting by the simplicity of those very men whom they have already wronged. Now we ask you to give careful consideration to one matter only, the question namely as to what attitude the Gepaedes assume toward their friends. For thus you could with the greatest certainty assure the welfare of the Roman empire, since men are always able to infer safely from previous events what the future will bring forth. If, now, it were true that the nation of the Gepaedes had displayed their ingratitude only to some other people, it would have been necessary for us to occupy much time with a long speech and to bring in testimony from outside, in striving to demonstrate the base character of the men; but as it is, we are enabled to choose an example near at hand from your own experience.

"This is what we would have you consider: the Goths formerly held the land of Dacia as a tributary province, while all the Gepaedes dwelt originally on the other side of the Ister, being in such mortal terror of the Gothic power, on the one hand, that they never succeeded in crossing the stream, or even attempting it, while they were, on the other hand, on terms of close alliance and friendship with the Romans, and every year they received from the former emperors many gifts in the name of friendship, and indeed they have received them from thee in no less generous measure. We should be glad then to ask these gentlemen what good thing they have done for the Romans in return for

these benefits. But they would not be able to mention one such thing, great or small. Now as long as they had no means of doing you wrong, they remained quiet, not because of any conviction on their part, but because they were compelled by lack of opportunity to do so. For you, on your part, did not seek to lay any claim to the country beyond the Ister, while the fear inspired by the Goths always frightened them from the land on this side. But who indeed would call impotence gratitude? And what assurance of friendship could be based on inability to commit an offence? None, O Emperor, none; these things cannot be. For opportunity alone reveals the nature of a man, bringing out his character to the common gaze of all because of his freedom to act. For behold, at the very moment the Gepaedes saw that the Goths had been driven from all Dacia, while you, on your part, were busily engaged in fighting your enemies, the cursed wretches have dared to trespass upon your land in every part.

“How could anyone adequately depict in words the outrageous nature of their action? Did they not heap contempt upon the Roman empire? Did they not break the bonds of both treaty and alliance? Did they not insult those whom they should never have treated thus? Did they not do violence to an empire whose slaves they would crave the privilege of being should you find any leisure to deal with them? The Gepaedes, O Emperor, are holding Sirmium and enslaving Romans, and they make the boast that they are in possession of all Dacia. Yet what war have they ever won fighting in your behalf, or with you, or against you? Or what struggle do they consider has brought them this land as a prize? And in spite of all this, they have often been in your pay and have been receiving their payments, as previously stated, for we know not how long a time. And yet there has never been in all time an act more despicable than this present embassy of theirs. For as soon as they saw that we were eager to make war on them, they had the hardihood to come to Byzantium and appear before the emperor who has been so grievously insulted by them. In sooth they will, perhaps, in their excess of shamelessness, invite you to form an alliance of arms against us who have been so favoured by you. And verily if they have come with the purpose of giving back what they have usurped without any right, the Lombards should be counted by the Romans most responsible for that benefit, if they are really constrained through fear of them unwillingly to change their course and manifest gratitude late in the day. For naturally he who creates the constraint will be thanked by him who receives the benefit. But if indeed they have decided even now to retreat from none of their usurped holdings, what could surpass such baseness?

“This then shall be our plea, expressed with barbarian simplicity, with scant words, and in no way worthily of the situation. But we beg that thou, O Emperor, after carefully weighing what we have said less adequately than the facts deserve, take that course of action which will redound to the benefit both of the Romans and of the Lombards, thy people, calling to mind this, in addition to all other considerations, that while the Romans will justly take

sides with us, seeing that we have been in agreement from the first as regards religion, they will stand in opposition to our opponents for the simple reason that they are Arians.”

Thus spoke the Lombards. On the following day the envoys of the Gepaedes in turn came before the emperor and spoke as follows: “It may fairly be expected, O Emperor, that those who approach a neighbouring state with a request to form an alliance of arms, should first demonstrate that they have come with a just request and with proposals of advantage to those who are to form the alliance, and then speak on the matters of which they have come to treat. In the first place, then, that we have been wronged by the Lombards is evident from the facts themselves; for we are eager to settle our difficulties by arbitration, and those who are bent on arbitration can have nothing to do with violence. In the second place, why should one, in order to prove that the Gepaedes are far superior to the Lombards both in multitude and in valour, address long speeches to those who know? Now the policy of entering a conflict on the side of the weaker contestant and thus getting into an evil plight which has been foreseen, though the opportunity is offered of having the victory without danger by arraying oneself with the more powerful contestant, is not one, we think, which any men gifted with even a little discretion would choose. Consequently you also will find, when you go forth against another enemy, that the Gepaedes hereafter will array themselves with you, thus paying a debt of gratitude for what you have done, and by their overwhelming power helping you in all probability to achieve the overmastery of your foes. Furthermore, it would be in point for you to consider this fact also, that while the Lombards have become friends of the Romans on the spur of the moment, the Gepaedes have been in alliance with you and well known to you from ancient times. And friendship cemented by long continuance is not easily dissolved. Consequently you will acquire not only powerful, but also steadfast, allies. These, then, are the just grounds on the basis of which we invite you to form this alliance.

“Now observe what manner of men the Lombards are. At first they absolutely refused to settle our differences by arbitration, though we invited them repeatedly to do so, overcome, as they were, by unreasoning boldness. But now that the war has come almost to an actual engagement, they, making a tardy retreat from their position because they realize fully their own weakness, have come to you, asking the Romans to take up the unjust struggle in their behalf. Doubtless these thieves bring up the case of Sirmium and a few other towns in Dacia, and put this forward as a pretext on which you may enter this war. And yet thy empire comprises such an overabundance both of cities and of lands that thou art actually searching for men upon whom thou couldst confer some part of it for their habitation. Indeed thou hast bestowed upon the Franks and the nation of the Eruli and these Lombards such generous gifts of both cities and lands, O Emperor, that no one could enumerate them all. But we, emboldened by thy friendship, have accomplished that which thou

didst wish, and truly, when a man has formed the purpose of parting with some one of his possessions, he thinks far less highly of one who waits to receive his gift than of one who anticipates his purpose and takes the gift by his own decision, provided such an one does not appear to have claimed the right to take this course in a spirit of insolence toward the possessor, but in a spirit of confidence in the strong friendship he feels toward him; and this is exactly the attitude of the Gepaedes toward the Romans. We ask you, then, to recall these things and, preferably, to observe the terms of our alliance by throwing all your strength into the conflict on our side against the Lombards, otherwise, to stand aside for both. For in reaching such a decision you are acting with justice and greatly to the advantage of the Roman empire.”

Such was the speech of the Gepaedes, whom the Emperor Justinian, after long deliberation, decided to send away with their mission unaccomplished; but he made a sworn alliance of arms with the Lombards, and then sent them more than ten thousand horsemen commanded by Constantianus, Bouzes, and Aratius. Associated with them also was John the nephew of Vitalian, who had received previous instructions from the emperor that, as soon as they should fight a decisive battle with the nation of the Gepaedes, he should hasten thence to Italy with his troops. For he, too, as it happened, had returned from Italy. They also took with them as allies fifteen hundred Eruli, commanded by Philemuth and others. For, except for these, the whole nation of the Eruli, to the number of three thousand, were arrayed with the Gepaedes, since they had revolted from the Romans not long before for a cause which I have set forth above.

Now a detachment of the Romans who were marching to join the Lombards as allies unexpectedly chanced upon some of the Eruli with Aordus, the brother of their ruler. And a fierce battle ensued in which the Romans were victorious, and they slew both Aordus and many of the Eruli. Then the Gepaedes, upon learning that the Roman army was close at hand, straightway settled their disagreement with the Lombards, and so these barbarians made a treaty of peace with each other, contrary to the will of the Romans. When the Roman army learned this, they found themselves involved in a very perplexing situation. For neither were they able to continue their advance nor could they retrace their steps, because the generals feared lest both Gepaedes and Eruli would overrun and plunder the land of Illyricum. At any rate, they remained there and reported their situation to the emperor. Such was the course of these events. But I shall return to the point in my narrative from which I strayed.

THE journey of Belisarius to Byzantium was an inglorious one; for five years he had not disembarked anywhere on the soil of Italy, nor had he succeeded in making a single inarch there by land, but he had been obliged to conceal himself by flight during this whole time, always sailing without interruption from one fortified coast-town to some other stronghold along the shore. As a result of this the enemy, having now little to fear, had enslaved Rome and everything else, practically speaking. It was on this occasion also that he abandoned Perusia, the leading city of Tuscany, though it was very closely besieged; indeed it was captured by storm while he was still on his way. After reaching Byzantium he took up a permanent residence there, having now amassed a great fortune and being greatly admired because of his earlier successes, just as the Deity had foretold to him by an unmistakable sign before he made the expedition to Libya.

Now the sign was as follows. Belisarius had an inherited property in the suburb of Byzantium which is called Panteichion, and is situated on the opposite mainland. On this property, shortly before the time when Belisarius was about to lead the Roman army against Gelimer and Libya, it so happened that his vines bore a great abundance of grapes.

And with the wine thus produced his servants had filled a great quantity of jars, which they placed in the wine-cellar, burying the lower part of them in the earth and smearing the upper part carefully with clay. But eight months later the wine in some jars, as it began to ferment, burst the clay with which each of them had been sealed; then it ran over the tops of the jars and, flowing copiously, covered the ground around with such a flood that it actually formed a great pool on the floor there. When the servants saw this, they were filled with amazement; and they were able to fill many amphoras from it, after which they again stopped up those same jars with clay and remained silent about the matter. But when they had seen this happen many times at about the same date, they did report the matter to their master, and he, for his part, gathered many of his friends there and displayed the phenomenon; whereupon they foretold that many blessings would fall upon that house, basing their conclusion upon this sign.

Such was the fortune of Belisarius. But Vigilus, the chief priest of Rome, together with the Italians who were in the city at that time (and there were many very notable men there), was giving the emperor no respite from his entreaty to stand forth with all his power as champion of Italy. But Justinian was influenced most of all by Gothigus, a man of patrician rank who had long before this time risen to the dignity of the consular office; for he, too, had recently come to Byzantium for this very purpose. Now although the emperor did promise to concern himself personally with Italy, still he was devoting his time for the most part to the doctrines of the Christians, seeking eagerly and

with great determination to make a satisfactory settlement of the questions disputed among them.

Such was the situation in Byzantium. Meanwhile one of the Lombards had fled to the Gepaedes for the following reason. When Vaces was ruler of the Lombards, he had a nephew named Risiulfus, who, according to the law, would be called to the royal power whenever Vaces should die. So Vaces, seeking to make provision that the kingdom should be conferred upon his own son, brought an unjustified accusation against Risiulfus and penalized the man with banishment. He then departed from his home with a few friends and fled immediately to the Varni, leaving behind him two children. But Vaces bribed these barbarians to kill Risiulfus. As for the children of Risiulfus, one of them died of disease, while the other, Ildiges by name, fled to the Sclaveni.

Now not long after this Vaces fell sick and passed from the world, and the rule of the Lombards fell to Valdarus, the son of Vaces. But since he was very young, Audoum was appointed regent over him and administered the government. And since he possessed great power as a result of this, he himself seized the rule after no long time, the child having immediately passed from the world by a natural death. Now when the war arose between the Gepaedes and the Lombards, as already told, Ildiges went straight to the Gepaedes taking with him not only those of the Lombards who had followed him, but also many of the Sclaveni, and the Gepaedes were in hopes of restoring him to the kingdom. But on account of the treaty which had now been made with the Lombards, Audouin straightway requested the Gepaedes, as friends, to surrender Ildiges; they, however, refused absolutely to give up the man, but they did order him to depart from their country and save himself wherever he wished. He, then, without delay, took with him his followers and some volunteers of the Gepaedes and came back to the Sclaveni. And departing from there, he went to join Totila and the Goths, having with him an army of not less than six thousand men. Upon his arrival in Venetia, he encountered some Romans commanded by Lazarus, and engaging with them he routed the force and killed many. He did not, however, unite with the Goths, but recrossed the Ister River and withdrew once more to the Sclaveni.

While these events were taking place in the manner described, one of the guardsmen of Belisarius, Indulf by name and of barbarian birth, a passionate and energetic fellow, who had been left in Italy, went over to Totila and the Goths for no good reason. And Totila straightway sent him with a large army and a fleet to Dalmatia. So he came to the place called Mouicurum, which is a coast town situated very near Salones, and at first, being a Roman and a member of Belisarius' suite, he mingled with the people of the town; then however he raised his own sword, urged his followers to do the same, and suddenly killed them all. Then, taking all the valuables as plunder, he departed from there and descended upon another fortress situated on the coast, which the Romans call Laureate. Here he entered the town and slew those who fell in his way.

When Claudian, who was commander of Salones at that time, learned this, he sent an army against him on *dromones*, as they are called. And when this force reached Laureate, they engaged with the enemy. But they were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle and took to flight, wherever each man could, abandoning their ships in the harbour. And it so happened that the other boats were there laden with grain and other provisions. All these Indulf and the Goths captured, and, after killing all whom they met and making plunder of the valuables, they returned to Totila. And the winter drew to a close and the fourteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [649 A.D.]

[549 A.D.] TOTILA now led his whole army against Rome, and establishing himself there entered upon a siege. But Belisarius had selected three thousand men noted for their valour and appointed them to garrison Rome, placing in command of them Diogenes, one of his own spearmen, a man of unusual discretion and an able warrior. Consequently a long time was consumed in the blockade. For the besieged, on their part, shewed themselves, thanks to their extraordinary valour, a match for the entire Gothic army, while Diogenes was ever keeping a strict watch that no one should approach the wall to damage it; furthermore, he sowed grain in all parts of the city inside the circuit-wall and so brought it about that they had not the least shortage of food. Many times indeed the barbarians attempted to storm the fortifications and make trial of the circuit-wall, but they were always repulsed, being driven back from the wall by the valour of the Romans.

They did, however, capture Portus, and thereafter held Rome under close siege. Such was the course of these events.

As soon as the emperor saw Belisarius returned to Byzantium, he began to make plans for sending another commander with an army against the Goths and Totila. And if he had actually carried out this idea, I believe that, with Rome still under his power, and the soldiers in the city saved for him and enabled to unite with the relieving force from Byzantium, he would have overcome his opponents in the war. But in fact, after first selecting Liberius, one of the patricians from Rome, and ordering him to make himself ready, he later, perhaps because some other business claimed his attention, lost interest in the matter.

After the siege of Rome had continued for a long time, some of the Isaurians who were keeping guard at the gate which bears the name of Paul the Apostle — men nursing a grievance because for many years nothing had been paid them by the emperor, and observing, at the same time, that those Isaurians who had previously surrendered Rome to the Goths had become the proud possessors of vast sums of money — very secretly opened negotiations with Totila and agreed to hand over the city, and a definite day was appointed for the transaction. So when the appointed day was come, Totila contrived the following plan. He launched in the Tiber River during the first watch of the night two long boats, placing on them men who understood the use of the trumpet. These he commanded to row straight across the Tiber, and when they came close to the circuit-wall to sound the trumpets there with all their might. Meanwhile he himself was holding the Gothic army in readiness close to the above-mentioned gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul, unobserved by his enemy. And reasoning that, if any of the Roman army should succeed in escaping from the city, as they well might under cover of darkness, they would go to Centumcellae, for no other fortress was left to them anywhere

among the towns of that region, he decided to guard the road leading thither by means of some ambuscades of warlike men, to whom he gave instructions to destroy the fugitives. So the men in the boats, upon getting near the city, immediately made use of their trumpets, as they had been instructed to do. Thereupon the Romans were thunderstruck, and falling into great fear and confusion suddenly abandoned for no sufficient reason their several posts and hastened on the run to give assistance at that point, supposing that the attempt was directed against that part of the wall. Thus the Isaurians who were betraying the city remained alone at their post, and they opened the gates at their leisure and received the enemy into the city. And there was great slaughter of those who fell into the hands of the enemy there, though many made off in flight through other gates, but those who went toward Centumcellae got into the ambuscades and perished. However, a few of them did escape with difficulty, Diogenes too, they say, being among them and securing his safety though wounded.

Now there was in the Roman army one named Paulus, a Cilician by birth, who at first had been in charge of the household of Belisarius, but later went with the army to Italy in command of a cavalry troop, and had been appointed with Diogenes to command the garrison of Rome. This Paulus, during the capture of the city at that time, rushed with four hundred horsemen into the Tomb of Hadrian and seized the bridge leading to the church of the Apostle Peter. And while it was still dawn and a little daylight was about to appear, the Gothic army assailed these men, but they withstood their enemy most vigorously where they were and gained the upper hand; indeed they slew large numbers of the barbarians, seeing they were in a great throng and huddled together. When Totila saw this, he stopped the fighting immediately, and commanded the Goths quietly to blockade their enemy, thinking that he would capture the men by starvation. Consequently Paulus and the four hundred passed that day without food, and bivouacked during the night in the same condition. On the following day, however, they resolved to use some of the horses for food, but a feeling of reluctance owing to the unusual nature of this food prevented them until late afternoon, although exceedingly hard pressed by hunger. At that time, after long deliberation among themselves, and after exhorting one another to boldness, they came to the conclusion that the better course for them was to end their lives then and there by a glorious death. In fact their decision was to make a sudden rush upon their enemy, to kill as many of them as each man could, and thus each and every one of them to meet his death valiantly. Accordingly they rushed suddenly into each other's arms, and kissing one another's cheeks held their friends in a last embrace on the point of death, intending one and all to perish forthwith.

But Totila, observing this, began to fear that men who were setting their faces toward death, having now no further hope as regards safety, would inflict irreparable harm upon the Goths. He therefore sent to them and offered them a choice of two alternatives, either to leave their horses and arms there,

take an oath not again to fight against the Goths, and thus to depart for Byzantium without experiencing any harm, or, on the other hand, to keep their own possessions and fight thereafter in the Gothic army, enjoying full and complete equality with the Goths. These proposals were heard gladly by the Romans. And at first, to be sure, all were for choosing to go to Byzantium, but later, being ashamed to make their withdrawal on foot and without arms, and dreading also that they would fall into some ambushes on the homeward journey and thus be destroyed, and bearing a grudge, furthermore, because the Roman State owed them pay for a long period, they all mingled voluntarily with the Gothic army, except indeed that Paulus and one of the Isaurians, Mindes by name, came before Totila and prayed him to send them to Byzantium. For they stated that they had children and wives in their native land, and apart from these they were unable to live. And Totila received the request of these men with favour, believing that they were speaking the truth, and he released them after presenting them with travelling money and sending an escort with them. There were others also of the Roman army, those, namely, who had chanced to take refuge in the sanctuaries of the city, about three hundred in number, who received pledges and went over to Totila. As for Rome itself, Totila was unwilling thereafter either to dismantle or to abandon it; instead he decided to establish in residence there both Goths and Romans, not only members of the senate, but also all the others, for the following reason.

Not long before this Totila had sent to the ruler of the Franks and requested him to give his daughter in marriage. But the Frankish king spurned the request, declaring that Totila neither was nor ever would be king of Italy, seeing that after capturing Rome he had been utterly unable to hold it, but after tearing down a portion of it had let it fall again into the hands of his enemy. Consequently he made haste on the present occasion to convey supplies into the city, and gave orders to rebuild as quickly as possible everything which he himself had pulled down and destroyed by fire when he captured Rome at the previous time; then he summoned the members of the Roman senate and all the others whom he had under guard in Campania. And after witnessing the horse-races there, he made ready his whole army, intending to make an expedition against Sicily. At the same time too he put his four hundred war-ships in readiness for sea-fighting, as well as a very considerable fleet of large ships which had been sent thither from the East by the emperor, and which he, during all this time, had had the fortune to capture with both crews and cargoes. He also sent a Roman named Stephanus as an envoy to the emperor, requesting him to put an end to this war and make a treaty with the Goths, with the understanding that they should fight as his allies when he should go against his other enemies. But the Emperor Justinian would not permit the envoy even to come into his presence, nor did he pay the least attention to anything he said.

When Totila heard this, he again set about making preparations for the war. And it seemed to him advisable first to make trial of Centumcellae and then to proceed against Sicily. Now the garrison there was at that time commanded by Diogenes, the guardsman of Belisarius, and he had a sufficient force under him. So the Gothic army, upon reaching Centumcellae, made camp close to the circuit-wall and commenced a siege. And Totila sent envoys to Diogenes and challenged him and his soldiers, if it was their wish to reach a decision by battle with the Goths, to fall to with all speed. He also advised them to entertain no hope whatever that further reinforcements from the emperor would reach them; for Justinian, he said, was unable longer to carry on this war against the Goths, if anyone could base a reasonable judgment upon those things which had taken place at Rome for such a long period. He accordingly offered them the privilege of choosing whichever of two alternatives they wished, either to mingle with the Gothic army on terms of complete equality, or to depart from the city without suffering harm and betake themselves to Byzantium. But the Romans and Diogenes declared that it was not their wish either to fight a decisive battle or, on the other hand, to mingle with the Gothic army, because they would find it impossible to live apart from their children and their wives. And as for the city over which they were keeping guard, they were quite unable for the present to surrender it with any plausible excuse,

since they had, in fact, not even a pretext for doing so at that time, particularly if they wished to present themselves before the emperor; they did, however, beg him to defer the matter for a time, in order that they might during that interval report the situation to the emperor, and in case no relief should come to them from him in the meantime, that then finally they might quit the city; thus they would surrender the city to the Goths, while they, for their part, would not be without justification in leaving it. This was approved by Totila, and a definite day was agreed upon; then thirty men were given as hostages by each side to make this agreement binding, and the Goths broke up the siege and proceeded on the way to Sicily.

But when they came to Rhegium, they did not cross the strait there until they had made trial of the fortress of that city. Now the garrison there was commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, whom Belisarius had appointed to that post. And since they had under them a large force of excellent men, they not only repulsed the enemy when he attacked the wall, but also made a sally and gained the advantage in combat. Later, however, since they were far outnumbered by their opponents, they were shut up inside the circuit-wall and remained quiet. So Totila left a portion of the Gothic army there to guard the place, expecting that at a later time they would capture the Roman garrison through failure of the food supply; meanwhile he sent an army against Tarentum and took over the fortress there with no difficulty; likewise the Goths whom he had left in the land of Picenum also took the city of Ariminum at that time; for it was betrayed to them.

When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he formed the purpose of appointing his nephew Germanus commander-in-chief to carry on the war against the Goths and Totila, and he directed him to make ready. Now when the report of this reached Italy, the Goths became very deeply concerned; for the reputation of Germanus happened to be a favourable one among all men. The Romans, on the other hand, straightway became confident one and all, and the soldiers of the emperor's army began to meet danger and hardship much more courageously. But the emperor for some unknown reason changed his mind and decided to appoint to the post Liberius, a Roman whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative, in place of Germanus. And Liberius did in fact make preparations with all possible speed, and it was expected that he would sail away immediately with an army. But again the emperor changed his mind, and consequently he too remained quiet. It was at this time that Verus with a band of excellent warriors whom he had gathered about him came to an engagement not far from the city of Ravenna with the Goths who were in Picenum, and he not only lost many of his followers but was also killed himself after shewing himself a brave man in the encounter.

XXXVIII

At about this time an army of Sclaveni amounting to not more than three thousand crossed the Ister River without encountering any opposition, advanced immediately to the Hebrus River, which they crossed with no difficulty, and then split into two parts. Now the one section of them contained eighteen hundred men, while the other comprised the remainder. And although the two sections were thus separated from each other, the commanders of the Roman army, upon engaging with them, both in Illyricum and in Thrace, were defeated unexpectedly, and some of them were killed on the field of battle, while others saved themselves by a disorderly flight.

Now after all the generals had fared thus at the hands of the two barbarian armies, though they were far inferior to the Roman forces in number, one section of the enemy engaged with Asbadus. This man was a guard of the Emperor Justinian, since he served among the *candidati*, as they are called, and he was also commander of the cavalry cohorts which from ancient times have been stationed at Tzurullum, the fortress in Thrace, a numerous body of the best troops. These too the Sclaveni routed with no trouble, and they slew the most of them in a most disgraceful flight; they also captured Asbadus and for the moment made him a prisoner, but afterwards they burned him by casting him into a fire, having first flayed strips from the man's back. Having accomplished these things, they turned to plunder all the towns, both of Thrace and of Illyricum, in comparative security; and both armies captured many fortresses by siege, though they neither had any previous experience in attacking city walls, nor had they dared to come down to the open plain, since these barbarians had never, in tact, even attempted to overrun the land of the Romans. Indeed it appears that they have never in all time crossed the Ister River with an army before the occasion which I have mentioned above.

Then those who had defeated Asbadus plundered everything in order as far as the sea and captured by storm a city on the coast named Topirus, though it had a garrison of soldiers; this is the first of the coast towns of Thrace and is twelve days' journey distant from Byzantium. And they captured it in the following manner. The most of them concealed themselves in the rough ground which lay before the fortifications, while some few went near the gate which is toward the east and began to harass the Romans at the battlements. Then the soldiers keeping guard there, supposing that they were no more than those who were seen, immediately seized their arms and one and all sallied forth against them. Whereupon the barbarians began to withdraw to the rear, making it appear to their assailants that they were moving off in retreat because they were thoroughly frightened by them; and the Romans, being drawn into the pursuit, found themselves at a considerable distance from the fortifications. Then the men in ambush rose from their hiding-places and, placing themselves behind the pursuers, made it no longer possible for them

to enter the city. Furthermore, those who had seemed to be in flight turned about, and thus the Romans now came to be exposed to attack on two sides. Then the barbarians, after destroying these to the last man, assaulted the fortifications. But the inhabitants of the city, deprived as they were of the support of the soldiers, found themselves in a very difficult situation, yet even so they warded off the assailants as well as the circumstances permitted. And at first they resisted successfully by heating oil and pitch till it was very hot and pouring it down on those who were attacking the wall, and the whole population joined in hurling stones upon them and thus came not very far from repelling the danger. But finally the barbarians overwhelmed them by the multitude of their missiles and forced them to abandon the battlements, whereupon they placed ladders against the fortifications and so captured the city by storm. Then they slew all the men immediately, to the number of fifteen thousand, took all the valuables as plunder, and reduced the children and women to slavery. Before this, however, they had spared no age, but both these and the other group, since the time when they fell upon the land of the Romans, had been killing all who fell in their way, young and old alike, so that the whole land inhabited by the Illyrians and Thracians came to be everywhere filled with unburied corpses.

Now' they killed their victims, not with sword nor spear, nor in any other accustomed manner, but by planting very firmly in the earth stakes which they had made exceedingly sharp, and seating the poor wretches upon these with great violence, driving the point of the stake between the buttocks and forcing it up into the intestines; thus did they see fit to destroy them. These barbarians also had a way of planting four thick stakes very deep in the ground, and after binding the feet and hands of the captives to these they would then assiduously beat them over the head with clubs, killing them like dogs or snakes or any other animal. Others again they would imprison in their huts together with their cattle and sheep — those, of course, which they were utterly unable to take with them to their native haunts — and then they would set fire to the huts without mercy. Thus did the Sclaveni consistently destroy those who fell in their way. But from this time onward both these and those of the other group, being as it were drunk with the great quantity of blood they had shed, saw fit to make prisoners of some who fell into their hands, and consequently they were taking with them countless thousands of prisoners when they all departed on the homeward way.

After this the Goths assaulted the fortress of Rhegium, but the besieged continued to defend themselves very vigorously and so repulsed them, and Thurimuth was always conspicuous for the deeds of heroism which he performed in fighting them. But Totila discovered that the besieged were in want of provisions, and so he contented himself with leaving a portion of his army there to keep guard, in order, of course, that the enemy might not carry in anything thereafter, but might be compelled by lack of necessities to surrender themselves and the fortress to the Goths; he himself meanwhile crossed over to Sicily with the rest of the army and delivered an attack on the wall of Messina. And Domnentiolus, the nephew of Buzes, who was in command of the Romans there, encountered him before the fortifications, and in the engagement which followed he was not unsuccessful. But he went back into the city and remained quiet, attending to the guarding of the place. The Goths, however, since no one came out against them, plundered practically the whole of Sicily. And the Romans besieged in Rhegium, commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, as I have said, seeing their provisions had failed completely, came to terms and surrendered themselves and the fortress to the enemy.

When the emperor heard of these things, he gathered a fleet and embarked on these ships a very considerable army formed from infantry detachments, and appointing Liberius commander over them, ordered him to sail with all speed for Sicily, and to put forth all his power to save the island. But he very speedily repented having appointed Liberius commander of the fleet; for he was an extremely old man and without experience in deeds of war. Then he absolved Artabanus from all the charges against him, and appointing him General of the forces in Thrace straightway sent him to Sicily, providing him with an army of no great size but instructing him to take over the fleet commanded by Liberius, since he was summoning Liberius to Byzantium. But as commander-in-chief in the war against Totila and the Goths he appointed Germanus, his own nephew. To him he gave an army of no great size, but he provided him with a considerable amount of money and directed him to gather a very formidable army from Thrace and Illyricum and then to set forth with great speed for Italy. And he further instructed him to take with him to Italy both Philemuth the Erulian with his troops and his own son-in-law John the nephew of Vitalian; for John, as General of the forces in Illyricum, was stationed there.

Then a great ambition took possession of Germanus to achieve for himself the overthrow of the Goths, in order that it might be his fortune to recover for the Roman empire both Libya and Italy. For in the case of Libya, at any rate, he had been sent there by the emperor at the time when Stotzas had established his tyranny and was already holding the power of Libya most

securely, and he had exceeded all expectations by defeating the rebels in battle, put an end to the tyranny, and once more recovered Libya for the Roman empire, as I have recounted in the preceding narrative. And now that the affairs of Italy had come to such a pass as I have just described, he naturally wished to win for himself great glory in that field, by showing himself able to recover this too for the emperor. Now his first move, made possible by the fact that his wife, who was named Passara, had died long before, was to marry Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha and granddaughter of Theoderic, since Vittigis had already passed from the world. For he cherished the hope that, if the woman should be with him in the army, the Goths would probably be ashamed to take up arms against her, calling to mind the rule of Theoderic and Atalaric. Then, by expending great sums of money, part of which was provided by the emperor, but most of which he furnished unstintingly from his own resources, he easily succeeded, contrary to expectation, in raising a great army of very warlike men in a short space of time. For among the Romans, on the one hand, the experienced fighters in many cases ignored the officers to whom they belonged as spearmen and guards and followed Germanus; these came not only from Byzantium, but also from the towns of Thrace and Illyricum as well, his sons Justinus and Justinian having displayed great zeal in this matter — for he had taken them also on his departure. He also enrolled some from the cavalry detachments which were stationed in Thrace, with the emperor's permission. The barbarians also, on the other hand, who had their homes near the Ister River kept coming in great numbers, attracted by the fame of Germanus, and, upon receiving large sums of money, these mingled with the Roman army. And other barbarians too kept flocking to his standard, collected from the whole world. Furthermore, the ruler of the Lombards made ready a thousand heavy-armed soldiers and promised to send them right speedily.

When these things were reported in Italy, with such additions as rumour customarily makes as it spreads among men, the Goths were both frightened and perplexed at the same time, being faced, as they were, with the necessity of making war upon the race of Theoderic. But those Roman soldiers who chanced to be fighting unwillingly in the ranks of the Goths sent a messenger to Germanus with orders to state to him that, as soon as they should see him arrived in Italy and his army actually encamped, they too without any hesitation would certainly array themselves with his troops. All these things brought fresh courage to the detachments of the emperor's army in Ravenna and whatever other cities chanced to be left in their hands, and being now filled with the highest hopes they were determined to guard the towns rigorously for the emperor. Nay, more, all those who under Verus or other commanders had previously engaged with the enemy and had escaped after being defeated in battle by their opponents, and were now dispersed and wandering about, each man wherever chance led him, all these, as soon as they heard that Germanus was on the way, gathered in a body in Istria, and

there remained quiet, awaiting this army. Just at this time Totila sent to Centumcellae (for the time agreed upon by him and Diogenes as touching this town had arrived), and commanded Diogenes to surrender the city in accordance with the agreement. Diogenes, however, said that he personally no longer had authority to do this; for he had heard that Germanus had been appointed commander-in chief to carry on that war, and was not far away with his army. And he added that, in regard to the hostages, it was his desire to receive back, on the one hand, their own, and, on the other, to return those furnished by the Goths. Then, after dismissing the messengers, he turned his attention to the defence of the city, expecting Germanus and the army with him. Such was the course of these events; and the winter drew to its close, and the fifteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [a d.]

But while Germanus was collecting and organizing his army in Sardice, the city of Illyricum, and making all the necessary preparations for war with the greatest thoroughness, a throng of Sclaveni such as never before was known arrived on Roman soil, having crossed the Ister River and come to the vicinity of Naïssus. Now some few of these had scattered from their army and, wandering about the country there alone, were captured by certain of the Romans and made prisoners; and the Romans questioned them as to why this particular army of the Sclaveni had crossed the Ister and what they had in mind to accomplish. And they stoutly declared that they had come with the intention of capturing by siege both Thessalonice itself and the cities around it. When the emperor heard this, he was greatly agitated and straightway wrote to Germanus directing him to postpone for the moment his expedition to Italy and defend Thessalonice and the other cities, and to repel the invasion of the Sclaveni with all his power. So Germanus, for his part, was devoting himself to this problem.

But the Sclaveni, upon learning definitely from their captives that Germanus was in Sardice, began to be afraid; for Germanus had a great reputation among these particular barbarians for the following reason. During the reign of Justinian, the uncle of Germanus, the Antae, who dwell close to the Sclaveni, had crossed the Ister River with a great army and invaded the Roman domain. Now the emperor had not long before this, as it happened, appointed Germanus General of all Thrace. He accordingly engaged with the hostile army, defeated them decisively in battle, and killed practically all of them; and Germanus, as a result of this achievement, had covered himself with great glory in the estimation of all men, including these same barbarians. Consequently, on account of their dread of him, as I have said, and also because they supposed that he was conducting a very formidable force, seeing that he was being sent by the emperor against Totila and the Goths, the Sclaveni immediately turned aside from their march on Thessalonice and no longer dared to descend to the plain, but they crossed over all the mountain ranges of Illyricum and so came into Dalmatia. Germanus, accordingly, paid no further attention to them and issued orders to the entire army to prepare for marching, intending to commence the journey thence to Italy two days later.

But by some chance it so befell that he was taken sick and abruptly reached the term of life. Thus did Germanus suddenly pass away, a man endowed with the finest qualities and remarkable for his activity; for in war, on the one hand, he was not only a most able general, but was also resourceful and independent in action, while in peace and prosperity, on the other hand, he well understood how to uphold with all firmness both the laws and the institutions of the state. As a judge he was conspicuously upright, while in private life he made loans of large sums of money to all who requested it, never so much as speaking of

taking interest from them. Both in the palace and in the market-place he was a man of very impressive personality and exceedingly serious demeanour, while in his daily home life he was a pleasant, open-hearted, and charming host. He would not permit, as far as his strength allowed, any offence in the palace against established laws, nor did he ever share either in the purpose or in the conversations of the conspirators in Byzantium, though many even of those in power went so far in their unnatural conduct. Such then was the course of these events.

The emperor was deeply moved by this misfortune, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian and son-in-law of Germanus, in company with Justinian, one of the two sons of Germanus, to lead this army into Italy. So they set out on the way to Dalmatia, intending to pass the winter in Salones, since it seemed to them impossible at that season to make the circuit of the gulf, as they would be obliged to do in travelling into Italy; for it was impossible for them to ferry across since they had no ships. Meanwhile Liberius, not having as yet learned anything of the emperor's change of purpose regarding the fleet he commanded, put in at Syracuse while it was under siege by the enemy. And he forced his way through the barbarian lines, sailed into the harbour, and so got inside the fortifications with the whole fleet. Now Artabanes not long after this reached Cephallenia, and finding that Liberius and his army had already put out to sea and departed thence on the way to Sicily, he immediately set out from there and crossed the so-called Adriatic Sea. But when he came near Calabria, he was assailed by a terrific storm and a head wind of extraordinary violence, and it so fell out that all the ships were scattered so completely that it appeared that the most of them had been driven on the shore of Calabria and fallen into the hands of the enemy. This, however, was not the case, but they had first been driven apart by the great violence of the wind, then had turned about, heavily buffeted meanwhile by the sea, and had reached the Peloponnesus again. As for the other ships, some were lost and some were saved, according to where chance carried them. But one ship, that in which Artabanes himself was sailing, had its mast broken off in this heavy sea, and yet, after coming to such a degree of danger, was carried by the surge and followed the swell until it came to land at the island of Melita. Thus did it come about contrary to expectation that Artabanes was saved.

Liberius now found himself unable to make sallies against the besiegers or to fight a decisive battle against them, while at the same time their provisions could not possibly suffice for any considerable time, seeing they were a large force, and so he set sail from there with his troops, and, eluding the enemy, withdrew to Panormus.

Totila and the Goths, meanwhile, had plundered practically the whole land of Sicily; they had collected as booty a vast number of horses and other animals, and had stripped the island of grain and all its other crops; these, together with all the treasure, which amounted to a great sum indeed, they

loaded on their ships, and then suddenly abandoned the island and returned to Italy, being impelled to do so for the following reason. Not long before this, as it happened, Totila had appointed one of the Romans, Spinus by name, a native of Spolitium, to be his personal adviser. This man was staying in Catana, which was an unwallled town. And, by some chance, it came about that he fell into the hands of the enemy there. Now Totila, being eager to rescue this man, wished to release to the Romans in his stead a notable's wife who was his prisoner. But the Romans would not consent to accept a woman in exchange for a man holding the position of quaestor, as it is called. The man consequently became fearful that he would be destroyed while in hostile hands, and so promised the Romans that he would persuade Totila to depart immediately from Sicily and cross over to Italy with the whole Gothic army. So they first bound him over by oaths to carry out this promise and then gave him up to the Goths, receiving the woman in return. He then went before Totila and asserted that the Goths were not consulting their own interests, now that they had plundered practically the whole of Sicily, in remaining there for a few insignificant fortresses. For he declared that he had recently heard, while he was among the enemy, that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had passed from the world, and that John, his son-in-law, and Justinian, his son, with the whole army collected by Germanus were already in Dalmatia and would move on from there, after completing their preparations in the briefest time, straight for Liguria, in order, obviously, to descend suddenly upon the Goths and make slaves of their women and children and to plunder all their valuables; and it would be better for the Goths, he said, to be there to meet them, passing the winter meanwhile in safety in company with their families. "For," he went on, "if we overcome that army, it will be possible for us at the opening of spring to renew our operations against Sicily free from anxiety and with no thought of an enemy in our minds." Totila was convinced by this suggestion, and so, leaving guards in four strongholds, he himself, taking with him the entire booty, crossed over with all the rest of the army to Italy. Such was the course of these events.

Now John and the emperor's army, upon reaching Dalmatia, decided to pass the winter in Salones, purposing to march from there straight for Ravenna after the winter season. But the Sclaveni now reappeared, both those who had previously come into the emperor's land, as I have recounted above, and others who had crossed the Ister not long afterwards and joined the first, and they began to overrun the Roman domain with complete freedom. And some indeed entertained the suspicion that Totila had bribed these very barbarians with large gifts of money and so set them upon the Romans there, with the definite purpose of making it impossible for the emperor to manage the war against the Goths well because of his preoccupation with these barbarians. But as to whether the Sclaveni were conferring a favour upon Totila, or whether they came there without invitation, I am unable to say. These barbarians did, in any case, divide themselves into three groups and

wrought irreparable damage in all Europe, not merely plundering that country by sudden raids, but actually spending the winter as if in their own land and having no fear of the enemy. Afterwards, however, the Emperor Justinian sent a very considerable army against them, which was led by a number of commanders, including Constantianus, Aratius, Nazares, Justinus the son of Germanus and John who bore the epithet of the Glutton. But he placed in supreme command over them all Scholastieus, one of the eunuchs of the palace.

This army came upon a part of the barbarians near Adrianopolis, which is situated in the interior of Thrace, five days' journey distant from Byzantium. And the barbarians were unable to proceed further; for they were taking with them a booty which surpassed all reckoning, consisting of men and animals and valuables of every description. So they remained there, eager to come to an engagement with the enemy, but without letting this be known to them in any way. Now the Sclaveni were encamped on the hill which rises there, while the Romans were in the plain not far away. And since a long time was consumed in thus blocking the enemy, the soldiers began to be resentful and made a great to-do, laying against the generals the charge that while they themselves, as commanders of the Roman army, had all provisions in abundance, they were paying no heed to the soldiers, to whom the want of absolute necessities was causing hardship and who were unwilling to engage with the enemy. By these remonstrances the generals were compelled to join battle with the enemy. And the battle which followed was a fierce one, but the Romans were decisively vanquished. In that battle many of the best soldiers perished, and the generals came within a little of falling into the hands of the enemy, succeeding only with difficulty in making their escape with the remnant of the army and thus saving themselves, each as best he could. The standard of Constantianus was also captured by the barbarians, who now moved forward heedless of the Roman army. And they plundered the land of Astica, as it is called, without let or hindrance, a place which had not been ravaged since ancient times, and for this reason it turned out that they found there an enormous booty. Thus they devastated a wide expanse of country and came as far as the long walls, which are a little more than one day's journey distant from Byzantium. But not long afterwards the Roman army, in following up these barbarians, came upon a portion of their force, engaged with them suddenly, and turned them to flight. And they not only slew many of the enemy, but also rescued a vast number of Roman captives, and they also found and recovered the standard of Constantianus. But the rest of the barbarians departed on the homeward way with the other booty.

BOOK VIII. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

The narrative which I have written up to this point has been composed, as far as possible, on the principle of separating the material into parts which relate severally to the countries in which the different wars took place, and these parts have already been published and have appeared in every corner of the Roman empire. But from this point onward I shall no longer follow this principle of arrangement. For after my writings had appeared before the public, I was no longer able to add to each the events which happened afterwards, but all the later developments in these wars, and in the war against Persia as well, now that I have published the previous parts, will be written down in full in this present narrative, and thus the record which I shall make of these events will of necessity be composite.

Now all that took place up to the fourth year of the five-year truce which was made between the Romans and the Persians has already been recounted by me in the previous books. But in the succeeding year a Persian army in vast numbers invaded the land of Colchis. In command of this army was a Persian, Chorianes by name, a man of wide experience in many wars, and a large number of barbarians of the tribe of the Alani followed him as allies. When this army had come to a part of Lazica, which is called Mocheresis, they made camp in a suitable position and remained there. Now there is a river in that place, the Hippis, not a large or navigable stream, but actually passable for both horsemen and foot-soldiers, and it was on the right of this that they made their entrenchment, not along the bank, but at a considerable distance from it.

At this point in my narrative it has seemed to me not inappropriate to pause a moment, in order that the geography of Lazica may be clear to those who read this history and that they may know what races of men inhabit that region, so that they may not be compelled to discuss matters which are obscure to them, like men fighting shadows; I shall therefore give an account of the distribution of the peoples who live about the Euxine Sea, as it is called, not that I am ignorant that these things have been written down by some of the men of earlier times also, but because I believe that not all their statements are accurate. Some of these writers, for example, have stated that the territory of the Trapezuntines is adjoined either by the Sani, who at the present day are called Tzani, or by the Colchians, calling another people Lazi, who are actually addressed by this name at the present day. And yet neither of these statements is true. For, in the first place, the Tzani live at a very great distance from the coast as neighbours of the Armenians in the interior, and many mountains stand between which are thoroughly impassable and altogether precipitous, and there is an extensive area always devoid of human habitation, canons from which it is impossible to climb out, forested heights, and impassable chasms — all these prevent the Tzani from being on the sea. In the

second place, it is impossible that the Lazi should not be the Colchians, because they inhabit the banks of the Phasis River; and the Colchians have merely changed their name at the present time to Lazi, just as nations of men and many other things do. But apart from this, a long period of time has elapsed since these accounts were written, and has brought about constant changes along with the march of events, with the result that many of the conditions which formerly obtained have been replaced by new conditions, because of the migration of nations and successive changes of rulers and of names. These things it has seemed to me very necessary to investigate, not relating the mythological tales about them nor other antiquated material, nor even telling in what part of the Euxine Sea the poets say Prometheus was bound (for I consider that history is very widely separated from mythology), but stating accurately and in order both the names of each of those places and the facts that apply to them at the present day.

II

This Pontus, then, begins from Byzantium and Calchedon and ends at the land of the Colchians.

And as one sails into it, the land on the right is inhabited by the Bithynians, and next after them by the Honoriatae and the Paphlagonians, who have, besides other towns, the coast cities of Heraclea and Ainastris; beyond them are the people called Pontici as far as the city of Trapezus and its boundaries. In that region are a number of towns on the coast, among which are Sinope and Amisus, and close to Amisus is the town called Themiscyra and the river Thermodon, where they say the army of the Amazons originated. But concerning the Amazons I shall write a little later. From here the territory of the Trapezuntines extends to the village of Susurmena and the place called Rhizaeum, which is two days' journey distant from Trapezus as one goes toward Lazica along the coast. But now that I have mentioned Trapezus, I must not omit the very strange thing which takes place there; for the honey which is produced in all the places around Trapezus is bitter, this being the only place where it is at variance with its established reputation. On the right of these places rise all the mountains of Tzanica, and beyond them are the Armenians, who are subject to the Romans.

Now from these mountains of Tzanica the Boas River descends, a stream which, after passing into innumerable jungles and traversing a mountainous region, flows along by the land of Lazica and empties into the Euxine Sea, as it is called, but no longer keeping the name of Boas. For when it gets near the sea it loses this name and thereafter bears another, which it acquires from the character which it now displays. This name which the natives apply to it for the rest of its course is Acampsis, and they so name it, obviously, because it is impossible to force a way through it after it has entered the sea, since it discharges its stream with such force and swiftness, causing a great disturbance of the water before it, that it goes out for a very great distance into the sea and makes it impossible to coast along at that point. And those who are navigating in that part of the Pontus, whether sailing toward Lazica or even putting out from there, are not able to hold a straight course in their voyage; for they are quite unable to push through the river's current, but they must needs put out to a very great distance into the sea there, going somewhere near the middle of the Pontus, and only in this way can they escape the force of the river's discharge. So much, then, may be said regarding the Boas River.

Beyond Rhizaeum there is found a territory occupied by independent peoples, who live between the Romans and the Lazi. And there is a certain village there named Athenae, not, as some suppose, because colonists from Athens settled there, but because a certain woman named Athenaea in early times ruled over the land, and the tomb of this woman is there even to my day.

Beyond Athenae are Archabis and Apsarus, an ancient city which is about three days' journey from Rhizaeum. This was called Apsyrtus in ancient times, having come to be named after the man on account of his catastrophe. For in that place the natives say that Apsyrtus was removed from the world by the plot of Medea and Jason, and that from this circumstance the place received its name; for he died on that spot and the place was named after him. But an extremely long time has elapsed since these events, while countless generations of men have flourished, and the mere passage of time has thus availed to efface from memory the succession of incidents from which this name arose and to transform the name of the place to the form in which it appears at the present. There is also a tomb of this Apsyrtus to the east of the city. This was a populous city in ancient times, and a great expanse of wall surrounded it, while it was adorned with a theatre and hippodrome and all the rest of those things by which the size of a city is commonly indicated. But at the present nothing of these is left except the foundations of the buildings.

It is now clear that one might with good reason wonder at those who assert that the Colchians are adjacent to the Trapezuntines. For on this hypothesis it would appear that after Jason in company with Medea had captured the fleece, he actually did not flee toward Hellas and his own land, but backward to the Phasis River and the barbarians in the most remote interior. Now they say that in the time of the Roman Emperor Trajan detachments of Roman soldiers were stationed there and as far as the Lazi and Saginae. But at the present time people live there who are neither subjects of the Romans nor of the king of the Lazi, except indeed that the bishops of the Lazi appoint their priests, seeing they are Christians. And wishing, as they do, to live in peace and friendship with both peoples, they have made a permanent agreement to provide an escort for those who from time to time travel from the one country to the other; and it appears that they have been doing this even down to my time. For they escort the messengers despatched from the one king to the other, sailing in boats of their own. However, they have become in no way tributary down to the present time. On the right of these places very abrupt mountains tower overhead and a barren land extends to an indefinite distance. And beyond this the so-called Persarmenians dwell, as well as the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, extending as far as the confines of Iberia.

From the city of Apsarus to Petra and the boundary of Lazica, where the Euxine Sea reaches its limit, is a journey of one day. Now as this sea comes to an end here, its coast takes the form of a crescent. And the distance across this crescent amounts to about five hundred and fifty stades, while the entire country behind it is Lazica and is known under this name. Behind them in the interior are Scymnia and Suania; these nations happen to be subjects of the Lazi. Indeed, although these peoples do have magistrates of their own blood, still, whenever any of the magistrates reaches the end of his life, it is always customary for another one to be appointed in his place by the king of the Lazi. At the side of this land and bordering upon Iberia proper for the most part

dwell the Meschi, who have been from ancient times subjects of the Iberians, having their dwellings on the mountains. But the mountains of the Meschi are not rough nor unproductive of crops, but they abound in all good things, since the Meschi, for their part, are skilful farmers and there are actually vineyards in their country. However, this land is hemmed in by mountains which are very lofty and covered by forests so that they are exceedingly difficult to pass through. And these mountains extend as far as the Caucasus, while behind them toward the east is Iberia, extending as far as Persarmenia.

Now through the mountains which rise here the Phasis River emerges, having its source in the Caucasus and its mouth at the middle of the crescent of the Pontus. Because of this some consider that it forms the boundary between the two continents; for the land on the left as one goes down this stream is Asia, but that on the right is named Europe. Now it so happens that all the habitations of the Lazi are on the European side, while on the opposite side there is neither fortress nor stronghold nor any village of consequence held by the Lazi, except indeed the city of Petra which the Romans built there in earlier times. It was somewhere in this part of Lazica, as the inhabitants say, that the famous Heece was placed for safe keeping, that fleece on account of which, as the poets tell the tale, the Argo was fashioned. But in saying this they are, in my opinion, not telling the truth at all. For I think that Jason would not have eluded Aeetes and got away from there with the fleece in company with Medea, unless both the palace and the other dwellings of the Colchians had been separated by the Phasis River from the place in which that fleece was lying; indeed the poets who have recorded the story imply that this was the case. So the Phasis, flowing as I have said, empties into the Euxine Sea approximately at the very point where it comes to an end. Now at the one end of the crescent, that, namely, which is in Asia, was the city of Petra, while on the opposite coast which forms a part of Europe the territory is held by the Apsilii; these Apsilii are subjects of the Lazi and have been Christians from ancient times, just as all the other nations which I have mentioned up to this point in my narrative.

III

Above and beyond this country are the mountains of the Caucasus. This mountain range which composes the Caucasus rises to such a great height that its summits are in fact never touched either by rain or by snow; for they are indeed above all clouds. But the middle slopes are continually filled with snow down to the very base. And from this it may be inferred that the foothills are extremely high, being in no way inferior to the principal ridges of other mountains. Now the spurs of the Caucasus range extend in one direction to the north and west and continue into Illyricum and Thrace, while in the other direction they extend toward the east and south and reach as far as those very passes which provide entrance for the Hunnic nations inhabiting that region into both Persian and Roman territory. One of these passes is called Tzur, while the other has been named the Caspian Gates from ancient times. But this country which extends from the Caucasus range as far as the Caspian Gates is held by the Alani, an autonomous nation, who are for the most part allied with the Persians and march against the Romans and their other enemies. So much then may be said regarding the Caucasus.

The Huns who are called Sabiri dwell in that region, as well as certain other Hunnic tribes. And they say that the Amazons really originated here and afterwards established their camp near Themiscyra on the Thermodon River, as I have stated above, at the place where the city of Amisus is at the present time. But to-day nowhere in the vicinity of the Caucasus range is any memory of the Amazons preserved or any name connected with them, although much has been written about them both by Strabo and by some others. But it seems to me that those have spoken the truth about the Amazons at any rate better than any others, who have stated that there never was a race of women endowed with the qualities of men and that human nature did not depart from its established norm in the mountains of the Caucasus alone; but the fact was that barbarians from these regions together with their own women made an invasion of Asia with a great army, established a camp at the river Thermodon, and left their women there; then, while they themselves were overrunning the greater part of the land of Asia, they were encountered by the inhabitants of the land and utterly destroyed, and not a man of them returned to the women's encampment; and thereafter these women, through fear of the people dwelling round about and constrained by the failure of their supplies, put on manly valour, not at all of their own will, and, taking up the equipment of arms and armour left by the men in the camp and arming themselves in excellent fashion with this, they made a display of manly valour, being driven to do so by sheer necessity, until they were all destroyed. That this is about what happened and that the Amazons did make an expedition with their husbands, I too believe, basing my judgment on what has actually taken place in my time. For customs which are handed down to remote descendants give a

picture of the character of former generations. I mean this, that on many occasions when Huns have made raids into the Roman domain and have engaged in battle with those who encountered them, some, of course, have fallen there, and after the departure of the barbarians the Romans, in searching the bodies of the fallen have actually found women among them. No other army of women, however, has made its appearance in any locality of Asia or Europe. On the other hand, we have no tradition that the mountains of the Caucasus were ever devoid of men. Concerning the Amazons then let this suffice.

Beyond the Apsilii and the other end of the crescent the Abasgi dwell along the coast, and their country extends as far as the mountains of the Caucasus. Now the Abasgi have been from ancient times subjects of the Lazi, but they have always had two rulers of their own blood. One of these resided in the western part of their country, the other in the eastern part. And these barbarians even down to my time have worshipped groves and forests; for with a sort of barbarian simplicity they supposed the trees were gods. But they have suffered most cruelly at the hands of their rulers owing to the excessive avarice displayed by them.

For both their kings used to take such boys of this nation as they noted having comely features and fine bodies, and dragging them away from their parents without the least hesitation they would make them eunuchs and then sell them at high prices to any persons in Roman territory who wished to buy them. They also killed the fathers of these boys immediately, in order to prevent any of them from attempting at some time to exact vengeance from the king for the wrong done their boys, and also that there might be in the country no subjects suspected by the kings. And thus the physical beauty of their sons was resulting in their destruction; for the poor wretches were being destroyed through the misfortune of fatal comeliness in their children. And it was in consequence of this that the most of the eunuchs among the Romans, and particularly at the emperor's court, happened to be Abasgi by birth.

But during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian the Abasgi have changed everything and adopted a more civilised standard of life. For not only have they espoused the Christian doctrine, but the Emperor Justinian also sent them one of the eunuchs from the palace, an Abasgi by birth named Euphrates, and through him commanded their kings in explicit terms to mutilate no male thereafter in this nation by doing violence to nature with the knife. This the Abasgi heard gladly, and taking courage now because of the decree of the Roman emperor they began to strive with all their might to put an end to this practice. For each one of them had to dread that at some time he would become the father of a comely child. It was at that same time that the Emperor Justinian also built a sanctuary of the Virgin in their land, and appointed priests for them, and thus brought it about that they learned thoroughly all the observances of the Christians; and the Abasgi immediately dethroned both their kings and seemed to be living in a state of freedom. Thus

then did these things take place.

IV

Beyond the confines of the Abasgi along the Caucasus range dwell the Bruchi, who are between the Abasgi and the Alani, while along the coast of the Euxine Sea the Zechi have their habitation. Now in ancient times the Roman emperor used to appoint a king over the Zechi, but at present these barbarians are in no way subject to the Romans. Beyond these dwell the Saginae, and the Romans had held a portion of their coast from ancient times. And they had constructed two fortresses on the coast, Sebastopolis and Pityus, two days' journey apart, and maintained in them garrisons of soldiers from the first. For though in earlier times detachments of Roman soldiers held all the towns on the coast from the limits of Trapezus as far as the Saginae, as previously stated, it finally came about that these two fortresses were the only ones left them; and here they actually maintained their garrisons up to my day, [but no longer]; for Chosroes, the Persian king, having been brought in by invitation of the Lazi to Petra, made haste to send an army of Persians there who were to take possession of these fortresses and settle down to garrison duty in them. But the Roman soldiers succeeded in learning this in advance, and so, anticipating him, they fired the houses and razed the walls to the ground, and then with no hesitation embarked in small boats and made their way immediately to the city of Trapezus on the opposite mainland. Thus, while they did penalize the Roman empire by the destruction of the fortresses, they at the same time gained for it a great advantage in that the enemy did not become masters of the land. For as a result of their action the Persians returned baffled to Petra. Thus then did this take place.

Above the Saginae are settled numerous Hunnic tribes. And from there onward the country has received the name of Eulysia, and barbarian peoples hold both the coast and the interior of this land, as far as the so called Maeotic Lake and the Tanais River which empties into the lake. And this lake has its outlet at the coast of the Euxine Sea. Now the people who are settled there were named in ancient times Cimmerians, but now they are called Utigurs. And above them to the north the countless tribes of the Antae are settled. But beside the exact point where the outlet of the lake commences dwell the Goths who are called Tetraxitae, a people who are not very numerous, but they reverence and observe the rites of the Christians as carefully as any people do. (The inhabitants indeed give the name Tanais also to this outlet which starts from the Maeotic Lake and extends to the Euxine Sea, a distance, they say, of twenty days' journey. And they also call the wind which blows from there the Tanaitis.") Now as to whether these Goths were once of the Arian belief, as the other Gothic nations are, or whether the faith as practised by them has shewn some other peculiarity, I am unable to say, for they themselves are entirely ignorant on this subject, but at the present time they honour the faith in a spirit of complete simplicity and with no vain questionings.

This people a short time ago (when, namely, the Emperor Justinian was in the twenty-first year of his reign) sent four envoys to Byzantium, begging him to give them a bishop; for the one who had been their priest had died not long before and they had learned that the emperor had actually sent a priest to the Abasgi; and the Emperor Justinian very willingly complied with their request before dismissing them. Now these envoys were moved by fear of the Utigur Huns in making the public declaration of the object of their coming — for there were many who heard their speeches — and so they made no statement whatever to the emperor openly except regarding the matter of the priest, but meeting him with the greatest possible secrecy, they declared everything, shewing how it would benefit the Roman empire if the barbarians who were their neighbours should be always on hostile terms with one another. Now as to the manner in which the Tetraxitae settled there and whence they migrated, I shall now proceed to tell.

V

In ancient times a vast throng of the Huns who were then called Cimmerians ranged over this region which I have just mentioned, and one king had authority over them all. And at one time the power was secured by a certain man to whom two sons were born, one of whom was named Utigur and the other Cutrigur. These two sons, when their father came to the end of his life, divided the power between them, and each gave his own name to his subjects; for the one group has been called Utigurs and the other Cutrigurs even to my time. All these now continued to live in this region, associating freely in all the business of life, but not mingling with the people who were settled on the other side of the lake and its outlet; for they never crossed these waters at any time nor did they suspect that they could be crossed, being fearful of that which was really easy, simply because they had never even attempted to cross them, and they remained utterly ignorant of the possibility.

Now beyond the Maecotic Lake and the outlet flowing from it the first people were the Goths called Tetraxitae, whom I have just mentioned, who in ancient times lived close along the shore of this strait; but the Goths and the Visigoths and Vandals were located far away from them as were other Gothic nations. These Tetraxitae were called also Scythians in ancient times, because all the nations who held these regions are called in general Scythians, while a few of them had an additional designation such as Sauromatae or Melanchlaenae or something else.

But as time went on, they say (if, indeed, the story is sound), some youths of the Cimmerians were engaged in hunting, and a single doe which was fleeing before them leaped into these waters. And the youths, either moved by a thirst for glory or in some sort of competition, or perhaps it was really some deity which constrained them, followed after this doe and refused absolutely to let her go, until they came with her to the opposite shore. And then the quarry, whatever it was, immediately disappeared from sight; for in my opinion it appeared there for no other purpose than that evil might befall the barbarians who lived in that region. Thus, while the youths did fail in their hunt, they found an incentive to battle and plunder. For they returned as fast as they could to their own land, and thus made it clear to all the Cimmerians that these waters could be crossed by them. Accordingly they immediately took up arms as a nation, and making the crossing with no delay got on the opposite mainland; this was at a time when the Vandals had already migrated from there and established themselves in Libya; while the Visigoths had taken up their abode in Spain. So they suddenly fell upon the Goths who inhabited these plains and slew many of them and turned the rest to flight. And as many as succeeded in escaping them migrated thence with their children and wives, leaving their ancestral abodes, and by ferrying across the Ister River they came into the land of the Romans.

And at first they committed many outrages against the inhabitants of that region, but later, with the emperor's permission, they settled in Thrace; and during part of this time they were fighting on the side of the Romans, receiving pay from the emperor every year just as the other soldiers did and being called "foederati"; for so the Romans at that time called them in the Latin tongue, meaning to shew, I suppose, that the Goths had not been defeated by them in war, but had come into peaceful relations with them on the basis of some treaty; for the Latins call treaties in war "foedera," as I have explained in the previous narrative; but during the rest of the time they were actually waging war against the Romans for no good reason, until they went off to Italy under the leadership of Theoderic. Thus then did the Goths fare.

But the Huns, after killing some of them and driving out the others, as stated, took possession of the land. And the Cutrigurs, on the one hand, summoned their children and wives and settled there in the very place where they have dwelt even to my time. And although they receive from the emperor many gifts every year, they still cross the Ister River continually and overrun the emperor's land, being both at peace and at war with the Romans. The Utigurs, however, departed homeward with their leader, being destined to live alone in that land thereafter. Now when these Huns came near the Maeotic Lake, they chanced upon the Goths there who are called Tetraxitae. And at first the Goths formed a barrier with their shields and made a stand against their assailants in their own defence, trusting both in their own strength and the advantage of their position; for they are the most stalwart of all the barbarians of that region. Now the head of the outlet of the Maeotic Lake, where the Tetraxitae Goths were then settled, forms a crescent-shaped bay by which they were almost completely surrounded, so that only one approach, and that not a very wide one, was open to those who attacked them. But afterwards, seeing that the Huns were unwilling to waste any time there and the Goths were quite hopeless of holding out for a long time against the throng of their enemy, they came to an understanding with each other, agreeing that they should join forces and make the crossing in common, and that the Goths should settle on the opposite mainland, principally along the bank of the outlet (where they are actually settled at the present time), and that they should continue to be thereafter friends and allies of the Utigurs and live for ever on terms of complete equality with them. Thus it was that these Goths settled here, and the Cutrigurs, as I have said, being left behind in the land on the other side of the lake, the Utigurs alone possessed the land, making no trouble at all for the Romans, because they do not even dwell near them, but, being separated by many nations which lie between, they are forced, by no will of their own, not to meddle with them.

West of the Maeotic Lake, then, and the Tanais River the Cutrigur Huns established their homes over the greater part of the plains of that region, as I have said; and beyond them Scythians and Taurians hold the entire country, a certain part of which is even now called Taurica; and this is the place where

they say the Temple of Artemis was, over which Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia once presided. The Armenians, however, claim that this temple was in the part of their land called Celesene, and that at that period all the peoples of this region were called Scythians, citing as evidence the story of Orestes and the city of Comana related by me in that part of my narrative. But as regards these matters, let each one speak according to his wish; for many things which happened elsewhere, or which, perhaps, never really happened at all, men are wont to appropriate to their own country, being indignant if all do not follow their opinion.

Beyond these nations there is an inhabited city on the coast, Bosphorus by name, which became subject to the Romans not long ago. From the city of Bosphorus to the city of Cherson, which is situated on the coast and has likewise been subject to the Romans from of old, all between is held by barbarians, Hunnic nations. And two other towns near Cherson, named Cepi and Phanaguris, have been subject to the Romans from ancient times and even to my day. But these not long ago were captured by some of the neighbouring barbarians and razed to the ground. From the city of Cherson to the mouth of the Ister River, which is also called the Danube, is a journey of ten days, and barbarians hold that whole region. Now the Ister River rises in the Celtic mountains, skirts the boundaries of Italy, flows into the lands of Dacia, Illyricum, and Thrace, and finally empties into the Euxine Sea. From that point all the territory as far as Byzantium is under the sway of the Roman emperor.

Such is the circuit of the Euxine Sea from Calchedon to Byzantium. As to the length of this circuit, however, I am unable to speak accurately regarding all portions of it, since such vast numbers of barbarians, as stated above, dwell along its shores, and the Romans have no intercourse at all with any of them except for an occasional interchange of embassies; indeed those who have attempted heretofore to ascertain these measurements have not been able to make any definite statement. This, however, is clear, that the right side of the Euxine Sea, from Calchedon, namely, to the Phasis River, is a journey of fifty-two days for an unencumbered traveller. From this fact one could not unreasonably draw the conclusion that the length of the other side of the Pontus likewise is not far from this.

VI

Since we have now reached an appropriate point in the narrative, it has seemed to me not out of place to mention the opinions concerning the boundaries of Asia and Europe which are debated among those who are experts in these matters. For, on the one hand, some of them say that these two continents are separated by the Tanais River, stoutly maintaining first of all that the division must be a natural one, and further supporting their claim by the fact that, while the sea extends from the west toward the east, the Tanais River flows from the north toward the south between the two continents; similarly, they say, the Egyptian Nile proceeds in the opposite direction from the south to the north and flows between Asia and Libya. On the other hand, others taking issue directly with them maintain that their reasoning is not sound. For they say that these two continents are divided originally by the strait at Gadira, which issues from the ocean, and by the sea which extends from that point, and that the land on the right of the strait and the sea received the names of Libya and Asia, while everything on the left was called Europe approximately as far as the end of the so-called Euxine Sea.

But on this hypothesis the Tanais River rises within the limits of Europe and empties into the Maeotic Lake, which in turn discharges its waters into the Euxine Sea neither at its end nor even at its middle, but actually beyond it. Yet the land on the left of this same sea is counted as a portion of Asia. But apart from this the river Tanais rises in the so-called Rhipaeen mountains, which are in the land of Europe, as, in fact, those who have written of these matters from ancient times agree. Now the Ocean is very far removed from these Rhipaeen mountains; consequently all the land beyond them and the Tanais River in both directions must necessarily be European. Just at what point, then, the Tanais River begins to divide the two continents it is not easy to say. But if any river must be said to divide the two continents, that river would surely be the Phasis. For it flows in a direction opposite to that of the strait of Gadira, and so passes between the two continents; for while the strait, coming out of the ocean and forming this sea, has these two continents, one on either side, the Phasis River flows almost at the end of the Euxine Sea and empties into the middle of the crescent, obviously continuing the division of the land heretofore made by the sea. These then are the arguments which the two sides put forth as they wrangle over the question.

But not only the former argument, but also that which I have just stated, can boast, as I shall shew, of high antiquity and the support of some men of very ancient times, for I am aware that as a general thing all men, if they first discover an ancient argument, are no longer willing to devote themselves to the labour involved in the search for truth nor to learn instead some later theory about the matter in hand, but the more ancient view always seems to them sound and worthy of honour, while contemporary opinions are

considered negligible and are classed as absurd. Furthermore, in the present case the investigation is not concerned with any matter to be grasped only by the mind or the intellect, or that is in any other way obscure, but with rivers and lands: these are things which time has not been able either to change or to conceal in any way. For the test is near at hand and vision can provide most satisfactory evidence, and I think no obstacle will be placed in the way of those eager to discover the truth. To proceed, then, Herodotus of Halicarnassus in the Fourth Book of his History says that the entire earth is one, but is considered to be divided into three parts, having three separate titles, Libya, Asia, and Europe. And between two of them, on the one hand, Libya and Asia namely, flows the Egyptian Nile, while Asia and Europe, on the other hand, are divided by the Colchian Phasis. But knowing as he did that some thought that the Tanais River performed this function, he mentioned this view also afterwards. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to insert in my narrative the actual language of Herodotus, which is as follows. "Nor am I able to conjecture for what reason it is that, though the earth is one, three names are applied to it which are women's names. And its lines of division have been established as the Egyptian Nile and the Colchian Phasis. But others name the Tanais River, which empties into the Maeotic Lake and the Cimmerian Strait." Also the tragic poet Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Unbound*, at the very beginning of the tragedy, calls the Phasis River the limit of the land of both Asia and Europe.

At this point I shall also mention the fact that some of those who are versed in such matters think that the Maeotic Lake forms the Euxine Sea, and that it spreads out from this lake partly to the right and partly to the left, this being the reason why the lake is called the mother of the Pontus. And they make this statement on the basis of the observation that from the place called Hieron the outlet of this sea flows down toward Byzantium just as if it were a river, and consequently they consider this to be the limit of the Pontus. But those who oppose this view explain that the entire sea is, of course, one, coming from the ocean, and, without any other ending, extends to the land of the Lazi, unless, indeed, they say, anyone considers the mere change of name to constitute a real difference, seeing that the sea is called Pontus beyond a certain point.

But if the current does flow down from the place called Hieron to Byzantium, this has nothing to do with the matter. For the phenomena which are exhibited in all straits appear to be susceptible of no explanation, nor has anyone ever shewn himself able to account for them. Indeed it was this question which led Aristotle of Stagira, a man prominent among all others as a philosopher, to go to Chalcis on Euboea, where he observed the strait which they call Euripus in an effort to discover by careful investigation the physical reason why it is and in what manner it comes about that sometimes the current of the strait flows from the west, but at other times from the east, and the sailing of all boats there is governed by this fact; whenever, for example, the current is running from the east and the mariners have begun to sail their boats

from that direction following the inflow of the water, as they are accustomed to do, if then the current turns upon itself, a thing which is wont to happen there many a time, it immediately turns these boats back in the direction from which they have started, while the other boats sail from the west to the opposite end, even though no wind has blown upon them in the least but deep calm prevails there with all winds absent; all this the Stagirite observed and pondered for a long time, until he worried himself to death with anxious thought and so reached the term of his life. But this is not an isolated case, for in the strait also which separates Italy from Sicily nature plays many strange tricks. For it appears that the current runs into this strait from the sea called the Adriatic, and this in spite of the fact that the forward movement of the sea takes place from the ocean and Gadeira. But there are also numerous whirlpools which appear there suddenly from no cause apparent to us and destroy the ships. It is on account of this that the poets say that the boats are gulped down by Charybdis, when any chance to be in this strait at such a time. But the advocates of the second view think that all these exceedingly strange phenomena which present themselves in all straits come about in consequence of the two sides coming very close to each other; for the water, they say, being constrained by the limited space, is subject to some strange and unaccountable compulsion.

Consequently, if the current does actually seem to flow from the place called Hieron to Byzantium, no one could reasonably maintain that the sea and the Euxine end at that point. For this view rests upon no solid basis of nature, but here again the narrowness of the channel must be considered the determining factor. Indeed not even this is all that happens here; for the fishermen of the towns on the Bosphorus say that the whole stream does not flow in the direction of Byzantium, but while the upper current which we can see plainly does flow in this direction, the deep water of the abyss, as it is called, moves in a direction exactly opposite to that of the upper current and so flows continually against the current which is seen. Consequently, whenever in going after a catch of fish they cast their nets there anywhere, these are always carried by the force of the current in the direction of Hieron.

But at Lazica the land checks the advance of the sea on all sides and puts a stop to its course, and thus makes its first and only ending at that point, the Creator obviously having set bounds there for sea and land. For when the sea encounters that beach, it neither advances farther nor does it rise to any higher level, although it is constantly receiving the inflow of countless rivers of extraordinary size which empty into it from all sides, but it falls back and returns again and thus, while making the beach of normal width, it preserves the boundary set by the land as if fearing some law, and, through the necessity prescribed by this, checking itself with precision and taking care not to be found to have transgressed the covenant in any way. For all the other shores of the sea do not face it, but lie along its side. But concerning these matters let each man form his decision and speak as he wishes.

VII

Now the reason why Chosroes was eager to get possession of Lazica has already been stated by me in a previous passage, but that particular consideration which above everything else impelled him and the Persians to desire this I shall here set forth, now that I have given a description of this whole country and so made clear my statement of this matter. Many times these barbarians, under the leadership of Chosroes, had invaded the Roman domain with a mighty army, and while they had indicted upon their enemy sufferings not easy to describe, as has been told by me in the books on this subject, still they gained from these invasions no advantage whatsoever and had also to bear the loss of both treasure and lives: for they always departed from the Roman domain having lost many men. Consequently, after they had returned to their own land, they would very privately rail against Chosroes and call him the destroyer of the Persian nation. And on one such occasion when they had returned from Lazica, seeing that they had suffered terrible losses there, they were actually on the point of combining openly against him and doing away with him by a most cruel death, and would have done so had he not learned in advance and guarded against it by winning over the most notable of them by assiduous wheedling. As a result of this incident he wished to remove the sting from the accusation, and to this end was eager to gain some great advantage for the Persian Empire.

He accordingly made an attempt upon the city of Daras, but met with reverse there, as I have told, and came to a state of utter despair regarding the capture of the place. For neither could he thereafter capture it by a surprise assault, seeing that the guards of the city were so alert, nor indeed did he entertain the hope that he would by any device get the better of them in a siege. For there is always an abundant supply of all manner of provisions in the city of Daras stored away against a siege, so that it may last for a great length of time, and close by there is a spring placed by nature among precipices, forming a large river which flows straight towards the city, and those who seek to interfere with it are unable to turn it to any other course or otherwise do violence to it on account of the rough character of the terrain. But as soon as this river gets inside the circuit-wall, it flows about the entire city, filling its cisterns, and then flows out, and very close to the circuit-wall it falls into a chasm, where it is lost to sight. And where it emerges from there has become known to no man up to this time. Now this chasm was not there in ancient times, but a long time after the Emperor Anastasius built this city nature unaided fashioned and placed it there, and for this reason it comes about that those desiring to draw a siege about the city of Daras are very hard pressed by scarcity of water.

So Chosroes, having failed in this attempt, as I have said, came to the conclusion that, even if he should be able to gain some other Roman city, he

would still never be able to establish himself in the midst of the Romans while many strongholds were left behind in the hands of his enemy. Indeed it was for this reason that he razed Antioch to the ground when he captured it and so departed from Roman soil. Consequently his thoughts soared aloft and were carried toward more distant hopes as he sought after impossible things. For having learned by report how those barbarians on the left of the Euxine Sea who dwell about the Maeotic Lake overrun fearlessly the Roman domain, he kept saying that it would be possible for the Persians, if they held Lazica, to go, whenever they wished, straight to Byzantium with no trouble and without crossing the sea at all, just as the other barbarian nations who are settled in that region are constantly doing. For this reason, then, the Persians are trying to gain Lazica. But I shall return to the point where I made this digression from the narrative.

VIII

Chorienes, then, and the Median army had made their camp near the Hippis River. And when Gubazes, the Colchian king, and Dagisthaeus, who commanded the Roman army, learned this, they formed a common plan and led forth the Roman and Lazic army against the enemy. And when they had come to the opposite side of the Hippis River and had made their camp there, they began to consider the situation, debating whether it would be more to their advantage to wait there and receive the enemy's attack or whether they should advance upon their enemy, in order, of course, that by displaying their daring to the Persians and by making it obvious to their opponents that they were filled with contempt as they went against them, they might, by assuming the offensive in the combat, be able to humble the spirit of the men arrayed against them. And since the opinion of those prevailed who urged an advance upon the enemy, the whole army straightway hastened toward them. Thereupon the Lazi would no longer consent to fight beside the Romans, putting forth the objection that the Romans, on the one hand, in entering the struggle, were not risking their lives for their fatherland or their most precious possessions, while for them the danger involved their children and their wives and their ancestral land; so that they would have to blush before their own women, if it should so fall out that they were defeated by their opponents. Indeed they imagined that under this stress they would improvise the valour which was not in them. And they were filled with zeal to engage with the enemy by themselves first, so that the Romans might not throw them into confusion during the action through not having the same zeal as they had in meeting the danger. After the Lazi had begun to shew this spirit of bravado, Gubazes became well pleased, and calling them together a little apart from the Romans he exhorted them as follows.

"Fellow-men, I know not whether it is necessary to address any exhortation to you to impel you to be of good courage. For those men whose enthusiasm is upheld by the necessity of circumstances would, I think, need no further exhortation, and this is the case with us, in the present crisis at any rate. For it is your women and children and your ancestral land, and, to speak plainly, your all, which is involved in this danger, for it is to secure these that the Persians are coming upon us. For no one in the whole world gives way to those who are seeking by violence to rob him of any of his possessions, for nature compels him to fight for his property. And you are not ignorant that nothing stops the avarice of the Persians when they have come to have power in their grasp, and if at the present time they prevail over us in the war, they will not stop with simply ruling us or imposing taxes or treating us in other matters as subjects, — a statement which we can test by our own memory of what Chosroes attempted upon us not long ago. But let me not even so much as mention the experience we have had with the Persians, and let not the name

of the Lazi come to an end. And the struggle against the Medes, my fellow-men, is not a hard one for us who have many times grappled with them and prevailed over them in the fight. For a task which has become thoroughly familiar entails no difficulty whatever, the necessary labour having been previously expended in practice and experience. Consequently we shall be obliged because of this fact actually to despise the enemy as having been defeated in previous combats and having no such ground for courage as you have. For when the spirit has been humbled, it is by no means wont to mount again. Holding these thoughts then before your minds, advance with high hopes to close with the enemy."

After making such a speech Gubazes led out the army of the Lazi, and they arrayed themselves as follows. As a vanguard the cavalry of the Lazi advanced in order against the foe, while the Roman cavalry followed them, not at a short interval, but very far in the rear. This particular Roman force was under the leadership of Philegagus, a Gepaid by birth and an energetic man, and of John the Armenian, son of Thomas, an exceptionally able warrior who was known by the surname Guzes, and who has been mentioned already in the previous narrative. Behind these followed Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, and Dagisthaeus, the general of the Romans, with the infantry of both armies, reasoning that, should it come about that the cavalry were routed, they would be saved very easily by falling back on them. So the Romans and the Lazi arrayed themselves in this manner; Chorianes meanwhile selected from his army a thousand men equipped with the corselet and in all other respects most thoroughly armed, and sent them forward as a scouting party, while he himself with all the rest of the army marched in the rear, leaving behind in the camp a garrison of only a few men. Now the cavalry of the Lazi which had gone ahead shewed in what they did scant regard for their professions, denouncing by their actions the hopes which they had previously aroused. For when they came suddenly upon the advance party of the enemy, they did not bear the sight of them, but straightway wheeled their horses and began to gallop back to the rear in complete disorder; and pressing onward they mingled with the Romans, not declining to take refuge with the very men beside whom they had previously been unwilling to array themselves. But when the two forces came close to each other, neither side at first opened the attack or joined battle, but each army drew back as their opponents advanced and in turn followed them as they retired, and they consumed much time in retreats and counter-pursuits and swiftly executed changes of front.

But there was a certain Artabanus in that Roman army, a Persarmenian by birth, who had, as it happened, deserted long before to the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, not as a simple deserter however, but by the slaughter of one hundred and twenty Persian warriors he had given the Romans a pledge of his loyalty to them. For he had come before Valerian, who at that time was a general in Armenia and requested him to give him fifty Romans; and upon getting what he wished he proceeded to a fortress situated in

Persarmenia. There a garrison of one hundred and twenty Persians received him with his company into the fortress, it not being as yet clear that he had changed his allegiance and gone over to the enemy. He then slew the hundred and twenty men and plundered all the money in the fortress — and there was an enormous quantity of it — and so came to Valerian and the Roman army, and having thus proved himself faithful to them, he thereafter marched with the Romans. This Artabanus in the present battle placed himself in the space between the armies, taking with him two of the Roman soldiers, and thither came some of the enemy also. Artabanus charged these men, and engaging with one of the Persians who was a man of high valour and great bodily prowess, he straightway slew him with his spear and throwing him from his horse brought him down to the ground. But one of the barbarians standing beside the fallen man smote Artabanus on the head with a sword, but not with a mortal stroke. Then one of the followers of Artabanus, a Goth by birth, attacked this man, and while he still held his hand at Artabanus' head, smote him with a well-directed blow in the left flank and laid him low. Thereupon the thousand, being terrified at what had taken place, began to withdraw to the rear, where they awaited Chorianes and the rest of the army of Persians and Alani, and in a short time mingled with them.

By this time the infantry under Gubazes and Dagisthaeus also came up with their cavalry and both armies closed to a hand-to-hand encounter.

At this point Philegagus and John, thinking they were too few to bear the onset of the barbarian horse, particularly because they had no confidence in the power of the Lazi, leaped from their horses and compelled all to do the same, both Romans and Lazi. They then arrayed themselves on foot in a very deep phalanx, and all stood with a front facing the enemy and thrusting out their spears against them. But the barbarians knew not what to make of it, for they were neither able to charge their opponents, who were now on foot, nor could they break up their phalanx, because the horses, annoyed by the points of the spears and the clashing of the shields, balked; and so they all resorted to their bows, emboldened by the hope that by a multitude of missiles they would very easily turn their enemy to flight. The Romans likewise and all the Lazi began to do exactly the same thing. So from each side the arrows were flying in great numbers into both armies, and on both sides many men were falling. Now the Persians and Alani were discharging their missiles in a practically continuous stream and much faster than their opponents. However, the Roman shields checked the most of them.

In the course of this battle Chorianes, the commander of the Persians, happened to be hit. But by whom this man was wounded was not clear to anyone; for some chance guided the shaft as it came out of a crowded mass of men, fastened itself in the man's neck, and killed him outright, and by one man's death the battle was inclined and victory fell to the Romans. For as he fell from his horse to the ground on his face and lay there, the barbarians went in a wild rush to their stockade, while the Rinnans with the Lazi followed

upon their heels and slew many, hoping to capture with one rush the camp of their opponents. But one of the Alani, who was a man of great courage and bodily strength and who knew unusually well how to shoot rapidly to either side, took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, which was very narrow, and unexpectedly blocked the way for the oncoming Romans for a long time. But John, the son of Thomas, approached alone very close to him and slew the man with a spear, and thus the Romans and Lazi captured the camp. And great numbers indeed of the barbarians were destroyed there, and the remainder betook themselves away to their native land, each one as he found it possible to get there. So this invasion of the Persians into the land of Colchis ended in this way. Meanwhile another Persian army, after fortifying the garrison at Petra with an abundance of provisions and all other supplies, had departed on their way.

IX

IN the meantime the following took place. The Lazi began to slander Dagisthaeus to the emperor, going to Byzantium to do so, charging him with treason and Medizing. For they declared that he had yielded to the persuasion of the Persians in refusing to establish himself inside the fallen circuit-wall of Petra, while the enemy in the interval had filled bags with sand and laid courses with them instead of stones, and thus had made secure such parts of the circuit-wall as had fallen down. And they stated that Dagisthaeus, whether impelled to do so by a bribe or through negligence, had postponed the attack to some other time, and had thus let slip for the moment the precious opportunity which, of course, he had never again been able to grasp. The emperor consequently confined him in the prison and kept him under guard; he then appointed Bessas, who had returned not long before from Italy, General of Armenia and sent him to Lazica with instructions to command the Roman army there. Vendus, the brother of Buzes, had also been sent there already with an army, as well as Odonachus, Babas from Thrace, and Uligagus of the Eruli.

Now Nabedes had invaded Lazica with an army, but he accomplished nothing of consequence beyond spending some time with this army among the Abasgi, who had revolted from the Romans and Lazi, and taking from them sixty children of their notables as hostages. It was at that time that Nabedes as an incident of his journey captured Theodora, the consort of Opsites (he was uncle of Gubazes and king of the Lazi), finding her among the Apsilii, and he carried her off to the land of Persia. Now this woman happened to be a Roman by birth, for the kings of the Lazi from ancient times had been sending to Byzantium, and, with the consent of the emperor, arranging marriages with some of the senators and taking home their wives from there. In fact Gubazes was sprung from a Roman family on his mother's side. But the reason why these Abasgi turned to revolt I shall now set forth.

When they had removed from power their own kings, as has been told by me above, Roman soldiers sent by the emperor began to be quartered among them very generally, and they sought to annex the land to the Roman empire imposing certain new regulations upon them. But because these were rather severe the Abasgi became exceedingly wroth. Fearing, consequently, that they would be mere slaves of the Romans thereafter, they again put their rulers in power, one named Opsites in the eastern part of their country, and Sceparnas in the western part. Thus, because they had fallen into despair of good things, they naturally enough sought to regain the status which had previously seemed to them grievous in place of their later estate, seeing this had been worse, and in consequence of this change they were in fear of the power of the Romans and as secretly as possible went over to the Persians. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he commanded Bessas to send a strong army

against them. He accordingly selected a large number from the Roman army, appointed to command them Uligagus and John the son of Thomas, and immediately sent them by sea against the Abasgi. Now it happened that one of the rulers of the Abasgi, the one named Sceparnas, was away for some reason among the Persians; for he had gone under summons not long before to Chosroes. But the other ruler, learning of the inroad of the Romans, mustered all the Abasgi and made haste to encounter them.

Now there is a place beyond the boundary of Apsilia on the road into Abasgia of the following description: a lofty ridge runs out from the Caucasus, and gradually sinks, as it runs along, to a lower level, resembling in a way a ladder, until it comes to an end at the Euxine Sea. And the Abasgi in ancient times built an exceedingly strong fortress of very considerable size on the lower slope of this mountain.

Here they always take refuge and repel the inroads of their enemies, who are in no way able to storm the difficult position. Indeed there is only one path leading to this fortress and to the rest of the land of the Abasgi, and this happens to be impassable for men marching by twos. For there is no possibility of getting along there except in single file and on foot, and that with difficulty. Above this path rises the side of an exceedingly rough gorge which extends from the fortress to the sea. And the place bears a name worthy of the gorge, for the inhabitants call it Trachea, using a Greek word.

So the Roman fleet put in between the boundaries of the Abasgi and Apisilii, and John and Uligagus disembarked their troops and proceeded on foot, while the sailors followed the army along the coast with all the boats. And when they came close to Trachea, they beheld the entire force of the Abasgi fully armed and standing in order along the whole gorge above the path which I have just mentioned, whereupon they fell into great perplexity because they were quite unable to handle the situation before them, until John, after reasoning long with himself, discovered a remedy for the trouble. For leaving Uligagus there with the half of the army, he himself took the others and manned the boats. And by rowing they rounded the place where Trachea was and passed it entirely and thus got in the rear of the enemy. Thereupon the Romans raised their standards and advanced. The Abasgi, then, seeing their enemy pressing upon them from both sides, no longer offered resistance nor even kept their ranks, but turning to withdraw in a very disorderly retreat they kept moving forward, but so impeded were they by their fear and the helplessness resulting therefrom that they were no longer able to find their way about the rough terrain of their native haunts, nor could they easily get away from the place. The Romans meanwhile were following them up from either side and caught and killed many. And they reached the fortress on the run together with the fugitives and found the small gate there still open; for the guards could by no means shut the gates, since they were still taking in the fugitives. So pursued and pursuers mingled together were all rushing toward the gate, the former eager to save themselves, the latter to capture the fortress.

Finding then the gates open, they charged through them together: for the gatekeepers were neither able to distinguish the Abasgi from the enemy nor to shut the gates to with the throng overpowering them.

And the Abasgi for their part, though feeling relief at getting inside the fortress, were actually being captured with the fortress, while the Romans, thinking they had mastered their opponents, found themselves involved there in a more difficult struggle. For the houses were numerous and not very far apart from each other — indeed they were even crowded close enough together so that they resembled a wall all round, and the Abasgi mounted them and defended themselves with all their strength by hurling missiles upon the heads of their enemy, struggling with might and main and filled with terror and with pity for their children and women, and consequently overcome with despair, until it occurred to the Romans to fire the houses. They accordingly set fire to them on all sides, and thus were completely victorious in this struggle. Now Opsites, the ruler of the Abasgi, succeeded in making his escape with only a few men, and withdrew to the neighbouring Huns and the Caucasus mountains. But the others were either charred and burned to ashes with their houses or fell into the hands of their enemy. The Romans also captured the women of their rulers with all their offspring, razed the defences of the fortress to the ground, and rendered the land desolate to a great distance. For the Abasgi, then, this was the result of their revolution. But among the Apsilii the following took place.

X

The Apsilii have been subjects of the Lazi from ancient times. Now there is in this country an exceedingly strong fortress which the natives call Tzibile. But one among the notables of the Lazi, Terdetes by name, who held the office of "magister," as it is called, in this nation, had had a falling out with Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, and was hostile to him; accordingly he secretly promised the Persians to hand over this particular fortress to them, and he came into Apsilia leading an army of Persians to accomplish this object. Then, when they came close to the fortress, he himself went ahead with his Lazic followers and got inside the fortifications, because those keeping guard there could in no way disobey the commander of the Lazi, feeling as they did no suspicion of him. Thus when the Persian army arrived Terdetes received it into the fortress. And as a result of this the Medes considered that not Lazica alone, but also Apsilia was held by them. Meanwhile neither the Romans nor the Lazi were in a position to defend the Apsilii, being hard pressed, as they were, by the task of dealing with Petra and the Median army.

But there was a certain woman who was the wife of the commander of the garrison there, one of the Apsilii, an exceedingly comely person to look upon. With this woman the commander of the Persian army suddenly fell violently in love, and at first he began to make advances, but after that, since he met with no encouragement from the woman, he attempted with no hesitation to force her. At this the husband of the woman became exceedingly enraged, and at night he slew both the commander and all those who had entered the fortress with him, who thus became incidentally victims of their commander's lust, and he himself took charge of the fortress. On account of this affair the Apsilii revolted from the Colchians, alleging against them that, whilst the Apsilii were being oppressed by the Persians, they had been altogether unwilling to champion their cause. But Gubazes sent a thousand Romans and John the son of Thomas, whom I have recently mentioned, against them; this man succeeded, after long efforts at conciliation, in winning them over without a fight and made them once more subjects of the Lazi. Such was the story of the Apsilii and the fortress of Tzibile.

At about this time it came about that Chosroes through his inhumanity did not remain unscathed even as regards his own offspring. For the eldest of his sons named Anasozadus (this means in the Persian tongue "Immortal") chanced to have a falling out with him, having been guilty of many breaches of conduct, and in particular having consorted with the wives of his father without the least hesitation. At first then Chosroes punished his son by banishment. Now there is a certain land in Persia called Vazaine, an exceedingly good country, in which the city named Belapaton is situated, seven days' journey distant from Ctesiphon. There at the command of his father this Anasozadus was living.

But at that time it so fell out that Chosroes became very violently ill, so that it was actually said that he had passed from the world; for Chosroes was by nature of a sickly disposition. Certain it is that he often gathered around him physicians from all parts, among whom was the physician Tribunus, a Palestinian by birth. This Tribunus was a man of great learning and inferior to none in medical skill, and was furthermore a temperate and God-fearing man of the highest worth. On one occasion he had cured Chosroes of a serious illness, and when he departed from the land of the Persians, he carried with him many and notable gifts from his patient. When, accordingly, the truce preceding the present one was made, Chosroes demanded of the Emperor Justinian that he give him this Tribunus to live with him for a year. This demand having been granted him, as stated by me above, Chosroes bade Tribunus ask for whatever he wanted. And he asked for nothing else in the world except that Chosroes should release for him some of the Roman captives. So he released three thousand for him, and besides these all whom he requested by name as being notable men among the captives, and as a result of this incident Tribunus won great renown among all men. Thus did these events take place.

When Anasozadus learned of the disease which had fallen upon his father, he began to stir up a revolution by way of usurping the royal power. And though his father recovered, he nevertheless set the city in revolt himself, and taking up arms against him went forth fully prepared for battle. When Chosroes heard this, he sent against him an army with Phabrizus as general. So Phabrizus having been victorious in the battle made Anasozadus captive and brought him before Chosroes not long afterward. And he caused the eyes of his son to be disfigured, not destroying their sight but distorting both the upper and lower lids in a very ugly fashion. For he heated a sort of iron needle in the fire and with this seared the outside of his son's eyes when they were shut, thus marring the beauty of the lids. Now Chosroes did this with only one end in view, that his son's hope of achieving the royal power might be frustrated. For the law does not permit a man who has a disfigurement to become king over the Persians, as has been stated by me in the preceding narrative also.

XI

[550 A.D.] As for Anasozadus, then, his fortune and his character brought him to this. And when the fifth year of the truce had now come to an end, the Emperor Justinian sent Petrus, a patrician and holding the office of "Magister," to Chosroes, in order that they might arrange in every detail the treaty for the settlement of the East. But Chosroes sent him away, promising that after no long time he would be followed by the man who would arrange these matters in a manner advantageous to both parties. And not long afterwards he sent Isdigousnas for the second time, a man of pretentious demeanour and filled with a kind of unspeakable villainy, whose pompous puffing and blowing no one of the Romans could bear. And he brought with him his wife and daughters and his brother, and was followed by a huge throng of retainers. One would have supposed that the good men were going out for battle. In his company also were two of the most notable men among the Persians, who actually wore golden diadems on their heads. And it irritated the people of Byzantium that the Emperor Justinian did not receive him simply as an ambassador, but counted him worthy of much more friendly attention and magnificence.

But Braducius did not come again with him to Byzantium, for they say that Chosroes had removed him from the world, laying no other charge against the man than that he had been a table-companion of the Roman emperor. "For," said he, "as a mere interpreter he would not have achieved such high honour from the emperor, unless he had betrayed the cause of the Persians." But some say that Isdigousnas slandered him, asserting that he had conversed secretly with the Romans. Now when this ambassador met the emperor for the first time, he spoke no word either small or great about peace, but he made the charge that the Romans had violated the truce, alleging that Arethas and the Saracens, who were allies of the Romans, had outraged Alamundarus in time of peace, and advancing other charges of no consequence which it has seemed to me not at all necessary to mention.

While these negotiations were going on in Byzantium, Bessas with the whole Roman army was entering upon the siege of Petra. First the Romans dug a trench along the wall just where Dagisthaeus had made his ditch when he pulled the wall down there. Now the reason why they dug in the same place I shall explain. Those who built this city originally placed the foundations of the circuit-wall for the most part upon rock, but here and there they were allowed to rest upon earth. And there was such a portion of the wall on the west side of the city of no great extent, on either side of which they had constructed the foundations of the circuit wall upon hard, unyielding rock. This was the portion which Dagisthaeus on the previous occasion and now Bessas likewise undermined, the character of the ground not permitting them to go further, but quite naturally determining the length of the trench for them

and controlling it naturally.

Consequently when the Persians, after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus, wished to build up this part of the wall which had fallen down, they did not follow the previous plan in its construction, but did as follows. Filling the excavated space with gravel, they laid upon it heavy timbers which they had planed very thoroughly, making them entirely smooth, and then they bound them together so as to cover a wide space; these then they used as a base instead of foundation stones, and upon them they skilfully carried out the construction of the circuit-wall. This was not understood by the Romans and they thought they were making their ditch under the foundations. But by excavating the entire space under the timbers which I have just mentioned and carrying their work across most of the ground they did succeed in damaging the wall seriously, and a portion of it had actually dropped down suddenly, but nevertheless this fallen part did not incline at all to either side nor was one of the courses of stone deranged, but the whole section descended intact in a direct line, as if let down by a machine, into the excavated space and stopped there, keeping its proper position, though not with the same height as before, but somewhat less. So when the whole space under the timbers had been excavated, it came about that they settled into it with the entire wall on them.

But even so the wall did not become accessible to the Romans. For when Mermeroes had come there with his great throng of Persians, they had added a great deal to the earlier masonry and so built the circuit-wall exceedingly high. So the Romans, when they saw the part of the wall which had been shaken down still standing, were at a loss and found themselves involved in great perplexity. For neither could they mine any longer, seeing their digging had brought such a result, nor were they able at all to employ the ram, for they were fighting against a wall on a slope, and this engine cannot be brought up to a wall except on smooth and very flat ground.

Now by some chance it so fell out that there were in this Roman army a small number of the barbarians called Sabiri, for the following reason. The Sabiri are a Hunnic nation and live in the region of the Caucasus, being a very numerous people and properly divided among many different rulers. And some of the rulers from ancient times have had relations with the Roman emperor, and others with the king of Persia. And each of these two sovereigns was accustomed to pay a fixed amount of gold to those in alliance with him, not annually, however, but only as need impelled him to do so. At that time, accordingly, the Emperor Justinian, by way of inviting those of the Sabiri who were friendly to him to a fighting alliance, had sent a man who was to convey the money to them. But this man, seeing that, with enemies between, he could in no wise travel in safety into the Caucasus region, particularly when carrying money, went only as far as Bessas and the Roman army that was engaged in besieging Petra, and from there he sent to the Sabiri, bidding some of them who were to receive the money to come to him with all speed; whereupon the Sabiri selected three of their leading men and straightway sent

them with a small escort into Lazica. These, then, were the men who, upon arriving there, had entered into the attack on the wall with the Roman army.

Now when these Sabiri saw that the Romans were in despair and at a loss how to handle the situation, they devised a contrivance, such as had never been conceived by anyone else of the Romans or of the Persians since men have existed, although there have always been and now are great numbers of engineers in both countries. And though both nations have often been in need of this device throughout their history, in storming the walls of fortresses situated on any rough and difficult ground, yet not to a single one of them has come this idea which now occurred to these barbarians. Thus as time goes on human ingenuity is ever wont to keep pace with it by discovering new devices. For these Sabiri improvised a ram, not in the customary form, but using a new method which was their innovation. They did not put any beams into this engine, either upright or transverse, but they bound together some rather thick wands and fitted them in place everywhere instead of the beams; then they covered the entire engine with hides and so kept the shape of a ram, and hung a single beam by loose chains, as is customary, in the centre of the engine, and the head of this, having been made sharp and covered over with iron like the barb of a missile, was intended to deal repeated blows to the circuit-wall. And they made the engine so light that it was no longer necessary that it be dragged or pushed along by the men inside, but forty men, who were also destined to draw back the beam and thrust it forward against the wall, being inside the engine and concealed by the hides, could carry the ram upon their shoulders with no difficulty.

These barbarians made three such engines, taking the beams with their iron heads from the rams which the Romans had in readiness but were unable to draw up to the wall. And Roman soldiers chosen for their valour in groups of not less than forty went inside each one of them and set them down very close to the wall. And others were standing on either side of each engine, armed with the corselet and having their heads carefully covered by helmets and carrying poles, the ends of which were fitted with hook-shaped irons; now the purpose for which these had been provided was this, that as soon as the impact of the ram on the wall should break up the courses of the stones, they might be able with these poles to loosen and pull down such stones as were dislodged. So the Romans set to work and the wall was already being shaken by frequent blows, while those who were on both sides of the engines, using their hooked poles, were pulling down the stones as they were dislodged from their setting in the masonry, and it seemed certain that the city would be captured instantly.

But the Persians hit on the following plan. They placed on the top of the circuit-wall a wooden tower which had been made ready by them long before, filling it with their most warlike men, who had their heads and the rest of their bodies protected by iron nails and corselets. And they had filled pots with sulphur and bitumen and the substance which the Persians call "naphtha" and

the Greeks "Medea's oil," and they now set fire to these and commenced to throw them upon the sheds of the rams, and they came within a little of burning them all. But the men standing beside them, as I have said, by means of the poles which I have just mentioned kept removing these missiles with the greatest determination and clearing them off, so that they hurled everything down to the ground from the engines as soon as it fell. But they could not expect to hold out long in this work; for the fire kindled instantly whatever it touched, unless it was immediately thrown off. Such then was the course of events here.

But Bessas, who had himself donned his corselet and put his whole army under arms, began to move forward many ladders to the part of the wall which had sunk. And after stirring their courage with a speech of only such length as not to blunt the point of the opportunity, he devoted the remainder of his exhortation to action. For though he was a man of more than seventy years and already well past his prime, he was the first to mount the ladder. There a battle took place and a display of valour by both Romans and Persians such as I at least believe has never once been seen in these times. For while the number of the barbarians amounted to two thousand three hundred, the Romans counted as many as six thousand. And practically all those on both sides who were not killed received wounds, and it proved true that exceedingly few survived with their bodies intact. So the Romans, for their part, were struggling with all their strength to force the ascent, while the Persians on their side were beating them back with great vigour. Thus many were being slain on both sides and the Persians were not far from repelling the danger. For at the tops of the ladders a violent struggle for position took place, and many of the Romans, fighting as they were with an enemy above them, were being slain, and Bessas the general also fell to the ground and lay there. And at that point a tremendous shout arose from both armies as the barbarians rushed together from all sides and shot at him, and his bodyguard gathered hastily about him, all of them having helmets on the heads and wearing corselets; and by holding their shields close together over their heads and crowding in so as to touch one another, they made a sort of roof over him and concealed their general in complete safety, and kept fending off the missiles with all their strength. And a great din arose from the missiles which were thrown continually and blunted on the shields and other armour, and at the same time each man was shouting and panting and exerting himself to the utmost. Meanwhile all the Romans, in their eagerness to defend their general, were shooting at the wall, stopping not for an instant, seeking thus to check the enemy.

In this crisis Bessas distinguished himself; though he could not get on his feet on account of the impediment of his armour and also because his body was not nimble (for this man was fleshy and, as said, very old), still he did not yield to helpless despair, even when he had come into such great danger, but formed a plan on the spur of the moment by which he succeeded in saving

both himself and the Roman cause. For he directed his bodyguards to drag him by the foot and thus pull him very far from the wall, and they carried out this order. And so, while some were dragging him, others were retreating with him, holding their shields above him and toward each other, and walking at the same speed as he was being dragged, so that he might not, through becoming uncovered, be hit by the enemy. Then as soon as Bessas had reached safety, he got on his feet, and urging his men forward went toward the wall, and setting foot on the ladder once more made haste to mount it. And all the Romans following behind him made a display of real heroism against the enemy. Then the Persians became terrified and begged their opponents to give them some time, in order that they might pack up and get out of the way when they handed over the city. But Bessas suspected that they had contrived some trickery, to the end that in the interval they might increase the strength of the circuit-wall, and so he said that he was unable to put a stop to the fighting, but those who wished to meet him to discuss terms could, while the armies were fighting, nevertheless proceed with him to another part of the wall; and he designated a certain spot to them.

This proposal, however, was not accepted by them, and once more fierce fighting commenced, involving a violent tussle; but while the conflict was still indecisive, it so fell out that the wall at another point, where the Romans had previously undermined it, suddenly toppled over. Consequently many from both armies rushed together at that spot. And now the Romans shewed their great numerical superiority over the enemy, though they were divided into two parts, and they kept pressing the battle against their opponents, shooting faster than ever and pushing forward with the greatest force. The Persians, on the other hand, no longer resisted with the same strength as before, assailed violently as they were at both points, and the smallness of their numbers thus divided between two fronts was conspicuous. Now while both the armies were still struggling thus, and the Persians, on the one hand, could not repulse their enemy as they pressed upon them, and the Romans, on the other hand, were unable completely to force their entrance, a young man of the Armenian race named John, son of Thomas, whom they were wont to call Guzes, abandoned the downfallen part of the circuit-wall and the struggles there, and, taking with him some few of his Armenian followers, ascended by the precipice, where all considered the city to be impregnable, having overpowered the guards at that point. Then, after getting on the parapet, he slew with his spear one of the Persian defenders there, who appeared to be the most warlike. In this manner an entry was made possible for the Romans.

Now the Persians who were posted in the wooden tower had kindled a huge number of firebearing pots, in order that they might be able by the very number of their missiles to burn up the engines, men and all, their defenders being unable to push them all aside with their poles. Hut suddenly there sprang up from the south a wind of extraordinary violence and blew against them with a great roar, and in some way or other it set fire to one of the planks

of the tower. But the Persians there did not immediately comprehend this, for they were every man of them working and shouting immoderately, being filled with fear and in the midst of wild confusion, and the urgency of the moment had robbed them of their senses; so the flame rising little by little, fed by the oil which bears Medea's name and all the other things with which the tower was supplied, consumed the whole tower and the Persians who were in it. These were all burned to death, and their charred bodies fell, some inside the wall, others outside where the engines stood with the Romans about them. Then the other Romans also who were fighting at the fallen part of the wall, since the enemy were giving way before them in utter despair and strove no longer to resist, got inside the fortifications, and Petra was captured completely.

So about five hundred of the Persians ran up to the acropolis, and seizing the stronghold there remained quiet, but the Romans made prisoners of all the others, such as they had not slain in the fighting, amounting to about seven hundred and thirty. And among these they found only eighteen unhurt, all the rest having been wounded. There fell too many of the best of the Romans, and among them John the son of Thomas, who, while entering the city, was hit on the head by a stone thrown by one of the barbarians, but only after he had made a display of marvellous deeds against the enemy.

XII

On the following day the Romans, while besieging those barbarians who had seized the acropolis, made a proposal, offering them personal safety and promising to give them pledges to that effect, thinking that the Persians would submit on this basis. But they did not receive the suggestion and prepared to resist, not thinking that they would hold out long in their desperate situation, but courting a heroic death. But Bessas, wishing to dissuade them from this purpose and to turn them instead to a longing for safety, commanded one of the Roman soldiers to go up as close as he could to them and make a kind of exhortation to the men, and he stated what he wished him to say to them.

This man then came up close to the fortress and spoke as follows: "Most noble Persians, what has come over you that you are stubbornly holding to this course of destruction, bending your energies with unreasonable zeal to accomplish a certain death and conspicuously dishonouring the practice of valour? For it is not a manly thing to array oneself against the inevitable, nor a wise thing to refuse to bow to those who have won the mastery; nor, on the other hand, is it inglorious to live by falling in with the situation chance has brought. For man, in the grip of necessity which is relieved by no hope of rescue, is thereby justly acquitted of the charge of dishonour, even if he is involved in the most shameful actions; for evil, when it is unavoidable, is naturally followed by forgiveness. Do not, therefore, emulate madmen in the midst of obvious danger, and do not barter your safety for wanton folly, but rather call to mind that it is impossible for the dead to come to life, while the living can destroy themselves at a later time, if indeed this seems best. Make, then, your final deliberation and consider well your interests, recalling the fact that those decisions would be the best in which reversal shall still be within the power of those who have made the decision. For we on our part do pity you, though you are fighting against your own friends, and spare you when you are courting death, and we expect, as is customary for Christian Romans, to feel compassion for you though you throw life to the winds, and look upon it as a trivial matter. And the result for you will be simply this, that by shifting your citizenship for the better you will have Justinian instead of Chosroes as master; indeed we agree to give you pledges to make this promise binding. Do not then destroy yourselves when it is possible to be saved. For it is not a glorious thing to linger fondly in danger for no advantage whatsoever, since this is not playing the part of brave men, but simply courting death. But noble is he who steels himself to endure the most severe fortune, when he can anticipate from it some benefit. For men do not applaud voluntary death in a situation where even the surrounding danger gives ground for some stronger hope, but a useless destruction of life is downright folly, and senseless daring which leads to death, when held out as a pretence of high seriousness, merits no praise, at least in the judgment of thinking men. Furthermore, you are

bound also to take into consideration that you may seem to be shewing some ingratitude toward Heaven. For if God wished to destroy you, my men, he would not, I think, have put you into the hands of those who are striving to preserve you. Seeing then that such is our stand in the matter, it will clearly be for you to decide what it is fitting should befall you.”

Such was the exhortation. The Persians, however, were unwilling even to listen to the discourse, but wilfully shutting their ears pretended that they did not understand. Then finally, at the command of the general, the Romans hurled fire into the acropolis, thinking that in this way the enemy would be constrained to surrender themselves. Then, as the flames spread in great volume, the barbarians, with disaster before their eyes, and knowing full well that they would speedily be burned to ashes, and having no hope, nor yet seeing any possibility of saving themselves by fighting, still even in that situation would not consent to fall into the power of their enemy, but they were immediately burned to death, every man of them, together with the acropolis, while the Roman army marvelled at what was taking place. And at that time it became manifest how much importance Chosroes placed upon Lazica; for he had chosen out the most notable of all his soldiers and assigned them to the garrison of Petra, and deposited there such an abundance of weapons that when the Romans took possession of them as plunder, five men's equipment fell to each soldier, and this too in spite of the fact that many weapons had been burned on the acropolis. There was also found a vast quantity of grain and of cured meat as well as all other provisions, which were indeed sufficient to keep all the besieged adequately supplied for five years. But the Persians had not, as it happened, stored wine there other than sour wine, but they had brought in an ample supply of beans. But when the Romans actually found water there flowing from the aqueduct, they were greatly astonished and perplexed, until they learned the whole truth about the concealed pipes. And I shall now explain what these were.

At the time when Chosroes established the garrison in Petra after capturing it, knowing well as he did that the Romans would assail it with every means in their powder, and would straightway attempt without a moment's hesitation to cut the aqueduct, he contrived the following plan. The water which was being carried into the city he divided into three parts and had a very deep trench dug, in which he constructed three pipe-lines, one lying on the very bottom of this trench, and this he covered with mud and stones up to the middle of the trench; at that level he concealed the second pipe-line, and above it built the third, which was above ground and visible to all; so the piping was on three levels, but this fact was concealed. This the Romans at the beginning of the siege did not understand, and so, after they had cut this obvious pipe-line, they did not carry forward their work on the trench, but gave up the labour before the next pipe-line was destroyed, and thought that the besieged were in want of water, their minds being deceived by their own slipshod methods. But as the siege was prolonged, the Romans by capturing some of the enemy learned

that the besieged were drawing water from the aqueduct. Accordingly they dug down into the ground and found there the second pipe-line, which they cut immediately, and they thought that they had thus crippled the enemy completely, not having learned even the second time from the lesson before them the real meaning of their previous experience. But when they had captured the city and saw, as I have said, the water flowing in from the pipe, they began to marvel and were greatly perplexed. And hearing from their captives what had been done, they came to realize after the event the care shewn by the enemy in their work and the futility of their own feeble efforts.

Bessas now straightway sent all the prisoners to the emperor and razed the circuit-wall of Petra to the ground in order that the enemy might not again make trouble for them. And the emperor praised him particularly for the valour he had displayed and for his wisdom in tearing down the whole wall. Thus Bessas became once more, both because of the good fortune he had enjoyed and also because of the valour he had displayed, an object of respectful admiration among all men. For previously, when he was appointed to command the garrison of Rome, the Romans had great hopes of him, since before that time he had consistently shewn himself a man of the highest courage. But when it came about that he met with ill fortune there, Rome being captured as it was by the Goths, as I have recounted in the previous narrative, and the race of the Romans being in large part destroyed, still the Emperor Justinian, when he returned after this to Byzantium, appointed him General against the Persians. Now practically everyone bitterly criticized this act and scoffed at the emperor's decision, if he was going to entrust the Medic war to this Bessas in his closing years, after he had been defeated decisively by the Goths and had now become a doddering old man. But although this was the feeling of practically all men, it actually fell out that this general met with the good fortune and displayed the valour which I have described. Thus it is that human affairs proceed not according to the judgment of men, but are subject to the power and authority of God, which men are wont to call fortune, knowing not why in the world events proceed in the manner in which they manifest themselves to them.

For the name of fortune is wont to attach to that which appears to be contrary to reason. But as regards this matter, let each man think as he wishes.

XIII

Now Mermeroes, fearing that in the course of a long time some mishap should befall Petra and the Persians left there, had set his whole army in motion and marched in that direction, being further influenced to do so by the season, seeing it was now past winter. But in the course of this journey he learned all that had befallen and abandoned this march entirely, knowing well that the Lazi had no fortress beyond the Phasis River excepting only the one at Petra. He then returned and seized the passes from Iberia into the land of Colchis, where the Phasis can be forded, and he not only crossed this river on foot but also another river of no less difficulty, named the Rheon, which is likewise not navigable there, and thus getting on the right of the Phasis, he led his army forward against a city named Archaeopolis, which is the first and greatest city in Lazica. Now this army, apart from a few men, was all cavalry, and they had with them eight elephants, upon which the Persians were to stand and shoot down upon the heads of their enemy just as from towers. Indeed one might be led with good reason to marvel at the assiduity and resourcefulness of the Persians in the prosecution of their wars; for it was they who took in hand the road leading from Iberia into Colchis, which was everywhere impeded by precipitous ravines and difficult ground covered with brush, and concealed by forests of wide-spreading trees, so that even for an unencumbered traveller the way had seemed impassable previously, and they made it so smooth that not only did their entire cavalry pass that way with no difficulty, but they also actually marched over that road taking with them as many of their elephants as they wished. And Huns also came to them as allies from the nation of the Sabiri, as they are called, to the number of twelve thousand. But Mermeroes, fearing lest these barbarians, being in such numbers, would not only be altogether unwilling to obey his commands, but would actually do some terrible thing to the Persian army, permitted only four thousand to march with him, while he sent all the rest away to their homes after making them a generous present of money.

Now the Roman army numbered twelve thousand; they were not, however, all concentrated in one place, for there were only three thousand in the garrison at Archaeopolis under command of Odonachus and Babas, both able warriors, while all the rest were waiting in camp on the other side of the Phasis River, having in mind that, if the enemy's army should make an attack at any point, they themselves would move out from there and go to the rescue in full force. These were commanded by Vendus and Uligagus; and Varazes the Persarmenian was also with them, having recently returned from Italy and having eight hundred Tzani under his command. As for Bessas, as soon as he had captured Petra, he was quite unwilling to continue the struggle, but withdrew to the Pontici and the Armenians and was giving the closest possible attention to the revenues from his territory, and by this niggardly policy he

again wrecked the cause of the Romans. For if, straightway after that victory which I have described and his capture of Petra, he had gone to the boundaries of Lazica and Iberia and barricaded the passes there, never again, as it seems to me, would a Persian army have entered Lazica. But in fact this general, by slighting this task, all but surrendered Lazica to the enemy with his own hand, paying little heed to the emperor's wrath. For the Emperor Justinian was accustomed to condone, for the most part, the mistakes of his commanders, and consequently they were found very generally to be guilty of offences both in private life and against the state.

Now there were two fortresses of the Lazi almost exactly on the boundary of Iberia, Scanda and Sarapanis. These, being situated in extremely rugged and difficult country, were extraordinarily hard of access. They used to be garrisoned by the Lazi in ancient times with great difficulty, for no food at all grows there, and supplies had to be brought in by men who carried them on their shoulders. But the Emperor Justinian at the beginning of this war had removed the Lazi from these fortresses and substituted a garrison of Roman soldiers. These soldiers, then, not long afterwards, being hard pressed by the lack of necessary supplies, abandoned these fortresses because they were quite unable to live for any considerable time on millet, as the Colchians did, since it was not familiar to them, and the Lazi no longer persevered in travelling the long journey to bring them all their supplies. Whereupon the Persians occupied and held them, but in the treaty the Romans got them back in exchange for the fortress of Bolum and Pharangium, as I have told in detail in the preceding narrative. The Lazi accordingly razed these fortresses to the ground, in order that the Persians might not hold them as outposts against them. But the Persians rebuilt and held the one of the two which they call Scanda, and Mermeroes led the Medic army forward.

There had been a city in the plain called Rhodopolis, which lay first in the way of those invading Colchis from Iberia, so situated as to be easily accessible and altogether open to attack. For this reason the Lazi had long before, in fear of the Persian invasion, razed it to the ground. When the Persians learned this, they proceeded straight for Archaeopolis. But Mermeroes learned that his enemy was encamped near the mouth of the Phasis River, and he advanced upon them. For it seemed to him better first to capture this force and then to undertake the siege of Archaeopolis, in order that they might not come from the rear and do harm to the Persian army. And he went close by the fortifications of Archaeopolis and gave a mocking salutation to the Romans there, and with something of a swagger said that he would come back to them at the earliest moment. For, said he, he wished to address his greetings to the other Romans first who were encamped near the Phasis River. And the Romans, by way of answer, bade him go wherever he wished, but they declared that if he came upon the Romans there he would never return to them. When the commanders of the Roman army learned this, they became thoroughly frightened and, thinking themselves too few to

withstand the force of their assailants, embarked on the boats which they had ready and ferried across the Phasis River, every man of them, placing their supplies of provisions on the boats, as much at least as they were able to carry, and throwing the rest into the river in order that the enemy might not be able to revel in them. So when Mermeroes arrived there with his whole army not long afterward, and saw the enemy's camp entirely abandoned, he was vexed and filled with resentment at the baffling situation. He then fired the Roman stockade, and boiling with fury turned back immediately and led his army against Archaeopolis.

XIV

The city of Archaeopolis is situated on an exceedingly rugged hill, and a river flows by, coming down from the mountains which are above the city. And it has two gates, one of which is below, opening on the base of the hill, but this one is not inaccessible except in so far that the ascent to it from the plain is not smooth; but the upper gate leads out to the steep slope and is extremely difficult to approach; for the ground before this gate is covered with brush which extends to an indefinite distance. And since the inhabitants of this city can get no other water, those who built it constructed two walls which extend from the city all the way to the river, in order that it might be possible for them to draw water from it in safety.

Mermeroes, consequently, being eager and determined to assault the wall there with his whole strength, did as follows. He first commanded the Sabiri to build a great number of rams, of the sort which men would be able to carry on their shoulders, because he was quite unable to bring up the customary engines to the circuit-wall of Archaeopolis, lying as it did along the lower slopes of the hill; for he had heard what had been achieved by the Sabiri who were allies of the Romans at the wall of Petra not long before, and he sought by following out the method discovered by them to reap the advantage of their experience. And they carried out his orders, constructing immediately a large number of rams, such as I have said were recently made for the Romans by the Sabiri. Next he sent the Dolomites, as they are called, to the precipitous parts of the city, directing them to harass the enemy there with all their strength. These Dolomites are barbarians who live indeed in the middle of Persia, but have never become subject to the king of the Persians. For their abode is on sheer mountainsides which are altogether inaccessible, and so they have continued to be autonomous from ancient times down to the present day; but they always march with the Persians as mercenaries when they go against their enemies. And they are all foot-soldiers, each man carrying a sword and shield and three javelins in his hand. But they shew extra ordinary nimbleness in running over cliffs and peaks of mountains, just as on a level plain. For this reason Mermeroes assigned them to attack the wall there, while he with the rest of the army went against the lower gate, bringing up the rams and the elephants. So then the Persians and Sabiri together, by shooting rapidly at the wall so that they filled the air round about it with their arrows, came not far from compelling the Romans there to abandon the parapet. And the Dolomites, hurling in their javelins from the crags outside the circuit-wall, were inflicting still more harm upon the Romans facing them. On every side, indeed, the situation of the Romans had become bad and full of danger, for they were in an extremely evil plight.

At that point Odonachus and Babas, either as making a display of valour or wishing to test the soldiers, or it may even be that some divine influence

moved them, left only a few of the soldiers where they were, directing them to ward off the assailants of the wall from the parapet, and meanwhile called together the greater part of them and made a short exhortation, speaking as follows. "Fellow-soldiers, you perceive the danger which is upon us and the necessity in which we are involved. But it is incumbent upon us not to yield in the least to these evils. For those who come into a situation where safety is despaired of could be saved only by not courting safety; for a fondness for life is wont in most cases to be followed by destruction. And you will be obliged to consider this fact also in our present stress, that by simply warding off the enemy from this parapet your safety will by no means be firmly established, even though we carry forward the struggle with the greatest zeal. For a battle which is waged between armies standing apart gives no one opportunity to shew himself a brave man, but the issue as a general thing is determined by chance. If, however, the conflict becomes a hand-to-hand struggle, enthusiasm will in most cases prevail, and victory will appear where valour lies. And apart from this, even in the case of success in the conflict, men fighting from the wall would reap no great benefit from this success, because, while they have for the moment succeeded in repulsing the enemy, the danger will again be acute on the morrow, and, on the other hand, if they fail even by a little, they are naturally destroyed along with their defences. But once having conquered their opponents in hand-to-hand combat they will thereafter have their safety assured. Let us then with these thoughts in mind advance against the enemy with all zeal, calling to our aid the assistance from above, and with our hopes raised high by that desperate situation which has now fallen to us. For God is ever wont to save those men above all others who find no hope of safety in themselves." After Odonachus and Babas had thus encouraged the soldiers, they opened the gates and led the army forth on the run, leaving a few men behind for the following reason. One of the Lazi, who was a man of note in this nation, an inhabitant of Archaeopolis, had on the previous day negotiated with Mermeroes for the betrayal of his native land.

Now Mermeroes had sent word to him to render the Persians only this service, that, whenever they began the assault on the wall, he should secretly set fire to the buildings where the grain and the rest of the provisions were stored. And he directed him to do this, reasoning that one of two things would happen, either that the Romans being concerned about this fire and devoting their attention to it would give his men opportunity to scale the circuit-wall unmolested, or that in their eagerness to repulse the Persians storming the wall they would pay no attention to these buildings; and if in this way the grain and other provisions were burned, he would with no difficulty capture Archaeopolis in a short time. With such purpose did Mermeroes give these instructions to this Laz; and he, for his part, agreed to carry out the order when he saw the storming of the wall at its height, by setting fire as secretly as possible to these buildings. And when the Romans saw the flames rising suddenly, some few of them went to the rescue and with great difficulty

quenched the fire, which had done a certain amount of damage, but all the rest, as stated, went forth against the enemy.

This force, by falling upon them suddenly and terrifying them by the unexpectedness of their attack, slew many, for the Persians offered no resistance; indeed they did not even dare raise a hand against them. This was because the Persians, having no expectation that their enemy, who were few in number, would make a sally against them, had taken up positions apart from one another with a view to storming the wall and so were not in battle array. And those who were carrying the rams upon their shoulders were quite naturally both unarmed and unprepared for battle, while the others, with only strung bows in their hands, were entirely unable to ward off an enemy pressing upon them in close array. Thus the Romans, slashing and turning from side to side, kept destroying them. At that moment also it so happened that one of the elephants, because he was wounded, some say, or simply because he became excited, wheeled round out of control and reared up, thus throwing his riders and breaking up the lines of the others. As a result of this the barbarians began to retreat, while the Romans continued without fear to destroy those who from time to time fell in their way. And one might wonder at this point that the Romans, though knowing well by what means they ought to repel a hostile attack by elephants, did none of the necessary things, being obviously confused by the situation, and yet this result was achieved without effort on their part. And what this is I shall now make clear.

When Chosroes and the Medic army were storming the fortifications of Edessa, one of the elephants, mounted by a great number of the most warlike men among the Persians, came close to the circuit-wall and made it seem that in a short space he would overpower the men defending the tower at that point, seeing they were exposed to missiles falling thickly from above, and would thus take the city. For it seemed that this was, in fact, an engine for the capture of cities. The Romans, however, by suspending a pig from the tower escaped this peril. For as the pig was hanging there, he very naturally gave vent to sundry squeals, and this angered the elephant so that he got out of control and, stepping back little by little, moved off to the rear. Such was the outcome of that situation. But in the present case the omission due to the thoughtlessness of the Romans was made good by chance. But now that I have mentioned Edessa, I shall not be silent as to the portent which appeared there before this present war. When Chosroes was about to break the so-called endless peace, a certain woman in the city gave birth to an infant which in other respects was a normally formed human being, but had two heads. And the meaning of this was made clear by the events which followed; for both Edessa and practically the whole East and the greater part of the Roman empire to the north came to be fought for by two sovereigns. Thus did these things happen. But I shall return to the point from which I strayed.

When confusion thus fell upon the Medic army, those stationed in the rear, seeing the confusion of those before them, but having no real knowledge of

what had happened, became panic-stricken and turned to retreat in great disorder. And the Dolomites also experienced a like panic (for they were fighting from the higher positions and could see everything which transpired), and they too began to flee in a disgraceful manner, so that the rout became decisive. Four thousand of the barbarians fell there, among whom, as it happened, were three of the commanders, and the Romans captured four of the Persian standards, which they immediately sent to Byzantium for the emperor. They say, moreover, that not less than twenty thousand of their horses perished, not from wounds inflicted by their enemy's missiles or swords, but because in travelling a great distance they had become utterly exhausted and then had found no sufficiency of fodder since the time they had come into Lazica; and so, they say, under the stress of both starvation and weakness they succumbed.

Having thus failed in this attempt, Mermeroes withdrew with his whole army to Mocheresis; for, even though they had failed of getting Archaeopolis, the Persians still held the mastery of the greater part of the rest of Lazica. Now Mocheresis is one day's journey distant from Archaeopolis, a district which includes many populous villages. And this is really the best land in Colchis; for both wine and the other good things are produced there, though the rest of Lazica, to be sure, is not of such a sort. Along by this district flows a river called Rheon, and on it the Colchians in ancient times built a fortress, but in later times they themselves razed the greater part of it to the ground, because, lying as it did in a very flat plain, it seemed to them easy of access. In those times the fortress was named Cotiaion in the Greek language, but now the Lazi call it Cotaïs, having corrupted the true sound of the name because of their ignorance of the language. Such is the account given by Arrian. But others say that the place was a city in ancient times and was called Coetaeon; and that Aeetes was born there, and as a result of this the poets both called him a Coetaean and applied the same name to the land of Colchis.

This place Mermeroes was now eager to rebuild, but, since he had no equipment for the task, and because at the same time the winter was already setting in, he replaced with wood as quickly as possible such parts of the fortress as had fallen down and remained there. But very close to Cotaïs is an exceedingly strong fortress, Uthimereos by name; in this the Lazi were maintaining strict guard. And a small number of Roman soldiers also were sharing with them the defence of the fortress. So Mermeroes settled there with his whole army, holding the fairest part of the land of Colchis, and preventing his opponents from carrying any provisions into the fortress of Uthimereos, or from going into the district of Suania and Scymnia, as it is called, though this was subject to them. For when an enemy is in Mocheresis, the road into this region is thereby cut off for both Lazi and Romans. Thus were the armies engaged in Lazica.

In Byzantium, meanwhile, Chosroes' envoy Isdigousnas, in conferring with the Emperor Justinian regarding the peace, wasted a vast amount of time.

And it was only after long-continued debates that they finally reached an agreement that for five years the truce should be observed in the realms of both sovereigns, while envoys passed back and forth from each country to the other, fearlessly carrying on negotiations for peace during this period until they should settle the points of disagreement regarding both Lazica and the Saracens. It was further agreed that the Persians receive from the Romans for this five-year truce twenty centenaria of gold, and for eighteen months which had elapsed between the expiration of the former truce and the time when they had commenced negotiations with each other in the present case, six centenaria more. For the Persians declared that only on this understanding had they permitted negotiations for the treaty to proceed. Isdigousnas further demanded that he should receive these twenty centenaria on the spot, but the emperor wished to give four each year, his purpose, of course, being that he might have surety that Chosroes would not violate the agreement. Later, however, the Romans gave the Persians outright the entire amount of gold agreed upon, in order not to appear to be paying them tribute each year. For it is the disgraceful name, and not the fact, which men are wont as a general thing to be ashamed of.

Now there was a certain man among the Persians named Bersabus, a person of especial note and a very close friend of King Chosroes. Valerian had once happened upon this man in a battle in Armenia, and he took him prisoner and immediately sent him to the emperor at Byzantium. And a long time passed while he was being kept under guard there. Now Chosroes was willing to advance a great amount of money for him, in order that he might see Bersabus returned to the land of Persia. But on the present occasion the Emperor Justinian released the man at the request of Isdigousnas; for this ambassador promised the emperor to persuade Chosroes to remove the Persian army from Lazica. Thus this armistice was arranged by the Romans and Persians in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Now the majority of the Romans were thoroughly displeased with this treaty; but whether the reproach they made was in some measure justified or as unreasonable as the complaints of subjects commonly are, I am unable to say.

[553 A.D.]

These objectors kept saying that this peace had been made while Lazica was most firmly in the power of the Persians, whose purpose was that for five years no one might molest them, but that during this time they might be able without fear or hardship to occupy all the fairest parts of the land of Colchis; and the Romans thereafter would be utterly unable to dislodge them from there in all time, but thenceforth Byzantium itself would be easily accessible

to the Persians from that point. Such was the general view, and the people were consequently vexed and irritated and utterly pessimistic. They were also moved by the fact that the very thing which the Persians had been striving for from ancient times, but which had seemed impossible of achievement either by war or by any other means, — that is to say, having the Romans subject to the payment of tribute to them — this had been most firmly achieved at the present juncture in the name of an armistice. For Chosroes, by imposing upon the Romans an annual tribute of four centenaria, the very thing he had clearly been bent upon having from the first, has up to the present time in a space of eleven years and six months speciously gathered in forty-six centenaria on the pretext of the armistice, giving to the tribute the name of treaty, although in the meantime he has, as stated, been carrying on a campaign of violence and war in Lazica. From this plight the Romans had not the least hope of rescuing themselves in the future, but they perceived that they had in no hidden sense become tributary to the Persians. Thus were these things done.

But Isdigousnas, in possession of money such as no envoy ever carried, and having become, I suppose, the wealthiest of all the Persians, departed on the homeward way, for the Emperor Justinian had honoured him in a signal manner and presented him with huge sums of money before his dismissal. And this man, unlike all other ambassadors, did not have the experience of being under guard in any sense, but both he himself and all who followed him — and they were an exceedingly numerous company — enjoyed complete freedom for a long period of time in meeting and associating with whom they wished, walking about in every part of the city, buying and selling whatever they pleased, and carrying on all manner of transactions and devoting themselves with complete unconcern to the business connected therewith, just as they, would in a city of their own, with not a Roman following or accompanying them at all or deigning to watch them, as is customary.

At this time an event occurred which has never happened before, as far at least as we know. For though the season of the year was late autumn, there was a very remarkable period of drought and hot weather as in the middle of summer, so that a great quantity of roses actually came out, as if it were spring, differing in no way at all from ordinary roses. And practically all the trees brought forth new fruit again, while the clusters likewise appeared on the vines, although the vintage had already been gathered not many days before. From these things those that are clever in such matters drew sundry conclusions, saying that some great and unexpected thing would take place, some that it would be good and others the opposite. But I for my part think that this was the result of a sort of coincidence, the usual south winds having prevailed for a very long period, and great heat having consequently come upon the land beyond what is customary and not in keeping with the season. But if it really does, as they say, indicate that some unexpected event will happen, we shall know most certainly from the future outcome.

XVI

While these negotiations were taking place in Byzantium between the Romans and Persians regarding the treaty, meantime the following took place in Lazica. Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, was well disposed toward the Romans, for he perceived that Chosroes, as I have stated in the previous narrative, was plotting his death. But the most of the other Lazi, being subjected to outrageous treatment at the hands of the Roman soldiers, and being particularly angry with the commanders of the army, began to favour the Medes as a general thing, not because they preferred the cause of the Persians, but because they wished to be rid of the Roman rule and preferred those difficulties which were not for the moment present. Now there was a man of no mean station among the Lazi, Theophobius by name, who conferred very secretly with Mermeroes and promised to put the fortress of Uthimereos into his hands. And he filled the man with great hopes and urged him to accomplish this, declaring that as a result of this deed he would not only be a very close friend of King Chosroes, but would also be inscribed by the Persians as a benefactor for all time, and consequently would become great in renown and in wealth and power. Theophobius was elated by these promises and kept working still more eagerly for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Now there was at that time no free movement of the Romans and Lazi, but, while the Persians were going about everywhere in that country with complete liberty, some of the Romans and Lazi were hiding by the Phasis River, while others had seized Archaeopolis or some other one of the strongholds there and were concealing themselves therein. Meanwhile Gubazes himself, the king of the Lazi, was remaining quietly at the summit of the mountains. Consequently Theophobius was able with no difficulty to make good his promise to Mermeroes. For he went inside the fortress and stated to the Lazi and Romans who were keeping guard there that the whole Roman army had perished, that the cause of King Gubazes and of all the Lazi about him had been utterly lost, and that all Colchis was held by the Persians, and there was not one single hope for the Romans or Gubazes ever to win back the rule of the land. For formerly, he pointed out, Mermeroes had accomplished this alone, bringing with him more than seventy thousand fighting men of the Persians and vast numbers of barbarian Sabiri; but now, he said, King Chosroes himself had actually come there with an unnumbered host and suddenly joined forces with them, and henceforth not even the whole land of the Colchians would suffice for this army. With these high-flown words Theophobius reduced the guards there to a state of terror and helplessness. And they besought him with entreaties in the name of their ancestral god to use all his power to turn the present situation to their advantage. He then promised them that he would bring from Chosroes pledges for their safety, on condition that they surrender

the fortress to the Persians.

The men were delighted with these terms and he immediately departed from the place, and coming again before Mermeroes explained everything. Then Mermeroes selected the most notable men of the Persians and sent them with him to Uthimereos, for the purpose of arranging pledges both for the money and for the lives of the guards of the place and so taking possession of that fortress. Thus did the Persians gain the fortress of Uthimereos and thereby secured the mastery of Lazica most firmly. But not only did the Persians bring this land of Lazica under their sway, but also Scymnia and Suania, and in this way the whole territory from Mocheresis as far as Iberia became inaccessible to the Romans and the king of the Lazi. And neither the Romans nor the Lazi were able to ward off the enemy, for they did not even dare to descend from the mountains or their strongholds, nor to make any advances against the enemy.

Mermeroes, as the winter season came on, built a wooden wall at Cotais and established there a guard of warlike Persians no less than three thousand strong, and he also left a sufficient force of men in Uthimereos. And he also built up the other fortress of the Lazi which they call Sarapanis, situated at the very limit of the territory of Lazica, and remained there. But later, upon learning that the Romans and Lazi were gathering and making camp at the mouth of the Phasis River, he moved against them with his whole army. When Gubazes and the commanders of the Roman army learned this, refusing to withstand the enemy's attack they dispersed and saved themselves as each found it possible. As for Gubazes, he ran up to the summit of the mountains and there proceeded to pass the winter along with his children and his wife and those particularly intimate with him, putting up with the rigours of winter because of the hopelessness of his present evil situation, but confident of the future because of his hope in Byzantium, and in this way finding consolation for the fortune then present, as men are wont to do, and looking for a better day. And the rest of the Lazi likewise, ashamed to be outdone by King Gubazes, were passing the winter as well as he among the crags, fearing indeed no difficulty from the enemy there, for these mountains are at all times impracticable and wholly inaccessible for an attacking force, and particularly during the winter, but forced to endure mortal suffering through hunger, cold, and the other hardships.

Meanwhile Mermeroes at his leisure built many houses in the villages throughout Mocheresis and established stores of supplies everywhere among these places; then by sending some of the deserters to the heights of the mountains and offering pledges he succeeded in winning over many; these were naturally in want of provisions, and he supplied them in generous measure and cared for them as his own; indeed he carried on the whole administration with an air of complete security, as having become lord of the land. And he wrote the following letter to Gubazes: "Two things there are which harmonize the lives of men, power and wisdom. For some, who, by

reason of their power, are superior to their neighbours, both live themselves according to their own desires and also never fail to lead where they wish those less powerful than themselves, while others, though enslaved to the stronger through their weakness, can still remedy their impotence by discretion, and by courting the powerful with flattery are still able to live with their own possessions, enjoying by means of their conciliatory attitude everything of which they are deprived by their weakness. And this does not hold only for some of the nations of men, while it is otherwise in other nations, but one might say that this is implanted in human experience universally in every part of the inhabited world like any other natural characteristic. Do you, accordingly, my dear Gubazes, if you think you are going to overcome the Persians in the war, neither hesitate nor let anything stand in your way. For you will find us in any part of Laziea you may choose ready to meet your attack and prepared in battle-array to fight for this land with all our might; so that in waging a decisive struggle you will have the opportunity to display your valour against us. If, however, even you yourself realize that you are unable to array yourself against the might of the Persians, then do you, good Sir, take the second alternative and 'know thyself,' and bow down before your master Chosroes as king and victor and lord. And beg that he be merciful to you in spite of your acts, in order that you may be able henceforth to escape the evils which harass you. For I personally promise that King Chosroes will be merciful to you and will give pledges, furnishing you as hostages sons of the notable rulers in Persia, that you will have your safety and your kingdom and everything else in security for all time. But if neither of these things meets your wish, do you at least go off to some other land and thus grant to the Lazi, who have been reduced to wretchedness through your folly, recovery at length and respite from the difficulties which press upon them, and do not wish to inflict upon them this lingering destruction, being carried on by a deceptive hope, by which I mean assistance from the Romans. For they will never be able to defend you, just as they have not been able up to the present day." Thus wrote Mermeroes. But even so he did not persuade Gubazes, who remained among the summits of the mountains, awaiting the assistance to come from the Romans and, by reason of his hostility to Chosroes, absolutely unwilling to incline to despair of the Romans. For men as a general thing adapt their decisions to the dictates of their desire, and while, on the one hand, they incline toward the argument which pleases them and espouse all its consequences, not investigating to see whether it may be false, they, on the other hand, are outraged by the one which annoys them and they distrust it, never searching out to see whether it may not be true.

XVII

At about this time certain monks, coming from India and learning that the Emperor Justinian entertained the desire that the Romans should no longer purchase their silk from the Persians, came before the emperor and promised so to settle the silk question that the Romans would no longer purchase this article from their enemies, the Persians, nor indeed from any other nation; for they had, they said, spent a long time in the country situated north of the numerous nations of India — a country called Serinda — and there they had learned accurately by what means it was possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. Whereupon the emperor made very diligent enquiries and asked them many questions to see whether their statements were true, and the monks explained to him that certain worms are the manufacturers of silk, nature being their teacher and compelling them to work continually. And while it was impossible to convey the worms thither alive, it was still practicable and altogether easy to convey their offspring. Now the offspring of these worms, they said, consisted of innumerable eggs from each one. And men bury these eggs, long after the time when they are produced, in dung, and, after thus heating them for a sufficient time, they bring forth the living creatures. After they had thus spoken, the emperor promised to reward them with large gifts and urged them to confirm their account in action. They then once more went to Serinda and brought back the eggs to Byzantium, and in the manner described caused them to be transformed into worms, which they fed on the leaves of the mulberry; and thus they made possible from that time forth the production of silk in the land of the Romans. At that time then matters stood thus between the Romans and the Persians, both as touching the war and in regard to silk.

After the winter season Isdigousnas arrived at the court of Chosroes with the money and announced the terms agreed upon by them. And Chosroes, upon receiving the money, confirmed the armistice without any hesitation, but he was utterly unwilling to relinquish Lazica. In fact he actually used this money to purchase the alliance of a vast horde of the Sabiri Huns, and he sent them immediately with some Persians to Mermeroes, whom he directed to pursue his task with all the power at his disposal; and he sent him, furthermore, a large number of elephants.

Mermeroes, accordingly, accompanied by the whole army of Persians and Huns, departed from Mocheresis and moved against the strongholds of the Lazi, taking the elephants with him. The Romans, however, offered no resistance whatever, but under the leadership of Martinus they made themselves as secure as possible in a naturally strong position near the mouth of the Phasis River and there remained quiet. And Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, was also with them. But this Medic army, because of a certain chance which befell it, did no harm to anyone either of the Romans or of the Lazi. For

in the first place Mermeroes, learning that the sister of Gubazes was in a certain fortress, led his army against this with the intention of capturing it at all hazards. But because the guards of that place offered a most valiant resistance and also because the naturally strong position gave them material assistance, the barbarians were repulsed from the town without accomplishing their purpose and withdrew; whereupon they hastily directed their course against the Abasgi. But the Romans keeping guard in Tzibile seized the pass, which was very narrow and precipitous, as I have stated previously, and quite impossible to force, and thus they blocked their way. Consequently Mermeroes, having no means of dislodging his opponents by force, led his army back and straightway moved on Archaeopolis with the purpose of besieging it. But, upon making trial of the circuit-wall, he met with no success and consequently turned back again. But the Romans followed up the retreating enemy and in a dangerous pass began to slay many of them, among those who fell being, as it chanced, the commander of the Sabiri. And a fierce battle taking place over the corpse, the Persians finally, at dusk, forced back their opponents and routed them, after which they retired to Cotaïs and Mocheresis. Such then were the fortunes of the Romans and the Persians.

- In Libya, on the other hand, affairs had taken an altogether favourable turn for the Romans. For it so fell out that John, whom the Emperor Justinian had appointed General there, met with a number of incredible pieces of good fortune, since after securing the allegiance of one of the Moorish rulers, Cutzinas by name, he first defeated the others in battle, and not long afterwards reduced to subjection Antalas and Iaudas, who held the sovereignty over the Moors of Byzacium and Numidia, and they joined his train in the position of slaves. And as a result of this the Romans had for the time no enemy in Libya at any rate. But by reason of the previous wars and insurrections the land remained for the most part destitute of human habitation.

XVIII

While these events were taking place as described, meanwhile the following transpired in Europe. The Gepaedes had in the first place, as I have stated in the previous narrative, confirmed a treaty with their enemies the Lombards. But being utterly unable to compose their differences with them, they decided not much later that they must make war. So the Gepaedes and the Lombards advanced in full force against each other, both being fully prepared for the war. And the commanders were, on the side of the Gepaedes, Thorisin, and on that of the Lombards, Auduin, each of them being followed by many myriads of men. Now they had already come close to one another, but the two armies could not yet see each other. But that fright which is called panic suddenly fell upon both armies and carried the men all backward in a flight which had no real cause, only the commanders being left where they were with a small number of men. And though they strove to draw their men back and check the retreat, they could accomplish nothing either by the use of abject entreaty or by fearful threats.

So Auduin became thoroughly frightened at seeing the men taking to their heels in this disorderly manner (for he did not know that the enemy had shared the same fate), and straightway sent some of his followers on an embassy to his opponents to beg for peace. But these men, when they came to Thorisin, the commander of the Gepaedes, and observed what was taking place and understood from their own experience what had befallen their enemies, enquired of Thorisin, when they came into his presence, where in the world the host of his subjects was. And he, for his part, without making any denial of what had happened, said, "They are fleeing, though no man pursues." Thereupon the envoys said to him in reply, "This is the very thing which has happened to the Lombards also. For seeing that you speak the truth, O king, we shall conceal nothing on our side. Accordingly, since it is not at all the will of God that these nations should utterly perish, and since for this reason He dissolved the battle lines, smiting both armies with a saving fear, come now, let us too yield to the will of God by putting an end to the war."

"Very well, let it be so," said Thorisin. Thus they made a two years' truce, to the end that by maintaining diplomatic relations and keeping constantly in communication with one another in the interval, they might make a thorough settlement of all their differences. So at that time they each withdrew with this understanding.

But finding themselves unable during this truce to come to such terms with each other as to reach a settlement of the disputed points, they were once more on the point of resorting to warfare. But the Gepaedes, fearing the Roman power (for it was expected that the Romans would array themselves with the Lombards), were purposing to invite some of the Huns to an offensive and defensive alliance. They sent, accordingly, to the rulers of the

Cutrigurs, who live on the western side of the Maeotic Lake, and begged that they assist them in carrying on the war against the Lombards. And these Huns straightway sent them twelve thousand men, under different commanders, among whom was Chinialon, an especially capable warrior. But the Gepaedes were for the moment embarrassed by the presence of these barbarians, since the time had not yet arrived when a battle could be fought, for the truce still had a year to run, and so they persuaded them to overrun the emperor's land in the interval, thus turning their embarrassment to their profit by delivering this attack on the Romans. But since the Romans were guarding carefully the crossing of the Ister River both in Illyricum and in the land of Thrace, they themselves ferried these Huns across the Ister at the point where their own territory touched the river and turned them loose in the Roman domain.

And they had indeed plundered practically the whole country there, when the Emperor Justinian hit upon the following plan. Sending to the rulers of the Utigur Huns, who live on the eastern side of the Maeotic Lake, he reproached them and branded as unjust their inactivity with regard to the Cutrigurs, if indeed one ought to consider the act of watching without protest the destruction of one's friends as the height of injustice. "For the Cutrigurs," he said, "paying no heed to their neighbours, the Utigurs, and that too though they receive great sums of money every year from Byzantium, are unwilling in any degree to cease from their injustice toward the Romans, but they are every day raiding and plundering them for no good reason. And though the Utigurs themselves gain no portion of this plunder nor share in the booty with the Cutrigurs, they are not taking the side of the Romans who are being wronged, though they have been on terms of close friendship with them from ancient times." Thus the Emperor Justinian, by sending this message to the Utigurs, and not only making a gift of money to them but also reminding them of all the gifts they had previously received from him on many occasions, persuaded them immediately to make an attack upon those of the Cutrigurs who had been left behind.

So they first drew into alliance with them two thousand of the Goths called Tetraxitae, who are their neighbours, and then crossed the Tanais River in full force. And they were commanded by Sandil, a man of the greatest cleverness and experienced in many wars, and one, moreover, well endowed with prowess and fortitude. So after they had made the crossing of the river, they engaged with a large number of the Cutrigurs who disputed their advance. And since this force offered a most vigorous resistance to their assailants, the battle continued for a very long time, but finally the Utigurs routed their opponents and slew many. And only a small number of them, by fleeing wherever each man found it possible, saved themselves. Then their enemy made slaves of their women and children and so departed on their homeward way.

XIX

While these barbarians were fighting it out with each other in the manner described, and when the struggle was now at the most violent point, it so fell out that great good fortune came to the Romans. For all those Romans who chanced to be among the Cutrigurs in the status of slaves, amounting, as they say, to many tens of thousands, during this struggle departed hastily from there without being detected, and, since no one followed them up, they reached their native land, thus profiting by another nation's victory at the time of their sorest need. The Emperor Justinian now sent to Chinialon and the other Huns the general Aratius, bidding him announce to them what had befallen in their own land and, by offering them money, persuade them to depart with all possible speed from the territory of the Romans. So these Huns, upon learning the inroad of the Utigurs and receiving at the same time a large sum of money from Aratius, made an agreement that they would commit no further bloodshed nor enslave any one of the Romans nor do any other harm, but would make their withdrawal, treating the people on the way as friends. And this also was agreed upon, that if, on the one hand, these barbarians should be able to return and settle in their own country, they would both remain there and hold fast for the future their allegiance to the Romans; but if, on the other hand, it should be impossible for them to remain in that land, they were to return once more to Roman territory, and the emperor would confer upon them some district in Thrace, to the end that they should establish their homes there and be for ever at peace with the Romans while they assisted in guarding the land carefully against all barbarians.

By this time two thousand of the Huns who had been defeated in the battle and escaped the Utigurs had entered the Roman empire, bringing their wives and children; and among their several leaders was Sinnion, who long before had marched with Belisarius against Gelimer and the Vandals, and they now made themselves suppliants of the Emperor Justinian. He received them with all kindness and bade them settle on Thracian soil. But when Sandil, the king of the Utigurs, learned this, he was exasperated and filled with anger, seeing that, while he himself, by way of punishing the Cutrigurs who were his kinsmen for the wrong they had done the Romans, had driven them from their ancestral abode, they for their part had been received by the emperor, had settled in the land of the Romans, and were going to live much more comfortably; he accordingly sent envoys to the emperor to remonstrate at what had been done, not putting any letter into their hands (for the Huns are absolutely unacquainted with writing and unskilled in it up to the present time, and they neither have any writing-master nor do the children among them toil over their letters at all as they grow up), but instructing them rather to deliver by word of mouth in the barbarian fashion everything which he enjoined upon them.

So when these envoys came into the presence of the Emperor Justinian, they stated that their king Sandil spoke through them as by a letter as follows: "I know a certain proverb which I have heard from my boyhood, and if I have not forgotten it, the proverb runs somewhat as follows. That wild beast, the wolf, might, they say, possibly not be unable actually to change in some degree the colour of his fur, but his character he doth not transform, nature not permitting him to change this. This proverb," says Sandil, "have I heard from my elders, who thus hinted at the ways of men by means of a dark saying. And I know something also which I have learned from experience, one of those things which it would be natural that a rough barbarian should learn: the shepherds take dogs when they are still suckling and rear them with no lack of care in the house, and the dog is an animal grateful to those who feed it and most mindful of kindness. Now this is obviously done by the shepherds with this purpose, that when the wolves attack the flock at any time, the dogs may check their attacks, standing over the sheep as guardians and saviours. And I think this takes place throughout the whole world. For no man in the world has at any time seen dogs attacking a flock nor wolves defending it, but nature as a law-maker has established this as a kind of ordinance, as it were, for dogs and sheep and wolves. And I think that even in your empire, where practically everything is found in abundance, including doubtless even impossible things, there is not the slightest variation from this rule. Otherwise make a demonstration to my envoys in order that on the threshold of old age we may actually learn something new to our experience. But if these things are by nature everywhere fixed, it is not, I think, a fair thing for you to receive hospitably the nation of the Cutrigurs, inviting in a foul set of neighbours, and making people at home with you now whom you have not endured beyond your boundaries. For they will, after no long delay, shew their own true character toward the Romans, and apart from this, neither will an enemy be lacking who will prey upon the Roman domain in the hope that, if defeated, he will be better off at your hands, nor will a friend be left the Romans who some day will stand in the way of those who would overrun your land, through fear lest, when he gains the mastery by the gift of fortune, he may see the vanquished faring more splendidly than himself at your hands, seeing that while we eke out our existence in a deserted and thoroughly unproductive land, the Cutrigurs are at liberty to traffic in corn and to revel in their wine-cellar and live on the fat of the land. And doubtless they have access to baths too and are wearing gold — the vagabonds — and have no lack of fine clothes embroidered and overlaid with gold. Yet another point: the Cutrigurs had previously enslaved countless thousands of Romans and carried them off to their own land. And these cursed rascals have been at no slight pains to impose all the indignities of slavery upon these victims, for they were doubtless ever ready even to apply the lash to those who had done no wrong or to put them to death, and they practised such other cruelties as natural inclination and opportunity suggest to a barbarian master. We, on the other

hand, by our struggles and perils which involved our lives in danger, delivered them from the fate which then enchained them and restored them to their parents, so that they came to represent for us the object, it proves, of all our labours in the war. And for these things we and they have each of us received from you for these different actions rewards of an opposite nature, if it is true that we, on the one hand, still partake of our ancestral woes, but they are allotted an equal share in the land of those who by our valour escaped from being their slaves.” Thus spoke the envoys of the Utigurs. But the emperor, after wheedling them with many words and comforting them with a quantity of gifts, sent them away not long afterward. Such was the course of these events.

At about this time war and fighting sprang up between the nation of the Varni and soldiers who live on the island called Brittia; and it came about from the following cause. The Varni dwell beyond the Ister River, and extend as far as the northern ocean along the river Rhine, which separates them from the Franks and the other nations who dwell in that region. Now among all these nations which in ancient times dwelt on both sides of the Rhine river each people had its own particular name, but the whole group was called in common Germans. The island of Brittia lies in this part of the ocean not far from the coast, being about two hundred stades off and approximately opposite the mouth of the Rhine, and between the islands of Britain and Thule. For while Britain lies to the west about in line with the extreme end of Spain, separated from the continent by a distance which at the least is about four hundred stades, Brittia is towards the rear of Gaul, that side namely which faces the ocean, being, that is, to the north of both Spain and Britain. And Thule, as far as men know at any rate, is situated towards the extremity of the northern ocean. But the description of Britain and of Thule has been set down by me in the preceding narrative. The island of Brittia is inhabited by three very numerous nations, each having one king over it. And the names of these nations are Augili, Frissones, and Brittones, the last being named from the island itself. And so great appears to be the population of these nations that every year they emigrate thence in large companies with their women and children and go to the land of the Franks. And the Franks allow them to settle in the part of their land which appears to be more deserted, and by this means they say they are winning over the island. Thus it actually happened that not long ago the king of the Franks, in sending some of his intimates on an embassy to the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, sent with them some of the Angili, thus seeking to establish his claim that this island was ruled by him. Such then are the facts relating to the island that is called Brittia.

The Varni, not long ago, were ruled by a man named Hermegisclus. He, being eager to strengthen his kingdom, had made the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Franks, his wedded wife. For his previous wife had died recently, having been the mother of one child, Radigis by name, whom she left to his father; and he sought a marriage for this child with a maiden born in Brittia, whose brother was then king of the nation of the Angili, and had given her a large sum of money because of his wooing. Now this man, while riding with the most notable of the Varni in a certain place, saw a bird sitting in a tree and croaking loudly. And whether he really comprehended the bird's voice, or, possessing some other knowledge, simply made a mysterious pretence of comprehending the bird's prophecy, he at any rate immediately told those with him that he would die forty days later. For this, he said, was revealed to him by the pronouncement of the bird. "Now I," he said, "making provision that

you should live most securely and at your ease, have related myself with the Franks by taking from their country the wife who is now my consort, and I have bestowed Brittia upon my son by betrothal. But now, since I expect to die very shortly, and, as far as this wife is concerned, I am without issue male or female, and my son furthermore is still unwed and without his bride, come now, let me communicate my thought to you, and, if it should seem to you not without some profit, do you, as soon as I reach the term of my life, put upon it the seal of your approval and execute it. I think, then, that it will be more to the advantage of the Varni to make the alliance by marriage with the Franks than with the islanders. For the men of Brittia, on the one hand, are not even able to join forces with you except after a long and difficult journey, while the Varni and Franks, on the other hand, have only yonder water of the Rhine between them, so that they, being very close neighbours to you, and having achieved an enormous power, have the means ready at hand both to help you and to harm you whenever they wish; and they will undoubtedly harm you if the said marriage alliance shall not prevent them. For men naturally find a neighbouring state's power, when it surpasses their own, grievous and a most ready cause of injustice, for a powerful neighbour may with comparative ease secure causes of war against his neighbours who are doing no wrong. Since, then, the facts are these, let the island girl who has been wooed for this boy be given up by you, and all the money which she has received from us for this purpose, let her retain as remuneration for the indignity, as the common law of mankind has it; but let my son Radigis be married to his own stepmother thenceforth, just as our ancestral law permits us."

So he spoke, and on the fortieth day from the pronouncement he fell sick and fulfilled his destiny. Then the son of Hermegisclus, after taking over the kingdom of the Varni, by the will of the notable men among these barbarians, carried out the counsel of the dead king, and straightway renouncing his marriage with his betrothed, became wedded to his step-mother. But when the betrothed of Radigis learned this, she could not bear the indignity of her position and undertook to secure revenge upon him for his insult to her. For so highly is virtue regarded among those barbarians, that when merely the name of marriage has been mentioned among them, though the fact has not been accomplished, the woman is considered to have lost her maidenhood. First, then, she sent an embassy to him of some of her kinsmen and inquired for what reason he had insulted her, though she had neither been unfaithful nor done him any other wrong. But since she was unable to accomplish anything by this means, she took up the duties of a man and proceeded to deeds of war.

She accordingly collected four hundred ships immediately and put on board them an army of not fewer than one hundred thousand fighting men, and she in person led forth this expedition against the Varni. And she also took with her one of her brothers who was to assist her in settling the situation, not that he was holding the kingship, for he was still living in the position of a private citizen. Now these islanders are valiant beyond any of the

barbarians we know, and they enter battle on foot. And this is not merely because they are unpractised in horsemanship, but the fact is that they do not even know what a horse is, since they never see so much as a picture of a horse on that island; for it is clear that this animal has in no time lived in Brittia. And whenever it happens that some of them on an embassy or some other mission make a visit among the Romans or the Franks or any other nation which has horses, and they are there constrained to ride on horseback, they are altogether unable, to leap upon their backs, but other men lift them in the air and thus mount them on the horses, and when they wish to get off, they are again lifted and placed on the ground. Nor, in fact, are the Varni horsemen either, but they too all march on foot. Such, then, are these barbarians. And there were no supernumeraries in this fleet, for all the men rowed with their own hands. Nor do these islanders have sails, as it happens, but they always navigate by rowing alone.

When they came to land on the continent, the maiden who commanded them, having established a strong stockade close by the mouth of the Rhine River, remained there with a small number, but commanded her brother to lead forward all the rest of the army against the enemy. Now the Varni at that time were encamped not far from the shore of the ocean and the mouth of the Rhine. So when the Angili reached that place, marching swiftly, the two armies engaged in combat with one another, and the Varni were defeated decisively. And many of them fell in this struggle, while the entire number of those remaining, together with the king, turned to retreat, and the Angili, after keeping up the pursuit for only a short distance, as is customary for infantry, retired to their camp. But the maiden rebuked them when they returned to her and inveighed most vehemently against her brother, declaring that nothing worthy of mention had been achieved by the army, because they had not brought her Radigis alive.

She then selected the most warlike men among them and sent them off straightway, instructing them to bring the man captive without fail. Then, by way of carrying out her mission, these men went about searching that whole country thoroughly, until they found Radigis hiding in a dense wood; then they bound him and took him back to the girl. So he stood before her eyes trembling and expecting to die instantly by the most cruel death; she, however, contrary to his expectations, neither killed him nor inflicted any other harm upon him, but by way of reproaching him for his insult to her, enquired of the fellow why in the world he had made light of the agreement and allied himself to another woman, and that too though his betrothed had not been unfaithful. And he, seeking to defend himself against the charge, brought forward the commands of his father and the zeal of his subjects, and he uttered words of supplication and mingled many prayers with his defence, excusing his action by the stress of necessity. And if it was her will that they should be married he promised that what he had done unjustly in the past would be repaired by his subsequent conduct. Now when this was approved

by the girl, and Radigis had been released from his bonds and received kind treatment in all other matters, he straightway dismissed the sister of Theudibert and wedded the girl from Brittia. Thus did these events take place.

Now in this island of Brittia the men of ancient times built a long wall, cutting off a large part of it; and the climate and the soil and everything else is not alike on the two sides of it. For to the east of the wall there is a salubrious air, changing with the seasons, being moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. And many people dwell there, living in the same fashion as other men, and the trees abound with fruits which ripen at the fitting season, and the corn-lands flourish as abundantly as any; furthermore, the land seems to display a genuine pride in an abundance of springs of water. But on the west side everything is the reverse of this, so that it is actually impossible for a man to survive there even a half-hour, but countless snakes and serpents and every other kind of wild creature occupy this area as their own. And, strangest of all, the inhabitants say that if any man crosses this wall and goes to the other side, he dies straightway, being quite unable to support the pestilential air of that region, and wild animals, likewise, which go there are instantly met and taken by death.

Since I have reached this point in the history, it is necessary for me to record a story which bears a very close resemblance to mythology, a story which did not indeed seem to me at all trustworthy, although it was constantly being published by countless persons who maintained that they had done the thing with their own hands and had heard the words with their own ears, and yet it cannot be altogether passed over, lest, in writing an account of the island of Brittia, gain a lasting reputation for ignorance of what takes place there.

They say, then, that the souls of men who die are always conveyed to this place. And as to the manner in which this is done, I shall presently explain, having many a time heard the people there most earnestly describe it, though I have come to the conclusion that the tales they tell are to be attributed to some power of dreams. Along the coast of the ocean which lies opposite the island of Brittia there are numerous villages. These are inhabited by men who fish with nets or till the soil or carry on a sea-trade with this island, being in other respects subject to the Franks, but never making them any payment of tribute, that burden having been remitted to them from ancient times on account, as they say, of a certain service, which will here be described by me.

The men of this place say that the conduct of souls is laid upon them in turn. So the men who on the following night must go to do this work relieving others in the service, as soon as darkness comes on, retire to their own houses and sleep, awaiting him who is to assemble them for the enterprise. And at a late hour of the night they are conscious of a knocking at their doors and hear an indistinct voice calling them together for their task. And they with no hesitation rise from their beds and walk to the shore, not understanding what necessity leads them to do this, but compelled nevertheless. There they see skiffs in readiness with no man at all in them, not their own skiffs, however,

but a different kind, in which they embark and lay hold of the oars. And they are aware that the boats are burdened with a large number of passengers and are wet by the waves to the edge of the planks and the oarlocks, having not so much as one finger's breadth above the water; they themselves, however, see no one, but after rowing a single hour they put in at Brittia. And yet when they make the voyage in their own skiffs, not using sails but rowing, they with difficulty make this passage in a night and a day. Then when they have reached the island and have been relieved of their burden, they depart with all speed, their boats now becoming suddenly light and rising above the waves, for they sink no further in the water than the keel itself.

And they, for their part, neither see any man either sitting in the boat with them or departing from the boat, but they say that they hear a kind of voice from the island which seems to make announcement to those who take the souls in charge as each name is called of the passengers who have come over with them, telling over the positions of honour which they formerly held and calling out their fathers' names with their own. And if women also happen to be among those who have been ferried over, they utter the names of the men to whom they were married in life. This, then, is what the men of this country say takes place. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

Such was the progress of the wars in each land. And the Gothic War continued as follows. After the emperor had summoned Belisarius to Byzantium as stated in the preceding narrative, he held him in honour, and not even at the death of Germanus did he purpose to send him to Italy, but he actually appointed him commander of the imperial guards as being General of the East, and detained him there. And Belisarius was first of all the Romans in dignity, although some of them had been enrolled before him among the patricians and had actually ascended to the seat of the consuls. But even so they all yielded first place to him, being ashamed in view of his achievements to take advantage of the law and to claim the right which it conferred, a circumstance which pleased the emperor exceedingly. Meanwhile John, the nephew of Vitalian, was passing the winter in Salones. And during all this time the commanders of the Roman army, expecting him in Italy, remained inactive. And the winter drew to its close and the sixteenth year ended in this Gothic War, the history of which Procopius has written. [551 A.D.]

When the following year opened, John was minded to depart from Salones and lead his army as quickly as possible against Totila and the Goths. But the emperor prevented him, bidding him remain there until Narses the eunuch should arrive. For he had decided to appoint him commander-in-chief for this war. But the reason why this was the wish of the emperor was explicitly evident to no one in the world; for it is impossible that an emperor's purpose be discovered except by his own will; but the surmises which people expressed I shall here set down. The thought had occurred to the Emperor Justinian that the other commanders of the Roman army would be quite unwilling to take orders from John, not consenting to be in any way inferior to him in rank. And consequently he feared lest by being at cross purposes or by playing the coward through envy they might make havoc of their operations.

And I also heard the following account of the matter given by a Roman gentleman when I was sojourning in Rome; and this man was a member of the senate. This Roman said that once, during the time when Atalaric the grandson of Theoderic ruled Italy, a herd of cattle came into Rome in the late evening from the country through the forum which the Romans call the Forum of Peace; for in that place has been situated from ancient times the temple of Peace, which was struck by lightning. And there is a certain ancient fountain before this forum, and a bronze bull stands by it, the work, I think, of Pheidias the Athenian or of Lysippus. For there are many statues in this quarter which are the works of these two men. Here, for example, is another statue which is certainly the work of Pheidias; for the inscription on the statue says this. There too is the calf of Myron. For the ancient Romans took great pains to make all the finest things of Greece adornments of Rome. And he said that one of the cattle then passing by — a steer — left the herd and mounting this

fountain stood over the brazen bull. And by some chance a certain man of Tuscan birth was passing by, one who appeared to be a very rustic fellow, and he understood the scene which was being enacted and said (for the Tuscans even down to my day are gifted with prophecy) that one day a eunuch would undo the ruler of Rome. And then indeed that Tuscan and the words he uttered earned only laughter. For before actual experience comes men are ever wont to mock at prophecies, whilst proof does not upset them, because the events have not come about and the tale of them is not credible, but seems akin to some ridiculous myth.

But now all men, yielding to the arguments of actual events, marvel at this sign. And it was perhaps for this reason that Narses marched as general against Totila, the emperor's judgment penetrating the future, or chance ordaining the inevitable thing. So Narses, receiving a notable army and great sums of money from the emperor, set forth. But when he came with his command to the midst of Thrace, he spent some time at Philippopolis, having been cut off from his road. For an army of Huns had made a descent upon the Roman domain and were plundering and pillaging everything with no man to stand in their way. But after some of them had advanced against Thessalonice and the rest took the road to Byzantium, Narses finally departed thence and marched forward.

Now while John, on the one hand, was at Salones awaiting Narses, and Narses, on the other hand, was travelling rather slowly, being hindered by the inroad of the Huns, meantime Totila, while awaiting the army of Narses, was engaged as follows. He placed a part of the Romans and some of the members of the senate in Rome, leaving the rest in Campania. And he commanded them to look after the city as well as they could, shewing plainly thereby that he felt repentance for what he had done to Rome previously; for he had, as it happened, burned large parts of it, particularly on the further side of the Tiber River. But these Romans, being reduced to the state of slaves and stripped of all their money, were not only unable to lay claim to the public funds, but could not even secure those which belonged to them personally.

Yet the Romans love their city above all the men we know, and they are eager to protect all their ancestral treasures and to preserve them, so that nothing of the ancient glory of Rome may be obliterated. For even though they were for a long period under barbarian sway, they preserved the buildings of the city and the most of its adornments, such as could through the excellence of their workmanship withstand so long a lapse of time and such neglect. Furthermore, all such memorials of the race as were still left are preserved even to this day, and among them the ship of Aeneas, the founder of the city, an altogether incredible sight. For they built a ship-house in the middle of the city on the bank of the Tiber, and depositing it there, they have preserved it from that time. And I shall now explain what sort of a ship this is, having seen it myself.

The ship is one with a single bank of oars and is very long, being one hundred and twenty feet in length and twenty-five feet wide, and its height is all that it can be without becoming impossible to row. But there is nowhere in the boat any piecing together of timbers at all nor are the timbers fastened together by any device of iron, but all the timbers are of one piece, a thing strange and un heard of and true only, as far as we know, of this one boat. For the keel, which is a single piece, extends from the extreme stern to the bow, gradually sinking to the middle of the ship in a remarkable way and then rising again thence properly and in due order until it stands upright and rigid. And all the heavy timbers which fit into the keel (these the poets call "oak-stays," but others call them "shepherds") extend each and every one from one side all the way to the other side of the ship. These, too, sinking from either end, form a remarkably shapely bend, in order that the ship may be fashioned with a very wide hull, whether nature under the constraint of their future use originally carved out the timbers and fashioned this arch or the sweep of the ribs was properly adjusted by craftsmen's skill and other devices. Each plank, furthermore, extends from the very stem to the other end of the ship, being of one piece and pierced by iron spikes only for this purpose, that by being

fastened to the timbers they may form the side of the ship. This ship thus constructed makes an impression when seen which transcends all description, for the nature of things always makes those works which are most cunningly built not easy for men to describe, but by means of her innovations so prevails over our usual habits of mind as to check even our power of speech. Now none of these timbers has either rotted or given the least indication of being unsound, but the ship, intact throughout, just as if newly constructed by the hand of the builder, whoever he was, has preserved its strength in a marvellous way even to my time. Such are the facts relating to the ship of Aeneas.

Totila now manned with Goths as many as three hundred ships of war and ordered them to go to Greece, instructing them to make every effort to capture those who fell in their way. But this fleet, as far as the land of the Phaeacians, which is now called Cercyra, was able to do no damage. For it so happens that there is no inhabited island in that part of the sea which extends from the strait of Charybdis as far as Cercyra, so that many a time, in passing that way, I have been at a loss to know where in the world the island of Calypso was. For nowhere in that sea have I seen an island with the exception of three not far from Phaeacia, and only about three hundred stades distant, huddled close together and very small and having no habitations either of men or of animals or anything else at all. These islands are now called Othoni. And one might say that Calypso lived there, and that Odysseus, consequently, being not far from the land of Phaeacia, ferried himself over from here on a raft, as Homer says, or by some other means without any ship. But let this be ventured by us only as a possible interpretation. For it is not easy to reconcile the actual facts precisely with the very ancient records, since the long passage of time is wont very generally to change the names of places and the beliefs concerning them.

Such is the case of the ship which stands by the shore of the island in the land of the Phaeacians, made of white stone and supposed by some to be the very one which carried Odysseus to Ithaca at the time when he had the fortune to be entertained in Phaeacia. And yet this boat is not a monolith, but is composed of a very great number of stones. And an inscription has been cut in it and cries aloud that some merchant in earlier times set up this offering to Zeus Casius. For the men of this place once honoured Zeus Casius, since the very city in which this boat stands is called up to the present time Casope in the same manner that ship is made of many stones which Agamemnon the son of Atreus set up to Artemis at Geraestus in Euboea, seeking even in this way to blot out the insult to her, at the time when through the suffering of Iphigeneia Artemis permitted the Greeks to set sail. This is declared by an inscription on this boat in hexameters which was engraved either then or later. And though the most of it has disappeared because of the passage of time, the first verses are discernible even to the present and run as follows: —

“Here on this spot Agamemnon did set me, a ship made of marble,

A sign of the fleet of the Greeks sailing to Troy e'er to be."

And at the end it has the words: "Made by Tynnichus, to Artemis Bolosia"; for thus they used to name Eileithuia in former times, because they called the pains of travail "bolae." But I must return to the point from which I have strayed.

When this Gothic expedition reached Cercyra, they plundered it thoroughly in a sudden raid, and also the other islands called Sybotae which lie near it; then suddenly crossing over to the mainland also they plundered the whole country about Dodona, and particularly Nicopolis and Anchialus, where the natives say Anchises the father of Aeneas passed from the world, while he was sailing from captured Troy with his son, and thus gave the place its name. And going about the whole coast and meeting many Roman ships, they captured every one of them, cargoes and all. Among these happened to be also some of the ships which were carrying provisions from Greece for the army of Narses. Thus then did these things take place.

Long before this Totila had sent an army of Goths into Picenum, in order to capture Ancon; and he appointed as commanders over this army the most notable men among the Goths, Scipuar and Gibal and Gundulf, the last named having once been a guardsman of Belisarius. And some called him Indulf. And he gave them also forty-seven ships of war, in order that, in besieging the fortress by land and sea, they might make the overmastery of it easier and less laborious. And after this siege had been continued a long time it came about that the besieged were hard pressed by the scarcity of provisions.

When this was learned by Valerian, who was waiting at Ravenna, being unable single-handed to succour the Romans in Ancon, he sent a messenger to John the nephew of Vitalian who was at Salones with the following letter. "Ancon is the only city left us to the south of the gulf, as you yourself know, if indeed it is now still left us. For such is the situation of the Romans who are being most closely besieged in this city, that I fear lest we be late with our assistance, shewing zeal after the critical time, and displaying our enthusiasm for it a day too late. But I shall cease. For the constraint imposed upon the besieged does not permit my letter to be made longer, since it strictly appropriates the time to its own uses, while the danger demands assistance more swift than words." When John had read this letter, he dared, though it had been forbidden him by the emperor, to go on his own initiative, considering the straitened condition brought about by chance more weighty than the imperial commands. So selecting men whom he considered the most able fighters of all, and manning thirty-eight ships of war with them — boats of great swiftness and built with all possible care for warfare on the sea — and putting a few of his provisions aboard, he set sail from Salones and put in at Scardon. And Valerian also came thither not long afterwards with twelve ships.

After joining forces they conferred with each other and considered the plans which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage; then they set sail from there and upon reaching the opposite mainland anchored at a place which the Romans call Senogallia, not far away from Ancon. When the Gothic generals learned this, they too immediately manned with the notable Goths the ships of war which they had with them, forty-seven in number, and leaving the rest of the army engaged in the siege of the fortress they advanced straight against their enemy. Now Scipuar, on the one hand, commanded those who remained to carry on the siege, and Gibal and Gundulf commanded the men on the ships. And when the two forces came near each other, both commanders stopped their ships and drew them close together and made an exhortation to the soldiers.

And John and Valerian spoke first as follows. "Let not one of you, fellow-soldiers, think that on the present occasion you are to struggle in behalf of this

city of Ancon alone and the Romans besieged in it, nor that the result of this struggle will affect that matter only, but you must consider that the main issue of the whole war, to speak comprehensively, is here involved, and to whichever side the battle inclines, there will be bestowed also the final decision of fortune. For you should regard the present situation thus: War depends for its decision in large measure upon the commissary, and those in want of supplies are inevitably bound to be defeated by their enemy. For valour cannot dwell together with hunger, since nature will not permit a man to be starving and to be brave at the same time. This being the case, we have no other stronghold left us from Dryus to Ravenna, where we can deposit the food supplies for ourselves and our horses, and the enemy are so thoroughly masters of the land that not a single town remains there friendly to us, from which we could even in small measure provide ourselves with supplies. And it is on Ancon alone that our whole expectation is based that the army sailing in from the opposite mainland can land here and be in safety. Consequently, if we fare well in to-day's encounter, and secure Ancon, as is probable, for the emperor, we shall perhaps be in a position henceforth to hope that what remains of the Gothic war will likewise go well for us. If, however, we fail in this battle, — but of further calamity we would not speak, only may God grant to the Romans the lasting mastery of Italy. And this too is worthy of our consideration, that, if we shew ourselves cowards in the struggle, even flight will be impossible. For neither will you have the land, seeing it is held fast by our opponents, nor will you be able to sail the sea, since the enemy control it as they do; but it has come to this — that our hope of safety lies in our own strength alone and will shape itself in accordance with our performance during the combat. Be valiant, then, as far as in you lies, laying to heart this one thought, that if, on the one hand, you are defeated on the present occasion, you will suffer your last defeat, but if, on the other hand, you are victorious, you will not only win glory but will also be ranked with the very fortunate."

Thus spoke John and Valerian. And the commanders of the Goths made the following exhortation. "Since these accursed rascals, after being driven away from all Italy and hiding for a long time in we know not what corners of the earth or the sea, have now had the hardihood to engage with us and have come against us with the purpose of renewing the fight, it is necessary to check with full determination the daring which their folly has engendered in them, so that it may not happen by reason of our giving way that the result of their madness grows to something great. For foolishness which is not checked in the beginning does mount up to boundless daring, but ends in irreparable calamity to those concerned. Shew them, therefore, as quickly as possible that they are Greeklings and unmanly by nature and are merely putting on a bold front when defeated, and do not consent that this experiment of theirs proceed further. For cowardice, when merely despised, proceeds to flaunt itself still more, because rashness just by continuing comes to be devoid of fear. And do not by any means suppose that they will resist you long if you play the part of

brave men. For when a lofty spirit is not matched by a commensurate power on the part of those who indulge in it, though before the event it may appear exalted to the highest pitch, yet when the combat begins, it is wont to ebb away. Seeing then that this is true, call to mind in what manner the enemy have fared on many occasions when they have made trial of your valour, and consider that in coming against you they have not become better men on the spur of the moment, but shewing merely a degree of daring similar to that on previous occasions, they will now also achieve the same fortune."

After the Gothic commanders had made this exhortation, they confronted the enemy and without delay came to close quarters with them. And the fighting was exceedingly fierce and resembled a battle on land. For both sides set their ships head on with the bows against those of their opponents and discharged their arrows against each other, and all those who laid some claim to valour brought their ships close enough to touch one another and then engaged from the decks, fighting with sword and spear just as if on a plain. Such was the opening stage of this encounter.

But after this the barbarians, through lack of experience in sea-fighting, began to carry on the combat with great disorder; for some of them became so far separated from one another that they gave their enemy opportunity to ram them singly, while others drew together in large groups and were constantly hindered by one another because of the crowding of the boats. One would have thought that the decks of their boats were built together like a mat. And neither could they shoot their bows against those of their opponents who were at a distance except late and with difficulty, nor could they use sword or spear whenever they saw them bearing down upon them; but their attention was constantly engrossed by the shouting and crowding among themselves, as they continually collided with each other and then pushed off again with their poles in a disorderly manner, sometimes pushing their prows into the crowded space, and sometimes backing off to a great distance, thus making trouble for their own side in either case. And each crew kept shouting orders and howling wildly to those nearest them, not to urge them against the enemy, but in order that their own ships might get the proper intervals from each other. And being thus preoccupied by their difficulty with each other, they themselves became the chief cause of victory for their enemy.

The Romans, on the other hand, handled the fighting manfully and their ships with skill, putting their boats head on and neither separating far from one another nor crowding together closer than was necessary, but always keeping their movements toward or from each other properly co-ordinated; and whenever they observed an enemy ship separated from the rest, they rammed and sunk it with no difficulty, and whenever they saw some of the enemy in a confused mass, there they directed showers of arrows, and, as soon as they fell upon them when in disorder and utterly exhausted by the labour which their confusion entailed, they would destroy them out of hand. So the barbarians giving up the struggle against the adversities of fortune and the

errors which they had made during the battle, knew not how they should continue to fight, for they neither continued the sea-fight nor yet stood upon their decks as in a land battle, but abandoning the struggle they came to a perilous pause, having now left all to chance. Consequently the Goths in great disorder turned to a disgraceful retreat, and they no longer thought of valour or of orderly flight nor of anything else which would insure their safety, but scattered as they were for the most part among their enemy's ships, they were completely helpless. And some of them fled unobserved with eleven ships and were saved, but all the rest to a man fell into the hands of their enemy. Many of these the Romans slew with their own hands, and many others they destroyed by sinking them with their ships; and of the generals Gundulf escaped unobserved with the eleven ships, but the other was captured by the Romans.

After this the men on the eleven ships disembarked on the land and immediately set the ships on fire so that they might not fall into the hands of their enemy, while they themselves proceeded on foot to the army which was besieging the city of Ancon. And after they had announced to them what had taken place, they all made a hasty retreat together, abandoning their camp to the enemy, and ran as hard as they could and in great confusion up to the neighbouring city of Auximus. And the Romans, coming to Ancon not long afterwards, captured the enemy's camp without a man in it and then, after carrying in provisions for those in the fortress, sailed away from there. And Valerian, for his part, proceeded to Ravenna, while John returned to Salones. This engagement especially broke the spirit and weakened the power of Totila and the Goths.

At about this same time Roman affairs stood as follows in Sicily. Liberius had been summoned from there by the emperor and had gone to Byzantium, while Artabanus, for thus the emperor had decided, commanded the whole Roman army in Sicily. He had laid siege to those Goths who had been left in the fortresses of the island, a very small number indeed, and whenever they made sallies he had defeated them in battle and had reduced them to a state of absolute destitution as regards the necessities of life, and finally he had taken them all by surrender. At this the Goths became fearful, being deeply moved by the outcome of the naval battle, so that they were beginning to despair of the war, having by now become utterly hopeless; for they reasoned that even in the existing circumstances they had been shamefully defeated by their enemy and completely demoralized, and if any assistance should come to the Romans, even in small measure, they would be unable by any means to hold out against them even for the least space of time or to keep a foothold in Italy. Nor indeed had they any hope of accomplishing anything by negotiation with the emperor. For Totila had, as it happened, sent envoys to him often. These envoys had indeed come before Justinian and explained that the Franks had occupied the greater part of Italy, while the rest of it had become for the most part deserted on account of the war; yet the Goths were willing to retire in favour of the Romans from Sicily and Dalmatia, which alone had remained intact, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes for the abandoned land every year and would fight as allies against whomsoever the emperor should wish and would be in other respects subject to him. But the emperor would pay no attention to what they said and dismissed the envoys one and all, hating as he did the Gothic name and intending to drive it out absolutely from the Roman domain. Thus then did these events take place.

But Theudibert, the ruler of the Franks, had not long before been taken from the world by disease, having without justification made some parts of Liguria and the Cottian Alps and the most of Venetia subject to the payment of tribute. For the Franks had treated the preoccupation of the warring nations as their own opportunity, and without danger were enriching themselves with the lands for which the combatants were fighting. And the Goths indeed had a few fortresses left in Venetia, while the Romans held the coast towns; but the Franks had brought all the others under their sway. Now while the Romans and the Goths were waging this war against each other as I have described it and were unable to take on new enemies in addition, the Goths and the Franks had negotiated with each other and come to an agreement that, as long as the Goths were waging war against the Romans, both of them should remain quiet holding what they had secured and there should be no hostilities between them. But if indeed Totila should ever have the fortune to overcome Justinian in the war, the Goths and the Franks should at such time settle these matters in

such a way as should seem likely to benefit both of them. So much for this agreement. But Theudibert was succeeded by his son Theudibald. And the emperor sent Leontius, the son-in-law of Athanasius, a member of the senate, as envoy to him, inviting him to an offensive alliance against Totila and the Goths and demanding that he withdraw from the parts of Italy on which Theudibert had set his mind wrongfully to trespass.

Now Leontius, upon coming before Theudibald, spoke as follows. "It may perhaps be true that on other occasions events have gone contrary to the expectations of men, but such a thing as has been done to the Romans in the present case by you has, I think, never happened to anyone else in the world. For the Emperor Justinian, on his part, did not enter into this war, nor did he let it appear that he was about to fight the Goths, until the Franks, in the name of alliance and friendship, had received from him great sums of money and agreed to assist him in the struggle. They, however, have not only seen fit to fulfil none of their promises, but they have further wronged the Romans in a way which no one could have easily imagined. For your father Theudibert undertook to trespass upon territory to which he had no just claim and which the emperor had mastered with great labour by the perils of war, and that too while all the Franks were standing out of the way. Consequently I now come to you, not to reproach you or lay charges against you, but in order to make demands and to counsel you as to what will be of advantage to you yourselves. I say, then, that you, on the one hand, should preserve the prosperity which you now enjoy, and allow the Romans, on the other hand, to have that which is their own; for when a nation is possessed of great power, the unholy acquisition of even some trifling thing has many a time been of sufficient moment to rob it of the advantages it has enjoyed from of old, since prosperity is by no means wont to associate itself with injustice; and I demand, furthermore, that you join with us in carrying on the war against Totila, thus fulfilling your father's agreement. For the conduct which above all others would become true-born sons is this — to correct whatever mistakes have been made by their parents, but to continue and confirm whatever deeds of excellence they have done. Indeed this would be a thing most ardently prayed for by the most understanding of men, that their children might emulate the best of their activities, and that whatever has not been well done by them should be corrected by no one else than their children. In fact you ought to have taken up this war with the Romans unsummoned. For our struggle is against the Goths, who have been from the beginning bitter enemies of the Franks and altogether untrustworthy toward them, waging a truceless and implacable war upon them through all the ages. Of course they do not hesitate now, through fear of us, to adopt a wheedling air toward you; but if ever they should get rid of us, they will at no distant time display their real attitude toward the Franks. For evil men cannot change their character either in prosperity or in adversity, though it is true as a general thing that, during periods of ill fortune, they are wont to conceal it, particularly when

they need something from their neighbours, their need compelling them to cover up their baseness of heart. Call to mind then these things and renew, on the one hand, your friendship with the emperor, and defend yourselves, on the other hand, against your ancient enemies with all your power.”

So spoke Leontius. And Theudibald replied as follows. “You summon us, in the first place, to be allies against the Goths contrary to rectitude and justice; for it so happens that the Goths at the present time are our friends. And if the Franks should be unfaithful to them, neither will they ever be faithful to you. For men whose sentiments have once been seen to be base toward their friends are always of such a nature as to turn aside from the path of justice. And, in the second place, as to the lands you have mentioned, we shall say only this — that my father Theudibert never set his mind upon doing violence to any one of his neighbours or usurping the possessions of others. In proof of this witness the fact that I am not rich. Consequently he did not acquire these lands by robbing the Romans of them, but he took possession of them as a gift from Totila, who already held them and expressly handed them over to him, and upon this the Emperor Justinian should certainly have congratulated the Franks. For he who sees men who have robbed him of some of his private possessions roughly handled by any others would naturally rejoice, believing that those who wronged him have rightly and justly paid the penalty, except in case he be privately envious of those who have done the violence — for men feel that the appropriation by others of property which is claimed by an enemy tends, as a general thing, to envy. We are, however, able to leave to arbiters the decision of these matters, with the understanding that, if it becomes evident that my father robbed the Romans of anything, it shall be obligatory for us to restore this without delay. And envoys will be sent to Byzantium by us in regard to this matter not long hence.” With such words he dismissed Leontius and despatched Leudardus, a Frank, with three others to the Emperor Justinian. And upon their arrival at Byzantium they treated of the matters for which they had come.

Totila was now eager to seize the islands which belong to Libya. He accordingly gathered a fleet of ships immediately and, putting an adequate army on board, sent it to Corsica and Sardinia. This fleet first sailed off to Corsica and, finding no defenders, took the island, and afterwards took possession of Sardinia likewise. And Totila made both these islands subject to the payment of tribute. But when this was learned by John, who was commanding the Roman army in Libya, he sent a fleet of ships and a strong force of soldiers to Sardinia. And when they came close to the city of Caranalis, they made camp with the purpose of instituting a siege; for they did not consider themselves able to storm the wall, since the Goths had a sufficient garrison there. But when the barbarians learned this, they made a sally against them from the city, and falling suddenly upon their enemy routed them with no difficulty and slew many. And the rest saved themselves for the moment by fleeing to the ships, but a little later they cast off from there and

went to Carthage with the whole fleet. There they remained through the winter, in order that at the opening of spring they might again make an expedition to Corsica and Sardinia with fuller preparation. Now this island of Sardinia was formerly called Sardo. In that place there grows a certain herb such that, if men taste of it, a fatal convulsion immediately comes over them, and they die not long afterward, having the appearance of laughing, as it were, as a result of the convulsion, and this laughter they call "Sardonic" from the name of the place. But Corsica was called by men of ancient times Cynus. On that island are found apes just like men, and there is also a breed of horses only a little larger than sheep. So much for this.

A great throng of Sclaveni now descended upon Illyricum and inflicted sufferings there not easily described. And the Emperor Justinian sent an army against them commanded by the sons of Germanus with others. But since this army was far outnumbered by the enemy, it was quite unable to engage with them, but remained always in the rear and cut down the stragglers left by the barbarians. And they slew many of them but took some few prisoners, whom they sent to the emperor. But nevertheless these barbarians continued their work of devastation. And spending as they did a long time in this plundering expedition, they filled all the roads with corpses, and enslaved countless multitudes and pillaged everything without meeting any opposition; then finally they departed on the homeward journey with all their plunder. Nor could the Romans ambuscade them while crossing the Ister River or harm them in any other way, since the Gepaedes, having engaged their services, took them under their protection and ferried them across, receiving large payment for their labour. For the payment was at the rate of one gold stater per head. At this the emperor was grievously vexed, seeing that for the future he had no possible means of checking the barbarians when crossing the Ister River in order to plunder the Roman domain, or when taking their departure from such expeditions with the booty they gained, and he wished for these reasons to enter into some sort of treaty with the nation of the Gepaedes.

Meanwhile the Gepaedes and the Lombards were once more moving against each other determined to make war. But the Gepaedes, fearing the power of the Romans (for they had by no means failed to hear that the Emperor Justinian had made a sworn alliance for offence and defence with the Lombards), were eager to become friends and allies of the Romans. They accordingly straightway sent envoys to Byzantium inviting the emperor to accept an offensive and defensive alliance with them also. So he without any hesitation gave them the pledges of alliance. And at the request of the same envoys twelve members of the senate also furnished them with a sworn statement confirming this treaty. But not long after this, when the Lombards according to the terms of their alliance requested an army to fight with them against the Gepaedes, the Emperor Justinian sent it, laying the charge against the Gepaedes that after the treaty they had transported certain of the Sclaveni across the Ister River to the detriment of the Romans.

Now the leaders of this army were, first, Justinus and Justinian, the sons of Germanus; second, Aratius; third, Suartuas, who had previously been appointed by Justinian ruler over the Eruli (but when those who had come from the island of Thule rose against him, as told by me in the previous narrative, he had returned in flight to the emperor, and immediately became general of the Roman forces in Byzantium); and, lastly, Amalafridas, a Goth, grandson of Amalafrida the sister of Theoderic. king of the Goths, and son of

Hermenefridus the former ruler of the Thuringians. This man had been brought by Belisarius to Byzantium with Vittigis, and the emperor had appointed him a Roman commander and betrothed his sister to Auduin the ruler of the Lombards. But not a man of that army reached the Lombards except this Amalafridas with his command. For the others, by direction of the emperor, stopped at the city of Ulpiana in Illyricum, since a civil war had arisen among the inhabitants of that place concerning those matters over which the Christians fight among themselves, as will be told by me in the treatise on this subject.

So the Lombards in full force and accompanied by Amalafridas came into the lands of the Gepaedes, and when the Gepaedes encountered them a fierce battle ensued in which the Gepaedes were defeated, and they say that a vast number of them perished in this engagement. Whereupon Auduin, the king of the Lombards, sent some of his followers to Byzantium, first to announce the good news to the Emperor Justinian, since the enemy had been vanquished, and, secondly, to reproach him because the emperor's army had not been present in accordance with the terms of their alliance, although such a host of Lombards had recently been sent to march with Narses against Totila and the Goths. Such was the course of these events.

It was at this time that extraordinary earthquakes occurred throughout Greece, both Boeotia and Achaëa and the country on the Crisaean Gulf being badly shaken. And countless towns and eight cities were levelled to the ground, among which were Chaeronea and Coronea and Patrae and all of Naupactus, where there was also great loss of life. And the earth was rent asunder in many places and formed chasms. Now some of these openings came together again so that the earth presented the same form and appearance as before, but in other places they remained open, with the consequence that the people in such places are not able to intermingle with each other except by making use of many detours. But in the gulf between Thessaly and Boeotia there was a sudden influx of the sea at the city called Echinus and at Scarphea in Boeotia. And advancing far over the land it deluged the towns there and levelled them immediately. And for a long time the sea thus visited the mainland, so that for a very considerable period it was possible for men on foot to walk to the islands which are inside this gulf, since the water of the sea, obviously, had abandoned its proper place, and, strange to say spread over the land as far as the mountains which rise there. But when the sea returned to its proper place, fish were left on the ground, and since their appearance was altogether unfamiliar to the people of the country, they seemed a kind of prodigy. And thinking them edible they picked them up to boil them, but when the heat of the fire touched them the whole body was reduced to a liquid putrefaction of an unbearable sort. But in that locality where the so-called Cleft is located there was a tremendous earthquake which caused more loss of life than in all the rest of Greece, particularly on account of a certain festival which they happened to be celebrating there and for which many had gathered

in that place from all Greece.

In Italy the following took place. The people of Croton and the soldiers who constituted the garrison there, commanded by Palladius, were being very closely besieged by the Goths; and hard pressed as they were by scarcity of provisions, they had many times sent to Sicily without being detected by the enemy, calling to witness the commanders of the Roman army there, especially Artabanes, and saying that, if they did not relieve them at the earliest possible moment, they would, little as they wished it, surrender themselves and the city to the enemy not long thereafter. But no one came from there to assist them. And the winter drew to a close, and the seventeenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [552 A.D.]

But the emperor, learning of the situation at Croton, sent to Greece and ordered the garrison of Thermopylae to sail with all speed to Italy and bring all the assistance in their power to the besieged in Croton. And they acted accordingly, setting sail with great haste; and chancing to find a favouring wind, they put in unexpectedly at the harbour of Croton. And the barbarians, upon seeing the fleet all of a sudden, were plunged immediately into great fear and in wild confusion broke up the siege. Now some of them made their escape by ship to the harbour of Tarentum, while others, going by land, withdrew to Mt. Scylaeum. And this event humbled the spirit of the Goths still more. In consequence of this Ragnaris, a Goth of very great note, who commanded the garrison at Tarentum, and Moras, who commanded the guards in Acherontia, opened negotiations, by the wish of their soldiers, with Pacurius son of Peranius, commander of the Romans in Dryus, and agreed that, on condition they should receive pledges for their safety from the Emperor Justinian, they would surrender themselves with their commands to the Romans together with the strongholds they had been set to guard. In order, then, to confirm this agreement Pacurius journeyed to Byzantium.

Narses now set out from Salones and moved against Totila and the Goths with the whole Roman army, which was an extraordinarily large one; for he had received from the emperor an exceedingly large sum of money, with which he was, first, to gather a very formidable army and meet the other requirements of the war, and, after that, to pay the soldiers in Italy all the money which was due to them from the past; for the emperor had been delinquent in this matter for a long time, since the soldiers were not receiving from the public treasury, as was usual, the pay assigned to them; furthermore, he was to bring pressure to bear also upon those soldiers who had deserted to Totila, so that they would be rendered tractable by this money and reverse their choice of allegiance.

Indeed, though the Emperor Justinian had previously conducted this war very negligently, he made the most notable preparation for it at the last. For when Narses saw that he urgently desired him to lead an expedition against Italy, he displayed an ambition becoming to a general, declaring that on no other condition would he obey the emperor's command than that he should take with him forces sufficient to the purpose. So by taking this position he obtained from the emperor money and men and arms in quantities worthy of the Roman empire, and he himself displayed a most tireless enthusiasm and so collected an adequate army. For he not only took with him a great number of Roman soldiers from Byzantium, but he also collected many from the lands of Thrace and Illyricum. And John, too, with his own army and that left by his father-in-law Germanus, accompanied him. Moreover, Auduin, ruler of the Lombards, having been won over by the Emperor Justinian by the use of

much money and in accordance with the treaty of alliance, selected twenty-five hundred of his followers who were capable warriors and sent them to fight with the Romans; and these were also attended by more than three thousand fighting men as servants. And he also had with him more than three thousand of the Erulian nation, all horsemen, commanded by Philemuth and others, besides great numbers of Huns. Dagisthaeus too was there with his followers, having been released from prison for this purpose, also Cabades, with many Persian deserters (this man was son of Zames and grandson of Cabades the Persian king, and has been mentioned in the previous narrative as having escaped from his uncle Chosroes by the efforts of the "chanaranges" and having come long before to the land of the Romans). There was also Asbadus, a young man of the race of the Gepaedes and an especially active man having with him four hundred men of his race who were capable warriors. Besides these there was Aruth of the nation of the Eruli, who from boyhood had admired Roman ways and had made the daughter of Mauricius son of Mundus his married wife, being himself a most valiant fighter, and bringing with him a large number of Eruli who were especially distinguished in the perils of war. Finally there was John surnamed the Glutton, whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative, bringing a large force of able Roman soldiers.

Narses, for his part, was a man of princely generosity and extraordinarily eager to help those who needed it, and being clothed with great power by the emperor he exercised his judgment the more freely regarding those matters in which he was interested. Consequently many commanders and soldiers as well had in former times experienced his generosity. Naturally, then, when he was appointed General against Totila and the Goths, each and every one desired most eagerly to serve under him, some wishing to repay him for old favours, and others probably expecting, as was natural, to receive great gifts from his hand. But the Eruli and the other barbarians were particularly well disposed towards him, having been especially well treated by him.

When they had reached a point very close to Venetia, he sent a messenger to the rulers of the Franks who commanded the fortresses there, demanding that they allow his army free passage, as being friends. But they said that they would by no means concede this to Narses, not openly revealing the real reason, but with all possible care concealing the fact that it was in the interest of the Franks or because of their good-will toward the Goths that they were barring his passage, and putting forward a kind of pretext which did not appear very plausible, by saying that he came bringing with him Lombards who were their bitterest enemies. Narses was at first puzzled by this and enquired of the Italians who were with him what should be done, but some men brought the news that, even if the Franks permitted them to pass through this country, they would still be utterly unable to get on from there to Ravenna, nor could he march that way any farther than the city of Verona. For Totila, they reported, had gathered whatever was notable in the Gothic army,

and appointing as General over them Teiās the Goth, a conspicuously able warrior, had sent him to the city of Verona, which was subject to the Goths, for the purpose of preventing, as far as in him lay, the Roman army from passing by. This was in fact the case.

By the time Teiās entered the city of Verona, he had shut off entirely the road by which his enemy must pass, having by artificial means made the land which borders the Po River such that it was altogether out of the question to travel in it or through it; for he had in some places constructed brush entanglements and ditches and gullies, in others sloughs of the greatest depth and certain expanses of swampy ground, while he himself with the Gothic army was maintaining close guard so as to engage with the Romans if they should make any attempt to pass by that road. Now Totila had devised these things with the idea that the Romans would never be able, on the one hand, to make the inarch along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, for a great number of navigable rivers have their mouths there and make the route entirely impassable; and, on the other hand, he thought that they certainly did not have ships in such numbers as to ferry the whole army in a body across the Ionian Gulf, while if they should sail in small groups, he himself with the remainder of the Gothic army would with no trouble stop the disembarkation on each occasion. Such was the purpose of Totila in giving these orders, which were being duly executed by Teiās.

Narses thus found himself completely bewildered, but John, the nephew of Vitalian, being familiar with these regions, advised him to proceed with the whole army along the coast, the inhabitants of this district, as previously stated, being subject to them, while some of the ships and a large number of small boats accompanied them. For whenever they should come to the mouth of a river, they would throw a bridge of these boats across the river's current, and thus render the crossing comparatively easy. Such was the advice of John, and Narses was persuaded, and in this way made the journey to Ravenna with the whole army.

XXVII

While these things were going on as described, the following took place. Ildigisal the Lombard has been mentioned in the preceding narrative as a personal enemy of Auduin, who was the ruler of these barbarians (indeed the kingship belonged to this man by birth, but Auduin had taken it from him by violent means); he now escaped from his native land and set out for Byzantium. And when he arrived there the Emperor Justinian treated him with very particular consideration and appointed him commander of one of the companies of guards assigned to the palace, which they call "scholae." And he was followed by no fewer than three hundred able warriors of the Lombard nation, who at first lived together in Thrace. Auduin accordingly demanded Ildigisal from the Emperor Justinian on the ground that he was a friend and ally of the Romans, claiming as payment for his friendship the betrayal of the suppliant to him. But Justinian refused absolutely to give him up.

Later on, however, Ildigisal began to make the complaint that both his rank and his maintenance were not commensurate with his worth and the good name of the Romans and appeared to be exceedingly dissatisfied. Now this was observed by Goar, a Goth, who had long ago come there from Dalmatia as a captive taken in this war, at the time when Vittigis, king of the Goths, was carrying on the war against the Romans; and being an impetuous and exceedingly active fellow, he was in constant rebellion against the fate which was upon him. But when the Goths, after the overthrow of Vittigis, planned a revolution and took up arms against the emperor, he was clearly caught working against the state. And being condemned to exile, he proceeded to the city of Antinous in Egypt, where he spent a long time under this punishment. But later the emperor, moved by pity, brought him back to Byzantium. This Goar, then, seeing Ildigisal in a state of discontent, as I have said, kept after him without interruption and tried to persuade him to take to flight, promising that he would leave Byzantium with him. And since this plan pleased them, they fled suddenly with only a few followers, and upon reaching the Thracian city of Apri, they joined forces with the Lombards who were there. Next they came by chance upon the imperial horse pastures and took from them a great number of horses, which they took with them as they proceeded.

But when the emperor learned of this, he sent into all Thrace and Illyricum and instructed all commanders and soldiers to use every means in their power to check these runaways. And first of all a small number of the Huns called Cutrigurs (men who had migrated from their ancestral abodes, as I have stated not long since, and settled in Thrace with the emperor's permission) came to an engagement with these fugitives. But they were defeated in battle and some of them fell, while the rest were routed and did not continue the pursuit, but remained where they were. Thus Ildigisal and Goar with their followers passed through the whole of Thrace, not molested by anyone. But upon

reaching Illyricum they found a Roman army carefully gathered to oppose them. Now' this army was commanded by Aratius, Rhcithangus, Leonianus, Arimuth, and others, all of whom happened to have been riding the whole day. And upon reaching a wooded place about nightfall they had stopped, intending to bivouac and so pass the night there. So these commanders gave their soldiers the usual orders, instructing them to care for their horses and to refresh themselves beside the river which flowed by, thus repairing the fatigue of the journey. They themselves meanwhile took with them three or four bodyguards each and in a concealed place began to drink from the river; for they were naturally suffering from severe thirst. But the men of Goar and Ildigisal who were near by had sent out scouts and found this out. So falling unexpectedly upon them as they drank they slew every man of them, and thereafter they conducted their march as they pleased without further fear. For the soldiers, finding themselves without commanders, fell into a state of perplexity, and being completely at a loss began to withdraw. So Goar and Ildigisal made their escape in this way and came to the Gepaedes.

Now it so happened that a certain man named Ustrigothus had fled from the Gepaedes to the Lombards in the following circumstances. Elemundus, who had been king of the Gepaedes, had been taken from the world by disease not long before, this Ustrigothus being his only surviving child; but Thorisin had forced him aside (for he was still a stripling) and had thus secured the power. Consequently the boy, having no means of defending himself against the aggressor, departed from his native land and made off to the Lombards, who were then at war with the Gepaedes. But a little later a reconciliation was effected by the Gepaedes with both the Emperor Justinian and the Lombard nation, and they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that from that time forth they would preserve an eternal friendship with each other. And as soon as the details of the agreement had been most firmly fixed, both the Emperor Justinian and Auduin, ruler of the Lombards, sent to Thorisin, the ruler of the Gepaedes, demanding the surrender of Ildigisal as a common enemy, asking that he make the betrayal of his suppliant the first proof of his friendship to them.

He then conferred on the situation with the notable men of the Gepaedes and eagerly asked whether he was bound to fulfil the demand of the two sovereigns. And they forbade him absolutely to do so, firmly declaring that it was better for the nation of the Gepaedes to perish forthwith with their women and their whole stock rather than to become polluted by such an impiety. Upon hearing this Thorisin was plunged into uncertainty. For neither could he perform the deed against the will of his subjects, nor did he wish to revive once more a war against the Romans and Lombards which had been brought to an end with great labour and expenditure of time. Later, however, he thought of the following plan. He sent to Auduin and demanded the surrender of Ustrigothus, son of Elemundus, urging him to commit a sin equal to the one urged upon himself, and inviting him to betray one suppliant in exchange for

the other. In this way he hoped that he would frustrate their demand through dread of a similar transgression and would immediately catch Auduin himself by the proposed illicit compact. So when they had reached these decisions and understood clearly that neither Lombards nor Gepaedes were willing to have any share in the pollution, they did nothing at all openly, but each of them put the enemy of the other to death by stealth. But as to how they did this, I shall not undertake to tell; for the accounts of this matter do not agree with each other, but differ widely, as is natural in matters of a very secret nature. Such was the end of the story of Ildigisal and Ustrigothus.

XXVIII

When the forces of Narses reached the city of Ravenna, they were joined by the generals Valerian and Justinus and whatever of the Roman army was left in that region. Now when they had spent nine days' time at Ravenna, Usdrilas, a Goth and an exceptionally capable warrior, commander of the garrison at Ariminum, wrote to Valerian as follows. "Though you have filled the world with talk of you and have already captivated the whole of Italy with the visions of your power, and have assumed an air of supercilious pride quite above the level of mortal men, and though you have in this way frightened the Goths, as you fondly imagine, you nevertheless now sit in Ravenna without at all shewing your own forces to your enemy, through your policy of keeping hidden — no doubt as a way of guarding still this proud spirit of yours — but using a heterogeneous horde of barbarians with which to ruin the land which belongs to you in no sense whatever. But arise with all speed and henceforth essay the deeds of war; shew yourselves to the Goths, and do not tantalize us longer with mere hope, since we have been awaiting the spectacle a long time." Such was the message of the letter.

When this was brought to Narses and seen by him, he laughed at the effrontery of the Goths and immediately prepared his whole army for departure, leaving a garrison with Justinus at Ravenna. But when they came close to the city of Ariminum, they found that the road from that point was not easy, since the Goths had not long before damaged the bridge there. For the river which flows by Ariminum is scarcely passable for a single unarmed man making his way on foot over the bridge with great labour and difficulty, and that too when no one is harassing him or disputing the passage; but for a large number of men, particularly when under arms, and above all when confronted by an enemy, it is impossible by any means whatever to make that crossing. Consequently Narses went to the site of the bridge accompanied by a few, and being thoroughly perplexed he was considering carefully what solution he could possibly find for the difficulty. And Usdrilas also came thither, bringing some of his horsemen, lest anything that was done should escape him. Then one of the followers of Narses drew his bow and shot at them, and he hit one of their horses and killed it outright. And the company of Usdrilas for the moment departed from there in haste and got inside the fortifications, but immediately rushed out against the Romans through another gate, bringing with them others of their most warlike men, in order to fall upon them unexpectedly and destroy Narses forthwith. For in reconnoitring the crossing for the army he had already reached the other side of the river. But certain of the Eruli by some chance encountered them there and slew Usdrilas, and since he was identified by a Roman they cut off his head, and coming into the Roman camp displayed it to Narses and so strengthened the courage of all; for they inferred from what had happened that Heaven was hostile to the Goths,

seeing that in seeking to ambush the general of their enemy they themselves, not through any plot or preconceived plan, had suddenly lost their own commander.

But Narses, in spite of the fall of Usdrilas, commander of the garrison at Ariminum, pushed forward with the army. For he did not wish to trouble Ariminum nor any other place held by the enemy, in order that no time might be wasted by him and the accomplishment of the most important thing be crowded out by that which was incidental to his task. The enemy, for their part, now that their commander had fallen, remained quiet and sought no longer to block his way, so that Narses without a fear spanned the river with a bridge and took the entire army across without any trouble. From there he left the Flaminian Way and went to the left. For the place called Petra Pertusa, whose naturally strong fortress has been described by me in the previous narrative, had been occupied by his opponents long before, and consequently the road was closed to the Romans and it was out of the question to pass through, as far at least as the Flaminian Way was concerned. Narses accordingly left the shorter road on this account and went by the road which could be travelled.

Such were the events of the march of the Roman army. Now Totila, having already learned what had taken place in Venetia, at first remained quiet in the vicinity of Rome awaiting Teias and his army. But when they had come and only two thousand horsemen were still missing, Totila, without awaiting these, started on the march with all the rest of the army in order to encounter the enemy in a suitable place. But he learned on this march both what had befallen Usdrilas and also that his enemy had passed by Ariminum, whereupon he crossed the whole of Tuscany, and upon reaching the mountains called the Apennines established his camp there and remained close to a village which the inhabitants call Taginae. And the Roman army led by Narses also made camp on the Apennines not long afterward and remained in that position, about one hundred stades distant from the camp of their opponents, in a place which is level but surrounded by many hills close by, the very place where once, they say, Camillus as general of the Romans defeated in battle and destroyed the host of the Gauls. And the place even to my day bears witness to this deed in its name and preserves the memory of the disaster which befell the Gauls, being called Busta Gallorum. For the Latins call the remains of the funeral pyre "busta." And there are great numbers of mounded tombs of their bodies in this place.

Now Narses immediately sent from there some of his associates, bidding them exhort Totila to lay aside warfare and at last make plans for peace, for he must realize that as ruler of only a small number of men recently banded together by no law, he would not be able to contend for very long with the whole Roman empire. But he told them this also, that, if they saw that Totila was determined to fight, they should immediately urge him to appoint a definite day for the battle. These envoys accordingly came before Totila and carried out their instructions. And he in a spirit of bravado began to boast that by all means they must fight, but the envoys rejoined quickly, "Very well, good Sir, appoint some definite time for the engagement." Whereupon he immediately said, "At the end of eight days let us match our strength." So the envoys returned to Narses and reported their agreement, whereupon he, suspecting that Totila was planning treachery, made preparations to fight on the following day. And in fact he was right in his judgment of the purpose of his enemy. For on the succeeding day Totila was at hand self-announced with his whole army. And immediately the two armies took up positions opposite one another, not more than two bowshots apart.

Now there was a small hill there which both were eager to occupy, thinking that it was favourably situated for their purposes, both in order to shoot at their opponents from a high point of vantage, and also because the ground being hilly thereabout, as I have previously stated, it was impossible for anyone to encircle the Roman camp on that side and get behind it except by

following a single path which happened to skirt the hill. Consequently both of them were bound to consider it of particular importance; the Goths, in order that they might surround their enemy during the engagement and so place them between two forces, and the Romans, in order that they might not have this thing happen to them. But Narses had anticipated the Goths by choosing fifty infantrymen from a cohort and sending them late at night to occupy and hold the hill. And they, finding none of the enemy in the way, went there and remained quiet. Now there is a certain water-course in front of the hill, running along the path which I have just mentioned and opposite the spot where the Goths had made their camp, and it was at this point that the fifty took up their position, standing shoulder to shoulder and arrayed in the form of a phalanx as well as the limited space permitted.

After day came, Totila saw what had happened and was eager to dislodge them. So he immediately sent a troop of horsemen against them with orders to drive them out from there as quickly as possible. The horsemen accordingly charged upon them with great hubbub and shouting, intending to capture them at the first cry, but the Romans drew up together into a small space and, making a barrier with their shields and thrusting forward their spears, held their ground. Then the Goths came on, charging in haste and thus getting themselves into disorder, while the fifty, pushing with their shields and thrusting very rapidly with their spears, which were nowhere allowed to interfere one with the other, defended themselves most vigorously against their assailants; and they purposely made a din with their shields, terrifying the horses, on the one hand, by this means, and the men, on the other, with the points of their spears. And the horses became excited, because they were greatly troubled both by the rough ground and by the din of the shields, and also because they could not get through anywhere, while the men at the same time were gradually worn out, fighting as they were with men packed so closely together and not giving an inch of ground, and trying to manage horses that did not in the least obey their urging. So they were repulsed in the first attack and rode back. And a second time they made the attempt and retired with the same experience. Then, after faring thus many times, they no longer continued the attack, but Totila substituted another troop for this work. And when they fared as their predecessors had, still others undertook the task. So after Totila had in this way sent in many troops and had accomplished nothing with all of them, he finally gave up.

Thus the fifty won great renown for valour, but two of them distinguished themselves particularly in this action, Paulus and Ansilas, who had leaped out from the phalanx and made a display of valour surpassing all others. For they drew their swords and laid them on the ground, and then stretched their bow's and kept shooting with a most telling aim at the enemy. And they destroyed many men and many horses as well, as long as their quivers still held arrows. At length, when their missiles had now entirely failed them, seizing their swords and holding their shields before them, all by themselves they warded

off the assailants. And whenever any of their opponents on horseback came at them with their spears, they immediately broke off the heads of the spears with a blow of their swords. But after they had in this manner checked the onrushes of the enemy many times, it came about that the sword of one of them (this was Paulus) was bent double by the frequent cutting of the wooden shafts and so was utterly useless. This then he immediately threw on the ground, and seizing the spears with both hands he would wrench them from his assailants. And by wrenching four spears from the enemy in this way in the sight of all he made himself the chief cause of their abandoning their attempt. Wherefore, in consequence of the exploit, Narses made him a personal guard of his own from that time on.

Such was the progress of these events. Both armies now prepared for action. And Narses gathered his army in a small space and exhorted them as follows. "When an army is entering the combat with its strength evenly matched with that of the enemy, a long speech of exhortation and encouragement would perhaps be necessary of the sort which would inspire the men with ardour, in order that, being superior to the enemy in this respect they might find the issue of the combat wholly what they wish. But in your case, my men, you who have to fight against an army vastly inferior to you in valour, in numbers, and in every sort of equipment besides, I think nothing further is necessary than that we enter this engagement with God propitious to us. Do you, then, invoke His alliance with unceasing prayer, and so fare forth with great contempt to achieve the overthrow of these robbers, who, being originally slaves of the great emperor and then turning fugitives and setting a tyrant over themselves who was a worthless fellow from the common rabble, have been able for a certain season to work havoc in the Roman empire by their thievish actions. And yet one would have supposed that these men would not even have arrayed themselves against us now, if they had considered the probabilities. Yet they are playing a desperate game with an irrational sort of boldness and displaying the rashness of frenzy, and in this spirit they dare to embrace a death which obviously awaits them, not shielding themselves by a reasonable hope, nor even looking forward to see what will fall to their lot through a strange and unexpected turn of events, but being indisputably led on by God to the punishment earned by their administration of the state. For such men as have been condemned to suffer by the powers above move on to their punishment unaided. But aside from this, while you for your part are entering this combat in defence of a lawful government, they are in revolt against the laws and fighting a battle of desperation, not expecting to transmit anything they hold to any successors, but well assured that it will all perish with them and that the hope on which they live is ephemeral. Consequently they deserve thoroughly to be despised. For those who are not organized under law and good government are bereft of all virtue, and the victory, naturally, is already decided; for victory is not accustomed to range itself against the virtues." Such was the exhortation which Narses made.

And Totila likewise, seeing his men in abject terror of the Roman army, called them all together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, I have brought you together here with the purpose of making a final exhortation. For no other admonition will, I believe, be necessary after this battle, but the result will certainly be that the war will be decided on one day. For so thoroughly have both we and the Emperor Justinian become exhausted and stripped of all power through being subjected to toils and battles and hardships for an exceedingly long time, and so completely have we found ourselves unable to

meet the demands of the war, that, if we shall overcome our opponents in this present engagement, they will be utterly unable to come back in the future, while if we meet with any reverse in this battle, no hope will be left the Goths of renewing the fight, but either side will have in defeat a thoroughly sufficient excuse for inaction. For when men once give up the fight against overwhelming obstacles, they no longer have the courage to return to them, but even when they are perhaps strongly impelled to do so by actual need, their hearts rebel, for the memory of their failure makes their spirit quail. Having heard this, my men, play the brave part with all your might, without holding any fighting power in reserve for some other occasion, and put your whole strength into the struggle without trying to save your bodies for another danger. And let there be on your part no sparing of arms or of horses, for they will never again be useful to you. For fortune, having demolished everything else, has preserved only the ultimate hope for this day. Tune your hearts, then, to a high courage, and make ready for deeds of noble daring. For when hope hangs by a thread, as it now does with you, the only safe course will be not to lose courage for the briefest moment of time. For after the point of the crisis has passed, zeal becomes for ever worthless, even though it be of an altogether immoderate sort, since the nature of things has no place for valour after the event, for once the need has passed, everything which follows must necessarily be too late. I believe, then, that you should enter the struggle making the best use of every opportunity which presents itself in action, so that you may be enabled also to enjoy the benefits to come from it. And you understand well that in the present situation he who flees thoroughly deserves his own destruction. For men abandon their post and flee for no other reason than that they may live; but if flight can be seen to involve the death of the fugitive, he who faces the danger will be in much greater safety than the man who flees. But the vast number of the enemy is worthy only to be despised, seeing that they present a collection of men from the greatest possible number of nations. For an alliance which is patched together from many sources gives no firm assurance of either loyalty or power, but being split up in nationality it is naturally divided likewise in purpose. And do not think that Huns and Lombards and Eruli, hired by them with I know not how much money, will ever endanger themselves for them to the point of death. For life with them is not so cheap as to take second place to silver in their estimation, but I well know that after making an appearance of fighting they will desert with all speed, either because they have received their pay, or as carrying out the orders of their own commanders. For even things that seem most delightful, — to say nothing of what happens in war — if they do not turn out in accordance with men's wishes, but if they are forced or hired or subject to any other compulsion, then such things will come no longer to be accounted pleasant, but by reason of the compulsion appear detestable. Remembering these things let us with all enthusiasm engage with the enemy."

Thus then spoke Totila. And the armies drew together for battle and arrayed themselves as follows. All the forces in each army took their stand facing the enemy, making the phalanx as deep as possible and the front very long. And the Roman left wing was held by Narses and John near the hill, and with them was the flower of the Roman army; for each of them had, apart from the other soldiers, a great following of spearmen and guards and barbarian Huns, all chosen for their valour; and on the right were arrayed Valerian and John the Glutton along with Dagisthaeus and all the rest of the Romans. Furthermore, they placed on both wings about eight thousand unmounted bowmen from the regular troops. But at the centre of the phalanx Narses had placed the Lombards and the nation of the Eruli and all the other barbarians, causing them to dismount from their horses and making them infantry, in order that, if it should chance that they turned cowards in the engagement or deserted, they might not be too eager to fly. Now Narses had set the extreme left wing of the Roman front at an angle, placing fifteen hundred cavalry there. And the instructions previously given provided that the five hundred, on the one hand, should rush to the rescue the moment that any of the Romans chanced to be driven back, while the thousand, at the moment when the enemy's infantry began action, were to get behind them immediately and thus place them between two forces. And Totila arrayed his army in the same way opposite his enemy. Then going along his own battle-line he kept encouraging his soldiers with voice and expression and urging them to boldness. Narses likewise did the same thing, holding in the air bracelets and necklaces and golden bridles on poles and displaying certain other incentives to bravery in the coming struggle. For some time, however, neither army began battle, but both remained quiet awaiting the assault of their opponents.

But later on one man of the Gothic army named Coccas, who had a great reputation as an active fighter, rode his horse out and came close to the Roman army and uttered a challenge, if anyone was willing to come forth against him in single combat. Now this Coccas happened to be one of the Roman soldiers who had previously deserted to Totila. And immediately one of the spearmen of Narses stood forth against him, a man of Armenian birth named Anzalas, who was likewise mounted on a horse. Coccas then made the first rush and charged his foe in order to smite him with his spear, aiming the weapon at his belly. But Anzalas, by suddenly turning his horse aside, caused the charge of his enemy to be futile. By this manœuvre he was placed on his enemy's flank and he now thrust his spear into his left side. And Coccas fell from his horse to the ground and lay there a dead man. Whereupon a tremendous shout arose from the Roman army, but even then neither side began any fighting.

But Totila now went alone into the space between the armies, not in order

to engage in single combat, but in order to prevent his opponents from using the present opportunity. For he had learned that the two thousand Goths who had been missing were now drawing near, and so he sought to put off the engagement until their arrival by doing as follows. First of all, he was not at all reluctant to make an exhibition to the enemy of what manner of man he was. For the armour in which he was clad was abundantly plated with gold and the ample adornments which hung from his cheek-plates as well as from his helmet and spear were not only of purple but in other respects befitting a king, marvellous in their abundance. And he himself, sitting upon a very large horse, began to perform the dance under arms skilfully between the armies. For he wheeled his horse round in a circle and then turned him again to the other side and so made him run round and round. And as he rode he hurled his javelin into the air and caught it again as it quivered above him, then passed it rapidly from hand to hand, shifting it with consummate skill, and he gloried in his practice in such matters, falling back on his shoulders, spreading his legs and leaning from side to side, like one who has been instructed with precision in the art of dancing from childhood. By these tactics he wore away the whole early part of the day. And wishing to prolong indefinitely the postponement of the battle, he sent to the Roman army saying that he wished to confer with them. But Narses declared that he must be trifling, seeing that he had been set on fighting at the time when there was opportunity to make proposals, but now, upon reaching the battle-field, he came forward to parley.

Meanwhile the two thousand Goths arrived; and when Totila had learned that they had reached the stockade, seeing that it was time for the morning meal, he himself went off to his own tent and the Goths began to break up their formation and retire. And when Totila reached his quarters, he found the two thousand already present. He then commanded all to take their meal, and changing his entire equipment he armed himself with all care with the private soldier's equipment and led the army out straightway against his enemy, thinking that he would fall upon them unexpectedly and thus overwhelm them. But even so he did not find the Romans unprepared. For Narses had feared, as actually happened, that the enemy would fall upon them when they were not expecting it, and so he had given orders that not a single man should either sit down to lunch or go off to sleep or even remove his cuirass, nor yet take his bridle off his horse. However, he did not allow them to be altogether without food, but commanded them to eat a small meal in ranks and with their equipment on, meanwhile maintaining a sharp look-out constantly and expecting the attack of the enemy. However, they were no longer arrayed in the same formation as before, for the Roman wings, in each of which four thousand unmounted horsemen had taken their stand, were moved forward at Narses' command so as to form a crescent. But the Gothic infantry were all placed in a body in the rear of the cavalry, in order that, if the horsemen should be routed, the fugitives might fall back upon them and be saved, and all could then advance immediately together.

Now orders had been given to the entire Gothic army that they should use neither bow nor any other weapon in this battle except their spears. Consequently it came about that Totila was out-generalled by his own folly; for in entering this battle he was led, by what I do not know, to throw against his opponents his own army with inadequate equipment and outflanked and in no respect a match for their antagonists. For the Romans, on the one hand, made use of each weapon in the fighting according to the particular need of the moment, shooting with bows or thrusting with spears or wielding swords, or using any other weapon which was convenient and suitable at a given point, some of them mounted on horses and others entering the combat on foot, their numbers proportioned to the needs of the situation, so that at one point they could carry out an encircling movement around the enemy, and at another receive a charge and with their shields stop short the attack. The cavalry of the Goths, on the other hand, leaving their infantry behind, and trusting only to their spears, made their charge with reckless impetuosity; and once in the midst of the fray they suffered for their own folly. For in making their charge against their enemy's centre they had, before they realized it, placed themselves in between the eight thousand infantry, and being raked by their bowshots from either side they gave up immediately, since the bowmen

kept gradually turning both the wings of their front so as to form the crescent which I have mentioned above. Consequently the Goths lost many men as well as many horses in this phase of the encounter before they had ever engaged with their opponents, and only after they had experienced very heavy losses did they with difficulty finally reach the ranks of their enemy.

At this point I cannot admire any of the Romans or of their barbarian allies more than the others. For they all shewed a common enthusiasm and displayed the same valour and energy in action, for each of them received the enemy's attack with the utmost vigour and repulsed the assault. And it was now toward evening when each of the two armies suddenly began to move, the Goths in retreat and the Romans in pursuit. For the Goths could no longer hold out against the onslaught of their enemy, but began to give ground before their attacks, and finally turned precipitately, terrified by their great numbers and their perfect order. And they gave not a thought to resistance, being as filled with terror as if some apparitions of the air had fallen upon them or as if Heaven were warring against them. But when shortly they reached their own infantry, their misfortune was doubled and trebled. For they did not come to them in an orderly retreat, as with the purpose of recovering their breath and renewing the fight with their assistance, as is customary; indeed they had no intention either of throwing back their pursuers by a massed attack or of undertaking a counter pursuit or any other military manoeuvre, but they arrived in such disorder that some of the men were actually destroyed by the onrushing cavalry. Consequently the infantry did not open intervals to receive them nor stand fast to rescue them, but they all began to flee precipitately with the cavalry, and in the rout they kept killing each other just as in a battle at night. Meanwhile the Roman army, profiting by their panic, continued to kill without mercy all who fell in their way, while their victims offered no defence nor dared look them in the face, but gave themselves up to their enemy to treat as they wished; so thoroughly had terror settled upon them and panic possessed them.

Six thousand of the Goths perished in this battle, while great numbers put themselves into the hands of their opponents. These the Romans for the moment made prisoners, but a little later they slew them. And not Goths alone were destroyed, but also great numbers of the old Roman soldiers who had earlier detached themselves from the Roman army and deserted, as I have told in the previous narrative, to Totila and the Goths. But all the soldiers of the Gothic army who had the fortune neither to perish nor to come under the hand of their enemy were able to hide or to flee, according as each could avail himself of horse or foot or good luck so as to find opportunity for the one or a place for the other.

Such was the conclusion of this battle, and complete darkness was already settling down. But Totila was in flight through the night accompanied by not more than five men, one of whom chanced to be Scipuar, pursued by some of the Romans who did not know that he was Totila; among these was Asbadus

of the Gepaedes. This man had drawn close to Totila and was charging him with the purpose of thrusting his spear into his back. But a Gothic youth of the household of Totila, who was following his fleeing master, outraged at what was taking place, cried aloud, "What is this, you dog? Are you rushing to smite your own master?" Then Asbadus thrust his spear with all his strength at Totila, but he himself was wounded in the foot by Scipuar and remained there. And Scipuar was wounded in turn by one of the pursuers and stopped, whereupon those who had been making the pursuit with Asbadus, four in number, gave up the chase in order to save him, and turned back with him. But the escort of Totila, thinking that the enemy were still pursuing them, rode forward without pausing, taking him along with great determination, though mortally wounded and fainting, for necessity compelled them to that headlong flight. So after covering eighty-four stades they came to a place called Caprae. Here they rested from travel and endeavoured to treat the wound of Totila, who not long afterwards completed the term of his life. And there his followers buried him in the earth and departed.

Such was the conclusion of the reign and the life of Totila who had ruled the Goths eleven years. But the end which came to him was not worthy of his past achievements, for everything had gone well with the man before that, and his end was not commensurate with his deeds. But here again Fortune was obviously disporting herself and tearing human affairs to shreds by way of making a display of her own perverse nature and unaccountable will; for she had endowed Totila of her own free will with prosperity for no particular reason for a long time, and then after this fashion smote the man with cowardice and destruction at the present time for no fitting cause. But these things, I believe, have never been comprehensible to man, nor will they ever become so at any future time. And yet there is always much talk on this matter and opinions are being for ever bandied about according to each man's taste, as he seeks comfort for his ignorance in an explanation which seems reasonable. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Romans, indeed, did not know that Totila had been thus taken from the world, until a certain woman of the Gothic race told them and pointed out the grave. But when they heard it they did not think the story sound, and so they came to the spot and with no hesitation dug out the grave and brought up from it the corpse of Totila; then, they say, after recognizing him and satisfying their curiosity with this sight, they again buried him in the earth and immediately reported the whole matter to Narses.

But some say that Totila's death and this battle happened otherwise than I have told it: and it has seemed to me not improper to record this version. For these say that the retreat of the Gothic army did not take place in any strange and unaccountable manner, but while some of the Romans were shooting from a distance, a missile from a bow suddenly struck Totila, but not by the purpose of the man who had sent it, for Totila was armed in the fashion of a simple soldier and the place in the phalanx where he stood had been chosen at

random; for he did not wish to be manifest to his enemy, nor would he, of course, expose himself to attack; but some chance prepared this fate for him and directed the shaft to the man's body. Then he, having suffered a mortal wound and being tortured with intense pain, withdrew from the phalanx with a few men and moved slowly away. And as far as Caprae he endured the suffering and continued to ride his horse, but there he fainted and after that remained there to care for his wound, and not long afterwards the final day of his life came upon him. Meanwhile the Gothic army, not being in any case a match for their opponents, upon seeing also that their commander had been unexpectedly rendered unfit for battle, became thunderstruck to think that Totila alone among them had been mortally wounded with no design on the part of the enemy, and consequently they became alarmed and discouraged and were plunged into terror which had no bounds and began to retreat in that disgraceful manner. But concerning these matters let each man speak according to his knowledge.

XXXIII

Narses was overjoyed at the outcome and ceased not attributing everything to God, an opinion which was indeed true; and he proceeded to arrange all urgent matters. And first of all he was eager to be rid of the outrageous behaviour of the Lombards under his command, for in addition to the general lawlessness of their conduct, they kept setting fire to whatever buildings they chanced upon and violating by force the women who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries. He accordingly propitiated them by a large gift of money and so released them to go to their homes, commanding Valerian and Damianus, his nephew, with their commands to escort them on the march as far as the Roman boundary, so that they might harm no one on the return journey. And after the Lombards had departed from Roman territory, Valerian went into camp near the city of Verona, intending to besiege it and win it for the emperor. But the garrison of this city became frightened and opened negotiations with Valerian, with the purpose of making a conditional surrender of themselves and the city. When this was learned by the Franks who were keeping guard in the towns of Venetia, they tried with all eagerness to prevent it, claiming the right to take charge of the land as belonging to themselves. And as a result of this, having accomplished nothing, Valerian retired from there with his whole army.

As for the Goths who had saved themselves by fleeing from the battle, they crossed the Po River and occupied the city of Ticinum and the adjacent country, appointing Teïas as ruler over them. And he found all the money which Totila had deposited in Ticinum, and was purposing to draw the Franks into an alliance; he also began to organize and put in order the Goths as well as circumstances permitted, eagerly gathering them all about him. When Narses heard this, he ordered Valerian with all his force to maintain a guard near the Po River so that the Goths might not be at liberty to assemble freely, while he himself with all the rest of the army marched against Rome. And when he came into Tuscany, he took Narnia by surrender and left a garrison at Spolitium, which was then without walls, instructing them to rebuild as quickly as possible such parts of the fortifications as the Goths had torn down. And he also sent some men to make trial of the garrison in Perusia. Now the garrison of Perusia was commanded by two Romans who had become deserters, Meligedius and Ulifus; the latter had formerly been a bodyguard of Cyprian, but had been won over by the large promises made to him by Totila and had treacherously killed Cyprian who then commanded the garrison of that place. Now Meligedius was for accepting the proposals of Narses and was planning with the men under his command to hand the city over to the Romans, but the party of Ulifus perceived what was going on and banded together openly against them. In the fight that followed Ulifus was destroyed together with those who thought as he did, and Meligedius immediately

surrendered Perugia to the Romans. And Ulfus obviously suffered retribution from Heaven in being destroyed at the very place where he himself had murdered Cyprian. Such was the course of these events.

But the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, upon learning that Narses and the Roman army were coming against them and were now very near, made preparations to offer the strongest resistance possible. Now it happened that Totila had burned many buildings of the city when he captured it for the first time.... But finally, reasoning that the Goths, reduced as they were to a small number, were no longer able to guard the whole circuit of the wall of Rome, he enclosed a small part of the city with a short wall around the Tomb of Hadrian and, by connecting this with the earlier wall, he made a kind of fortress. There the Goths had deposited their most precious possessions and they were keeping a careful guard over this fortress, disregarding the rest of the city wall which lay neglected. So on this occasion they left a few of their number as guards over this place while all the rest took their stand all along the battlements of the city wall, because they were eager to test their opponents' skill in attacking walls.

Now the whole circuit-wall of Rome was so extraordinarily long that neither could the Romans encompass it in their attack nor the Goths guard it. So the Romans scattered here and there at random and began to make their attacks, while the others defended themselves as well as circumstances permitted. Thus, Narses brought up a great force of archers and delivered an attack on a certain portion of the fortifications, while John the nephew of Vitalian was making an assault with his command at another point. Meanwhile Philemuth and the Eruli were harassing another section, and the rest followed at a great distance from them. Indeed, all were fighting at the wall with very considerable intervals between them. And the barbarians gathered at the points of attack and were receiving the assault. But the other parts of the fortifications, where there was no attack being made by the Romans, were altogether destitute of men, all the Goths being gathered, as I have said, wherever the enemy were attacking. In this situation Narses directed Dagisthaeus to take a large number of soldiers and the standards of both Narses and John, and, equipped with a large number of ladders, to make a sudden assault upon a certain part of the fortifications which was altogether destitute of guards. So he immediately placed all the ladders against the wall without any opposition, and with no trouble got inside the fortifications with his followers, and they opened the gates at their leisure. This was immediately discovered by the Goths, who no longer thought of resistance but began to flee, every man of them, wherever each one could. And some of them rushed into the fortress, while others went off on the run to Portus.

At this point in the narrative it occurs to me to comment on the manner in which Fortune makes sport of human affairs, not always visiting men in the same manner nor regarding them with uniform glance, but changing about with the changes of time and place; and she plays a kind of game with them,

shifting the value of the poor wretches according to the variations of time, place, or circumstance, seeing that Bessas, the man who had previously lost Rome, not long afterward recovered Petra in Lazica for the Romans, and that Dagisthaeus, on the contrary, who had let Petra go to the enemy, won back Rome for the emperor in a moment of time. But these things have been happening from the beginning and will always be as long as the same fortune rules over men. Narses now advanced against the fortress with his whole army in warlike array. But the barbarians became terrified, and, upon receiving pledges for their lives, surrendered both themselves and the fortress with all speed, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Thus Rome was captured for the fifth time during his reign; and Narses immediately sent the keys of its gates to the emperor. [a d.]

XXXIV

At that time it was shewn to the world with the greatest clearness that in the case of all men who have been doomed to suffer ill, even those things which seem to be blessings turn out for their destruction, and even when they have fared as they wish they are, it may be, destroyed together with this same prosperity. For this victory turned out to be for the Roman senate and people a cause of far greater destruction, in the following manner. The Goths, on the one hand, as by their flight they abandoned the dominion of Italy, made it an incident of their progress to destroy without mercy the Romans who fell in their way. And the barbarians of the Roman army, on the other hand, treated as enemies all whom they chanced upon as they entered the city. Furthermore, this too befell them. Many of the members of the senate, by decision of Totila, had been remaining previously in the towns of Campania. And some of them, upon learning that Rome was held by the emperor's army, departed from Campania and went thither. But when this was learned by the Goths who happened to be in the fortresses there, they searched that whole country and killed all the patricians. Among these was Maximus, whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative. It happened also that Totila, when he went from there to encounter Narses, had gathered the children of the notable Romans from each city and selected about three hundred of them whom he considered particularly fine in appearance, telling their parents that they were to live with him, though in reality they were to be hostages to him. And at that time Totila merely commanded that they should be north of the Po River, but now Teïas found and killed them all.

Now Ragnaris, a Goth, who commanded the garrison at Tarentum, had received pledges from Pacurius at the emperor's wish and agreed that he would submit to the Romans, as previously stated, and had furnished six Goths as hostages to the Romans to make this agreement binding; but upon hearing that Teïas had become king over the Goths and had invited the Franks to an alliance and wished to engage with the enemy with his whole army, he reversed his purpose completely and refused absolutely to fulfil his agreement. But he was eager and determined to get back the hostages, and so devised the following plan. He sent to Pacurius with the request that a few Roman soldiers be sent him in order that it might be possible for his men with safety to go to Dryus and from there to cross the Ionian Gulf and make their way to Byzantium. So Pacurius, being utterly ignorant of the man's purposes, sent him fifty of his men. And when Ragnaris had received them in the fortress, he immediately put them into confinement and sent word to Pacurius that, if it was his wish to recover his own soldiers, he would be obliged to surrender the Gothic hostages. But when Pacurius heard this, he left a few men to keep guard over Dryus, and immediately marched with all the rest of his army against the enemy. Thereupon Ragnaris killed the fifty men

immediately, and then led forth the Goths from Tarentum to encounter his enemy. And when they engaged with each other, the Goths were defeated. Whereupon Ragnaris, having lost great numbers there, set off in flight with the remnant. However, he was quite unable to get back into Tarentum, since the Romans surrounded it on every side, but he went to Acherontis and remained there. Thus, then, did these things happen. And not long afterwards the Romans took Portus by surrender after besieging the place, and likewise a fortress in Tuscany which they call Nepa, as well as the stronghold of Petra Pertusa, as it is called.

Meanwhile Teïas, considering the Goths by themselves not a match for the Roman army, sent to Theudibald, the ruler of the Franks, offering a large sum of money and inviting him to an alliance. The Franks, however, out of regard for their own interests, I suppose, wished to die for the benefit neither of Goths nor Romans, but were eager, rather, to acquire Italy for themselves, and only to attain this were they willing to undergo the perils of war. Now it so happened that, while Totila had deposited some of his money in Ticinum, as previously stated, he had placed the most of it in an exceedingly strong fortress at Cumae, which is in Campania, and he had set guards over the place, appointing as their commander his own brother with Herodian. Narses, then, wishing to capture this garrison, sent some men to Cumae to besiege the fortress, while he himself remained at Rome, putting it in order. And he sent another force with orders to besiege Centumcellae. Teïas then became fearful concerning the guards in Cumae and the money, and despairing of his hope of the Franks, he put his forces in array, intending to engage with his enemy.

But when Narses perceived this, he ordered John the nephew of Vitalian and Philemuth to proceed with his own army into the province of Tuscany, in order to take up a position there and check the march of his opponents to Campania, in order that the force besieging Cumae might be able without fear of molestation to capture it either by storm or by surrender. But Teïas, leaving the most direct roads very far on his right, took many very long detours, passing along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, and so reached Campania, having eluded his enemy entirely. And when Narses learned this, he summoned the forces of John and Philemuth, who were guarding the road through Tuscany, called back Valerian, who was just capturing Petra Pertusa, as it is called, with his men, collected his forces, and himself with his whole army marched into Campania arrayed as for battle.

Now there is a mountain called Vesuvius in Campania, which I have mentioned in the previous narrative, remarking that it often gives forth a sound like bellowing. And whenever this occurs, the mountain also belches forth a great quantity of hot ashes. So much was said at that point in my narrative. Now the centre of this mountain, just as is the case with Aetna in Sicily, is a natural cavity extending from its base to its peak, and it is at the bottom of this cavity that the fire burns continually. And to such a depth does this cavity descend that, when a man stands on the summit of the mountain and dares to look over the edge from there, the flames are not easily visible. And whenever it comes about that this mountain belches forth the ashes, as stated above, the flames also tear out rocks from the bottom of Vesuvius and hurl them into the air above the summit of this mountain, some of them small, but some exceedingly large, and thus shooting them forth from there it scatters them wherever they chance to fall. And a stream of fire also flows from the peak extending from the summit to the very base of the mountain and even further, resembling in all respects the phenomenon which is observed at Mt. Aetna. And the stream of fire forms high banks on either side in cutting out its bed. Now as the flame is carried along in the channel it at first resembles a flow of burning water; but as soon as the flame is quenched, the course of the stream is checked immediately and the flow proceeds no further, and the sediment of this fire appears as mud resembling ashes.

At the very base of this Mt. Vesuvius there are springs of water fit to drink, and a river named Dracon proceeds from them which passes very near the city of Nuceria. And it was at this river that the two armies then made camp, one on one side and the other on the other. Now while this Dracon is a small stream, it still cannot be crossed either by horsemen or infantry, because, as it flows in a narrow-channel and cuts into the earth to a great depth, it makes the banks on both sides overhanging as it were. But whether the cause is to be found in the nature of the soil or of the water, I cannot decide. Now the Goths had seized the bridge over the river, since they had encamped very near it, and placing wooden towers upon it they had mounted various engines in them, among them those called ballistae, in order that they might be able to shoot from the tower down upon the heads of such of their enemy as harassed them. It was consequently impossible for a hand-to-hand engagement to take place, since the river, as I have said, lay between; but both armies came as close as possible along the banks of the stream, and for the most part used only bows against each other. Some single encounters also took place, when some Goth on occasion, in answer to a challenge, crossed the bridge. And two months' time was spent by the armies in this way. Now as long as the Goths controlled that part of the sea, they maintained themselves by bringing in provisions by ship, since they were encamped not far from the shore. But later on the

Romans captured the enemy's boats by an act of treason on the part of a Goth who was in charge of all their shipping; and at the same time innumerable ships came to them both from Sicily and from the rest of the empire. At the same time Narses also set up wooden towers on the bank of the river, and thus succeeded completely in humbling the spirit of his opponents.

The Goths then, becoming alarmed because of these things and being at the same time hard pressed by want of provisions, took refuge on a mountain which is near by, called by the Romans in the Latin tongue "Milk Mountain"; here the Romans were quite unable to follow them because the rough terrain made it impossible. But the barbarians immediately repented having gone up there, because they began to be still more in need of provisions, having no means of providing them for themselves and their horses. Thinking, consequently, that death in battle was preferable to that by starvation, they unexpectedly moved out to engage their enemy, falling upon them suddenly and without warning. But the Romans, to ward them off as well as circumstances permitted, took their stand, not arranging themselves by commanders or by companies or by cohorts, nor distinguished in any other manner from one another, and not so as to hear the commands given them in battle, but still, determined to put forth all their strength against the enemy wherever they should chance to stand. Now the Goths were the first to abandon their horses and all took their stand on foot, facing their enemy in a deep phalanx, and then the Romans too, observing this, let their horses go, and all arrayed themselves in the same manner.

Here shall be described a battle of great note and the heroism of one man inferior, I think, to that of none of the heroes of legend, that, namely, which Teiās displayed in the present battle. The Goths, on the one hand, were driven to be courageous by despair of the situation, while the Romans, on the other hand, though they could see that the enemy had become desperate, withstood them with all their strength, blushing to give way to a weaker force; thus from both sides they charged their nearest opponents with great fury, the one army courting death and the other desiring to make a display of valour. Now the battle began early in the morning, and Teiās, easily recognized by all, stood with only a few followers at the head of the phalanx, holding his shield before him and thrusting forward his spear. And when the Romans saw him, thinking that, if he himself should fall, the battle would be instantly decided in their favour, all those who laid claim to valour concentrated on him — and there was a great number of them — and they all directed their spears at him, some thrusting and others hurling them. He himself meanwhile, covered by his shield, received all their spears in it, and by sudden charges he slew a large number. And whenever he saw that his shield was filled with spears fixed in it, he would hand this over to one of his guards and take another for himself. And he continued fighting in this manner for the third part of the day, and at the end of that time his shield had twelve spears stuck in it and he was no longer able to move it where he wished and repel his assailants. So he eagerly

called one of his bodyguards without leaving his post so much as a finger's breadth nor giving ground nor allowing the enemy to advance, nor even turning round and covering his back with his shield, nor, in fact, did he even turn sidewise, but as if fastened to the ground he stood there, shield in hand, killing with his right hand and parrying with his left and calling out the name of the bodyguard. And the guard was now at his side with the shield, and Teias immediately sought to take this in exchange for the one weighed down with spears. But while he was doing so his chest became exposed for a brief instant of time, and it chanced that at that moment he was hit by a javelin and died instantly from the wound. Then some of the Romans raised his head aloft on a pole and went about shewing it to both armies, to the Romans in order that they might be encouraged, and to the Goths in order that they might in despair make an end of the war.

But not even then did the Goths abandon the struggle, but they kept fighting till night, although well aware that their king was dead. But when it began to grow dark, the two armies separated and passed the night on the battle-field in their equipment. And on the following day they arose at dawn, and arraying themselves again in the same manner they fought till nightfall, neither army retreating before the other nor being routed nor even giving ground, though large numbers were being slain on both sides, but they kept at it with the fury of wild beasts by reason of their bitter hatred of each other, the Goths, on the one hand, knowing well that they were fighting their last battle, and the Romans, on the other, refusing to be worsted by them. But finally the barbarians sent to Narses some of their notables, saying that they had learned that the struggle they had taken up was against God; for they recognized, they said, the power that was arrayed against them, and, since they were coming to realize by what had happened the truth of the matter, they were desirous from now to acknowledge defeat and give up the struggle, not, however, to obey the emperor, but to live in independence with some of the other barbarians; and they begged that the Romans concede to them a peaceful withdrawal, not begrudging them a reasonable settlement, but presenting them, in fact, with their own money as travelling funds, that money, namely, which each of them had previously deposited in the fortresses of Italy. These proposals Narses took under consideration. Now John the nephew of Vitalian advised that they should allow this request and not carry on battle further with men who courted death nor expose themselves to those whose daring was sprung from despair of life, an attitude which proves dangerous not only for those possessed by it, but also for their opponents. "For victory," he said, "is sufficient for the wise, but extravagant desires might perhaps turn out even to a man's disadvantage."

Narses followed this suggestion, and they came to terms, agreeing that the remainder of the barbarians, after receiving their own money, should depart immediately from all Italy and that they should no longer wage war in any way against the Romans. Now a thousand Goths, in the midst of the negotiations, detached themselves from the main body, and under command

of different men, among whom was the Indulf whom I have mentioned before, proceeded to the city of Ticinum and the country beyond the Po. But all the rest gave sworn pledges and confirmed all the details of the agreement. Thus the Romans captured Cumae and all that remained, and the eighteenth year, as it closed, brought the end of this Gothic War, the history of which Procopius has written.

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SECRET HISTORY



Translated by H. B. Dewing

Discovered in the Vatican Library centuries after it was written, the *Secret History* was published by Niccolò Alamanni in 1623 at Lyons. Its existence was already known from the Suda account of Procopius, which referred to it as the *Anekdotia*. The text approximately covers the same years as the first seven books of *The Wars of Justinian*, though it appears to have been written after they were published. Current consensus generally dates the work to 550 or 558, with some venturing as late as 562.

The *Secret History* reveals how Procopius had become deeply disillusioned with the emperor Justinian and his wife, Empress Theodora, as well as Belisarius, his former commander and patron, and Antonina, the latter's wife. The anecdotes claim to expose the secret springs of their public actions, as well as the private lives of the emperor, his wife and their entourage. Justinian is portrayed as a cruel, prodigal and incompetent ruler, while Theodora is depicted in great detail as a vulgar and promiscuous woman, whose shrewish and calculating mean-spiritedness are mercilessly laid bare to the reader. However, some scholars believe that Procopius knew that a conspiracy could overthrow the imperial power and therefore prepared an exaggerated document in order to clear himself from any accusation of support for the emperor's regime.



Theodora, detail of a Byzantine mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale, Ravenna

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Appendix I. The Factions of the Hippodrome in Constantinople

Appendix II. The Christian Heresies

Appendix III. The Statue of Domitian (Chap. viii.)

MAP

[1] All that has befallen the Roman Nation in its wars up to the present day has been narrated by me, as far as it proved possible, on the plan of arranging all the accounts of its activities in accordance with their proper time and place. Henceforth, however, this plan of composition will be followed by me no longer, for here shall be set down everything that came to pass in every part of the Roman Empire. [2] The reason for this is that it was not possible, as long as the actors were still alive, for these things to be recorded in the way they should have been. For neither was it possible to elude the vigilance of multitudes of spies, nor, if detected, to escape a most cruel death. Indeed, I was unable to feel confidence even in the most intimate of my kinsmen. [3] Nay, more, in the case of many of the events described in the previous narrative I was compelled to conceal the causes which led up to them. It will therefore be necessary for me in this book to disclose, not only those things which have hitherto remained undivulged, but also the causes of those occurrences which have already been described.

[4] As I turn, however, to a new endeavour which is fraught with difficulty and is in fact extraordinarily hard to cope with, being concerned, as it is, with the lives lived by Justinian and Theodora, I find myself stammering and shrinking as far from it as possible, as I weigh the chances that such things are now to be written by me as will seem neither credible nor probable to men of a later generation; and especially when the mighty stream of time renders the story somewhat ancient, I fear lest I shall earn the reputation of being even a narrator of myths and shall be ranked among the tragic poets. [5] But I shall not flinch from the immensity of my task, basing my confidence on the fact that my account will not be without the support of witnesses. For the men of the present day, being witnesses possessing full knowledge of the events in question, will be competent guarantors to pass on to future ages their brief in my good faith in dealing with the facts.

[6] And yet there was still another consideration which very often, when I was eager to undertake my narrative, held me back for a very long time. For I conceived the opinion that for men of future generations such a record as this would be inexpedient, since it will be most advantageous that the blackest deeds shall if possible be unknown to later times, rather than that, coming to the ears of sovereigns, they should be imitated by them. [7] For in the case of the majority of men in power their very inexperience always causes the imitation of the base actions of their predecessors to be easy, and they ever turn with greater ease and facility to the faults committed by the rulers of an earlier time. [8] But after I was brought to write my history of these events by the thought that it will assuredly be clear to those who hereafter shall hold sovereign power that, in the first place, punishment will in all probability overtake them likewise for their misdeeds, just as befell these persons; and, in

the second place, that their own actions and characters will likewise be on record for all future time, so that consequently they will perhaps be more reluctant to transgress. [9] For what man of later times would have learned of the licentious life of Semiramis or of the madness of Sardanapalus and Nero, if the records of these things had not been left behind by the writers of their times? And apart from these considerations, in case any should chance to suffer like treatment at the hands of their rulers, this record will not be wholly useless to them. [10] For those who have suffered misfortunes are wont to receive consolation from the thought that not upon themselves alone have cruel disasters fallen. For these reasons, then, I shall proceed to relate, first, all the base deeds committed by Belisarius; and afterwards I shall disclose all the base deeds committed by Justinian and Theodora.

[11] Belisarius had a wife, whom I have had occasion to mention in the previous books; her father and grandfather were charioteers who had given exhibition of their skill in both Byzantium and Thessalonica, and her mother was one of the prostitutes attached to the theatre. [12] This woman, having in her early years lived a lewd sort of a life and having become dissolute in character, not only having consorted much with the cheap sorcerers who surrounded her parents, but also having thus acquired the knowledge of what she needed to know, later became the wedded wife of Belisarius, after having already been the mother of many children. [13] Straightway, therefore, she decided upon being an adulteress from the very start, but she was very careful to conceal this business, not because she was ashamed of her own practices, nor because she entertained any fear so far as her husband was concerned (for she never experienced the slightest feeling of shame for any action whatsoever and she had gained complete control of her husband by means of many tricks of magic), but because she dreaded the punishment the Empress might inflict. For Theodora was all too prone both to storm at her and to shew her teeth in anger. [14] But after she had made her tame and manageable, by rendering services to her in matters of the greatest urgency — having, in the first place, disposed of Silverius in the manner which will be described in the following narrative, and later having brought about the ruin of John the Cappadocian, as related by me in my earlier books — then at last she felt no hesitation in carrying out all manner of wickedness more fearlessly and with no further concealment.

[15] There was a certain youth from Thrace in the household of Belisarius, Theodosius by name, who had been born of ancestors who professed the faith of those called Eunomians. [16] Now when Belisarius was about to embark on the voyage to Libya, he bathed this youth in the sacred bath, from which he lifted him with his own hands, thus making him the adopted child of himself and his wife, as is customary for Christians to make adoptions, and consequently Antonina loved Theodosius, as she naturally would, as being her son through the sacred word, and with very particular solicitude she kept him near herself. [17] And straightway she fell extraordinarily in love with him in

the course of this voyage, and having become insatiate in her passion, she shook off both fear and respect for everything both divine and human and had intercourse with him, at first in secret, but finally even in the presence of servants of both sexes. [18] For being by now possessed by this passion and manifestly smitten with love, she could see no longer any obstacle to the deed. And one occasion Belisarius caught them in the very act in Carthage, yet he willingly allowed himself to be deceived by his wife. [19] For though he found them both in an underground chamber and was transported with rage, without either playing the coward or attempting to conceal the deed, remarked "I came down here in order to hide with the aid of the boy the most valuable of our booty, so that it may not get to the knowledge of the Emperor." [20] Now she said this as a mere pretext, but he, appearing to be satisfied, dropped the matter, though he could see that the belt which supported the drawers of Theodosius, covering his private parts, had been loosened. For under compulsion of love for the woman, he would have it that the testimony of his own eyes was absolutely untrustworthy.

[21] Now this wantonness kept growing worse and worse until it had become an unspeakable scandal, and though people in general, observing what was going on, kept silence about it, yet a certain slave-girl named Macedonia, approaching Belisarius in Syracuse, when he had conquered Sicily, and binding her master by the most dread oaths that he would never betray her to her mistress, told him the whole story, adducing as witnesses two lads who were charged with the service of the bedchamber. [22] Upon learning these things, Belisarius ordered certain of his attendants to destroy Theodosius. He, however, learned this in advance and fled to Ephesus. [23] For most of the persons in attendance upon Belisarius, moved by the instability of the man's temper, were more eager to please the wife than to seem to the husband well-disposed towards him, and for this reason they betrayed the command laid upon them at that time touching Theodosius. [24] And Constantinus, observing that Belisarius had become very sorrowful at what had happened, sympathized with him in general and added the remark, "If it were I, I should have destroyed the woman rather than the youth." [25] And when Antonina heard of this, she nourished her anger against him secretly, in order that she might, when occasion offered, display the hatred she bore him. [26] For she had the ways of a scorpion and concealed her wrath in darkness. So not long afterwards, using either magic or beguilement, she persuaded her husband that the accusation of this girl was unsound, and he without delay recalled Theodosius and agreed to hand over Macedonia and the boys to the woman. [27] And they say that she first cut out all their tongues, and then cut them up bit by bit, threw the pieces into sacks, and then without ado cast them into the sea, being assisted throughout in this impious business by one of the servants named Eugenius, the same one who performed the unholy deed upon Silverius. [28] And not long afterwards Belisarius, persuaded by his wife, killed Constantinus also. For at that time fell the affair of Presidius and the daggers,

as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative. [29] For though the man was about to be acquitted, Antonina would not relent until she had punished him for the remark which I have just mentioned. [30] As a result of this act Belisarius became the object of great hostility on the part of both the Emperor and all the Roman notables.

[31] Such was the course of these events. But Theodosius declared that he was not able to come to Italy, where Belisarius and Antonina were then tarrying, unless Photius should be got out of the way. [32] For Photius was by nature prone to be vexed if anyone had more influence than he with any person, and in the case of Theodosius and his associates he chanced to have a just cause to be sorely aggrieved, in that he himself, though a son, was made of no account, while Theodosius enjoyed great power and was acquiring great wealth. [33] For they say that at Carthage and Ravenna together he had plundered as much as one hundred centenaria from the two Palaces, since he chanced to manage these without any associate and with full power. [34] Now when Antonina learned of the decision of Theodosius, she did not cease laying snares for the youth Photius and pursuing him with certain murderous plots, until she succeeded in bringing it about that he departed from there and set out for Byzantium, being no longer able to withstand her snares, and Theodosius came to Italy to join her. [35] There she enjoyed to the full both the attentions of her lover and the simplicity of her husband and later on came to Byzantium in company with both of them. [36] There Theodosius became terrified by the consciousness of his guilt and his mind was in torment. For he thought that he would by no means escape detection altogether, since he saw that the woman was no longer able to conceal her passion nor to let it break out in secret only, but on the contrary did not object either to being or being called outright an adulteress. [37] So once more he repaired to Ephesus and first assuming the tonsure, as was the custom in such cases, enrolled himself among the monks, as they are called. [38] Antoninaa thereupon became utterly frantic, and changing her dress together with the routine of her life to the mourning mode, she went about through the house moaning constantly, weeping and wailing even when her husband was close at hand and lamenting what a good thing had been lost from her life, how faithful he was, how charming, how gracious, how energetic. [39] Finally, she dragged even her husband into these scenes of lamentation and made him sit there. At any rate the poor man used to weep and call upon the beloved Theodosius. [40] And later he actually went to the Emperor, entreating both him and the Empress, and persuaded him to recall Theodosius as being both for the present and for the future an indispensable^o part of his household. [41] But Theodosius declined absolutely to leave the place where he was, asserting that he intended to observe the practice of the monks as steadfastly as possible. [42] Yet this answer proved to be fictitious, his purpose being that as soon as Belisarius should depart from Byzantium, he himself should come secretly to the side of Antonina. And this is exactly what happened.

II

For soon Belisarius was despatched with Photius to carry on the war against Chosroes, while Antonina remained in Byzantium, contrary to her previous custom. [2] For in order that the man might not be alone and thus come to himself, and scorning her enchantments might come to think as he ought concerning her, she had taken care to travel all over the world with him. [3] Furthermore, in order that Theodosius might once more have access to her, she took measures to have Photius put out of her way. [4] So she persuaded some of the retinue of Belisarius to torment him constantly and insult him, sparing him not a moment; she herself, meanwhile, by writing practically every day was maintaining a steady attack of slander and was moving everything against the youth. [5] So he in turn, under the compulsion of these measures, decided to resort to slander against his mother, and when a certain person arriving from Byzantium announced that Theodosius was secretly staying with Antonina, he straightway brought him before Belisarius, bidding him to reveal the whole story. [6] And when Belisarius heard the story, he was transported with rage and fell on his face before the feet of Photius and begged him to avenge his father who was suffering unholy treatment from those who, least of all, should do such things. And he said: "O son most beloved, you have no knowledge of what your father was, since while you were still being nourished at the breast, he fulfilled the term of life and left you and you have profited by no portion of his estate; for he was not very fortunate in the matter of possessions. [7] But you were reared under my care, who am only your stepfather, and you are now of such an age that it is your duty to defend me to the utmost when I suffer injustice; and you have risen to the rank of Consul and have acquired such a mass of wealth, my noble boy, that I might justly be called, and indeed might be, both father to you and mother and all your kindred. [8] For it is not by ties of blood, but in very truth by deeds, that men are wont to gauge their affection for one another. [9] The time has come, then, for you not to stand by and see me, in addition to the ruin of my home, also deprived of property in so vast an amount and your own mother fastening upon herself a disgrace so great in the eyes of all mankind. [10] And bear in mind that the sins of women do not fall upon the husbands alone, but affect their children even more; for it will generally be their lot to carry with them a certain reputation to the effect that they resemble their mothers in character. [11] Thus would I have you take counsel concerning me, that I love my wife exceedingly, and if it be granted me to take vengeance upon the corrupter of my home, I shall do her no harm; but while Theodosius lives, I cannot forgive her the accusation against her."

[12] Upon hearing all this Photius said that he would indeed assist in everything, but that he feared he might suffer some harm therefrom, for he decidedly could feel no confidence in the unsteady judgment of Belisarius in

matters touching his wife; for many circumstances, and in particular the fate of Macedonia, troubled him. [13] Accordingly the two men swore to each other all the oaths which are the most terrible among the Christians and are in fact so designated by them, that they would never betray each other, even in the presence of dangers threatening their destruction. [14] And so for the present it seemed to them not advisable to undertake the deed, but when Antonina should arrive from Byzantium and Theodosius should go to Ephesus, at that moment Photius was to arrive in Ephesus, where without difficulty he would lay hands upon Theodosius and the money. [15] Now at that time, while they were making the invasion into the land of Persia with the whole army, the affair of John the Cappadocian chanced to be taking place in Byzantium, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative. [16] But in the other account one fact was passed over in silence by me through fear — that Antonina had practised deception upon John and his daughter, not without intent, but after giving them the assurance of countless oaths, than which none is accounted more terrible among Christians, at any rate, that she was not acting with any treacherous purpose towards them. [17] So after she had completed this transaction and felt a much greater confidence in the friendship of the Empress, she sent Theodosius to Ephesus and herself, foreseeing no obstacle, set out for the East. [18] And just after Belisarius had captured the fortress of Sisauranon, it was reported to him by someone that she was on the way. Whereupon he, counting all other things as of no importance, led his army back. [19] For it so happened that certain other things too, as related by me previously, had occurred in the army which influenced him to this retreat. [20] This information, however, led him much more quickly to the decision. But, as I said at the beginning of this book, it seemed to me at that time to be dangerous to state all the causes of what had taken place. [21] As a result of this action Belisarius was accused by all Romans as having subordinated the most vital interests of the State to those of his own family. [22] For from the first he was so constrained by the misconduct of his wife that he had been quite unwilling to get to a region as distant as possible from Roman territory, in order that he might be able, as soon as he learned that the woman had come from Byzantium, to turn back and to catch and to punish her immediately. [23] So for this reason he ordered Arethas and his men to cross the Tigris River, and they, after having accomplished nothing worthy of mention, departed for home, while as for himself he saw to it that he did not get even one day's march from the Roman boundary. [24] For while the fortress of Sisauranon, if one goes by way of the city of Nisibis, is indeed for an unencumbered traveller more than one day's journey from the Roman boundary, yet by another road it is only half that distance. [25] And yet if he had been willing in the first place to cross the Tigris River with his whole army, I believe that he would have plundered the whole land of Assyria and would have reached the city of Ctesiphon without encountering any opposition whatever, and would have rescued the prisoners from Antioch and all the other Romans who

chanced to be there before he finally returned to his native land. Furthermore, he was chiefly responsible for the fact that Chosroes returned home from Colchis in comparative security. And the manner in which this happened I shall straightway make clear.

[26] When Chosroes, son of Cabades, made his invasion into the land of Colchis and achieved all those things which have been set forth by me above, including the capture of Petra, it chanced that many of the army of the Medes were destroyed both by the fighting and by the difficult nature of the country. For Lazica, as I have stated, is a country of bad roads and everywhere abounds in precipices. [27] In addition to these difficulties it chanced that a pestilence fell upon the army and many of the soldiers also met their death as a result of their lack of provisions. [28] At this point also certain persons from the land of Persia, who were passing that way, announced that Belisarius had defeated Nabedes in a battle near the city of Nisibis and was moving forward, had taken the fortress of Sisauranon by siege and captured Bleschames and eight hundred horsemen of the Persians, and had sent out another Roman army under Arethas, leader of the Saracens, and that this army had crossed the Tigris River and laid waste that whole country, which had never been plundered before. [29] It happened also that Chosroes had sent an army of Huns against the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, in order that by reason of their preoccupation with this force the Romans there might take no notice of what was going on in Lazica. [30] Still other messengers brought word that these barbarians had encountered Valerian and the Romans and, upon engaging with them, and having been heavily defeated in battle, had for the most part been destroyed. [31] When the Persians heard these things and, partly because of the miseries which they had suffered in Lazica, and partly because they feared lest they might during the withdrawal chance upon some hostile force among the cliffs and the regions overgrown with thickets and all, in the utter confusion of their forces, be destroyed, had become exceedingly anxious for the safety of their wives and children and native land, then all the loyal element in the Medic army began to heap abuses upon Chosroes, charging him with having, in violation of his oaths and the obligations commonly held to by all mankind, made during a truce an invasion of Roman territory to which he had no claim, and was wronging a State which was ancient and worthy, above all states, of the highest honour, one which he could not possibly overcome in war; and they were on the point of a revolution. Now [32] Chosroes was thoroughly disturbed by this situation, but he found the following remedy for the trouble. For he read to them a letter which the Empress had recently chanced to send to Zaberganes. Now this letter set forth the following: [33] "How devoted I am to you, O Zaberganes, believing you to be loyal to our interests, you know already, since you quite recently came to us on an embassy. [34] You would then be acting in accord with the high opinion I hold of you, if you should persuade King Chosroes to adopt a peaceful attitude toward our State. [35] For in case you do this, I promise that

great benefits will accrue to you from my husband, who can be counted upon to carry out no measure whatever without consulting my judgment.”^[36] When Chosroes had read this to the Persian notables, he reproached any of them who thought that any real State existed when a woman was the administrator, and thus succeeded in checking the vehemence of the men.^[37] Yet even so he departed from there in the fear, thinking that the forces of Belisarius would block their way. No hostile force, however, encountered him, and he gladly repaired to his own land.

III

When Belisarius had reached Roman territory, he found that his wife had arrived from Byzantium. And he kept her under guard in disgrace, and though he many times set about destroying her, his heart was softened, being vanquished, as it seems to me, by a sort of flaming-hot love. [2] But they say that it was also through her magic arts that he was brought under the control of the woman and immediately undone. Now Photius set off in haste for Ephesus, taking with him as a prisoner one of the eunuchs, Calligonus by name, who acted as a go-between for his mistress, and he on this journey revealed to him under torture all the woman's secrets. [3] But Theodosius, having advance information, fled for safety to the sanctuary of the Apostle John, which is the most holy one there and held in very high honour. [4] Andreas, however, the Chief Priest of Ephesus, accepted a bribe and delivered the man over to Photius. At this point Theodora, being solicitous for Antonina (for she had heard all that had happened to her), summoned Belisarius and her to Byzantium. [5] And Photius, upon hearing this, sent Theodosius into Cilicia where the spearmen^o and guards chanced to be passing the winter, instructing the escort to convey this man with the utmost secrecy, and when they reached Cilicia, to keep him in very strictly hidden confinement, giving information to no man where in the world he was. He himself, meanwhile, with Calligonus and the money of Theodosius, which amounted to a rather imposing sum, came to Byzantium. [6] There the Empress made an exhibition before all mankind, shewing that she knew how to requite bloody favours with greater and more unholy gifts. [7] For whereas Antonina had recently laid snares for one enemy for her, the Cappadocian, and had betrayed him, she herself delivered over to Antonina a host of men and brought about their destruction without even a charge having been brought against them. [8] For she first tortured certain intimates of Belisarius and Photius, alleging against them only the fact that they were on friendly terms with these two men, and then so disposed of them that up to this day we do not yet know what their final fate was; others too she punished by banishment, laying this same charge against them. [9] But one of those who had followed Photius to Ephesus, Theodosius by name, though he had attained the dignity of Senator, she stripped of his property and forced him to stand in an underground chamber which was utterly dark, tying his neck to a sort of manger with a rope so short that it was always stretched taut for the man and never hung slack. [10] So the poor wretch stood there continuously at this manger, both eating and sleeping and fulfilling all the other needs of nature, and nothing except braying was needed to complete his resemblance to the ass. [11] And a time amounting to not less than four months was passed by the man in this existence until he was attacked by the disease of melancholy, became violently insane and so finally was released from this confinement and then died. And she forced Belisarius, [12]

quite against his will, to become reconciled with his wife Antonina. She then inflicted sundry servile tortures upon Photius, among others combing his back and his shoulders with many lashes and commanded him to tell where in the world Theodosius and the go-between were. [13] But he, though being racked with torture, determined to hold fast to his oath; for though he was a sickly person and had in earlier life been dissolute, yet he had been devoted to the care of his body, having experienced neither wanton treatment nor hardship. [14] At any rate, he disclosed not one of the secrets of Belisarius. At a later time, however, everything which hitherto had remained secret came to light. [15] She also found Calligonus there and handed him over to Antonina. And she summoned Theodosius to Byzantium, and upon his arrival, straightway concealed him in the Palace; and next day, calling Antonina to her, she said [16] “O dearest Patrician, yesterday a pearl fell into my hands, such as no man ever saw. If you wish, I should not begrudge you the sight of this, nay, I shall shew it to you.” [17] And she, not comprehending what was going on, begged her earnestly to shew her the pearl. And she brought Theodosius out of the room of one of the eunuchs and shewed him to her. [18] And Antonina was so overjoyed that she at first remained speechless with pleasure, and then she acknowledged that Theodora had done her a great favour, calling her Saviour and Benefactor and Mistress in very truth. [19] And so the Empress detained this Theodosius in the Palace and bestowed upon him luxury and all manner of indulgence, and threatened that she would make him a Roman General after no long time. [20] But a sort of justice forestalled her, for he was seized by an attack of dysentery and removed from the world. [21] Now Theodora had concealed rooms which were completely hidden, being dark and isolated, where no indication of night or day could be observed. [22] There she confined Photius and kept him under guard for a long time. From this place he had the fortune, not once but even twice, to escape and get away. [23] The first time he fled to the Church of the Mother of God, which among the Byzantines is considered most holy, as it indeed was designated in its name, and he sat as a suppliant beside the holy table. Thence she forced him with great violence to rise and once more put him into confinement. [24] And the second time he reached the sanctuary of Sophia, and he suddenly seated himself close to the divine receptacle itself, which the Christians have been wont to reverence above all things. [25] But the woman succeeded in dragging him away even from there. For no inviolable spot ever remained inaccessible to her, but it seemed nothing to her to do violence to any and all sacred things. [26] And not only the populace but also the priests of the Christians, smitten with terror, stood aside and conceded everything to her. [27] So a period of three years was passed by him in this manner of life, but afterwards the prophet Zachariah stood over him in a dream and with oaths, they say, commanded him to flee, promising that he would lend him a hand in this undertaking. [28] Persuaded by this vision he got away from there and escaping detection came to Jerusalem, and though countless persons were searching for him, no man saw the youth,

even when he stood before him. [29] There he shaved his head, and by clothing himself in the garb of the monks, as they are called, he succeeded in escaping the punishment of Theodora. [30] But Belisarius had neglected his oath and had chosen in no way to support this man, though he was suffering unholy treatment, as I have said; and so, in all his undertakings thereafter, he naturally found the power of God hostile. For straightway, being sent against the Medes and Chosroes, who were making their third invasion into Roman territory, he was guilty of cowardice. [31] And yet he did seem to have accomplished something of note in having shaken off the war from that quarter. Yet when Chosroes crossed the Euphrates River, captured the populous city of Callinicus which had not a man to defend it, and enslaved many thousand Romans, and when Belisarius was not concerned even to follow up the enemy, he won the reputation of having remained where he was for one of two reasons — either because he was wilfully negligent or else because he was a coward.

IV

At about this time another thing also befell him, as follows. The plague which I mentioned in the previous narrative was ravaging the population of Byzantium. And the Emperor Justinian was taken very seriously ill, so that it was even reported that he had died. [2] And this report was circulated by rumour and was carried as far as the Roman army. There some of the commanders began to say that, if the Romans should set up a second Justinian as Emperor over them in Byzantium, they would never tolerate it. [3] But a little later it so fell out that the Emperor recovered, and the commanders of the Roman army began to slander one another. [4] For Peter the General and John whom they called the Glutton declared that they had heard Belisarius and Bouzes say those things which I have just mentioned. [5] The Empress Theodora, declaring that these slighting things which the men had said were directed against her, became quite out of patience. [6] So she straightway summoned them all to Byzantium and made an investigation of the report; and she called Bouzes suddenly into the woman's apartment as if to communicate to him something very important. [7] Now there was a suite of rooms in the Palace, below the ground level, secure and a veritable labyrinth, so that it seemed to resemble Tartarus, where she usually kept in confinement those who had given offence. [8] So Bouzes was hurled into this pit, and in that place he, a man sprung from a line of consuls, remained, forever unaware of time. [9] For as he sat there in the darkness, he could distinguish whether it was day or night, nor could he communicate with any other person. [10] For the man who threw him his food for each day met him in silence, one as dumb as the other, as one beast meets another. [11] And straightway it was supposed by all that he had died, but no one dared mention or recall him. But two years and four months later she was moved to pity and released the man, [12] and he was seen by all as one who had returned from the dead. But thereafter he always suffered from weak sight and his whole body was sickly.

[13] Such was the experience of Bouzes. As for Belisarius, though he was convicted of none of the charges, the Emperor, at the insistence of the Empress, relieved him of the command which he held and appointed Martinus to be General of the East in his stead, and instructed him to distribute the spearmen and guards of Belisarius and all his servants who were notable men in war to certain of the officers and Palace eunuchs. [14] So these cast lots for them and divided them all up among themselves, arms and all, as each happened to win them. [15] And many of those who had been his friends or had previously served him in some way he forbade to visit Belisarius any longer. [16] And he went about, a sorry and incredible sight, Belisarius a private citizen in Byzantium, practically alone, always pensive and gloomy, and dreading a death by violence.^a [17] And the Empress, learning that he had much money in the East, sent one of the Palace eunuchs and had it all brought back. [18] But

Antonina, as I have said, had indeed quarrelled with her husband, yet was on terms of closest friendship and intimacy with the Empress, seeing she had recently accomplished the ruin of John the Cappadocian. [19] So the Empress, in her determination to shew favours to Antonina, left nothing undone to have it appear that the woman had interceded successfully for her husband and had rescued him from such overwhelming misfortunes, and to bring it about that she should not only be completely reconciled with the wretched man, but also that she should unequivocally rescue him as though he were a prisoner of war whose life had been saved by her. [20] And it came about as follows. Belisarius had on one occasion come early in the morning to the Palace, accompanied, as was his wont, by a small and pitiful escort. [21] And finding the Emperor and the Empress not well disposed towards him, and also having been insulted there by men of the base and common sort, he departed for his home late in the evening, often turning about as he walked away and looking around in every direction from which he might see his would-be assassins approaching. [22] In such a state of terror he went up to his chamber and sat down alone upon his couch, thinking not one worthy thought nor even remembering that he had ever been a man, but perspiring constantly, with his head swimming, trembling violently in helpless despair, tortured by servile fears and apprehensions which were both cowardly and wholly unmanly. [23] Meanwhile Antonina, as though not understanding at all what was going on or expecting any of the things which were about to happen, was walking up and down there repeatedly, pleading an attack of indigestion; for they still maintained a suspicious attitude towards one another. [24] In the meantime a man from the Palace, Quadratus by name, arrived after the sun had already set, and passing through the door of the court, suddenly stood by the door of the men's apartments, stating that he had been sent there by the Empress. [25] When Belisarius heard this, he drew up his hands and feet upon the couch and lay there upon his back, completely prepared for destruction; so thoroughly had all his manhood left him. [26] And before Quadratus had come into his presence, he displayed to him a letter from the Empress. [27] And the writing set forth the following. "You know, noble Sir, how you have treated us. But I, for my part, since I am greatly indebted to your wife, have decided to dismiss all these charges against you, giving to her the gift of your life. [28] For the future, then, you may be confident concerning both your life and your property; and we shall know concerning your attitude towards her from your future behaviour." [29] When Belisarius had read this, being transported with joy and at the same time wishing to give immediate evidence of his feelings, he straightway arose and fell on his face before the feet of his wife. [30] And clasping both her knees with either hand and constantly shifting his tongue from one of the woman's ankles to the other, he kept calling her the cause of his life and his salvation, and promising thenceforth to be, not her husband, but her faithful slave. [31] As for his property, the Empress gave thirty centenaria of it to the Emperor and restored the remainder to Belisarius.

[32] Such, then, was the turn of events in the case of Belisarius the General, the man at once whom not long before Fortune had delivered Gelimer and Vittigis as captives of war. [33] But for a long time back the wealth of this man had been exceedingly irritating to both Justinian and Theodora, as being excessive and worthy of a royal court. [34] And they kept saying that he had hidden away in secret the greater part of the State funds of both Gelimer and Vittigis, and had given only a small and utterly insignificant portion of them to the Emperor. [35] But as they reckoned up the great labours of the man and the slanderous talk in which outsiders would indulge, and since at the same time they could not lay hands on any satisfactory pretext against him, they remained quiet. [36] But just then the Empress, catching him terrified and utterly reduced to cowardice, by a single act brought it about that she became mistress of his entire property. [37] For the two entered forthwith into a relationship by marriage and Joannina, the only daughter of Belisarius, was betrothed to Anastasius, grandson of the Empress. [38] Now Belisarius made the request that he should receive back his proper office and, upon being designated General of the East, should again lead the Roman army against Chosroes and the Medes, but Antonina would have none of it; for she maintained that she had been insulted by him in those regions, and never would he again set eyes upon them.

[39] For this reason, then, Belisarius was appointed Commander of the Royal Groomsb and was sent to Italy a second time, having promised the Emperor, as they say, that he would never ask him for money during this war, but that he himself would provide the entire equipment for the war with his personal funds. [40] Now all suspected that Belisarius, in arranging matters concerning his wife in the manner I have described, and in making this promise to the Emperor, as here related, concerning the war, was prompted simply by the desire to be quit of the life in Byzantium, and that, as soon as he got outside the circuit-wall of the city, he would seize arms immediately and set himself to some noble and heroic task to punish his wife and the others who had done him despite. [41] He, however, disregarding all that had happened, and forgetting completely and neglecting the oaths which had been sworn to Photius and his other kinsmen, meekly followed the woman, being extraordinarily smitten with her, though she was already sixty years of age. [42] However, when he got to Italy, matters kept going wrong for him every single day, because the hand of God was definitely against him. [43] At first, to be sure, the plans of this General against Theodatus and Vittigis, in the existing circumstances, though they seemed ill adapted to what was going on, resulted for the most part in a favourable outcome; but in the latter period, though he did gain the reputation of having made his plans for the best because of the experience he had acquired in managing the affairs of this war, yet failing as he did in the sequel, most of his misfortunes were credited to what was accounted folly. [44] Thus it is clear that it is not by the wisdom of men but by the power of God that human fortunes are regulated, though men are wont to

call this “Fortune,” since they do not know the reason why events turn out in the manner in which they become manifest to them. ^[45] For that which appears unaccountable is wont to have the name of Fortune applied to it. But let each man form such an opinion about these matters as he likes.

V

Belisarius, coming to Italy for the second time, departed from there most ignominiously. For during a space of five years he did not succeed once in setting foot on any part of the land, as stated by me in the previous narrative, except where some fortress was, but during this whole period he kept sailing about visiting one port after another. [2] And Totila was frantic to catch him outside a walled town, but he did not succeed because both Belisarius himself and the entire Roman army were possessed by great fear. [3] Consequently he not only recovered nothing of what had been lost, but he even lost Rome in addition and practically everything else. [4] And he became greedy for money during this period above all other men and a most assiduous schemer for shameful gain, seeing that he had brought nothing with him from the Emperor, and he recklessly plundered almost all the Italians who lived in Ravenna and in Sicily and anyone else whom he had the power to reach, alleging that he was making them pay a reckoning for the acts of their past lives. [5] Thus he, for instance, even pursued Herodian with demands for money, holding every sort of threat over the man. [6] This treatment made Herodian so indignant that he detached himself from the Roman army and straightway put himself and all his followers and Spoletiuma into the hands of Totila and the Goths. [7] And how it came about that he and John, the nephew of Vitalian, quarrelled, an event which did the greatest harm to the Roman cause, I shall disclose forthwith.

[8] The Empress had come to such a point of hostility towards Germanus (and was making her hostility perfectly obvious to all) that no one dared to make a marriage alliance with him, even though he was nephew to the Emperor, and his sons remained unmarried until they had reached middle age. [9] And his daughter Justina, though she had reached the maturity of eighteen years, was still unwed. For this reason, when John came to Byzantium on a mission from Belisarius, Germanus was forced to open negotiations with him concerning marriage, though John was much below his rank. [10] And since the project pleased both of them, they decided to bind one another by the most terrible oaths that they would put forth every effort to bring about the alliance, inasmuch as neither one of them had any confidence at all in the other, the one because he realized that he was reaching above his rank, the other because he was in sore need of a son-in-law. [11] The Empress, however, was beside herself, and resorting to every course she did not hesitate to bring every possible pressure to bear upon each of them to the end that she might put a stop to the negotiations. [12] But since she was unable to convince either one of them, though she tried hard to intimidate them, she threatened explicitly that she was going to destroy John. [13] Consequently, when John was sent back to Italy, he did not dare to meet Belisarius, fearing the hostility of Antonina, until after she had gone back to Byzantium. [14] For that the Empress had

commissioned her to murder him was a thing which anyone might quite reasonably have suspected and as he weighed the character of Antonina, knowing well, as he did, that Belisarius gave in to the woman in every matter, he came to feel a great fear which disturbed him much. [15] This situation did, in any event, shatter the fortunes of the Romans, which even before that time had been standing on a single leg, and dashed them to the ground.

[16] Thus, then, the Gothic War proceeded for Belisarius. Finally, in despair, he begged the Emperor that he be permitted to depart from Italy with all speed. [17] And when he found that the Emperor accepted his plea, he returned home immediately, well pleased to bid faewell to the Roman army and to the Italians; and he left most of the strongholds in the hands of the enemy and Perusia in the grip of a very close siege; indeed this city, while he was still on this journey, was captured by storm and experienced every form of misery, as has been narrated by me previously. And it happened that misfortune fell upon his own house also, as will now be related.

[18] The Empress Theodora, pressing to bring about the betrothal of the daughter of Belisarius to her grandson, kept writing constantly and harassing the parents of the girl. [19] But they, seeking to avoid the proposed alliance, tried to put off the marriage until they should be present, and when the Empress summoned them to Byzantium, they pretended that at the moment they were unable to leave Italy. [20] But she was itching to make her grandson master of the wealth of Belisarius, for she realized that the girl would be the heiress, since Belisarius had no other offspring; yet she had not the slightest confidence in the purpose of Antonina, and fearing that after she was gone Antonina would not shew herself faithful to her house, though she had found the Empress so generous at times of the greatest necessity, and would tear up the agreement, she performed an unholy deed. For she caused the young girl to live with the youth without any sanction of law. [21] And they say that secretly she actually forced her to offer herself, much against her will, and thus, after the girl had been compromised, she arranged the wedding for her, to the end that the Emperor might not put a stop to her machinations. [22] Still, when the deed had been accomplished, Anastasius and the girl found themselves held by an ardent love for one another, and a space of no less than eight months was passed in this way. [23] But when Antonina, after the Empress' death, came to Byzantium, she purposely forgot the benefits which the Empress recently had conferred upon her, and paying no attention whatever to the fact that if the girl should marry anyone else, her previous record would be that of a prostitute, she spurned the alliance with the offspring of Theodora and forced the child, entirely against her will, to abandon her beloved. [24] And from this act she won a great reputation for ingratitude among all mankind, yet when her husband arrived, she had no difficulty in persuading him to share with her in this unholy business. Consequently the man's character was openly revealed at that time. [25] And yet, though he previously had given his oath to Photius and certain of his

kinsmen, and though he utterly repudiated this oath, he received pardon from all the world. [26] For they suspected that the cause of his faithlessness was not the domination of his wife, but his fear of the Empress. [27] But when, after the death of Theodora which I have mentioned, he shewed no consideration either for Photius or for any of his other kinsmen, but his wife was seen to be mistress over him and Calligonus, the go-between, his master, then finally all men repudiated him, mocked him with busy tongues, and reviled him as one who had shewn himself guilty of sheer folly. Such, then, in a general way, to state the facts without concealment, were the sins committed by Belisarius.

[28] Now the wrongs committed in Libya by Sergius, son of Bacchus, have been sufficiently described by me at the proper point in the narrative. This man, indeed, made himself chiefly responsible for the collapse of the Roman rule in that district, not only by disregarding the oaths which he had sworn on the Gospels to the Leuathae, but also by putting to death the eighty ambassadors without any justification; but at this point it will be necessary to add to my account only that neither did these men come to Sergius with evil intent nor did Sergius have any pretext for suspicion concerning them, but he had bound himself by oath when he invited the men to a banquet and there did them to death in a shameful manner. [29] As a result of this act it came about that Solomon and the Roman army and all the Libyans were destroyed. [30] For on account of him, especially after Solomon had died in the manner related by me, no one, either commander or soldier, cared to face the perils of war. [31] And, most serious of all, John, the son of Sisinniolus, because of the hostility which he felt towards Sergius, refused to fight until Areobindus came to Libya. [32] For Sergius was soft and unwarlike and he was very immature both in character and in years, yet he was dominated to an excessive degree by jealousy and a spirit of braggadocio towards all men, effeminate in his way of living and puffing out his cheeks with pride. [33] But since he happened to have become a suitor of the daughter of Antonina, wife of Belisarius, the Empress was quite unwilling to inflict any punishment upon him or to discharge him from his office, though she saw that Libya was being most systematically ruined; indeed both she and the Emperor left Solomon, the brother of Sergius, unpunished for the murder of Pegasius. Now what this incident was I shall straightway explain.

[34] When Pegasius had ransomed Solomon from the Leuathae and the barbarians had gone off home, Solomon, in company with Pegasius, who had ransomed him, and some few soldiers set out for Carthage; and on this trip Pegasius, catching Solomon committing some wrong or any other, made the remark that he ought to bear in mind that God had recently rescued him from the enemy. [35] But he flew into a rage since he felt that Pegasius was reproaching him because he had been taken prisoner in battle and killed him out of hand and thus repaid the man for his rescue. [36] And when Solomon came to Byzantium, the Emperor cleared him of the murder on the ground that he had slain a traitor to the Roman rule. [37] And he provided him with a letter

which guaranteed him immunity on that score. So Solomon, having escaped punishment in this way, gladly went to the East in order to see his native land and his relatives at home. ^[38] But the punishment of God overtook him on this journey and removed him from the world. Such was the course of events touching Solomon and Pegasius.

VI

Now what manner of persons Justinian and Theodora were and the method by which they ruined the Roman Empire I shall proceed to tell forthwith. [2] When Leon was holding the imperial power in Byzantium, three young farmers, Illyrians by race, Zimarchus, Dityvistus and Justinus from Vederiana, men who at home had to struggle incessantly against conditions of poverty and all its attendant ills, in an effort to better their condition set out to join the army. [3] And they came to Byzantium, walking on foot and themselves carrying cloaks slung over their shoulders, and when they arrived they had in these cloaks nothing more than toasted bread which they had put in at home; and the Emperor enrolled them in the ranks of the soldiers and designated them for the Palace Guard. For they were all men of very fine figure. [4] But at a later time Anastasius, who had succeeded to the royal power, became involved in a war against the Isaurian nation, who had taken up arms against him. [5] And he sent a considerable army against them, commanded by John who is known as the Hunchback. This John had confined Justinus in a prison because of some offence and was on the point of removing him from the world on the following day, and would have done so had not a vivid dream come to him in the meantime and prevented him. [6] For the General declared that in a dream a certain person came to him, a creature of enormous size and in other respects too mighty to resemble a man. [7] And this vision enjoined upon him to release the man whom he had chanced to imprison on that day; and John said that upon arising from sleep he paid no heed to the vision of his dream. [8] But when the next night came on, he seemed once more in sleep to hear the words which he had heard before; yet even so he was unwilling to carry out the order. [9] And a third time the vision stood over him and threatened him with a terrible fate if he should fail to carry out the instructions, and added that when he in later times should become exceedingly angry, he would have need of this man and of his family.

[10] So at the same time it came about that Justinus was saved in this way, and as time went on this Justinus advanced to great power. [11] For the Emperor Anastasius appointed him Commander of the Palace Guards. And when the Emperor departed this life, he himself, because of the power of his office, succeeded to the throne, being already an old man tottering to his grave, who had never learned to tell one letter from another, and was, as the familiar phrase has it, "without the alphabet," a thing which had never happened before among the Romans. [12] And while it was customary for the Emperor to affix letters in his own hand to all documents containing the orders that issued from him, he was unable either to issue orders himself or intelligently to share in the knowledge of what was being done. [13] But the man who drew the lot to sit as his Counsellor, Proclus by name, who held the office of Quaestor, as it is called, himself used to attend to all matters with independent judgment. [14]

But in order that they might have evidence of the Emperor's hand, those who had this matter in charge devised the following plan. [15] Taking a small strip of prepared wood, they cut into it a sort of pattern of the four letters which mean in the Latin tongue "I have read," and dipping the pen into ink of the colour which Emperors are wont to use in writing, they would put it into the hand of this Emperor. [16] And placing on the document the strip of wood which I have mentioned and grasping the Emperor's hand, they moved it and the pen along the pattern of the four letters, causing it to follow all the winding lines cut in the wood, and then went their way, carrying that kind of writing of the Emperor.

[17] Such an Emperor had the Romans in Justinus. And he had a wife named Lupicina who, as being a slave and a barbarian, had been concubine of the man who had previously bought her. And she as well as Justinus attained the throne in the closing years of life.

[18] Now Justinus did not succeed in doing his subjects any harm nor any good either. For he had a very easy-going disposition, being an altogether tongue-tied man and a very boorish fellow. [19] And his nephew Justinian, who was still young, used to administer the entire government and he proved the author of calamities for the Romans — calamities so serious and so manifold that in all the history of the world probably no one previously had ever heard their equal. [20] For he used to proceed with the lightest of hearts to the unjust murder of men and the seizure of other men's money, and for him it was nothing that countless thousands of men should have been destroyed, though they had given him no grievance. [21] And he took no thought to preserve what was established, but he was always wishing to make innovations in everything, and, to put all in a word, this man was an arch-destroyer of well-established institutions. [22] Now the plague which was described by me in the previous narrative, though it fell upon the entire world, was escaped by no fewer persons than those who chanced to be carried away, either because they were not taken at all by the disease or because they recovered when they had the fortune to be caught. [23] This man, however, not one living person of the entire Roman world had the fortune to escape, but, like any other affliction from Heaven falling upon the whole race, he left not a single soul wholly untouched. [24] For some he killed without any just cause, while others he left in the grip of poverty, making them more wretched than those who had died, so that they implored him to resolve the present misery by a most pitiable death. In some cases, however, he destroyed both property and life. [25] But since it was nothing for him to ruin the Roman Empire alone, he succeeded in subjugating Libya and Italy for no other reason than to be able to destroy the inhabitants of these countries along with those previously under his sway. [26] Indeed, when he had been not yet ten days in power, he slew Amantius, Director of the Palace eunuchs, together with certain others for no cause whatever, charging the man with nothing except that he had spoken some hasty word against John, the Chief Priest of the city. [27] And as a result of this

conduct he became the most dreaded man in the world. And he immediately summoned also Vitalian, the usurper, having previously given him a pledge for his safety by sharing with him the Christian sacraments. But a little later, [28] when he was suspected of having given him offence, he executed him in the Palace together with his followers for no just cause, by no means consenting to honour his pledges, terrible as they were.

VII

Now the populace from of old has been divided into two Factions, as was stated by me in the preceding narrative, and he now adopted one of them, namely the Veneti or “Blues,” of whom, as it happened, he had previously been an enthusiastic supporter, and thus succeeded in throwing everything into confusion and disorder; and thereby he brought the Roman State to its knees. [2] But not all the Blues saw fit to follow the will of this man, but only those who chanced to be militant. [3] And yet even these, as the evil developed, seemed to be the most temperate men in the world; for their sins fell short of their licence to commit them. [4] And of course the militant group of the Greens did not on their part remain quiet, but they too were constantly busy with crimes, as far as came within their power, although they were being punished continually, one at a time. [5] Yet this very fact always led them on to deeds of much greater daring; for men, when they unjustly treated, are wont to become desperate. [6] So at this time, while he kept fanning the flames and manifestly stirring up the Blues, the whole Roman Empire was agitated from top to bottom, as if an earthquake or a deluge had fallen upon it, or as if each and every city had been captured by the enemy. [7] For everything was thrown into confusion in every part and nothing thereafter remained fixed, but both the laws and the orderly form of the government were completely overturned by the confusion that ensued.

[8] In the first place, the mode of dressing the hair was changed to a rather novel style by the Factions; [9] for they did not cut it at all as the other Romans did. For they did not touch the moustache or the beard at all, but they wished always to have the hair of these grow out very long, as the Persians do. [10] But the hair of their heads they cut off in front back to the temples, leaving the part behind to hang down to a very great length in a senseless fashion, just as the Massagetae do. Indeed for this reason they used to call this the “Hunnish” fashion.

[11] In the second place, as to fashions in dress, they all insisted on being well clad in fine garments, clothing themselves in raiment too pretentious for their individual rank. [12] For they were enabled to acquire such clothing from stolen funds. And the part of the tunic which covered the arms was gathered by them very closely about the wrist, while from there to each shoulder it billowed out to an incredible breadth. [13] And as often as their arms were waved about, either as they shouted in the theatres and hippodromes, or urged men on to victory in the customary manner, this part of their garments would actually soar aloft, causing the foolish to suppose that their bodies must be so fine and sturdy that they must needs be covered by such garments, not taking into consideration the fact that by the loosely woven and empty garment the meagreness much rather than the sturdiness of their bodies was demonstrated.

[14] Also their cloaks and their drawers and especially their shoes, as regards

both name and fashion, were classed as "Hunnic."

[15] Now at first practically all of them carried weapons openly at night, but in the day-time they concealed small two-edged swords along the thigh under their mantle, and they gathered in groups as soon as it became dark and would waylay men of the better classes both in the market-place at large and in the alleys, robbing their victims of their clothing and their girdles and gold brooches and whatever besides they might have in their hands. [16] And some they saw fit to kill as well as to rob, to keep them from carrying word to anyone of what had befallen them. [17] Now these performances outraged everyone and particularly the partisans of the Blue Faction who were not militant, for not even they remained immune. [18] The result of this was that thereafter most men used girdles and brooches of bronze and mantles much inferior to their station, in order that they might not be destroyed by their love of beautiful things, and even before the sun had set they would withdraw into their houses and remain out of sight. [19] And as the evil continued and no attention was paid to the offenders by the city Government, the boldness of these men kept steadily rising to a great height. [20] For when wrongdoing is accorded full licence, it naturally goes beyond all bounds, since even such crimes as are punished are usually not completely eradicated; [21] for by nature most men turn readily to sin.

[22] Such were the fortunes of the Blues. And of the partisans of the opposing side, some swung over to their faction through an eagerness to have a hand in committing offences without incurring punishment, while others took to flight and were lost to sight in other lands; many also who were caught there in the city were destroyed by their opponents or were put to death as a punishment by the Government. [23] Many young men also flocked to this association, men who previously had never taken an interest in these affairs, but were now drawn to it by the lure of power and the opportunity for wanton insolence. [24] For there is no unholy act which bears a name among men which was not committed during this period and remained without punishment. [25] Now at first they were destroying their rival partisans, but as time went on they began to slay also those who had given them no offence at all. [26] Many too won them over by bribes and then pointed out their own personal enemies, and these they would destroy immediately, attributing to them the name of Greens, though they were in fact altogether unknown to them. [27] And these things took place no longer in darkness or concealment, but at all hours of the day and in every part of the city, the crimes being committed, it might well be, before the eyes of the most notable men. For the wrongdoers had no need to conceal their crimes, [28] for no dread of punishment lay upon them, nay, there even grew up a sort of zest for competitions among them, since they got up exhibitions of strength and manliness, in which they shewed that with a single blow they could kill any unarmed man who fell in their way, and no man longer dared to hope that he would survive among the perilous circumstances of daily life. [29] For all

suspected, because of their great fear, that death was pressing close upon them, and neither did any place seem to be safe nor any time to offer a guarantee of safety to any man, because men were being killed even in the most honoured of the sanctuaries and at the public festivals for no reason, and no confidence remained in either friends or relatives. For many were being killed through the treachery of those most closely akin to them.

[30] No investigation, however, of the crimes which had been committed took place. But the calamity in all cases fell unexpectedly and no one would try to avenge the fallen. [31] And in no law or contract was there left any effective power resting upon the security of the existing order, but everything was turned to a reign of increasing violence and confusion, and the Government resembled a tyranny, yet not a tyranny that had become established, but one rather that was changing every day and constantly beginning again. [32] And the decisions of the magistrates seemed like those of terrified men whose minds were enslaved through fear of a single man; and those who sat in judgment, in rendering their decisions on the points in dispute, gave their verdicts, not as seemed to them just and lawful, but according as each of the disputants had hostile or friendly relations with the Factions. For should any judge have disregarded the instructions of these men, the penalty of death hung imminently over him.

[33] And many money-lenders were forced through sheer compulsion to restore to their debtors their contracts without having received back any part of their loan, and many persons not at all willingly set their slaves free. [34] And they say that certain women were forced by their own slaves to many acts that were sore against their will. [35] And already the sons of men of high station, having mingled with these lawless youths, were compelling their fathers to do much against their will and in particular to deliver over their money to them. [36] And many unwilling boys were compelled to enter into unholy intercourse with the Factionists, with the full knowledge of their fathers. [37] And women, too, while living with husbands, had to submit to this same treatment. And it is said that one woman, dressed in elegant fashion, was crossing with her husband to some suburb on the opposite mainland; and in the course of this crossing they were met by some of the Factionists, who tore her from her husband with a threat and placed her in their own boat; and as she entered the boat with the young men, she stealthily urged her husband to be of good courage and to fear no harm for her; [38] for, she said, she would not suffer any outrage to her person. And even while her husband looked upon her in great sorrow, she threw herself into the sea and straightway vanished from among men.

[39] Such, then, was the outrageous conduct of the Factionists at this time in Byzantium. Yet these things distressed the victims less than the wrongs committed by Justinian against the State, for in the case of those who have suffered the cruelest treatment at the hands of malefactors, the greatest part of the distress arising from a state of political disorder is removed by the

constant expectation of punishment to be exacted by the laws and the Government. [40] For in their confident hope of the future men bear their present ills more lightly and easily, but when treated with violence by the power in control of the State, they naturally grieve over their misfortunes the more and are constantly driven to despair by the fact that punishment is not to be expected. [41] And Justinian offended not alone in that he refused absolutely to champion the cause of the wronged, but also because he did not object at all to making himself the avowed protector of the Factionists; [42] for he kept issuing great sums of money to these youths, and retained many of them about his own person, and some of them he even saw fit to summon to the magistracies and to other stations of honour.

VIII

These things, then, were being enacted both in Byzantium and in every other city. For the evil, like any other malady, beginning there fell like a scourge upon every part of the Roman Empire. [2] But the Emperor Justinus paid not the slightest heed to what was passing, for he, in fact, had no power of perception at all, though he was an eye-witness at all times of what was being done in the hippodromes. [3] For he was extraordinarily simple-minded and exceedingly like a stupid donkey, inclined to follow the man who pulls the rein, his ears waving steadily the while. [4] And Justinian was not only doing the things described but was also throwing everything else into confusion. Indeed, as soon as this man laid hold of the Government of his uncle, he straightway was eager to squander the public funds with complete recklessness, seeing he had become master of them. For he kept squandering very great sums for service to the State on those of the Huns who chanced from time to time to meet him; and as a result of this the land of the Romans came to be exposed to frequent inroads. [6] For when once these barbarians had tasted the wealth of the Romans, they could no longer keep away from the road leading to Byzantium.

[7] He also saw fit to throw much money into certain buildings along the sea, seeking to put constraint upon the incessant surge of the waves. [8] For he kept moving outward from the beach by piling up stones, being determined to compete with the wash of the sea, and, as it were, seeking to rival the strength of the sea by the sheer power of wealth. [9] And he gathered into his hands the private property of every Roman in the whole world, charging some of them with some crime or other which they had not committed, and in the case of others deluding their minds with the idea that they had made him a present. [10] And many who had been convicted of murder and other such crimes handed over to him their entire fortunes and thus escaped paying the penalty for their misdeeds; [11] and others who might, for instance, be urging against their neighbours a claim to certain lands to which they had no right, finding themselves unable, because the law was against them, to secure a judgment against their adversaries by arbitration, simply bestowed this disputed property upon the Emperor and so were free of the business, thus winning for themselves, by a gift which cost them nothing, an acquaintance with this man, and having succeeded by most illegal means in getting the better of their opponents at law.

[12] And I think it not inappropriate to describe the appearance of this man. He was neither tall in stature nor particularly short, but of a medium height, yet not thin but slightly fleshy, and his face was round and not uncomely; for his complexion remained ruddy even after two days of fasting. [13] But that I may describe his appearance as a whole in few words, I would say that he resembled Domitian, son of Vespasian, very closely, an Emperor who so

impressed the Romans who suffered under him that even after they had chopped his whole body into pieces they felt that they had not satisfied their rage against him, but through a decree of the Senate determined that not even the name of this Emperor would appear on documents nor any likeness of him whatsoever be preserved. [14] His name, at any rate, everywhere in the inscriptions in Rome and wherever else it chanced to have been carved has been chiselled out, this name alone among all the others, as the observer may see, and not a single statue of him is to be seen anywhere throughout the Roman Empire, with the exception of one bronze statue, accounted for as follows. [15] Domitian had a wife of noble character and discreet, and neither had she herself ever harmed any man in the world nor was she pleased at all with any of the actions of her husband. [16] Consequently she was dearly beloved, and the Senate at that time summoned her and bade her ask whatever she wished. [17] And she begged only this, that she might take the body of Domitian and bury it and that she might set up one bronze statue to him wherever she wished. [18] And the Senate conceded this. And the woman, wishing to leave to future ages a memorial of the inhumanity of those who had butchered her husband, contrived the following. [19] Collecting the flesh of Domitian, and putting the pieces accurately together and fitting them one to the other, she sewed up the whole body; then, displaying to the sculptors, she bade them represent in a bronze statue the fate which had befallen her husband. [20] So the artists straightway made the statue. The woman then took it and set it up on the street leading up to the Capitol, on the right as one ascends thither from the Forum, and it shews both the features and the fate of Domitian, even to the present day. [21] And one might hazard a guess that the body of Justinian in general and particularly the face and all the characteristic features of his countenance are clearly embodied in this statue.

[22] Such was Justinian in appearance; but his character I could not accurately describe. For this man was both an evil-doer and easily led into evil, the sort of a person whom they call a moral pervert, never of his own accord speaking the truth to those with whom he conversed, but having a deceitful and crafty intent behind every word and action, and at the same time exposing himself, an easy prey, to those who wished to deceive him. [23] And a certain unusual mixture had developed in him, compounded of both folly and wickedness. And possibly this illustrated a saying uttered by one of the Peripatetic philosophers in earlier times, to the effect that the most opposite elements are found in man's nature, just as in mixed colours. [24] (I am now writing, however, of matters in which I have not been able to attain competency.) But to resume, this Emperor was insincere, crafty, hypocritical, dissembling his anger, double-dealing, clever, a perfect artist in acting out an opinion which he pretended to hold, and even able to produce tears, not from joy or sorrow, but contriving them for the occasion according to the need of the moment, always playing false, yet not carelessly but adding both his signature and the most terrible oaths to bind his agreements, and that too in

dealing with his own subjects. [25] But he departed straightway from his agreements and his oaths, just like the vilest slaves, who, through fear of the tortures hanging over them, are induced to make confession of acts which they had denied on oath. [26] He was a fickle friend, a truceless enemy, an ardent devotee of assassination and of robbery, quarrelsome and an inveterate innovator, easily led astray into wrong, but influenced by no counsel to adopt the right, keen to conceive and to execute base designs, but looking upon even the hearing about good things as distasteful. [27] How could any man be competent to describe adequately the character of Justinian? These faults and many others still greater he manifestly possessed to a degree not in accord with human nature. On the contrary, Nature seemed to have removed all baseness from the rest of mankind and to have concentrated it in the soul of this man. [28] And in addition to his other shortcomings, while he was very easy-going as to lending an ear to slanders, yet he was severe as to inflicting punishment. For he never paused for a thorough investigation before reaching a decision, but straightway upon hearing what the slanderer said, he would make his decision and order it published. [29] And he did not hesitate to write orders that called for the capture of towns and the burning of cities and the enslavement of whole peoples, for no reason whatever. [30] Consequently, if one should care to estimate all the misfortunes which have befallen the Romans from the earliest times and then to balance against them those of the present day, it seems to me that he would find a greater slaughter of human beings to have been perpetrated by this man than has come to pass in all the preceding time. [31] And while he had no scruples whatever against the quiet acquisition of other men's money — for he never even made any excuse, putting forward justice as a screen in trespassing upon things which did not belong to him — yet when once these had become his own, he was perfectly ready to shew his contempt for the money, with a prodigality in which there was no trace of calculation, and for no reason at all to fling it away to the barbarians. [32] And, to sum up the whole matter, he neither had any money himself, nor would he allow anyone else in the world to have it, as though he were not a victim of avarice, but simply consumed by envy of those who possessed money. [33] Consequently he lightly banished wealth from the Roman world and became the creator of poverty for all.

IX

The traits, then, of Justinian's character, as far as we are able to state them, were roughly these. And he married a wife concerning whom I shall now relate how she was born and reared and how, after being joined to this man in marriage, she overturned the Roman State to its very foundations. [2] There was in Byzantium a certain Acacius, keeper of the animals used in the circus, an adherent of the Green Faction, a man whom they called Master of the Bears. [3] This man had died a natural death during the reign of Anastasius, leaving three girls, Comito, Theodora and Anastasia, the eldest of whom was not yet seven years of age. [4] And the woman, now reduced to utter distress, entered into marriage with another husband, who, she thought, would later on assist her in both the care of the household and in her first husband's occupation. [5] But the Dancing Master of the Greens, a man named Asterius, was bribed by another man to remove these persons from that office and to make no difficulty about putting in the position the man who had given him the money. For the Dancing Masters had authority to administer such matters as they wished. [6] But when the woman saw the whole populace gathered in the Circus, she put garlands on the heads and in both hands of the three girls and cause them to sit as suppliants. [7] And though the Greens were by no means favourable to receiving the supplication, the Blues conferred this position of honour upon them, since their Master of the Bears also had recently died. [8] And when these children came of age, the mother immediately put them on the stage there — since they were fair to look upon — not all three at the same time, but as each one seemed to her to be ripe for this calling. [9] Now Comito, the first one, had already scored a brilliant success among the harlots of her age; and Theodora, the next in order, clothed in a little sleeved frock suitable to a slave girl, would follow her about, performing various services and in particular always carrying on her shoulders the stool on which her sister was accustomed to sit in the assemblies. [10] Now for a time Theodora, being immature, was quite unable to sleep with a man or to have a woman's kind of intercourse with one, yet she did engage in intercourse of a masculine type of lewdness with the wretches, slaves though they were, who, following their masters to the theatre, incidentally took advantage of the opportunity afforded them to carry on this monstrous business, and she spent much time in the brothel in this unnatural traffic of the body. [11] But as soon as she came of age and was at last mature, she joined the women of the stage and straightway became a courtesan, of the sort whom men of ancient times used to call "infantry." [12] For she was neither a flute-player nor a harpist, nay, she had not even acquired skill in the dance, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically her whole body. [13] Later on she was associated with the actors in all the work of the theatre, and she shared their performances with

them, playing up to their buffoonish acts intended to raise a laugh. For she was unusually clever and full of gibes, and she immediately became admired for this sort of thing. [14] For the girl had not a particle of modesty, nor did any man ever see her embarrassed, but she undertook shameless services without the least hesitation, and she was the sort of a person who, for instance, when being flogged or beaten over the head, would crack a joke over it and burst into a loud laugh; and she would undress and exhibit to any who chanced along both her front and her rear naked, parts which rightly should be unseen by men and hidden from them.

[15] And as she wantoned with her lovers, she always kept bantering them, and by toying with new devices in intercourse, she always succeeded in winning the hearts of the licentious to her; for she did not even expect that the approach should be made by the man she was with, but on the contrary she herself, with wanton jests and with clownish posturing with her hips, would tempt all who came along, especially if they were beardless youths. [16] Indeed there was never anyone such a slave to pleasure in all forms; for many a time she would go to a community dinner with ten youths or even more, all of exceptional bodily vigor who had made a business of fornication, and she would lie with all her banquet companions the whole night long, and when they all were too exhausted to go on, she would go on to their attendants, thirty perhaps in number, and pair off with each one of them; yet even so she could not get enough of this wantonness.

[17] On one occasion she entered the house of one of the notables during the drinking, and they said that in the sight of all the banqueters she mounted to the projecting part of the banqueting couch where their feet lay, and there drew up her clothing in a shameless way, not hesitating to display her licentiousness. [18] And though she made use of three openings, she used to take Nature to task, complaining that it had not pierced her breasts with larger holes so that it might be possible for her to contrive another method of copulation there. [19] And though she was pregnant many times, yet practically always she was able to contrive to bring about an abortion immediately.

[20] And often even in the theatre, before the eyes of the whole people, she stripped off her clothing and moved about naked through their midst, having only a girdle about her private parts and her groins, not, however, that she was ashamed to display these too to the populace, but because no person is permitted to enter there entirely naked, but must have at least a girdle about the groins. [21] Clothed in this manner, she sprawled out and lay on her back on the ground. And some slaves, whose duty this was, sprinkled grains of barley over her private parts, and geese, which happened to have been provided for this very purpose, picked them off with their beaks, one by one, and ate them. [22] And when she got up, she not only did not blush, but even acted as if she took pride in this strange performance. For she was not merely shameless herself, but also a contriver of shameless deeds above all others. [23] And it was a common thing for her to undress and stand in the midst of the actors on the

stage, now straining her body backwards and now trying to penetrate the hinder parts both of those who had consorted with her and those who had not yet done so, running through with pride the exercises of the only wrestling school to which she was accustomed. [24] And she treated her own body with such utter wantonness that she seemed to have her privates not where Nature had placed them in other women, but in her face! [25] Now those who had intimacy with her immediately made it clear by that very fact that they were not having intercourse according to the laws of Nature; and all the more respectable people who chanced upon her in the market-place would turn aside and retreat in haste, lest they should touch any of the woman's garments and so seem to have partaken of this pollution. [26] For she was, to those who saw her, particularly early in the day, a bird of foul omen. On the other hand, she was accustomed to storm most savagely at all times against the women who were her fellow-performers; for she was a very envious and spiteful creature.

[27] Later she was following in the train of Hecebolus, a Tyrian, who had taken over the administration of Pentapolis, serving him in the most shameful capacity; but she gave some offence to the man and was driven thence with all speed; consequently it came about that she was at a loss for the necessities of life, which she proceeded to provide in her usual way, putting her body to work at its unlawful traffic. She first went to Alexandria; [28] later, after making the round of the whole East, she made her way back to Byzantium, plying her trade in each city (a trade which a man could not call by name, I think, without forfeiting forever the compassion of God), as if Heaven could not bear that any spot should be unacquainted with the wantonness of Theodora.

[29] Thus was this woman born and reared and thus had she become infamous in the eyes both of many common women and of all mankind. [30] But when she came back to Byzantium once more, Justinian conceived for her an overpowering love; and at first he knew her as a mistress, though he did advance her to the rank of the Patricians. [31] Theodora accordingly succeeded at once in acquiring extraordinary influence and a fairly large fortune. For she seemed to the man the sweetest thing in the world, as is wont to happen with lovers who love extravagantly, and he was fain to bestow upon his beloved all favours and all money. [32] And the State became fuel for this love. So with her help he ruined the people even more than before, and not in Byzantium alone, but throughout the whole Roman Empire. [33] For both being members of the Blue Faction from of old, they gave the members of this Faction great freedom regarding the affairs of State. [34] But long afterwards this evil abated for the most part, and in the following manner.

[35] Justinian happened to be ill for many days, and during this illness he came into such danger that it was even reputed that he had died. Meanwhile the Factionists were still carrying on those excesses which have been described, and in broad daylight, in the sanctuary of Sophia, they slew a

certain Hypatius, a man of no mean station. [36] Now after the crime had been committed, the tumult occasioned by the act reached the Emperor, and his courtiers, taking advantage of the absence of Justinian from the scene, all took pains to magnify to him the outrageous character of what had taken place, recounting from the beginning everything which had happened. [37] Then at length the Emperor commanded the Prefect of the City to inflict the penalties for all that had been done. Now this Prefect was named Theodotus, the one to whom they gave the nickname "Pumpkin." [38] And he, making a full investigation of the affair, did succeed in apprehending and executing by due process of law many of the malefactors, though many hid themselves and thus saved their lives. [39] For it was destined that before long they themselves should rise to the control of the affairs of the Romans. As for the Emperor, he suddenly and unexpectedly recovered and thereupon immediately set about putting Theodotus to death as a poisoner and a magician. [40] But since he could find no pretext whatever which he might use to destroy the man, he tortured some of his associates most cruelly and compelled them to utter against the man statements which were utterly untrue. [41] And as all stood aloof from him and in silence grieved over the plot against Theodotus, Proclus alone, who held the office of Quaestor, as its incumbent was called, declared that the man was innocent of the charge and in no way worthy of death. [42] So, by decision of the Emperor, Theodotus was conveyed to Jerusalem. But learning that certain men had come there in order to destroy him, he concealed himself the whole time in the sanctuary and continued so to live up to the time of his death.

[43] Such was the story of Theodotus. But the Factionists, from then on, became the most discreet persons in the world. [44] For they could no longer bring themselves to commit the same outrages as before, although the way was open for them to practice their lawlessness in their way of living more fearlessly than ever. [45] And the evidence is this, that when some few of them at a later time displayed a similar boldness, no punishment was meted out to them. [46] For those who from time to time had the authority to punish provided to those who were guilty of outrageous actions easy opportunity for concealment, thus spurring them on by this concession to trample down the laws.

[47] Now as long as the Empress was still living, Justinian was quite unable to make Theodora his wedded wife. For in this point alone the Empress went against him, though opposing him in no other matter. [48] For the woman chanced to be far removed from wickedness, but she was very rustic and a barbarian by birth, as I have pointed out. [49] And she was quite unable to take part in government, but continued to be wholly unacquainted with affairs of State, indeed, she did not enter the Palace under her own name, thinking it to be ridiculous, but bearing the assumed name of Euphemia. But at a later time it came about that the Empress died. [50] And the Emperor, having become foolish as well as extremely old, incurred the ridicule of his subjects, and

since all were filled with utter contempt for him as not comprehending what was going on, they disregarded him; but Justinian they cultivated with great fear. For by a policy of stirring things up and throwing them into confusion, he kept everything in a turmoil. [51] Then at length he set about arranging a betrothal with Theodora. But since it was impossible for a man who had attained to senatorial rank to contract marriage with a courtesan, a thing forbidden from the beginning by the most ancient laws, he compelled the Emperor to amend the laws by a new law, and from then on he lived with Theodora as his married wife, and he thereby opened the way to betrothal with courtesans for all other men; and as a tyrant he straightway assumed the imperial office, concealing by a fictitious pretext the violence of the act. [52] For he was proclaimed Emperor of the Roman conjointly with his uncle by all men of high station, who were led to vote thus by an overwhelming fear. [53] So Justinian and Theodora took over the Roman Empire three days before the feast of Easter, a time when it is not permitted either to greet any of one's friends or to speak him peace. [54] And not many days later Justinus died a natural death, having lived nine years in office, and Justinian alone took over the throne with Theodora.

So Theodora, born and nurtured and educated in the manner I have described, came to the dignity of Empress without having been impeded by any obstacle.

[2] For not even a thought that he was doing an outrageous thing entered the mind of the man who married her, though he might have taken his choice of the whole Roman Empire and have married that woman who, of all the women in the world, was in the highest degree both well-born and blessed with a nurture sheltered from the public eye, a woman who had not been unpractised in modesty, and had dwelt with chastity, who was not only surpassingly beautiful but also still a maiden and, as the expression runs, erect of breast; [3] but he did not disdain to make the common abomination of all the world his own, not dismayed by any of the misdeeds which we have previously recounted, and to lie with a woman who had not only encompassed herself round about with every other rank defilement but had also practised infanticide time and again by voluntary abortions. And I think that I need make mention of nothing else whatever in regard to the character of this man.

[4] For this marriage would be amply sufficient to shew full well all the maladies of his soul, since it serves as both an interpreter and a witness and recorder of his character. [5] Since that man who pays no heed to the disgrace from deeds previously committed and does not shrink from revealing himself to his associates as a loathsome character — for such a man no path of lawlessness is untrodden, but fortified by the effrontery that is never absent from his brow, he advances readily and with no effort to the vilest of actions.

[6] Nor, in truth, did a single member of the Senate, when he saw the State putting on the crown of this disgrace, see fit to shew his disapprobation by forbidding the deed, though the Senators were all to do obeisance to the woman as though she were a god. [7] Nay, not even a single priest shewed himself outraged, and that too, though they were going to address her thereafter as “Mistress.” [8] And the populace which previously had been spectators of her performances straightway demanded with upturned palms, in defiance of all decorum, that they might be in fact and in name her slaves. [9] Nor did a single soldier rise in wrath at the thought that he was destined to undergo the perils of campaigning all in behalf of the interests of Theodora, nor did any other human being oppose her at all, — because, I suppose, they had been made submissive by the thought that these matters were so ordained for them, — but all^o allowed this outrage to be brought to fulfilment, as if Fortune had made an exhibition of her power, to whom in truth, as she presides over all the affairs of mankind, it is a matter of no concern whatever either that the things which are done shall be reasonable or that they shall seem to men to have happened in accordance with reason. [10] At any rate she suddenly exalts one man to a great eminence by a sort of unreasoning exercise of her authority, though many obstacles seem to have grappled with him, and

she opposes him in nothing whatever that he undertakes, nay, the man is carried along by any and every means to whatever post she has ordained for him, while all men without demur stand aside or retire before Fortune as she advances. But as to these matters, let them not only be as is pleasing to God but also be so set forth.

[11] Now Theodora was fair of face and in general attractive in appearance, but short of stature and lacking in colour, being, however, not altogether pale but rather sallow, and her glance was always intense and made with contracted brows. [12] Now all time would not suffice for one to tell the most of her experiences in her life in the theatre, but by selecting in the preceding account a few incidents only I may have done enough to give a fair picture of the woman's character for the benefit of future generations.

[13] But at the present time we must briefly make known her acts and those of her husband, for they did nothing whatever separately in the course of their life together. [14] For a long time, it is true, they were supposed by all to be diametrically opposed to each other at all times in both their opinions and their ways of living, but later it was realized that this impression was purposely worked up by them in order that their subjects might not, by getting together in their views, rise in revolt against them, but that the opinions of all their subjects might be at variance regarding themselves.

[15] Now first of all they set the Christians at variance with one another, and by pretending to go opposite ways from each other in rending them all asunder, as will shortly be related by me. In the second place they kept the Factions divided. [16] And Theodora, on the one hand, would pretend with all her might to be espousing the cause of the Blues, and by extending to them full freedom of action against their opponents, she gave them licence, in a quite irregular way, to commit their crimes and perform their pernicious deeds of violence. [17] But Justinian, on the other hand, had the appearance of one who was vexed and secretly resentful, yet unable to oppose his wife directly, and many times the two even shifted the appearance of authority and pursued the opposite course with reference to one another. [18] For while he would insist on punishing the Blues as offenders, she, with feigned anger, would make a scene because, as she would say, she had been overruled by her husband against her will.

[19] But the partisans of the Blues seemed, as I have said, to be most temperate. For they did not think it right to coërcé one's neighbours to the utmost possible, and in the keen rivalries in connection with the lawsuits, while each side seemed to support one of the disputants, yet it was inevitable that the victory should fall to that one of the two who espoused the unjust cause, and that thus they should win for themselves as plunder most of the property of the disputants. [20] In fact many men who were counted by this Emperor among his intimates were elevated by him to positions where they had authority to act arbitrarily and to wrong the Government as they wished, but when they were seen to be in possession of a large sum of money,

straightway they were found to have given some offence to the woman and to be at variance with her. [21] At first, then, he did not hesitate to champion these men whole-heartedly, but later on, forgetting his good-will towards the poor fellows, he all of a sudden began to waver in his enthusiasm. [22] And she would then straightway ruin them utterly, while he, pretending not to observe what was passing, would seize their whole property, acquired though it was by a shameless procedure. [23] Now in all this trickery they always were in full accord with each other, but openly they pretended to be at variance and thus succeeded in dividing their subjects and in fortifying their tyranny most firmly.

XI

Accordingly, when Justinian took over the Empire he immediately succeeded in bringing confusion upon everything. For things which previously had been forbidden by law he kept introducing into the constitution, and tearing down all existing institutions and those made familiar by custom, as if he had put on the imperial garb on the condition that he should change all things also into another garb. [2] For instance, he would depose the existing officials and appoint new ones in control of the State's business; and he treated the laws and the divisions of the army in the same way, not yielding to demands of justice nor influenced to this course by any public advantage, but simply that everything might be new and might bear the impress of his name. And if there was anything which he was quite unable to transform at the instant, still he would at least put his own name upon it.

[3] As for seizing property and murdering men, he never got his fill of them, but after plundering numerous homes of affluent men he kept seeking new ones, straightway pouring out the proceeds of his earlier robbery in making presents to sundry barbarians or in erecting senseless buildings. [4] And after he had slain perhaps myriads for no good reason, he straightway embarked on plans for the ruin of many more. [5] So then, the Romans being at peace with the whole world, and he by reason of his lust for blood not knowing what to do with himself, Justinian kept bringing all the barbarians into collision with one another, and summoning the leaders of the Huns for no good reason, he handed over to them with amazing prodigality huge donatives, pretending that he was doing this as a pledge of friendship; indeed it was said that he had done this even during the period of Justinus' reign. [6] And they, even after having received money, would send some of their fellow-leaders together with their followers, bidding them overrun and ravage the Emperor's land, so that they too might be able to sell peace to the man who for no good reason wished to purchase it. [7] And these then began straightway to enslave the Roman Empire, and they nevertheless were receiving pay in the meantime from the Emperor; and after these, others promptly took over the business of plundering the hapless Romans, and after the pillage they would receive, as rewards for the attack, the Emperor's generous gifts. [8] Thus all the barbarians, one may almost say, omitting no season of the year, made raids in rotation, plundering and harrying absolutely everything without a moment's pause. [9] For these barbarians have many groups of leaders and war went the rounds — war that originated in an unreasoning generosity, and could never reach an end, but kept for ever revolving about its own centre. [10] Consequently, during this period no settlement, no mountain, no cave — nothing, in fact, in the Roman domain — remained unplundered, and many places had the misfortune to be captured more than five times. [11] Yet all these things and all that was done by Medes, Saracens, Sclavenians, and Antae and

the other barbarians have been set forth by me in previous Books; but, as I said at the beginning of this present Book, it was necessary for me to state in this place the causes of what happened.

[12] And though he paid out to Chosroes huge sums of gold in return for peace, still, acting on his own judgment in a senseless way, he became the chief cause of the breaking of the truce by his intense eagerness to gain the alliance of Alamundarus and the Huns who are allied to the Persians, a matter which I believe to have been mentioned without concealment in the narrative referring to them. [3] And while he was stirring up the evils of faction and of war for the Romans and fanning the flames, with the one thought in mind that the earth should by many a device be filled with human blood and that he should plunder more money, he contrived another massacre of his subjects on a large scale, in the following manner.

[14] There are in the whole Roman Empire many rejected doctrines of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call “heresies” — those of the Montani, the Sabbatiani, and all the others which are wont to cause the judgment of man to go astray. [15] All these heretics he commanded to change their earlier beliefs, threatening many things in case of their disobedience, and in particular that it would be impossible for them in the future to hand down their property to their children or other relatives. [16] Now the shrines of these heretics, as they are called, and particularly those who practised the Arian belief, contained wealth unheard-of. [17] For neither the entire Senate nor any other major group of the Roman State could be compared with these sanctuaries in point of wealth. [18] For they had treasures of gold and of silver and ornaments set with precious stones, beyond telling or counting, houses and villages in great numbers, and a large amount of land in all parts of the world, and every other form of wealth which exists and has a name among all mankind, since no man who had ever reigned previously had ever disturbed them. [19] And many persons, and that too of the orthodox faith, excusing themselves by the occupations in which they were engaged, always depended upon the property of these sects for the means of their livelihood. [20] So the Emperor Justinian began by confiscating the properties of these sanctuaries, thus stripping them suddenly of all their wealth. From this it came about that thereafter most of them were cut off from their livelihood.

[21] And many straightway went everywhere from place to place and tried to compel such persons as they met to change from their ancestral faith. [22] And since such action seemed unholy to the farmer class, they all resolved to make a stand against those who brought this message. [23] So, then, while many were being destroyed by the soldiers and many even made away with themselves, thinking in their folly that they were doing a most righteous thing, and while the majority of them, leaving their homelands, went into exile, the Montani, whose home was in Phrygia, shutting themselves up in their own sanctuaries, immediately set their churches on fire, so that they were destroyed together with the buildings in senseless fashion, and consequently the whole Roman

Empire was filled with murder and with exiled men.

[24] And when a similar law was immediately passed touching the Samaritans also, an indiscriminate confusion swept through Palestine. [25] Now all the residents of my own Caesarea and of all the other cities, regarding it as a foolish thing to undergo any suffering in defence of a senseless dogma, adopted the name of Christians in place of that which they then bore and by this pretence succeeded in shaking off the danger arising from the law. [26] And all those of their number who were persons of any prudence and reasonableness shewed no reluctance about adhering loyally to this faith, but the majority, feeling resentment that, not by their own free choice, but under compulsion of the law, they had changed from the beliefs of their fathers, instantly inclined to the Manichaeans and to the Polytheists, as they are called. [27] And all the farmers, having gathered in great numbers, decided to rise in arms against the Emperor, putting forward as their Emperor a certain brigand, Julian by name, son of Savarus. [28] And when they engaged with the soldiers, they held out for a time, but finally they were defeated in the battle and perished along with their leader. [29] And it is said that one hundred thousand men perished in this struggle, and the land, which is the finest in the world, became in consequence destitute of farmers. [30] And for the owners of the land who were Christians this led to very serious consequences. For it was incumbent upon them, as a matter of compulsion, to pay to the Emperor everlastingly, even though they were deriving no income from the land, the huge annual tax, since no mercy was shewn in the administration of this business.

[31] He then carried the persecution to the "Greeks," as they are called, maltreating their bodies and plundering their properties. [32] But even those among them who had decided to espouse in word the name of Christians, seeking thus to avert their present misfortunes, these not much later were generally seized at their libations and sacrifices and other unholy acts. . . . [33] For the measures that were taken with regard to the Christians will be told by me in the following narrative.

[34] Afterwards he also prohibited sodomy by law, not examining closely into offences committed subsequently to the law but concerning himself only with those persons who long before had been caught by this malady. [35] And the prosecution of these cases was carried out in reckless fashion, since the penalty was exacted even without an accuser, for the word of a single man or boy, and even, if it so happened, of a slave compelled against his will to give evidence against his owner, was considered definite proof. [36] Those who were thus convicted had their privates removed and were paraded through the streets. Not in all cases, however, but only upon those reputed to be Greens or to be possessed of great wealth or those who in some other way chanced to have offended the rulers.

[37] Furthermore, they were bitter against astrologers. Consequently, the official who was placed in charge of burglaries would maltreat them for no

other reason than their being astrologers and, inflicting many stripes upon them, would parade them upon the backs of camels throughout the whole city, old men and persons who were in general respectable, though he had no other complaint against them, except that they wished to be wise in the science of the stars in a place like this. [38] So a great throng of persons were fleeing constantly, not only to the barbarians, but also to those Romans who lived at a great distance, and it was possible to see both in the country and in every city great numbers of strangers. [39] For in order to escape detection they readily exchanged their respective native lands for foreign soil, just as if their home-country had been captured by an enemy. [40] So, then, the wealth of those reputed to be prosperous, both in Byzantium and in every other city, that is, after the members of the Senate, was plundered and seized by Justinian and Theodora in the manner which has been described. [41] But how they succeeded in depriving the Senators also of all their property, I shall now proceed to make known.

XII

There was a certain man in Byzantium named Zeno, grandson of that Anthemius who previously had attained to the royal power in the West. This man they had purposely made a Prefect of Egypt and sent him thither. [2] But he loaded the ship with the most valuable property and made ready to put to sea; for he had an incalculable weight of silver plate and objects of gold adorned with pearls and emeralds and other such precious stones. They thereupon, bribing certain of those who seemed most loyal to them, removed the valuables from the ship with all speed, and casting fire into the hold of the vessel, ordered a message sent to Zeno that the fire had occurred spontaneously in his ship and that his property had been destroyed. [3] And at a later time it came to pass that Zeno died suddenly, and they themselves, in the guise of heirs, immediately became owners of the property. [4] For they produced a sort of will, which common gossip said had not been written by him.

[5] And by a similar method they made themselves heirs of Tatianus and of Demosthenes and of Hilara, who both in other respects and in rank were foremost members of the Roman Senate. And in some cases they fabricated, not wills, but letters, and so acquired the property. [6] For it was in this way that they became heirs of Dionysius, who lived in Lebanon, and of John, son of Basilius, who, though he was the most distinguished of all the people of Edessa, was forcibly delivered into the hands of the Persians by Belisarius as a hostage, as has been related by me in the previous narrative. [7] For thereafter Chosroes refused to release this John, reproaching the Romans with having disregarded all the conditions on which he had been given over to him by Belisarius, but he did consent to sell him as having become a prisoner of war. [8] And the man's grandmother, who happened to be still alive, provided the ransom to an amount not less than two thousand pounds of silver and with this was expecting to buy back her grandson. [9] But after this ransom had come to Daras, the Emperor, learning of it, refused to permit the agreement to be put into effect, in order, as he said, that the wealth of the Romans might not be conveyed to the barbarians. [10] And not much later it came to pass that John fell sick and departed this world, and the magistrate in charge of the city, forging some sort of a letter, stated that not long before John had written to him as a friend that it was his will that his estate should go to the Emperor. [11] I could not, however, enumerate the names of all the others whose heirs they have automatically become.

[12] Now up to the time when what is known as the Nika insurrection took place, they saw fit to gather in the properties of the wealthy one by one; but when this revolt took place, as described in the previous narrative, they began to confiscate in a body the estates of practically all the members of the Senate, and they dealt as they wished with all the furnishings and the lands that were

fairest, but they segregated those properties which were subject to a severe and very heavy tax and, with a pretence of generosity, handed them back to their former owners. [13] So, being strangled by the tax-collectors and ground down by what we may term the ever-flowing interest on their debts, they unwillingly lived on in a life which was a lingering death. [14] For such reasons, to me and to the most of us these two persons never seemed to be human beings, but rather a kind of avenging demons and, as the poets say, "a twin bane of mortals," seeing that they purposed together how they might be able most easily and most quickly to destroy all races of men and their works, and, assuming human form and becoming man-demons, they harassed in this fashion the whole world. [15] And one might draw such an inference from many indications and particularly from the power their actions revealed. [16] For demons are distinguished from human beings by a marked difference. Indeed, he though many men in the long course of time either by accident or by nature have shewn themselves supremely terrible, some ruining by their own sole effort cities or countries or other such things, yet no man, with the exception of these two, has been able to accomplish the destruction of all mankind and to bring about calamities affecting the whole world; [17] it is true, however, in their case that chance also assisted their purpose, co-operating in the destruction of men, for by earthquakes, by pestilence, and by the overflowing of the waters of rivers very great destruction was wrought at about this time, as will be told by me directly. Thus they performed their fearful acts, not by human strength, but another kind.

[18] And they say that Justinian's mother stated to some of her intimates that he was not the son of her husband Sabbatius nor of any man. [19] For when she was about to conceive him, a demon visited her; he was invisible but affected her with a certain impression that he was there with her as a man having intercourse with a woman and then disappeared as in a dream.

[20] And some of those who were present with the Emperor, at very late hours of the night presumably, and held conference with him, obviously in the Palace, men whose souls were pure, seemed to see a sort of phantom spirit unfamiliar to them in place of him. [21] For one of these asserted that he would rise suddenly from the imperial throne and walk up and down there (indeed he was never accustomed to remain seated for long), and the head of Justinian would disappear suddenly, but the rest of his body seemed to keep making these same long circuits, while he himself, as if thinking he must have something the matter with his eyesight, stood there for a very long time distressed and perplexed. [22] Later, however, when the head had returned to the body, he thought, to his surprise, that he could fill out that which a moment before had been lacking. [23] And another person said that he stood beside him when he sat and suddenly saw that his face had become like featureless flesh; for neither eyebrows nor eyes were in their proper place, nor did it shew any other means of identification whatsoever; after a time, however, he saw the features of his face return. These things I write although I

did not see them myself, but I do so because I have heard the story from those who declare that they saw the occurrences at the time.

[24] And they said that a certain monk, very dear to God, being persuaded by those who lived with him in the wilderness, set out to Byzantium in order to plead the cause of the people who lived very near the monastery and were being mistreated and wronged in an unbearable manner; and straightway upon his arrival he received admittance to the Emperor. [25] But when he was about to go into his presence, he stepped over the threshold with one foot, but suddenly recoiled and stepped back. [26] Now the eunuch who was his conductor and the others present besought the man earnestly to go forward, but he, making no answer, but acting like a man who had suffered a stroke, departed thence and went to the room where he was lodged. And when his attendants enquired for what reason he acted thus, they said that he declared outright that he had seen the Lord of the Demons in the Palace sitting on the throne, and he would not care to associate with him or ask anything from him. [27] And how could this man fail to be some wicked demon, he who never had a sufficiency of food or drink or sleep, but taking a taste at haphazard of that which was set before him, walked about the Palace at unseasonable hours of the night, though he was passionately devoted to the joys of Aphrodite?

[28] And some of the lovers of Theodora say that when she was on the stage some sort of a demon descended upon them at night and drove them from the room in which they were spending the night with her. And there was a dancing-girl, Macedonia by name, belonging to the Blue Faction in Antioch, a woman who had acquired great influence. [29] For by writing letters to Justinian while he was still administering the empire for Justinus, she without difficulty kept destroying whomsoever she wished among the notable men of the East and causing their property to be confiscated to the Treasury. [30] They said that once this Macedonia, when greeting Theodora as she came from Egypt and Libya, noticed that she was very distressed and vexed over the high-handed treatment to which she had been subjected by Hecebolius, and also because she had lost some money on that journey, and so she comforted her greatly and encouraged her by suggesting that Fortune was quite able to become once again for her a purveyor of great wealth. [31] On that occasion, they said, Theodora remarked that in fact a dream had come to her during the night just past and had bidden her to lay aside all anxiety as far as wealth was concerned. [32] For as soon as she should come to Byzantium, she would lie with the Lord of the Demons, and would quite certainly live with him as his married wife, and he would cause her to be mistress of money without limit.

XIII

Now the case stood as I have said as regards the opinion of most of the people. And while Justinian was such as I have described in respect to his character in general, he still shewed himself approachable and kindly to those who came into contact with him; and no man whatever had the experience of being excluded from access to him, but on the contrary he was never angry even with those who failed to observe decorum as to standing or speaking in his presence. [2] However, he did not, on that account, blush before any of those destined to be ruined by him. Indeed he never allowed himself to shew anger, either, or exasperation, and thus to reveal his feelings to those who had given offence, but with gentle mien and with lowered brows and in a restrained voice he would give orders for the death of thousands of innocent men, for the dismantling of cities, and for the confiscation of all monies to the Treasury. [3] And one would infer from this characteristic that he had the spirit of a lamb. Yet if anyone sought to intercede through prayers and supplications for those who had given offence and thus to gain for them forgiveness, then, "enraged and showing his teeth," he would seem to be ready to burst, so that no one of those who were supposed to be intimate with him had any hope after that of getting the desired pardon.

[4] And while he seemed to have a firm belief as regards Christ, yet even this was for the ruin of his subjects. For he permitted the priests with comparative freedom to outrage their neighbours, and if they plundered the property of the people whose lands adjoined theirs, he would congratulate them, thinking that thus he was shewing reverence for the Deity. [5] And in adjudicating such cases, he considered that he was acting in a pious manner if any man in the name of religion succeeded by his argument in seizing something that did not belong to him, and, having won the case, went his way. For he thought that justice consisted in the priests' prevailing over their antagonists. [6] And he himself, upon acquiring by means which were entirely improper the estates of persons either living or deceased and immediately dedicating them to one of the Churches, would feel pride in this pretence of piety, his object, however, being that title in these estates should not revert to the injured owners. [7] Nay, more, he carried out an indefinite number of murders to accomplish these ends. For in his eagerness to gather all men into one belief as to Christ, he kept destroying the rest of mankind in senseless fashion, and that too while acting with a pretence of piety. For it did not seem to him murder if the victims chanced to be not of his own creed. [8] Thus his single interest was the ceaseless destruction of men, and in company with his spouse he never ceased contriving accusations leading to this end. [9] For these two persons had their desires for the most part akin, and where they did actually chance to differ in their characters, though each of them was base, yet by displaying the most opposite tendencies they kept destroying their subjects.

[10] For he was lighter than dust in his judgment, always submitting himself to those who from time to time wished to lead him into evil according to their whims, — unless indeed the project involved an act of kindness or loss of gain — and endlessly listening to “fawning speeches.” [11] For his flatterers could persuade him with no difficulty that he was raised to the skies and “walking the air.”

[12] And one occasion Tribonianus, who was acting as •Assessor to him, said that he was exceedingly fearful lest some day on account of his piety he might unawares be swept up into the heavens. Such praises, or rather gibes, he would interpret in accordance with the fixed conviction of his mind. [13] But even when, should it so happen, he expressed his admiration for the virtues of some man, a little later he would be reviling him as a scoundrel. And after abusing one of his subjects, he would turn about and seem to praise him, shifting his ground for no cause at all. [14] For his thinking ran in a direction exactly contrary to what he himself said and to what he wished to appear. [15] I have already described his character with regard to personal friendship and enmity, citing as evidence for the most part the things the man actually did. [16] For as an enemy, he was sure and unswerving, but to his friends very untrustworthy. Consequently he really caused the ruin of great numbers who had been cultivated by him, but he never became a friend to anyone whom he had once hated. [17] But those whom he seemed to know best and to regard as most intimate he after no long time betrayed to their destruction by delivering them as a favour to his consort or to someone else, even though he was well aware that they would die solely because of their loyalty to him. [18] For he was conspicuously untrustworthy in all things except, to be sure, his cruelty and his avarice. For to make him give up this last proved an impossible task for any man. [19] But also in those matters in which his spouse was not able to persuade him, by injecting into the argument the hope of large sums of money to accrue from the transaction she could win over her husband quite against his will to the action she desired. [20] Indeed for the sake of unseemly gain he never refused either to set up laws or again to tear them down.

[21] And he rendered judgment, not according to the laws which he himself had written, but according as he was influenced by the vision of a greater or more magnificent promise of money. [22] For he even believed that to take away the property of his subjects by small thefts brought no disgrace whatever upon him — in those cases, namely, where he was not able to take everything at once on some pretence, either by advancing an unexpected accusation or by the pretext of a will never made. [23] And while he ruled over the Romans, neither good faith nor belief in God remained secure, no law remained fixed, no transaction safe, no contract valid. [24] And when any of his intimates were sent by him on some mission, if they had the fortune to destroy many of those whom they encountered and to plunder a quantity of money, they immediately seemed to the Emperor worthy both to be and to be called men of distinction, as having carried out with exactness all their instructions; but if when they

returned to him they had shewn mercy to men in any way, he was offended with them thereafter and hostile. [25] And despairing of the ability of these men, as being somehow out of date, he no longer called them to service. Consequently many were eager to shew him how base they could be, even though their usual conduct was not of such sort. [26] And in certain cases, after making a promise many times and making his promise more binding by an oath or by a writing, he straightway became wilfully forgetful, thinking that this conduct brought him some credit. [27] And Justinian continued to act thus, not only to his subjects, but also to many of his enemies, as I have stated previously.

[28] And he was not given to sleep, as a general thing, and he never filled himself to repletion with either food or drink, but he usually just touched the food with the tips of his fingers and went his way. [29] For such matters seemed to him a kind of side-issue imposed upon him by Nature, for he often actually remained without food two days and nights, especially when the time before the festival called Easter led that way. [30] For on that occasion he many times abstained from food for two days, as has been said, and insisted upon living on a little water and certain wild plants,^a and after sleeping perhaps one hour he would spend the rest of the time walking about constantly. [31] And yet, if he had been willing to spend just this Easter-tide on good deeds, affairs would have advanced to a high pitch of prosperity. [32] But as it was, by employing his natural strength for the ruin of the Romans, he succeeded in pulling down to the ground their whole political structure. For he made it his task to be constantly awake and to undergo hardships and to labour for no other purpose than to contrive constantly and every day more grievous calamities for his subjects. [33] For he was, as has been said, particularly keen in devising and swift in executing unholy deeds, so that in the end even his natural good qualities resulted in the undoing of his subjects.

XIV

For in the administration of affairs it was a time of the greatest confusion, and none of the customary procedures was maintained, as I shall shew by citing a few examples, while all the rest must be consigned to silence, so that my discourse might not be endless. [2] First of all, he neither himself possessed any quality appropriate to the imperial dignity nor cared to foster any such quality in others, but in speech and in dress and in thinking he played the barbarian. [3] And as to all the rescripts which he wished to have written from himself, he would not send them, as was the custom, to the man holding the office of Quaestor to promulgate, but instead would generally insist upon reading them out himself, although his speech was uncouth, as I have just stated, and that too while a great throng of bystanders . . . , so that those who were wronged thereby had no one against whom they could lay a charge. [4] And the confidential secretaries, as they are called, were not assigned the function of writing the Emperor's confidential matters — the purpose for which these secretaries were appointed originally — he not only wrote practically everything himself, but also, whenever it became necessary to give instructions to the public arbitrators in the city, he would tell them in writing what course they must take as regards the judgment they were to render. [5] For he would not allow anyone within the Roman Empire to give decisions on independent judgment, but with an obstinate determination and with a sort of unreasoning frankness he himself arranged in advance the decisions to be given, accepting hearsay from one of the contestants, and thus straightway, without investigation, he upset cases which had been adjudged, not because he had been influenced by any law or consideration of justice, but manifestly because he was overcome by base greed. [6] For the Emperor felt no shame in accepting bribes, since his insatiable greed took away all shame from him.

[7] But often that which had been decided by the Senate and by the Emperor came up for another and final judgment. [8] For the Senate sat as in a picture, having no control over its vote and no influence for good, but only assembled as a matter of form and in obedience to an ancient law, since it was quite impossible for anyone whomsoever of those gathered there even to raise a voice, but the Emperor and his Consort generally pretended to divide between them the matters in dispute, but that side prevailed which had been agreed upon by them in private. [9] And if it seemed to any man who had broken the law that victory was not certain, such a person flung more gold to this Emperor and straightway secured a law going contrary to all laws which had been previously established. [10] And if someone else should miss this cancelled law, the Emperor felt no reluctance about calling it back once more and re-establishing it, and nothing stood firmly in force, but the scales of justice wavered and wandered in every direction according as the larger amount of gold weighing them down availed to pull them in one direction or

the other; Justice was established in the market-place, and that too though she had once dwelt in the Palace, and there one could find salesrooms where could be bought for a price not only court decisions but also legislation.

[11] And the Referendarii, as they were called, were no longer satisfied with merely referring to the Emperor the petitions of suppliants, and then informing the magistrates, in the usual way, what his decisions were concerning the petitioners, but collecting from the whole world the “unjust reason,” they kept deceiving Justinian with sundry sophistries and chicaneries, he being by nature an easy victim for those practising these tricks. [12] And as soon as they were outside the Palace and had taken measures to keep the litigants away from those with whom they themselves had talked, they proceeded to extract money — there being nobody to protect the rights of the litigants — in such a way that the business could not be proved against them and in such quantities as seemed to them sufficient. [13] And the soldiers who kept guard in the Palace would come before the public arbitrators as they sat in the Royal Stoa and force them to admit their cases. [14] And practically all the soldiers at that time were abandoning their proper posts and, according to their own sweet will, walking in ways that were forbidden and had hitherto never been open to them to tread, and everything was being swept along pell-mell, not even retaining any proper designation of its own, and the commonwealth resembled a kingdom of children at play. [15] But while the rest must be passed over by me, as I intimated when I began this account, yet it shall be told who the first man was to persuade this Emperor to accept a bribe while presiding at a trial.

[16] There was a certain Leon, a Cilician by birth, a man extraordinarily devoted to the love of money. This Leon came to be the mightiest of all flatterers and shewed a capacity for suggesting to the minds of stupid persons that which already had been determined upon. [17] For he had a kind of persuasiveness which helped him, when dealing with the fatuity of the tyrant, to accomplish the destruction of his fellow-men. This man was the first to persuade Justinian to sell legal decisions for money. [18] And when that sovereign had once decided to follow, in his stealing, the plan which has been described, he never stopped, but this evil kept advancing until it grew to a great size; and whoever was eager to lodge an unjust accusation against a citizen of the respectable sort proceeded straightway to Leon, and by promising that some portion of the disputed property should fall to both the tyrant and to him, he had forthwith won his case, however unjustly, before he left the Palace. [19] And Leon succeeded in acquiring from this source a truly huge amount of money, and he came into possession of much land, and in so doing became the chief agent in bringing the Roman State to its knees. [20] Indeed there was no security for those who had entered into contracts, no law, no oath, no documents, no fixed penalty, no other resource at all except to fling out money to Leon and the Emperor. [21] Yet not even this process enjoyed the fixed approval of Leon’s judgment, but he insisted upon getting

money from the other side as well. ^[22] For since he stole constantly in both directions, he never suspected that to neglect those who had put their confidence in him and to go against him involved any shame. ^[23] For provided only that gain accrue, he believed that no disgrace would attach to him in playing off both sides.

Such, then, was Justinian. As for Theodora, she had a mind fixed firmly and persistently upon cruelty. [2] For she never did anything at any time as the result of persuasion or compulsion by another person, but she herself, applying a stubborn will, carried out her decisions with all her might, no one daring to intercede for the victim who had given offence. [3] For neither length of time, nor surfeit of punishment, no trick of supplication, no threat of death — fully expected to fall from Heaven upon the whole race — could persuade her to abate one jot of her wrath. And to state the matter briefly, no one ever saw Theodora reconciled with the one who had given her offence, even after the person had died, but the son of the deceased received the Empress' enmity as an inheritance from him, just as he received anything else that had been his father's, and passed it on to the third generation. For her passion, while more than ready to be stirred to the destruction of men, was beyond any power to assuage.

[6] Her body she treated with more care than was necessary, yet less than she herself could have wished. [7] For instance, she used to enter the bath very early and quit it very late, and after finishing her bathing, she would go thence to her breakfast. After partaking of breakfast she would rest. [8] At luncheon, however, and dinner she partook of all manner of foods and drinks; and sleep for long stretches of time would constantly lay hold of her, both in the daytime up to nightfall and at night up to sunrise; [9] and though she had to such an extent strayed into every path of incontinence for so long a portion of the day, she claimed the right to administer the whole Roman Empire. [10] And if the Emperor should impose any task upon a man without her consent, that man's affairs would suffer such a turn of fortune that not long thereafter he would be dismissed from his office with the greatest indignities and would die a most shameful death.

[11] Now for Justinian it was rather easy to manage everything, not only because of his easy-going disposition, but also because he rarely slept, as has been stated, and was the most accessible person in the world. [12] For even men of low estate and altogether obscure had complete freedom, not merely to come before this tyrant, but also to converse with him and to enjoy confidential relations with him. [13] The Empress, on the other hand, could not be approached even by one of the magistrates, except at the expense of much time and labour, but, actually, they all had to wait constantly upon her convenience with a servile kind of assiduity, waiting in a small and stuffy anteroom for an endless time. For it was a risk beyond bearing for any one of the officials to be absent. [14] And they stood there constantly upon the tips of their toes, each one straining to hold his head higher than the persons next to him, in order that the eunuchs when they came out might see him. [15] And some of them were summoned at last, after many days, and going in to her

presence in great fear they very quickly departed, having simply done obeisance and having touched the instep of each of her feet with the tips of their lips. [16] For there was no opportunity to speak or to make any request unless she bade them to do so. For the Government had sunk into a servile condition, having her as slave-instructor. [17] Thus the Roman State was being ruined partly by the tyrant, who seemed too good-natured, and partly by Theodora, who was harsh and exceedingly difficult. [18] For whereas in the good-nature of the one there was instability, in the difficult nature of the other there was a bar to action.

[19] So in their thinking and in their habits of life the contrast between them was clear, yet they had in common their avarice, their lust for murder and their untruthfulness to all. [20] For both of them were exceedingly gifted in lying, and if any of those who had offended Theodora was reported to be committing any wrong, even though it were trivial and utterly unworthy of notice, she straightway fabricated accusations which had no application to the man and thus she exaggerated the matter into a terrible crime. [21] And she listened to a great mass of accusations, and there was a court which sat on questions of repealing the established laws, and judges assembled who were brought together by her, whose function it was to contend with each other as to which of them by the inhumanity shewn in the judgment should be able better than the others to satisfy the Empress' purpose. [22] And thus she immediately caused the property of any man who had given offence to be confiscated to the public treasury, and after treating him with most bitter cruelty, though he might perhaps belong to an ancient line of patricians, she felt no hesitation whatever in penalizing him with either banishment or death. [23] But if any of her favourites chanced to be found guilty of wrongful manslaughter or of any other of the major offences, she by ridicule and mockery of the zeal of the prosecutors compelled them, much against their will, to hush up what had happened.

[24] Indeed she also made it her business, whenever it seemed best to her, to change even the most serious matters to an occasion for buffoonery, as though she were on the stage in the theatre. [25] And on a certain occasion one of the patricians, an old man who had spent a long time in office — whose name I shall by no means mention, though I know it well, that I may not indefinitely prolong the disgrace which fell upon him — being unable to collect a debt from one of the Empress' servants who owed him a large sum, appealed to her in order to lay a charge against the man who had made a contract with him and to entreat her to assist him to obtain justice. [26] But Theodora, learning of his purpose in advance, instructed the eunuchs that when the patrician came before her, they should all stand about him in a circle and should listen attentively to her as she spoke, suggesting to them what words they should say in the manner of a "response." [27] And when the patrician entered the women's quarters, he did his obeisance before her in the customary manner, and with a face that seemed stained with tears, said, "Mistress, it is a grievous

thing for a man of patrician rank to be in need of money. [28] For that which in the case of other men calls forth forgiveness and compassion is accounted outrageous in men of my rank. [29] For in the case of any other man in extreme destitution, it is possible, simply by stating this fact to his creditors, to escape straightway from the embarrassment, but if a man of patrician rank should not have the means to meet his obligations to his creditors, most likely he would be ashamed to mention it, but if he did mention it, he would never be believed, since all men would feel that it is not a possible thing for poverty to be a housemate of a man of this class. [30] But if he does win belief, it will fall to his lot to suffer the most shameful and distressing affliction of all. [31] Now, my Mistress, I do have financial relations with men, some of whom have loaned their substance to me, and some have borrowed from me. [32] As for my creditors, who most persistently dog my steps, I am unable through the shame proper to my position to put them off, while as for those who are in debt to me, since they happen not to be patricians, they take refuge in certain inhuman excuses. [33] Therefore I entreat and supplicate and beg you to assist me in obtaining my rights and in escaping from my present ills." So he spoke. [34] And the woman replied, in sing-song, "O Patrician So-and-So" (naming him), and the chorus of eunuchs, catching up the strain, said responsively, "It's a large hernia you have!" [35] And when the man again made supplication and uttered words resembling what he had said before, the woman replied again in the same strain and the chorus chanted the response, until the poor wretch in despair made his obeisance in the customary manner and departing thence went home.

[36] And she lived the greatest part of the year in the suburbs on the seashore, and particularly in the place called Herion, and consequently the large retinue of attendants were grievously afflicted. [37] For they had a scant supply of provisions and they were exposed to the dangers of the sea, particularly when a storm came down, as often happened, or when the whale made a descent somewhere in the neighbourhood. [38] However, they considered the ills of all mankind to be nothing at all, provided only that they should be able themselves to live in luxury. [39] And I shall straightway make clear of what sort was the character of Theodora as revealed in her treatment of those who had given offence, mentioning only a few details so that I may not seem to labour at an endless task.

XVI

At the time when Amalasuntha, desiring to leave the company of the Goths, decided to transform her life and to take the road to Byzantium, as has been stated in the previous narrative, Theodora, considering that the woman was of noble birth and a queen, and very comely to look upon and exceedingly quick at contriving ways and means for whatever she wanted, but feeling suspicious of her magnificent bearing and exceptionally virile manner, and at the same time fearing the fickleness of her husband Justinian, expressed her jealousy in no trivial way, but she schemed to lie in wait for the woman even unto her death. [2] Straightway, then, she persuaded her husband to send Peter, unaccompanied by others, to be his ambassador to Italy. [3] And as he was setting out, the Emperor gave him such instructions as have been set forth in the appropriate passage, where, however, it was impossible for me, through fear of the Empress, to reveal the truth of what took place. [4] She herself, however, gave him one command only, namely, to put the woman out of the world as quickly as possible, causing the man to be carried away by the hope of great rewards if he should execute her commands. [5] So as soon as he arrived in Italy — and indeed man's nature knows not how to proceed in a hesitant, shrinking way to a foul murder when some office, perhaps, or a large sum of money is to be hoped for — he persuaded Theodatus, by what kind of exhortation I do not know, to destroy Amalasuntha. And as a reward for this he attained the rank of Magister, and acquired great power and a hatred surpassed by none.

[6] Such, then, was the end of Amalasuntha. [7] But Justinian had a certain secretary, Priscus by name, a thorough villain and a blusterer, and very well qualified by character to satisfy his master, but very well disposed towards Justinian and believing that he enjoyed a similar goodwill on his part. Consequently, by unjust means, he very quickly became possessed of a large fortune. [8] But Theodora slandered the man to her husband, alleging that he bore himself with supercilious pride and was always trying to oppose her. [9] And though at first she met with no success, she not much later, in the middle of the winter, put the man aboard ship and sent him away to a destination which the Empress had selected, and she caused his head to be shaved and compelled him quite against his will to be a priest. [10] Justinian himself meanwhile gave the impression that he knew nothing of what was going on, and he made no investigation as to where in the world Priscus was nor did the man enter his thoughts thereafter, but he sat in silence as if overcome by lethargy, not forgetting, however, to plunder all the small remainder of the man's fortune. [11] And at one time a suspicion arose that Theodora was smitten with love of one of the domestics, Areobindus by name, a man of barbarian lineage but withal handsome and young, whom she herself had, as it chanced, appointed to be steward; so she, wishing to combat the charge,

though they say that she did love the man desperately, decided for the moment to maltreat him most cruelly for no real cause, and after we knew nothing at all about the man, nor has anyone seen him to this day. [12] For if it was her wish to conceal anything that was being done, that thing remained unspoken of and unmentioned by all, and it was thenceforth not permitted either for any man who had knowledge of the matter to report the fact to any of his kinsmen or for anyone who wished to learn the truth about him to make enquiry, even though he were very curious. [13] For since there have been human beings there has never been such fear of any tyrant, for there was not even a possibility of concealment for one who had given offence. [14] For a throng of spies kept reporting to her what was said and done both in the market-place and in the homes of the people. [15] When, therefore, she did not wish the offender's punishment to be published abroad, she used to take the following course. [16] She would summon the man, if he chanced to be one of the notables, and secretly would put him in the charge of one of her ministers and command him secretly to convey the man to the uttermost parts of the Roman Empire. [17] So he at an unseasonable hour of the night would put the man on board a ship, seeing that he was thoroughly bundled up and shackled, and also go on board with him, and he very stealthily delivered him over, at the point which had been indicated by the woman, to the man qualified for this service; then he departed after directing the man to guard the prisoner as securely as possible and forbidding him to speak of the matter to anyone until either the Empress should take pity on the poor wretch, or, after suffering for years a lingering death by reason of the miseries of his existence in that place and utterly wasting away, he should at last end his days.

[18] And she also conceived an anger against a certain Vasianus, a youthful member of the Green Faction and not without distinction, for having covered her with abuse. For this each Vasianus (for he had not failed to hear of this anger) fled to the Church of the Archangel. [19] And she immediately set upon him the official in charge of the people, commanding him to make no point of his abuse of her, but laying against him the charge of sodomy. [20] And the official removed the man from the sanctuary and inflicted a certain intolerable punishment upon him. And the populace, upon seeing a free-born man involved in such dire misfortunes, were all straightway filled with anguish at the calamity and in lamentation raised their cries to the heavens, seeking to intercede for the youth. [21] She, however, only punished him even more, and cutting off his private parts destroyed him without a trial and confiscated his property to the Treasury. [22] Thus whenever this hussy became excited, no sanctuary proved secure nor did any legal prohibition hold, nor could the supplication of a whole city, as it were, as it was clearly shown, avail to rescue the offender, nor could anything else whatever stand in her way.

[23] And being angry with a certain Diogenes, as being a Green, a man who was witty and liked by all, even by the Emperor himself, she nevertheless was determined to bring against him the slanderous charge of male intercourse. [24]

Consequently she persuaded two of his own domestics to act as both accusers and witnesses and set them upon their owner. [25] And when he was first examined, not secretly and with the great privacy which is usually observed, but in a public trial, with many judges appointed who were men of note, all on account of the reputation of Diogenes, since it did not seem to the judges, as they sought to get at the exact truth, that the statements of the domestics were of sufficient weight to justify a decision, particularly as they were young boys, she confined Theodore, one of the connections of Diogenes, in the usual cells. [26] There she attacked the man with much cajolery and also with abuse. But since she met with no success, she caused the attendants to wind a leathern strap on the man's head, about his ears, and then ordered them to twist and so to tighten the strap. [27] And Theodore believed that his eyes had jumped out of his head, leaving their proper seats, yet he was unwilling to fabricate any untruth. [28] So finally the judges acquitted Diogenes on the ground that the charge was unsupported by evidence, and the whole city in consequence celebrated a public holiday.

XVII

Such was the outcome of this affair. But at the beginning of this Book I told all that the Empress did to Belisarius and Photius and Bouzes. [2] And two members of the Blue Faction, Cilicians by birth, with a great tumult set upon Callinicus, Governor of the Second Cilicia, and proceeded to lay violent hands upon him, and they slew the man's groom who stood hard by and was trying to defend his master, while the Governor and the whole populace looked on. [3] And he by process of law brought about the death of the factionists who were found guilty of this and of many other murders, but she, upon learning of this and making a display of the fact that she favoured the Blues, caused him to be impaled for no good reason and while he still held office, on the grave of the murderers. [4] And the Emperor, pretending to weep and lament over the murdered man, sat there groaning, and though he held many threats over those who had performed the deed, he did nothing; yet he by no means declined to plunder the money of the deceased.

[5] But Theodora also concerned herself to devise punishments for sins against the body. Harlots, for instance, to the number of more than five hundred who plied their trade in the midst of the market-place at the rate of three obols — just enough to live on — she gathered together, and sending them over to the opposite mainland she confined them in the Convent of Repentance, as it is called, trying there to compel them to adopt a new manner of life. [6] And some of them threw themselves down from a height at night and thus escaped the unwelcome transformation.

[7] There were two girls in Byzantium who were sisters; they were not only the offspring of a consular father and of three generations of Consuls, but drew their lineage from men who from remote times were of the foremost blood of the whole Senate. [8] These had previously entered into marriage, but it had come about by the death of their husbands that they became widows. And immediately Theodora selected two men — men who were not only of the common herd, but also disgusting fellows — and made it her business to mate them with the women, whom she charged with living unchaste lives. [9] And they, fearing lest this be brought to pass, fled into the Church of Sophia, and coming into the holy baptismal chamber, they seized with their hands the font which is there. [10] But the Empress Theodora inflicted upon them such dire constraint and suffering that in their desire to escape these woes they became eager enough to accept the marriage in place of them. Thus for her no place remained undefiled or inviolate. [11] So these women, against their wills, were united in marriage to men who were beggars and outcasts, much beneath them in standing, although noble suitors were at hand for them. [12] And their mother, who also had become a widow, not daring to groan or to cry out at the calamity, attended the betrothal. [13] But later Theodora, by way of expiating the scandal, decided to console them at the expense of public misfortunes. For

she appointed both of the men magistrates. [14] But no comfort came to the girls even so, and woes incurable and unbearable fell from the hands of these men upon practically all their subordinates, as will be told by me in the later Books. [15] For in Theodora there was respect of neither magistrate nor government, nor was anything else the object of her concern, provided only that her will was being accomplished.

[16] Now she had chanced to conceive a child by one of her lovers while she was still on the stage, and being late about discovering her misfortune she did everything to accomplish, in her usual way, an abortion, but she was unsuccessful, by all the means employed, in killing the untimely infant, for by now it lacked but little of its human shape. [17] Consequently, since she met with no success, she gave up trying and was compelled to bear the child. And when the father of the new-born child saw that she was distressed and displeased because after becoming a mother she would no longer be able to go on using her body as she had done, since he rightly suspected that she would destroy the child, he acknowledged the infant by lifting it up in his arms, and, naming it John, since it was a male, he went his way to Arabia, whither he was bound. [18] And when he himself was about to die, and John was now a young lad, his father told him the whole story of the mother. [19] And he, after performing all the customary rites over his father after his death, a little later came to Byzantium and announced the fact to those who had constant access to his mother. [20] And they, supposing that she would not reason otherwise than as a human being, reported to the mother that her son John had come. [21] But the woman, fearing that the matter would become known to her husband, gave orders that the boy should come into her presence. [22] And when he came and she had seen him, she entrusted him to one of her domestics to whom she was always wont to delegate such matters. [23] And by what method the poor wretch was spirited out of the world I cannot say, but no man to this day has been able to see him, even since the death of the Empress.

[24] At that time it came to pass that practically all the women had become corrupt in character. For they sinned against their husbands with complete licence, since such acts brought them no danger or harm, because even those who were found guilty of adultery remained unscathed; for they straightway went to the Empress and turning the tables brought counter-suit against their husbands and haled them before the court though no charges had been made against them. [25] And all the good the husbands got of it was to pay a fine double the wife's dowry, although no charge had been proved against them, and then to be scourged and, usually, led off to prison, and afterwards to look on while the adulteresses preened themselves and more boldly than ever accepted their seducers' embraces. And many of the adulterers actually attained honour from this conduct. [26] Consequently most men thereafter, though outrageously treated by their wives, were very glad to remain silent and escape the scourge, granting their wives complete freedom by allowing them to think that they had not been detected.

[27] This woman claimed the right to administer everything in the State by her own arbitrary judgment. For she controlled the election of the occupants of both the magistracies and the priesthoods, investigating and guarding very persistently against just one thing, namely, that the candidate for the dignity should not be an honourable or good man or one who would be likely to be incompetent to carry out her instructions. [28] And she regulated all marriages with an authority that may be described as grandmotherly. [29] It was then for the first time that men and women gave up entering into a voluntary betrothal looking to marriage; for each man would all of a sudden find that he had a wife — not because she pleased him, as is customary even among the barbarians, but because this was the will of Theodora. [30] Thus women who were being married had precisely the same experience in their turn; for they were compelled to be united with husbands quite against their will. [31] And many a time Theodora even took the bride away from the bridal chamber for no reason at all and left the bridegroom unmarried, merely remarking in a burst of passion that the woman displeased her. [32] And she did this to many men, including Leon, who held the office of Referendarius, and to Saturninus the son of Hermogenes, who had been Magister, in the case of women to whom they were betrothed. For this Saturninus had an unwedded second cousin to whom he was betrothed, a free-born woman of seemly deportment whom her father Cyrillus had pledged to him, Hermogenes having already departed this life. [33] And after their bridal chamber had already been closed fast upon them, she took the bridegroom into custody and he was led to a second chamber, where, with great wailing and lament, he married the daughter of Chrysomallo. [34] Now this Chrysomallo had long before been a dancer and again a courtesan, but at that time she was living in the Palace with another Chrysomallo and Indaro. [35] For instead of the phallus and the life in the theatre, they were managing their affairs here. [36] And when Saturninus had slept with the girl and found that she had lost her maidenhood, he reported to one of his intimates that he had married a girl who had been “tampered with.” [37] And when this remark was brought to Theodora, she commanded the servants to hoist the man aloft, as one does children who go to school, because he was putting on airs and assuming a lofty dignity to which he had no right, and she gave him a drubbing on the back with many blows and told him not to be a foolish babbler.

[38] Now the things which she did to John the Cappadocian have been told in the earlier narrative. These things were done by her to the man in anger, not on account of his offences against the State (and the proof is that later, when men did still worse things to her subjects, she treated no one of them in such a way), but because he was making bold to oppose the woman outright in other matters and especially because he kept slandering her to the Emperor, so that she came very near getting into a state of hostility with her husband. [39] But here, as I have said, I must by all means tell the reasons for her conduct which are absolutely true. [40] And even when she had got him imprisoned in Egypt

after he had endured all the sufferings which I have previously described, even thus she did not reach any satiety of punishing the man, but she never ceased searching out false witnesses against him. [41] And four years later she succeeded in finding two members of the Green Faction in Cyzicus who were said to be of those who had risen against the Bishop. [42] And she won over these men with flattering speeches and with threats, with the result that one of them, in terror and at the same time uplifted by hopes, laid the sacrilege of the Bishop's murder at John's door. [43] As for the other man, he refused absolutely to contradict the truth, though he was so racked by the torture that he was even expected to die immediately. [44] Therefore, although she was unable, no matter what means she employed, to destroy John through this subterfuge, she cut off the right hands of these two young men, of the one because he had refused to bear false witness, and of the other in order to prevent her plot from becoming altogether manifest. [45] And though these intrigues were being carried on in the publicity of the market-place, Justinian pretended to know absolutely nothing of what was going on.

XVIII

And that he was no human being, but, as has been suggested, some manner of demon in human form, one might infer by making an estimate of the magnitude of the ills which he inflicted upon mankind. [2] For it is in the degree by which a man's deeds are surpassingly great that the power of the doer becomes evident. [3] Now to state exactly the number of those who were destroyed by him would never be possible, I think, for anyone soever, or for God. [4] For one might more quickly, I think, count all grains of sand than the vast number whom this Emperor destroyed. But making an approximate estimate of the extent of territory which has become to be destitute of inhabitants, I should say that a myriad myriad of myriads perished. [5] For in the first place, Libya, which attains to so large dimensions, has been so thoroughly ruined that for the traveller who makes a long journey it is no easy matter, as well as being a noteworthy fact, to meet a human being. [6] And yet the Vandals who recently took up arms there numbered eight myriads, and as for their women and children and slaves, who could guess their number? [7] And as for the Libyans, those who formerly lived in the cities, those who tilled the soil, and those who toiled at the labours of sea — all of which I had the fortune to witness with my own eyes — how could any man estimate the multitude of them? And still more numerous than these were the Moors there, all of whom were in the end destroyed together with their wives and offspring. [8] Many too of the Roman soldiers and of those who had followed them there from Byzantium the earth has covered. So that if one maintains that five hundred myriads of human beings perished in Libya, he would not by any means, I know, be doing justice to the facts. [9] And the reason for this was that immediately after the defeat of the Vandals, Justinian not only did not concern himself with strengthening his dominion over the country, and not only did he not make provision that the safeguarding of its wealth should rest securely in the good-will of its inhabitants, but straightway he summoned Belisarius to return home without the least delay, laying against him an utterly unjustified accusation of tyranny, to the end that thereafter, administering Libya with full licence, he might swallow it up and thus make plunder of the whole of it.

[10] At any rate he immediately sent out assessors of the land and imposed certain most cruel taxes which had not existed before. And he laid hold of the estates, whichever were best. And he excluded the Arians from the sacraments which they observed. [11] Also he was tardy in the payment of his military forces, and in other ways became a grievance to the soldiers. From these causes arose the insurrections which resulted in great destruction. [12] For he never was able to adhere to settled conditions, but he was naturally inclined to make confusion and turmoil everywhere.

[13] And as to Italy, which has not less than three times the area of Libya, it has become everywhere even more destitute of men than Libya. [14]

Consequently the estimate of persons likewise destroyed here will be fairly easy. For the cause of what happened in Italy has already been explained by me in an earlier passage. Indeed all the errors which he made in Libya were repeated by him here also. [15] And by adding to the administrative staff the Logothetes, as they are called, he upset and ruined everything immediately. [16] Now the sway of the Goths extended, before this war, from the land of Gaul as far as the boundaries of Dacia, where the city of Sirmium is situated. [17] As for Gaul and Venetia, the Germans held the greater part of them at the time when the Roman army came into Italy. [18] But the Gepaides control Sirmium and the country thereabout, which is all, roughly speaking, completely destitute of human habitation. [19] For some were destroyed by the war, some by disease and famine, the natural concomitants of war. [20] And Illyricum and Thrace in its entirety, comprising the whole expanse of country from the Ionian Gulf to the outskirts of Byzantium, including Greece and the Thracian Chersonese, was overrun practically every year by Huns, Sclaveni and Antae, from the time when Justinian took over the Roman Empire, and they wrought frightful havoc among the inhabitants of that region. [21] For in each invasion more than twenty myriads of Romans, I think, were destroyed or enslaved there, so that a veritable "Scythian wilderness" came to exist everywhere in this land.

[22] Such are the disasters wrought by the wars in Libya and in Europe. The Saracens meantime were overrunning the Romans of the East, from Egypt to the frontiers of Persia, throughout this whole period without interruption, and they accomplished such thorough-going destruction that this entire region came to be very sparsely populated, and it will never be possible, I think, for any human being to discover by enquiry the numbers of those who perished in this way. [23] The Persians under Chosroes four times made inroads into the rest of the Roman domain and dismantled the cities, and as for the people whom they found in the captured cities and in each country district, they slew a part and led some away with them, leaving the land bare of inhabitants wherever they chanced to descend. [24] And ever since the Persian invasion of the land of Colchis, the Colchians and the Lazi and the Romans have continued to be steadily destroyed up to the present day.

[25] Moreover, neither the Persians on their part nor the Saracens nor the Huns nor the race of the Sclaveni nor any other of the barbarians have had the fortune to retire unscathed from Roman soil. [26] For in the course of their inroads, and particularly during the sieges and battles, they fell foul of many obstacles and were destroyed equally with their enemies. [27] For not alone Romans but practically the whole barbarian world as well felt the influence of Justinian's lust for bloodshed. [28] For not only was Chosroes himself likewise vicious in character, but he was also provided by Justinian, as has been stated by me in the appropriate place, with all the motives for waging war. [29] For he did not think it worth while to adapt his activities to the opportune occasions, but he kept doing everything out of season, in times of peace and in periods of

truce ever devising, with crafty purpose, occasions of war against his neighbours, and in times of war, on the other hand, growing lax for no good reason and carrying on the preparations for military operations too deliberately, all because of his parsimony, and instead of devoting himself to such things, scanning the heavens and developing a curious interest concerning the nature of God, and neither giving over the war, because of his bloodthirsty and abominable character, nor being, on the other hand, able to get the better of his enemy, because he was prevented by his niggardliness from busying himself with the necessary things. [20] Thus during his reign the whole earth was constantly drenched with human blood shed by both the Romans and practically all the barbarians.

[31] This, then, to state the case in a word, is what came to pass during this period of wars throughout the whole Roman Empire. [32] And when I reckon over the events which took place during the insurrections both in Byzantium and in each several city, I believe that no less slaughter of men came about in this way than in actual warfare. [33] For since justice and impartial chastisement for wrong-doing scarcely existed at all, but of the two Factions one was actually supported by the Emperor, assuredly the other party did not remain quiet either; on the contrary, because one group was being worsted and the other was full of confidence, they constantly had in view desperation and mad recklessness; and sometimes attacking each other in crowds and sometimes fighting in small groups, or even, if it so happened, setting ambuscades one against one, for two-and-thirty years without a pause they kept wreaking fearful vengeance upon one another, and at the same time they were being put to death by the magistrate, as a rule, who was charged with the control of the populace. [34] But the punishment for their crimes was, for the most part, levelled against the Greens. Furthermore, the punishment of the Samaritans and of those called heretics filled the Roman Empire with slaughter. [35] These things, however, are here mentioned by me merely in summary, inasmuch as they have been sufficiently recorded by me somewhat earlier.

[36] Such, then, were the calamities which fell upon all mankind during the reign of the demon who had become incarnate in Justinian, while he himself, as having become Emperor, provided the causes of them. And I shall shew, further, how many evils he did to men by means of a hidden power and of a demoniacal nature. [37] For while this man was administering the nation's affairs, many other calamities chanced to befall, which some insisted came about through the aforementioned presence of this evil demon and through his contriving, while others said that the Deity, detesting his works, turned away from the Roman Empire and gave place to the abominable demons for the bringing of these things to pass in this fashion. [38] Thus the Scirtus River, by overflowing Edessa, became the author of countless calamities to the people of that region, as will be written by me in a following Book. [39] The Nile also rose as usual but did not recede at the proper time, and thus caused serious

loss on the part of some of the inhabitants, as has been told by me previously. [40] And the Cydnus River rose so as to surround practically the whole of Tarsus, and after flooding it for many days only subsided after it had done irreparable damage to it. [41] And earthquakes destroyed Antioch, the first city of the East, and Seleucia which is close to it, as well as the most notable city in Cilicia, Anazarbus. [41] And the number of persons who perished along with these cities who would be able to compute? And one might add to the list Ibora and also Amasia, which chanced to be the first city in Pontus, also Polybotus in Phrygia, and the city which the Pisidians call Philomede, and Lychnidus in Epirus, and Corinth, all of which cities have from ancient times been most populous. [43] For it befell all these cities during this period to be overthrown by earthquakes and the inhabitants to be practically all destroyed with them. [44] And afterwards came the plague as well, mentioned by me before, which carried off about one-half of the surviving population.

[45] Such was the destruction of life which took place, first when Justinian was administering the Roman State as Regent, and later when he held the imperial office.

XIX

I shall now proceed to tell how he robbed the State of quite all its monies, first, however, telling about the vision of a dream which one of the notables chanced to see at the beginning of the reign of Justinus. [2] He said, namely, that in the dream it seemed to him that he was standing somewhere in Byzantium on the shore of the sea which is opposite Chalcedon, and that he saw this man standing in the middle of the strait there. [3] And first he drank up all the water of the sea, so that he had the impression thereafter that the man was standing on dry land, since the water no longer filled the strait at this point, but afterwards other water appeared there that was saturated with much filth and rubbish and welled up from sewer-outlets which are on either side of the strait, and the man immediately drank even this too, and again laid the tract of the strait bare.

[4] Such were the things revealed by the vision of the dream. Now this Justinian, when his uncle Justinus took over the Empire, did find the Government well supplied with public money. [5] For Anastasius had been both the most provident and the most prudent administrator of all Emperors, and fearing, as actually happened, lest his future successor to the throne, finding himself short of funds, might perhaps take to plundering his subjects — he had filled all the treasuries to overflowing with gold before he completed the term of his life. [6] All this money Justinian dissipated with all speed, partly in senseless buildings on the sea, and partly by his kindness to the barbarians; and yet one would have supposed that even for an Emperor who was going to be extremely prodigal these funds would last for a hundred years. [7] For those who were in charge of all the treasures and treasuries and all the other imperial monies declared that Anastasius, after his reign over the Romans of more than twenty-seven years, left behind him in the Treasury three thousand two hundred centenaria of gold. [8] But during the nine years of the reign of Justinus, while this Justinian was inflicting the evils of confusion and disorder upon the Government, they say that four thousand centenaria were brought into the Treasury by illegal means, and that of all this not a morsel was left, but that even while Justinus was still living it had been squandered by this man in the manner described by me in an earlier passage. [9] For as to the amounts which, during all the time he was in power, he succeeded in wrongfully appropriating to himself and then spending, there is no means by which any man could give a reckoning or a calculation or an enumeration of them. [10] For like an everflowing river, while each day he plundered and pillaged his subjects, yet the inflow all streamed straight on to the barbarians, to whom he would make a present of it.

[11] No sooner had he thus disposed of the public wealth than he turned his eyes towards his subjects, and he straightway robbed great numbers of them of their estates, which he seized with high-handed and unjustified violence,

haling to court, for crimes that never happened, men both in Byzantium and in every other city who were reputed to be in prosperous circumstances, charging some with belief in polytheism, others with adherence to some perverse sect among the Christians, or with sodomy, or with having amours with holy women, or with other kinds of forbidden intercourse, or with fomenting revolt, or with predilection for the Green Faction, or with insult to himself, or charging crimes of any other name whatsoever, or by his own arbitrary act making himself the heir of deceased persons or, if it should so happen, of the living even, alleging that he had been adopted by them. [12] Such were the most august of his actions. As to the manner in which he so managed the insurrection which arose against him, the one which they called “Nika,” that he immediately became heir of all members of the Senate, and also how, before the insurrection, he had stolen the property of no small number of them, taking them individually and one at a time, has already been set forth by me in a recent chapter.

[13] And he never ceased pouring out great gifts of money to all the barbarians, both those of the East and those of the West and those to the North and to the South, as far as the inhabitants of Britain — in fact all the nations of the inhabited world, even those of whom we had never so much as heard before, but the name of whose race we learned only when we first saw them. [14] For they, of their own accord, on learning the nature of the man, kept streaming from all the earth into Byzantium in order to get to him. [15] And he, with no hesitation, but overjoyed at this situation, and thinking it a stroke of good luck to be bailing out the wealth of the Romans and flinging it to barbarians or, for that matter, to the surging waves of the sea, day by day kept sending them away, one after the other, with bulging purses. [16] In this way the barbarians as a whole came to be altogether the owners of the wealth of the Romans, either by having received the money as a present from the Emperor or by plundering the Roman domain, or by selling back their prisoners of war, or by auctioning off an armistice, and thus the vision of the dream which I have just mentioned worked out to this result for the man who beheld it. [17] However, Justinian succeeded in devising still other ways of exacting booty from his subjects, ways which will be described directly, in so far as I may be able to do so, by which he succeeded completely, not all at once, but little by little, in plundering the property of all men.

First of all, as a general thing he appointed over the people in Byzantium a Prefect, who, while splitting the annual revenue with those who controlled the markets, planned to give them authority to sell their merchandise at whatever price they wanted. [2] And the result for the people of the city was that, although they had to pay a threefold price for the provisions they bought, yet they had no one at all to whom they could protest on account of this. [3] And great harm arose from this business. For since the Treasury received a share of this tax, the official in charge of these matters was eager to use this means of enriching himself. [4] And next, the servants of the official who had undertaken this shameful service, and those who controlled the markets, seizing upon the licence to disregard the law, treated outrageously those who were obliged to buy at that time, not only collecting the prices many times over, as it has been reported, but also contriving certain unheard-of deceptions in the goods offered for sale.

[5] In the second place, he set up a great number of what are called "monopolies," and sold the welfare of his subjects to those who wanted to operate these abominations, and thus he, on the one hand, carried off a price for the transaction, and to those, on the other hand, who had contracted with him he gave the privilege of managing their business as they wished. [6] And he applied this same vicious method, without any concealment, to all the other magistracies. For since the Emperor always derived some small share from the peculations of the magistrates, for this reason these, and also those in charge of each function, kept plundering more fearlessly those who fell into their clutches. [7] And just as if the offices which had long been established did not suffice him for this purpose, he invented two additional magistracies to have charge of the State, although before that time the Prefect of the City was wont to deal with all the complaints. [8] But to the end that the sycophants might be ever more numerous and that he might maltreat much more expeditiously the persons of citizens who had done no wrong, he decided to institute these new offices. [9] And to one of the two he gave jurisdiction over thieves, as he pretended, giving it the name of "Praetor of the Plebs"; and to the other office he assigned the province of punishing those who were habitually practising sodomy and those who had such intercourse with women as was prohibited by law, and any who did not worship the Deity in the orthodox way, giving the name of "Quaesitor" to this magistrate. [10] Now the Praetor, if he found among the peculations any of great worth, would deliver these monies to the Emperor, saying that the owners of it were nowhere to be found. [11] Thus the Emperor was always able to get a share of the most valuable plunder. And the one who was called Quaesitor, when he got under his power those who had fallen foul of him, would deliver to the Emperor whatever he wished to give up, while he himself would become rich none the

less, in defiance of all law, on the property of other men. [12] For the subordinates of these officials would neither bring forward accusers nor submit witnesses of what had been done, but throughout this whole period the unfortunates who fell in their way continued, without having been accused or convicted, and with the greatest secrecy, to be murdered as well as robbed of their money.

[13] And later this monster commanded these magistrates and the Prefect of the City to take cognizance of all accusations alike, bidding them vie with one another to see which of them would be able to destroy the largest number of men and with the greatest speed. [14] And they say that one of them straightway asked him, if anyone should at any time slander the three of them, which one of them should have the jurisdiction in the case; whereupon the Emperor retorting, said: "Whichever one of you gets ahead of the others." [15] Furthermore, he handled the office called the Quaestorship in unseemly fashion — an office which practically all previous Emperors had maintained with exceptional care, to the end that those who administered this office should be men of wide experience and, especially, skilled in matters involving the laws and also conspicuously incorruptible in money matters, on the ground that they could not fail to be most harmful to the State if those who held this office should either be handicapped by any inexperience or give rein to avarice. [16] But this Emperor first of all appointed to this office Tribonianus, whose practices have been sufficiently described in the previous Books. [17] And when Tribonianus departed from among men, Justinian confiscated a portion of his property, although he was survived by a son and a large number of grandchildren when the final day of his life arrived; and he appointed Junilus, a Libyan, to this office, a man who had not even a hearsay acquaintance with the law, since he was not even one of the orators; and while he did understand Latin, yet, as far as Greek was concerned, he had neither attended an elementary school, nor was he able to pronounce the language itself in the Greek manner (indeed, on many occasions when he tried hard to speak a Greek word, he won the ridicule of his assistants); he was, furthermore, extraordinarily fond of shameful gain, as evidenced by the fact that he experienced no shame at all when he put up public sale documents belonging to the Emperor. [18] And for one stater he never hesitated to extend his hand to those he met. [19] And for a space of no less than seven years the State was made ridiculous in this way. [20] And after Junilus came to the end of his life, he appointed to this office Constantinus, a man who, while not unacquainted with the law, was very young and as yet had no experience of the keen struggles of the court-room, and withal was the most thieving and the most boastful of all men. [21] This man had come to be very close to Justinian and one of his dearest friends; for this Emperor never hesitated to use him as his agent in both stealing and deciding cases at law. [22] Consequently Constantinus amassed great sums of money in a short time, and he assumed a sort of superhuman pomposity, treading the air and contemplating all men

with contempt; and if any were willing to hand out large sums of money to him, they would deposit this in the hands of some of his most faithful retainers, and thus succeed in carrying through the schemes on which they had set their hearts. [23] But to meet the man personally or to confer with him was quite impossible for any man at all, except while he was racing to the Emperor or leaving his presence, not at a walk, to be sure, but with great haste and speed, calculated to prevent those he met from inflicting upon him any ungainful business.

Thus were these matters handled by this Emperor. And by the Praetorian Prefect upward of thirty centenaria were collected each year in addition to the public taxes. [2] To these he gave the name “air-tax,” to suggest, I presume, that this did not happen to be any regular or customary tax, but that he always got it by a stroke of luck, as though it came of itself out of the air, though in reality this sort of thing should be called villainy on his part. [3] Under the shield of this name those who successively held this office kept up their brigandage towards their subjects with ever-increasing fearlessness. [4] And though they claimed to be delivering this money to the Emperor, they, on their part, found no difficulty in appropriating imperial wealth to themselves. [5] But Justinian saw fit to take note of none of these things, watching for his opportunity with the idea that, as soon as ever they should appropriate some huge piece of wealth, bringing against them some accusation or other which would give no room for excuses, he would thus be able to seize their property all at once. Indeed, this is exactly what he did to John the Cappadocian. [6] Now every single man who held this office during this period suddenly became wealthy beyond measure, with only two exceptions, namely Phocas — whom I have mentioned in an earlier Book as being a man who shewed himself a most scrupulous respecter of justice; for this man remained clear of any gain whatsoever while in that office — and Bassus, who assumed the office at a later time. [7] Yet neither one of these two succeeded in holding the position a year, but, on the ground that they were useless and altogether alien to the spirit of the times, they were relieved of their office within some few months. [8] But in order that my account may not be interminable, through my relating each separate thing, I might say that the same intrigues were being carried out in all the other magistracies in Byzantium.

[9] In all parts of the Roman Empire, however, Justinian’s method was as follows. Picking out the basest men, he would sell to them at a great price the offices that were to be corrupted by them; [10] for no man of decency or any degree of intelligence would think for a moment of paying out his own money in order to buy the privilege of plundering those who had done no wrong. [11] Then, after collecting this money from those who were making the bargain with him, he would confer upon them authority to treat their subjects in any way they pleased. [12] As a result of this, they were destined, after ruining all the districts under their jurisdiction, along with their entire population, to be very rich themselves from that time on. [13] These men, then, borrowed from the bank at a staggering rate of interest the amount of the prices they had paid for the cities, paid it to the man who had made the sale, and then, as soon as they reached their cities, proceeded to inflict upon their subjects every form of misery, having no concern for anything else than how they might meet their obligations to their creditors and themselves be rated thenceforth among the

most wealthy, seeing that this business involved neither danger nor disgrace for them, but actually conferred upon them a certain amount of glory, in proportion to the number of those falling into their clutches whom they were able without any justification to kill and to plunder. [14] For the titles of “murderer” and “brigand” came to be regarded by them as equivalent to “energetic”! [15] All these office-holders, however, whom Justinian observed to be abounding in wealth, he bagged on trumped-up charges and straightway wrested from them absolutely all their fortunes.

[16] But later he promulgated a law that all who sought the offices should take an oath that in very truth they would themselves be innocent of all theft, and that they would neither give nor take anything for the sake of the office. [17] And he laid upon them all the curses which have been mentioned by men of most ancient times, in case anyone should depart from the written terms. [18] Yet when the law had been in force not yet a year, he himself, disregarding the written terms and the curses and the disgrace which would ensue, proceeded more fearlessly than before to negotiate the prices of the offices, not in secret, but in the public square of the market-place. [19] And those who purchased the offices proceeded, though under oath, to pillage everything still more than before.

[20] And later on he hit upon still another device, one transcending all report. He decided that he would no longer sell, as formerly, those offices which he considered most valuable both in Byzantium and the other cities, but he sought out hired agents and put them in office, instructing them, for a wage of whatever it was, to deliver to him all their plunder. [21] And they, having taken their pay, proceeded to collect and carry off everything from the whole country quite fearlessly, and a hireling authority was thus going the rounds and, in the guise of the office, plundering the subjects. [22] Thus the Emperor, making his calculations with nice exactness, kept putting in power constantly those who were in very truth the vilest rascals in the world, and he always succeeded in tracking down the abominable creatures he wanted. [23] Indeed, when he appointed the first set of rogues to office and the licence of power brought to light their inherent villainy, we were in truth astonished that man’s nature had room for depravity so great. [24] But when those who at some later time succeeded them in office were able to surpass these men by a very wide margin, men wondered among themselves how it was that those who formerly seemed most base were now outdone by their successors to such a degree that they now seemed to have been men of high character in their dealings, and the third group, in turn, overshot the second in every manner of wickedness, and after them still others, by their innovations in crime, caused an honourable name to be attached to their predecessors. [25] And with the long continuance of the evil all men have finally been taught by facts that whereas man’s natural depravity is wont to grow beyond all limits, yet when it is nourished by the instruction of predecessors, and when, through the influence of the licence which complete immunity inspires, it is lured on to wreak foul injuries

upon all who fall in its path, then it seems invariably to attain to so great a bulk that not even the imagining of its victims is able to measure it.

[26] Such was the state of affairs for the Romans, as touching their magistrates. And many a time, when a hostile army of Huns had enslaved and plundered the Roman domain, the generals of Thrace and Illyricum, after purposing to attack the retreating enemy, recoiled when they saw a letter from the Emperor Justinian forbidding them to make the attack upon the barbarians, they being necessary to the Romans as allies against the Goths, it might be, or against some other enemy. [27] As a result of this, these barbarians used to plunder and enslave the Romans in those parts as enemies, and then, taking with them their prisoners and the rest of their plunder, they would retire to their own homes as friends and allies of the Romans. [28] And often some of the farmers of that region, moved by the loss of their children and women, who had been reduced to slavery, gathered in a body, attacked the retreating foe, and succeeded in slaying many of them and in capturing their horses together with all the booty; then, however, they found themselves involved in serious difficulties. [29] For certain men, sent out from Byzantium, saw fit to maul and mutilate their bodies and to impose fines upon them without the least compunction, until they gave up all the horses which they had wrested from the barbarians.

When the Emperor and Theodora had destroyed John the Cappadocian, they wished to appoint someone to his office in his stead, and they made it their common task to find some man of the baser sort, looking about to find such a tool of their tyranny and investigating thoroughly attitude of the candidates, to the end that they might be able still more speedily to ruin their subjects. [2] Now as a temporary measure they put in John's place in the office Theodotus, a man who, though not of good character, had never proved able to please them completely. [3] After this they went about investigating every possibility. And unexpectedly they found a certain money-changer named Peter, a Syrian by birth, called by the surname of Barsymes. He had years before sat at the table where bronze coins are exchanged and was gaining most shameful returns from this business, contriving his theft of the ha'pennies with great skill and always baffling his customers by the swiftness of his fingers. [4] For he was clever enough to steal freely the possessions of those who fell in with him, and when caught, to give his oath and to cover the sin of his hands by the impudence of his tongue. [5] And when he had been enrolled as a member of the Pretorian Guard, he became so outrageous that he was exceedingly pleasing to Theodora and he gave her readiest assistance in the perplexing details of her wicked enterprises. [6] So they immediately released Theodotus from the office to which he had been appointed after the Cappadocian, and they appointed thereto Peter, who accomplished everything to the liking of them both. [7] For though he deprived the soldiers on active service of all their pay, he was never seen to be moved by either shame or fear, nay, he even offered the offices for sale to a still greater extent than had been done before, and by making them less honourable he used to sell them to men who did not hesitate to carry on this unholy business, giving explicit permission to those who purchased the offices to treat the lives and property of their subjects as they wished. [8] For a bargain was straightway concluded between him and the man who had paid down the price of the office that gave the latter full licence to plunder and pillage. Thus from the capital of the State there issued the traffic in human lives, and there Peter negotiated the contract for the destruction of the cities, [9] while in the highest courts and in the public square of the market-place there paraded a legalized brigand, who described his business as the recouping of the monies put up as the price of office, there being no hope that his misdeeds ever would be punished. [10] And among all those who served this magistracy as subordinates, a numerous and notable company, he always drew to himself the basest men. [11] But herein not he alone was guilty, but rather all who have assumed this office before and since.

[12] And a similar abuse was practised also in the office of the Magister, as he is called, and among the Palace officials who are wont to attend to the service that has to do with the treasures and with the funds known as privata

and the administration of the patrimonium, and, broadly speaking, in all the regular offices established not only in Byzantium but also in the other cities. [13] For since the time when this tyrant took charge of affairs, in each office the revenues which belonged to the minor officials were regularly claimed, without just reason, sometimes by Justinian himself, and sometimes by the man who held the office; and the men who served under their orders, being extremely poor, throughout this whole period were compelled to work under most servile conditions.

[14] Now at one time a very great quantity of grain had been transported to Byzantium, but after the largest part of this had rotted already, he himself consigned it in proportionate quantities to each several city of the East, though it was not suitable to be eaten by man; and he consigned it, not at the price at which the finest grain is wont to be sold, but at a much higher price, and it was necessary for the purchasers, after spending very great sums of money to meet the very oppressive prices, to throw the grain into the sea or a sewer. [15] And since a huge supply of sound grain which had not yet rotted also lay in storage there, he decided to sell off this too to the very large number of the cities which were in some need of grain. [16] For in this way he made double the money which the Treasury had previously paid to the tributary states for this same grain. [17] But the next year, when the crop of the grains was no longer bountiful to the same degree, the grain-fleet arrived in Byzantium with less than was needed, and Peter, being at a loss because of this situation, decided to buy from the farm-lands of Bithynia and Phrygia and Thrace a great supply of grain. [18] And the inhabitants of these regions were compelled to transport with great labour the cargoes to the sea and to convey them to Byzantium at great peril, and to receive from him the small amounts which passed for prices; and the loss for them mounted up to such a figure that they were glad to be permitted to present the grain to a government warehouse and to deposit a further payment for the privilege. [19] This is the burden which they are accustomed to call "requisition." But when even thus the supply of grain in Byzantium had not become sufficient to meet the need, many made bitter complaints of the situation to the Emperor. [20] And at the same time pretty nearly all the men in military service, seeing that they had not received their usual pay, gave themselves over to tumults and disturbances throughout the city. [21] So the Emperor seemed at last to be vexed with the man and wished to relieve him of his office both on account of these facts which have been mentioned and also because he had heard that a prodigious amount of money had been hidden away by him, which, as it chanced, he had filched from the Government. And this was true. [22] But Theodora would not permit her husband to act; for she had an extraordinary affection for Barsymes on account of his depravity, as it seems to me, and because he was exceedingly efficient in bringing ruin upon the citizens. [23] For she herself was a very ruthless person and completely filled with inhuman cruelty, and she required that her minions should conform as closely as possible to herself in character.

[24] But they say that she was put under a spell by Peter and shewed him favour against her will. [25] For this Barsymes had shewn an exceptional interest in sorcerers and in the evil spirits, and he had a great admiration for the Manichaeans, as they are called, and never hesitated to stand forth openly as their champion. [26] And yet, even when the Empress heard of these reports, she did not abate her good-will towards the man, but she saw fit to both protect and cherish him even more on this account. [27] For she too from childhood on had consorted with magicians and sorcerers, her habits of life seeming to lead her in this direction, and throughout her life she retained her faith in such things and always based her confidence upon them. [28] And it is also said that the way she made Justinian tractable was not so much by cajoling him as by applying to him the compulsion of the evil spirits. [29] For this man was not so right-minded or just a person or so steadfast in virtue as to be at any time superior to attempts upon him of the kind just mentioned, but, on the contrary, while conspicuously susceptible to the appeal of bloodshed and money, yet he found it easy enough to yield to those who tried to cozen and flatter him. [30] But even in those matters in which he took particular interest he used to reverse his position for no real reason and he had become absolutely like a cloud of dust in instability. [31] For this reason none of his relatives, and none of his acquaintances in general, ever based any confident hope on him, but, on the contrary, he had become subject to constant shiftings of his opinion as regards what he was to do. [32] Thus, being easily accessible to the sorcerers, as has been said, he very readily became tractable in the hands of Theodora also; and chiefly for this reason the Empress loved Peter exceedingly as being an expert in such matters. [33] So the Emperor removed him only with difficulty from the office which he previously held, but at the insistence of Theodora he not long afterwards appointed him Master of the Treasuries, dismissing from this office John, who chanced to have assumed it only a few months earlier. [34] Now this man was a native of Palestine, and a very gentle and good person, who neither was skilled in opening ways to wrongful gain nor ever had maltreated any man in the world. [35] In fact, the whole populace loved him with extraordinary devotion. And just for this reason he did not satisfy Justinian and his spouse at all, for as soon as they unexpectedly discovered among their subordinates any man of high character, losing their heads and being vexed to the utmost, they eagerly sought by any and every means to push him out of the way at the earliest possible moment.

[36] It was in this way, at any rate, that Peter succeeded this John and took charge of the imperial treasuries, and he once more became the chief cause of great calamities for all. [37] For he cut off the greater part of the payment which it had been ordained from of old should be given by the Emperor each year to many in the guise of a "consolation," and he himself, meanwhile, by improper means, grew rich on the public money and kept handing over a portion of it to the Emperor. [38] And those who had been stripped of their money sat about in great sorrow, since he saw fit also to issue the gold coinage, not at its usual

value, but reducing its value materially, a thing which had never been done before.

[39] Such were the dealings of the Emperor in the matter of the magistrates. And I shall next proceed to tell how, in each division of the Empire, he ruined those who owned the lands. [40] Now it was sufficient for our purpose, in mentioning a short time ago the magistrates sent out to all the cities, to note also the sufferings of the common people. For the owners of land were the first whom these magistrates oppressed and plundered; but even so all the remainder of the story shall be told.

First of all, though it had been customary from ancient times that each successive Emperor should make, not once, but many times, a donation to all their subjects of the arrears of their debts to the Treasury, in order, on the one hand, to prevent the destitute and those who had no means of paying these arrears from being strangled regularly, and, on the other hand, to avoid providing the tax-gatherers with pretexts in case they should try to denounce those who, though subject to the tax, owed nothing in arrears, this man, for a period of thirty-two years, has done nothing of the kind for his subjects. [2] And for this reason it was necessary for the destitute to go away and in no case to return again. [3] And the denouncers kept harassing the more respectable farmers by holding over them the threat of an accusation, alleging that they had for a long time been paying their tax at a lower rate than that imposed upon their district. [4] For the poor wretches had to fear not only the new payment of the tax, but also the possibility that they might be weighed down by the burden of taxes for so great a number of years for which they owed nothing. [5] In any case, many men actually handed over their property either to the blackmailers or to the Treasury and went their ways. [6] Furthermore, though the Medes and Saracens had plundered the greater part of the land of Asia, and the Huns and Sclaveni and Antae the whole of Europe, and some of the cities had been levelled to the ground, and others had been stripped of their wealth in very thorough fashion through levied contributions, and though they had enslaved the population with all their property, making each region destitute of inhabitants by their daily inroads, yet he remitted the tax to no man, with the single exception that captured cities had one year's exemption only. [7] And yet if he had seen fit, as did the Emperor Anastasius, to remit to captured cities all their taxes for seven years, I think that even thus he would not have been doing all he should have in view of the fact that, although Cabades had gone his way without doing the least damage to the buildings, yet Chosroes had not only fired every structure and razed it to the ground, but had also inflicted greater sufferings upon his victims. [8] And now to these men to whom he remitted this ridiculously small portion of the tribute, as to all the others likewise — men who had often supported the attacks of the Median army, and though Huns and Saracens had continuously ravaged the lands of the East, and though not less terribly the barbarians in Europe were also wreaking such destruction every day and unceasingly — to these men, I say, this Emperor shewed himself from the first more savage than all the barbarians together. [9] For through "buying on requisition" and what are called "imposts" and "pro-rated assessments," the owners of the land were immediately, once the enemy had withdrawn, reduced to ruin. [10] Now what these terms are and what they mean I shall proceed to explain.

[11] The owners of property are compelled to provision the Roman army in proportion to the tax levied upon each owner, the deliveries being made, not where the season of the year at which the requisition is to be filled permits, but where the officials find it possible and have determined, and in making these requisitions no enquiry is made to see whether the farmers happen to have the required provisions on their land. [12] Thus it comes about that these wretched men are compelled to import provisions for both soldiers and horses, buying them all at very much higher prices than they are to receive, and that, too, in a market which, if it so happens, may be at a great distance from their farms, and then to haul back these provisions to the place where the army chances to be, and they must measure out these supplies to the Quartermasters of the army, not in the way accepted by all the world, but just as the Quartermasters wish. [13] And this is the thing which is called “buying on requisition,” and the result of it has been that all the owners of farms have been bled to death. [14] For by this process they are compelled to pay their annual tax not less than tenfold, seeing that it has often fallen to their lot, not only to furnish supplies directly to the army, as stated, but also, on top of what they have suffered that way, to transport grain to Byzantium; for not alone Barsymes, as he was called, has dared to perpetrate this outrage, but even before him the Cappadocian, and later on those who succeeded Barsymes in the dignity of this office.

[15] Such in a general way was “buying on requisition.” But the term “impost” is used to describe a kind of unforeseen ruination that falls suddenly upon the owners of land and destroys root and branch their hope of a livelihood. [16] For this is a tax on lands that have become abandoned or unproductive, the owners and farmers of which have already had the misfortune either to perish altogether or, abandoning their ancestral estates, to be now living in wretchedness because of the woes imposed upon them by reason of these imposts; and they do not hesitate to impose it upon any who have not yet been ruined altogether.

[17] Such is the meaning of the term “impost,” a term which with good reason gained its widest currency during the period in question. But as for the “pro-rated assessments” — to dispose of the subject in the fewest possible words — the matter is about as follows. [18] That the cities should be subjected to many damaging exactions at all times and particularly during this period was inevitable; as to the motives that led to their imposition and the manner of their application, I forbear to discuss them on this occasion, lest my treatise become interminable. [19] These assessments were paid by the owners of the lands, each paying an assessed sum in proportion to the tax regularly levied upon him. [20] But trouble did not stop here; on the contrary, when the plague came, seizing in its grip the whole civilized world and especially the Roman Empire, and wiping out most of the farmers, and when for this reason the lands, as one might expect, had become deserted, the Emperor shewed no mercy to the owners of these lands. [21] For he never relaxed his exaction of the

annual tax, not merely as he imposed it upon each separate person, but also exacting the share which fell to his deceased neighbours. [22] And in addition they also had to stand all the other exactions which I mentioned a moment ago as always falling upon those who were cursed with the ownership of farms, and over and above all these things, they had to house the soldiers, in the best and most expensive of their rooms and to wait upon them, while they themselves throughout this whole time lived in the meanest and the most dilapidated of their outhouses.

[23] All these evils kept constantly afflicting the people during the reign of Justinian and Theodora, for it so happened that neither war nor any other of the greatest calamities subsided during this time. [24] And since we have made mention of rooms for billeting, we must not pass over the fact that the owners of the houses in Byzantium, having to turn over their dwellings there as lodgings for barbarians to the number of about seventy thousand, not only could derive no benefit from their own property, but were also afflicted by these other disagreeable conditions.

Nor assuredly is his treatment of the soldiers to be consigned to silence; for over them he put in authority the most villainous of all men, bidding them collect from this source as much as they could, and these officers were well aware that the twelfth part of what they should thus procure should fall to them. [2] And he gave them the title of "Logothetes." And these each year devised the following scheme. According to a law the military pay is not given to all alike year after year, but when the men are still young and have only recently joined the army, the rate is lower, while for those who have been in service and are now at about the middle of the muster-roll, it grows larger. [3] But when they have grown old and are on the point of being discharged from the army, the pay is very much more imposing, to the end not only that they may, when in future they are living as private citizens, have sufficient for their own maintenance, but may also, when it is their lot to have completely measured out the term of life, be able to leave from their own property some consolation to the members of their households. [4] Thus time, by continuously promoting the soldiers who are lower down in the scale to the rank of those who have died or been discharged from the army, regulates on the basis of seniority the payments to be made from the Treasury to each man. [5] But the Logothetes, as they are called, would not allow the names of the deceased to be removed from the rolls, even when great numbers died at one time from other causes, and especially, as was the case with the most, in the course of the numerous wars. Furthermore, they would no longer fill out the muster-rolls, and that too for a long period. [6] And the result of this practice has proved unfortunate for all concerned — first, for the State in that the number of soldiers in active service is always deficient; secondly, for the surviving soldiers, in that they are elbowed out by those who have died long before and so find themselves left in a position inferior to what they deserve, and that they receive a pay which is lower than if they had the rank to which they are entitled; and, finally, for the Logothetes, who all this time have had to apportion to Justinian a share of the soldiers' money.

[7] Furthermore, they kept grinding down the soldiers with many other forms of penalties, as though to requite them thus for the dangers incurred in the wars, charging some with being "Greeks," as though it were wholly impossible for any man from Greece to be a decent man, others with being in the service without an order from the Emperor, even though they could shew, on this point, an imperial order, which, however, the Logothetes with no hesitation had the effrontery to denounce; and others still they accused on the ground that for some days they had chanced to be absent from their comrades. [8] Later on also some of the Palace Guards were sent out through the whole Roman Empire, and ostensibly they were in search of any among the armies who were quite unsuitable for active service; and they dared to strip the belts

from some of these as being unfit or too old, and these thereafter had to beg their bread from the pious in the public square of the market-place, so that they became a constant cause for tears and lamentation on the part of all who met them; and from the rest they exacted great sums of money, to the end that they might not suffer the same fate, so that the soldiers, broken in manifold ways, had become the poorest of all men and had not the slightest zest for warfare. [9] It was for just this reason that the Roman power came to be destroyed in Italy. Indeed, when Alexander the Logothete was sent thither, he had the effrontery to lay these charges without compunction upon the soldiers, and he tried to exact money from the Italians, alleging that he was punishing them for their behaviour during the reign of Theoderic and the Goths. [10] And it was not alone the soldiers who were oppressed by destitution and poverty through the conduct of the Logothetes, but also the subordinates who served all the generals, formerly a numerous and highly esteemed group, laboured under the burden of starvation and dire poverty. [11] For they had not the means wherewith to provide themselves with their customary necessities.

[12] And I shall add one further item to those I have mentioned, since the subject of the soldiers leads me thereto. The Roman Emperors in earlier times stationed a very great multitude of soldiers at all points of the Empire's frontier in order to guard the boundaries of the Roman domain, particularly in the eastern portion, thus checking the inroads of the Persians and the Saracens; these troops they used to call *limitanei*. [13] These the Emperor Justinian at first treated so casually and so meanly that their paymasters were four or five years behind in their payments to them, and whenever peace was made between the Romans and the Persians, these wretches were compelled, on the supposition that they too would profit by the blessings of peace, to make a present to the Treasury of the pay which was owing to them for a specified period. And later on, for no good reason, he took away from them the very name of regular troops. [14] Thereafter the frontiers of the Roman Empire remained destitute of guards and the soldiers suddenly found themselves obliged to look to the hands of those accustomed to works of piety.

[15] Another group of soldiers, no fewer than three thousand five hundred in number, had been assigned originally to the guarding of the Palace; these are called *Scholarii*. [16] And the Treasury has been accustomed from earliest times always to pay these higher wages than all others. These men were picked for their excellence by earlier Emperors, being recruited for this honour from among the Armenians. [17] But since the time when Zeno succeeded to the throne, the way has been open for all, both cowards and wholly unwarlike men, to achieve the honour of this title. [18] And as time went on, even slaves, by putting up a bribe, could purchase admission to this service. So when Justinus took over the Empire, this Justinian appointed many to this honourable service, thus securing for himself great amounts of money. [19] But when at length he observed that there was no longer any vacancy in these

ranks, he added to their number two thousand recruits, and these they used to call “supernumeraries.” [20] But when he himself took over the Empire, he shook off these supernumeraries with great speed, giving them no payment whatever.

[21] But for those included in the regular body of the Scholarii he devised the following. When it was to be expected that an army would be sent against Libya or Italy or Persia, he would issue orders to them to pack up as though to take part in the expedition, though he knew well that they were not at all fit for active service, and they, in terror, remitted their pay to him for a specified period in order that this might not be done. And it so happened that this befell the Scholarii many times. [22] And Peter also, during the whole time while he held the office of Magister, as it is called, was constantly harassing them every day with unheard-of thefts. [23] For while he was indeed a mild man and not at all versed in offering insult, at the same time he was the biggest thief in the world and absolutely filled with shameful avarice. This Peter has been mentioned also in the previous books as having carried out the murder of Amalasuntha, daughter of Theoderic.

[24] And there are also others in the Palace held in much higher esteem, for the Treasury is accustomed to allow them a higher wage on the ground that they on their part have paid larger amounts for the name of belonging to the service; these are called Domestici and Protectores, and from ancient times they have been unpractised in deeds of war. [25] For it is only for the sake of rank and for the appearance of the position that they are wont to have themselves enrolled among the Palace corps. And from ancient times some of these have had their residence in Byzantium, some in Galatia and some in other places. [26] But these too Justinian was constantly intimidating in the manner described, thus compelling them to relinquish the pay which belonged to them. And this shall be explained in summary. [27] There was a law that every four years the Emperor should present to each one of the soldiers a specified sum of gold. [28] So every fourth year they used to send messengers throughout every part of the Roman Empire and present five gold staters to each soldier. [29] And there could not be any failure in this matter at any time or by any means. But since the time when this man took over the administration of the State, he has neither done such a thing nor purposed to do it, though a period of thirty-two years has passed already, so that men have even come to forget this practice to some extent.

[30] And I shall pass on to explain still another of his methods of plundering his subjects. Those who mount guard or handle dispatches for the Emperor and the officials in Byzantium, or who perform any other service whatsoever, are assigned at first to the lowest ranks, and as time goes on they advance steadily to fill the places of those who have died or retired, and each of them keeps moving up from the rank he has held until such time as he mounts the topmost step and attains to the highest attainable point of this career. [31] For those who have achieved this high rank a salary has been assigned from of

old, so huge that each year they gather in more than one hundred centenaria of gold, and it has come about that not only they themselves are cared for in old age but that many others also share with them, as a general thing, the assistance derived from this source, and the affairs of the State have in this way advanced to a high point of prosperity. [32] But this Emperor, by depriving them of practically all these revenues, has brought woes upon them and the rest of mankind. For poverty laid hold upon them first and then passed on through the rest who previously had had some share of their benefit. [33] And if anyone should calculate the loss which fell upon them from this source over a period of thirty-two years, he would arrive at the measure of the amount of which it was their misfortune to be deprived.

Thus were the men in service mishandled by this tyrant. And I shall now proceed to tell of his treatment of merchants and sailors and craftsmen and traders in the market-place and, through these, of all the others. [2] There are two straits on the two sides of Byzantium, the one at the Hellespont between Sestus and Abydus and the other at the mouth of the sea called Euxine, where is the place named Hieron. [3] Now on the Strait of the Hellespont there was no public Customs House at all, but a certain magistrate commissioned by the Emperor was stationed at Abydus, watching to see whether any ship bearing arms went towards Byzantium without the Emperor's permission, and also whether anyone was putting out from Byzantium without carrying a permit and seals from the men who have this function (for it is illegal for anyone to put out from Byzantium without being released by the men who serve the office of the official known as the "Magister"), and collecting from the masters of the ships a toll which was felt by no one, but which was, as it were, a sort of payment claimed by the man who held this office as compensation for his labour. [4] But the man dispatched to the other strait had always received his salary from the Emperor, and he watched with great care for the things which I have mentioned and, in addition, to see whether anything was being conveyed to the barbarians who are settled along the Euxine Sea, of a sort which it is not permitted to export from the land of the Romans to their enemies. This man, however, was not permitted to accept anything from those who sailed that way. [5] But since the time when the Emperor Justinian took over the Empire, he has established a public Customs House on each strait, and sending out regularly two salaried officials, although he did provide the salary agreed upon, yet he directed them to use every means in their power to make a return to him from that source of as much money as possible. [6] And they, being concerned only with demonstrating to him their loyalty towards him, finished by plundering from the shippers the entire value of their cargoes.

[7] Such were the measures he took at each of the two straits. And at Byzantium he hit upon the following plan. He gave a commission to one of his intimates, a Syrian by birth named Addaeus, instructing him to secure for him some profit from the ships which put in at that port. [8] And he from that time on would not allow any boat which put in to the harbour of Byzantium to depart from there unmolested, but he either penalized the ship-masters the value of their ships or else compelled them to put back to Libya and Italy. [9] And some of them were unwilling either to take on a return cargo or to continue any longer in the maritime business, but were glad enough to get off by burning their own boats straightway. [10] All those, however, who were obliged to make their living from just this occupation would first collect treble charges from the importing merchants and thereafter continue to take on

cargoes; and as for the merchants, their way out of the difficulty was to make good their own loss at the expense of those who purchased the goods; and thus it came about that the Romans were being starved to death by every device.

[11] Such is the way things were going as regards the administration of affairs. But I think that I should not omit to mention also what was done by the imperial pair with reference to the small coinage. [12] For while the money-changers formerly were accustomed to give to those who bargained with them in exchange for one gold stater two hundred and ten obols, which they call pholleis, these persons, contriving private gain for themselves, had it arranged that only one hundred and eighty obols should be given for the stater. In this way they cut off a seventh part of the value of every gold coin . . . of all men.

[13] But when these sovereigns had brought most of the merchandise under the control of the monopolies, as they are called, and every single day were strangling those who wished to buy anything, and only the shops where clothing is sold were left untouched by them, they devised this scheme for that business also. [14] Garments made of silk had been wont from ancient times to be produced in the cities of Beirut and Tyre in Phoenicia. [15] And the merchants and craftsmen and artisans of these stuffs had lived there from ancient times, and this merchandise was carried thence to the whole world. [16] And when, in the reign of Justinian, those engaged in this trade both in Byzantium and in the other cities were selling this fabric at an excessive price, excusing themselves with the statement that at the time in question they were paying the Persians a higher price than formerly, and that the customs-houses were now more numerous in the land of the Romans, the Emperor gave everyone the impression that he was vexed with this, and he made a general provision by law that one pound of this stuff should not cost more than eight gold pieces. [17] And the penalty appointed for those who should transgress this law was to be deprived of all the money they had. This seemed to the people altogether impossible and out of the question. For it was not possible for the importing merchants, having bought these cargoes at a higher price, to sell them to the dealers for less. [18] Therefore they no longer cared to engage in the importation of this stuff, and they gradually disposed of the remainder of their cargoes by rather furtive methods, selling no doubt to certain of the notables who found a satisfaction in making a shew of such finery through the lavish expenditure of their money — or, in a certain sense, they were obliged to do so. [19] And when the Empress became aware of these transactions through the whisperings of certain persons, though she did not investigate the gossip that was going round, she immediately took the entire cargoes away from the men and, in addition, imposed upon them a fine of a centenarium of gold. . . . But this particular business is under the control, among the Romans at least, of the official in charge of the imperial treasures. [20] Consequently, having appointed Peter surnamed Barsymes to this position not long afterwards, they indulged him in doing execrable things. [21] For while he required all other men strictly

to observe the law, the craftsmen of this trade he required to work for himself alone, and he would sell dyes, no longer furtively but in the public square of the market-place, at the rate of no less than six gold pieces the ounce for the ordinary quality, but more than twenty-four pieces for the imperial dye which they are wont to call holoverum. [22] And while he produced large sums from that source for the Emperor, he himself gained still more without being observed, and this practice, which began with him, has always continued. [23] For he alone, up to the present time, is established, with no attempt at concealment, as both importer and retailer of this merchandise. [24] Consequently the importers who in former times had engaged in this trade both at Byzantium and in the other cities, on sea and on land, now had to endure, as was to be expected, the hardships arising from this procedure. [25] And in the other cities practically the whole population found itself suddenly reduced to beggary. For the mechanics and the hand-workers were naturally compelled to struggle with hunger, and many in consequence changed their citizenship and went off as fugitives to the land of Persia. [26] But always the Master of the Treasures stood alone as sole manager of this business, and while he did consent to deliver to the Emperor a portion of its profits, as has been said, he carried off the greater portion for himself and was enriching himself through public calamities. So much then for this.

We shall now tell how he succeeded in destroying the marks of distinction and all the things which confer honour and beauty both in Byzantium and in every other city. [2] First he decided to abolish the rank of rhetor; for he straightway deprived the rhetors of all their competitive prizes in which they had formerly been wont to revel and take great pride when they had discharged their function as advocates, and he ordered those at variance with one another to litigate directly under oath; and being thus scorned, the rhetors fell into great despondency. [3] And after, as has been said, he had taken away all the properties of the Senators and of the others who were considered prosperous, both in Byzantium and throughout the whole Roman Empire, there was nothing left for this profession thereafter other than to remain idle. [4] For men possessed nothing of any value whatsoever, concerning which they might dispute with one another. Immediately, thereafter, having become few in number instead of many and being everywhere held in no esteem at all though they had formerly been most highly esteemed, they were oppressed by extreme poverty, as was to be expected, and in the end gained nothing from their profession except insults alone.

[5] Nay more, he also caused physicians and teachers of free-born children to be in want of the necessities of life. For the allowances of free maintenance which the former Emperors had decreed should be given to men of these professions from the public funds he cancelled entirely. [6] Furthermore, all the revenues which the inhabitants of all the cities had been raising locally for their own civic needs and for their public spectacles he transferred and dared to mingle them with the national income. [7] And thereafter neither physicians nor teachers were held in any esteem, nor was anyone able any longer to make provision for public buildings, nor were the public lamps kept burning in the cities, nor was there any other consolation for their inhabitants. [8] For the theatres and hippodromes and circuses were all closed for the most part — the places in which, as it happened, his wife had been born and reared and educated. And later he ordered these spectacles to close down altogether, [9] even in Byzantium, so that the Treasury might not have to supply the usual sums to the numerous and almost countless persons who derived their living from them. [10] And there was both in private and in public sorrow and dejection, as though still another affliction from Heaven had smitten them, and there was no laughter in life for anyone. [11] And no other topics whatever arose in the conversation of the people, whether they were at home or in the market-place or were tarrying in the sacred places, than disasters and calamities and misfortunes of novel kind in surpassing degree.

[12] Such was the situation in the cities. And that which remains to be told is worth recounting. Two Consuls of the Romans were chosen each year, the one in Rome and the other in Byzantium. [13] And whoever was called to this

honour was sure to be required to spend more than twenty centenaria of gold on the State, a small portion of this being his own money but the most of it supplied by the Emperor. [14] This money was distributed to those whom I have mentioned and to those, as a general thing, who were altogether destitute of means of subsistence, and particularly to performers on the stage, and thus provided constant support for all civic undertakings. [15] But since the time when Justinian took over the Empire, these things were no longer done at the appropriate seasons; but although at first a Consul was appointed for Romans after a long interval, yet finally the people never saw that official even in a dream, and consequently mankind was being most cruelly pinched by a kind of poverty, since the Emperor no longer provided his subjects with what they had been wont to receive, but kept on depriving them in every way and everywhere of what they still possessed.

[16] Now how this despoiler has been swallowing up all the public monies and how he has been fleecing the members of the Senate of their property, both individually and all of them in common, has, I think, been sufficiently described. [17] And how he has circumvented by blackmailing methods the others likewise who are reputed to be prosperous, and has succeeded in robbing them of their money, this I consider to have been told by me quite adequately; aye, and the soldiers and those who serve all the magistrates and those who serve in the Palace as guards, and the farmers and the owners and masters of lands, and those whose profession is oratory, — nay more, the shipping-merchants and the owners of ships and the sailors, and the mechanics and day-labourers and the tradesmen of the market-place and those who derive their living from performances on the stage, and, furthermore, all the other classes, I may say, which are reached by the damage which issues from this man.

[18] And we shall proceed forthwith to tell how he treated the beggars and the common folk and the poor and those afflicted with every form of physical handicap; for his treatment of the priests will be described in my subsequent books. [19] First of all, having taken control, as has been said, of all the shops and having established what are called the monopolies of all the most indispensable goods, he proceeded to exact from the whole population more than threefold the usual prices. [20] Now as to his other doings, inasmuch as they have seemed to me past counting, I, for my part, could not aspire to catalogue them even in an endless narrative; but I will say that from the purchasers of bread he stole most cruelly at all times, men who, being manual labourers and impoverished and afflicted with every physical handicap, could not possibly avoid buying bread. [21] For in order to realize from this source as much as three centenaria each year, he required that the loaves should be both more expensive and full of ash; for this Emperor did not hesitate to resort to even so impious an act of shameful covetousness as this. [22] And those who were charged with this office, using this pretext as an excuse for contriving some private gains, did indeed find it easy to attain great wealth of a sort, but

in so doing they were constantly, strange as it seemed, creating for the poor a man-made famine in times of abundance; for it was absolutely forbidden that any man should import even corn^o from elsewhere, but it was required of all that they should buy and eat these loaves.

[23] And though they saw that the city's aqueduct had been broken and was delivering only a small fraction of the water into the city, they took no notice of the matter and would not consent to spend any money on it whatever, in spite of the fact that a great throng of the people, bursting with indignation, was always gathered at the fountains, and that all the baths had been closed. And yet he squandered a great mass of money for no good reason on buildings over the sea and other senseless structures, building new ones in all parts of the suburbs, as if the palaces in which all the earlier Emperors had been content to live throughout their lives could not contain his household. [24] Thus it was not from motives of economy, but in order to effect the destruction of human beings, that they saw fit to neglect the building of the aqueduct, for no man in the whole world since the beginning of time has been more ready than this Justinian both to acquire money basely and then immediately more foolishly to squander it. [25] Of the two resources, then, namely food and drink, which had been left to those in extreme destitution, both were used by this Emperor to their injury, as I have stated, since he made the one, namely water, impossible to get, and the other, bread, far more expensive to buy.

[26] And he treated thus not only the beggar class of Byzantium, but also, in some instances, those who lived elsewhere, as will immediately be told by me. [27] For when Theoderic captured Italy, he left where they were those who were serving as soldiers in the Palace at Rome, in order that at least a trace of the ancient polity might be preserved there, leaving each man a small daily wage; and these soldiers were very numerous. [28] For the *Silentiarii*, as they are called, and the *Domestici* and the *Scholarii* were among them, though in their case nothing military remained except the name of the army, and this pay which barely sufficed to maintain them; and Theoderic commanded that this custom be transmitted to their offspring and descendants. [29] And to the beggars who had their station beside the Church of Peter the Apostle, he ordered that the Treasury should for ever supply each year three thousand measures of corn. These pensions all these beggars continued to receive until Alexander, called "Snips," arrived in Italy. [30] For this man decided immediately, without any hesitation, to abolish them all. Upon learning this, Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, put the stamp of his approval upon this course of action and held Alexander in still higher honour than formerly. During this journey Alexander did the following disservice to the Greeks also.

[31] The outpost at Thermopylae had from early times been under the care of the farmers of that region, and they used to take turns in guarding the wall there, whenever it was expected that some barbarians or other would make a descent upon the Peloponnesus. [32] But when Alexander visited the place on the occasion in question, he, pretending that he was acting in the interests of

the Peloponnesians, refused to entrust the outpost there to the farmers. [33] So he stationed troops there to the number of two thousand and ordained that their pay should not be provided from the imperial Treasury, but instead he transferred to the Treasury the entire civic funds and the funds for the spectacles of all the cities of Greece, on the pretext that these soldiers were to be maintained therefrom, and consequently in all Greece, and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any other needful thing be done. [34] Justinian, however, without any hesitation confirmed these measures of “Snips.”

[35] So then these matters were moving on in the manner described. But we must now proceed to the subject of the poor in Alexandria. There had been a certain Hephaestus among the rhetors there, who took over the government of Alexandria, and while he did put an end to the factional strife of the populace, shewing himself an object of terror to the factious, he had brought upon all the inhabitants of the city the utter extreme of extreme misfortune. [36] For straightway bringing all the shops of the city into what is called the monopoly, he would permit none of the merchants to engage in this business, but having, alone of them all, become himself a retailer, he would sell every kind of merchandise, obviously gauging their price by the arbitrary power of his office, and the city of Alexandria was like to burst with anger because of the scarcity of the necessities of life — a city where, in former times, all things had been exceedingly cheap even for those in extreme poverty; and he pinched them particularly in the matter of the bread. [37] For he did all the buying of grain from the Egyptians himself, permitting no one else to purchase so much as a single peck, and thus he determined the size of the loaves and the price of bread just as he wished. [38] Thus in a short time he acquired for himself fabulous wealth and fulfilled the Emperor’s desire in this matter. [39] And while the populace of Alexandria, through fear of Hephaestus, endured their plight in silence, the Emperor, out of respect for the money that kept coming in to him constantly, loved the man exceedingly.

[40] And this Hephaestus, in order that he might be able still more to captivate the Emperor’s mind, contrived this further scheme. [41] Diocletian, a former Emperor of the Romans, had decreed that a huge amount of grain be given by the Treasury every year to the needy among the Alexandrians. [42] And the populace, having distributed this grain among themselves in the first instance, have transmitted this custom to their descendants even down to the present day. [43] But Hephaestus, from the time in question, wrested from those destitute of the necessities of life as much as two million measures annually and placed it in the warehouses of the State, writing to the Emperor that these people had until now been receiving the grain wrongfully, and not to the advantage of the public interest. [44] And consequently the Emperor confirmed the action and held him in still greater favour, and those of the Alexandrians who had this one hope of a livelihood suffered most cruelly as a result of this inhumanity.

XXVII

Now the deeds done by Justinian were so many in number that all eternity would not be able to suffice for the account of them. [2] But it will suffice for me to collect and mention some few examples from the whole number by which his whole character will be clearly revealed to men of future generations also: that he was a dissembler and cared not either for God or for priests or for laws, nor for the populace, though in seeming it was favoured by him, nor, further, for any decency whatsoever nor for the advantage of the State or for any benefit that might accrue to it, or that his actions might be able to find some excuse, nor did any consideration weigh with him other than simply and solely the snatching of all the money there was in the world. And I shall begin with this last.

[3] The Emperor designated a chief priest over the Alexandrians, Paulus by name. And it chanced that a certain Rhodon, a Phoenician by birth, at that time held sway in Alexandria. [4] This man he instructed to support Paulus with all zeal in everything, so that not one of his orders might remain unfulfilled. [5] For in this way he thought he should be able to win the adherence of the heretics among the Alexandrians to the Council of Chalcedon. [6] There was a certain Arsenius, a native of Palestine, who had been serviceable to the Empress Theodora in a very important matter, and from this circumstance he had acquired great power and a vast amount of money and had achieved the dignity of the Senate, although he was an utter scoundrel. [7] This man was, in fact, a Samaritan, but in order not to lose the power he held, he had seen fit to adopt the name of a Christian. [8] His father and brother, however, relying upon this man's power, had continued on in Scythopolis, preserving their ancestral faith, and, under instructions from him, they were working outrageous wrongs upon all the Christians. [9] Consequently the citizens rose against them and killed them both with a most cruel death, and many evils came to pass for the people of Palestine from that cause. [10] And at that time neither Justinian nor the Empress did Arsenius any harm, though he had been the chief cause of all the difficulties, but they did forbid him to come to the Palace any longer; for they were being harassed most persistently by the Christians on account of this matter. [11] This Arsenius, thinking to gratify the Emperor, not long afterwards set out in company with Paulus for Alexandria, in order to assist him in other matters and in particular to help him with all his might to bring about obedience on the part of the Alexandrians. [12] For he declared that at the time when he had the ill-fortune to be excluded from the Palace, he had not neglected the study of all the doctrines of the Christians. [13] But this annoyed Theodora; for she pretended to go against the Emperor in this, as I have stated previously. [14] So when Paulus and Arsenius had arrived at Alexandria, Paulus delivered to Rhodon a certain deacon named Psoes to be put to death, claiming that he

alone was the obstacle which prevented him from executing the Emperor's decisions. [15] And Rhodon, acting under the guidance of the Emperor's messages, which were both frequent and exceedingly urgent, decided to torture the man. And he died at once when racked by the torture. [16] Now when word of this came to the Emperor, he immediately, at the very vehement insistence of the Empress, set everything in motion against Paulus and Rhodon and Arsenius, as if he had forgotten utterly the instructions which he had given to these very men. [17] So he appointed Liberius, one of the Patricians of Rome, as Governor of Alexandria and he sent some of the notable priests to that city to make a review of the situation, among them being the Archdeacon of Rome, Pelagius, assuming the rôle of the Chief Priest Vigilius, as he had been ordered to do by Vigilius. [18] And when the murder had been proved, they immediately removed Paulus from his priesthood; and when Rhodon fled to Byzantium, the Emperor cut off his head and confiscated all his property to the Treasury, although the man displayed thirteen letters which the Emperor had written to him urging and earnestly insisting and commanding that he support Paulus in all things and not oppose him in anything whatsoever, to the end that he might be able to execute the Emperor's decisions touching the faith. [19] And Liberius, by the will of Theodora, impaled Arsenius, and the Emperor saw fit to confiscate his property, although he had no charge to bring against him other than that he consorted with Paulus.

[20] Now as to whether these things were rightly done by him or otherwise I cannot say, but the reason why I have recounted these things I shall declare immediately. [21] Paulus some time later came to Byzantium and offered the Emperor seven centenaria of gold, demanding that he receive back the priesthood, on the ground that it had been illegally wrested from him. [22] And Justinian accepted the money courteously and kept the man in honour, and he agreed to make him Chief Priest of Alexandria immediately, though another held that honour, just as if he did not know that he himself had both slain and robbed of their property men who had lived with him and had dared to serve him. [23] So the Augustus was taking up the matter with great vehemence and enthusiasm, and Paulus was definitely expected to resume the priesthood in any case. [24] But Vigilius, who was now present, absolutely refused to yield to the Emperor if he should issue such a command. For he said that he could not possibly cancel his own vote — meaning the opinion rendered by Pelagius. [25] Thus this Emperor had no concern for anything except to be for ever depriving others of money. And another incident shall be told, as follows.

[26] There was a certain Faustinus, born in Palestine, a Samaritan by descent, but under the constraint of the law he had espoused the name of Christian. [27] This Faustinus had risen to the senatorial rank and was ruler of the land; but a little later he was removed from this office and came to Byzantium, where some of the priests began to slander him, alleging that he was observing the rites of the Samaritans and basely mistreating the

Christians living in Palestine. [28] And Justinian appeared to be furious and deeply resentful on this account, that while he was ruling over the Romans the name of Christ should be insulted by anyone. [29] So when the Senate made an investigation of the matter, they penalized Faustinus with banishment because of the Emperor's importunity. [30] But the Emperor received from him all the money he wanted and immediately recalled the decision which had been made. [31] So Faustinus, once more in possession of his former dignity, consorted with the Emperor, and when he was appointed Overseer of the Imperial Domains in Palestine and Phoenicia, he felt more free to put through all the measures that were in accord with his own wishes. [32] As to the methods, then, by which Justinian saw fit to defend the claims of the Christians, although it is not much that we have related, yet it is possible to form a conclusion from it, brief though it be. [33] And how without any hesitation he shattered the laws when money was in sight shall be disclosed very briefly.

XXVIII

There was a certain Priscus in the city of Emesa who had a great natural ability in imitating the handwriting of others, and he was a very clever artist at this evil business. [2] Now it happened that the Church of Emesa had a good many years before become the heir of one of the notables. [3] The man in question was of patrician rank, one Mammianus by name, a man of distinguished family and great wealth, [4] and during the reign of Justinian Priscus investigated all the families of the above-named city, and if he found any persons who both abounded in wealth and were capable of sustaining great losses of money, he would carefully trace out their ancestors, and when he chanced upon old letters of theirs, he made many documents purporting to have been written by them, in which they promised to pay to Mammianus large sums of money on the ground that they had received this as a deposit from him. [5] And the total amount acknowledged in these forged documents amounted to no less than a hundred centenaria. [6] And selecting the writing of a certain man who had been wont to have a seat in the market-place at the period when Mammianus was alive, a man who had a great reputation for truth and for virtue in general, and who used to execute all the documents of the citizens, sealing each personally with his own writing (such a person the Romans call *tabellio*), Priscus, after making a marvellous imitation of this man's writing, delivered the documents to those who administered the affairs of the Church of Emesa, they having promised that a share of the money to be derived from that source should fall to him. [7] But since the law stood in the way, which provided that all ordinary cases should be subject to a thirty-year limitation, yet some few cases, including cases involving mortgages, should be extended to include a period of forty years, they hit upon the following expedient. [8] Coming to Byzantium and paying out great sums of money to this Emperor, they besought him to co-operate with them in accomplishing the destruction of the citizens who had been found guilty of nothing. [9] And he, after he had got the money, without the least hesitation published a law that Churches should be debarred from prosecuting their claims, not after the regular period of time, but after the lapse of full one hundred years, and providing that this should be valid, not in Emesa alone, but throughout the whole Roman Empire. [10] And to arbitrate this question for the people of Emesa he designated a certain Longinus, an energetic man and very powerful in body, who later also held the office of Mayor of Byzantium. [11] And those who managed the affairs of the Church lodged, to begin with, a case for two centenaria, based on the documents mentioned, against one of the citizens, and they immediately secured the man's conviction, since he was utterly unable, both because of such a lapse of time and because of his ignorance of what had been done at the time in question, to make any defence whatever. [12] And all men were filled with great sorrow, and above all the most notable

among the men of Emesa, as being all equally exposed to the denouncers. [13] And since the evil was by now spreading out over the majority of the citizens, it so happened that a providence of God, one may say, occurred as follows. [14] Longinus commanded Priscus, the author of this mischief, to bring together before him all the documents, and when he declined to do so, he struck him with great violence. [15] And he, unable to support the blow of a very strong man, fell on his back, and by this time trembling and in a state of panic he suspected that Longinus knew entirely what he had done and so confessed the truth; thus the entire deviltry was brought to light and the denouncing ceased.

[16] Yet these constant and daily tamperings with the laws of the Romans were not the only harm he did, but the Emperor also took pains to abolish the laws which the Hebrews honour. [17] If it ever happened, for instance, that the year in its recurring rounds brought on the Feast of the Passover before the festival of the Christians, he would not allow the Jews to celebrate this at the proper time nor to make any offering to God at that feast nor to perform any of the rites customary among them. [18] And many of them used to be brought to trial as having tasted the flesh of lambs at this time by those who were in positions of authority, and these punished them by heavy fines, arraigning them for violation of the laws of the State. [19] And though I know well of countless other such actions on the part of Justinian, I shall not add anything, for an end must be set to my discourse. For the man's character will be disclosed with sufficient clearness by what has been said.

That he was insincere and a dissembler I shall straightway make clear. The Liberius whom I have just mentioned he dismissed from the office he held and appointed in his place John surnamed Laxarion, an Egyptian by birth. [2] And when Pelagius, who was a very close friend of Liberius, learned of this, he enquired of the Emperor whether the report about Laxarion was true. [3] And he straightway denied the report, insisting that he had not done any such thing, and he put in his hands a letter to Liberius, instructing him to hold on to this office most firmly and by no means to relinquish it. [4] For it was not his will, he said, to remove him from the office at the present time. And John had an uncle in Byzantium named Eudaemon, who, having risen to senatorial rank and having acquired great wealth, was for a time administrator of the Emperor's personal estate. [5] This Eudaemon, upon hearing the statements we have mentioned, also enquired of the Emperor whether his nephew's office was secure. [6] Whereupon the Emperor denied what he had written to Liberius and wrote a letter to John instructing him to lay claim to the office with all his might; [7] for, he said, he on his part had not planned any change regarding it. And John, having been convinced by these statements, commanded Liberius to retire from his official quarters as having been dismissed from his office. [8] But Liberius refused absolutely to obey him, he also obviously having been led to do so by the Emperor's letters. [9] So John armed his followers and proceeded to attack Liberius, while the latter, together with his supporters, prepared for resistance. And a fight took place in which many were killed, including John himself, the holder of the office. [10] Liberius was therefore immediately summoned to Byzantium, Eudaemon urging this step vigorously, and the Senate, making a determination of the facts in the case, acquitted the man on the ground that the outrage had occurred while he was not an aggressor, but was acting in self-defence. [11] But the Emperor did not drop the matter until he had punished him by a fine of money, imposed secretly.

[12] It was in this wise, in sooth, that Justinian knew how to tell the truth and practised straightforwardness of speech! But it is not, I think, inopportune to add a matter that is incidental to this narrative. For this Eudaemon died not long afterwards, having neither disposed of his estate by will nor made any statement whatever, although he had many relatives surviving. [13] And at about the same time a certain man, Euphratas by name, who had been overseer of the Palace eunuchs, departed this life, leaving a nephew but without having made any disposition of his estate, which was very great. [14] And the Emperor seized both these estates, of his own arbitrary act making himself the heir and giving not a farthing to any of the lawful heirs. [15] Such respect for the law and for the kinsmen of his intimates was shewn by this Emperor! [16] In the same way he had seized the property of Eirenaeus who had died a long time before, although he had not a shadow of a claim to it.

[17] And the incident directly connected with those just mentioned, which occurred at about the same time, I could not pass by in silence. There was a certain Anatolius who held chief place in the senatorial roster of Ascalon. This man's daughter had been duly married by one of the Caesareans, Mamilianus by name, a man of a very notable house. [18] And the girl was an heiress, since she was the only child of Anatolius. [19] Now it had been prescribed by ancient law that whenever a Senator of any one of the cities should depart this life without leaving male children, the fourth part of the property left by this man should be given to the Council of the city, while the natural heirs of the deceased should enjoy the rest; but the Emperor here too gave evidence of his own true character, for he happened to have promulgated a law recently, which arranged matters in just the opposite way, providing, namely, that when a Senator died without male issue, his natural heirs should receive the fourth part of his estate but that all the rest should be taken over by the Treasury and entered in the roster of the city's Senate. [20] And yet never since the creation of man has either Treasurer or Emperor been empowered to share in senatorial property. [21] So while this law was in force, the final day of life came upon Anatolius, and his daughter divided the estate with the Treasury and the Council of the city in accordance with the law, and both the Emperor himself and the magistrates in charge of the roster of Ascalon wrote letters to her releasing her from the counter-claim in this matter, since they had received their due correctly and justly. [22] Later on Mamilianus also departed this life, the man who had been son-in-law to Anatolius, and he left a single daughter, who alone acquired her father's estate, as was to be expected. [23] But later on she too, while her mother still survived, reached the term of her life, having been married to one of the notables but having become mother of neither female nor male child. [24] But Justinian seized upon all the property forthwith, letting fall the amazing statement that for the daughter of Anatolius, now an old woman, to be enriched by her husband's and her father's money was an impious thing! [25] But in order that the woman might not henceforth be assigned to the ranks of the beggars, he ordered that this woman should receive a gold stater each day, as long as she lived, inserting in the document by means of which he had plundered all this money the statement that he relinquished the stater for the sake of piety: "For it is my custom," he said, "to do whatever is pious and righteous."

[26] But concerning these matters it suffices to give these facts, that my account may not lead to surfeit, since it is not possible for any human being to mention them all. [27] But that he has taken no account even of any adherent of the Blues, who were supposed to be his favourites, when money was at stake, I shall now make clear. [28] There was a certain Malthanes in Cilicia, son-in-law of that Leon who held, as mentioned above, the office of Referendarius as it is called. [29] This man he directed to put a stop to the acts of violence in Cilicia. And laying hold of this pretext, Malthanes committed outrageous wrongs upon the majority of the Cilicians, and as he plundered their money,

he sent some to the tyrant, while he saw fit to enrich himself with the remainder. [30] Now all the rest endured their misfortunes in silence, but such of the men of Tarsus as were Blues, being bold in the licence which the Emperor's favour gave them, heaped many insults upon Malthanes in the public market-place when he was not present among them. [31] And when Malthanes learned this, he straightway came to Tarsus by night, bringing a large force of soldiers, and sending them around to the houses at early dawn, he ordered them to take lodgings therein. [32] And the Blues, thinking this to be a raid, defended themselves as well as they could. And many other mishaps took place in the darkness, but the worst was that Damianus, a member of the Senate, fell by a shot from a bow. [33] Now this Damianus was the patron of the Blues there. And when news of this came to Byzantium, the Blues were angry and raised a great tumult throughout the city, and they plagued the Emperor about the matter exceedingly, and they vilified Leon and Malthanes roundly together with most terrible threats. [34] And the Emperor pretended to be no less angry than they at what had happened. So he straightway wrote a letter ordering an investigation and punishment of the public acts of Malthanes. [35] But Leon, by handing over to him a vast quantity of gold, caused him to give up at once both his anger and his fondness for the Blues, and though the matter had remained uninvestigated, when Malthanes came into the Emperor's presence in Byzantium, the latter received him with great friendliness and held him in honour. [36] But when he went out from the Emperor's presence, the Blues, who had been watching for him, rained blows upon him in the Palace, and they would have destroyed him had not some of them prevented it, these being the men who chanced to have already received money in secret from Leon. [37] And yet who would not call that State most pitiable in which an Emperor, having accepted a bribe, left the briber's crimes uninvestigated, and factionists, on the other hand, while the Emperor was there in the Palace, dared without any compunction to set upon one of the magistrates and to commit an unjust attack upon him? [38] As for punishment, however, none was inflicted on account of these misdeeds, either upon Malthanes or upon his assailants. From these things, if anyone should wish, let him estimate the character of the Emperor Justinian.

And as to the question whether Justinian had any consideration for the welfare of the State, the things he did to the public post and to the spies will be illuminating. [2] For the Roman Emperors of earlier times, by way of making provision that everything should be reported to them speedily and be subject to no delay, — such as the damage inflicted by the enemy upon each several country, whatever befell the cities in the course of civil conflict or of some unforeseen calamity, the acts of the magistrates and of all others in every part of the Roman Empire — and also, to the end that those who conveyed the annual taxes might reach the capital safely and without either delay or risk, had created a swift public post extending everywhere, in the following manner. [3] Within the distance included in each day's journey for an unencumbered traveller they established stations, sometimes eight, sometimes less, but as a general thing not less than five. [4] And horses to the number of forty stood ready at each station. And grooms in proportion to the number of horses were detailed to all stations. [5] And always travelling with frequent changes of the horses, which were of the most approved breeds, those to whom this duty was assigned covered, on occasion, a ten-days' journey in a single day, and accomplished all those things which have just been mentioned; and furthermore, the owners of the land everywhere, and particularly if their lands happened to lie in the interior, were exceedingly prosperous because of this system. [6] For every year they sold the surplus of their crops to the Government for the maintenance of horses and grooms, and thus earned much money. [7] And the result of all this was that while the treasury regularly received the taxes assessed upon each man, yet those who paid the taxes received their money but also again immediately, and there was the further advantage that the State business has been accomplished.

[8] Now in earlier times this was the situation. But this Emperor first of all abolished the post from Chalcedon as far as Daciviza and compelled all the couriers, much against their will, to proceed from Byzantium directly to Helenopolis by sea. [9] When they make the passage, then, in small boats of the kind the folk are accustomed to use in crossing the strait, in case a storm happens to descend upon them, they come into great danger. For since the haste which is obligatory keeps urging them on, it is impossible for them to watch for the right weather and wait for the next calm. [10] And, in the second place, while on the route leading into Persia he did allow the previous arrangement to stand, yet for all the rest of the East as far as Egypt he allowed one station only for each day's journey, using not horses, however, but mules and only a few of them. [11] It is no wonder, consequently, that the things which take place in each country, being reported both with difficulty and too late to give opportunity for action and behind the course of events, cannot be dealt with at all, and the owners of the lands, with crops rotting on their hands

and going to waste, continually lose all their profits.

[12] And the matter of the spies is as follows. Many men from ancient times were maintained by the State, men who would go into the enemy's country and get into the Palace of the Persians, either on the pretext of selling something of by some other device, and after making a thorough investigation of everything, they would return to the land of the Romans, where they were able to report all the secrets of the enemy to the magistrates. [13] And they, furnished with this advance information, would be on their guard and nothing unforeseen would befall them. And this practice had existed among the Medes also from ancient times. Indeed Chosroes, as they say, increased the salaries of his spies and profited by this forethought. [14] For nothing that was happening among the Romans escaped him. Justinian, on the other hand, by refusing to spend anything at all on them blotted out from the land of the Romans even the very name of spies, and in consequence of this action many mistakes were made and Lazica was captured by the enemy, the Romans having utterly failed to discover where in the world the Persian king and his army were. [15] Nay more, the State had also been wont from ancient times to maintain a great number of camels, which followed the Roman army as it moved against an enemy and carried all the provisions. [16] And in those days neither were the farmers obliged to provide transportation nor did the soldiers find themselves in want of any of the necessities; but Justinian abolished these too, practically all of them. So now-a-days, when a Roman army proceeds against the enemy, none of the needful measures can possibly be taken.

[17] Now the most important affairs of the State were going on badly in this fashion. And there is no harm in mentioning also one of Justinian's absurdities. [18] There was among the orators of Caesarea a certain Evangelus, a man of no little distinction, who, since the breeze of fortune had blown favourably for him, had become owner of other property and especially of much land. [19] And later on he even purchased a village on the seashore, Porphyreon by name, paying three centenaria of gold. Learning of this, the Emperor Justinian immediately took the place away from him, giving him some small portion of its value, with the remark that it would never comport with the dignity of Evangelus, an orator, to be the owner of such a town. [20] But I shall say nothing more about these matters, now that I have, after a fashion, made mention of them.

[21] And among the innovations of Justinian and Theodora in the administration of the Government there is also the following. In ancient times the Senate, as it came into the Emperor's presence, was accustomed to do obeisance in the following manner. Any man of patrician rank saluted him on the right breast. [22] And the Emperor would kiss him on the head and then dismiss him; but all the rest first bent the right knee to the Emperor and then withdrew. [23] The Empress, however, it was not at all customary to salute. But in the case of Justinian and Theodora, all the other members of the Senate and those as well who held the rank of Patricians, whenever they entered into their

presence, would prostrate themselves to the floor, flat on their faces, and holding their hands and feet stretched far out they would touch with their lips one foot of each before rising. [24] For even Theodora was not disposed to forego this testimony to her dignity, she who acted as though the Roman Empire lay at her feet, but was by no means averse to receiving even the ambassadors of the Persians and of the other barbarians and to bestowing upon them presents of money, a thing which had never happened since the beginning of time. [25] And while in earlier times those who attended upon the Emperor used simply to call him "Emperor" and his consort "Empress," and used to address each one of the other magistrates in accordance with his standing at the moment, [26] yet if anyone should enter into conversation with either one of these two and should use the words "Emperor" or "Empress" and fail to call them "Master" or "Mistress," or should undertake to use any other word but "slaves" in referring to any of the magistrates, such a person would be accounted both stupid and too free of tongue, and, as though he had erred most grievously and had treated with gross indignity those whom he should by no means have so treated, would leave the imperial presence.

[27] And whereas in former times very few persons entered the Palace, and that too with difficulty, yet since the time when these succeeded to the throne, both magistrates and all others together remained constantly in the Palace. [28] And the reason was that in the old days the magistrates were permitted to do what was just and lawful according to their own judgment. [29] Hence the magistrates, being occupied with their own administrative business, used to remain in their own lodgings, and the subjects of the Emperor, since they neither saw nor heard of any act of violence, bothered him, as was to be expected, very little. [30] But these rulers, always drawing all matters into their own hands to the ruin of their subjects, compelled everybody to dance attendance upon them in most servile fashion; and it was possible to see, practically every day, all the law-courts, on the one hand, for the most part empty, but at the Emperor's Court, on the contrary, one would find crowds and insolence and mighty pushing and all the time nothing but servility. [31] And those who were supposed to be intimate with the royal pair, standing there continuously the entire day and regularly during the greater portion of the night, being without sleep and without food at the usual hours, were done to death, and this was all that their seeming good fortune amounted to. [32] And when at length they were set free from all this, the poor fellows would quarrel with each other over the question of what had become of the money of the Romans. [33] For whereas some maintained that it was all in the possession of the barbarians, others said that the Emperor kept it shut up in a large number of special rooms. [34] So when Justinian either, if he is a man, departs this life, or, as being the Lord of the evil spirits, lays his life aside, all who have the fortune to have survived to that time will know the truth.

Appendix I. The Factions of the Hippodrome in Constantinople

The following account of the strange nature and the pernicious activity of the Green and the Blue Factions, derived, it would appear, from the four parties of the Roman Circus, is taken from Bury's edition of Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, IV.^[220] ff.

“Constantinople adopted the follies, though not the virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same factions which had agitated the circus, raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the Greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their Blue adversaries. From the capital this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of the two colours produced two strong and irreconcilable factions which shook the foundations of a feeble government. The popular dissensions, founded on the most serious interest, or holy pretence, have scarcely equalled the obstinacy of this wanton discord, which invaded the peace of families, divided friends and brothers, and tempted the female sex, though seldom seen in the circus, to espouse the inclinations of their lovers or to contradict the wishes of their husbands. Every law, either human or divine, was trampled under foot, and as long as the party was successful, its deluded followers appeared careless of private distress or public calamity. The licence, without the freedom of democracy, was revived at Antioch and Constantinople, and the support of a faction became necessary to every candidate for civil or ecclesiastical honours. A secret attachment to the family or sect of Anastasius was imputed to the Greens; the Blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy and Justinian, and their grateful patron protected, above five years, the disorders of a faction whose seasonable tumults overawed the Palace, the Senate, and the capitals of the East.”

Appendix II. The Christian Heresies

It was the intention of Procopius to write a book on the subject of the doctrines of Christianity and the long and often bitter debates in the course of which these were formulated, as definitely stated in Chap. xi. of the *Secret History* — a promise which he repeated in the eighth book of the *Histories*, xxv.13. It is most unfortunate that he was prevented from fulfilling this promise, for his point of view was that of a liberal who was puzzled by the earnestness with which his contemporaries entered into the discussion of these matters (*cf.* Chap. xi. and Book V.iii.6). For the whole Roman world was deeply agitated by the discussions of the churchmen, and all, even the man in the street, and often the women, held decided opinions and beliefs which they were more than ready to defend. Even the Emperor himself, as well as the Empress, felt called upon to support the cause of orthodoxy, and they were constantly concerned either to persuade or to force all dissenters into conformity (Chap. xiii.).

The numerous and varied heresies which had developed already are themselves sufficient evidence of the important place which Christianity held in the consciousness of the people. The Arian heresy had been definitely condemned by the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), but it was not extinguished by an edict, and it persisted long after the time of Justinian. Other less important heresies mentioned by Procopius were those of the Eunomians, the Sabbatiani and the Montani. Other groups at variance with the state religion were the Manichaeans, devotees of an independent religion, though often regarded as a perversion of Christianity, the Samaritans, whose creed was older than that of Christianity, and the Polytheists, who seem to have included, for Procopius, the adherents of the ancient religions of Greece and of Rome.

As to doctrine, the Arians maintained that the three Persons of the Trinity are not of the same substance: that the Son is indeed like the Father, but not identical in essence. Their central tenet was expressed in the Greek word *homoiousion* as contrasted with the *homoousion* of the doctrine of Athanasius which became orthodox through the adoption of the Nicene Creed. The Eunomians similarly held that God alone is ungenerate. The Montani were led by Montanus, assisted by two pious women, who claimed the gift of prophecy and announced that the end of the world was imminent, a belief which probably consoled them in their act of self-immolation (Chap. xi.). The Sabbatiani were an offshoot of the Novatiani; for heresies sprang from other heresies as well as from the central body of belief. This group had originated in a contested election and developed independent doctrines only after their schism. The Manichaeans and the Samaritans were monotheistic but had a theology independent of the Christian system. The Polytheists of course had no body of doctrine as such.

These and many other heresies which Procopius did not have occasion to mention were both defended and attacked with great violence, and the consequent disputes held the active interest of the civilized world for many centuries before and after the age of Justinian. See Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, or Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

Appendix III. The Statue of Domitian (Chap. viii.)

The statement of Procopius that a devoted wife performed the gruesome act described in this passage is devoid of support, as well as extremely improbable. The evidence in the case is well presented by D. Bassi in a note in the (posthumous) edition of the *Secret History* by Comparetti (1928). The note follows, in translation.

“No ancient historian records the details, evidently legendary, which Procopius is pleased to recount. The legend, which is pathetic enough, is based on two supposed facts which really are both very distressing, but false and purely imaginary, and both entirely deprived of historical consistency. Domitian was not hacked to pieces, but was murdered in his chamber by conspirators, first receiving a wound in the groin, then, in the scuffle which followed, seven other wounds which finished him. His body was not piously buried by his wife Domitia, who instead co-operated with the conspirators to accomplish the murder. This pious office was fulfilled by the nurse of the murdered man, Phyllis by name, who, with the assistance of common undertakers, took charge of the body privately, performed his last rites at his villa on the Via Latina and then, after it had been cremated, deposited the ashes in the tomb of the Flavian family together with those of Julia, daughter of Titus, of whom she had also been nurse.

“With regard to these facts recorded by most authoritative historians, such as Suetonius, Dio Cassius and others, there cannot be any doubt. Still, the fact remains, equally incontestable, of the bronze statue of Domitian extant at the time of Procopius on the slope of the Capitol standing on the right of those ascending from the Forum; this statue, apart from being the only one of that Emperor remaining erect, because all the others had been demolished by order of the Senate, presented also the singular characteristic of being composed entirely of many pieces cleverly set together, but still always easily distinguishable. These facts, which the people at Rome explained at that time (four centuries and a little more since the murder of Domitian) by the pathetic little story which Procopius ingenuously recounts in the form in which it had been related to him, ought to be, and can be, explained rationally, taking into account what the historians say of what followed at Rome immediately after the murder of Domitian. The news of the murder was heard with indifference by the people, says Suetonius; not so by the army, which was most outraged by it and immediately started an agitation demanding that the murdered Emperor should receive divine honours and that the murderers should be tracked down and severely punished. Held with difficulty to allegiance to their commanders, the troops finally obtained what they sought. The Senate, on the other hand, which Domitian had always slighted and abused, received that news with a burst of joy and exultation, and immediately^o ordered that the statues of the hated Emperor should be taken off the walls and thrown on the

ground, and that all memory of him should be cancelled, abolished, and destroyed. These orders were carried out punctually, beginning, surely, with the statues nearest the Senate, the largest of which was the famous equestrian statue of colossal proportions which dominated the middle of the Forum, described and praised by Statius. Demolished and broken up into fragments, the huge mass of gilded bronze was forthwith put out of sight. Other smaller statues which stood in the vicinity of the Forum and of the Capitol were taken down and destroyed. One bronze statue of Domitian of natural size must have occupied a position in the neighbourhood of the temple of his father Vespasian on the slopes of the Capitol. That statue also was knocked over and reduced to fragments. However, all the fragments of that statue were gathered up by pious hands, probably soldiers, and secretly preserved. When, then, at a later time the fury of the Senate was abated, and the army, always faithful to the memory of that Emperor, obtained what they had persistently sought for, namely, that those responsible for the assassination be apprehended, tried and punished, they without hesitation formed the purpose of setting up the broken statue, the fragments of which had been religiously preserved. They rebuilt the statue with strong cement, but not so as to conceal the joints, so that everyone could see, as Procopius saw, that it was composed of a quantity of pieces set together. The statue, thus fabricated, was set up in the open on the slope on the right as one went from the Forum to the Capitol, that is, at a short distance from the Senate, and it stood there to record visibly the savage orders of destruction issued by the Senate and punctually carried out, particularly because that statue, thus fabricated, was the only one of the many of that Emperor which remained, or, better, that could be again set up. The Senate, which certainly had not repented of having given those orders, still did not dare to oppose that act of the powerful praetorians, who were devoted to Domitian and who, in spite of the disapproval of the good Nerva, had vindicated Domitian by killing with their own hands the principal authors of the assassination of that tyrant, quietly let matters take their course, and could not be displeased that there remained for future ages that evidence and testimony of the just action performed by them on the statues of that infamous sovereign.

“Thus tolerated by the Senate, this single statue of the abhorred Domitian, the story of which was familiar to all, remained intact up to the time of Procopius in that very much frequented spot. It was regarded as a curiosity and of such small material value that even the barbarians, Vandals and Goths, allowed it to stand. In fact the respect shewn by those tribes must have been due chiefly to the pious legend which the popular imagination could have created in the course of time regarding that statue and the fragments of which they noticed that it was composed, ignorant, as it was, of the true and genuine facts of history. Little by little they saw in that statue the tyrannical Domitian torn to pieces by the popular fury and the good and virtuous action of his widow who was loved and respected by the Senate, which granted to her the

right to collect and put together the scattered members of her husband and to give burial to the body thus assembled. And when the wonderful widow, having got together the body of her husband in this way and with her own hands, had summoned the artisans, she commissioned them to make a statue of bronze exactly like the murdered sovereign's body, composed as it was of many pieces, then took that statue and set it up on the slope of the Capitol; and the Senate permitted her to do all this and did not refuse its approval. It cannot be denied that this story is pretty, moving and also edifying. This could have figured in the *Gesta Romanorum Moralisata* or in other similar medieval collections of edifying tales. The widow devoted to the memory of the husband, good or bad, who, surmounting grave difficulties, accomplishes his burial, is an appealing character of various legends and tales of every region; one of the many is that of the famous matron of Ephesus, narrated by Petronius. Procopius, who had noticed the remarkable similarity of the features of Domitian and those of Justinian, recounts the tale of that single surviving statue of Domitian without taking the trouble to investigate whether the account was history or legend. In any case that statue unquestionably represented Domitian and that was enough for him; nor could he go wrong. In his judgment Justinian was just as worthy to be butchered and cut into pieces as, according to the tale, was Domitian, who also resembled him in countenance."

MAP



THE BUILDINGS OF JUSTINIAN



Translated by H. B. Dewing

Believed to be an incomplete work, due to evidence of the surviving version being a draft with two possible redactions, this text is formed as a panegyric on Justinian's building activity in the Byzantine Empire. It has been conjectured that the first book dates to before the collapse of the first dome of Hagia Sophia in 557, though some scholars argue it is possible that it postdates the building of the bridge over the Sangarius in the late 550's. Though *The Buildings of Justinian* informs us of no further information regarding Belisarius, it adopts an entirely different attitude towards Justinian. He is presented as an idealised Christian emperor, who built churches for the glory of God and defences for the safety of his subjects, demonstrating particular concern for the water supply. Justinian is also reported to have built new aqueducts, as well as restoring those that had fallen into disuse.

Theodora, who had died before the work was written, is mentioned only briefly, yet Procopius' praise of her beauty is fulsome. The panegyric was likely written at Justinian's behest, however, and it is doubtful that the sentiments expressed are sincere. Due to the flattering nature of the text, historians have identified several discrepancies between claims made by Procopius and other primary sources. A primary example is shown when Procopius records the reign of Justinian commencing in 518, which was actually the start of the reign of Justin I, Justinian's predecessor and uncle. This discrepancy can be seen as part of Procopius' panegyric method, allowing him to credit buildings constructed under the rule of Justin I as Justinian's accomplishments. Likewise, Procopius falsely credits Justinian for the extensive re-fortifications made in the cities of Tomis and Histria in Scythia Minor, along the Danubian frontier, which were in actuality the accomplishments of Anastasius I, predecessor of Justin I.



Tremissis of Emperor Justin I (450-527), who was Byzantine Emperor from 518 to 527. He rose through the ranks of the army and ultimately became its emperor, in spite of the fact he was illiterate and almost 70 years old at the time of accession.

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*Ruins at Tomis, modern day Constanța, the oldest continuously inhabited city in Romania —
‘The Buildings of Justinian’ erroneously attributes the building of this city to Justinian.*

BOOK I.

[1] [1] It is not because I wish to make a display of skill, nor through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for venturing so bold an intention. [2] Yet the thought has many times occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which are wont to accrue to states through History, which transmits to future generations the memory of those who have gone before, and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion; and while it incites to virtue those who from time to time may read it by the praise it bestows, it constantly assails vice by repelling its influence. [3] Wherefore our concern must be solely this — that all the deeds of the past shall be clearly set forth, and by what man, whosoever he might be, they were wrought. And this, I believe, is not an impossible task, even for a lisping and thin-voiced tongue. [4] Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them. [5] Indeed it is through this very service that many men of later times strive after virtue, by emulating the honours of those who have preceded them, and, because they cannot endure censure, are quite likely to shun the basest practices. And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose.

[6] In our own age there has been born the Emperor Justinian, who, taking over the State when it was harassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious, by expelling from it those barbarians who had from of old pressed hard upon it, as I have made clear in detail in the Books on the Wars. [7] Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large. [8] But this Sovereign does not lack the skill to produce completely transformed states — witness the way he has already added to the Roman domain many states which in his own times had belonged to others, and has created countless cities which did not exist before. [9] And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation of a single faith. [10] Moreover, finding the laws obscure because they had become far more numerous than they should be, and in obvious confusion because they disagreed with each other, he preserved them by cleansing them of the mass of their verbal trickery, and by controlling their discrepancies with the greatest firmness; as for those who plotted against him, he of his own volition

dismissed the charges against them, causing those who were in want to have a surfeit of wealth, and crushing the spiteful fortune that oppressed them, he wedded the whole State to a life of prosperity. [11] Furthermore, he strengthened the Roman domain, which everywhere lay exposed to the barbarians, by a multitude of soldiers, and by constructing strongholds he built a wall along all its remote frontiers.

[12] However, most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings, so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits which he wrought as a builder. They do indeed say that the best king of whom we know by tradition was the Persian Cyrus, and that he was chiefly responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race. [13] But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing. [14] For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts.^a But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by inheritance, since he is, as Homer says, "as gentle as a father"), if one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child's play. [16] The proof of this will be that the Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other hand, those who treacherously formed the plot against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

[17] But now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man. [18] For already many works of men of former times which are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a foundation for my narrative. [19] For "o'er a work's beginnings," as the old saying has it, "we needs must set a front that shines afar."

[20] Some men of the common herd, all the rubbish of the city, once rose up against the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, when they brought about the rising called the Nika Insurrection, which has been described by me in detail and without any concealment in Books on the Wars. [21] And by way of shewing that it was not against the Emperor alone that they had taken up arms, but no less against God himself, unholy wretches that they were, they had the hardihood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call "Sophia," an epithet which they have most appropriately

invented for God, by which they call His temple; and God permitted them to accomplish this impiety, foreseeing^o into what an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be transformed. [22] So the whole church at that time lay a charred mass of ruins. But the Emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church so finely shaped, that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, shewing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form. [23] At any rate the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather all the artisans from the whole world. [24] And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building, not only of all his contemporaries, but also when compared with those who had lived long before him, ministered to the Emperor's enthusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the future construction; and associated with him with another master-builder, Isidorus by name, a Milesian by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to assist the Emperor Justinian. [25] Indeed this also was an indication of the honour in which God held the Emperor, that He had already provided the men who would be most serviceable to him in the tasks which were waiting to be carried out. [26] And one might with good reason marvel at the discernment of the Emperor himself, in that out of the whole world he was able to select the men who were most suitable for the most important of his enterprises.

[27] So the church has become a spectacle of marvellous beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible. For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands on high and looks down upon the remainder of the city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but glorying in its own beauty, because, though a part of the city and dominating it, it at the same time towers above it to such a height that the whole city is viewed from there as from a watch-tower. [28] Both its breadth and its length have been so carefully proportioned, that it may not improperly be said to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually broad. And it exults in an indescribable beauty.

[29] For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither excess nor deficiency, since it is both more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than those which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and in the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble. [30] Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine. [31] And the face itself of the church (which would be the part which faces the

rising sun, that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God) was constructed in the following manner. [32] A structure of masonry (oikodomia) is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding at the middle, so that it forms the shape of half a circle, which those who are skilled in such matters call a half-cylinder (hêmiky lindron); and so it rises precipitously to a height. [33] The upper part of this structure ends in the fourth part of a sphere (sphaira), and above it another crescent-shaped (mênœides) structure rises, fitted to the adjoining parts of the building, marvellous in its grace, but by reason of the seeming insecurity of its composition altogether terrifying. [34] For it seems somehow to float in the air on no firm basis, but to be poised aloft to the peril of those inside it. Yet actually it is braced with exceptional firmness and security. [35] On either side of this are columns arranged on the pavement; these likewise do not stand in a straight line, but they retreat inward in the pattern of the semicircle (hêmikyklon) as if they were yielding to one another in a choral dance, and above them hangs a structure of crescent shape (mênœides). [36] And on the side opposite the east is reared a wall containing the entrances (eisodoi), and on either side of this there stand in a semicircle (hêmikyklon) not only the columns themselves but also the structure above them, all this being very similar to the columns and structure I have just described. [37] And in the centre of the church stand four man-made eminences (lophoi), which they call piers (pessoï), two on the north side and two on the south, opposite and equal to each other, each pair having between them just four columns. [38] The piers (lophoi) are composed of huge stones joined together, carefully selected and skilfully fitted to one another by the masons, and rising to a great height. One might suppose that they were sheer mountain-peaks. [39] From these spring four arches (apsides) which rise over the four sides of a square, and their ends come together in pairs and are made fast to each other on top of these piers (lophoi), while the other portions rise and soar to an infinite height. [40] And while two of the arches rise over empty air, those namely on the east and the west sides, the other two have under them certain structural elements (oikodomia), including a number of rather small columns. [41] Upon the crowns of the arches rests a circular structure (kykloterês oikodomia), cylindrical (strongylon) in shape; it is through this that the light of day always first smiles. [42] For it towers above the whole earth, as I believe, and the structure is interrupted at short intervals, openings having been left intentionally, in the spaces where the perforation of the stonework takes place, to be channels for the admission of light in sufficient measure. [43] And since the arches where they are joined together are so constructed as to form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between the arches produces four triangles (trigôna). [44] And while each supporting end (krêpis) of a triangle, having been contracted to a point by the coming together of each pair of arches, makes the lower point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its width is extended by the intermediate surface, [45] it ends in the

segment of a circle (kykloterês) which it supports, and forms the remaining angles at that level. And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome (sphairoeidês tholos) which makes the structure exceptionally beautiful. [46] Yet it seems not to rest upon solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden dome (sphaira) suspended from Heaven. [47] All these details, fitted together with incredible skill in mid-air and floating off from each other and resting only on the parts next to them, produce a single and most extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not permit the spectator to linger much over the study of any one of them, but each detail attracts the eye and draws it on irresistibly to itself. [48] So the vision constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others. [49] But even so, though they turn their attention to every side and look with contracted brows upon every detail, observers are still unable to understand the skilful craftsmanship, but they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight. So much, then, for this.

[50] It was by many skilful devices that the Emperor Justinian and the master-builder Anthemius and Isidorus secured the stability of the church, hanging, as it does, in mid-air. Some of these it is both hopeless for me to understand in their entirety, and impossible to explain in words; I shall record only one of them for the present, from which it should be possible to gain an impression of the strength of the whole work. [51] It is as follows: The piers (lophoi) which I have just mentioned are not constructed in the same way as other structures, but in the following manner. The courses of stone were laid down so as to form a four-cornered shape, [52] the stones being rough by nature but worked smooth; and they were cut to the angles when they were destined to form the projecting corners of the sides of the pier, but when they chanced to be assigned to a position between the angles, they were cut in rectangles (tetrapleuron). [53] These were held together neither by lime (titanos), which they call "asbestos", nor by asphalt, the material which was the pride of Semiramis in Babylon, nor by any other such thing, but by lead (molibdos) poured into the interstices (telma), which flowed about everywhere in the spaces between the stones and hardened in the joints (harmonia), binding them to each other. [54] Thus were these parts constructed; but let us proceed to the remaining portions of the church.

The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold,^b which adds glory to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails, shining out in rivalry with the gold. [55] And there are two stoa-like colonnades (stoai), one on each side, not separated in any way from the structure of the church itself, but actually making the effect of its width greater, and reaching along its whole length, to the very end, while in height they are less than the interior of the building. [56] And they too have vaulted ceilings (orophê tholos) and decorations of gold. One of these two colonnaded stoas has been assigned to men worshippers, while the other is reserved for women engaged in the same

exercise. [57] But they have nothing to distinguish them, nor do they differ from one another in any way, but their very equality serves to beautify the church, and their similarity to adorn it. [58] But who could fittingly describe the galleries (*hyperôa*) of the women's side (*gynaikonitis*), or enumerate the many colonnades and the colonnaded aisles (*peristylai aulai*) by means of which the church is surrounded? [59] Or who could recount the beauty of the columns (*kiones*) and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom. [60] For he would surely marvel at the purple of some, the green tint of others, and at those on which the crimson glows and those from which the white flashes, and again at those which Nature, like some painter, varies with the most contrasting colours. [61] And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen. [62] And this does not happen only to one who sees the church for the first time, but the same experience comes to him on each successive occasion, as though the sight were new each time. [63] Of this spectacle no one has ever had a surfeit, but when present in the church men rejoice in what they see, and when they leave it they take proud delight in conversing about it. [64] Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church — the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here — it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example. [65] That part of the shrine which is especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the Inner Sanctuary (*thysiastêrion*), is embellished with forty thousand pounds' weight of silver.

[66] So the church of Constantinople (which men are accustomed to call the Great Church), speaking concisely and merely running over the details with the finger-tips, as it were, and mentioning with a fleeting word only the most notable features, was constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian. [67] But it was not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul, as I shall straightway shew. [68] One of the arches which I just now mentioned (*lôri* the master-builders call them), the one which stands toward the east, had already been built up from either side, but it had not yet been wholly completed in the middle, and was still waiting. [69] And the piers (*pessoï*), above which the structure was being built, unable to carry the mass which bore down upon them, somehow or other suddenly began to crack, and they seemed on the point of collapsing. [70] So Anthemius and Isidorus, terrified at what had happened, carried the matter to the Emperor, having come to have no hope in their technical skill. [71] And straightway the Emperor, impelled by I know not what, but I suppose by God (for he is not himself a master-builder),

commanded them to carry the curve of this arch to its final completion. "For when it rests upon itself," he said, "it will no longer need the props (*pessois*) beneath it." [72] And if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible; but since there are available many witnesses of what then took place, we need not hesitate to proceed to the remainder of the story. [73] So the artisans carried out his instructions, and the whole arch then hung secure, sealing by experiment the truth of his idea. [74] Thus, then, was this arch completed; but in the process of building the other arches, indeed, those namely which are turned toward the south and the north, the following chanced to take place. [75] The so-called *lōri* had been raised up, carrying the masonry of the church, but everything underneath was labouring under their load, making the columns (*kiones*) which stood there throw off tiny flakes, as if they had been planed. [76] So once more the master-builders were dismayed at what had happened and reported their problem to the Emperor. [77] And again the Emperor met the situation with a remedy, as follows. He ordered them immediately to remove the upper parts (*akra*) of the masonry which were strained, that is, the portions which came into contact with the arches, and to put them back much later, as soon as the dampness of the masonry should abate enough to bear them. [78] These instructions they carried out, and thereafter the structure stood secure. And the Emperor, in this way, enjoys a kind of testimonial from the work.

[2] [1] Before the Senate House there happened to be a sort of market-place, which the people of Byzantium call the *Augusteum*. In that place there is a structure of stones, which is made up of not less than seven courses, laid in a rectangle, all fitted to each other at their ends, but each course being narrower than that beneath, and set back, with the result that each of the stones becomes, from the way it is set, a projecting step, so that people assembled there sit upon them as upon seats. [2] And at the top of the stones there rises a column of extraordinary size, not a monolith, however, but composed of large stones in circular courses, cut so as to form angles on their inner faces, and fitted to one another by the skill of the masons. [3] And finest brass, cast in panels and garlands, covers the stones on every side, both serving to bind them securely, and covering them with adornment, and giving the shaft throughout, but particularly at the base and the capital, the appearance of a column. [4] This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver. [5] And on the summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east, a very noteworthy sight. He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward. [6] Indeed he holds his left foot in the air, as though he^o were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so that they may be ready whenever he decides to move. [7] Upon this horse is mounted a colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles, [8] that is, the costume he wears is

known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. [9] Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down, and a dazzling light flashes forth from it. [10] One might say, in poetic speech, that here is that star of Autumn. And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. [11] And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war. [12] And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further. So much, then, for this statue.

[13] The church called after Eirenê, which was next to the Great Church and had been burned down together with it, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia. [14] And between these two churches there was a certain hospice, devoted to those who were at once destitute and suffering from serious illness, those who were, namely, suffering in loss of both property and health. [15] This was erected in early times by a certain pious man, Samson by name. And neither did this remain untouched by the rioters, but it caught fire together with the churches on either side of it and was destroyed. [16] The Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, making it a nobler building in the beauty of its structure, and much larger in the number of its rooms. He has also endowed it with a generous annual income of money, to the end that through all time the ills of more sufferers may be cured. [17] But by no means feeling either a surfeit or any sort of weariness in shewing honour to God, he established two other hospices opposite to this one in the buildings called respectively the House of Isidorus and the House of Arcadius, the Empress Theodora labouring with him in this most holy undertaking. [18] All the other shrines which this Emperor dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size, that it is impossible to write about them in detail. [19] For neither the power of language, nor the whole span of eternity, would suffice us to make a catalogue and by name descant upon each one of these. It will suffice us to have said thus much.

[3] [1] We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God. [2] The Emperor Justinian built many churches to the Mother of God in all parts of the Roman Empire, churches so magnificent and so huge and erected with such a lavish outlay of money, that if one should see one of them by itself, he would suppose that the Emperor had built this work only and had spent the whole time of his reign occupied with this alone. [3] But now, as I said, I must describe the sanctuaries of Byzantium. One of the churches of the Mother of

God he built outside the fortifications in a place called Blachernae (for to the Emperor's credit there must also be reckoned the buildings erected by his uncle Justinus, since Justinian administered the government also during his uncle's reign on his own authority). This church is on the sea, a most holy and very stately church, of unusual length and yet of a breadth well proportioned to its length, both its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns. [4] And in all the other parts of the church these columns are set in straight lines, except at the centre, where they recede. [5] Anyone upon entering this church would marvel particularly at the greatness of the mass which is held in place without instability, and at the magnificence which is free from bad taste.

[6] He dedicated to the Virgin another shrine in the place called Pegê. In that place is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding in flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water — all especially suitable to a sanctuary. [7] Such are the surroundings of the sanctuary. But the church itself is not easy to describe in such terms as it deserves, nor can one readily form a mental vision of it, nor do it justice in whispering speech. [8] It must suffice to say only this, that it surpasses most shrines both in beauty and in size. [9] Both these churches were erected outside the city-wall, the one where it starts beside the shore of the sea, the other close to the Golden Gate, as it is called, which chances to be near the end of the line of fortifications, in order that both of them may serve as invincible defences to the circuit-wall of the city. [10] Also in the Heraeum, which they now call the Hieron, he built a church to the Mother of God which it is not easy to describe.

[11] In that section of the city which is called Deuteron he erected a most holy and revered church to St. Anna, whom some consider to have been the mother of the Virgin and the grandmother of Christ. [12] For God, being born a man as was His wish, is subjected to even a third generation, and His ancestry is traced back from His mother even as is that of a man. [13] Not far from this same church, near the last street within the city, he built a very imposing shrine to the martyr Zoê.

[14] He found a shrine of the Archangel Michael in Byzantium which was small and very badly lighted, utterly unworthy to be dedicated to the Archangel; it was built in earlier times by a certain patrician senator, quite like a tiny bedroom of a dwelling-house, and that, too, of the house of one who is not very prosperous. [15] So he tore this down, even to the lowest foundations, so that no trace of its earlier unseemliness might remain. [16] And increasing its size to the proportions which it now displays, he transformed it into a marvellously beautiful building. [17] For the church is in the form of a rectangle (tetrapleuron), and the length appears not much greater than the width. And at either end of the side which faces the east a thick wall was perfectly constructed of many fitted stones, but in the middle it is drawn back so as to form a recess. [18] On either side of this rise columns of naturally variegated

hues which support the church. The opposite wall, which faces approximately the west, is pierced by the doors which lead into the church.

[4] [1] His faith in the Apostles of Christ he displayed in the following manner. First he built a church of Peter and Paul, which had not previously existed in Byzantium, alongside the imperial residence which in former times was called by the name of Hormisdas. [2] For he had contrived that this building, which was his private residence, should both seem to be a palace, and by the magnificence of its structure be as handsome as one; and when he became Emperor of the Romans he joined it to the Palace proper. [3] There too he built another shrine to the famous Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and then also another shrine which stood at an angle to this one. [4] These two churches do not face each other, but stand at an angle to one another, being at the same time joined to each other and rivalling each other; and they share the same entrances (eisodoi) and are like each other in all respects, even to the open spaces (kraspeda) by which they are surrounded; and each of them is found to be neither superior nor inferior to the other either in beauty or in size or in any other respect. [5] Indeed each equally outshines the sun by the gleam of its stones, and each is equally adorned throughout with an abundance of gold and teems with offerings. [6] In just one respect, however, they do differ. For the long axis (mêkos) of one of them is built straight, while in the other church the columns stand for the most part in a semi-circle (hêmikyklos). [7] But whereas they possess a single colonnaded stoa, called a narthex because of its great length, for each one of their porches (prothyra), they have their propylaea (propylaia) entirely in common, and they share a single court (aulê), and the same doors leading in from the court (metauloi thyrαι), and they are alike in that they belong to the Palace. [8] These two churches are so admirable that they manifestly form an adornment of the whole city, and not merely of the Palace.

[9] Afterwards, as shewing very special honour to all the Apostles together, he did as follows. There was in Byzantium from ancient times a church dedicated to all the Apostles; but having by now been shaken by the passage of time, it had fallen under the suspicion that it would not continue to stand. [10] This the Emperor Justinian pulled down entirely, and he was at pains not simply to restore it, but to make it more worthy both in size and in beauty. [11] He carried out his effort as follows. Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other at the middle in the form of a cross, one extending east and west, and the other which crossed this running north and south. [12] On the outside these lines were defined by walls on all of the sides, while on the inside they were traced by rows of columns standing above one another. At the crossing of the two straight lines, that is to say at about the middle, there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the "sanctuary" (hierateion). [13] The two arms (pleurai) of this enclosure which lie along the transverse line are equal to each other, but the arm which extends toward the

west, along the upright line, is enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross.^a [14] That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built, in the centre at least, on a plan resembling that of the Church of Sophia, except that it is inferior to it in size. [15] The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner, and the circular drum (kykloteres) which stands upon them is pierced by the windows, and the dome (sphairoeides) which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it is well supported. [16] Thus, then, was the central portion of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, as I have said, were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes (sphairikon) the masonry is not pierced by windows. [17] And at the time when this shrine was completed by him, the Apostles made it manifest to all men how they delight in the honour shewn them by the Emperor and glory in it exceedingly. [18] At any rate the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy, which previously had been invisible and altogether concealed, became at that time visible to all men, signifying, I believe, that they did not reject the faith of the Emperor, but expressly permitted him to see them and approach them and touch them, that he might thereby enjoy their assistance and the safety of his life. This was made known in the following way.

[19] The Emperor Constantius had built this church in honour of the Apostles and in their name, decreeing that tombs for himself and for all future Emperors should be placed there, and not for the rulers alone, but for their consorts as well; and this custom is preserved to the present day. Here also he laid the body of his father Constantine. [20] But neither did he give any intimation whatever that the bodies of the Apostles were there, nor did any place appear there which seemed to be given over to the bodies of the holy men. [21] But when the Emperor Justinian was rebuilding this shrine, the workmen dug up the whole soil so that nothing unseemly should be left there; and they saw three wooden coffins lying there neglected, which revealed by inscriptions upon them that they contained the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy. [22] And the Emperor himself and all the Christians saw these with the greatest joy, and having arranged a procession in their honour and a festival, and having performed the customary holy rites over them and having put the coffins in order, they laid them once more in the ground, not leaving the place unmarked or solitary, but piously ordaining that it be dedicated to the bodies of the Apostles. [23] And it is plain, as I have said, that it was in requital for this honour which the Emperor shewed them, that these Apostles appeared to men on this occasion. [24] For when the Emperor is pious, divinity walks not afar from human affairs, but is wont to mingle with men and to take delight in associating with them.

[25] Who could pass over in silence the Church of Acacius? This had fallen into ruin, and he took it down and rebuilt it from the foundations, so as to make it a building of marvellous size. It is carried on all sides on columns of

astonishing whiteness, and the floor is covered with similar stone, from which such a brilliant light is reflected that it gives the impression that the whole church is coated with snow. [26] And two stoas are thrown out in front of it, one of them making a court (peristylus), the other facing the market-place. [27] I have almost omitted to mention that martyr's shrine which is dedicated to St. Plato, a truly holy and much revered building, not far from the market-place which bears the name of the Emperor Constantine; also the church dedicated to the martyr Mocius, to which all other shrines yield in size. [28] There is also the resting-place of the martyr Thyrsus, and likewise the precinct of St. Theodore, situated outside the city at a place called Rhesium, as well as the sanctuary of the martyr Thecla, which is hard by the harbour of the city which chances to bear the name of Julian, and that of St. Theodota in the suburb called Hebdomum. [29] All these our present Emperor built from the foundations during the reign of his uncle Justinus, and they are not easy to describe in words, and one cannot admire them sufficiently when they are seen. [30] But the Church of St. Agathonicus now draws my narrative and constrains me, though I no longer have the voice or the words to do justice to it. So I must content myself with mention of this church, and leave it to others to describe its beauty and its magnificence in every detail — others whose power of utterance is fresh and not yet wholly spent.

[5] [1] There are other shrines also, both in the place called Anaplus and on the shore of the opposite continent, which he found in a condition unworthy to be dedicated to any of the saints, as well as along the inlet which the inhabitants call Ceras, after Ceroessa, the mother of Byzas, the founder of the city; and in all these he displayed a munificence altogether befitting an Emperor, as I shall presently shew, after first explaining how the sea adorns Byzantium.

[2] Besides the city's other blessings the sea is set most beautifully all about it, forming curving bays, contracting into narrow straits, and spreading into a great open sea; and thus it makes the city exceptionally beautiful, and offers the quiet shelter of harbours to navigators, thereby abundantly providing the city with the necessities of life and making it rich in all useful things. [3] For in reality there are two seas embracing it, the Aegean on the one side and the sea called the Euxine on the other; these unite with each other to the east of the city, and rushing together as they mingle their waves, and pushing back the solid land by this invasion, they beautify the city as they surround it. [4] So it is encircled by three straits which open into one another, so disposed that they both adorn and serve the city, all of them most delightful for sailing, each a pleasurable sight for the eye, and very commodious for anchorage. [5] And the middle one of them, coming down from the Euxine Sea, flows straight toward the city, as though to beautify it, and on either side of it the two continents are placed. [6] And it is pressed in by their banks, so that it ripples and seems to plume itself because it approaches the city mounted upon both Asia and Europe. [7] One would imagine that he was looking upon a river moving

toward him with gentle current. And the strait which lies on the left of this is confined by its shores on either side for a very great distance, displaying the woods and the lovely meadows and all the other details of the opposite shore which lie open to view from the city. [8] Then from that point it broadens as it is thrust away from the city toward the south, and carries the coast of Asia very far from the city. [9] Yet the wash of the sea continues to envelop the city up to its western boundary. The third strait, which branches off from the first toward the right, commencing at Sycae, as it is called, extends for a very great distance along the side of the city which faces the north, and terminates in the bay which forms its end. [10] Thus the sea forms a garland about the city; the remainder of the city's boundary is formed by the land which lies between the two arms of the sea, and is of sufficient size to bind together there the crown of waters. [11] This bay is always calm, being so fashioned by nature that it is never roiled, just as if limits were set there for the turbulent waters and all billows were excluded from that area so as to do honour to the city. [12] And in winter, even should violent winds chance to fall upon the open spaces of the sea and upon the strait, as soon as ships reach the entrance to the bay, they proceed for the rest of the way without a pilot and are anchored without precautions. [13] For the circuit of the bay extends to a distance of more than forty stades, and furnishes anchorage throughout its whole extent; so that when a ship anchors there the stern rides upon the sea while the prow rests upon the land, as if the two elements contended with each other to see which of them would be able to render the greater service to the city.

[6] [1] Such is the nature of this bay. And the Emperor Justinian adorned it with buildings on all sides and thus made it still more notable. [2] On the left of the bay he found the martyr's shrine of St. Lawrence, which previously had been without a ray of light and practically filled with darkness, and he remodelled it, to speak briefly, and consecrated it in the form in which it is now seen. [3] Over against this, in the quarter called Blachernae, he built the Church of the Virgin which I just described. [4] Further on he established a shrine to St. Priscus and St. Nicholas, an entirely new creation of his own, at a spot where the Byzantines love especially to tarry, some worshipping and doing honour to these saints who have come to dwell among them, and others simply enjoying the charm of the precinct, since the Emperor forced back the wash of the sea and set the foundations far out into the water when he established this sanctuary.

[5] At the far end of the bay, on the ground which rises steeply in a sharp slope, stands a sanctuary dedicated from ancient times to Saints Cosmas and Damian. When the Emperor himself once lay seriously ill, giving the appearance of being actually dead (in fact he had been given up by the physicians as being already numbered among the dead), these Saints came to him here in a vision, and saved him unexpectedly and contrary to all human reason and raised him up.^a [6] In gratitude he gave them such requital as a mortal may, by changing entirely and remodelling the earlier building, which

was unsightly and ignoble and not worthy to be dedicated to such powerful Saints, and he beautified and enlarged the church and flooded it with brilliant light and added many other things which it had not before. [7] So when any persons find themselves assailed by illnesses which are beyond the control of physicians, in despair of human assistance they take refuge in the one hope left to them, and getting on flat-boats they are carried up the bay to this very church. [8] And as they enter its mouth they straightway see the shrine as on an acropolis, priding itself in the gratitude of the Emperor and permitting them to enjoy the hope which the shrine affords.

[9] Across the bay the Emperor built a martyr's shrine which had not existed before, by the very strand of the bay, and dedicated it to the martyr Anthimus. [10] The foundations of the shrine are washed by the caressing flow of the sea in an altogether charming manner. [11] For the incoming waves do not rise up with a roar and break on the stones there, nor do the breakers thunder aloud like those of the sea and divide and break up in a foaming mass, but the water comes forward gently, and silently touches the land and then quietly draws back. [12] And extending back from the beach is a smooth and very level court (aulê), adorned on all sides with marbles and with columns and glorying in its view over the sea. [13] Beyond this is a stoa with the church inside rising in the form of a quadrangle to a great height and made beautiful by the charm of its stones and by the gold applied to them. [14] And the length exceeds the width only by the extent of the sanctuary, where alone the sacred mysteries may be performed, along the side which faces towards the east. So much, then, for this.

[7] [1] Beyond this, just about at the opening of the bay, was built a Church of the Martyr Eirenê. This entire church was constructed by the Emperor on such a magnificent scale that I, at least, could not possibly do it justice. [2] For seeking to rival the sea in lending beauty to the land about the gulf, he set all these shrines, as in an encircling necklace, round about it. But since I have mentioned this Church of Eirenê, it will not be amiss for me at this point to recount also the incident which happened there. Here from ancient times were buried the remains of no fewer than forty holy men; these had chanced to be Roman soldiers who served in the Twelfth Legion, which in ancient times had been posted in the city of Melitenê in Armenia. [4] So when the masons were excavating in the place which I have just mentioned, they found a chest shewing by an inscription that it contained the remains of these very men. [5] And God brought to light this chest, which thus far had been forgotten, with an express purpose, partly to assure all men that He had accepted the Emperor's gifts most gladly, and partly because He was eager to repay this great man's beneficence with a greater favour. [6] It chanced that the Emperor Justinian was suffering from a grievous affliction, since a dangerous discharge had set in at the knee and caused him to be tortured with pain; and for this he himself was chiefly responsible. [7] For during all the days which precede the Feast of Easter, and which are called days of fasting, he observed

a severe routine which was unfit not only for an Emperor, but for any man who was concerned in any way with state affairs. [8] Indeed he had gone two whole days quite without food, and that too while rising regularly from his bed at early dawn and keeping watch over the State, and constantly managing its affairs by word and deed from early dawn to midday and equally into the night. [9] And although he went to his couch late in the night, he immediately rose again, as if he could not endure his bed. [10] And when he did take nourishment, he abstained from wine and bread and other foods and ate only herbs, and those, too, wild ones thoroughly pickled with salt and vinegar,^b and his only drink was water. [11] Yet he never took a sufficiency even of these, but whenever he did take a meal, he merely tasted these foods he liked and then left them before he had eaten enough. [12] Hence, then, his malady gathered strength and got beyond the help of the physicians, and for a long time the Emperor was racked by these pains. [13] But during this time he heard about the relics which had been brought to light, and abandoning human skill, he gave the case over to them, seeking to recover his health through faith in them, and in a moment of direst necessity he won the reward of the true belief. [14] For as soon as the priests laid the reliquary on the Emperor's knee, the ailment disappeared entirely, driven out by the bodies of men who had been dedicated to the service of God. And God did not permit this to be a matter of dispute, for he shewed a great sign of what was being done. [15] For oil suddenly flowed out from these holy relics, and flooding the chest poured out over the Emperor's feet and his whole garment, which was purple. [16] So this tunic, thus saturated, is preserved in the Palace, partly as testimony to what occurred at that time, and also a source of healing for those who in future are assailed by any incurable disease.

[8] [1] Thus was the bay called the Horn given distinction by the Emperor Justinian. And by erecting buildings he elaborated into a thing of great beauty the shores of the other two straits which I have just mentioned, in the following manner. [2] There happened to be two sanctuaries dedicated to the Archangel Michael, standing opposite one another on either side of the strait, the one at the place called Anaplus, on the left bank as one sails toward the Euxine Sea, the other on the opposite shore. [3] The men of ancient times called this point Proöchthi, because, I suppose, it projects far out from the shore-line there, but now it is called Brochi, for with the passage of time names are corrupted through the ignorance of local residents. [4] And the priests of these two shrines, seeing them utterly dilapidated by time and having become fearful that they would fall in upon them at any moment, petitioned the Emperor to restore both of them to their ancient form. [5] For it was not possible, during the reign of this Emperor, for any church either to be built for the first time or to be restored when it had fallen into disrepair except with imperial funds, not alone in Byzantium, but in every part of the Roman Empire. [6] So the Emperor no sooner had found this pretext than he at once tore them both down to the foundations, so that none of their previous

untidiness was left. He rebuilt the one at Anaplus in the following way. [7] By a stone quay he made the shore-line there curve inward to form a sheltered harbour and he transformed the sea-beach into a market. [8] For the sea at that point is very calm, and makes possible trading with the land. [9] And the sea-traders tie up their skiffs along the stone quay and from their decks exchange their merchandise for the products of the land. [10] Behind this shore-market extends the court (aulê) in front of the church. In colour this court resembles beautiful marbles and snow. [11] Those who promenade here delight in the beauty of the stones, while they rejoice in the view of the sea and revel alike in the breezes wafted from the water and in those that descend from the hills which tower over the land. [12] A circular (enkyklios) stoa surrounds the church and is lacking only on the side towards the east. In the centre stands the church, adorned with stones of an infinite variety of colours. [13] The roof soars aloft in the form of a dome (tholos). How could any man do justice to the work in describing the lofty stoas, the secluded buildings within the enclosure, the charm of the marbles with which both walls and pavements are everywhere arranged? [14] In addition to these an extraordinary amount of gold has been applied to every part of the shrine and looks just as if it had grown upon it. [15] This same description can be applied equally well to the shrine of John the Baptist, which the Emperor Justinian recently dedicated to him at Hebdomum, as it is called. [16] For these two shrines happen to resemble each other closely, except that the shrine of the Baptist chances not to be on the sea.

[17] Now the Church of the Archangel in the place called Anaplus was built in this way. [18] And on the opposite bank is a site somewhat removed from the sea, naturally level and raised to a height by courses of stone. [19] There has been built the other shrine of the Archangel, a work of extraordinary beauty and unrivalled in size, and because of its magnificence worthy both of Michael, to whom it is dedicated, and of the Emperor Justinian, who dedicated it. [20] Not far from this place he restored in the same way a holy shrine of the Virgin which had fallen into disrepair a long time before, and it would be a long task to study this building and describe in words its majesty. But here follows the long-awaited portion of my narrative.

[9] [1] On this shore there chanced to have been from ancient times a remarkable palace. This the Emperor Justinian has dedicated wholly to God, exchanging immediate enjoyment for the reward of piety thereby obtained, in the following manner. [2] There was a throng of women in Byzantium who had carried on in brothels a business of lechery, not of their own free will, but under force of lust. [3] For it was maintained by brothel-keepers, and inmates of such houses were obliged at any and all times to practise lewdness, and pairing off at a moment's notice with strange men as they chanced to come along, they submitted to their embraces. [4] For there had been a numerous body of procurers in the city from ancient times, conducting their traffic in licentiousness in brothels and selling others' youth in the public market-place and forcing virtuous persons into slavery. [5] But the Emperor Justinian and the

Empress Theodora, who always shared a common piety in all that they did, devised the following plan. [6] They cleansed the state of the pollution of the brothels, banishing the very name of brothel-keepers, and they set free from a licentiousness fit only for slaves the women who were struggling with extreme poverty, providing them with independent maintenance, and setting virtue free. This they accomplished as follows. [7] Near that shore of the strait which is on the right as one sails toward the Sea called Euxine, they made what had formerly been a palace into an imposing convent designed to serve as a refuge for women who repented of their past lives, [8] so that there through the occupation which their minds would have with the worship of God and with religion they might be able to cleanse away the sins of their lives in the brothel. [9] Therefore they call this domicile of such women "Repentance," in keeping with its purpose. [10] And these Sovereigns have endowed this convent with an ample income of money, and have added many buildings most remarkable for their beauty and costliness, to serve as a consolation for the women, so that they should never be compelled to depart from the practice of virtue in any manner whatsoever. So much, then, for this.

[11] As one goes on from there toward the Euxine Sea, a certain sheer promontory is thrust out along the shore-line of the strait, on which stands a martyr's shrine of St. Panteleemon, which had been carelessly built to begin with and had suffered greatly from the long passage of time; this the Emperor Justinian removed completely from the spot and in its place built in a very magnificent manner the church which now stands on this site, and he thus preserved to the martyr his honour and at the same time added beauty to the strait by setting these shrines on either side of it. [12] Beyond this shrine, in the place called Argyronium, there had been from ancient times a refuge for poor persons who were afflicted with incurable diseases. [13] This, with the passage of time, had already fallen into a state of extreme disrepair, but he restored it with all enthusiasm, so that it should provide a lodging for those who suffered in this way. And there is a certain promontory named Mochadium near the place which is now called Hieron. [14] There he built another church to the Archangel, one of peculiar sanctity and inferior in esteem to none of the shrines of the Archangel which I have just mentioned.

[15] He also dedicated a shrine to the martyr Tryphon which was finely built at a great cost of labour and of time so that it became an object of altogether indescribable beauty, in a street of the city which is named Pelargus. [16] Furthermore he dedicated a shrine to the martyrs Menas and Menaeus in the Hebdomum. And on the left as one enters the gate which is known as the Golden Gate, this Emperor found a martyr's shrine of St. Ia, fallen in ruins, which he restored with all sumptuousness. [17] Such were the labours accomplished by the Emperor Justinian in connection with the holy places in Byzantium; but to enumerate all the sacred edifices which he built through the length and breadth of the whole Roman Empire is a difficult, nay, an altogether impossible task. [18] However, when it becomes necessary for us to

mention any city or district by name, the sanctuaries in that place shall be recorded at the proper point.

[10] [1] So the churches, both in the city of Constantinople and in its suburbs, were built as stated by the Emperor Justinian; but it is not easy to recount in my narrative each one of the other buildings erected by him. [2] But to speak comprehensively, the majority of the buildings and the most noteworthy structures of the rest of the city, and particularly of the Palace area, had been burned and razed to the ground when he undertook to rebuild them and to restore them all in more beautiful form. [3] Yet it has seemed to me not at all necessary at the present time to recount these in detail, for they all been described with care in my Books on the Wars. At this point, only this shall be set down, that this Emperor's work includes the propylaea (propylaia) of the Palace and the so-called Bronze Gate as far as what is called the House of Ares, and beyond the Palace both the Baths of Zeuxippus and the great colonnaded stoas and indeed everything on either side of them as far as the market-place which bears the name of Constantine. [4] And besides these he remodeled the building known as the House of Hormisdas, which is close by the Palace, so altering and transforming it altogether into a more noble structure as to be really in keeping with the royal residence, to which he joined it, making it greater in width and consequently much more admirable.

[5] And there is before the Palace a certain market-place surrounded by columns (peristylus), which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaeum. This I have mentioned previously when in the account of the Church of Sophia I described the bronze statue of the Emperor commemorating the work, set upon a very tall column made of fitted blocks. [6] To the east of this market-place stands the Senate House, surpassing description by reason of its costliness and every element of its construction, the work of the Emperor Justinian. [7] There the Senate of the Romans assembles at the beginning of the year and celebrates an annual festival, observing always the ancient tradition of the State. [8] Six of its columns stand in front of it, two of which have between them the wall of the Senate House which faces the west, while the four others stand a little beyond it; all of them are white in colour, and in size, I believe, they are the largest of all columns in the whole world. [9] And the columns form a porch (stoa) which carries a roof curving into a vault (tholos), and the whole upper portion of the colonnade is adorned with marbles which rival the columns in their beauty, and the roof is wonderfully set off by a great number of statues which stand upon it.

[10] Not far from this market-place is the residence of the Emperor, and practically the whole Palace is new, and, as I have said, was built by the Emperor Justinian; but it is impossible to describe it in words and it must suffice for future generations to know that it happens to be entirely the work of this Emperor. [11] We know the lion, as they say, by his claw, and so those who read this will know the impressiveness of the Palace from the vestibule (protomenisma). So this entrance, which they call Chalkê, is of the following

sort. [12] Four straight walks stand in a quadrangle (tetragonos) rising heaven-high, equal to each other in all respects except that those which face south and north, respectively, are both slightly shorter than the others. [13] At each corner there projects a sort of structure (anastasis) of very carefully worked stones, ascending with the wall from the ground to its very top, having four sides, to be sure, but joined to the wall on one side, not detracting from the beauty of the structure, but actually adding a sort of grace to it by the harmony of the similar proportions. [14] Above them rise eight arches, four of which support the roof which curves over the centre of the whole structure in the form of a suspended dome (sphairoeidês), while the others, two toward the south and two toward the north, rest upon the adjoining walls and lift on high the vaulted (tholos) roof which is balanced between them. [15] And the whole ceiling boasts of its pictures, not having been fixed with wax melted and applied to the surface, but set with tiny cubes of stone beautifully coloured in all hues, which represent human figures and all other kinds of subjects. [16] The subjects of these pictures I will now describe. On either side is war and battle, and many cities are being captured, some in Italy, some in Libya; and the Emperor Justinian is winning victories through his General Belisarius, and the General is returning to the Emperor, with his whole army intact, and he gives him spoils, both kings and kingdoms and all things that are most prized among men. [17] In the centre stand the Emperor and the Empress Theodora, both seeming to rejoice and to celebrate victories over both the King of the Vandals and the King of the Goths, who approach them as prisoners of war to be led into bondage. [18] Around them stands the Roman Senate, all in festal mood. This spirit is expressed by the cubes of the mosaic, which by their colours depict exultation on their very countenances. [19] So they rejoice and smile as they bestow on the Emperor honours equal to those of God, because of the magnitude of his achievements. And the whole interior of the building, as far as the mosaics above, is clothed with handsome marbles, not only the upright surfaces, but the whole of the pavement as well. [20] Some of these marbles are of Spartan stone which rivals the emerald, while some simulate the flame of fire; but the most of them are white in colour, yet the white is not plain, but is set off with wavy lines of blue which mingle with the white. So much, then, for this.

[11] [1] As one sails from the Propontis up toward the eastern side of the city, there is on the left a public bath. This is called Arcadianae, and it is an ornament to Constantinople, large as the city is. [2] There this Emperor built a court (aulê) which lies outside the city, and it is always open to those who tarry there for promenades and to those who anchor there as they are sailing by. [3] This is flooded with light when the sun rises, and when it passes on toward the west it is pleasantly shaded. And the unruffled sea flows quietly about this court, encircling it with its stream, coming in from the Pontus like a river, so that those who are promenading can actually converse with those who are sailing by. [4] For the sea preserves its depth even though it reaches up

to the very foundations of the court and so is navigable there for ships, and by reason of the deep calm which prevails it brings together those on land and those on the sea so that they can converse with each other. [5] Such, then, is the side of the court which borders on the sea, adorned by the view over it, and breathed upon by the gentle breezes which come from it. [6] Columns and marbles of surpassing beauty cover the whole of it, both the pavement and the parts above. And from these gleams an intensely brilliant white light as the rays of the sun are flashed back almost undimmed. [7] Nay more, it is adorned with great numbers of statues, some of bronze, some of polished stone, a sight worthy of a long description. One might surmise that they were the work of Pheidias the Athenian, or of the Sicyonian Lysippus or of Praxiteles. [8] There also the Empress Theodora stands upon a column, which the city in gratitude for the court dedicated to her. [9] The statue is indeed beautiful, but still inferior to the beauty of the Empress; for to express her loveliness in words or to portray it in a statue would be, for a mere human being, altogether impossible. The column is purple, and it clearly declares even before one sees the statue that it bears an Empress.

[10] I shall now describe the labours which were carried out here by this Emperor to ensure an abundant water-supply. In the summer season the imperial city used to suffer from scarcity of water as a general thing, though at the other seasons it enjoyed a sufficiency. [11] Because that period always brings droughts, the springs, running less freely than at the other seasons, used to deliver through the conduits a less abundant flow of water to the city. [12] Wherefore the Emperor devised the following plan. At the Imperial Portico, where the lawyers and prosecutors prepare their cases, as well as all others who are concerned with such matters, there is a certain very large court (aulê), very long, and broad in proportion, surrounded by columns (peristylōs) on the four sides (tetrapleuron), not set upon a foundation of earth by those who constructed it, but built upon living rock. [13] Four colonnaded stoas surround the court, standing one on each side. Excavating to a great depth this court and one of the stoas (that which faces toward the south), the Emperor Justinian made a suitable storage reservoir for the summer season, to contain the water which had been wasted because of its very abundance during the other seasons. [14] For receiving this overflow of the aqueduct when its stream is spilling over, this cistern both furnishes a place for the water which for the moment can find no space, and provides a supply for those who need it when water becomes scarce. [15] Thus the Emperor Justinian made provision that the people of Byzantium should not be in want of fresh water.

[16] He has also built palaces at various places, completely new ones, one at the Heraeum, which they now call Hieron, and another at the place called Jucundianae. But I could never adequately describe in fitting words either their magnificence and their exquisitely detailed workmanship or their massive bulk. [17] It will be sufficient to say simply that they are regal and that they were built under the personal supervision of the Emperor and with the

help of his skill, while nothing was disregarded, excepting only money. The sum of this indeed was so great that it cannot be computed by any reckoning.

[18] There too he skilfully contrived a sheltered harbour which had not existed before. Finding a shore which lay open to the winds from two directions and to the beating of the waves, he converted it into a refuge for voyagers in the following way. [19] He prepared great numbers of what are called "chests" or cribs, of huge size, and threw them out for a great distance from the shore along oblique lines on either side of the harbour, and by constantly setting a layer of other chests in regular courses upon those underneath he erected two very long walls, which lay at an angle to each other on the opposite sides of the harbour, rising from their foundations deep in the water up to the surface on which the ships float. [20] Then upon these walls he threw rough-cut stones, which are pounded by the surf and beat back the force of the waves; and even when a severe storm comes down in the winter, the whole space between the walls remains calm, a single entrance being left between the breakwaters for the ships to enter the harbour. [21] In that place also he erected holy shrines, as I have already recounted, and stoas and markets and public baths, and practically all the other types of buildings, so that this quarter is in no way inferior to the Palace-quarter within the city. [22] And he also constructed another harbour on the opposite mainland, in the place which bears the name of Eutropius, not far distant from this Heraeum, executed in the same manner as the harbour which I have just mentioned.

[23] Now building operations carried out by the Emperor Justinian in the imperial city, to describe them in the briefest terms, were about such as I have recounted. The one detail which remains to be mentioned here I shall straightway set forth. [24] Since the Emperor maintains his residence here, it results from the very magnitude of the Empire that a throng of men of all conditions comes to the city from the whole world. [25] Each of them is led to come either by some errand of business or by some hope or by chance; and many indeed come whose affairs are not in a happy state at home, in order to petition the Emperor; and all these become residents of the city because of some compulsion which is either urgent, imminent, or threatening. [26] And in addition to their other difficulties, it comes about that these persons are also in want of quarters, being unable to pay the hire of any stay here. [27] This difficulty the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora solved completely for them. For very close to the sea, in the place called Stadium (for in ancient times, I suppose, it was given over to games of some kind), they built a very large hospice, destined to serve as a temporary lodging for those who should find themselves thus embarrassed.

BOOK II.

[1] [1] All the new churches which the Emperor Justinian built both in Constantinople and in its suburbs, and all those which, having been ruined by the passage of time, he restored, as well as all the other buildings which he erected here, have been described in the preceding Book. [2] From this point we must proceed to the defences with which he surrounded the farthest limits of the territory of the Romans. Here indeed my narrative will be constrained to halt painfully and to labour with an impossible subject. [3] For it is not the pyramids which we are about to describe, those celebrated monuments of the rulers of Egypt, on which labour was expended for a useless show,^a but rather all the fortifications whereby this Emperor preserved the Empire, walling it about and frustrating the attacks of the barbarians on the Romans. And it seems to me not amiss to start from the Persian frontier.

[4] When the Persians retired from the territory of the Romans, selling to them the city of Amida, as I have related in the Books on the Wars, the Emperor Anastasius selected a hitherto insignificant village close to the Persian boundary, Daras by name, and urgently set about enclosing it with a wall and making it into a city which should serve as a bulwark against the enemy. [5] But since it was forbidden in the treaty which the Emperor Theodosius once concluded with the Persian nation, that either party should construct any new fortress on his own land where it bordered on the boundaries of the other nation, the Persians, citing the terms of the peace, tried with all their might to obstruct the work, though they were hard pressed by being involved in a war with the Huns. [6] So the Romans, observing that they were for this reason unprepared, pressed on the work of building all more keenly, being anxious to get ahead of the enemy before they should finish their struggle with the Huns and come against them. [7] Consequently, being fearful by reason of suspicion of the enemy, and continually expecting their attacks, they did not carry out the building with care, since the haste inspired by their extreme eagerness detracted from the stability of their work. [8] For stability is never likely to keep company with speed, nor is accuracy wont to follow swiftness. [9] They therefore carried out the construction of the circuit-wall in great haste, not having made it fit to withstand the enemy, but raising it only to such a height as was barely necessary; indeed they did not even lay the stones themselves carefully, or fit them together as they should, or bind them properly at the joints with mortar. [10] So within a short time, since the towers could not in any way withstand the snows and the heat of the sun because of their faulty construction, it came about that the most of them fell into ruin. So were the earlier walls built at the city of Daras.

[11] The Emperor Justinian perceived that the Persians, as far as lay in their power, would not permit this outpost of the Romans, which was a menace to them, to stand there, but they would of course assault it with all their might,

and would use every device to conduct siege operations on even terms with the city; and that a great number of elephants would come with them, and these would bear wooden towers on their shoulders, under which they would stand, supporting them like foundations; and worse still, that they would be led about wherever the enemy needed them and would bear a fortress which would follow along wherever, according to the judgement of their masters, it should happen to be needed; [21] and that the enemy would mount these towers and shoot down upon the heads of the Romans inside the city, and attack them from a higher level; that, furthermore they would raise up artificial mounds against them, and would bring up all manner of siege-engines. [13] And if any misfortune should befall the city of Daras, which was thrown out like an earthwork before the whole Roman Empire and was obviously placed as a threat to the enemy's land, the disaster for us would not stop there, but a great part of the State would be seriously shaken. For these reasons he wished to surround the place with defences in keeping with its practical usefulness.

[14] First of all he rendered the wall (which, as I have said, was very low and therefore very easy for an enemy to assault) both inaccessible and wholly impregnable for an attacking force. [15] For he contracted the original apertures of the battlements by inserting stones and reduced them to very narrow slits, leaving only traces of them in the form of tiny windows, and allowing them to open just enough for a hand to pass through, so that outlets were left through which arrows could be shot against assailants. [16] Then above these he added to the wall a height of about thirty feet, not building the addition upon the whole thickness of the wall, lest the foundations should be overloaded by the excessive weight which bore upon them, so that the whole work would suffer some irreparable damage, but he enclosed the space at that level with courses of stones on the outside and constructed a colonnaded stoa (stoa) running all around the wall, and he placed the battlements above this portico, so that the wall really had a double roof throughout; and at the towers there were actually three levels for the men who defended the wall and repelled attacks upon it. [17] For at about the middle of each tower he added a rounded structure (sphairikon schêma) upon which he placed additional battlements, thus making the wall three-storeyed.

[18] Then he observed that it had come about that many of the towers, as I have said, had fallen into ruin in a short time, yet it was entirely out of the question to pull them down, since the enemy were constantly in the neighbourhood watching their opportunity and continually scouting to see whether they might not find some part of the defences dismantled at any time. But he hit upon the following plan. [19] He left these towers in place, and outside each of them he cleverly erected another structure in the form of a rectangle, which was built securely and with every possible care, and thus, by means of a second set of defences, he safely enclosed those parts of the wall which had suffered. [20] But one of the towers, called the "Tower of the Guard," he pulled down at a favourable moment and rebuilt so that it was

safe, and everywhere he removed the fear which had arisen from the weakness of the circuit-wall. [21] He also wisely added sufficient height, in due proportion, to the outworks. [22] And outside these he dug a moat, not in the way in which men are wont to make them, but only for a short distance and in a novel manner; and the reason for this I shall explain.

[23] The greater part of the defences, as it happens, are in general unapproachable for an attacking party, since they do not stand on level ground and offer no favourable opportunity for assault to an approaching force; but they stand along a steep slope of a rough and precipitous character, where it is not possible for a mine to be dug or for any attack to be made. [24] But on the side which is turned toward south, the soil is deep and soft and consequently easy to mine, so that it makes the city assailable on this side. [25] So in that place he dug a crescent-shaped moat, with sufficient breadth and depth and extending to a great distance, and joined either end of this to the outworks and filled it amply with water, rendering it altogether impassable for the enemy; and on its inner side he set up another outwork. On this the Romans take their stand and keep guard in time of siege, freed from anxiety for the circuit-wall and the other outwork which is thrown out before the main wall. [26] And it happened that between the main wall and the outwork, at the gate which faces toward the village of Ammodius, there lay a great mound of earth, under cover of which the enemy were able to be in large measure unobserved while making mines against the city under the circuit-wall. [27] This mound he removed from the spot and he cleared up the place thoroughly, and thus frustrated any secret attack on the wall by the enemy.

[2] [1] Thus did he construct these fortifications. He likewise made reservoirs for water both in the space between the circuit-wall and the outworks and also close by the church which is dedicated to the Apostle Bartholomew, situated toward the west. [2] And a river also flows from a suburb of the city which is •two miles distant from it and is called Cordes. [3] On either side of it rise two cliffs which are exceedingly rugged. This river flows down between the heights on either side of it all the way to the city, carried along the bases of the mountains, and for just this reason it cannot be turned aside or tampered with by the enemy; [4] for there is no flat ground where they might be able to turn it from its course. And it is drawn into the city in the following way. [5] They have constructed a large channel extending out from the circuit-wall, and covered the mouth of the conduit with a great number of the thickest possible iron bars, some upright and some horizontal; and thus they have arranged that the water can enter the city without endangering the fortifications. [6] In this way the water flows into the city and fills its reservoirs and then is conducted wherever the inhabitants wish, and finally flows out at another part of the city, the opening for its discharge being made like that by which it enters the city. [7] And winding about the plain near by, it used to make the city easy to besiege; for it was not a difficult matter, thanks to the bountiful supply of water, for the enemy to encamp there. [8] So in order that this should not happen the Emperor

Justinian took the situation under careful consideration, seeking diligently to find some remedy for the condition. [9] And God provided the solution for the impossible problem which confronted him, settling the matter out of hand and saving the city without the least delay. This took place as follows.

[10] One of the men serving in the army in this place, either in consequence of a dream or led to do it of his own accord, gathered a great throng of the workmen who were engaged in the building operations and bade them dig a long trench within the circuit-wall, shewing them a certain spot where he said that they would find sweet water welling up from the recesses of the earth. [11] He made the pit in the form of a circle •fifteen feet across and drove it down to a great depth. [12] This pit proved to be the salvation of the city, not indeed by any foresight of these workmen, but an event here, which would have been a disaster, turned out entirely to the advantage of the Romans, all on account of the pit. [13] For during this time extraordinarily heavy rains fell, and the river, which I just mentioned, rose in high flood before the circuit-wall and no longer flowed in its usual bed, and it became so swollen that neither the opening by which it entered the city nor the conduit could contain it as formerly. [14] So it backed up and gathered its stream against the wall, rising to a great height and depth; in some places it was stagnant, but elsewhere it was rough and turbulent. [15] Consequently it broke through the outer defences and levelled them at once, and it also carried away a great portion of the main wall, and forcing open the gates and flowing in a mighty stream it spread over practically the whole city, and it circulated through the market-place and the streets and even through the houses, sweeping onward a great mass of furniture and wooden utensils and other such objects; then plunging into this pit it disappeared underground. [16] Not many days later it emerged near the confines of Theodosiopolis, reappearing in a place •about forty miles from the city of Daras, and it was recognised by the objects which it had carried off from the houses of that city; for the whole of the rubbish came to light there. [17] And since then, in times of peace and in prosperity, this river has flowed into the centre of the city and filled the storage-reservoirs with water to overflowing and then has been borne out of the city by the exits made for this purpose by those who built the city, as I have just explained. [18] And it waters the land in that region and is always eagerly welcomed by all those who dwell round about. But whenever a hostile army comes up to besiege the city, they close the exits through the iron bars by means of sluice-gates (katarraktais), as they are called, straightway forcing the river, by this artificial constraint, to alter its course and change its exit, and they conduct it to the pit and the chasm which leads away from it. [19] And as a result of the enemy are hard pressed by lack of water and are compelled immediately to abandon the siege. Indeed Mirrhanes, the Persian general during the reign of Cabades, came there to lay a siege, but was compelled by all these difficulties to retire after no long time without having accomplished anything. [20] And Chosroes himself, a long time later, came there for the same purpose with a great army and undertook

to attack the city. [21] But finding himself in straits for want of water, and viewing the imposing height of the circuit-wall, which he suspected was quite impregnable, he changed his purpose and departed, marching straight for the Persian territory, outwitted by the foresight of the Roman Emperor.

[3] [1] These projects, then, were carried out as I have said by the Emperor Justinian at the city of Daras. I shall now relate how he brought it about that this city should never again suffer such damage from the river, a matter in which God manifestly assisted his effort. [2] There was a certain Chryses of Alexandria, a skillful master-builder, who served the Emperor in his building operations and built most of the structures erected in the city of Daras and in the rest of the country. [3] This Chryses was away at the time when the disaster caused by the river befell the city of Daras, and after he heard the news he went to his bed in distress over the misfortune. And he saw a vision as follows. [4] It seemed in his dream that a certain creature of enormous size and in other respects too mighty to resemble a man, prescribed and gave directions for a certain device which would be able to prevent the river from again running wild to the ruin of the city. [5] He immediately surmised that the suggestion came from God, and wrote an account of the device and of the vision and sent it to the Emperor, shewing by a sketch the instructions received from the dream. [6] It chanced that not long before this a messenger had come to the Emperor from the city of Daras, who reported to him all the damage which had been caused by the river. [7] Thereupon the Emperor was greatly perturbed and deeply grieved by what had happened, and he straightway summoned the eminent master-builders Anthemius and Isidorus, whom I have mentioned previously. [8] And he communicated the details of what had happened and enquired of the men what contrivance could possibly be made, so that no such calamity might again befall the city. Each of them gave some suggestion which seemed to himself well adapted to the situation. But the Emperor, obviously moved by a divine inspiration which came to him, though he had not yet seen the letter of Chryses, devised and sketched out of his own head, strange to say, the very plan of the dream. [9] However, while their opinion was still unsettled, and it was not clear to them what should be done, they adjourned the conference. [10] And three days later there came a man who shewed to the Emperor the letter of Chryses and the drawing of the device of the dream. [11] The Emperor again summoned the master-builders, and bade them to call to mind their previous thoughts on this problem. [12] And they repeated all the details in order, both what they had devised themselves and what the Emperor had daringly proposed should be done. [13] Then the Emperor shewed them the man who had been sent by Chryses, and his letter, and told them of the vision of what was to be done which had been seen in the dream, and the sketch which had been made, and caused them to marvel greatly, as they considered how God becomes a partner with this Emperor in all matters which will benefit the State. [14] So the Emperor's plan won the day, while the wisdom and skill of the master-builders yielded place to it. [15] And

Chryses again went to the city of Daras, with instructions from the Emperor to carry out with all zeal the scheme which had been described, just as the intimation of the dream had dictated. And he carried out the instructions in the following manner.

[16] At a place •about forty feet removed from the outer fortifications (proteichisma) of the city, between the two cliffs between which the river runs, he constructed a barrier (antiteichisma) of proper thickness and height.

[17] The ends of this he so mortised into each of the two cliffs, that the water of the river could not possibly get by that point, even if it should come down very violently. [18] This structure is called by those skilled in such matters a dam (phraktes) or flood-gate (aris), or whatever else they please. [19] This barrier (antiteichisma) was not built in a straight line, but was bent into the shape of a crescent, so that the curve, by lying against the current of the river,

might be able to offer still more resistance to the force of the stream. [20] And he made sluice-gates (thyrides) in the dam, in both its lower and its upper parts, so that when the river suddenly rose in flood, should this happen, it would be forced to collect there and not go on with its full stream, but discharging through the openings only a small volume of the excess accumulation, would always have to abate its force little by little, and the city-wall would never suffer damage. [21] For the outflow collects in the space which, as I have said, extends for •forty feet between the dam and the outer fortifications, and is under no pressure whatever, but it goes in an orderly fashion into the customary entrances and from there empties into the conduit (ochetagogia). [22] And the city gate itself, which the river had earlier burst open by its sudden pressure, he removed from that place, and he walled up with very large stones the place which it had formerly occupied, because lying on level ground, as it did, it was easily reached by the river when it was in flood. [23] And he set this gate near by at a place higher up where the circuit-wall was on a steep slope, to which the river could not possibly come. Thus were these works carried out by this Emperor.

[24] And there was a great difficulty regarding water for the people living in this city. For they had neither any spring welling up there, nor water conveyed about the streets of the city by a conduit (ochetos); neither was it stored there in any cisterns; but while those very near whose streets the river flowed drew their drinking-water without any trouble because of its proximity, those whose homes chanced to be very far from the river's course, were obliged to choose one of these two alternatives — either to take a vast deal of trouble in order to obtain drinking-water at all, or to perish of thirst. [25] But the Emperor Justinian built a great conduit by which he led the water about to every part of the city, and thus relieved the straits of the inhabitants. [26] Furthermore, he constructed two shrines, both the Great Church, as it is called, and the Church of the Apostle Bartholomew. He also built numerous barracks for the soldiers, in order that they might cause no annoyance whatever to the inhabitants.

[27] Likewise both the wall and the outworks of the city of Amida, which

had been built long before, and, because of their age, seemed likely to fall in ruins, he not long afterwards replaced by new structures and thus restored the safety of the city. [28] All else that he did in the fortresses which chance to be within the territory of these cities I shall now proceed to relate.

[4] [1] As one goes from Daras into the Persian country there lies on the left a territory which cannot be traversed at all by waggons or even by horses, extending to a distance of about two days' journey for an unencumbered traveller and ending in a steep and precipitous bluff which is called Rhabdios.

[2] And on both sides of this road leading to Rhabdios the Persian territory stretches out to a very great distance. [3] At first I was amazed at this, and I made enquiry of the natives how it came about that a road and district which belonged to the Romans had land of the enemy on either side of it; and some of them explained that the place had belonged to the Persians at one time, but that at the petition of the Persian King one of the Roman Emperors had handed over a certain vine-producing village near Martyropolis and had received this place in exchange for it. [4] Rhabdios stands on precipitous and wholly wild rocks, which rise there to an astonishing height. [5] And beneath it is a place which they call the Field of the Romans, I suppose because they marvelled, at first, that though this lies in the midst of Persian territory, it belongs to the Romans. [6] This Field of the Romans lies on flat ground, and is very productive of the crops which grow on corn^o-lands. [7] One might conjecture this also from the circumstance that Persian territory surrounds the place on every side.

[8] There is a fortress in Persia of very great note, Sisauranon by name, which the Emperor Justinian once captured and levelled to the ground, taking captive a great throng of Persian horsemen along with their leader Bleschames. [9] This is separated from the city of Daras by a journey of two days for an unencumbered traveller, and is about three miles distant from Rhabdios. [10] At first this region was unguarded and was of no consequence whatever to the Romans. For it had never been garrisoned nor had it been fortified, and it had not received any other care from them. [11] Indeed it was to the Persians that those who farmed the "Field" which I just mentioned paid fifty staters annually, just as though they were paying ordinary taxes, on condition that they might possess their own lands free from fear and be able to profit by the crops which grew upon them. [12] But the Emperor Justinian arranged to alter all this for their benefit. He encircled Rhabdios with a wall built along the crest of the rocks which rise there, thus making the place inaccessible for the enemy, that is, with the assistance of nature. [13] Then, since those who dwelt there had a scanty supply of water — for no spring was to be found on the summit of the rocks — he constructed two cisterns and dug channels into the rock there in many directions, so that he made many reservoirs for water, in order that when the rain-water collected in these the inhabitants might be able to use them in security, and then they might not be captured easily when hard pressed for lack of water.

[14] And all the other forts which lie in the mountains, forming a line from there and from the city of Daras all the way to Amida, namely Ciphas and Sauras and Margdis and Lournês and Idriphthon and Atachas and Siphriûs and Rhipalthas and Banasymeôn, and also Sinas and Rhasios and Dabanas, and all the others which have been there from ancient times, and which had previously been fenced about in most ridiculous fashion, he rebuilt and made safe, transforming them to their present aspect as to both beauty and strength, and making them impregnable, so that actually they are thrown out as a mighty bulwark to shield the land of the Romans. [15] In that place there is a lofty mountain towering to the sky, exceedingly steep and altogether inaccessible. [16] And in the plain below the soil lies deep and soft, an excellent surface for plowing and extremely good for pasture, for it is covered with a great abundance of forage. [17] There are numerous villages along the foot-hills of the mountain, inhabited by people who are indeed happy in their possession of the necessities of life, but would be easy to capture, if anyone should attack them. [18] This situation the Emperor Justinian corrected for them by building a fort on the very tip of the mountain, so that they might store their most valuable property there and also, fleeing thither, save themselves whenever the enemy should come against them; and this fort is named Basileôn. [19] Furthermore, he carefully rebuilt the forts about the city of Amida which had been enclosed by mud walls and were entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and he so transformed them all that they were perfectly secure. [20] Among these are Apadnas and the little town of Virthon; for it is not easy to mention all separately by name. [21] But, to speak briefly, he has made impregnable at the present time all the places which previously lay exposed to assailants. And as a result of this, Mesopotamia is manifestly inaccessible to the Persian nation.

[22] But I must not pass by in silence the device which he hit upon in the fort Baras which I have just mentioned. It so happened that inside the fort there was no water at all, for this Baras was built on the steep slope of a very high mountain. [23] Outside the fort, however, at a very great distance, there was a spring at the foot of the mountain, beyond the slope; but it had seemed inadvisable to enclose this within the fortifications of the stronghold, so that no part of the defences might lie on level ground and so be easy to capture. Therefore he devised the following plan. [24] He bade them dig within the fortifications until they came approximately to the level of the plain. And when this work was completed according to the Emperor's instructions, water was found there, contrary to all expectation, running in from the spring. Thus not only is the fortress placed in a position of safety, but it proves to be properly situated as regards water also.

[5] [1] In the same way he restored the circuit-wall of Theodosiopolis, which stands on the River Aborrhâs as a bulwark of the Roman Empire; for time had succeeded most completely in breaking it down, so that it afforded no assurance of safety to the people there, but rather kept them all in a constant state of terror for fear that it would fall upon them in the not distant future.

But this Emperor rebuilt the greater part of the wall and thus succeeded effectually in checking the inroads of the Persians at least on the Mesopotamian border.

[2] The work that he carried out in Constantina is also worthy of mention. Formerly the circuit-wall of this city was of such a height that it could be scaled with a ladder, and its whole method of construction made it easy to attack, built as it was by men of former times in a casual sort of way. [3] Indeed the towers were so widely separated that if any attackers advanced to make an assault upon the space between them, the defenders posted on the towers had no means of driving them back. Moreover the wall had suffered from the passage of time, and for the most part had come to be not very far from a state of collapse. [4] Furthermore, the outworks (proteichisma) protecting the city were of such a sort that they looked like a wall built for the purpose of attacking it (epiteichisma). In fact their thickness had not been made more than three feet, and even that was held together with mud, the lower courses for a short space being built of hard stone suitable for making mill-stones (lithos mylites), but the upper portion consisting of so-called "white stone" (leukolithos), which is untrustworthy and very soft. So the whole place was easy for assailants to capture. [5] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with new masonry those portions of the circuit-wall which had suffered, particularly the parts which faced the west and the north. [6] And in all parts of the defences he inserted a new tower between each pair of towers, and consequently all the towers stood out from the circuit-wall very close to one another. [7] Also he added greatly to the height of the whole wall and of all the tower, and thus made the defences of the city impregnable to the enemy. [8] And he also built covered approaches (anodoi) to the towers, and made them three-storied (triôrophoi) by adding courses of stones curved in the form of vaults (tholoi); thus he made each one of them a pyrgo-castellum, as it was called and as it actually was. [9] For they call forts castella in the Latin tongue. Furthermore, Constantina in former times used to suffer terribly for want of water. [10] Outside the city, about a mile away, there are springs of sweet water and then a very large grove planted with trees which reach to the sky; but within the walls, where the streets happen to be sloping, and not level, the city had been without water from early times, and the inhabitants always suffered from thirst and from the great difficulty of obtaining water. [11] But the Emperor Justinian brought the stream within the wall by means of an aqueduct, and adorned the city with ever-flowing fountains, so that he might justly be called its founder. All this, then, is what was done by the Emperor Justinian for these cities.

[6] [1] And there was a Roman fortress beside the Euphrates River on the frontier of Mesopotamia at the point where the Aborrhas River mingles with the Euphrates, into which it empties. [2] This is called Circesium, and was built by Emperor Diocletian in ancient times. [3] And our present Emperor Justinian, finding it dilapidated through the passage of time and neglected besides and in

general unguarded, transformed it into a very strong fortress and brought it about that it became a city conspicuous for its size and beauty. [4] For Diocletian, when he constructed this fortress, did not surround it with a wall on all sides, but carried out the construction of the circuit-wall only as far as the River Euphrates, and he finished off the work at each of the two ends with a terminal tower, but after that he left that side of the site wholly unwallled, believing, I suppose, that the water of the river would serve as a protection for the fort on that side. [5] However, as time went on, the terminal tower which faced toward the south was undermined by the ceaseless wash of the water, and entirely wrecked, and it became evident that, unless someone brought help with the greatest speed, it would collapse immediately. [6] Then appeared the Emperor Justinian, entrusted by God with this commission, to watch over the whole Roman Empire and, so far as was possible, to remake it. [7] Indeed he not only preserved the damaged tower by rebuilding it with hard stone, such as would be suitable for making mill-stones, but he also enclosed the entire unwallled side of the fortress with a wall of the greatest strength, thus doubling its stability by adding the protection given by the circuit-wall to that afforded by the river. [8] In addition to this, he added very strong outworks to the defences of the city, and especially where the junction of the two rivers forms a triangle he thus made any attack by the enemy impossible. [9] And he stationed here a commander of select troops, one whom they call a Duke or "leader," who was to be stationed there permanently, and he thus constituted the place an adequate bulwark of the government of the State. [10] The bath, too, which serves the common use of all the people living in the city, had become entirely useless because of the incursion of the river, with the result that it was no longer capable of providing its usual service; and so he transformed it to its present state of splendour. [11] For all the receptacles which previously were poised on solid masonry and were destined to serve the purposes of the bath (it is beneath these that fire is kept burning, and they are wont to call them cauldrons) — all these, he found, had already been exposed to the invasion of the water, and consequently the bath had been rendered useless; so he strengthened with courses of stone all that had formerly been poised there, as I have explained, and built another structure above it, where the river cannot reach it, and thus he restored to the troops there the enjoyment which they gained from the bath. In such a way was the work at Circesium carried out by this Emperor.

[12] Beyond Circesium is an ancient fort, Annoucas by name, whose wall, which he found a ruin, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt in such magnificent style that thereafter it took second place in point of strength to no single one of the most notable cities. [13] In the same way those forts which lie about the city of Theodosiopolis, some of which had previously been without walls, while some were wallled with mud and the ridiculous construction that goes with mud-work, like a wall made of loose stones, he made truly formidable, as they now are, and altogether unapproachable for their assailants; [14] these include

Magdalathôn with two others which chance to be on either side of it, and two named Thannourios, one large and one small, and Vimisdeôn, and Themeres, as well as Vidamas, Dausarôn, Thiolla, Phichas and Zamarthas, and, one may say, all the rest. [15] And there was a certain spot near the larger Thannourios at which the hostile Saracens, after crossing the Aborrhâs River, had complete freedom to resort, and making that their headquarters they would scatter through the thick leafy forest and over the mountain which rises there, and then they would descend with impunity upon the Romans who lived in the places round about. [16] But now the Emperor Justinian has built a very large tower of hard stone at this point, in which he has established a very considerable garrison, and thus has succeeded completely in checking the inroads of the enemy by devising this bulwark against them.

[7] [1] Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Mesopotamia. And it is necessary for me at this point in my narrative to mention Edessa and Carrhae and Callinicum and all the other towns which chance to lie in that region, for these too are situated between the two rivers. [2] The city of Edessa is situated on a river of small volume, Scirtus by name, which collects its water from a wide area and flows into the middle of the city. [3] And after leaving the city, it flows on further, after it has furnished the city with an abundant supply, effecting its entrance and its exit through channels in the wall constructed by men of former times. [4] On one occasion this river, swollen by heavy rains, rose to an altogether extraordinary height and came upon the city as if bent on destroying it. [5] Consequently it levelled to the ground a large part of the outworks and of the circuit-wall and covered practically the whole city, doing irreparable damage. For in a moment it wiped out completely the finest of the buildings and caused the death of one third of the population. [6] But the Emperor Justinian immediately not only restored all the ruined parts of the city, including the church of the Christians and the structure called Antiphorus, but also made effective provision that such a calamity should not occur again. [7] For he succeeded in making a new channel for the river before the circuit-wall, circumventing it by the following device. [8] The land on the right of the river was formerly both flat and low, while on the left stood a steep hill, which did not permit the stream to turn aside at all or deviate from its customary course, but drove it against the city by sheer compulsion; for on the right there was nothing to check it when it rushed straight towards the city. [9] So he cut down this whole hill, and while making the land on the left of the river hollow deeper than its own bed, on the right he set up a huge wall of stones, each a load for a waggon, so that as long as the river flowed with its usual temperate stream, the city would never be deprived of its benefit, but whenever by any chance it rose to a great height and overflowed, a moderate portion of it would flow as usual into the city, while the excess of the stream would pass under constraint into the channel devised by Justinian and be led behind the hippodrome which is not far away, thus being vanquished, contrary to all expectation, by human skill and foresight. [10]

In addition to this, he also compelled the river to follow a practically straight course after it gets inside the city, and above it he raised a structure resting on either bank so that it could not be diverted from its course, and he thus not only preserved the benefit which the city gained from the river, but also freed the city from the fear of it. [11] Moreover, it happened that the main wall of Edessa and its outworks had suffered from the passage of time no less than they had from the flood and for the most part were fit only to be called ruins. [12] Therefore the Emperor rebuilt both of them and made them new and much stronger than they had been formerly. [13] And a certain section of the circuit-wall of Edessa contains a fort outside of which rose a hill, which stood very close by and commanded the city spread out beneath it. [14] The inhabitants of early times, perceiving that this hill constituted a threat to the city-wall, had brought it inside the circuit-wall, so that it might not render the city vulnerable. [15] But by this they caused the city to be actually much more vulnerable, for a very small cross-wall, lying on the exposed ground, was an easy thing to capture even for children playing at storming a wall. [16] So after this had been torn down, another wall was built on the crest of the hill, the work of the Emperor Justinian, which did not have to fear any attack to be made from a higher position, and this descended along the slope as far as the level ground at either end and was joined to the circuit-wall.

[17] Furthermore, he also took down the walls and the outworks of Carrhae and of the city of Callinicum, which were falling into ruin because of their great age, and once more made them, as they now are, entire and completely invulnerable. [18] He also surrounded with very strong walls the fortress at Batnae which previously had been unwallled and neglected, and transformed it into the fine condition in which it is now seen.

[8] [1] So these structures were erected by the Emperor Justinian in the manner which I have described in Mesopotamia and in Osroenê, as it is called. [2] And I shall describe the fashion in which his work was carried out on the right of the Euphrates River. [3] The other boundaries between the Romans and the Persians are in general of such a sort that the territories of the two peoples are adjacent to each other, and both peoples push out from their own territory and either fight with each other or compose their differences, as people will whenever nations differing in customs and in government hold any land on a common boundary. [4] However, in the territory anciently called Commagenê, but now known as Euphratesia, they do not live close to each other at all. For a land which is altogether bare and unproductive separates the Roman and the Persian territory for a great distance, and this contains nothing worth fighting for. [5] Both of them, however, have built forts carelessly of unbaked brick in the desert which chances to lie nearest to the land which they inhabit; [6] these forts never suffered attack from their neighbours, for both peoples lived there without enmity, since they possessed nothing which their adversaries might desire. [7] The Emperor Diocletian had built three forts, such as I have described, in this desert, one of which, Mambri by name, had fallen

into decay in the long course of time and was restored by the Emperor Justinian.

[8] At a distance of •about five miles from this fort on the road to Roman territory, Zenobia, wife of Odonathus, who was ruler of the Saracens in that district, once founded a small city in earlier times and gave her name to it; [9] for the name she gave it was Zenobia, as was fitting. But the long period of time that had elapsed since those events had reduced its circuit-wall to a ruin, since the Romans were quite unwilling to take care of it, and thus it had come to be altogether destitute of inhabitants. [10] So it was possible for the Persians freely, whenever they wished, to get into the middle of Roman territory before the Romans had word of the hostile inroad. [11] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt Zenobia completely and he filled it quite full of inhabitants, and he stationed there a commander of select troops and a thoroughly adequate garrison, and made it a bulwark of the Roman Empire and a frontier barrier against the Persians; [12] indeed he did not simply restore its previous form, but he actually made it very much stronger than it was before. [13] It is surrounded by cliffs which stand very close to the city, and for this reason it was possible for the enemy to shoot down from their summits upon the heads of the defenders of the circuit-wall. [14] This he was anxious to prevent, and so he built a certain additional structure on the top of the circuit-wall, at precisely the place where the cliffs are nearest, designed to serve permanently as a shelter for the men fighting there. Such a structure they call “wings” (ptera), because it appears to droop, as it were, from the wall. [15] However, it is impossible to describe all that the Emperor accomplished at Zenobia, since, seeing that it occupies a site far removed from any neighbour and on this account is sure to be always in danger, and that it is unable to secure succour because there are no Romans who live near at hand, the Emperor considered the city worthy, as well he might, of his unceasing attention above all other places. Nevertheless I shall describe a few of the things that were done there.

[16] By the side of Zenobia flows the Euphrates River, passing to the east of it and coming very close to the circuit-wall on that side; but since high mountains rise beside the river at this point, the stream cannot spread out at all, but by reason of the proximity of these mountains and because it is constrained by its banks, which are hard, it would gather its stream into an extraordinarily narrow space whenever it chanced that rains caused it to rise in flood, and would pour out against the wall and immediately rise, not only about the foundations but even as far as the battlements. [17] And when the wall had once been soaked through by the water, the result was that the river loosened the courses of stones and thereafter the wall stood upon a dangerous conglomeration of stones. [18] But he constructed a huge protective wall (probolos) of hard stone of equal length with the circuit-wall, and caused this to check at that point the turbulence of the river when it rose, and so freed the wall entirely from harm from this source, even should the river rise to a great height in its most violent state. [19] He also found that portion of the city’s

circuit-wall which faces the north dangerously weakened by the passage of time; so he first took it down, along with the outworks, clear to the ground, and then rebuilt it, yet not as it had been before, for at that point the buildings of the city had been especially crowded, causing trouble to those who lived there. [20] But he went beyond the place where the foundations of the circuit-wall and the outworks had formerly stood, even beyond the moat itself, and there he built the wall, which is a remarkable sight in itself and exceptionally beautiful, thus materially increasing the area of Zenobia. [21] Furthermore, a certain hill stood very close to the city on the side toward the west, from which it was possible for the barbarians, whenever they attacked the city, to shoot down with impunity upon the heads of the defenders, and even upon the heads of those who stood in the middle of the city. [22] So the Emperor Justinian connected the fortifications with this hill on both sides, and thus brought it inside Zenobia; and he escaped the whole hill throughout, so that no one might climb it to work harm from there, and placed another fortification on its summit and thus made the city altogether inaccessible to those who wished to assault it. [23] For beyond the hill it chanced that the ground is very low and for this reason it is impossible for the enemy to approach it at all closely. [24] And immediately above the depression rise the mountains which face toward the west. Yet this Emperor did not provide only for the safety of this city, but he erected churches there and barracks for the military forces; [25] nay more, he added to it public baths and stoas. For all these operations the master-builders Isidorus and John gave their assistance — John a Byzantine and Isidorus a Milesian by birth, nephew of the Isidorus whom I have mentioned before. Both of them were young men, but they displayed a natural ability beyond their years, and they had come to their full maturity with their experience in the Emperor's undertakings.

[9] [1] After Zenobia is the fortress of Sura, situated on the Euphrates River, which had such contemptible defences that when Chosroes, on one occasion, attacked, it did not hold him off for so much as a half-hour, but was captured immediately by the Persians. [2] This too, like Callinicum, was rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, who surrounded the entire fortress with a very stout wall, which he strengthened by outworks and thus brought it about that it should no longer yield to the enemy's assaults.

[3] There is a certain church in Euphratesia, dedicated to Sergius, a famous saint, whom men of former times used to worship and revere, so that they named the place Sergiopolis, and they had surrounded it with a very humble wall, just sufficient to prevent the Saracens of the region from capturing it by storm. [4] For the Saracens are naturally incapable of storming a wall, and the weakest kind of barricade, put together with perhaps nothing but mud, is sufficient to check their assault. [5] At a later time, however, this church, through its acquisition of treasures, came to be powerful and celebrated. [6] And the Emperor Justinian, upon considering this situation, at once gave it careful attention, and he surrounded the church with a most remarkable wall,

and he stored up a great quantity of water and thus provided the inhabitants with a bountiful supply. [7] Furthermore, he added to the place houses and stoas and the other buildings which are wont to be the adornments of a city. [8] Besides this he established there a garrison of soldiers who, in case of need, defended the circuit-wall. [9] Chosroes, indeed, the King of the Persians, made a great effort to capture the city, sending a great army to besiege it; but because of the strength of the defences he accomplished nothing and abandoned the investment.

[10] The Emperor bestowed the same careful attention on all the towns and forts which lie on the farthest borders of Euphratesia, namely Barbalissus and Neocaesarea, and Gaboulôn, as it is called, and the Pentacomia which is on the Euphrates River, and Europus. Also he found the walls of the place called Hemerium to be in part carelessly built and of unsafe construction and in part actually to consist of nothing but mud, while the place suffered from great scarcity of water, so that it was in every way an object of contempt to the enemy; so he razed it to the ground and immediately rebuilt it all carefully with courses of very hard stone, rightly giving the work generous proportions of both breadth and height, and he fashioned many cisterns for water in all parts of the defences, filling all these amply with rain-water; moreover, he established a large garrison there and so brought about the state of security which we now see there, and made the city's dominance sure. [11] And if one should consider these fortresses very carefully, disregarding all the other useful works of the Emperor Justinian, he would say that it was solely for this purpose that he succeeded to the imperial power, since God unceasingly provides for the safety of the Roman people.

[12] In addition to these he also found Hierapolis, which happens to be the first of all the cities of that region, lying exposed to those who wished to attack it, and by his prudent foresight he assured its safety. [13] Previously it had enclosed a large tract of barren land, and consequently was undefended; so he relieved it of this senseless expanse and made the circuit-wall shorter as well as more safe, reducing it to a measure calculated to meet the actual need of the situation, and thus bringing it about that the city is among the strongest of the present day. [14] Here too he conferred the following benefit. An unfailing supply of drinking-water springs up from the recesses of the earth in the midst of the city and makes a broad lake there. [15] And whenever an enemy chances to lay siege to the place, this water proves the salvation of the city; but in good times the lake becomes unnecessary to it, because abundant water is brought in from outside. [16] And as time went on, the inhabitants of the place, having enjoyed a long-continued peace and experiencing no need, treated this spring with neglect. For in times of prosperity human nature knows not how to take thought against ills not yet at hand. [17] So they kept filling the lake constantly with pollution, both swimming and washing clothes in it and throwing all manner of rubbish into it. . . .

[18] There were also two other towns in this district of Euphratesia, Zeugma

and Neocaesarea, which went by the name of fortified towns, but were enclosed by fortifications resembling walls of loose stones. [19] And because these were made too low when they were built, they were accessible to the enemy without any effort, since they could leap upon them without fear, while their extreme narrowness made them impossible to defend, since the garrison of the town had no place whatever where they might stand and carry on the defence. [20] But the Emperor Justinian surrounded these places too with real walls of adequate breadth and height, and he made them strong in their other equipment, and so brought it about that they are justly called cities and are too well built for hostile attacks.

[10] [1] He also turned his attention to the cities which had been captured by Chosroes. (This was when that barbarian ignored the oaths he had sworn at the time of the “endless peace” and the money given him to secure this peace; when he was filled with malice against the Emperor Justinian because he had become master of Italy and of Libya by conquest, and was moved less by the obligation of his oaths than by his rage at the Emperor’s successes. So he watched for the right time, and when the greater part of the Roman army was away in the West, he invaded the Roman territory without any previous notice, before the Romans could hear of the approach of the enemy). So the Emperor Justinian transformed these cities to such a state of safety and beauty that they are all much more prosperous at the present time than they were formerly, and no longer need either be fearful of the inroads of the villainous barbarians, or apprehensive for any reason of their attacks.

[2] Above all he made Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, both fairer and stronger by far than it had been formerly. [3] In ancient times its circuit-wall was both too long and absolutely full of many turnings, in some places uselessly enclosing the level ground and in others the summits of the mountain, and for this reason it was exposed to attack in a number of places. [4] But the Emperor Justinian, contracting this wall as would best serve the need, carefully remade it so as to guard, not the same districts as before, but only the city itself. [5] As for the lower part of the circuit-wall, where the city was dangerously spread out (since it lay in a soft plain and could not be defended because of a superfluity of wall), he changed its course by drawing it inward as much as possible, it having gained protection by being compressed. [6] And the River Orontes, which had flowed past the city, as it formerly was, in a winding course, he thrust over so that it ran in a new bed, hugging the circuit-wall. [7] He did this by winding the stream round again by means of an artificial channel as near the wall as possible. In this way he both relieved the city of the danger arising from its excessive size and recovered the protection afforded by the Orontes. [8] And by building other bridges there he furnished new means of crossing the river; and after changing its stream for as great a distance as was necessary, he then restored it to its former course. [9] The upper part, in the mountainous portion, he managed as follows: on the summit of the mountain which they call Orocassias there happened to

be a rock outside the wall and very close to it, nearly matching in height the circuit-wall in this place and making it quite vulnerable. [10] It was from this point in fact that the city was taken by Chosroes, as is related in my description of the event. The region within the circuit-wall was for the most part bare and difficult to traverse, [11] for high rocks and impassable ravines divide up that district, so that the paths from that place have no outlet. Thus the wall there is just as if it belonged to some other city and not to Antioch at all. [12] So he bade a long farewell to the rock, which, being close to the wall, was fiendishly devised to make the wall easy to capture, and decided to build the defences of the city as far away from it as possible, having learned from the experience of events the folly of those who had built the city in former times. [13] Moreover he made quite level the region within the wall, which formerly had been precipitous, building ascents there which would in the future be passable, not only for men on foot, but for cavalry, and would even serve as waggon-roads. [14] He also built baths and reservoirs on these hills inside the wall. And he dug a cistern in each tower, remedying by means of rain-water the want of water which had previously existed there.

[15] It is proper to describe also what he did with the torrent which comes down from these mountains. Two precipitous mountains rise above the city, approaching each other quite closely. [16] Of these they call the one Orocassias and the other is called Staurin. Where they come to an end they are joined by a glen and ravine which lies between them, which produces a torrent, when it rains, called Onopnictes. This, coming down from a height, swept over the circuit-wall and on occasion rose to a great volume, spreading into the streets of the city and doing ruinous damage to those who lived in that district. [17] But even for this the Emperor Justinian found the remedy, in the following way: Before that part of the circuit-wall which happens to lie nearest to the ravine out of which the torrent was borne against the fortifications, he built an immense wall or dam, which reached roughly from the hollow bed of the ravine to each of the two mountains, so that the stream should no longer be able to sweep on when it was at full flood, but should collect for a considerable distance back and form a lake there. [18] And by constructing sluice-gates in this wall he contrived that the torrent, flowing through these, should lose its force gradually, checked by this artificial barrier, and no longer violently assault the circuit-wall with its full stream, and so overflow it and damage the city, but should gently and evenly glide on in the manner I have described and, with this means of outflow, should proceed through the channel wherever the inhabitants of former times would have wished to conduct it if it had been so manageable.

[19] This, then, was what the Emperor Justinian accomplished concerning the circuit-wall of Antioch. He also rebuilt the whole city, which had been completely burned by the enemy. [20] For since everything was everywhere reduced to ashes and levelled to the ground, and since many mounds of ruins were all that was left standing of the burned city, it became impossible for the

people of Antioch to recognise the site of each person's house, when first they carried out all the debris, and to clear out the remains of a burned house; and since there were no longer public stoas or colonnaded courts in existence anywhere, nor any market-place remaining, and since the side-streets no longer marked off the thoroughfares of the city, they did not any longer dare to build any house. [21] But the Emperor without any delay transported the debris as far as possible from the city, and thus freed the air and the ground of all encumbrances; then he first of all covered the cleared land of the city everywhere with stones each large enough to load a waggon. [22] Next he laid it out with stoas and market-places, and dividing all the blocks of houses by means of streets, and making water-channels and fountains and sewers, all those of which the city now boasts, he built theatres and baths for it, ornamenting it with all the other public buildings by means of which the prosperity of a city is wont to be shewn. He also, by bringing in a multitude of artisans and craftsmen, made it more easy and less laborious for the inhabitants to build their own houses. [23] Thus it was brought about that Antioch has become more splendid now than it formerly was. [24] Moreover, he built there a great Church to the Mother of God. The beauty of this, and its magnificence in every respect, it is impossible to describe; he also honoured it with an income of a very large sum. [25] Moreover, he built an immense Church for the Archangel Michael. He made provision likewise for the poor of the place who were suffering from maladies, providing buildings for them and all the means for the care and cure of their ailments, for men and women separately, and he made no less provision for strangers who might on occasion be staying in the city.

[11] [1] In the same manner he also repaired the circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had been faultily built in the first place and had been wrecked by the years; he restored this along with the outworks and rendered it much more defensible than before, and gave it the form which we now see.

[2] There was a certain utterly neglected fortress in Syria, Cyrus by name, which the Jews built in early times, when they have been carried off as captives from Palestine into Assyria by the army of the Medes and were released much later by King Cyrus; and for this reason they named the place Cyrus, paying this tribute of gratitude to their benefactor. [3] And as time went on this place came to be neglected in general and remained altogether without walls. [4] But the Emperor Justinian, both out of his forethought for the safety of the State, and at the same time shewing especial honour to the Saints Cosmas and Damian, whose bodies lie close by even up to my day, made Cyrus a flourishing city and one of great note through the safety afforded by the strongest possible wall, by the greatest strength of its garrison, by the size of its public buildings, and by the imposing scale of its other appointments. [5] The interior of this city had been destitute of water from ancient times; outside of it there had been a certain extraordinary spring which provided a great abundance of water fit for drinking, yet it was utterly useless to the

inhabitants of the city, since they had no means of drawing water from the spring except with great toil and danger. [6] For it was necessary, in order to get to it, for them to make use of circuitous paths, since a steep and altogether impassable area lay between; thus they could easily fall into the hands of the enemy if they should happen to lie in ambush. [7] So he dug a channel outside the city all the way to the spring, not allowing it to be seen, but concealing it as carefully as possible, and thus he provided the inhabitants with a supply of water without toil or risk.

[8] Also he restored the entire circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had fallen down to the ground and anyhow was unsuitable for defence, by means of exceptionally stout masonry, and he strengthened it with outworks. [9] Furthermore, he improved the other towns and forts of the Syrians in the same manner and made them altogether objects of envy.

[10] Thus did the Emperor Justinian assure the safety of Syria. And there is a city in Phoenicia by Lebanon, Palmyra by name, built in a neighbourless region by men of former times, but well situated across the track of the hostile Saracens. [11] Indeed it was for this very reason that they had originally built this city, in order, namely, that these barbarians might not unobserved make sudden inroads into the Roman territory. [12] This city, which through lapse of time had come to be almost completely deserted, the Emperor Justinian strengthened with defences which defy description, and he also provided it with abundant water and a garrison of troops, and thus put a stop to the raids of the Saracens.

BOOK III.

[1] [1] Thus the Emperor Justinian strengthened the territory of the East with fortifications, as I have set forth in the preceding Book. And since I began at the Persian frontier of the Roman Empire in describing the defences built by him, it has seemed to me not inappropriate to pass on from there to Armenia, which adjoins Persia from the city of Amida as far as the second Theodosiopolis. [2] But now that I am about to mention the buildings of that region, it seems to me highly opportune to describe first how this Emperor brought the Armenians out of a very precarious way of life into their present state of complete safety. [3] For it was not by means of buildings alone that he saved these subjects of his, but also by his foresight in other matters, as I shall presently shew. But I must go back a little to begin.

[4] The Armenians of ancient times used to have a king of their own race, as is recorded by those who have written the history of the earliest period. [5] And when Alexander of Macedon overthrew the King of the Persians, the Persians remained quietly in subjection, but the Parthians rose against the Macedonians and overcoming them in the struggle, drove them out of the country and gained the territory as far as the Tigris River, and the Persian state remained subject to them after that for five hundred years, until Alexander, son of Mamaea, became Emperor of the Romans. [6] At one time, one of the kings of the Parthians appointed his brother, Arsaces by name, King of the Armenians, as the history of the Armenians declares. I say this lest anyone think the descendants of Arsaces are Armenians. [7] At least peace continued between them for these five hundred years because of the kinship. And the King of the Armenians had his seat in Greater Armenia, as it was called, being subject to the Roman Emperor from an early period; but at a later time two sons were born to a certain Arsaces, King of Armenia, Tigranes and Arsaces by name. [9] When this king was about to reach the end of his life, he made a will in which he made both of the boys his successors in the kingdom, not assigning an equal weight of power to each of them, but leaving to Tigranes a four-fold portion. [10] So the father Arsaces, having made this disposition of the royal power, departed from the world, but his son Arsaces, being resentful and angry because his portion proved to be inferior, laid the matter before the Roman Emperor, hoping that by using every device he might destroy the power of his brother and nullify his father's purpose as being unjust. [11] At that time Theodosius, son of Arcadius, who was still quite a boy, was ruling over the Romans. And Tigranes, fearing the vengeance of the Emperor, placed himself in the power of the Persians and handed over his kingdom to them, considering it preferable to live as a private individual among the Persians, than to make a fair settlement with his brother and with him to rule over the Armenians righteously and justly. [12] Arsaces meanwhile still feared the hostility of the Persians and of his brother and resigned his own kingship in

favour of the Emperor Theodosius, on certain conditions which I have described in the Books on the Wars. [13] And for a time the territory of the Armenians was fought over by the Romans and the Persians, but at length they reached an agreement that the Persians should hold the portion of Tigranes and the Romans that of Arsaces. [14] On these conditions a truce was agreed upon by both sides and thereafter the Roman Emperor always appointed a ruler for the Armenians, whomever he wished and whenever he wished. [15] And they used to call this ruler even to my time the Count of Armenia.

[16] Such a government, however, was not able to repel the attacks of its enemies, since it had at its disposal no regular troops, and therefore the Emperor Justinian, observing that Armenia was always in a state of disorder and was, for this reason, an easy prey for the barbarians, abolished this form of administration and placed a general in charge of Armenia and assigned to him military forces sufficient to withstand the inroads of the enemy. [17] Such was the disposition he made for Greater Armenia, as it is called, but in the other Armenia, which extends inside of the Euphrates River as far as the city of Amida, five Armenian satraps held the power, and these offices were always hereditary and held for life. [18] However, they received the symbols of office only from the Roman Emperor. It is worth while to describe these insignia, for they will never again be seen by man. [19] There is a cloak made of wool, not such as is produced by sheep, but gathered from the sea. [20] Pinnos the creature is called on which this wool grows. And the part where the purple should have been, that is, where the insertion of purple cloth is usually made, is overlaid with gold. [21] The cloak was fastened by a golden brooch in the middle of which was a precious stone from which hung three sapphires by loose golden chains. [22] There was a tunic of silk adorned in every part with decorations of gold which they are wont to call plumia. [23] The boots were of red colour and reached to the knee, of the sort which only the Roman Emperor and the Persian King are permitted to wear.

[24] Roman soldiers, however, never fought under the orders of the king of the Armenians or of the satraps, but these rulers conducted their wars independently. [25] But at a later time, during the reign of Zeno, some of the satraps decided to array themselves openly with Illus and Leontius, who had revolted against the Emperor. [26] Consequently, when the Emperor had reduced Leontius and Illus to subjection, he left in the former status only one satrap, who held a very inferior province which was not of any importance, in the region called Belabitinê; all the others he removed and no longer permitted them to transmit the office to those connected with them by kinship, but he ordained that on each occasion different men of the Emperor's choosing should succeed to these offices, just as is the rule in all the other offices of the Romans. [27] Even so, these officials were not in command of Roman soldiers, but only of a few Armenians, as had been customary previously, with the result that they were unable to repel the attacks of an

enemy. [28] And when this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he immediately did away with the title of Satrap and appointed over these provinces two Dukes, as they are called; [29] and he put under them a very large force of regular Roman troops to assist them in guarding the Roman frontier. He also built strongholds for them as follows.

[2] [1] I shall start from the places in Mesopotamia, so that my account may proceed in order from the points which I have described previously. One of the rulers of the Armenian provinces, whom they call Duke, he established in the city called Martyropolis, and the other in a stronghold which they call Citharizôn. [2] And I shall make clear just where in the Roman Empire these places actually are. In the part of Armenia called Sophanenê there is a certain city known as Martyropolis which lies on the very bank of the Nymphius River, quite close to the enemy, because the Nymphius River at that point divides the Roman from the Persian territory. [3] For across the river lies the territory of Arxanenê, which has been subject to the Persians from early times. Even so the city had been neglected by the Romans and lay always exposed to these barbarians. [4] In consequence of this, indeed, Cabades, King of the Persians, invaded the Roman territory during the reign of Anastasius, directing his march by way of Martyropolis, since it lay a little more than a one-day's journey from Amida for an unencumbered traveller. [5] And as if he were still dealing with some minor detail of his journey, an incidental task of his campaign, he captured this city out of hand, not by storming the wall or by making any kind of assault or siege, but simply by sending an announcement that he would arrive. [6] For the inhabitants of the city, knowing well that they would not be able to hold out even for one short moment against the attacking force, when they learned that the army of the Medes had arrived close by, immediately approached Cabades in company with Theodorus, who at that time was Satrap of Sophanenê, clothed in his robes of office, and placed themselves and Martyropolis at his disposal, bearing in their hands the public taxes of two years. [7] And Cabades was pleased with this and withheld his hand from the city and from the whole district, as belonging to the Persian Kingdom, and he let the people go unharmed, neither inflicting any damage nor changing the form of the government, but he appointed Theodorus himself their Satrap, entrusting to him, since he had shewn himself not indiscreet, the tokens of the office, with the intention that he watch over the land for the Persians. [8] Then he led his army forward, captured Amida by siege, and marched back into the land of Persia, as I have related in the Books on the Wars. [9] And the Emperor Anastasius, understanding that it was not possible to defend Martyropolis from hostile assault, since it had no defences, not only shewed no resentment against Theodorus and the people of Sophanenê, but actually expressed deep gratitude to them for their action. [10] Indeed the circuit-wall of this Martyropolis was really about four feet in thickness, while it was only twenty feet high. In consequence, the wall could not only be easily assaulted by the enemy if they stormed it or brought up their siege

engines, but it was quite easy for them simply to scramble over it.

[11] Therefore the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan: Outside the circuit-wall he dug a trench, and laying foundations there he built a second wall with a thickness of four feet, leaving a space of four feet between the two walls; and he raised the new wall also to a height of twenty feet and made it in all respects equal to the first. [12] Then, by throwing stones and mortar into the space between the two walls, he brought this work to perfection by forming one solid structure with a thickness of twelve feet. [13] Above this he added, in about the same thickness, the same height which the earlier wall had had. [14] He also constructed admirable outworks for the city and all the other things without exception on which a city's defences are based.

[3] [1] As one goes westerly from Martyropolis, there is a place called Pheisôn, which is also situated in Armenia, in the section called Sophanenê, a little less than a day's journey distant from Martyropolis. [2] Beyond this place, at about the eighth milestone, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains come together to form two passes, very close to each other, which they are wont to call cleisurae. And when travellers go from Persarmenia to Sophanenê, either from the Persian territory itself or by way of the fortress of Citharizôn, it is necessary for them to get there by way of these two passes. [4] The natives call the one of them Illyrisum and the other Saphchae. [5] And for the purpose of checking the enemy's advance in that region, these places were, as it happened, worth making thoroughly defended and well equipped in every way. Yet they remained altogether unguarded by the men of earlier times. [6] But the Emperor Justinian, by establishing admirable forts at Pheisôn and in the passes and posting in them invincible garrisons, has made this region altogether inaccessible to the barbarians. Such were the things done by the Emperor Justinian in the territory called Sophanenê.

[7] And at the place named Citharizôn, which is in Asthianinê, as it is called, he established a fortress which had not existed before, a huge and extraordinarily impregnable stronghold, situated in a hilly region. [8] He also brought into it an abundant supply of water and made all other proper arrangements for the inhabitants, and stationed there the second of the Dukes, as I have said, with a very numerous garrison of soldiers. And he thereby guaranteed the safety of the Armenian provinces.

[9] As one goes from Citharizôn to Theodosiopolis and the other Armenia, the land is called Chorzanê; it extends for a distance of about three days' journey, not being marked off from the Persian territory by the water of any lake or by any river's stream or by a wall of mountains which pinch the road into a narrow pass, but the two frontiers are indistinct. [10] So the inhabitants of this region, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Persians, have no fear of each other, nor do they give one another any occasion to apprehend an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming. [11] And if the commanders on either side ever make an expedition against the others, when they are ordered to do

so by their sovereign, they always find their neighbours unprotected. [12] Their very populous towns are close to each other, yet from ancient times no stronghold existed on either side. [13] It was possible, therefore, for the Persian King to proceed by this route with comparative ease and convenience in passing through into Roman territory, until the Emperor Justinian blocked his way in the following manner. There was a town in the middle of this region named Artalesôn [14] which he surrounded with a very strong wall and converted into an impregnable fortress; and he stationed there detachments of regular troops which by his orders were always to be commanded by an officer whom the Romans, in the Latin tongue, call a Dux. By these measures he fortified the whole of that remote frontier.

[4] [1] These things were accomplished by the Emperor in the manner described. I shall now go on to tell about all the other works which by his diligence he executed in the other Armenia. [2] The city of Satala had been in a precarious state in ancient times. For it is situated not far from the land of the enemy and it also lies in a low-lying plain and is dominated by many hills which tower around it, and for this reason it stood in need of circuit-walls which would defy attack. [3] Nevertheless, even though its surroundings were of such a nature as this, its defences were in a perilous condition, having been carelessly constructed with bad workmanship in the beginning, and with the long passage of time the masonry had everywhere collapsed. [4] But the Emperor tore all this down and built there a new circuit-wall, so high that it seemed to overtop the hills around it, and of a thickness sufficient to ensure the safety of its towering mass. [5] And he set up admirable outworks on all sides and so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. He also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osroenê.

[6] There was a certain fortress in that region erected by men of ancient times on the crest of a precipitous hill, which in early times Pompey, the Roman general, captured; and becoming master of the land by his victories, he strengthened this town materially and named it Coloneia. [7] This also the Emperor Justinian, finding that it had suffered much through the ravages of so long a time, restored with all his resources. [8] Furthermore, by granting great sums to the inhabitants of this region he brought it about that everywhere on their own land either new defences were built or those which had fallen into decay were restored. [9] Thus practically all the fortifications which can be found there are, as it happens, the work of the Emperor Justinian. [10] In that region also he constructed the forts called Baiberdôn and Areôn. He likewise restored Lysiorium, which had already fallen into ruin, as well as Lytatarizôn. [11] And at the place which they call Germani Fossatum he built a new fort. Furthermore, he rebuilt the walls of Sebasteia and Nicopolis, cities of Armenia, for they were all on the point of collapsing, having suffered from the long passage of time, and he made them new. [12] He also carried out the building of churches and monasteries there. In Theodosiopolis he dedicated a church to the Mother of God, and he restored monasteries in the place called

Petrios and in Coucarizôn. [13] In Nicopolis he built the monastery named after the Forty-five Saints, and in Bizani a church to the martyr George. [14] And close to Theodosiopolis he restored a monastery named after the Forty Martyrs.

[15] There was in antiquity a certain town in Lesser Armenia, as it is called, not far from the Euphrates River, in which a detachment of Roman soldiers was posted. [16] The town was Melitenê, and the detachment was called a "legion." In that place the Romans in former times had built a stronghold in the form of a square, on level ground, which served adequately as barracks for the soldiers and provided a place where they could deposit their standards. [17] Later on, by decision of the Roman Emperor Trajan, the place received the rank of a city and became the metropolis of the province. [18] And as time went on, the city of Melitenê became large and populous. But since the people were no longer able to live inside the fortifications (for it was reduced to a small space, as I have said) they settled in the adjoining plain, and here their shrines have been erected and the residences of the magistrates and their market-place, and all the other places for the sale of goods, and all the streets and stoas and baths and theatres of the city, and whatever else contributes to the embellishment of a great city. [19] In this way it came about that Melitenê was for the most part unwallled. Accordingly the Emperor Anastasius undertook to surround the whole of it with a wall; [20] before, however, he had carried out his purpose he fulfilled the measure of his life. But the Emperor Justinian built about it on all sides a very strong wall and made Melitenê a mighty stronghold for the Armenians and a thing of beauty.

[5] [1] These works he built in the Armenia which is on the right of the Euphrates River; and I shall go on to tell what was done by him in Greater Armenia. [2] When Theodosius, the Emperor of the Romans, took over the dominion of Arsaces, as I have just related, he built on one of the hills a fort which was easy for assailants to capture, and he named it Theodosiopolis. [3] This city Cabades, who was then King of Persia, captured in passing when he was marching on Amida. [4] The Roman Emperor Anastasius not much later built a city there, enclosing within the circuit-wall the hill on which stood the fortress of Theodosius. [5] And he gave his own name to the city, yet he was quite unable to obliterate that of Theodosius, the earlier founder; for although familiar names are wont constantly to be changed by men for new, nevertheless the older names cannot easily be relinquished. [6] This wall of Theodosiopolis was of adequate extent, but it did not rise to a height proportionate to its thickness. [7] In fact it attained a height of only about thirty feet, and for this reason it had proved to be very easy for an enemy to capture by assault, particularly for the Persians. [8] In other ways too it was vulnerable; for it was protected neither by outworks nor by a moat. [9] Indeed, there was actually a certain elevation which came very close to the city and overtopped the circuit-wall. Consequently the Emperor Justinian took the following measures to meet the situation. First of all he dug a very deep ditch

all around, making it very like the ravines between lofty mountains. [10] Next he sliced off the elevated ground, so transforming it as to make a series of impassable cliffs and of gulches affording no outlet. And in order that the wall might be exceptionally high and altogether impregnable, in case anyone should attack it, he added all the details which he had incorporated in the fortifications of Daras. [11] For he made the embrasures quite narrow, just wide enough for the defenders to be able to shoot from them, and by adding courses of stones he built thereon a storey like a gallery all round, and then cleverly added other embrasures above them; and surrounding the wall with outworks on all sides he made it much like the circuit-wall of Daras, fashioning each tower as a strong fortress. [12] Here he stationed all the troops and the General of the two Armenias, and thus he made the Armenians thenceforth too strong to be afraid of the attacks of the Persians.

[13] In Bizana, however, nothing was done by this Emperor, for the following reason. This town lies on level ground, and about it for a great distance stretch plains suitable for cavalry manoeuvres, and there are many pools of standing water there. [14] Consequently it is not only very open to the enemy's attack, but most unhealthy for the inhabitants. [15] For these reasons he passed over this town and in another situation built a city bearing the Emperor's own name, a very noteworthy and altogether impregnable place, in the district called Tzumina, which is •three miles removed from Bizana, situated on very precipitous ground and enjoying excellent air.

[6] [1] These, then, are the things which the Emperor Justinian did in Armenia. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to record at this point in my account what he did for the Tzani, for they are neighbours of the Armenians. [2] From ancient times the Tzani have lived as an independent people, without rulers, following a savage-like manner of life, regarding as gods the trees and birds and sundry creatures besides, and worshipping them, and spending their whole lives among mountains reaching to the sky and covered with forests, and cultivating no land whatever, but robbing and living always on their plunder. [3] For they themselves are not skilled in cultivating the soil, and their country, at least where it is not occupied by the steepest mountains, is hilly. [4] These uplands are not rolling hills, neither do they provide soil such as would produce harvests, if one should cultivate them, but they are excessively rough and extremely hard and altogether unfavourable to any crops. [5] It is not possible either to irrigate the land or to harvest corn;° one cannot find meadow-land in that region, indeed even the trees which grow in Tzanica bear no fruit and are entirely unproductive, for seasons do not regularly follow one another, and the earth is not visited at one period by a cold wet season, while at another the sun's heat quickens it, but the land is held in the grip of an endless winter and buried under everlasting snows. [6] For this reason the Tzani in ancient times used to live in independence, but during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian they were defeated in battle by the Romans under the general Tzittas, and abandoning the struggle they all

straightway yielded to him, preferring the toilless servitude to the dangerous liberty. [7] And they immediately changed their belief to piety, all of them becoming Christians, and they altered their manner of life to a milder way, giving up all brigandage and always marching with the Romans whenever they went against their enemies. [8] And the Emperor Justinian, fearing that the Tzani at some time might alter their way of life and change their habits back to the wilder sort, devised the following measures.

[9] Tzanica was a very inaccessible country and altogether impossible for horses, being shut in on all sides by cliffs and for the most part by forests, as I have said. [10] As a result of this it was impossible for the Tzani to mingle with their neighbours, living as they did a life of solitude among themselves in the manner of wild beasts. [11] Accordingly he cut down all the trees by which the routes chanced to be obstructed, and transforming the rough places and making them smooth and passable for horses, he brought it about that they mingled with other peoples in the manner of men in general and consented to have intercourse with their neighbours. [12] After this he built a church for them in a place called Schamalinichôn, and caused them to conduct services and to partake of the sacraments and propitiate God with prayers and perform the other acts of worship, so that they should know that they were human beings. [13] And he built forts in all parts of the land, assigned to them very strong garrisons of Roman soldiers, and gave the Tzani unhampered intercourse with other peoples. [14] I shall now tell where in Tzanica he built these forts.

[15] It happens that a certain point in that land forms the meeting-place of three roads; for the boundaries of the Romans and the Persarmenians and the Tzani themselves begin here and extend out from this point. [16] Here he constructed a very strong fortress which had not existed previously, Horonôn by name, making it the mainstay of the peace of the region. [17] For the Romans were first able to enter Tzanica from that point. Here too he established a military commander called a Duke. [18] And at a place two days' journey distant from Horonôn, where the territory of the Tzani who are called Ocenitae commences (for the Tzani are divided into many tribes), there was a sort of stronghold built by men of former times, Chartôn by name, which long before had already become a ruin through neglect. [19] This the Emperor Justinian restored, and he caused a large population to live there and to preserve order in the country. [20] And as one goes from there towards the east, there is a precipitous ravine which extends around to the north; here he built a new fortress, Barchôn by name. [21] Beyond this at the foot of the mountain are folds where the cattle of the Ocenite Tzani, as they are called, find shelter; and they breed these cattle, not in order to plough the earth — for the Tzani are altogether indolent and averse to the tasks of husbandry, as I have said, and they neither plough nor perform the other labours of husbandry — but in order to have a constant supply of milk and to eat their flesh. [22] Beyond the foothills of the mountain, where the place called Cena lies in the level country,

as one goes approximately westward there is a fort named Sisilissôn; this had been built in ancient times, but, with the passage of time, had come to be deserted; so the Emperor Justinian restored it and established there a sufficient garrison of Roman soldiers, just as in all the others. [23] And as one goes on from that fort, there is a certain place on the left, towards the north, which the natives call Longini Fossatum, because in earlier times Longinus, a Roman general, an Isaurian by birth, had made an expedition against the Tzani on one occasion and built his camp there. [24] In that place this Emperor built a fortress called Bourgousnoes, one day's journey distant from Sisilissôn. [25] This fort of Sisilissôn too was rendered very strong by this same Emperor, as was stated a little above. [26] From there begins the territory of the Coxyline Tzani, as they are called; and here has now made two forts, one called Schamalinichôn and the other is the one they call Tzanzacôn; and here he posted another military commander.

[7] [1] These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in Tzanica. In the land beyond this which lies along the Euxine Sea there is a city named Trapezus; and since there was a scarcity of water in that city, the Emperor Justinian built an aqueduct which they call the Aqueduct of the martyr Eugenius, and thus he put an end to the scarcity for the inhabitants of this place. [2] Both there and in Amaseia he restored most of the churches, which had been damaged by the long passage of time. [3] And beyond the confines of Trapezus there is a place called Rhizaeum which he restored himself, throwing about it a novel system of defences which surpass any description or report of them. [4] For it was so fashioned as to be inferior in point of size and safety to no one of the cities on the Persian frontier.

[5] He also built a fortress in Lazica named Losorium, and he fortified the mountain-passes of the country which they are wont to call cleisurae, with the purpose, of course, that the enemy might be shut off from the entrance into Lazica. [6] Nay more, he restored the Christian church in Lazica, which was old and had become weakened in its masonry. [7] He likewise founded Petra in Lazica, an admirable city, which the Lazi through their own folly handed over to the Persians, bringing Chosroes there with a great army; but the Romans prevailed over the Persians in the struggle and killed a part of the enemy and made the rest captive and razed the city, so that the barbarians might not again be able, by coming there, to work mischief, all of which has been set forth by me in the Books on the Wars. [8] In the same place I have explained how the Romans dismantled two fortresses, Sebastopolis and Pityûs, on the opposite coast as one goes from Lazica to the Maeotic Lake, because they had heard that Chosroes was eager to send an army with men to take possession of these fortresses. [9] But at a later time the Emperor Justinian restored the whole of Sebastopolis and made it impregnable by means of its circuit-wall and other defences, adorned it with streets and with various buildings besides, and produced the present city, which is remarkable among the cities of the world for its beauty and its size.

[10] Moreover, in the case of the coastal cities Bosphorus and Chersôn, which lie on the shore there beyond the Maeotic Lake and the Taurians and Tauroscythians, at the extremity of the Roman Empire, he found that the walls had fallen completely into ruin, and he made them remarkably beautiful and thoroughly safe. [11] In that region he built two fortresses, that called Aloustou and the one among the Gorzoubitae. [12] He strengthened the defences of Bosphorus particularly, which in ancient times had been a barbarous city lying under the power of the Huns, but which he himself had brought under Roman sway. [13] And there is a certain region along the coast there called Dory, where Goths have lived from ancient times, those namely who had not followed Theoderic when he went into Italy, but remained there of their own accord, and even up to my day they are on terms of alliance with the Romans. And they march with the Romans against their enemies whenever the Emperor so wishes. [14] Their number comes to three thousand, and they are both excellent soldiers and skilfull tillers of the soil, and the most hospitable people in the world. [15] The land of Dory itself lies on high ground, yet it is neither rough nor hard, but good soil and productive of the best crops. [16] However, Emperor built no city or fortress in any part of this land, since the men of the country would not suffer themselves to be confined in any fortified places but always lived most happily in an open plain. [17] But wherever the region seemed easily accessible to assailants, he shut off these approaches with long walls and thereby freed the Goths from fear of invasion. So much, then, for this.

[18] There is a certain city on the coast of the Euxine Sea, inhabited by Thracians, Anchialus by name, which properly we should mention in describing the land of Thrace. [19] But since in the present place our treatise has enumerated the buildings of this Emperor along the shore of the Euxine Sea, it is in no way inappropriate to describe at this point in our narrative what he built at this town of Anchialus. [20] At that place, then, natural springs of warm water bubble forth, not far from the city, providing natural baths for the people there. [21] The Emperors of earlier times used to allow this place to remain unwallled from ancient times, though such a host of barbarians dwelt near by; [22] and sick persons used to visit the place, gaining relief at the cost of danger. [23] Therefore the Emperor Justinian made it a walled city, as it now is, and thus made the cure free from danger. [24] So the strongholds of the East, as well as those of Armenia and Tzanica, and those on both shores of the Euxine Sea, were thus built by the Emperor Justinian. [25] From this point we must proceed to the buildings which he erected in the rest of Europe.

BOOK IV.

[1] [1] To cross a great sea in an ill-appointed ship is a miserable task, I think, beset with the greatest dangers. And it is the same thing to recount the buildings of the Emperor Justinian with impotent words. [2] For through the greatness of his mind this Emperor has accomplished things which surpass description, in buildings no less than in practically all other matters. [3] And in Europe, being consumed by the desire to make his services fit the magnitude of the need which existed for them, he has carried out works which are not easy to enumerate or simple to describe in writing. [4] For these works have been executed with due regard for the nearness of the Ister River and for the consequent necessity imposed by the barbarians who threaten the land. [5] For it has as neighbours nations of Huns and of Goths, and the regions of Taurus and of Scythia rise up again it, as well as the haunts of the Sclaveni and of sundry other tribes — whether they are called by the writers of the most ancient history Hamaxibian or Metanastic Sauromatae, and whatever other wild race of men really either roams about or leads a settled life in that region. [6] And in his determination to resist these barbarians who were endlessly making war, the Emperor Justinian, who did not take the matter lightly, was obliged to throw innumerable fortresses about the country, to assign to them untold garrisons of troops, and to set up all other possible obstacles to an enemy who attacked without warning and who permitted no intercourse. [7] Indeed it was the custom of these peoples to rise and make war upon their enemies for no particular cause, and to open hostilities without sending an embassy, and they did not bring their struggles to an end through any treaty or cease operations for any specified period, but they made their attacks without provocation and reached a decision by the sword alone. But still we must proceed owing to the remainder of our story. [8] For when we have begun a task it will be better to go through to the end in any fashion whatever than to depart leaving it unfinished. [9] Certainly my action would not be free from blame, if, after our Emperor has performed the work, I for my part, should shrink from telling of what he has done. [10] But now that we are on the point of enumerating the buildings of this Emperor in Europe, it is proper first to make a few observations regarding this land.

[11] There is a narrow arm or bight which is pushed out from the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, and strays away from the remainder of the sea and goes up into the mainland, and dividing the continent for a great distance it forms the Ionian Gulf, having on the right the Epirotes and the other peoples of that region and on the left Calabria; then, being compressed into a narrow inlet for a very long way, the sea bounds practically the whole continent. [12] And the River Ister, flowing higher up, and opposite the sea, makes the land of Europe an island, as it were. [13] In that region this Emperor built many noteworthy buildings. [14] Indeed he fortified the whole of Europe so safely that he

rendered it inaccessible to the barbarians who live beyond the Ister River.

[15] But I must commence from the native land of the Emperor, to which of all places must be given first rank in all other respects, and with this I must begin my present account. [16] For to this land alone is it given to rejoice and swell with pride and enjoy the solemn dignity of having bred and presented to the Romans an Emperor whose works it is impossible to tell in words or to record in writing.

[17] Among the Dardanians of Europe who live beyond the boundaries of the Epidamnians, close to the fortress which is called Bederiana, there was a hamlet named Taurisium, whence sprang the Emperor Justinian, the founder of the civilised world. [18] He therefore built a wall of small compass about this place in the form of a square, placing a tower at each corner, and caused it to be called, as it actually is, Tetrapyrgia. [19] And close by this place he built a very notable city which he named Justiniana Prima (this means “first” in the Latin tongue), thus paying a debt of gratitude to the home that fostered him. [20] Yet all Romans should have shared this debt among themselves, for this land nourished a common saviour for all of them. [21] In that place also he constructed an aqueduct and so caused the city to be abundantly supplied with ever-running water. [22] And many other enterprises were carried out by the founder of this city — works of great size and worthy of especial note. [23] For to enumerate the churches is not easy, and it is impossible to tell in words of the lodgings for magistrates, the great stoas, the fine market-places, the fountains, the streets, the baths, the shops. [24] In brief, the city is both great and populous and blessed in every way — a city worthy to be the metropolis of the whole region, for it has attained this rank. [25] It has also been allotted to the Archbishop of Illyricum as his seat, the other cities conceding this honour to it, as being first in point of size. Thus this city has won honour for the Emperor in requital for his favour; [26] for while it prides itself upon its foster-son, he for his part takes a corresponding pride in that he built the city. But this will be enough for me to tell; [27] indeed it is impossible to describe everything in detail, for since the city is the Emperor’s own, any account of it necessarily falls short of the reality.

[28] He also rebuilt the entire fortress of Bederiana and made it much stronger. And there was a certain city among the Dardanians, dating from ancient times, which was named Ulpiana; [29] he tore down most of its circuit-wall, for it was seriously damaged and altogether useless, and he added a very great number of improvements to the city, changing it to its present fair aspect; and he named it Justiniana Secunda [30] (*secunda* is the Latin word for second). Near it he built another city where none had existed before, which he called Justinopolis from his uncle’s name. [31] Furthermore, he found the walls of Sardica and Naïso polis, as well as those of Germaê and of Pantalia, in ruins from the passage of time, and he built them up securely and made them such that they could defy the enemy. [32] Between these he built three small forts, Cratiscara and Quimedaba and Roumisiana. Thus he raised these cities from

their foundations. [33] And wishing, as he did, to make the Ister River the strongest possible line of first defence before them and before the whole of Europe, he distributed numerous forts along the bank of the river, as I shall soon describe, and he placed garrisons of troops everywhere along the shore, in order to put the most rigid check upon the crossing of the barbarians there. [34] But even after he had completed all these precautions, he was still uneasy because of the uncertainty of human plans; and since he reflected that if it should ever be possible for the enemy to break through somehow, they would then fall upon fields which would be entirely unguarded, would enslave the whole population, from the youths upwards, and would plunder all their property, he did not leave their common safety to depend upon the forts along the river alone, but he also provided individual safeguards for them; [35] for he made the defences so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified; and he did this both here and in New Epirus, as it is called, and in Old Epirus. [36] Here too he built the city of Justinianopolis, which formerly was called Adrianopolis.

[37] And he restored Nicopolis and Photicê and the place called Phoenicê. These two towns, namely Photicê and Phoenicê, stood on low-lying ground and were surrounded by stagnant water which collected there. [38] Consequently the Emperor Justinian, reasoning that it was impossible for walls to be built about them on foundations of solid construction, left them just as they were, but close to them he built forts on rising ground which is exceedingly steep. [39] There was a certain ancient city in this region, abundantly supplied with water and endowed with a name worthy of the place; for it was called Euroea from ancient times. [40] Not far from this Euroea a lake spreads out with an island in its midst upon which rises a hill. [41] And a break is left in the lake just large enough so that a kind of approach to the island remains. [42] The Emperor moved the inhabitants of Euroea to this place, built a very strong city, and put a wall about it.

[2] [1] Beyond the whole of Epirus and Aetolia and Acarnania, as one skirts the coast, one comes to the Crisaean Gulf and the Isthmus and Corinth and the other parts of Greece. These regions made demands upon his very utmost wisdom. [2] And above all else one might wonder at the number of walled cities with which he fortified the Roman Empire. For he made provision for all of them and especially for the by-paths up the mountains at Thermopylae. [3] First of all he raised the walls there to a very great height. For the mountains which rise in that region were easy to capture, if one should assault them, they being not really walled, but simply supplied with what appeared to be a cornice of masonry. [4] On all these walls he even placed double battlements, and he likewise carried out this same improvement in the fortress which had stood there from an ancient date, carelessly constructed, as it was, by men of former times. [5] For he built it up to an adequate height and made the ramparts double. [6] In addition to this he also devised for the fort, which

was entirely without water, a storage-cistern for rain-water. [7] Furthermore, he carefully walled off many paths up the mountains which previously had been both unguarded and unwalled. [8] One might marvel with good reason at the Persian King for spending so much time there and finding only a single narrow path, and that too with the help of Grecian traitors, while in fact there are many unwalled routes there which are practically waggon-roads. [9] The sea, washing the base of the mountains, continually made new ascents from this point; and since glens and impassable ravines abound there, it seemed to the men of ancient times impossible to close up thoroughly with walls the openings which had been made by nature; and because of their reluctance to undertake a difficult task, they carelessly abandoned their safety to chance, basing their hope of salvation on the assumption that the barbarians would be ignorant of the road. [10] For since men always shrink from hard work, they imagine that what has seemed very difficult to them will not be easy for any others. [11] So no man will any longer dispute the assertion that the Emperor Justinian has shewn himself most provident and most exceptionally careful as compared with all other men who have ever lived, seeing that even the sea, though it comes close to the mountains and surrounds them and beats against them, has not proved an obstacle sufficient to prevent the foundations from being securely laid in the midst of the surging water and on the wet sand, or to forestall the most striking union of the most opposite elements, which are thus forced to yield to man's skill and to bow to his superior power. [12] Yet this Emperor, even after joining the forests and the glens to each other, and fastening the sea to the mountain, and encircling all Greece with strongholds, did not stop his zeal for his subjects, but he also constructed many forts inside the wall, planning for all the contingencies which sway man's fortune, [13] so that if these walls in any manner or at any time chanced to be captured, the garrisons might still be maintained in the fortresses. [14] Furthermore, he placed granaries and reservoirs of water in safe places everywhere and established there about two thousand soldiers as a garrison, a thing which not one of the former Emperors has done in all time. [15] For these walls were entirely unguarded from early times even to my day, and some of the peasants from the neighbourhood, when the enemy came down, would suddenly change their mode of life, and becoming makeshift soldiers for the occasion, would keep guard there in turn; and because of their inexperience in the business they, together with Greece itself, proved an easy prey to the enemy, and on account of this niggardliness the country through its whole extent lay open to the oncoming barbarians.

[16] Thus did the Emperor Justinian secure the defences at Thermopylae. And in all the cities outside the pass, which in that region are sufficiently numerous, he very carefully built strong walls, both at Saccus and Hypatê and Coracii and Unnum and Baleae and at Leontarium, as it is called. [17] At Heraclea he did as follows. As one descends from Illyricum into Greece, one is confronted by two mountains which rise very close together for a long

distance, forming between them a narrow pass of the sort which they are wont to call cleisurae. [18] A small stream comes down between them, in the summer season flowing with pure drinking-water from the mountains which rise there and forming a tiny brook. [19] Whenever it rains, however, an exceedingly deep and very violent torrent billows down, gathering its volume chiefly from the streams which course down from the mountain peaks thereabout. [20] At that point it was possible for the barbarians with no difficulty to effect an entrance both against Thermopylae and into that part of Greece. [21] But on either side of the pass there had been two fortresses from early times, on the one side the city of Heraclea, which I have just mentioned, and on the other, separated by no small distance, Myropoles, as it is called. [22] Both these fortresses had lain in ruin from ancient times, so the Emperor Justinian rebuilt them and closed the pass with a very strong cross-wall which he made fast to each of the two mountains, thus blocking the entrance for the barbarians, and the stream when it is in flood is now forced to form a pond inside the wall and then to flow over it and go on wherever it chances.

[23] He also rendered secure all the cities of Greece which are inside the walls at Thermopylae, renewing their circuit-walls in every case. [24] For they had fallen into ruin long before, at Corinth because of terrible earthquakes which had visited the city; and at Athens and Plataea and the towns of Boeotia they had suffered from the long passage of time, while no man in the whole world took thought for them. [25] But he left nothing vulnerable or unguarded, for after vigilantly caring for the safety of his subjects, he felt convinced that even if the barbarians should chance to overrun the country about Thermopylae, they would, as soon as they learned that after surmounting this obstacle they would have gained no advantage (the rest of Greece having been fortified at every point), give up immediately in despair, knowing that it would be necessary for them to besiege each individual city. [26] For when expectation is prolonged, it cannot endure the strain, nor does it even desire a profit which is delayed; but it simply abandons the contingent chance of success through waiting.

[27] When the Emperor Justinian, after he had accomplished all this, learned that all the cities of the Peloponnesus were unwalled, he reasoned that obviously a long time would be consumed if he attended to them one by one, and so he walled the whole Isthmus securely, because much of the old wall had already fallen down. [28] And he built fortresses there and established garrisons. In this manner he made all the towns in the Peloponnesus inaccessible to the enemy, even if somehow they should force the defences at Thermopylae. Thus were these things done.

[3] [1] There was a certain city in Thessaly, Diocletianopolis by name, which had been prosperous in ancient times, but with the passage of time and the assaults of the barbarians it had been destroyed, and for a very long time it had been destitute of inhabitants; and a certain lake chanced to be close by which was named Castoria. There is an island in the middle of the lake, for

the most part surrounded by water; [2] but there remains a single narrow approach to this island through the lake, not more than fifteen feet wide. [3] And a very lofty mountain stands above the island, one half being covered by the lake while the remainder rests upon it. [4] Wherefore this Emperor passed over the site of Diocletianopolis, since it was manifestly easy of access and had long been in a state of collapse, as has been stated, and built a very strong city on the island, and, as was right, he allowed it bear his own name. [5] Furthermore, he restored the circuit-walls of Echinaeus and of Thebes and Pharsalus and of all the other cities of Thessaly, including Demetrias and Metropolis, as it is called, and Gomphi and Tricca, making them safe and strong, since they had all suffered with the passage of time and could be captured easily, if anyone should attack them.

[6] But now that we have reached Thessaly, let us direct our account at once to Mt. Pelion and the Peneus River. [7] This river flows from Mt. Pelion with a gentle stream which encircles and beautifies the city of Larissa; Phthia is no longer in existence, this being the work of the long passage of time. [8] And this river flows on with a very easy descent all the way to the sea. The country is indeed productive of all kinds of crops and has a surfeit of drinking-water, yet the inhabitants of the region could not derive the least enjoyment from these things because they were in a state of constant terror and ever expected the barbarians to fall upon them, since there was no stronghold anywhere in this district where they might take refuge and find safety. [9] Even Larissa and Caesarea, since their defences had suffered excessively, had come to be practically unwallled. [10] But the Emperor Justinian made the defences of both very strong, and in this way brought the blessings of true prosperity to the region. [11] And not far away rise precipitous mountains, covered with lofty trees — the home of the Centaurs. [12] This was the spot where the battle of the Lapiths took place against the race of the Centaurs, as our myths have it from of old, childishly pretending that in early times a strange race of men existed, compounded of the nature of two creatures. [13] Ancient times have also left a certain testimony to the myth in a name applied to a fort in the mountains there; for the place is called Centauropolis even to my day. [14] The wall of this fort, which had already fallen down, as well as the fortress of Eurymenê, near by, which was in the same state, was rebuilt and strengthened by the Emperor Justinian. [15] This Emperor restored also many other forts in Thessaly, the names of which I shall include a little further on in the list of towns in Macedonia which have been provided with walls.

[16] But now, in order that no portion of Greece may be left unmentioned, we must go to the island of Euboea, for it stands close to Athens and Marathôn. [17] This island of Euboea is thrown out into the sea in front of Greece, and it looks as if it had been cut off somehow from the mainland, having been one with the continent formerly, but later split off by a strait. [18] An arm of the sea breaks the continent there near the city of Chalcis, collecting itself in a narrow stream and being compressed by its banks to the

breadth of a brook. [19] The portion of land which is thus cut off forms an island, and the strait is called Euripus. [20] Such then is Euboea; and a bridge over the strait is formed by a single timber laid across it. This the natives put in place whenever they wish, and thus they seem to be mainlanders when they cross on foot to the opposite shore; but when they remove it and cross the strait in boats, they become islanders again, so that by the placing or removal of one timber they may either walk or go in boats . . . they call the enclosed portion Pallenê. [1] The natives in ancient times had closed the entrance with a cross-wall, with which they had linked together the two seas; and they had built there a city which in former times they called Potidaea, but now Cassandria. [22] But time so ruined all the buildings in this place that a Hunnic tribe, in overrunning that region not long ago, destroyed the city and the wall without fear, quite as if they were doing something just by the way, though since the world began they had never stormed a wall. [23] But this too provided the Emperor Justinian with an opportunity to display his skill and his magnanimity. [24] For, by always bringing his wisdom to bear in circumventing the difficulties he meets with, he straightway uses beneficent measures, thus transforming the greatest disasters into a happier state of affairs. [25] So in this way he brought it about that both the city of Pallenê, which stands as a bulwark of the whole region, and the cross-wall at the entrance of the peninsula, became manifestly impregnable and able to defy any who should wish to attack them. [26] These things, then, were done by him as his service to Macedonia.

[27] Not far from Thessalonica flows a certain river, Rhechius by name, which wanders through a goodly land of deep soil and then empties into the sea near by. [28] The river flows with a steady current, the water is calm and drinkable, and the ground is level with many ploughed fields and bottom-lands with good pasturage. [29] In these respects the land is blessed, but it used to be completely exposed to the barbarians, having neither fortress nor any other defence in a space of forty miles. [30] Consequently the Emperor built a new fort of great strength beside the mouth of the Rhechius River, near the shore of the sea, and it has been named Artemisium.

[4] [1] It is proper to tell also how many other strongholds he constructed in this part of Europe. If we were making this catalogue of the forts in this region — those namely which were constructed by the Emperor Justinian — for the benefit of some other nations of men who lived far away, with a different form of government, in some place where the record would lack the testimony of witnesses, I know well that my account would seem fabulous and altogether incredible because of the mere number of the forts built. [2] But as matters stand, since these things are to be seen at no great distance, and visitors from these regions are very numerous in our midst, let us, boldly telling the truth, well vouched for as it is, proceed with unbounded confidence to enumerate without any hesitation all the forts which the Emperor Justinian has built throughout the regions which I have just described, either by restoring those

fortifications which were in ruins or by contriving new walls. [3] It will be preferable to set them all down together in catalogue form so that my narrative may not become utterly irksome by interspersing a crowd of place-names here and there in it.

Now the following new forts were built by the Emperor in New Epirus:

Boulpiansus

Episterba

Sceminites

Aona

Stephaniacum

Argus

Aliula

Dyrrachin

St. Sabianus

Gemenus

Bacustê

Alistrus

Patapa

Epidunta

Bacusta

Martis

Eirenê

Speretium

Aoiôn

Stredên

Gynaecomites

Labellus

Epileum

Piscinae

Deuphracus

Dolebin

Hedonia

Titiana

Cithinas

Ulibula

Brebatê

Thesaurus

The following were restored:

St. Stephen's

Cethreôn

Apis

Peleum

Comê

Pacuê

The city of Scydreôn
Antipagrae
Tithyra
Brebeta
Bupus
Endyneia
Dionysus
Ptocheiou
Tyrcanus
Capaza
Pupsalus
Gabraeum
Dionoia
Clementiana
Illyrin

Cilicae

Argyas
Therma
Amanteia
Paretium

And in Old Epirus the following new forts were built:

Parmus
Olbus
Cionin
Marciana
Algus
Ceimenus
Xeropotamus
Europê
Chimaerae
Helega
Homonoia
Adanum

And the following forts were restored:

Murciara
Castina
Genysius
Percus
Marmarata
Listria
Petroniana
Carmina
St. Sabinus'

And a cistern in the fort of Comê

Martius

Pezium

Onalus

And from Justinianopolis and Photicê, two forts of St. Donatus

Symphygium

Pronathidum

Hedones

Castellus

Bulibas

Palyrus

Trana

Poseidôn

Colophonia

In Macedonia:

Candida

Colobona

Basilica Amyntou

Melichiza

Pascas

Aulon

Bolbus

Brigizes

Optas

Pleurum

Caminus

Therma

Bogas

Neapolis

Calarnas

Museum

Acremba

Adrianium

Edana

Siclae

Nymphium

Metizus

Argicianum

Bazinus

Cassopas

Parthiôn

Gentianum

Priniana

Thesteum

Cyrrou
Gourassôn
Cumarciana
Limnederium
Bourboöden
Babas
Cryniana
Pelecum
Lagês
Crataea
Phasciae
Placidiana
Hygea
Limnaae
Optium
Charadrus
Cassopes

And these forts were restored in Thessaly:

Alcôn
Lossonus
Geronticê
Perbyla
Cercineou
Scidreûs
Phracellan

In Dardania the following were built. New:

Laberium
Castimum
Rhabestum
Castellium
Acrenza
Terias
Drullus
Victorias

And the following were restored:

Cesiana
Tezulê
Usiana
Besiana
Mascas
Listê
Celliriana
Zysbaes
Genzana

Petrizên
Eutychiana
Mulatô
Belas
Cattarus
Cattarecus
Pentza
Cattapheterus
Dabanus
Cubinus
Germatza
Victoriana
Azeta
Durbuliana
Suricum
Cusines
Tuttiana
Ballesiana

Bella

Catrelates
Casyella
Maniana
Priscupera
Miletês
Dardapara
Cesuna
Beriniana
Lasbarus
Castellobretara
Edetziô
Dinium
Cecola
Emastus
Castelona
Capomalba
Seretus
Ptocheium
Cuinô
Berzana
Besaïana
Arsa
Blezô
Labutza

Quintou
Bermezium
Catrasema
Rhotun
Cobenciles
Marcelliana
Primoniana
Pamilinus
Aria
Near the city Sardicê:

Scupium
Stenes
Marcipetra
Briparum
Romaniana
Struas
Protiana
Maccuniana
Scopentzana

And in the district of Cabetzus, Balbae was built new, and the following were restored:

Byrsia
Stamazô
Clesbestita
Duiana
Turicla
Medeca
Peplabius
Cunae
Bineüs
Trisciana
Parnusta
Tzimes
Bidzô
Stenecorta
Danedebae
Ardeia

. . . the following new:

Bugarama
Betzas
Bregedaba
Borbrega
Turûs

And the following were restored:

Salebries
Arcunes
Duries
Buteries
Barbaries
Arbatias
Cutzusura
Etaeries
Itaberries
Bottes
Bitzimaeas
Badziania
Banes
Bimerus
Tusudeaas
Scuanes
Scentudies
Scares
Tugurias
Bemastes
Stramentias
Lignius
Itadeba

Near the city Germenne, Scaplizo was built new, and the following were restored:

Germas
Candaras
Rolligeras
Scinzerries
Rhiginocastellum
Suegogmense

Near the city Pauta:

Tarporum
Suabastas
Cherduscera
Blebois
Zeapuries

In the district of Scassetana:

Alarum
Magimias
Lucunanta
Balausum
Buttis

Near the city . . . the following were built new:

Calbentia
Pharanores
Stranbasta
Aldanes
Barachtestes
Sarmates
Arsena
Brarcedum
Eraria
Bercadium
Sabiniribes
Timiana
Candilar
Arsaza
Biculea
Castellium
Groffes
Garces
Pistes
Dusmanes
Bratzista
Holodoris
Cassia
Grandetum
Urbriana
Nogeto
Gurbicum
Lautzones
Duliares
Mediana
Tiuncona
Castellium

And the following were restored:

Hercula
Mutzianicastellum
Burdopes
Calis
Millareca
Dedbera
Chesdupara
In the district of Remisianisia:
Brittura
Subaras
Lamponiana

Stronges
Dalmatas
Primiana
Phrerraria
Topera
Tomes
Cuas
Tzertzenutzas
Stens

Aeadaba

Destreba
Pretzouries
Cumudeba
Deurias
Lutzolo
Rhepordenes
Spelonca
Scumbro
Briparo
Tulcoburgo
Longiana
Lupophantana
Dardapara
Burdomina
Grinciapana
Graecus
Drasimarca

In the district of Aquenisium, Timathochiôm was built new, and the following were restored:

Petres
Sculcoburgo
Vindimiola
Braeola
Arganocili
Castellonovo
Florentiana
Romyliana
Septecasae
Argentares
Auriliana
Gembero
Clemades
Turribas

Gribo
Chalaro
Tzutrato
Mutzipara
Stendas
Scaripara
Odriuzo
Cipipene
Trasiana
Potes
Amulo
Setlotes
Timaciolum
Meridio
Meriopontede
Tredetetilious
Braeola
Motreses
Vicanovo
Quartiana
Julioballae
Pontzas
Zanes

[5] [1] Thus did the Emperor Justinian fortify the whole interior of Illyricum. I shall also explain in what manner he fortified the bank of the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, by means of strongholds and garrisons of troops. [2] The Roman Emperors of former times, by way of preventing the crossing of the Danube by the barbarians who live on the other side, occupied the entire bank of this river with strongholds, and not the right bank of the stream alone, for in some parts of it they built towns and fortresses on its other bank. [3] However, they did not so build these strongholds that they were impossible to attack, if anyone should come against them, but they only provided that the bank of the river was not left destitute of men, since the barbarians there had no knowledge of storming walls. [4] In fact the majority of these strongholds consisted only of a single tower, and they were called appropriately “lone towers,” and very few men were stationed in them. [5] At that time this alone was quite sufficient to frighten off the barbarian clans, so that they would not undertake to attack the Romans. [6] But at a later time Attila invaded with a great army, and with no difficulty razed the fortresses; then, with no one standing against him, he plundered the greater part of the Roman Empire. [7] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt the defences which had been torn down, not simply as they had been before, but so as to give the fortifications the greatest possible strength; and he added many more which he built himself. [8] In this way he completely restored the safety of the Roman

Empire, which by then had been lost. And I shall explain how all this was accomplished.

[9] The River Ister flows down from the mountains in the country of the Celts, who are now called Gauls; and it passes through a great extent of country which for the most part is altogether barren, though in some places it is inhabited by barbarians who live a kind of brutish life and have no dealings with other men. [10] When it gets close to Dacia, for the first time it clearly forms the boundary between the barbarians, who hold its left bank, and the territory of the Romans, which is on the right. [11] Consequently the Romans apply the term Ripesia to this part of Dacia, for *ripa* signifies bank in the Latin tongue. [12] Accordingly they had made a beginning by building on the bank there in ancient times a city, by name Singidunum. [13] This the barbarians captured in time, and they immediately razed it, leaving the place quite destitute of inhabitants. [14] They did precisely the same thing to most of the other strongholds. [15] But the Emperor Justinian restored the entire city and surrounded it with a very strong fortification, and thus made it once more a famous and important city. [16] And he set up another new fortress of exceptional strength about eight miles distant from Singidunum, which they call by the appropriate name of Octavus. [17] Beyond it was the ancient city of Viminacium, which the Emperor rebuilt entire and made new, for it had long before been ruined down to its uttermost foundations.

[6] [1] As one goes on from Viminacium there chance to be three strongholds on the bank of the Ister, Pinci and Cupi and Novae. [2] These were formerly both single in construction and when named were single towers. But now the Emperor Justinian has greatly increased the number of the houses and enlarged the defences at these places, and thereby has properly given them the rank of cities. [3] And opposite Novae in the mainland on the other side of the river, had stood from ancient times a neglected tower, by name Literata; the men of former times used to call this Lederata. This the present Emperor transformed into a great fortress of exceptional strength. [5] After Novae are the forts of Cantabaza, Smornês, Campsês, Tanata, Zernês, and Ducepratium. And on the opposite side he built a number of other forts from their lowest foundations. [6] Farther on is the so-called Caput Bovis, the work of the Roman Emperor Trajan, and beyond this is an ancient town named Zanes. [7] And he placed very strong defences around all these and so made them impregnable bulwarks of the State. [8] And not far from this Zanes there is a fort, Pontes by name. The river throws out a sort of branch there, and after thus passing around a certain small portion of the bank, it turns again to its own stream and is reunited with itself. [9] It does this, not of its own accord, but compelled by human devices. [10] The reason why the place was called Pontes, and why they made this forced diversion of the Ister at this point, I shall now make clear.

[11] The Roman Emperor Trajan, being of an impetuous and active temperament, seemed to be filled with resentment that his realm was not unlimited, but was bounded by the Ister River. [12] So he was eager to span it

with a bridge that he might be able to cross it and that there might be no obstacle to his going against the barbarians beyond it. [13] How he built this bridge I shall not be at pains to relate, but shall let Apollodorus of Damascus, who was the master-builder of the whole work, describe the operation. [14] However, the Romans derived no profit from it subsequently, because later on the bridge was completely destroyed by the floods of the Ister and by the passage of time. [15] At the same time Trajan built two forts, one on either side of the river; the one on the opposite bank they named Theodora, while the one in Dacia was called Pontes from the work — [16] for the Romans call a bridge pontem in the Latin tongue. But when boats reached that point, the river was no longer navigable, since the ruins and the foundations of the bridge lay in the way; and it is for this reason that they compel the river to change its course and to go about in a detour, so that they may keep it navigable even beyond that point. [17] Both these forts had suffered so much from the passage of time, and more still from the assaults of the barbarians, that they had come to be utterly destroyed. [18] And the Emperor Justinian restored Pontes, which is on the right of the river, providing it with new and thorough impregnable defences, and thus re-established the safety of Illyricum. However, the fort on the other side of the river, the one which they call Theodora, he considered in no way worthy of his attention, exposed as it was to the barbarians there. But the strongholds which now stand beyond Pontes he himself built new; these are named Mareburgou and Susiana, Harmata and Timena, and Theodoropolis, Stiliburgou and Halicaniburgou.

[19] There was a certain small town near by, Acues by name, which had fallen partly into decay; this the Emperor put in order. [20] Beyond that lay Burgonobore and Laccoburgo, and the fortress called Dorticum, utterly effaced by time, which he made into a fort now very strong. [21] And he remodelled a stronghold called Judaeus, which had consisted of a single tower, and made it a splendid fortress in name and in fact. [22] Nor did he neglect the fort named Burgualtu, which previously was desolate and wholly without inhabitants, but also surrounded with a new circuit-wall another place which they call Gombes. [23] Also he rebuilt the defences of Crispas, which had suffered with the passage of time, likewise Longiniana and Ponteserium, an exceptionally fine piece of work. [24] In Bononia and Novus he restored the parapets which had crumbled. And all the parts of the city Ratiara which had collapsed he re-erected. [25] He improved many other places in accordance with their particular needs, either making very small places large, or curtailing their size where it was excessive, so that they might not be easy for an enemy to attack either because of excessive smallness or because of too great size; thus, for example, Mocatiana, which previously was a single tower standing alone, he converted into the more complete fortress which it now is. [26] On the other hand, the fortress of Almou, which used to cover a large area, he brought into small compass and thus made it safe and able to defy the assaults of the enemy. [27] In many places, finding a single tower standing by itself and

therefore an easy prey for assailants, he converted it into a very strong fortress; [28] this he did, for example, with Tricesa and Putedis. Furthermore, he restored in a marvellous way the damaged defences at Cebzus. At Bigranâ he constructed a fortress which had not existed before, and very close to it a second one, Onus by name, where a single tower had previously stood. [29] And not far away there were the bare foundations of a city which in early times used to bear the name of Augustes. [30] But now, still bearing its ancient name, though all made over new by the Emperor Justinian and quite complete, it knows a rather numerous population. [31] Also he restored the damaged portion of the defences of Aëdabê, and put in order the city of Varianaa which had long lain in ruins. In addition, he built a wall around Valeriana, which previously had no defences.

[32] Furthermore, he gave his attention to towns which do not lie upon the bank of the river but stand at a great distance from it — towns which were about to fall in ruins for the most part — and he encircled them with walls which are practically impregnable. [33] These places are named Castra Martis and Zetnucortou and Iscus. And an ancient fort named Hunnôn, on the bank of the river, he treated as worthy of attention in all respects and particularly in the matter of its circuit-wall. [34] There is a certain place not far removed from this fort of Hunnôn where there are two fortresses, one on either side of the Ister River, the one in Illyricum named Palatiolum, and the one on the other side, Sycibida. [35] These, which had been ruined by time, the Emperor Justinian restored and thereby checked the incursions of the barbarians of that region; and beyond them he built a fort at an ancient stronghold which was named Utôs. [36] And at the extremity of the Illyrian territory he built a fort named Lapidarias, and he transformed into a notable fortress a single tower which had stood alone, called Lucernariaburgou. [37] These then were the works executed by the Emperor Justinian in Illyricum. Yet it was not with buildings alone that he fortified this land, but he also established very considerable garrisons of troops in all the strongholds and thereby warded off the assaults of the barbarians.

[7] [1] Such, then, are the strongholds of Illyricum along the Ister River. But we must now go on to the fortified towns of Thrace, those namely which were built by the Emperor Justinian along the river-bank there. [2] For it has seemed to me not improper, after first describing the coast of that region, then to take up also the record of what he did in the interior. [3] First, then, let us proceed to Mysia, the home of men whom the poets call hand-to-hand fighters, for their country borders upon Illyricum. [5] So beyond that place which they call Lucernariaburgou the Emperor Justinian built the fortress Securisca, a new work of his own. Beyond this he restored the parts of Cyntodemus which had suffered. And still further on he built a city which had not existed previously, and this he named Theodoropolis, after the Empress. [6] Furthermore, he preserved the fortresses called Iatrôn and Tigas by building anew the parts which had suffered, and to the fort of Maxentius he added a tower, which he

thought it needed. [7] And he built the fort of Cyntôn which had not existed before. Beyond this is the stronghold Trasmarscas. Just opposite this, on the other bank of the river, Constantine, Emperor of the Romans, once built with no small care a fort, Daphnê by name, thinking it not inexpedient that the river should be guarded on both sides at this point. [8] As time went on, the barbarians destroyed this entirely; but the Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, beginning at the foundations. [9] And beyond Trasmarscas is the stronghold Altenôn and one which they call Candidiana, destroyed long before by the same enemy, which he repaired with all the care that they deserved. [10] And there are three forts, Saltupyrus, Dorostolus and Sycidaba, one after the other along the bank of the Ister, which the Emperor put in order by carefully repairing such parts of each one as had suffered. [12] He displayed a similar care in the case of Questris, which lies back from the river. And Palmatis, which was cramped for space, he enlarged and made very much broader, though it is not on the bank of the river. [13] Close to this he built also a new fort named Adina, because the barbarian Sclaveni were constantly laying concealed ambuscades there against travellers, thus making the whole district impassable. [14] He likewise built the fortress of Tiliciôn and a stronghold which lies to its left.

[15] Such was the condition of the fortresses of Mysia on the bank of the Ister River, as well as those near it. [16] Next I shall proceed to Scythia; there the first fortress is the one named for St. Cyril, of which the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with care those portions which had suffered with time. [17] Beyond this from ancient times there was a stronghold, Ulmitôn by name, but since the barbarian Sclaveni had been making their ambuscades there for a great length of time and had been tarrying there very long, it had come to be wholly deserted and nothing of it was left except the name. [18] So he built it all up from the foundations and thus freed that region from the menace and the attacks of the Sclaveni. [19] Beyond this is the city of Ibida, whose circuit-wall had suffered in many places; these he renewed without delay and made the city very strong. [20] And beyond it he built a new fortress, a work of his own, which they call Aegissus. At the extremity of Scythia lies another fortress, Halmyris by name, a great part of which had become manifestly insecure, and this he saved by rebuilding it. [21] All the other strongholds also within the bounds of Europe are worthy of mention.

[8] [1] All the building that was done by the Emperor Justinian in Dardania, Epirus, Macedonia and the other parts of Illyricum, also in Greece and along the Ister River has already been described by me. [2] Next let us go to Thrace, laying down as the fairest foundation, as it were, for our narrative the environs of Byzantium, since this city is preëminent in Thrace not only because of its power, but also by reason of its natural site, planted as it is on Europe like a kind of acropolis and finally setting a guard over the sea which divides it from Asia. [3] I have already described in the preceding narrative all the buildings of the city itself, including the work which was done for the shrines, both inside

and outside the walls of Constantinople. I shall now proceed from that point.

[4] In a suburb of the city there is a fortress which they call Strongylum from the form in which it is built. [5] The road which leads from that point to Rhegium was for the most part uneven; and if rain chanced to fall it became a bog and was difficult for travellers to get through. [6] But now this Emperor has paved it with blocks of stone each large enough to load a waggon and so has made it altogether practicable and easy. [7] In length, this road extends all the way to Rhegium and its breadth is such that two waggons, going in opposite directions, have no lack of room. [8] The paving-stones are exceptionally coarse, so that you would expect them to be mill-stones; and they are of goodly size. Consequently each one covers much ground and stands very high. [9] They are very carefully worked so as to form a smooth and even surface, and they give the appearance not simply of being laid together at the joints, or even of being exactly fitted, but they seem actually to have grown together. So much, then, for this.

[10] There chances to be a kind of lake very close to this place called Rhegium, into which pour streams that flow from the adjacent uplands. [11] This lake extends as far as the sea so that in the very narrow tongue of land between them they have a common shore. [12] Both sea and lake wash against this shore as their waters roll against its opposite sides, and they bellow against each other as they constantly rush straight on towards one another, sharing a common beach. But when they come very close, they check their flow and turn upon themselves, just as if they had fixed their limits there. [13] However, there is a place where the waters mingle, having a sort of strait between them, and it is uncertain to which of them belongs the water of the strait. [14] Neither does the current of the sea always flow into the lake nor does the lake continuously empty into the sea; but when heavy rains have fallen, and when the south wind has been blowing, the water of the channel seems to flow out from the lake, [15] but if the wind comes from the north, the sea seems to be flooding into the lake. At this point, moreover, the sea is shallow for a considerable distance, with the exception of a very small space where the depth is great. [16] Indeed this is so narrow that it is called Myrmex. The strait which joins the sea and the lake, as I have said, was crossed in ancient times by a wooden bridge, with great danger for those passing that way, because they were often destroyed together with the bridge-timbers if they happened to collapse. [17] But now the Emperor Justinian has carried the bridge on a huge arch built of picked stones, and thus he has made the crossing there free from danger.

[18] Beyond Rhegium is a certain city named Athyras, whose inhabitants he found suffering from extreme scarcity of water; this difficulty he remedied for them by building a reservoir there, in which by storing at just the right time the unnecessary excess of water, he dispensed it as needed to the inhabitants. He also rebuilt such parts of the circuit-wall as had suffered.

[19] Beyond Athyras is a certain place which the inhabitants call Episcopia.

[20] The Emperor Justinian, perceiving that this lay exposed to the assaults of the enemy, and that a large expanse of country here was altogether unguarded, since no stronghold at all existed, built a fortress in that place; and he built the towers there, not in the customary manner, but as follows. [21] At regular intervals a structure is built out from the circuit-wall, very narrow at first, but finally spreading out to a great breadth; on this in each case a tower was erected. [22] Thus it is impossible for the enemy to get close to the wall anywhere, because when they get into a precarious position between the towers they are easily shot at from both sides and from above by the guards there and are destroyed. [23] The gates too he did not place in the customary position between the towers, but at an angle, in the narrow part of the projection which runs out from the wall, where they could not be seen by the enemy but were masked behind the towers. [24] In that place Theodore, a very clever man who held the office of silentarius, was of service to the Emperor. [25] Thus were these fortifications built. And it is proper, proceeding thence to the long walls, to explain them briefly.

[9] [1] The Sea, commencing from the Ocean and from Spain, goes on in a single direction, approximately eastward, keeping Europe on its left as far as Thrace, but at that point it divides itself and while one portion goes towards the East, another part of it turns gradually, at an oblique angle, and forms the Euxine Sea, as it is called. [2] When it reaches Byzantium, it makes a bend about the eastern portion of the city, as if rounding a turning-post, and bending much more obliquely, it runs in the form of a strait, turning the front and back portions of Thrace into an isthmus, as one would expect. [3] This does not mean that the sea is divided here into two separate bays, as is wont to happen at other isthmuses, but it circles round in a marvellous way, from two sides surrounding Thrace and especially all the suburbs of Byzantium. [4] The people there build and adorn their suburbs, not only to meet the actual needs of life, but they display an insolent and boundless luxury and all the other vices that the power of wealth brings when it comes to men. [5] And they accumulate much furniture in their houses and make it a point to keep costly objects in them. Thus, when it comes about that any of the enemy overrun the land of the Romans suddenly, the damage caused there is much greater than in other places, and the region is then overwhelmed with irreparable calamities. [6] The Emperor Anastasius had determined to put a stop to this and so built long walls at a distance of not less than forty miles from Byzantium, uniting the two shores of the sea on a line where they are separated by about a two-days' journey. [7] By this means he thought that everything inside was placed in security. But in fact this was the cause of greater calamities. For neither was it possible to make safe a structure of such great length nor could it be guarded rigorously. [8] And whenever the enemy descended on any portion of these long walls, they both overpowered all the guards with no difficulty, and falling unexpectedly upon the other people they inflicted loss not easy to describe.

[9] But the Emperor rebuilt those portions of these walls which had suffered, and making the weak parts very strong for the sake of the guards, he added the following devices. [10] He blocked up all the exits from each tower leading to those adjoining it; [11] and he built from the ground up a single ascent inside each individual tower, which the guards there can close in case of emergency and scorn the enemy if they have penetrated inside the circuit-wall, since each tower by itself was sufficient to ensure safety for its guards. [12] Also inside these walls he diligently made provision for safety, not only doing what has just been mentioned, but also restoring all the parts of the circuit-wall of the city of Selymbria which happened to have been damaged. [13] These things then were done by the Emperor Justinian at the long walls.

[14] The well-known city of Heraclea which is situated on the coast near by, the ancient Perinthus — which in former times men regarded as the first city of Europe, though it now takes a place second to Constantinoplea — suffered cruelly from lack of water in recent times. This was not because the country about it had no water, nor yet because this matter was neglected by the ancient builders of the city (for Europe has an abundance of springs and the men of ancient times were careful to build aqueducts), but because Time, following its custom, had destroyed the city's aqueduct, since it either failed to notice that its masonry had become enfeebled by age, or else was leading the people of Heraclea to their own destruction through their neglect of it; and the city was nearly left depopulated for this reason. [15] And Time was having the same effect upon the palace there, a very admirable building. [16] But when the Emperor Justinian saw the city, he in no careless fashion, but rather in a manner befitting an Emperor, flooded it with crystal-clear drinking-water, and he, far from permitting the city to be deprived of the honour of its palace, rebuilt it throughout.

[17] One day's journey distant from Heraclea was a town on the coast named Rhaedestus, well situated for the voyage to the Hellespont, with a good harbour well adapted for the business of the sea, so that merchant vessels could put in and unload their cargoes very conveniently and then put out to sea again with no difficulty after loading their freight. But it lay exposed to the barbarians, who sometimes overran that region in unexpected raids, because it was not protected even by makeshift defences nor was it naturally difficult of access. [18] Consequently the place came to be disregarded and neglected by the merchants through fear of the risk. [19] But now the Emperor Justinian has not only provided for the safety of the place but has also saved all those who dwell round about. [20] For he erected at Rhaedestus a city which is not only strongly defended by its wall, but is also of extraordinary size. [21] Hither on occasion all those who dwell near by flee for refuge when the barbarians fall upon them, and they thus save themselves and their property.

[10] [1] Such were the works carried out by the Emperor Justinian at Rhaedestus. I shall go on to tell what he did in the region of the Chersonese. [2] The Chersonese extends out from all that portion of Thrace. It projects boldly

into the sea and seems to be pressing onward, giving the impression that it is advancing toward Asia. [3] It has a single projecting point at the city of Elaeus, and this divides the sea into two parts, while the promontory itself is cut off from the rest of the mainland by the water, and curves inward before the advancing sea to form the so-called Gulf of Melas. [4] The remainder of it almost forms an island, acquiring a name appropriate to the shape which it assumes, for it is called Chersonese, most likely because it is prevented only by a tiny isthmus from being altogether an island. [5] At this isthmus the men of former times built a cross-wall of a very casual and indifferent sort which could be captured with the help of a ladder, [6] because, I suppose, they thought they were building an earthen wall around a casually placed garden-plot, and so built it of meagre dimensions and rising only slightly from the ground. [7] And facing the sea at either side of the isthmus they constructed wretched little bastions, of the sort which people are wont to call “moles,” and with these they closed the gap between the water and the circuit-wall, not with the expectation of repelling attacking forces at this point, but rather in order to invite them to effect an entrance; so contemptible did they make them and so easy to capture for any who should attack. [8] But they thought they had set up a kind of invincible bulwark against the enemy and so decided to regard everything inside this circuit-wall as requiring no further protection, for there actually was neither fort nor any other stronghold on the Chersonese, though it extends to a length of almost three day’s journey. [9] Indeed the enemy, while overrunning the land of Thrace recently, did actually undertake to force the entrance by the beach, and frightening off the guards there they leaped inside just as if they were playing a game, and they got inside the defences with no trouble.

[10] So the Emperor Justinian, with his constant solicitude for the safety of his subjects, did as follows. [11] First of all he demolished completely the old wall, so that not so much as a trace of it was left. [12] And he straightway erected another wall, upon the same ground, very broad and rising to a great height. [13] Above the battlements a set-back vaulted structure in the manner of a colonnaded stoa makes a roof to shelter those who defend the circuit-wall. [14] And other breastworks resting upon the vaulted structure double the fighting for those who lay siege to the wall. [15] Furthermore, at either end of the wall, at the very edge of the sea, he made bastions (proboloi) extending far out into the water, which were joined to the wall and rivalled its defences in height. [16] He also cleared the moat outside the wall and dug it out very thoroughly, adding a great deal to its width and to its depth. [17] Furthermore, he stationed detachments of soldiers on these long walls, sufficient to offer resistance to all the barbarians if they should make any attempt upon the Chersonese. [18] And after he had made all this firm provision for its safety, he also built additional strongholds for the people inside; [19] so that if (God forbid) any mischance should befall the long walls, the inhabitants of the Chersonese would none the less be in safety. [20] For he surrounded the city of

Aphrodisias with very strong defences, though it had been unwalled for the most part before that, and he put walls around the city of Ciberis which was lying dismantled, and provided it with inhabitants. [21] He also built there baths and guest-houses and numerous dwellings, and all the other things which make a city notable. [22] Furthermore, he provided Callipolis, as it is called, with a very strong wall, a city which had been left unwalled by the men of earlier times because of the faith which was placed in the long walls. [23] There too he built storehouses for grain and for wine amply sufficient for all the wants of the soldiers in Chersonese.

[24] There was a certain ancient city opposite Abydus, Sestus by name, which again had been carelessly planned in earlier times and had no defences. [25] A certain very steep hill towers above it, on which he built an altogether inaccessible fortress, which cannot possibly be taken by any assailant. [26] And it happens that at no great distance from Sestus is situated Elaeus, where a precipitous rock rises from the sea, culminating in a lofty headland which is a natural fortress. [27] So this Emperor built a fort there too, which is hard to get past and altogether impregnable for assailants. [28] Furthermore, he founded the fortress at Thescus on the other side of the long wall, strengthening it by means of an especially strong circuit-wall. Thus he ensured the safety of the inhabitants of Chersonese from every side.

[11] [1] Beyond the Chersonese stands the city of Aenus, which bears the name of its founder; for he was Aeneas, as they say, son of Anchises. [2] The circuit-wall of this place was easy to capture not only because of its lowness, since it did not rise even to the necessary height, [3] but because it offered an exposed approach on the side toward the sea, whose waters actually touched it in places. [4] But the Emperor Justinian raised it to such a height that it could not even be assailed, much less be captured. [5] And by extending the wall and closing the gaps on every side he rendered Aenus altogether impregnable. [6] Thus the city was made safe; and yet the district remained easy for the barbarians to overrun, since Rhodopê from ancient times had been lacking in fortifications. [7] And there was a certain village in the interior, Vellurus by name, which in wealth and population ranked as a city, but because it had no walls at all it constantly lay open to the plundering barbarians, a fate which was shared by the many fields lying about it. [8] Our Emperor made this a city and provided it with a wall and made it worthy of himself. [9] He also took great pains to put in order all such parts of the other cities in Rhodopê as had come to be defective or had suffered with time. [10] Among these were Trajanopolis and Maximianopolis, where he restored the parts of the bastions which had become weak. Thus were these things done.

[11] The city of Anastasiopolis in this region was indeed walled even before this, but it lay along the shore and the beach was unprotected. Consequently the boats putting in there often fell suddenly into the hands of the barbarian Huns, who by means of them also harassed the islands lying off the coast there. [12] But the Emperor Justinian walled in the whole sea-front by means of

a connecting wall and thus restored safety both for the ships and for the islanders. [13] Furthermore, he raised the aqueduct to an imposing height all the way from the mountains which rise here as far as the city. [14] And there is a certain ancient town in Rhodopê, Toperus by name, which is surrounded for the most part by the stream of a river, but had a steep hill rising above it. As a result of this it had been captured by the barbarian Scлавени not long before. [15] But the Emperor Justinian added a great deal to the height of the wall, so that it now overtops the hill by as much as it previously fell below its crest. [16] And he set a colonnaded portico with a vaulted roof on its wall, and from this the defenders of the city fight in safety against those attacking the wall; and he equipped each one of the towers so as to be a strong fort. [17] He also secured the interval between the circuit-wall and the river by shutting it off with a cross-wall. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian as I have said.

[18] And I shall describe all the fortresses which were made by him through the rest of Thrace and through what is now called Haemimontum. [19] First of all he built with great pains those parts which were lacking, and those which had suffered, in Philippopolis and Beroea, and also at Adrianopolis and Plotinopolis, (for these happened to be very vulnerable), though they lay close to many tribes of barbarians. [20] And in all parts of Thrace he established countless fortresses, by which he has now made entirely free from devastation a land which formerly lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy. These fortresses, so far as I recall them, are as follows:

In Europe:

Lydiae

Elaeae

In Rhodopê, new:

Caseëra

Theodoropolis

Thrasou

Sudanel

Mundepa

Tharsandala

Denizus

Toparum

Dalatarba

Bre

Cuscabiri

Cusculis

Of Thrace:

Bospara

Besuparum

Capisturia

Beripara
Isgipera
Ozormê
Bereïarus°
Tamonbari
Scemnas
Carasthyra
Pinzus
Tuleûs
Arzum
Castrazarba
Zositersum
Bergisum
Dingium
Sacissus
Curtuxura
Potamùcastellum
Eisdicaea
The trading-port of the Taurocephali
Belaïdipara
Scitaces
Bepara
Pusinum
Hymauparubri
Scariotasalucra
Augustas
Urdaûs
St. Trajan's
Dertallus
Solbanû
Bascum
Zincyro
Of Haemimontum:
Zemarcû
Ceriparon
Casibonon
Ucû
Antonum
Gesilafossatum
Cheroenum
Probinû
St. Theodore's
Burdepto
Raculê

St. Julian's
Tzitaëtûs
Belastyras
Getrinas
Bredas
Verus
Thocyodis

Via

Anagoncli
Suras
Authiparû
Dordas
Sarmathon
Clisura
Hylasiana
Thrasarichû

Baeca

Chrysanthus
Marcerota
Zdebrên
St. Theodore's
Asgarzus
Burtudgiz
Taurocomum
Nicê
Cabotumba
Deixas
Getristaus
Debrê
Probinû
Carberus
Teësimontê
Asgizûs
Dalatarba
Theodoropolis
Tzyeidon
Tzonpoleon
Basibunum
Anchialus
Marcianum
Cyridana

Beculi

The remaining Thracian fortresses; also those along the Euxine Sea and the Ister River, and in the interior, as follows:

In Mysia, on the Ister River:

Erculente

Scatrina

Appiara

Exentaprista

Deoniana

Limô

Odyssus

Vidigis

Arina

Nicopolis

Zicideba

Spibyryus

The city Castellum

Cistidizus

Basternas

Metallus

Beripara

Spathizus

Marcerota

Bodas

Zisnudeba

Turulês

Justinianopolis

Therma

Gemellomontes

Asilba

Cuscauri

Cusculi

Fossatum

Bisdina

Marcianopolis

Scythias

Grapsô

Nonô

Trosmês

Neaïodunô

Residina

Constantiana

Callatis

Bassidina

Beledina
Abrittus
Rubusta
Diniscarta
Monteregine
Becis
Altina
Manroballe
Tigra
Scedeba
Novas
In the interior:
Copustorus
Birginasô
Tillitô
Ancyriana
Murideba
Itzês
Castellonovo
Padisara
Bismapha
Valentiniana
Zaldapa
Axiopa
Carsô
Gratiana
Preïdis
Argamô
Paulimandra
Tzasclis
Pulchra Theodora
Tomis
Creas
Catassû
Nisconis
Novejustiniana
Presidiô
Ergamia

BOOK V.

[1] [1] The buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian in all Europe have been recorded, as far as possible, in the preceding Book. We must now go on to the remaining parts of Asia. [2] All the fortifications of cities and the fortresses, as well as the other buildings which he erected throughout the East, from the boundary of Persia as far as the city of Palmyra, which chances to be in Phoenicia by Lebanon — these, I think, have been sufficiently described by me above. [3] So at present I shall tell also of all that was done by him in the rest of Asia and in Libya, either in fortifying, or in repairing the roads where they were difficult to travel and wholly beset with dangers (sometimes, because mountains towered above them, where they were too steep, sometimes where, since there was a river near by, travellers were caught in it and drowned), or, finally, in repairing all the parts of cities which had become defective — all this I shall proceed to tell, beginning at this point.

[4] There chanced to be a certain place before the city of Ephesus, lying on a steep slope hilly and bare of soil and incapable of producing crops, even should one attempt to cultivate them, but altogether hard and rough. [5] On that site the natives had set up a church in early times to the Apostle John; this Apostle has been named “the Theologian,” because the nature of God was described by him in a manner beyond the unaided power of man. [6] This church, which was small and in a ruined condition because of its great age, the Emperor Justinian tore down to the ground and replaced by a church so large and beautiful, that, to speak briefly, it resembles very closely in all respects, and is a rival to, the shrine which he dedicated to all the Apostles in the imperial city, which I have described above.

[7] This, then, was done at Ephesus by this Emperor. And on our neighbouring island of Tenedos he made provision for the welfare of the imperial city and of those who labour on the sea, which I shall describe immediately, with the following introductory observation. [8] The sea at the Hellespont flows in a very narrow channel, since the two continents at that point approach very close to each other and form the beginning of the strait at Sestus and Abydos; and when ships which are holding a direct course for Constantinople reach that point, they cast anchor. [9] And it is impossible for them to go further unless they have a wind blowing from the south. [10] So when the grain fleet from Alexandria reaches that point, if the wind blows favourably for them, those having this business in charge bring their ships into the harbours of Byzantium in a short time; then, after discharging their cargoes, they depart with all speed, so that before the winter season they may complete a second or even a third voyage. [11] And those of them who wish to do so, also take on a return cargo of merchandise from that place before they sail back. [12] If, however, the wind blew against them at the Hellespont, it came about that both the grain and the ships had to lie there rotting. [13] The

Emperor Justinian took this situation under consideration, and made a clear demonstration that nothing could prove impossible for man, even though he have the greatest difficulties to contend with. [14] For on the island of Tenedos, which is very close to the strait, he contrived a granary large enough to allow the whole fleet to unload, •in breadth not less than ninety feet and in length two hundred and eighty feet, and rising to a very great height. [15] And since the time when this was built by the Emperor, whenever the carriers of public grain reach that point and are impeded by adverse winds, they deposit their cargoes in this storehouse, and bidding a happy farewell to the north wind and the west, they make ready for the next voyage. [16] And they for their part go straightway about their business, and at a later time, when the voyage from there to Byzantium comes to be practicable, those who are assigned to this office convey the grain from Tenedos in other ships.

[2] [1] There is a certain city in Bithynia which bears the name of Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine, for they say that Helen was born in this village, which formerly was of no consequence. [2] But Constantine, by way of repaying the debt of her nurture, endowed this place with the name and dignity of a city. However, he has built there nothing in a style of imperial magnificence, but, though the place remained outwardly as it had been before, it will now boast merely of the title of city and pride itself in the name of its foster-child Helen. [3] But our Emperor, as if seeking to excuse his imperial predecessor's want of propriety, first of all observed that the city was suffering from shortage of water and was cruelly oppressed by thirst, and so he improvised a marvellous aqueduct and provided it with an unlooked-for supply of water, sufficient for the people there not only to drink but also to use for bathing and for all the other luxuries in which men indulge who have an unstinted supply of water. [4] Besides this he made for them a public bath which had not existed before, and he rebuilt another which was damaged and lay abandoned, and already lay in ruin because of the scarcity of water which I have mentioned and because of neglect. [5] Nay more, he built here churches and a palace and stoas and lodgings for the magistrates, and in other respects he gave it the appearance of a prosperous city.

[6] Close to this city flows a river which the natives call Dracon from the course which it follows. [7] For it twists about and winds from side to side, reversing its whirling course and advancing with crooked stream, now to the right and now to the left. Consequently it is actually necessary for those visiting there to cross it more than twenty times. [8] Thus it has come about that many have lost their lives when the river has risen in sudden flood. [9] Furthermore, a dense wood and a great expanse of reeds which grew there used to obstruct its exit to the sea and made it more troublesome for the regions round about. [10] Indeed, not long ago, when it had been swollen by heavy rains, it backed up and rose in flood and spread far out over the land and caused irreparable damage. [11] For it ruined many districts, uprooted vines and even olive trees and countless other trees of all sorts, trunks and all, not

sparing the houses which stood outside the circuit-wall of the city and inflicting other severe losses upon the inhabitants. [12] And feeling compassion for them, the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan. He cleared off the woods and cut all the reeds, thus allowing the river a free outlet to the sea, so that it might no longer be necessary for it to spread out. And he cut off in the middle the hills which rise there, and built a waggon-road in places which formerly were sheer and precipitous; [13] and in this way he made the crossing of the river for the most part unnecessary for those who dwelt there. Also he placed two very broad bridges over this river, and in consequence everyone now crosses it without danger.

[3] [1] And it is proper to tell of the benefits which he also bestowed upon Nicaea in Bithynia. First of all, he restored the entire aqueduct, which was completely ruined and was not satisfying the need, and thus he provided the city with abundant water. [2] Then he built churches and monasteries, some for women and some for men. [3] And the palace there, which already had in part collapsed, he carefully restored throughout; and he also restored a bath at the lodgings of the *veredarii*, as they are called, which had lain in ruin for a long time. [4] To the west of this city and very close to it a torrent is wont to smite almost everything, making the road there altogether impassable. [5] A bridge had been built over it by the men of earlier times, which, as time went on, was quite unable to withstand the impact of the torrent, since it had not been properly constructed, as it chanced; and finally it yielded to the pressure of the surge and was swept away with it without leaving a trace in the spot where previously it had stood. [6] But the Emperor Justinian planted another bridge there of such height and breadth, that the previous bridge seemed to have been only a fraction of the new one in point of size; and this bridge rises high above the torrent when it is in flood and keeps in perfect safety those passing that way.

[7] In Nicomedia he restored the bath called Antoninus, for the most important part of it had collapsed, and because of the great size of the building it had not been expected that it would be rebuilt. [8] And that great river which they now call the *Sagaris*, rushing down, as it does, with its impetuous stream and having a great depth at the centre and broadening out till it resembles a sea, had always been, since the world began, left untouched by a bridge; instead they lash together a great number of skiffs and fasten them together cross-wise, and people venture to cross these on foot, as once the Persian host, through fear of Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont. [9] But even this is not without danger for them, for many a time the river has seized and carried away all the skiffs, together with their cables, and thus put a stop to the crossing of travellers. [10] But the Emperor Justinian has now undertaken the project of building a bridge over the river. Having already begun the task, he is now much occupied with it; and I know well that he will complete it not long hence, finding my assurance in this — that God coöperates with him in all his labours. [11] Indeed it is for this reason that no project of his has failed of

fulfilment up to the present time, though in the beginning he has seemed in many cases to be undertaking impossible things.

[12] There is a certain road in Bithynia leading from there into the Phrygian territory, on which it frequently happened that countless men and beasts too perished in the winter season. [13] The soil of this region is exceedingly deep; and not only after unusual deluges of rain or the final melting of very heavy snows, but even after occasional showers it turns into a deep and impassable marsh, making the roads quagmires, with the result that travellers on that road were frequently drowned. [14] But he himself and the Empress Theodora, by their wise generosity, removed this danger for wayfarers. [15] They laid a covering of very large stones over this highway for a distance of one half a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and so brought it about that travellers on that road could get through on the hard pavement. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in this way.

[16] A natural spring of hot water bubbles up in Bithynia, at a place known as Pythia. [17] This spring is used as a cure by many and particularly by the people of Byzantium, especially those who chance to be afflicted by disease. [18] There indeed he displayed a prodigality befitting an Emperor. He built a palace which had not been there before, [19] and made a public bath supplied by the hot water which rises there. And by means of an aqueduct he conveyed to this place springs of drinking-water which gush forth at a very great distance, and thus abated the lack of sweet water which previously had prevailed there. [20] In addition to this, he enlarged and made much more notable both the Church of the Archangel and the infirmary for the sick.

[4] [1] There is a river in Galatia which the natives call Siberis, close to the place called Sycae, •about ten miles from Juliopolis toward the east. [2] This river often rose suddenly to a great height and caused the death of many of those travelling that way. [3] The Emperor was disturbed when these things were reported to him, and he put a stop to the evil thenceforth by bridging the river with a strong structure capable of resisting the stream when in flood, and by adding another wall in the form of a jetty on the eastward side of the bridge; such a thing is called a promachon or breakwater by those skilled in these matters. [4] He also built a church to the west of the bridge to be a refuge for travellers in the winter season. [5] As to this Juliopolis, its circuit-wall used to be disturbed and weakened by a river which flows along its western side. [6] This Emperor, however, put a stop to that, by setting up a wall flanking the circuit-wall for a distance of •not less than five hundred feet, and in this way he preserved the defences of the city, which were no longer deluged by the stream.

[7] In Cappadocia he did the following. The city of Caesarea there has been from ancient times very large and populous. But it was surrounded by a wall which, by reason of its immoderate extent, was very easy to attack and altogether impossible to defend. [8] For it embraced a great expanse of land which was not at all necessary to the city, and by reason of its excessive size it

was easily assailable by an attacking force. [9] High hills rise there, not standing very close together, but far apart. These the founder of the city was anxious to enclose within the circuit-wall so that they might not be a threat against the city; and in the name of safety he did a thing which was fraught with danger. [10] For he enclosed within the walls many open fields and gardens as well as rocky cliffs and pasture-lands for flocks. [11] However, even at a later time the inhabitants of the place decided not to build anything in this area, but it remained exactly as it had been. [12] Even such houses as did chance to be in this district have continued to be isolated and solitary up to the present day. [13] And neither could the garrison maintain a proper defence in keeping with the extent of the wall, nor was it possible for the inhabitants to keep it in repair, seeing that it was so large. And because they seemed to be unprotected, they were in constant terror. [14] But the Emperor Justinian tore down the unnecessary portions of the circuit-wall and surrounded the city with a wall which was truly safe, and made defences which would be thoroughly impregnable in case of attack; and then he made the place strong by the addition of a sufficient garrison. Thus did he guarantee the safety of the inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

[15] There was a certain fortress in Cappadocia, Mocusus by name, situated on level ground, but it had sunk into such a state of disrepair that part of it had fallen down and the rest was on the point of doing so. [16] All this the Emperor Justinian pulled down, and he built a very strong wall to the west of the old fortress, on a site which lay above a very steep slope and was quite inaccessible if anyone should try to attack it. [17] There too he built many churches and hospices and public baths and all the other structures that are the mark of a prosperous city. [18] Consequently it rose even to the rank of a metropolis, for thus the Romans call the leading city of a province. These things, then, were done in Cappadocia.

[5] [1] As one goes from the city of Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, into Cilicia, there is a suburb lying very close to the road, Platanôn by name; and not far from this city lay a path which had long been compressed into a very narrow track by the overhanging mountains; and after being washed by rains for a long time it was destroyed for the most part and afforded only dangerous passage to travellers. [2] When the Emperor Justinian heard of this, he took the matter under careful consideration and straightway found a remedy for the trouble. [3] He spent a sum of money past reckoning, cutting through, for a great distance, all the mountains which rose there to a great height and overcoming impossible obstacles; and he constructed a waggon-road, contrary to all reason and expectation, making flat and open ground of what had previously been broken by precipices, thereby clearly demonstrating that nothing could prove impossible for a man of discerning judgment who was ready to disregard expense. This, then, was done as I have said.

[4] There is in Cilicia a certain city called Mopsuestia, said to be the work of that ancient seer. Alongside this flows the Pyramus River, which, while it

adds beauty to the city, can be crossed only by a bridge. [5] But as much time passed it came about that the greater part of the bridge had suffered; indeed it seemed to be on the point of falling at any moment and for this reason death faced those who crossed it. [6] Thus a structure which was devised by men of former times for the preservation of life came, by reason of the negligence of the authorities, to be a source of great danger and a thing to be feared. [7] But our Emperor with great care set right all the damaged parts and once more restored the safety of the bridge and of those who crossed it, and caused the city to plume itself again, and without risk, on the river's beauty.

[8] Beyond it there is a certain city named Adana, on the eastern side of which the Sarus River flows, coming down from the mountains of Armenia. [9] The Sarus is navigable and quite impossible for men on foot to ford. So in ancient times an enormous and very notable bridge was constructed here. It was built in the following fashion. [10] At many points in the river piers of massive blocks of stone were reared upon its bed, built to a great thickness and forming a line extending across the entire width of the stream and in height rising far above high water. [11] Above each pair of piers spring arches which rise to a great height, spanning the open space between them. The portion of this masonry which chanced to be below the water and so was constantly battered by its powerful current had, in a space of time beyond reckoning, come to be mostly destroyed. [12] So the whole bridge appeared likely after no long time to fall into the river. It had come to be always the prayer of each man who crossed the bridge that it might remain firm if only during the moment of his crossing. [13] But the Emperor Justinian dug another channel for the river and forced it to change its course temporarily; and then getting the masonry which I have just mentioned free from the water and removing the damaged portions, he rebuilt them without any delay and then returned the river to its former path, which they call the "bed." Thus then were these things done.^a

[14] At Tarsus, the Cydnus River flows through the middle of the city. It appears that in general it had caused no damage at any time, but on one occasion it chanced that it did cause irreparable loss, for the following reason. [15] It was about the time of the spring equinox, and a strong south wind which arose suddenly had melted all the snow which had fallen through the winter season, blanketing practically the whole Taurus range. [16] Consequently streams of water were pouring down from the heights everywhere and each of the ravines discharged a torrent, and both the summits and the foothills of the Taurus mountains were deluged. [17] So by reason of this water the Cydnus rose in flood, for the streams kept pouring their water into it, since it was close to the mountains, and it was further swollen by heavy rains which fell at the same time; consequently the river flooded and immediately wiped out completely all the suburbs which were situated to the south of the city. Then it went roaring against the city itself, and tearing out the bridges, which were small, it covered all the market-places, flooded the streets, and wrought havoc

by entering the houses and rising even to their upper storeys. [18] Night and day the whole city continued in this critical and uncertain situation, and it was only tardily and at length that the river subsided little by little and returned once more to its accustomed level. [19] When the Emperor Justinian learned of this, he devised the following plan. First he prepared another bed for the river above the city, in order that the stream might be separated there into two parts and might divide its volume so that only about half of it should flow toward Tarsus. [20] Then he made the bridges very much broader and so strong that the Cydnus in flood could not sweep them away. Thus he brought it about that the city stands forever freed from fear and from danger.

[6] [1] Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Cilicia. And in Jerusalem he dedicated to the Mother of God a shrine with which no other can be compared. [2] This is called by the natives the “New Church”; and I shall explain of what sort it is, first making this observation, that this city is for the most part set upon hills; however these hills have no soil upon them, but stand with rough and very steep sides, causing the streets to run straight up and down like ladders. [3] All the other buildings of the city chance to lie in one group, part of them built upon a hill and part upon the lower level where the earth spreads out flat; but this shrine alone forms an exception. [4] For the Emperor Justinian gave orders that it be built on the highest of the hills, specifying what the length and breadth of the building should be, as well as the other details. [5] However, the hill did not satisfy the requirements of the project, according to the Emperor’s specifications, but a fourth part of the church, facing the south and the east, was left unsupported, that part in which the priests are wont to perform the rites. [6] Consequently those in charge of this work hit upon the following plan. They threw the foundations out as far as the limit of the even ground, and then erected a structure which rose as high as the rock. [7] And when they had raised this up level with the rock they set vaults upon the supporting walls, and joined this substructure to the other foundation of the church. [8] Thus the church is partly based upon living rock, and partly carried in the air by a great extension artificially added to the hill by the Emperor’s power. [9] The stones of this substructure are not of a size such as we are acquainted with, [10] for the builders of this work, in struggling against the nature of the terrain and labouring to attain a height to match the rocky elevation, had to abandon all familiar methods and resort to practices which were strange and altogether unknown. [11] So they cut out blocks of unusual size from the hills which rise to the sky in the region before the city, and after dressing them carefully they brought them to the site in the following manner. [12] They built waggons to match the size of the stones, placed a single block on each of them, and had each wagon with its stone drawn by forty oxen which had been selected by the Emperor for their strength. [13] But since it was impossible for the roads leading to the city to accommodate these waggons, they cut into the hills for a very great distance, and made them passable for the waggons as they came along there, and thus

they completed the length of the church in accordance with the Emperor's wish. [14] However, when they made the width in due proportion, they found themselves quite unable to set a roof upon the building. [15] So they searched through all the woods and forests and every place where they had heard that very tall trees grew, and found a certain dense forest which produced cedars of extraordinary height, and by means of these they put the roof upon the church, making its height in due proportion to the width and length of the building.

[16] These things the Emperor Justinian accomplished by human strength and skill. But he was also assisted by his pious faith, which rewarded him with the honour he received and aided him in this cherished plan. [17] For the church required throughout columns whose appearance would not fall short of the beauty of the building and of such a size that they could resist the weight of the load which would rest upon them. [18] But the site itself, being inland very far from the sea and walled about on all sides by quite steep hills, as I have said, made it impossible for those who were preparing the foundations to bring columns from outside. [19] But when the impossibility of this task was causing the Emperor to become impatient, God revealed a natural supply of stone perfectly suited to this purpose in the near by hills, one which had either lain there in concealment previously, or was created at that moment. [20] Either explanation is credible to those who trace the cause of it to God; [21] for while we, in estimating all things by the scale of man's power, consider many things to be wholly impossible, for God nothing in the whole world can be difficult or impossible. [22] So the church is supported on all sides by a number of huge columns from that place, which in colour resemble flames of fire, some standing below and some above and others in the stoas which surround the whole church except on the side facing the east. Two of these columns stand before the door of the church, exceptionally large and probably second to no column in the whole world. [23] Here is added another colonnaded stoa which is called the narthex, I suppose because it is not broad. [24] Beyond this is a court with similar columns standing on the four sides. From this there lead doors to the interior (*metauloi thyrai*) which are so stately that they proclaim to those walking outside what kind of sight they will meet within. Beyond there is a wonderful gateway (*propylaia*) and an arch (*apsis*), carried on two columns, which rises to a very great height. [25] Then as one advances there are two semi-circles (*hemikykla*) which stand facing each other on one side of the road which leads to the church, while facing each other on the other side are two hospices, built by the Emperor Justinian. One of these is destined for the shelter of visiting strangers, while the other is an infirmary for poor persons suffering from diseases. [26] And the Emperor Justinian endowed this Church of the Mother of God with the income from a large sum of money. Such were the activities of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem.

[7] [1] In Palestine there is a city named Neapolis, above which rises a high mountain, called Garizin. [2] This mountain the Samaritans originally held; and they had been wont to go up to the summit of the mountain to pray on all

occasions, not because they had ever built any temple there, but because they worshipped the summit itself with the greatest reverence. [3] But when Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and went among the people there, He had a conversation with a certain woman who was a native of the place. And when this woman questioned Him about the mountain, He replied that thereafter the Samaritans would not worship on this mountain, but that the true worshippers (referring to the Christians), would worship Him in that place; and as time went on the prediction became a fact. [4] For it was not possible that He who was God should not utter truth. [5] And it came about as follows. During the reign of Zeno, the Samaritans suddenly banded together and fell upon the Christians in Neapolis in the church while they were celebrating the festival called the Pentecost, and they destroyed many of them, and they struck with their swords the man who at that time was their Bishop, Terebinthius by name, finding him standing at the holy table as he performed the mysteries; and they slashed at him and cut off the fingers from his hand; and they railed at the mysteries, as is natural for Samaritans to do, while we honour them with silence. [6] And this priest straightway came to Byzantium and appeared before the ruling Emperor and displayed what he had suffered, setting forth what had happened and reminding the Emperor of the prophecy of Christ; and he begged him to avenge all that had been done. [7] The Emperor Zeno was greatly disturbed by what had happened, and with no delay inflicted punishment in due measure upon those who had done the terrible thing. He drove out the Samaritans from Mt. Garizin and straightway handed it over to the Christians, and building a church on the summit he dedicated it to the Mother of God, putting a barrier, as it was made to appear, around this church, though in reality he erected only a light wall of stone. [8] And he established a garrison of soldiers, placing a large number in the city below, but not more than ten men at the fortifications and the church. [9] The Samaritans resented this, and chafed bitterly in their vexation and deplored their condition, but through fear of the Emperor they bore their distress in silence. [10] But at a later time, when Anastasius was holding the imperial office, the following happened. [11] Some of the Samaritans, incited by a woman's suggestion, unexpectedly climbed the steep face of the mountain, since the path which leads up from the city was carefully guarded and it was impossible for them to attempt the ascent by that route. [12] Entering the church suddenly, they slew the guards there and with a mighty cry summoned the Samaritans in the city. [13] They, however, through fear of the soldiers, were by no means willing to join the attempt of the conspirators. [14] And not long afterwards the governor of the district (he was Procopius of Edessa, a man of learning) arrested the authors of the outrage and put them to death. [15] Yet even after that no thought was taken for the fortifications, and no provision for proper defence was made at that time by the Emperor. [16] But during the present reign, although the Emperor Justinian has converted the Samaritans for the most part to a more pious way of life and has made them Christians, he left the old fortifications

around the church on Garizin in the form in which it was, that is, merely a barrier, as I have said; but by surrounding this with another wall on the outside he made the place absolutely impregnable. [17] There too he restored five shrines of the Christians which had been burned down by the Samaritans. Thus, then, have these things been done.

[8] [1] In what was formerly called Arabia and is now known as “Third Palestine,” a barren land extends for a great distance, unwatered and producing neither crops nor any useful thing. A precipitous and terribly wild mountain, Sina by name, rears its height close to the Red Sea, as it is called. [2] There is no need at this point in my account to write a description of that region because everything has been set forth in the Books on the Wars, where I gave a full description of the Red Sea and what is called the Arabian Gulf, as well as of the Ethiopians and Auxomitae and the tribes of the Homerite Saracens. At that point I shewed also in what manner the Emperor Justinian added the Palm Groves to the Roman Empire. [3] Therefore I omit mention of these things, that I may not acquire a reputation for bad taste. [4] On this Mt. Sina live monks whose life is a kind of careful rehearsal of death, and they enjoy without fear the solitude which is very precious to them. [5] Since these monks have nothing to crave — for they are superior to all human desires and have no interest in possessing anything or in caring for their bodies, nor do they seek pleasure in any other thing whatever — the Emperor Justinian built them a church which have dedicated to the Mother of God, so that they might be enabled to pass their lives therein praying and holding services. [6] He built this church, not on the mountain’s summit, but much lower down. [7] For it is impossible for a man to pass the night on the summit, since constant crashes of thunder and other terrifying manifestations of divine power are heard at night, striking terror into man’s body and souls. [8] It was in that place, they say, that Moses received the laws from God and published them. [9] And at the base of the mountain this Emperor built a very strong fortress and established there a considerable garrison of troops, in order that the barbarian Saracens might not be able from that region, which, as I have said, is uninhabited, to make inroads with complete secrecy into the lands of Palestine proper.

[10] Thus, then, were these things done. All that he did in the monasteries of this region and throughout the rest of the East I shall now record in the form of a summary.

[9] [1] These, then, were the monasteries restored in Jerusalem:

[1] The Monastery of St. Thalelaeus.

[2] The Monastery of St. Gregory.

[3] Also St. Panteleëmon’s in the Desert of Jordan.

[4] A hospice in Jerichô.

[5] A Church of the Mother of God in Jerichô.

[6] The Monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem.

[7] The Monastery of the Lazi in the Desert of Jerusalem.

[8] The Monastery of St. Mary on the Mount of Olives.

- [9] The Monastery of the Spring of St. Elissaeus in Jerusalem.
- [10] The Monastery of St. Siletheus.
- [11] The Monastery of the Abbot Romanus.
- [12] At Bethlehem he restored the wall.
- [13] The Monastery of the Abbot John in Bethlehem.
- [14] He also built wells or cisterns as follows:
- [15] at the Monastery of St. Samuel, a well and a wall;
- [16] at that of the Abbot Zacharias, a well;
- [17] at that of Susanna, a well;
- [18] at that of Aphelius, a well;
- [19] at St. John's on the Jordan, a well;
- [20] at St. Sergius' on the mountain called Cisserôn, a well;
- [21] the wall of Tiberias;
- [22] the Poor-house in Bostra.
- [23] In Phoenicia, the following:
the House of the Virgin in Porphyreôn;
- [24] the Monastery of St. Phocas on the Mount;
- [25] the House of St. Sergius in Ptolemaïs;
- [26] in Damascus, the House of St. Leontius;
- [27] near Apamea, he restored the Poor-house of St. Romanus;
- [28] the wall of the Blessed Marôn;
- [29] near Theopolis, he restored the Church of Daphnê;
- [30] in Laodicea, he restored St. John's.
- [31] In Mesopotamia: he restored a Monastery of St. John; [32] the Monasteries of Delphrachis, Zebinus, Theodotus, John, Sarmathê, Cyrenus, Begadaeus;
- [33] A Monastery of Apadnas in Isauria;
- [34] At the city of Curicum, he restored a Bath and a Poor-house;
- [35] the Poor-house of St. Conôn;
- [36] He renewed the aqueduct of the same in Cyprus;
- [37] The House of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Pamphylia;
- [38] The Poor-house of St. Michael in the Emporium, as it is called, of the harbour-city of Perga in Pamphylia.

BOOK VI.

[1] [1] Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian. And at Alexandria he did the following. The Nile River does not flow all the way to Alexandria, but after flowing to the town which is named from Chaereüs, it then turns to the left, leaving aside the confines of Alexandria. [2] Consequently the men of former times, in order that the city might not be entirely cut off from the river, dug a very deep canal from Chaereüs and thus by means of a short branch made the river accessible to it. There too, as it chanced, are the mouths of certain streams flowing in from Lake Maria. [3] In this canal it is by no means possible for large vessels to sail, so at Chaereüs they transfer the Egyptian grain to boats which they are wont to call diaremata, and thus convey it to the city, which they are enabled to reach by way of the canal-route, and they deposit it in the quarter of the city which the Alexandrians call Phialê. [4] But since it often came about that the grain was destroyed in that place by the people rising in sedition, the Emperor Justinian surrounded this district with a wall and so prevented the damage to the grain. [5] Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian.

But inasmuch as our account has now led us to Egypt, the close neighbour of Libya, let us now set forth how many things were done by him there also, since this Emperor found all Libya too lying under the power of barbarians and joined it to the remainder of the Roman Empire.

[6] The Nile River, flowing out of India into Egypt, divides that land into two parts as far as the sea. The land, thus divided by the stream, is thenceforth designated by two separate names: [7] the region on the right of the river is called Asia as far as Colchian Phasis, which divides Asia from the continent of Europe, or even all the way to the Cimmerian Strait and the River Tanaïs. [8] In regard to this question those who are learned in these matters are in conflict with one another, as has been made clear in the Books on the Wars in the course of my description of the sea called Euxine. [9] And the land on the left of the Nile bears the name of Libya as far as the Ocean, which on the west marks the boundary between the two continents by sending out a certain arm which opens out into this sea of ours. [10] All the rest of Libya has received several different names, each region being designated, presumably, by the name of the people who dwell there. [11] However, the territory extending from the confines of Alexandria as far as the cities of Cyrenê, comprising the Pentapolis, is now the only region which is called by the name of Libya. [12] In that territory is a city one day's journey distant from Alexandria, Taphosiris by name, where they say that the god of the Egyptians, Osiris, was buried. [13] In this city the Emperor Justinian built many things, and in particular the residences of the magistrates and baths.

[2] [1] The greatest part of this land of Libya chanced to have been desert, which was in general neglected. [2] Yet our Emperor takes thought for this land

also with watchful care, so that it might not have the ill fortune to suffer anything from inroads of the Moors who inhabit the adjoining country; and to this end he established there two strongholds with garrisons, one of which they call Paratonium,^o while the other, which lies not far from the Pentapolis, has received the name Antipyrgum. [3] And the Pentapolis is removed from Alexandria by a twenty days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. [4] In this region of Pentapolis the Emperor Justinian surrounded the city of Teuchira with very strong fortifications. [5] The circuit-wall of Bernicê he rebuilt from its lowest foundations. [6] In that city he also built a bath for the use of the people. [7] Furthermore, on the extreme boundary of the Pentapolis which faces the south, he constructed fortresses in two monasteries which bear the names Agriolodê and Dinarthisum; [8] and these stand as bulwarks against the barbarians of that region, so that they may not come down stealthily into Roman territory and suddenly fall upon it.

[9] There is a certain city there, Ptolemaïs by name, which in ancient times had been prosperous and populous, but as time went on it had come to be almost deserted owing to extreme scarcity of water. [10] For the great majority of the population, driven by thirst, had moved from there long ago and gone wherever each one could. [11] Now, however, this Emperor has restored the city's aqueduct and thus brought back to it its former measure of prosperity. The last city of Pentapolis towards the west is named Boreium. [12] Here the mountains press close upon one another, and thus forming a barrier by their crowding, effectively close the entrance to the enemy. [13] This city, which had been without a wall, the Emperor enclosed with very strong defences, thus making it as safe as possible for the future, together with the whole country round about it.

[14] And there are two cities which are known by the same name, each of them being called Augila.^a [15] These are distant from Boreium about four days' journey for an unencumbered traveller, and to the south of it; and they are both ancient cities whose inhabitants have preserved the practices of antiquity, for they all were suffering from the disease of polytheism even up to my day. [16] There from ancient times there have been shrines dedicated to Ammon and to Alexander the Macedonian. [17] The natives actually used to make sacrifices to them even up to the reign of Justinian. [18] In this place there was a great throng of those called temple-slaves. But now the Emperor has made provision, not alone for the safety of the persons of his subjects, but he has also made it his concern to save their souls, be thus he has cared in every way for the people living there. [19] Indeed he by no means neglected to take thought for their material interests in an exceptional way, and also he has taught them the doctrine of the true faith, making the whole population Christians and bringing about a transformation of their polluted ancestral customs. [20] Moreover he built for them a Church of the Mother of God to be a guardian of the safety of the cities and of the true faith. So much, then, for this.

[21] The city of Boreium, which lies near the barbarian Moors, has never been subject to tribute up to the present time, nor have any collectors of tribute or taxes come to it since the creation of man. [22] The Jews had lived close by from ancient times, and they had an ancient temple there also, which they revered and honoured especially, since it was built, as they say, by Solomon, while he was ruling over the Hebrew nation. [23] But the Emperor Justinian brought it about that all these too changed their ancestral worship and have become Christians, and he transformed their temple into a church.

[3] [1] Beyond these lie the Great Syrtes, as they are called. And I shall explain what their form is and why they are given this name. [2] A sort of shore projects there, but is itself divided by the influx of the sea, and being hidden by the water it seems to disappear and to retreat back into itself; and it forms by its curve a very long crescent-shaped gulf. [3] The chord of the crescent extends to a distance of four hundred stades, but the perimeter of the crescent amounts to a six-days' journey, [4] for the sea, thrusting itself inside of this arm of the mainland, forms the gulf. [5] When a ship driven by the wind or wave gets inside the opening and beyond the chord of the crescent, it is then impossible for it to return, but from that moment it seems "to be drawn" (*suresthai*) and appears distinctly to be dragged steadily forward. From this fact, I suppose, the men of ancient times named the place Syrtes because of the fate of the ships. [7] On the other hand, it is not possible for the ships to make their way to the shore, for submerged rocks scattered over the greater part of the gulf do not permit sailing there, since they destroy the ships in the shoals. [8] Only in small boats are the sailors of such ships able to save themselves, with good luck, by picking their way amid perils through the outlets.

[9] Here are the boundaries of Tripolis, as it is called. It is inhabited by the barbarian Moors, a Phoenician race. Here too is a city, Cidamê by name; [10] and in it live Moors who have been at peace with the Romans from ancient times. All these were won over by the Emperor Justinian and voluntarily adopted the Christian doctrine. [11] These Moors are now called *pacati*, because they have a permanent treaty with the Romans; for peace they call *pacem* in the Latin tongue. [12] Tripolis is a twenty-days' journey from the Pentapolis for an unencumbered traveller.

[4] [1] Next after this comes the city of Leptis Magna, which in ancient times was large and populous, though at a later time it came to be deserted for the most part, being through neglect largely buried in sand. [2] Our Emperor built up the circuit-wall of this city from the foundations, not however on as large a scale as it was formerly, but much smaller, in order that the city might not again be weak because of its very size, and liable to capture by the enemy, and also be exposed to the sand. [3] At present, indeed, he has left the buried portion of the city just as it was, covered by the sand heaped up in mounds, but the rest of the city he has surrounded with a very strongly built wall. [4] Here he dedicated to the Mother of God a very notable shrine, and built four

other churches. [5] Furthermore, he rebuilt the palace, which had been built here in early times and now lay in ruins, the work of the ancient Emperor Severus, who was born in this place and so left this palace as a memorial of his good fortune.

[6] Now that I have reached this point in the narrative, I cannot pass over in silence the thing which happened in Leptis Magna in our time. When the Emperor Justinian had already taken over the imperial authority, but had not yet undertaken the Vandalic War, the barbarian Moors, those called Leuathae, overpowered the Vandals, who were then masters of Libya, and made Leptis Magna entirely empty of inhabitants. [7] While they were tarrying for a time with their leaders on hilly ground not far from Leptis Magna, they suddenly saw a flame of fire in the middle of the city. [8] Supposing that local enemies had got in there, they ran to the rescue with great speed. [9] Finding no one there, they took the matter to the soothsayers, who, by an inkling of what has since happened, predicted that Leptis Magna would soon be inhabited again. [10] Not long after that the Emperor's army came and occupied both Tripolis and the rest of Libya, gaining ascendancy over both the Vandals and the Moors in the war. However, I shall return to the point at which I digressed from my account.

[11] In this city the Emperor Justinian also built public baths, and he erected the circuit-wall of the city from its lowest foundations, and by means both of the baths and of all the other improvements gave it the character of a city. [12] The barbarians who live close by, those called Gadabitani, who up to that time were exceedingly addicted to what is called the Greek form of atheism, he has now made zealous Christians. [13] He also walled the city of Sabrathan, where he also built a very noteworthy church.

[14] There are two cities at the extremity of this land, Tacapa and Girgis, between which lie the Lesser Syrtes. [15] There a thing happens every day which is truly wonderful. The sea, compressed into a narrow space, forms a crescent-shaped gulf, just as I have said happens at the other Syrtes. [16] The sea comes up on the mainland more than a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, but towards evening it returns again, leaving the shore there dry as on other coasts. [17] The sailors put out over the mainland, which is temporarily transformed into a sea, and during the day they sail as far as possible by the usual means, but in the late afternoon they make preparations to bivouac as if on land, having certain long poles in readiness. [18] As soon as they observe that the water is threatening to draw back, with no delay they leap out of the ships holding the poles and dragging them along. [19] At first they swim, and then they stand as soon as the water does not rise above their faces. [20] And they plant the ends of their poles in the earth as soon as it has become dry or is on the point of becoming so, and they set them upright so as to prop up the boat from both sides and keep it upright, in order that it may not fall over to either side and be crushed. [21] On the following day, at early dawn, the mainland again transforms itself into the sea with its rolling waves, and the

boats are lifted and float away. [22] The sailors meanwhile remove the poles at just the right moment and proceed to sail once more. [23] This goes on without any variation, but every day the alternation of the elements takes place.

[5] [1] After Tripolis and the Syrtes, let us go on to the rest of Libya. [2] We must begin from Carthage, which chances to be the largest and the most noteworthy of the cities in this region, prefacing our account with the remark that when Gizerich and the Vandals acquired Libya, a device occurred to them which was both pernicious and worthy of barbarians. [3] They reasoned that they would be better off if all the towns of the region should be without walls, so that the Romans might not capture any of them and thus be able to harm the Vandals. [4] So they immediately tore down all the walls to the ground. All the barbarians, as a general thing, are very keen in planning damage to the Romans, and they are very swift in executing whatever they decide upon. [5] Only Carthage and a few other places were left by them just as they were, for they declined to concern themselves with these, and left them for time to destroy. [6] But the Emperor Justinian (although no man approved of his purpose and all actually shuddered at the undertaking, and only God furthered the project and promised help and support) sent Belisarius and an army against Libya; and he broke the power of Gelimer and the Vandals, killing many and making the rest captives, as I have recounted in the Books of the Wars. [7] He restored all the dismantled strongholds in Libya, every one of them, and he also added a great many new ones himself.

[8] First, then, he cared for Carthage, which now, very properly, is called Justinianê, rebuilding the whole circuit-wall, which had fallen down, and digging around it a moat which it had not had before. [9] He also dedicated shrines, one to the Mother of God in the palace, and one outside this to a certain local saint, Saint Prima. [10] Furthermore, he built stoas on either side of what is called the Maritime Forum, and a public bath, a fine sight, which they have named Theodorianae, after the Empress. [11] He also built a monastery on the shore inside the circuit-wall, close to the harbour which they call Mandracium, and by surrounding it with very strong defences he made it an impregnable fortress.

[12] These things, then, were done by Justinian at modern Carthage. In the surrounding region, which is called Proconsularis, there was an unwallled city, Vaga by name, which could be captured not only by a planned attack of the barbarians, but even if they merely chanced to be passing that way. [13] This place the Emperor Justinian surrounded with very strong defences and made it worthy to be called a city, and capable of affording safe protection to its inhabitants. [14] And they, having received this favour, now call the city Theodorias in honour of the Empress. [15] He also built in this district a fortress which they call Tucca.

[6] [1] In Byzacium there is a city on the coast, Adramytus by name, which has been large and flourishing from ancient times, and for this reason it won the name and rank of metropolis of the region, since it chances to be first in

point of size and, in general, of prosperity. [2] The Vandals had torn the circuit-wall of this city down to the ground, so that the Romans might not be able to use it against them. And it lay conveniently exposed to the Moors when they overran that region. [3] Nevertheless, the Libyans who lived there tried to make provision, so far as they could, for their own safety, and so they made a barricade out of the ruins of the walls and joined their houses together; [4] and from these they would fight against their assailants and try to defend themselves, though their hope was slight and their position precarious. [5] So their safety always hung by a hair and they were kept standing on one leg, being exposed to the attacks of the Moors and to the neglect of the Vandals. [6] However, when the Emperor Justinian became master of Libya by conquest, he put an exceedingly massive wall about the city and stationed there an adequate garrison of troops, thus giving the inhabitants assurance of safety and enabling them to disdain all enemies. [7] For this reason they now call the place Justinianê, thus repaying the Emperor for their deliverance and displaying their gratitude simply by the adoption of the name, since they had no other means by which they could requite the Emperor's beneficence, nor did he himself wish other requital.

[8] There was also a certain other town on the coast of Byzacium which the inhabitants used to call Caputvada. At that point the Emperor's fleet landed and there the troops first set foot on the land of Libya, when they made the expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals. [9] In that place also God revealed that marvellous and indescribable gift to the Emperor which I have described in the Books on the Wars. [10] For although the locality was exceedingly arid, so that the Roman army was very hard pressed by lack of water, the ground, which previously had been completely dry, sent up a spring at the place where the soldiers were building their stockade, [11] for as they dug, the water began to gush forth. So the earth threw off the drought which prevailed there, and transforming its own character became saturated with drinking-water. [12] Because of this circumstance they built a satisfactory camp in that place and spent that night there; and on the next day they prepared for battle and, to omit what intervened, took possession of Libya. [13] So the Emperor Justinian, by way of bearing witness to the gift of God by means of a permanent testimony — for the most difficult task easily yields to his wish — conceived the desire to transform this place forthwith into a city which should be made strong by a wall and distinguished by its other appointments as worthy to be counted an impressive and prosperous city; and the purpose of the Emperor has been realized. [14] For a wall has been brought to completion and with it a city, and the condition of a farm land is being suddenly changed. [15] And the rustics have thrown aside the plough and lead the existence of a community, no longer going the round of country tasks but living a city life. [16] They pass their days in the market-place and hold assemblies to deliberate on questions which concern them; and they traffic with one another, and conduct all the other affairs which pertain to the dignity of a city.

[17] This then was done in Byzacium on the sea. In the interior of this land and to its farther parts, where barbarian Moors live hard by, he built very powerful outposts against them, because of which they are no longer able to overrun the Roman dominion. [18] He surrounded each one of the cities with very strong walls, since they stand on the rim of the territory; these bear the names Mammes, Teleptê and Cululis. He also constructed a fort which the natives call Aumetra, and in these places he stationed trustworthy garrisons of troops.

[7] [1] In the same way he assured the safety of the land of Numidia by means of fortifications and garrisons of soldiers, each one of which I shall now mention. [2] There is a mountain in Numidia which is called Aurasius, such as chances to be found nowhere else at all in the civilized world. [3] For this mountain rises steeply to a towering height and its perimeter extends to a distance of about three days' journey. It offers no path as one approaches it, having no ascent except over cliffs. [4] But after one gets to the top there is deep soil and level plains and easy roads, meadows good for pasture, parks full of trees and plough-land everywhere. [5] Springs bubble out from the cliffs there, their waters are placid, there are rippling rivers which flow chattering along, and strangest of all, the grain-fields and the trees on this mountain produce crops which are double in size compared with those which are wont to grow in the rest of Libya. Such is the condition of Mt. Aurasius. [6] The Vandals held it originally along with the rest of Libya, but the Moors wrested it from them and settled there. [7] The Emperor Justinian, however, expelled from there the Moors, and Iaudas who ruled over them, and added this mountain to the rest of the Roman Empire. [8] As a precaution in order that the barbarians might not again make trouble by getting a foothold there, he fortified cities about the mountain which he found deserted and altogether unwallled. I refer to Pentebagae and Florentianae and Badê and Meleum and Tamugadê, as well as two forts, Dabusis and Gaeana; also he established there sufficient garrisons of soldiers, thus leaving to the barbarians there no hope of attacking Aurasius. [9] The district beyond Aurasius, which had not been under the Vandals at all, he wrested from the Moors. There he walled two cities, Fricê and Sitifis. [10] At the cities situated in the rest of Numidia, the names of which follow, he set up impregnable defences: Laribuzuduôn, Paraturôn, Cilana, Siccaveneria, Tigisis, Lamfouaomba, Calamaa, Medara, Medela; [11] besides these, two forts, Scilê and Foscala. So much, then, for this.

[12] There is a city on the island Sardô, which is now named Sardinia, called by the Romans Traiani Forum. [13] This Justinian has supplied with a wall which it did not have before, but instead it lay exposed to the island Moors, who are called Barbaricini, whenever they wished to plunder it.

[14] And at Gadira, at one side of the Pillars of Heracles, on the right side of the strait, there had been at one time a fortress on the Libyan shore named Septum; this was built by the Romans in early times, but being neglected by the Vandals, it had been destroyed by time. [15] Our Emperor Justinian made it

strong by means of a wall and strengthened its safety by means of a garrison. [16] There too he consecrated to the Mother of God a noteworthy church, thus dedicating to her the threshold of the Empire, and making this fortress impregnable for the whole race of mankind.

[17] So much for these things. There can be no dispute, but it is abundantly clear to all mankind, that the Emperor Justinian has strengthened the Empire, not with fortresses alone, but also by means of garrisons of soldiers, from the bounds of the East to the very setting of the sun, these being the limits of the Roman dominion. [18] As many, then, of the buildings of the Emperor Justinian as I have succeeded in discovering, either by seeing them myself, or by hearing about them from those who have seen them, I have described in my account to the best of my ability. [19] I am fully aware, however, that there are many others which I have omitted to mention, which either went unnoticed because of their multitude, or remained altogether unknown to me. [20] So if anyone will take the pains to search them all out and add them to my treatise, he will have the credit of having done a needed work and of having won the renown of a lover of fair achievements.

APPENDIX I.

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF JUSTINIAN IN THE AUGUSTAEUM (BUILDINGS, I.II.5-12)

A drawing of this statue, made at the behest of the traveller and antiquary Cyriacus of Ancona when the monument still existed in the early fifteenth century, is preserved in Budapest; it has been published and discussed most recently by G. Rodenwaldt in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1931, S-^[334] (the reproduction used as the frontispiece of the present volume was made from his illustration). Rodenwaldt sees, in the description of the statue as σχῆμα Ἀχιλλεῖον^o and in Procopius's comment that it represented the Emperor ἡρωϊκῶς, evidence of the interest in the antique conception of the Roman Empire which can be perceived in Justinian's legal policy and in his various efforts for the renovatio of the Imperium Romanum. Justinian, however, can hardly, in Rodenwaldt's opinion, have actually been accustomed to wear the costume in which he was depicted.

There may be a question as to precisely what the significance of the statue may have been, beyond the interpretation of it which Procopius gives. Was the statue intended simply to shew the Emperor in the *costume* of Achilles, or was it designed to depict him in the *character* of Achilles? The word σχῆμα which Procopius uses would favour the second interpretation, though it could support the first also; but his use of this word might easily have been purely fortuitous, and the point cannot be pressed too far. There is also the question whether the representation of Justinian in this fashion reflects only the Emperor's own personal interest in antiquity, expressing itself in a conscious revival of ancient imperial symbolism, or whether the statue represents instead a particular expression of an official conception of the Emperor and his functions which was current at that time. It is always possible, of course, that the statue simply represents an artistic tradition, so that in this case it would be this tradition (possibly even the artist's choice) which was chiefly or solely responsible for the way in which the Emperor was depicted.

Without further knowledge it does not seem proper to adopt any one of these interpretations to the exclusion of the others. There happens to be evidence (unknown to Rodenwaldt) that at least on one occasion, half a century previously, an "Achilles costume" was actually worn, in rather unusual circumstances. The usurper Basiliscus, who reigned as Emperor for twenty months in A.D. 475-476, was persuaded by his wife the Augusta Zenonis to give preferment and high office to her lover Armatus, a young fop who was the Emperor's nephew. A historian of the time tells how this advancement elated the young man beyond all measure, so that he imagined himself to be a man of valour and rode about in the costume of Achilles. This episode may or may not be taken to shew that the "costume of Achilles" was

considered to be specifically an imperial dress; it is to be noted that the word used to describe it is σκευή, “dress,” and not σχῆμα as in the case of Justinian. The incident certainly indicates that the costume was thought to be especially appropriate to a brave commander; our knowledge does not seem sufficient, however, to permit us to find in the episode a definitive explanation of Justinian’s appearance in this manner in the statue.

The origin of the costume, the characteristic part of which seems to be the headdress, is not clear, though further evidence on this point may eventually come to light. The evidence that an “Achilles costume” was worn by Armatus helps to eliminate a difficulty which Rodenwaldt encountered in this connection. The elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV.) states that “nude statues holding a spear, modelled after young men in the gymnasium, were called Achillean.” Rodenwaldt thought it necessary to suppose that the term “Achillean” indicated that there was some connection between the nude statues described by Pliny and the armed costume described by Procopius, but he had to admit that it is difficult to see precisely what such a connection might be. The episode of Armatus now indicates that the passage in Pliny has nothing to do with the matter, and that the origin of the costume is to be sought elsewhere.

APPENDIX II

A valuable review of the original edition of this volume was published by D. S. Robertson, *Classical Review*, LV (1941), p-84 (cited here as "Robertson"). A number of the corrections and improvements suggested by Robertson are discussed below; but examination of all of the emendations proposed by him would go beyond the scope of the present Appendix.

P. ix, n. 1. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire* has been reprinted by Dover Publications, New York, 1958.

Pp. ix-xv. For further studies of the composition of the Buildings, see G. Downey, "The Composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXVIII (1947), p-183; idem, "Notes on Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Book I," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, II (St. Louis, 1953), p-725.

P. xiv. On the work of the "master-builders," see G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods," *Byzantion*, XVIII (1946-48), p-118.

P. xvi. For a further study of some of the architectural terms discussed here, see G. Downey, "On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXVII (1946), p-34.

P. xix. Professor Conant's study was published in the *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, I (1946), p-78.

P. 7. With Procopius' observations on Cyrus, compare Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, 1, 7.

P. 9. On the topography and monuments of Constantinople, and Justinian's buildings there, see now the two volumes of R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), and *Les églises et les monastères* (in: *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I^{ère} partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, tome III, Paris, 1953). On the latter volume, see the review by G. Downey, *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), p-899. On Justinian's building programme, see G. Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," *Art Bulletin*, XXXII (1950), p-266.

P. 11. On the meaning of the word Sophia in the name of the church, see G. Downey, "The Name of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople," *Harvard Theological Review*, LII (1959), p-41.

P. 11, lines 10-11. Robertson (p-80) points out that a more accurate translation would be "giving it a designation most appropriate to God."

P. 21, § 44. On the description of the pendentives, see the comment of

Robertson, .

P. 21, § 46. It should be noted that the reading of the MSS., $\sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\tilde{\alpha}$ meaning “suspended from heaven with the golden chain,” is a reminiscence of Iliad, VIII, 19.

P. 24, n. 1. On the use of cramps and lead, see also Diodorus Siculus, II, 8. 2.

P. 29. See K. J. Conant, “The First Dome of St. Sophia and its Rebuilding,” *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, I (1946), p–78.

P. 31, n. 1. On the meaning of *pestoi*, see Robertson, pp.79–80.

P. 37, § 19. As Robertson points out () the meaning might be “my whole lifetime,” rather than “the whole span of eternity.”

P. 39, n. 1. Reference should be made to the description of the Blachernae, below, I, vi, 3.

P. 41, § 8. On the phrase “in beauty and in size,” see W. J. Verdenius “ $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ καὶ μέγεθος,” *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, vol. II (1949), p–298.

P. 43, § 12. Robertson points out () that the meaning is, “For God, having chosen his own manner of becoming man . . .” (that is, by birth from the Virgin Mary).

P. 45, § 3. It has been suggested by G. Downey, *Classical Philology*, XLIII (1948), p–45, that the words $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ through $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ (“and then also another shrine which stood at an angle to this one”) are to be deleted as the addition of a scribe. For further study of the passage see A. Frolov, *Byzantinoslavica*, X (1949), p–132.

P. 51, § 14. This may be translated more accurately, “That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built to resemble the Church of Sophia — in the centre at any rate — except that it is inferior to it in size.”

P. 53, n. 1. See G. Downey, “The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VI (1951), p–80, and J. Vogt, “Der Erbauer der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel,” *Hermes*, LXXXI (1953), p — 117.

P. 53, § 21. “Masons” is a more accurate translation than “workmen.” On the clearing of a site preparatory to building a church, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, iv, 60; see also his *Life of Constantine*, III, 27.

P. 59. See P. Ulyott and O. Ilgaz, “The Hydrography of the Bosphorus: An Introduction,” *Geographical Review*, XXXVI (1946), p–66.

P. 63, § 5. On this church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, see L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig, 1907), , n. 2.

P. 73, § 10. The text, as Robertson points out (p–82), appears to be defective. The meaning seems to be that the court in front of the church was constructed

with variegated marbles which in their colour resembled both ripe fruits and snow.

P-127. Robertson observes () that the paragraph division should be between § 6 and § 7, rather than between § 7 and § 8. § 7 means “And I can give further proof that Persian territory surrounds the place on every side.”

P. 149, §§ 8 ff. Excavations at Zenobia have shown that the account of Procopius is surprisingly accurate; see J. Lauffray, *Annates archéologiques de Syrie*, I (1951), p ff.

P. 151, § 11. As Robertson notes () the meaning is “detachments of soldiers” rather than “select troops.”

P. 155, § 24. A Frolov, *Revue des études slaves*, XXV (1949), , with note 4, takes this passage to mean, not that Justinian erected churches and barracks, but that he built “temples” for the military insignia. However, it may not seem altogether certain that this interpretation is in keeping with the context.

P. 157, § 3. On Sergiopolis and the cult of St. Sergius, see A. Poidebard and R. Mouterde, “A propos de S. Serge,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVII (1949), p-116.

P. 164, n. 1. See Byzantion, XIV (1939), p-378. For the history of Antioch in the time of Justinian, see G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (to be published by the Princeton University Press, 1961).

P. 172, n. 1. For the inscriptions of Chalcis, see also L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, II, nos. 348-349.

P. 173, § 2. See E. Frézouls, “Recherches sur la ville de Cyrhus,” *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, IV-V (1954-55), p, 116.

P. 175, § 4. On this church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, see L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig, 1907), .

P. 177, § 10. On Justinian’s work at Palmyra, see H. Seyrig, “Antiquités syriennes,” *Syria*, XXVII (1950), .

P. 199, § 15. As Robertson observes (), the text as it stands means “There was a certain town in what was once called Lesser Armenia...” On the basis of Wars, I, xvii, 21, Robertson proposes to emend the text thus: ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν [less-than]μὲν Λευκοσόροις, νῦν δὲ > μικροῖς καλουμένοις . . . This improves the passage but it does not seem an indispensable change. See A. H. Krappe, “The Leucosyrians,” *Armenian Quarterly*, I (1946), p-107.

P. 205, n. 1. On the Lazi and the Tzani, see G. Moravcsik, “Byzantine Christianity and the Migrating Magyars,” *American Slavic Review*, V (1946), .

P. 217, § 12. As Robertson notes () the meaning is “which has been barbarized for a long time.”

P. 225, n. 2. On tetrapyrgia in Syria, see A. Poidebard and R. Mouterde, “A propos de S. Serge,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVII (1949), p–116.

P. 225, n. 3. See A. Grabar, “Les monuments de Tsaritchin Grad et Justiniana Prima,” *Cahiers archéologiques*, III (1948), p–63; C. A. R. Radford, “Justiniana Prima (Tsaritsin Grad): A Sixth Century City in Southern Serbia,” *Antiquity*, XXVIII (1954), p–18.

P. 250 ff. See L. W. Daly, “Echinos and Justinian’s Fortifications in Greece,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), p–508.

P. 285, n. 3. On this road, see R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l’Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945), .

P. 297, § 16. On the palace, see P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, No. 9 (1953), , n. 1 (*Studi e Testi*, No. 175).

P. 317. On the Church of St. John at Ephesus, see the *Forschungen in Ephesos* of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, vol. IV, pt. 3, *Die Johanneskirche* (1951).

P. 321, § 16. Robertson notes () that the meaning is not “go straightway about their business,” but “return to their own countries.”

P. 340, § 20. For an inscription recording the construction of an earlier bridge, see H. Grégoire, “Inscriptions historiques byzantines,” *Byzantion*, IV, (1927/8), p–468.

P. 343. In the *Life of Sabas* by Cyril of Scythopolis (§ 73, ed. E. Schwartz, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XLIX, pt. 2, 1939) it is recorded that a μηχανικός named Theodoros was sent by Justinian to Jerusalem to build the new Church of the Virgin.

P. 365, § 11. Robertson observes () that the meaning is not “the only religion which is called by the name of Libya,” but “the only religion which is still called by the bare name of Libya.”

P. 367, n. 5. See R. G. Goodchild, “Boreum of Cyrenaica,” *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLI (1951), p–16.

P–398. See G. Downey, “Justinian as Achilles,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI (1940), p–77; Phyllis W. Lehmann, “Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider,” *Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), p–57; also the comments of C. A. Mango, *ibid.*, p–356.

The Greek Texts



*St. George's Cathedral, Beirut — the edifice sits on the axis of Beirut's ancient *Cardo Maximus*. A law school, believed by some to have been attended by Procopius, was located next to the Byzantine Anastasis church, a precursor of the cathedral.*

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The Wars of Justinian

BOOK I.

Προκόπιος Καισαρεὺς τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραψεν οὕς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς πρὸς βαρβάρους διήνεγκε τοὺς τε ἐφούς καὶ ἐσπερίους, ὥς πη αὐτῶν ἐκάστω ξυνηγέσθῃ γενέσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθῃ ὁ μέγας αἰὼν λόγου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ καταπρόηται καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξίτηλα θῆται, ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ὥετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ξυνοῖσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὁμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγκην διάθοιτο. [2] τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμῆσειουσιν καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνιουμένοις ὄνησιν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι οἷα τέ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἱστορίας ἐπίδειξις, ἀποκαλύπτουσα μὲν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις τὰ τῆς ὁμοίας ἀγωνίας ἐχώρησεν, αἰνισσομένη δὲ ὁποῖαν τινὰ τελευτὴν τοῖς γε ὥς ἄριστα βουλευομένοις τὰ παρόντα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξει. [3] καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ ξυνηπίστατο πάντων μάλιστα δυνατὸς ὢν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβούλῳ ἡρημένῳ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ σχεδὸν τι ἅπασιν παραγενέσθαι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. [4] πρέπειν τε ἡγεῖτο ῥητορικῇ μὲν δεινότητι, ποιητικῇ δὲ μυθοποιῖαν, [5] ξυγγραφῇ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ του τῶν οἱ ἐς ἄγαν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἕκαστα ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλη αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη. [6] Κρεῖσσον δὲ οὐδέν ἢ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκότων τῷ γε ὥς ἀληθῶς τεκμηριουῖσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται. [7] πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν: θαυμαστὰ οἷα, ἣν μὴ τις τῶν τάδε ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ οἶεσθαι. [8] ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν στρατευομένους ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοξότας, ἀγχεμάχους δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδιώτας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα ὀνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἐθέλουσι νέμειν, ταύτην τε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐς τοῦτον ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ἥκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαιπώρον γε καὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπωτάτω τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι δόξαν. [9] οὐ γὰρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἔννοια γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τοξεύουσιν, οἷσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὀνομαζομένοις ξυνέβαιεν, οὐχ ἵππος ὑπὴν, οὐ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀσπίς ἤμυνεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυλακτῆριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦσαν, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἐταίρου του ἐκλεγομένοις ἀσπίδα ἢ στήλην ἐπὶ τύμβῳ τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, [10] ἔνθα οὔτε τρεπόμενοι διασώζεσθαι οὔτε φεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι οἰοί τε ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τι κλέπτειν ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ γινομένων. [11] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχρῶντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἴτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίεσαν κωφόν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαύτη μὲν τις οὖσα ἡ τοξεία φαίνεται πρότερον. [12] οἱ δὲ γε τανῦν τοξόται ἴασι μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κνημῖδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ. ἥρτηται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη, [13] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ δόρυ

προσαποκρέματα καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀσπίς ὄχανον χωρίς, οἷα τὰ τε ἄμφι τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτειν. [14] ἰππεύονται δὲ ὡς ἄριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτοῖς ὡς τάχιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐντείνειν οἷοι τέ εἰσιν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα καὶ διώκοντάς τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. [15] ἔλκεται δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἡ νευρά παρ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὥτων τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλᾷσα τὸ βέλος, ὥστε τὸν αἰεὶ παραπίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὔτε ἀσπίδος ἴσως οὔτε θώρακος ἀποκρούεσθαι τι δυναμένου τῆς ρύμης. [16] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τούτων ἥκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον. ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κωλύσει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. [17] λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ἀρξαμένοις μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη καὶ Μήδοις πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ δρᾶσαι.

Ἦνικα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτᾷ ἤμελλεν ἦν γάρ οἱ παῖς Θεοδόσιος οὐπω τοῦ τιθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς, διηπορεῖτο ἄμφι τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὖ θέσθαι ἄμφω ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων. [2] ἐγένετο γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὡς, ἦν μὲν κοινωνόν τινα Θεοδοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζεται, αὐτὸς ἂν τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχρησάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἴη, πολέμιον αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασιλείον περιβεβλημένον ἐπαγαγών, [3] ἦν δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσεται, πολλοὶ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύσουσι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Θεοδόσιον διαφθείραντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυγγενῇ εἶχεν ὅστις ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἴη. [4] Ὀνώριον γάρ οἱ τὸν θεῖον ἐπαρκέσειν οὐδαμῇ ἤλπισε, πονηρῶν ἤδη τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ὄντων. [5] οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασε, δεδιότα μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καταθέοντες ἡλικίας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Ῥωμαίους δράσωσιν. [6] ἐς ταύτην Ἀρκάδιος τὴν ἀμνηχανίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, καίπερ οὐ γεγονῶς εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγχίνους, βουλευέται βουλὴν ἥτις οἱ τὸν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώσασθαι εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσεν, εἴτε κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίων τισίν, οἷοι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖ παρεδρεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἢ θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης. [7] διαθήκης γὰρ διαθεῖς γράμματα, διάδοχον μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνείπε τὸν παῖδα, ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὃν δὴ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐπέσκηψε Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν σθένει τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ ξυνδιασώσασθαι. [8] Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν: Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἀπενεχθὲν εἶδεν, ὦν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τρόπου μεγαλοφροσύνη διαβόητος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο θαύματός τε πολλοῦ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. [9] τὰς γὰρ Ἀρκαδίου ἐντολὰς ἐν ἀλογία οὐδεμιᾷ ποιησάμενος εἰρήνην τε ἀφθόνῳ χρώμενος διαγέγονεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεσώσατο. [10] αὐτίκα γοῦν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν γράμματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπίτροπός τε οὐκ ἀπαρνούμενος Θεοδοσίῳ βασιλέως εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον ἐπανατεινόμενος, ἦν τις αὐτῷ ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐγχειροίη καθίστασθαι. [11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδόσιος μὲν ἀνὴρ τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ

ἡλικίας πόρρω ἀφίκτο, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νουσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ μεγάλῳ, ἔδρασε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [12] Ἀνατόλιον τὸν τῆς ἑω στρατηγὸν Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρεσβευτὴν ἐς Πέρσας μόνον αὐτὸν ἐτύγγανε πέμψας· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀγχιστα ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, ἀποθρόσκει μὲν τοῦ ἵππου μόνος, πεζῇ δὲ βαδίζων ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνην ἦει. [13] καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐαραράνης ἰδὼν τῶν παρόντων ἀνεπυθάνετο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ προσίων εἶη. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι στρατηγὸν ἔφασαν. [14] καταπλαγεῖς οὖν τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς στρέψας τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε, καὶ οἱ ἅπας ὁ τῶν Περσῶν λεῶς εἵπετο. [15] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκεῖα τὸν τε πρεσβευτὴν ζὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ εἶδε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνεχώρησεν οὕτως ὥσπερ Ἀνατόλιος αὐτοῦ ἔχρηξεν, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι μηδέτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκεῖν ἐν γειτόνων τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ὀρίοις ὄντι ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐργάζονται. οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐξειργασμένου ἐκάτεροι τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπῃ ἐβούλοντο ἔπρασσον.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Περόξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὐννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὗσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [2] Ἐφθαλίται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὐννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πῃ αὐτῶν ἀγχιστα ὤκνηται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ πόλις Γοργῷ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. [3] οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυνται. [4] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποιήνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ζὺν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐννων οὗτοι λευκοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς ὄψεις εἰσίν. [5] οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαιταν ὁμοίotropον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἤπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἐνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ξυμβάλλουσι, [6] Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἐταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἷπερ αὐτοῖς ξυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὔσης. [7] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῷ αὐτοῦς ἐταιρισμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ξυμβαίῃ, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος. [8] Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόξῃ πορευομένῳ ξυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτῆς, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἑφοδὸν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηται, ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χώρόν τινα ὄνπερ ὄρη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφείσιν ἐς ἄγαν καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. [9] ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν προϊόντι ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ὁδὸς μὲν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεῖα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκουσα, ἑξοδὸν δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὀρῶν ἔλγηε. [10] Περόξης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντὸς

ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἔννοῶν τε ὥς ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε. [11] τῶν δὲ Οὐννων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὐπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρῳ χωρήσαντες ἐντὸς τε τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν οἷοί τε ὦσιν. [12] ὥνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλευέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι ἣν τίς ποτε μηχανὴ ἐς σωτηρίαν φέρουσα εἴη. [13] ὁ δὲ Περόζῃ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὥς ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιῆας λέοντά ποτε τράγῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ὥς ἀρπάσσοντα, ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῇ ἔχουσαν στενὴν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην ἰδέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἣν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπερθεῖν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. [14] ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιήνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἔχῳρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [15] Οὐννοι δὲ ἥδη ἐπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἷοί τε ὦσι. [16] καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἠσθημένοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. [17] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους πέρι ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδώσειν δὲ καὶ ὥς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὐννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἣν γε αὐτόν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον, καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὁμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη μήποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπνυθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἴη. [19] οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ ὅπῃ οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἕτερον σοφία περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. [20] εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη. [21] δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρησαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν συγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον προσκυνεῖν: ταύτῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναιτο. [22] Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἢ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμοιοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὐννους τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. [2] πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἦγε, τῶν παιδῶν ἓνα μὲν Καβάδην

ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν ἡνικαυτα γὰρ ἡβηκῶς ἔτυχέ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. [3] Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοι τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. [4] καὶ ὃς αὐτῶν ζὺν γέλῳτι ἐπυνθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἶη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. [5] οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τᾶλλα πάντα ἡρτῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὑπαντιάζειν πάσῃ προθυμία ἤζισον, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐκώλυνεν. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. [7] ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἧ ἔμελλον Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἦθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον εἰργάσατο βαθεῖαν τε καὶ εὗρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσας, ὀλίγον τινα ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῇ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον ἵππων ὁδῷ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. [8] καλάμους τε τῇ τάφρῳ ὑπερθεῖν ἐπιθείς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους συναμηςάμενος, ταύτῃ ἐπιτολῆς ἔκρυπεν, Οὕνων τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι, φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπίπτειν· [9] τοὺς δὲ ἄλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὓς τὸν ὄρκον Περόξης ὥμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὕνους ἐστράτευσεν. [10] ἔως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργῶ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς· τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν ὁρίοις τυγχάνει οὕσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῷ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἀποθεῖν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατῶρυχι ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἴκοιντο. [11] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέμειγνυντο. [12] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτιῷ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὀπισθεν εἶποντο· [13] ἅτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ζὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὥς ἥκιστα ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ ὃ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ζὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. [14] ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόξης ἦν ζὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασιν. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαι φασὶ τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἡσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὃ οἱ λευκότατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἔντιμον ἐξ ὧτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίῃ, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὐπὼ πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. [15] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι τό τε οὕς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μάργαρον ὅπη ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. [16] ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν

Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὐρέσθαι οἱ
βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι
Ἐφθαλίτας εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι. [17] Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ
τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ
παντάπασις ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. [18] λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν
ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐστί, νήχεσθαι δὲ
τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτης ἡιόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν· ἀνεωγένοι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τὰ
ὄστρακα, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ
ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰκασθῆναι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ
κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [19] κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ δεινῶς
ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἵχνος αὐτῷ,
οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
ἀναγκασθεῖν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδίων, εὐρόντα δέ τι καὶ
ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὅτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν
κτένα θεάματος αὐθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπίπλασθαι. [20] καί ποτε τῶν τινα
γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιδεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον
ἀποκνῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόξην ἅπαντα τὸν λόγον
ἀνενεγκεῖν. [21] ἃ δὴ τῷ Περόξῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι
μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπείαις τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον καὶ ἀγαθῶν
ἐλπίσιν ἐπᾶραι. [22] ὃν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότη οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι
τάδε τῷ Περόξῃ εἰπεῖν· Ὡς δέσποτα, ποθινὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ χρήματα,
ποθεινοτέρα δὲ ἢ ψυχῇ, πάντων μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. [23] ὧν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ
ἀναγκασθεῖς φύσει ἴσως ἂν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοῦ τε
θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μαργάρου σε κύριον· [24] θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα
ἔχω. καὶ ἢ μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὐδηλον ὥς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις
ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι. σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε
βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀποχρήσει, καίπερ οὐδέν, ἂν οὕτω
τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότη εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. [25] εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ
δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἀλῶναι, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὃ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς
ἐμοὺς θανάτου τοῦ πατρώου ἀμείψασθαι. [26] οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ
τετελευτηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν
ἀποίσῃ μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὠφελῶν εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς
εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῇ εἶσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος
γένοιτο μόνη ἢ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα.' [27] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν
ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν χώρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεὶς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ
κύων αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ἔπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητό τινας,
καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πως ἔρημόν ποτε τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ λάβοι. [28]
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐχόντων
ἐντετυχηκέαι ξυνέπεσε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀκτῆς ὁ ἀλιεὺς τοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπομένους τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺς τοῦ κτενὸς
σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος
ἠπειγετο. [29] οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν ὁ
σαγηνευτής, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡιόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν
θήραμα ἠκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλούς διεφθάρη οὐ

πολλῷ ὕστερον. [30] ἀνελόμενοι δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμμένοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. [31] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ τῇδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ξυνενεχθῆναι φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [32] Οὕτω μὲν Περόξης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὁδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. [33] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθεται Πέρσαις μὴ ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐλαύνοντας διώξιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα, ἣν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ξυμβαίη. [34] ὅσοι μέντοι Περόξη οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα περιῆν μόνος. [35] τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατυνόμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἤξιον. ἥρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας· ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. [2] καὶ βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσιν τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν εἵλοντο, ἐπεὶ γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρην Περόξη, ὅσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο, Πέρσαις δὲ οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι ἰδιώτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἐξιτήλου παντάπασιν γένους τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντος· [3] Βλάσης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο· τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτινύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις τοῖς πλείοσιν. [4] ἔνθα δὴ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν γνῶμαι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὄνομα μὲν Γουσαστάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα· εἶη δ' ἂν ἐν Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτό γέ, πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὁμορὸς ἐστί, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἢ τῶν ὀνύχων τὰ προὔχοντα Πέρσαι εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμεσθαι, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον δακτύλου ἀνδρός, πάχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον δακτύλου ἔχουσαν· 'Ταύτην ὁρᾶτε,' εἶπε, [5] 'τὴν μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὖσαν· αὕτη μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οἷα τέ ἐστίν, ὅπερ εὖ ἴστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὃ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι, μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, [6] παραδηλὼν ὥς, ἦν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα πράγματα Πέρσαις περιὼν παρέξει. [7] οἱ δὲ κτεῖναι ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος οὐδ' ὅλως ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν νενομίκασιν. [8] ἦν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχη, οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θάνατος τῷ ὀνομακώτῃ ἢ ζημία ἐστί· διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν. [9] ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελῶσθαι τὴν δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [10] Πόλεμός ποτε Πέρσις τε καὶ Ἀρμενίοις ἀκήρυκτος γέγονεν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπὶ Πακουρίου μὲν Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ἀρσάκου Ἀρσακίδου ἀνδρός. τούτῳ τε τῷ πολέμῳ μηχανομένῳ κεκακῶσθαι μὲν ἐς ἄγαν

ἀμφοτέρους ξυνέβη καὶ διαφερόντως τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. [11] ἀπιστία δὲ πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχόμενοι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐδέτεροι εἶχον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πέρσας τετύχηκε πόλεμον πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τινὰς οὐ πόρρω Ἀρμενίων ὤκημένους διενεγκεῖν. [12] οἱ τε Ἀρμένιοι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἐπίδειξιν ἐς Πέρσας τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσασθαι, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν γῆν ἔγνωσαν, δηλώσαντες τοῦτο πρότερον Πέρσαις. [13] ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοὶ ἐπιπεσόντες σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν. ὃ τε Πακούριος τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπερησθείς, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀρσάκην τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς τὰ τε πιστὰ οἱ παρασχόμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον μετεπέμψατο. [14] καὶ ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἀφίκετο, τῆς τε ἄλλης αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνης ἡξίωσε καὶ ἅτε ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἔσχε. [15] καὶ τότε μὲν ὄρκους δεινотάτοις τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην καταλαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ὁμωμοκῶς ἢ μὴν εὖνους τε καὶ ξυμμάχους Πέρσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, αὐτίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ πατρία ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [16] Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διέβαλον τὸν Ἀρσάκην τινὲς ὡς δὴ πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγγχειρεῖν βούλοιο. οἷσπερ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ Πακούριος αὐτῆς αὐτὸν μετεπέμπετο, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τι κοινολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμελὲς εἴη. [17] καὶ ὅς οὐδέν τι μελλήσας ἐς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ μαχιμωτάτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ Βασσίκιον ὅσπερ αὐτῷ στρατηγός τε καὶ ξύμβουλος ἦν· ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφίκετο. [18] εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Πακούριος ἅμφω, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην καὶ Βασσίκιον, πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότε οὕτω δὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἴδοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπηνουῖντό τε καὶ ἀπώμνουν ἐνδελεχέστατα μηδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς βεβουλεῖσθαι τοιοῦτο. [19] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Πακούριος αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὃ τί οἱ ποιητέα ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴη. [20] οἱ δὲ μάγοι τῶν μὲν ἀρνούμενων καὶ οὐ διαρρήδην ἐληλεγμένων καταγινώσκειν οὐδαμῇ ἐδिकाίου, ὑποθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ τινα ἔφραζον, ὅπως ἂν Ἀρσάκης αὐτὸς ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτο. [21] τὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κόπρῳ καλύπτειν ἐκέλευον, ἥμισυ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, θάτερον δὲ ἥμισυ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [22] τότε δὴ οἱ μάγοι τὴν σκηνὴν ὅλην μαγείαις τισὶ καταλαβόντες ἐκέλευον τὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ τοὺς περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπικαλοῦντα τοῖς τε ξυγκεϊμένοις καὶ ὁμωμος μένοις λυμήνασθαι. [23] δεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ διαλόγῳ παραγενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τῶν λόγων μάρτυρες ἀπάντων εἶεν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ Πακούριος τὸν Ἀρσάκην μεταπεμψάμενος διαύλους ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐποιεῖτο, παρόντων σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάγων, καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκῶς εἶτα Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους αὐτῆς τρίβειν ἀνhekέστοις κακοῖς ἐγχειροῖ· [24] ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο οὗ δὴ ὁ χοῦς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐπέκειτο, ἀπηνεῖτό τε καὶ ὄρκους τοῖς δεινотάτοις πιστούμενος ἀνδράποδον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι Πακουρίου πιστόν· [25] ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεταξὺ λέγων ἐς τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ μέσον ἀφίκετο, ἵνα δὴ κόπρου τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς λόγους μὲν τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ θρασύτερον

ἐξαπινάϊως μεταβιβάζει, ἀπειλῶν δὲ τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ καὶ Πέρσαις οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλὰ τίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγέλλετο ὕβρεως τῆσδε ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τάχιστα κύριος γένοιτο. [26] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων τε καὶ νεανιευόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν περίπατον ὅλον, ἕως ἀναστρέψας ἐς κόπρον αὐθις τὴν ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἀφίκετο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πάλιν ὥσπερ τινὰ παλινφδιαν ἄδων ἰκέτης τε ἦν καὶ οἰκτροὺς τινας τῷ Πακουρίῳ προὔφερε λόγους. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χοῦν αὐθις τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἦλθεν, ἐς τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀπεχώρησε. καὶ πολλάκις οὕτω μεταβληθεὶς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔκρυψε τῶν οἱ ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν. [28] τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν μάγοι κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἡδικηκέναι. Πακούριος δὲ Βασιικίου μὲν τὸ δέρμα ἐκδείρας ἀσκόν τε αὐτὸ πεποιημένους καὶ ἀχύρων ἐμπλησάμενος ὅλον ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. [29] τὸν μέντοι Ἀρσάκην ἀποκτείνειν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ὄντα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξε. [30] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ τε Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖων καὶ οἱ ἐπισπομένων ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἰόντι, Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τι ἔθνος ἰοῦσι βαρβαρικὸν ξυνεστράτευσεν: ὃς δὴ ἀνὴρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, ὀρῶντος Πακουρίου τὰ ποιούμενα, γέγονε καὶ τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος Πέρσαις. [31] διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Πακούριος ὃ τι ἂν βούλοιο αἰτεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ἰσχυρισάμενος ὅτι δὴ οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει. [32] ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οἱ οὐδὲν γενέσθαι ἡξίου ἢ ὥστε τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ θεραπεῦσαι ἢ βούλοιο. [33] τοῦτο τὸν βασιλέα ἠνίασε μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, εἰ λύειν νόμον οὕτω δὴ παλαιὸν ἀναγκάζοιτο, ὅπως μέντοι παντάπασιν ἀληθίζεται, ξυνεχώρει τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελεῖν γενέσθαι. [34] ἐπεὶ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ, ἡσπάσατο μὲν τὸν Ἀρσάκην, ἄμφω δὲ ἀλλήλοιον περιβαλόντε ἐθρηνησάτην τε ἡδύν τινα θρῆνον καὶ ἀπολοφυραμένῳ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην μόλις ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιον διαλύειν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας ἐκάτερος ἔσχεν. [35] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὸν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τᾶλλα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ἐκόσμησε, σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ περιθέμενος τὸ βασιλείον ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἀνέκλινεν. [36] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε τοὺς παρόντας Ἀρσάκης βασιλικῶς εἰστία ἥπερ εἴωθει τὰ πρότερα. [37] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θοίνῃ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ κύλικι λόγοι ἐλέγχθησαν οἵπερ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἱκανῶς ἤρεσκον, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς μέσον ἦλθεν ἅπερ αὐτῷ ἐν ἡδονῇ ἦν: μηχανομένου τε τοῦ πότου ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἦσθησαν, μόλις δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀπαλλαγέντες διελύθησαν, [38] καταβεβρεγμένοι τῇ εὐπαθείᾳ. τότε δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἀρσάκην εἰπεῖν ὥς ἡμέραν τὴν ἡδίστην διατελέσας ἐν ταύτῃ τε ξυγγενόμενος τῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι ὑποσταίῃ τὰ φλαῦρα τοῦ βίου, [39] καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντα μαχαίρᾳ ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι ἦνπερ ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ ἐξεπίτηδες κεκλοφῶς ἔτυχεν, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [40] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων συγγραφὴ λέγει ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, κεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τὸν νόμον τότε ἀμφὶ τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ λελύσθαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἰτέον.

Καθειρχόμενα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐσιοῦσά τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζουσα: ἦν δὴ ὁ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν ἤρξατο: ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπής. [2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς

γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο
χρησθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνελθὼν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων
ἠράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, [3] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει παρὰ τὸν
ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους ποιῆσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, καὶ αὐτῆς ἐνθένδε
ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν ἵσταμένου. ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις
λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδῃ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, [4] ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον
τοῦτο διατριβὴν εἶχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πως αὐτὸν ἐνδοθεν ἐξελέσθαι
δυνήσεται. [5] διὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαινεν ὥς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ
ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν,
δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. [6] καὶ ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν
γυναῖκα Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι, οὐπὲρ ἐκεῖνος
ἐκάθητο. [7] οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου.
κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὕτη ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον
εἶναι: ταῦτά τοι οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [8] ἅμα τε
ἡμέρᾳ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ
μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ῥοντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἥ τε
δόκησις αὕτη ἐν ἡμέραις συχαῖς ἤκμαζεν, [9] ἕως Καβάδης πόρρῳ που τῆς
ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνενεχθέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς φῶς ἡ
ἐπιβουλὴ ἦλθε, καὶ ὄντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω
εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλοις: διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφίημι. [10]
Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐς Οὐννους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας
ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε
στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἅτε κηδεστῇ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. [11] τούτῳ
τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐς φυγὴν
ῥορμηντο. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσσαναστάδης
τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἶπε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ὥς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται
ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων
ὑπουργεῖν βούλοιο. [13] εἰπὼντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος
αὐτὸν ἐσῆει, ὃς δὴ οὐκ ἔῃ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι,
ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει. [14] ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ τις ἴκοιτο ἐς
αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενῆς ὢν, τὸν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζηται λύειν
ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται. [15] ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ξυνέβη τις τύχη ὥστε μὴ
τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς
αὐτὸν ἦκων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, ξυγγενῆς τε ὢν τῷ Γουσσαναστάδῃ καὶ
διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [16] ὃς δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ
βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος, ἐδεῖτό τε οἱ ἅτε δούλῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο χρησθαι.
[17] Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε
Βλάσπην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἐξετύφλωσε, τρόπον δὴ ὅτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ
Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἔψοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὥς
μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτι μύοντας ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ
σιδηρὰν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτῃ τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. [18] καὶ τὸν μὲν
Γουσσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ

τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Σεόσῃν ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνεῖπε. δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ἅπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. [19] ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτός τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσais ἔσχεν· οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τινι γέγονε· τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγχίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν.

Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὥφειλεν, ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀποτινύναι οἱ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἤτει ταῦτα οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἴη. [2] οἷπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἶων. ἀζύμορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιότεραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οἰκείους ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὓς δὴ ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι. [3] διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληισάμενος ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἧς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. [4] Ἀμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μὲν, ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρόντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ ταιλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχον. [5] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἦσκητο. οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὐτὸν καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέβειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. [6] καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ περιέβαλον, οὐ ξυνημμένοις μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁρᾶν τε τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι. [7] καὶ στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτῆναντο βραχὺ ὑπερθεν, ὅσον ὄμβρους τε καὶ νιφετοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθήστο, πνίγει μὲν ἡ ψύχει ὡς ἥκιστα εἰκων, σπέρμασι δὲ τισιν ἀποζῶν, οἷσπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ σιτίζεσθαι εἰώθει. [8] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἰάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐντεινάμενοι βάλλειν ἤθελον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γεγонуῖαι τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [9] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἰδὼν τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ ζὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκέ τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. [10] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν· αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσειν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιεσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχῆσει. [11] ὁ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο· περιβόητος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. [12] Καβάδης δὲ Ἀμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν

μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν αἰεὶ δοκοῖς τιςιν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἕως ταύτη ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. [13] πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβαλὼν καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ κατασεῖσαι ἤκιστα ἴσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ οἰκοδομία τοῖς δειμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἵργαστο. [14] τούτου δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχὼν, λόφον τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τείχους τὸ μῆκος, οἳ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατώρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὗπερ ἐγεγόνει σχήματος ἔμενεν οὐδενὶ αἴσθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρασσομένου. [15] πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διεννοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὀμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπεσῶν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [16] Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπήγγειλε. [17] τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἅτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ξὺν γέλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτόθωζον. [18] καὶ τινες ἐταῖραι ἀνελκύσασαι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδῃ ἄγχιστά που ἐστηκότι ἐδείκνυν ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις. [19] ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκώλουν, ξυμβαλεῖν ἰσχυρίζομενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτόμενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δεῖξουσιν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [20] Ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονόμου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν συχναῖς. [21] νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἦκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδῃ ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὅς τῃ ἐπιγινομένη νυκτὶ κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνηνέχθη τύχη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [22] τὸν πύργον, ὃς δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον, οὓσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νενομίκασιν. τούτους ἐορτὴν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. [23] ἐπεὶ τε ἡ νύξ ἐπεγένετο, ἅπαντες, ἅτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὀμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὕπνον τινὰ ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἠσθάνοντο. [24] Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ' ὀλίγους γενόμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας. [25] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου προσῆγεν. [26] ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἡδῆ. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα. [27] ὠθισμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἤδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν

που ἐγένοντο. [28] ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτὸς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὁρμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς Πέρσας, θάνατός τε ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. [29] διὸ δὴ πλήθει πολλῷ οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων γενόμενοι ἐνίκησάν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἤλω ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡμέρᾳ. [30] φόνος τε Ἀμιδηνῶν πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, ἕως ἐσελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδῃ τῶν τις Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἱερεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεῦν τοὺς ἡλωκότας εἶη. [31] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, ‘Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;’ ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτίκα ἔφη, ‘Ὅτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμετέρα γνώμη, ἀλλὰ σὴ ἀρετὴ παραδιδόναι σοι Ἀμιδαν [32] ἥθελε.’ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἡσθεὶς κτείνειν οὐδένα τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιόντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελεσθαι ἅπαντας αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν. [33] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπὼν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Γλῶνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ὀλίγους οἰκτρούς, οἱ δὴ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑπηρετήσειν Πέρσαις ἔμελλον, αὐτὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἔχων ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπήλανεν. [34] ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπία ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ προεπούση: χρόνου γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, [35] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, ὃ τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια: φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετεῖους ἐς ἑτὴ ἐπτὰ ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὕστερῳ ἐγένετο.

Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμιδαν στρατεύμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκὲς ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδός τε, Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον, [2] τῆς ἐφάς δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν: καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ ‘μάγιστρον Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν’: ἐτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιός τε ὁ Φρῦξ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς: οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν. [3] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστίνος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί, ὃς ὅπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδικλὸς τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γότθων τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θεουδερῖχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναῖοι τε ὑπερφυῶς ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρω, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἶποντο. [4] στρατεύμα γὰρ τοιοῦτό φασιν οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις ξυστῆναι. οὗτοι μέντοι ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταῦτό ἀγυγερμένοι οὐδὲ στρατεύμα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [5] χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίῳ ἐπιφανὴς τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς

κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνεῖπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσία εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἢ βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι. [6] Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὗτος χρόνῳ τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὔρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἑφοδὸν ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνεχώρησαν ζὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. [7] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἤθελε· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομίσασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον· ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [8] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδευόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν ἄγχιστα γάρ που ἐτύγγανεν ὧν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρια κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπηντίαζεν. [9] οὐπω μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν ᾤοντο στρατεύμα βραχὺ τι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [10] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρζάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ οὐπω ἐνταῦθα ἀφῆκτο. [11] Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπίνειαι σφίσιν ἐπύθετο, ἀπολιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἅπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. [12] ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολέμοι ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον. ἐνθεν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἦσαν. [13] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίους οἱ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦσαν, σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἐκτεῖναν. [14] οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ πεπυσμένοι, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. τὰ γοῦν ὅπλα καταθέμενοι ἄριστον σφίσιν ἡτοίμαζον. ἤδη γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦγε. [15] ρύαξ δέ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα καθαίρειν ἤρξαντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον. [16] τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πνίγει καὶ λοῦσθαι ἤξιον, ταύτῃ τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ρύακος ὕδωρ πρόσω ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους κατὰ τάχος ἦει· [17] κατιδὼν τε συγκεχυμένον τὸ τοῦ ρύακος ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβαλὼν τὸ ποιοῦμενον ἔγνω ἀπαρασκευoὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐτοῖς ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὗσιν ἐπέστησαν. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὴν ἑφοδὸν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδόνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ζὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. [19] ὅθεν δὴ οὐδένα σεσῶσθαι φασι, Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐφόδου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὐννων πολεμίων ἐς γῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκόντων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. [20] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα Ῥωμαίων ἦλθε, λόγου μέντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἴσοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὄντες ἀντεστάτουν τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ

αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. [21] Κέλερ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν Ἀρζανηνὴν ἐποιήσατο. [22] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχολάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ληισάμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐπανήλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. δι' ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βασιλέα μετὰπεμptos ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἀμίδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βία μὲν ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἔσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον: πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. [2] ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ προσεδρεῖα καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθόμενους ἐώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [3] οἱ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιτο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἴη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ζὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἤθελον. [4] γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδώσουσι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάτεροί τε ἄσμενοι τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιοῦν, τὰ τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς Ἀμίδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλώνης γὰρ ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [5] Οὐπὼ μὲν στρατοπεδευσαμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὄντων οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιῶν λάθρα ὄρνις τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὡραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν Γλῶνην οἱ ἐς χεῖρας παραδώσειν ζὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίους ὑπέσχετο, ἣν τινος ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶη. [6] ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς τὰ τε ἱμάτια δεινῶς διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἑοικῶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε. [7] παρά τε τὸν Γλῶνην ἦκον τὰς τε τρίχας τίλλων, 'Ετύγχανον μὲν, ὧ δέσποτα,' εἶπεν, 'ἅπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τάγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι 'καὶ γὰρ που ἐς τὰ ταύτη χωρία κατ' ὀλίγους περιιώντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζονται πληγὰς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ ληστὰς ὥχοντο, οἷς δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι νόμος. [8] ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὧ δέσποτα, σαντῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνης. ἦν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγετήσων ἦς, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἡ τέτταρας οἱ κατάρatoi περιιώντες λωποδυτοῦσιν.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα: [9] εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλώνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἰεταὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [10] ὁ δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη: οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἢ κατὰ πέντε ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ζυμβῆναι οὐδὲν τι χεῖρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι: ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. [11] Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἱππέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. [12] ὁ δὲ

ἄμεινον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιούοντας Ῥωμαίους ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλη, οὕτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξοδὸν Πέρσας. εὖ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλῶνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο. [13] παρὰ τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρίκιον ἦκων ἅπαντα ἔφραζε· καὶ ὃς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. [14] οὓς δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσαν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπέστελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. [15] καὶ τῷ Γλῶνῃ ἔτοιμον εἰπὼν τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε διέβησαν τὸν χώρον οὐ προλοχίζοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκάθηντο, Γλῶνῃν τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν. [16] οὐσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας κατεῖδον Πέρσαι, κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ ἀμυχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νότου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε πῃ ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐδύναντο. [17] ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, τῷ τε πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἡσσήθησάν τε καὶ ξὺν τῷ Γλῶνῃ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. [18] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Γλῶνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλήσας τε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεώνου νεῶν ἔκαυσεν, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Γλῶνης κατέλυε. [19] καίτοι ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν οὔτε Γλῶνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπῳ ἐν γε Ἀμίδῃ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [20] Οὕτω μὲν Ἀμίδαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐάλω. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἥ τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγορία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. [21] σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων τὸν ὁμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἐπτὰ μάλιστα ἡμερῶν ἡύρισκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελεῖσθαι, καίπερ Γλῶνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. [22] Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ξὺν αὐτοῖς μείναςιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς βρώσεις ἀήθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενοι πάντων, [23] εἶτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἦσθοντο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλῶνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἐλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἰσχὸς τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἀμίδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαβον. [24] ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὐννους πολέμου σφίσι μηχανομένου, ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνίασιν, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ' οἴκου τε ἀμφοτέρω ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [25] οὕτω μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τότε ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ

πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ζυνενεχθέντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

Τὸ Κιλικῶν ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἰβήρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοα ταύτη ὄκνηται. [2] ἐξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν, προϊόντι δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρήμα εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους διήκει. [3] ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβήρων ὄρους ἀτραπὸς τίς ἐστίν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη. [4] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὅλως ἄβατον τελευτᾷ χώρον. δίδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἡ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. [5] τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν ἱππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. [6] οὗ δὴ τὰ Οὐννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἵδρυται ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαῶντιν διήκοντα λίμνην. [7] οὗτοι ἦν μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. [8] ἐπὶ ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς ἐξόδους ἰόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περιεναίαι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις. [9] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε, πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὐννος μὲν γένος, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ φίλος. [10] οὗτος Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἔς τε γῆρας ἀφίκτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ἤτει, ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐνδώσει Ῥωμαίοις. [11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος ὁδρᾶν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἡπίστατο οὔτε εἰώθει λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ὠμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. [12] Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἔσχεν. [13] Ἀναστάσιός τε βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ πρὸς Καβάδην σπονδαί, πόλιν ἐδείματο ἐν χωρίῳ Δάρας ὀχυράν τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν, αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. [14] ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη πόλεως μὲν Νισίβιδος σταδίους ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντας, χώρας δὲ ἡ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα. [15] Πέρσαι δὲ κωλύειν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον ἀσχολία τῇ ἐς πόλεμον τὸν Οὐννικὸν πιεζόμενοι. [16] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτὸν τάχιστα Καβάδης κατέλυσε, πέμψας παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἡτιᾶτο πόλιν αὐτοὺς οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἄγχιστά που τῶν σφετέρων ὁρίων, ἀπειρημένον τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυγκειμένοις τὰ πρότερα. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀναστάσιος τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ φιλίαν τε τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενος καὶ χρήμασιν οὐ φαύλοις δωρούμενος, παρακρούεσθαι τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκλύειν ἠθέλε. [18] καὶ πόλιν δὲ ἄλλην ταύτη ὁμοίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχοτάτω

ἐδείματο τῶν Περσαρμενίας ὀρίων, ἥ κώμη μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, πόλεως δὲ ἀξίωμα μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως λαβοῦσα ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει. [19] ἀλλ' Ἀναστάσιος τείχει αὐτὴν ὀχυρωτάτω περιβαλὼν πράγματα Πέρσαις οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας παρέσχετο: ἐπιτειχίσματα γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἄμφω.

Ἀναστασίου δὲ ὀλίγω ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἀπεληλαμένων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀναστασίου ξυγγενῶν ἀπάντων, καίπερ πολλῶν τε καὶ λίαν ἐπιφανῶν ὄντων. [2] τότε δὴ μέριμνά τις Καβάδῃ ἐγένετο μὴ τι Πέρσαις νεωτερίσωσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλογίας χωρὶς ἐς τῶν παίδων τινὰ παραπέμψαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔμελλε. [3] τῶν γὰρ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Καόσῃν τῆς μὲν ἡλικίας ἔνεκα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ Καβάδῃν οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκεν. ἐβιάζετο δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμη. [4] Ζάμην δέ, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐφέρετο, τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκκεκομμένον ἐκώλυνεν ὁ νόμος. ἐτερόφθαλμον γὰρ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ λώβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐ θέμις Πέρσαις βασιλέα καθίστασθαι. [5] Χοσρόην δέ, ὃς αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπεδέδου ἀδελφῆς ἐγεγόνει, ὑπερηγάπα μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ὁρῶν δὲ Πέρσας σχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας τεθηπότας τὴν Ζάμου ἀνδρείαν ἣν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν σέβοντας, ἔδεισε μὴ Χοσρόῃ ἐπαναστάντες ἔργα ἀνῆκεστα ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐργάσωνται. [6] ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἄριστον εἶναι τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας διαλυῖσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφ' ᾧ Χοσρόῃς παῖς ἐσποιοτὸς Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ γένοιτο: οὕτω γὰρ οἱ μόνως τὸ ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διασώσασθαι. διὸ δὴ πρέσβεις τε ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ γράμματα ἐς Βυζάντιον Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Οὐ δίκαια μὲν πεπονθέναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἐγκλήματα πάντα ἀφεῖναι παντελῶς ἔγνωκα, ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὥς οὗτοι ἂν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων νικῶεν, οἳ γε, προσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου, εἴτα ἐλασσοῦμενοι ἐκόντες εἶναι τῶν φίλων ἡσθῶνται. [8] χάριν μέντοι αἰτοῦμαι σε ὑπὲρ τούτων τινά, ἢ ἂν οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρου ὑπήκοον ἅπαν ἕξ τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς συνδέουσα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὐνοίαν, ἐς κόρον δὴ πού τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καταστήσασθαι ἱκανὴ εἴη. [9] λέγω δὲ ὅπως ἂν Χοσρόην τὸν ἐμόν, ὃς μοι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχος ἔσται, εἰσποιοτὸν παῖδα ποιήσαιο.' [10] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς εἶδεν, αὐτὸς τε περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὃς δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [11] καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡπειρόσθην τὴν ἐσποίησιν ἐν γράμμασι θέσθαι ἢ νόμος Ῥωμαίοις, εἰ μὴ Πρόκλος ἐκώλυσεν, ὃς βασιλεῖ τότε παρήδρευε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος. [12] διὸ δὴ οὔτε νόμον τινὰ εὐπετῶς ἔγραφεν οὔτε τι τῶν καθεστώτων κινεῖν ἤθελεν, ὃς καὶ τότε ἀνταίρων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [13] 'Νεωτέροις μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν οὔτε εἴωθα καὶ ἄλλως δέδοικα πάντων μάλιστα, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῷ νεωτεροποιῷ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῶς σώζεται. [14] δοκῶ δὲ μοι, εἰ καὶ λίαν τις ἦν περὶ ταῦτα θρασύς, ἀποκνήσαι ἂν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν: καὶ κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάλον: [15] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἔν γε τῷ

παρόντι ἡμῖν ἐν βουλῇ εἶναι ἢ ὅπως ἂν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις εὐπρεπεῖ παραδοίμεν λόγῳ, οἳ γε οὐκ ἐγκρυφιάζοντες οὐδὲ παραπετάσμασί τισι χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην ὁμολογοῦντες τὸ βούλευμα, οὕτως ἀνέδην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τῷ μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης φανερῶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν προῖσχύμενοι, λόγῳ δὲ ἀναιδεῖ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην προβεβλημένοι. [16] καίτοι χρῆν ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν πείραν παντὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι σθένει· σὲ μὲν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ὅπως δὴ μὴ Ῥωμαίων εἴης βασιλεὺς ὕστατος, σὲ δέ, ὃ στρατηγέ, ὅπως ἂν μὴ σαυτῷ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμποδὼν γένοιτο. [17] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα σοφίσματα λόγου ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σεμνότητι καλυπτόμενα ἴσως ἂν που καὶ ἐρμηνέως τοῖς πολλοῖς δέοιτο, αὕτη δὲ ἄντικρυς ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθύς ἢ πρεσβεία τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ Χοσρόην τοῦτον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἐστὶ, κληρονόμον εἰσποιεῖν βούλεται. [18] οὕτωςί γάρ μοι περὶ τούτων διαλογίξεσθε· φύσει τοῖς παισὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων ὀφείλεται, οἳ τε νόμοι τῷ διαλλάσσουντι ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις ξυνίασί τε καὶ ξυνομολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις κυρίους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς κλήρου. ὥστε τὰ πρῶτα ἐλομένους ὑμῖν πάντα λελείπεται τὰ λοιπὰ ξυγχωρεῖν. [19] Πρόκλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τὸ πρακτέον ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [20] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Καβάδης γράμματα πρὸς Ἰουστίνον βασιλέα πέμψας, ἄνδρας τε αὐτὸν στεῖλαι δοκίμους ἡξίου, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται, καὶ γράμμασι τὸν τρόπον σημῆναι καθ' ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσποίησιν θέσθαι βουλομένῳ εἴη. [21] καὶ τότε δὴ Πρόκλος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν Περσῶν πείραν διέβαλλε, μέλειν τε αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπως δὴ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα προσποιήσωνται. [22] καὶ γνώμην ἀπέφαινε τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα περαίνεισθαι, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτῇ στέλλεσθαι, οὓς δὴ δεήσει πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Καβάδῃ καθ' ὃ τι δεῖ τὴν ἐσποίησιν Χοσρόῃ γενέσθαι, διαρρήδην ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι δεῖ ὡς βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ γράμμασιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ὅπλων σκευῇ. [23] οὕτω τοίνυν τοὺς πρέσβεις Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστους ἔψεσθαι σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχύμενος, οἳ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσονται. [24] γράμμασί τε Καβάδην κατὰ ταῦτόν ἡμείνατο. στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων Ὑπάτιος, Ἀναστασίου τοῦ πρόην βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς, πατρίκιός τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑωτὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων, καὶ Ῥουφῖνος ὁ Σιλβανοῦ παῖς, ἐν τε πατρικίοις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ Καβάδῃ ἐκ πατέρων αὐτῶν γνώριμος· [25] ἐκ Περσῶν δὲ ἀνὴρ δυνατώτατός τε καὶ ἐξουσία πολλῇ χρώμενος, ὄνομα μὲν Σεόσης, ἀδρασταδάρην σαλάνης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ Μεβόδης, [26] τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἔχων ἀρχήν. οἳ δὴ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ξυνιόντες ὅς γ' ἦν τὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει, ἀλλήλοις τε συγγινόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὅπως τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ εὖ θήσονται. [27] ἦκε δὲ καὶ Χοσρόης ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὅς δὴ πόλεως Νισίβιδος διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ μάλιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκατέροις δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλοιτο. [28] πολλοὶ μὲν

οὐν καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σφίσι διαφόρων ἐλέγοντο, καὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν Κολχίδα ἢ νῦν Λαζικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται Σεόσης ἔλεγε Περσῶν κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οὖσαν βιασαμένους λόγῳ οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. [29] ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ καὶ Λαζικὴ πρὸς Περσῶν ἀντιλέγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσποίησιν ἔφασκον δεῖν γενέσθαι Χοσρόῃ οὕτως ὥσπερ βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ Πέρσαις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [30] ἐκάτεροι οὖν διαλυθέντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ Χοσρόης ἄπρακτος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, περιώδυνός τε ὢν τοῖς ζυμπεσοῦσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐχόμενος τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως τίσασθαι. [31] Μετὰ δὲ Μεβόδης μὲν τὸν Σεόσιν διέβαλλε Καβάδῃ, ὡς δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες, οὗ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένον πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότη, τὸν Λαζικῆς λόγον προθείη, τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκκρούων Ὑπάτιῳ τε κοινολογησάμενος πρότερον, ὃς δὴ βασιλεῖ τῷ οἰκείῳ εὐνοϊκῶς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν Χοσρόου ἐσποίησιν ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῇ οὐκ ἐῴη γενέσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατηγοροῦντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὸν Σεόσιν ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. [32] Περσῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ ζῦμπασα φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμῳ ζυνειλεγμένοι ἐδίκάζον. τῇ τε γὰρ ἀρχῇ οὐ ζυνειθισμένη σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἤχοντο καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαλεπῶς εἶχον. [33] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σεόσης χρημάτων μὲν ἀδωρότατος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος, ἀλαζονείας δὲ νόσῳ ἐχόμενος οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ζυμφυὲς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσι τοῦτό γε ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεόσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὦντο ὑπερφυῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαι. [34] ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ταῦτά τε ἅπερ μοι προδεδήλωται καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βουλομένῳ εἶν ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεῖν ἢ περιστέλλειν τὰ Περσῶν νόμιμα. [35] καινὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἔναγχος τὴν γυναῖκα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένον τοῖς Περσῶν νόμοις γῇ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα. [36] οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατέγνωσαν, Καβάδης δὲ ὥσπερ μὲν ξυναγοῦντι ἅτε φίλῳ τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐφέκει, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν. [37] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοι ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλύειν τοὺς Περσῶν νόμους οὐκ ἐβούλετο, καίπερ ζῳάγρια τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὀφείλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σεόσης αἰτιώτατος γέγονε βιώναι τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σεόσης καταγνωσθεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [38] ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἕτερος γάρ τις ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνης οὐδεὶς γέγονε. καὶ Ῥουφίνος δὲ Ὑπάτιον ἐς βασιλεῖα διέβαλλε. [39] διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε παρέλυσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαβολῇ τὸ παράπαν εὔρε, κακὸν μέντοι οὐδὲν Ὑπάτιον ἄλλο εἰργάσατο.

Εὐθὺς δὲ Καβάδης, καίπερ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιῆσθαι τὴν γῆν, οὐδαμῇ ἰσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐναντίωμα τοιόνδε ζυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Ἰβηρες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦσι πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Κασπίαις ἴδρυνται πύλαις, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς εἰσι πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἐχομένη πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς Λαζικὴ ἐστίν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλιον τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη. [3] οὗτος ὁ λεῶς Χριστιανοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα τῆς δόξης φυλάσσουνσι ταύτης πάντων μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, κατήκοοι μέντοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

[4] τότε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤθελε Καβάδης ἐς τὰ νόμιμα τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης βιάζεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Γουργένῃ ἐπέστελλε τὰ τε ἄλλα ποιεῖν ἢ Πέρσαι νομίζουσι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῇ γῇ ὡς ἥκιστα κρύπτειν, ἀλλ' ὄρνισί τε ῥιπτεῖν καὶ κυσὶν ἅπαντας. [5] διὸ δὴ Γουργένης προσχωρεῖν Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἤθελε τὰ τε πιστὰ ἡξίου λαβεῖν ὡς οὐποτε Ἰβηρας καταπροήσονται Πέρσαι Ῥωμαῖοι. [6] ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐδίδου καὶ Πρόβον τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ξὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ στρατεύμα Οὐννων χρήμασιν ἀναπεύσας Ἰβηρσι πέμψη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν. [7] ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἡ Βόσπορος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον, Χερσῶνος δὲ πόλεως, ἡ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχάτη ἐστίν, ὁδῷ διέχουσα ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν. ὧν δὴ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἅπαντα Οὐννοι ἔχουσιν. [8] οἱ δὲ Βοσπορίται αὐτόνομοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὄκουν, Ἰουστίνῳ δὲ βασιλεῖ ἑναγχος προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόβος ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Πέτρον στρατηγὸν σὺν Οὐννοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικήν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε Γουργένῃ ὅση δύναμις ξυμμαχήσοντα. [10] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καβάδης στρατεύμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τε Γουργένῃ καὶ Ἰβηρας ἔπεμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, οὐαρίζην μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, Βόην δὲ ὄνομα. [11] ὁ τε Γουργένης ἐλάσσων ὀφθεῖς ἢ φέρειν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ἱκανὰ ἦν, ξὺν Ἰβήρων τοῖς λογίμοις ἅπασιν ἐς Λαζικήν ἔφυγε, τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν δὴ Περάνιος ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν. [12] ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις γενόμενοι ἔμενον, ταῖς τε δυσχωρίαις φραζάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίσταντο. [13] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπρασσον, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατοῦντος. [14] Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ τε Ἰβηρες ἐς Βυζάντιον παρεγένοντο καὶ Πέτρος ἐς βασιλέα μετὰπεμπτos ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς Λαζοῖς οὐ βουλομένοις ξυμφυλάσσειν τὴν χώραν ἡξίου, στρατεύμα τε καὶ Εἰρηναῖον ἄρχοντα πέμψας. [15] ἔστι δὲ φρούρια ἐν Λαζοῖς δύο εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων, ὧν ἡ φυλακὴ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπιμελὴς ἦν, καίπερ ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ ἐχομένοις, ἐπεὶ οὔτε σίτος ἐνταῦθα οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίνεται. [16] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἐτέρωθεν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, [17] ὅτι μὴ φερόντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐλύμοις μέντοι τισὶν ἐνταῦθα γιγνομένοις εἰθισμένον σφίσιν οἱ Λαζοὶ ἀποζῆν ἴσχουν. [18] τούτους ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθένδε βασιλεὺς τοὺς φρουροὺς, στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν φρουρίων καθίστασθαι. [19] οἷς δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπιτήδεια μόλις Λαζοὶ ἔφερον, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖ τε πρὸς τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀπεῖπον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, οἱ τε Πέρσαι πόνῳ αὐτὰ οὐδενὶ ἔσχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Λαζοῖς γέγονε. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, Σίττα τε καὶ Βελισαρίου ἡγουμένων σφίσιν, ἐς Περσαρμενίαν τὴν Περσῶν κατήκοον ἐσβαλόντες χώραν τε πολλὴν ἐλήρισαντο καὶ Ἀρμενίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν. [21] τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι νεανία μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτα ἦσθιν, Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ δορυφόρῳ, ὃς δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ θεῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἐσβολῆς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν γεγεννημένης Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος παρὰ δόξαν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [22] οἱ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους

τε αὐτόμολοι ἴκοντο καὶ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσαν, τότε μέντοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξυμβαλόντες τὸ πλεόν ἐσχον. [23] εἰσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν ἄλλη Ῥωμαίων στρατιά, ἣς Λιβελάριος ἐκ Θράκης ἦρχεν. οἱ φεύγοντες εὐθυωρὸν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καίπερ οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξίοντος. [24] διὸ δὴ Λιβελάριον μὲν παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεὺς, Βελισάριον δὲ ἄρχοντα καταλόγων τῶν ἐν Δάρας κατεστήσατο. τότε δὴ αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἠρέθη Προκόπιος ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε.

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστίνος βασιλέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀνειπὼν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς μόνον Ἰουστινιανὸν ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν. [2] οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐκέλευε Βελισάριον δείμασθαι φρουρίον ἐν χωρίῳ Μίνδουος, ὃ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὁρίοις, [3] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Νίσιβιν ἰόντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν σπουδῇ πολλῇ τὰ βασιλεῖ δόξαντα ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει, τό τε ὀχύρωμα ἐς ὕψος ἤδη πολυανθρωπία τεχνιτῶν ἦρετο. [4] Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπεῖπον μὴ οἰκοδομησάσθαι περαιτέρω μηδέν, οὐ λόγους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις διακωλυταὶ ἀπειλοῦντες οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι. [5] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν ὅτι γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν Βελισάριος Πέρσας ἐνθένδε τῷ παρόντι στρατῷ ἀποκρούεσθαι, ἄλλην τε στρατιὰν ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτόσε ἰέναι καὶ Κούτζην τε καὶ Βούζην, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχον τότε. τούτῳ δὲ ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἦσθιν, νέῳ δὲ ἅμφῳ καὶ οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντε. [6] ἐκάτεροι μὲν οὖν ξυλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἀθρόοι ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτὴν παντὶ σθένει διακωλύσοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς τεκταινομένοις ἐπαμυνόντες. [7] μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἡσῶνται Ῥωμαῖοι, φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς γέγονε, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγησαν οἱ πολέμιοι. [8] ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ Κούτζης. οὓς δὴ οἱ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦθη ἀπαγαγόντες, δήσαντές τε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σπηλαίῳ καθεῖρξαν, καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν οἰκοδομίαν οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀμυνομένου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. [9] Ὑστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν τῆς ἔω Βελισάριον καταστησάμενος, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ στρατιὰν λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀγείρας ἐς Δάρας ἦλθε. [10] καὶ οἱ Ἑρμογένης ξυνδιακοσμήσων τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, ὃς Βιταλιανῷ παρήδρευε πρότερον ἠνίκα βασιλεῖ Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμιος ἦν. [11] καὶ Ρουφῖνον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὃν δὴ ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνη, ἐκέλευε. λόγοι γὰρ ἤδη πολλοὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγίνοντο. [12] ἄμφω δὲ τις Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμογένει ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐσβάλλειν ἐπίδοξοί εἰσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, πόλιν Δάρας αἰρήσειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [13] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύοντο ὧδε. τῆς πύλης ἡ πόλεως Νισίβιδος καταντικρὺ κεῖται οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον λίθου βολήν, τάφρον βαθεῖαν τινα ὥρυξαν, διεξόδους πολλὰς ἔχουσιν. οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας μέντοι ἡ τάφρος ἦδε ὀρώρυκτο, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [14] κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέσον βραχεῖα τις ἐγεγόνει εὐθεῖα, ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτῆς ὀρθαὶ κεραῖαι πεποιήντο δύο, ἕς τε τὰ πέρατα ταῖν ὀρθαῖν κεραῖαιν αὐθις τὰς τάφρους ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐθείας ἐξῆγον. [15] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦλθον, ἐν τῇ Ἀμμώδιος χωρίῳ, πόλεως Δάρας μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντι, [16]

ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Πιτυάξης καὶ Βαρεσμανᾶς ἑτερόφθαλμος. στρατηγὸς δὲ εἷς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, μυρράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι, Περόξης δὲ ὄνομα. [17] ὃς δὴ αὐτίκα παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι· λουῖσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένῳ εἶναι. [18] διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καρτερώτατα ἐξηρτύοντο, ὥς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένη μαχοῦμενοι. [19] Ἄμα τε ἠλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ σφᾶς προϊόντας ὀρῶντες ἐτάζαντο ὧδε. εὐθείας μὲν τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ἔνερθεν ἦν τῆς ὀρθῆς κεραίας μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ὃς αὐτῇ ἀνέχει, Βούζης εἶχε ξὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ Φάρας Ἑρουλος ξὺν ὁμογενέσι τριακοσίοις· [20] ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τάφρου ἐκτὸς κατὰ τὴν γωνίαν ἦν ἢ τε ὀρθὴ κεραία καὶ ἢ ἐνθένδε εὐθεῖα ἐποίει, Σουνίκας τε ἦν καὶ Αἰγάν, Μασσαγέται γένος, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις, ὅπως, ἦν οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν τραπεῖεν, αὐτοὶ πλάγιοι κατὰ τάχος ἰόντες κατὰ νότου τε τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἀμύνειν εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τρὸψ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο· [21] τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐθείας τὰ ἔσχατα ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ εἶχον, ὧν Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Νικήτου ἦρχε καὶ Κύριλλός τε καὶ Μάρκελλος· ξυνὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γερμανὸς καὶ Δωρόθεος· ἐς γωνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἱππεῖς ἐτάζαντο ἑξακόσιοι, ὧν Σίμμας τε καὶ Ἀσκὰν Μασσαγέται ἦρχον, ἵνα, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τρεπομένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι κατὰ νότου τῶν Περσῶν ἴωσι. [22] πανταχῇ δὲ τῆς τάφρου οἱ τε τῶν ἱππέων κατάλογοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἴστατο. ὧν δὴ ὀπισθεν οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον καὶ Ἑρμογένην κατὰ μέσους εἰστήκεσαν. [23] ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ δισμυρίους ξυνιόντες ἐτάζαντο, Περσῶν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς μυριάδες μὲν τέσσαρες ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἦσαν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἅπαντες μετωπηδὸν ἴσαντο, ὥς βαθύτατον τῆς φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. [24] χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν μάχης ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλὰ θανυμάζουσί τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν Πέρσαι ἐφύκεσαν καὶ ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορουμένοις. [25] Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν μοῖρά τις τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχον, ἀποσχισθέντες τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βούζην τε καὶ Φάραν ἐπῆλθον. [26] οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, κύκλωσιν, οἷμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ δείσαντες. μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν. [27] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνον ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ αὖθις οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ οἰκεῖᾳ ἐτάζαντο. [28] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Περσῶν ἐπτὰ ἔπεσον, ὧν δὴ τῶν σωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζοντες ἐν τάξει ἐκάτεροι ἔμενον. [29] εἷς δὲ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης νεανίας, ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσας, προῦκαλεῖτο ἅπαντας εἴ τις οἱ βούλοιο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [30] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐτόλμα οὐδεῖς, Ἀνδρέας δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκεῖοις, οὐ στρατιώτης μὲν οὐδὲ τι ἀσκήσας τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πώποτε, παιδοτρίβης δὲ καὶ παλαιίστρα τινὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐφεστηκώς. [31] διὸ δὴ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ εἶπετο, ἅτε τοῦ Βούζου σώματος ἐν βαλανεῖῳ ἐπιμελούμενος, γένος δὲ Βυζάντιος ἦν. οὗτος ἐθάρσησε μόνος, οὔτε

Βούζου οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐπαγγείλαντος, αὐτόματος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς μονομαχίαν ἐπεξίεναι. φθάσας δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἔτι περισκοπούμενον ὅπη ὀρμήσεται, παρὰ μαζὸν τὸν δεξιὸν τῷ δόρατι παίει. [32] ὁ δὲ πληγὴν ἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροῦ λίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀνδρέας μαχαίρᾳ τινὶ βραχείᾳ ὥσπερ ἱερεῖον ὑπτίως κείμενον ἔθυσσε, κραυγὴ τε ὑπερφυῆς ἔκ τε τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἦρθη. [33] Πέρσαι δὲ τῷ γεγονότι περιαληγῆσαντες ἕτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρᾶξιν ἱππέα καθῆκαν, ἀνδρεῖον μὲν καὶ μεγέθους σώματος πέρι εὖ ἦκοντα, οὐ νεανίαν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν πολὺν ὄντα. [34] ὃς δὴ παρὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἐπιών, ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ τὴν μάστιγα σείων ἢ παίειν τὸν ἵππον εἰώθει, Ῥωμαίων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς μάχην ἐκάλει. [35] οὐδενὸς δὲ οἱ ἐπεξιόντος, Ἀνδρέας αὐθις ἅπαντας λαθὼν ἐς μέσον ἦλθε, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Ἑρμογένους ἀπειρημένον. [36] ἄμφω γοῦν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ὥρμησαν, καὶ τὰ τε δόρατα τοῖς θώραξιν ἐρεισθέντα δεινῶς ἀπεκρούσθη οἱ τε ἵπποι ἐς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλοις συγκρούσαντες ἔπεσόν τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπέβαλον. [37] τῷ δὲ ἄνδρι τούτῳ ἄγχιστά: πη πεσόντε ἀλλήλῳιν ἐξανίστασθαι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἄμφω ἡπειγέσθην, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πέρσης τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἅτε οἱ τοῦ μεγέθους ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὐκ εὐπετῶς εἶχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ προτερήσας 'τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ τὴν παλαιίστραν μελέτῃ ἐδίδου τῷ τε γόνати ἐξανιστάμενον αὐτὸν ἔτυψε καὶ αὐθις εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος πεσόντα ἔκτεινε. [38] κραυγὴ τε ἐκ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦρθη: καὶ οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀμμώδιος τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παιανίσαντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [39] ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν. οὕτω τε ἀμφοτέροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠϋλίσαντο.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσαις μὲν στρατιῶται μύριοι ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον, Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸς Μιρράνην ἔγραψαν τάδε, 'Πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ὠμολόγηται παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἷς τι καὶ κατὰ τὸ [2] βραχὺ λογισμοῦ μέτεστιν. ὥστε ἦν τις διαλυτῆς αὐτῆς γένοιτο, τῶν κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἂν οὐ τοῖς πέλας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμογενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ εἴη. στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ἄριστος οὗτος ἐκείνός ἐστιν, ὃς δὴ ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην διατίθεσθαι ἱκανὸς πέφυκε. [3] σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστῶτων Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμον ἐπάγειν ἡμῖν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα ἔγνωκας, καίπερ ἐκατέρου μὲν βασιλέως εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένου, πρέσβεων δὲ παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἤδη, οἱ δὴ τὰ διάφορα τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίᾳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαλύσουσιν, ἢ μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐφόδου ξυμβαῖνον ταύτην ἡμῖν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἰσχύσει. [4] ἀλλ' ἅπαγε ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, μηδὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἴστασο, μὴ ποτε Πέρσαις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἴης τῶν ξυμβησομένων [5] δεινὸν αἴτιος.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Μιρράνης ἀπενεχθέντα τὰ γράμματα εἶδεν, ἀμείβεται ὧδε, 'Ἐποίησα ἂν τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀναπεισθεῖς, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, οἷς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι πρόχειρόν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἐπιγγεγμένα ἐπιτελεῖν χαλεπώτατόν τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ ὄρκοις τισὶ κυρώσῃτε τὰ ξυγκείμενα. [6] ἡμεῖς μὲν

οὖν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπειπόντες ἀπάτην, ἐν ὅλοις ἠναγκάσμεθα παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥκειν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸ λοιπὸν οἴεσθε ἢ πολεμητέα ὑμῖν ἐς Πέρσας εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τεθνάναι ἢ καταγρηράσκειν δεήσει, ἕως ἔργω τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς θήσεσθε.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντέγραψεν. [7] αὐθις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἔγραψαν ὧδε, 'Οὐ πάντα χρή, ὦ βέλτιστε Μιρράνη, τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ χαρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς πέλας ἐπιφέρειν ὄνειδη τὰ μηδαμόθεν προσήκοντα. [8] Ρουφῖνον γὰρ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἦκοντα οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἡμεῖς τε εἶπομεν ζῦν τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἴσῃ. [9] γλιχομένοις δὲ ὑμῖν πολεμίων ἔργων ἀντιταξόμεθα ζῦν θεῷ, ὃν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ξυλλήψεσθαι ἴσμεν, ἡγμένον μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ τῇ Περσῶν νεμεσήσαντα καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλουμένοις ἡμῖν εἶτα ἀντιτείνειν ἐγνώκατε. [10] ἀντιταξόμεθα δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα παρ' ἐκατέρων ἀπ' ἄκρων σημείων [11] ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀναψάμενοι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Μιρράνης δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἀμείβεται ὧδε, 'Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ θεῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθιστάμεθα, ζῦν αὐτοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤξομεν, οὐσπερ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσας ἐς Δάρας ἐσβιβάσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [12] ἀλλὰ μοι τό τε βαλανεῖον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γινέσθω.' ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἀναλεξάμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν. [13] Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ Πέρσας ἅπαντας περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς ξυγκαλέσας Μιρράνης ἔλεξε τοιάδε, 'Οὐκ ἄγνωσθ' ὡς οὐ λόγοις τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ τε οἰκείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδοῖ θαρσεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰώθασι Πέρσαι. [14] ὁρῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς διαλογιζομένους τί δήποτε οὐ συνειθισμένον Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον ἄνευ θορύβων τε καὶ ἀταξίας εἰς μάχην ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ ζῦν κόσμῳ τινὶ ἔναγχος οὐδαμόθεν σφίσι προσήκοντι Πέρσας ἐπιόντας ὑπέστησαν, τοῦδε εἵνεκα παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τίνα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔγνωκα, ὅπως μὴ δόξη οὐκ ἀληθεῖ χρωμένοις ὑμῖν σφαλῆναι συμβαίῃ. [15] μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίους ἀμείνους τὰ πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς τι ἢ ἐμπειρίας κεκτῆσθαι πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα ὄντες ἐτύγχανον: οἳ γε οὕτω Πέρσας δεδίασιν ὥστε οὐδὲ τάφρου χωρὶς ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα καθίστασθαι τετολμήκασιν. [16] οὐδὲ ζῦν ταύτῃ μάχῃ τινὸς ἤρξαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς ἤλθομεν, ἄσμενοί τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος τὰ πράγματα σφίσι κεχωρηκέναι οἰόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐχώρησαν. [17] διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ζυντεταράχθαι τετύχηκεν, οὐπω εἰς κίνδυνον πολέμου ἐλθοῦσιν. ἣν δέ γε ἡ μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γένηται, ὀρρωδία τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειρία περιλαβοῦσαι ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τὴν συνήθη, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσουσι. [18] τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν: ὑμᾶς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, τοῦ βασιλέων βασιλέως ἡ κρίσις εἰσίτω. [19] ἣν γὰρ μὴ ἐπαξίως τῆς Περσῶν ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ [20] εὐκλεῆς περιστήσεται.' οὕτω μὲν Μιρράνης παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀγείραντες παρεκελεύσαντο ὧδε, [21] 'Ὡς μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι Πέρσαι οὐδὲ κρείσσους ἢ θνήσκειν ἐπίστασθε δὴ που, μάχῃ τῇ προτέρᾳ σταθμώμενοι: ὥς δὲ τῇ τε ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ σώματος ἰσχυρί περιόντες αὐτῶν, μόνω

ἡττᾶσθε τῷ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθέστεροι εἶναι, [22] οὐδεῖς ἂν ἀντείποι. ὅπερ ἐπανορθοῦν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑμῖν πάρεστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα σπουδῇ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, γνώμη δὲ τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ῥαδίως ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ ἰατρὸς γένοιτο· [23] ὥστε ἦν τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατακούειν ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀναδήσεσθε τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἢ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀκόσμῳ θαρσοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκουσι. [24] σφαλέντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος ὁμοίως τῇ προλαβούσῃ ξυμβολῇ ἀπαλλάξουσιν. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ὃ μάλιστα δεδίττονται, [25] ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον. τὸ γὰρ πεζὸν ἅπαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὄμιλός ἐστιν ἀγροίκων οἰκτρῶν, οἱ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἔρχονται ἢ τεῖχός τε διορύττειν καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας σκυλεύειν καὶ τᾶλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπηρετεῖν. [26] διὸ δὴ ὅπλα μὲν οἷς ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνοχλοῖεν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσι, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς τοιοῦτους τὸ μέγεθος προβέβληνται μόνον ὅπως αὐτοὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα βάλλωνται. [27] οὐκοῦν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κινδύνῳ γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μόνον Πέρσας νικήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας κολάσετε, ὥς μήποτε αὐθις εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύσονται.' [28] Ταύτην Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης τὴν παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ Πέρσας ὁδῷ ἰόντας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ τάχος τοὺς στρατιώτας διέταξαν. [29] καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοντες μετωπηδὸν ἔστησαν. οὐχ ἅπαντας μέντοι Πέρσας ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὀπισθεν μένειν εἵασεν. [30] οἱ δὴ τοὺς μαχομένους ἐκδεχόμενοι ἔμελλον ἀκμῆτες ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπως αἰεὶ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες μάχωνται. [31] μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν ἀθανάτων λεγομένων λόχον ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευεν. [32] αὐτός τε κατὰ μέσον τοῦ μετώπου ταξάμενος, Πιτυάζην μὲν τοῖς ἐν δεξιᾷ, Βαρεσμανᾶν δὲ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας ἐπέστησεν. οὕτω μὲν ἀμφοτέροι ἐτετάχατο. Φάρας δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμογένει παραστὰς εἶπεν, [33] 'Οὐδέν μοι δοκῶ ἐνταῦθα ξὺν τοῖς Ἑρούλοις μένων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι μέγα: ἦν δὲ κρυπτόμενοι ἐς τὸ κάταντες τοῦτο, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται Πέρσαι, διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ λόφου ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν ἴωμεν ὀπισθεν βάλλοντες, τὰ ἀνῆκεστα αὐτοὺς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, δράσομεν.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἤρεσκε, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε. [34] Μάχης δὲ ἄχρι ἐς ἡμέραν μέσσην οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἢ μεσημβρία παρόφηκεν, ἔργου οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχοντο, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἐς τοῦτον τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν καιρὸν τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀποθέμενοι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν σιτίοις ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν χρῆσθαι μόνον εἰώθασιν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας, ὥστε οὐποτε ῥοντο αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἀνθέξειν, ἦν πεινώσιν ἐπιθῶνται. [35] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοξεύμασιν ἐχρῶντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τινὰ τὰ βέλη τῷ πλήθει ἀχλὺν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐποίησε, ἐκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον, πολλῷ δὲ συχνότερα τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων βέλη ἐφέρετο. [36] ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀκμῆτες ἐμάχοντο, αἰσθῆσιν τοῦ ποιουμένου τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς ἥκιστα παρεχόμενοι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἔλασπον εἶχον. πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐνθὲνδε ἐπίφορον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιπεσὸν οὐ λίαν αὐτῶν τὰ τοξεύματα ἐνεργεῖν εἶα. [37] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκατέρους τὰ βέλη ἤδη

ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῖς τε δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ χειρὸς ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαίων δὲ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν μάλιστα ἔκαμνε. [38] Καδισηνοὶ γάρ, οἱ ταύτῃ ξὺν τῷ Πιτυάξῃ ἐμάχοντο, πολλοὶ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐτρέψαντό τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐγκείμενοι ἰσχυρότατα συχνοὺς ἔκτεινον. [39] ὁ δὲ κατιδόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σουνίκα τε καὶ Αἰγάν, δρόμῳ πολλῶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν. πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ τριακόσιοι ξὺν τῷ Φάρα Ἑρουλοὶ ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενοι, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Καδισηνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυντο. [40] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σουνίκαν πλαγίους ἤδη ἀνιόντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [41] τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, γέγονε φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς. [42] καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ τρισχίλιοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα μόλις καταφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [43] Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ παρατάξει ἐκάτεροι ἔστησαν ἀντίοι ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [44] Μιρράνης δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους λεγομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μέρος τὸ ἀριστερὸν λάθρα ἐπεμψεν. οὗς δὲ κατιδόντες Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σουνίκαν τε καὶ Αἰγάν ἐξακοσίους ἐς γωνίαν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐκέλευον ἰέναι, οὗ δὲ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σίμμα τε καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἴσταντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἔστησαν. [45] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν οἱ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν εἶχον Βαρεσμανᾶ ἡγουμένου σφίσι ξὺν τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἐς τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους δρόμῳ ἐσέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [46] τότε δὲ οἱ τε ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν ἦσαν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας ἦσαν. [47] ἅτε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐγκάρσιοι ἰόντες, διεῖλον αὐτῶν δίχα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐποίησαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Βαρεσμανᾶ τὸ σημεῖον φέροντα ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃν δὲ ὁ Σουνίκας τῷ δόρατι ἐπελθὼν παίει. [48] ἤδη τε Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις διώκοντες, αἰσθόμενοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ, στρέψαντές τε τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὴν δίωξιν καταπαύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμφίβολοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο. [49] ξυνέντες γὰρ τῶν ποιουμένων οἱ φεύγοντες ἀνέστρεφον αὐθις. οἱ τε γοῦν ἄλλοι Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀθανάτων λόχος, κεκλιμένον τε τὸ σημεῖον ἰδόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνῃ Ῥωμαίους ξὺν τῷ Βαρεσμανᾶ ὥρμησαν. [50] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὑπηντίαζον. καὶ πρῶτος Σουνίκας τὸν Βαρεσμανᾶν ἔκτεινέ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔρριψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος μέγα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλκῆς μὲν οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο, ἀκοσμία δὲ πολλῇ ἐχόμενοι ἔφευγον. [51] καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι κύκλωσιν τινα ποιησάμενοι πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔκτειναν. οὕτω τε τὰ στρατόπεδα παντάπασιν ἐκινήθη ἐκάτερα, Περσῶν μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. [52] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὅσοι δὲ πεζοὶ ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ῥίπαντές τε τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ καταλαμβάνόμενοι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. Ῥωμαίων μέντοι ἡ δίωξις δι' ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. [53] Βελισάριος γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμογένης περαιτέρω ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶων, δέισαντες μὴ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ Πέρσαι ὑποστραφέντες τρέψωνται αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διώκοντας, ἱκανόν τε αὐτοῖς

κατεφαινετο την νικην ακραιφνῇ διασώσασθαι. [54] μακροῦ γὰρ χρόνου Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡσσήθησαν Πέρσαι. οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι διεκρίθησαν. [55] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι μάχην ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ἤθελον. ἐγένοντο μέντοι ἀμφοτέροις τινὲς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἔφοδοι, ἐν αῖς οὐκ ἔλασσαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῇδε ἐφέρετο.

Καβάδης δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐς Ἀρμενίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον ἔπεμψε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα τοῦτο Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Σουνιτῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀλανοὶς εἰσιν ὄμοροι. Οὐννοὶ τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Σάβειροι καλούμενοι τρισχίλιοι ξυνῆσαν, μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος. [2] στρατηγὸς δὲ Μερμερόης, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ διεῖχον, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοί τε ἔμενον ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐξηρτύοντο. [3] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὢν, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος. Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ ἐφειστήκει. [4] οἱ δὲ στράτευμα πολεμίων γνόντες ἐν Περσαρμενίοις ἀγείρεσθαι, δορυφόρους δύο εὐθὺς ἔπεμψαν ἐφ' ᾧ διασκοπήσαντες ἅπασαν σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν ἐσαγγεῖλωσιν. [5] ἄμφω τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενοι καὶ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοήσαντες ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [6] ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἐξ τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων Οὐννοις πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὑφ' ὧν ἄτερος μὲν, Δάγαρις ὄνομα, δεθείς ἐξωγρήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἴσχυσε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγειλεν. [7] οἱ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσαντες, τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστησαν. [8] οἱ τε βάρβαροι τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἐβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι κτείναντές τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ληισάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλθον. [9] Μερμερόης τε ξύμπασαν ἀγείρας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ Σάταλαν πόλιν. οὗ δὲ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ Ὀκτάβῃ ἡσύχαζον, ὅπερ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ τε καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίου ἀπέχει. [10] Σίττας μὲν οὖν χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενος ὀπισθεν τῶν τινος λόφων ἐκρύπτετο, οἳτοι πολλοὶ Σάταλαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην κυκλοῦσι. [11] Δωρόθεον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε μένειν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίστασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι οὐδαμῇ ὥντο, οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισμυρίους ὄντας, αὐτοὶ μόλις ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ ἐξικνούμενοι. [12] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τινα ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. ἄφνω δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας, καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμμετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ἤκιστα ἔχοντες, ἅτε κονιορτοῦ ὥρα θέρους πολλοῦ ἐγκειμένου, πολλῷ τε πλείους ὥντο εἶναι καὶ τῆς κυκλώσεως κατὰ τάχος ἀφέμενοι ἐς ὀλίγον τινα ᾠων αὐτοὺς ξυναγαγεῖν ἠπείγοντο. [13] φθάσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διελόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ξυμμορίας δύο ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέθεντο, ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἅπας εἶδεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ξυρρέοντες ἐπὶ

τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρησαν. [14] μέσους δὲ αὐτοὺς καταστησάμενοι εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. πλήθει μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν πολεμίων οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπεραίροντες ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἥ τε μάχη καρτερὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἦν. [15] ἀγχιστρόφους δὲ τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, ἐπεὶ ἰππεῖς ἅπαντες ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα Φλωρέντιος Θραῦξ, καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων, εἰς μέσους ὁρμήσας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον ἀρπάσας, ἐπικλίνας τε αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα, ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνε. [16] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καταληφθεὶς τε καὶ κρουρηθεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, τῆς δὲ νίκης Ῥωμαίοις αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἐώρων, ἐς ἄκοσμίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ ὀρρωδίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡσύχαζον, [17] πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν οὐδενὸς σφίσις ἐπισπομένου, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ βαρβάρους τοσοούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐκεῖνα πεπονθέναι ἅπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβεβληκότας ἀπράκτους τε καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἡσημένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [18] Τότε καὶ Περσῶν χωρία ἐν Περσαρμενίοις Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, φρούριόν τε τὸ Βῶλον καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον καλούμενον, ὅθεν δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν Πέρσαι ὀρύσσοντες βασιλεῖ φέρουσιν. [19] ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον καταστρεψάμενοι τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οἱ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυντο: ἅπερ αὐτίκα ὄντινα ἐπράχθη τρόπον λελέξεται. [20] Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίας χωρίων ἐς Περσαρμενίαν ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστιν, ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἔθνη διήκων, ὥσπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κατάντης μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ προῖοῦσα ἡ ὁδὸς γίνεται, καὶ ὄρη ἀποκρέμαται λίαν ἀπότομα νεφέλαις τε καὶ χιόσι κεκαλυμμένα τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, [21] ἔνθεν ἐξῶν ποταμὸς Φάσις φέρεται ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα. ταύτῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάρβαροι, τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς κατήκοοι ὤκνητο, Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι, ληστείαις μὲν χρώμενοι ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους Ῥωμαίους, δίαιταν δὲ σκληρὰν ὑπερφυῶς ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις ἀεὶ ἀποζῶντες: οὐ γάρ τι ἐς βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἢ γῇ ἔφερε. [22] διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς χρυσίον τακτὸν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπεμπε, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μήποτε λήϊσονται τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. [23] οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμνύντες καὶ τὰ ὁμομοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιοῦμενοι ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκακούργουν οὐκ Ἀρμενίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Ῥωμαίους μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε τὴν ἑφοδὸν πεποιημένοι εὐθὺς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο. [24] καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἴσως ἐντυχόντες στρατῷ ἡσῶντο μὲν τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλώσιμοι δὲ παντάπασιν οὐκ ἐγίνοντο χωρίων ἰσχύϊ. μάχῃ τοίνυν ὁ Σίττας αὐτοὺς πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νικήσας, ἐπαγωγὰ τε πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν τε καὶ πράξας, [25] προσποιήσασθαι παντελῶς ἴσχυσε. τὴν τε γὰρ δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες ἐς καταλόγους αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαϊκοὺς ἐσεγράψαντο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ζῆν τῷ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξίσαι. τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μετέθεντο, ἅπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγεννημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς Τζάνοις ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. [26] Ὑπερβάντι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ὅρια φάραγξ ἐστὶ

βαθείᾳ τε καὶ λίαν κρημνώδης, μέχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκουσα. ἐνταῦθα χωρία τε πολυανθρωπότατά ἐστι καὶ ἄμπελός τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ὁπόρα διαρκῶς φύεται. [27] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ φάραγξ αὕτη ὑποτελῆς τυγχάνει οὔσα, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ Περσαρμενίων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μέταλλόν ἐστιν ὅπερ Καβάδου δόντος ἐπετρόπευε τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Συμεώνης ὄνομα. [28] οὗτος ὁ Συμεώνης, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφοτέρους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζοντας εἶδε, Καβάδην τῆς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδου ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. [29] διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοὺς οὐδετέρους τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μετάλλου χρυσὸν ἀποφέρειν ἤξιον. [30] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἀποχρῆν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι ἀπολωλέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐνθένδε φοράν, Πέρσαι δὲ οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ταύτῃ ὥκημένους ἀντιστατούσης τῆς δυσχωρίας βιάζεσθαι. [31] Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος, οἱ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Σίττα ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται, ξὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτόμολοι ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἦκον, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ναρσῆς ὁ βασιλέως ταμίας ἐδέξατο Ῥερσαρμένιος γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς γένος ἐτύγχανε χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖται μεγάλοις. [32] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Ἰσαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφός, ἔμαθε, Ῥωμαίοις λάθρα ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Βῶλον αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πη ὄν τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁρίων, παρέδωκε. [33] στρατιώτας γὰρ ἐγγύς πη ἐπέστελλε κρύπτεσθαι, οὓς δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ νύκτωρ ἐδέξατο, μίαν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἀνακλίνας πυλίδα: οὕτω τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν.

Οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν Δάρας ἡσσημένοι τῇ μάχῃ οὐδ' ὥς ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἕως Ῥουφίνος, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Καβάδου ἦλθεν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, “Ἐπεμψέ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐς γῆν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅπλοις ἦλθον. [2] καίτοι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἐς τόσον ξυνέσεως ἦκοντι ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην πρυτανεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρέποι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστώτων ταραχὴν οὐ δέον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας προστρίβεσθαι. [3] οἷς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐελπὶς ὢν ἐνθάδε ἀφῆμαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ εἴη.” Ῥουφίνος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [4] Καβάδης δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε, “Ὡ παῖ Σιλβανοῦ, μηδαμῶς ἀντιστρέφειν τὰς αἰτίας πειρῶ, πάντων ἐξεπιστάμενος μάλιστα ταραχῆς ἀπάσης αἰτιωτάτους γεγενέσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς. πύλας γὰρ τὰς Κασπίας ἡμεῖς ἐσχομεν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθῷ, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους, ἐπεὶ Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, παρὸν αὐτὰς χρήμασιν ὠνεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνταῦθα ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων προῖεσθαι ἀναγκάζεται. [5] ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡμεῖς στρατιὰν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐκτρέφοντες δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τό γε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους μέρος ἀδῆτον τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν, ξὺν. πολλῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. [6] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὑμῖν τοῦτο γε, καὶ πόλιν μεγάλῃν Δάρας ἐπιτείχισμα Πέρσαις πεποίησθε, καίπερ διαρρήδην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπειρημένον ἄσπερ Ἀνατόλιος πρὸς Πέρσας ἔθετο: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

δυοῖν στρατοπέδοιν ἀνάγκη πόνοις τε καὶ δαπάνῃ κεκακῶσθαι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, τὸ μὲν, ὅπως μὴ Μασσαγέται τὴν ἀμφοτέρων γῆν ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἀδεῶς δύνωνται, τὸ δέ, ὅπως ἂν τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐπιδρομὰς ἀναστέλλοιμεν. [7] ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔναγχος μεμφομένων ἡμῶν, δυοῖν τε τὸ ἕτερον ἀξιούντων παρ' ὑμῶν γίνεσθαι, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἐς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας στρατὸν στέλλεσθαι, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύεσθαι, τῶν μὲν λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν οὐ προσίεσθε, κακῶ δὲ μείζονι κρατύνασθαι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιβουλὴν ἔγνωτε, εἴ τι μεμνήμεθα τῆς ἐν Μίνδουος οἰκοδομίας· καὶ νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλετὰ μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, αἰρετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς τιθεμένοις, ἢ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν ἰοῦσιν. [8] οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα καταθήσουσι πρότερον Πέρσαι, πρὶν δὴ αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ τὰς πύλας δικαίως τε καὶ ὀρθῶς ξυμφυλάξουσιν, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσουσι.' [9] τοσαῦτα Καβάδης εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, παραδηλώσας ὥς οἱ βουλομένῳ εἶη χρήματά τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου καταλύειν αἰτίας. [10] ἅπερ Ῥουφῖνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων βασιλεῖ ἡγγεῖλεν. οὗ δὴ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι.

Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατεύμα Περσῶν Ἀζαρέθου ἡγουμένου ἐσέβαλεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι, ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ Σακκίκης ξυνην, πάμπολύν τινα ὁμιλον Σαρακηνῶν ἔχων. [2] αὕτη τε Πέρσαις ἢ ἐσβολὴ οὐ καθάπερ εἰώθει ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐσέβαλλον ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνήν, τανῦν δὲ καλουμένην Εὐφρατησίαν, ὅθεν δὴ οὐ πώποτε Πέρσαι πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. [3] ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα Μεσοποταμία τε ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐς ταύτην ἐφόδου ἀπέσχοντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [4] Ὅρος οὐ λίαν ἀπότομον ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐστί, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως μὲν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίοις διέχον, τετραμμένον δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ πηγαὶ δύο ἐνθὲνδε ἐξίσαισι, ποταμοὺς δύο ποιοῦσαι αὐτίκα, Εὐφράτην μὲν ἢ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἢ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα Τίγρην ὄνομα. [5] τούτοις ἄτερος μὲν, ὁ Τίγρης, οὔτε περιόδοις τισὶ χρώμενος οὔτε ὑδάτων ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπιγινόμενων, [6] εὐθὺς Ἀμίδης πόλεως κάτεισι. καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον προϊὼν χωρεῖ ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν χώραν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Εὐφράτης φέρεται μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τινὰ χῶρον ὀλίγον, εὐθὺς δὲ προϊὼν ἀφανίζεται, οὐχ ὑπόγειος μέντοι γινόμενος, ἀλλὰ τί οἱ ξυμβαίνειν θαυμάσιον οἶον· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος τέλμα ἐπὶ πλείστον βαθὺ γίνεται, [7] μῆκος μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα, εὐρὸς δὲ εἴκοσι· καὶ καλάμων φύεται πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐν τῷ πηλῶ τούτῳ. [8] ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρὸς τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν ἢ ἡπειρον εἶναι. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει οὐδὲν δεδιότας πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππέας πορεύεσθαι. [9] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄμαξαι παρίασιν ἐνθὲνδε πολλαὶ ἡμέρας ἐκάστη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἰσχύουσι κινεῖν τι ἢ ἐξελέγχειν τοῦ τέλματος. [10] καίουσι δὲ τοὺς καλάμους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ τὰς ὁδοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν εἵργεσθαι, καὶ ποτε πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος μέχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ῥιζῶν ἔσχατα τὸ πῦρ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τετύχηκε, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι· [11] χρόνου δὲ

ὁ χοῦς αὐθις οὐ πολλοῦ ξυμφυεῖς ἀπέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. ἐνθὲνδε τε ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν, οὗ δὴ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἦν, ἔνθεν λέγουσι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἰφιγένειαν ζύν τε Ὀρέστη καὶ Πυλάδην φυγεῖν τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα φέρουσαν. [12] ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος νεῶς, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἐστιν ἐν πόλει Κομάνῃ, οὐχ ὁ ἐν Ταύροις ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐγένετο ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [13] Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Ταύρων Ὀρέστης ζὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀπὼν ὥχeto, ξυνέπεσεν αὐτῷ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖόν φασιν οὐ πρότερον λωφῆσιν αὐτῷ τὸ κακόν, πρὶν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ναὸν δεῖμασθαι ἐν χώρῳ τοιοῦτω οἶον δὴ τὸν ἐν Ταύροις ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνταῦθα τε ἀποκείρασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ κόμην καὶ αὐτῇ ὁμωνύμως καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν. [14] διὸ δὴ Ὀρέστην περιόντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν Πόντῳ γενέσθαι, κατιδεῖν τε ὄρος ὃ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀπότομον ἀπεκρέματο, ἔρρει τε ἔνερθεν παρὰ τὰς τοῦ ὄρους ἐσχατίας. ποταμὸς Ἴρις. [15] ὑποτοπήσαντα οὖν τὸν Ὀρέστην τότε τοῦτόν οἱ τὸν χῶρον δηλοῦν τὸ μαντεῖον, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν δεῖμασθαι, τὴν τε κόμην ἀποθριζάμενον ὁμωνύμως αὐτῇ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν ἢ δὴ Κόμανα καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ὀνομάζεται. [16] τούτων τε Ὀρέστη ἐξειργασμένων οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὴν νόσον ἀκμάζειν. αἰσθόμενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως ταῦτα τῷ μαντεῖῳ ποιοίῃ, ἅπαντα αὐθις περιόντα διασκοπεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρόν τινα ἐν Καππαδόκαις εὑρεῖν τῷ ἐν Ταύροις τὰ μάλιστα ἐμπεφύκει. [17] ὄνπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἰδὼν ἠγάσθην τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ μοι ἐδόκουν ἐν Ταύροις εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ κἀνταῦθα ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Σάρος τῷ ταύτῃ Εὐφράτῃ εἰκάζεται. [18] πόλιν τε οὖν ἀξιοθέατον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα Ὀρέστης καὶ νεῶς δύο, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ, οὗς δὴ Χριστιανοὶ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποιήνται, τῆς οἰκοδομίας οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν μεταβαλόντες. [19] αὕτη καλεῖται καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσὴ Κόμανα, τῆς Ὀρέστου κόμης ἐπώνυμος οὖσα, ἣν δὴ ἐκείνον ἐνταῦθα φασιν ἀποκειράμενον διαφυγεῖν τὸ ἄρρώστημα. [20] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ νόσον ἢ τὴν μανίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἐπειδὴ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτεινεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [21] Ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ταύροις Ἀρμενίων καὶ χώρας τῆς Κελεσηνῆς ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης ἐν δεξιᾷ ῥέων γῆν τε πολλὴν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ποταμῶν οἱ ἄλλων τε ἀναμιγνυμένων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσίνου ὃς δὴ ἐκ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων πολὺς φέρεται, μέγας τε, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, γεγεννημένος ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Λευκοσύρους, νῦν δὲ Ἀρμενίους μικροὺς καλουμένους χωρεῖ, ὧν δὴ πόλις πρώτη Μελιτηνὴ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξία ἐστί. [22] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ τε Σαμόσατα παραρρεῖ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία μέχρι ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν γῆν, οὗ δὴ ἀλλήλοιν ἄμφω τὸ ποταμῷ ἀναμιγνυμένῳ ἐς ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἀποκέκρινται. [23] χώρα γοῦν ἢ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγενὴ ἐκλήθη, τανῦν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμος. ἢ δὲ τούτου ἐντός, ἢ δὴ αὐτοῦ τε μέση καὶ Τίγρητός ἐστι, Μεσοποταμία, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ὀνομάζεται: μοῖρα μέντοι αὐτῆς οὐ τούτῳ μόνον τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπικαλεῖται. [24] ἢ τε γὰρ ἄχρις Ἀμίδης πόλεως Ἀρμενία πρὸς

ἐνίων ὠνόμασται, Ἐδεσσά τε ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χωρίοις Ὀσροηνῇ τοῦ Ὀσρόου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνταῦθα βεβασιλευκότος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἡνίκα Πέρσαις οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἔνσπονδοι ἦσαν. [25] Πέρσαι οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων Νίσιβιν τε πόλιν καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα Μεσοποταμίας χωρία ἔλαβον, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔμελλον, χώραν μὲν τὴν ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ποιούμενοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνυδρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον οὖσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀγειρόμενοι, ἅτε ἐν χώρα οἰκείᾳ τε καὶ πολεμίᾳ τῇ οἰκουμένη ἄγχοτάτῳ οὔσῃ, ἐνθὲνδε τὰς ἐσβολὰς αἰεὶ ἐποιοῦντο. [26] Ἡνίκα δὲ ἡσσηθείς ὁ Μιρράνης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφίκετο, ποινῆς ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Καβάδου πικρᾶς. [27] κόσμον γὰρ ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν ὃν δὴ ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν εἰώθει, ἐκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργάρων πεποιημένον. ἀξίωμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Πέρσαις μέγα μετὰ γε τὴν βασιλέως τιμὴν. [28] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε δακτυλίῳ χρυσῷ οὔτε ζώνῃ οὔτε περόνῃ χρῆσθαι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁφιοῦν θέμις, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἀξιοθέντι. [29] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Καβάδης ἐν βουλῇ εἶχεν ὄντινα τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύοι. Μιρράνου γὰρ σφαλέντος οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχε. [30] καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορουμένῳ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν 'Οὐ πάντα, ὃ δέσποτα, χρεῶν ἐστὶ πιστεύειν τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους οἶεσθαι δεῖν κατορθοῦν ἅπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοῦτο γε οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξύμφορος αὕτη μάλιστα τοῖς αὐτῇ ἐχομένοις ἢ ἐννοιά ἐστι. [31] τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐλπίσαντας τὰγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι σφαλέντας ποτέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ἐλπίς οὐ δέον ἡγήσαμένη τοῦ προσήκοντος μᾶλλον ἡνίασε. [32] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντες αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται, κἂν τῷ παντὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπεραίρειν ἀνχῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ τε καὶ μηχαναῖς τισὶ περιελθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. [33] οἷς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς νίκης χωρεῖ. νῦν οὖν μήτε οἷς Μιρράνης ἡτύχησεν οὕτω περιώδυνος, ὃ βασιλέων βασιλεῦ, γίνου, μήτε αὐτὸς ἀποπειράσασθαι βούλου τῆς τύχης. [34] Μεσοποταμίας γὰρ καὶ τῆς Ὀσροηνῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἅτε τῶν σῶν ὁρίων ἄγχιστα οὔσης, αἱ τε πόλεις ὀχυρώταται εἰσι πασῶν μάλιστα καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οἷον οὐ πώποτε πρότερον τανῦν ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἡμῖν αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας γενήσεται, ἐν μέντοι τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τυγχάνει οὔσα, καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἐχομένη Συρίᾳ οὔτε πόλεως ὀχύρωμα οὔτε στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιόν ἐστι. [35] ταῦτα γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐς ταύτας ἐσταλμένων Σαρακηνῶν ἤκουσα. [36] ἐνθα δὴ καὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἶναι φασι, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ πρῶτην πόλεων ἀпасῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφίοις Ῥωμαίοις οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ ἀφύλακτός τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔρημός ἐστιν. [37] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ ταύτης δήμῳ ὅτι μὴ πανηγύρεων τε καὶ τρυφῆς μέλει καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτροις αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίας. [38] ὥστε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωμεν, τὴν τε πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ μηδενὶ ἐντυχόντας πολεμίων στρατῷ εἶτα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, οὐπω πεπυσμένων τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ

στρατιωτῶν. [39] ὕδατος δὲ ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίας περὶ μηδέν σε εἰσίτω: ἐγὼ γὰρ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσομαι ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι.’ [40] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Καβάδης οὔτε ἀντιτείνειν οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν εἶχεν. ἦν γὰρ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ξυνητάτος τε καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας εὖ ἤκων, Πέρσαις τε πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησε πράγματα. [41] ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὀρίων ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ληιζόμενος τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἥγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, καίων τε τὰς ἐν ποσὶν οἰκοδομίας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ πολλὰς ἀεὶ μυριάδας ἀνδραποδίζων, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀποκτείνων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων μεγάλων. [42] ἀπῆντα δὲ οἱ τῶν πάντων οὐδεῖς. οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἐξαπιναίως τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύς, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἤδη ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ξὺν τῇ λείᾳ πάσῃ ἀπιὼν ὄχρετο, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ στρατιῶται πυνθάνεσθαι τε τὰ ξυμπεσόντα καὶ ἀγείρεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἤρχοντο. [43] ἦν δὲ πού αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τύχη τινὶ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἀπαρασκευοῖς τε οὔσι καὶ οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἔτρεπέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ ποτε τοὺς διώκοντας στρατιώτας ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξώγρησεν ἅπαντας. [44] Τιμόστρατος δὲ ἦν ὁ Ῥουφίνου ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Λουκᾶ παῖς, οὓς δὴ ἀπέδοτο ὕστερον, πλοῦτον αὐτῶν οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα περιβαλλόμενος. [45] καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ δεινότατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος πάντων μάλιστα. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν βασιλέως ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἀπάντων μόνος τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχε, παντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ οἷός τε ἦν ἀεὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς: [46] οὐδεῖς δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, οὓς δοῦκας καλοῦσιν, οὔτε Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδων ἡγούμενος, οἱ φύλαρχοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανῶς εἶχεν: ἐν χώρᾳ γὰρ ἐκάστη τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐτετάχατο. [47] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς φυλαῖς ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέθαν τὸν Γαβαλᾶ παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, ὃς τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίῳ Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως αὐτῷ περιθέμενος, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις γεγονὸς πάποτε. [48] Ἀλαμούνδαρος μέντοι οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔφθειρεν, Ἀρέθα ἐν πάσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ ἢ ἀτυχοῦντος ὡς μάλιστα ἢ καταπροδιδόντος ὡς τάχιστα. οὐ γὰρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφ’ αὐτῷ ἴσμεν. ταύτῃ τε ξυνέβη Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν ἐφάν ληίζεσθαι πᾶσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μακροβιώτατος ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε.

Τούτου οὖν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἦσθεις Καβάδης ἄνδρας πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἀπολεξάμενος Ἀζαρέθην αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἐπέστησε διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ σφίσιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον τῆς πορείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. [2] οἱ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, γῆν τε πορευθέντες τινὰ ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ἄφνω ἐς τῶν Κομμαγηνῶν καλουμένων τὴν χώραν παρὰ δόξαν ἐσέβαλλον. [3] αὕτη τε πρώτη ἐνθένδε Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε

ἡμᾶς ἀκοῇ ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ πάντα Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ κατέπληξεν. [4] ἃ δὴ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἔμαθε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διηπορεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἔγνω. φυλακὴν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη καταστησάμενος, ὅπως μὴ Καβάδης τε καὶ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν εὐρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας χωρία, αὐτὸς τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαζεν, Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες σπουδῇ πολλῇ πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [5] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς δισμυρίους μάλιστα πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππέας ξυνήει, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰσαυροὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ δισχίλιοι ἦσαν. [6] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἱππέων μὲν ἅπαντες ἦσαν οἱ τὰ πρότερα τὴν ἐν Δάρας μάχην πρὸς τε Πέρσας καὶ Μιρράνην διήνεγκαν, πεζῶν δὲ τῶν τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, Πέτρος ὄνομα. [7] τοῖς μέντοι Ἰσαύροις Λογγίνος τε καὶ Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀρέθας αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ Σαρακηνῶν στρατεύματι ἦλθεν. [8] ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν χωρίῳ Γαββουλῶν εἶναι ἐπύθοντο, δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις Χαλκίδος διέχοντι. [9] ὁ δὴ γνόντες Ἀλαμούνδαρος τε καὶ Ἀζαρέθης τὸν τε κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἐχώρουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἴκου αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνον καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ὀπισθεν εἶπετο. [10] ἐν τε τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ἠυλίζοντο, αἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ νυκτὶ ἔμενον. [11] Βελισάριος γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁδὸν τινα πλεῖω πορεύεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα οὐδαμῇ εἶα, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποχρῆν ᾧετο σφίσι Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας, εἶτα ἐνθὲνδε οὕτω δὴ ἀποκεχωρηκότας, [12] ἀπράκτους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζεσθαι. διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτῷ λάθρα ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, ἐκάκιζε μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐς ὅσιν οὐδεῖς. [13] Τελευτῶντες δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἡϊόνι ἠυλίσαντο ἢ δὴ πόλεως Καλλινίκου ἀντιπέρας ἐστίν. ἐνθὲνδε γὰρ διὰ χώρας πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον, οὕτω τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διεννοοῦντο ἰέναι ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ἐχόμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ διανυκτερεύσαντες ἐν πόλει Σούρων ἐνθὲνδε τε ἐξαναστάντες, καταλαμβάνουσι συσκευαζομένους ἤδη ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡ Πασχαλία ἐπέκειτο ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιγεννησομένη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἣν δὴ σέβονται Χριστιανοὶ πασῶν μάλιστα, ἡμέρᾳ τε τῇ ταύτης προτέρᾳ σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἀπεχόμενοι οὐ διημερεύειν νενομίκασιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω που νήστευσιν τῶν νυκτῶν ἰέναι. [16] τότε οὖν ἅπαντας Βελισάριος ὀργῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρῶν, ταύτης τε ἀποστῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων ταῦτα γάρ οἱ καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἐγίνωσκεν ἄρτι ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ βασιλέως ἦκων τοὺς παραγενομένους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ποῖ φέρεσθε, [17] ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἢ τί πεπονθότες κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθε; μίαν εἶναι νίκην ἀκίβδηλον οἶονται ἄνθρωποι τὸ μηδὲν δεινὸν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν, ὅπερ ἡμῖν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι δέδωκεν ἢ τε τύχῃ καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δέος. [18] οὐκοῦν ἢ ἀπόνασθαι τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἄμεινον ἢ παρελθόντα ταῦτα ζητεῖν.

Πέρσαι γὰρ πολλαῖς μὲν ἐλπίσιν ἡγμένοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν, πάντων δὲ τανῶν ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμηνται. [19] ὥστε ἦν οὐχ ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν γνώμης, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ ἰέναι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάσωμεν, νενικηκότες μὲν πλεόν τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἔξομεν. [20] τί γὰρ ἂν τις τὸν γε φεύγοντα τρέποι; σφαλέντες δὲ ἴσως τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης στερησόμεθα νίκης, οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφαιρεθέντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ταύτην προέμενοι, καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ γῇ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίους ἐκκεῖσθαι τῶν ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς τὸ λοιπὸν δώσομεν. [21] καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὥς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐ τῶν αὐθαιρέτων κινδύνων ξυναίρεσθαι ὁ θεὸς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ. [22] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἂν ὅπη τραπέειν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐχ ἐκουσίους ξυμβήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ ἐναντιώματα ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [23] πεζῇ τε γὰρ βαδίζοντες πολλοὶ ἤκουσι καὶ νήσταις ἅπαντες τυγχάνομεν ὄντες. ἀφίημι γὰρ λέγειν ὥς τινες οὐπω καὶ νῦν πάρεσι.' Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [24] Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζον οὐ σιγῇ τινι οὐδὲ ἐν παραβύστω, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐς ὄψιν ξὺν κραυγῇ ἦκοντες μαλθακὸν τε καὶ τῆς προθυμίας διαλυτὴν ἐκάλουν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡμάρτανον, ταύτῃ τὸ εὐτολμον ἐνδεικνύμενοι. [25] καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναισχύντῳ καταπλαγεὶς Βελισάριος ἀντιστρέψας τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἥδη ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώκει καὶ διατάσσοντι ἐς παράταξιν, ἔφασκέ τε ὥς οὐκ εἰδεῖη μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι προθυμίαν τὰ πρότερα, νῦν δὲ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ ξὺν ἐλπίδι τῇ ἀμείνوني ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι. [26] καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα μετωπηδὸν ποιησάμενος διέταξεν ὧδε. ἐς κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερόν πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἔστησεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ δεξιόν, ἧ δὴ ὁ χῶρος ἀνάντης ἦν, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κατὰ μέσον εἰστήκει. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο. [27] Ἀζαρέθης δὲ ἐπεὶ ξυνιόντας ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε, τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο 'Πέρσας μὲν ὄντας ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνταλλάξασθαι, ἦν τις αἴρεσιν ἀμφοῖν διδοίη, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. [28] ἐγὼ δέ φημι οὐδ' ἂν βουλομένοις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι τούτοις ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐξὸν διαφυγοῦσι τὸν κίνδυνον ξὺν τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ βιοῦν, οὐδέν, ἦν γε βούλονται, ἀπεικὸς ἀντὶ τῶν βελτίστων ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἥδιστα, οἷς δὲ τὸ θνήσκειν ἐπάνανγκες, ἧ ξὺν τῇ εὐκλείᾳ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἧ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐς τὴν κόλασιν αἰσχυρῶς ἀγομένοις, πολλὴ ἄνοια μὴ πρὸ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρεῖσσω. [29] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκειν ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας οἶμαι μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότην τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας, οὕτως ἐς μάχην τήνδε καθίστασθαι.' [30] Τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀζαρέθης παρακελευσάμενος ἀντίξουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἔστησε, Πέρσας μὲν τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντας, Σαρακηνοὺς δὲ τὰ εὐώνυμα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἦλθον. [31] ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ μάλιστα. τά τε γὰρ τοξεύματα ἐκατέρωθεν συχνὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαλλόμενα φόνον ἀμφοτέρων πολλὸν ἐποίει, καὶ τινες ἐν μεταίχμιῳ γινόμενοι ἔργα ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπεδείκνυντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, μᾶλλον δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον. [32] τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν βέλη συχνότερα μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἦν, ἐπεὶ Πέρσαι τοξόται τε σχεδὸν τί εἰσιν ἅπαντες καὶ πολὺ θᾶσσον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἀνθρώποι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βολὰς

ἐκδιδάσκονται, [33] ἐκ δὲ τόξων μαλθακῶν τε καὶ οὐ λίαν ἐντεταμένον βαλλόμενα θώρακι ἴσως ἢ κράνει ἢ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἐντυχόντα Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκαυλίζετο τε καὶ λυπεῖν τὸν προσπίπτοντα οὐδαμῇ εἶχε. [34] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὰ τε τοξεύματα βραδύτερα μὲν ἐς αἰεὶ ἐστίν, ἅτε δὲ ἐκ τόξων σκληρῶν τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ δεινῶς ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα, προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Πέρσαι οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν εὐπετῶς σίνονται, ὅπλου οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν αὐτῶν γινομένου τῇ ρύμῃ. [35] ἤδη μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας αἱ δύο παρωγῆκεσαν μοῖραι, καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι ἀγγώματος ἦν. τότε δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες ὅσοι δὴ ἄριστοι ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ἐσήλαυνον ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, οὗ δὴ Ἀρέθας τε καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐτετάχατο. [36] οἱ δὲ οὕτω τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες δίχα ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ δόξαν ἀπήνεγκαν ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαις τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προὔδοσαν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑποστάντες αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ἅπαντες ὥρμηντο. [37] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι διαρρήξαντες οὕτω τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, κατὰ νότου εὐθὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου ἐγένοντο. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κεκμηκότες ἤδη τῇ τε ὁδῷ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς μάχης νήστεις τε ἅπαντες ἐς τόδε τῆς ἡμέρας ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐνοχλούμενοι, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φεύγοντες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νήσους ἀγχιστὰ που οὔσας ἐχώρησαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἔργα θαυμαστά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια τοὺς πολεμίους εἰργάσαντο. [38] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἦν, ὃς δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων, κρεουργηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μόλις ἔπεσε, λόγον αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, οἱ τε Ἰσαυροὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμήσαντες. [39] ἀπειρία γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου πολλῇ εἶχοντο, ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστησαν, [40] ἀγνώτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα ὄντα. καίτοι μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοὶ ἔναγχος ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀγνοία πολέμου ὀργῶντες Βελισαρίῳ τότε τὴν δειλίαν ὠνείδιζον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἰσαυροὶ ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ Λυκάονες οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. [41] Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα μείνας, τέως μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀσκὰν ἀντέχοντας ἐώρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνατο: [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυγὼν ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἦλθεν, οἱ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔτι ἐμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτυχον φυγόντες οἱ πλεῖστοι. [43] ἐνθα δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ἵππον ἀφῆκε καὶ πάντας αὐτὸ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκέλευε, πεζοὺς τε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. [44] Περσῶν δὲ ὅσοι τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἶποντο, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπανῆκον, ἔς τε τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥρμηντο. οἱ δὲ τὰ νῶτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τρέψαντες, ὅπως μὴ τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κύκλωσις γένοιτο, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. [45] αὐθὺς τε ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ γέγονε, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως οὔσα. πεζοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ λίαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ξύμπασαν ἐμάχοντο τὴν Περσῶν ἵππον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι οὔτε τρέπεσθαι οὔτε ἄλλως βιάζεσθαι εἶχον. [46] ἐν χρῷ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ἐς ὀλίγον αἰεὶ ξυναγόμενοι καὶ ὥς ἰσχυρότατα ταῖς ἀσπίσι

φραζάμενοι, ἔβαλλον μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπιτηδείως ἢ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβάλλοντο. [47] πολλάκις τε ἀπειπόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνον, ὥς ξυνταράζοντές τε καὶ διαλύσοντες τὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω αὐθις ἀπήλυνον. [48] οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαιτίζοντό τε καὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ζὺν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καθίσταντο. διαγεγوناσί τε οὕτως ἑκάτεροι ἕως ἐγεγόνει τῆς ἡμέρας ὧσέ. [49] νυκτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἐπιλαβούσης Πέρσαι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Βελισάριος δὲ ὀλκάδος ἐπιτυχὼν ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατήρην, οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι νηχόμενοι ἤλθον. [50] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὀλκάδων σφίσιν ἐκ Καλλινίκου πόλεως παραγενομένων πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκομίσθησαν, Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκυλευκότες ἐπ' οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς σφετέρους νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάσσους εὗρον. [51] Ἀζαρέθης δέ, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Πέρσας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὐημερήσας, ἀχαρίστου Καβάδου μάλιστα ἔτυχεν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [52] νόμος ἐστὶ Πέρσαις, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς στρατεύεσθαι μέλλωσι, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου καθῆσθαι, κοφίνους δὲ οἱ πολλοὺς ἐνταυθὰ πη εἶναι, καὶ παρεῖναι μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὃς δὴ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξός ἐστι, παριέναι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ὄψιν κατ' ἄνδρα ἓνα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον βέλος ἐν ἐς τὰς ταρπὰς ρίπτειν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτάς μὲν τῇ βασιλέως σφραγίδι κατασεσημασμένας φυλάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Πέρσας ἐπανίοι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν ἀρρίχων ἐν ἀναιρεῖσθαι βέλος. [53] ἀριθμοῦντες οὖν τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀνήρηται, οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη, ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκ ἐπανηκόντων στρατιωτῶν, ταύτη τε ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτήκασιν ἐνδηλοὶ γίνονται. [54] οὕτω μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ὁ νόμος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἐς ὄψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἤλθεν, ἀνεπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὁ Καβάδης εἴ τι χωρίον παραστησάμενος Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦκοι, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ὡς Ἀντιόχειαν καταστρεφόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης χωρίον μὲν ἐλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔφασκε, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Βελισάριον μάχῃ νενικηκέναι. [55] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν παριέναι τὸ ζὺν τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ἐκέλευε στράτευμα, ἔκ τε τῶν ταρπῶν βέλος ἕκαστος ἀνιρῆιτο ἥπερ εἰώθει. [56] πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων βελῶν ὠνειδίξε τε τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ.

Ἐννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἐταιρίσασθαι. ὅπῃ δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ᾧκῃνται καὶ καθ' ὃ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν βασιλεὺς ἡλίπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὅρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. [3] αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλὰς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτης ἡϊόνι ἐστίν, ἐνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὄρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἥ τε γῆ αὕτη τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾷ πόλεως σταδίους οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ χιλίους διέχουσιν. [4] ἐνθα Ἑβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾧκῃντο, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι Ῥωμαίων γεγέννηται. [5] πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτῃ ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὁρῶσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐώνυμον νυκτὸς αἰεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὁρμίζονται. [6] ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [7] ὅρμοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ὁρμίζεσθαι. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡϊόνα εὐθὺς μὲν ὅρους τοὺς Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν, [8] οἱ ἐν τῷ φοινικῶνι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυνται. [9] ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ φοινικῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν κατατείνων πολλήν, ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φοίνικες φύονται μόνον. [10] τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶν βασιλεῖᾳ Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο, ὁ τῶν ἐκεῖνι Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο. [11] ἀδῆλόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις βαρβάροις καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἥσσον τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερός τε αἰεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος. [12] τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶνα βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν δυνατά ἐστι. [13] γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀνυδρὸς ἐν μέσῳ οὕσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου ὅτουοῦν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῇ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὄνομα δώρου ὃ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδωκε μόνον καὶ βασιλεὺς εὖ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ φοινικῶνι ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [14] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ Μαδδῆνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ὀμηριτῶν κατήκοοι ὄντες. [15] οἱ δὲ Ὀμηρίται οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα ᾧκῃνται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνι. ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρωποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἱδρῦσθαι φασί. [16] μεθ' οὓς δὴ τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν περὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πῃ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν. [17] Ὀμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεῖρῳ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Αὐξωμίται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασιλεία ἐστίν ἐν πόλει Αὐξωμίδι. [18] καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστίν ἀνέμου μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουν διήκει. [19] ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίσκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους

ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἐστίν· αὕτη πρὸς ἐνίων ἢ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ Αἰλὴν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς ὠνόμασται κόλπος. [20] χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὁρίων Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις τῇ πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. [21] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν ὄρμος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικάς ὀνομάζεται. [22] διαπλεύσαντες δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν λιμένα. Ἀδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων διέχει ἑτοσούτῳ γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν δώδεκα. [23] Πλοῖα μέντοι ὅσα ἐν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐστὶν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ὥπερ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες πεποίηνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσση οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ὀτρωοῦν χρίονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς ἰόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἰσανίδες ξυμπεπῆγασιν, ἀλλὰ βρόχοις τισὶ ξυνδέδενται. [24] αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἔλκουσαι ἑκμήριον δέ· ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἡρμοσμέναις, οὔποτε τοιοῦτον ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. [25] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἰοί τε εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. [26] θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἢ ζημία ἐστί. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσῃ καὶ χώρα ἡ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐστὶ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [27] Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. [28] ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἰδρυταὶ καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γέννη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὥκηνται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπτὰ ἐτέρων ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν· [29] ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιος ὥς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἑτέρας γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσιν τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι, στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυτο, ὥνπερ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὅασιν ὥκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς αἰεὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἰδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσι τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρα πολλῇ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνονι ἥσπερ τὰ πρότερα ὥκηντο. [30] οὕτω γὰρ ὤρετο αὐτοὺς τε οὐκέτι τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὅασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι δεδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι Βλέμυάς τε, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους. [31] ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίηντο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσι ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ξύμπασαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον. [32] τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε

δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσωνται. [33] ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν. [34] καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νεῖλῳ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτῃ δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεῶς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσις οἰόμενος. [35] διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμνες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὕσπερ Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἰσιν τὸν τε Ὅσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον. [36] οἱ μέντοι Βλέμνες καὶ ἄνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. [37] Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἄτε ηὔτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθην, τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τὰ τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

Ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἑλλησθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς, Χριστιανὸς τε ὢν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὀμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡπείρῳ ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὄντας, πολλοὺς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἦν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Χριστιανούς χρῆσθαι, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στρατεύμα ἁγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλθε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστησάμενος, Ὀμηρίτην μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἑσιμφαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε. [2] τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν στρατοῦ δοῦλοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν εἶχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμία τῆς Ὀμηριτῶν χώρας· ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. [3] Οὗτος ὁ λεῶς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν Ἑσιμφαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων καθεῖρξαν, ἕτερον δὲ Ὀμηρίταις βασιλέα κατεστήσαντο, [4] Ἀβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραμος οὗτος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει Αἰθιοπῶν Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. [5] ἃ δὴ Ἑλλησθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαι τε Ἀβραμον ὁμοῦ τοῖς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἑσιμφαῖον ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στρατεύμα τε τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ξυγγενῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. [6] οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι ἐθέλοντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Ἀβράμῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐς τε ξυμβολὴν καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνemiγγυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [7] θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαῖος ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

ἔπεμψεν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἅμφι τὸν Ἀβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπὶ οἴκου εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. δέισας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰθίοπων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσεν. [8] Ἑλλησθεαίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Ἀβραμος ὡμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰθίοπων βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο. [9] Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοψι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἑσιμιφαίου δὲ ἐν Ὀμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀξίων ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὠνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσῃσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, τανῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὀμηρίται δὲ ὅπως Καῖσὸν τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσονται καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλῃσιν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. [10] ὁ δὲ Καῖσὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δὲ τινα Ἑσιμιφαίου ξυγγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν ἔφηνεν ἢ δὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων [11] παντάπασιν ἐστίν· ἐκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἴτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὡμολογημένα οὐδέτερος. [12] τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοψι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅρμοις γινόμενοι οὐδὲν τὰ πρῶτα αἰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταΐρουσιν, ἅτε χώραν προσοικοῦντες τὴν ὁμορον, ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημόν τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὁδὸν κατατείνουσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πολλῶ μαχιωτέρους ἰέναι. [13] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβραμος ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλλειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὀπίσω εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθίοπων τε καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν ταύτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν.

Ἐρμογένης δὲ τότε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἢ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, παρὰ Καβάδην ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἦκων, ἐπέραιεν οὐδὲν τῆς εἰρήνης πέρι ἧς ἔνεκα ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν οἰδαίνοντα ἔτι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὔρε· διὸ δὴ ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε. [2] καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτos ἦλθε περιηρημένος ἦν εἶχεν ἀρχὴν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Βανδύλους στρατεύσειε. [3] Σίττας δέ, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδογμένον, ὡς φυλάζων τὴν ἐφ' ἣν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. [4] καὶ Πέρσαι αὐθις στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν, Χαναράγγου τε καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου καὶ Μερμερόου ἡγουμένων σφίσιν, ἐσέβαλον. [5] ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, Μαρτυρόπολιν ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐδὲν Βούζης τε καὶ Βέσσας τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἔτυχον. [6] αὕτη δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηγῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ, πόλεως Ἀμίδης τεσσαράκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους διέχουσα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστίν, ὃς τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει. [7] οἱ μὲν οὖν

Πέρσαι τῷ περιβόλῳ προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείως ὑφίσταντο, οὐ διὰ πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνθέξειν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. [8] ὃ τε γὰρ περιβόλος ἐπιμαχώτατος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ πολιορκία Περσῶν ῥᾶστα ἀλώσιμος, αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐ διαρκῶς εἶχον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μηχανὰς οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἀξιόχρεων καθ' ὃ τι ἀμύνωνται. [9] Σίττας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς χωρίον μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἦλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχον, ἐς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. [10] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὐθις ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοιόνδε τι ξυνηέχθη γενέσθαι. [11] Κατασκόπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Πέρσαις δημοσίᾳ σιτίζεσθαι νόμος, οἱ δὴ λάθρα ἰέναι παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰώθασιν ὅπως περισκοπήσαντες ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ πρασσόμενα εἶτα ἐπανιόντες τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐσαγγείλωσι. [12] τούτων πολλοὶ μὲν εὐνοία, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, χρῆσθαι ἐς τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προΐενται τὰ ἀπόρητα. [13] τότε οὖν ἐκ Περσῶν κατάσκοπός τις ἐς Ῥωμαίους σταλὲς ἐς ὅσιν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἦκων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξεῖπεν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πρασσόμενα καὶ ὥς γένος Μασσαγετῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πονηρῷ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐξίσαι, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἰόντες τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν ἀναμίγνυσθαι. [14] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, πείραν τε ἤδη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀληθείας περὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχων, χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἀδροῖς τισι χαρισάμενος πείθει ἔς τε τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ὃ δὴ Μαρτυροπολίτας ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ οἱ Μασσαγέται οὗτοι χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθέντες τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ μέλλουσιν ὅσον οὐπω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦξιν. [15] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, ἔς τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τῷ τε Χαναράγγῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπηγγέλλε στρατεύμα Οὐννων πολεμίων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίξεσθαι. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι διηποροῦντο. [17] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνέβη πονήρως τῷ Καβάδῃ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ Περσῶν ἓνα τῶν οἱ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδαιοτάτων καλέσας, Μεβόδην ὄνομα, ἐκοινολογεῖτο ἀμφὶ τε τῷ Χοσρόῃ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεδιέναι τε Πέρσας ἔφασκε μὴ τι τῶν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἀλογῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξουσιν. [18] ὁ δὲ οἱ τῆς γνώμης τὴν δήλωσιν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἠξίου, θαρσύνοντα ὥς οὐ μὴ ποτε αὐτὴν ὑπεριδεῖν τολμήσωσι Πέρσαι. [19] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς διετίθετο βασιλέα Χοσρόην Πέρσαις καθίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης αὐτὸς ἔγραφε, καὶ ὁ Καβάδης αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [20] καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ νόμιμα πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ταφῇ ἐγεγόνει, ὁ μὲν Καόσης τῷ νόμῳ θαρσῶν ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ δὲ Μεβόδης ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐδένα χρῆναι αὐτόματον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ ψήφῳ Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων. [21] καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεπε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γνώσιν, οὐδὲν ἐνθένδε ἔσεσθαι οἱ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζων. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες οἱ Περσῶν λογίμοι ἐς τοῦτο ἀγηγεμένοι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν Καβάδου ἀμφὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐδήλου γνώμην, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῆς Καβάδου ἀρετῆς ἅπαντες βασιλέα Πέρσαις αὐτίκα Χοσρόην ἀνείπον. [23] Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ

Μαρτυροπόλει Σίττας τε καὶ Ἑρμόγενης ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δειμαίνοντες, ἀμύνειν γὰρ κινδυνευοῦση οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεμνάν τινας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε [24] ‘Λελήθατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε τῷ Περσῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἑκατέρω ἐμποδῶν οὐ δέον γινόμενοι. πρέσβεις γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι τανῦν πάρεσιν, ἐφ’ ᾧ παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἰόντες τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται· ἀλλ’ ὡς τάχιστα ἐξανιστάμενοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ξυγχορεῖτε τοῖς πρέσβεσι πράσσειν ἢ ἑκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [25] ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἐσμεν ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμήρους διδόναι ἄνδρας δοκίμους, ὡς δὴ ἔργῳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιτελῇ ἔσται.’ Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [26] ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦκων, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευτηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελλε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβάδου βασιλέα καταστῆναι Πέρσαις, [27] ταῦτη τε τὰ πράγματα ἠρωῆσθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὴν Οὐννων ἔφοδον δεῖσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτίνον τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἓνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα· Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρεῖαν εὐθύωρον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. [28] οἱ τε Οὐννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ εὗρον, δι’ ὀλίγου τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

Αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Ρουφῖνός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὡς ξὺν Ἑρμογένει πρεσβεύοντες ἦλθον, παρὰ τε Περσῶν τὸν βασιλέα πάντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην. [2] καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπειδὴ εἶδε, τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε. τιθασσεύοντες δὲ Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγωγὰ τε πολλὰ ἔλεξαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἥκιστα πρέσβεσι πρέποντα. [3] οἷς δὴ χειροῆθης ὁ Χοσρόης γενόμενος τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσιν δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν κεντηναρίων ὁμολόγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ὁ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων μηκέτι ἐν Δάρας τὸ λοιπὸν εἶη, ἀλλ’ ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαγένοιτο ἥπερ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶθιστο· φρούρια δὲ τὰ ἐν Λαζικῇ οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν, καίπερ αὐτὸς τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον δικαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπολαβεῖν. [4] ἔλκει δὲ λίτρας τὸ κεντηνάριον ἑκατὸν, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ ὠνόμασται. κέντον γὰρ τὰ ἑκατὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [5] τοῦτο δὲ οἱ δίδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον ἡξίου, ὡς μήτε πόλιν Δάρας Ῥωμαῖοι καθελεῖν ἀναγκάζονται μήτε φυλακτηρίου τοῦ ἐν πύλαις Κασπίαις μεταλαχεῖν Πέρσαις. [6] οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπὶνουν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐνδιδόναι οὐκ ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἣν μὴ βασιλέως ἀμφ’ αὐτοῖς πύθωνται πρότερον. [7] ἔδοξε τοίνυν Ρουφῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανή, μένειν. καὶ χρόνος ἡμερῶν ἑβδομήκοντα Ρουφίνῳ ξυνέκειτο ἐς τὴν ἄφιξιν. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ρουφῖνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος βασιλεῖ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅσα Χοσρόη ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ δοκοῦντα εἶη, ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα σφίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνίστασθαι. [9] Ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτῳ φήμη τις οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἤκουσα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἠγγελλεν ὀργισθέντα Ρουφῖνον κτείνειν. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς τε καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἦει. Ρουφῖνος δὲ οἱ

μεταξὺ ἐπανήκων ἐνέτυχε πόλεως Νισίβιδος οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν. [10] διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο καί, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιοῦν ἐμελλον, τὰ χρήματα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα ἐκόμιζον. [11] ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια ξυγκεχωρηκότες μετέμελεν ἤδη, γράμματά τε ἀντικρὺς ἀπολέγοντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔγραφε μηδαμῶς αὐτὰ προΐεσθαι Πέρσαις. [12] διὸ δὴ Χοσρόης τὰς σπονδὰς θέσθαι οὐκέτι ἠξίου, καὶ τότε Ῥουφίνῳ ἔννοιά τις ἐγένετο ὥς ταχύτερα ἢ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐσκομίσειεν. [13] αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, κείμενός τε πρηνὴς Χοσρόην ἰκέτευε τὰ τε χρήματα σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐθὺς στρατεῦειν, ἀλλὰ ἐς χρόνον τινὰ ἕτερον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποτίθεσθαι. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευεν ἐξανίστασθαι, ἅπαντά οἱ ταῦτα χαριεῖσθαι ὑποσχόμενος. οἱ τε γοῦν πρέσβεις ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς Δάρας ἦλθον, καὶ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ὀπίσω ἀπήλανε. [15] Καὶ τότε μὲν Ῥουφίνον οἱ ξυμπρεσβεύται δι' ὑποψίας τε αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσχον καὶ ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ οἱ ἅπαντα ὁ Χοσρόης ὅσα ἔχρηξεν αὐτοῦ ἀναπεισθεὶς ξυνεχώρησεν. [16] ἔδρασε μέντοι αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ῥουφίνος τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὐτῆς παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐστέλλοντο, ἔς τε τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτίκα ἀλλήλοις ξυνέβησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι ἀποδώσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἀμφοτέρω χωρία ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλλήλους ἀφείλοντο, καὶ μηκέτι στρατιωτῶν τις ἀρχὴ ἐν Δάρας εἶη· τοῖς τε Ἰβηρσιν ἐδέδοκτο ἐν γνώμῃ εἶναι ἢ μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἢ ἐς σφῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιέναι. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ μένοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπανιόντες ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. [17] οὕτω τοίνυν τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην ἐσπέισαντο, ἔκτον ἤδη ἔτος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔχοντος. [18] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι Πέρσαις ἔδοσαν, Πέρσαι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια. καὶ Δάγαριν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδοσαν Πέρσαι, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον κεκομισμένοι οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. [19] οὗτος ὁ Δάγαρις χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις Οὐννους ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας μάχαις νικήσας ἐξήλασεν. ἦν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπονδὰς τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀμφοτέρω ἐκρατύναντο.

Εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἑκατέρῳ ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων· ὄντινα μέντοι τρόπον αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἄτακτός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐραστής ἄτοπος. [2] διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε αἰεὶ ἐμπλεως ταραχῆς τε καὶ θορύβων ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἰτιώτατος. [3] ἀχθόμενοι οὖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ὅσοι ἐν Πέρσαις δραστήριοι ἦσαν, ἕτερον σφίσι βασιλέα καταστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Καβάδου οἰκίας ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον. [4] καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολὺς τις πόθος τῆς Ζάμου ἀρχῆς ἦν δὴ ὁ νόμος αἰτία τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λώβης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐκώλυε λογισάμενοι ἠῦρισκον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι Καβάδην μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι, Ζάμην δέ, ἅτε τῷ παιδί ἐπίτροπον ὄντα, διοικεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα. [5] γενόμενοί τε παρὰ τὸν Ζάμην τό τε βούλευμα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ προθυμία πολλῇ ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνήγον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ βουλὴ ἤρεσκεν, ἐς

καιρὸν τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐπιθήσεσθαι διενοοῦντο. ἔκπυστος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν βασιλέα γεγεννημένη τὰ πρασσόμενα διεκώλυσε. [6] Ζάμην τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ζάμου ἀδελφούς ἅπαντας ξὺν γόνῳ παντὶ ἄρσενι ἔκτεινε, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν δοκίμων ὅσους τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἢ ἄρξαι ἢ μεταλαχεῖν τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τετύχηκεν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσπεβέδης ἦν ὁ τῆς Χοσρόου μητρὸς ἀδελφός. [7] Καβάδην μέντοι τὸν Ζάμου υἱὸν αὐτὸς μὲν κτείνειν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ χαναράγγῃ τῷ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδῃ ἐτρέφετο. αὐτῷ δὲ χαναράγγῃ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὄνπερ ἐθρέψατο ἐπέστελλε διαχρήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἐδικαίου οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἶχεν. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν χαναράγγης, ἐπεὶ τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολάς ἤκουσε, περιαλήσας τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκοινολογεῖτο τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Καβάδου τίτθῃ ὅσα οἱ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστελλεῖε. δακρύσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβομένη, ἔχρηζε τέχνη μηδεμιᾶ Καβάδην κτείνειν. [9] βουλευσάμενοι οὖν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσαντο κρυπτόμενον μὲν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὸν παῖδα ἐκτρέφειν, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι ὡς οἱ ὁ Καβάδης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθεῖη. [10] καὶ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσήμαινον τὸν τε Καβάδην οὕτως ἀπέκρυσαν ὥστε τούτου γε παρείχοντο οὐδενὶ αἰσθῆσιν, ὅτι μὴ Οὐαρράμη τε τῷ σφετέρῳ παιδί καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνί, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς πιστότατος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [11] ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐς ἡλικίαν ὁ Καβάδης ἦλθε, δείσας ὁ χαναράγγης μὴ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐς φῶς ἄγοιτο, χρήματά τε τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐκέλευε διασώζεσθαι ὅπῃ οἱ φεύγοντι δυνατὰ εἴη. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένους ὁ χαναράγγης ἐλάνθανε. [12] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλλεν, ὡς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράφεται. [13] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τούτου δὴ τοῦ χαναράγγου υἱὸς Οὐαρράμης, ἄλλους τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ ὃς αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὸν Καβάδην ξυνεπιστάμενος ἔτυχεν: ἐνταῦθα τῷ βασιλεῖ Οὐαρράμης τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἅπαντα ἔφραζε, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐφ' ἅπασιν οἱ ὁμολογοῦντα παρείχετο. [14] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔγνω, τῷ τε θυμῷ ἤδη ὑπερφυῶς εἶχετο καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίεῖτο εἰ πρὸς δούλου ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα ἔργα πεπονθῶς εἶη, οὐκ ἔχων τε ὅπως οἱ ὑποχείριον τὸν ἄνδρα ποιοίῃ, ἐπενόει τάδε. [15] ἡνίκα ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀναχωρεῖν ἔμελλε, γράφει τῷ χαναράγγῃ τούτῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἶη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβάλλειν, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μέντοι τῆς χώρας εἰσόδῳ, ἀλλὰ δίχα ποιησαμένῳ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα, ὅπως οἱ ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ἐσβολὴ ἔσται. [16] μιᾷ μὲν οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖρα ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξηγήσεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνδιδόναι τῶν αὐτοῦ δούλων ἴσα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμῇ ἔχειν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ χαναράγγῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. [17] δεῖν τοίνυν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ κατὰ τάχος οἱ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως αὐτῷ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπιστέλλοι ὅσα ξυνοίσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλοι, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθε κελεύειν ὁδῷ ἰέναι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ χαναράγγης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, περιχαρὴς γεγρονῶς τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ μακράν τε ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, αὐτίκα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. [19] ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ

ἀντέχειν τῷ πόνῳ οὐδαμῇ ἔχων ἦν γάρ τις γέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα τὸν τε χαλινὸν μεθεὶς τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπίπτει καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐν τῷ σκέλει ὁστέον ἐρράγη· διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐνταῦθα θεραπευομένῳ ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἔς τε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦκοντι ἐς ὧσιν ἦλθε. [20] καὶ αὐτῷ Χοσρόης ἔφασκε ξυστρατεύειν σφίσιν οὕτως ἔχοντι τοῦ ποδὸς ἀδύνατα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἔς τι τῶν ἐκεῖνι φρουρίων ἰόντα τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐνταῦθα τυχεῖν. [21] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθεν εἶποντο οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλον, ἄνδρα ἐν Πέρσαις ἀήττητον στρατηγὸν ὄντα τε καὶ λεγόμενον, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔθνη βαρβάρων στρατεύσας ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ βασιλεῖ παρεστήσατο. [22] τοῦ δὲ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Οὐαρράμης ὁ παῖς τὸ τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀξίωμα ἔσχε. [23] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον εἴτε Καβάδης αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ Ζάμου υἱός, εἴτε τις ἄλλος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Καβάδου ὀνόματος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε· Καβάδῃ μέντοι βασιλεῖ τὴν ὧσιν ἐμφερέστατος ἦν. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφιγνοῶν μὲν, ἅτε δὴ Καβάδου βασιλέως υἱὸν, ζὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Πέρσας τοὺς Χοσρόῃ ἐπαναστάντας ἐγένετο ὧδε. [25] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Μεβόδην ὁ Χοσρόης διεχρήσατο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. τῶν τι σπουδαίων διαχειρίζων, παρόντι τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐπέταττε τὸν Μεβόδην καλεῖν· ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Μεβόδῃ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης διάφορος ὢν· ὃς δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος εὗρισκε μὲν στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους διέποντα, ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς καλοίῃ. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μάλα, ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διάθηται, ἔψεσθαι ὡμολόγει, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθρῳ ἡγμένος ἀπήγγελλε Χοσρόῃ ὡς οὐ βούλοιο Μεβόδης ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤκειν, φάσκων οἱ τινα ἀσχολίαν εἶναι. [27] θυμῷ τοίνυν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος, στείλας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν Μεβόδην ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [28] τρίπους σιδηροῦς πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσαεῖ ἔστηκεν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν τις τῶν Περσῶν πύθεται ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι, τοῦτ' αὖτε οὔτε πῃ ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγεῖν θέμις οὔτε ἀλλαχόσε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦτον καθημένῳ τὸν τρίποδα τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψῆφον, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντος. [29] ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεβόδης ἐν σχήματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθητο ἡμέρας πολλὰς, ἕως τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγείλαντος λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν. ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐς Χοσρόην εὐεργεσίας ἐχώρησεν.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐνέπεσεν, ἥ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακὸν μέγα τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [2] οἱ δῆμοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη ἐς τε Βενέτους ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διήρηντο, οὐ πολλὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τούτων τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν βάθρων ἔνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασιν, τὰ τε χρήματα δαπανῶσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς πικροτάτοις προΐενται καὶ θνήσκουσιν οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ· [3] μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τε ὥς, ἦν καὶ περιέσωνται τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λελεῖνεται αὐτοῖς ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον, αἰκίζομένους δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα

εἶτα ἀπολωλέναι. [4] φύεται μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεστέον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, οὔτε κήδει οὔτε ξυγγενεῖα οὔτε φιλίας θεσμῷ εἶκον, ἣν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οἱ ἐς τὰ χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶεν. [5] μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε θείων οὔτε ἀνθρωπειῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἣν τέ τι ἀσέβημα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' ὅτου οὖν ἀμαρτάνηται ἣν τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκειῶν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες ἴσως κὰν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποιοῦνται, ἣν γε αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ μέλλῃ: οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς συστασιώτας καλοῦσι. [6] μεταλαγχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἀγους τούτου καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμεναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι, καίπερ οὔτε εἰς τὰ θέατρα τὸ παράπαν ἰοῦσαι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ αἰτίῳ ἠγγμένοι: ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλο τι ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ψυχῆς νόσημα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἐκάστω ὧδέ πη ἔχει. [7] Τότε δὲ ἡ ἀρχή, ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφειστήκει ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινὰς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπήγε. ξυμφορήσαντες δὲ καὶ σπείσάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι τοὺς τε ἀγομένους ἀρπάζουσι καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμοτῆριον αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφιᾷσιν ἅπαντας ὅσοι στάσεως ἢ ἐτέρου του ἀλόντες ἀτοπήματος ἐδέδεντο. [8] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρεταί, ὅσοι τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἔπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον ἔφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐπεφέρετο, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίοις γεγεννημένη. [9] καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡ Σοφία τό τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεῦξιππος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προφυλαίων ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως λεγόμενον οἶκον καυθέντα ἐφθάρη, ἐπὶ τούτοις τε ἅμφω αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἡ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. [10] βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἔνιοι καθεῖρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ξύμβολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις ἐκείνη προσαγορεύεται. [11] Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ Καππαδόκης, Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ, Πάμφυλος γένος, βασιλεῖ ἀρεδρος: κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [12] τούτοις ἄτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς γράψαι: φύσεως δὲ ἰσχυρὴ πάντων γέγονε δυνατώτατος ὣν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [13] γινῶναι τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώτατος ἦν καὶ λύσιν τοῖς ἀπόροις εὐρεῖν. πονηρότατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τῇ τῆς φύσεως δυνάμει ἐς τοῦτο ἐχρήτο, καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ λόγος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν αἰδῶς τις ἐσήει, ἀλλὰ βίους τε αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἀπολλύναι κέρδους ἔνεκα καὶ πόλεις ὅλας καθελεῖν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν. [14] χρόνου γοῦν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινὰ ἐκλελάκτικεν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ληιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας, μέθη δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργοις ἀσελγέσιν ἡσχολημένος: [15] κατέχειν δὲ ἑαυτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε βρώματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἑμετον ἥσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς αἰεὶ ἔτοιμος, προῖεσθαι δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἐτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. [16] Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως

μὲν δυνάμει ἐχρήτο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς οἷός τε ἦν κέρδους ἀεὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἡμέρα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν ἀνῆρει, τοὺς δὲ ἔγραφεν, ἀπεμπολῶν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐκάτερον. [17] Ἔως μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρώμασιν ὀνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὣν οὗτοι ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον καὶ περιόντες ἐζήτουν ἐφ' ᾧ κτείνωσι. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐταιρίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ παρέλυσεν. [18] καὶ Φωκᾶν μὲν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἔπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα· Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαιστώρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἔκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνῶριμον ἐν πατρικίοις ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως δόκιμον. [19] οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦσσαν ἢ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἤκμαζε. πέμπτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρα περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ὑπατίῳ τε καὶ Πομπηίῳ τοῖς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασилευκότος ἀδελφιδοῖς οἰκαδε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπέσκηπτεν ἵεναι, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς σῶμα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑποτοπήσας εἴτε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἢ πεπρωμένη ἐς τοῦτο ἦγεν. [20] οἱ δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἔφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσῃν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἐς τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἦκοντα. [21] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλᾳ ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. οὕτω γοῦν οἰκαδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐκομιζέσθην καί, τέως μὲν νύξ ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζετην. [22] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ὡς ἀμφοτέρῳ ἀπηλλαγήτην τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λεῶς ἅπας, βασιλέα τε Ὑπάτιον ἀνηγόρευον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παραληψόμενον τὰ πράγματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦγον. [23] ἡ δὲ Ὑπατίου θυγὴ Μαρία, ξυνετή τε οὔσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἶχετο μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ μεθίει, ἐβόα δὲ ὀλολυγῇ τε χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἅπασιν ἐγκελευομένη, ὡς αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. [24] ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὁμίλου, αὕτη τε οὐχ ἐκούσα μεθῆκε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεῶς οὐτὶ ἐκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἦκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλουν, καὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς οὔτε διάδημα οὔτε τι ἄλλο ὣν δὴ βασιλέα περιβάλλεσθαι νόμος' στρεπτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θέμενοι βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπον. [25] ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ξυνιόντων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντες ἐτύγγανον ἐν τῇ βασιλειῶς αὐλῇ, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐλέγοντο γινῶμαι ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰτέον ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐς παλάτιον· [26] Ὡριγένης δέ, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, παρελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε 'Τὰ μὲν παρόντα ἡμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, πράγματα μὴ οὐχὶ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι οὐχ οἷόν τε. πόλεμος δὲ καὶ βασιλεία τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὠμολόγηται εἶναι. [27] τῶν δὲ δὴ πράξεων αἱ μεγάλαι οὐ βραχύτητι καιροῦ κατορθοῦσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀλλ' εὐβουλία τε λογισμῶν καὶ πόνοις σωμάτων, ἅπερ ἄνθρωποι ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐνδείκνυνται. [28] ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον ἵοιμεν, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μὲν ἀκμῆς τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν στήσεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἐν βραχεὶ διακινδυνεύσομεν χρόνον, τῶν δὲ

ἀποβήσεσθαι μελλόντων ἔνεκα τὴν τύχην ἢ προσκυνήσομεν ἢ μεμψόμεθα πάντως. [29] τὰ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀξύτατα ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται κράτος. ἦν δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ παρόντα διοικησώμεθα, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις παρέσται ἡμῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν παλατίῳ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήσει ὥς τάχιστα ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἡ φυγεῖν. [30] ἀρχὴ γὰρ περιορωμένη καταρρεῖν εἶωθεν, ἀποληγούσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. ἔστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν βασιλεία ἕτερα, Πλακιλλιανᾶι τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμα, ὅθεν χρὴ βασιλέα τόνδε ὀρμώμενον τὸν τε πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν καὶ [31] τὰ ἄλλα διοικήσασθαι ἢ ἄμεινον ἔξει.' Ὠριγένης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὁμιλος ποιεῖν, ὀξύτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα ὦντο ξύμφορον εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε Ὑπάτιος 'χρὴν γὰρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς' τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἦκειν, βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα. [32] Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ἦσαν, πότερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς φυγὴν τρεπομένοις ἄμεινον ἔσται. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ ἐλέγοντο ἐς ἑκάτερα φέροντες. [33] καὶ Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἔλεξε τοιάδε 'Τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐν ἀνδράσι μὴ χρῆναι τολμᾶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνοῦσι νεανιεύεσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἶμαι καιρὸν ἥκιστα ἐφεῖναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ νομιστέον. [34] οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἐς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον ἦκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἄριστον ἢ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὥς ἄριστα θέσθαι. [35] ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν, ἦν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγεται, ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἦκοντι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότῳ τὸ φυγάδι εἶναι οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. [36] μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρὶς, μὴδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βίωην, ἐν ἣ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσερούσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαι σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. [37] χρήματα γὰρ τε πολλὰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ θάλασσα μὲν ἐκείνη, πλοῖα δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβήσεται σοι ἥδιστα ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γὰρ τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἀρέσκει λόγος, ὥς καλὸν ἐντάφιον [38] ἢ βασιλεία ἐστίν.' τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος εἰπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπεγένετο καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἢ ἂν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατοὶ γένοιτο, ἦν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πολεμήσων ἴοι. [39] οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες, οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλὴν ἐτετάχατο, οὔτε τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἠθέλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐκαπαδόκουν ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται. [40] πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μούνδῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τὴν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν δυνατὴν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλῆθος ἐν τε ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένον. [41] Μούνδος δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος, τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνεκύρῃσε βαρβάρους Ἑρούλους ἐπαγαγόμενος κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦκειν. [42] Ὑπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὐδ' ἄρ' ἡ βασιλέα καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασιλείου θρόνον, ὅθεν αἰὲ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τὸν τε ἱππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγῶνα. [43] ἐκ δὲ παλατίου Μούνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξῆι, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ κοχλίας ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου

κυκλοτεροῦς οὔσης ὠνόμασται. [44] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὐθὺ αὐτοῦ τε Ὑπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαινεν, ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸ πλησίον οἴκημα ἦλθεν οὗ δὴ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστίν, ἐβόα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγνύναι οἱ τὴν θύραν ὡς τάχιστα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἴοι. [45] δεδογμένον δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἕως αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νικῶν, ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπαῖειν δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. [46] ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελισάριος ὡς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἰσχυρίζετο σφίσι τὰ πράγματα. [47] νεωτερίζειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίου φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν. ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Χαλκὴν καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προπύλαια ἰέναι. [48] ὁ δὲ δὴ μόλις καὶ οὔτε κινδύνων οὔτε πόνων μεγάλων χωρὶς δι' ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων διεξιὼν ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀναβαίνειν. [49] καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὴν Βενέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἥ τοῦ βασιλέως θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστίν, ἐβούλευσε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν Ὑπάτιον ἰέναι, βραχείας δὲ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα πυλίδος ἥ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς Ὑπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, κατωρρώδησε μὴ οἱ ἐν στενῷ πονομένῳ ὁ δῆμος ξυνεπιθέμενος αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἅπαντας διαφθείραντες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρήσωσι. [50] λογισάμενος οὖν ὥς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἰτέον ἐστίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐστήκεσαν, πλήθει τε ἄμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος ἀράμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπαγγεῖλας, δρόμον τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [51] ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε δὴ ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἰστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἶδον τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρία καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ παίοντας, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [52] κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, γεγεννημένης, πλησίον που ἐστήκως Μοῦνδος καὶ βουλόμενος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἦν γὰρ τις τολμητῆς καὶ δραστήριος, ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἥ χρήσεται τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἔτεκμήρατο ὡς Βελισάριος ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἴη, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον διὰ τῆς εἰσόδου ἥ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. [53] τότε δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ Ὑπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος πλησόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ φόνος ἦν ἥδη τοῦ δήμου πολὺς, Βοραΐδης τε καὶ Ἰουστός, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοί, χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀνταίρειν τολμῶντος, καθεῖλόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Ὑπάτιον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἅμα Πομπήῳ παρέδωκαν. [54] θνήσκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου πλέον ἢ τρισμῦριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι. [55] ἐνταῦθα Πομπήιος μὲν ἐδάκρυνε τε καὶ ἄξια ἐλέου ἐφθέγγετο: ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ κακῶν τοιούτων ἥκιστα ἔμπειρος: Ὑπάτιος δὲ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολουμένους ὀδύρεσθαι. [56] ἀρχὴν τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἐκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκαν τὰ σώματα. [57] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ τὴν γνώμην ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο. [58] ἔπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς Ὑπατίου καὶ Πομπηίου παισὶ τὰ τε ἀξιώματα οἷς πρότερον ἐχρῶντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς

οὐκ ἔτυχε δωρησάμενος. ἐς τότε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις ἐτελεύτα.

Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὕτω παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς κατέστησαν ἄμφω. [2] ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιανὸς μὲν ἔτη πολλὰ ἐπιβιὸς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν. ἦν γὰρ αἰμύλος τε καὶ τᾶλλα ἡδὺς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ νόσημα ἐπισκιάσαι ἱκανώτατος τῆς παιδείας περιουσία. [3] Ἰωάννης δὲ ᾧ πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις βαρὺς τε ὁμοίως καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγὰς τε τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληϊζόμενος· δέκατον ἔτος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομίας ἐξέτισε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [4] Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἤχθητο αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα. καὶ ὅς τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκῶς οἷς ἡμάρτανε, θωπεῖα μὲν αὐτὴν ἡ χάριτι μετελθεῖν ὥς ἡκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλλεν, οὔτε τὴν τύχην ἐρυθριῶν οὔτε τὴν στοργὴν αἰσχυνόμενος ἦν περ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν ἐξαισίαν οἷαν. [5] αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν ποιουμένων κτεῖναι μὲν διενοεῖτο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μηχανῇ δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποιεῖτο πολύν. [6] γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐς αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐν δείμασι μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο. [7] ἐπειδὴν τε ὡς καθευδήσων ἐς τὸν κοιτῶνα ἴοι, τῶν τινα βαρβάρων ἐπιστήσεσθαι οἱ ὡς ἀπολοῦντα ὑπώπτευεν ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην, ὑπερκύπτων τε ἀεὶ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους περισκοπῶν ἄπνους ἔμενε, καί περ ἐταιρισάμενος δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάδας πολλὰς, οὐ γεγονὸς ὑπάρχων τινὶ πρότερον τοῦτο γε. [8] ἀλλ' ἐπιλεησμένος ἅμα ἡμέρα θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων δειμάτων ἀπάντων, ὄλεθρος αὐθις κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο. καὶ φαρμακεῦσι μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ὠμίλει, μαντείαις δὲ ἀσεβέσιν ἐς ἀεὶ χρώμενος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ τερατευομέναις ἀρχὴν, ἀεροβατῶν τε καταφανὴς ἦν καὶ μετέωρος ἀρθεὶς ταῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίσι. [9] τῆς μέντοι πονηρίας αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομίας οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐλώφα οὔτε ὑπέληγε. [10] καὶ τις αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγος τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ που εἰς ἱερὸν ὡς εὐξόμενός τε καὶ διανυκτερεύσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Χριστιανῶν ἡθεσιν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον ἐνδιδυσκόμενος ἱερεῖ πρέπον τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης ἦν νῦν Ἑλληνικὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασι, λόγους οὐχ ὁσίους τινὰς οὐσπερ ἐμεμελετήκει ἀπεστομάτιζεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ὅπως οἱ ἢ τε βασιλέως διάνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑποχειρία εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶν γενοίτο ἀπαθὴς πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [11] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰταλίαν καταστρεψάμενος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ξὺν Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειε. [12] καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐντιμὸς τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιος, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἦν, μόνος δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ πολλῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχετο, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἔχθος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶλκε, Βελισάριος δὲ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν μάλιστα ἔτυχεν· ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τε γενομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδος αὐθις ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσε, τὴν γυναικα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀπολιπών. [13] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ ἦν γὰρ ἱκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἀμήχανά χαριεῖσθαι τῇ βασιλίδι βουλευσαμένη ἐπενόει τοιαῦδε. ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ θυγάτηρ Εὐφημία,

δόξαν μὲν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ πολλὴν ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λίαν εὐάλωτος, ἦν δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μόνῃς αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει πατήρ. [14] ταύτην ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τιθασσεύουσα ἐς ἡμέρας συχνὰς προσποιήσασθαι τε ἅτε φίλην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἴσχυσε καὶ τῶν αὐτῇ ἀπορρήτων μεταδιδόναι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [15] καὶ ποτε αὐτῆς οἱ μόνῃς ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παρούσης ὁδύρεσθαι τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐπλάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ Βελισάριος εὐρυτέραν ποιησάμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πλείονι μέτρῳ ἢ πρότερον οὔσα ἐτύγγανε, βασιλεῖς τε δορυαλώτους δύο καὶ πλούτου τοσοῦτόν τι χρήμα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγών, ἀχαρίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτυχε: τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς οὐ δικαίαν οὔσαν τὴν πολιτείαν διέβαλλε. [16] περιχαρὴς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ γενομένη ἡ Εὐφημία 'δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἀρχῇ ἡχθετὸ 'Καὶ τοῦδε μέντοι, ὦ φιλτάτη,' ἔφη, 'ὕμεις αἵτιοι, ὅτι δὴ παρὸν ὑμῖν [17] τῇ δυνάμει οὐ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι.' ὑπολαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα 'Οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τέ ἐσμεν, ὦ θύγατερ,' εἶπεν, 'ἐν στρατοπέδῳ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν, ἦν μὴ τοῦ ἔργου ζυνεπιλάβωνται ἡμῖν τῶν ἐνδον τινές: ἀλλ' εἴπερ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἠθελε, ῥᾶστα ἂν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν καθιστάμενοι ὅσα ἦν τῷ [18] θεῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπράσσομεν.' ἀκούσασα ταῦτα Εὐφημία προθύμως μὲν ὑπέσχετο ἐπιτελῇ ἔσσεσθαι, ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ ἐνθένδε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐθὺς ἦνεγκε. [19] καὶ ὅς τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεῖς 'ταύτην γὰρ οἱ ὁδὸν ἔς τε τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπετόπαζε φέρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν' εὐθὺς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὠμολόγησε, πράσσειν τε τὴν παιδα ἐκέλευεν ὅπως τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς λόγους τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ αὐτὸς ζυμμίξῃ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοίῃ. [20] μαθοῦσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν Ἰωάννου γνώμην καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐννοίας ἐθέλουσα, νῦν μὲν ἔφη οἱ ζυγγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, μὴ τις ὑποψία μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένη διακωλῶσαι τὰ πρασσόμενα ἱκανὴ εἴη: μέλλειν δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν ἔω παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. [21] ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγεῖσα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ γένηται 'ὁ δὴ Ῥουφινιανὰ μὲν ὀνομάζεται, Βελισαρίου δὲ ἴδιον ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ προπέμψοντα ἤκειν, καὶ τοὺς τε λόγους περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα εὐ τε τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἶπεῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμέρα τακτὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει διώριστο. [22] ἥ τε βασιλὶς τὸν πάντα λόγον παρὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης ἀκούσασα ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἐγκελευομένη δὲ πολλῶν ἔπι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνήγεν. [23] Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ κυρία παρῆν, ἀσπασαμένη μὲν ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν βασιλίδι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηλλάσσετο, ἐν τε Ῥουφινιανᾷς ἐγένετο, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω ὁδοῦ ἀρξομένη, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελέσων ἐς νύκτα ἦλθεν. [24] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι πρασσόμενα, Ναρσὴν τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Μάρκελλον τὸν τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἄρχοντα ἐς Ῥουφινιανὰς ζὺν στρατιώταις πολλοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ διερευνησάμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἦν τὸν Ἰωάννην πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχειροῦντα εὐρήσῃ, κτείναντες εὐθὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπανήξουσι. [25] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦτοφ' ἐστέλλοντο. φασὶ δὲ βασιλεῶν τῶν ποιουμένων αἰσθόμενον τῶν τινα Ἰωάννη ἐπιτηδεῖων παρ' αὐτὸν πέμψαι, ἀπεροῦντα αὐτῷ μηδαμῇ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ἐντυχεῖν λάθρα. [26] Ἰωάννης δὲ 'χρῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κακῶς' τὴν βασιλέως

ὑποθήκην ἐν ἀλογία πεποιημένους, ἀμφὶ νύκτα μέσῃν τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ξυνέμιξεν αἵμασιδς πού τινος ἄγχιστα, ἧς δὴ ὀπισθεν καθίσασα ἐτύγχανε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ Μάρκελλον, ὅπως τῶν λεγομένων ἀκούσειαν. [27] ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης μὲν ἀφυλάκτῳ στόματι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιθέσιν ὠμολόγει τε καὶ ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις ἀπισχυρίζετο, Ναρσῆς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστησαν. [28] θορύβου δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένου οἱ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δορυφόροι ἄγχιστα γάρ πη ἐστήκεσαν παρ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο. [29] καὶ αὐτῶν τις Μάρκελλον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, ξίφει ἐπληξεν, οὕτω τε Ἰωάννης διαφυγεῖν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἴσχυσεν ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. [30] καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλθεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἐθάρσησεν, οἶμαι ἂν, οὐδὲν ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι· νῦν δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν δέδωκε τῇ βασιλίδι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι. [31] Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐπάρχων ιδιώτης γενόμενος ἐς ἕτερον ἐνθένδε ἀναστὰς ἐκομίσθη, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ προαστείῳ Κυζίκου πόλεως ἴδρυται, — Ἀρτάκην καλοῦσι Κυζικηνοὶ τὸ προάστειον. ἐνταῦθα ἱερέως οὐ τι ἐκούσιος περιβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐκ ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτερον νενομίκασιν. [32] ὁ δὲ ἱεουργεῖν ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ὡς μὴ ποτε αὐτῷ ἐμπόδιον εἴη ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐθις ἰέναι· τῶν γὰρ ἐλπίδων μεθίεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα εὐθὺς γέγονεν. [33] ὢν δὴ αὐτῷ μοῖραν βασιλεὺς πολλὴν ἤφιει· [34] ἔτι γὰρ τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν φειδοῖ εἵχετο. ἐνταῦθα παρῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἀφροντιστήσαντι μὲν κινδύνων ἀπάντων, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένῳ μεγάλα, ὅσα τε αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανε κρύψας καὶ ὅσα βασιλέως γνώμῃ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμεινε, τρυφᾷν τε κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἡγεῖσθαι λογισμῷ σώφρονι εὐδαίμονα εἶναι. [35] διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἤχθοντο, ὅτι δὴ πονηρότατος γεγονῶς δαιμόνων ἀπάντων, βίον παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὐδαιμονέστερον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. [36] ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, οἶμαι, οὐκ ἠνεγκεν ἐς τοῦτο τὴν τίσιν Ἰωάννῃ ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐπὶ μέγα τε αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν ἐξηρτύετο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. [37] Ἦν τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα, χαλεπὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Ἰωάννου οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν· τοῦτον Κυζικηνοὶ βασιλεῖ διαβάλλοντες ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. [38] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦνυον, δυνάμει αὐτοὺς περιελθόντος Εὐσεβίου πολλῇ, ξυμφρονήσαντες νεανῖαι τινὲς ἐν τῇ Κυζίκου ἀγορᾷ κτείνουσιν. [39] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης τῷ Εὐσεβίῳ διάφορος γεγονῶς μάλιστα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποψία ἐς αὐτὸν ἦλθε. [40] στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες διερευνησόμενοι τὸ μῖasma τοῦτο· οἱ δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην πρῶτα μὲν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄνδρα ἔπαρχον μὲν δυνατὸν οὕτω γενόμενον, ἐς πατρικίους δὲ ἀναγραφέντα καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον, οὗ μεῖζον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ, ἔστησάν τε γυμνόν, ἅτε ληστήν τινα ἢ λωποδύτην, καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς εἰπεῖν τὰ βεβιωμένα ἠνάγκαζον. [41] καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐσεβίου φόνου αἵτιος Ἰωάννης οὐ λίαν ἐξελέλεγκτο, ἐφ' οἷον μέντοι ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη ποινὰς αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσπραττομένη. [42] ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελόμενοι γυμνὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασαν, ἱμάτιον ἓν, καὶ τοῦτο τραχὺ κομιδῇ, ἀμπεχόμενον, ὀβολῶν ὠνηθὲν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἱ τε αὐτὸν παραπέμποντες ὅπῃ ἂν ἢ ναὺς ὀρμισθεῖν ἐκέλευον ἄρτον ἢ ὀβολοὺς ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων αἰτεῖσθαι. [43] οὕτω τε

πτωχεύων πανταχόθι τῆς πορείας τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν Ἀντινόου κομίζεται. καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ἔτος αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα καθεύρξαντες τηροῦσιν. [44] ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἐν τοιοῦτοις γεγινώς πάθειεν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων τινάς, ἅτε τῷ δημοσίῳ χρυσίον ὀφείλοντας, διαβαλεῖν ἔγνω. Ἰωάννην μὲν οὖν τὸν Καππαδόκην δέκα ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον αὕτη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις.

Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν τε τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐθις Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐς Λιβύην πέμψας τὴν χώραν ἔσχεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λελέξεται λόγοις. [2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἔς τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἦλθε, δεινῶς ἥσχαλλον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοις μετέμελεν ἤδη, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν ἤσθοντο. [3] πέμψας τε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις, ζηγγαίρειν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε, καὶ τὸ μέρος λαβεῖν ξὺν γέλῳτι δῆθεν τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης λαφύρων ἡξίου, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε Βανδύλων τῷ πολέμῳ περιέσεσθαι ἴσχυεν, [4] εἰ μὴ αὐτῷ Πέρσαι ἐσπείσαντο. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς χρήμασι δωρησάμενος, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο. [5] Ἐν δὲ πόλει Δάρας τοιόνδε τι ξυνέβη γενέσθαι. Ἰωάννης τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος πεζῶν: οὗτος οὐχ ἀπάντων οἱ ξυμφρονούντων στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων τινῶν, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν. [6] Ἐν τε παλατίῳ καθήμενος ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκρατύνετο ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. [7] καὶ εἰ μὴ Πέρσας ἔχεσθαι εἰρήνης ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη, ἀνήκεστα ἂν ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐγγένοιε κακά. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν φθάσασα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἡ ζύμβασις. [8] ἡμέρα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τετάρτη ξυμφρονήσαντες στρατιῶται γνώμη Μάμαντός τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱερέως καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν δοκίμων τινὸς πολιτῶν, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον μεσημβρίας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνέβησαν, κρύψας ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ξιφίδιον. [9] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ θύρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐρόντες ὀλίγους τινάς εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα ἐσβάντες τοῦ τυράννου ἤπτοντο: τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸ πρῶτους εἰργάσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μελλόντων τε ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ καὶ κατωρρωδηκότων τὸν κίνδυνον, τῶν τινα ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντα ἐσπηδῆσαι τε ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐντυχόντα ἀπροσδοκῆτως παῖσαι. [10] καὶ τὸν οὐ πληγέντα μὲν καιρίαν πληγὴν, ξὺν θορύβῳ δὲ πολλῷ φεύγοντα, ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμπεσεῖν ἄφνω. [11] οὕτω τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοὺς ἀψαμένους πῦρ μὲν αὐτίκα τῷ παλατίῳ ὑφάψαντας καῦσαι, ὥς μὴ τις ἐλπίς ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῖς τὰ νεώτερα πράγματα πράσσουνσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγαγόντας δῆσαι. [12] καὶ αὐτῶν τινα δεῖσαντα μὴ οἱ στρατιῶται περιεῖναι τὸν τύραννον γνόντες πράγματα τῇ πόλει αὐθις παράσχονται, κτεῖναι τε τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ταραχὴν παῦσαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τυραννίδι τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

BOOK II.

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

Χρόνος δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν ὡς καὶ Ἰταλίαν Βελισάριος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ προσποιεῖν ἤρξατο, οὐκέτι κατέχειν οἶός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σκήψεις ἐπινόειν ἤθελεν ὅπως δὴ λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσειεν. [2] ὑπὲρ ὧν κοινολογησάμενος Αλαμουνδάρῳ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ξυμπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. [3] ὁ δὲ Ἀρέθᾱ ἐπικαλέσας ὅτι αὐτὸν περὶ γῆς ὁρίων βιάζοιτο, ἐς χειράς τε αὐτῷ ἐν σπονδαῖς ἦλθε καὶ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σκῆψει καταθεῖν ἤρξατο. [4] ἔφασκέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς οὐ λύει τὰς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων σπονδὰς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐς ταύτας οὐδέτεροι ἐσεγράψαντο. [5] καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε Σαρακηνῶν λόγος ἐν σπονδαῖς γέγονεν, ἅτε ξυνεχομένων τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι. [6] αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἣ δὴ πρὸς ἐκατέρων τότε Σαρακηνῶν ἀντελέγετο, Στράτα μὲν κέκληται, Παλμύρας δὲ πόλεως πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τέτραπται, δένδρον μὲν ἣ τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ληίοις ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῇ φέρουσα ἡλιοκαυστος γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστί, προβάτων δέ τιςιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνειμένη νομαῖς. [7] Ἀρέθας μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι τὸν χώρον, τῷ τε ὀνόματι τεκμηριούμενος οὗ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ἄνωθεν ἔτυχε Στράτα γὰρ ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς τῇ Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ καὶ μαρτυρίαις παλαιοτάτων ἀνδρῶν χρώμενος. [8] Αλαμούνδαρος δὲ φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἦκιστα ἐδικαίου, μισθοὺς δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα νομοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔφασκε τοὺς τὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένους διδόναι. [9] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Στρατηγίῳ τε πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν ἄρχοντι, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετῷ καὶ εὐπατρίδῃ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Σούμμῳ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἡγήσαμένῳ, τὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἐπέτρεψε δίαιταν. [10] ὁ δὲ Σοῦμμος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἦν, ὃς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐς Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπρέσβευσε. [11] καὶ αὐτοῖν ἄτερος μὲν, Σοῦμμος, μὴ χρῆναι Ῥωμαίους καταπροΐεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἡξίου, Στρατήγιος δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο μὴ χώρας τινὸς ἔνεκα βραχείας τε καὶ ὡς ἦκιστα λόγου ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἀγόνου τε καὶ ἀκάρπου παντάπασιν οὔσης, Πέρσαις πολεμῆσαι οὐ σκῆψεις τοῦ πολέμου χαρίζεσθαι: βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς ταῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ χρόνος πολὺς ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη. [12] Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔφασκε, πολλὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδειξαμένου, οἷς δὴ ἐταιρίζεσθαι Αλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐνεχείρησε. [13] Σοῦμμος γὰρ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ διαίτῃ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντα ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ προσχωρήσει Ῥωμαίοις, γράμματά τε προΐσχετο ἃ δὴ πρὸς Αλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. [14] καὶ πρὸς Οὐννων δὲ τινὰς ἰσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι, ἐγκελευομένην αὐτοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνη χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δὴ οἱ τοὺς Οὐννους αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν ἐγχειρίσαι ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντας. [15] ταῦτα μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο. εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντί οἱ ἀληθίζεσθαι ξυνέβαιεν, οὐκ ἔχω

εἶπεῖν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίτιγισ, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος, ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένος, πρέσβεις δύο παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀναπέισοντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγγέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Λιγούρους ἱερεῖς, χρήμασιν ἀδροῖς ἐς ταύτην ἡγμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν. [2] ὢν ἄτερος μὲν ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, δόκησίν τε καὶ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου περιβεβλημένος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν εἶπετο. [3] ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἐταιρίζονται τινα ἐνθένδε Σύρας τε καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς ἐρμηνέα σφίσιν ἐσόμενον, ἅπαντάς τε Ῥωμαίους λαθόντες ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφίκοντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν σπονδαῖς καθεστῶτες οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταύτη ἐφύλασσον. [4] Χοσρόου τε ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· 'Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πρέσβεις τῶν αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα ξυμφόρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυμβαίνει ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστασθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ Οὐίτιγισ ὁ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ποιησομένους ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν νόμιζε παρόντα σοι τανῦν φθέγγεσθαι τάδε. [5] εἴ τίς σε, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ξυνελὼν φαίη τὴν τε σὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπους Ἰουστινιανῷ προέσθαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἶποι. [6] ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεωτεροποιός τε ὢν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδ' ὁπωσιτοῦν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἐρῶν, μένειν τε οὐ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι, γῆν μὲν ἅπασαν ξυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἐκάστην δὲ ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν. [7] εἴτα 'οὐδὲ γὰρ Πέρσαις κατὰ μόνας ἐγγχειρεῖν ἴσχυεν οὐδὲ Περσῶν οἱ ἀντιστατούντων οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἰέναι σὲ μὲν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης παραπετάσματι ἐξαπατᾶν ἔγνω, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βιαζόμενος μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ἐταιρίζεσθαι. [8] Βανδύλων μὲν οὖν ἤδη καθελὼν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους καταστρεψάμενος, Γότθων αὐτῷ φιλίας ὀνόματι ἐκποδῶν ἱσταμένων, χρήματά τε μεγάλα καὶ σώματα πολλὰ ἐπαγόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦκει. [9] ἐνδηλος δέ ἐστιν, ἦν καὶ Γότθους παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν δύνηται, ὥς ξὺν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἤδη δεδουλωμένοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσει, οὔτε τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐννοῶν ὄνομα οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων ἐρυθριῶν. [10] ἔως οὖν ἔτι σοι λείπεται τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ κακὸν περαιτέρω μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸς πάθῃς, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ὅσα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ξυμβήσεται Πέρσαις, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εὖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶεν, δυνάμει δὲ κρείσσους γενόμενοι οὐδὲν μελλήσουσι τὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἔχθος ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [11] ἐν δέοντι τοίνυν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρῆσαι, μὴ παυσαμένην ἐπιζητήσης. λωφήσασα γὰρ ἢ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκμὴ ἐπανίεναι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκεν. ἄμεινον δὲ προτερήσαντα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι ἢ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερηκότα τὰ πάντων αἰσχροτάτα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν.' [12] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, εὖ τέ οἱ παραινεῖν Οὐίτιγισ ἔδοξε καὶ λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, λογίζεσθαι ὥς ἥκιστα ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δυσμενῶν μάλιστα οἱ λόγοι ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιντο. [13] ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἐς τὸ πεισθῆναι αὐτόμολος ἦλθεν. ὁ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν λόγους ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἔδρασεν ἅπερ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα λελέξεται. [14] καίτοι τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα,

ἄπερ ἂν εἰκότως βασιλεῖ γενναίῳ ἐγκώμια εἶη, ὅτι δὴ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μείζω τε ποιῆσαι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι. [15] ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Κύρῳ ἂν τις ἐπενέγκοι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε ξυνοικίζεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διανοεῖτο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι τοιόνδε ξυνέβη. Συμεώνης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδούς, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πείθει, ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, κώμας αὐτὸν τισιν ἀνδρῶν Ἀρμενίων δωρήσασθαι. [2] κύριός τε τῶν χωρίων γενόμενος πρὸς τῶν αὐτὰ πάλαι κεκτημένων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θνήσκει. [3] ἐξειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ τοῦ φόνου αὐτουργοὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη. ἀδελφῷ δὲ ἦσθην δύο Περόζου παῖδε. βασιλεὺς τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας τὰς τε κώμας Ἀμαζάσπην παραδίδωσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφιδῷ καὶ ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν. [4] τοῦτον τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τις ἐπιτηδείων διέβαλλεν, Ἀκάκιος ὄνομα, κακουργεῖν τε ἐς Ἀρμενίους καὶ βούλεσθαι Πέρσαις ἐνδοῦναι Θεοδοσιούπολιν τε καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πολίσματα. [5] ταῦτα εἰπὼν γνώμῃ βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν αὐτός. [6] πονηρὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὃ τι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὁμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [7] τὰ τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐλήλιζετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ φόρου αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὐποτε οὔσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ ἔφεριν γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν οἰοί τε ἦσαν κτείνουσι τε ξυμφρονήσαντες τὸν Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Φαράγγιον καταφεύγουσι. [8] Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Σίττας διέτριβεν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί. [9] ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐλθὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀκνηρῶς ἦει, τιθασσεύειν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦθη ἀντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπείγετο, πείθειν βασιλέα ὑποσχόμενος ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς τῆς μελλήσεως πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, ἡγμένος ταῖς Ἀδολίου διαβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκακίου παιδός, ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ὁ Σίττας τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. [11] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποσχέσεσι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναπείθειν τε καὶ ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ῥάων τε καὶ ἀπονωτέρα ἢ ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπικράτησις γένοιτο. [12] καὶ οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν καλουμένων γένος, μέγα τε ὄν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, [13] προσχωρεῖν ἠθέλε. πέμψαντές τε παρὰ τὸν Σίτταν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐδέοντο διδόναι τὰ πιστὰ σφίσιν, ὅτι δὴ, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἀπολιπόντες ἥξωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων παράταξιν, κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. [14] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄσμενός τε γράψας ἐν βιβλιδίῳ καθάπερ ἐδέοντο τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ γράμμα κατασημνηάμενος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [15] θαρσῶν τε ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἀμαχητὶ τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσῃ, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς χωρίον Οἰνοχαλάκων ἦει, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ξυνέβαινε. [16] τύχῃ δέ τινα οἱ τὸ βιβλίον ἔχοντες ἐτέρᾳ ἰόντες ὁδῷ Ἀσπετιανοῖς ἐντυχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν. [17] μοῖρα μέντοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ὡς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο. [18] καὶ αὐτὸς Σίττας ἐν

σπιλαίῳ που παῖδάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν, ἢ τὸ γεγονός οὐ
ξυνιείς ἢ δι' ὀργῆς Ἀσπετιανούς ἔχων, ὅτι οἱ καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο οὐ
προσεχώρουν. [19] Οἱ δὲ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενοι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὡς ἐς
μάχην ἐτάξαντο. ἅτε δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίαις χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ κρημνῶδεσιν ἐκάτεροι
ὄντες οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ διασκεδαννύμενοι ἐν τε ὑπωρείαις καὶ
φάραξι. τετύχηκεν οὖν τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ Σίτταν τῶν
ἐπομένων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα ἀλλήλων πη ἄγχιστα ἰέναι, φάραγος σφίσι
τινὸς μεταξὺ οὔσης. [20] ἱππεῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἐκάτεροι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίττας, ὀλίγων οἱ
ἐπισπομένων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν φάραγγα διαβάς ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ
ὀπίσω ὑποχωρήσαντες ἔστησαν, καὶ ὁ Σίττας οὐκέτι ἐδίωκεν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ
ἔμενεν. [21] ἄφνω δὲ τις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, Ἑρουλος γένος, διώξιν ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιημένος ἐνθὲνδε τε ξὺν θυμῷ ἀπελαύνων, παρὰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ
τὸν Σίτταν ἦλθεν. ἐτύγγανε δὲ ὁ Σίττας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ δόρυ ἐρείσας· ὁ δὲ ὁ
τοῦ Ἑρούλου ἵππος ἐπιπεσὼν ξὺν πολλῇ ῥύμῃ κατέαξε. [22] τὸν τε στρατηγὸν
τοῦτο ἠνίασεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων ἰδὼν ἔγνω τε καὶ
Σίτταν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ξυνέβαινε γάρ οἱ ἐν τῇ
κεφαλῇ κράνος οὐκ εἶναι. διὸ δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαθε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν
ἐνταῦθα ἦκων. [23] Σίττας μὲν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου λέγοντος ἤκουσε
καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, οἱ ἀποκαυλισθὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο, σπασάμενος
τὸ ξίφος τὴν φάραγγα διαβαίνειν εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησεν. [24] οἱ δὲ πολέμοι σπουδῇ
πολλῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνον, καὶ τις αὐτὸν καταλαβὼν ἐν τῇ φάραγγι ξίφει ἐς
ἄκραν κεφαλὴν ἔτυψε πληγῇ ἐγκαρσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν βρέγμα ὅλον ἀφείλετο, [25]
τοῦ δὲ ὀστέου ὁ σίδηρος οὐδαμῇ ἤψατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σίττας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ
πρότερον πρόσω ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρσακίδης ὀπισθεν
ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παίσας τῷ δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. [26] οὕτω τε ὁ Σίττας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἠφάνιστο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἀναξίως τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους αἰεὶ
πεπραγμένων, ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα ἐς ἄγαν καλὸς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ
πολέμια, στρατηγός τε ἄριστος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [27] τινὲς δὲ
φασὶ τὸν Σίτταν οὐ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνα, λίαν
ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, τὸν ἀνθρώπον διαχρήσασθαι. [28] Τελευτήσαντος
δὲ Σίττα Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι· ὃς ἐπεὶ
ἄγχιστά που ἐγένετο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε καταλλάξειν Ἀρμενίους
ὑποσχόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἀξίων τῶν
δοκίμων τινάς. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι οὔτε πιστεύειν τῷ Βούζῃ εἶχον οὔτε τοὺς
λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἤθελον. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῷ μάλιστα φίλος ἀνὴρ
Ἀρσακίδης, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Ἀρταβάνου πατήρ, ὃς δὴ τῷ Βούζῃ τότε ἅτε
φίλῳ θαρσύνσας ξὺν τε Βασσάκῃ τῷ κηδεστῇ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ'
αὐτὸν ἦλθεν· οἱ δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ αὐλισθέντες ἔνθα τῷ Βούζῃ τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντυχεῖν ἔμελλον, ἦσθοντο ἐς κύκλωσιν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ
ἦκοντες. [30] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰωάννην Βασσάκης ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐλιπάρει
δρασμοῦ ἔχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πείθειν οὐκ εἶχε, μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταλιπὼν,
ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν λαθὼν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀπίσω αὐθις
ἀπήλαυνε. [31] Βούζης τε τὸν Ἰωάννην μόνον εὐρὼν ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε
τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἀρμένιοι ξυμβάσεως περὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες οὔτε

βασιλέα τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπεραίρειν οἷοι τε ὄντες παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἦλθον, Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, δραστηρίου ἀνδρός. [32] ὧν τότε οἱ πρῶτοι Χοσρόη ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε ‘Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὧ δέσποτα, ἐκείνου Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονοι ὃς δὴ οὔτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὧν, ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Πάρθοις ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανὴς γέγονε τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [33] πάρεσμεν δὲ τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες δοῦλοί τε καὶ δραπέται γεγεννημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ἡναγκασμένοι ὥς μάλιστα, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ὑπὸ σῆς, [34] ὃ βασιλεῦ, γνώμης· εἴπερ ὁ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς ἀδικεῖν βουλομένοις διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἂν φέροιτο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἔργων δικαίως. εἰρήσεται δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅπως δὴ ἅπασι παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυνήσεσθε. [35] Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τὰ τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ’ ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται. [36] καὶ διεσώσαμεθα τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἕως ὑμεῖς ταύτας πεποιήσθε τὰς διαβοήτους σπονδάς, ἃς δὴ κοινόν τινα ὄλεθρον καλῶν τις, οἰόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι. [37] φίλων τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμίων τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφροντιστήσας, ἅπαντα ξυνέχεε τε καὶ ξυνετάραξε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὁ σός, ὃ βασιλεῦ, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν φίλος, [38] ἔργῳ δὲ δυσμενής. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εἴσῃ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τοὺς ἐσπερίους οἶός τε ἦ παντάπασι καταστρέψασθαι. τί γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἀπειρημένων οὐκ ἔπραξεν; ἦ τί οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων; [39] οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, καὶ Τζάνους τοὺς ὁμόρους ἡμῖν αὐτονόμους ὄντας δεδούλωται, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν ἀθλίων Λαζῶν ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐπέστησε; πρᾶγμα οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ξυμβαῖνον οὔτε λόγῳ ῥάδιον ἐρμηνεύεσθαι. [40] οὐ Βοσπορίταις μὲν τοῖς Οὐννων κατηκόις στρατηγούς ἔπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσεποιήσατο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ πεποιήται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἀρχάς, ὧν καὶ ἀνήκοοι τὸ παράπαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγχανον ὄντες; [41] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀμηρίτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται καὶ τὸν φοινικῶνα προστίθῃσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [42] ἀφίεμεν γὰρ λέγειν τὰ Λιβύων τε καὶ Ἰταλῶν πάθῃ. ἡ γῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. [43] ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν διερευνᾶται μυχύς, ἄλλην αὐτῷ τινα οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος. [44] τί οὖν ἔτι, ὃ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις; τί δὲ τὴν κάκιστα ἀπολουμένην εἰρήνην αἰσχύνη, ὅπως δηλαδὴ σε ὑστάτην ποιήσεται βρῶσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων; [45] εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ σοι βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὁποῖός τις ἂν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐς τοὺς αὐτῷ εἰκοντας γένοιτο, ἐγγύθεν σοι τὸ παράδειγμα παρ’ ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Λαζῶν: [46] εἰ δέ, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴωθε τοῖς τε ἀγνώσι καὶ οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν ἡδικηκόσι χρῆσθαι, Βανδύλους τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ Μαυρουσίους διαλογίζου. [47] τό τε δὴ κεφάλαιον οὐπὼ λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἀλαμούνδαρον μὲν ἐν σπονδαῖς τὸν σόν, ὃ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, δοῦλον ἀπάτῃ τε περιελθεῖν καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστήσαι τῆς σῆς ἔργον πεποιήται, Οὐννους δὲ τοὺς οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς

σοῖς ἔναγχος ἐταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε; καίτοι πράξις ἀτοπωτέρα ταύτης οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου. [48] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦσθετο, οἶμαι, εἰς πέρας αὐτῷ ὅσον οὐπὼ ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐσπερίων καταστροφὴν, τοὺς ἐφους ἤδη μετελθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐγκεχειρήκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον ἀπολέλειπται αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα τὸ Περσῶν κράτος. [49] ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρήνη τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἤδη σοι λέλυται, καὶ σπονδαῖς αὐτὸς πέρας ταῖς ἀπεράντοις ἐπέθηκε. [50] λύουσι γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐχ οἱ ἂν ἐν ὅπλοις γένοιτο πρῶτοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐν σπονδαῖς τοῖς πέλας ἀλοῖεν. [51] τὸ γὰρ ἐγκλημα τῷ ἐγκεχειρηκότι, κἂν ἀπῇ τὸ κατορθοῦν, πέπρακται. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος χωρήσει παντὶ που δῆλον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ τὰς αἰτίας τῷ πολέμῳ παρασχόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς παρασχομένους αὐτὰς ἀμνύμενοι, κρατεῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων εἰώθασιν. [52] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πλείστους πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιαῖς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ἄριστοι ἦσαν, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν Σίτταν κτείναντες ἤκομεν, Βελισάριον δὲ οὐποτε Ἰουστινιανὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεται. οὐπερ ἐκεῖνος ὀλιγορήσας μεμένηκε πρὸς ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς, [53] αὐτὸς ἔχων τὸ Ἰταλῶν κράτος. ὥστε σοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντι ἀπαντήσῃ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς, ἔξεις δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοία τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ χωρίων ἐμπειρία πολλῇ τῷ σῶ στρατῷ ἐξηγουμένους.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, [54] ἦσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκεν ἃ τε Οὐίτιγῖς ἔγραψε καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προῦθηκεν. [55] ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν μὲν γνῶμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, τέλος δὲ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [56] ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπωρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [57] οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπώπτευν, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύσειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς ᾤοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν ταῦτα ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην.

Τότε καὶ ὁ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐφάνη, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅσον εὐμήκης ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ μείζων. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πέρας πρὸς δύοντα ἡλίον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἦν, [2] αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὀπισθεν εἶπετο. ὁ μὲν. γὰρ ἐν αἰγοκέρῳ ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότη. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκάλουν ξιφίαν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπιμήκης τε ἦν καὶ λίαν ὀξεῖαν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ πωγωνίαν, ἡμέρας τε πλείους ἢ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφάνη. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σοφοὶ ἀλλήλοις ὥς ἥκιστα ὁμολογοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλα προῦλεγον πρὸς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀστέρος σημαίνεσθαι: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη γράφων δίδωμι ἐκάστῳ τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἢ βούλοιο. [4] μέγα μὲν εὐθὺς στράτευμα Οὐννικόν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ἐπέσκηψαν, γεγονὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἤδη, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ ἢ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὸν πώποτε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ κόλπου γὰρ τοῦ Ἰονίου οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς ἐλήισαντο μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια. [5] καὶ φρούρια μὲν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς εἶλον, πόλιν δὲ τὴν Κασσάνδρειαν κατεστρέψαντο βίᾳ ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἐκάλουν,

ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πρότερον. [6] καὶ τὰ τε χρήματα ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτων τε μυριάδας δυοκαίδεκα ἀπαγόμενοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐναντιώματος ἀπαντήσαντος. [7] χρόνῳ τε τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἀνῆκεστα ἐς Ῥωμαίους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. [8] οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τειχομαχήσαντες, βιασάμενοι τε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ῥοθίου τὸν περίβολον ὑπερβάντες ὃς πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ μέλανι καλουμένῳ ἐστίν, οὕτω τε ἐντὸς τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιτεσόντες, ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν σχεδὸν ἅπαντας. [9] ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ τε καὶ Ἀβύδου πορθμόν, ληισάμενοι τε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία καὶ αὖθις ἐς Χερρόνησον ἀναστρέψαντες, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [10] ἐν ἐτέρᾳ τε εἰσβολῇ τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ληισάμενοι, τειχομαχεῖν μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι φρουρῶν καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων διερευνώμενοι τὰς περιόδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὖρον ἢ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. [11] οὕτω τε σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἑλλήνας πλὴν Πελοποννησίων διεργασάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν. [12] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες ἔργα Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐφ' οὓς εἰργάσαντο ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δηλώσω. [13] Βελισάριος ἐπεὶ τῶν Γόθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλέα Οὐίτιγιν καθελὼν ζῶντα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦνεγκεν. ὅπως δὲ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [14] ἠνίκα Χοσρόου πολεμῆσειντος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἦσθετο, παραίνεσίν τε ποιεῖσθαι τινα καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἤθελεν. [15] ἐτύγχανε δέ τις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, Ἀναστάσιος ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει ἔχων, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐν Δάρας ἐναγχοῦς γενομένην τυραννίδα καταλελύκει. [16] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀναστάσιον παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεμψε γράμματα γράψας: [17] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε ἔϋνετῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἱκανῶς ἦσκηται πολέμου φουομένας αἰτίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τὰ μάλιστα φίλους, σθένει παντὶ ἀποτέμενεσθαι: ἀξυνέτων δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα ποιουμένων πολέμια μάχης τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἀφορμὰς οὐδαμῇ οὕσας ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι. [18] εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ καταλύσασιν ἐς πόλεμον ἰέναι οὐδὲν πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις εὐκολα τίθεσθαι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων νενόμικε φύσις. [19] πόλεμον δὲ κατὰ γνώμην διαθεμένοις αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χωρεῖν ἀνθρώποις οἶμαι οὐ ῥάδιον εἶναι. [20] καίτοι σὺ μὲν ἡμῖν γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίτηδες γεγραμμένα ἐπικαλεῖς, ταῦτά τε γνώμῃ αὐτονόμῳ τανῦν ἐρμηνεύειν ἐσπούδακας, οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς διανοηθέντες γεγράφαμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ σοὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς παραπετάσματος ἐφιεμένῳ ξυνοίσειν δοκεῖ. [21] ἡμῖν δὲ πάρεστιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον δεικνύναι τὸν σὸν γῆν ἐναγχος καταδραμόντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔργα ἐν σπονδαῖς διαπεπρᾶχθαι ἀνῆκεστα, χωρίων ἀλώσεις, χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς, ἀνθρώπων φόνους τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τοσοούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν σε οὐκ αἰτιάσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι δεήσει. [22] τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡδικηκότων ἐγκλήματα αἰ πράξεις, οὐχ αἰ διάνοιαι, δηλοῦσι τοῖς πέλας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἡμεῖς μὲν

ἔχεισθαι καὶ ὥς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγνώκαμεν, σὲ δὲ πολεμῆσειοντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούομεν ἀναπλάττειν αἰτίας οὐδαμόθεν ἡμῖν προσηκούσας. [23] εἰκότως: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ παρόντα περιστέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες καὶ σφόδρα ἐγκειμένας ἀποσεύονται τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους αἰτίας, οὓς δὲ ὁ τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀρέσκει θεσμός, καὶ τὰς οὐκ. οὔσας ἐφίενται πορίζεσθαι σκῆψεις. [24] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, μὴ τί γε δὴ βασιλεῦσι, πρέπειν ἂν δόξειε. [25] σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀφέμενος σκόπει μὲν τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολουμένων καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη τῶν ξυμπεσουμένων τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος, λογίζου δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους, οὓς δὴ ὁμοσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κομισάμενος, εἴτα ἀτιμάσας οὐ δέον τέχναις τισὶν ἢ σοφίσμασι παραγαγεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναιο: τὸ γὰρ θεῖον κρεῖσσον ἢ ἐξαπαταῖσθαι πέφυκε πρὸς [26] πάντων ἀνθρώπων.’ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἠνάγκαζεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἤδη ὑπέληγε, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε, τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυνε. ἦει δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν μέσσην τῶν ποταμῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. [2] ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίων φρούριον ἔσχατον ὃ Κιρκήσιον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐχυρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄν, ἐπεὶ Ἀβόρρας μὲν ποταμὸς μέγας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχων τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμίγνυται, τὸ δὲ φρούριον τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτῇ που τῇ γωνίᾳ κεῖται ἣν δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἡ μίξις ποιεῖται. [3] καὶ τεῖχος δὲ ἄλλο μακρὸν τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκτὸς χώραν τὴν μεταξὺ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρου ἀπολαμβάνον τρίγωνον ἐνταῦθα ἀμφὶ τὸ Κιρκήσιον ἐπιτελεῖ σχῆμα. [4] διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρουρίου ἐθέλων οὕτω δὴ ἐχυροῦ ἀποπειράσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Σύρους τε καὶ Κίλικας ἰέναι, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπιπροσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδόν τι ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν ὄχθην ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβία ἐπιτυγχάνει: ἣν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει, [5] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔδωκεν. ἣν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδονάθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις μαίσις ἐνσπονδοὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. [6] οὗτος ὁ Ὀδονάθος ἀνέσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐφάν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γεγεννημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο. [7] Χοσρόης δὲ τότε ἄγχιστά που τῆς Ζηνοβίας ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον οὔτε ἀξιόλογον ἔμαθεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν χώραν κατενόησεν ἀοίκητόν τε καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἔρημον οὔσαν, δέισας μὴ τίς οἱ χρόνος ἐνταῦθα τριβεῖς πράξεισι μεγάλαις ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ ἐμπόδιος εἴη, ἀπεπειράσατο μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, πρόσω κατὰ τάχος τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνεν. [8] Ὀδὸν τε αὖθις τοσαύτην ἀνύσας ἀφίκετο ἐς πόλιν Σούρων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ οὔσαν, [9] ἧς δὴ ἀγχοτάτω γενόμενος ἔστη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ ξυνέβη ἐφ’ οὗ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκάθητο χρεμετίσαι τε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸ ἔδαφος κρούειν. ὃ δὴ οἱ μάγοι ξυμβalόντες ἀλῶσεσθαι τὸ χωρίον ἀπέφαινον. [10] ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς τειχομαχῆσων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγεν. [11] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τις

ὄνομα μὲν Ἀρσάκης, Ἀρμένιος δὲ γένος, τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, ὃς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀναβιβάσας, ἐνθὲνδε τε μαχόμενος ἰσχυρότατα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κτείνας, τοξεύματι βληθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. [12] καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν τότε ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψῃ ὥς αὐθις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τειχομαχῆσοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀπογνόντες, ἅτε τετελευτηκότος σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἰκέται διενοοῦντο Χοσρόου γενέσθαι. [13] τῇ οὖν ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον δεησόμενόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐξαιτησόμενον ἔπεμψαν, ὃς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὄρνις τε φέροντας καὶ οἶνον καὶ καθαροὺς ἄρτους, παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ δεδακρυμένος ἰκέτευε φεῖδεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οἰκτρῶν καὶ πόλεως Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀτιμοτάτης, Πέρσαις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὔτε τὰ πρότερα γεγενημένης οὔτε ὕστερόν ποτε ἐσομένης· λύτρα τέ οἱ τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς δώσειν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεως ἥσπερ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπαξίως ὑπέσχετο. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ Σουρηνοῖς μὲν χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ πρῶτοι περιπεπωκότες Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων οὔτε τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο ἐθελούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταίρειν οἱ ὅπλα τολμήσαντες πολὺν τινα δοκίμων Περσῶν ὄμιλον ἔκτειναν. [15] τὴν μέντοι ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀκριβῶς ἔκρυπεν, ὅπως τὴν κόλασιν ἐς Σουρηνοὺς ποιησάμενος φοβερόν τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἄμαχόν τινα καταστήσεται. οὕτω γάρ οἱ προσχωρήσειν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑπετόπαζε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ γενησομένους. [16] διὸ δὴ ζὺν τε φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξανέστησε, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος παρείχετό τινα δόκησιν ὥς ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σουρηγῶν λύτροις αὐτίκα κοινολογησόμενος Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εὖ τὴν δέησιν διαθήσεται. [17] οὕτω τε ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀπεπέμψατο οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰσθῆσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων τινὰς παραπομποὺς ἐσομένους διήθεν τῷ λόγῳ ξυνέπεμψεν. [18] οὗς δὴ λάθρα ἐκέλευε μὲν ἰέναι ζὺν αὐτῷ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρηγοροῦντας καὶ τισιν ἀγαθαῖς ἐπαίροντας ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας χαίροντάς τε καὶ οὐδὲν δεδιότας τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθῆναι. [19] ἐπειδὰν δὲ οἱ φύλακες ἀνακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα τῇ πόλει αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι μέλλωσι, λίθον τινὰ ἢ ξύλον τοῦ τε οὐδοῦ καὶ τῆς θύρας μεταξὺ ρίψαντες οὐ ξυγχωρεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι βουλομένοις χρόνον δὴ τινα ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι· οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἔψεσθαι. [20] Ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐντειλάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο, δρόμῳ τε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅταν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ ἐκέλευεν. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀσπασάμενοι ἐκτὸς ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ Σουρηνοὶ περιχαρῇ γεγονότα τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρῶντες ζὺν τιμῇ τε πολλῇ προπεμπόμενον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀφροντιστήσαντες δυσκόλων ἀπάντων τὴν τε πυλίδα ὅλην ἀνέωγον καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις κροτοῦντές τε καὶ πολλὰ εὐφημοῦντες ἐδέξαντο. [22] ἐπεὶ τε ἅπαντες εἴσω ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πυλίδα ὥς ἐπιθήσοντες οἱ φύλακες ὥθουν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι λίθον ὃς αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐρρίπτουν. [23] οἱ τε φύλακες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὥθουντές τε καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῇ πυλίδι ἐς τὸν οὐδὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον. [24] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνοιγνύναι αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐτόλμων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὴν ἔχεσθαι

ἥσθοντο. τινὲς δὲ οὐ λίθον, ἀλλὰ ξύλον Πέρσας ἐς τὴν πυλίδα φασὶν ἐμβεβλήσθαι. [25] οὐπω δὲ Σουρηγῶν σχεδὸν τι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἤσθημένων, παρῆν τε τῷ παντὶ ὁ Χοσρόης στρατῷ καὶ τὴν πυλίδα οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἀνεπέτασαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε κατὰ κράτος ἦλω. [26] εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος τάς τε οἰκίας ἐλήισατο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενος λόγῳ πυρπολήσας τε ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. [27] οὕτω τε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅπῃ. ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἶη. [28] Μετὰ δέ, εἴτε φιλανθρωπία εἴτε φιλοχρηματία ἐχόμενος, ἢ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος ἦν δὴ ἐνθὲνδε δορυάλωτον ἐξελών, Εὐφημίαν ὄνομα, γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο, ἔρωτα ἐξαΐσιον αὐτῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἣν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς μάλιστα δρᾶν τι ἀγαθὸν ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς Σουρηγῶν ἐγνώ. [29] πέμψας οὖν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν, τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον, ἢ Σεργίου ἐπιφανοῦς ἀγίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, πόλεως τῆς ἀλούσης ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσα, κειμένη δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ, Κάνδιδον τὸν ταύτῃ ἐπίσκοπον κεντηναρίοις δυοῖν δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ὄντας ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν. [30] ὁ δὲ ἑκρήματα γὰρ οἱ οὐκ ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς ἀνεδύετο. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου ἐν βιβλιδίῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀφέντα τοῦ δώσειν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ τὰ χρήματα οὕτω δὴ ὀλίγων χρημάτων πρίασθαι ἀνδράποδα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος. [31] Κάντιδος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ὡμολόγησεν ἐνιαυτοῦ δώσειν, ὄρκους δεινोटάτους ὁμωμοκῶς, ζημίαν δὲ οἱ αὐτῷ δώρισε ταύτην, ἣν μὴ διδοίη χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ τὰ χρήματα, διπλάσια μὲν αὐτὰ δώσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἱερέα μηκέτι εἶναι, ἅτε τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότα. [32] ταῦτα Κάντιδος ἐν γραμματείῳ γράψας τοὺς Σουρηγῶν ἅπαντας ἔλαβεν. [33] ὧν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες διεβίωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀντέχουν τῇ ξυμπεσοῦσῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος Χοσρόης πρόσω ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα.

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑω τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα ὃς ξύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων τῷ Βούζῃ ἐπιτρέψας, ὃν δὴ ἀπάσης ἐπιμέλεισθαι τῆς ἐφ' ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισάριος ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε. [2] διὸ δὴ ὁ Βούζης ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐπόμενον ἔχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰεραπόλεως ἔμενον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα Σουρηγῶν ἔμαθε, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς [3] Ἰεραπολιτῶν πρῶτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε Ὅϊς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως καθίστασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεεστέροις ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, μηχαναῖς τισι τοὺς πολεμίους περιελθεῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀντιτασσομένοις ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα προῦπτον ἰέναι. [4] ἡλικὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστίν ὁ Χοσρόου στρατὸς ἀκούετε δήπου. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πολιορκία ἡμᾶς ἐξελεῖν βούληται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείψειν εἰκός, Πέρσας δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας

οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος κομίζεσθαι. [5] ταύτη τε τῆς πολιορκίας μηχανομένης, οὐδὲ ἀρκέσειν τὸν περίβολον ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλαῖς οἶμαι, ὃν δὴ ἐπιμαχότατον πολλαχόσε τετύχηκεν εἶναι, καὶ τι Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀνηκέστων ξυμβήσεσθαι. [6] ἦν δέ γε μοῖρα μὲν τινι τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξωμεν τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπωρείας καταλάβωσιν, ἐνθὲνδε καταθέοντες πῇ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, πῇ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνεκα στελλομένους, ἀναγκάσουσι Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα λύσαντα τὴν προσεδρεῖαν, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν δι' ὀλίγου ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε τὰς προσβολὰς ἀδεέστερον ἐπάγειν τῷ περιβόλῳ παντελῶς ἔχοντα οὔτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων στρατῷ τοσοῦτον πορίζεσθαι. [7] τοσαῦτα ὁ Βουζῆς εἰπὼν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ξύμφορα ἔδοξεν, ἔπραξε δὲ τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν. ἀπολέξας γὰρ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ δόκιμον ἦν, [8] ἀπὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ἐτύγγανεν οὔτε τις τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει Ῥωμαίων οὔτε ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς μαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πυθόμενος τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, Γερμανὸν μὲν εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τριακοσίους ἐπομένους ἔχοντα ἔπεμψε, στρατὸν δὲ οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑπέσχετο πολὺν ἔψεσθαι. [10] ἔς τε Ἀντιόχειαν ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφικόμενος περιήλθε τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα κύκλῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐχυρὰ μὲν ὄντα τὰ πολλὰ ἠϋρίσκε· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ποταμῷ Ὀρόντης παραρρεῖ ξύμπαντα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἄπορα ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ἀνεχόμενα ἐσβατὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος, ἦν δὴ Ὀροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασιν, ἐπιμαχώτατον κατενόησεν ὃν τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν τεῖχος. [11] πέτρα γὰρ τυγχάνει τις ἐνταῦθα πη οὔσα, εὖρους μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ὕψος δὲ ὀλίγῳ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐλασσουμένη. [12] ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἢ τὴν πέτραν ἀποτεμνομένους βαθύν τινα βόθρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴ τις ἐνθὲνδε ἀναβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἴοι, ἢ πύργον μέγαν τινὰ δειμαμένους ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει. [13] ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν οἰκοδομῶν ἀρχιτέκτοσι ποιητέα τούτων ἐδόκει οὐδέτερα εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ ἐπιτελῇ ἔσεσθαι οὕτως ἐγκειμένης τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου, ἀρχόμενοί τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἐς πέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξικνούμενοι οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείζονται ὅπη ποτὲ τοῦ τείχους σφίσι πολεμητέα εἴη. [14] Γερμανὸς δὲ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐννοίας σφαλεῖς, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στρατὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου παραδοκῶν ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχεν. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ οὔτε τις ἐκ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφίκετο οὔτε ὅτι ἀφίξεται ἐπίδοξος ἦν, ἐς δέος ἦλθε μὴ ὁ Χοσρόης πυθόμενος βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, προυργιαιότερον ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ποιήσεται Ἀντιόχειάν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀφέμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι. [16] ταῦτα καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐν νῶ ἔχουσι βουλὴν τε ὑπὲρ τούτων πεποιημένοις ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι χρήματα προεμένοις Χοσρόῃ κίνδυνον τὸν παρόντα διαφυγεῖν. [17] Μέγαν τοίνυν, τὸν Βεροίας ἐπίσκοπον, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν· ἐπιχωριάζων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγγανε τότε Χοσρόου δεησόμενον πέμπουσιν, ὃς δὴ ἐνθὲνδε σταλεῖς καταλαμβάνει τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν Ἱεραπόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. [18] Χοσρόῃ τε ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει ἀνθρώπους

οἰκτεῖραι οἱ οὔτε τι ἐς αὐτὸν ἥμαρτον οὔτε τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ οἰοί τε ἀντιτείνειν εἰσί. [19] πρέπει γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ πάντων ἥκιστα τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιτάσσεσθαι ἐπεμβαίνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν δρωμένων βασιλικόν τι οὐδὲ γενναῖον αὐτῷ ἐργασθεῖν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ παρασχόμενος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ βουλῆς τινα χρόνον, ὥστε ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνασθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκατέρῳ δοκοίη, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ συνθήκης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἔλθοι, οὐπω τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως ἐπισταμένου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. [20] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας λόγῳ ξυνετῷ τὸν τρόπον ρυθμίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδαμῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ πρότερον ἦρθη. [21] Σύρους τε οὖν ἠπέιλησε καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Κίλικας πάντας, καὶ οἱ τὸν Μέγαν ἐπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα. [22] οὗ δὴ ἀφικόμενός τε καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε περίβολον ὄχυρόν ὄντα εἶδε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔμαθε φυλακτῆριον διαρκῶς ἔχειν, χρήματα τοὺς Ἱεραπολίτας ἦτει, [23] Παῦλον ἐρμηνέα παρ' αὐτοὺς πέμψας. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὗτος ἐτέθραπτό τε ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς γραμματιστοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐφοίτησεν, ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖος γένος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι. [24] οἱ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δειμαίνοντες, χώραν περιβεβλημένῳ πολλὴν μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀδήωτον ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ὠμολόγησαν ἀργύρου σταθμὰ δισχίλια δώσειν. [25] τότε δὴ Μέγας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἀπάντων Χοσρόην ἱκετεῦων οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ὠμολόγησε δέκα τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια λήψεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

Οὗτω μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὃ τε Μέγας ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγείς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἤλανε καὶ ὁ Χοσρόης τὰ λύτρα λαβὼν ἐς Βέροϊαν ἦει. [2] Βέροια δὲ Ἀντιοχείας μὲν καὶ Ἱεραπόλεως μεταξὺ κεῖται, δυοῖν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκατέρας διέχει. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέγας ἄτε ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πορευόμενος ὀξύτερον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν στρατὸς μοῖραν ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦνυε. [4] τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Βεροΐας προάστειον ἦλθον. [5] καὶ χρήματα Χοσρόης τοὺς Βεροιαίους τὸν Παῦλον στείλας εὐθὺς ἔπραττεν, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς τῶν Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἔλαβε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διπλάσια, ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαχώτατον ὃν πολλαχῇ εἶδε. [6] Βεροιαῖοι δὲ ἠαυτοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον ζὺν προθυμίᾳ μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο ἅπαντα δώσειν, δισχίλια δὲ δόντες ἀργύρου σταθμὰ, τὰ λειπόμενα διδόναι οὐκ ἔφασαν οἰοί τε εἶναι. [7] ἐγκειμένου τε σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα Χοσρόου, νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἅπαντες ὃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐστὶ κατέφυγον ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. [8] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐστέλλοντο μὲν πρὸς Χοσρόου ἐς τὴν πόλιν τινὲς ἐφ' ὧν τὰ χρήματα λήψονται, οἱ δὲ ἄγχιστά πῃ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένους μὲν τὰς πύλας ἀπάσας εὗρον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἔχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελλον. [9] καὶ ὅς τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἐπιθέντας ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀνόδου ἐκέλευεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [10] οὐδενός τε σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰς μὲν πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον, [11] ἐδέχοντο δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν

τε στρατὸν ἅπαντα καὶ Χοσρόην αὐτόν. θυμῷ τε πολλῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦδη ἐχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐνέπρησε πᾶσαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. [12] ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἔκτεινον, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ εὐτύχημα μέγα τῷ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀξυνέτῳ γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ξύν τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ζώοις τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέφυγον, ταύτη τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ καταστρατηγηθέντες ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθον. [13] μιᾶς γὰρ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα πηγῆς, ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ ζώων ἐτέρων οὐ δέον αὐτὴν ἐκπεπωκότων, ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη τὸ ὕδωρ. Βεροιαίοις μὲν τὰ πράγματα ὧδέ πη εἶχεν. [14] Ὁ δὲ Μέγας εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενος ἀγγείλας τε ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Χοσρόην ξυνέκειτο, ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἐπειθεν. [15] ἐτύγγανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Ῥουφίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματεᾶ πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην στείλας, ἀσηκρήτις καλοῦσι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι: σήκηριτα γὰρ καλεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα νενομίκασιν. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενοι ἔμενον. Ἰουλιανὸς τε, τῶν πρέσβων ἄτερος, διαρρήδην ἀπεῖπεν ἅσασι χρήματα μὴ δίδοναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδὲ τὰς βασιλέως ὠνεῖσθαι πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Γερμανῷ διέβαλλε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐφραΐμιον, ἅτε τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντα. [17] διὸ δὲ Μέγας ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἐφραΐμιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Αντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, δέισας τὴν Περσῶν ἑφοδὸν ἐς Κίλικας ἦλθεν. [18] οὐ δὲ καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀφίκετο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ἐάσας. [19] Μέγας δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς Βέροϊαν ἦκων περιώδυνός τε τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος ἡτῆστο Χοσρόην εἰργάσθαι Βεροιαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς στείλειε, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικοτόων τά τε χρήματα ἐληίσατο καὶ ἠνάγκασε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι, οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος οὐ δέον καθεῖλε. [20] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπεκρίνατο ὧδε ‘Τούτων μέντοι, ὃ ἐταῖρε, αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρίψαι: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺν τούτου γε ὕστερήσας τανῦν ἀφίξει. [21] τῶν δὲ σῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τί ἂν τις ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὃ βέλτιστε, μακρολογοίῃ; οἱ γε τακτὸν ἡμῖν ὁμολογηκότες ἀργύριον δώσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, οὐπὼ καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν οἴονται δεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ἀλλ’ ἀνέδην οὕτω χωρίου ἰσχυρὴ θαρσήσαντες περιορῶσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκας μένους ἐς φρουρίου πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὀρθὰς δῆπου, καθίστασθαι. [22] οὓς γε δὲ ἔγωγε ξὺν θεοῖς ἐλπίδα ἔχω ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τίσασθαι, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν μοι οὐ δέον πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἀπολωλότων τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπιτελέσειν.’ [23] ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ Μέγας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε ‘Εἰ μὲν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμοτάτοις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖς, σκοπήσειεν ἂν τις, ἀνάγκη μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν: τῇ γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κρατεῖν ἐπεσθαι πέφυκεν: [24] ἦν δὲ τῷ ἐξῆλθαι ἅλλα ἀποσεισαμένῳ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐλέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοις: ὅπως δὲ ἅπαντα ἀκούσῃ πράως. [25] ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ἅπερ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπήγγελλες, δηλώσω ἐστάλην, ἐβδομαῖός σοι ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ὅ

τί ἂν γενέσθαι δύναίτο θᾶσσον; ταῦτά σοι ἐξειργασμένα ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν εὗρον. [26] οἱ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἤδη τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐκστάντες, εἴτα ἐς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα καθίστανται μόνον, κρείσσους, οἶμαι, γεγεννημένοι ἢ σοί τι τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν. [27] τὸ γὰρ ἐκτινύναι τι τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπῳ ἂν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ γένοιτο. [28] πάλοι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα: ἐν οἷς καὶ τόδε ἐστίν, ἀγνωμοσύνης κεχωρίσθαι ἀσθένειαν. [29] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τρόπου ἀκολασία ἐς τὸ ἀντιτείνειν χωροῦσα μισεῖσθαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, εἴωθεν, ἡ δὲ τῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας ἀδυνάτῳ ἐς ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκφερομένη ἐλεεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν. [30] ἔασον τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὧ βασιλεῦ, κληρωσαμένους τὰ χεῖριστα τοῦτο γοῦν φέρεσθαι παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους γενέσθαι. [31] καὶ χρήματα μὲν σοι ὅσα λαβὼν ἔχεις διαρκεῖν οἴου, μὴ τῷ σῶ ταῦτα σταθμώμενος ἀξιώματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βεροιαίων σκοπῶν δύναμιν. [32] περαιτέρω δὲ ἡμᾶς βιάζου μηδέν, μὴ ποτε δόξης οἷς ἐγκεχείρηκας ἀδύνατος εἶναι: τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀμηχάνῳ τετίμηται: τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐγχειρεῖν κράτιστον. [33] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι ἀπολελογήσθω ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε. ἦν δέ γε τοῖς ταλαιπώροις ξυγγενέσθαι δυνατός εἴην, ἔχοιμι ἂν τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν νῦν με λεληθότων [34] εἰπεῖν. τοσαῦτα τὸν Μέγαν εἰπόντα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ μαθὼν ἅπαντα, δεδακρυμένος τε παρὰ Χοσρόην αὖθις ἀφίκετο καὶ πρηνὴς κείμενος οὐδὲν μὲν Βεροιαίοις ἰσχυρίζετο ἀπολελεῖσθαι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, μόνῃ δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰκέτευε χαριεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα. [35] ταῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀλοφύρσεσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡγμένος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ διομοσάμενος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. [36] Βεροιαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθόντες, ἀπέλιπόν τε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν καὶ ἀπιόντες ὄχοντο ὡς ἕκαστός πη: [37] ἐβούλετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτοῖς τινες εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοῦσιοι παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τὰς συντάξεις χρόνου μακροῦ σφίσι τὸ δημόσιον ὄφλε, καὶ ζῆν αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐχώρησαν.

Χοσρόης δὲ καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μέγας χρήματα ἔφασκεν οὐδαμῇ πεπεικέναι Ἀντιοχέας φέρειν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [2] Ἀντιοχέων δὲ τινες μὲν ἐνθένθε ζῆν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξαναστάντες ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο διεννοοῦντο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ζύμπαντες, εἰ μὴ μεταξὺ ἦκοντες οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Θεόκτιστός τε καὶ Μολάτζης, ζῆν ἐξακισχυλίους ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίσι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιρρώσαντες διεκώλυσαν. [3] οὗ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἦλθεν. ἐνταῦθά τε διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν Ὀρόντη τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [4] Χοσρόης τε Παῦλον παρὰ τὸν περίβολον στείλας τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας χρήματα ἦτει, δέκα χρυσοῦ κεντηναρίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἐνθένδε, ἐνδηλὸς τε ἦν καὶ τούτων ἐλάσσω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ληψόμενος. [5] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦκοντες παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις, εἰπόντες τε ἀμφὶ τῇ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀκούσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. [6] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένοι,

ἀλλὰ γελοιούς τε καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἱκανῶς ἔχονται πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ὕβριζόν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλλξεων καὶ ξὺν γέλῳ ἀκόσμῳ ἐτάθασον· [7] καὶ Παῦλον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγὺς ἦκοντα παραινούντά τε χρημάτων ὀλίγων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι, ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν τοξεύσαντες κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ προῖδὼν ἐφυλάξατο. διὸ δὴ ζέων τῷ θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. [8] Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπαγαγὼν ἅπαντας Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλη προσβάλλειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν προσέβαλλε. ταύτῃ γάρ, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ἐπιμαχάτατος ὁ περιβόλος ἦν. [9] ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι ὀστενοτάτῃ γὰρ ἢ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα ἐφ' ἧς ἰστάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλον ἐπενόησαν τάδε. δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνδέοντες μεταξὺ τῶν πύργων ἐκρέμων, οὕτω τε πολλῷ εὐρυτέρας δὴ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἐποίουν, ὅπως ἔτι πλείους ἐνθένδε ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας οἷοί τε ὦσιν. [10] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενοι πανταχόθεν τὰ τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἄκρας ὑπερβολήν. [11] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμύνοντο δυνάμει πάσῃ, οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου εὐτολμότατοι νεανῖαι πολλοί. [12] ἐδόκουν δὲ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἐνταῦθα ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τοῖς πολεμίοις καθίστασθαι. ἡ γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρεῖα τις καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὕσα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περιβόλῳ καθάπερ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολήν ἐποίει. [13] καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἐθάρσησε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἕξω τε γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην προτερήσας καταλαβεῖν ἐνθένδε τε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οἶμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἢ πόλις ἦλθεν. [14] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τειχομαχοῖεν οἱ βάρβαροι, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔκ τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι· νῦν δὲ ἅ καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Ἀντιοχέας τούτῳ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἀπολέσθαι οὐδενὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἐννοίαν ἦλθε. [15] τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν, ἅτε Χοσρόου παρόντος σφίσι καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευομένου μεγάλῃ, ὑπὲρ δύναμιν βιαζομένων καὶ οὐδένα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνδιδόντων καιρὸν ὥστε διασκοπεῖσθαι ἢ φυλάσσεσθαι τὰς τοξευμάτων βολάς, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι μᾶλλον πληθεῖ τε πολλῷ καὶ θορόβῳ ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαι τὸ ἄχθος αἱ σχοῖνοι αἷς αἱ δοκοὶ ξυνδεδέατο, διερράγησαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ξὺν ταῖς δοκοῖς ἅπαντες ὅσοι αὐταῖς ἐφεστήκεσαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξέπεσον πατάγῳ πολλῷ. [16] οὗ δὴ αἰσθόμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐκ πύργων τῶν ἐχομένων ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ξυμβάλλειν μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, διεφθάρθαι δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος οἰόμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [17] τοῦ μὲν οὖν δήμου νεανῖαι πολλοὶ ὅσοι τὰ πρότερα πρὸς γε ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποδρομίῳις εἰώθεσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου κατέβησαν, οὐδαμῇ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ξὺν τε Θεοκτίστῳ καὶ Μολάττῃ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες οἱ δὴ ἐνταῦθα πῃ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγχανον, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπήλανον, Βούζην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθρυλοῦντες ξὺν στρατῷ ἦκειν, ἐθέλειν τε κατὰ τάχος δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι. [18] ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦσαν· εἶτα πρὸς τῶν ἵππων ὠθούμενοι ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔπιπτον. [19] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐν ποσὶν οὐδενὸς τὸ

παράπαν φειδόμενοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὑπερθεῖν τῶν κειμένων ἅπαντες ἤλαυνον, γέγονε τε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αὐτάς. [20] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, κλίμακας ἐπιθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀνέβαινον. ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καταβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ διασκοπούμενοις τε καὶ ἀπορουμένοις ἐφύκεσαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, προλοχίζεσθαι τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνέδραις τισὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποτοπάζοντες. [21] τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εὐθὺς κατιόντι λοιπὸν ἀοίκητος χώρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστὶ. πέτραι τε λίαν ὑψηλαὶ ἀνέχουσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τόποι κρημνώδεις. [22] ἔνιοι δέ φασι Χοσρόου γνώμη γεγονέναι τὴν μέλλησιν Πέρσαις. [23] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τε δυσχωρίαν κατενόησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φεύγοντας εἶδεν, ἔδεισε μὴ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναστρέψαντες πράγματα σφίσι παράσχωνται, ἐμπόδιοι τε γένωνται, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πόλιν ἐλεῖν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ πρῶτην Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑω πασῶν πόλεων, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. [24] οὗ δὲ, περὶ ἐλάχιστονος τᾶλλα ποιούμενος ἅπαντα, ἤθελε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι, ὥστε κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι Πέρσαι σημαίνοντες ἐνεκελεύοντο φεύγειν ὡς τάχιστα. [25] οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ζῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ἀπίνοντες ὄχοντο ἅπαντες διὰ πύλης ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνην ἄγει τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον· [26] ταύτης γὰρ μόνης, τῶν ἄλλων κατειλημμένων, ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι· τοῦ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγοι τινὲς ζῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέφυγον. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας εἶδον πρόσω χωρήσαντας, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο. [28] ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων νεανῖαι πολλοὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τὰ πρῶτα καθυπέρτεροι ἔδοξαν τῇ ζυμβολῇ εἶναι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τινες μὲν ὀπλίται, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι γυμνοὶ καὶ λίθων βολαῖς χρώμενοι μόναις. [29] ὥσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπαιάνιζόν τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα καλλίνικον, ἅτε νενικηκότας, ἀνέκραγον. [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν καθήμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐθέλων τι εἰπεῖν μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἀρχόντων, ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, οἰόμενος ζυμβάσεως περὶ βούλεσθαι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς λόγους ἰέναι, ἐς ὅψιν τε τῷ [31] βασιλεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἦλθε καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ὁὐχὶ ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ δέσποτα, Ῥωμαίοις ἀμφὶ τῇ τούτων σωτηρίᾳ γινώσκειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν καὶ ἡσσημένοι τολμῶσί τε τὰ ἀμήχανα καὶ δρῶσι τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὥσπερ δεδιότες μὴ τις αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοὶ φιланθρωπίας λελείπεται λόγος· σὺ δὲ τοὺς τε σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἐλεεῖν βούλει, καὶ φεῖδεσθαι τῶν οὐδαμῇ ἐθελόντων ἐσπούδακας. [32] οἱ δὲ προλοχίσαντες ἐν ἀλούσῃ πόλει τοὺς νενικηκότας ἐνέδραις τισὶ διαφθεῖρουσι, καίπερ ἀπάντων [33] αὐτοῖς πάλαι πεφηνότων στρατιωτῶν· ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας, τῶν ἀρίστων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπανήκοντες οὐδὲν ζυμβῆναι φλαῦρον ἀπήγγελλον. [34] ἤδη γὰρ Ἀντιοχέας Πέρσαι βιασάμενοι πλήθει ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ γέγονε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντας ἠβηδὸν ἔκτεινον. [35] τότε φασὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπιφανῶν δύο

γενέσθαι μὲν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου, αἰσθομένας δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενήσονται ἅπαντα· ὅσοι γὰρ ἤδη περιόντες καθεωρῶντο δρόμῳ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ὀρόντην ἔλθειν, φοβουμένας δὲ μή τι σφᾶς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσῃσι Πέρσαι, ταῖς τε καλύπτραις ἐγκαλυψαμένας τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἐμπεσοῦσας ἀφανισθῆναι. οὕτω πᾶσα κακοῦ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἰδέα ἔσχεν.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔλεξε τοιάδε· ‘Οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον οἶμαι εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀκραίφνῃ τάγαθὰ ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ κεραννύων αὐτὰ τοῖς κακοῖς εἶτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται. [2] καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ τὸ γελᾶν ἄκλαυστον ἔχομεν, παραπέπηγε δέ τις αἰεὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐτυχήμασι συμφορά, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς λύπη, οὐκ ἔῶσαι τινα γνησίας ποτὲ τῆς δεδομένης εὐημερίας ἀπόνασθαι. [3] πόλιν γὰρ τήνδε, ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ οὖσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπονώτατα μὲν ἔλαιν ἰσχυσα, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάσαντος ἡμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾷτε δήπου, τὴν νίκην. [4] φόνον μέντοι ἀνθρώπων ὁρῶντί μοι τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, αἱματὶ τε πολλῷ βεβαπτισμένον τὸ τρώπαιον, οὐδεμία τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἡδονῆς γέγονεν αἴσθησις. [5] καὶ τῶνδε οἱ ταλαίπωροι Ἀντιοχεῖς αἴτιοι, οἳ γε τειχομαχοῦντας μὲν οὐχ οἰοί τε γεγόνاسι Πέρσας ἀπώσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ νενικηκότας ἤδη καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντας θράσει θανατῶντες ἀλογίστῳ ζυγομαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [6] πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Περσῶν δόκιμοι πολλὰ ἐνοχλοῦντες σαγηνεῦσαι τέ με τὴν πόλιν ἡξίουσιν καὶ ζύμπαντας διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἡλωκότας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον εἰς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁρμᾶν, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα σώζοντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς ἡλωκόσιν οὐχ [7] ὅσιον.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τερατευόμενός τε καὶ διαθρυπτόμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔλαθε μέντοι αὐτοὺς ὅτου ἔνεκα τὸν καιρὸν φεύγουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοίῃ. [8] Ἦν γὰρ δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν οὐκ ὄντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρύψασθαι, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐξημάρτανε τὰς αἰτίας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐπενεγκεῖν· ἔτι δὲ ὁμολογήσαι μὲν ἔτοιμος ἅπαντα καὶ ὄρκῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πιστώσασθαι, λίαν δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος αὐτῷ ζυγκειμένων τε καὶ ὁμωμοσμένων ἐτοιμότερος ἐς λήθην ἀφίχθαι, καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκεν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄγος καθεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄοκνος, τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ σχηματίζεσθαι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν. [9] ὅς καὶ Σουρηνούς, πρότερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικοκότας, δόλῳ τε περιελθὼν καὶ τρώπῳ ἀπολέσας τῷ εἰρηνένῳ, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκα κοσμίαν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως εἶδεν ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πρὸς τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλκομένην ξὺν πολλῇ βίᾳ, παιδίον δὲ ὅπερ αὐτῇ ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀφεῖναι μὲν οὐ βουλομένην, ἔλκουσαν δὲ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐμπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐπεὶ οἱ ξυντρέχειν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν τοῦτον δὴ τὸν βίαιον δρόμον, τὸν οἰκεῖον κἀνταῦθα ἐνδέδεικται τρόπον. [10] φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν στενάξαντα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δόκησιν τε ὡς εἶη δεδακρυμένος παρεχόμενον τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ, εὐχᾶσθαι τὸν θεὸν τίσασθαι τὸν τῶν γεγονότων κακῶν αἴτιον. [11] Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα παραδηλοῦν ἤθελεν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἀπάντων εἶη. [12] τοσαύτη χρώμενος φύσεως ἀτοπία Χοσρόης

βασιλεὺς τε Περσῶν γέγονε Ἱέρων τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ δαιμονίου
πηρώσαντος, ὅσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐφέρετο μετὰ γε
τὸν Καόσην, ὃνπερ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐμίσει Καβάδης· καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν οἱ
ἐπαναστάντων ἐκράτησε, κακὰ τε Ῥωμαίους ὅσα ἐβούλευσεν εὐπετῶς
ἔδρασε. [13] βουλομένη γάρ τινα μέγαν ἀεὶ ποιεῖν ἢ τύχῃ πράσσει τοῖς
καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ δόξαντα, οὐδενὸς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς βουλήσεως
ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασκοπούμενη ἀξίωμα οὔτε ὅπως μὴ
γένηται τι τῶν οὐ δεόντων λογιζομένη, οὐδὲ ὅτι βλασφημήσουσιν ἐς αὐτὴν
διὰ ταῦτα πολλοί, τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τῆς χάριτος
τετυχηκότος χλευάζοντες, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ποιουμένη, ἦν
τὸ δόξαν αὐτῇ περαίνοντο μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον ἔχετο. [14]
Χοσρόης δὲ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀντιόχων τοὺς περιόντας ζωγρεῖν καὶ
ἀνδραποδίζειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα λήϊζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας κατέβαιναν, ὅπερ ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσιν.
[15] ἐνταῦθα κειμήλια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Χοσρόης
εὔρεν, ὥστε τῆς λείας ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ κειμήλια ταῦτα λαβὼν πλούτου τι
μέγεθος περιβεβλημένος ἀπὼν ὦχετο. [16] καὶ μάρμαρά τε πολλὰ καὶ
θαυμαστά ἐνθένδε ἀφελὼν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε κατατίθεσθαι, ὅπως
καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθι κομίσωνται. [17] ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ζύμπασαν
τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρῆσαι Πέρσαις ἐπέστελλε. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ἀπέχεσθαι μόνης, ἥς τὰ λύτρα κεκομισμένος διαρκῶς εἴη. [18] ὁ δὲ
τοῦτο τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκεχωρηκῶς τᾶλλα καίειν ἐκέλευε πάντα, ὀλίγους τέ
τινας αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσοντας, αὐτὸς ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἅπασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησεν οὗ καὶ πρότερον διεσκηνημένοι
ἐτύγχανον.

Τούτου τοῦ πάθους χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον τέρας ὁ θεὸς ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς
ταύτῃ ὥκημένοις ἐσήμηνε τὰ ἐσόμενα. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν, οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα
ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται, τὰ σημεῖα πρότερον ἐστῶτα πρὸς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον,
ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου στραφέντα πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἔστησαν, ἐς τάξιν τε αὐθις
ἐπανῆκον τὴν προτέραν οὐδενὸς ἀψαμένον. [2] ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἄλλοις τε
πολλοῖς ἄγχιστά πη παροῦσι καὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης
ἔδειξαν, ἔτι τῶν σημείων κραδαινομένων. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ, Τατιανὸς ὄνομα,
ξυνετὸς μάλιστα, ἐκ Μοψουεστίας ὁρμώμενος. [3] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν οἱ τὸ
τέρας τοῦτο ἰδόντες ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐσπερίου ἐπὶ τὸν ἐφ' ὃν τὸ τοῦ
χωρίου ἀφίξεται κράτος, ὅπως δηλαδὴ διαφυγεῖν μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ δύνωνται
οὔσπερ ἔδει ταῦτα ἅπερ ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν. [4] Ἐγὼ δὲ ἰλιγγίῳ πάθος τοσοῦτον
γράφων τε καὶ παραπέμπων ἐς μνήμην τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω
εἰδέναι τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη πράγματα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἢ χωρίου
του ἐπαίρειν εἰς ὕψος, αὐθις δὲ ῥιπτεῖν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν
φαινομένης αἰτίας. [5] αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἅπαντα κατὰ λόγον ἀεὶ
γίνεσθαι, ὃς δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τότε ὑπέστη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς
ἀνοσιωτάτου καταφερομένην ἰδεῖν, ἥς τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα
μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι παντάπασιν ἔσχεν. [6] Ἡ μὲν οὖν
ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλείφθη μόνη, πόνῳ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ

Περσῶν οἷς τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκειτο τοῦτο. [7] ἐλείφθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κεραταῖον οἰκίαι πολλαί, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνθρώπων τινός, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔκειντό που πρὸς ἐσχάτοις τῆς πόλεως, ἐτέρας αὐταῖς οὐδεμιᾶς τινος οἰκοδομίας ξυναπτομένης, τὸ πῦρ ἐς αὐτὰς ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. [8] ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅπερ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀνεῖται ἁγίῳ, καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι. [9] τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα καταλῦσαι ξυνέπεσε. τοῦ μέντοι περιβόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι. [10] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἦκοντες αὐθις παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε, 'Εἰ μὴ πρὸς παρόντα σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ῥόμεθα Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις ἦκειν, ἀτιμάσαντα μὲν τοὺς διομωμοσμένους σοι ἑναγχος ὄρκους, ὃ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὕστατόν τε καὶ ὀχυρώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐς ἀλλήλους πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, διαλύσαντα δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς, ὧν ἡ ἐλπίς ἀπολλέλειπται μόνῃ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ κακοπραγίαν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βιοτεύουσιν. [11] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶποι τις ἂν εἶναι ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δίαίταν ἐς τὴν τῶν θηρίων μεταβεβλήσθαι. [12] ἐν γὰρ τῷ μηδαμῇ σπένδεσθαι τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀπέραντα λελείπεται πάντως, πόλεμος δὲ ὁ πέρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐξοικίζειν τῆς φύσεως τοὺς αὐτῷ χρωμένους ἐς αἰεὶ πέφυκε. [13] τί δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον γέγραφας ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁμολογῶν κακόν τι παμμέγεθες εἶναι τὴν τῶν σπονδῶν λύσιν; [14] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἤμαρτεν, οὐ δικαίως τανῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦκεις; εἰ δέ τι τοιοῦτόν τ' ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ μέχρι τούτου γε καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω διαπεπράχθω τὸ ἔγκλημα, ὅπως αὐτὸς κρείσσων εἶναι δοκῇ. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλασσούμενος, [15] οὗτος ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι νικῶν δικαίως. καίτοι ἡμεῖς ἐξεπιστάμεθα Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα μηδεπώποτε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαίους κακά, ἐξ ὧν Πέρσαις μὲν ὄνησις οὐδεμία ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τοῦτο κερδανεῖς μόνον, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα τοὺς ἄρτι σοι σπεισαμένους οὐ δέον εἰργάσθαι.' οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [16] Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἰσχυρίζετο μὲν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λελύσθαι· καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέσχετο, τὰς μὲν τινὰς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ξυμπεπλασμένας· μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιωτάτας ἡξίου δεικνύναι πρὸς τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον καὶ Οὐννους αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [17] ἄνδρα μέντοι Ῥωμαῖον ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν ἐσβεβληκέναι ἢ πολέμια ἔργα ἐνδείξασθαι οὔτε λέγειν εἶχεν οὔτε δεικνύναι. [18] οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις πῇ μὲν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνέφερον, ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν ὑπουργηκότων τινάς, πῇ δὲ ὡς οὐχ οὕτω γεγονότων ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν εἰρημένων. [19] τέλος δὲ χρήματα μὲν οἱ πολλὰ ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου διδόναι Ῥωμαίους, παρῆναι δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μόνον παρεχομένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐθέλιν ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κρατύνασθαι. [20] τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινομένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλίσκομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνδαπανᾶσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι. [21] δεῖν τοίνυν Ῥωμαίους τακτόν τι φέρειν ἐπέτειον Πέρσαις. 'Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς,' ἔφη,

‘τὴν εἰρήνην Πέρσαι βέβαιον ἔξουσι, τὰς τε Κασπίας αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες πύλας καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀχθόμενοι διὰ πόλιν Δάρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμισθοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσονται.’ ‘Οὐκοῦν,’ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν, [22] ‘ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαι βούλονται Ῥωμαίους ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔχειν.’ ‘Οὐκ, [23] ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας οἰκείους,’ ὁ Χοσρόης εἶπεν, ‘ἔξουσι τὸ λοιπὸν Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοι, μισθὸν τῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦντες ῥητόν: ἐπεὶ καὶ Οὐννων τισὶ καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπέτειον χορηγεῖτε χρυσόν, οὐ φόρου αὐτοῖς ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀδήφωτον γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν φυλάξωσιν ἐς τὸν πάντα [24] αἰῶνα.’ τοιαῦτα Χοσρόης τε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, ξυνέβησαν ὕστερον ἐφ’ ᾧ Χοσρόην ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα κεντηνάρια πεντήκοντα πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντα, πέντε δὲ ἄλλων φερόμενον ἐπέτειον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα δασμόν, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι περαιτέρω κακόν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν μὲν ὁμήρους ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων κεκομισμένον τὴν ἀποπορείαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ποιήσασθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ στελλομένους τὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐν βεβαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν θέσθαι.

Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσαν ἦλθεν, ἐνταῦθ’ αὖτε Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα οὔτε εὐρὼν οὔτε λυμηνάμενος ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὕδατι μόνος, θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἷσιν ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο, πολλὰ τε ἐπιθειάσας ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνεν. [2] ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιθυμίαν οἱ ἔφασκε τίνα εἶναι τὴν Ἀπαμέων πόλιν ἐν γειτόνων οὔσαν οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦ ἔνεκα ἢ ἱστορίας θεάσασθαι. [3] ξυνεχώρουν τε οὐχ ἐκούσιοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ’ ᾧ μέντοι αὐτὸν θεασάμενόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀργύρου χιλίας κομισάμενον ἐνθένδε λίτρας, οὐδὲν τι ἄλλο λυμηνάμενον ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω. [4] ἐνδῆλος δὲ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς τε πρέσβεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν τοῦδε ἔνεκα στέλλοιτο μόνον, ὅπως δὴ τινος σκήψεως οὐκ ἀξιολόγου λαβόμενος αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνῃ χώραν ληίσηται. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη, τὸ Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. [5] ἐνθα δὴ τό τε ἄλσος ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς: [6] ἅμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπικεικῶς ἐστί. καὶ θύσας ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν λυμηνάμενος, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τὸ ἱερὸν καύσας ξὺν ἐτέραις τισὶν οἰκίαις ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [7] Πέρσης ἀνὴρ ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ δόκιμος καὶ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ γνῶριμος, ἐς χῶρον κρημνώδῃ ἀμφὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Τρητὸν ἦλθε ξὺν ἐτέροις τισίν, οὓς δὴ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ νεὼς ἐστίν, Εὐάριδος ἔργον. [8] οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν τίνα Ἀντιοχέων νεανίαν πεζόν τε καὶ μόνον κρυπτόμενον ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἐδίωκε τῶν ἐτέρων χωρίς. ἦν δὲ κρεοπώλης ὁ νεανίας, [9] Αἰείμαχος ὄνομα. ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λίθῳ τὸν διώκοντα βάλλει, ἐπιτυχάνει τε τοῦ μετώπου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τὸ οὖς μήνιγγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. [10] σκυλεύσας τε αὐτοῦ κατ’ ἐξουσίαν τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτύγγανεν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐπὶ τε τὸν ἵππον ἀναθορῶν πρόσω ἦλυνεν. [11] εἴτε δὲ τύχη εἴτε χωρίων ἐμπειρία χρησάμενος, λαθεῖν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφυγεῖν

παντελῶς ἴσχυσε. [12] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλλήσας, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς καῦσαι τὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου νεῶν οὐ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη ἐκέλευεν. [13] οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκείνους εἶναι ἡγούμενοι ξὺν ταῖς ἀμφοτέρωθεν οἰκοδομίαις ἐνέπρησαν, ἐπιτελεῖς τε πεποιῆσθαι τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ὄντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχε. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀπάμειαν ἦει. ἔστι δὲ ξύλον πηχυαῖον ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ, τοῦ σταυροῦ μέρος ἐν ᾧ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ τὴν κόλασιν οὕτι ἀκούσιον ὑποστῆναι ὁμολογεῖται, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον ἐνταῦθα πρὸς Σύρου ἀνδρὸς κομισθὲν λάθρα. [15] καὶ αὐτὸ οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι φυλακτῆριον μέγα σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι θήκην αὐτοῦ ξυλίνην τινὰ πεποιημένοι κατέθεντο, ἣν δὴ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τρισὶ μὲν ἱερεῦσι παρέδωκαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ξὺν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ φυλάξουσιν, ἐξάγοντες δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πανδημεῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ προσκυνοῦσι μᾶ. [16] τότε οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἀπαμέων λεώς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπύθοντο ἰέναι, ἐν δέῃ μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Χοσρόην δὲ ἀκούοντες ὥς ἥκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι καὶ παρὰ Θωμᾶν τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα γενόμενοι ἐδέοντο τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐπιδειῖναι σφίσι, ὅπως αὐτὸ ὕστατα προσκυνήσαντες τελευτήσωσιν. [17] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. τότε δὴ θέαμα ξυνηρέχθη λόγου τε καὶ πίστεως κρεῖσσον ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ὁ ἱερεὺς φέρων ἐδείκνυνεν, ὑπερθεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ σέλας πυρὸς ἐπεφέρετο καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέρος φωτὶ πολλῷ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατελάμπετο. [18] βαδίζοντος τε τοῦ ἱερέως πανταχῇ τοῦ νεῶ συμπροῇ τὸ σέλας, φυλάσσον ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀροφῆς χώραν. [19] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀπαμέων δῆμος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θαύματος ἡδονῆς ἐθαμβεῖτό τε καὶ ἐγεγῆθει καὶ ἔκλαιεν, ἥδη τε ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχον. [20] ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ περιῆλθε τὸν νεῶν ἅπαντα, καταθέμενος ἐν τῇ θήκῃ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ σέλας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέπαυτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστα πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἦκειν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο. [21] καὶ ὅς ἐπει ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως εἰ βουλομένοις τοῖς Ἀπαμεῦσιν εἴη ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ἀπεκρίνατο Θωμᾶς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτο ἐς ἐννοιαν ἦκειν. [22] 'Οὐκοῦν' ἔφη ὁ Χοσρόης 'δέξασθέ με τῇ πόλει ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πάσαις ἀναπεπταμέναις [23] ταῖς πύλαις.' ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν 'Ἐπ' αὐτὸ γὰρ δὴ παρακαλέσων τοῦτο ἀφῆμαι.' ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς ἅπας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο διεσκηνημένοι πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου, [24] ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρίστων διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήλασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γέγονεν εἰσω πυλῶν, ἐπελάθετο ἐκὼν γε εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκειμένων, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκέλευε δοῦναι οὐ χίλια μόνον ἀργύρου σταθμὰ οὐδὲ τούτων δεκαπλάσια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κειμήλια ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχε κείμενα, χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξύμπαντα, μεγάλα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα. [25] οἶμαι δ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀνδραποδίσασθαι τε καὶ ληίσασθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀποκνήσαι, εἰ μὴ τι θεῖον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διεκώλυσεν. [26] οὕτως αὐτὸν ἢ τε φιλοχρηματία ἐξέπλησσε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ τῆς δόξης ἐπιθυμία. [27] κλέος γὰρ οἱ μέγα τοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ὄφειτο εἶναι, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ποιούμενος εἰ

σπονδάς τε καὶ ξυνθήκας ἡλογηκώς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐργάζεται. [28] ταύτην τε Χοσρόου δηλώσει τὴν γνώμην ἃ τε ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐνεχείρησε τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὰ ξυγκείμενα, καὶ ἃ Καλλινικησίους ὀλίγω ὕστερον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔδρασεν, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθε λελέγεται λόγοις. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, [29] Ἀπάμειαν διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κειμήλια ὁ Χοσρόης ξύμπαντα εἶλε καὶ αὐτὸν μεθύοντα ἤδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ ὁ Θωμᾶς εἶδε, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ξὺν τῇ θήκῃ ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνέωγέ τε τὴν θήκην καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐνδεικνύμενος 'Ὁ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ' ἔφη 'ταῦτά μοι ἀπολέλειπται μόνᾳ ἐκ πάντων χρημάτων. [30] θήκην μὲν οὖν τήνδε 'χρυσῶ τε γὰρ κεκαλλώπισται καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις' φθόνος οὐδείς λαβόντα σε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔχειν, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ξύλον, σωτήριόν τε ἡμῖν καὶ τίμιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο, ἱκετεύω σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι.' ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ξυνεχώρει δὲ Χοσρόης καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. [31] Μετὰ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος τὸν τε δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσιν. [32] οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκηκόει πολλῶ πρότερον Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα χρώματος τοῦ Βενέτου, ὃ δὴ κυάνεόν ἐστιν, ἐκτόπως ἔρᾶν, ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ κἀνταῦθα ἰέναι βουλόμενος ἤθελε τῷ πρασίνῳ τὴν νίκην ἀρμόσαι. [33] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἡνίοχοι ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο, τύχῃ δέ τις τῷ τᾷ Βένετα ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ ἐγένετο παρελάσαντι ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι. [34] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀματροχιάς ὁ τὸ πράσινον ἀμπεχόμενος χρῶμα. [35] ὅπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ Χοσρόης γεγονέναι οἰόμενος, ἡγανάκτει τε καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀνεβόα τὸν Καίσαρα προτερῆσαι τῶν ἄλλων οὐ δέον, ἐκέλευέ τε τοὺς προτέρους ἰόντας ἵππους ἐπέχεσθαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν κατόπισθεν γενόμενοι ἀγωνίζωνται: ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε, νικᾶν οὕτως ὃ τε Χοσρόης καὶ μέρος τὸ πράσινον ἔδοξεν. [36] ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις Ἀπαμέων Χοσρόῃ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων ἡτῆϊατο Πέρσῃν ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντα τὴν παῖδα οὖσαν παρθένον βιάζεσθαι. [37] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἤδη, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέστελλε. [38] γνούς δὲ ὁ δῆμος παντὶ σθένει ἀνέκραγον ἐξαισίον οἶον, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ὀργῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαιτούμενοι. Χοσρόης δὲ ὁμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφήσειν, λάθρα δὲ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε διαπεπραγμένος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλauen.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκετο, Βεροίας πόλεως τέτρασι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις διέχουσας, αὐθις ἐς λήθην τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἦλθε, στρατοπεδευσάμενός τε τοῦ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἐπεμψε Παῦλον ἀπειλήσοντα Χαλκιδεῦσι πολιορκίᾳ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τε σωτηρίαν ὦνιον κτήσονται τὰ λύτρα δίδόντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅσους ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ξὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐκδοῖεν σφίσι. [2] Χαλκιδεῖς δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα πρὸς ἐκατέρου βασιλέως ἐμπεπτωκότες στρατιώτας μὲν ἀπώμοσαν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιδημεῖν σφίσι, καίπερ ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀδόναχον τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντα κρύψαντες ἐν οἰκίσκοις τίσιν, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδηλοὶ ᾧσι:

χρυσού δὲ κεντηνάρια δύο συλλέξαντες μόλις, ἐπεὶ πόλιν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμονα ᾤκουν, τῷ τε Χοσρόῃ ζωάγρια δόντες τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεσώσαντο. [3] Ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀποπορείαν ἥπερ ἐληλύθει ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβῆναι καὶ χρήματα ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ληΐζεσθαι. [4] γέφυραν οὖν ζεύξας ἀμφὶ Ὀββάνης τὸ χωρίον, ὅπερ τοῦ ἐν Βαρβαλισσῷ φρουρίου τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου ἀπέχει, αὐτός τε διέβη καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαβαίνειν ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπειπὼν μὲν τὴν γέφυραν τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ λύσεσθαι, τάξας δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρόν. [5] καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἡ κυρία, τινὰς μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολελεῖσθαι μὴ πῶ διαβάντας ξυνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπολογισάμενος ἔπεμψε τοὺς τὴν γέφυραν διαλύοντας. [6] οἱ τε ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο, εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνέβαινον. Τότε δὴ φιλοτιμία τις Χοσρόῃ ἐσηῆλε πόλιν Ἑδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. [7] ἐνήγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο Χριστιανῶν λόγος καὶ ἔδακνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι δὴ ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [8] Αὐγαρος ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἑδέσσης τοπάρχης· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ ἔθνος βασιλεῖς τηρικαῦτα ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ Αὐγαρος οὗτος ξυνετώτατος ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. [9] ἔνσπονδος γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς λόγους ἦκων οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸν τῆς ξυνέσεως τῷ περιόντι ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι Αὐγουστος τῆς ξυνουσίας ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐθύς διάπυρος ἐραστής, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐντόχοι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ᾔθελε. [10] χρόνος οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ συχνὸς τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐτρίβη. καὶ ποτε ἐς ἦθη πάτρια ἐθέλων ἰέναι πείθειν τε τὸν Αὐγουστον μεθεῖναι αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων, [11] ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐστάλη μὲν ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία· μελέτην γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα κατεσπουδασμένην τινὰ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. περιῶν δὲ χώραν πολλὴν συχνὰ τῶν ἐκείνῃ θηρίων ζῶντα ἐθήρα, καὶ χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ξυναμηςάμενος ἔφερεν ἐκ χώρας ἐκάστης· οὕτω τε ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Ῥώμην, τὸν τε χοῦν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἔχων. [12] ὁ μὲν οὖν Αὐγουστος ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀναβὰς ἐκάθητο ἥπερ εἰώθει, Αὐγαρος δὲ οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἐπέδειξε, καταλέγων ἐκ ποίας ποτὲ χώρας ἢ τε γῆ ἐκάστη καὶ τῶν θηρίων τίνα ποτὲ εἶη. [13] ἔπειτα τὴν μὲν γῆν ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου ἐκέλευε θέσθαι, πάντα δὲ ἐς ταῦτ' ὅτι τὰ θηρία ξυναγαγόντας εἶτα ἀφεῖναι. [14] οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπηρετοὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. τὰ δὲ θηρία χωρὶς ἀλλήλων γενόμενα ἐς ἐκείνην ἐχώρει τὴν γῆν ἥ δὴ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν εἰληπτο ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα. [15] καὶ ὁ μὲν Αὐγουστος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ποιούμενα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐθαύμαζε γε ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ζῴοις ἢ φύσις ἀδίδακτος οὔσα ποθεινὴν ποιεῖται τὴν πάτριον γῆν. Αὐγαρος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λαβόμενος, [16] ‘Ἐμὲ δέ,’ εἶπε, ‘τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχειν, ὃ δέσποτα, οἶει, ὃ γυνὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ παιδία καὶ βασιλεία βραχεῖα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ;’ [17] καὶ ὃς τῷ ἀληθεῖ τοῦ λόγου ἡσσηθεὶς τε καὶ βιασθεὶς ἀπιέναι τε ξυνεχώρει οὔτι ἐκούσιος καὶ προσαιτεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὅτου ἂν δέηται. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτου Αὐγαρος ἔτυχεν, Αὐγούστου ἐδεῖτο ἱπποδρόμιόν οἱ δείμασθαι ἐν πόλει Ἑδέσση. ὁ δὲ ξυνεχώρει καὶ τοῦτο. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπαλλαγείς Αὐγαρος ἐς Ἑδεσσαν ἦλθε. [19] καὶ

αὐτοῦ οἱ πολῖται ἀνεπυνθάνοντο εἴ τι φέρων ἀγαθὸν σφίσι· ἐκ βασιλείῳς
Αὐγούστου ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος Ἑδεσσηνοῖς ἐνεγκεῖν ἔφη λύπην τε
ἀζήμιον καὶ χαρὰν ἀκερδή, τὴν τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου παραδηλῶν τύχην. [20] Χρόνῳ
δὲ ὕστερον πόρρω που ἡλικίας Αὐγαρος ἦκων νόσῳ ποδᾶγρας χαλεπῆς τινος
ὑπερφυῶς ἦλω. ταῖς γοῦν ὁδύναϊς ἀχθόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀκινήσιᾳ ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγεν, ἐκ πάσης τε γῆς ξυνέλεγε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα
σοφοὺς ἅπαντας. [21] ὧν δὴ ὕστερον ὁ γὰρ οἱ ἄκεσιν τινα τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν
ἴσχυον ἀπέστη τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπεσὼν τύχας τὰς παρούσας ὠδύρετο. [22]
ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι ὧν τοῖς ἐν
Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώποις ὠμίλει, τῷ τε μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀμαρτεῖν πώποτε,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἐξεργάζεσθαι διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ
παῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶη: [23] νεκροὺς τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐξανίστη ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ
πηροῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τεχθεῖσιν ἀνέωγε, σώματός τε ὅλου λεύκας
ἐκάθηρε καὶ ποδῶν πῆρῳσιν ἔλυσε, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἰατροῖς πάθῃ ἀνίατα
ὠνομασμένα ἐστί. [24] ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων Αὐγαρος τῶν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐς
τὴν Ἑδεσσαν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἀκούσας, ἐθάρσησέ τε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν
Ἰησοῦν γράψας ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν
ἐνταῦθα ἀγνωμόνων ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ζυμβιοτεῦν. [25] ἐπεὶ
ταῦτα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον, ὡς μὲν
οὐκ ἀφίξεται ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγων, τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν τῷ γράμματι ὑποσχόμενος.
[26] φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπειπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάρους
ἀλώσιμος ἔσται. τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ
χρόνου τὴν ἱστορίαν ζυγγράψαντες οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν: οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ πῃ
αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν: Ἑδεσσηνοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εὐρέσθαι φασίν,
ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάγραφτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντὶ ἄλλου του φυλακτηρίου
ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποιήνται πύλαις. [27] γέγονε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Μήδοις χρόνῳ
τινὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἀλοῦσα μέντοι, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [28] ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα
τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αὐγαρος ἔλαβε, κακῶν μὲν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀπαθὴς γέγονε,
συχνὸν δὲ τῇ ὑγιείᾳ ἐπιβιούς χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν: ὅστις δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν
βασιλείαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ἀνοσιώτατος γεγωνὼς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξήμαρτε καὶ τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων δεδιὼς
τίσιν προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσιος Πέρσαις. [29] χρόνῳ τε πολλῷ Ἑδεσσηνοὶ
ὕστερον ἀνελόντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς σφίσι ἐνδημοῦντας φρουροὺς
ἐνέδοσαν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. αὐτῷ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμελὲς ἐστί,
τεκμαιρόμενος οἷς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις γέγονεν, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι
λόγοις δηλώσω. [30] καὶ μοί ποτε ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ὁ
Χριστὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἀνθρωποὶ ἦλθον, φυλάξαι διὰ τοῦτο
ἀνάλωτον ἐθέλει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μήποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινὰ σκῆψιν διδοίη.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ ἐχέτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω. [31] Χοσρόη δὲ
τότε προὔργου διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν εἶναι Ἑδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βάτην
ἀφίκετο, πόλισμα μὲν βραχὺ καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, ἡμέρας δὲ ὁδῷ
Ἑδέσσης διέχον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠλίσσατο, ὄρθρου δὲ βαθέος
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν ἤλαυνε. [32] καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη πλάνη
περιπεσοῦσι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλίζεσθαι χώρον: [33] ὅπερ αὐτοῖς

λέγουσι καὶ δις ξυμβῆναι. μόλις δὲ ἄγχιστα Ἐδέσσης γενομένων Χοσρόη
ρέυματός φασιν ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιπεσόντος ἐπῆρθαι τὴν γνάθον. διὸ δὴ τῆς
μὲν πόλεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, Παῦλον δὲ πέμψας χρήματα
Ἐδεσσηνοὺς ἤτει. [34] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει μὲν δεδιέναι ἤκιστα ἔφασκον, ὅπως
δὲ μὴ τοῖς χωρίοις λυμῆνται, ὠμολόγησαν δύο χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δώσειν.
καὶ ὅς τὰ τε χρήματα ἔλαβε καὶ διεσώσατο τὰ ξυγκείμενα.

Τότε καὶ γράμματα Χοσρόη βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτελέσειν
ὁμολογῶν τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγκείμενα. [2] ἅπερ
ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε καὶ συνεσκευάζετο
ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον, τοὺς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδοσθαι ἅπαντας ἤθελεν.
[3] ὅπερ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον, προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς κρείσσω. οὐ
γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς ὅς οὐ τὰ λύτρα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φέρων ὑπὲρ τούτων δὴ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων κατὰ λόγον τῆς οὐσίας κατέθετο. [4] εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ
λόγον ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. αἱ τε γὰρ ἐταῖραι τὸν κόσμον ἀφελοῦσαι, ὅσος
αὐταῖς ἐν τῷ σώματι ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ εἴ τῳ γεωργῷ ἐπίπλων ἢ
ἀργυρίου σπανίζοντι ὄνος ἢ προβάτιον ἦν, τοῦτο δὴ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδῇ
πολλῇ ἦγεν. [5] ἀθροίζεται μὲν οὖν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἄλλων
χρημάτων πάμπολυ πλῆθος, [6] δέδοται δὲ ὑπὲρ λύτρων οὐδέν. Βούζης γὰρ
ἐνταῦθα παρὼν ἔτυχεν, ὅς διακωλῦσαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπέστη, κέρδος οἱ ἔσεσθαι
μέγα τι ἐνθένδε караδοκῶν. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας
ἐπαγόμενος πρόσω ἐχώρει. [7] Καρρηνοὶ δὲ ἀπῆντων χρήματα πολλὰ
προτεινόμενοι: ὁ δὲ οὐ προσήκειν ἔφασκεν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ πλείστοι οὐ Χριστιανοί,
ἀλλὰ δόξης τῆς παλαιᾶς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. [8] Καὶ μὴν καὶ Κωνσταντινέων
χρήματα διδόντων ἐδέξατο, καίπερ φάσκων οἱ ἐκ πατέρων προσήκειν τὴν
πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Καβάδης Ἀμίδαν εἶλεν, Ἐδεσσάν τε καὶ Κωνσταντίναν
ἐξελεῖν ἤθελεν. [9] ἀλλ' Ἐδέσσης μὲν ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τῶν μάγων
ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴ οἱ ἀλώσιμος ἢ πόλις ἔσται, δεῖξας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ χωρίον
αὐτοῖς. [10] οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔλεγον,
τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ τὴν δεξιάν αὐτῇ χεῖρα προτείνει, οὐχ ἀλώσεως ταύτη
οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν χαλεποῦ ξύμβολον, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας διδοίη. [11] καὶ ὅς
ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐπείθετό τε καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίναν τὸ στράτευμα. [12]
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς
πολιορκήσων ἐπέστελλεν. [13] ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίνης ἱερεὺς τότε Βαράδοτος,
ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς
ὃ τι βούλοιο αἰεὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων: οὗ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδὼν ἄν τις εὐθὺς
εἵκασεν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδεδεχέστατα κεχαρισμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη. [14] οὗτος ὁ
Βαράδοτος τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τὸν Καβάδην ἐλθὼν οἶνόν τε ἤνεγκε καὶ ἰσχάδας
καὶ μέλι καὶ καθαρὸς ἄρτους, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδέετο μὴ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πόλεως ἢ
οὔτε λόγου ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπημέλῃται λίαν, οὔτε στρατιωτῶν
φρουρὰν ἔχουσα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκήτορας μόνους,
ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς. [15] ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε: Καβάδης δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν
χαριεῖσθαι ὠμολόγησε καὶ τοῖς σιτίοις ἐδωρήσατο αὐτὸν ἅπασιν ὅσα οἱ τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαστο, μεγάλοις ὑπερφυῶς οὖσιν: οὕτω τε
ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκ πατέρων οἱ

προσθήκειν ἡξίου τὴν πόλιν. [16] Ἐς Δάρας τε ἀφικόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐνδοθεν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μαρτῖνος ὁ στρατηγός 'καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὦν ἔτυχε τὰ ἐς ἀντίστασιν ἐξηρτύνοντο. [17] δύο δὲ ἡ πόλις τείχεσι περιβέβληται, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθέατον ἀτεχνῶς ἐστίν 'ἐς ὕψος γὰρ διήκει πύργος μὲν ἕκαστος ποδῶν ἑκατόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τείχος ἐξήκοντά, τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς πολλῶ μὲν ἔλασσον συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ ἐχυρόν τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιόν ἐστι. [18] τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ χωρίον εὖρος οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντήκοντα ἔχει ποδῶν: ἐνταῦθα εἰώθασι Δαρηνοὶ τοὺς τε βόας καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων ἐμβάλλεσθαι. [19] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Χοσρόης προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ περιβόλου πλήθει τε βελῶν βιασάμενος, τὰς πύλας τείχους τοῦ βραχέος ἐνέπρησεν. [20] ἐντὸς μέντοι γενέσθαι οὐδεὶς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτόλμησεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατάρυχα ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως ἔγνω. ταύτη γὰρ μόνον ὀρύσσεσθαι ἡ γῆ οἷα τέ ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπὶ πέτρας τοῖς δειμαμένοις πεποιήται. [21] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου ἀρξάμενοι ὥρυsson. ἥς δὴ βαθείας κομιδῇ οὔσης, οὔτε καθεωρῶντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε αὐτοῖς τινα αἴσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου παρείχοντο. [22] ἤδη μὲν οὖν ὑπέδυσαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ἐκτὸς τείχους, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἑκατέρου περιβόλου γινόμενοι ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ μέγα τείχος ἀμείψαντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, ἀλλ' 'οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔδει Πέρσαις ἀλῶναί εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατοπέδου ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου μόνος ἀφίκετο, εἴτε ἄνθρωπος ὦν εἴτε τι ἄλλο ἀνθρώπου κρεῖσσον, δόξαν τε τοῖς ὀρθῶσι παρείχετο ὅτι δὴ τὰ βέλη ξυλλέγοι ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀφήκαν. [23] ταῦτά τε ποιῶν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένους ἐρεσχελεῖν τε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ ζὺν γέλῳ τι τωθάζειν ἐδόκει. εἴτα φράσας αὐτοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐγρηγορέναι πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [24] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σημήνας ἀπιὼν ὄχρετο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τείχους ἑκατέρου θορύβῳ πολλῶ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐκέλευον σκάπτειν. [25] καὶ Πέρσαι μέντοι οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἔργου εἶχοντο. [26] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὀρθὴν τινα ἔνερθεν ποιουμένων ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τείχος, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε Θεοδώρου γνώμη, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός, ἐγκαρσίαν τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐργαζομένων καὶ βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, ζυνέβη Πέρσας κατὰ μέσον τοῖν περιβόλοιν γεγεννημένους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατάρυχα. [27] καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πρώτους Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτειναν, οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν φυγόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. διώκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν. [28] ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ὁ Χοσρόης ἀποτυχὼν ἐλεῖν τε τὴν πόλιν μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐλπίσας, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, χιλιά τε κεκομισμένοις ἀργύρου σταθμὰ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐχώρει. [29] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔμαθεν, οὐκέτι τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσῃν ἠθέλεν, ἐπικαλῶν Χοσρόῃ ὅτι δὴ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐξελεῖν ἐνεχείρησε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις ζυνέβη, καὶ τὸ θέρος μὲν ἐτελεύτα.

Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης πόλιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις δειμάμενος ἐν χώρῳ Κτησιφῶντος

πόλεως διέχοντι ἡμέρας ὁδῶ, Ἀντιόχειάν τε τὴν Χοσρόου αὐτὴν ἐπωνόμασε καὶ Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐνταῦθα ξυνώκισεν ἅπαντας, οἷς δὴ βαλανεῖόν τε καὶ ἵπποδρόμιον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαῖς ἀνείσθαι ἐποίει. [2] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἡνιόχους καὶ τοὺς τῶν μουσικῶν ἔργων τεχνίτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦγεν. [3] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας τούτους ἐπιμελεστέως ἢ κατὰ αἰχμαλώτους ἐσίτιζεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ βασιλικούς καλεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ὥστε τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐδενὶ ὑποχειρίους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ. [4] εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων δραπέτης γεγονὼς ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Χοσρόου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε, καὶ τις αὐτὸν ξυγγενῇ τῶν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκέτι ἐξῆν τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον τοῦτον ἀπάγειν, οὐδ' ἦν τις τῶν λίαν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξανδραποδίσας τυγχάνοι. [5] Ἀντιοχεῦσι μέντοι τὸ ξυμβὰν ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύοντος τέρας ἐς τοῦτο ἀποβὰν ἐτελεύτησε. τότε γὰρ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ Δάφνη τῷ προαστείῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιπεσόντος, τῶν κυπαρίσσων αἱ ταύτῃ ὑψηλαὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἦσαν ἐκ ῥιζῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀνατραπῆσαι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔπεσον, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκτέμενεσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶα. [6] ὀλίγῳ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον, ἡνίκα Ἰουστῖνος Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε, σεισμός τις ἐπιγεγόμενος ἐξαίσιος λίαν τὴν τε πόλιν κατέσεισε πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τά τε πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε, καὶ λέγονται τότε τριάκοντα μυριάδες Ἀντιοχέων ἀπολωλέναι. [7] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀλώσει ξύμπασα ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, διέφθαρται. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιοχέων πάθος τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐξ Ἰταλίας μετάπεμπος ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν διαχειμάσαντα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε ἀρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦκοντας, ὧν δὴ ἓνα Βαλεριανὸν ἠγεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων ἐκέλευε. [9] Μαρτῖνος γὰρ ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἐφ' ὅσον σταλεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χοσρόης αὐτόν, [10] ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἐς Δάρας εὗρε. τῶν δὲ Γόθων Οὐίτιγίς μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐπὶ Χοσρόην σὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστράτευσαν. [11] τότε τῶν Οὐιτίγιδος πρέσβων ἄλλος μὲν, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὀνόματος ἐπεβάτευεν, ἐν τοῖς Περσῶν ἦθεσι θνήσκει, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [12] ὅστις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐρμηνεύς εἶπετο ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὰ Κωνσταντίνης ὅρια ξυλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξεν, ὅσπερ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἅπαντα ἀναπνυθανομένῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐξήνεγκε. [13] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. Βελισάριος δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατὰ τάχος ἦει, προτερῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων πρὶν τινα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐσβολὴν αὐθις ποιήσεται ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπὶ Κολχίδα τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. [2] Λαζοὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ὥκουν, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὄντες, οὐ μέντοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἐπαγγέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπακούοντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτήσῃ, ξύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ διαδεξομένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπεμπε. [3] τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ζὺν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασεν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ Οὐννοι πολέμιοι ἐξ ὅρου τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁμόρου

σφίσιν ὄντος, διὰ Λαζικῆς πορευόμενοι ἐσβάλλωσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων. [4] ἐφύλασσαν δὲ οὔτε αὐτοὶ χρήματα ἢ στρατιὰν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δεχόμενοι οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις πη ξυστρατεύοντες, ἐπ' ἐμπορία δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐν πόντῳ ὥκημένους ἐργαζόμενοι. [5] αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἄλας οὔτε σῖτον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσι, δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας καὶ ἀνδράποδα παρεχόμενοι τὰ σφίσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκομίζοντο. [6] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Γουργένει τῷ Ἰβήρων βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Λαζοῖς ἥρξαντο, οἷς δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἤχθοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Πέτρῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἐπηρεάζουσιν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐπετῶς ἔχοντι. [7] ὁ δὲ Πέτρος οὗτος ὠρμητο μὲν ἐξ Ἀρζαννηῆς, ἣ ἐκτὸς Νυμφίου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ, Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσα, πρὸς Ἰουστίνου δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἠνδραπόδοιστο, ἠνίκα Ἰουστίνος μετὰ τὴν Ἀμίδης ἄλωσιν ξὺν τῷ Κέλερος στρατῷ ἐσέβαλλεν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. φιλανθρωπία δὲ πολλῇ χρωμένου τοῦ κεκτημένου ἐς αὐτὸν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἐφοίτησε. [8] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἰουστίνου γραμματεὺς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀναστασίου τετελευτηκότος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Πέτρος στρατηγὸς γεγωνὺς ἐς τε φιλοχρηματίαν εἶπερ τις ἄλλος ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀβελτερία πολλῇ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐχρήτο. [9] Ὑστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄλλους τε ἐς Λαζικὴν ἄρχοντας ἐπεμψε καὶ Ἰωάννην ὃν Τζίβον ἐκάλουν, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀφανῶν μὲν καὶ ἀδόξων ἀρχὴν γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγίαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι πονηρότατός τε ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἀδίκους ἱκανώτατος ἐξευρεῖν. ὃς δὴ ἅπαντα ἔσφηλέ τε καὶ συνετάραξε τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν πράγματα. [10] οὗτος καὶ βασιλεῖα Ἰουστινιανὸν πόλιν ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Πέτραν ὄνομα, ἐν Λαζοῖς δεῖμασθαι: ἐνταῦθά τε ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθήμενος ἦγέ τε καὶ ἔφερε τὰ Λαζῶν πράγματα. [11] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἄλας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φορτία Λαζοῖς ἀναγκαῖα ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα τοῖς ἐμποροῖς ἐξῆν, ἢ ἄλλοθι ἐνθένδε ὠνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέτρῳ ξυστησάμενος τὸ δὴ καλούμενον μονοπώλιον αὐτὸς κάπηλός τε καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐργασίας ἐπιστάτης ἐγίνετο, ἅπαντα ὠνούμενός τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος Κόλχοις, οὐχ ἥπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' ἥπερ ἐξῆν. [12] ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχθοντο ἐπιχωριάζοντι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰωθὸς πρότερον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἃ δὴ οὐκέτι φέρειν οἱοί τε ὄντες Πέρσαις τε καὶ Χοσρόῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, πρέσβεις τε αὐτίκα τοὺς ταῦτα διαπραζομένους κρύφα Ῥωμαίων παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψαν. [13] οἷς δὴ εἶρητο τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβοῦσιν ὅτι γε οὐποτε Λαζοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκδώσει Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ξὺν τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐπαγαγέσθαι. [14] Ἀφικόμενοι τοίνυν ἐς Πέρσας οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ Χοσρόῃ λάθρα ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε 'Εἴ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀποστάντας ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον, ἀνδράσι δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀγνώσι προσκεχωρηκότας οὐ δέον αὐθις εὖ ποιούσα ἢ τύχη ὥς μάλιστα ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὶν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐπιτηδεῖους, τοιοῦτους δὴ τινας καὶ Λαζοὺς, ὧς μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, [15] νόμιζε εἶναι. Κόλχοι γὰρ Πέρσαις σύμμαχοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες πολλὰ τε εἰργάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον: ὢν δὴ ἐν γράμμασι μνημεῖα πολλὰ ἡμεῖς τε ἔχομεν καὶ τοῖς

βασιλείοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν διασώζεται. [16] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις τετύχηκεν εἴτε παρ' ὑμῶν ἀμεληθεῖσιν εἴτε ἄλλου του ἔνεκα 'οὐ γὰρ ἔχομέν τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτων εἰδέναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδοις γενέσθαι. [17] καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ Λαζικῆς βασιλεὺς δίδομεν Πέρσαις ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὃ τι βούλοισθε χρῆσθαι. [18] δεόμεθα δὲ ὑμῶν οὕτως σκοπεῖσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν: εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων πεπονθότες δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἀγνωμοσύνη ἐχόμενοι κεχωρήκαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τήνδε ἡμῶν εὐθύς ἀποσείσασθε τὴν ἱκετείαν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὺς ἔσεσθαι Κόλχους οἰόμενοι 'φιλίας γὰρ διαλελυμένης ὁ τρόπος τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην πρὸς ἐτέρους καθισταμένης ἔλεγχος γίνεται: [19] εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φίλοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνδράποδα γεγονότες πιστά, ἔργα πεπόνθαμεν πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετυραννηκότων ἀνόσια, δέξασθε μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθε ξυμμάχους, κτήσασθε δὲ δούλους οἷς φίλοις ἐχρήσθε, μισήσατε δὲ τυραννίδα πικρὰν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἐγγεγερμένην, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄξια πράσσοντες ἦν περιστέλλειν ἀεὶ πάτριον Πέρσαις. [20] οὐ γὰρ ὁ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν δίκαιος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀδικουμένους ἔχων ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ρύεσθαι πέφυκεν. [21] ἔνια δὲ εἰπεῖν ὧν τετολμήκασιν οἱ κατάρτοι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄξιον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ τὸ σχῆμα μόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπόντες, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφήρηνται, καὶ κάθεται βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑπηρέτου μοίρᾳ, τὸν ἐπιτάττοντα στρατηγὸν δεδιώς: [22] στρατιᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν πλῆθος, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων φρουρήσουσιν 'οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ τις τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμᾶς πλὴν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἠνώχλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ ἐν δεσποτηρίῳ καθεῖρξαντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων γενήσονται. [23] λογιζάμενοι δὲ συντομωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, ὅρα, ὃ βασιλεῦ, [24] ἐς ὅποιαν τινὰ ἔννοιαν ἦλθον: τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἃ μὲν περιττὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τετύχηκεν, ἀναγκάζουσιν οὐχ ἐκόντας ὠνεῖσθαι Λαζούς, ὅσα δὲ αὐτοῖς χρησιμώτατα φέρειν Λαζικὴ πέφυκεν, οἷδε ἀξιοῦσι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' ἡμῶν πρίασθαι, τιμῆς ἐκατέρωθι γνώμη τῶν κρατούντων ὀριζομένης. [25] οὕτω τε ζῦν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἅπαν ἀφαιροῦνται τὸ χρυσίον ἡμᾶς, ὀνόματι μὲν τῷ τῆς ἐμπορίας εὐπρεπεῖ χρώμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα βιαζόμενοι. ἐφέστηκε τε ἡμῖν ἄρχων κάπηλος, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπορίαν ἐργασίαν τινὰ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ πεποιημένος. [26] ἡ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτία τοιαύτη τις οὕσα τὸ δίκαιον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει: ὅσα δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ζυμφορα ἔσται δεχομένοις τὴν Λαζῶν δέησιν αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. [27] τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ βασιλείαν ἀρχαιοτάτην προσθήσετε, μηκυνόμενόν τε ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔξετε τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, μετεῖναι δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσης ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυμβήσεται χώρας, ἐν ἣ πλοῖά σοι, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ναυπηγουμένῳ βατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παλάτιον ἔσται. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐναντίωμα οὐδὲν ἔστι. [28] προσθεῖη δ' ἂν τις ὥς καὶ ληίζεσθαι τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. [29] ὅρεσι γὰρ τοῖς Καυκασίοις ἐπιτείχισμα μέχρι τοῦδε γεγονέναι τὴν Λαζῶν χώραν πάντως πού καὶ ὑμεῖς ξυνεπίστασθε. [30] ἡγουμένου τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου, προσόντος δὲ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος, τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς λόγους προσέσθαι οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν εὐβουλίας οἰόμεθα εἶναι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. [31] Χοσρόης δὲ τοῖς λόγοις

ἡσθεῖς ἀμύνειν τε Λαζοῖς ὠμολόγησε καὶ τῶν πρέσβειων ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οἱ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἰέναι δυνατὰ εἴη. [32] πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόντων ἔφασκεν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ πρότερα δύσσοδον ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζῶνῳ τὴν χώραν εἶναι, κρημνῳδῇ τε ὑπερφυῶς οὖσαν καὶ δένδροις συχοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον συνεχομένην. [33] οἱ δὲ οἱ ἰσχυρίζοντο παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ὁδὸν εὐπετὴ ἔσεσθαι, τέμνουσι μὲν τὰ δένδρα, ἐς δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν τὰς δυσχωρίας αὐτὰ ἐμβαλλομένους. [34] καὶ αὐτοὶ ὠμολόγουν τῆς τε ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Πέρσαις ἔσεσθαι πρόπονοι. [35] ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπιρμένους τῇ ὑποθήκῃ στρατιάν τε πολλὴν ἡγείρε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἑφοδὸν ἐξηρτύετο, οὕτε τὸ βούλευμα ἐς Πέρσας ἐξενεγκῶν, πλὴν γε δὴ οἷς τὰ ἀπόρρητα κοινολογεῖσθαι μόνοις εἰώθει, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐπαγγείλας ὅπως τὰ πρassoμένα μηδενὶ φράσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλετο, ὥς τὰ τῇδε καταστησόμενος πράγματα: ἔθνος γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐνταῦθα πῇ ἐπισκῆψαι τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπεφήμιζεν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος Βελισάριος ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἡγείρε, καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμπε. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαι βουλόμενος, ἥν τινα ἐσβολὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν αὐθις ποιήσωνται, διεῖπτε τε αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκόσμει τοὺς στρατιώτας, γυμνοὺς τε καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὄντας, κατωρρωδηκότας τὸ Περσῶν ὄνομα. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι: πολέμου γὰρ Οὐννικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόῃ ἐτέρωθι εἶναι. [4] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν ἤθελε. [5] καὶ οἱ Ἀρέθας τε ζὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἦλθε καὶ βασιλεὺς γράμματα γράψας ἐσβάλλειν κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πολεμίων ἐπέστελλε γῆν. [6] ζυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν Δάρας ἔλεξε τοιάδε Ἄπαντας ὑμᾶς, ὧ ξυνάρχοντες, πολέμων πολλῶν ἐμπείρους οἶδα, ξυνήγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας ἢ παραίνεσίν τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρμήσω ὅν γὰρ λόγου δεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνάγοντος οἶμαί, ἀλλ' ὅπως συμβουλὴν τινα ἔν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἐλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ἂν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εἶναι. [7] πόλεμος γὰρ εὐβουλία πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐς βουλὴν καθισταμένους αἰδοῦς τε καὶ φόβου παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γνώμην. [8] ὃ τε γὰρ φόβος, αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότας ἐκπλήσσω, οὐκ ἔα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, ἢ τε αἰδῶς ἐπισκιάζουσα τοῖς δόξασιν εἶναι ἀμείνοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκφέρει τὴν γνώσιν. [9] εἴ τι τοίνυν ἢ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἢ ἐμοὶ βεβουλευθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων δοκεῖ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦτο εἰσίστω. [10] ὁ μὲν γὰρ μακρὰν πού ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν πρassoμένων, [11] οὐκ ἔχει τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόσαι τὰς πράξεις: ὥστε φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἰόντας τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. [12] ἐμὲ δὲ ἄνθρωπόν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντα μὴ οὐχὶ διαλαθεῖν τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. [13] ὥστε οὐδὲν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην αἰδεσθέντας ὑμᾶς προσήκει διαρρήδην εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἂν ξυνοίσειεν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ μέλλῃ. [14] τὸ

μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνθάδε ἦκομεν, ὃ ξυνάρχοντες, ὡς διακωλύοντες τὸν πολέμιον ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιήσασθαι, νῦν δέ, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν ἄμεινον ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδας κεχωρηκότων, πάρεστι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλευέσθαι. [15] ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ξυνειλεγμένους ὑμᾶς δίκαιον, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν ἅπερ ἂν ἄριστα τε δοκῇ καὶ ξυμφορώτατα ἐκάστω εἶναι.' [16] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Βούζης ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσοντα ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὴ τῇ γνώμῃ εἶποντο εὐθύς ὁ ξύλλογος ἅπας. [17] Ῥεκίθαγγος μέντοι καὶ Θεόκτιστος, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, ταῦτά μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν, δεδιέναι δὲ μὴ σφῶν ἐκλελοιπότων τά τε ἐπὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας χωρία, κατ' ἐξουσίαν μὲν Αλαμούνδαρος ταῦτα ληΐζεται, βασιλεὺς δὲ σφᾶς δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοι, ἅτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδῆφτον τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχον, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συνεισβάλλειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ ἄνδρῳ τοῦτω ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθῆ οἶεσθαι ἔλεγε. τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τροπὰς θερινὰς εἶναι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὥρας δύο μάλιστα μῆνας ἀνάθημα τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἐς αἰεὶ φέροντας ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπιδρομῇ τινι οὐποτε χρῆσθαι ἐς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν. [19] διὸ δὴ ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁμολογήσας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἅμω ἀφήσειν, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐξηρτύετο.

Χοσρόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀμείψαντες ἐν τοῖς τῆς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις, τῶν πρέσβεων σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, ἐγένοντο, τὰ δένδρα οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος ἐκτέμνοντες, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα συχνά τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀμφιλαφεῖ τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ὄντα παντάπασιν ἄβατον τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν χώραν ἐποίει, ταῦτά τε ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐρρίπτουν καὶ ὅλως εὐπετὴ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπειργάζοντο. [2] ἀφικομένοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐς μέσσην Κολχίδα 'οὗ δὴ τά τε ἀμφὶ Μήδειαν καὶ Ἰάσονα οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν' ἐλθὼν Γουβάζης, ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς, προσεκύνησεν ἅτε δεσπότην Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου, αὐτόν τε οἱ ξὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ Λαζικὴν ἐνδιδοὺς ἅπασαν. [3] Ὅστι δὲ Πέτρα πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἐν Κόλχοις, πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ καλουμένῳ πόντῳ, ἣν δὴ φαῦλόν τι χωρίον τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐχυράν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανῇ κατεστήσατο. [4] ἐνταῦθα τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα εἶναι ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μαθὼν ὁ Χοσρόης στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀνιαβέδην ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξελοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [5] γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε τοῦ περιβόλου τινὰ ἔξω γενέσθαι οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων φανῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευσεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα πλησίον πού τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησεν, ἐπιστείλας σιγῇ ἔχεσθαι, μήτε ἦχον μήτε φωνὴν ἀφιέντας τινά. [6] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἄγχιστά που τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι πολέμιον οὔτε καθεωρᾶτο οὐτ' ἠκούετο, ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν ἐκλελοιπότων, ἐνόμιζον. [7] διὸ δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀμφὶ τὸν περιβόλον ἦλθον, ὡς κλίμακας εὐθύς, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου, [8] ἐπιθήσοντες. πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν οὔτε ὀρῶντες οὔτε ἀκούοντες, πέμψαντες παρὰ Χοσροὴν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐδήλουν. [9] καὶ ὅς τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας πανταχόθεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε, κριῶ τε

τῇ μηχανῇ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας χρῆσθαι τῶν τινι ἀρχόντων ἐπέστελλεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόφῳ καθήμενος ὃς δὴ τῇ πολει ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐπίκειται, θεατῆς τῶν πρασσομένων ἐγένετο. [10] αὐτίκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέκλινον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων διέφθειραν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν κριὸν τεταγμένους: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις ξὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [11] θυμῷ τε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος Ἀνιαβέδην ἀνεσκολόπισεν, ἅτε καταστρατηγηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καπήλου τε καὶ ἀπολέμου τὸ παράπαν ἀνδρός. [12] τινὲς δὲ οὐκ Ἀνιαβέδην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς δὴ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς τὸν κριὸν ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναί φασιν. [13] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχιστά τε τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἀφίκετο καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. [14] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία κύκλῳ περιῶν τὸν περιβόλον, ἐπεὶ οὐ λίαν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτὸν ὑπώπτευσεν εἶναι, τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. τὸ τε στράτευμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα ἐπαγαγὼν ἔργου εἶχετο, καὶ τοξεύειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευε. [15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι ταῖς τε μηχαναῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐχρῶντο τοξεύμασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Πέρσαι, καίπερ συχνὰ κομιδῇ βάλλοντες, ὀλίγα τε Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνων, ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλόμενοι, [16] κακὰ ἔπασχον. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Πέτραν Χοσρόῃ ἀλῶναι βληθεὶς Ἰωάννης τύχη τινὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον θνήσκει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ὀλιγορίαν ἀπάντων κατέστησαν. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν: ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ διώρυχα ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐπενόουν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [18] Πέτρα ἢ πόλις πῇ μὲν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀπρόσοδος ἐστὶ, πῇ δὲ ἐκ πετρῶν ἀποτόμων, αἱ ταύτη πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔλαχε ταύτην. [19] μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν: κρημνοὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐξαίσιοι ἀποκρέμανται. [20] ἐνταῦθα προορώμενοι τὰ πρότερα οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμάμενοι μὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος ἐπίμαχον εἴη, τείχη μακρὰ παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν ἐκάτερον τῆς εἰσόδου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πεποιήνται. [21] τούτων τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐκατέρωθι πύργους ἐτεκτίναντο δύο, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ. [22] κενὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκοδομίας χωρίον οὐδαμῇ εἶασαν, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι ἐς ὕψος μέγα τοὺς πύργους λίθοις παμμεγέθεσιν ἀλλήλων ἐχομένοις εἰργάσαντο, ὅπως δὴ κριῶ ἢ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ ὥς ἥκιστα κατασεοιοῦντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν Πέτρας τοῦ περιβόλου ταύτη πῇ ἔχει. [23] Πέρσαι δὲ λάθρα ἐς τὴν γῆν κατῶρυχα ποιησάμενοι ἔνερθεν θατέρου τῶν πύργων ἐγένοντο, τῶν τε λίθων ἐνθένδε πολλοὺς ἐκφοροῦντες, ξύλα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐτίθεντο χώραν, ἅπερ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἔκαυσαν. [24] ἣ τε φλόξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη, διέθρυσεν μὲν τὴν τῶν λίθων ἰσχύν, ὅλον δὲ τὸν πύργον κατασείσασα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν αὐτίκα. [25] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἦσαν τοσοῦτον τῶν ποιουμένων ἦσθοντο πρότερον, ὅσον αὐτῷ μὴ ξυμπεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀλλὰ φυγόντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενέσθαι. [26] παρῇν τε ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τειχομαχοῦσι πόνῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. [27] διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς

καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία παρέδωσαν. οὕτω μὲν Πέτρων Χοσρόης εἶλε. [28] καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰωάννου χρήματα λίαν ἄδρὰ εὐρὼν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδενὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν Περσῶν ἤφατο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, οὐδέν τι πεπυσμένοι ὦν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο, κόσμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἐπὶ Νίσιβιν ἦεισαν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέσον ἐγένοντο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ στρατεύμα ἤγεεν, οὗ δὴ πηγαί τε ὑδάτων διαρκεῖς ἦσαν καὶ πεδῖον ἅπασιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον. [3] ἐνταῦθα τε στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Νισίβιδος πόλεως. [4] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄγχιστα πῇ ἐθέλοι τοῦ περιβόλου στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ὥς ἤκιστα οἱ ἐπεσθαι ἤθελον. [5] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὖσιν ἔλεξεν ὧδε Ἑμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἐς ἅπαντας ὅσα γινώσκω ἐξενεγκεῖν. λόγος γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενος οὐκ οἶδε τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἐπεὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προῖων μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκφέρεται. [6] ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς τε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἀταξία πολλῇ εἰκοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἕκαστον αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ἐθέλοντα εἶναι, λέξω τανῦν ἐν ὑμῖν ὅσα χρῆν σιωπᾶν, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πρότερον ὑπειπὼν, ὥς πολλῶν ἐν στρατιᾷ γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ χρωμένων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. [7] οἶμαι τοίνυν Χοσρόην ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἰόντα βαρβάρους ὥς ἤκιστα φυλακῆς τινος αὐτάρκους χωρὶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολιπεῖν γῆν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἥ πρώτη τε τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκείνου γῆς προβεβλημένη. [8] ἐν ἧ στρατιώτας εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τοσοῦτους τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιούτους τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεστήσατο ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐφόδοις ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ὑμῖν. [9] Ναβέδην γὰρ στρατηγὸν τούτοις ἐπέστησεν, ὃς δὴ μετὰ γε τὸν Χοσρόην αὐτὸν δόξῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ. [10] ὃν ἐγωγε οἶμαι καὶ ἀποπειράσεσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἡμῖν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡσσηθέντα ἐνδώσειν. [11] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστα πού τῆς πόλεως ἢ ξυμβολὴ εἶη, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τε καὶ Πέρσαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. [12] αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐχυροῦ ἐπεξιόντες εὐημερήσαντές τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον θαρρήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἡσσηθέντες εὐπετῶς διαφεύξονται τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιθέσιν. [13] δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ διώξις ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνθὲνδε οὐδὲν γενήσεται βλάβος, ἦν τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὕσαν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένων ὁρᾶτε δήπου. [14] ἦν δέ γε τῶν πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα ἡμῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν πολλήν τινα, ᾧ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [15] φεύγουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺν τινα δρόμον ἢ ἀναμιχθέντες εἰσω πυλῶν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ξυνεισπεσούμεθα, ἢ προτερήσαντες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἐτέρας τινὸς ἀναγκάσομεν τετράφθαι τε καὶ διαφυγεῖν χώρας, ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς Νίσιβιν τῶν ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς εὐάλωτον καταστήσομεν.' [16] Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπειθοντό τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. Πέτρος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐταιρισάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμία καταλόγων ἄρχων μοῖραν οὐ φαύλην τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶχεν, οὐκ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ

σταδίων δέκα ἔλθων ἡσυχή ἔμενε. [17] Βελισάριος δὲ τοὺς τε ζὺν αὐτῷ ὥς εἰς παράταξιν ἔστησε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρου ἐπέστελλεν ὥς ἐπὶ ξυμβολῇ παρατάσσεσθαι μέχρι αὐτὸς σημήνη, εὖ τε εἰδέναι ὥς οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπιθήσονται σφίσιν, ἐκεῖνο δηλονότι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν μεταλαγχάνειν εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ μεσημβρίαν. [18] Βελισάριος μὲν ταῦτα παρήνει· οἱ δὲ ζὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἀμφὶ τε ἡμέραν μέσσην τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἔστι γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐπικεικῶς αὐχμῶδες· τὰ τε ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφροντιστήσαντες σικύους ἐνταῦθά πη φυομένους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιόντες κατήσθιον. [19] ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ Ναβέδης δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅτι γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ καθεωρῶντο λαμπρῶς ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ ἰόντες· παρὰ τε Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, ἀμύνειν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι, [21] ἀκοσμία δὲ καὶ θυρόβῳ ἐχόμενοι ὑπηγνιάζον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον, οὕτω παρὰ σφᾶς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀφικομένου γνόντες διὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. [22] ἐπελθόντες τε Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους οὐχ ὑποστάντας τὴν ἔφοδον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἐπιστόμενοι δὲ πεντήκοντά τε διέφθειραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου σημεῖον ἀρπάσαντες ἔσχον. [23] ἅπαντάς τε ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διώξει ἔκτειναν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν ὀρώντας, εἰ μὴ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ ζὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς καταλαβὼν διεκώλυσε. [24] πρῶτους γὰρ ἀπάντων ζὺν δόρασι μακροῖς τε καὶ συχοῖς Γότθους ἐπιόντας Πέρσαι οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [25] ἐπιστόμενοί τε Ῥωμαῖοι ζὺν Γότθοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔκτειναν. διὸ ὀλίγου γὰρ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [26] τότε μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ζύμπαντες ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῇ ἐπιγινομένη ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πύργῳ τινὶ ἔστησαν ἀντὶ τροπαίου τὸ Πέτρου σημεῖον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντάς τε αὐτοῦ ἀποκρεμάσαντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ζὺν γέλῳτι ἐπετάθασον, ἐπεξιέναι μέντοι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλασσον.

Βελισάριός τε Νίσιβιν ὁρῶν ἐχυρὰν ὑπερφυῶς οὔσαν, ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ἀλώσεως πέρι, πρόσω ἰέναι ἠπείγετο ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυμήνηται. [2] ἄρας τοίνυν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει. ἀνύσαντές τε ἡμέρας ὁδὸν φρουρίῳ ἐνέτυχον ὃ Σισαυράνων καλοῦσι Πέρσαι. [3] ἐνταῦθα πληθὸς τε οἰκητόρων ἦν καὶ ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι Περσῶν ἄριστοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἷς ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Βλησχάμης ὄνομα, ἐφειστήκει. [4] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ φρουρίου στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, προσβολὴν τε τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιησάμενοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, [5] πολλοὺς τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τὸ τε γὰρ τεῖχος ἐς ἅγαν ἐχυρὸν ἐτύγγανεν ὃν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καρτερώτατα ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας [6] Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἐμπειρία πολέμων πολλῶν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόροις προορᾶν τε τὰ ξυμβησόμενα καὶ δυνατοῖς εἶναι πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. [7] ἐπίστασθε τοίνυν πηλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν στράτευμα ἐς γῆν πολεμίαν, πολλῶν μὲν ὀχυρωμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ μαχίμων ἐν τούτοις ἀνδρῶν ὀπισθεν

ἀπολελειμμένων, [8] πορεύεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχηκεν. ἐπίπροσθεν γὰρ ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἐπόμενοι λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐν χωρίοις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κακουργήσουσιν ἐπιτηδεῖως αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐνέδραν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχουσιν. [9] ἦν δέ πη καὶ ἄλλος ἀπαντήσῃ στρατὸς εἰς τε μάχην καθιστῶνται, πρὸς ἐκατέρους μὲν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη τετάξεσθαι, πάθοιμεν δ' ἂν οὕτω πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ ἀνήκεστα: ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πταίσαντες ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπάνοδον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. [10] μὴ τοίνυν ἀλογίστω σπουδῇ χρώμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐσκυλευκότες φαινώμεθα, μηδὲ τῷ φιλονείκῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα βλάψωμεν. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθὴς ἐς ὄλεθρον φέρει, μέλλησις δὲ σώφρων ἐς τὸ σώζειν αἰετὸς αὐτῇ χρωμένους ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν. [11] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐξελεῖν πειρώμεθα τὸ φρούριον τόδε, Ἀρέθας δὲ ζῦν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας χωρία στελλέσθω. [12] Σαρακηνοὶ γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν μὲν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι φύσει, ἐς δὲ τὸ ληΐζεσθαι πάντων μάλιστα δεξιοί. [13] συνεισβαλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατιῶται τῶν μαχίμων τινὲς, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε, μηδενὸς μὲν ἐναντιώματος σφίσι φανέντος, τὰ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς προσπεσόντας ἐργάσωνται, ἦν δέ τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον, εὐπετῶς ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς ἡμᾶς σώζονται. [14] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξελόντες, ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ, τὸ φρούριον, οὕτω δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβαίνωμεν, οὐ δεδιότες μὲν τοὺς ὀπισθεν κακουργήσοντας, εὖ δὲ εἰδότες ὅπῃ ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει. [15] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος εὖ τε λέγειν ἅπασιν ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ βούλευμα εὐθὺς ἐπετέλει. Ἀρέθαν τε ζῦν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι καὶ αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας διακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, δορυφόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας δύο, Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φαγᾶν καλούμενον, ἅμφω ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. [16] καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν Ἀρέθα πειθομένοις ἅπαντα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν, Ἀρέθαν δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκέλευε τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ληισάμενον οὕτω τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανήκοντα ἀπαγγέλλειν σφίσιν ὅποιά ποτε δυνάμεως πέρι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα εἴη. [17] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρέθαν Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο. [18] οὗ δὴ χώραν τε ἀγαθὴν εὐρόντες καὶ μακροῦ χρόνου ἀδήωτον, ταύτην τε ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πολλὰ ληισάμενοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων χρήματα μεγάλα περιεβάλλοντο. [19] τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τῶν τινὰς Περσῶν ξυλλαβόν, ἐνδεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παντελῶς ἔμαθεν. [20] οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν Δάρας τε καὶ Νισίβιδι πόλει, ἐν δημοσίῳ τὰς ἐπετείους τροφὰς ἀποτίθεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίων στρατοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐσκομισάμενοί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ ἔφθισαν. [21] ἄφρων δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ φρούριον καταφυγόντων, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπέζοντο. [22] ἃ δὴ Βελισάριος γνούς Γεώργιον ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντα, ἀποπειρασόμενον τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, εἴ πως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ δύναιτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. [23] Γεώργιος δὲ παραίνεσίν τε ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπὼν, ἔπεισε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντας ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις. [24] οὕτω Βελισάριος τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐλὼν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας ἅπαντας,

Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντας, ἀθόφους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας ξὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ φρουρίου περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε. [25] βασιλεὺς τε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τούτους τε τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τὸν Βλησχάμην ἐς Ἰταλίαν Γότθοις πολεμήσοντας ἔπεμψε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Σισαυράνων φρουρίῳ ταύτῃ ἐχώρησεν. [26] Ἀρέθας δέ, δεῖσας μὴ τὴν λείαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀφαιρεθεῖν, οὐκέτι ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠθέλε. [27] πέμψας οὖν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκέλευε λάθρα ὡς τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντας σημῆναι σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ πολὺς τις πολεμίων στρατὸς ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν εἶη. [28] διὸ δὴ Τραϊανῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ παρήνει ἐτέρα ἰοῦσιν ὁδῷ ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. [29] παρὰ μὲν οὖν Βελισάριον οὐκέτι ἦλθον, ἔχοντες δὲ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ οὕτω δὴ ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἀβόρρᾳ ποταμῷ ἴκοντο. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου πυθόμενοι ἤσχαλλον, ἔς τε δέος καὶ ὑποψίαν οὔτε φορητὴν τινα οὔτε μετρίαν ἐμπίπτοντες. [31] χρόνου τε σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρεῖα τριβέντος συχνοῦ ξυνέβη πολλοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πυρετῷ δυσκόλῳ ἐνταῦθα ἀλῶναι: αὐχμηρὰ γὰρ Μεσοποταμία ἢ Περσῶν κατήκοος ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. [32] οὐπερ ἀήθεις ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ ἐκ Θράκης ὀρμώμενοι, ἐν χωρίῳ ἐκτόπως αὐχμῶδει καὶ καλύβαις τισὶ πνιγηραῖς ὥρα θέρους δίαιταν ἔχοντες, ἐνόσησαν οὕτως ὥστε ἡμιθνήτες τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔκειντο. [33] ἅπας μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἐπανήκειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπάντων οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ καταλόγων ἄρχοντες, Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος, ὀρῶντες ὅτι δὴ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνάθημα παρῳήκεν ἤδη. [34] Βελισαρίῳ γοῦν συχνὰ προσιόντες ἐδέοντο σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρόμενοι ὡς Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ τά τε ἐπὶ Λιβάνου καὶ Συρίας χωρία ἐνδόντες κάθηνται αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [35] Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας βουλὴν προὔθηκεν. [36] οὗ δὴ ἀναστὰς πρῶτος. Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου υἱὸς ἔλεξε τοιάδε ᾿Αριστε Βελισάριε, στρατηγὸν μὲν οὔτε τὴν τύχην οὔτε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου γεγενῆσθαι τοιοῦτον οἶμαι οἶος αὐτὸς εἶ. [37] δόξα τε αὕτη οὐ Ῥωμαίων κεκράτηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων ἀπάντων. [38] ταύτην μέντοι βεβαιότατα διαφυλάξεις τὴν εὐκλειαν, ἣν γε ζῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν διασώσασθαι δυνατὸς εἶης: ὡς νῦν γε ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται. οὕτωσί γάρ μοι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ σκόπει. [39] Σαρακηνοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες, ἡμέραν οὐκ οἶδα ὀπόστην ἄνω ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἀφίκοντο ὥστε οὐδὲ ἄγγελον πέμψαι τινὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἴσχυσαν: Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος ἀποπορεύσονται, ὡς ὁρᾷς δήπουθεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν Ἀλαμουνδάρου στρατὸν ἐν Φοίνιζι μέσοις εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἄγοντά τε καὶ φέροντα ζύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. [40] τῶν δὲ λειπομένων οἱ νοσοῦντές εἰσι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς θεραπεύσοντάς τε καὶ κομιοῦντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἐλάσσους αὐτῶν παρὰ πολὺ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. [41] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἣν τι ξυμβαίῃ πολέμιον ἢ αὐτοῦ μένουσιν ἢ ὀπίσω ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀπαντῆσαι, οὐδ' ἂν τις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν Δάρας Ῥωμαίοις δύναιτο τὸ ξυμπεσὸν πάθος. [42] τὸ γὰρ

ἐπίπροσθὲ πη ἰέναι οὐδὲ λόγῳ οἶμαι δυνατόν εἶναι. ἕως οὖν ἔτι λείπεται τις ἐλπίς, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ πράσσειν ξυνοίσει. [43] τοῖς γὰρ ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλως τε καὶ τοιοῦτον καθεστηκόσι μὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐς [44] τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβουλὴν πολλὴ ἄνοια.’ τοσαῦτα Ἰωάννης τε εἶπε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν, ἕς τε θόρυβον καθιστάμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν κατὰ τάχος ποιεῖσθαι ἠξίου. [45] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος πρότερον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνθέμενος, [46] ὑπήγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπειδὴ τε τάχιστα ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ εἰργασμένα ἔγνω, δίκην μέντοι λαβεῖν οὐδεμίαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐς ὅψιν οὐκέτι ἦλθεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεῦτα. [47] Χοσρόῃ δὲ Πέτρᾳ ἐλόντι Βελισάριος ἐσβάλων ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἠγγέλλετο καὶ ἡ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν ξυμβολή, φρουρίου τε τοῦ Σισαυράνων ἢ ἄλλωσις, καὶ ὅσα Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβὰν τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ στράτευμα ἔπρασεν. [48] αὐτίκα τε φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καταστησάμενος, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπῆλυνε. [49] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἐλθὼν διεχείμαζεν.

Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Χοσρόῃς ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τρίτον στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. [2] Κάνδιδος δέ, ὁ Σεργιουπόλεως ἱερεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά που ἦκειν ἐπύθετο, δείσας περὶ τέ οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ Χοσρόῃ τὰ ὁμολογημένα ὥς ἦκιστα ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ γενόμενος παρητεῖτο Χοσρόῃν μὴ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔχειν. [3] χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βεβουλῆσθαι Σουρηνοὺς ῥύεσθαι, βασιλέα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων πολλὰ ἱκετεύσας ἀνόνητος αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. [4] Χοσρόῃς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πικρότατα αἰκιζόμενος διπλάσια τὰ χρήματα, ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο, πράττειν ἠξίου. [5] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν τινας ἱκέτευε πέμψαι τὰ κειμήλια ξύμπαντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῦ ληγομένων. [6] καὶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόῃς ἐποίει, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰ ὁ Κάνδιδος ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν. [7] οἱ μὲν οὖν Σεργιουπολῖται τοὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντας τῇ πόλει δεξάμενοι τῶν κειμηλίων πολλὰ ἔδοσαν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἀπολελειφθαι ἰσχυρίζόμενοι. [8] Χοσρόῃς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἀποχρῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἕτερα τούτων πλείω λαβεῖν ἐδίκαιον. [9] πέμπει τοίνυν τινὰς τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διερευνησομένους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν καθέξοντας. [10] καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Σεργιούπολιν Πέρσαις ἀλῶναι, τῶν τις Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανὸς μὲν, ταπτόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, Ἄμβρος ὄνομα, νύκτωρ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλας, ἐκέλευε Πέρσας τῇ πόλει μηδαμῇ δέξασθαι. [11] οὕτω τε οἱ παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντες ἄπρακτοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανῆλθον, καὶ ὃς τῷ θυμῷ ζέων τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν διανοεῖτο. [12] στράτευμα οὖν ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους στείλας ἐκέλευεν ἕς τε πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι καὶ προσβολὰς τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. [13] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο, Σεργιουπολῖται δὲ καρτερῶς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἡμύνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπειπόντες τε καὶ κατωρρωδικότες τὸν

κίνδυνον ἐβουλεύοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδύοναι. [14] στρατιώτας γὰρ οὐ πλέον ἢ διακοσίους ἔχοντες ἔτυχον. ἀλλὰ Ἀμβρος, αὐθις παρὰ τὸν περίβολον ἐς νύκτα ἦκων, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν τὴν πολιορκίαν διαλύσειν Πέρσας ἔφασκε, τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντος. [15] διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδαμῇ ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δῖφει ἐχόμενοι ἐξανέστησάν τε καὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκοντο. Κάνδιδον μέντοι Χοσρόης οὐκέτι ἀφῆκε. [16] χρῆν γάρ, οἶμαι, αὐτὸν τὰ ὁμομοσμένα ἡλογηκότα ἱερέα μηκέτι εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [17] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνῶν χώραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀφίκετο, ἦν καλοῦσιν Εὐφρατησίαν, ἐς λείαν μὲν ἢ χωρίου του ἄλωσιν τρέπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μέχρι ἐς Σύρους τὰ μὲν ἐξελών, τὰ δὲ ἀργυρολογήσας πρότερον ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. [18] γνώμην δὲ εἶχεν εὐθὺ Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κειμήλια πάντα λήσῃται. χώραν γὰρ ταύτην ἀγαθὴν τε διαφερόντως καὶ πολυχρύσων οἰκητόρων εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχε. [19] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἅπαντες, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάζειν ἢ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐμποδῶν ἵστασθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ διεννοοῦντο, τὰ δὲ ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες ὡς ἕκαστος ἡδύνατο, ἀποχρῆν φοντο ταῦτά τε διαφυλάσσειν καὶ αὐτοὶ σώζεσθαι. [20] Γνούς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βελισάριον αὐθις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς δημοσίοις ὀχούμενος, οὓς δὴ βερέδους καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἄτε οὐ στράτευμα ζύν αὐτῷ ἔχων, τάχει πολλῷ ἐς Εὐφρατησίαν ἀφίκετο, Ἰούστος δέ, ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιός, ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ζύν τε τῷ Βούξῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ καταφυγὼν ἔτυχεν. [21] οἱ δὴ Βελισάριον οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν ἦκειν ἀκούσαντες γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγραφον: [22] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε 'Καὶ νῦν ὁ Χοσρόης, ὥσπερ οἴσθ᾽ αὖτε καὶ αὐτός, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσε, στρατὸν μὲν πολλῷ πλείονα ἢ πρότερον ἄγων, ὅπῃ ποτὲ δὲ ἰέναι διανοούμενος οὐπὼ ἐνδηλος ὢν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἄγχιστ' αὖτε ἀκούομεν εἶναι, χωρίῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ λυμηνάμενον, ὁδῷ δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπίπροσθεν ἰόντα. [23] ἀλλ' ἦκε παρ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, εἴπερ οἶός τε εἴ λαθεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπως δὴ σῶς τε αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἔσῃ καὶ Ἱεράπολιν [24] ἡμῖν ξυμφυλάξης.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐς Εὐρωπὸν τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκετο, ὃ πρὸς Εὐφράτη ποταμῷ ἐστίν. [25] ἐνθὲνδε τε περιπέμπων πανταχόσε τὸν στρατὸν ἠγείρει καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεστήσατο, ἄρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ἡμείβετο τοῖσδε, 'Εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπων τινάς, ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ὁ Χοσρόης χωρεῖ, εὖ τε καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ὑμῖν βεβούλευται ταῦτα: [26] οἷς γὰρ πάρεστιν ἡσυχῇ μένουσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, πολλὴ ἄνοια ἐς κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν τινα ἰέναι: εἰ δὲ νῦν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἑτέρα τινὶ ἐπισκῆπυ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ χώρα, καὶ ταύτῃ διαφερόντως μὲν ἀγαθῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ οὐδαμῇ στρατιωτῶν ἐχούσῃ, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὸ ζῆν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ σεσῶσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. [27] οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωτηρία τοῦτό γε, ἀλλὰ προδοσία δικαίως καλοῖτο. ἀλλ' ἦκετε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὸν Εὐρωπὸν, οὗ δὴ συλλέξας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ [28] ἐλπίδα ἔχω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶδον, ἐθάρρησάν τε καὶ

Ἰουῆστον μὲν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ ἔλιπον ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν φυλάξουσιν,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ εἰς Εὐρώπὸν ἦλθον.

Χοσρόης δὲ μαθὼν Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ἐν Εὐρωπῇ, πρόσω μὲν ἐλαύνειν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, τῶν δὲ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων ἓνα, Ἀβανδάνην ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμψε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁποῖός ποτε εἶη κατασκευόμενον, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ μεμψόμενον ὅτι δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς Πέρσας ἥκιστα πέμψειεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πρυτανεύσωσιν. ὅπερ μαθὼν Βελισάριος ἐποίει τοιαῦτα. [2] αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐμήκεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα καλοὺς μάλιστα, μακρὰν που ἄποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐστάλη, Διογένην δὲ τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα Ἀρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα ὁ σιλεντιάρχους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπικείται, τότε δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάνας ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις περιεῖναι τὴν ἐκείνη ἡῖονα ἐκέλευε, δόκησιν αἰεὶ παρεχομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς, ἦν ἐθέλωσι τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ὁδῷ ἵεναι, οὐ μὴποτε ἐπιτρέψουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [3] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἄγχιστά πη ἐπέπυστο εἶναι, καλύβην ἐκ παχειῶν τινῶν σινδόνων πηξάμενος, ἦν δὴ παπυλεῶνα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, παραδηλὼν ὅτι δὴ οὐδεμιᾷ παρασκευῇ ἐνταῦθα ἦκοι. [4] τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας διέταξεν ὥδε. τῆς μὲν καλύβης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Θρᾶκές τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἦσαν, Γότθοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦς, καὶ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ἑρουλοὶ, μεθ' οὓς Βανδίλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι ἦσαν. [5] τοῦ τε πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ χώρας αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ διεστηκότες τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ περιπάτους ποιοῦμενοι παρέργως τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα κατεσπουδασμένως ἐς τὸν Χοσρόου πρεσβευτὴν ἔβλεπον. [6] εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε χλαμύδα οὔτε ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινά, ἀλλὰ χιτῶνας μὲν λινοῦς καὶ ἀναξυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἴτα διεζωσμένοι ἐβάδιζον. [7] εἶχε δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου μάλιστα ἕκαστος, ὅπλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ξίφος ἦν, τῷ δὲ πέλεκος, τῷ δὲ τόξα γυμνά. [8] δόκησιν τε παρείχοντο ἅπαντες ὅτι δὴ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κυνηγετήσιν ἠπείγοντο. [9] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀβανδάνης Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἔφη, ὅτι δὴ καθὰ ξυνέκειτο πρότερον οὐ πέμψει παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ Καῖσαρ 'οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα καλοῦσι Πέρσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Χοσρόης ἠνάγκαστο ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅλοις ἦκειν. [10] Βελισάριος δὲ οὔτε κατορρωδήσας, ἄτε πη ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδευμένων βαρβάρων τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ ἐς ταραχὴν τινα καταστάς, ἀλλὰ γελῶντί τε καὶ ἀνειμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀμείβεται 'Οὐ ταύτη' λέγων 'ἢ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τανῦν εἵργασται νενόμισται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα. [11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, ἦν τι ἀντιλέγοιτο σφίσι τε καὶ τῶν πέλας τισί, πρεσβεύουσι μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς πρότερον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν μετρίων μὴ τύχωσιν, οὕτω δὴ πολέμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴασιν. [12] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προτείνεται λόγους.' ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο. [13] Ὁ δὲ παρὰ Χοσρόην γενόμενος παρήνει οἱ ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] στρατηγῷ τε γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν ἔφη ἀνδρειοτάτῳ τε καὶ ξυνετωτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ στρατιώταις οἴους

ἄλλους αὐτὸς οὐ πάποτε εἶδεν, ὧν δὴ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν θαυμάσειε μάλιστα πάντων, εἶναι τε οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τὴν ἀγωνίαν, διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν Καῖσαρος νικήσει δοῦλον, ἡσηθηεὶς δέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μέγα τι αἴσχος τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ πορίσεται καὶ τῷ Περσῶν γένει, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν νενικημένοι ῥαδίως ἂν ἔν τε ὀχυρώμασι καὶ γῇ τῇ αὐτῶν διασώζοιντο, αὐτῶν δέ, ἣν γέ τι ἐναντίωμα ξυμβαίη, οὐδ' ἂν ἄγγελος διαφύγοι ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν. [15] ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναπεισθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐβούλετο, ἀμηχανία δὲ πολλῇ εἶχετο. [16] τὴν τε γὰρ διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων φυλάσσεσθαι ὤφειτο καὶ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ, ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν οὕσῃ, ὅπισω ἀπελαύνειν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει ἅπερ τὸ πρότερον ζῶν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλον. [17] τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λογισαμένῳ ξυμφορώτατόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι μάχῃ διακινδυνεύσαντι ἐς γῆν τε τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἥκειν καὶ διὰ χώρας πᾶσιν εὐθηνούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ εὖ μὲν ἡπίστατο ὥς οὐδ' ἂν δέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάβασιν Χοσρόῃ ἀναχαιτίζειν ποτὲ ἱκαναὶ εἴεν: 'ὁ τε γὰρ ποταμὸς πολλαχῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ναυσὶ διαβατὸς ὧν ἐπὶ πλείστον τυγχάνει, καὶ κρεῖσσον ἦν ἄλλως τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἢ πρὸς πολεμίων ὀλίγων τινῶν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι: τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον σὺν τοῖς χιλίοις ἐπέστελλε τὰ πρῶτα περυνέαι τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν, ὅπως δὴ ἐς ταραχὴν ἀφασίᾳ τινὶ τὸν βάρβαρον καταστήσονται. [19] ὄνπερ δεδιζάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἔδεισε μὴ τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἔδεισε μὴ τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα εἶη ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς. [20] λόγου τέ οἱ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἐξελάσαι ἐνθένδε τὸν Χοσρόου στρατόν, οὐδεμιᾷ κινδυνεύσαντι μάχῃ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς ζῶν στρατιώταις λίαν τε ὀλίγοις οὗσι καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπτηχόσι τὸν Μήδων στρατόν. διὸ δὴ ἐκέλευε Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον ἡσυχῇ μένειν. [21] Ὁ γοῦν Χοσρόης γέφυραν σὺν πολλῷ τάχει πηξάμενος, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέβη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ. [22] Πέρσαις γὰρ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαβατοὶ εἰσι ποταμοὶ ἅπαντες, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἀγκιστροειδῇ σιδήρια ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐστίν, οἷς δὴ ξύλα μακρὰ ἐς ἄλληλα ἐναρμόζοντες γέφυραν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα ὅπῃ ἂν σφίσι βουλομένοις εἶη. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρῳ, πέμψας παρὰ Βελισάριον αὐτὸς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κεχαρίσθαι τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔφασκε, προσδέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὓς σφίσι παρέσεσθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἄξιον εἶναι. [24] Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάς παρὰ Χοσρόην εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. [25] οἱ, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, πολλὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐπαινέσαντες, πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἤξουν παρὰ βασιλέως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέσχοντο, οἱ δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγκείμενα πρότερον ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται. [26] ἡξιοῦν τε διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅτε φίλων αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπεδέχετο ἐπιτελέσειν, εἴ τινά οἱ δοῖεν τῶν δοκίμων ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πράξουσιν. [27] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπανάγοντες τοὺς Χοσρόου λόγους ἀπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν

Ἐδεσσαν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωάννην τὸν Βασιλείου παῖδα, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πάντων τῶν Ἐδεσησίων διαφανέστατον, ὄμηρον τῷ Χοσρόῃ οὐτὶ ἐκούσιον εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε. [28] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις εἶχον, μᾶλλον τε σφίσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδόκει ἢ ὅτε Γελίμερα δορυάλωτον ἢ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκεν. [29] ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον, πεφοβημένων μὲν κὰν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι κρυπτομένων Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, Χοσρόου δὲ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν μέσῃ γεγονότος Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ζῆν ὀλίγοις τισὶ δρόμῳ ὅξει ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταξὺ ἦκοντα ἀπὲν ἐναντίας τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, Χοσρόην δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου, ἢ τὴν τύχην ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεῖσαντα ἢ καὶ τισιν ἐξαπατηθέντα σοφίσμασιν, ἐπίπροσθεν μηκέτι χωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ φυγεῖν, λόγῳ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίεσθαι. [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμολογημένα Καλλίνικον πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀμυνομένου εἶλε. ταύτης γὰρ τὸν περιβόλον ὀρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι σαθρόν τε καὶ εὐάλωτον παντάπασιν ὄντα, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ καθαιροῦντές τινα, νέα τινὶ ἀνενοῦντο οἰκοδομίᾳ. [31] τότε γοῦν μέρος τι αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, οὐπῶ δὲ τὸ λειπόμενον τοῦτο δειμιάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, τῶν χρημάτων ὑπεξαγαγόντες τὰ τιμώτατα, οἱ μὲν εὐδαίμονες αὐτῆς τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐς ἕτερα ἅττα ὀχυρώματα ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιωτῶν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. [32] καὶ γεωργῶν πάμπολόν τι χρῆμα ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλέχθαι συνέβη. οὐς ὁ Χοσρόης ἀνδραποδίσας ἅπαν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. [33] ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον τὸν ὄμηρον Ἰωάννην δεξάμενος, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. [34] Ἀρμένιοι τε οἱ τῷ Χοσρόῃ προσκεχωρηκότες, τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντες, ζῆν τῷ Βασσάκῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος· ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν αὐθις σταλήσεται, πονηρῶν ἤδη παντάπασιν τῶν ἐκεῖνη πραγμάτων Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους λοιμοὶς γεγονεν, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἅπαντα ὀλίγου ἐδέησε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐξίτηλα εἶναι. ἅπασιν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκῆπτουσιν ἴσως ἂν καὶ λέγοιτό τις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τολμητῶν αἰτίου λόγος, οἷα πολλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ αἰτίας τερατεύεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀνθρώπῳ καταληπτὰς οὐσας, φυσιολογίας τε ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους, ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν ὡς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀποχρῆν δὲ ἡγούμενοι σφίσιν, ἦν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τῷ λόγῳ ἐξαπατήσαντες πείσωσι. [2] τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ πρόφασιν τινα ἢ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἢ διανοίᾳ λογίσασθαι μηχανὴ τις οὐδεμία ἐστί, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. [3] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τισὶ γέγονεν οὐδέ τινα ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσχεν, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ σοφίσματα αἰτίας εὐρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἀλλὰ περιεβάλλετο μὲν τὴν γῆν ζύμπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντας ἔβλαψε, καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τοῦναντίον παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὔτε φύσεώς τινος οὔτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. [4] εἴτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοικήσει εἴτε νόμῳ διαίτης, ἢ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἢ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωποι διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ μόνη τῇ νόσῳ τὸ διαλλάσσειν οὐδὲν ὦνησεν. [5] ἐπέσκηψε δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥρᾳ

θήρους, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καιροὺς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὧς
πῃ ἕκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν
τε ἤρξατο ἢ νόσος ἦδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν
ἔρχομαι. [6] Ἦρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ὥκηνται ἐν Πηλουσίῳ. γενομένη δὲ
δίχα πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρησε, πῇ δὲ ἐπὶ
Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὁμόρους ἦλθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τε κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν
σύμπασαν, ὁδῶ τε αἰεὶ προϊοῦσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα τοῖς καθήκουσιν. [7]
ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη διατριβὴν
ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ φθόρῳ χρωμένη, σκεδαννυμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατίας, ὥσπερ
δεδοικυῖα μὴ τις αὐτὴν τῆς γῆς διαλάθοι μυχός. [8] οὔτε γὰρ νησὶν τίνα ἢ
σπῆλαιον ἢ ἀκρώρειαν ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσιν: ἦν δὲ πού τίνα
καὶ παρήλασε χώραν, ἢ μὴ ψαύσασα τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀμωσγέπως
αὐτῶν ἀψαμένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐθις ἐνταῦθα ἐπανιοῦσα τῶν μὲν
περιοίκων, οἷς δὴ πικρότατα ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἤψατο, τῆς δὲ
χώρας ἐκείνης οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν
τετελευτηκότων ἀπέδωκεν, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὥκημένοις χρόνῳ τῷ
προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. [9] ἀρξαμένη δὲ αἰεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἢ νόσος
ἦδε, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνέβαινε χώραν. δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐς Βυζάντιον
μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἥρος ἀφίκετο, [10] ἐνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη.
ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοῖς ἐς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν ὥφθη,
ὅσοι τε αὐτοῖς παραπίπτοιεν, παίεσθαι ᾤοντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀνδρὸς
ὅπῃ παρατύχοι τοῦ σώματος, ἅμα τε τὸ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἐώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ
αὐτίκα ἠλίσκοντο. [11] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οἱ παραπεπτοκότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι
αὐτὰ ἐπειρῶντο, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων ἀποστοματίζοντες τὰ θεϊότατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ἐξοσιούμενοι, ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο, ἦνουν μέντοι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ
κὰν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πλείστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθείροντο. [12] ὕστερον δὲ οὐδὲ
τοῖς φίλοις καλοῦσιν ἐπακούειν ἠξίου, ἀλλὰ καθερίζαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς
δωματίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαῖοιεν προσεποιοῦντο, καίπερ ἀρασσομένων αὐτοῖς
τῶν θυρῶν, δειμαίνοντες δηλονότι μὴ δαιμόνων τις ὁ καλῶν εἴη. [13] τισὶ δὲ
οὐχ οὕτως ὁ λοιμὸς ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' ὅσιν ὀνείρου ἰδόντες ταῦτ' οὗτο πρὸς
τοῦ ἐπιστάντος πάσχειν ἐδόκουν, ἢ λόγου ἀκούειν προλέγοντος σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ
ἐς τῶν τεθνηξομένων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάγραπτοι εἶεν. [14] τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις οὔτε
ὑπάρ οὔτε ὄναρ αἰσθημένοις τοῦ ἐσομένου εἶτα τῇ νόσῳ ξυνέβη ἀλῶναι. [15]
ἠλίσκοντο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπύρεσσον ἄφνω, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγηγερμένοι,
οἱ δὲ περιπάτους ποιοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλο ὅ τι δὴ πράσσοντες. [16] καὶ τὸ μὲν
σῶμα οὔτε τι διήλλασσε τῆς προτέρας χροιάς οὔτε θερμὸν ἦν, ἅτε πυρετοῦ
ἐπιτεσόντος, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φλόγῳσις ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀβληχρὸς τις ἐξ
ἀρχῆς τε καὶ ἄχρις ἐσπέρας ὁ πυρετὸς ἦν ὥστε μήτε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς
μήτε ἱατρῷ ἀπτομένῳ δόκησιν κινδύνου παρέχεσθαι. [17] οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ τις
τελευτᾶν τῶν περιπεπτοκότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῇ αὐτῇ,
τοῖς δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη, ἐτέροις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον βουβῶν ἐπῆρτο, οὐκ
ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μόριον, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἥτρου ἐνεβρῆν
ἐστι, βουβῶν κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἐντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὅτα

καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔτυχε. [18] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδόν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἀλισκομένοις ξυνέβαινε: τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ὅπη ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἴη τῷ τὴν νόσον ἐπαγαγόντι. [19] ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῶμα βαθύ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη ὀξεῖα, ἑκάτεροί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπασχον: οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῶμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν εἰωθότων σφίσιν ἐς αἰὶ καθεύδειν ἐδόκουν. [20] καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, μεταξὺ ἦσθιον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορία τροφῆς εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον. [21] οἱ μέντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἀλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνία τε καὶ φαντασία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, καὶ τινὰς ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ὥς δὴ ἀπολοῦντας, ἐς ταραχὴν τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοῶντες ἐξάσιον οἶον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [22] οἱ τε αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἐχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς αἰὶ ἔπασχον. [23] διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τοὺς πονουμένους ῥηκτίζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπέζοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι ὅτε γὰρ ἱατρῷ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦδε τῶν νοσοῦντων ἢ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπτομένῳ ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αἰὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντας ἢ θάπτοντες ἢ θεραπεύοντες ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, πολλοὶ δὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεσοῦσης εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [24] ἕκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκπίπτοντας καὶ καλινδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων αὐθις, καὶ ῥιπτεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐφιεμένους ὠθοῦντές τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιάζοντο. [25] ὕδωρ τε οἷς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἤθελον, οὐ δὴ οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐπιθυμία ἔς γὰρ θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμητο, ἀλλ' αἷτιον ἦν μάλιστα ἡ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. [26] πολὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ εὐπετῶς προσιέντο ταύτας. πολλοὶ τε ἀπορία τοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἢ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, [27] ἢ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις δὲ οὔτε κῶμα οὔτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τοῦτοις δὴ ὁ τε βουβῶν ἐσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ὀδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. [28] τεκμηριώσκει δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι κατὰ ταῦτά ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἥκιστα ἦσαν, ξυνεῖναι τῆς ὀδύνης οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰς φρένας παραιρουμένου τὴν αἴσθησιν. [29] Ἀπορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινες ἱατρῶν τῇ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἀγνοίᾳ τό τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμενοι, διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα ἔγνωσαν. καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβῶνων τινάς, ἄνθρακος δεινόν τι χρῆμα ἐμπεφυκὸς εὔρον. [30] Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, τισὶ τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἐξήνθει τὸ σῶμα, οἱ οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπεβίον ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἅπαντες ἔθνησκον. [31] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τις αὐτόματος αἵματος ἐπιγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο. [32] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἀποφύνασθαι ἔχω, ὥς τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθνήξασθαι προηγόρευον, οἱ δὲ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἱ δὲ διαφθαρῆσθαι ἔμελλον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [33] οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν οὐδεμία ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα: πᾶσι γάρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τοὺς μὲν ὤνησε, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν

τι ἦσσαν κατέβλαψεν. [34] ἀμελοῦμενοί τε πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐχώρει: καὶ τὸ ζύμπαν εἶπεν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξεύρητο, οὔτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ πεπονθέναι οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι αὐτόματον. [35] Καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ὅσαι ἐκύουν προὔπτος ἐγένετο τῇ νόσῳ ἀλικομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλίσκουσαι ἔθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουσαι ζὺν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείροντο. [36] τρεῖς μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παίδων σφίσιν ἀπολομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μιᾷς ἡδὴ ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανούσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιεῖναι τῷ παιδίῳ ζυμβῆναι. [37] Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μεῖζον τε ὁ βουβῶν ἦρετο καὶ ἐς πύον ἀφίκτο, τούτοις δὴ περιεῖναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκμὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλελωφῆκει τοῦ ἄνθρακος, γνῶρισμά τε τῆς ὑγείας τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγένετο: οἷς δὲ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ιδέας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. [38] τισὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπαρθεὶς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. [39] ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκραίῳ τῇ γλώσση περιγενέσθαι τετύχηκεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τραυλίζουσιν, ἢ μόλις τε καὶ ἄσχημα φθεγγομένοις βιῶναι.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐς τέσσαρας διήλθε μῆνας, ἤκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. [2] καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰωθότων ὀλίγῳ πλείους, εἶτα ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἦρετο, μετὰ δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ἐξικνεῖτο τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐς μυρίους τε καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείους ἦλθε. [3] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίας θήκας ἐρρίπτουν ἢ λανθάνοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι: ἔπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἅπασιν ξυνεταράχθη. [4] δοῦλοί τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι, ἄνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λίαν εὐδαίμονες τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἢ νοσοῦντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων ἐστέρηντο, πολλαὶ τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. [5] διὸ δὴ ξυνέβη τισὶ τῶν γνωρίμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀτάφοις εἶναι. Ἐς τε βασιλέα ἢ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια, [6] ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὃς δὴ ἀποκρίσσει ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἰκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐθις ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [7] οἷς μὲν οὖν οὐπω παντάπασιν ἐς ἐρημίαν ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν, αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιοῦντο ταφάς. [8] Θεόδωρος δὲ τὰ τε βασιλέως διδοὺς χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθαπτεν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θήκας ἀπάσας αἱ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐμπίπλασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὀρύσσοντες ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία, ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς θνήσκοντας κατατιθέμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τὰς κατῳρυχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες, ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον ὃς ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστι: [10] τὰς τε ὀροφὰς περιελόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ξυννήσαντες, ὥς πη

ἐκάστω παρέτυχεν, ἐμπλησάμενοί τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἶπεῖν ἅπαντας, [11] εἴτα ταῖς ὀροφαῖς αὐθις ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ ἄνεμός τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε. [12] Πάντα τε ὑπερώφη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ἢ νενόμισται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν ἦν, εἰ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἐξ τε τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἐλθὼν ἔρριπεν, οὗ δὴ ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδὸν ἔμελλον ὅπη παρατύχοι κομίζεσθαι. [13] τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὅσοι στασιῶται πρότερον ἦσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὀσίας τῶν τετελευτηκότων κοινῇ ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ φέροντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. [14] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἶδε τὴν ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομίαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἦσκουν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμαθόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐρασταὶ τινες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι. [15] ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσα ἐμπέπηγε φύσει ἢ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλία ῥᾶστα δὴ οὕτω μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ θεοῦ τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ τότε ὡς εἶπεῖν ἅπαντες καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τοῖς ζυμπίπτουσι, τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα οἰόμενοι, ἀνάγκη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάσῃ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μετεμάνθανον. [16] ταῦτά τοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώθησαν ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἥδη ὑπετόπασαν, ἅτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὐθις τῆς γνώμης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω πεποιημένοι, μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῇ τε πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανομίᾳ νενικηκότες· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἂν τις οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ εἴποι ὡς ἡ νόσος ἦδε εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἀφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρω ἀποδέδεικται χρόνῳ. [17] Τότε δὲ ἀγοράζοντά τινα οὐκ εὐπετὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἔν γε Βυζαντίῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἰκοὶ καθήμενοι ἅπαντες ὅσοις ξυνέβαινε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρῶσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐθρήνουν. [18] ἦν δέ τις καὶ προϊόντι τινὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἰσχυσεν, ὃδε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν ἔφερεν. ἐργασία τε ζύμπασα ἦργει, καὶ τὰς τέχνας οἱ τεχνῖται μεθῆκαν ἀπάσας, ἔργα τε ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ ἕκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον. [19] ἐν πόλει γοῦν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθηνούση λιμός τις ἀκριβὲς ἐπεκώμαζεν. ἄρτον ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν διαρκῶς ἔχειν χαλεπὸν τε ἐδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων τισὶν ἄωρον ζυμβῆναι δοκεῖν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν. [20] καὶ τὸ ζύμπαν εἶπεῖν, χλαμύδα οὐκ ἦν ἐνδιδυσκόμενόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη· καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβῶνα ἐπῆρθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει βασιλείαν ἐχούσῃ ζυμπάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἱμάτια ἐν ιδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἅπαντες ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [21] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἔν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ Ῥωμαίων γῇ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς χωρίον Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἡκὼν πρὸς

βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. [2] τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταῦθᾶ ἐστίν, ὃ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα. οὗ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάσσοντες μάγοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ μαντεῖα ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέβοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι. [3] ἐνταῦθα σταλεῖς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγγελλε Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἀφίξεσθαι. [4] ἦσθιν δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι τούτῳ ῥήτορέ τε ἄμφω καὶ ξυνετὼ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, Σέργιος δὲ ἐξ Ἑδέσσης πόλεως, ἡ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τυγχάνει οὕσα. [5] οὕς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ Κωνσταντιανοῦ νοσήσαντος καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαι Πέρσαις ξυνέπεσε. [6] διὸ δὴ Ναβέδης τηνικαῦτα ἐν Περσαρμενίοις τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐν Δούβιος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψεν, αἰτιασόμενόν τε τὴν τῶν πρέσβεων βραδυτῆτα καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ὀρμήσοντα προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ. [7] καὶ ὃς ξὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐς Ἀρμένιους ἦκων, τῷ τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχόν, αὐτὸς τε Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε Χριστιανὸς ἰσχυρίζετο εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν καὶ οἱ βασιλέα Χοσρόην πείθεσθαι αἰεὶ ἐς βουλὴν πᾶσαν: ὥστε ἦν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔλθωσιν, οὐκ ἂν τι αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδισμα εἴη τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπη βούλονται διαθήσεσθαι. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπεν: ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχόν λάθρα Χοσρόην ἐν μεγάλοις εἶναι κακοῖς ἔφασκε: τὸν τε γὰρ οἱ παῖδα τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενον ἐπαναστῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλῶναι: διὸ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις τανῦν ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν ἐθέλειν ἰέναι. [9] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤκουσε, τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίξεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν οὕσπερ ἠκηκόει ἀνήνεγκεν. [10] οἷς δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτίκα ἠγμένοσ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μαρτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐπέστελλεν. εὗ γὰρ οἶδεν ὡς αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν στήσεται. [11] ἐκέλευε δὲ ξυλλεγέντας ἐς ταῦτό ἅπαντας οὕτω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐπὶ Περσαρμενίους ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γράμματα εἶδον, ἅπαντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ξυνέρρεον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίας χωρία. [12] Ἦδη δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸ Ἀδαρβιγάνων δέει τῷ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἔνθα δὴ οὕπῳ ἐνδεδημήκει τὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ πάθος. Βαλεριανὸς μὲν οὖν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καταλόγοις, καὶ οἱ Ναρσῆς ξυνετάττετο Ἀρμένιους τε καὶ Ἑρούλων τινὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [13] Μαρτίνος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἑω στρατηγὸς ξὺν τε Ἰλδίγερι καὶ Θεοκτίστῳ ἐς Κιθαρίζων τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθᾶ τε πηξάμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε: διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο: ἵνα καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ξὺν τε Ἀδολίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἄρχουσιν ἦλθεν. [14] ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ καταλόγων Ἰσαάκης ὁ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφός. Φιλημουθ δὲ καὶ Βῆρος ξὺν Ἑρούλοις τοῖς σφίσιν

ἐπομένους ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Χορζιανητῆς χωρία ἦλθον, τοῦ Μαρτίνου στρατοπέδου οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [15] Ἰουστὸς τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου παῖς ζύν τε Δομνεντιόλῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Φαγᾷ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῷ Φισῶν καλουμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Μαρτυροπόλεως ὁρίων ἐστίν. [16] οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ζύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ζηνῇ δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐς τρισυρίους. [17] οὗτοι ἅπαντες οὔτε ἐς ταὐτὸ ζυνελέγησαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. πέμποντες δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν σφίσιν ἐπομένων τινὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ἐπυνθάνοντο. [18] ἄφνω δὲ Πέτρος, οὐδενὶ κοινολογησάμενος, ζύν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλλεν. ὅπερ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγινομένη γνόντες Φιλημούθ τε καὶ Βῆρος, οἱ τῶν Ἑρούλων ἡγούμενοι, εὐθὺς εἶποντο. [19] ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἔμαθον, τῇ ἐσβολῇ κατὰ τάχος ἐχρῶντο. [20] ἅπαντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀνემίγνυντο ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, πλὴν Ἰούστου τε καὶ τῶν ζύν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὴ μακράν τε ἄποθεν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβολὴν γνόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐσέβαλλον ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίαν, ἀναμίγνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς ζυνάρχουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔσχον. [21] οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι ζύμπαντες ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺ Δούβιος, οὔτε ληιζόμενοι οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι πράσσοντες ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν.

Ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὑδάτων εὐεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχουσα, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ διέχει. [2] καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἱππῆλάτα ἐστὶ, κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι ὄκνηται ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι κατ' ἐργασίαν ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. [3] ἔκ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐθνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομιζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἀλλήλοις ζυμβάλλουσι. [4] τὸν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα Καθολικὸν καλοῦσι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, ὅτι δὴ ἐφέστηκεν εἰς ὧν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη χωρίοις. [5] Δούβιος δὲ ἄποθεν ὅσον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ἰόντι ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ὅρος ἐστὶ δύσβατόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, καὶ κόμη τις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ στενοτάτῃ κειμένη, Ἀγγλῶν ὄνομα. [6] οὗ δὴ ὁ Ναβέδης, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν πολέμιων τὴν ἔφοδον ἔγνω, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀποχωρήσας χωρίου τε ἰσχυρῇ θαρσύνσας καθεῖρξεν αὐτόν. [7] καὶ ἡ μὲν κόμη ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ ὁμώνυμον ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ ἐστίν. [8] ὁ γοῦν Ναβέδης λίθοις μὲν καὶ ἀμάξαις τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην ἀποφράξας εἰσόδους δυσπρόσοδον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰργάσατο ταύτην. [9] ἐπίπροσθε δὲ τάφρον τινὰ ὀρύξας ἐνταῦθα τὸ στράτευμα ἔστησε, προλοχίσας οἰκίσκους τινὰς παλαιοὺς ἐνέδραις πεζῶν. ἐς τετρακισχιλίους δὲ ἄνδρας ἅπαν ζυνῇ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [10] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς χῶρον ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ἀγγλῶν διέχοντα, τῶν τινα πολέμιων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἰόντα λαβόντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅπῃ ποτὲ τανῦν ὁ Ναβέδης εἴη. καὶ ὅς ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀγγλῶν παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἔφασκεν. [11] ὁ δὴ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀκούσας δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ζυνάρχουσιν τὴν μέλλῃσιν ὀνειδίζων ἐλοδορεῖτο. [12] ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι ἐποίουν, ἐς ἀλλήλους

ὕβριζοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μάχης τε καὶ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες ληΐζεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [13] ἄραντες τοίνυν ἀστρατήγητοί τε καὶ ἄτακτοι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦσαν, οὔτε τι ἔχοντες σύμβολον ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγῶσιν εἶθισται, οὔτε πη διακεκριμένοι ἐν τάξει. [14] τοῖς γὰρ σκευοφόροις οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναμιγνύμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἐτοιμοτάτην ἰόντες χρημάτων μεγάλων. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀγγλῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πέμπουσι κατασκόπους, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανιόντες ἀπήγγελλον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν. [16] οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ζὺν στρατῷ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ πλῆθος αἰσχρόν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον ὅλως ὄντο εἶναι, τάξαντες δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἰς τὰ τρία τέλη τὸ στράτευμα εὐθὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρουν. [17] Πέτρος μὲν οὖν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχε, Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ἐτάσσοντο. γινόμενοι δὲ ἀγχιστά πη τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσύχαζον, τὴν τάξιν σὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ φυλάσσοντες. [18] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ἥ τε δυσχωρία κρημνώδης ὑπερφυῶς οὔσα καὶ τὸ ἐξ ὑπογούου διαταχθέντας ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίστασθαι. [19] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, περισκοπούμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δύναμιν, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς πρὸς Ναβέδου χειρῶν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα ἄρχειν, ἦν δὲ πη ἐπισκῆψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν σφίσιν ἀμύνασθαι. [20] Πρῶτος δὲ Ναρσῆς ζὺν τε τοῖς Ἑρούλοις καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦλθεν, ὠθισμοῦ τε γενομένου ἐτρέψατο τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν Πέρσας. [21] φεύγοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀνέβαινον δρόμῳ, ἔνθα δὴ ἀλλήλους ἔργα ἀνῆκεστα ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ εἰργάζοντο. [22] καὶ τότε Ναρσῆς τε αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέκειτο, [23] καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ λοιποὶ ἔργου εἶχοντο. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς οἰκίσκων οἱ προλοχίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν τε Ἑρούλων τινὰς κτείνουσιν, ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιτεσόντες, καὶ Ναρσῆν κατὰ κόρρης αὐτὸν παίουσι. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰσαάκης ὁ ἀδελφὸς καιρίαν τυπέντα ὑπεξήγαγε τῶν μαχομένων. ὃς δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος. [25] ταραχῆς δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐνθένδε πολλῆς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐμπεσούσης, ἅπαν ὁ Ναβέδης ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [26] οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἐς πολεμίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους εὐπετῶς ἔκτεινον καὶ διαφερόντως Ἑρούλους, οἱ ζὺν τῷ Ναρσῇ τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιτεσόντες ἀφύλακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμάχοντο. [27] οὔτε γὰρ κράνος οὔτε θώρακα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτῆριον Ἑρουλοὶ ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τριβώνιον ἀδρόν, ὃ δὲ διεζωσμένοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται. [28] δοῦλοι μέντοι Ἑρουλοὶ καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρὶς ἐς μάχην χωροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, οὕτω δὴ ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐφιασιν οἱ δεσπότες προβάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς. τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἑρούλων ταύτη πη ἔχει. [29] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνὰ κράτος ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, οὔτε ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι οὔτε τινὰ αἰδῶ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες. [30] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποπτεύοντες οὐκ ἐς φυγὴν ἀναίσχυντον οὕτω τετράφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνέδραις τισὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, ἄχρι ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας διώξαντες εἵτα ἀνέστρεφον, οὐ τολμῶντες ἐν

τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διαμάχεσθαι. [31] Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες, διώξιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι ἔφευγον ἔτι μᾶλλον, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν, θέουσι μὲν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι μάστιγι καὶ κραυγῇ, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅπλα ῥιπτοῦντες σπουδῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἐς ἔδαφος. [32] οὐ γὰρ ἀντιτάξασθαι καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐθάρσουν Πέρσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνοις τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ποσὶ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας εἶχον καί, τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ φυγὴ ὥστε τῶν ἵππων σχεδόν τι αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς διεβίω, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα τοῦ δρόμου ἐπαύσαντο, πεσόντες εὐθὺς διεφθάρησαν. [33] καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα Ῥωμαίοις οἷον οὐποτε πρότερον γέγονε. πολλοὶ τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔθανον καὶ πλείους ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [34] ὅπλα τε αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὑποζύγια ἔλαβον τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πλουσιώτερα δοκεῖν ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα. [35] Ἀδόλιος δὲ διὰ φρουρίου ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὑπαγωγῇ παριὼν ἐν Περσαρμενίοις κειμένου λίθῳ τε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πληγεὶς αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰουστον καὶ Περάνιον ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταραύνων χωρία καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα ληισάμενοι εὐθὺς ἐπανήλθον.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἔτει Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τέταρτον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τὸ στράτευμα ἄγων. [2] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐσβολὴ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τούτῳ οὐ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πεποιήται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄνπερ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται μόνον. [3] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἐδέσσης ἀποτυχὼν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλή τις ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ τε καὶ μάγοις, ἅτε πρὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἡσσημένοις, κατήφεια. [4] ἦν δὴ παρηγορῶν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Ἐδεσσηνοὺς μὲν ἀνδραποδιεῖν ἠπεῖλυσεν ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, τὴν δὲ πόλιν μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι. [5] παντὶ γοῦν τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχοῦ Ἐδέσσης γενόμενος, Οὔννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἔπεμψεν ὃς δὴ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καθύπερθέν ἐστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν κακουργήσοντας, πρόβατα δὲ ἀρπασομένους ἅπερ οἱ ποιμένες πολλὰ ἐνταυθὰ πη παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα στήσαντες ἔτυχον, χωρίου τε ἰσχυρὸν θαρσοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ ἄναντες ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ οὐποτε τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι οὕτω πη ἄγχιστα τοῦ τείχους ἰέναι. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν προβάτων ἤπτοντο ἤδη, οἱ δὲ ποιμένες καρτερώτατα ἀμυνόμενοι διεκώλουν. [7] Περσῶν τε τοῖς Οὔννοις ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων πολλῶν, ἀγέλην μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ οἱ βάρβαροι ἵσχυσαν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπεξεληθόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ ἀγέλη αὐτόματος ἐς τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανῆκεν αὐθις. [8] τῶν τέ τις Οὔννων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μαχόμενος μάλιστα πάντων ἠνώχλει Ῥωμαίους. [9] καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἀγροῖκος ἐς γόνυ τὸ δεξιὸν σφενδόνη ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ πρηνὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὃ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. [10] ἥ τε μάχη πρῶτὴ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ἑκάτεροι τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν οἰόμενοι διελύθησαν. [11] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες. [12] Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης εἴτε τινὰ

ὄψιν ὀνείρου εἶδεν ἢ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια γέγονεν, ὥς δις ἐγχειρήσας ἦν μὴ δυνατὸς εἶη Ἑδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν, πολλήν οἱ αἰσχύνην τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [13] διὸ δὴ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ἑδεσσηνοῖς ἔγνω. [14] τῇ γοῦν ἐπιγινομένη ἡμέρᾳ Παῦλος ἐρμηνεύς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων ἔφασκε Ῥωμαίους χρῆναι παρὰ Χοσρόην σταλῆναι τῶν δοκίμων τινάς. [15] οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος τέσσαρας ἀπολεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῶν ἔπεμψαν. [16] οἷς δὴ ἐς τὸ Μήδων ἀφικομένοις στρατόπεδον ἐντυχὼν γνώμῃ βασιλέως ὁ Ζαβεργάνης ἀπειλαῖς τε πολλαῖς δεδιζόμενος ἀνεπυθάνετο αὐτῶν ὁπότερα σφίσιν αἰρετώτερα τυγχάνει ὄντα, πότερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγοντα. [17] τῶν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλέσθαι ἂν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμολογούντων, ‘Οὐκοῦν,’ ἔφη ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, ‘ὠνεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ταύτην ἀνάγκη χρημάτων πολλῶν.’ [18] οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἔφασαν τοσαῦτα δώσειν ὅσα παρέσχοντο πρότερον, ἥνίκα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐξελὼν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. [19] καὶ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης αὐτοὺς ξὺν γέλῳτι ἀπεπέμψατο, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐνδελεχέστερα βουλευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ οὕτω δὴ αὐθις παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἔλθωσιν. [20] ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Χοσρόης, ἐπειδὴ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, κατέλεξε μὲν ὅσα τε πρότερον καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐξηνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων χωρία, ἠπέιλησε δὲ τὰ δεινότερα Ἑδεσσηνοῖς πρὸς Περσῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πάντα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα δοῖεν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν: οὕτω γὰρ μόνως ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν ἔφασκε. [21] ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ὡμολόγουν μὲν παρὰ Χοσρόου τὴν εἰρήνην ὠνήσεσθαι, ἦν γε σφίσι μὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπαγγεῖλναι: τοῦ δὲ κινδύνου τὸ πέρας οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἔφασαν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐνδηλον εἶναι. [22] πόλεμον γὰρ τοῖς αὐτὸν διαφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις οὐ μὴ ποτε εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ξὺν ὀργῇ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευεν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [23] Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ὀγδὴ λόφον ἐπαναστῆσαι χειροποίητον τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκτεμῶν αὐτοῖς φύλλοις πολλὰ ἐκ χωρίων ἐγγὺς πη ὄντων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐν τετραγώνῳ ξυνέθηκεν, οὗ δὴ βέλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, χοῦν τε πολὺν τινα ἀτεχνῶς ὑπερθεῖν τῶν δένδρων ξυναμυσάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα λίθων ἐπέβαλλεν, οὐκ ἐχόντων εἰς οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδεῖως, ἀλλ’ εἰκὴ τμηθέντων, ἐκείνου μόνου ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως δὴ ὁ λόφος ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐπαίροιτο. [24] καὶ ξύλα μακρὰ τοῦ τε χοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων μεταξὺ ἐς αἰεὶ ἐμβαλλόμενος ἐνδεσμον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔργου, [25] ὅπως μὴ ὑψηλὸν γενόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶη. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἔνταῦθα γὰρ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Περανίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὧν τοὺς ταῦτα ἐργαζομένους ἀναστέλλειν ἐθέλων Οὐννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. [26] οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τις δορυφόρων, Ἀργήκ ὄνομα: [27] μόνος γὰρ ἐπὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔκτεινε. τῶν μέντοι βαρβάρων φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ποιουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπεξίεναι τινὲς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔσχον. [28] ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες ἐντὸς βέλους οἱ τεχνῖται τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐγένοντο, καρτερώτατα ἤδη ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε σφενδόνας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐνήργουν. διὸ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπενόουν τάδε. [29] προκαλύμματα ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν, ἃ δὴ

καλοῦσι Κιλίκια, πάχους τε καὶ μήκους διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, ἀρτήσαντες ἐκ ξύλων μακρῶν ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ τὴν ἄγεσταν ἐργαζομένων ἐτίθεντο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦμενον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι. [30] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε πυρφόροι οἱστοὶ οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἶχον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προκαλυμμάτων ἀποκρουόμενα ζυμπαντα ἔμενε. [31] καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἔπεμπον καὶ Στέφανον σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἔν γε τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἰατροῖς λόγιον, ὃς δὴ Καβάδην τὸν Περόζου νοσοῦντά ποτε ἰασάμενος κύριος χρημάτων μεγάλων πρὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. [32] ὃς δὴ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένετο, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, 'Βασιλέως τὴν φιланθρωπίαν ἀγαθοῦ γνώρισμα πάντες ἐκ παλαιοῦ νενομίκασιν. [33] οὐκοῦν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, φόνους σοι καὶ μάχας ἐργαζομένῳ καὶ πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσως ὀνομάτων παρέσται τυχεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐ μήποτε ἔσται. [34] καίτοι πασῶν γε ἥκιστα χρὴν τῇ Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλει παρὰ σοῦ τι ξυμβῆναι φλαῦρον. [35] ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὥρμημαι, ὅσπερ σε τῶν ἐσομένων οὐδὲν προειδὼς ἐξέθρεψά τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ξύμβουλος γεγονώς, ἐφ' ᾧ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταστήσεται, σοὶ μὲν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας αἰτιώτατος γέγονα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. [36] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ξυμβησομένων προστρίβονται. [37] ἀλλ' εἴ τίς σε τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας εἰσέρχεται μνήμη, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρω κακόν, ταύτην διδούς μοι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἐξ ἧς σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ὠμοτάτῳ εἶναι ξυμβήσεται.' Στέφανος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [38] Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ὠμολόγει ἐνθένδε, εἰ μὴ Πέτρον τε καὶ Περάνιον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δὴ οἱ, δοῦλοί γε ὄντες πατρῷοι, τετολμήκασιν ἀντιτάξασθαι. [39] τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μὴ δρᾶν Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπάναγκες ἐλέσθαι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πεντακόσια κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ σφίσι διδόναι, ἢ δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινάς, οἱ τὰ χρήματα διερευνησάμενοι ἅπαντα τὸν μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον δὴ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, κομίζοντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἦξουσι, [40] τᾶλλα δὲ τοὺς κυρίους ἑάσουσιν ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπέρριπεν, Ἐδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχων. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἅπαντα γὰρ σφίσιν ἀδύνατα ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλε διαπορούμενοί τε καὶ λίαν ἀσχάλλοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον. [41] ἐπεὶ τε ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰ παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπήγγελλον, θορύβου τε καὶ θρήνων ἡ πόλις ἔμπλεως ἐγένετο. [42] Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπὶ τε ὕψος ἤρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ δράσουσι, πάλιν τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπέστελλον. [43] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένοντο, περὶ τε τῶν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι ἔφασκον ἦκειν, λόγου μὲν οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν πρὸς Περσῶν ἔτυχον, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρουν. [44] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόφον τεῖχος ἐτέρᾳ ἐνεχειρῶν οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης τὸ Περσῶν ἔργον πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον ἐγίνετο ἤδη, τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν, Μαρτίνον δὲ πείθουσι τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι. καὶ ὃς ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν

πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῶν τισιν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρχόντων ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν. [45] οἱ δὲ τὸν Μαρτίνον ἐξαπατῶντες εἰρηναῖα μὲν σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα οἶόν τε εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα πείθειν τῆς πρὸς Χοσρόην φιλονεικίας ἀφέμενον τὴν εἰρήνην ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσεσθαι: [46] ἐπεὶ καὶ Βελισάριον, ὄνπερ τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι πολὺ Μαρτίνου προὔχειν οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποι, πείσαι μὲν ἔναγχος τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὄντα δὴ πού ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, ὑποσχόμενον πρέσβεις τε παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κρατύνασθαι, πρᾶξι δὲ τῶν ὁμολογημένων οὐδέν, ἀδύνατον γεγονότα τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι γνώμην.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποιοῦν τοιάδε. διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐνερθεν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ χώματος ἐργασάμενοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας μὴ μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, ἕως ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον γένωνται μέσον. ταύτῃ γὰρ καῦσαι τὸ χῶμα τοῦτο διεννοοῦντο. [2] προϊούσης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος κατὰ τὸν λόφον μάλιστα μέσον πάταγός τις ἐς τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ὑπερθεν ἐστῶτας ἦλθεν. [3] αἰσθόμενοι τε τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ μέσου ὥρυσσον, ὅπως λάβοιεν τοὺς ἐκείνη κακουργοῦντας Ῥωμαίους. [4] ὁ δὲ γνόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, χοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν κενωθέντα χῶρον ἐπιβαλόντες, ἐκ δὲ ἄκρου χώματος κάτωθεν, ὁ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, ξύλα τε καὶ λίθους καὶ χοῦν ἐκφορήσαντες καθάπερ οἰκίσκου σχῆμα εἰργάσαντο, πρέμνα τε δένδρων τῶν ῥᾶστα καιομένων ξηρὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐσέβαλλον, ἐλαίῳ τε καταβεβρεγμένα τῷ ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένῳ καὶ θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πολλῇ. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες Μαρτίνῳ τοιαῦτα μὲν οἶα πέρ μοι εἴρηται διελέχθησαν, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι ὡς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐνδέξονται λόγους. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόφος αὐτοῖς ἐτετέλεστο ἤδη, καὶ πλησιάζων μὲν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὕψει δὲ αὐτὸν πολλῷ ὑπεραίρων ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπῆρτο, Μαρτίνον μὲν ἀπεπέμψαντο διαρρήδην ἀπειπόντες τὴν ξύμβασιν, ἔργου δὲ ἔχεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον. [7] Διὸ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν δένδρων τὰ πρέμνα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαστο. τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ χώματός τινα καύσαντος, οὐπω δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐξικνεῖσθαι ισχύσαντος, τὰ ξύλα δεδαπανῆσθαι πάντα ἔτυχεν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ξύλα ἕτερα, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν. [8] ἥδη δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἅπαν ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ χῶμα, καπνός τις ὑπερθεν πανταχῇ τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο νύκτωρ, Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐπω ἐθέλοντες αἰσθῆσιν τοῦ ποιουμένου Πέρσαις παρέχειν ἐπενόουν τάδε. [9] ἀνθράκων τε καὶ πυρὸς ἀγγεῖα μικρὰ ἐμπλησάμενοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ πυρφόρους οἰστοὺς τοῦ χώματος πανταχόσε συχνὰ ἔπεμπον: ἃ δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι, ὅσοι φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ξὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ περιμόντες ἐσβέννουν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φύεσθαι τὸν καπνὸν ᾤοντο. [10] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ πλήθει μὲν πολλῷ ἐβοήθουν οἱ βάρβαροι, βάλλοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [11] οὗ δὲ καὶ Χοσρόης ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ εἴπετο, ἕς τε τὸν λόφον ἀναβὰς πρῶτος ἔλαβε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴσθησιν. [12] ἐνερθεν γὰρ ἀπεφάνετο τοῦ καπνοῦ τὸ αἴτιον εἶναι, οὐκ

ἀφ' ὧν ἐσηκόντιζον οἱ πολέμοιοι, βοηθεῖν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον. [13] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν τινες χοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπιβάλλοντες ἥ ὁ καπνὸς διεφαίνετο, περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡλπιζον, ἀνύειν μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [14] ἥ τε γὰρ ὁ χοῦς ἐπιβληθείη, ταύτη μὲν ὁ καπνός, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀνεστέλλετο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεδίδοτο, αὐτὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὅπη δύναίτο ἀναγκάζοντος· τό τε ὕδωρ ἥ μάλιστα ἐπισκήψειε, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν τε ἄσφαλτον καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ὕλην ἀκμάζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω αἰεὶ ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐντὸς οὐδαμῇ τοσοῦτον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τοῦ ὕδατος εἶχεν ὅσον τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασβέσαι τὴν φλόγα οἷόν τε εἶναι. [15] ὁ δὲ καπνὸς ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν ὀψίαν τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Καρρηνοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολλῶ ἐπέκεινα ὀκνημένοις ἐνδηλος εἶναι. [16] Περσῶν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν ὑπερθεῖν ἀναβεβηκότων τοῦ χώματος, μάχης τε καὶ ὠθισμοῦ ἐνταῦθα ξυστάντος, ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι. [17] τότε καὶ ἡ φλόξ λαμπρῶς ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὲρ τὸ χῶμα ἐφαίνετο, Πέρσαι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔργου τούτου ἀπέσχοντο. [18] Ἐκτὴ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρας, ὄρθρου βαθέος, μοῖρα τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου λάθρα ἐπέσκηψαν κλίμακας ἔχοντες, οὗ δὴ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμασται. [19] τῶν δὲ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων πρῶτόν τινα καθευδόντων ὕπνον, ἅτε τῆς νυκτὸς πρὸς πέρας ἰούσης, ἡσυχῇ τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες ἀνέβαινον ἥδη. [20] τῶν δὲ τις ἀγροίκων μόνος ἐργηγορῶς ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν ἔτυχεν, ὃς δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῶ ἅπαντας ἤγειρε. [21] καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἡσσωμένοι Πέρσαι, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, αὐτοῦ λιπόντες τὰς κλίμακας, ὥσπερ κατ' ἐξουσίαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεῖλκον. [22] Χοσρόης δὲ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην πολλὴν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην πύλιν ὡς τειχομαχίσοντας ἔπεμψεν. [23] οἷς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπαντίασαντες οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγροῖκοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τινὲς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες παρὰ πολὺ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. [24] ἔτι τε Περσῶν διωκομένων Παῦλος ἐρμηνεὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου ἦκων ἐς μέσους Ῥωμαίους ἀπήγγελλε Ῥεκινάριον ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκειν, οὕτω τε ἀμφοτέρω διελύθησαν. [25] ἥδη δὲ τισὶ πρότερον ἡμέραις ὁ Ῥεκινάριος ἐς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφίκετο. [26] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ἦκιστα ἐξήνεγκαν Πέρσαι, караδοκοῦντες δηλονότι τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλὴν, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν δύνωνται, μηδαμῇ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομεῖν δόξωσιν, ἡσσηθέντες δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐς τὴν ζύμβασιν, Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων πρὸς αὐτάς, [27] θήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥεκινάριος ἐγένετο εἰσω πυλῶν, Πέρσαι μὲν ἡξίουσαν τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διοικησομένους παρὰ : Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἰέναι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σταλήσεσθαι πρέσβεις ἡμέραις τρισὶν ὕστερον ἔφασαν· ταυτὶ γὰρ σφίσι κακῶς τοῦ σώματος Μαρτίνον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔχειν. [28] Εἶναί τε ὑποτοπάζων οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον Χοσρόης τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ τότε μὲν πλίνθων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπέβαλε, δυοῖν δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τειχομαχίσων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἦλθεν. [29] ἐν τε πύλῃ ἐκάστη τῶν τινὰς ἀρχόντων καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε τὸ τεῖχος

ταύτη περιβαλὼν κλίμακάς τε αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγεν. [30] ὀπισθεν δὲ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν τῶν Περσῶν τισιν ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας σαγηνεύσαντες λάβωσι. [31] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Χοσρόης οὕτω διέταξε. τῆς δὲ μάχης πρῶτῃ ἀρξαμένης κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὰ Περσῶν καθυπέρτερα ἦν. [32] πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λίαν ὀλίγους ἐμάχοντο, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνήκοοί τε τῶν ποιουμένων καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ἦσαν. [33] προιούσης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς θορύβων τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἔμπλεως ἡ πόλις ἐγένετο, καὶ ξύμπαντες ἤδη αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδαρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβαινον. [34] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις καρτερώτατα τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων πολλοὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείκνυντο. [35] παῖδες δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξὺν τοῖς γεγηρακόσι λίθους τε τοῖς μαχομένοις ξυνέλεγον καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπούργουν. [36] τινὲς δὲ καὶ λέβητας ἐλαίου πολλοὺς ἐμπλησάμενοι πυρὶ τε αὐτοὺς πανταχῇ τοῦ τεύχους ἐς διαρκῆ θερμήναντες χρόνον καὶ ζέον ὑπεράγαν τὸ ἔλαιον περιρραντηρίοις τισὶν ἐπιχέοντες ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς τῷ περιβόλῳ προσιόντας ἐλύπουν. [37] ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἀπειπόντες οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐρρίπτουν, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἀντέχειν οὐκέτι ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι. [38] θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἐγκελευόμενος ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνήγεν. [39] οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς τῷ τεύχει προσῆγον καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπετίθεντο, ὥς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοβοεῖ ἐξαιρήσοντες. [40] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων συχὰ τε βαλλόντων καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἀμυνομένων, τρέπονται μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναχωροῦντα δὲ τὸν Χοσρόην ἐτόθαζον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τειχομαχίαν παρακαλοῦντες. [41] μόνος δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Σοῖνας καλουμένας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐμάχετο, οὗ δὴ Τριπυργίαν καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον. [42] τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὄντων σφίσιν ἀξιωμαχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀπειπόντων, ἤδη τὸ ἐκτὸς τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι προτείχισμα, πολλαχῇ διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρότατα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου περιβόλου ἀμυνομένοις ἐνέκειντο, ἕως αὐτοῖς Περάνιος ξὺν τε στρατιώταις πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν τισιν ἐπεξήλθε μάχη τε νικήσας ἐξήλασε. [43] καὶ ἡ τειχομαχία πρῶτῃ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα εἰς δείλην ὀψίαν, ἀμφοτέροι τε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πέρσαι μὲν περὶ τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι δεδιότες καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λίθους τε ξυλλέγοντες ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ποιοῦμενοι, ὥς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μαχοῦμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προσβαλοῦσιν. [44] ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐπιγινομένη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦλθε, τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην μοῖρα μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ Χοσρόου ἐγκελευομένου ταῖς Βαρλαοῦ καλουμέναις πύλαις ἐπέσκηψεν, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἡσσήθησάν τε παρὰ πολὺ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. [45] καὶ τότε Παῦλος ὁ Περσῶν ἐρμηνεὺς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων Μαρτίνον ἐκάλει, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν διοικήσεται. [46] οὕτω τε Μαρτίνου τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσιν ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντος ξυνέβησαν, καὶ πέντε κεντηνάρια πρὸς τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν ὁ Χοσρόης λαβὼν ἐν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μηδὲν Ῥωμαίοις

περαιτέρω λυμήνασθαι, τὰ τε χαρακώματα πάντα ἐμπρήσας ἐπ' οἶκον ἀνεχώρησε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ.

Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ῥωμαίων τετελευτήκασι στρατηγοὶ δύο, Ἰουστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος ὁ Ἰβηρ, Ἰουστός μὲν νόσῳ διαφθαρεὶς, Περανίῳ δὲ συνέβη ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπεπτωκότη διαρραγῆναι. [2] διὸ δὴ ἀντ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτέρους καταστησάμενος ἔπεμψε Μάρκελλον τε, τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, καὶ Κωνσταντιανόν, ὃς δὴ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἅμα Σεργίῳ παρὰ Χοσρόην πρεσβεύων ἐστάλη. [3] ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον ἔπεμψεν. [4] οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, οὗ δὴ πολίσματα δύο Σελεύκειά τε καὶ Κτησιφῶν ἐστί, Μακεδόνων αὐτὰ δειμαμένων οἱ μετὰ τὸν Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρον Περσῶν τε ἦρξαν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν. [5] ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα Τίγρης ποταμὸς διορίζει· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλην χώραν μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν. [6] ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόντες Χοσρόῃ οἱ πρέσβεις ἠξίουσαν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Λαζικῆς χωρία Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδοῦναι, βεβαιότατα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κρατύνασθαι. [7] Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν εἶναι ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, ἣν μὴ τινα ἐκεχειρίαν θέμενοι πρότερον οὕτω τε ἀδεέστερον αἰεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους φοιτῶντες τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν θήσονται. [8] χρῆναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰεὶ ἐκεχειρίας χρήματά τε οἱ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα δοῦναι καὶ τινα Τριβοῦνον ὄνομα ἱατρὸν πέμψαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ξυνδιατρίψει τακτόν τινα χρόνον. [9] ἐτύγγανε γὰρ ὁ ἱατρὸς οὗτος νόσου τε αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξας χαλεπῆς πρότερον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φίλος τε καὶ ποθεινὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὢν. [10] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, τὸν τε Τριβοῦνον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε ξυνιόντα ἐς κεντηνάρια εἴκοσιν. [11] οὕτω τε αἱ σπονδαὶ γεγόνασι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐς ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε, δέκατόν τε καὶ ἕνατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [12] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρέθας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρος, οἱ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντες, πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μόνας διέφερον, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν ἀμυνόντων σφίσι. [13] καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν ἓνα τῶν Ἀρέθα παίδων ἵππους νέμοντα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐλὼν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐθὺς ἔθυσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθη οὐ καταπροῖεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις Ἀρέθαν. [14] μετὰ δὲ ξυνίασιν μὲν ἐς μάχην ἑκάτεροι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νικῶσιν δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἀρέθῃ, τρεψάμενοί τε τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον Ἀρέθας ἦλθε δύο τῶν Ἀλαμουνδάρου παίδων ζῶντας ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι γε εἴλε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Σαρακηνῶν ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχεν. [15] Χοσρόης δέ, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐνδηλος γέγονε τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν νῶ δολερῶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένος, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναπεπτωκότας λαβὼν ἀνήμεστόν τι ἐργάσεται. [16] τρίτῳ γὰρ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐνιαυτῷ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ἦσθιν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀδελφοὶ δύο, Φάβριζός τε καὶ Ἰσδιγούσνας, ἀρχὰς μὲν περιβεβλημένω ἐνταῦθα μεγίστας καὶ ἄλλως λογισμῷ πονηροτάτῳ Περσῶν ἀπάντων καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῇ δεινότητι καὶ κακοτροπίᾳ πολλὴν ἔχοντε. [17] βουλευσάμενος οὖν πόλιν Δάρας καταλαβεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ Λαζικῆς ἐξοικίσει Κόλχους ἅπαντας, Πέρσας δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας καταστήσασθαι, τῷ ἄνδρῃ τούτῳ ἐς

ἄμφω τὰ ἔργα ὑπηρετήσοντας εἴλετο: [18] ἔρμαιον γὰρ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα σφετερισαμένῳ ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς κτήσεως ἔχειν, ζύμφορον λογισαμένῳ τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ κατὰ πολλὰ ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτο γε. [19] τὴν τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐχόντων Ἰβήρων ἐφ' οὐστinas ἀνθρώπων ἀποστάντες σωθήσονται: [20] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τούτων δὴ λογιμώτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ Γουργένη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε λόγοις ἐρρήθη, οὔτε βασιλέα σφίσι καταστήσεσθαι τὸ ἐνθὲνδε ζυνεχώρουν Πέρσαι οὔτε αὐτογνωμονοῦντες Περσῶν κατήκοοι Ἰβηρες ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑποψία τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἐς ἀλλήλους πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [21] ἐνδηλοῖ τε Ἰβηρες ἦσαν δυσανασχετοῦντές τε ἰσχυρότατα καὶ νεωτεριοῦντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἢν τινός ποτε καιροῦ λαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [22] καὶ πρὸς Οὐννων τῶν Λαζικῇ προσοίκων ἀδῆωτον μὲν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐς αἰὶ ἔσσεσθαι, ῥᾶον δὲ καὶ ἀπονώτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιτέμνειν, ἥνικα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐν Καυκάσῳ οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἢ ἐπιτείχισμα Λαζικὴν εἶναι. [23] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων κατὰ τοῦτο ξυνοίσειν πρὸς Λαζικῆς ἐπικράτησιν ἠλπιζε Πέρσαις, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι δυνήσονται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καταθέοντες καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου πόντου χωρία Καππαδόκας μὲν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Γαλάτας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς παραστήσεσθαι, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δὲ Βυζαντίους αἰρήσειν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. [24] τούτων μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα προσποιεῖσθαι Χοσρόης Λαζικὴν ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ Λαζοῖς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν. [25] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, Λαζῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπεικῶς ἤχθετο. μονότροποι γάρ, εἴπερ ἄλλοι τινές, οἱ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑπεράγαν σκληροί. [26] καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ τε νόμοι δυσπρόσοδοί εἰσι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτά. πρὸς μέντοι Λαζοὺς καὶ διαφερόντως τὸ διαλλάσσον τῆς τε γνώμης αἰὶ καὶ τῆς διαίτης παρὰ πολὺ διαφαίνεται, ἐπεὶ Λαζοὶ μὲν Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἅπαντα ἔχει. [27] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἄλλες μὲν τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐδαμῇ γίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὔτε σίτος οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν φύεται. [28] ἐκ δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παραλίῳν ἅπαντα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπεισέρχεται σφίσι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χρυσίον τοῖς συμβάλλουσι προῖεμένοις, ἀλλὰ δέρρεις τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πολὺ περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνει. [29] τούτου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσχαλλον. ὧν δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης αἰσθόμενος προτερῆσαι ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, πρὶν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειαν, ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. [30] καὶ οἱ βουλευομένῳ ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γουβάζην τὸν Λαζῶν βασιλέα ἐκποδῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιησαμένῳ Λαζοὺς ἐνθὲνδε πανδημεὶ ἀναστήσειν, οὕτω τε Πέρσας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἔθνη ξυνοικεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ. [31] Ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης βεβουλευμένος Ἰσδιγούσαναν ὡς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλει, καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος πεντακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐπιστείλας σφίσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐν οἰκίαις δὲ καταλῦσαι πολλαῖς, ταύτας τε νύκτωρ ἀπάσας ἐμπρῆσαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ἡσχολημένων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπάντων ἀνοιγνύναι μὲν τὰς πύλας εὐθύς, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ ἄλλο Περσῶν

στράτευμα δέξασθαι. [32] προείρητο γὰρ τῷ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἄρχοντι στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη ἐγκρυφιάζοντι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὤετο Χοσρόης οὐδενὶ πόνῳ Ῥωμαίους τε ἅπαντας διαχρήσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Δάρας ἐν βεβαίῳ καταλαβόντας σχήσειν. [33] ἀλλὰ τις εὖ εἰδὼς τὰ πρασσόμενα, Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ, αὐτόμολος δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς Πέρσας ἦκων, τὸν πάντα λόγον Γεωργίῳ φράζει, ἐνταῦθα τότε διατριβὴν ἔχοντι, οὐ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ἅτε Περσῶν ἀναπεύσαντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ Σισαυράνων πολιορκουμένους φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις. [34] Γεώργιος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὁρίοις ἀπαντήσας τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ ἔφασκεν οὐ κατὰ πρεσβείαν τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι, καὶ οὐ ποτε Πέρσας τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν πόλει Ῥωμαίων αὐλίσασθαι. [35] χρῆν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμώδιος ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ ζῦν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς πόλιν Δάρας ἐσιττῆτά εἶναι. [36] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσδιγούσνας ἠγανάκτει τε καὶ δυσφορουμένῳ ἐφίκει, ἅτε περιυβρισμένος οὐ δέον, καίπερ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα στελλόμενος. [37] Γεώργιος δὲ οἱ οὐ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν ἠγριωμένῳ διεσώσατο τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίοις. ζῦν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν ἐδέξατο. [38] Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχὼν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ὡς πρεσβεύων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε, τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπαγόμενος δύο· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ παραπέτασμα τοῦ ξυνεληλυθότος ὁμίλου, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἀμφὶ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων τινὶ οὐ μέγα οὐ μικρὸν ἰσχυσεν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μῆνας δέκα κατατρίψας ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. [39] τὰ μέντοι δῶρα παρὰ Χοσρόου, ἥπερ εἰθισται, καὶ γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε, δι' ὧν ὁ Χοσρόης Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα σημήναι ἠξίου εἴ οἱ τὸ σῶμα ὑγιείας πέρι ὡς ἄριστα ἔχοι. [40] τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μάλιστα πρέσβειων ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ζῦν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἱκανῶς ἠγαγεν. [41] ὥστε καὶ ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐσιτῆφῃ, Βραδούκιον, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπετο, ζῦν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε, πρᾶγμα πῶποτε οὐ γεγονὸς πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [42] ἐρμηνέα γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τινι καταδεεστέρων ἀρχόντων, μὴ τί γε δὴ βασιλεῖ ὁμοτράπεζον γεγονότα οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν. [43] ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἢ κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐδέξατό τε καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο, καίπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ τὴν πρεσβείαν, [44] ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, πεποιημένον. ἦν γὰρ τις τὰς τε δαπάνας διαριθμῆσαιτο καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὅσα ἐνθένδε κεκομισμένος Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, πλεον αὐτὰ κατατείνοντα ἢ ἐς χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δέκα εὐρήσει. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐς Δάρας πόλιν ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ Χοσρόῳ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

Ἐς τε Λαζικὴν πρῶτα μὲν ξύλα παμπληθῇ ἐς νηδὼν ποίησιν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ φράσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ αὐτὰ πέμπειεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ μηχανὰς ἐν Πέτρας τῷ περιβόλῳ καταστησόμενος ταῦτα ἔστελλεν. [2] ἔπειτα δὲ Περσῶν μαχίμους τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, Φάβριζόν τε, οὐπὲρ ἀρτίως ἐπεμνήσθην, αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθα στέλλει, ᾧ δὴ ἐπήγγελλε Γουβάζην ὡς λαθραϊότατα διαχρήσεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐνθένδε αὐτῷ μελήσειν. [3] τὰ μὲν οὖν ξύλα ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἐς Λαζικὴν ἐκομίσθη, κεραυνόβλητα ἐξαπινάϊως γενόμενα τετεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη· Φάβριζος δὲ ζῦν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐς Λαζικὴν

ἀφικόμενος ἔπρασσεν ὥπως δὴ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζῃ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐπηγγελμένα ὑποτελοίη. [4] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Κόλχοις λογίμων, Φαρσάνσης ὄνομα, τῷ Γουβάζῃ προσκεκρουκῶς ἐς μέγα τέ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμπεπτωκῶς ἔχθος καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα θαρσῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἤκειν. [5] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Φάβριζος ἔγνω, τὸν Φαρσάνσην μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκοινολογεῖτό τε καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπῃ οἱ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἴη. [6] ἔδοξε τοίνυν σφίσιν ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις Φάβριζον μὲν ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, μεταπέμψασθαι δὲ Γουβάζην ἐνταῦθα, ὥπως οἱ ἀγγέλλοι ὅσα δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ ξυνοίσοντι Λαζοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη. [7] ἀλλ' ὁ Φαρσάνσης κρύφα τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐσήμηνε τὰ πρασσόμενα. διὸ δὴ Γουβάζης παρὰ μὲν Φάβριζον οὐδαμῇ ἦλθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδε. [8] Φάβριζος δὲ Πέρσαις μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξαρτύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐπ' οἴκου ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε. [9] Γουβάζης δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίσι τῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα πεπραγμένων Λαζοῖς ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμονα εἶναι, ἀμῦναι δὲ σφίσι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἀπαλλαξείουσιν τῆς Μήδων ἀρχῆς. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μόνας δυνήσεσθαι Κόλχους ἀποκρούσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν. [10] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἄνδρας ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δαγισθαῖον ἄρχοντα καὶ Τζάνους χιλίους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν Λαζοῖς ἔπεμψεν. [11] οἳ δὴ ἐν γῇ τῇ Κολχίδι γενόμενοι ἅμα Λαζοῖς τε καὶ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [12] Περσῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὄντων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων, χρόνον τῇ προσεδρεῖα πολὺν τετρίφθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν οἱ Πέρσαις διαρκῶς ἔτυχον. [13] τούτοις δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Μερμερόην ἐπέστησεν. ὥνπερ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπικοινωνήσας βουλευσάμενος ἐποίει τάδε. [14] Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Τζανικῆς ὁρίων ἐν Ἀρμενίοις οἳ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον ὥκηνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλείστον χωρεῖ, βραχὺς τε ἰὼν καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ γινόμενος ἐσβατὸς ἅπασιν ἄχρι ἐς χῶρον οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβήρων τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶ, καταντικρὺ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὅρος ὁ Καύκασος. [15] ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ Ἀλανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀβασγοὶ ὥκηνται Χριστιανοὶ τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες, Ζῆχοι τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Οὐννοι, [16] οἳ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἀφίκεται ἵνα δὴ τοῦ τε Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰβηρίας τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγινόμενων οἳ καὶ ἄλλων ὑδάτων μείζων τε παρὰ πολὺ γίνεται καὶ Φᾶσις ἀντὶ Βόα τὸ ἐνθένδε καλούμενος φέρεται, ναυσίπορος γεγενημένος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον, οὗ δὴ οἳ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Λαζική ἐστίν. [17] ἀλλ' ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ξύμπασα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ χώρα πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖται μέχρι τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων. [18] κῶμαί τε γὰρ αἱ Λαζῶν πᾶσαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ πολίσματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφίσι ταύτῃ πεποίηνται, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαίοπολις, ἐχυρωτάτῃ οὖσα, Σεβαστόπολις τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ Πιτιοῦντος φρουρίον ἐστὶ Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανὶς πρὸς

τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὁρίοις. πόλεις μέντοι ἀξιολογώταται ἐνταῦθα εἰσι Ῥοδόπολις καὶ Μοχλήρης. [19] τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λαζικῆς μὲν τὰ ὅρια ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἔρημον δὲ ξυμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν εἶναι. ταύτην προσοικοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν χώραν οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται. [20] ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις, ἔνθα δὴ ἄνθρωποι οὐδαμῇ ὤκνητο, Πέτραν Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις ἐδείματο. [21] οὐπερ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Τζίβος ἐπικαλούμενος, τὸ μονοπάλιον καταστησάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αἴτιος τῆς ἀποστάσεως Λαζοῖς γέγονεν. [22] ἐκ δὲ Πέτρας πόλεως ἰόντι εὐθὺς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, χωρία τε πολυάνθρωπα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ, τό τε Ῥιζαῖον καλούμενον καὶ Ἀθῆναι ἄλλα τε ἅττα μέχρι Τραπεζουντίων. [23] ἡνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐπηγάγοντο Χοσρόην Λαζοί, Βόαν ποταμὸν διαβάντες τὸν τε Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες ἐς Πέτραν ἦλθον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προνοήσαντες ὥς μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι ἀναγκάζονται ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα οἰκία Πέρσαις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [24] καίτοι δύσοδος πανταχόθι Λαζικῇ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος. [25] σκόπελοι γὰρ ὑπερφυεῖς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τῆς χώρας ὄντες στενωποὺς ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦνται: κλεισούρας ἐλληνίζοντες τὰς τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. [26] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τότε Λαζικῇ ἀφύλακτος ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐν Πέτρα ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι Λαζοῖς ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι. [27] Νῦν δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης μαθὼν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε πέμψαι μὲν τινας οἱ φυλάξουσιν τὸν στενωπὸν ἰσχυρότατα ὅς ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ, τὴν μέντοι προσεδρεῖαν ὥς ἥκιστα λύειν, ἕως τὴν τε Πέτραν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξελεῖν δύνωνται. [28] αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ Κόλχων στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Λαζικῆς ἔσχατα ἦλθεν, ὥς τὸν ἐνταῦθα στενωπὸν διαφυλάξων δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [29] ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον Ἀλανοὺς τε καὶ Σαβείρους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οἵπερ ὁμολόγησαν κεντηναρίων τριῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀδήωτον Λαζοῖς ξυμφυλάξειν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν οὕτω καταστήσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον ὥς μηδὲ Πέρσαις ἐνθένδε τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι. ταῦτά τε σφίσι τὰ χρήματα βασιλέα Γουβάζης ὑπέσχετο δώσειν. [30] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν τὰ ξυγκείμενα τοῖς τε βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἰκέτευε πέμπειν καὶ Λαζοῖς ἄγαν κεκακωμένοις παραγνυχὴν προέσθαι τινά. [31] ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ τὸ δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὀφείλειν ἐνιαυτῶν δέκα, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς σιληντιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενος οὐδὲν κεκομισμένος ἐνθένδε εἶη, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἦλθε. [32] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπιτελέσειν μὲν διενоеῖτο τὴν αἴτησιν, ἐπιγενομένης δὲ οἱ ἀσχολίας τινὸς οὐκ ἔπεμψε τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τὰ χρήματα. Γουβάζης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει. [33] Δαγισθαῖος δὲ ἦν γάρ τις νεανίας πόλεμόν τε διενεγκεῖν Μηδικὸν οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόχρεως τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐχρήτο. [34] δέον οὖν ἀμέλει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν στείλαι, τάχα δ' ἂν που καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ παραγενέσθαι, ἐς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ τι πάρεργον διαχειρίζων, ἔπεμψε μόνους: αὐτὸς δὲ Πέτραν πολιορκῶν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν ἤνυσε, καίπερ τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγων ὄντων. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἦσαν, [35] πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ

τειχομαχοῦντων βαλλόμενοι τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, θνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ σφίσιν ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσε. [36] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσίν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυχα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ πεποίηνται, ὃ τε ταύτῃ περίβολος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν. [37] ἀλλὰ ξυνέβη τούτου διὰ τοῦ χώρου ἐντὸς οἴκημα εἶναι οὐδὲν τοῦ περιβόλου διεστηκός, ὃ δὲ ἐξικνεῖτο ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἐφεξῆς ὅλον: [38] καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τείχους πολιορκουμένοις γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν αὐτοὺς καθίστη. [39] ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖους ξυνταράζει οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν. εὗ γὰρ εἰδότες ὥς αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτέρωθι ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ῥᾶστα αἰρήσουσιν, εὐέλπιδες πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. [40] διὸ δὴ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος βασιλεῖ μὲν τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα ἐδήλου, ἄθλα δὲ οἱ τῆς νίκης ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι προὔτειντο, σημήνας ὅσοις διὰ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ χρῆν βασιλέα δωρήσασθαι: Πέρσαν γὰρ αἰρήσειν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. [41] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖους τε καὶ Τζάνους καρτερώτατα τειχομαχοῦντας παρὰ δόξαν ὑφίσταντο, καίπερ ὀλίγοι ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐς ἄγαν. [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἦνυον, ἐπὶ τὸ διορύσσειν αὐθις ἐτράποντο. ἐς τόσον τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀφίκοντο ὥς μηκέτι ἐπ' ἐδάφους τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κενοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστάναι, πεσούμενα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [43] καὶ εἰ μὲν Δαγισθαῖος εὐθὺς ἠθέλε πῦρ τοῖς θεμελίοις ἐνάψαι, οἷμαι εὐθυωρὸν σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι: νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως καταδοκῶν ἐλπίδας μέλλων τε αἰεὶ καὶ τρίβων τὸν χρόνον ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.

Μερμερόης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὄρους παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἡμειψε, πρόσω ἐχώρει, ποταμὸν Μήδων στρατῷ ἡμειψε, πρόσω ἐχώρει, ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων: διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς χωρίων ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλε, τοῦ μή τί οἱ ταύτῃ ἐμπόδισμα ὑπαντιάσαι. [2] Πέτρην γὰρ πόλιν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διασώσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, καίτοι καὶ μοῖρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου καταπεπτώκει ἐξαπιναιῶς. [3] ἠώρητο γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται: ἄνδρες τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐθελούσιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενοι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβόων καλλίνικον. [4] ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν νεανίας τις Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὃνπερ Γούζην ἐπὶ κλήσιν ἐκάλουν. [5] οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐδείματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἥρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [6] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης, Περσῶν σφίσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, πληγεὶς αὐτίκα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς οἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἕτερος ἀμύνων ἦλθε: [7] Πέρσης δὲ ἀνὴρ, Μιρράνης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐν Πέτρα φυλακτηρίου ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δείσας, Πέρσαις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐπέστελλε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα ἔχεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Δαγισθαῖον σταλὲς θῶπας τε καὶ ἀπατηλοὺς προὔτειντο λόγους, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὁμολογῶν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐνδῶσειν τὴν πόλιν. ταύτῃ τε παρακρούσασθαι ἴσχυσεν, ὥς μὴ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. [8] Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Μερμερόην ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὸ Ῥωμαίων

φυλακτήριον ὑπηντίαζον ἐς ἑκατὸν ὄντες, καρτερῶς τε ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρωμένους ἀνέστελλον. [9] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ὑπεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κτεινομένους αἰεὶ ἕτεροι ἐκδεχόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, παντὶ σθένει τὴν εἵσοδον βιαζόμενοι. [10] θνήσκουσι μὲν Πέρσαι πλέον ἢ χίλιοι, κτείνοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεῖπον, τοῦ τε ὀμίλου σφᾶς βιαζομένου ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνη ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀναδραμόντες ἐσώθησαν. [11] ταῦτα Δαγισθαῖος μαθὼν αὐτίκα τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσεν, οὐδὲν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστείλας, ἐπὶ Φᾶσίν τε ποταμὸν ἤλαυνε· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ζύμπαντες εἶποντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπόντες. [12] Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ ποιούμενα κατιδόντες τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέωγον καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἀμφὶ τὰς καλύβας τῶν πολεμίων ἤλθον, ὥς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξαιρήσαντες. [13] Τζάνοι δὲ οὐ γὰρ Δαγισθαῖῳ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔτυχον ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τρεψάμενοι τε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [14] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, Τζάνοι δὲ ληισάμενοι τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς τοῦ Ῥιζαίου ἐχώρησαν. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐλθόντες διὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [15] Μερμερόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήσων στρατὸς ἐνταῦθα ἤλθον ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν ἐνάτη· οὗ δὴ ἀπολελεειμμένους ἐκ τοῦ Περσῶν φυλακτηρίου τραυματίας μὲν καὶ ἀπομάχους γεγεννημένους πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους εὖρον, ἀκραιφνεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους· οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐτεθνήκεσαν. [16] ὥνπερ τὰ σώματα οἱ περιόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς οὐδαμῇ ἔρριψαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὁσμῆς δυσώδει ἀποπνιγόμενοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ὥς μή τινα ἐς τὸ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἅτε τῶν πλείστων ἀπολωλότων σφίσι, παρέχωνται. [17] ὁ τε Μερμερόης ἐπιτωθάζων δακρύων τε καὶ θρήνων ἀξίαν Ῥωμαίων τὴν πολιτείαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, οἷς γε δὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἀσθενείας περιεστήκει τὰ πράγματα, ὥς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀτειχίστους Πέρσας μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἐξελεῖν δεδυνῆσθαι. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν περιβόλου ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τίτανον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει τάδε. [19] θυλάκους λινοῦς, οἷς δὴ Πέρσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν ἐσεκομίσαντο ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα, ψάμμου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐς τῶν λίθων τὴν χώραν ἐτίθετο, οἱ δὴ ἐνταῦθα βαλλόμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ τοίχου ἐγίνοντο. [20] καὶ τρισχιλίους μὲν τῶν μαχίμων ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, οἷσπερ τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐκ ἐς χρόνον κατέθετο μῆκος, ἐπιστείλας τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν. [21] Ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἰόντι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγίνετο πόρος, ἅπαντα ἐν Πέτρᾳ λιπόντι ἅπερ ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ὁ στρατὸς ἔτυχεν, ἄλλην τινὰ πορείαν ἰέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν διενοεῖτο, ἵνα δὴ ἀνθρώπους οἰκεῖν ἔμαθεν, [22] ὅπως ληιζόμενοι ἀποζῇν δύνωνται. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Φοῦβελις ὄνομα, Πέρσας αὐλιζομένους ἐνήδρευσεν, Δαγισθαῖον ἅμα Ῥωμαίων δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος, οἱ δὴ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἵππους νέμοντάς τινας ἔκτειναν, ἵππους τε ληισάμενοι δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποίησαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Μερμερόης τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐνθένδε ἦει. [23] Ὁ δὲ Γουβάζης, μαθὼν ὅσα δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τε τῇ

Πέτρα καὶ τῷ στενωπῷ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥς ἔδιδευσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν στενωπῷ φυλακὴν εἶασεν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος οἰόμενος εἶναι. [24] ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὥς, ἦν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ βιασάμενοι Πέρσαι τὸν στενωπὸν διαβῆναι καὶ ἐν Πέτρα γενέσθαι δεδύνηται, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνθὲνδε Λαζῶν τῇ χώρᾳ προστρίψαιντο βλάβος, Φᾶσιν διαβῆναι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ νηῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν. [25] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἰκανώτατα ἔχει, εὗρους δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκει. [26] τῆς μέντοι ρύμης αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον περίεστιν ὥστε δι' ἑς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπὶ μακρότατον κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμιγνύμενος. ὕδωρ ἀμέλει πότιμον τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ναυτιλλομένοις ὑδρεύεσθαι πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει. [27] καὶ φυλακῆρια μέντοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς πεποιήνται πανταχόθι Λαζοί, τοῦ μηδὲ ναυσὶ διαπορθμευομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπόβασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν εἶναι. [28] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Σαβεΐρων μὲν τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ξυγκείμενα χρήματα ἔπεμψε, Γουβάζην δὲ καὶ Λαζοὺς χρήμασιν ἄλλοις δεδώρηται. [29] ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐς Λαζικὴν πέμψας, οἱ οὐπω ἀφικόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχον. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ῥεκίθαγγος ἐκ Θράκης, ἀνὴρ ξυνητός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. [30] Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, Πέτραν ἐνθὲνδε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμπιπλάναι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἐπαρκέσειν γὰρ τῷ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίῳ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντι τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐδαμῇ ᾧετο ἅπερ εἰσκομισάμενοι ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον. [31] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ σφίσι γινόμενα μόλις ἀπέχρη ἐς τὴν δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τρισμυρίοις οὔσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Πέτραν οἰοί τε ἦσαν, λογισάμενος εὗρισκε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὸ μὲν πλεόν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς ἐνταῦθα μείναι, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν πολλὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακῆριον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις αὐτοὶ διαρκῶς χρῆσθαι: [32] ἄνδρας οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε τρεῖς καὶ Φάβριζον κατεστήσατο. [33] πλείους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα λείπεσθαι οὐ οἱ ἔδοξεν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ὄντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσαρμενίαν ἐλθὼν ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δούβιος χωρίοις. [34] Οἱ δὲ πεντακισχιλίοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγγυτέρω τῶν Λαζικῆς ἐσχάτων ἦλθον, παρὰ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες, ἔνθεν τε κατ' ὀλίγους περιούντες ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. [35] ὣν δὴ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε βοηθεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδῇ: δράσειν γὰρ σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους κακόν τι μέγα δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι. [36] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, παντὶ τε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ἕως ἐς χώρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ οἱ Λαζοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθῃ. [37] ἐτύγχανε δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατὸς ὢν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν καὶ Πέρσαι ἀπειρία τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ὥς ἥκιστα ὑπετόπαζον, Λαζοὶ μέντοι ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐνταῦθα διέβησαν ἐξαπιναιῶς καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ: Πέρσαι δὲ ἄνδρας χιλίους τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀπολεξάμενοι ἔπεμψαν, ὥς μὴ τις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ᾖοι. [38] ὥνπερ δύο ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ προτερήσαντες καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους

ἐμπεπωκότες τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐσήγγειλαν. [39] διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἐξαπινάϊως ἐπέστησαν, οὐδεὶς τε αὐτῶν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ζωγρήσαντες οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον τό τε μέτρον τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος μαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρόντα ἔχοι. [40] ἄραντες οὖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν, διαριθμούμενοι ὅπως πόρρω που τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιπέσοιεν σφίσι: τετρακισχίλιοι δὲ καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν. [41] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες μακρόν τινα ὕπνον ἐκάθευδον: τὸν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν ἀπόρευτον ὄντο εἶναι καὶ τοὺς χιλίους, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ὑπαντιάσαντος, [42] ἐπὶ μακρότατόν πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Λαζοὶ ὀρθρου βαθέος ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὕπνον αἰρουμένους εὔρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγηνερμένους καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων κειμένους. [43] διὸ δὴ αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἐν σκοτῷ διαφεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. [44] τό τε στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ αἰροῦσι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα πάντα, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐλήισαντο, καὶ ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων μέγα τι χρήμα. [45] ἐπὶ μακρότατον δὲ τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας πόρρω ἀφίκοντο. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Περσῶν ἐντυχόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [46] οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι ἀπήλλαξαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαζοὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἄλευρα παμπληθῇ ἐνταῦθα εὐρόντες ἅπαντα ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηγάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Πέτρان ἐσκομίσονται. [47] Λαζῶν τε πολλοὺς ἐλίποντο ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, ὥς μηκέτι Πέρσαις ἐς Πέτρان τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι δυνατὰ εἶη, ζύν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ λεία καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνέστρεφον. [48] καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Πέρσας ἐκεχειρίας, τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [49] Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης ἐνιαντῷ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦλθε. τηνικάδε γὰρ Θεοδώρῃ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐπεγένετο ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου. [50] τῶν μέντοι πρόσθεν ἀξιωματῶν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου τιμῆς ἱερεὺς ἔμεινε: καίτοι φάντασμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγεγόνει πολλάκις ὥς εἰς βασιλείαν ἀρίξεται. [51] φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠραῖζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀπὸ μειζόνων τε καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐλπίδων κρεμᾶν οἷς δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷ φύσεως τὴν διάνοιαν ἐστάναι ξυμβαίνει. [52] καὶ τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τερατολόγοι φαντάσεις ἐς αἰεὶ προὔλεγον καὶ ὥς χρῆν αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἀμπίσχεσθαι σχῆμα. [53] ἦν δέ τις ἱερεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Αὐγουστος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ τῶν κειμηλίων τοῦ τῆς Σοφίας ἱεροῦ φυλακὴν εἶχεν. [54] ἥνικα τοίνυν Ἰωάννης ἀποθριζάμενος τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἠξίωτο βία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐσθῆς ἱερῇ πρέπουσα, τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου, ἐγγὺς πη ὄντος, τόν τε φαινόλην καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι πρὸς τῶν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐφεστῶτων ἠνάγκαστο, ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη, οἶμαι, ἡ πρόρρησις.

BOOK III.

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μηδικὸς πόλεμος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα ἐξ τε Βανδίλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους αὐτῷ εἵργασται φράσω ἐρχομαι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ὅθεν ὁ Βανδύλων στρατὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψε χώρα. [2] ἐπειδὴ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγωνὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, διεδεξάσθην αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἅμφω τὰ παῖδε, Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μοῖραν, τὴν ἐσπερίαν δὲ Ὀνώριος ὁ νεώτερος. [3] διήρητο δὲ ὧδε τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τε Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ὃς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταθέμενος μείζω τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν καταστησάμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε προσαγορεύεσθαι. [4] Περιλαμβάνει μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν ὠκεανὸς ἢ ζύμπασαν ἢ τὴν πολλήν: οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἅμφ' αὐτῷ ἴσμεν: σχίζει δὲ αὐτὴν δίχα ἐς ἡπείρους δύο ἐκροή τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέρion εἰσβάλλουσα μοῖραν καὶ ταύτην δὴ ποιούμενη τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀπὸ Γαδεῖρων μὲν ἀρξαμένη, ἐς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκουσα λίμνην. [5] ταύταιν ταῖν ἡπείροιον ἄτερα μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὴν θάλασσαν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν λίμνην Ἀσία κέκληται, ἀπὸ τε Γαδεῖρων καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν. [6] Σέπτον καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνη φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενων ἐνταῦθα: τὸ γὰρ σέπτον ἐπὶ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται. [7] ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ ζύμπασα Εὐρώπῃ ἐκλήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ πορθμὸς τέτταρσι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν διείργει, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν πελάγεσι μεγάλοις ἀλλήλαιν διέχετον μέχρις Ἑλλησπόντου. [8] ταύτῃ γὰρ ξυνίασιν αὐθις ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Καλχηδόνι μέχρι τῶν πάλαι Κυανέων λεγομένων πετρῶν, οὗ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις μέτρῳ δέκα σταδίων τε καὶ τούτου ἐλάσσονι διείργεσθον ἀλλήλαιν. [9] Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν διὰ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἰόντι καὶ οὐ περιερχομένῳ κόλπον τε τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε Καλχηδόνης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔκ τε Δρυοῦντος ἐς ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέραν καταίροντι, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίῳ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. [10] τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, ὃς ἐκ Βυζαντίου χωρεῖ εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἅπαντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, βαρβάρων τῶν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρὸν, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσι, Ῥωμαίοις βατὴν ἥκιστα ποιούμενων τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐκ Βυζαντίου μὲν ἐς τὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐκβολὰς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὥσπερ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λογιζομένους ἐντιθέσθαι προσήκει. [11] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραν, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνης ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ Κόλχων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πόντον, ἀνύεται τεσσαράκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν. [12] ὥστε ζύμπασα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ γε τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπὶ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίῳ ἡμερῶν ξύνεισι μέτρον, ἦν τις, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τὸν Ἴονιον κόλπον ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα διήκοντα σταδίους ἐκ Δρυοῦντος διαπορθευῆται. [13]

ἡ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου πάροδος ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν διήκει οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τεσσάρων. τοσαύτη μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ γε τὸν παλαιὸν ἐγένετο χρόνον. [14] Ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐσπερίας ἔχοντι κράτος Λιβύης τὰ πλεῖστα διήκοντα ἐς ἐνενήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν: τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐκ Γαδεῖρων ἐς τὰ ὄρια τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ Τριπόλεως ἐστίν: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἔλαχε: [15] τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλεους στηλῶν ἐς κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον τυγχάνει οὖσα. προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ τῆς ἑω ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁδὸν ἐκληρώσατο ἐκ τῶν Κυρήνης ὁρίων τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ μέχρι Ἐπιδάμνου, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῷ κεῖται τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, Δυρράχιον τανῦν καλουμένη, καὶ ὅση ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστί. [17] μῖς δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς ἐς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίους, ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε ἰέναι. οὕτω μὲν ἥπειρον ἑκατέραν οἱ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες διείλοντο σφίσι. [18] τῶν δὲ δὴ νήσων Βρεττανία μὲν, ἡ ἐκτὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων νήσων πασῶν μεγίστη παρὰ πολὺ οὖσα, μετὰ τῆς ἐσπερίας, ὡς γε τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάττετο μοίρας: ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἔβουσα, ὥσπερ ἐν Προποντίδι τῇ μετὰ τὴν ὠκεανοῦ ἐσβολὴν ἐν θαλάσῃ κειμένη, ἐς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα διήκουσα, καὶ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕτεραι, Μαϊορίκα τε καὶ Μινωρίκα ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι. [19] τῶν δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν νήσων ἐκάστη θατέρῳ τοῖν βασιλέοιν ἐπέβαλεν, ὡς αὐτῇ ἐντὸς πού τῶν ἐκείνου ὁρίων ξυνέβαινε κεῖσθαι.

Ὀνωρίου δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς ἔχοντος βασιλείαν βάρβαροι τὴν ἐκείνου κατέλαβον χώραν: οἵτινες δὲ καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, λελέξεται. [2] Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρότερόν τε ἦν καὶ τανῦν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάντων μέγιστα τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα Γότθοι τέ εἰσι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Γήπαιδες. πάλαι μέντοι Σαυρομάται καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι ὠνομάζοντο: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ Γετικὰ ἔθνη ταῦτ' ἐκάλουν. [3] οὗτοι ἅπαντες ὀνόμασι μὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἄλλω δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ διαλλάσσουσι. [4] λευκοὶ τε γὰρ ἅπαντες τὰ σώματά εἰσι καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί, εὐμήκεις τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ νόμοις μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται, [5] ὁμοίως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἥσκηται. τῆς γὰρ Ἀρείου δόξης εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, φωνὴ τε αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μία, Γοτθικὴ λεγομένη: καὶ μοι δοκοῦν ἐξ ἐνὸς μὲν εἶναι ἅπαντες τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθνος, ὀνόμασι δὲ ὕστερον τῶν ἐκάστοις ἡγησασμένων διακεκρίσθαι. [6] οὗτος ὁ λεὼς ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκουν. ἔπειτα Γήπαιδες μὲν τὰ ἀμφὶ Σιγγιδόνον τε καὶ Σίρμιον χωρία ἔσχον, ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἴδρυνται. [7] Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐισίγοτθοι μὲν ἐνθὲνδε ἀναστάντες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Ἀρκαδίου βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὅτ' οὐ γὰρ οἶδε βαρβάροις ἐνδιατᾶσθαι ἢ ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστις, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Ἀλαρίχου, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐτράποντο, ἐκ Θράκης τε ἀρξάμενοι ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ὡς πολεμία ἐχρήσαντο. [8] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ὀνώριος πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθῆστο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πολέμιον ἐν νῷ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶν, οἶμαι, ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἡσυχάζειν ἐφῆ. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄποθεν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ πού ἐν Ταυλαντίοις εἶναι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἡγγέλλοντο, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία οὐδενὶ

κόσμῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν φεύγει, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν ἐς αὐτόν που λήγοντα κειμένην τὸν Ἴονιον κόλπον. [10] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ φασὶν αὐτόν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπαγαγέσθαι, στάσεως αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων γεγενημένης, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, [11] ὅσα γε τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογίζεσθαι ἦθος. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἀπὴντα πολέμιον, γίνονται ὁμότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. πόλεις τε γάρ, ὅσας εἶλον, οὕτω κατειργάσαντο ὥστε οὐδὲν εἰς ἐμὲ αὐταῖς ἀπολέλειπται γνώρισμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πύργον ἓνα ἢ πύλην μίαν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο αὐταῖς περιεῖναι ξυνέβη: [12] τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον, ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἐν ποσίν, ὁμοίως μὲν πρεσβύτας, ὁμοίως δὲ νέους, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι. ὅθεν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀλιγάνθρωπον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [13] χρήματα δὲ ἅπαντα ἐλήσαντο ἐκ πάσης Εὐρώπης, καί, τό γε κεφάλαιον, ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τε δημοσίων τῶν τε ἰδίων οὐδ' ὅτιοις ἀπολιπόντες ἐπὶ Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν. τρόπῳ δὲ ὅτῳ Ῥώμην Ἀλάριχος εἶλεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [14] Ἐπειδὴ χρόνος τέ οἱ πολὺς ἐν τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ ἐτέτριπτο καὶ οὔτε βίᾳ οὔτε τινὶ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ ἴσχυσε τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν, ἐπενόει τάδε. [15] τῶν ἐν στρατῷ νεανίων οὐπὼ γενειασκόντων, ἀλλ' ἄρτι ἡβηκότων, τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, οὐσπερ εὖ τε γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι ἠπίστατο, ἔφασκε μὲν αὐτοῖς κρύφα ὥς σφίσι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πατρικίων τινάς, ἅτε δούλοις οὗσι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δωρήσεσθαι μέλλοι. [16] παρήγγελλε δὲ ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων οἰκίαις τάχιστα γένωνται, πρῶτότητα πολλὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους ἅπαντα προθύμως ὑπηρετεῖν, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν κεκτημένων ἐπικείμενα ᾗ: [17] ἔπειτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μάλιστα μέσσην, ἀπάντων ἤδη τῶν αὐτοὺς ληψομένων ὕπνον, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, μετὰ τὰ σιτία αἰρουμένων, ἐν πύλῃ ἅπαντας τῇ Σαλαρίᾳ καλουμένῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τε φύλακας οὐδὲν προαισθομένους ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κτείνειν τὰς τε πύλας ἀνοιγνύναι ὥς τάχιστα. [18] ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλας Ἀλάριχος τοῖς νεανίαις, πρέσβεις αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἔπεμψε, δηλῶν ὅτι ἀγασθεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐς τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα εὐνοίας, οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλήσει, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως ἕνεκα, ἧς ἐς ἅγαν μεταποιεῖσθαι εἰσὶν ἐνδηλοί, ὅπως τε αὐτοῦ μνημεῖα παρ' ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς σώζοιτο, οἰκέταις τισὶ δωρεῖσθαι βούλοιτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστον. [19] ταῦτα σημήνας καὶ τοὺς νεανίας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στείλας, συσκευάζεσθαι ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκέλευε, τούτου τε αἰσθησὶν Ῥωμαίοις παρεῖχεν. [20] οἱ δὴ τοὺς τε λόγους ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενοι ἐν πολλῇ εὐπαθείᾳ ἐγένοντο, ἕκαστάτῳ τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐπιβουλῆς ὄντες. [21] οἱ τε γὰρ νέοι τῷ εὐπειθέστεροι τοῖς κεκτημένοις εἶναι τὸ ὑποπτον ἀπεκρούοντο, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἐξανιστάμενοι τε καὶ διαλύοντες τὴν προσεδρεΐαν ἐφαίνοντο, οἱ δὲ ὅσον οὐπὼ ταῦτο τοῦτο ποιήσιν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κυρία παρῆν, Ἀλάριχος μὲν ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν ἄγχις τῇ πύλῃ τῆς Σαλαρίας: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος τῆς πολιορκίας κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε. [23] ξύμπαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίαὶ καιρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ συγκειμένῳ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πύλην γενόμενοι τοὺς τε φύλακας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀπέκτειναν, τὰς τε πύλας ἀνακλίναντες κατ' ἐξουσίαν Ἀλάριχόν τε καὶ τὴν

στρατιὰν τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο. [24] οἱ δὲ τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν αἱ τῆς πύλης ἄγχιστα ἦσαν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος, ἧς δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡμίκαυτα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε: τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ληισάμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [25] τότε λέγουσιν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ Ὀνωρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τινα εὐνούχων δηλονότι ὀρνιθοκόμον ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμη ἀπόλωλε. καὶ τὸν ἀναβοήσαντα φάναί ‘Καίτοι ἔναγχος ἐδήδοκεν ἐκ χειρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν.’ εἶναι γὰρ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνα ὑπερμεγέθη, [26] Ῥώμην ὄνομα: καὶ τὸν μὲν εὐνοῦχον ζυνέντα τοῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν Ῥώμην τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀλαρίχου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀνενεγκόντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαβεῖν ‘Ἀλλ’ ἐγωγε, ὦ ἐταῖρε, Ῥώμην μοι ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ὄρνιν ᾗθην.’ τοσαύτη ἀμαθία τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἔχουσιν λέγουσι. [27] Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω Ῥώμην Ἀλαρίχῳ ἀλῶναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πρόβην γυναικα, πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ ἐπιφανεστάτην μάλιστα οὔσαν, οἰκτεῖραι μὲν λιμῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ διαφθειρομένους Ῥωμαίους, οἳ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤδη ἐγεύοντο: ὁρῶσαν δὲ ὡς πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἐλπίς ἀγαθὴ ἐπιλελοιπεί, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχομένου πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγκελεύσασθαι νύκτωρ ἀνοιγνύναι τὰς πύλας. [28] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλάριχος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐξανίστασθαι ἔμελλεν, Ἄτταλον τῶν τινα εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνέϊπε, περιθέμενος αὐτῷ τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἦκει. ἐπράσσε δὲ ταῦτα ὡς παραλύσων μὲν τῆς βασιλείας Ὀνώριον, παραδώσων δὲ ἅπαν Ἀττάλῳ τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος. [29] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἄτταλός τε καὶ Ἀλάριχος ἐπὶ Ῥαβένναν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἄτταλος οὗτος οὔτε αὐτός τι νοεῖν ἰκανὸς οὔτε τῷ εὖ εἰπόντι πεισθῆναι. [30] Ἀλαρίχου γοῦν ἦκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος ἐς Λιβύην στρατιᾶς χωρὶς ἄρχοντας ἐπεμψε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [31] Βρεττανία δὲ ἡ νῆσος Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη, οἳ τε ἐκεῖνη στρατιῶται βασιλέα σφίσι Κωνσταντῖνον εἵλοντο, οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἄνδρα. ὃς δὴ αὐτίκα στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στρατιὰν λόγου ἀξίαν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν τε καὶ Γαλλίαν ὡς δουλωσόμενος στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλεν. [32] Ὀνώριος δὲ πλοῖα μὲν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, προσεδέχετο δὲ τὰς ἐκ Λιβύης τύχας, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν ἀποκρουσθεῖεν οἱ παρὰ Ἀττάλου σταλέντες, πλείοι τε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ μοῖράν τινα τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχοι, ἦν δὲ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκεῖνη πράγματα ἴοι, ἐς Θεοδοσίον τε ἵκοιτο καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ εἴη. [33] Ἀρκαδίου γὰρ ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τελευτήσαντος, Θεοδοσίος ἐκείνου υἱός, ἔτι παῖς ὢν κομιδῇ, εἶχε τῆς ἑω ἀρχήν. [34] ταῦτα Ὀνωρίῳ καταδοκοῦντι καὶ ἐν τρικυμίαις φερομένῳ τῆς τύχης εὐτυχήματα θαυμάσια ἡλίκᾳ ζυηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [35] φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς οὔτε ἀγχίνους οὔτε τι οἰκοθεν μηχανᾶσθαι οἷσις τε οὔσιν, ἦν μὴ πονηροὶ εἶεν, ἀπορουμένοις τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπικουρεῖν τε καὶ ξυλλαμβάνεσθαι: ὁποῖον δὴ τι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τετύχηκεν. [36] ἔκ τε γὰρ Λιβύης ὡς διαφθαρεῖεν οἱ Ἀττάλου ἄρχοντες ἄφνω ἠγγέλλετο, καὶ νηῶν πλῆθος ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατιώτας ἔχουσαι ὅτι πλείστους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ ἀφικομένους οὐ προσδεχομένῳ παρήσαν, διάφορός τε Ἀττάλῳ γεγωνὼς Ἀλάριχος τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται σχῆμα καὶ ἐν ιδιώτῳ ἤδη τελοῦντα μοῖρα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε. [37] μετὰ δὲ Ἀλάριχος μὲν τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν Οὐμισιγόθων στρατός, ἡγουμένου σφίσιν

Ἀδασούλφου, ἐπὶ Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος μάχῃ ἡσσηθείς ζὺν τοῖς παισὶ θνήσκει. [38] Βρεττανίαν μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' οὕσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [39] Γότθοι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου διάβασιν ποιησάμενοι Παννονίαν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔσχον, ἔπειτα δὲ βασιλέως δόντος ὤκησαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία. [40] ἐνταῦθα τε οὐ πολὺν διατρίψαντες χρόνον τῆς ἐσπερίας ἐκράτησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Γότθων εἰρήσεται.

Βανδίλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ὤκημένοι λίμνην, ἐπειδὴ λιμῶ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμανοὺς τε, οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται, καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥήνον ἐχώρουν, [2] Ἀλανοὺς ἐταιρισάμενοι, Γοτθικὸν ἔθνος. εἴτα ἐνθένδε, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γωδιγίσκλου, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ἰδρύσαντο, ἣ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ χώρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τότε ξυμβαίνει Γωδιγίσκῳ Ὀνώριος ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς χώρας ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσονται. [3] νόμου δὲ ὄντος Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν τινες οὐχ ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοιεν καὶ τρίβοιτο χρόνος εἰς τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς ἡκων, τούτοις δὴ οὐκέτι εἶναι κυρίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς βιασαμένους ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐς παραγραφὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρίσθαι τὴν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσοδόν, νόμον ἔγραψεν ὅπως ὁ τῶν Βανδύλων χρόνος, ὃν ἂν ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ διατρίβοιεν, ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν τριακοντοῦτιν παραγραφὴν ἦκιστα φέροιτο. [4] Ὀνώριος μὲν, ἐς τοῦτό οἱ τῆς ἐσπερίας ἐληλαμένης, ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πρότερον ζὺν τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν Κωνσταντίος ἔχων, τῆς Ἀρκαδίου τε καὶ Ὀνωρίου ἀδελφῆς Πλακιδίας ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἡμέρας τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούς ὀλίγας, πονήρως τε νοσήσας εἴτα ἀπέθανεν, Ὀνωρίου ζῶντος, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἰσχύσας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἥρκει ὁ χρόνος ὃν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐβίου. [5] τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου παῖς Βαλεντινιανός, ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς, ἐν τοῖς Θεοδοσίου βασιλείοις ἐτρέφετο, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλέως αὐλῆς τῶν τινα ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν, Ἰωάννην ὄνομα, βασιλέα αἰροῦνται. [6] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρῶτός τε καὶ ξυνέσεως εὖ ἡκων καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενος. [7] πέντε γοῦν ἔτη τὴν τυραννίδα ἔχων μετρίως ἐξηγήσατο, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπέσχεεν οὔτε φόνον ἄδικον εἰργάσατο ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὔτε χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ἐπέθετο· ἐς δὲ βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πρᾶξαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου πολέμια ἦν. [8] ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωάννην Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ἀρκαδίου στρατὸν πολὺν πέμψας καὶ στρατηγούς Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον, τὸν Ἀσπαρος υἱόν, αὐτόν τε ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ Βαλεντινιανῷ ἔτι παιδὶ ὄντι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκε. [9] ζῶντα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς Ἰωάννην λαβὼν ἐν τε τῷ Ἀκυληίας ἵπποδρομίῳ τὴν ἐτέραν ταῖν χεροῖν ἀποκοπέντα εἰσήγεν ἐπόμευσέ τε ὄνῳ ὀχούμενον, καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ἐνταῦθα παθόντα τε καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἔκτεινεν. οὕτω μὲν Βαλεντινιανὸς τὸ τῆς ἐσπερίας παρέλαβε κράτος. [10] Πλακιδία δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ θηλυνομένην παιδείαν τε καὶ τροφὴν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ ἐξεπαίδευσεν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακίας ἔμπλεως ἐκ παιδὸς γέγονε. [11] φαρμακεῦσί τε γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἄστρα περιέρχοις ὠμίλει, ἐς τε ἄλλοτρίων γυναικῶν ἔρωτας δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς πολλῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς τὴν δίαίταν παρανομία, καίτερ γυναικὶ ξυνοικῶν εὐπρεπεῖ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς ἄγαν οὕση.

[12] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τι ἀνεσώσατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὧν ἀφῆρητο πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιβύην προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησε, τῇ τε γυναικὶ ταῖς τε παισὶ δορυαλώτοις γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε. γέγονε δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ πάθος. [14] Στρατηγὼ δύο Ῥωμαίων ἦσθην, Ἀετίος τε καὶ Βονιφάτιος, καρτερώ τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπείρῳ τῶν γε κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [15] τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι διαφόρῳ μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγενέσθην, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἠκέτην ὥστε, εἴ τις αὐτοῖν ἐκάτερον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ὕστατον εἴποι, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι: οὕτω τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετὴν ξύμπασαν ἐς τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε. [16] τούτοις τὸν ἕτερον Βονιφάτιον ἢ Πλακιδία στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε Λιβύης ἀπάσης. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν Αετίῳ, ἀλλ' ἡκιστα γε ὡς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἐξήνεγκεν. οὐπὼ γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἡ ἔχθρα ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐκατέρῳ ἐκρύπτετο. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βονιφάτιος ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει, διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλακιδίαν ὡς τυραννοίη, ἀποστερήσας αὐτὴν τε καὶ βασιλέα Λιβύης ἀπάσης, ῥαδίον τε εἶναι αὐτῇ ἔλεγε τάληθές ἐξευρεῖν: ἦν γὰρ μεταπέμποιτο Βονιφάτιον ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐ μὴ ποτε ἔλθῃ. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνή, εὖ τέ οἱ εἰπεῖν Αετίος ἔδοξε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. προτερήσας δὲ Αετίος ἔγραψε πρὸς Βονιφάτιον λάθρα ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ ἢ βασιλέως μήτηρ καὶ βούλοιο αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι. [19] καὶ οἱ τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς προηγόρευεν ἔσεσθαι μέγα: ἐξ αἰτίας γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα μεταπέμπτως ἔσται. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. [20] Βονιφάτιος δὲ οὐκ ἀλογήσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρῆσαν οἱ αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα ἐκάλουν, ἀπεῖπε τὸ μὴ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ ἐπακούειν, οὐδενὶ τὴν Αετίου ὑποθήκην ἐκφήνας. [21] Πλακιδία μὲν οὖν ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Αετίον τε τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνουν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὤρετο εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Βονιφατίου ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε. [22] Βονιφάτιος δὲ 'καὶ γάρ οἱ οὕτε βασιλεῖ ἐδόκει ἀντιτάξασθαι οἷω τε εἶναι ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀπίνοντι οὐδεμία σωτηρία ἐφαίνεται βουλευέται ὅπως οἱ, ἦν δύνηται, ὁμαιχμία ἐς τοὺς Βανδύλους ἔσται, οἱ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, ὡς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, οὐ πόρρῳ Λιβύης ιδρύσαντο. [23] ἔνθα δὴ Γωδιγίσκος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, διεδέξαντο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐκείνου παῖδες, Γόνθαρις μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γαμετῆς γεγινώς, Γιζέριχος δὲ νόθος. [24] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτι ἦν παῖς καὶ τὸ δραστήριον οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων, Γιζέριχος δὲ τὰ τε πολέμια ὡς ἄριστα ἐξήσκητο καὶ δεινότατος ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [25] πέμψας οὖν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν Βονιφάτιος τοὺς αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐκάτερον τῶν Γωδιγίσκου παιδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τὸ Λιβύης τριτημόριον ἔχοντα τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἄρχειν: ἦν δὲ τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινα ἰοὶ πολεμήσων, [26] κοινῇ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Βανδίλοι τὸν ἐν Γαδεῖροις πορθμὸν διαβάντες ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίκοντο καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ιδρύσαντο. [27] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἱ Βονιφατίῳ ἐπιτηδεῖοι, τοῦ τε τρόπου ἐνθυμούμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογιζόμενοί τε ἡλικὸς ὁ παράλογος ἦν, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ Βονιφάτιος τυραννοίη, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν Πλακιδίας ἐπαγγελλούσης ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον. [28] ἔνθα δὴ Βονιφατίῳ συγγενόμενοι τὰ τε Αετίου γράμματα εἶδον καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες

ἐς Ῥώμην τε ὡς εἶχον τάχους ἀνέστρεφον καὶ ὅπως αὐτῇ Βονιφάτιος ἔχοι ἀπήγγελλον. [29] καταπλαγεῖσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀέτιον μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι οὐδέ τι ὠνείδισεν ὣν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οἶκον ἐπέπρακτο, ἐπεὶ αὐτός τε δυνάμει μεγάλη ἐχρήτο καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα πονηρὰ ἤδη ἦν· τοῖς δὲ Βονιφατίου φίλοις τὴν τε Ἀετίου ὑποθήκην ἔφραζε καὶ πίστει παρεχομένη καὶ ὄρκια ἔχρηζεν αὐτῶν ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα, ἦν δύνωνται, πείσουσιν ἐπανάκειν ἐς τὰ πατρία ἦθη, οὐ περιδόντα ὑπὸ βαρβάρους κειμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [30] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βονιφάτιος ἤκουσε ταῦτα, τῆς τε πράξεως αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁμολογίας μετέμελε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλπίζει μύρια πάντα ὑποδεχόμενος ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἀνίστασθαι. [31] τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περιυβρίζεσθαι οἰομένων, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἡσσηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἐς Ἴππονερέγιον ἀνεχώρησε, πόλιν ὀχυρὰν ἐν Νουμιδία τῇ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ κειμένην. [32] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι Γιζερίχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου ἐπολιόρκουν· Γόνθαρις γὰρ ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. [33] Βανδίλοι δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Γόνθαρίν φασιν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ πρὸς Γερμανῶν ξυλληφθέντα ἐν μάχῃ ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, καὶ Γιζέριχον ἤδη αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα Βανδίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἡγήσασθαι. [34] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω πρὸς Βανδίων ἀκήκοα. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε βία οὔτε ὁμολογία τὸ Ἴππονερέγιον παραστήσασθαι οἷοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσαν. [35] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ Βονιφάτιος τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου πολὺς στρατὸς ἦλθε καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσπαρ, ἀναμαχέσασθαι τε ἤξιουν καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολεμίων ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [36] καὶ ὁ τε Ἀσπαρ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ Βονιφάτιος ὡς Πλακιδίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν διέλυνεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς αἰτίας ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιτο.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ Λιβύην οὕτω Βανδίλοι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι ἔσχον. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὓς λάβοιεν ζῶντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενοι μοίρα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. [2] ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸν ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃς ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Θεοδοσίου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. [3] τότε μέντοι Γιζέριχος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ παρεῖναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως οἱ εἰδέναι σκοπομένῳ ἐξῇ ὅτῳ ἂν δεσπότη αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀξίας δουλεύοι. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνελέγησαν αἵθριοι, ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην ὥρᾳ θέρους ἀχθόμενοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐκάθηντο. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὅπου δὴ ἀπημελημένως ἐκάθευδε. [5] καὶ τις αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ὑπερίπτατο, τὰ πτερά, ὡς λέγουσι, διαπετάσας, αἰεὶ τε μένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀέρος χώρα μόνον τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐπεσκίαζεν. [6] ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπεράφων τὸ ποιούμενον ἰδὼν Γιζέριχος, ἀγχίνους τις ὦν μάλιστα, θεῖόν τε εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπόπτεισε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. [7] ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων Ἀσπαρι ἔφη κοινωνὸς εἶναι· δομέστικον δὲ τοῦτον τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσῃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [8] ταῦτα Γιζερίχῳ ἀκούσαντι καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ μὲν τὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἔργον, τὴν δὲ Ἀσπαρος δύναμιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ὅση ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρήτο, καταφανὲς ἐγίνετο ὡς εἰς βασιλείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγοιτο. [9]

κτείναι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου, ἐκλογιζόμενος ὥς, ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει, εὐδηλον ἔσται ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ τῷ ὄρνιθι ποιηθὲν εἶη· οὐ γὰρ βασιλέα τῇ σκιᾷ θεραπεύοι, ὅς γε αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπολεισθαι ἐμελλέ, λόγῳ τε αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ κτείνει· ἦν δέ γε χρῆν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ μήποτε οἱ θανάτῳ καταληπτὸς ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς βουλὴν ἤκοντα οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ κωλυτὰ εἶναι. [10] ὄρκοις δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ὥς, ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσται, οὔποτε πρὸς γε Βανδύλους ἐν ὅπλοις γένηται. οὕτω δὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἀφειμένος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφίκετο καὶ Θεοδοσίου χρόνῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. [11] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζυμπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει ἀγαθός, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Λιβύην ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποίησατο λόγῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο. [12] Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Βονιφάτιον μάχῃ νικήσας πρόνοιάν τε ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀφηγήσεως ἀξίαν, τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὥς μάλιστα ἐκρατύνατο. [13] δέισας γάρ, ἦν καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι, μὴ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὧσιν οἱ Βανδίλοι τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὁμοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τοῖς τε θεοῖς σφάλλεσθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οὐχ οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐπηρμένος, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔδεισε μέτριος γεγονώς, σπονδὰς πρὸς βασιλέα Βαλεντινιανὸν ποιεῖται ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος δασμοὺς ἐκ Λιβύης βασιλεῖ φέρειν, ἕνα τε τῶν παίδων Ὀνώριχον ἐν ὁμήρου μοίρᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδωκε. [14] Γιζέριχος μὲν οὖν ἐν τε τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός καὶ τὴν νίκην ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα διεφύλαξε καὶ Ὀνώριχον τὸν παῖδα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης ἀπέλαβεν. [15] ἐν δὲ δὴ Ῥώμῃ Πλακιδία μὲν πρότερον ἐτελεύτα, ἔπειτα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς ὁ ταύτης υἱός, ἅπαις ἀρσενογόνου, θυγατέρε μέντοι αὐτῷ δύο ἐξ Εὐδοξίας τῆς Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς ἐγενέσθην. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτα, λέξων ἔρχομαι. [16] Μάξιμος τις ἦν ἐκ γερουσίας ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου Μαξίμου οἰκίας ὃν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Θεοδόσιος τυραννοῦντα καθελὼν ἔκτεινε· ὑπὲρ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τοῦ Μαξίμου ἥσσης ἐπώνυμον. [17] οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος Μάξιμος γυναικὶ ζυνώκει σῶφρονί τε τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαβοήτῳ ἐς ἄγαν οὔσῃ. διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ τις ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο. [18] καὶ ἐπεὶ βουλομένῳ αὐτῇ ζυγγενέσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐβούλευσέ τε ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτελῇ ταῦτα ἐποίησε. [19] μεταπεμπάμενος γὰρ τὸν Μάξιμον ἐς παλάτιον ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ πεττεῦειν καθίστατο, καὶ χρυσίον ῥήτῳ ἐτέτακτο ἢ ζημίᾳ τῷ ἥσσηθέντι· [20] νενικηκὼς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τὸν Μαξίμου δακτύλιον ἐνέχυρον τῷ ζυγκειμένῳ κεκομισμένος ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκίαν πέμπει, εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν κελεύει Μάξιμος ὥς τάχιστα ἐς παλάτιον ἔκειν τὴν βασιλίδαν Εὐδοξίαν ἀσπασομένην. [21] καὶ ἡ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῷ δακτυλίῳ τεκμηραμένη Μαξίμου εἶναι ἐσβᾶσα εἰς τὸ φορεῖον κομίζεται ἐς τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν. [22] λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν οἷς δὴ αὕτη ἐκ βασιλέως ἡ ὑπουργία ἐπέκειτο, εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τι δωματίον τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος μακρὰν ἄποθεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῇ ὁ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐντυχὼν οὕτῃ ἐκουσίαν βιάζεται. [23] ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθοῦσα δεδακρυμένη τε καὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ ὥς ἐν μάλιστα περιαλγοῦσα πολλὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ Μαξίμῳ ἀράς, ἅτε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις τὴν

αἰτίαν παρασχομένῳ. [24] περιώδυνος τοῖνυν ὁ Μάξιμος τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι
γενόμενος αὐτίκα μὲν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθίστατο· ὥς δὲ τὸν
Ἀέτιον ἑώρα μέγα δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ Ἀττίλαν ἄρτι ἐνενικήκει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ
Μασσαγετῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐσβαλόντα,
ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ὥς οἱ Ἀέτιος ἐς τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ἐμπόδιος ἔσται. [25] ταῦτά
τε διανοομένῳ ἄμεινον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι
πρότερον, οὐδὲν ποιησαμένῳ ὅτι ἐς αὐτὸν περιέστηκε πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίς.
[26] τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως θεραπείαν εὐνούχων εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐχόντων,
ἀνέπεισε ταῖς αὐτῶν μηχαναῖς βασιλέα ὡς νεωτέρους πράγμασιν ἐγχειροίη
Ἀέτιος. [27] Βαλεντινιανὸς δὲ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ὅτι μὴ τῇ Αἰτίου δυνάμει τε καὶ
ἀρετῇ τεκμηριώσας τὸν λόγον ὑγιᾶ εἶναι κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. [28] ὅτε δὴ καὶ
Ῥωμαίων τις ἔπος εἰπὼν ἠυδοκίμησεν. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέως εἰ οἱ
καλῶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀετίου θάνατος ἐργασθεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν
εἰδέναι τοῦτο εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλῃ αὐτῷ εἴργασται, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὡς ἄριστα
ἐξεπίστασθαι, ὅτι αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἀποτεμὼν εἴη. [29] Αἰτίου
γοῦν τελευτήσαντος Ἀττίλας, οὐδενὸς οἱ ἀντιπάλου ὄντος, Εὐρώπην τε
ξύμπασαν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐληίζετο καὶ βασιλείαν ἐκατέραν ἐπακούουσιν ἐς
φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσχε. δασμοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπέμποντο ἀνὰ
πᾶν ἔτος. [30] τότε τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ πόλιν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκοῦντι μεγάλην τε καὶ
ἀτεχνῶς πολυάνθρωπον, παραλίαν μὲν, ἐκτὸς δὲ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου οὔσαν, [31]
τοιόνδε φασὶν εὐτύχημα ξυνενεχθῆναι. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε βία
οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ οἷός τε ἦν τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν, πρὸς τε τὴν προσεδρεῖαν
ἀπειπεῖν, ἥδη ἐπὶ μακρότατον γεγεννημένην, καὶ ἅπαν κελεῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα
τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν παρασκευῇ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ ἐνθένδε ἅπαντες ἐξανιστῶνται ἅμα ἢλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. [32] ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ
ἐπιγινομένη ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς λύσαντας μὲν τὴν προσεδρεῖαν τοὺς
βαρβάρους τῆς ἀφόδου ἔχεσθαι ἤδη, ἓνα δὲ πελαργὸν ἐπὶ πύργου τινὸς τοῦ
τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καλιάν τε ἔχοντα καὶ νεοττοὺς τρέφοντα ἐνθένδε ἐκ
τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ξὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐξαναστῆναι. [33] καὶ τὸν μὲν πατέρα πελαργὸν
ἵπτασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πελαργιδεῖς, ἅτε οὐπω ἐκπετησίμους παντάπασιν ὄντας, τὰ
μὲν αὐτῷ μετέχειν τῆς πτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου τοῦ πατρὸς φέρεσθαι,
οὕτω τε ἀποπτάντας τῆς πόλεως ἐκαστάτω γενέσθαι. [34] ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλαν
κατιδόντα ἣν γὰρ δεινότατος ξυνεῖναι τε καὶ ξυμβαλεῖν ἅπαντὰ κελεῦσαι τὸν
στρατὸν αὐθις ἐν χώρῳ τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐπειπόντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰκὴ ἐνθένδε
ἀποπτάντα ξὺν τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν ὄρνιν οἷχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι ἐμαντεύετο φλαῦρον
οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῷ χωρίῳ ξυμβήσεσθαι. [35] οὕτω μὲν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων
στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καταστῆναι φασι, τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου
μοῖραν τινα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκείνην ἢ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος τούτου καλιάν
εἶχεν, ἀπὸ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐξαπιναιῶς καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτῃ
ἐσιτητὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν Ἀκυληίαν κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι. τὰ
μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε. [36] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ βασιλέα οὐδενὶ
πόνῳ ἔκτεινε Μάξιμος καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ἔσχε, τῇ τε Εὐδοξίᾳ ξυγγέγονε βία.
γυνὴ γὰρ ἥπερ αὐτῷ ξυνώκει τετελευτῇ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. καὶ ποτε αὐτῇ
ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ προσέφερε λόγον ὡς τοῦ αὐτῆς ἔρωτος εἵνεκα πάντα εἴη

διαπεπραγμένος ἃ εἴργαστο. [37] τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἀχθομένην Μαξίμω καὶ πρότερον τίσασθαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμοῦσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸν οἰδαίνειν ὁ λόγος ἐποίησεν, ἔς τε τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνήγγεν, ἐπεὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἔνεκα ξυμβῆναι τὴν συμφορὰν Μαξίμου λέγοντος ἤκουσε. [38] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, πέμπει ἐς Καρχηδόνα δεομένη Γιζερίχου τιμωρεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου διαφθαρέντι, αὐτοῦ τε ἀναξίως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴν ρύεσθαι πάσχουσαν πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου ἀνόσια. [39] ἐπέσκηπτε δὲ ὡς φίλῳ τε καὶ ξυμμάχῳ ὄντι Γιζερίχῳ καὶ τηλικούδε πάθους ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ξυμβάντος τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τιμωρῷ γενέσθαι οὐχ ὀσίον ἔστιν. ἐκ Βυζαντίου γὰρ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ὤφετο ἔσεσθαι, Θεοδοσίου μὲν ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος.

Γιζέριχος δὲ δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα μεγάλα ἔσεσθαι ὑπετόπαξε, στόλῳ πολλῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν κατέπλευσεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε, τῶν βασιλείων ἐκράτησε. [2] Μάξιμον μὲν οὖν φεύγοντα Ῥωμαῖοι λίθοις βαλόντες διέφθειραν, καὶ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν τῶν τε ἄλλων μελῶν ἕκαστον ἀποτεμόμενοι διείλοντο σφίσι. [3] Γιζέριχος δὲ τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἅμα Εὐδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Πλακιδίᾳ, ταῖς αὐτῆς τε καὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παισίν, αἰχμάλωτον εἴλε, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέως κτημάτων πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐνθήμενος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, οὔτε χαλκοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος. [4] ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου νεῶν καὶ τοῦ τέγους τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀφείλετο μοῖραν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τέγος χαλκοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, χρυσοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπερχυθέντος ἀδροῦ ὡς μάλιστα μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ θαύματος πολλοῦ ἄξιον διεφαίνεται. [5] τῶν δὲ μετὰ Γιζερίχου νεῶν μίαν μὲν, ἣ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔφερε, φασὶν ἀπολέσθαι, πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐς τὸν Καρχηδόνας λιμένα κατήραν. [6] Εὐδοκίαν μὲν οὖν Γιζέριχος Ὀνωρίχῳ τῷ τῶν παίδων πρεσβυτέρῳ ξυνώκισε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἑτέραν ἄνδρὶ γὰρ ξυνώκει Ὀλυβρίῳ, τῶν ἐν βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δοκιμωτάτῳ ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ, ἐξαιτησαμένου βασιλέως, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἤδη δὲ τὸ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν κράτος ἐς Λέοντα περιεστήκει, Ἄσπαρος ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστησαμένου, ἐπειδὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλλακτο. [8] Ὑστερον δὲ Γιζέριχος ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων, πλὴν Καρχηδόνας, τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μήτε αὐτοὶ Λίβυες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὀρμαῖσθαι καὶ νεωτερίζειν ἱκανοὶ εἶεν μήτε τοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως στελλομένοις ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔσται ὡς καὶ πόλιν καταλήψονται καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι πράγματα Βανδίλοις παρέξονται. [9] τότε μὲν οὖν εὖ τε ἔδοξε βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν Βανδίλοις ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα διασώσασθαι, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ, ὅτε δὴ ἀτείχιστοι οὔσαι ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον πρὸς Βελισαρίου αἱ πόλεις αὗται ἠλίσκοντο, πολὺν τε γέλωτα ἤδη Γιζέριχος ὥφλε καὶ ἡ τέως δοκοῦσά οἱ εὐβουλία ἐς ἄνοιαν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη. [10] ταῖς γὰρ δὴ τύχαις αἰεὶ τὰς δόξας ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον βεβουλευμένοις ξυμμεταβάλλεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. [11] τῶν δὲ Λιβύων εἴ τι μὲν δόκιμον ἐτύγγανεν ὄν καὶ πλούτῳ ἀκμάζον, αὐτοῖς ἀγροῖς τε καὶ πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μοίρᾳ παρέδωκε τοῖς παισίν Ὀνωρίχῳ τε καὶ

Γένζωνι. Θεόδωρος γὰρ ὁ νεώτατος ἐτελεύτα ἤδη, ἅπαις τὸ παράπαν ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου. [12] Λίβυας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφείλετο μὲν τοὺς ἀγρούς, οἱ πλεῖστοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων διένειμεν ἔθνος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληροὶ Βανδύλων οἱ ἀγροὶ οὗτοι ἐς τὸδε καλοῦνται τοῦ χρόνου. [13] τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κεκτημένοις τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πένεσθαί τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ξυνέβαινε: ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ὅποι βούλονται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] καὶ τὰ μὲν χωρία ζύμπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βανδύλοις Γιζέριχος παραδεδώκει, οὐδεμιᾶς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆς ὑποτελῆ ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι. [15] τῆς δὲ γῆς ὅση οἱ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἀφῆκε τοῖς πρότερον ἔχουσι, τσαῦτα ἐνθένδε τῷ δημοσίῳ φέρεσθαι τάξας ὥστε οὐδ' ὅτιον περιῆν τοῖς τὰ χωρία τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. [16] ἔφευγον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκτείνοντο. αἰτίαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλαί τε καὶ χαλεπαὶ προσεφέροντο: [17] πασῶν δὲ μία μεγίστη δὴ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι χρήματά τις οἰκεῖα ἔχων ἀπέκρυπτεν. οὕτω τοὺς Λίβυας πᾶσα ἰδέα ζυμφορᾶς περιέστη. [18] Τοὺς δὲ δὴ Βανδύλους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς ἐς λόχους καταστησάμενος, λοχαγοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησεν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα, οὐσπερ χιλιάρχους ἐκάλεσε, δόκησιν παρέχων ἐς ὅκτῳ οἱ μυριάδας συνιέναι τὸν τῶν στρατευομένων λεών. [19] καίτοι οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πέντε τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν πλῆθος ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. [20] ἔπειτα μέντοι τῇ τε κατὰ σφᾶς παιδοποιίᾳ καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐταιρισάμενοι ἐς μεγάλην τινὰ πολυανθρωπίαν ἐχώρησαν. [21] τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, πλὴν Μαυρουσίων, ἐς τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων ἅπαντα ἀπεκρίθη. [22] τότε δὲ Γιζέριχος Μαυρουσίους προσποιησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἀνδραποδίσας, τὰς δὲ καθελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος, ληισάμενός τε ἅπαντα, ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπων τε ἡ χώρα καὶ χρημάτων ἔρημος ἐγεγόνει, ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἐφ' οὗ βασιλέως ἐσέβαλε κράτος. [23] Ἰλλυριοὺς οὖν ἐλθίζετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπικεῖνται. αἰθὶς δὲ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀπέβαινε, ἥγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντα. [24] καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσβάντα ἐν τῷ Καρχηδόνοιο λιμένι, ἀνατεινομένων ἤδη τῶν ιστίων, φασὶν ἐρέσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰέναι κελεύοι. [25] καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον φάναι, δηλονότι ἐφ' οὗς ὁ θεὸς ὥργισται. οὕτως ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐφ' οὗς ἂν τύχοι ἐσέβαλλε.

Τῶνδε εἵνεκα τίσασθαι Βανδύλους βασιλεὺς Λέων βουλόμενος ξυνήγειρεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύμα: τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος λέγουσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας γενέσθαι. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πρὸς ἑω θαλάσσης ἀθροίσας πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο μεγαλοφροσύνην ἔς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ναύτας, δεδιὼς μή τί οἱ ἐκ μικρολογίας ἐμποδῶν γένηται προθυμουμένῳ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν κόλασιν. [2] φασὶ γοῦν αὐτῷ τριακόσια καὶ χίλια κεντηνάρια ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ δεδαπανῆσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Βανδύλους τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖται Βασιλίσκον, Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκτόπως ἐρῶντα, ἦν οἱ ἥλπισεν ἀμαχητὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν Ἀσπαρος προσποιησαμένην φιλίαν. [3] αὐτὸς γὰρ

Ἄσπαρ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης μεταποιούμενος, ταύτην τε οὐκ ἐννοῶν μετατίθεσθαι, παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, καταστήσασθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἕτερον εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἤδη τε Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσει προσκεκρουκότι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [4] λέγουσιν οὖν Ἄσπαρὰ τότε δεῖσαντα μὴ Βανδύλων ἡσσημένων ὁ Λέων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν βασιλείαν κρατύνηται, πολλὰ Βασιλίσκου ἐπισκήψαντα παρακαταθέσθαι οἱ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γιζέριχον. [5] Λέων δὲ ἤδη πρότερον Ἀνθέμιον, ἄνδρα ἐκ γερουσίας, πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει μέγαν, βασιλέα τῆς ἐσπερίας καταστησάμενος ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν Βανδυλικὸν συλλήψεται πόλεμον. [6] καίτοι Γιζέριχος ἔχρηζε καὶ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει Ὀλυβρίῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν Πλακιδία τῇ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παιδί ξυνοικοῦντι καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὐνοϊκῶς αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἐπειδὴ τε τούτου ἡτύχησεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζετο καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως γῆν ἐλίζετο. [7] ἦν δέ τις ἐν Δαλματία Μαρκελλιανὸς τῶν Ἀετίῳ γνωρίμων, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ Ἀέτιος ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρηνέῳ, βασιλεῖ εἴκειν οὐκέτι ἤξιον, ἀλλὰ νεωτερίσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς εἶχε τὸ Δαλματίας κράτος, οὐδενός οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι τολμήσαντος. [8] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαρκελλιανὸν τότε Λέων βασιλεὺς εὖ μάλα τιθασσεύων προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, Βανδύλων κατήκοον οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν Βανδίλους ἐξελάσας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν. [9] Ἡράκλειος δὲ σταλεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου εἰς Τρίπολιν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ νικήσας τε μάχῃ τοὺς ταύτη Βανδίλους τὰς τε πόλεις ῥαδίως εἴλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπὼν πεζῇ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦγε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πολέμου προοίμια τῇδε ἐφέρετο. [10] Βασιλίσκος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς πόλισμα κατέπλευσε, Καρχηδόνος διέχον οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὀγδοήκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους Ἑρμοῦ δὲ νεῶς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὦν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ Μερκούριον ὁ τόπος ἐκλήθη: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐθελοκακήσας ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ ἐπεχείρησε Καρχηδόνος ἰέναι, αὐτὴν τε ἂν αὐτοβοεῖ εἴλε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν τραπομένους κατεδουλώσατο: [11] οὕτω Γιζέριχος Λέοντα ὡς ἄμαχον βασιλέα κατωρρώδησεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Τρίπολις ἀλοῦσαι ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ τὸν Βασιλίσκου στόλον ἐώρα οἷος οὐδεὶς πῶ ἐλέγετο Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον γεγενῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέλλησις, εἴτε κακότητι εἴτε προδοσίᾳ προσγενομένη. [12] Γιζέριχος δὲ τῆς Βασιλίσκου ὀλιγωρίας ἀπολαύων ἐποίει τάδε. ὀπλίσας ἅπαντας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπλήρου τὰς ναῦς, ἄλλας τε κενὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὡς τάχιστα πλεούσας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [13] πέμψας δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς Βασιλίσκον ἐδεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι χρόνον, ὅπως μεταξὺ βουλευσάμενος ἐκεῖνα ποιοίη ἃ δὴ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [14] λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσίου πολὺ τι χρῆμα κρύφα τῆς Βασιλίσκου στρατιᾶς πέμψαντα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ὠνήσασθαι. [15] ἔπρασε δὲ ταῦτα οἰόμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, πνεῦμα ἐπιφορον ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ γενήσεσθαι. [16] Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἢ Ἄσπαρι καθάπερ ὑπέστη χαριζόμενος ἢ τὸν καιρὸν χρημάτων ἀποδιδόμενος, ἢ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ἐποίει τε τὰ αἰτούμενα καὶ ἡσυχάζεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὴν εὐκαιρίαν προσδεχόμενος τῶν πολεμίων. [17] Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι,

ἐπειδὴ σφίσι τάχιστα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐγεγόνει, ὃ δὴ τέως καταδοκούντες ἐκάθητο, ἀράμενοι τε τὰ ιστία καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀφέλκοντες ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κενά, ὥσπερ μοι πρότερον εἴρηται, παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [18] ὡς δὲ ἀγγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πῦρ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, ἃ δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκοντες ἦγον, κεκολλημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ιστίων, ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [19] ἅτε δὲ πλήθους ὄντος ἐνταῦθα νηῶν, ὅπη τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα προσπίπτοιεν, ἑκαίον τε ῥαδίως καὶ αὐτὰ οἷς ἂν συμμίζαιεν ἐτοιμῶς ξυνδιεφθείροντο. [20] οὕτω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπιφερομένου θόρυβός τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἶχε τὸν Ῥωμαίων στόλον καὶ κραυγῆς μέγεθος τῷ τε πνεύματι καὶ τῷ τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντιπαταγούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευομένων καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθουμένων τά τε πυρφόρα πλοῖα καὶ τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων διαφθειρομένας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. [21] ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Βανδίλοι παρῆσαν ἐμβάλλοντές τε καὶ καταδύοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς διαφεύγοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ληιζόμενοι. [22] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Ἰωάννης, ὑποστράτηγός τε ὢν Βασιλίσκου καὶ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν τῆς ἐκείνου προδοσίας μεταλαχών. [23] περιστάντος γὰρ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐπιστροφάδην ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος πολὺ τι τῶν πολεμίων πληθος, ὡς δὲ ἀλικομένης ἦσθετο τῆς νεῶς, ἤλατο ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων εἰς θάλασσαν. [24] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐλιπάρει Γένζων ὁ Γιζερίχου, πιστά τε παρεχόμενος καὶ σωτηρίαν προτεινόμενος, ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσسون ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀποφθεγξάμενος, ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ χερσὶ κυνῶν γένηται. [25] Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος οὗτος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη: Μαρκελλιανὸς γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν συναρχόντων ἀπώλετο δόλω. [26] Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἱκέτης ἐκάθητο ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Ἰσοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεών, ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα τῷ θεῷ πρέπειν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡγούμενοί, ἐξαιτησαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν Βηρίνης τῆς βασιλίδος τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγεν, ἐς βασιλείαν δὲ τότε παρελθεῖν, ἥς δὴ ἔνεκα πάντα αὐτῷ εἴργαστο, οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. [27] Λέων γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον ἐν παλατίῳ διέφθειρεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ θάνατον ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοὺς ὑπετόπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε.

Ἀνθέμιος δὲ ὁ τῶν δυσμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Ῥεκίμερος διαφθαρεῖς ἐτελεύτα, Ὀλύβριός τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξάμενος ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. [2] τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Λέοντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Λέων ὁ Ζήνωνός τε καὶ Ἀριάδνης τῆς Λέοντος θυγατρὸς, ἐς ἡμερῶν ἔτι ὀλίγων που ἡλικίαν ἦκων. [3] αἰρεθέντος δὲ ξυμβασιλέως αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρός, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὁ παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [4] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ Μαῖορίνου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ πρότερον ἔσχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μαῖορίνος, ξύμπαντας τοὺς πώποτε Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλευκότας ὑπεραίρων ἀρετῇ πάσῃ, τὸ Λιβύης πάθος οὐκ ἦνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλὰ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείρας ἐν Λιγούροις ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι διανοούμενος. [5] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαῖορίνος ἔς τε τοὺς ἄλλους πόνους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους

ἄοκνος κομιδῇ. [6] οὐκ ἀξυμφορον δέ οἱ ἡγοούμενος εἶναι δύναμιν τε τὴν Βανδύλων καὶ τὸ Γιζερίχου ἦθος διερευνήσασθαι πρότερον καὶ ὅπη ποτὲ Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Λίβυες εὐνοίας τε ἢ ἔχθους πέρι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισι πιστεύειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔγνω. [7] πρεσβευτῆς οὖν ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως παρὰ τὸν Γιζερίχον ἐστάλη, ἄλλο τι αὐτῷ ὄνομα ξυμπεπλασμένον ἐπενεγκών. δείσας δὲ μὴ καταφανῆς γεγωνὸς αὐτός τε κακόν τι λάβῃ καὶ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα διακωλύσῃ, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. [8] τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας ἑαυτῷ διαβόητοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὅτι δὴ οὕτω ξανθὰ εἶεν ὥστε χρυσῷ ἀκιδόλῳ εἰκάζεσθαι βαφῇ τινι χρύσεον ἐς τοῦτο ἐξεπίτηδες ἐξευρημένη ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ κυάνεον παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ Γιζερίχῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὁ Γιζερίχος αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρει δειδίσσεσθαι καὶ ἅτε φίλον ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἦλθεν οὐ δὴ τὰ ὄπλα ξυνέκειτο πάντα, πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὑπερφυνῶς ὄντα. [10] ἐνταυθὰ φασὶ τὰ ὄπλα κινηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πάταγον οὐ μέτριον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα ἀφεῖναι, καὶ τότε μὲν τῷ Γιζερίχῳ σεισμόν τινα γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἔξω δὲ γενομένῳ ἀμφὶ τε τῷ σεισμῷ ἀναπυθνομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὠμολογεῖ, θαῦμα μὲν ἐπιτεσεῖν μέγα, οὐ μέντοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γεγονὸς οἶω τε εἶναι. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μαῖορίνος διαπεπραγμένος ἅπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπὶ Λιγυρίας ἀπεκομίσθη, καὶ τῷ στρατῷ πεζῇ βαδίζοντι ἐξηγούμενος ἐπὶ στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους ἦει, διαβαίνειν μὲν διανοοῦμενος τὸν ἐκείνῃ πορθμόν, ὁδῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [12] ὥνπερ ὁ Γιζερίχος αἰσθόμενος καὶ ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Μαῖορίνου ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ φενακισθεῖη, ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἐμπεπτώκε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηρτύετο. [13] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τεκμηριούμενοι τῇ Μαῖορίνου ἀρετῇ εὐέλπιδες ἤδη ἐγένοντο Λιβύην τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ νόσφ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλόντος ὁ Μαῖορίνος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μέτριος γεγωνὸς, φοβερὸς δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] καὶ Νέπως δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγας τε ἡμέρας ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτησε νόσφ', καὶ Γλυκερίος μετ' αὐτὸν ἐς ταύτην δὴ προελθὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τύχην τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀνέπλησε. μεθ' ὃν δὴ Αὐγουστος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε. [16] βασιλεῖς μὲντοι καὶ ἄλλοι πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ γεγόνασιν, ὥνπερ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι. [17] χρόνον τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐπιβιῶναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν πεπραχέναι ξυνέπεσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ ἐγένετο. [18] Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Βασιλίσκος ὃν γὰρ ἔτι οἶός τε ἦν τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς βασιλείας βιάζεσθαι τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος ἐκράτησεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, Ζήνωνος ὁμοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν, ἀφ' ἧς δὴ ὠρμᾶτο, διαφυγόντος. [19] ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τυραννίδα ἐνιαυτόν τε καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὡς εἰπεῖν ξυμπαντες καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐλῆς στρατιῶται διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἤχθοντο. [20] ὥν δὴ Ζήνων αἰσθόμενος στρατιάν τε ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει. Βασιλίσκος δὲ στρατόν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρμάτον ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος Ζήνωνι ἔπεμψεν. [21] ὡς δὲ πλησίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, παραδίδωσιν Ἀρμάτος Ζήνωνι τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα, ἐφ' ᾧ Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, κομιδῇ ὄντα παῖδα νέον, Καίσαρά τε καταστήσεσθαι καὶ τελευτῶντι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπεῖν. [22] Βασιλίσκος δὲ πάντων ἔρηνος γεγωνὸς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφεύγει οὐπὲρ καὶ

πρότερον. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀκάκιος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεὺς, Ζήνωνι ἐνεχείρισεν, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκὼν καὶ ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν δόγματος ξυνετάραξέ τε καὶ ἐνεόχμωσεν, ἐς τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς αἵρεσιν ἀποκλίνας, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [23] Ζήνων δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἀρμάτων πίστιν ἀφοσιούμενος Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Καίσαρα καταστησάμενος, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον αὐτόν τε ἀφείλετο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρμάτων ἔκτεινε. [24] Βασιλίσκον δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πέμψας ἐς Καππαδοκίαν χειμῶνος ὥρα σιτίων τε καὶ ἱματίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἐρήμους ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι. [25] ἔνθα δὴ ψύχει τε καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐς τε ἀλλήλους καταφεύγουσι καὶ τὰ φύλατα περιβαλόντες σώματα διεφθάρησαν. αὕτη τε Βασιλίσκον τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο. [26] Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε ἀπάτη τε περιελθὼν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελάσας, ὡς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἥγέ τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔφερε ζύμπαντα, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἀφίκετο σπονδαί τε αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντοι ξυνετέθησαν, μήτε Βανδίλους πολέμιόν τι ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίους ἐργάσασθαι μήτε αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνων ξυμβῆναι. ταύτας τε τὰς σπονδὰς Ζήνων τε αὐτὸς διεσώσατο καὶ ὃς μετ' ἐκείνον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν Ἀναστάσιος. [27] διέμειναν δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰουστινὸν αὐτοκράτορα. τούτου δὲ Ἰουστίνου ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν Ἰουστινιανὸς διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. [28] ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ὅδε, τρὶς ἔτη ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λελέξεται λόγοις. [29] χρόνον δὲ ὀλίγον Γιζέριχος ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτα πόρρῳ που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἦκων, διαθήκας διαθέμενος ἐν αἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Βανδίλοις ἐπέσκηψε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀεὶ Βανδύλων ἐς τοῦτον ἰέναι ὃς ἂν ἐκ γόνου ἄρρενος αὐτῷ Γιζερίῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκων πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν τύχοι. [30] Γιζέριχος μὲν οὖν ἄρξας Βανδύλων ἐπειδὴ Καρχηδόνας ἐκράτησεν ἔτη ἑννέα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.

Ὀνώριχος δέ, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου παιδῶν πρεσβύτατος, διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, Γένζωνος ἥδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἐπὶ τούτου Ὀνωρίχου Βανδύλων ἄρχοντος πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐς Μαυρουσίους, ἐγένετο. [2] δεῖ γὰρ τῷ ἐκ Γιζερίχου ἡσυχάζοντες πρὸ τοῦ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐγεγόνει, ἔδρασάν τε πολλὰ τοὺς Βανδίλους κακὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. [3] γέγονε δὲ Ὀνώριχος ἐς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ Χριστιανοὺς ὁμώτατός τε καὶ ἀδικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [4] βιαζόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ἀρειανῶν μετατίθεσθαι δόξαν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοι οὐχ ἐτοίμως αὐτῷ εἰκοντας, ἑκαίε τε καὶ ἄλλαις θανάτου ιδέαις διέφθειρε, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας ἀπέτεμεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς φάρυγγος, οἳ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ περιόντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρῶντο ἀκραίφνει τῇ φωνῇ, οὐδ' ὅπως οἰοῦν ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι: ὢν δὴ δύο, ἐπειδὴ γυναιξὶν ἐταίραις πλησιάζειν ἔγνωσαν, [5] οὐκέτι φθέγγεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἴσχυσαν. ἔτη τε ὀκτὼ Βανδύλων ἄρξας ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, Μαυρουσίῳ ἥδη τῶν ἐν τῷ Αὐράσιῳ ὄρει φηκμένων ἀποστάντων τε ἀπὸ Βανδύλων καὶ αὐτονόμων ὄντων ἔστι δὲ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνας διέχον, τετραμμένον τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, οἳ οὐκέτι ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις ἐγένοντο,

οὐ δύναμένων Βανδύλων ἐν ὄρει δυσόδῳ τε καὶ ἀνάντει λίαν πόλεμον πρὸς Μαυρουσίους διενεγκεῖν. [6] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ὀνωρίχου τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων κράτος ἐς Γουνδαμοῦνδον ἦλθε τὸν Γένζωνος τοῦ Γιζερίχου. ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἔφερε τὰ πρωτεῖα τοῦ Γιζερίχου γένους. [7] οὗτος ὁ Γουνδαμοῦνδος πλείοσι μὲν πρὸς Μαυρουσίους ἐμαχέσατο ξυμβολαῖς, μείζοσι δὲ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπαγαγὼν πάθειν ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ἥδη που μεσοῦντος τοῦ δωδεκάτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτους. [8] ἀδελφός τε αὐτοῦ Τρασαμοῦνδος παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, εἶδους τε καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας εὖ ἥκων. [9] τοὺς μέντοι Χριστιανοὺς ἐβιάζετο μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν πάτριον δόξαν, οὐκ αἰκίζόμενος τὰ σώματα ὥσπερ οἱ πρότεροι, ἀλλὰ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς μετιὼν καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὁποιοῖ ποτε εἶεν, ἥκιστα γε εἰδέναι ποιούμενος. [10] εἰ δέ τινας λάβοι μεγάλοις ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐνόχους ἢ γνώμῃ γεγεννημένους, τούτοις δὴ μεταβαλλομένοις τὴν δόξαν μισθὸν προὔτιθει μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην ὧν ἤμαρτον. [11] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἐτελεύτα, οὐ γενομένη μήτηρ οὔτε ἄρσενος οὔτε θήλεος γόνου, κρατῦναι ὡς ἄριστα τὴν βασιλείαν βουλόμενος, ἐς Θεωδέριχον τὸν Γότθων βασιλέα πέμψας ἤτει οἱ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδαν διδόναι, ἣς δὴ ἄρτι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐτεθνήκει. [12] ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔπεμψε καὶ Γότθων δοκίμων χιλίους ἐν δορυφόρων λόγῳ, οἷς δὴ ὁμιλος θεραπείας εἶπετο ἐς πέντε μάλιστα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. [13] ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεωδέριχος καὶ τῶν Σικελίας ἀκρωτηρίων τριῶν ὄντων ἐνί, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Λιλύβαιον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ὁ Τρασαμοῦνδος πάντων δὴ τῶν ἐν Βανδύλοις ἡγήσαμένων κρείσσων τε εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. [14] ἐγένετο δὲ φίλος καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ξυνέπεσε Βανδύλοις πάθος τι παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίῳ οἷον οὕτω πρὸ τοῦ ξυνηνέχθῃ γενέσθαι. [15] Καβάων ἦν τις ἄρχων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τρίπολιν Μαυρουσίῳ, πολέμων τε πολλῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ λίαν ἀγχίνους. οὗτος ὁ Καβάων ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι Βανδύλους ἐπύθετο, ἐποίει τοιάδε. [16] πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπήγγελλεν ἀδικίας τε πάσης καὶ βρώσεως ἐς τρυφὴν ἀγοῦσης καὶ πάντων μάλιστα γυναικῶν ξυνουσίας ἀπέχεσθαι: χαρακώματά τε δύο πεζόμενος ἐν θατέρῳ μὲν αὐτὸς ξὺν πᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰς γυναῖκας καθεῖρξε, θάνατόν τε τὴν ζημίαν ἠπειλήσεν ἔσεσθαι, ἣν τις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν χαρακῶμα ἴοι. [17] μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατασκόπους ἐπέταττε τάδε: ἐπειδὴ οἱ Βανδύλοι ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν βαδίζοντες ἕξ τινα νεῶν ὑβρίσωσιν ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφορᾶν τὰ γινόμενα: ἦν δὲ οἱ Βανδύλοι τὸ χωρίον ἀμείψωσιν, ἅπαντα ποιεῖν τὰναντία ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι δράσαντες οἷχονται. [18] ἐπειπεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτό φασιν, ὡς ἀγνοοίῃ μὲν τὸν θεὸν ὃν Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτόν, εἴπερ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν, ὡς λέγεται, τίσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, ἀμῦναι δὲ τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν. [19] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον, τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Βανδύλων θεώμενοι: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Τρίπολιν ἦεσαν, σχήματα περιβεβλημένοι ταπεινὰ εἶποντο. [20] οἱ δὲ Βανδύλοι ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἠῴλισαντο, ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοὺς νεῶς τοὺς τε ἵππους τὰ τε ἄλλα ζῶα ἐσαγαγόντες, ὕβρεώς τε σὺνδεμῆς ἀπελείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τῇ

σφετέρᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς τε ἱερέας, οὓς ἂν λάβοιεν, ἐρράπιζόν τε καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς ὑπηρετεῖν σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ὅσα δὴ ἐπέχειν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις εἰώθεσαν. [21] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἐποιοῦν οἱ τοῦ Καβάωνος κατάσκοποι ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐπετέτακτο: τὰ τε γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐκάθησαν αὐτίκα τὴν τε κόπρον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οὐχ ὁσίως ἐπέκειτο ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ ἀφελόμενοι, τὰ τε λύχνα ἔκαυσαν ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας αἰδοῖ τε πολλῇ προσεκύνησαν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἡσπάσαντο: [22] ἀργυρίᾳ τε τοῖς πτωχοῖς δόντες οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐκάθηοντο, οὕτω δὲ τῇ τῶν Βανδύλων στρατιᾷ εἶποντο. [23] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ξύμπασαν οἱ τε Βανδίλοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἡμάρτανον καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι ἐθεράπευον. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἔσσεσθαι ἔμελλον, προτερήσαντες οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Καβάωνι ὅσα Βανδίλοις τε καὶ σφίσιν ἐς τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἱερὰ εἴργαστο καὶ ὥς ἐγγὺς που οἱ πολέμοι εἶεν. [25] ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καθίστατο ὧδε. κύκλον ἀπολαβὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἔνθα δὴ τὸ χαράκωμα ποιεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, τὰς καμήλους ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγκαρσίας ἐν κύκλῳ καθίστη, κατὰ δώδεκα μάλιστα καμήλους ποιησάμενος τὸ τοῦ μετώπου βάθος. [26] παῖδας μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοῖς ἀπόμαχον ἦν ὁμοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς μέσον ἐτίθετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν μαχίμων λεῶν ἐς τῶν ζώων ἐκείνων τοὺς πόδας ἐν μέσῳ φραξαμένους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκέλευεν εἶναι. [27] οὕτω δὲ Μαυρουσίοις ἐχούσης τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον θέσθαι τὸ παρόν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀκοντισταὶ οὔτε τοξόται ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε πεζοὶ ἐς μάχην ἰέναι ἠπίσταντο, ἀλλ' ἱππεῖς τε ἦσαν ἅπαντες, δόρασί τε ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ ξίφεσ' ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποθὲν τε οὐδὲν ἐργᾶ ζεσθαι κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰοῖ τε ἦσαν, ἢ ἢ ἵππος αὐτοῖς, ἀχθομένη τῇ τῶν καμήλων ὧσει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦκιστα ἤγετο. [28] ἐπειδὴ ἔ' συχνὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς οἱ πολέμοι τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ αὐτούς, αἳ πλῆθος ὄντας, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔκτεινον, ἔφευγόν τε καὶ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπεξιόντων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, ὀλίγοι τε κομιδῇ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τούτῳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [29] ταῦτα μὲν Τρασαμούνδῳ παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων ξυνέπεσεν ἐτελεύτα δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐπτά τε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Βανδύλων ἄρξας.

Ἰλδέριχος δὲ Ὀνωρίχου τοῦ Γιζερίχου παῖς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ὃς τὰ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐπρόσοδός τε ἦν καὶ ὅλως πρᾶος, καὶ οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγεγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλθακός τε λίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὅτα τὸ πρᾶγμά οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἰέναι. [2] Ὅαμερ γοῦν ἀνεσιός τε ὦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει ἐφ' οὓς ἂν στρατεύοιντο Βανδίλοι: ὃν δὲ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Βανδύλων ἐκάλουν. [3] ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰλδερίχου ἡσσηθήσαν τε μάχῃ οἱ Βανδίλοι πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντάλας, καὶ σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη Θευδερίχῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐκ τε συμμάχων καὶ φίλων πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. [4] τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀμαλαφρίδαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον καὶ τοὺς Γότθους διέφθειραν ἅπαντας, ἐπενεγκόντες αὐτοῖς νεωτερίζειν ἔς τε Βανδύλους καὶ Ἰλδέριχον. [5] τίσις μέντοι οὐδεμία πρὸς Θευδερίχου ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατος ἐνόμισεν εἶναι στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, Ἰλδέριχος δὲ φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ

καὶ ξένος ἐγένετο, οὐπω μὲν ἤκοντι ἐς βασιλείαν, διοικουμένῳ δὲ αὐτὴν κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστίνος ὑπέργηρως τε ὦν ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος, χρήμασί τε μεγάλους ἀλλήλους ἐδωροῦντο. [6] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ Γιζερύχου γένει Γελίμερ ὁ Γειλάριδος τοῦ Γένζωνος τοῦ Γιζερύχου πόρρω που ἡλικίας ἦκων μετὰ γε Ἰλδέριχον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίδοξος ὦν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφίξεσθαι· [7] ὃς τὰ μὲν πολέμια ἐδόκει τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ δεινός τε ἦν καὶ κακοήθης καὶ πράγμασί τε νεωτέροις καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀλλοτρίοις ἐξεπιστάμενος. [8] οὗτος ὁ Γελίμερ ἐπεὶ οἱ μέλλουσιν ἑώρα τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ βασιλέως ἔργα προσποιησάμενος ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ἁώρου γε αὐτῷ οὔσης· καὶ Ἰλδέριχου δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἐνδιδόντος κατέχειν οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ Βανδύλων ἐταιρಿಸάμενος εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν, ἀναπειθεὶ ἀφελέσθαι μὲν Ἰλδέριχον τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς ἀπόλεμόν τε καὶ ἡσσημένον πρὸς Μαυρουσίων, καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ καταπροδιδόντα τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων κράτος, ὡς μὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης οἰκίας ὄντα ἡ βασιλεία ἦκοι· τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ βούλεσθαι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον πρεσβείαν διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδιδόναι τὸ Βανδύλων κράτος. οἱ δὲ ἀναπεισθέντες κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. [9] οὕτω δὴ Γελίμερ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἰλδέριχόν τε, ἑβδομον ἔτος Βανδύλων ἄρξαντα, καὶ Ὁάμερα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐαγέην ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν. [10] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἤδη τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην ὡς Γελίμερα πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε· 'Οὐχ ὅσια ποιεῖς οὐδὲ τῶν Γιζερύχου διαθηκῶν ἄξια, γέροντά τε καὶ ζυγγενὴ καὶ βασιλέα Βανδύλων, εἴ τι τῶν Γιζερύχῳ βεβουλευμένων ὀφελός ἐστιν, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχων, καὶ βία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρούμενος, ἐξὸν αὐτὴν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ κατὰ νόμον λαβεῖν. [11] μήτε οὖν ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρῳ κακὸν μήτε τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος ἀνταλλάξῃ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου προσηγορίαν, βραχεὶ προτερεύουσιν χρόνῳ. [12] ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν, ἄνδρα ὅσον οὐπω τεθνηζόμενον, ἕα φέρεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εἰκόνα, σὺ δὲ ἅπαντα πρᾶττε ὅσα βασιλέα πρᾶττειν εἰκός· προσδέχου τε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ Γιζερύχου νόμου μόνον λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὄνομα. [13] ταῦτα γὰρ σοὶ ποιοῦντι τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐμενῇ ἔσται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν φίλια.' [14] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Γελίμερ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν τε Ὁάμερα ἐξετύφλωσε τὸν τε Ἰλδέριχον καὶ Εὐαγέην ἐν μείζονι φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπικαλέσας φυγὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον μελετᾶν. [15] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις ἐτέρους πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε 'Ἡμεῖς μὲν οἰόμενοί σε οὐποτε τῆς ἡμετέρας συμβουλῆς ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἤξειν ἐγράψαμέν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν προτέραν. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρέσκει σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτω κεκτηθῆσαι ὡς νῦν ἔχεις λαβὼν, ἀπόλαβε ὃ τι ἂν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ δαίμων διδῷ. [17] σὺ δὲ Ἰλδέριχόν τε καὶ Ὁάμερα τὸν πηρὸν καὶ τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς πέμπε, παραψυχὴν ἔχοντας ἦν ἔχειν εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ ὅσοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἀφῆρηνται· [18] ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομέν γε, ἦν μὴ ταῦτα ποιῆς. ἐνάγει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπίς ἦν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν ἔσχον. [19] αἶ τε σπονδαὶ ἡμῖν αἰ πρὸς Γιζερύχον ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. τῷ γὰρ ἐκδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν ἐρχόμεθα οὐ

πολεμήσοντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ δυνατὰ τιμωρήσοντες.’ [20] Ταῦτα Γελίμερ ἀναλεξάμενος ἡμείβετο τοῖσδε ‘Βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ. οὔτε βία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον οὔτε τί μοι ἀνόσιον ἐς ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἵργασται. [21] Ἰλδέριχον γὰρ νεώτερα πράσσοντα ἐς οἶκον τὸν Γιζεριχου καθεῖλε τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων ἔθνος· ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλεσε, κατὰ γε τὸν νόμον τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδούς. [22] τὴν δὲ ὑπάρχουσαν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτόν τινα διοικεῖσθαι καλὸν καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίας οἰκειοῦσθαι φροντίδας. [23] ὥστε καὶ σοὶ βασιλείαν ἔχοντι τὸ περιέργῳ εἶναι οὐ δίκαιον· λύοντι δέ σοι τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἰόντι ἀπαντήσομεν ὅση δύναμις, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς Ζήνωνι ὁμωμοσμένους, οὗ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν [24] ἔχεις.’ ταῦτα λαβὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ γράμματα, ἔχων καὶ πρότερον δι’ ὀργῆς Γελίμερα, [25] ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπῆρτο. καὶ οἱ ἔδοξε καταλύσαντι ὡς τάχιστα τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἣν γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαι τε ὀξὺς καὶ ἄοκνος τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἐπιτελέσαι παρὴν μὲν αὐτῷ μετὰπεμπτος ὁ τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐς Λιβύην στρατηγήσειν μέλλοι προειρημένον αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ ὀφθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλέλυτο ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς. [26] γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτίκα αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανός, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τε οἶκοι καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε, τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποίειτο. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξήνεγκεν ὡς στρατιὰν ἀγείροι ἐπὶ Βανδύλους τε καὶ Γελίμερα, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη ἐδυσχέραινον τε καὶ ἐν ξυμφορᾷ ἦσαν, τὸν τε Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως στόλον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βασιλίσκου πάθος ἀνανεούμενοι τε καὶ ἀποστοματίζοντες στρατῷτας μὲν ὅσοι ἀπέθανον, χρήματα δὲ ὅσα τὸ δημόσιον ὥφλε. [3] μάλιστα δὲ ἤλγουν τε καὶ περιώδυνον τῇ μερίμνῃ ἐγίνοντο ὅ τε τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος, ὃν δὴ πρᾶιτωρα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ταμείου ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ φόρου ξυλλογὴ δημοσίου ἢ βασιλικοῦ ἐπετέτακτο, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν δεήσει ἅμετρα φέρουσιν οὔτε ξυγγνώμης τινὸς οὔτε ἀναβολῆς ἀξίους εἶναι. [4] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος στρατηγήσειν οἰόμενος κατωρρώδει τε καὶ ἀπώκνει τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ οἱ ἀναγκαῖον εἴη διασωθῆναι ἐκ τῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ κακῶν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεῶν ὀρμωμένῳ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς βασιλείαν μεγάλην τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. [5] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἄρτι ἐκ πολέμου μακροῦ τε καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐπανάγοντες οὐπω τε ὅλη γλῶσση ἀγαθῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν γευσάμενοι ἐν ἀμυχανίᾳ ἐγίνοντο ἔς τε ναυμαχίαν ἀγόμενοι, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ πρότερον παραλαβόντες ἐτύγχανον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφῶν ὀρίων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου δυσμὰς, ἐφ’ ᾧ διακινδυνεύουσιν πρὸς τε Βανδύλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους. [6] οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ἅπερ ἐν ὁμίλῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἠθελον διὰ κινδύνων ἀλλοτρίων θεαταὶ γενέσθαι. [7] Βασιλεῖ μέντοι εἰπεῖν τι ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδεῖς, ὅτι μὴ ὁ Καππαδόκης Ἰωάννης, ἐτόλμησεν, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος, θρασύτατός τε ὢν καὶ δεινότατος τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων. [8] οὗτος γὰρ Ἰωάννης, τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῇ τὰς παρούσας ὁδυρομένων τύχας, παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλέα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· ‘Τὸ πιστόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς σοὺς ὁμιλίας τὴν παρρησίαν ἡμῖν

ἀναπετάννυσιν ὃ τι ἂν μέλλοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ σῇ ξυνοίσειν, ἦν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν σοι τὰ λεγόμενά τε καὶ πρασσόμενα ἤ. [9] οὕτω γὰρ σοι κεράννυσι τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἢ σύνεσις, ὥστε οὐ τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα πάντως εὖνουν εἶναι ἡγῇ τοῖς σαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀντειπόντι χαλεπῶς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς διανοίας ἀκραιφνεῖ πάντα σταθμώμενος ἀκίνδυνον ἡμῖν ἀπέδειξας πολλάκις τὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντιστῆναι βουλευμάσι. [10] τοῦτοις ἡγμένους, ὃ βασιλεῦ, κατέστην εἰς ξυμβουλὴν τήνδε, προσκρούσων μὲν τὸ παραντίκα ἴσως, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον τὴν εὖνοιαν τὴν ἐμὴν καταφανῇ δείξων, ταύτης τέ σε μάρτυρα παρεξόμενος. [11] ἦν γὰρ ἀπειθὼν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐξοίσεις ἐς Βανδίλους τὸν πόλεμον, μηκυνομένης σοι τῆς ἀγωνίας τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι ξυμβήσεται. [12] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατήσεις τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχεις, οὐδὲν ἀπεικός σε τά τε σώματα προῖεσθαι καὶ χρημάτων δαπανᾶν πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγώνων ὑφίστασθαι πόνους: νίκη γὰρ ἐπιγενομένη πάντα καλύπτει τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάθη. [13] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ γούνασι κεῖται, παραδείγμασι δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων χρωμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη δεδιέναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, πῶς οὐχὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κινδύνων τὸ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγαπᾶν ἄμεινον; [14] ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διανοῇ στρατεύειν, εἰς ἦν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντι ὁδὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμερῶν ἐστί, πλέοντι δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ πέλαιος ὅλον ἀμειψαμένῳ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς θαλάσσης ἐλθεῖν. ὥστε τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ξυμβησομένων ἐνιαυσίον σοι δεῖσιν τὸν ἄγγελον ἡκεῖν. [15] προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις ὡς, ἦν μὲν κρατήσης τῶν πολεμίων, Λιβύης μεταποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιο, τῆς τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὑφ' ἐτέροις κειμένης; [16] ἦν δέ τι καὶ πταίσης, ὃ βασιλεῦ, λελυμένων ἤδη σοι τῶν σπονδῶν, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τὸν κίνδυνον ἄξεις: ξυνελόντι τε εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἀπόνασθαι παρέσται σοι τῆς νίκης καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα λυμανεῖται τοῖς εὖ καθεστῶσι. [17] πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ τῆς εὐβουλίας ὄφελός ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπτακόσι τὸ μεταμελεῖσθαι ἀνόνητον, πρὸ δὲ τῶν δεινῶν τὸ μεταμανθάνειν ἀκίνδυνον. οὐκοῦν ξυνοίσει πάντων μάλιστα τὸ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐν δέοντι χρῆσθαι.' [18] Ἰωάννης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον προθυμίαν κατέπαυσε. τῶν δέ τις ἱερέων οὓς δὴ ἐπισκόπους καλοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς ἐφ' ἡκῶν ἔφη ἐς λόγους τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθαι. [19] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ξυνέμιξεν, ἔλεγεν οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπισκῆψαι ὄναρ γενέσθαι τε ὡς βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι δὴ Χριστιανούς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ρύεσθαι ἐκ τυράννων ὑποδεξάμενος εἶτα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ κατωρῶδῃσε: [20] 'Καίτοι αὐτός,' ἔφη, 'οἱ πολεμοῦντι [21] ξυλλήψομαι Λιβύης τε κύριον θήσομαι.' ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἡγειρεν, ὅπλα τε καὶ σιτία ἡτοίμαζε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπήγγελλεν εἶναι ὡς ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγήσοντι αὐτίκα μάλα. [22] Τρίπολιν δὲ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Πουδέντιος ἀπὸ Βανδίων ἀπέστησε, πέμψας τε ὡς βασιλέα ἐδεῖτό οἱ στρατιὰν στείλαι: [23] πόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν οὐδενὶ προσποιήσιν. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντά τε Ταττιμοῦθ καὶ στρατεύμα οὐ πολὺ ἔστειλεν. [24] ὁ δὲ ἑταιρισάμενος Πουδέντιος Βανδίων οὐ παρόντων τὴν τε χώραν ἔσχε καὶ βασιλεῖ προσεποίησε. τῷ δὲ Γελίμερι τιμωρεῖν βουλομένῳ Πουδέντιον

ἐναντίωμα ξυνέπεσε τότε. [25] Γώδας τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Γελίμερος δούλοις, Γότθος τὸ γένος, θυμοειδής μὲν καὶ δραστήριος καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ δοκῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ δεσπότητος πράγματα ἔχειν. [26] τοῦτῳ τῷ Γώδᾳ ὁ Γελίμερ Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπέτρεψε, φυλακῆς τε ἕνεκα καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον ἀποφέρειν. [27] ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης εὐημερίαν οὔτε καταπέψαι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν οἷός τε ὢν τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἀποφέρειν ἔτι ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐτὸς Βανδύλων ἀποστήσας εἶχε. [28] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πολεμῆσειοντα ἐπὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ Γελίμερα, ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε: [29] ‘Οὔτε ἀγνωμοσύνη εἶκων οὔτε τι ἄχαρι πρὸς δεσπότητος παθὼν τοῦ ἐμοῦ εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἀλλὰ τάνδρὸς ἰδὼν τὴν ὠμότητα ἰσχυρὰν οἶαν εἰς τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ ὑπήκοον μετέχειν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας οὐκ ἂν δόξαιμι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι. [30] ἄμεινον γὰρ βασιλεῖ δικαίῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἢ τυράννῳ τὰ οὐκ ἔννομα ἐπαγγέλλοντι. [31] ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὲν συλλήψῃ μοι ταῦτα σπουδάζοντι, ὅπως δὲ στρατιώτας πέμποις ὥστε με ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἱκανῶς ἔχειν.’ [32] Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ἄσμενος λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εὐλόγιον πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψε καὶ γράμματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπαινῶν τὸν Γώδαν τῆς τε ξυνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δικαιοσύνην προθυμίας, ξυμμαχίαν τε ἐπαγγελλόμενος καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγόν, ὃς αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξαι τε τὴν νῆσον οἷός τε εἴη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξυλλήψεσθαι, ὥστε αὐτῷ δύσκολον μηδὲν πρὸς Βανδύλων ξυμβῆναι. [33] Εὐλόγιος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Σαρδῶ εὗρισκε Γώδαν ὄνομά τε καὶ σχῆμα βασιλέως περιβαλλόμενον καὶ δορυφόρους προσποιησάμενον. [34] ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, στρατιώτας μὲν ἔφη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἄρχοντος δὲ οὐ πάνυ χρήζειν. κατὰ ταῦτά τε πρὸς βασιλέα γράψας τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἀπεπέμψατο.

Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὕπῳ πεπυσμένος τετρακοσίους τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἄρχοντα Κύριλλον ὡς τὴν νῆσον ξυμφυλάξοντας Γώδᾳ ἡτοίμαζεν. [2] ἤδη δὲ ζὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐς Καρχηδόνα στρατείαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, πεζοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας μυρίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἕκ τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ φοιδεράτων συνειλεγμένους. [3] ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι εἶναι, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσημένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφίκοντο: [4] φοῖδερα γὰρ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι: τὸ δὲ νῦν ἅπασι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμῃ ἐστί, τοῦ χρόνου τὰς προσηγορίας ἐφ’ ὧν τίθενται ἡκιστα ἀξιοῦντος τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ περιφερομένων, ἧ ταῦτα ἄγειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὀνομασμένων ὀλιγοῦντες. [5] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδεράτων μὲν Δωρόθεός τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγός, καὶ Σολόμων, ὃς τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε στρατηγίαν: [6] ἑομέστικον τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ Σολόμων οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐτύγγανεν ἀποτμηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ τύχῃ ἐν σπαργάνοις ὄντι τοῦτο ἐβράβευσε: καὶ Κυπριανὸς καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτῖνος καὶ Ἀλθίας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μάρκελλος καὶ Κύριλλος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην: [7] στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱππέων μὲν Ρουφίνος τε καὶ Αἰγάν, ἕκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, καὶ

Βαρβάτος καὶ Πάππος, πεζῶν δὲ Θεόδωρος, ὄνπερ Κτεάνον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν, καὶ Τερέντιός τε καὶ Ζαΐδος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Σάραπισ. [8] Ἰωάννης δὲ τις ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου ὁρμώμενος, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον καλεῖται, τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμόσιν ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. [9] τούτων ἀπάντων Σολόμων μὲν ἐφῶς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχατιᾶς αὐτῆς, οὗ νῦν πόλις οἰκεῖται Δάρας, Αἰγὰν δὲ ἦν Μασσαγέτης γένος, οὓς νῦν Οὐννοὺς καλοῦσιν· [10] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ᾤκουν. [11] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑρουλοὶ τετρακόσιοι, ὧν Φάρας ἦρχε, καὶ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ Μασσαγετῶν ἔθνους, ἵπποτοξόται πάντες· [12] ὧν δὴ ἡγοῦντο Σιννίων τε καὶ Βάλας, ἀνδρίας τε καὶ καρτερίας ἐς ἄκρον ἤκοντε. [13] ναῦς δὲ ἡ σύμπασα στρατιὰ πεντακοσίας ἦγε, καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πλέον ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε μεδίμων φέρειν οἷα τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔλασσον ἢ κατὰ τρισχιλίους. [14] ναῦται δὲ τρισμῦριοι ἐπέπλεον ἀπάσαις, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Ἴωνες οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ Κίλικες, ἀρχηγός τε εἷς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις Καλῶνμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο. [15] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖα μακρά, ὥς ἐς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευασμένα, ἐνενήκοντα δύο, μονήρη μέντοι καὶ ὀροφὰς ὑπερθεν ἔχοντα, ὅπως οἱ ταῦτα ἐρέσσοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἦκιστα βάλλουντο. [16] δρόμοντας καλοῦσι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι· πλεῖν γὰρ κατὰ τάχος δύνανται μάλιστα. ἐν τούτοις δὴ Βυζάντιοι δισχιλίοι ἐπλεον, αὐτερέται πάντες· περίνεως γὰρ ἦν ἐν τούτοις οὐδεὶς. [17] ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀνὴρ ἐς πατρικίους τελῶν, ἥδη μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχὸς ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς γεγονώς, τότε δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταστάς ἑπαρχος· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεται. [18] στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπασι Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ὃς τῶν ἐφῶν αὐθις καταλόγων ἦρχε. [19] καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μὲν δορυφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπασπισταὶ εἶποντο, ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κινδύνων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειροι. [20] γράμματά τε αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραφε, δρᾶν ἕκαστα ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἄριστα ἔχειν, ταῦτά τε κύρια εἶναι ἅτε αὐτοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὰ διαπεπραγμένον. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτῷ ῥοπὴν τὰ γράμματα ἐποίει. [21] ὥρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἡ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξύ κεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε. [22] Γελίμερ δὲ Τριπόλεως τε πρὸς Πουδεντίου καὶ Σαρδοῦς πρὸς Γῶδα ἐστερημένος, Τρίπολιν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι μόλις ἤλπισεν, ἀπωτέρω τε ᾠκημένην καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἥδη τοῖς ἀποστάσι ξυλλαμβανόντων, ἐφ' οὓς δὴ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατεύειν ἔδοξεν οἱ ἄριστα ἔχειν· ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον προτερῆσαι ἠπείγετο, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμμαχίαν ἐκ βασιλέως ἤκειν. [23] ἀπολέξας οὖν Βανδύλων χιλιάδας πέντε καὶ ναῦς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας στρατηγὸν τε ἀποδείξας Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔστελλε. [24] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Γῶδαν τε καὶ Σαρδὴν θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ σπουδῇ χρώμενοι ἐπλεον, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον προτέρους ἔστελλεν, ἐφ' ᾧ προσδέξονται τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία. [25] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄμφω ἐγενέσθην, ἐνθύμιον βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο ἐντέλλεσθαί τι αὐτοῖν· ὁ καὶ πρότερον ἐθέλοντα λέγειν ἀσχολία τις λόγων ἐτέρων τὴν διάνοιαν περιλαβοῦσα ἐξέκρουσε. [26] μεταπεμπάμενος οὖν αὐτῷ λέγειν ἔμελλεν ἃ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ ξυμβalὼν εὗρισκεν ὥς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖν αἴσιον εἴη

τὴν πορείαν ἐκκόψαι. [27] ἐπεμπεν οὖν τινὰς ἀπεροῦντας αὐτοῖν μήτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐς αὐτὸν αὐθις μήτε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαίνειν. [28] οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἐκέλευον ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ μηδαμῶς ἀναστρέφειν, ἔδοξε τε τοῖς παροῦσιν οἰωνός τε εἶναι οὐκ ἀγαθὸς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐποτε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις τινὰ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήξειν. [29] πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τῷ οἰωνῷ καὶ ἄρὰν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤκειν ἐκ βασιλέως οὔτι ἐκόντος, ὥστε μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ὑπώπτευν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἄρχοντε τούτῳ, Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτίνον, ξυμβάλλοιτο, οὐκ ἀληθῇ εὐρήσει τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόξαντα. [30] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Μαρτίνου δορυφόροις Στότζας, ὃς δὴ καὶ βασιλεῖ πολέμιος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκιστα ἀναστρέφειν, ἐφ' ὃν δὴ τὴν ἄρὰν ἐκείνην ὑποπτεύσειεν ἂν τις ξυνενεγκεῖν τὸ δαιμόνιον. [31] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε αὐτῇ εἴτε πῃ ἄλλῃ ἔχει, ἀφήμι ἐκάστῳ ὅπῃ ἂν τις βούληται ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστάλη, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

Ἐβδομον ἤδη ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐκέλευσε ναῦν ὀρμίσασθαι ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἢ πρὸ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τυγχάνει οὔσα. [2] ἐνταῦθα Ἐπιφάνιος ἀφικόμενος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς, εὐξάμενός τε ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἄρτι βεβαπτισμένον τε καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος μεταλαχόντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασεν. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ Ἀντωνίνα ἡ γυνὴ ἔπλεον. [3] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, πρότερον μὲν καὶ μάλα κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον, ὅψιν δὲ ὀνείρου ἰδὼν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτὸν θαρσῆσαι τε ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ὥρμησεν. [4] ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὀνείρῳ εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ἀγγεῖλαι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἓνα ὡς ἡκοιέν τινες δῶρα φέροντες· καὶ Βελισάριον διασκοπεῖσθαι κελεύειν αὐτὸν ὅποιά ποτε εἴη τὰ δῶρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μεταῦλῳ γενόμενον ἄνδρας ἰδεῖν οἱ ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων γῆν αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι. [5] τούτους δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγαγόντα κελεῦσαι καταθεῖναι ἐν τῷ προστώῳ ἦν ἔφερον γῆν· οὗ δὴ Βελισάριον ἅμα τοῖς δορυφόροις ἦκοντα, αὐτόν τε κατακλίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ἐσθίειν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐγκελεύεσθαι, κατακλινομένοις τε σφίσι καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἡδεῖαν κομιδῇ τὴν βρῶσιν φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ ὀνείρου αὕτη πῃ ἔσχεν. [6] Ὁ δὲ ξύμπας στόλος τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ εἵπετο, καὶ προσέσχον Περίνθῳ, ἡ νῦν Ἡράκλεια ἐπικαλεῖται, ἔνθα δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐτρίβη, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἵπποις ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνταῦθα ἐδωρεῖτο ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵπποφορβίων, ἃ οἱ νέμονται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία. [7] ὅθεν δὴ ἀπάραντες Ἀβύδῳ προσωρμίσαντο, καὶ σφίσι ξυνέπεσε τῇδε διὰ τὴν νηνεμίαν ἡμέρας διατρίβουσι τέσσαρας πρᾶγμα τοιόνδε ξυνενεχθῆναι. [8] Μασσαγέται δύο τῶν τινα ἐταίρων ἐν τῇ ἀκρατοποσίᾳ ἐρεσχελοῦντα σφᾶς, ἅτε οἰνωμένῳ, ἀνελέτην. πάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα εἰσιν ἀκρατοπόται οἱ Μασσαγέται. [9] Βελισάριος οὖν αὐτίκα τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ κολωνῷ ὃς ἄγχι Ἀβύδου ἐστὶν ἀνεσκολόπισε. [10] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ξυγγενεῖς ἐδυσχέραινον τε καὶ ἔφασκον οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων νόμοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἤκειν· τὰ γὰρ δὴ σφῶν νόμιμα

οὐ τοιάσδε τῶν φόνων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τίσεις', ξυνεθρύλλουν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰτίαν καὶ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οἷς δὴ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων μὴ εἶναι δίκας, τοὺς τε Μασσαγέτας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [11] 'Εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας νῦν πρῶτον εἰς πόλεμον καθισταμένους οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, μακροῦ ἂν μοι ἐδέησε χρόνου λέξαντα πείσαι ὑμᾶς ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐφόδιον εἰς τροπαίου κτήσιν τὸ δίκαιον. [12] οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων τύχας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις οἴονται εἶναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας. [13] ὑμεῖς δέ, οἱ πολλάκις μὲν νενικήκατε πολεμίους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλασσουμένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότας, πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγέννησθε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, οἶμαι, ὥς μάχονται μὲν ἐξ ἐκατέρας ἀεὶ στρατιᾶς ἄνθρωποι, βραβεύει δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου δίδωσι κράτος. [14] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν περὶ ἐλάσσονος προσήκει τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἠκόντων ποιεῖσθαι. [15] τὸ γὰρ μάλιστα ξυνενεγκεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως πρὸς ἐκείνων τιμῶτο. [16] πρῶτον δ' ἂν τοῦ δικαίου γένοιτο γνῶρισμα ἢ τῶν ἀδίκως ἀνηρηκότων ποινή. εἰ γὰρ τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον κρίνειν τε καὶ ὀνομάζειν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τοὺς πέλας ἀεὶ πρασσομένων ἐπάναγκες, οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔντιμον. [17] εἰ δέ τις βάρβαρος, ὅτι τὸν ξυγγενὴ μεθύων ἀνεῖλεν, ἀξιοῖ συγγνώμονα ἔχειν τὴν δίκην, δι' ὃν ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας φησὶ χεῖρῳ εἰκότως εἶναι ποιεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα. [18] οὔτε γὰρ οὕτω μεθύειν ἄξιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ βαδίζοντα, ὥστε ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς φιλάτους ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ γε ἡ μέθη, κἂν ὁ φόνος ἦκιστα ἐπιγένηται, ποινῆς ἀξία, τό τε ξυγγενὲς ἀδικούμενον περὶ πλείονος ἂν τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ἐς τιμωρίαν τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι φαίνοιτο. [19] τὸ μὲν οὖν παράδειγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν πραττομένων ἀπόβασις ὅποια ποτὲ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν. [20] ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει μῆτε χειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων μῆτε τι φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων: ὥς οὐ περιόψομαί γε οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα συστρατιώτην ἐμὸν ἡγήσομαι εἶναι, κἂν πάνυ φοβερὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκῇ ὅς ἂν μὴ καθαραῖς ταῖς χερσὶν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους δύνηται χρῆσθαι. [21] τὸ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον οὐκ ἂν νικῶν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου ταπτόμενον.' Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [22] ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε λεγόμενα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀνεσκολοπισμένῳ ἀνέβλεψαν, ἐς δέος τι ἀμήχανον ἦλθον καὶ σωφρόνως βιοτεῦειν ἐν νῷ ἔλαβον, ὥς οὐκ ἔξω κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐσόμενοι, ἦν τι οὐκ ἔννομον ποιοῦντες ἄλοϊεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε Βελισάριος ὅπως τε ὁ ξύμπας στόλος ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πλέοι καὶ ἐς χωρίον ταῦτὸ προσορμίζοιτο. [2] ἦδει γὰρ ὥς ἐν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν τραχεῖς σφίσιν ἄνεμοι ἐπιτέσοιεν, ἐπάναγκες ἀπολείπεσθαι τε τῶν νεῶν πολλάς καὶ σκεδάννυσθαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ εἰδέναι τε αὐτῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὅποιας ποτὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀναγομένων ἔπεσθαι ἄμεινον. [3] λογισάμενος οὖν ἐποίει τάδε. τριῶν νεῶν, ἐν αἷς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἔπλει, τὰ ἰστία ἐκ γωνίας τῆς ἄνω καὶ ἐς τριτημόριον μάλιστα ἔχρισε μίλτῳ, κοντοὺς τε ὀρθοὺς ἀναστήσας ἐν πρύμνῃ ἐκάστη ἀπεκρέμασεν

ἀπ' αὐτῶν λύχνα, ὅπως ἐν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ αἱ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ νῆες ἐκδηλοῖ
εἶεν: αἷς δὴ ἔπεσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐκέλευε πάντας. [4] οὕτω τε τῶν νεῶν
τῶν τριῶν ἡγουμένων παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τετύχηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν
ἀπολελεῖσθαι. ὅτε μέντοι ἐκ λιμένος ἀπαίρειν μέλλοιεν, ἐσήμαινον αὐτοῖς αἱ
σάλπιγγες τοῦτο. [5] Ἐκ δὲ Ἀβύδου ἀναχθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἄνεμοι σκληροὶ
ἐπιτεσόντες ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ Σίγειον. αὐθὶς τε νηνεμία χρησάμενοι σχολαίτεροι
ἐς Μαλέαν ἦλθον, ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ νηνεμία ξυνήνεγκεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [6] ἄτε
γὰρ ἐν στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ναυσὶν ὑπερμεγέθεσι, νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, ἡ
στενοχωρία ξυνετάραιε τε ἅπαντα καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἤνεγκεν. [7]
ἐνταῦθα οἱ τε κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ναῦται ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, βοῇ τε καὶ
πατάγῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθόμενοι, ἐμπείρως τε ἀπ'
ἀλλήλων τὰς διαστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι, ὥστε εἰ καὶ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἢ καὶ ἀπ'
ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο, μόλις ἂν οἱ ναῦται μοι δοκεῖ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
τὰς ναὺς διεσώσαντο. [8] νῦν δὲ οὕτως ὥσπερ εἴρηται διαφυγόντες Ταινάρῳ
προσέμιξαν, ἡ νῦν Καινούπολις ἐπικαλεῖται. [9] εἶτα ἐνθὲνδε ὀρμηθέντες
Μεθώνη προσέσχον, εὐρὸν τε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ
Μαρτίνον αὐτόσε ἀφικομένους. [10] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄνεμοι οὐκ ἐπέπνεον σφίσι, τὰς
μὲν ναὺς Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα ὥρμισε, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασεν ἅπαν, καὶ
ἀποβάντας τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας διεκόσμησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας διέτασσε. [11]
ταῦτά τε αὐτοῦ διέποντος καὶ ἀνέμων ἥκιστα ἐπιγινομένων, ἐπῆλθε πολλοῖς
τῶν στρατιωτῶν νόσῳ διαφθαρῆναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδης. [12] Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς
ἐπαρχος Ἰωάννης φλαυρὸς τε ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ οὕτω δυνατός εἰς τὸ
προσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπινοῆσαι χρήματα ἐπὶ λύμῃ ἀνθρώπων, ὥς οὐκ
ἂν ποτε ἔγωγε φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [13] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἡνίκα πρὸς τῆς ἱστορίας ἐς τόδε ἡγόμεν τοῦ λόγου.
[14] τὰ δὲ νῦν ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας διεχρήσατο ἐρῶν
ἔρχομαι. [15] τὸν ἄρτον ᾧ δὴ μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ στρατιῶται
σιτίζεσθαι, δις μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πνιγέα εἰσάγεσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ οὕτως
ὀπταῖσθαι ὥστε ἐξικνεῖσθαι τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ βραχεῖ
διαφθεῖρεσθαι, τόν τε οὕτως ὀπτόμενον ἄρτον ἀνάγκῃ ἐλάσσῳ τὸν σταθμὸν
ἔλκειν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀρτοδοαίσις εἰώθασιν οἱ στρατιῶται
τοῦ συνειθισμένου σταθμοῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀποτέμνεσθαι. [16] Ἰωάννης οὖν
λογισάμενος ὅπως ἐλάσσῳ τε τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἀρτοποιοῖς ἥσσονα
δοίη, καὶ ὅπως οἱ οὐκ ἐνδεῆς ὁ σταθμὸς εἴη, ὥμὸν ἔτι τὸν ἄρτον ἐς τὸ
δημόσιον βαλανεῖον ἐσκομίσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, οὗ δὴ ἔνερθεν τὸ πῦρ καίεται,
καταθέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. [17] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀμωσγέπως ὀπταῖσθαι ἐδόκει, ἐμβαλὼν
θυλακίοις ἐνθέμενός τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔστελλε. [18] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ στόλος ἐς
Μεθώνην ἀφίκετο, διαρρυέντες οἱ ἄρτοι ἐπανήκον αὐθὶς ἐς ἅλευρα, οὐχ ὑγιᾶ
μέντοι, σεσηπότα δὲ καὶ εὐρωτιῶντα καὶ τινα ὁσμὴν ἤδη βαρεῖαν φέροντα. [19]
ἐχορήγουν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς μέτρον οἷς προσέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῇ,
χοίνιξί τε ἤδη καὶ μεδίμνοις τὴν ἀρτοδοαίαν ποιοῦμενοι. [20] τούτοις δὲ οἱ
στρατιῶται ὥρᾳ θέρους ἐν χωρίῳ αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι σιτιζόμενοι ἐνόσησάν τε καὶ
αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ πεντακόσιοι: ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι ξυμπεσεῖν
ἐμελλεν, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος διεκώλυσεν, ἄρτους αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωρίους χορηγεῖσθαι

κελεύσας. βασιλεῖ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλώσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἠυδοκίμησεν, οὐ μὴν
τινα τότε Ἰωάννη ζημίαν ἤνεγκε. [21] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἐκ δὲ
Μεθώνης ὀρμηθέντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν Ζακυνθίων λιμένα, ἔνθα δὴ ὕδωρ τε
ἐμβεβλημένοι ὅσον σφίσιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἔμελλε τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος
διαπλέουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ἔπλεον. [22] ἀνέμου δὲ σφίσι
μαλακοῦ τε καὶ νωθοῦ κομιδῇ ἐπιπνέσαντος ἐκκαιδεκαταῖοι κατέπλευσαν
τῆς Σικελίας ἐς χῶρον ἔρημον, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἐγγὺς ἡ Αἴτνη ἀνέχει. [23] ἐν δὲ τῷ
διάπλῳ τούτῳ διατρίψασιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ξυνέπεσεν ἅπασι
διαφθαρῆναι τὰ ὕδατα, πλὴν γε δὴ οὗ Βελισάριός τε αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ξυμπόται
ἔπινον. [24] τοῦτο γὰρ διεσώσατο μόνον ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τρώῳ τοιῷδε.
ἀμφορέας ἐξ ὕδατος πεποιημένους ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη οἰκίσκον τε ἐκ
σανίδων ποιήσασα ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ ἔνθα δὴ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐσιέναι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐνταῦθα
ἐς ψάμμον τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατέχωσε, ταύτη τε ἀπαθὲς τὸ ὕδωρ διέμεινε.
τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀπέβη, ἀπορούμενός τε
ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ
ἀνθρώπων τοὺς Βανδίλους ἶοι, ἢ ὁποίους ποτὲ τὰ πολέμια, μηδὲ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ
ὁπόθεν ποτὲ σφίσιν ὀρμωμένοις πολεμητέα εἴη. [2] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
στρατιῶται ξυνετάρασσον, κατωρρωδηκότες τε τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ προλέγειν
ἤκιστα αἰσχυρόμενοι ὥς, ἦν μὲν τις σφᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποβήσκει, πειράσσονται
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γίνεσθαι, ἦν δὲ πολέμια πλοῖα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἶοι, ἐς
φυγὴν τραπήσονται: οὐ γὰρ οἱοί τε εἰσι πολεμίους τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ὕδασι
διαμάχεσθαι. [3] τούτοις οὖν ἅπασιν ἀπορούμενος Προκόπιον τὸν αὐτοῦ
πάρεδρον ἔστελλεν ἐς Συρακούσας, πεισόμενόν τε ἦν τινες τοῖς πολεμίους
ἐνέδραι εἰσὶ προλοχίζουσαι τὸν διάπλουν ἢ ἐν νήσῳ ἢ ἐν ἡπείρῳ, καὶ ὅπῃ μὲν
τῆς Λιβύης προσορμίσασθαι σφίσιν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη, ὁπόθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοις
τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Βανδίλους διενεγκεῖν ξυνοίσει. [4] ἐπὰν δὲ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα
ποιοίῃ, ἐπανήκοντά οἱ ἐκέλευεν ἐς Καύκανα τὸ χωρίον ξυμμῖξαι, διακοσίους
μάλιστα σταδίους Συρακουσῶν διέχον, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ ξύμπας στόλος
ὀρμίσασθαι ἔμελλε. [5] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τροφὰς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ὠνησόμενον, ἅτε
τῶν Γότθων ἀγορὰν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων διδόναι, δόξαν τοῦτο βασιλεῖ τε
Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ τῇ Ἀταλαρίχου μητρί, ὅς τότε παῖς τε ὢν καὶ
ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ τρεφόμενος εἶχε τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν
κράτος. [6] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Θεωδέρικος τετελευτήκει καὶ ἐς τὸν θυγατριδοῦν
Ἀταλάρικον, ὀρφανὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη πρότερον γεγονότα, ἡ βασιλεία ἦκε,
δειμαίνουσα ἡ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα περὶ τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φίλον
Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐταιρಿಸαμένη τά τε ἄλλα ἐπήκουεν αὐτῷ
ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ τότε ἀγορὰν διδόναι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ ἐποίει
ταῦτα. [7] Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις Προκόπιος καὶ ἀνδρὸς παρὰ
δόξαν ἐπιτυχὼν πολίτου μὲν οἱ καὶ φίλου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ παιδός, ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ
δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὤκημένου, ἐπύθετο ὅσων
ἔχρηζεν: [8] οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οἰκέτην αὐτῷ ἐπέδειξε, τριταῖόν οἱ ἐκείνη τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ἦκοντα, ὅς δὴ ἔφασκεν ὥς οὐδέ τινα πρὸς Βανδίλων
ἐνέδραν τῷ στόλῳ ἔσεσθαι ἄξιον εἶναι ὑφορᾶσθαι. [9] πρὸς οὐδενὸς γὰρ

ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπων πεπύσθαι στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατεύσασθαι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ Γῶδαν εἴ τι ἐν Βανδίλοις δραστήριον ἦν. [10] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Γελίμερα πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐννοοῦντα, Καρχηδόνος τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὀλιγορηκότα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίων, ἐν Ἑρμιόνη διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδῷ τῆς ἡϊόνος διέχουσα: ὥστε πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν τε οὐδὲν δειμαίνουσι δύσκολον καὶ προσορμίζεσθαι ἔνθα ἂν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλοίῃ. [11] ταῦτα Προκόπιος ἀκούσας τῆς τε χειρὸς τοῦ οἰκέτου λαβόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐβάδιζε τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τὸ πλοῖον ὠρμίζετο, πυνθανόμενός τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συχνὰ καὶ διερευνώμενος ἕκαστα. ἐσβὰς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν ναῦν αἵρεσθαι τε τὰ ἱστία ἐκέλευσε καὶ πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Καύκανα. [12] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ τοῦ οἰκέτου δεσπότης ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος θαυμάζων εἰστήκει ὅτι οἱ οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀναβοήσας Προκόπιος, πλεούσης ἤδη τῆς νεῶς, παρητεῖτο μὴ οἱ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν: [13] χρῆναι γὰρ τὸν οἰκέτην τῷ τε στρατηγῷ συμμῖξαι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τῷ στρατῷ καθηγησάμενον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανήκειν, χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενον. [14] Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Καύκανα εὐρίσκουσιν ἅπαντας ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ. Δωρόθεος γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐτετελευτήκει, πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ παντὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [15] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὁ τε οἰκέτης ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἔφρασε, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ Προκόπιον πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τὸν ἀπόπλουν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν. [16] ἀράμενοί τε κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἱστία, Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νήσοις προσέσχον, αἱ τὸ τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν. [17] ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς Εὐρου πολὺ τι πνεῦμα ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν ἐς χωρίον, ὃ δὴ Κεφαλὴν Βράχους τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλῶσση καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Καπούτβαδα γὰρ ὁ τόπος προσαγορεύεται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, τά τε ἱστία κατατίθεσθαι ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀγκύρας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπορριψαμένους ἀνακωχεῖν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας συγκαλέσας ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ξύμπαντας βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποβάσεως προὔθηκεν. [2] ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλοι τε λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐλέχθησαν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέροντες καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Τοῦ μὲν στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγαμαι, ὅς καὶ γνώμη παρὰ πολὺ νικῶν ξύμπαντας καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἦκων, ἔχων τε τὸ κράτος αὐτός, ἐς μέσον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν προὔθηκε, κελεύει δὲ λέγειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα ἔχειν δοκῇ ἐλέσθαι ἡμῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι, παρὸν αὐτῷ γινῶναι τε μόνῳ τὰ δέοντα καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ βούλοιο. [3] ὑμῶν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες 'οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἂν εἰποίμι εὐπετῶς', θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀπειπεῖν ἔσπευσε. [4] καίτοι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τὸ εἰσηγεῖσθαι τι τοῖς ἐς κίνδυνον καθισταμένοις ὄνησιν μὲν τῷ παραινέσαντι οὐδεμίαν ἰδίᾳ φέρει, ἐς αἰτίαν δὲ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. [5] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καλῶς μὲν φερόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην ἢ τύχην ἀναφέρουσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, σφαλέντες δὲ τὸν παραινέσαντα αἰτιῶνται μόνον. [6] εἰρήσεται δὲ ὁμῶς. αἰτία γὰρ ὑποστείλασθαι τοὺς περὶ σωτηρίας βουλευομένους οὐχ ὅσιον. [7]

βουλεύεσθε ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἀποβαίνειν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες: τίνι λιμένι παρακαταθέσθαι τὰς ναῦς ἐννοοῦντες; ἢ τίνος πόλεως τείχει τὸ ἐχυρὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔξοντες; [8] ἢ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε ὡς ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, λέγω δὲ εἰς Ἰούκην ἐκ Καρχηδόνας, κατατείνειν φασίν, ἀλίμενόν τε παντελῶς οὐσαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὅθεν ἂν ἐπιπνεύσαιεν ἐκκειμένην; [9] τεῖχος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς πᾶσαν Λιβύην ὅτι μὴ τὸ Καρχηδόνας ἀπολέλειπται, [10] τοῦτο Γιζερύχου βουλεύσαντος. προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις ὡς καὶ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τὸ παράπαν ἐνδεῖν λέγουσι. φέρε γάρ, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τι τῶν ἐναντίων ὑποθέμενοι τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιησώμεθα. [11] τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένους μηδὲν προσδοκᾶν δύσκολον οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον οὔτε τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἄξιον. [12] ἦν οὖν ἀποβεβηκότων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον χειμῶν ἐπιτέσοι, οὐκ ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ταῖς ναυσὶ ξυμβῆναι, ἢ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀπολωλέναι ταύτης; [13] εἴτα τίς ἡμῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων γενήσεται πόρος; μηδεὶς ἐς ἐμὲ βλέπेतω τὸν τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸν ἔπαρχον. ἀρχὴν γὰρ πᾶσαν τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐστερημένην ἐπάναγκες ἐς ὄνομά τε καὶ πρόσωπον ιδιώτου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [14] ποῦ δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν ὄπλων τὰ περιττά καταθεμένοις ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δέχεσθαι δεήσει προσιόντα τὸν βάρβαρον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν ὅπη ἐκβήσεται. [15] ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνας ἰέναι. λιμένα γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἢ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτῆς διέχοντα εἶναί φασιν, ὃν δὴ Στάγνον καλοῦσιν, ἀφύλακτόν τε παντάπασιν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅπαντα στόλον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα. ὅθεν δὴ ὀρμωμένοις ἡμῖν τὸν πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔσται. [16] οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε ὡς Καρχηδόνας τε ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κρατήσιν εἰκός, ἄλλως τε καὶ μακρὰν αὐτῆς ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολέμιων, καὶ κρατήσασιν οὐδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ μοχθηρὸν ἔσσεσθαι. [17] τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια πάντα κατελιγμένων τῶν κεφαλαίων καταρρεῖν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἴωθεν. ὦν δὴ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἐνθυμουμένους τὰ βέλτιστα αἰρεῖσθαι προσήκει.’ Ἀρχέλαος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ἔλεξεν ὥδε: ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὃ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπιγνώμονος εἶναι τοὺς λόγους οἰέσθω, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστάτῳ εἰρῆσθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἔπεσθαι, ὅποιοί ποτ’ ἂν ὦσιν, ἀναγκαῖον ἅπασιν γίνεσθαι. [19] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀκήκοα: προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅσα γινώσκω ἐς μέσον ἐξενεγκόντα οὕτω σὺν ὑμῖν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. [20] ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται δεδιέναι τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κινδύνους ἄντικρυς ἔλεγον καὶ ὡς ἐς φυγὴν τρέψονται, ἦν ναὺς πολεμία ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἡτοῦμεν γῆν τὴν Λιβύης καὶ τὴν ἐς ταύτην ἀπόβασιν εἰρηναίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι. [21] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἀξυνέτων ἀνδρῶν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι εὐχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ βελτίονα, δεδομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποσεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἰέναι. [22] ἦν δὲ καὶ πλέουσιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνας στόλος ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιος, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις κατὰ κράτος φεύγουσι τὸ μὴ μεμπτοῖς εἶναι λελείψεται: ἀμάρτημα γὰρ προρρηθὲν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ φέρε: ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ διασωθεῖσιν οὐδεμία συγγνώμη. [23] πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων, ἦν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ μένωνμεν, δυσχερῶν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἱκανῶς, οἶμαι, λελέγεται, ὃ μάλιστα δεδίττεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπανασείοντες. [24] ἦν γάρ τις ἐπιτέσοι

χειμών, ἀνάγκη ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥσπερ φασί, δυοῖν ξυμβῆναι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πόρρω που τῆς Λιβύης διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς διαφθαρῆναι ταύτης. [25] τί τοίνυν ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλομένοις ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει; μόνας διεφθάρθαι τὰς ναῦς, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντα ἀπολωλέναι τὰ πράγματα; χωρὶς δὲ τούτων νῦν μὲν ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ νοῦν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαλλάξομεν: τὰ γὰρ πολέμια τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε: [26] μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγονότων ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. [27] προσθείη δὲ ἂν τις ὥς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἴσως ἀγωνιεῖσθαι δεήσει τῆς ἀποβάσεως, ἐκεῖνά τε ζητεῖν ἢ νῦν παρόντα ἡμῖν ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχεται. [28] ἦν δὲ καὶ χειμῶν τηνικαῦτα ἀγωνιζόμενοις ἡμῖν ἐπιγένηται, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐν θαλάσῃ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, πρὸς τε τὰ κύματα καὶ τοὺς Βανδύλους διαμαχόμενοι μεταμαθεῖν τὴν εὐβουλίαν εἰσόμεθα. [29] φημί δὴ ἔγωγε χρῆναι ἀποβῆναι μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἵππους τε ἀποβιβάζοντας καὶ ὄπλα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι οἴομεθα, τάφρον δὲ κατὰ τάχος ὀρύξαι καὶ χαράκωμα περιβαλεῖν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ὅτου τις ἂν εἴποι τείχους εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡμῖν συντελέσαι δυνάμενον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένους τὸν πόλεμον, [30] ἦν τις ἐπίοι, διενεγκεῖν. ἐπιλείπει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γινομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν. τοῖς γὰρ κρατοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἐκείνοις προσηκόντων ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ἡ νίκη πάντα περιβαλομένη τὰ χρήματα, ἔνθα ἂν κλίνη, κατατίθεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὥστε ὑμῖν ἢ τε σωτηρία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν περιουσία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κεῖται.’ [31] Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος ξυνέφασάν τε καὶ ἀπεδέξαντο ἅπας ὁ ξύλλογος, καὶ διαλυθέντες ὥς τάχιστα τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐποίησαντο τρισὶ μάλιστα μηνσὶν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὁ ἀπόπλους ἐγένετο. [32] καὶ δεῖξας τι χωρίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ ναύταις ἐκέλευε τὴν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. [33] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ἄτε δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου καὶ τοῦ φόβου τὴν προθυμίαν ἐγείροντος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευομένου, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τε τάφρος ὀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ξυντετέλεστο καὶ οἱ σκόλοπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνεπεπήχато. [34] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τι τοῖς τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι τετύχηκε θαυμάσιον ἡλικόν. ὕδατος πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἢ γῆ ἀνῆκεν, οὐ γεγονὸς τοῦτο ἐν Βυζακίῳ πρότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀνύδρου ὄντος. [35] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς πᾶσαν χρεῖαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῷοις ἐπήρκεσε. καὶ συνηδόμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ Προκόπιος ἔλεγεν ὥς οὐ διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ χαίροι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οἱ ξύμβολον εἶναι δοκεῖ νίκης ἀπόνου καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι προλέγειν τὸ θεῖον. [36] ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο. τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ηἰλίσσαντο, φύλακάς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἥπερ εἰώθει ποιοῦμενοι, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τοξότας πέντε ἐν νηὶ ἐκάστη Βελισάριος ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ τοὺς δρόμωνας ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ὀρμίζεσθαι, φυλασσομένους μὴ τις ἐπ’ αὐτὰς κακουργήσων ἴοι.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀναβαίνοντες τῶν ὥραιων ἥπτοντο, αὐτῶν τε τὰ σώματα ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐ παρέργως ἠκίσατο καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [2] ‘Τὸ μὲν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς

ἀλλοτρίοις σιτίζεσθαι ταύτη μόνον ἐν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς μοχθηρὸν πεφυκέναι δοκεῖ, ὅτι τὸ ἄδικον ἐν αὐτῷ φέρεται: νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τῆς δυσκολίας περίεστιν ὥστε, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον περὶ ἐλάσσανος ποιησαμένους τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κίνδυνον ἡμᾶς ἡλικίος ποτέ ἐστιν ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρή. [3] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχων εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀπεβίβασα ταύτην, ὅτι τοῖς Βανδύλοις οἱ Λίβυες, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες, ἄπιστοί τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὥμην ὡς οὐτ' ἂν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείποι οὔτε τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κακὸν ἐργάσσονται ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι. [4] ἀλλὰ νῦν αὕτη ὑμῶν ἡ ἀκράτεια ταῦτα εἰς τοῦναντίον ἡμῖν μεταβέβληκε. τοὺς γὰρ Λίβυας δῆπου κατηλλάξατε τοῖς Βανδύλοις, εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη τὴν τούτων περιαγαγόντες δυσμένειαν. [5] φύσει γὰρ πρόσεστι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἢ πρὸς τοὺς βιαζομένους ἔχθρα, καὶ περιέστηκεν ὑμῖν τῆς τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας ὀλίγα ἄττα ἀργύρια ἀνταλλάξασθαι, παρὸν ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκόντων ὠνουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν κυρίων μῆτε ἀδίκους εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ φίλους ἐκείνοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι. [6] νῦν οὖν πρὸς τε Βανδύλους ὑμῖν καὶ Λίβυας ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται, λέγω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν παρακαλεῖ. [7] ἀλλὰ παύσασθε μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιτηδῶντες, κέρδος δὲ ἀποσείσασθε κινδύνων μεστόν. [8] οὗτος γὰρ ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς ἐστιν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα σωφροσύνη μὲν οἷα τε σώζειν, ἀκοσμία δὲ ἐς θάνατον φέρει. τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελομένοις ὑμῖν ἵλεως μὲν ὁ θεός, εὖνους δὲ ὁ τῶν Λιβύων λεώς, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων γένος εὐέφοδον ἔσται. [9] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ τὸν ξύλλογον διαλύσας, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Σύλλεκτον πόλιν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διέχουσαν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα φερούσῃ, ἥς τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθηρημένον ἐτύγχανεν, οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ ὤκημένοι τοὺς τῶν οἰκίων τοίχους πανταχόθεν ἀποφράξαντες διὰ τὰς τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπιδρομὰς περιβόλου ἐφύλασσαν σχῆμα, τῶν δορυφόρων ἓνα Βοριάδην ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τισιν ἔστελλεν, ἐπαγγείλας αὐτοῖς τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι καί, ἣν ἔλωσι, κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι, ἐπαγγείλασθαι δὲ ἀγαθὰ μυρία, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἤκοιεν, ὥστε εἰσιτητὰ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς αὐτὴν γενέσθαι. [10] οἱ δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι ἐν φάραγγί τε λαθόντες διενυκτέρευσαν. ἔωθεν δὲ ἀγροίκων σὺν ἀμάξαις ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσιόντων ἐπιτυχόντες συνεισηλθόν τε σιωπῇ καὶ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον. [11] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, οὐδενὸς θορύβου ἡγήσαμένου, τὸν τε ἱερέα καὶ εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ζυγαλέσαντες τὰς τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀπήγγελλον, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν εἰσόδων παρ' ἐκόντων λαβόντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἔπεμψαν. [12] Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου ἐπιμελούμενος ἡτομόλησε παραδοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους ζύμπαντας ἵππους. ζυλληφθέντα δὲ καὶ τινα τῶν ἐς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀεὶ στελλομένων, οὓς δὴ βερδιάριους καλοῦσι, κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδρασε, χρυσῷ δὲ πολλῷ δωρησάμενος καὶ πιστὰ λαβὼν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισεν ὥσπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς Βανδύλους ἔγραψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς Βανδύλων ἄρχουσι δοῦναι. [13] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Οὐτε Βανδύλοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωμεν οὔτε τὰς Γιζερίχου σπονδὰς λύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον τύραννον καθελεῖν ἐγχειροῦμεν, ὃς τῶν Γιζερίχου

διαθηκῶν ὀλιγορήσας τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ὑμῶν καθείρξας τηρεῖ, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν οὓς μὲν σφόδρα ἐμίσει κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰς ὄψεις ἀφελόμενος ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, οὐκ ἔδῳ θανάτῳ καταλῦσαι τὰς συμφοράς. [14] συλλάβεσθε τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦτε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὕτω μοχθηρὰς τυραννίδος, ὅπως ἂν δύνησθε τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπόνασθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ [15] πιστὰ δίδομεν.' τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλου. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ Βελισαρίου λαβὼν ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερόν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, λάθρα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιδείξας οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διεπράξατο.

Βελισάριος δὲ ὡς ἐς παράταξιν ὥδε διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐβάδιξε. τῶν δ' ὑπασπιστῶν τριακοσίους ἀπολέξας, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, Ἰωάννη παρέδωκεν, ὃς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης: ὁπτίωνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [2] ἀνὴρ δὲ ἦν Ἀρμένιος μὲν γένος, ξυνέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον μάλα ἦκων. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευσε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ εἴκοσι σταδίους διέχοντα, καὶ ἦν τι πολέμιον ἴδοι, κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐς μάχην καθίστασθαι ἀναγκάζονται. [3] τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχους Μασσαγέτας ἐκέλευε τοσούτοις ἢ καὶ πλείοσι σταδίοις ἀπέχοντας αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερόν μέρος τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι: αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπισθεν μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐβάδιζεν. [4] ὑπώπτευε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρμιόνης Γελίμερα σφίσιν ἐπόμενον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος οὐδὲν ἦν δέος οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἡϊόνος πορευομένοις. [5] τοῖς δὲ ναύταις ἐπήγγελλε παρακολουθεῖν τε αἰεὶ καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος μὴ πολὺν διεστάναι, ἀλλ' ἐπιφόρου μὲν γινομένου τοῦ πνεύματος χαλάσαντας τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία τοῖς μικροῖς, ἃ δὴ δόλωνας καλοῦσιν, ἐπεσθαι, λωφήσαντος δὲ παντελῶς τοῦ ἀνέμου βιάζεσθαι ὅσον οἰοί τε ὥσιν ἐρέσσουντας. [6] Εἰς δὲ Σύλλεκτον ἀφικόμενος Βελισάριος σῶφρονάς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας παρείχετο καὶ οὔτε ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἄρχοντας οὔτε τι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἐργαζομένους, αὐτὸς τε πραότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος οὕτω τοὺς Λίβυας προσεποιήσατο ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καθάπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, οὔτε ὑποχωρούντων τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων οὔτε τι ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν παρεχομένων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ βούλοιντο ὑπηρετούντων. [7] ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἀνύοντες εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα διετελέσαμεν, ἢ κατὰ πόλιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἢ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα αὐλιζόμενοι. [8] οὕτω γοῦν διὰ τε Λέπτης πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμητοῦ ἐς Γράσσην τὸ χωρίον ἀφικόμεθα, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους Καρχηδόνας διέχον. [9] ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεία τε ἦν τοῦ Βανδύλων ἡγουμένου καὶ παράδεισος κάλλιστος ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [10] ταῖς τε γὰρ κρήναις κομιδῇ κατάρρυντός ἐστι καὶ ἄλσους ἔχει πάμπολυ χρῆμα. ὁπώρας δὲ τὰ δένδρα μεστά ἐστι ξύμπαντα: ὥστε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν καλύβην ἐν δένδροις ὁπώρας ἐπήξατο καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τηνικάδε ὥραιων ὄντων ἐς κόρον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο πάντες, αἴσθησις δὲ σχεδὸν τι τῆς ὁπώρας ἐλασσομένης οὐ γέγονε. [11] Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη τὸ πρῶτον παρόντας ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους, γράφει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀμμάταν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἰλδέριχον μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, ὅσους εἶτε

κατὰ γένος εἴτε ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἀποκτινύναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς τε Βανδίλους καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο μάχιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων ἐν στενοῖς γενομένων ἀμφοὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προάστειον, ὃ Δέκιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυνιόντας κυκλώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σαγηνεύσαντας διαφθεῖραι. [12] Ἀμμάτας δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν τε Ἰλδέριχον, ξυγγενὴ ὄντα, καὶ Εὐαγέην ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ὅσοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδαιοι ἦσαν. [13] Ὅαμερ γὰρ ἦδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. τοὺς τε Βανδίλους ἐξοπλίσας, ὡς εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιθησόμενος, [14] ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποίησατο. Γελίμερ δὲ ὀπισθεν, οὐ παρέχων ἡμῖν αἰσθησιν, εἵπετο, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν Γράσση ἠύλισάμεθα, κατάσκοποι ἐκατέρωθεν ἰόντες ξυνέμιξαν, πλῆξαντές τε ἀλλήλους ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκάτεροι ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ταύτῃ γέγονεν ἡμῖν φανερόν οὐ πόρρω εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] ἐνθὲνδε ἡμῖν πορευομένοις τὰς ναῦς ἐσορᾶν ἀδύνατα ἦν. πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαί, πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης διήκουσαι, περίοδον τοῖς πλέουσι πολλῶ μέτρῳ ἐργάζονται, καὶ ἄκρα ἀνέχει, ἥς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πόλισμά ἐστι. [16] Βελισάριος οὖν Ἀρχελάῳ τε τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Καλωνύμῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν μὴ καταίρειν, σταδίους δὲ ἀμφοὶ τοὺς διακοσίους ἀπέχοντας ἄχρι αὐτὸς καλέσῃ μένειν. [17] ἐκ δὲ Γράσσης ἐξαναστάντες τεταρταῖοι ἐς Δέκιμον ἀφικόμεθα, σταδίοις ἑβδομήκοντα Καρχηδόνος ἀπέχον.

Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Γιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευεν ἅμα Βανδύλων δισχιλίους φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀμμάτας μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν, Γιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίων ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντες ῥᾶον δὴ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσονται. [2] ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεός, πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἢ σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἔπταισάν τι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔδρασαν, ἵνα γένηται τῇ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. [3] εἰ μὴ γὰρ Βελισάριος οὕτω διωκῆσατο τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφοὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Βανδίλους ἰσχύσαμεν. [4] καὶ τούτων δὲ οὕτω Βελισαρίῳ βεβουλευμένων, εἰ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀμμάτας διεφύλαξε καὶ μὴ τοῦτον τεταρτημορίῳ τῆς ἡμέρας μάλιστα ἐφθασεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω Βανδίλοι διεφθάρη τὰ πράγματα: [5] νῦν δὲ Ἀμμάτας πρὸ τερήσας ἀμφοὶ μέσσην ἡμέραν ἐς Δέκιμον ἦκε, μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένων ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Βανδύλου στρατεύματος, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἀμαρτήσας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἀφίκετο χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βανδύλου πλῆθος ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολιπὼν, ἀπαγγείλας τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Δέκιμον ἦκειν, αὐτὸς ξυῖ ὀλίγοις καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστίνδην ξυνειλεγμένοις τοῖς ἀμφοὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. [6] καὶ κτείνε μὲν τῶν ἀρίστων δώδεκα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶνι νικηζόμενους, πίπτει δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος. [7] καὶ ἡ μὲν τροπὴ ἐπεὶ Ἀμμάτας ἔπεσε, λαμπρὰ ἐγεγονέει, φεύγοντες δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἀνεσόβουν ἅπαντας

τοὺς ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ἐς Δέκιμον ἰόντας. [8] ἐπὶ ρεῦοντο γὰρ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ὡς ἐς μάχῃ ξυντεταγμένοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμορίας, καὶ ταῦτ' αὖ βραχείας: κατὰ τριάκοντα γὰρ ἢ εἴκοσιν ἦσαν [9] ὀρῶντες δὲ Βανδίλους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμμάταν φεύγοντας, καὶ οἰόμενοι τοὺς διώκοντας παμπλή' θεῖς εἶναι, τρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα συνέφευγον. [10] Ἰωάν' νης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν κτείνοντ' ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Καρχηδόνης πύλας ἀφίκοντο. [11] καὶ γέγονε φόνος Βανδίων ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα στή' δίοις τοσοῦτος ὥστε εἰκάζειν τοὺς θεωμένους δις μυρίων πολεμίων τὸ ἔργον εἶναι. [12] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Γιβραμοῦνδός τ' καὶ οἱ δις χίλιοι ἦκον ἐς Πεδίον Ἀλῶν, ὅπερ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχε' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἰόντι, ἀνθρώπων δ' καὶ δένδρων καὶ ἄλλου ὅτου οὖν ἐρημόν ἐστι, τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἄλμης ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα πλὴν τοὺς ἄλας ἐώσης γίνεσθαι: ἔνθα δὴ τοῖς Οὐννοις περιπεπτωκότες ἀπώλοντο πάντες. [13] ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ἀνὴρ, ἀνδρίας μὲν καὶ ἰσχύος εὖ ἦκων, ὀλίγων δὲ ἡγούμενος ἀνδρῶν οὗτος εἶχε γέρας ἐκ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς Οὐννικοῖς στρατεύμασι πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσβάλλειν. [14] οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἀνδρὶ Μασσαγέτῃ προτύψαντι ἐν μάχῃ τῶν τινα πολεμίων λαβεῖν, πρὶν γε δὴ τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν χειρῶν ἄρξαι. [15] οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ἐπεὶ τὰ στρατεύματα οὐ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο, ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ τῶν Βανδίων στρατοπέδου μόνος ὡς ἐγγυτάτῳ ἔστη. [16] οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐψυχίαν καταπλαγέντες ἢ καὶ τι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐς αὐτοὺς μηχανᾶσθαι, οὔτε κινεῖσθαι οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα βαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [17] οἶμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐπώποτε Μασσαγетῶν μάχην ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχοντας, ἀκούοντας δὲ κομιδῇ μάχιμον τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον. [18] ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεξεν ὡς ὁ θεὸς σφίσιν ἔτοιμον βρῶσιν τοὺς ξένους τούσδε πέμπειν. [19] οὕτω δὴ ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ λύσαντες τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἥκιστα ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδόντες ἅπαντες αἰσχυρῶς διεφθάρησαν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν πεπυσμένοι ἐπὶ τὸ Δέκιμον ἦειμεν. Βελισάριος δὲ χώρον ἰδὼν ἐς στρατόπεδον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα, πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου διέχοντα, χαράκῳ τε αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν εὖ μάλα πεποιημένον καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε συγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [2] 'Ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀγωνίας καιρὸς, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἤδη πάρεστιν: αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ προσιόντας ἡμῖν τοὺς πολεμίους: τὰς δὲ ναῦς ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἢ τοῦ τόπου φύσις ἀπήνεγκε: περιέστηκε δὲ ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὔσα. [3] οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ πόλις φιλία, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα, ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ πιστεύσαντες τὸ θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔξομεν. [4] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα, εἰκὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ περιέσεσθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων: ἦν δὲ τι μαλακιζοίμεθα, λελειψεται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Βανδίοις γεγενημένοις αἰσχυρῶς διεφθάρθαι. [5] καίτοι πολλὰ ἡμῖν ἐφόδια πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐστί: τὸ τε δίκαιον, μεθ' οὗ πρὸς τοὺς δυσμενεῖς ἤκομεν 'τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν κομιούμενοι πάρεσμεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίων ἐς τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν τύραννον ἔχθος. [6] ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ζυμμαχία τοῖς τὰ δίκαια προτεινομένοις προσγίνεσθαι πέφυκε,

καὶ στρατιώτης τῷ κρατοῦντι δύσοντας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταται. [7] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἡμεῖς μὲν Πέρσαις τε καὶ Σκύθαις τὸν ἅπαντα ὠμιλήσαμεν χρόνον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύης ἐκράτησαν, οὐδένα πολέμιον ὅτι μὴ γυμνοὺς Μαυρουσίους τεθέανται. [8] τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς ἔργου παντὸς μελέτη μὲν ἐς ἐμπειρίαν, ἀργία δὲ εἰς ἀμαθίαν φέρει; τὸ μὲν οὖν χαράκωμα, ὅθεν ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον διαφέρειν δεήσει, ὡς ἄριστα ἡμῖν πεποιοῖσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [9] πάρεστι δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα φέρειν οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐσμέν ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένοις ἰέναι, καὶ ἀναστρέψαντας ἂν ἐνθάδε ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιλίποι. [10] εὖχομαι δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον τῆς τε οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἀναμνησθέντα οὕτω δὴ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρεῖν.' [11] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ ἐπευξάμενος τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων ἀπάντων ἐξήλασεν. [12] οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τῇ παρόντι ξύμφορον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεύσαι στρατῷ, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι πρῶτον ἀκροβολισαμένῳ καὶ ἀποπειρασαμένῳ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως οὕτω δὴ τῷ ὅλῳ στρατεύματι διαμάχεσθαι. [13] στείλας οὖν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς τῶν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντας, σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς αὐτὸς εἶπετο. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φοιδεράτοι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Δεκίμῳ, ὁρῶσι τοὺς τῶν πεπτωκότων νεκρούς, δώδεκα μὲν ἐταίρους τῶν μετὰ Ἰωάννου, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμμάταν καὶ Βανδύλων τινάς. [15] παρὰ δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἥσχαλλον, ἀπορούμενοι ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς χωρητέα εἴη. ἔτι δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἅπαντα περισκοπούμενων τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, κονιορτός τε ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐφαίνετο καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον Βανδύλων ἰππέων πάμπολυ Χρῆμα. [16] καὶ πέμπουσι μὲν πρὸς πρὸς Βελισάριον, ὡς τάχιστα ἤκειν αἰτοῦντες, ἅτε δὴ σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων ἅ γινώμαι δίχα ἐφέροντο. [17] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίουσαν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὁμόσε ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων σφίσιν ἐς τοῦτο ἔφασκον εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν. [18] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφιλονεικοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροί· ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γελίμερος καὶ ὁδῷ χρησαμένου μεταξὺ ἧς τε Βελισάριος εἶχ' καὶ ἧς οἱ Μασσαγέται ἦκον οἱ Γιβαμούνδῳ ξυμμιζαντες. [19] λοφώδεις δὲ χῶροι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὄντες οὔτε τὸ Γιβαμούνδου πάθος ἰδεῖν οὔτε τὸ Βελισαρίου χαράκωμα ξυνεχώρησαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐπορεύοντο. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἀλλήλων γεγόνασιν, ἕρις τῇ στρατῷ ἐκατέρῃ ἐνέπεσεν, ὁπότεροι τοῦ πάντων ὑψηλῷ τάτου τῶν ἐκείνη λόφων κρατήσουσιν. [21] ἐδόκε' γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐνθένδε ἡροῦντο τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [22] προτερήσαντες δὲ οἱ Βανδύλοι τὸν τε λόφον καταλαμβάνουσιν ὥθισμῳ χρησάμενοι καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη φοβεροὶ αὐτοῖς γεγονότες. [23] φεύγοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς χωρίον ἀφικνοῦνται σταδίους ἑπτὰ τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχον, ἔνθα δὴ Οὐλίारιν τὸν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον ξὺν ὑπασπισταῖς ὀκτακοσίοις τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [24] πάντες τε ὦντο ὡς σφᾶς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐλίारιν δεξάμενοι στήσονται τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε ἐπὶ τοὺς Βανδύλους χωρήσουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἅμα ἐγένοντο, παρὰ δόξαν ἤδη ξύμπαντες ἀνὰ κράτος τε ἔφευγον καὶ δρόμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ

Βελισάριον ἦσαν. [25] Ἐνθενδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τί ποτε παθὼν Γελίμερ, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, ἐθελούσιος αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθῆκε, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἀναφέρειν δεήσει, ὅς, ἡνίκα τι ἀνθρώπῳ συμβῆναι βουλευῆται φλαῦρον, τῶν λογισμῶν ἀνάμενος πρῶτον οὐκ ἔα τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχεσθαι. [26] εἴτε γὰρ τὴν διώξιν εὐθυωρὸν ἐποίησατο, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι Βελισάριον οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἄρδην ἅπαντα ἡμῖν διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα: [27] τοσοῦτον δὴ τό τε τῶν Βανδύλων πλῆθος τό τε αὐτῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ἐφαινετο: εἴτε καὶ Καρχηδόνος εὐθὺ ἦλασε, τοὺς τε σὺν Ἰωάννῃ εὐπετῶς ἂν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινεν, οἳ γε κατὰ ἓνα καὶ δύο ἀφροντιστήσαντές τε καὶ περιπάτους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς κειμένους ἐσύλων. [28] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασωσάμενος τῶν τε ἡμετέρων νεῶν οὐ πόρρῳ ἀφικομένων ἐκράτει καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν ἀνέστελλε τοῦ τε ἀπόπλου καὶ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔπραξε τούτων οὐδέτερα. [29] βάδην δὲ κατιῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰδελοφὺ τὸν νεκρὸν εἶδεν, ἔς τε ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράπετο καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμελούμενος οὕτω δὴ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡμβλυνεν, ἥς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἐδύνατο. [30] τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι Βελισάριος ἀπαντήσας στήναι κελεύει, κοσμίως τε ἅπαντας διατάξας καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Ἀμμάτα τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰωάννου διώξιν ἤκουσε καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπύθετο ὅσα ἐβούλετο, δρόμῳ ἐπὶ Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδύλους ἐχώρει. [31] οἳ δὲ βάρβαροι ἄτακτοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ἤδη γεγονότες ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντες, [32] καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἔφευγον δὲ οἱ Βανδύλοι οὐκ ἐς Καρχηδόνα οὐδὲ ἐς Βυζάκιον, ὅθενπερ ἦκον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον καὶ τὴν εἰς Νουμίδας ὁδὸν φέρουσαν. [33] οἳ μὲν οὖν ἄμφι τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ οἱ Μασσαγέται περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναστρέψαντες καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα μαθόντες τε καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαντες σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν Δεκίμῳ διενυκτέρευσαν.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πεζῶν ἅμα τῇ Βελισαρίου γυναικὶ παραγενομένων ξύμπαντες τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπορευόμεθα, ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλιν ὀψίαν ἦκοντες ἠὺλισάμεθα, καίτοι ἐκώλυεν οὐδεὶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα ἐσελάσαι. οἳ τε γὰρ Καρχηδόνι' τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίναντες λύχνα ἔκαιον πανδημῇ καὶ ἡ πόλις κατελάμπετο τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην, καὶ τῶν Βανδύλων οἱ ἀπολελεειμμένοι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο. [2] ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος διεκώλυσε τοῦ μήτε ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι μήτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄδειαν εἶναι, ἅτε ἐν νυκτὶ λανθάνουσιν, ἐς ἄρπαγὴν τραπέσθαι. [3] ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἱ νῆες" εὗρου σφίσιν ἀνέμου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἡδὴ γὰρ αὐτὰς καθεώρων, τὰς σιδηρᾶς ἀλύσεις τοῦ λιμένος, ὃν δὴ Μανδράκιον καλοῦσιν, ἀφελόμενοι, εἰσιτητὰ τῷ στόλῳ ἐποίουν. [4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ οἴκημα σκοτόους ἀνάπλεων, ὃ δὴ Ἀγκῶνα καλοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἔνθα ἐνεβάλλοντο ἅπαντες οἳς ἂν χαλεπαῖνοι ὁ τύραννος. [5] ἐνταῦθα καθειργγμένοι ἐτύγγανον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐφών ἐμπόρων ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. [6] τούτοις γὰρ δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ἐπικαλῶν ὥς δὴ αὐτοὶ βασιλέα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐναγάγοιεν, ἔμελλόν τε διαφθαρῆναι πάντες, δόξαν τοῦτο Γελίμερι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἧ Ἀμμάτας ἐν Δεκίμῳ ἀπέθανε: παρὰ

τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦλθον. [7] τοῦτου ὁ φύλαξ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου, ἐπεὶ τὰ τε ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν στόλον εἶδε τῆς ἄκρας ἐντός, ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα πυνθάνεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐπω τὰγαθὰ πεπυσμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ σκοτῷ καθημένων καὶ караδοκούντων τὸν θάνατον, τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένοις ἂν αὐτοῖς εἴη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων προεμένοις σεσῶσθαι. [8] τῶν δὲ ἅπαντα αἰρουμένων διδόναι ἂ βούλοιτο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἦτει τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, ἡξίου δὲ ἅπαντας ὁμνῦναι ὥς, ἣν διαφύγοιεν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν κινδύνοις γενησομένῳ ξυλλήψονται ὅση δύναμις. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [9] ὁ δὲ τὸν τε λόγον ἅπαντα ἔφραζε καὶ σανίδα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἀφελὼν μέρους προσιόντα τὸν στόλον ἐπέδειξε, τῆς τε εἰρκτῆς ἀφείς ἅπαντας ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦει. [10] Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες, οὐπω τι ἀκηκοότες ὧν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἔδρασε, διηποροῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἰστία χαλάσαντες ἔς τε τὸ Μερκούριον πέμπαντες τὰ ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, καὶ περιχαρεῖς γενόμενοι ἔπλεον. [11] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ὄντος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Καρχηδόνης ἐγένοντο, Ἀρχέλαος μὲν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ὀρμίσασθαι ἐκέλευον, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δεδιότες πρόρρησιν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο. [12] τὴν τε γὰρ ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἀλίμενον εἶναι ἔφασκον καὶ χειμῶνα ἐπίσημον αὐτίκα μάλα γενήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξον εἶναι, ὃν δὴ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι. [13] προὔλεγον τε ὥς, εἰ ἐνταῦθα σφίσιν ἐπιγένηται, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν νεῶν μίαν διασώσασθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [14] ἐν βραχεὶ οὖν τὰ τε ἰστία χαλάσαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ μὲν Μανδρακίου πειράσασθαι οὐκ [15] ὥντο χρῆναι ἵτας τε γὰρ Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἐς τὸ Μανδράκιον εἴσοδον ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι ὑπώπτευνον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ τὸν λιμένα ἐκείνον οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Στάγνον σφίσιν ἐφαίνετο ἐν καλῷ κεῖσθαι ἵμέτρῳ γὰρ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα Καρχηδόνης διέχει ἐμπόδιόν τε οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἱκανῶς πεφυκέναι. [16] ἐνθα δὴ ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ὀρμίσαντο πάντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Καλώνυμος ἅμα τῶν ναυτῶν τισι, τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ ἀφροντιστήσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ἔς τε τὸ Μανδράκιον λάθρα ἀπέβη, οὐδενὸς κωλύσαι τολμήσαντος, καὶ χρήματα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ὤκημένων ἐμπόρων ξένων τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων διήρπασε. [17] Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ Βελισάριος τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὅλον διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὥς ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλανεν: ἐδεδίει γὰρ μή τις οἱ ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσῃ. [18] ἐνθα δὴ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπέμνησεν, ἥλικα σφίσιν εὐτυχήματα γένοιτο, ἐπειδὴ σωφροσύνην ἐς Λίβυας ἐπέδειξαντο, πολλὰ δὲ παρήνεσε τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὥς μάλιστα διασώσασθαι. [19] Λίβυας γὰρ ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντας γενέσθαι τε ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις οὐτι ἐθελουσίους καὶ πολλὰ πεπονθέναι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων ἀνόσια. [20] διὸ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα ἐς πόλεμον καταστήναι Βανδίλοις, εἶναι τε οὐχ ὅσιον ξυμβῆναί τι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄχαρι ἐς ἀνθρώπους ὧν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευσαν. [21] τοσαῦτα παραινέσας ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα εἰσῆλθε καί, ἐπεὶ πολέμιον σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀναβὰς ἐν τῷ Γελίμερος θρόνῳ ἐκάθισεν. [22] ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόντες πολλῇ κραυγῇ Βελισαρίῳ

ἐμπόρων τ' ἡ πλῆθος καὶ ἄλλοι Καρχηδόνιοι ὅσοις ἐπιθαλάσσια τὰ οἰκία τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἡτιῶντο ἀρπαγὴν σφίσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ προλαβούσῃ νυκτὶ πρὸς τῶν ναυτῶν ξυμβῆναι. [23] ὁ δὲ Καλώνυμον ὄρκοις καταλαμβάνει ἢ μὴν ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανεῖ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ φώρια. [24] Καλώνυμος δὲ ὁμόσας τ' καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τ' μὲν παραυτικά τὰ χρήματα ἐληίσατο, χρόνῳ δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὴν δίκην ἔτισεν ἐς Βυζάντιον [25] νόσφ γὰρ ἀλοὺς τῇ καλουμένη ἀποπληξίᾳ καὶ τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενος τῆς τε γλώσσης ἀπὸ τραγῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ, εἴτα ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς τοῦτ' ἦγεν, ἄριστον σφίσι ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι οὗ δ' Γελίμερ τοὺς τῶν Βανδύλων ἡγουμένους ἐστῖαν εἰώθει. [2] Δέλφικα τὸν τόπον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλληνίζοντες. ἐν Παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ἐνθα ξυνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰστήκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἶνοχόοι ἐτίθεντο. [3] Δέλφικ' δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ὅπῃ βασιλέως εἶναι στιβάδα ξυμβαίνει Δέλφικα τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ οἶκημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τ' βασιλέως οἰκία Παλάτιον ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [4] Πάλλαντος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ οἰκήσαντος πρὸ Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως οἰκίαν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐνταῦθα δειμαμένου, Παλάτιον μὲν τὸ οἶκημα τοῦτο ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παραλαβὼν ἀρχὴν Αὐγουστος ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν τὸ πρῶτον ἔγνω, Παλάτιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον οὗ ἂν βασιλεὺς καταλύῃ. [5] ἐν Δέλφικι τοίνυν Βελισάριός τε ἦσθι καὶ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι δόκιμον ἦν. [6] τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ τῇ προτεραιᾷ τῷ Γελίμερι γερονδὸς ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι. καὶ ταῖς τε βρώσεσιν αὐταῖς εἰστιάθημεν ἢ τε τοῦ Γελίμερος θεραπεία παρτίθει τε καὶ ὦνοχόει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ῥυγῃ. [7] παρῇν τε ἰδεῖν ὠραϊζομένην τὴν τύχην καὶ ποιουμένην ἐπίδειξιν ὥς ἅπαντά τε αὐτῆς εἶη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἴδιον γένοιτο. [8] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι ὥς οὔτε τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε τῶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ γεγονότων τετύχηκε. [9] τῶν γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων θορύβου χωρὶς ἐς πόλιν κατήκοον σφίσι οὐδ' ἂν κατὰ πεντακοσίους εἶεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἰέναι, οὕτω δὴ κοσμίους ἅπαντας ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀρχομένους παρέσχετο ὥστε οὐδὲ ὕβριν τινὰ ἢ ἀπειλὴν γενέσθαι, [10] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἐμπόδισμα τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασίᾳ ξυνέβη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀλούσει πόλει καὶ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλούσῃ καὶ βασιλείᾳ ἀλλαξαμένη οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ξυνέβη τινὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποκεκλεισθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ γραμματεῖς τὰ βιβλίδια γράψαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσήγαγον, αὐτοὶ τε ὄνιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ἄριστον λαβόντες ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἡσύχαζον. [11] Μετὰ δὲ Βελισάριος Βανδύλοις τε τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφυγοῦσι πιστὰ ἐδίδου καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Καρχηδόνης περίβολος οὕτω δὴ ἀπημελημένος ὥστε ἐσβατὸς ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ εὐέφοδος ἐγεγόνει. [12] μοῖρα γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγη αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γελίμερα οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔφασκον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐχ ὑποστῆναι. [13] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οἴεσθαι

χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ οἷόν τε εἶναι τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] ἔλεγον δέ τι καὶ λόγιον παλαιὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πρὸς τῶν παιδίων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις εἰρῆσθαι ὥς τὸ γάμμα διώξει τὸ βῆτα, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ τὸ βῆτα διώξει τὸ γάμμα. [15] καὶ τότε μὲν παίζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς παιδίοις εἰρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἐν αἰνίγματος ἀπορουμένου μοίρα, νῦν δὲ ἅπασιν ἀντικρυς φανερὸν εἶναι. [16] πρότερόν τε γὰρ Γιζέριχος Βονιφάτιον ἐξεδίωξε καὶ τανῦν Γελίμερα Βελισάριος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, εἴτε φήμη τις ἦν εἴτε λόγιον, ταύτη ἐχώρησε. [17] Τότε δὲ καὶ ὄναρ πολλοῖς μὲν πολλάκις ὀφθὲν πρότερον, ἄδηλον δὲ γεγονὸς ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται, ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὃν τὸ ὄναρ τοιόνδε. Κυπριανόν, ἅγιον ἄνδρα, μάλιστα πάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται. [18] καὶ αὐτῷ νεῶν τινα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυσάμενοι παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡίονα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ ἄγουσιν ἐορτὴν ἣν δὴ Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χειμῶνα οἱ ναῦται, οὐπὲρ ἐγὼ ἄρτίως ἐμνήσθην, ὁμωνύμως τῇ πανηγύρει προσαγορεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπισκῆπτειν φιλεῖ ἐφ' οὗ ταύτην οἱ Λίβυες ἄγειν ἐς αἰὲν τὴν ἐορτὴν νενομίκασι. [19] τοῦτον οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸν νεῶν ἐπὶ Ὀνωρίχου βασιλεύοντος τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς βιασάμενοι ἔσχον. [20] καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνθένδε ξὺν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς ἱερέας εὐθὺς ἐξελάσαντες αὐτοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὸ λοιπόν, ἅτε προσηκόντων Ἀρειανοῖς, ἐπεμελοῦντο. [21] ἀσχάλλουσιν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διαπορουμένοις τοῖς Λίβυσι πολλάκις φασὶ τὸν Κυπριανὸν ὄναρ ἐπισκῆψαντα φάναι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μεριμνᾶν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἥκιστα χρῆναι: αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τιμωρὸν ἔσεσθαι. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἦλθε, καταδοκεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς τίσιν ποτέ τινα τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἔνεκα ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἔχειν μέντοι τεκμηριῶσαι ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψις ἐκβήσεται. [23] νῦν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἐς Λιβύην ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἔπανιὼν γὰρ ἤδη ὁ χρόνος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν πανήγυριν ἀγαγεῖν ἔμελλεν, οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς, καίπερ Ἀμμάτα Βανδίλοις ἐς Δέκιμον ἡγησαμένου, τό τε ἱερὸν ἐκάθηραν ἅπαν καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀναθημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκρέμων, καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι τὰ τε κειμήλια ἐξενεγκόντες ἐκ τῶν ταμείων ἡτοίμαζον ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα, ὥς περ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν χρειάν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχον ἐτύγχανε. [24] τὰ δὲ ἐν Δεκίμῳ οὕτως ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [25] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς φεύγοντες ὄχοντο, Χριστιανοὶ δὲ οἷς τὰ ἐς τὴν δόξαν ὀρθῶς ἦσκηται, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ τὸν νεῶν, τὰ τε λύχνα ἔκαιον ἅπαντα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο ἥπερ αὐτοῖς τελεῖσθαι ταῦτα νόμος, οὕτω τε ἅπασιν ἃ δὴ προὔλεγεν ἢ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψις ἐγνώσθη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι λόγου παλαιοῦ ἀναμνησθέντες ἐθαύμαζον, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνθρώπων γε ὄντι οὐτ' ἂν ἄπιστός τις ἐλπίς οὔτε κτήσις βέβαιος γένοιτο. [2] ὅστις δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ ὄντινα ἐρρήθη τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [3] ἡνίκα Βανδίλοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνίστασθαι ἔμελλον, μοῖρά τις αὐτῶν ἀπελείπετο, οἷς δὴ ὀκνήσει ἐχομένοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν Γωδιγίσκῳ ἐπισπένσθαι οὐκ ἦν. [4] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τοῖς τε μέιναισι τὰ ἐς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὴν ἀφθονίαν εὖ ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Γιζέριχος ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Λιβύην ἔσχεν. [5] ὅπερ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γωδιγίσκῳ οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔχαιρον, τῆς χώρας λοιπὸν ἰσχυρότατα σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρκούσης. [6] δείσαντες δὲ μὴ χρόνῳ τινὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοὶ ὅσοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἢ οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ Λιβύης ἐξελαυνόμενοιο ἐπὶ ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ὅτι γὰρ ποτὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτὴν ἐς αἰεὶ περιόψεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν παρ' αὐτούς. [7] οἱ, ἐπεὶ Γιζὲ ρίχῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκον, συνήδεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ὁμογενεῖσιν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερήσασιν ἔφασκον, φυλάσσει δὲ περαιτέρῳ τὴν γῆν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι ἥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὀλιγορηκότες ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἰδρύσαντο. [8] ἐδόξοντο οὖν, εἰ μὴ γῆς τῆς πατρώας μεταποιοῦνται κτήματι αὐτούς ἀνονήτῳ σφίσι δωρήσασθαι, ὅπῳ δὴ κύριοι τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα γεγενῆσθαι, ἦν τις κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι, ὅς ἢ ἥκιστα ἀπαξιοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θνήσκειν. [9] Γιζερίχ' μὲν οὖν καὶ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ τε καὶ ἵ δίκαια λέγειν ἔδοξαν, καὶ ξυνεχώρουν ἅπαντα ὅς' οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔχρηζον. [10] γέρον δὲ τις ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δόκιμος καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλῇ τινα ἔχων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείων οὐδ' ὅτιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἴστασθαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶν' βέβαιοι μὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων οὐδέν ἀμήχανον. [11] ταῦτα ὁ Γιζέριχος ἀκούσας ἐπήνεσέ τε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπὸ πέμπεσθαι ἔγνω. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παραινέσας ἅτε τὰ ἀμήχανα προορώμενοι, πρὸ πάντων Βανδίων γέλῳτα ὤφλον. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγένετο, μετέμαθόν τε τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων οἱ Βανδίλοι τὴν φύσιν καὶ σοφοῦ τὸ ἔπος εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἔγνωσαν. [13] Τούτων μὲν οὖν Βανδίων οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρώᾳ, οὔτε μνήμη τις οὔτε ὄνομα ἐς ἐμὴν σώζεται. ἅτε γάρ, οἶμαι, ὀλίγοις τισὶν οὖσιν ἢ βεβιάσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων ἢ ἀναμείχθαι οὐτι ἀκουσίῳς τετύχηκε, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς αὐτούς περ ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [14] οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡσσημένοις τότε πρὸς Βελισαρίου Βανδίων ἐννοια γέγονεν ἐς ἣν τὰ πάτρια ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [15] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ Λιβύης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κομίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτισαν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δίκην ἀπάντων ὧν περ ἐς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσαντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς Ζακυνθίους. [16] Γιζέριχος γάρ, ἐπισκήψας ποτὲ τοῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρίοις, Ταινάρῳ προσβαλεῖν ἐνεχείρησεν. ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀποκρουσθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν ἀνεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. [17] διὸ δὴ τῷ θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος Ζακύνθῳ προσέσχε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐν ποσὶ κτείνας, τῶν δὲ δοκίμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνδραποδίσας δι' ὀλίγου ἀπέπλευσεν. [18] ἐπειδὴ τε γέγονεν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ καλουμένῳ πελάγει, ἐνταῦθα κρεουργήσας τῶν πεντακοσίων τὰ σώματα, πανταχῇ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν ὑπολογισάμενος

ἔρριπεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

Γελίμερ δὲ τότε χρήματά τε πολλὰ Λιβύων τοῖς γεωργοῖς προΐεμενος καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρώμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἴσχυσεν. [2] οὗς δὴ ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐς τὰ χωρία περιούοντας κτείνειν, χρυσίον τακτὸν ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἐκάστω τῷ ἀπολοῦντι ἐπικηρύξας. [3] οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔκτεινον, οὐ στρατιώτας μέντοι, ἀλλὰ δούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρέτας, οἱ δὴ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία ἐς τὰς κόμας ἀναβαίνοντες λάθρα ἡλίσκοντο. [4] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ γεωργοὶ παρὰ Γελίμερα φέροντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔμμισθοι γενόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτας ἀνηρηκέναι πολεμίους ὑπώπτευν. [5] Ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρόνου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος, ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια. σταλεις γὰρ ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐγένετο ἐν χωρίῳ δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Καρχηδόνος διέχοντι. [6] τοὺτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ γὰρ οἶοι τε ἦσαν οἱ τοῦ χωρίου γεωργοὶ κτείνειν ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Γελίμερι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [7] καὶ ὃς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος Βανδύλων ἱππείας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔστελλε, ζῶντας ἅπαντας ἐπισκῆψας παρ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. [8] λόγου γὰρ πολλοῦ ἄξιόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον ζῆν ὑπασπισταῖς δύο καὶ εἴκοσι δορυαλώτους ποιήσασθαι. [9] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Διογένην ἐς οἰκίαν ἐσεληλυθότες τινὰ ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῷ ὑπερφῶ, πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, οἱ γε μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίθοντο. [10] οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι ὄρθρου βαθέος ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες διαφθεῖραι μὲν τὰς ἐκείνη θύρας ἢ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθεῖν νύκτωρ ἀζύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι, δέισαντες μὴ ἐς νυκτομαχίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες αὐτοὶ μὲν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διαφθείρῳσιν, ἔξοδον δὲ πλείστοις τῶν πολεμίων ἐν σκότῳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, παρέξωσιν. [11] ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δειλίας αὐτοῖς ἐκπλησσοῦσης τὸν νοῦν, παρὸν σφίσιν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ φέρουσί τε πυρὰ καὶ τούτων χωρὶς οὐχ ὅσον ἀνόπλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνοὺς παντάπασιν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων λαβεῖν. [12] νῦν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅπασαν κύκλῳ καὶ διαφερόντως τὰς θύρας φάλαγγα ποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν ἅπαντες. [13] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐνὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀναστῆναι ξυνέβη, ὅσπερ τοῦ θορύβου αἰσθόμενος ὢν δὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι φθεγγόμενοί τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐποιοῦν καὶ ζῆν τοῖς ὅπλοις κινούμενοι, ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ ποιοῦμενον ἴσχυσε, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀνεγείρας σιωπῇ ἕκαστον τὰ πρασσόμενα φράζει. [14] οἱ δὲ Διογένης γνώμῃ τὰ τε ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι κάτω ἐχώρουν. [15] οὗ δὴ τοῖς ἵπποις τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἐπιθέμενοι ἀναθρόσκουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενοι. παρὰ τε τὴν αὐλῆιον χρόνον τινὰ στάντες ἀνακλίνουσι μὲν ἐξαπινάϊως τὰς ταύτη θύρας, ἐξίασι δὲ εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. [16] οἱ μὲν οὖν Βανδίλοι ἔργου ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἶχοντο, ἦνυτον δὲ οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τε ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι καὶ τοῖς δορατίοις ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας σπουδῇ ἤλαυνον. [17] οὕτω τε Διογένης τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγε, δύο μὲν τῶν ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώσας. [18] πληγὰς μέντοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τρεῖς, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ παρ' ὀλίγον ἀποθανεῖν ἤλθε, κατὰ δὲ χειρὸς τῆς λαιᾶς μίαν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι τῶν δακτύλων τὸν σμικρότατον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδε γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τεχνίταις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ

ὀμίλῳ χρήματα μεγάλα προτεινόμενος τάφρον τε λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥρυξε κύκλῳ, καὶ σκόλοπας αὐτῇ ἐνθέμενος συχνοὺς εὖ μάλα περιεσταύρωσε. [20] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ τείχους ἐν βραχέϊ ἀνφοδομήσατο χρόνῳ, θαύματος ἄξιον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ Γελίμερι γεγρονὸς ὕστερον. [21] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δορυάλωτος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦκεν, ἠγάσθη τε ἰδὼν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὴν ὀλιγορίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πάντων οἱ ἔφη γεγενέσθαι τῶν παρόντων αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν Βελισαρίῳ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὄντι κατείργαστο ὧδε.

Τρίζων δέ, ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, τῷ στόλῳ ὃ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὸν Καρανάλεως λιμένα ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλε τὸν τε τύραννον Γώδαν ἔκτεινε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάχιμον ἦν. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν Λιβύης τὸν βασιλέως στόλον ἤκουσεν εἶναι, οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος ὢν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο, γράφει πρὸς Γελίμερα τάδε: [3] 'Γώδαν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν τύραννον ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις γεγονότα χερσί, καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐθις ὑπὸ τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εἶναι, ὃ Βανδύλων τ' καὶ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦ, ἴσθι καὶ τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐορτὴν ἄγε. [4] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ ἐτόλμησαν ἔξ τῇ ἡμετέραν στρατεύεσθαι, ἔλπιζε τὴν πείραν ἔξ τοῦτο ἀφίξεσθαι τύχης, ἐς ὃ καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους στρατευσά[5] μένοις ἐχώρησε.' ταῦτα οἱ λαβόντες τὰ γράμματα, οὐδὲν πολέμιον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, κατέπλευσά[6] ἐς τὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λιμένα. [6] καὶ πρὸς τῷ φυλάκων παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες τὰ τ' γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ περὶ ὧν τὰς πύστες ἐποιεῖτο ἐσήγγελλον, οἷς τε ἐθεῶντο καταπεπληγ[7] μένοι καὶ τεθηπότες τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἔπαθον μέντοι πρὸς Βελισαρίου οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. [7] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ἕτερον ξυνηνέχθ[8] τοιόνδε. Γελίμερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην τὴν βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἐπεμψε πρέσβεις ἔξ Ἰσπανίαν ἄλλους τε καὶ Γοτθαῖον καὶ Φουσκίαν ἐφ' ὃ δὴ Θεῶδιν, τὸν τῶν Οὐσιγιόθων ἄρχοντα πείσουσιν ὁμαιχμίαν πρὸς Βανδύλου θέσθαι. [8] ὃ ἐπεὶ ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, τὸν ἐν Γαδεΐροι πορθμὸν διαβάντες, εὐρίσκουσι Θεῶδιν ἐν χωρὶ μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης κειμένῳ. [9] ἀναβάντας δ' παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ Θεῶδιδι φιλοφροσύνη τε ἠξίωσε καὶ προθύμως εἰστία, ἐν τε τῇ θοῇ ἐπυνθάνετο δῆθεν ὅπῃ ποτὲ Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδύλοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχοι. [10] τούτων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων σχολαίτερον ἐς αὐτὸν ἰόντων ἔτυχεν ἀκηκοὼς ἅπαντα ὅσα Βανδύλοις ξυνέπεσεν. [11] ὁλκάς γάρ μία ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ πλέουσα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰσήλασεν, ἐνθὲνδε ἀναγομένη καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχοῦσα, [12] ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἦλθεν. ὅθεν δὴ ὁ Θεῶδιδι μαθὼν ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἀπέιπε τοῖς ἐμπόροις μηδενὶ φράζειν, ὥς μὴ ταῦτα ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γοτθαῖον ἅπαντα σφίσιν ὥς ἄριστα ἔχειν, ἡρώτα ὅτου ποτὲ ἔνεκα ἦκοιεν. [14] τῶν δὲ τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν προτεινομένων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεῶδιδι εἰς τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι: 'Ἐνθὲνδε γάρ,' ἔφη, [15] 'τὰ οἴκοι πράγματα ἀσφαλῶς εἴσεσθε.' οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι, ἅτε οἰνωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἐν σιωπῇ ἔσχον. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ξυγγεγόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ῥήματι αὐθις τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ Θεῶδιδι ἐχρήτο, οὕτω δὴ ξυνέντες νεώτερα σφίσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ

ξυμπεσεῖν πράγματα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἀμφὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες, ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπλεον. [17] ἀγχοῦ τε αὐτῆς καταπλεύσαντες καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατιώταις περιτυχόντες ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὃ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι. [18] ὁθεν ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλαντες ἔπαθον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου κακόν. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Κύριλλος δέ, Σαρδοὺς τε ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ τῷ Γώδα ξυμπεσόντα ἀκούσας, ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, ἔνθα τὸ τε Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα καὶ Βελισάριον εὐρὼν νενικηκότας ἡσύχαζε· καὶ Σολόμων παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅπως ἀγγείλῃ τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐστέλλετο.

Γελίμερ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βούλλης ἐγεγόνει, ὅπερ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχει, οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τῶν Νουμιδίας ὁρίων, ἐνταῦθα Βανδίλους τε ξύμπαντας ἤγειρε καὶ εἴ τί οἱ φίλιον ἐν Μαυρουσίῳς ἐτύγχανεν ὄν. [2] ὀλίγοι μέντοι Μαυρούσιοι αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ξυμμαχίαν, [3] καὶ οὗτοι παντάπασιν ἄναρχοι. ὅσοι γὰρ ἔν τε Μαυριτανίᾳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ καὶ Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίῳν ἦρχον, πρέσβεις ὡς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες δοῦλοί τε βασιλέως ἔφασκον εἶναι καὶ ξυμμαχήσειν ὑπέσχοντο. [4] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων παρείχοντο λόγῳ, τὰ τε ξύμβολα σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ στέλλεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐδέοντο. [5] νόμος γὰρ ἦν Μαυρουσίῳν ἄρχειν μηδένα, κἂν Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος ᾗ, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς δοίῃ. [6] ἅπερ ἤδη πρὸς Βανδίλων λαβόντες οὐκ ᾤοντο ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. [7] ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξύμβολα ταῦτα ῥάβδος τε ἀργυρᾷ κατακεχυρωμένη καὶ πῖλος ἀργυροῦς οὐχ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ στεφάνῃ τελαμῶσιν ἀργυροῖς πανταχόθεν ἀνεχόμενος, καὶ τριβώνιον τι λευκὸν ἐς χρυσοῦν περόνην κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἐν χλαμύδος σχήματι Θετταλῆς ξυνίον, χιτῶν τε λευκὸς ποικίλματα ἔχων, καὶ ἀρβύλη ἐπίχρυσος. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐδωρήσατο. [9] οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀφίκοντο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Βανδίλοις ἐπαμύνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἀμφοτέροις στάντες ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπη ποτὲ ἢ τοῦ πολέμου τύχῃ ἐκβήσεται. ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. [10] Γελίμερ δὲ τῶν τινα Βανδίων ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐπεμψεν, ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔχοντα. ὃς ἐς τὴν παραλίαν κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὀλκάδος τε ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχόν, ἐς Καρανάλεως τὸν λιμένα κατέπλευσε καὶ Τζάζωνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: [11] 'Οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, Γώδας ὁ τὴν νῆσον ἡμῶν ἀποστήσας, ἀλλὰ τις ἄτῃ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐς Βανδίλους ἐπιπεσοῦσα. [12] σέ τε γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Βανδίων τοὺς δοκίμους ἀφελομένη ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἐκ τοῦ Γιζερίχου οἴκου τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἥρπασεν. [13] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν νῆσον ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρας, ἀλλ' ὅπως Λιβύης Ἰουστινιανὸς κύριος ἔσται. τὰ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ δόξαντα πρότερον πάρεστι τανῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβάντων εἰδέναι. [14] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκει· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ ἐκ Βανδίων ἀπιοῦσα εὐθὺς ὥχετο, μεθ' ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην. [15] Ἀμμάτας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γίβαμοῦνδος πεπτώκασι, μαλθακιζομένων Βανδίων, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ νεώρια καὶ ξύμπας Ἰαβύη καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτὴ Καρχηδὼν ἔχοντ'· ἤδη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. [16] οἱ δὲ κάθηνται, τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι

παιδῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνταλλαζάμενοι καὶ πάντων χρημάτων, ἡμῖν τε ἀπολέλειπται μόνον τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὐπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλπὶς καθίσασα εἴργει. [17] ἀλλὰ σὺ τυραννίδα τε καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ τὰς περὶ ταῦτα φροντίδας ἐάσας ὅτι τάχιστα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκε. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ κίνδυνος, τᾶλλα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀξίωμα. [18] κοινῇ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τύχην τὴν προτέραν ἀνασώσόμεθα, ἢ κερδανοῦμεν τὸ μὴ ἀλλήλων χωρὶς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐνεγκεῖν δύσκολα.’ [19] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τζάζων εἶδε τε ἀπενεχθέντα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἐξήνεγκεν, ἔς τε οἰμωγὰς καὶ ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράποντο, οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἐγκρυφιάζοντές τε καὶ τοὺς νησιώτας λανθάνοντες σιωπῇ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὠδύροντο. [20] καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν τὰ ἐν ποσίν, ὥς πη ἔτυχε, διαθέμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. [21] ἄραντες δὲ ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τριταῖοι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἢ Νουμίδας τε καὶ Μαυριτανοὺς διορίζει. [22] καὶ πεζῇ βαδίζοντες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὗ δὴ ἀνεμίνυντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ. ἐνταῦθα συχνὰ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια Βανδίλοις ξυνέβη, ἅπερ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [23] οἶμαι γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρὶ θεατῇ γενέσθαι τετύχηκε, τάχα ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς Βανδίλους τε τότε καὶ τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ᾠκτίσατο. [24] ὃ τε γὰρ Γελίμερ καὶ ὁ Τζάζων ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοιν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλέσθην, μεθίεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφθέγγοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ χεῖρε σφίγγοντες ἔκλαιον, καὶ Βανδίλων τῶν ξὺν Γελίμερι ἕκαστος τῶν τινα ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἦκοντα περιβαλὼν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [25] χρόνον τε συχνὸν ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπεφυκότες, ἡδονῆς τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπώναντο, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἀμφὶ Γελίμερα περὶ τοῦ Γῶδα ἔπει αὐτοὺς ἢ παροῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήξασα τὰ πρόσθεν σφίσι σπουδαιότατα δόξαντα εἶναι τοῖς ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν ἀπημελημένοις ξυνέτασεν οὔτε οἱ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἦκοντες ἐρωτᾶν τι ἡξίου ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν γε Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθεῖσιν. ἱκανὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χῶρος τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐγένετο. [26] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ γυναικῶν ἢ παιδῶν ἰδίων λόγον ἐποιοῦντό τινα, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὥς, ἦν τις αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εἶη, δηλὸν ὅτι ἡ ἐτελεύτα ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν.

BOOK IV.

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ

Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ Βανδίλους ἅπαντας ἐς ταὐτὸ εἶδεν ἀγηγεμένους, ἐπῆγεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τὸ στράτευμα. [2] γενόμενοι τε αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα τὸν τ' ὀχετὸν ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα διεΐλον, ὃς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσηγε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν, ὥς οὐδείς σφίσιν ἐπεξῆει τῷ πολέμῳ. [3] περιούντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τῶν τε ὁδῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ Καρχηδὸν πολιορκεῖν ταύτην ὥντο, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐλπίζοντ' οὐδὲν οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν, ἀλλ' ὥς οἰκείας μετ' ἐποιοῦντο. [4] ἅμα δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ ἐσεσθῆναι σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον Καρχηδονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσοις ἢ τοῦ Ἀρείῳ δόξα ἦσκητο. [5] πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Οὐννων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ πολλὰ ἐσεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν πρὸς Βανδίων ὑποσχόμενοι, ἐδέοντο φίλους τ' καὶ ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι σφίσιν. [6] οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ἄλλοτερον εὐνοϊκῶς ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματ' ἔχοντες ἅτε οὐδὲ ξύμμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἐκούσιοι ἦκοντ'· ἔφασκον γάρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν Πέτρον ὁμωμοκότα τε καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότες οὕτω δὴ σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον, λόγους τε τοὺς Βανδίων ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ ὠμολόγουν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα τρέψεσθαι. [7] ταῦτα δὲ ἅπαντα Βελισάριος ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων ἠκηκόει γὰρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ περίβολος οὕτω ἐτετέλεστο ἅπας· ἐξιτητὰ μὲν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ᾔετο εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὥς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο. [8] καὶ Καρχηδόνιον μὲν τινὰ, ὄνομα Λαῦρον, ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τε ἡλωκότα καὶ πρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου γραμματέως ἐληλεγμένον ἀνεσκολόπισεν ἐν λόφῳ τινὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος τι ἅμαχον οἱ ἄλλοι καταστάντες τῆς ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. [9] τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας δώροις τε καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θωπείᾳ μετιῶν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὁ Γελίμερ ὑποσχόμενος εἶη, [10] ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ κακοὶ γένωνται. ἔφασκον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσι προθυμίαν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι· δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ Βανδίων ἡσσημένων οὐκ ἀποπέμψονται Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν Λιβύῃ γηράσκοντες θνήσκειν· καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῇ λείᾳ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν αὐτήν, ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι. [11] τότε δὴ οὖν αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος πιστὰ ἔδωκεν ὥς, ἣν κατὰ κράτος Βανδῖλοι ἡσσηθεῖεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν πᾶσι λαφύροις σταλήσονται, οὕτω τε αὐτοὺς ὅρκους καταλαμβάνει ἢ μὴν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ξυνδιενεγκεῖν σφίσι τὸν πόλεμον. [12] Ἐπειδὴ τε ἅπαντ' αἱ οἱ ὥς ἄριστα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ ὁ περίβολος ἤδη ἀπείργαστο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [13] 'Παραίνεσιν μὲν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἳ γε οὕτω τοὺς πολέμους ἐναγχος νενικήκατε ὥστε Καρχηδὼν τε ἦδε καὶ Λιβύῃ ξύμπασα κτῆμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ξυμβουλῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ὑμῖν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὁρμώσης δεήσει. τῶν γὰρ νενικηκότων ἥκιστα ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυνῶμαι. [14] ἐκείνο δὲ μόνον ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ οἶομαι εἶναι, ὥς, ἣν ὁμοίως ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι

ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸ πέρας ἕξει τοῖς μὲν Βανδύλοις τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὑμῖν δὲ ἡ μάχη. [15] ὥστε ὑμᾶς ὡς προθυμότατα εἰκὸς ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. ἡδὺς γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπολῆγων τε καὶ εἰς καταστροφὴν βαδίζων ὁ πόνος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Βανδύλων ὁμιλον ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδεῖς. [16] οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει οὐδὲ σωματῶν μέτρῳ, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῇ φιλεῖ ὁ πόλεμος διακρίνεσθαι. εἰσὶτω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ πάντων ἰσχυρότατον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρassoμένοις αἰδώς. [17] αἰσχὺνη γὰρ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡσθᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἐλάσσους ὀφθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὀρρωδία τε καὶ κακῶν μνήμη περιλαβοῦσαι ἀναγκάζουσι κακίους γενέσθαι, ἡ μὲν τοῖς φθάσασι δεδιττομένη, ἡ δὲ ἀνασοβοῦσα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσκειν ἐλπίδα. [18] τύχη γὰρ εὐθύς μοχθηρὰ ὀφθεῖσα δουλοῖ τῶν αὐτῇ περιπεπωκότων τὸ φρόνημα. ὥς δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [19] ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν οὐκ εὖ προϊόντων ἐν τῷ μὴ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λαβεῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν, νῦν δέ, ἢν μὴ τῶν ἀγώνων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποβαλοῦμεν. [20] ὅσῳ τοίνυν τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐστερηθῆσαι κουφότερον, τοσοῦτῳ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὁ φόβος. [21] καίτοι πρότερον τῶν πεζῶν ἡμῖν ἀπολελειμμένων τὴν νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τετύχηκε, νῦν δὲ ἴλεῷ τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καθιστάμενος κρατήσκειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [22] πρόχειρον οὖν ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας μὴ τινὶ ὀλιγωρία ἐς ἄλλον αὐτὸ ἀπόθησθε χρόνον, μὴ παραδραμόντα τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀναγκάσῃσθε. [23] ἀναβαλλομένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς καθεστῶσι χωρεῖν πέφυκεν, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ γνώμη τῶν αὐτὸν διαφερόντων μηκύνηται. [24] τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐημερίαν προῖεμένοις τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰεὶ νεμεσᾶν εἴωθεν. εἰ δέ τις ἐννοεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὀρῶντας χερσί, τολμήσειν μὲν παρὰ γνώμην, κινδυνεύσειν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεται. [25] θυμὸς γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμιωτάτων φυόμενος τὴν τε οὖσαν ἰσχὺν καθαιρεῖν εἴωθε καὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ εἰς χρῆσθαι: ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι προσήκει.

Τοσαῦτα Βελισάριος παρακελευσάμενος ἰππέᾳ μὲν ἅπαντας, πλὴν πεντακοσίων, ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἔστειλε, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὃ δὲ βάνδον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰωάννη ἐπιτρέψας τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ ἀκροβολίσασθαι ἐπιστείλας, ἣν καιρὸς γένηται. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξὺν τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἰππεῦσιν εἶπετο. [3] τοῖς δὲ Μασσαγέταις, βουλευσαμένῳ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔδοξεν, ὅπως δὴ εὐσυνθετῇ πρὸς τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βελισάριον δόξωσι, μήτ' μάχης ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἄρξαι μήτε πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐς Βανδύλους ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὁποτέρας στρατῷ τῆς τὰ πράγματα πονηρὰ εἴη, τηνικαῦτα ξὺ τοῖς νικῶσι τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσωμένους ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς βαρβάρῳ ἐδέδοκτο τηδε. [4] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς κατέλαβ' τοὺς Βανδύλους ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους Καρχηὶ δόνος ἀπέχοντι. [5] ἐνθα δὴ μακράν που ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἠύλισαντο

ἐκάτεροι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πόρρω ἢ τῶν νυκτῶν, τέρας ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ
 ἐγεγόνει τοιόνδε. [6] τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρ' πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο καὶ
 αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμὴ καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σφίσιν ἐδόκουν. τοῦτο ὃ πολλοῖς μὲν
 φανερόν γέγονεν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοῦ θεασαμένου κατέπληξεν, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅπῃ
 ἐκβ' σεται. [7] ξυνέπεσε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο καὶ αὐθι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρόνῳ πολλῷ
 ὕστερον. ὅτε δὴ αὐτ' καὶ νίκης ξύμβολον ἄτε πείρα εἰδότες ἐπίστευ' εἶναι.
 τότε δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐγὲ γόνει, κατεπλάγησάν τε καὶ ξὺν δέει
 πολλ' ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [8] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Γελίμερ Βανδύλους ἐκέλευ παῖδάς τε
 καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἑ μέσῳ καταθέσθαι τῷ χαρακώματι, καίπερ
 ὁχ' Ῥωμα οὐδὲν ἔχοντι, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξ' τοιάδε: [9] 'Οὐχ ὑπὲρ
 δόξης ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Βανδίλ' οὐδὲ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μόνον ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ὥστ'
 κἂν ἐθελοκακήσασι καὶ ταῦτα προεμένοις δυνατ' εἶναι βιοῦν, οἴκοι τε
 καθημένοι καὶ τὰ ἡμετέρ' αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν: [10] ἀλλ' ὁράτε δῆπουθεν ὡς ἐς τοῦτ'
 ἡμῖν περιέστηκε τύχης τὰ πράγματα ὥστε, ἢν μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν,
 τελευτῶντες μὲ κυρίους αὐτοὺς καταλείψομεν παίδων τῶνδε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ
 χώρας καὶ πάντων χρημάτων περιούσι δὲ ἡμῖν προσέσται τὸ δούλοις τε εἶν' αὐ
 καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ἅπαντα: [11] ἢν δέ γε περιεσώμεθ' τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν,
 καὶ ζῶντες ἐν πασιν ἀγαθοῖς βιοτεύσομεν καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τ' βίου
 καταστροφὴν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναίξιν τὰ τῇ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολελείψεται, τῷ δὲ
 τῶν Βανδίλ' ὀνόματι τὸ περιεῖναι τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασῶ' σασθαι. [12] εἰ γάρ
 τισι καὶ ἄλλοις πώποτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων τετύχηκεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν
 μάλιστα πάντων γινώσκομεν ὡς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάν' των ἐλπίδας ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
 φέροντες ἐς τῇ παράταξιν καθιστάμεθα. [13] οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοίνυν τοῖς
 ἡμετέροις ὁ φόβος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τ' θνήσκειν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' ὥστε μὴ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἡσσησθαι. τῆς γὰρ νίκης ἀπολελειμμένοις τ' τεθνάναι ξυνοίσει. [14] ὅτε τοίνυν
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχ' μαλακίζεσθω Βανδίλων μηδεὶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲ φρονήματι
 προῖεσθω τὸ σῶμα, αἰσχύνῃ δὲ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν κακῶν ζηλούτῳ τὴν τοῦ βί'ο
 καταστροφὴν. [15] τῷ γὰρ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχυνομέν' πάρεστιν αἰεὶ τὸ μὴ δεδιέναι
 τὸν κίνδυνον. μάχῃ δὲ τῆς πρότερον γεγενημένης μηδεμία ὑμᾶς εἰσὶτ' μνήμη.
 [16] οὐ γὰρ κακία ἡμετέρᾳ ἡσσηθήμεν, ἀλλ' τύχης ἐναντιώμασι προσεπταικότες
 ἐσφάλημεν ταύτης δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα οὐκ αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα φέρεσθ' πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μεταπίπτειν φιλεῖ. [17] τῷ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ τοὺς πολὲ
 μίους ὑπεραίρειν ἀνυχοῦμεν καὶ πλήθει παρὰ πολ' ὑπερβάλλεσθαι: [18] μέτρῳ
 γὰρ αὐτῶν περιεῖναι οὐ' ἥσσαν ἢ δεκαπλασίῳ οἴομεθα. καὶ τί προσθής; πολλά
 τε καὶ μεγάλα εἶναι τὰ νῦν μάλιστα ἡμῶς ἐς ἀρετὴν ὁρμῶντα, τὴν τε τῶν
 προγόνων δόξα καὶ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχὴν [19] ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ'
 ἡμῖν τῷ ἀνομοίῳ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦ ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἢ δὲ ὡς ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς
 ἀποφυγεῖ ἰσχυρίζεται. [20] καὶ σιωπῶ τούτων τῶν γυναίξιν τὰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ τῶν
 παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων τ' δάκρυα, οἷς νῦν, ὡς ὁράτε, περιαλγῆσας μηκύναι τὸν
 λόγον οὐ δύναμαι. [21] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὡς ἐπάνοδος ἡμῖν
 εἰς τὰ φίλιτατα ταῦτα οὐκ ἔσται μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσασιν. [22] ὢν
 ἐνθυμηθέντες ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ γίγνεσθε καὶ μὴ καταισχύνητε τὴν Γιζερύχου
 δόξαν.' [23] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Γελίμερ Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε Βανδίλοις
 τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἤκουσι παραίνεσιν ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. [24] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦς

ξυναγείρας μικρὸν ἄποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Βανδίλοις μὲν ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ὧν δὴ ἄρτίως λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἠκούσατε, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [25] νενικήκατε γὰρ ἑναγχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκτήσασθε τῇ Βανδύλων ἀρχῇ: ὑμᾶς οὖν μειζω ποιεῖσθαι εἰκὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν. [26] οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ὁ κίνδυνος, μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν προθυμίαν ἀνάγκη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἡσηθηέντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλησαν: [27] οἷς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἡ μάχη, πάντως ὁ βίος πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ρυθμίζεται πέρας. ἄλλως τε, ἦν μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι γένησθε, βεβαιοῦτε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῆς ἔργον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου Γῶδα γεγονέναι καθαίρεσιν: μαλακισθέντες δὲ νῦν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ἐκείνοις εὐδοξίας ὡς οὐδὲν προσηκούσης στερήσεσθε. [28] καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως ὑμᾶς γε εἰκὸς τῶν λοιπῶν Βανδύλων ἐν ταύτῃ πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μάχῃ. [29] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σφαλέντας ἡ προλαβοῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήσσει, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπταικότες μετ’ ἀκραιφνοῦς τοῦ θάρσους ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται. [30] κάκεῖνο δὲ οἶμαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται, ὥς ἦν τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν, τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νίκης ὑμεῖς ἀναδήσεσθε μέρος, σωτήράς τε ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες τοῦ τῶν Βανδύλων καλέσουσιν ἔθνους. [31] οἱ γὰρ σὺν τοῖς πρότερον ἡτυχηκόσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντες εἰκότως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀμείνω σφετερίζονται τύχην. [32] ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα λογιζόμενους ὑμᾶς φημι χρῆναι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπολοφυρομένους κελεύειν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλεῖν, καὶ θυμῷ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι τοῖς δὲ ὁμοφύλοις ἐς ταύτην ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην.’

Τοσαῦτα Γελίμερ τε καὶ Τζάζων παραινέσαντες ἐξῆγον τοὺς Βανδίλους, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν, οὐ προσδεχομένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ’ ἄριστον σφίσι παρασκευαζόντων, παρήσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο. [2] ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ ταύτῃ ρέων ἀένναος μὲν, οὕτω δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα βραχὺς ὥστε οὐδὲ ὀνόματος ἰδίου πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεταλαγχάνει, ἀλλ’ ἐν ρύακος μοίρᾳ ὠνόμασται. [3] τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ὄχθην ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρασκευασάμενοι ἦκον καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. [4] κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν Μαρτῖνός τε κὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Κυπριανὸς τε καὶ Αλθίας καὶ Μάρκελλος εἶχον καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλ’ οἰδοιράτων ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸν Πάππος τε καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Αἰγὰν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἱπικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχον. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον Ἰωάννης ἐτάσσετο, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ δορυφόρους Βελισαρίου καὶ σημεῖον τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἐπαγόμενος. [6] οὗ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριος εἰς καιρὸν ζὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκετο, τοὺς πεζοὺς ὀπισθεν βάδην προσιόντας ἀπολιπών [7] οἱ γὰρ Οὐννοὶ ἅπαντες ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐτάξαντο χώρα εἰθισμένον μὲν σφίσι καὶ πρότερον ἦκιστα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐν νῷ ἃ προδεδήλωται ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοῖ ζὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τάσσεσθαι. Ῥωμαίοις μὲ οὖν τὰ τῆς τάξεως ὧδε πη εἶχε. [8] Βανδύλων δ’ κέρας μὲν ἐκάτερον οἱ χιλιάρχοι εἶχον, ἕκαστός τ’ ἡγεῖτο τοῦ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν λόχου, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τ’ μέσον Τζάζων ἦν ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, ὀπισθεν δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐτετάχατο. [9] αὐτοὺς μέντοι ὁ Γελίμερ πανταχόσε περιῶν ἐνεκελεύετό τε καὶ ἐ’ εὐτολμίαν ἐνήγε.

προεῖρητο δὲ Βανδίοις ἅπας ᾧ μήτε δορατίῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ ὄπῳ οὖν ὄργανῳ ἐς
ξυμῖ βολὴν τήνδε, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ξίφεσι, χρῆσθαι. [10] Χρόνου δὲ τριβέντος συχνοῦ
καὶ μάχης οὐδεν᾽ ἄρχοντος Ἰωάννης τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀλίγοι ἀπολέξας
Βελισαρίου γνώμῃ τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ ἐς τοὺς μέσους ἐσεβάλεν, ἔνθα δὴ
᾿ Τζάζων ὠθισμῷ χρησάμενος ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ
σφῶν αὐτῶν στρά τῶπεδον ἦκον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι διώκοντες ἄχρι τὸν ποταμὸν
ἦλθον, οὐ μέντοι διέβησαν. [12] αὐθ' δὲ Ἰωάννης πλείους τῶν Βελισαρίου
ὑπασπιστῶ ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τζάζωνα ἐσεπήδης καὶ αὐθις
ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίῳ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησε. [13] τὸ δὲ δὴ
τρίτον ξῖ πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς Βελισαρίου τε δορυφόροις καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τὸ
στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον λαβὼν τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐποίησατο ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῃ
πολλῇ. [14] τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀνδρείως τε αὐτοῦ ὑφισταμένων καὶ μόνους
χρωμένων τοῖς ξίφεσι γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ ἢ μάχῃ, πίπτουσι δ' Βανδίων
πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Τζάζων αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός. [15] τότε δὴ
ἅπαν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκινήθη καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν, ἣ τ' τροπὴ ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει·
τοὺς γὰρ κατ' αὐτούς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντ' ἕκαστοι. [16] ἃ δὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ
Μασσαγῆται κατὰ τὰ σφίσι συγκείμενα ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὴν διώξιν
ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλὸν μέντοι ἢ διώξας ἦδε ἐγεγόνει. [17] οἱ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι
ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον κατὰ τάχος εἰσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον καὶ οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἐν τῷ χαρακώματι πρὸς αὐτούς διαμάχεσθαι οἷοί τε
εἶναι, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὅσοι ἐχρυσόφορον ἀπέδυσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν
στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν [18] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν
ἦσους ἢ πεντήκοντα, Βανδίων δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα. [19] Βελισάριος δέ,
τῶν πεζῶν οἱ ἀφικομένων ἀμφ' δεῖλιν ὀψίαν, ἄρας ὡς εἶχε τάχους παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἦει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίων στρατόπεδον. [20] Γελίμερ δὲ γνοὺς
Βελισάριον ξὺν τε τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἰέναι,
οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε ἐντειλάμενος ἐπὶ τε τὸν ἵππον ἀναθρόσκει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ
Νουμίδας φέρουσιν ἔφευγε. [21] καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν
ὀλίγοι τινὲς εἶποντο καταπεπληγμένοι τε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιγῇ ἔχοντες. [22]
καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἔλαθε Βανδίου ἀποδρὰς Γελίμερ, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τε
πεφευγέναι ἦσθοντο ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤδη καθεωρῶντο, τότε δὴ οἱ τε
ἄνδρες ἐθορύβουν καὶ τὰ παῖδιά ἀνέκραγε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκώκουν. [23] καὶ
οὔτε χρημάτων παρόντων μετεποιοῦντο οὔτε τῶν φιλότατων ὀδυρομένων
σφίσιν ἔμελεν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἔφευγεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ὅπῃ ἐδύνατο. [24]
ἐπελθόντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τό τε στρατόπεδον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον αὐτοῖς χρήμασιν
αἰροῦσι καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἄνδρας μὲν ὅσοις ἐντύχοιεν
ἐκτείνον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐποιοῦντο ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. [25] χρήματα
δὲ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εὗρον ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ἐν γε
χωρίῳ ἐνὶ τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [26] οἱ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν ληισάμενοι συχνὰ χρήματα ἐς Λιβύην μετήνεγκαν καὶ τῆς χώρας
αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῆς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οὔσης καρποῖς τε τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐς ἄγαν
εὐθινοῦσης, τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ξυνέβη, αἱ γε ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνη
γινομένων ἀγαθῶν ἡγείροντο, οὐκ ἐς ἑτέραν τινα δαπανᾶσθαι χώραν ἐμπορία

τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' αὐτῶ ἄει οἱ τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοι προσεποιούντο ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη, ἐς οἷς δὴ Λιβύης ὃ Βανδίλοι ἦρξαν. [27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς πάμπολ' ἡμεῖς ὁ πλοῦτος χωρήσας ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανήκεν αὐθις. [28] ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη καὶ διώξις ἦδε καὶ τοῦ Βανδύλου στρατοπέδου ἡ ἄλωσις τρισὶ μηνσὶν ὕστερόν γεγενεν ἡ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Καρχηδόν' ἦλθε, μεσοῦντος μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μηνός, ὃ Δεκέμβριον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.

Τότε δὲ κατιδὼν Βελισάριος τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρῶ τευμα πλημμελῶς τε καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ ἄκοσμίῃ φερόμενον ἥσχαλλε, δειμαίνων τὴν νύκτα ὅλην μ' οἱ πολέμιοι, ξυμφρονήσαντές τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνιστάμενοι, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτοῦς δράσωσιν [2] ὅπερ εἰ γενέσθαι τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ τηνικαυτ' ξυνέπεσεν, οἶμαι ἂν Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα διαφυγόντ' ταύτης δὴ τῆς λείας ἀπόνασθαι. [3] οἱ γὰρ στρῶ τιῶται πένητες ἄνθρωποι κομιδῇ ὄντες καὶ χρηρ' μάτων μὲν ἐς ἄγαν μεγάλων, σωμάτων δὲ ὥραιῳ τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς εὐπρεπῶν κύριοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο οὐδὲ κόρον τινὰ τῶν σφίσι παρόντων εὐρεῖν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμέθυον, καταβεβρεγμένοι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν εὐτυχήμασιν, ὥστε αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἅπαντα ἄγων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀναστρέφειν ἐβούλοντο. [4] καὶ περιήρχοντο οὐ κατὰ συμμορίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἓνα ἢ δύο, ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐλπίς ἄγοι, ἅπαντα κύκλῳ διερευνώμενοι ἔν τε νάπαις καὶ δυσχωρίαις καὶ εἴ που σπήλαιον παρατύχοι ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἐς κίνδυνον ἢ ἐνέδραν ἄγον. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολέμιων φόβος οὐδὲ ἡ Βελισαρίου αἰδῶς ἐσῆι οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ ἡ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπιθυμία, ταύτης τε ὑπερβιαζομένης ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐτράποντο. [6] ἃ δὲ ἅπαντα ἐν νῶ ποιοῦμενος Βελισάριος ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ἢ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι. [7] ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀγχοῦ εἰστήκει, τὴν τε οὐκέτι οὔσαν εὐκοσμίαν ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ πολλὰ πᾶσι στρατιώταις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄρχουσι λοιδορούμενος. [8] τότε δὲ ὅσοις τετύχηκε πλησίον που εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα σφίσι χρήματά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα ξὺν τοῖς ὁμοσκήνοισι τε καὶ ὁμοτραπέζοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἰόντες τῶν σφίσι παραγγελλομένων κατήκουον. [9] Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννην μὲν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ξὺν διακοσίοις ἐκέλευε Γελίμερι ἔπεσθαι, καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήτε ἡμέραν ἀνιέντας διώκειν, ἕως αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν λάβοιεν. [10] ἐς δὲ Καρχηδόνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐπέστελλε, Βανδίλοις, ὅσοι ἐς τὰ ἄμφω τὴν πόλιν χωρία ἐν ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο, πιστὰ διδοῦσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἀφελομένοις ἕς τε τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγοῦσιν ἔχειν, [11] ἄχρι αὐτὸς ἔλθοι. ξὺν δὲ τοῖς λειπομένοις πανταχόσε περιῶν τοὺς τε στρατιώτας σπουδῇ ἡγείρει καὶ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἄει ἐν ποσὶ πίστεις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἐδίδου. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Βανδύλων οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτην λαβεῖν. [12] ὧν δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἀφαιρούμενος, ξὺν στρατιώταις φυλάσσουσιν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔστελλεν, οὐ διδοὺς καιρὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυνίστασθαι. [13] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἅπαντά οἱ ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [14] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐς πέντε ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας τὴν διώξιν ποιησάμενος οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ Γελίμερος ἤδη ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλὰ οἱ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔμελλεν ἐς χεῖρας

ιέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδει Γελίμερα Ἰωάννη ἀλῶναι, τύχης ἐναντίωμα ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. [15] ἐν τοῖς ξὺν Ἰωάννη διώκουσιν Οὐλίαριν τὸν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [16] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἰκανῶς πεφυκώς, οὐ λίαν δὲ κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλ' οἶνω τε καὶ γελοίοις ὥς τὰ πολλὰ χαίρων. [17] οὗτος Οὐλίαριν ἡμέρα τῆς διώξεως ἕκτη οἶνωμένος ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου καθήμενον εἶδε, καὶ τὸ τόξον κατὰ τάχος ἐντείνας κατὰ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἠφίει τὸ βέλος. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄρνιθος ἀποτυγχάνει, Ἰωάννην δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐς τὸν αὐχένα οὔτι ἐκουσίως βάλλει. [19] ὁ δὲ καιρίαν τυπεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων χρόνω ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἠφανίσθη, πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον βασιλεῖ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολιπών. [20] ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὖ ἥκων, πρᾶόν τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιεικέστατον οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν τὴν πεπωμένην οὕτως ἀνέπλησεν. [21] Οὐλίαρις δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ἐς κώμην τινὰ πλησίον που οὔσαν καταφυγὼν ἐν τῷ κατὰ ταύτην ἱερῷ ἱκέτης ἐκάθητο. [22] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Γελίμερα διώκειν οὐκέτι ὥρμηντο, ἀλλ' Ἰωάννην μὲν ἕως περιῆν ἐθεράπευον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτησε, τά τε νομιζόμενα ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁσίαν ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [23] ὅς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἤκουσεν, ἐς τε τὸν Ἰωάννου τάφον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου πάθος ἀπέκλαιεν. [24] ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ πάσῃ συμφορᾷ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὸν Ἰωάννου τάφον ἐτίμησε. [25] δεινὸν μέντοι Οὐλίαριν οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατιῶται Ἰωάννην σφίσιν ἐπισκῆψαι ὅρκους ἔφασκον δεινοτάτοις μηδεμίαν ἐς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τίσιν ἅτε οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τὸ μίasma ἐργασάμενον. [26] Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν Γελίμερ διαφεύγει τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐδίωκεν, ἐς πόλιν τε Νουμιδῶν ἐχυράν, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ κειμένην, ἀφικόμενος, δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνας διέχουσας, ἣν δὴ Ἴππονερέγιον καλοῦσιν, ἔμαθε Γελίμερα ἐς Παπούαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναβάντα οὐκέτι ἀλώσιμον Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι. [27] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Νουμιδίας ἐσχάτοις ἀπότομόν τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσι, κατῳκῆνται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἱ τῷ Γελίμερι φίλοι τε καὶ ἐπίκουροι ἦσαν, καὶ πόλις ἀρχαία Μηδεὸς ὄνομα παρὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. [28] ἐνταῦθα Γελίμερ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἡσύχαζε. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος ὥρα οἶός τε ἦν, ἔτι τέ οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠωρημένων Καρχηδόνας ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἀξύνφορον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι στρατιώτας τε ἀπολεξάμενος καὶ ἄρχοντα Φάραν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους προσεδρεία κατέστησεν. [29] ἦν δὲ ὁ Φάρας οὗτος δραστήριός τε καὶ λίαν κατεσπουδασμένος καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ ἥκων, καίπερ Ἑρουλος ὦν γένος. [30] ἄνδρα δὲ Ἑρουλον μὴ ἐς ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ μέθην ἀνείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι, χαλεπὸν τε καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [31] Φάρας δὲ οὐ μόνος τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἀντείχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑρουλῶν ὅσοι αὐτῷ εἶποντο. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Φάραν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα Βελισάριος καθῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐκέλευε καὶ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ ἔχειν, ὥς μήτε τὸ ὄρος ἀπολιπεῖν Γελίμερι δυνατὰ εἴη μήτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων

ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [32] καὶ Φάρας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Βελισάριος δὲ Βανδίλους ὅσοι ἐς Ἴππονερέγιον πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο, πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἀνέστησέ τε πιστὰ λαβόντας καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ζὺν φυλακῇ ἐπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τι τοιόνδε ξυμπεσεῖν ἔτυχεν. [33] Ἐν τῇ Γελίμερος οἰκία γραμματεὺς ἦν τις Βονιφάτιος Λίβυς, ἐκ Βυζακίου ὁρμώμενος, πιστὸς τῷ Γελίμερι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [34] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Βονιφάτιον Γελίμερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας ἄριστα πλέουσας, ἐν ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνθέμενος ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἴππονερεγίου λιμένα ὁρμίζεσθαι, καὶ ἦν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν οὐκ εὖ καθιστάμενα ἴδοι, τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Ἰσπανίαν, παρὰ Θεῦδίν τε ἀφικέσθαι τὸν τῶν Οὐσιγιότθων ἡγούμενον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς διασώζεσθαι ἐκαραδόκει, πονηρὰς γινομένης Βανδίλοις τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης. [35] Βονιφάτιος δέ, ἕως μὲν τὰ Βανδύλων ἐλπίδα εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ἢ ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ μάχῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγεγόνει, ἄρας τὰ ἰστία ἔπλει καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Γελίμερ. [36] ἀλλὰ πνεύματος αὐτὸν ἐναντίωμα εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ἴππονερεγίου λιμένα οὔτι ἐκούσιον αὐθις ἤνεγκεν. ὥς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγχοῦ ἤδη που ἡκηκόει εἶναι, τοὺς ναύτας πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος ἐλιπάρει ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ ἥπειρον ἢ νῆσον βιασαμένους ἰέναι. [37] οἱ δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο χεimiῶνος σφίσι χαλεποῦ λίαν ἐπιτεσόντος καὶ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ρόθιον ἄτε ἐν Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐγείροντος', τότε δὴ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Βονιφάτιος ἐς ἐννοιαν ἦλθον ὥς ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τὰ χρήματα Ῥωμαίοις διδόναι ἐθέλων τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐφή ἀνάγεσθαι. [38] μόλις μέντοι τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω γενόμενοι ζὺν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ τὴν ναῦν ἀνεκώχουν. [39] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο Βελισάριος εἰς τὸ Ἴππονερέγιον, πέμπει τινὰς παρ' αὐτὸν Βονιφάτιος. οὓς δὴ ἐν ἱερῷ καθῆσθαι ἐκέλευεν, ἐροῦντας μὲν ὥς πρὸς Βονιφατίου σταλεῖεν τοῦ τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα ἔχοντος, ἀποκρυψομένους δὲ ὅπη ποτὲ εἴη, πρὶν γε δὴ τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιεν ὥς τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν ἀπαθής, ἔχων ὅσα αὐτοῦ οἰκεῖα εἴη. [40] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ καὶ ὁμειῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [41] στείλας τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς τὸν τε Γελίμερος πλοῦτον ἔλαβε καὶ Βονιφάτιον ζὺν τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀφήκε, πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα τοῦ Γελίμερος συλήσαντα πλούτου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνέστρεφε, Βανδίλους τε ἅπαντας ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμψειε, καὶ στρατεύμα ἔστελλεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνασώσوينτο Ῥωμαίοις ἅπαντα ὧν Βανδύλοι ἦρχον. [2] Κύριλλον μὲν οὖν ζὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐπεμψε, τὴν Τζάζωνος κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ἐβούλοντο, δεδιότες τε τοὺς Βανδίλους καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ὅσα σφίσι ξυνενεχθῆναι ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ ἐλέγετο. [3] τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Κυρίλλῳ ἐπήγγελλε μοῖραν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Κουρσικὴν πέμψαντα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν νῆσον ἀνακτήσασθαι, Βανδύλων κατήκοον τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν, ἢ Κύρνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλεῖτο, οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐστίν. [4] ὁ δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀφικόμενος τὴν τε Τζάζωνος κεφαλὴν τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοις ἐπέδειξε καὶ ἅμφω τὰ νήσω τῇ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῇν

ἀνεσώσατο. [5] ἔς δὲ Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Μαυριτανοῖς Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν λόχῳ πεζικῷ οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ἐπεμψεν, ἥ ὁδῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχει, ἐς Γάδειρά τε καὶ τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἰόντι· κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὗσα. [6] Ἰωάννην δὲ ἄλλον, τῶν οἰκείων ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα, ἐς τὸν ἐν Γαδείροις πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν Ἑρακλέους στηλῶν ἐπεμψε, τὸ ἐκείνῃ φρούριον, ὃ Σέπτον καλοῦσι, καθέζοντα. [7] ἐς δὲ τὰς νήσους αἵπερ ἀγχοῦ εἰσι τῆς ὠκεανοῦ ἐσβολῆς, Ἐβουσά τε καὶ Μαϊορίκα καὶ Μινορίκα ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι, Ἀπολλινάριον ἔστειλεν, ὃς ἐξ Ἰταλίας μὲν ὥρμητο, μεираκίον δὲ ὧν ἔτι ἐς Λιβύην ἀφῖκτο. [8] καὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι πρὸς Ἰλδερίχου τότε Βανδύλων ἡγουμένου δεδορημένος, ἐπεὶ παρελέλυτο τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἰλδερίχος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, εἶχeto, ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ξὺν Λίβυσι τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ τὰ Ἰλδερίχου ἔπρασσον, ἰκετεύσων ἦλθε. [9] στρατεύσας τε ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδύλους, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου Βελισάριος τὰς νήσους οἱ τάσδε ἐπέτρεψε. [10] μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς Τρίπολιν Πουδεντίῳ τε καὶ Ταττιμουθὶ πρὸς τῷ ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίῳν πιεζομένοις στράτευμα πέμψας τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ταύτῃ ἐπέρρωσε. [11] Στείλας δὲ καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν τινάς, ἐφ' ὧν ἔ' ἐν Λιβυαίῳ φρούριον ἄτε τῇ Βανδύλων ἀρχῇ προσήκον ἐξουσιν, ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθὲνδε, Γότθῳ ἥκιστα ἀξιούντων Σικελίας τινὰ ξυγχωρεῖν μὴ ραν, ὥς οὐδὲν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο Βανδύλοι προσήκον. [12] ὁ δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ταύτῃ ἦσαν ἔγραψε τάδε: 'Λιβύβαιο τὸ Βανδύλων φρούριον τῶν βασιλέως δούλῳ ἀποστερεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντες οὐδὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα, καὶ ἄρχοντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ οὐτὶ ἐκόντι καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένῳ τῶν πρᾶσς' μένων ἐκπολεμῶσαι βούλεσθε βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν οὗ τὴν εὐνοίαν πόνῳ πολλῷ κτησάμενος ἔχῃ. [13] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπῳ ποιεῖν δόξαίτε, εἰ Γελίμερα μὲν ἐναγχος ἔχει ξυνεχωρεῖτε τὸ φρούριον, βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τῷ Γελίμερος κύριον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τοῦ δούλου κτήματα ἔγνωτε; [14] μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὧ βέλτιστοι. ἄλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὥς φιλία μὲν αἰτίας πολλὰς καλῶ πτεῖν πέφυκεν, ἔχθρα δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σμικροτάτῳ ἀδικημάτων ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ διερευνᾶται μὲ ἅπαντα ἄνωθεν, οὐ περιορᾷ δὲ πλουτοῦντας τοῖ γε οὐδὲν προσήκουσι τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] εἴτ' μάχεται ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ἡδικήσθαι φησὶ καὶ ἦν μὲν σφαλῇ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ, ἀπώλεσε τὸ ὑπαρχόντων οὐδὲν, εὐημερήσασα δὲ μεταμανθάνει ποιεῖ τοὺς ἡσσημένους τὸ σύγγνωμον. [16] ὑμεῖς ὃ μῆτε δράσητε ἡμᾶς μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακὸν μῆ αὐτοὶ πάθητε, μῆτε πολέμιον κατεργάσησθε. ἔ' Γότθων γένει βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, ὃν ὑμῖν ἴλεω εἶναι ἐν εὐχῇ ἐστιν. [17] εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὥς τοῦδε μετ' ποιουμένοις ὑμῖν τοῦ φρουρίου ὁ πόλεμος ἐν πῶς ἔσται οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λιβυβαίου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν οὐδὲν προσήκον ὑμῖν εἶτα ἀντέχεσθε.' [18] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Γότθῳ ἀνήνεγκάν τε ταῦτα ἐς τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου ἔ' μητέρα καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιτεταγμέν' σφίσις ἀπεκρίναντο ὧδε: [19] 'Τὰ γράμματα γέγραφας, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, παραίνεσιν μὴ ἀληθὴ φέρει, ἐς ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπων τινάς, ὃ εἰς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμᾶς ἤκουσαν. [20] ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐδ' τῶν βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ

λαβόντες ἔχομε μή ποτε οὕτω μανεῖμεν: Σικελίαν δὲ ξύμπας” προσποιούμεθα ἡμετέραν οὔσαν, ἥς δὴ ἄκρα μὴ τὸ ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριόν ἐστιν. [21] εἰ δὲ Θευδέρῃ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Βανδύλῳ βασιλεῖ ξυνοικοῦς” τῶν τινι Σικελίας ἐμπορίων ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. [22] οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο δικαῖ ματος ὑμῖν ὅτουσιν ἀξίωσιν φέροι. σὺ μέντοι, στρατηγέ, πράττοις ἂν τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἢ γε τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀντιλεγόμενων τὴν διάλυσιν οὐ ὡς πολέμιος, ἀλλ’ ἅτε φίλος ποιεῖσθαι θέλοις διαφέρει δέ, [23] ὅτι οἱ μὲν φίλοι τὰ διάφορα ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διακρίνουν πεφ. κασιν. [24] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πε τούτων διαιτᾶν ἐπιτρέψομεν, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοῖ νόμιμά τε εἶναι καὶ δίκαια. βουλόμεθα δέ σε, βέλτιστα βουλευσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς ταχύτατ’ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ βασιλέως προσδέχεσθ’ γνῶσιν.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν Γόθων γραφ. ἐδήλου. [25] Βελισάριος δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἅπαντα βασιλέα ἡσύχαζεν, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστέλλ’ ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη.

Φάρας δὲ τῇ προσεδρεῖα ἤδη ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἀχθόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἱ μενος οἴους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίῳ ἐμποδῶν σφίσι στήσεσθαι, τῇ ἐς Παπούαν ἀν’ βάσει ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. ἅπαντ’ μὲν οὖν εὖ μάλα ἐξοπλίσας τοὺς ἐπομένους ἂν βαινε. [2] βεβοηθηκότων δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἅτε, χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν δυσβάτῳ, ἡ καλὴ εὐπετῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἐγένετο. [3] καρτερῶς, τοῦ Φάρα βιαζομένου τὴν ἄνοδον, δέκα μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπ’ ἄπο θανον, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἀποκρουσθε ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀποπειράσασθαι μὴ τῆς ἀνόδου, ἀντιστατοῦντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ ἐτόλμα, φυλακὴν δὲ κατεσπουδας μένην, ἐνὶ μάλιστα, κατεστήσατο, ὅπως οἱ πιεζόμενοι τῷ λιμῷ οἱ ἐν Παπούᾳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσειαν καὶ οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκουν αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου οὔτε τῶν ἐξωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. [4] ἐνθα δὴ τῷ Γελίμερι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀδελφιδοῖς τε καὶ ἀνεψιαδοῖς οὔσι καὶ ἄλλοις εὖ γεγενοῖσι ξυνέπες” κακοπαθεῖα χρῆσθαι ἦν, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴποι τις, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τοῖς πράγμασι φράζοι. [5] ἐθνῶν γὰρ ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων, ταλαιπωρότατον δὲ τὸ Μαυρουσίων τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [6] οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύην ἔσχον, βαλανεῖοις τε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπεχρῶντο ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ τραπέξῃ ἅπασιν εὐθηνούσῃ ὅσα δὴ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἡδιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα φέρει. [7] ἐχρυσόφορον δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἦν νῦν Σηρικὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀμπεχόμενοι, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομίῳις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐπαθείᾳ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα κυνηγεσίῳις τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο. [8] καὶ σφίσι δόρυ καὶ μῦμοι ἀκούσματά τε συχνὰ καὶ θεάματα ἦν, ὅσα μουσικά τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιοθέατα ξυμβαίνειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. [9] καὶ ὥκνητο μὲν αὐτῶν ὅ πολλοὶ ἐν παραδείσοις, ὑδάτων καὶ δένδρων εὖ ἔχουσι: ξυμπόσια δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἔργα τὰ ἀφροδίσια πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐν μελέτῃ πολλῇ ἥσκητο. [10] Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν πνιγγραῖς καλύβαις, χειμῶνί τε καὶ θέρους ὥρα καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ ξύμπαντι χρόνῳ, οὔτε χιόσιν οὔτε ἡλίου θερμῇ ἐνθένδε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῶν ἀναγκαίῳ κακῷ ἐξιστάμενοι. [11] καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κώδιον οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὑποστρωννύντες. [12] ἱμάτια δὲ σφίσι οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ὥραις νόμος, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον τε ἀδρὸν καὶ χιτῶνα τραχὺν ἐς καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐνδιδύσκονται. [13] ἔχουσι δὲ οὔτε

ἄρτον οὔτε οἶνον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν σῖτον, ἢ τὰς ὀλύρας τε καὶ κριθάς, οὔτε ἔψοντες οὔτε ἐς ἄλευρα ἢ ἄλφιτα ἀλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ζῆα ἐσθίουσι [14] τοιούτοις δὴ οὖσι τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις οἱ ἀμφὶ τῷ Γελίμερα συχνὸν ξυνοικήσαντες χρόνον τὴν τε ξυνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς διαίταν ἐς τοῦτο τालαιπωρίας μεταβαλόντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὰ σφᾶς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη ἐπιλελοῖπει, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτοῖς ἥδιστον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν ἥκιστα αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίζετο. [15] Ὡν δὴ Φάρας αἰσθόμενος γράφει πρὸς Γελίμερα τάδε: ‘Εἰμὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς βάρβαρος καὶ γραμμάτων τε καὶ λόγων οὔτε ἐθᾶς οὔτε ἄλλως ἔμπειρος γέγονα. [16] ὅσα δέ με ἄνθρωπον ὄντ’ εἰδέναι ἀνάγκη, ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἐκμαθὼν ἔγραψα. [17] τί ποτε ἄρα πεπονθὼς, ὦ φίλ’ Γελίμερ, οὐ σαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῦμπαν τ’ σὸν γένος ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληκας ὅπως δηλαδὴ μὴ γένοιο δοῦλος; [18] πάντως γάρ ς” καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι τοῦτο οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίᾳ προῖσχεσθαι, ὥς δὴ ἅπαντα ταύτης τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι ἄξιον. [19] εἴτα νῦν Μαυρουσίῳ τοῖς γε ἀτυχεστάτοις οὐκ οἶε δουλεύειν, ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σώζεσθαι, ἣν τὰ κράτιστα φέρῃ, ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχεις; [20] καίτοι πῶς ἂν οὐχὶ τῷ παντ ἄμεινον εἴη δουλεύειν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις πτωχεύοντα, τυραννεῖν ἐν Παπούᾳ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις; [21] πᾶν τως δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ξυνδούλω Βελισαρίῳ εἶνα ὑπερβολὴ τις ὕβρεως φαίνεται. [22] ἄπαγε, ὦ βέλτιστε Γελίμερ, ἢ οὐ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν γεγονότες βασιλεῖ νῦν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐχοῦμεν; κα μὴν λέγουσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἶναι ἐς τε βουλὴν ἀνάγραπτόν σε ποιήσασθαι τιμῆς μεταλαχόντα τῆς ἀνωτάτω, ἣν δὴ πατρικίων καλοῦσι, καὶ χώρα πολλῇ τε καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ χρήμασι μέγαλοις δωρήσασθαι, Βελισάριόν τ’ ἐθέλειν ἀναδέχεσθαι πάντα ταῦτα ἔσσεσθαι σὺ πίστεις διδόντα. [23] σὺ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ἡ τύχη μοχθηρὴ ἤνεγκε, φέρειν γενναίως οἴός τε εἶ πάντα τ’ ἐνθένδε ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι οἰόμενός [24] ἦν δέ τιτι ἀγαθῷ τὰ δυσχερῆ ταῦτα ξυγκερὰ νύειν βεβούλευται, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸς ἐθελούσῃ δέξασθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀξιοίης; ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς φιλῶσι τοῖς ἀναγκαῖα γε ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθὰ λογιστέον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ σφόδρα ἀνοήτοις δοκεῖ. [25] σοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν βεβαπτῇ μένῳ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς, ἀξύνετῳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, σὺ βαίνειν εἶναι: [26] ἀθυμία γὰρ ἐκπλήξασα εἰς ἀβουλίᾳ τρέπεσθαι πέφυκεν: ἦν δὲ φέρειν τὴν διάνοι τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναιο καὶ μὴ πρὸς τύχην μεταβαλὼν λομένην ἀγανακτεῖν, παρέσται σοι αὐτίκα, μάλα τὰ τε ξύμφορα ἐλέσθαι ἅπαντα καὶ τ’ ἐπικειμένων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν.’ [27] Ταῦτα Γελίμερ τὰ γράμματα ἀναλεξάμενος ἀποκλαύσας τε δεινῶς ἀντέγραψεν ὧδε: ‘Καὶ τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἦν μοι ἐποιήσω πολλὴν ἔχω σοι χάριν καὶ πολεμῶ ἀδικοῦντι δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν οἶμαι, παρ’ οὗ ἂν δίκην εὐξαίμην λαβεῖν, εἰ μοι ὁ θεὸς ὕλεως εἴη, ὃς γε οὐδὲν πώποτε ἄχαρι πρὸς ἐμοῦ οὔτε ἔργῳ παθὼν οὔτε λόγῳ ἀκούσας πολέμῳ μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντι παρέσχετο σκῆψιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο μετήνεγκε τύχης, Βελισάριον οὐκ οἶδα ὅθεν ἐπενεγκόν. [28] καίτοι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι, καὶ βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ξυμβήσεσθαι τ’ ὦν οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο. [29] ἐγὼ μέντοι περαιτέρῳ τ’ γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀφείλετο γάρ με τὴν ἔννοιαν ἡ παροῦσα τύχη. [30] ἀλλὰ χαῖρέ μοι, φίλε Φάρα, καὶ μοι κιθάραν τε καὶ ἄρτον [31] ἓνα καὶ σπόγγον δεομένῳ πέμπε.’ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα ὁ Φάρας ἔγνω,

χρόνον δὴ τινα διηπορεῖτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελευτίον συμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἕως οἱ ὁ ταύτην κομίσας ἔφρασεν ὡς ἄρτου μὲν ἐνὸς δέοιτο Γελίμερ, ἐπιθυμῶν ἐς θεάν τε αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ βρῶσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐς Παπούαν ἀναβέβηκεν, οὐδένα που ἄρτον ὠπτημένον εἶδε. [32] σπόγγος δέ οἱ ἀναγκαῖος εἶη τοῖν γάρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοῖν ἄτερος, τραχυνόμενος τ' ἄλουσία, ἐς ἄγαν ἐπῆρται. [33] κιθαριστῇ δὲ ἀγαθῷ ὄντι ᾧδῇ τις αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμφορὰν τὴν παροῦσαν πεποιήται, ἣν δὴ πρὸς κιθάραν θρηνῆσαι τε καὶ ἀποκλαῦσαι ἐπείγεται. [34] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Φάρ'α περιαλγῆσας τε καὶ τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπολοφυράμενος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐποίει καὶ πάντα ἔπεμπεν ὅσων αὐτοῦ ἔχρηζε Γελίμερ. τῆς μέντοι προσεδρεΐας οὐδὲν μεθίεις ἐφύλασσε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

Ἦδη δὲ τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ ἐτρίβη καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ὁ Γελίμερ ἐδεδίει, τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναβήσεσθαι ὑποτοπάζων· καὶ τῶν οἱ συγγενῶν παιδίων τὰ πλεῖστα σώματα σκώληκας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἤφει. [2] καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν περιώδυνος ἦν, ἐς ἅπαντα δέ, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ θνήσκειν, δυσάρεστος, τῇ μέντοι κακοπαθείᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχεν, ἕως οἱ θέαμα ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη τοιονόδε. [3] γυνὴ τις Μαυρουσία σῖτον ὀλίγον ἀμωσγέπως ξυγκοψαμένη, μᾶζαν δὲ ἐνθένδε βραχεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησαμένη ἐς ζέουσαν τὴν σποδιὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ ἐνέβαλεν. οὕτω γὰρ νόμος ἐν Μαυρουσίῳ τοὺς ἄρτους ὀπτᾶσθαι. [4] παρὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐσχάραν δύο παῖδε καθημένω καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπεράγαν βιαζομένω, ἄτερος μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπου υἱὸς ἢ τὴν μᾶζαν ἐμβεβλημένη ἐτύγχανεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Γελίμερος ἀδελφιδοὺς ὢν, ἐβουλεύσθη ταύτην δὴ τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσασθαι, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς τάχιστα ὠπτηθῆσαι δοκῇ. [5] τοῦτοιν τοῖν παιδίοιν ὁ μὲν Βανδύλος προτερήσας ἔφθασέ τε τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσας καὶ ζέουσαν ἔτι ὡς μάλιστα σποδιᾶς τε ἀνάπλεων οὔσαν, ὑπερβιαζομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλόμενος ἥσθιεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν ἐπάταξέ τε κατὰ κόρρης καὶ αὐθις ῥαπίσας ἠνάγκασε τὴν μᾶζαν ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ ἀποβαλεῖν ἤδη ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι οὔσαν. [6] τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν Γελίμερ ἠπαρηκολούθει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπασιν ἐθελύνθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς Φάραν ὡς τάχιστα ἔγραψε τάδε· [7] 'Εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλω τετύχηκε πώποτε τὰ δεινὰ καρτερήσαντι ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἰέναι τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων, τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα καὶ ἐμὲ νόμιζε εἶναι, ὃ βέλτιστε Φάρα. [8] εἰσῆλθε γάρ με ἢ σὴ ξυμβουλή, ἣν δὴ ἀλογῆσαι ἥκιστα βούλομαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀντιτείνοιμι περαιτέρω τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν πεπρωμένην ζυγομαχοίην, ἀλλ' ἔψομαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ ἐξηγεῖσθαι δοκῇ· ὅπως μέντοι τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιμι, ἀναδέχεσθαι Βελισάριον βασιλέα ποιήσιν ἅπαντα ὅσα μοι ἔναγχος ὑπεδέξω. [9] ἐγὼ γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τὴν πίστιν δοίητε, ἐμαυτὸν τε ὑμῖν ἐγχειριῶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τούσδε καὶ Βανδύλους ὅσοι ξὺν ἡμῖν ἐνταυθὰ εἰσι.' [10] Τοσαῦτα μὲν τῷ Γελίμερι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῇδε ἐγγράπτο. Φάρας δὲ ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ καὶ τὰ πρότερον γεγραμμένα σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους σημύνας ἐδεῖτο ὡς τάχιστά οἱ δηλῶσαι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ 'καὶ γάρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ ἦν ζῶντα Γελίμερα βασιλεῖ ἀγαγεῖν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ γράμματα ἀνελέξατο,

περιχαρῆς τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Κυπριανὸν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντα ἐς Παπούαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι ξὺν ἄλλοις τισίν, ὄρκους τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλε περὶ σωτηρίας Γελίμερός τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ διδόναι, καὶ ὥς ἐπίτιμός τε παρὰ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς εἶη. [12] οἷπερ ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν Φάραν ἀφίκοντο, ἦλθον ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τι χωρίον παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα, ἔνθα σφίσι Γελίμερ μετάπεμπος ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἥπερ ἐβούλετο ἐς Καρχηδόνα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἦκεν. [13] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος διατριβὴν τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ποιούμενος, [14] ὅπερ Ἄκλας καλοῦσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε, γελῶν γέλωτα οὔτε φαῦλον οὔτε κρύπτεσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα, τῶν τε αὐτὸν θεωμένων ἐνιοὶ μὲν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῇ ἀπάντων τε αὐτὸν ἐκστήναι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπώπτευνον καὶ παραπαίοντα ἤδη λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν γέλωτα ἔχειν. [15] οἱ μέντοι φίλοι ἀγχίνουν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐβούλοντο εἶναι καὶ ἅτε οἰκίας μὲν βασιλικῆς γεγονότα, εἰς βασιλείαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα, καὶ δύναμιν τε ἰσχυρὰν χρήματά τε μεγάλα ἐκ παιδὸς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς γῆρας περιβαλλόμενον, εἶτα εἰς φυγὴν τε καὶ δέος πολὺ ἐμπεσόντα καὶ κακοπάθειαν τὴν ἐν Παπούᾳ ὑποστάντα, καὶ νῦν ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ἦκοντα, πάντων τε ταύτῃ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φλαύρων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα, ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἄξια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἢ γέλωτος πολλοῦ οἶεσθαι εἶναι. [16] περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γέλωτος ὃν Γελίμερ ἐγέλα, λεγέτω ὥς πη ἕκαστος γινώσκει, [17] καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος. Βελισάριος δὲ ἐς βασιλέα ὥς Γελίμερ δορυάλωτος εἶη ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀνενεγκὼν ἥτει ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικέσθαι. ἅμα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἅπαντας οὐκ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐρύλασσε καὶ τὸν στόλον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [18] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι ἤδη τε κρείσσω ἐλπίδος ἐς πείραν ἦλθε καὶ αἰεὶ ἦξει, ἕως ἂν αἱ αὐταὶ τύχαι ἀνθρώπων ᾧσι: [19] τὰ τε γὰρ λόγῳ ἀδύνατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ γίνεται καὶ τὰ τέως ἀδύνατα φανέντα πολλάκις, [20] εἶτα ἀποβάντα θαύματος ἄξια ἔδοξεν εἶναι: εἰ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἔργα πώποτε γεγενῆσθαι τετύχηκεν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, τὸν Γιζερίχου τέταρτον ἀπόγονον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν δυνάμει ἀκμάζουσας πρὸς πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύδων τε καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὅποι ὀρμίζοιντο ἐν χρόνῳ οὕτῳ βραχεῖ καταλελύσθαι. [21] τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπισπομένων, οἱ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα πρὸς Βανδίλους διήνεγκαν. τοῦτο γὰρ εἴτε τύχῃ εἴτε τινὶ ἀρετῇ γέγονε, δικαίως ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἀγασθεῖη. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βανδικὸς πόλεμος ἐτελεύτα ᾧδε. ὁ δὲ φθόνος, οἷα ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ᾧδαιεν ἤδη ἐς Βελισάριον, καίπερ αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν παρέχοντα σκῆψιν. [2] τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων τινὲς διέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐς βασιλέα, τυραννίδα αὐτῷ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπικαλοῦντες. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἢ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιησάμενος, ἢ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη. [4] Σολόμωννα δὲ πέμψας αἴρεσιν Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο ἐλέσθαι ὅποτέραν ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη, πότερα ξὺν Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδίλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένοντι ἐκείνους στεῖλαι. [5] ὁ δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτὸν ὃ ἄρχοντες τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενεγκόντες' ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικέσθαι ἠπείγετο, ὅπως δὴ τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐκλύσεται καὶ τοὺς διαβαλόντας μετελθεῖν δύνηται. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ τὴν τῶν κατηγορῶν πείραν

ἔμαθεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [6] ὅτε δὴ τὴν διαβολὴν τήνδε ποιῆσθαι οἱ διαβαλόντες ἤθελον, δεισάντες μὴ σφίσιν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μέλλων κομῆειν βασιλεῖ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἀφανισθεῖς τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα διακωλύσῃ, ἐν δύο γραμματεῖσι τὴν τυραννίδ' ἑγράψαντες, ἀγγέλους δύο ὡς βασιλέα ἐν ναυξ' δύο στέλλειν διενουῶντο. [7] τούτοις ἄτερος μὲν λαθὼν. ἐπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐξ ὑποψίας δὴ τινος ἐν Μανδρακίῳ ἦλθον, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσας ἔκπυστα ἐποίει τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα. [8] ταύτῃ τε μαθὼν Βελισάριος ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν βασιλέως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἠπειγέτο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Μαυρούσιοι δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τε Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδία ὤκνητο, ἐς ἀπόστασιν τε ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς εἶδον καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διαλύσαντες χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἐξαπινάως Ῥωμαίοις ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῦ οἰκείου σφίσιν ἐπράσσετο. [10] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις οὔτε θεοῦ φόβος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αἰδώς. μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε ὁμῶν, ἦν καὶ παῖδες ἢ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἡγουμένων τύχῳσιν ὄντες. [11] οὐδὲ ἄλλω οὐδενὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πολεμίων τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν δέει κρατύνεται. ὅτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε πρὸς Βελισάριον σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅτῳ διελύθησαν τρόπῳ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [12] ἥνικα ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἐπιδόξος ἐγγένοιτο ὡς ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίξεται, δεισάντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μὴ τι ἐνθένδε κακὸν λάβωσι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν μαντείαις ἐχρῶντο. [13] ἄνδρα γὰρ μαντεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ οὐ θέμις, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες σφίσι κάτοχοι ἐκ δὴ τινος ἱερουργίας γινόμεναι προλέγουσι τὰ ἐσόμενα, τῶν πάλαι χρηστηρίων οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [14] τότε οὖν πυνθανομένοις αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέϊλον, στρατὸν ἐξ ὑδάτων, Βανδύλων κατάλυσιν, Μαυρουσίων φθοράν τε καὶ ἤτταν, [15] ὅτε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀγένειος ἔλθοι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα εἶδον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἦκον, ἐν δέει τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ ξυμμαχεῖν Βανδύλοις ἥκιστα ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνῃν, ὡς πρόσθεν δεδήλωται, κρατυνάμενοι ἡσύχαζόν τε καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται ἐκαπαρόκουν. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ Βανδύλων τὰ πράγματα ἤδη ἐς πέρας ἀφῆκτο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, διερευνώμενοι εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀγένειός ἐστιν. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντας πώγωνος ἐώρων ἐμπιπλάμενους, οὐ χρόνον τὸν παρόντα τὸ μαντεῖον σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὄντο, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον, ταύτῃ τὸ λόγιον ἐρμηνεύοντες, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἤθελον. [18] αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν ὥρμητο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ Βελισαρίου δέος αὐτοὺς διεκώλυνεν. [19] οὐ γὰρ ποτε πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίων περιέσεσθαι, παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον. [20] ὡς δὲ τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόροις ποιῆσθαι ἤκουσαν, ἤδη τε τὰς ναῦς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε καὶ Βανδύλων πληροῦσθαι ἐπύθοντο, τὰ ὅπλα ἐξαπινάως ἀράμενοι ἅπασαν κακοῦ ιδέαν ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας ἐπεδείξαντο. [21] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι τε ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐσχατιᾷ χώρα καὶ ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι ὄντες, καταθέουσιν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον πανταχόσε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀνθίστασθαι, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς συχνὰς τε καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς γινόμενας διακωλύσειν. [22] ἀλλ' ἄνδρες μὲν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐκτείνοντο, γυναῖκες δὲ σὺν παισὶν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, τά τε χρήματα ἐκ πάσης ἐσχατιᾷ ἤγετο καὶ φυγῆς ἢ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑπεπίπλατο. ταῦτα

Βελισαρίῳ ἤδη που ἀναγομένῳ ἠγγέλλετο. [23] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχε, Σολόμωνι δὲ διέπειν τὸ Λιβύης κράτος παρείχετο, ἀπολέξας καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, ὥστε Σολόμωνι ἐπομένους Μαυρουσίῳ ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τίσασθαι. [24] καὶ βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατιὰν ἄλλην Σολόμωνι ἐπεμψε, ξὺν Θεοδώρῳ τε τῷ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Ἰλδίγερι· ὃς δὴ Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρὸς τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἦν. [25] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Λιβύης χωρίων τοὺς φόρους οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν γραμματείοις τεταγμένους εὑρεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπεγράψαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, ἅτε Γιζερίχου ἀναχαίτισαντός τε καὶ διαφθείραντος κατ' ἀρχὰς ἅπαντα, Τρύφων τε καὶ Εὐστράτιος πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς τάξουσι κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστω. οἱ δὲ οὐ μέτριοι Λίβυσιν οὐδὲ φορητοὶ ἔδοξαν εἶναι.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἅμα Γελίμερ τε καὶ Βανδύλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος γερῶν ἠξιώθη ἃ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς τοῖς νίκας τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίας ἀναδησαμένοις διετετάχατο. [2] χρόνος δὲ ἀμφὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑξακοσίους παρωχῇκει ἡδὴ ἐξ ὅτου ἐς ταῦτα τὰ γέρα οὐδεὶς ἐληλύθει, ὅτι μὴ Τίτος τε καὶ Τραϊανός, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγήσαντες ἐπὶ τι βαρβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐνίκησαν. [3] τὰ τε γὰρ λάφυρα ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐπόμεπυσεν, ὃν δὴ θρίαμβον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον κἀνταῦθα ἐκ βαλβίδων αὐθις ἕως εἰς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο οὗ δὴ ὁ θρόνος ὁ βασιλείος ἐστίν. [4] ἦν δὲ λάφυρα μὲν ὅσα δὴ ὑπουργία τῇ βασιλέως ἀνεῖσθαι εἰώθει, θρόνοι τε χρυσοὶ καὶ ὀχήματα οἷς δὴ τὴν βασιλέως γυναικᾶ ὀχεῖσθαι νόμος, καὶ κόσμος πολὺς ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων ξυγκείμενος, ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ, καὶ τᾶλλα ζύμπαντα ὅσα ἐς τὴν βασιλέως θοίνην χρήσιμα. [5] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἔλκων μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλὰς καὶ πάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἅτε Γιζερίχου τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σεσυληκότος Παλάτιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια ἦν, ἅπερ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τίτος μετὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἤνεγκε. [6] καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν τις Ἰουδαίων ἰδὼν καὶ παραστὰς τῶν βασιλέως γνωρίμων τινὶ 'Ταῦτα,' ἔφη, 'τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Παλάτιον ἐσκομίζεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἶομαι εἶναι. [7] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε αὐτὰ ἐτέρωθι εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ Σολομὼν αὐτὰ πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔθετο. [8] διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Γιζερίχος τὰ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία εἴλε καὶ νῦν τὰ Βανδύλων ὁ Ῥωμαίων [9] στρατός.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀνενεχθέντα βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ζύμπαντα κατὰ τάχος ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὰ ἐπεμψεν. [10] ἀνδράποδα δὲ ἦν τοῦ θρίαμβου Γελίμερ τε αὐτός, ἐσθῆτά πού τινα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀμπεχόμενος πορφυρᾶν, καὶ τὸ ζυγγενὲς ἅπαν, Βανδύλων τε ὅσοι εὐμήκεις τε ἄγαν καὶ καλοὶ τὰ σώματα ἦσαν. [11] ὥς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ Γελίμερ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν τε βασιλέα ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον τόν τε δῆμον ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐστῶτα εἶδε καὶ αὐτὸν οὗ ἦν κακοῦ περισκοπῶν ἔγνω, οὔτε ἀπέκλασεν οὔτε ἀνῶμωξεν, ἐπιλέγων δὲ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γραφὴν 'Ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα

ματαιότης.’ [12] ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ βασιλέως βῆμα τὴν πορφυρίδα περιελόντες, πρηνῇ πεσόντ’ προσκυνεῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα κατηνάγκασαν τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ἐποίει ἅτε ἱκέτης βασιλέως σὺν αὐτῷ γεγονώς. [13] βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τοὺς Ἰλδερίχου παῖδας τε καὶ ἐγγόνους πάντας τε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαλεντινιανοῦ βασιλείας συγγενείας χρήμασιν ἱκανοῖς ἐδώρησαντο, καὶ Γελίμερι χωρία οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητα ἐν Γαλατία δόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν συνεχώρησαν. [14] ἔ πατρικίους μέντοι ἀνάγραφτος Γελίμερ ἤκιστ’ ἐγγέγονει, ἐπεὶ οὐ μετατίθεσθαι τῆς Ἀρείου δόξῃ ἤθελεν. [15] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ καὶ ὁ θρίαμβος κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ξυνετελέσθη. ἔ ὑπάτους γὰρ προελθόντι οἱ ξυνέπεσε φέρεσθ’ τε πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἐν τῷ δόφρῳ ὄχου μένῳ τῷ δῆμῳ ῥιπτεῖν αὐτὰ δὴ ἐκεῖνα τῷ Βανδύλων πολέμου τὰ λάφυρα. [16] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄργυρώματα καὶ ζώνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἄλλ’ πλούτου Βανδυλικοῦ πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου ὑπατείας ὁ δῆμος ἥρπασε, καὶ τ’ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ χρόνῳ ἔδοξε ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔσχε.

Σολόμων δὲ τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ παραλαβὼν στράτευμα, ἐπηρμένων μὲν, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῷ Μαυρουσίῳ, ἡωρημένων δὲ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ἢ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι. [2] τοὺς τ’ γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐν Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ ὁ βάρβαροι ἀνηρκεῖναι καὶ πάντα ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν τὰ ἐκείνη ἠγγέλλοντο. [3] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα πᾶσαν συνετάραξε τὰ ἔ Αἰγὰν τε τὸν Μασσαγέτην καὶ Ρουφῖνον τὸν Θράκα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ξυνενεχθέντα. [4] ἄμφω γὰρ λογίμῳ ἐς ἄγαν ἔν τε τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ ἦσθιν καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματι, ἄτερος μὲν αὐτοῖν Αἰγὰν ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις ταττόμενος ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἅτε ἀπάντων εὐψυχότατος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν εἰωθὼς φέρειν, ὃν δὴ βανδοφόρον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [5] τότε γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρῳ ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἠγουμένῳ ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους εἶδον τὰ τε ἐν ποσὶ ληιζομένους καὶ Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιησαμένους, τηρήσαντες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς σφίσιν ἐπομένους τοὺς τὴν λείαν παραπέμποντας, αὐτούς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφαιροῦνται πάντας. [6] ὡς δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦκε, Κουτζίναν τε καὶ Ἑσδιλάσαν καὶ Ἰουρφούθην καὶ Μεδισινίσσαν, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης δὴ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἀπέχοντας, χωροῦσιν ἐπ’ αὐτούς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περὶ δεῖλιν ὀνίαν. [7] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, κομιδῇ τε ὀλίγοι ὄντες καὶ ἐν χώρῳ στενῷ ἐς μέσον μυριάδων πολλῶν ἀπειλημμένο ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν. ἐνθ’ γὰρ ἂν τραπείεν, αἰεὶ κατὰ νώτου ἐβάλλοντό [8] τότε δὴ Ρουφῖνός τε καὶ Αἰγὰν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ ἐς πέτραι ἐγγὺς που οὔσαν ἀναδραμόντες ἐνθὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύνοντο. [9] ἔως μὲν οὖν τῷ τόξῳ ἐχρῶντο, οὐκ ἐτόλμων σφίσιν ἐκ το εὐθέως εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλὰ τὰ αἰχμὰς ἐσηκόντιζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ βέλη ἅπαντ σφᾶς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι αὐτῷ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκ τῷ παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. [10] τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζομένου, Αἰγὰν μὲν κρεουργηθεὶς τ’ σῶμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσε, Ρουφῖνον δὲ ἔ πολέμοι ἀρπάσαντες ἤγον. [11] αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν ἀρ’ χόντων εἰς Μεδισινίσσας, δείσας μὴ διαφυγῶν πράγματα σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχοι, τῆς τε

κεφαλῇ αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ταύτην ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε, μεγέθους τε ὑπὲρ βολῇ καὶ τριχῶν πλήθει ἀξιοθέατον οὖσαν [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος ἐνταῦθ' ἤγαγεν, ἐπάναγκες εἰπεῖν ἄνωθεν ὅθεν τε τῇ Μαυρουσίῳ ἔθνη ἐς Λιβύην ἦλθον καὶ ὅπως ἐνταῦθα ὤκησαντο. [13] Ἐπειδὴ Ἑβραῖοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνεχώρησα καὶ ἄγχι τῶν Παλαιστίνης ὁρίων ἐγένοντο Μωσῆς μὲν σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς αὐτοῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγήσατο. θνήσκει, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ παῖς, ὃς ἐξ τε τὴν Παλαιστίνην τὸν λεῶν τοῦτον εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐκ τῷ πολέμῳ κρείττω ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν χώραν ἔσχε. [14] καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντα καταστρεψάμενος τὰς πόλεις εὐπετῶ παρεστήσατο, ἀνίκητός τε παντάπασιν ἔδοξε εἶναι. [15] τότε δὲ ἡ ἐπιθαλασσία χώρα ἐκ Σιδῶνος μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων Φοινίκη ξύμπας ὠνομάζετο. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ εἷς τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτὴν ἐφειστήκει, ὥσπερ ἅπασιν ὁμολογεῖται οἱ Φοινίκων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα ἀνεγράψαντο. [17] ἐνταῦθ' ὤκνητο ἔθνη πολυανθρωπώτατα, Γεργεσαῖοι τῇ καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖοι καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ὀνόματα ἔχοντάς οἱς δὴ αὐτὰ ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἱστορία καλεῖ. [18] οὗτο ὁ λεῶς ἐπεὶ ἄμαχόν τι χρῆμα τὸν ἐπηλύτην στρατηγὸν εἶδον, ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξανα στάντες ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁμόρου οὐσης ἐχώρησαν [19] ἔνθα χώρον οὐδένα ἱκανὸν σφίσιν ἐνοικήσασθα εὐρόντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυανθρωπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἐς Λιβύην ἐστάλησαν. [20] πόλεις τῇ οἰκήσαντες πολλὰς ξύμπασαν Λιβύην μέχρι τῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἔσχον, ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῳ φωνῇ χρώμενοι ὤκνηται. [21] ἐδείμαντ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ, οὗ νῦν πόλις Τίγισι ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται. [22] ἔνθα στῆλαι δύο ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν πεποιημέναι ἄγχι κρήνης εἰσὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ, γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολλημέν' ἔχουσαι τῇ Φοινίκῳ γλῶσση λέγοντα ὧδε Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ [23] τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ.' ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἔθνη ἐν Λιβύῃ πρότερον ὤκημένα, οἱ διὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσθαι αὐτόχθονες εἶνα ἐλέγοντο. [24] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀνταῖον, τὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα, ὃς ἐν Κλιπέᾳ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπάλαισε, τῇ γῆς υἱὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι. [25] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Διδουὺς ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνέστησαν ἅτε πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ὤκημένους ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνα κτίσαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἐθελούσιοι συνεχώρησαν. [26] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἢ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμις μεγάλῃ ἐγένετο καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. [27] μάχης τε σφίς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, οἱ πρότεροι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ νῦν Μαυρούσιοι καλοῦνται, ἐκράτησάν τε αὐτῶν ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω οἰκεῖν Καρχηδόνας ἠνάγκασαν. [28] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντων καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι Μαυρουσίους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ οἰκουμένης χώρας ἰδρῦσαντο, Καρχηδονίους δὲ καὶ Λίβυας τοὺς ἄλλους κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐποιήσαντο. [29] ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι πολλὰς κατὰ Βανδύλων νίκας ἀνελόμενοι Μαυριτανίαν τε τὴν νῦν καλουμένην ἐκ Γαδείρων μέχρι τῶν Καισαρείας ὁρίων τείνουσαν καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἄλλης τὰ πλεῖστα ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν δὲ τῆς Μαυρουσίῳ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνοικήσεως αὕτη πη ἔσχε.

Σολόμων δὲ τὰ ἐς Ῥουφῖνον καὶ Αἰγὰν ξυνενεχθέντα ἀκούσας τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντας ἔγραψε

τάδε: [2] “Ἦδη μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων τισὶν ἀπονενοῆσθαι τε καὶ ἀπολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, οἳ οὐδενὶ πρότερον τεκμηριῶσαι ἔσχον ὅτη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ἐκβήσεται. [3] ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῶν συνοίκων ὑμῖν Βανδύλων ἐστὶ, τί ποτε ἄρα παθόντες χεῖράς τε ἀνταίρειν ἔγνωτε βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν προέσθαι, [4] καὶ ταῦτα ὄρκους τε τοὺς δεινотάτους ἐν γράμμασι δόντες καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἐνέχυρα παρασχόμενοι; [5] ἢ ἐπίδειξιν τινα ἐγνώκατε ποιῆσθαι, ὥς ὑμῖν οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε πίστεως οὔτε τῆς συγγενείας αὐτῆς οὔτε τῆς σωτηρίας οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἐστὶ τις λόγος; [6] καίτοι, εἰ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν οὕτως ἥσκηται, τίνι ξυμμάχῳ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα χωρεῖτε; [7] εἰ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπολοῦντες στρατεύεσθε, τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύειν βεβούλησθε; [8] ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἤδη τις εἰσῆλθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν φθασάντων μετὰ μέλος, γράνατε ὅπως ὑμῖν εὖ τὰ πεπραγμένα θησόμεθα: εἰ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑμῖν οὐπω λελώφηκε, δέξασθε Ῥωμαϊκὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ὄρκων οἷς ἐλωβήσασθε καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικίας ὑμῖν προσίοντα.” [9] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Σολόμων ἔγραψεν. οἱ δὲ Μαυρουῖοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὧδε: ‘Βελισάριος μὲν ἐπαγγελίας μεγάλαις ἡμᾶς περιελθὼν ἔπεισε βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατηκόους εἶναι: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν οὐδενὸς μεταδόντες λιμῷ πιεζομένους ἡξίουں φίλους τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ξυμμάχους ἔχειν. [10] ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ Μαυρουσίοις τὸ μὴ πιστοῖς καλεῖσθαι προσήκει. [11] λύουσι γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐχ ὅσοι ἀδικούμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τῶν πέλας κατηγοροῦντες ἀφίστανται, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι ὑποσπόνδους ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντές τινας εἶτα βιάζονται. [12] καὶ τὸν θεὸν πολέμιον σφίσι ποιοῦνται οὐχ οἱ ἂν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν κομιούμενοι ἐφ’ ἐτέρους χωροῖεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιβατεύοντες ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται. [13] παίδων μέντοι ἔνεκεν ὑμῖν μελήσει, οἷς μίαν ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα ἀνάγκη: ἡμᾶς γάρ, οἷς καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, συνοικοῦσι γυναῖκες, παίδων οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιλίποι γονή.’ [14] Ταῦτα ἀναλεξαμένην Σολόμωνι τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐπάγειν ἔδοξε. διαθέμενός τε τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πράγματα, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἦει. [15] γενόμενος δὲ ἐς Μάμμης τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τέτταρες τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, χαράκῳ ἐποιήσατο. [16] ὄρη δὲ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλὰ καὶ χωρίον ὁμαλὲς περὶ τὸν πρόποδα τῶν ὄρων, ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι παρασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν παράταξιν ὧδε. [17] κύκλον ἐκ τῶν καμήλων ταξάμενοι, ὅπερ καὶ τὸν Καβάωνα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰργάσθαι ἐρρήθη, κατὰ δυοκαίδεκα μάλιστα τοῦ μετώπου βάθος ἐποιοῦν. [18] καὶ γυναῖκας μὲν ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ κατέθεντο τοῦ κύκλου ἐντός: ‘τοῖς γὰρ Μαυρουσίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ὀλίγας ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἐς παράταξιν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμος, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς χαρακώματά τε καὶ καλύβας ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἵπποκομοῦσιν ἐμπείρως, καὶ τῶν τε καμήλων τῆς τε τροφῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται: [19] καὶ θήγουσαι τὰ τῶν ὄπλων σιδήρια πολλοὺς σφίσι παραιροῦνται τῶν ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι πόνων.’ αὐτοὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐς μέσους τῶν καμήλων τοὺς πόδας ἴσταντο, ἀσπίδας τε καὶ ξίφη ἔχοντες καὶ δοράτια, οἷς ἀκοντίζειν εἰώθασιν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡσύχαζον. [20] Σολόμων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ

Μαυρουσίων κύκλου ὁ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐτύγγανεν ὃν ἀφῆκεν, οὐδένα ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος. [21] ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ κατιόντες τε οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει πολέμιοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἀμφιβόλους ἐν τῇ παρατάξει τοὺς ἐκείνη ταπτομένους ποιήσωνται. [22] ἐς δὲ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ λειπόμενον ὅλον ἀντιτάξας τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶδε πεφοβημένους τε καὶ ἀθαρσοῦντας, διὰ τὰ ἐς Αἰγάν τε καὶ Ῥουφῖνον ξυνενεχθέντα, βουλόμενος ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἔλεξε τάδε: [23] Ἄνδρες οἱ Βελισαρίῳ ξυστρατευσάμενοι, μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε φόβος εἰσίστω, μηδέ, εἰ Μαυρούσιοι κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε συνειλεγμένοι Ῥωμαίων ἤδη πεντακοσίων ἐκράτησαν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐν παραδείγματος μοίρᾳ γινέσθω. [24] ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς Βανδῖλοι μὲν Μαυρουσίων ἐκράτουν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Βανδῖλῶν ἀκονιτὶ κύριοι τῷ πολέμῳ γεγέννησθε, καὶ ὡς τοὺς τῶν μειζόνων κεκρατηκότας περὶ τῶν καταδεεστέρων πεφοβῆσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. [25] καίτοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς ἀγῶνα πολέμου φαυλότατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ Μαυρουσίων ἔθνος. [26] γυμνοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ πλείστοί εἰσι καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀσπίδας ἔχουσι, βραχείας τε ταύτας καὶ οὐκ εὖ πεποιημένας οὐδὲ ἀπωθεῖσθαι τὰ προσιόντα δυναμένας προβέβληνται. [27] καὶ τὰ δύο ταῦτα δοράτια ἀπορρίψαντες, ἦν μὴ τι δράσωσιν, [28] αὐτόματοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ὥστε πάρεστιν ὑμῖν τὴν πρώτην φυλαξαμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν ἀνελέσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. [29] τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας ὀπλίσεως ἡλικίον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐστὶν ὁρᾶτε δήπου. [30] καὶ τούτων ἔξω, ψυχῶν μὲν ἀρετὴ καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκὴ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἤδη νενικηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑμῖν πρόσεστιν: οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι τούτων ἀπάντων ἐστερημένοι μόνῳ τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὁμίλῳ πιστεύουσι. [31] ῥᾶον δὲ ὀλίγοι ὡς ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένοι πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγαθῶν τὰ πολέμια νικῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡσῶνται. [32] τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ στρατιώτῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ πάρεστι, τῷ δὲ ἀνάνδρῳ τὸ τῶν συντεταγμένων πλῆθος ἐς ἐπισφαλῇ στενοχωρίαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. [33] καὶ μὴν καὶ καμῆλων τῶνδε ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον, αἱ οὔτε ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολεμίῳις οἷά τί εἰσι καὶ πληγεῖσαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μείζονος ταραχῆς τε καὶ ἀταξίας αἵται τούτοις γενήσονται. [34] καὶ τὸ προπετὲς ὃ διὰ τὸ πρότερον εὐημερῆσαι οἱ πολέμιοι κέκτηνται, ὑμῖν συναγωνιεῖσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [35] τόλμα γὰρ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει ξυμμετρομένη τάχα τι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους ὀνήσει, [36] ὑπεραίρουσα δὲ ταύτην ἐς κίνδυνον ἄγει. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονοῦντες σιγὴν τε καὶ κόσμον ἀσκεῖτε: τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελούμενοι ῥᾶν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκοσμίας κρατήσομεν.' ταῦτα μὲν Σολόμων εἶπεν. [37] Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν εἶδον, βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν αὐθις ἀντικαθιστάναι τοιάδε παρεκελεύσαντο: [38] Ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπεια Ῥωμαῖοι σώματα ἔχουσι καὶ οἷα σιδήρῳ πλησσόμεν' εἴκειν μεμαθήκαμεν, ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, οἷς αὐτῶν ἔναγχος τοὺς πάντων ἀρίστους πῇ μὲν καταχωσθέντας τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐκτεínaμεν, πῇ δὲ ἀρπάσαντες δορυαλώτους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πεποιήμεθα. [39] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὡς καὶ

νῦν αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ προέχειν αὐχοῦμεν ὁρᾶν πάρεσσι. [40] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἢ Λιβύης πάσης κυρίοις εἶναι, [41] ἢ τοῖς ἀλαζόσι τοῖσδε δουλεύειν. ὥστε ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ὡς μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνος, μὴ οὐχὶ εὐψυχοτάτοις εἶναι ἀξύμφορον. [42] τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀπλίσεως ὑπερφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς προσήκει. ἦν τε γὰρ πεζῇ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴωσιν, οὐκ εὐσταλεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἡσηθήσονται τοῦ Μαυρουσίων τάχους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ἢ τε τῶν καμήλων ὅψις ἐκπλήξασα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τοῦ πολέμου θόρυβον ἢ τούτων κραυγὴ ὑπερηχοῦσα εἰς ἀταξίαν, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσεται. [43] καὶ τὴν ἐς Βανδύλους νίκην εἴ τις ἐκλογιζόμενος μὴ ἀνταγωνίστους αὐτοὺς οἶεται εἶναι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει. [44] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἀρετῇ ἢ τύχῃ κρίνεσθαι πέφυκε· Βελισάριον δέ, ὃς τῆς Βανδύλων ἐπικρατήσεως αἴτιος γέγονεν, ἐκποδὼν νῦν ἡμῖν ἐστηκέναι πεποίηκε τὸ δαιμόνιον. [45] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡμεῖς Βανδύλους πολλάκις νενικηκότες περιελόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἐτοιμότερόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήμεθα κράτος. [46] καὶ νῦν δὲ πολεμίων τῶνδε κρατήσιν, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνδραγαθίζησθε, ἐλπίδα ἔχομεν.' [47] Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες παρακελευσάμενοι τῆς ζυμβολῆς ἤρχον. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολλὴ ἀκοσμία ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐγγέγονε. [48] οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε κραυγῇ καὶ τῇ ὄψει τῶν καμήλων ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαιτίζοντό τε καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔφευγον. [49] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιοῦμενοι οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια ὅσα σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἦν ἀκοντίζοντες, θορύβου τε αὐτῶν ἐμπίπλασθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐποίουν καὶ οὕτε ἀμυνομένους οὕτε ἐν τάξει μένοντας ἔπλησσαν. [50] ὕστερον δὲ Σολόμων, κατιδὼν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ἀποθρόσκει πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει. [51] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέβησαν, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐνετέλλετο ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβαλλομένοις δεχομένοις τε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πεμπόμενα ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν· αὐτὸς δὲ στρατιώτας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν τοῦ κύκλου ἐπέσκηψε μοῖραν. [52] οὕς δὴ τὰ ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἐκέλευε τὰς καμήλους αἱ ταύτη εἰστήκεσαν κτείνειν. [53] τότε Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὅσοι ἐκείνῃ ἐτετάχατο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ Σολόμωνι κτείνουσι καμήλους ἀμφὶ διακοσίας, αὐτίκα τε ὁ κύκλος, ἐπεὶ αἱ κάμηλοι ἔπεσον, [54] ἐσβατὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου μέσον ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα αἱ Μαυρουσίων γυναῖκες ἐκάθηντο· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ἦν ἀποχωροῦσι, φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν πάσῃ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐπισπόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτεινον. [55] καὶ λέγονται Μαυρουσίων μύριοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀποθανεῖν· γυναῖκές τε πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἐν ἀνδραπύδων λόγῳ ἐγένοντο. [56] καὶ καμήλους οἱ στρατιῶται πάσας, ὅσας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, ἐλήισαντο. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦσαν, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐορτὴν ἄζοντες.

οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρώμενοι θυμῷ πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους αὖθις, οὐδένα σφῶν ἀπολιπόντες, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ καταθεῖν τὰ ἐν Βυζακίῳ χωρία ἤρξαντο, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας τῶν σφίσι παραπιπτόντων φειδόμενοι. [2] ἄρτι τε Σολόμωνι

ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐληλακότι βάρβαροι πλήθει μεγάλῳ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἐηλυθέναι
καὶ ληϊζεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη ἡγγέλλοντο. ἄρας οὖν κατὰ τάχος παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [3] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Βουργάωνι, ἔνθα οἱ πολέμιοι
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἀντεκάθητο, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἐν
τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γένωνται οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἄρχοι. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐκείνοι ἐν
τῷ ὄρει ἔμενον, διεῖπέ τε ὥς ἐς μάχην καὶ διεκόσμηι τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ
Μαυρούσιοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδῖον ἦκιστα Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς μάχην ἰέναι
διεννοοῦντο ἥδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅμαχόν τι δέος ἐσθῆι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἡλιζον ῥᾶον
αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. [5] ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βουργάων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
μὲν ἀπότομον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον δεινῶς ἄβατον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
ἐσπέραν εὐεφοδόν τε καὶ ὑπτίως ἔχον. [6] καὶ σκοπέλῳ ὑψηλῷ δύο ἀνέχετον
νάπην τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν ἐργαζομένῳ, στενὴν μὲν κοιμίδι, ἐς βάθος δέ τι
ἄφατον κατατείνουσιν. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους ἀπέλιπον
ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, οὐδὲν ἐνθένδε πολέμιον οἰόμενοι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι: ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἀμφὶ τὸν πρόποδα χώρον ἔλιπον οὗ δὴ εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Βουργάων ἦν. [8]
κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ὅπως, ἦν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς
ἀνιόντες μάχης ἄρξωσιν, αὐτοὶ ἡδη ὑπερθεὶν ἐκείνων γενόμενοι κατὰ κορυφὴν
βάλλωσιν. [9] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἵπποι πολλοὶ ἢ ἐς φυγὴν
παρεσκευασμένοι, ἢ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἦν τῆς μάχης κρατήσωσι. [10] Σολόμων δέ,
ἐπεὶ εἶδε τοὺς Μαυρουσίους οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐθέλοντας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ
ἅμα τῇ προσεδρεῖα τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ἦχθετο, ἐς
χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐν Βουργάωνι ἡπείγετο. [11] ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς
στρατιώτας καταπεπληγμένους τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμίλῳ πολυπλασίῳ ἢ ἐν τῇ
προτέρᾳ μάχῃ γεγεννημένῳ, ξυγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [12] 'Τὸ μὲν
δέος ᾧ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι χρῶνται, οὐχ ἑτέρου τοῦ κατηγόρου δεῖται, ἀλλ'
αὐτεπάγγελτον ἐξελήλεγται τὴν οἴκοθεν ἐπαγόμενον μαρτυρίαν [13] ὁρᾶτε
γὰρ δὴ πού τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς τόσας μὲν καὶ τόσας μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους,
οὐ τολμῶντας δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καταβαίνοντας ξυμβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ πιστεύειν
ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου δυσκολίαν
καταφυγόντας. [14] ὥστε ὑμῖν οὐδέ τι ἐγκελεύεσθαι ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι
ἐπάνανγκες. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν πολέμιων ἀσθένεια τὸ θαρσεῖν
δίδωσιν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφελείας προσδεῖ. [15] τοσοῦτον δὲ
ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς δεήσῃ ὥς, ἦν μετὰ εὐψυχίας καὶ τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν
διενέγκωμεν, λελείπεται ἡμῖν, Βανδύλων τε νενικημένων καὶ Μαυρουσίῳν εἰς
ταῦτ' οὐχί τύχης ἐληλακότων, τῶν Λιβύης ἀγαθῶν ἀπόνασθαι πάντων, οὐδὲν ὃ τι
καὶ πολέμιον ἐννοεῖν ἔχουσιν [16] ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι
βάλλωσι, μηδέ τι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἡμῖν γίνοιτο βλάβος, ἐγὼ προνοήσω.' [17]
Τοσαῦτα παρακελεύσάμενος Σολόμων, Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευεν, ὃς τῶν
ἐξκουβιτῶρων ἡγεῖτ'· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς φύλακας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, πεζοὺς
χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενον ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ὄψιαν ἔχοντά τε καὶ τῶν σημείων τινὰ ἐς
τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τοῦ Βουργάωνος λάθρα ἀναβῆναι, οὗ μάλιστα
δύσοδόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀπόρευτον ἦν, ἐπιστείλας ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν
ἄγχι ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους κολωνὸν ἴκωνται, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζοντας τὸ λοιπὸν
διανυκτερεύειν, ἅμα τε ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι καθύπερθε φαινομένους τῶν

πολεμίων καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐνδεικνυμένους βάλλειν. [18] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπεὶ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἐγγὺς τοῦ σκοπέλου ἀφικόμενοι μὴ ὅτι Μαυρουσίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔλαθον: [19] ἐς προφυλακὴν γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ἴοι. ὄρθρου δὲ βαθέος Σολόμων παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τοῦ Βουργάωνος τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἀνέβαινε. [20] καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτ' ἐγεγόνει ἐγγὺς τε οἱ πολέμιοι καθεωρῶντο, οὐκέτι γυμνὴν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολὴν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ σημεῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐνδεικνυμένων ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ὑπέφαινε τι ἡμέρας' διηποροῦντο. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἦρχον, οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ στράτευμα οἰκεῖον εἶναι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολέμιων γεγενῆσθαι ἠσθάνοντο, βαλλόμενοι δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ οὐ παρὸν σφίσι τοὺς πολέμιους ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, ἐς φυγὴν δὲ αὐτίκα ζύμπαντες ὥρμητο. [22] οὔτε δὲ ἐς τοῦ Βουργάωνος τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ἔχοντες, πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων κατεχομένην, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς διὰ τοῦ πρόποδός πη ἰέναι, ἐνθένδε σφίσιν ἐπικειμένων τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐς τε τὴν νάπην καὶ ἐς τῶν σκοπέλων τὸν ἕτερον δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἵπποις, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ. [23] ἅτε δὲ ὁμιλος πολὺς ἐν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ φεύγοντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ ἐς τὴν νάπην βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ οὔσαν ἐσπίπτοντες ἀεὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔθνησκον, τοῖς μέντοι ὀπισθεν ἰοῦσιν οὐ παρείχοντο τοῦ κακοῦ αἴσθησιν. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡ νάπη ἔμπλεως γενομένη διάβασιν ἐκ τοῦ Βουργάωνος ἐς ὄρος ἐποίει τὸ ἕτερον, ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὑπολειπόμενοι, διὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενοι. [25] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ Μαυρουσίων μὲν μυριάδες πέντε, ὡς αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίζοντο οἱ περιόντες, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πληγὴν τινα ἔλαβεν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἢ τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης τινός, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνεῖς πάντες τῆς νίκης ἀπώναντο ταύτης. [26] διέφυγον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγούμενοι πάντες, πλην γε δὴ ὅτι Ἑσδιλάσας πίστεις λαβὼν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρισε. [27] γυναικῶν μέντοι καὶ παίδων λείαν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος Ῥωμαῖοι εἶλον ὥστε προβάτου τιμῆς παῖδα Μαυρουσίον τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ἀπέδοντο. [28] καὶ τότε Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων τὸ λόγιον ἐσῆει, ὡς ἄρα τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγενεῖου ὀλεῖται. [29] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ζύν τε τῇ λείᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἑσδιλάσᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαννον τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοις μὴ ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, ἐν Βυζακίῳ μὲν ἰδρῦσθαι ἀδύνατα ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς Λιβύων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων βιάζωνται, ζύν δὲ ἄρχουσι τοῖς σφετέροις εἰς Νουμιδίαν ἀφικόμενοι ἰκέται γίνονται Ἰαῦδα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχε. [30] μόνον δὲ Μαυρουσίων ἐν Βυζακίῳ διέμειναν ὧν ἠγεῖτο Ἀντάλας, ὃς δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάξας κακῶν ἀπαθῆς ζύν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰαύδας ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχε, πλεόν ἢ τρισμυρίους ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐπαγόμενος ἐλίζετο τὰ ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας χωρία, ἠνδραποδίζε τε τῶν Λιβύων πολλούς. [2]

ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀλθίας ἐν Κεντουρίαις τῶν ἐκείνη φρουρίων φυλακὴν ἔχων· ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ζὺν Οὐννοῖς τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐπομένοις, ἐβδομήκοντα μάλιστα οὖσιν, ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένετο. [3] λογισάμενός τε ὡς οὐχ οἷός τέ ἐστι πλήθει Μαυρουσίων τοσοῦτω ζὺν ἀνδράσιν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν τινα ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἂν δι' αὐτῆς ὁδῷ ἰόντων τῶν πολέμιων τῶν τινὰς αἰχμαλώτων ἀναρπάσαι δυνατὸς εἴη. [4] καὶ 'οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοιαύτη τις ἐνταῦθα ὁδός, ἐπεὶ πεδία ὑπτία πανταχῇ τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων ἐστὶν ἐπενόει τάδε. [5] Πόλις ἐστὶ που πλησίον Τίγισις ὄνομα, τότε μὲν ἀτείχιστος οὖσα, κρήνην δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔχουσα. [6] ταύτην Ἀλθίας τὴν κρήνην καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, λογισάμενος ὡς δίψῃ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα πάντως ἀφίζονται οἱ πολέμιοι· ἄλλο γὰρ ὕδωρ ἄγχιστά πη ὡς ἥκιστα ἐστὶ. [7] πᾶσι μὲν οὖν τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐκλογιζομένοις παράλογον ἔδοξε μανιώδης αὐτοῦ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι. [8] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πνίγει μεγάλῳ θέρους ὥρᾳ ὠμιληκότες, δίψῃ τε, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστη ἐχόμενοι, παρὰ τὴν κρήνην δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦλθον, οὐδὲν ἐναντίωμα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. [9] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐχόμενον εὗρον, ἀπορούμενοι ζύμπαντες ἔστησαν, τοῦ πλείστου τῆς ἰσχύος ἤδη δαπανηθέντος σφίσι τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [10] διὸ δὴ Ἰαύδας τῷ Ἀλθίᾳ εἰς λόγους ἦκων τὸ τριτημόριόν οἱ δώσειν ὠμολόγει τῆς λείας, ἐφ' ᾗ δὴ Μαυρούσιοι πῶσιν ἅπαντες. [11] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἐνδέχεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, μονομαχεῖν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἠξίου. [12] τοῦ δὲ Ἰαύδα ταύτην δὴ δεξαμένου τὴν πρόκλησιν, ξυνέκειτο ἡσσηθέντος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, τοῦ Ἀλθία Μαυρουσίους πιεῖν. [13] ἔχαιρέ τε ἅπας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατός, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες, ἐπεὶ Ἀλθίας μὲν ἰσχνός τε ἦν καὶ οὐ μέγας τὸ σῶμα, Ἰαύδας δὲ κάλλιστός τε ἦν καὶ μαχιμώτατος Μαυρουσίων ἀπάντων. [14] ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. ὁ δὲ Ἰαύδας τὸ δοράτιον ἠκόντισε πρῶτος, οὐπὲρ Ἀλθίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντος χειρὶ λαβέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ δόξαν ἰσχύσας Ἰαύδαν τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε. [15] τῇ δὲ λαιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ ἀμφιδέξιός ἦν, τὸν Ἰαύδα ἵππον βαλὼν ἔκτεινε. [16] πεσόντος τε αὐτοῦ ἵππον ἕτερον τῷ ἄρχοντι Μαυρούσιοι ἤγον, ἐφ' ὃν ἀναθορῶν Ἰαύδας εὐθὺς ἔφυγε· καὶ οἱ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς εἶπετο. [17] ὃ τε Ἀλθίας τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφελόμενος ζύμπασαν ὄνομα μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Λιβύην ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [18] Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὀλίγον τινὰ διατρίψας χρόνον, ἐπὶ τε ὅρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ Ἰαύδαν ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπενεγκὼν αὐτῷ ὅτι, ἡνίκα ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς τὴν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἀσχολίαν εἶχε, πολλὰ ἐλήμισατο τῶν ἐν Νουμιδία χωρίων. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [19] ὥρμων δὲ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰαύδαν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἕτεροι, Μασσωνᾶς τε καὶ Ὀρταῖας, τῆς σφετέρας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα· Μασσωνᾶς μὲν, ὅτι οἱ τὸν πατέρα Μεφανίαν κηδεστὴς ὢν Ἰαύδας δόλῳ ἔκτεινεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ὅτι ζὺν τῷ Μαστίνα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μαυριτανίᾳ Βαρβάρων ἡγεῖτο, ἐξελάσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους ὧν ἦρχεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐβούλευσεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκηντο. [20] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Σολόμωνος, καὶ Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἦλθον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐς ποταμὸν Ἀβίγαν, ὃς τὸ

Αὐράσιον παραρρέων ἀρδεύει τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [21] τῷ δὲ Ἰαύδᾳ ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδῖον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀξύμορον εἶναι ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν Αὐρασίῳ ἐξηρτύετο ὅπη οἱ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὡς δυσκολώτατα ἔσεσθαι. [22] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἡμερῶν μὲν ὁδῷ δέκα καὶ τριῶν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνος διέχει, μέγιστον δὲ ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [23] ἡμερῶν γὰρ τριῶν ἐνταῦθα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ περίοδος ἐστὶ. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ ἰέναι βουλομένῳ δύσοδόν τέ ἐστὶ καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον, ἄνω δὲ ἦκοντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γενομένῳ πεδία τε φαίνεται καὶ κρῆναι πολλὰ ποταμούς τε ποιοῦσαι καὶ παραδείσων πολὺ τι χρῆμα θαυμάσιον οἶον. [24] καὶ ὁ τε σῖτος ὃς ἐνταῦθα φύεται ἢ τε ὀπώρα ἐκάστη διπλασία τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν ἢ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀπάσῃ Λιβύῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. [25] ἔστι δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἐνταῦθα πῇ ἀπημελημένα, τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ταύτῃ ὤκημένοις εἶναι. [26] ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ τὸ Αὐράσιον Μαυρούσιοι Βανδύλους ἀφείλοντο, οὐδεὶς πῶ ἐς αὐτὸ πολέμιος ἦλθεν οὐδὲ ἐς δέος τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν Ταμούγαδιν, ἢ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον πολυάνθρωπος οὔσα ὤκητο, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ποιησάμενοι ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὅπως μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἢ δυνατὰ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἰέναι. [27] εἶχον δὲ οἱ ταύτῃ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Αὐρασίου χώραν, [28] πολλήν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὔσαν. καὶ τούτων ἐπέκεινα Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἕτερα ὤκνητο, ὧν ἦρχεν Ὀρταΐας, ὃς Σολόμωνι τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, [29] ὡς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ξύμμαχος ἦλθε. τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ λέγοντος ἤκουσα ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν χώραν ἣς αὐτὸς ἄρχοι, οὐδένες ἀνθρώπων οἰκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ γῆ ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει, ταύτης τε ἐπέκεινα ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσιν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μελανόχροι, ἀλλὰ λευκοὶ τε λίαν τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πῃ ἔχει. [30] Σολόμων δὲ Μαυρουσίων τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους δωρησάμενος χρήμασι μεγάλοις καὶ πολλὰ παρακελευσάμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ὡς ἐς μάχην διατεταγμένους ἀνέβαινεν, οἰόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνεσθαι, ὅπη ἂν ἡ βουλομένη τῇ τύχῃ. [31] οὐ γὰρ οὐκ οὐδὲ τροφάς, ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγας, σφίσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις τοῖς σφετέροις οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπήγοντο. [32] πορευθέντες δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ πολλῇ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους ηὔλisanτο. [33] τοσαύτην τε ὁδὸν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνύοντες ἑβδομαῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς χῶρον ἔνθα φρούριόν τε παλαιὸν ἦν καὶ ποταμός τις ἀένναος. Ὅρος Ἀσπίδος τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει καλοῦσι Λατῖνοι τὸν χῶρον. [34] ἐνταῦθα σφίσι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην παρασκευασάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἡμερῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα τριῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβη. [35] ὡς δὲ οἱ τε πολέμιοι τὸ παράπαν σφίσιν ἐκποδὼν ἴσταντο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, ἐνθύμιον Σολόμωνι τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἄρα τις πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς γίνοιτο: [36] οἱ γε, καίπερ οὐκ ἀμελετήτως τῆς ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πορείας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστάμενοί τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὅσα τοῖς πολεμίοις βεβουλευμένα ἐτύγγανεν, ἐς ἐκάστην μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν λάθρα ἐπειγόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἐς αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους

σταλέντες, οὐδὲν ἀγγεῖλαι ὑγῆς ἔγνωσαν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ προμαθόντες τροφάς τε σφίσιν ἐς χρόνον πλείω ἔχοντες ἐς ὅρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ἀναβαίνουιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευάσαιντο ὅπη ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. [37] ὅλως δὲ ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ξυμμάχων γεγενῆσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐς δέος ἦλθον, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἄπιστοι λέγονται εἶναι Μαυρούσιοι φύσει, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους στρατεύονται. [38] ὧν δὴ ἐνθυμηθέντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ λιμῶ πιεζόμενοι, ἐνθὲνδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωροῦσιν ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἀφικόμενοι χαράκωμα ἐποίησαντο. [39] Μετὰ δὲ Σολόμων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖράν τινα φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐν Νουμιδία καταστησάμενος ἄχειμων γὰρ ἦδη ἦν ζῶν τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦει. [40] ἐνθα δὴ ἕκαστα διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμη, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ πλείονι παρασκευῇ καί, ἣν δύνηται, ξυμμάχων Μαυρουσίων ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον αὐθις στρατεύοι. [41] ἅμα δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς τε καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐξηρτύετο οἱ ἐν Σαρδοὶ τῇ νήσῳ ἴδρυνται. [42] αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νῆσος μεγάλη μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως εὐδαίμων, ἐς τὰς δύο μάλιστα τῆς Σικελίας κατατείνουσα μοίρας ἡμερῶν γὰρ ὁδὸν εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τὸ τῆς γῆς περίμετρον ἔχει, Ῥώμης τε καὶ Καρχηδόνης ἐν μέσῳ κειμένη πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πιέζεται. [43] Βανδίλοι γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐς τούτους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀργῇ χρώμενοι ὀλίγους δὴ τινας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐς Σαρδῶ πέμπαντες ἐνταῦθα εἴρξαν. [44] χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος τὰ ὄρη καταλαμβάνουσιν ἡ Καρανάλεως ἐγγὺς ποῦ ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληστείας ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ποιούμενοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον ἐγένοντο ἢ τρισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐς τοῦμφανὲς καταθέοντες, λανθάνειν τε ἥκιστα ἀξιούντες ἅπαντα ἐλίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, Βαρβαρικῖνοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλούμενοι. [45] ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ὁ Σολόμων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χειμῶνι τὸν στόλον ἡτοίμαζε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλία κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τάδε γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Βελισάριος ἐπὶ Θεωδᾶτόν τε καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστέλλετο, καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ταύτην δὴ τὴν νῆσον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔσχεν. [2] ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθέν μοι λόγοις λελέξεται, ὅτε με ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄγει. [3] νῦν γάρ μοι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι ξύμπαντα ἀναγραφάμενον τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθέντα οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀμφὶ Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἰέναι. [4] Τὸν μὲν οὖν χειμῶνα τοῦτον Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις, Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι διέτριψε. [5] καὶ τέρας ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔτει ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι δεινότατον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀκτίνων χωρὶς τὴν αἴγλην, ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη, ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαντα ἠφαίει, ἐκλείποντί τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφείκει, τὴν ἀμαρυγὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ καθαρὰν οὐδὲ ἥπερ εἰώθει ποιούμενος. [6] ἐξ οὗ τε ξυμβῆναι τοῦτο τετύχηκεν, οὔτε πόλεμος οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐς θάνατον φέρον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέλιπε. χρόνος δὲ ἦν ὅτε δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχεν. [7] Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, ὅτε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἐορτὴν ἦγον ἣν δὴ Πασχαλίαν καλοῦσι, στρατιώταις στάσις ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνέπεσεν. ἡ ὅπως τε ἐφύη καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [8] Ἐπειδὴ Βανδίλοι ἡσσήθησαν τῇ μάχῃ, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται τὰς αὐτῶν παιδᾶς τε καὶ

γυναῖκας ἐν γαμετῶν ἐποιήσαντο λόγῳ. [9] ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνήγε τῶν χωρίων τῆς κτήσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι ὣν αὐτὴ πρότερον κυρία ἐτύγγανεν οὕσα, οὐχ ὅσιον λέγουσα εἶναι, εἰ Βανδύλοις μὲν ξυνοικοῦσαι τούτων ἀπάναντο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς νενικηκόσιν ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ τῶν σφίσιν ὑπαρχόντων στερήσονται. [10] ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες Σολόμωνι εἴκειν οὐκ ᾤοντο χρῆναι τὰ Βανδύλων χωρία ἔς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οἶκον ἐθέλοντι ἀναγράψασθαι, φάσκοντί τε ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς λάφυρα ἰέναι οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶναι, γῆν μὲντοι αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκειν, ἥπερ αὐτοῦ ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ στρατιώτας καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι πεποίηκεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τ' χωρία κεκτήσονται ὅσα ἂν βαρβάρους ἐπὶ βατεύοντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἀφείλιντο· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα ἰέναι, ὅθεν σφίς τε ξυμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τὰς σιτήσῃ κομίζεσθαι. [11] αὕτη μὲν τῆς στάσεως αἰτία ξυνέπεσε μία. καὶ ἐτέραν δὲ τινα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε, ἥ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἅπαντα ξυνταράξαι τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματ' ἴσχυσεν. [12] ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ τῇ Ἀρείου δόξης οὐχ ἦσσαν ἡ χιλίους στρατιώτ' εἶναι ξυνέπεσαν: ὧν δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ βάρβαροι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους. [13] τούτῳ δὴ οἱ τῶν Βανδύλων ἱερεῖς ἐς τὴν στάσιν τὸ μάλιστα ὥρμων. οὐ γὰρ σφίσιν ἦν δυνατὰ τ' θεῷ ἐξοσιοῦσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκέκλειντο καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀπάντων. [14] οὐ γὰρ εἴς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄνδρα Χριστιανὸν ὃ μεταλαχόντα δόξης ὀρθῆς ἡ βαπτίσματι ἡ ἄλλῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ χρῆσθαι. [15] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς, "Πασχαλία ἑορτὴ ξυνετάραξε, καθ' ἣν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐγίνοντο τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν παιδία τῷ θεῷ βαπτίζειν λουτρῷ, ἡ ἄλλο τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐξ ταύτης δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγον. [16] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὰ ταῦτα τῷ δαιμονίῳ διαφθεῖραι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντι, ξυνέπεσέ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοῖς τὴν στάσιν μελετῶσιν ἐφόδιον. [17] τοῦ γὰρ Βανδύλους, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκε, κατεστήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐς καταλόγους ἱππικοὺς πέντε, ὅπως ἐν πόλεσι ταῖς ἐφάις τὸν ἅπαντα ἰδρύσωνται χρόνον: οὓς καὶ Ἰουστινιανοὺς Βανδύλους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε ξὺν ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν ἕω κομίζεσθαι. [18] τούτων δὴ τῶν Βανδύλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς τὴν ἕω ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοὺς καταλόγους πληροῦντες ἐς οὓς διατετάχатаι. ἄχρι τοῦδε ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύονται: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λέσβῳ ἐγένοντο, κεκολωμένον σφίσι τῶν ιστίων τοὺς ναύτας βιασάμενοι Πελοποννήσῳ προσέσχον. [19] ἐνθένδε τε ἀπάραντες ἐς Λιβύην κατέπλευσαν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, οὗ δὴ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν ἀνέβησαν. [20] οἷς δὴ ἐπηρμένοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελεία ἡ στάσις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ξυνίσταντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. [21] καὶ λόγοι τε πολλοὶ περὶ τούτου καὶ ὅρκοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. ἐπειδὴ τε τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγειν ἔμελλον, ἀχθόμενοι τῇ κωλύμῃ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ σφόδρα ἐνέκειντο. [22] Ἐδοξέ τε αὐτῶν τοῖς κορυφαίοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μεγάλην καλοῦσι, [23] Σολόμωνα κτείνειν. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οὐδενὸς τοῦτο δὴ ἐξενεγκόντος τὸ βούλευμα. ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν τὰ δεινὰ βουλευομένων ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς δυσμενῆ οὐδένα ἐξέπιπτε,

ταύτη τε λανθάνειν ἐξίσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολόμωνος οἱ πολλοὶ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν στάσιν ξυνετετάχατο τῇ τῶν χωρίων ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [24] ἡμέρας δὲ ἤδη τῆς κυρίας παρουσίας Σολόμων μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκάθητο, μακρὰν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος κακῶν. [25] ἐσελθόντες δὲ οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον κτείνειν ἐδέδοκτο, νεύμασί τε ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευσάμενοι, τῶν ξιφῶν ἤπτοντο, ἔδρασαν μὲντ' οὐδέν, ἢ τὰ τελούμενα τηρικαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αἰσχυρόμενοι, ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δόξαν ἐρυθριῶντες, ἢ καὶ τι θεῖον αὐτοὺς διεκώλυσεν. [26] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤσκητο ἡδη καὶ οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο ἕκαστοι, ἀλλήλους ἡτιῶντο οἱ στασιῶται ἅτε μαλθακοὺς οὐκ ἐν δέοντι γεγενημένους, καὶ αὐθις ἀπετίθεντο ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τὸ βούλευμα. [27] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ διαγεγονότες ἄπρακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνεχώρησαν ἕς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδοροῦντο, αὐτὸς τε ἕκαστος μαλθακὸν τε τὸν πέλας καὶ τῆς ἐταιρίας διαλυτὴν ἀποκαλῶν τὴν ἐς Σολόμωνα αἰδῶ ὀνειδίζειν οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [28] διὸ δὴ οὐκέτι ἀκίνδυνον σφίσιν ὄντο ἔσσεσθαι τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβὴν ἅτε ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐξενεγκόντες τὸ βούλευμα. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι τὰ τε χωρία ἐλθίζοντο καὶ Λίβυσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμείναντες οὐ παρεῖχον αἴσθησιν ἧς εἶχον αὐτοὶ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἀγνοεῖν τὰ βεβουλευμένα προσεποιοῦντο. [30] Σολόμων δὲ ἀκούσας ὅσα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐς θόρυβόν τε πολλὸν ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκελευόμενος οὐκ ἀνέβη ἐς εὐνοίαν τὴν βασιλέως παρακαλῶν. [31] οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἐδόκουν, ἡμέρ' δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας ἐν βεβαίῳ τυραννεῖν ἤκουσαν, ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ξυλλεγόντες ἕς τε Σολόμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἀνέδην ὕβριζον. [32] ἔνθα δὴ πρὸς Σολόμωνος σταλεις Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ τι θασσεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρει, οὐδέν τι ἐπαῖοντας τῶν λεγομένων. [33] ἦν δέ τις Θεοδώρῳ τούτῳ δυσμένειά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποψία ἐς Σολόμωνα. [34] διὸ δὴ οἱ στασιῶται στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν σφίσιν αὐτίκα τῇ βοῇ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ σιδηροφοροῦντες καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον κατὰ τάχος ἦκον. [35] ἔνθα δὴ Θεόδωρον μὲν ἕτερον, ὃς τῶν φυλάκων ἡγεῖτο, κτείνουσιν, ἄνδρα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἦκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φόνου τούτου ἐγέυσαντο, ἅπαντα ἡδὴ τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἔκτεινον, εἴτε Λίβυν εἴτε Ῥωμαῖον, Σολόμωνι γνῶριμον εἴτε χρήματα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι ἀπεχώρησαν, ἀναβαίνοντες δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔνθα δὴ μὴ στρατιῶται ἡμύνοντο, ἅπαντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ἥρπαζον, ἄχρι νύξ τε ἐπιγενομένη καὶ μέθη τὸν πόνον διαδεξαμένη κατέπαυσε. [37] Σολόμων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐστὶ μέγα ἐν Παλατίῳ, καταφυγὼν ἔλαθεν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Μαρτίνος αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ὀψίαν ἦλθεν. [38] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται πάντες ἐκάθευδον, ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐς τὴν Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας οἰκίαν ἦλθον, ὃς αὐτοὺς δειπνήσαι τε οὐ τι προθυμouμένους ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν λιμένα διακομίσας ἐς λέμβον νεῶς δὴ τινος ἐσεκόμισεν, ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα Μαρτίνῳ παρεσκευασμένος ἐτύγγανεν. [39] εἶποντο δὲ Προκόπιός τε, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος οἰκίας ἄνδρες πέντε μάλιστα. [40] σταδίου τε

τριακοσίους ἀνύσαντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μισοῦαν τὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐπίνειον, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, αὐτίκα Σολόμων ἐκέλευε Μαρτίνον ἐς Νουμιδίαν παρὰ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ τῶν ξυναρχόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἰέναι, πειρᾶσθαι τε, εἴ πως δύναίτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τῶν τινὰς γνωρίμων στρατιωτῶν ἢ χρήμασιν ἢ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ τῷ ὑπελθὼν ἐς εὐνοίαν τὴν βασιλέως μεταγαγεῖν. [41] καὶ πρὸς Θεόδωρον γράμματα ἔπεμπε, Καρχηδόνοσ τε ἐπιστέλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διέπειν ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ δυνατὰ εἶναι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν Προκοπίῳ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐς Συρακούσας ἀφίκετο. [42] ἅπαντά τε αὐτῷ ἀγγείλας ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐδεῖτο κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀμῦναι πάσχοντι πρὸς στρατιωτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀνόσια. καὶ Σολόμων μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἅπαντα ληισάμενοι ἕς τε τὸ Βούλλης ξυλλεγέντες πεδίον Στότζαν, τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων ἓνα, τύραννον σφίσιν εἵλοντο, ἄνδρα θυμοειδῆ καὶ δραστήριον, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς βασιλέως ἄρχοντας ἐξελάσαντες Λιβύης πάσης κρατήσουσιν. [2] ὁ δὲ ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στρατεύμα, ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα ξυνίον, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπῆγεν, ὡς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παραστησόμενος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [3] ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Βανδίλους τοὺς τε ἐκ Βυζαντίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποδράντας καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ εἶποντο Βελισαρίῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἢ διαλαθόντες, ἢ ὅτι οἱ Βανδίλους τῆνικαῦτα παραπέμποντες ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσαντο. [4] ἦσαν δὲ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ χίλιοι, οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Στότζᾳ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἦλθον. ἀφίκετο δὲ οἱ καὶ δούλων πολὺς τις ὄμιλος. [5] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο Καρχηδόνοσ ἐγγύς, ἔπεμψεν ὁ Στότζας, κελεύων οἱ ὡς τάχιστα παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, [6] ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθείς μείνωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ Θεόδωρος, πρὸς ταῦτα ἄντικρυς ἀπειπόντες, βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγουν Καρχηδόνα φυλάσσειν. [7] πέμψαντές τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰωσήφιον, τῶν τε βασιλέως φυλάκων γραμματέα οὐκ ἀφανῆ γεγονότα καὶ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντα, κατὰ χρεῖαν δέ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἑναγχος ἐσταλμένον, ἠξίουεν μὴ σφᾶς περαιτέρω βιάζεσθαι. [8] Στότζας δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Ἰωσήφιόν τε αὐτίκα ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. κατορρωδήσαντές τε οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν κίνδυνον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Καρχηδόνα Στότζᾳ ἐγχειρίσαι ὁμολογία διεννοοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν Λιβύης στρατόπεδον ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Βελισάριος δέ, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξας τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ Σολόμωνα ἐπαγόμενος, μιᾷ νηὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέπλευσε περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, ἠνίκα τὴν πόλιν οἱ πολιορκοῦντες σφίσιν ἐγχειριεῖσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκαπαδόκουν. ἐν ἐλπίδι τε ταῦτα ἔχοντες τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠύλισαντο. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Βελισάριον παρεῖναι ἔμαθον, λύσαντες ὡς τάχιστα τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰσχυρῶς τε καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν τὴν βασιλέως λόγοις τε ὀρμήσας καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐποιήσατο. [12] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς Μέμβρησαν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους Καρχηδόνοσ διέχουσιν. [13] ἔνθα δὴ ἑκάτεροι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐς ποταμὸν Βαγράδαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ τε καὶ

δυσκόλῳ τὸ χαράκωμα ποιησάμενοι. [14] ἔς γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οὐδέτεροι εἰσελθεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ ἀτείχιστος οὕσα ἐτύγχανε. [15] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία καθίσταντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν, οἱ μὲν στασιῶται πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ πιστεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἄτε ἀφρόνων τε καὶ ἀστρατηγῆτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων. [16] ἃ δὲ Βελισάριος ταῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διανοαῖς ἐναποθέσθαι βουλόμενος βεβαίως ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τάδε: ‘Ἐλπίδος μὲν καὶ εὐχῆς ἦσσαν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει. [17] ἐς ξυμβολήν γὰρ τανῦν ἤκομεν ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲ τὸ νικᾶν ἄκλαυστον ἔξομεν, ἐπὶ ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ ξυντρόφους στρατεύοντες. [18] ἔχομεν δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ παραψυχὴν τήνδε, οἷς γε οὐ τῆς μάχης ἄρχοντες αὐτοί, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνόμενοι ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον καθιστάμεθα. [19] ὁ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς φιλτάτους τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς διαλύσας οἷς ἔδρασεν, οὐ πρὸς τῶν φίλων, ἦν ἀπόληται, θνήσκει, ἀλλ’ ἐν πολεμίου γεγονὼς μοῖρα τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐκτίνει τὴν δίκην. [20] πολεμίους δὲ καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ ὃ τι ἂν τις εἴποι δεινότερον εἶναι δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐ Λιβύῃ μόνον ὑπὸ ταῖς τούτων χερσίν ἐς λείαν ἐλθοῦσα, οὐδὲ οἱ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες οὐ δέον παρ’ ἐκείνων ἀνηρημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οὗς οἱ δυσμενεῖς οὗτοι κτείνειν ἐτόλμησαν, μίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπικαλέσαντες εὖνοιαν. [21] οἷς νῦν τιμωροῦντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤκομεν, δυσμενεῖς εἰκότως τοῖς πάλαι φιλτάτοις γενόμενοι. [22] φύσει μὲν γὰρ οὐδένες τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰκείως ἂν ἢ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἔχοιεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις ἐκάστων ἢ τῷ ὁμοτρόπῳ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ξυνάπτουσαι ἢ τῷ διαλλάσσουντι τῆς γνώμης ἐς τὸ δυσμενὲς διακρίνουσαι φίλους, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις ποιοῦσιν. [23] ὥς μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους τε καὶ πολεμίους στρατεύομεν, ἱκανῶς ἔχετε: ὥς δὲ καταφρονεῖσθαι εἰσι παρ’ ἡμῶν ἄзιοι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [24] ὁμιλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οὐ νόμῳ συνιόντων ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου ξυνειλεγμένων ἀνδραγαθί. ζεσθαι ἤκιστα πέφυκεν, οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ παρανόμῳ ξυνοικίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων ἀφισταμένης. [25] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν φυλάξουσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Στότζο παραγγελλομένων ἀκούσουσι. [26] τυραννίδα γὰρ ἄρτι καθισταμένην καὶ οὐπω τὴν τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἐξουσίαν λαβοῦσαν ὑπερορᾶσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀνάγκη. [27] οὔτε γὰρ εὖνοία τετίμηται, ἐπεὶ μισεῖσθαι ἢ τυραννὶς πέφυκεν, οὔτε φόβῳ ἄγρ’ τοὺς ὑπὸ κήρους: ἀφείλετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ δεδιέναι. [28] ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμίας ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσᾶσθαι πρόχειρον. πολλῷ τοίνυν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τῷ κατα φρονήματι ἐπὶ τούτῳδε ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἰένα προσήκει. [29] οὐ γὰρ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαχομένων ἀλλὰ τάξει τε καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ φιλεῖ διαμετερεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος.’ [30] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Στότζας δ’ παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε: ‘Ἄνδρες οἱ ξὺν ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους δουλείας ἔξω γεγένησθε, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαξιούτω θνήσκειν, ἥς ἀνδρία τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ τετυχήκατε. [31] οὐ γὰρ οὕτω δεινὸν τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ξυγγηράσκοντα τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὥς μετὰ τὴν τῶν δυσκόλων ἐλευθερίαν αὐθις ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανήκειν. [32] ὁ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ χρόνος τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς γεύσας χαλεπωτέραν, ὧ γε τὸ εἰκός, τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπεργάζεται. [33] τούτῳ δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἐπάναγκες ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν ὥς

Βανδίλους τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους νενικηκότες αὐτοὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπάνασθε πόνων, κύριοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν λαφύρων γεγέννηται πάντων. [34] ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς στρατιώταις οὖσιν ὑμῖν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνους ἀνάγκῃ, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλεύως πραγμάτων, ἣν γε αὖθις ἐκείνῳ δουλεύητε, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἣν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διασώζητε ταύτην. [35] ὁπότερον δὲ ἀμφοῖν αἰρετώτερον, τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ἢ μαλθακιζόμενοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι βουλομένοις. [36] ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο εἰσιέναι ὑμᾶς προσήκει, ὡς ὅπλα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀράμενοι, ἣν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε, οὐ μετρίων οὐδὲ συγγνωμόνων δεσποτῶν πειραθήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ πείσεσθε μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, προσέσται δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ μὴ ἀδίκως ἀπολωλέναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν θάνατος ὅτῳ ἂν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀφίξηται ταύτῃ, δηλονότι εὐκλεῆς ἔσται: [37] βίος δὲ κρατήσασι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόνομός τε καὶ τᾶλλα εὐδαίμων, ἡσσημένοις δὲ πικρὸν μὲν ἄλλο οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν ἐλπίδα δὲ ζύμπασαν εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔχων. [38] ἡ δὲ ζυμβολὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσται. [39] τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσῶνται ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα προθυμούμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴασιν, οὓς οἶμαι καὶ τῆσδε ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεταλαχεῖν.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Στότζας εἶπεν. [40] Ἵόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ζυμβολὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων πνεῦμα σκληρόν τε καὶ δεινῶς λυπηρὸν κατ' ὄψιν ἐς τοὺς Στότζα στασιώτας ἐνέπεσε. [41] διὸ δὴ ἀζύμφορον σφίσιν ὄοντο εἶναι τὴν μάχην αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι, δεδιότες μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερβιαζόμενον τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων βέλη ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰθύνει, βελῶν δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἢ ῥύμη ὡς μάλιστα ἀναστέλλοιτο. [42] ἄραντες οὖν ἐγκάρσιοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἦν καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, μεταβάλλοιντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ὀπισθεν ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐνοχλοῖντο, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἔσται. [43] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδε τὴν τάξιν λιπόντας καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιόντας, αὐτίκα δὴ ἐκέλευε τῶν χειρῶν ἄρχειν. [44] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἐς ταραχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου καταστάντες ξὺν ἀταξία πολλῇ, ὡς ἕκαστός περ ἐδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, ἐς Νουμιδίαν τε ἀφικόμενοι συνελέγοντο αὖθις. [45] ὀλίγοι μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Βανδίλοι ἦσαν. [46] διώξιν γὰρ Βελισάριος ἥκιστα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ, λίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος βραχέος ὄντος, ἱκανὸν κατεφαίνετο, εἰ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι νενικημένοι ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. [47] τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐδίδου τὸ χαράκωμα τῶν ἐναντίων διαρπάσασθαι, αἰρουσὶ τε αὐτὸ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα εὔρηνται πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ὁδε. ταῦτα Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀπήλαυνε. [48] καὶ οἱ τις ἐκ Σικελίας ἦκων ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς στάσις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιτεσοῦσα τὰ πράγματα ἀνασοβεῖν μέλλοι, ἣν μὴ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος σφίσιν ἐπανήκων τὴν κωλύμην ποιήσεται. [49] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ὅπῃ ἐδύνατο διαθέμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα Ἰλδίγερὶ τε καὶ Θεοδώρῳ παραδοὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει. [50] Οἱ δὲ ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἦκειν τε καὶ ξυλλέγεσθαι ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσαν, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς παράταξιν, ἦσαν δὲ ἡγεμόνες φοιδεράτων μὲν Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Κύριλλος, καταλόγου δὲ ἱππικοῦ μὲν Βαρβάτος, [51] πεζῶν δὲ Τερέντιός τε καὶ Σάραπισ. Μαρκέλλῳ μέντοι ἐπήκουον ἅπαντες ἅτε Νουμιδίας τὴν

ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι. [52] ὃς ἐπεὶ ἐν χωρίῳ Γαζοφύλοις, δυοῖν μάλιστα ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Κωνσταντίνης ἀπέχοντι, Στότζαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἦκουσεν εἶναι, προτερῆσαι πρὶν τοὺς στασιώτας ἅπαντας ξυλληγῆναι βουλόμενος, κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. [53] ὥς δὲ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐγγὺς ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔμελλεν ἐν χερσὶν ἔσεσθαι, μόνος ὁ Στότζας ἐς μέσους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦκων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [54] “Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε ἐπὶ ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ συντρόφους στρατεύοντες, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τε ὅπλα αἰρόμενοι οἱ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικήμασιν ἀχθόμενῳ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [55] ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὥς ἐστέρησθε μὲν τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν ὀφειλομένων συντάξεων, ἀφῆρησθε δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὰ λάφυρα, ἃ τῶν ἐν μάχαις κινδύνων ἄθλα ὁ τοῦ πολέμου τέθεικε νόμος; [56] καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῆς νίκης ἀγαθοῖς ἕτεροι τρυφᾷν ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡξίουں, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν οἰκετῶν ἔπεσθε μοῖρα; [57] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, πάρεστιν ὑμῖν ἐς τόδε μὲν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους διαφυγεῖν μίασμα: εἰ δέ μοι αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχετε, ὥρα ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [58] ἀνελέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα.” ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας τοσαῦτα εἶπεν: οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἠσπάζοντο. [59] κατιδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γινόμενα σιγῇ τε ὑπεχώρουν καὶ ἐς ἱερὸν ὃ ἐν Γαζοφύλοις ἦν καταφεύγουσι. Στότζας δὲ ἀμφοτέρα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς ἓν ξυλλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. καταλαβὼν τε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε.

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε, Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐς Λιβύην ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψε. [2] καὶ Σύμμαχος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Δόμνικος, ἄνδρες ἐκ βουλῆς, εἶποντο, ἄτερος μὲν ἑπαρχός τε καὶ χορηγός τῆς δαπάνης ἐσόμενος, Δόμνικος δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστατήσων. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἐτελεύτα ἤδη νοσήσας, ᾧ δὴ ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῇ. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέπλευσαν, τοὺς τε παρόντας σφίσι στρατιώτας ὁ Γερμανὸς ἠρίθμει καὶ τῶν γραμματέων ἀναλεγόμενος τὰ βιβλία οὗ πάντα ἀναγράφεται τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, εὗρισκε τὸ μὲν τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἓν τε Καρχηδόνι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἄν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας τῷ τυράννῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυντεταγμένους. [4] μάχης μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἦρχε, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐπεμελεῖτο ὥς μάλιστα. λογισάμενός τε ὥς τῶν πολεμίων ξυγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοσκήνους τοὺς ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολελειμμένους ξυμβαίνειν εἶναι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ πᾶσιν ἐφθέγγετο καὶ σταλῆναι πρὸς βασιλέως ἐς Λιβύην αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδικημένοις μὲν στρατιώταις ἀμυνεῖ, κολάσει δὲ τοὺς ἀδικίας τινὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἄρξαντας. [5] ἅπερ οἱ στασιῶται πυνθανόμενοι κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτῷ προσχωρεῖν ἤρχοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Γερμανὸς τῇ τε πόλει ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐδέχετο καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, τὰς τε συντάξεις αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου ἐδίδου καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθε κατὰ πολλοὺς ἤδη τοῦ τυράννου ἀποτασσόμενῳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαυνον. [7] καὶ τότε δὴ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσεσθαι οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν μάχην ἐλπίσας τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. [8] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Στότζας τοῦ μὲν κακοῦ ἤδη αἰσθόμενος, δεδιὼς δὲ μή οἱ καὶ πλειόνων στρατιωτῶν τῇ ἀποστάσει ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ στράτευμα ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, διακινδυνεύειν τε

ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἠπείγετο καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. [9] καὶ ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατιωτῶν ἐλπίς ἀποστάσεως πέρι, ὥτε το αὐτούς, ἦν πρὸ σφίσιν ἄγχιστα γένηται, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ αὐτομολήσιν, ἐς πάντας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐξενεγκών· ταύτη τε αὐτούς μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [10] γενόμενός τε αὐτῆς ἅπο σταδίων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, καὶ Γερμανὸς ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὥς ἐς μάχην ἐξῆγε. [11] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω ἐγένοντο, ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁ Στότζας εἶχε, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [12] ‘Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν δικαίως, ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, βασιλεῖ μέψεσθε οὐδέ τι αἰτιάσεσθε τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἂν, οἶμαι, τῶν πάντων ἀντείποι· [13] ὅς γε ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἦκοντας ξύν τε τῇ πῆρᾳ καὶ χιτωνίσκῳ ἐνὶ ξυναγᾶν ἐς Βυζάντιον τηλικούσδε εἶναι πεποίηκεν ὥστε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα νῦν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν κεῖσθαι. [14] ὥς δὲ οὐ περιυβρίσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων δεινότατα παρ’ ὑμῶν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι τετύχηκε, [15] ξυνεπίστασθε καὶ ὑμεῖς δῆπουθεν. ὣν δὴ τὴν μνήμην ὑμῖν ἐς αἰεὶ βουλούμενος διασώζεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας ἀφῆκεν, ὄφλημα τοῦτό γε αὐτῷ μόνον ὀφείλεσθαι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀξιῶν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνην. [16] ταύτη τοίνυν ἡγμένους ὑμᾶς μεταμανθάνειν τε τὴν πίστιν εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπανορθοῦν. [17] μετὰμελος γὰρ ἐν δέοντι τοῖς ἐπταϊκόσιν ἐπιγινόμενος συγγνώμονας αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἡδικομένους ποιεῖν εἴωθεν, ὑπουργία τε εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα τὸ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὄνομα μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ.’ [18] ‘Εὖ δὲ ὑμᾶς δεήσει κάκεῖνο εἰδέναί, ὥς, ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὖνοι μάλιστα βασιλεῖ γέννησθε, οὐδεμία τοῖς προλαβοῦσι λελείπεται μνήμη. [19] πᾶσα γὰρ πρᾶξις ἐφύκεν αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς καταστροφῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι· ἀμάρτημά τε γεγονὸς ἅπαξ ἀποίητον μὲν οὐδ’ ἂν ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παντὶ γένοιτο, ἐπανορθωθὲν δὲ πράξεισι τῶν αὐτὸ εἰργασμένων ἀμείνοσιν εὐπρεποῦς τε τῆς σιωπῆς ἐπιτυγχάνει καὶ ἐς λήθην ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περίσταται. [20] καίτοι, ἦν μὲν ὀλιγοῖά τινι ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς καταράτους τὰ νῦν χρήσησθε, ὕστερον δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων πολλάκις ἀναδήσησθε κράτος, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὁμοίως ἀνθυπουργηκέναι βασιλεῖ δόξαιτε. [21] οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἡμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐς αἰεὶ φέρονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς βασιλέα ταύτη πη λογιζέσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος. [22] ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ἀδικίας τινὸς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄρξας, ἐνδείζαμένός τε πάσῃ δυνάμει τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὖνοιαν, καὶ τὰ νῦν καθιστάμενος ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε, τοσοῦτον αἰτεῖσθαι ἅπαντας ἔγνωκα· μηδεὶς ξύν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ γνώμην χωρεῖτω. [23] ἀλλ’ εἴ τῳ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις ἤδη βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ ξυντάττεσθαι, μηδὲν μελλήσας ξύν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ἵτω, τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῖν χαριζόμενος, ὅτι οὐ λάθρα ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἐφανοῦς ἀδικεῖν ἔγνω. [24] τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ἀλλ’ ἐν μεταίχμιῳ γενόμενος τοὺς λόγους ποιῶμαι, ὅπως ἂν μηδενὶ αὐτομολεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθέλοντι ἐμπόδιος εἶην, παρὸν ἅπασι κινδύνου ἐκτὸς τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι [25] γνώμην.’ Γερμανὸς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ταραχὴ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἡξίου αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εὖνοιαν τε τὴν ἐς βασιλέα

τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμείσθαι.

Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ἐκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθήμενοι ἔμενον. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται οὐδὲν σφίσι προχωροῦν ἐνορῶντες ὧν προὔλεγε Στότζας, ἔδιδσαν τε ἅτε τῆς ἐλπίδος παρὰ δόξαν ψευσθέντες, καὶ τὴν τάξιν διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἔς τε Νουμίδας ἀπήλυνον, οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ τῆς λείας χρήματα ἦσαν. [2] ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευασμένος ὡς ἄριστα καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαγαγόμενος. [3] καταλαβὼν τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν χωρίῳ ὃ δὴ Σκάλας Βέτερες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [4] τὰς ἀμάξας μετωπηδὸν στήσας τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας κατ' αὐτάς ἔταξεν, ὧν Δόμνικος ἦρχεν, ὅπως τὰ νῶτα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχοντες θαρσύνωσι μᾶλλον. [5] τῶν δὲ ἰππέων ἄνδρας τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦκοντας αὐτὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν πεζῶν εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐ ξυντεταγμένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους τρεῖς μάλιστα ἔστησε. [6] καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ μὲν ἐνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ἐτέρου δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης, τοῦ δὲ λειπομένου, μείζονος ὄντος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Πάππου ἀδελφός, τέταρτος αὐτός. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο. [7] Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἀντίξοι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔστησαν, οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ μέντοι ταξάμενοι, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικώτερον ἐσκεδασμένοι. [8] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν Μαυρουσίων μυριάδες πολλάι, ὧν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰαύδας καὶ Ὀρταῖας ἦρχον. [9] οὐ μέντοι ἅπαντες πιστοὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ παρὰ Γερμανὸν πέμποντες πρότερον ὠμολόγουν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ξὺν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τετάξεσθαι. [10] οὐ μὴν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν παντάπασιν ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ ἄπιστον φύσει τὸ Μαυρουσίων γένος ἐστὶν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [11] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ξὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἔμενον, παραδοκοῦντες τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὅπως ξὺν τοῖς νικήσουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσημένους ποιήσωνται. [12] Μαυρούσιοι μὲν τοιαύτη γνώμη οὐκ ἀναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς στασιώταις ὀπισθεν εἶποντο. [13] Στότζας δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον τὸ Γερμανοῦ εἶδε, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει. [14] Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ ὅσοι στασιῶται ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι ἐτύγγανον, οὐδὲ εἶποντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἐκώλυνον, φάσκοντες οὐκ εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Γερμανοῦ δύναμιν, ὅποια ποτὲ ἐστίν, ἐξεπίστασθαι μέντοι ὡς οὐδαμῇ σφίσιν ἀνθέξουσιν ὅσοι ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτάξαντο. [15] ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους χωρήσαιεν, αὐτοὶ τε οὐχ ὑποστάντες ἐς φυγὴν τρέφονται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, συνταράξουσιν: ἦν δέ γε σφᾶς ἀπωσάμενος Γερμανὸς τρέψηται, ἅπαντα σφίσι διαφθαρήσεται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα. [16] τούτοις ὁ Στότζας ἀναπεισθεὶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γερμανὸν μάχεσθαι εἶασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους ἦει. [17] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. οἱ τε στασιῶται πάντα μὲν τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον, φεύγοντας δὲ ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίωκον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἤλυνον, [18] ἥδη τε τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείπειν οἱ πεζοὶ ἤρξαντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γερμανὸς αὐτός τε τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ταύτη στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ὁρμήσας, πόνῳ τε πολλῷ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν στασιώτας

ἐτρέψατο καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐχώρησε. [19] τούτου δέ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἰλδίγερά τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ξυναραμένων, οὕτως ἀλλήλοις ἑκάτεροι ἀνεμίνγνυντο, ὥστε διώκοντες οἱ στασιῶται τῶν τινας πολεμίων ὑφ' ἐτέρων καταλαμβάνόμενοι ἔθνησκον. [20] τῆς τε ξυγχύσεως ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσης οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γερμανόν, ὀπισθεν ἰόντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο, οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἐς πολὺ δέος ἐμπεπτωκότες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον. [21] ἔνδηλοι μέντοι οὐδέτεροι οὔτε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐγίνοντο. μᾶ τὴ γὰρ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ οἱ πάντες ἐχρῶντο, οὔτε μορφῇ τινι οὔτε σχήματι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁπωσοῦν διαλλάσσοντες. [22] διὸ δὴ Γερμανοῦ γνώμῃ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται, ὅτου ἂν λάβοιντο, ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη: ἔπειτα, ἦν τις Γερμανοῦ στρατιώτης φήσειεν εἶναι, οὐκοῦν τὸ Γερμανοῦ ξύμβολον ἐκέλευον λέγειν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον. [23] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ τὸν Γερμανοῦ ἵππον τῶν τις πολεμίων λαθὼν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτός τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος οἱ δορυφόροι ἐσώσαντο, φραζάμενοί τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐφ' ἕτερον ἵππον. [24] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε. Γερμανὸς δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος εὐθὺ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου ἐχώρησεν. [25] ἐνταῦθ' αἱ τῶν στασιωτῶν ὑπηντίαζον ὅσοι τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. [26] μάχης τε ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ εἴσοδον καρτερὰς γενομένης παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ στασιῶται ἦλθον τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀπώσασθαι, πέμψας δὲ ὁ Γερμανὸς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς κατ' ἄλλην ἀποπειρᾶσθαι χώραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκέλευεν. [27] οἱ δὴ οὐδενὸς ταύτῃ ἀμυνομένου ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ξὺν βραχεῖ πόνῳ ἐγένοντο. [28] οἱ τε στασιῶται κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, καὶ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐσεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [29] ἐνταῦθα τὰ χρήματα οἱ στρατιῶται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀρπάζοντες οὔτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντό τινι οὔτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευομένου ἔτι κατήκουον, παρόντων χρημάτων διὸ δὴ ὁ Γερμανός, [30] δέισας μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντες ὃ' πολέμιοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τὸ χαρακώματος τὴν εἴσοδον ἔστη, πολλὰ τε ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπαῖοντας ἐς εὐκοσμίαν παρακαλῶν. [31] τῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων πολλοὶ τῆς τροπῆς οὕτω γεγενημένης τοὺς τε στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἤδη καὶ ξὺν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξαντες ἐλίζοντο τὸ τῶν ἡσημένων στρατόπεδον. [32] Στότζας δέ, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαυρουσίῳ στρατῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχων, ὡς ἀναμαχοῦμενος παρ' αὐτοὺς ἦλανεν. [33] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων, ξὺν ἑκατὸν ἀνδράσι διαφυγεῖν μόλις ἴσχυσεν. [34] αὐθις δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πολλοὶ ξυλλεγέντες ἐνεχείρισαν μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀποκρουσθέντες δὲ οὐδέν τι ἤσπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Γερμανῷ ἅπαντες προσεχώρησαν. [35] μόνος δὲ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν Βανδίλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παῖδα τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων γυναικὰ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἡ μὲν στάσις αὕτη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Καππαδόκου δορυφόροις, Μαξιμῖνος ὄνομα, πονηρὸς μάλιστα. [2] οὗτος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος, τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείστους διομοσαμένους ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, [3] τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι

διενοεῖτο. ἔτι τε πλείους ἐταιρίζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἄλλοις τε τὸ βούλευμα φράζει καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, ὥρμημένῳ μὲν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης, εὖ δὲ γεγονότι καὶ πρώτῳ τῶν Θεοδώρου ἐπιτηδείων. [4] ὁ γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδης Θεοδώρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον εὐθὺς Γερμανῷ εἰσαγγέλλει. [5] καὶ ὅς, οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔτι οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡωρημένων ἐτέρας τινὸς ταραχῆς ἄρξαι, θωπεῖα μᾶλλον τινι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τιμωρία περιελθεῖν ἔγνω καὶ ὄρκοις αὐτὸν καταλαβεῖν τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας. [6] ὃν τοίνυν εἰθισμένον ἅπανσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ μηδένα δορυφόρον τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων καθίστασθαι, ἦν μὴ δεινотάτους πρότερον ὄρκους παρεχόμενος τὰ πιστὰ δοίῃ τῆς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Μαξιμῖνον τῆς τε εὐτολμίας αὐτὸν ἐπήγει καὶ δορυφορεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐπέτελλεν. [7] ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γεγονὼς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς, ταύτῃ τε ῥᾶον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προχωρήσειν ὑποτοπάζων, τὸν τε ὄρκον ὑπέστη καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς Γερμανοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὰ τε ὁμωμοσμένα εὐθὺς ἀλογεῖν ἡξίου καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τυραννίδα πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον κρατύνασθαι. [8] Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἑορτὴν τινα πανδημεὶ ἤγε, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Μαξιμῖνου στασιωτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ἐς Παλάτιον κατὰ τὰ σφίσι ξυγκείμενα ἦκον, οὗ δὴ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰστία, παρεστήκει δὲ τῇ θοίνῃ ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δορυφόροις ὁ Μαξιμῖνος. [9] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, εἰσελθὼν τις Γερμανῷ ἀπαγγέλλει στρατιώτας πολλοὺς κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας ἐστῶτας αἰτιάσθαι συντάξεις χρόνου πολλοῦ τὸ δημόσιον σφίσιν ὀφείλειν. [10] καὶ ὅς τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκέλευσε λάθρα τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, αἰσθήσιν αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ ποιουμένου ὥς ἦκιστα παρεχομένους. [11] οἱ μὲν οὖν στασιῶται ξὺν τε ἀπειλῇ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν οἱ τε τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῖς μετασχόντες κατὰ βραχὺ ἀγειρόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐνταῦθα ξυνέρρεον. [12] καὶ εἰ μὲν ξυλληγῆναι ἅπαντας ἐς ταῦτὸ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἂν τις, οἶμαι, [13] καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν εὐπετῶς ἔσχε: νῦν δὲ Γερμανὸς προτερήσας ἔτι ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πλείστου ὁμίλου ἅπαντας αὐτίκα τοὺς αὐτῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [14] οἱ δὴ οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς στασιώταις εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον. οἱ δὲ οὔτε Μαξιμῖνον σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες, ὄνπερ σφίσιν ἐξηγήσεσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκαπαδόκουν, οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς, ἥπερ ᾤοντο, ξυλλεγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαχομένους παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι τοὺς ξυστρατιώτας θεώμενοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς ὀλιγορίαν ἐλθόντες ἡσσήθησάν τε ῥαδίως τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [15] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐναντίοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ παρὰ Γερμανὸν ζωγρήσαντες ἤγον. [16] ὅσοι μέντοι οὐκ ἔφθησαν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἦκοντες, οὐδεμίαν αἰσθήσιν τῆς ἐπὶ Μαξιμῖνῳ παρέσχοντο γνώμης. [17] Γερμανὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν διερευνᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἀνεπυνθάνετο δὲ εἰ Μαξιμῖνῳ ἐπειδὴ ὠμωμόκει, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἦσκητο. [18] ἐληλεγμένον τε ὥς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ποιοίῃ, ἄγχιστά πη αὐτὸν τοῦ Καρχηδόνοιο περιβόλου ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὕτω τε τὴν στάσιν παντάπασιν καταλύειν ἔσχε. Μαξιμῖνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ὧδε.

Γερμανὸν δὲ ξὺν τε Συμμάχῳ καὶ Δομνίκῳ μεταπεμψάμενος βασιλεὺς Σολόμωνι αὐθις ἅπαντα Λιβύης τὰ πράγματα ἐνεχείρισε, τρισκαίδεκατον ἔτος

τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχων ἀρχήν· στρατεύμα τε αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε καὶ Ρουφῖνον καὶ Λεόντιον, τοὺς Ζαῦνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου υἱόν. [2] Μαρτῖνος γὰρ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤδη πρότερον ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον. [3] Σολόμων δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ τῆς Στότζα στάσεως ἀπαλλαγείς μετρίως τε ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ Λιβύην ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασσε, διακοσμῶν τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἴ τι μὲν ὑποπτον ἐν αὐτῷ εὔρισκεν, ἔς τε Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμπων, νέους δὲ στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἀριθμὸν καταλέγων καὶ Βανδύλων τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε αὐτῶν γυναῖκας ἀπάσας ὅλης ἐξοικίζων Λιβύης. πόλιν τε ἐκάστην περιέβαλε τείχει καὶ τοὺς νόμους ξὺν ἀκριβείᾳ φυλάξας πολλῇ τὴν πολιτείαν ὥς μάλιστα διεσώσατο. [4] καὶ ἐγένετο Λιβύῃ ἐπ' ἐκείνου χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ δυνατὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαίμων. [5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντ' αἱ ὥς ἄριστα διετέτακτο, ἐπὶ τε Ἰαῦδαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους αὖθις ἐστράτευε. [6] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Γόνθαριν, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, ξὺν στρατεύματι ἔπεμψεν. [7] ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀβίγαν ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀμφὶ Βάγαϊν, πόλιν ἔρημον. [8] ἐνταῦθά τε τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ ἡσηθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ χαράκωμα ἀποχωρήσας τῇ Μαυρουσίῳ προσεδρεῖα ἐπιέζετο ἤδη. [9] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἀφικόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα· τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπεῖχεν οὗ Γόνθαρις ἡγεῖτο, χαράκωμά τε ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γόνθαριν ἅπαντα ἀκούσας μοῖράν τε αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔπεμψε καὶ θαρσοῦντας ἐκέλευε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίῳ. [10] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι καθυπέρτεροι ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, [11] ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, γενόμενοι ἐποιοῦν τάδε. Ἀβίγας ὁ ποταμὸς ρεῖ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αὐρασίου, κατιῶν δὲ ἐς πεδίον ἀρδεύει τὴν γῆν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν βουλομένοις ἢ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. [12] περιάγουσι γὰρ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅποι ποτὲ σφίσιν ἐς τὸ παραντίκα ξυνοῖσιν οἶονται, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πεδίῳ ἀπώρυγες συχναὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, ἐς ἃς δὴ ὁ Ἀβίγας σχιζόμενός τε καὶ ἐς πάσας ἰὼν ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται καὶ αὖθις ὑπὲρ γῆν διαφαίνεται, [13] ξυνάγων τὸ ρεῦμα. τοῦτό τε ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ πεδίου ξυμβαῖνον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῖς ταύτῃ ὥκημένοις τίθεται εἶναι, ἐπιβύσασι χώματι τοὺς ῥωχοὺς ἢ αὖθις αὐτοὺς ἀποκαλύψασι τοῖς ὕδασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦδε ὃ τι βούλονται χρῆσθαι. [14] τότε οὖν ἀπάσας οἱ Μαυρούσιοι τὰς ἐκεῖνη ἀπώρυγας ἀποφράξαντες ἀφῖασι τὸ ρεῦμα ὅλον φέρεσθαι ἀμφὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [15] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τέλμα βαθὺ γεγονὸς καὶ ἀπόρευτον ἐξέπληξέ τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν κατέστησε. [16] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Σολόμων κατὰ τάχος ἦει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δείσαντες ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὸν πρόποδα. καὶ ἐν χώρῳ ὃν Βάβωσιν καλοῦσι, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἄρας τε Σολόμων τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦκε. [17] καὶ τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κρατήσας τε παρὰ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. [18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μάχην μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ἠλπίζον· ἐς δὲ τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἀπολέγοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Ῥωμαίους χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ἐνθένδε ἐξανίστασθαι ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον. [19] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἔς τε

Μαυριτανούς καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ Αὐρασίου βαρβάρους ὄχοντο, Ἰαύδας δὲ ξὺν Μαυρουσίων δισφυρίοις ἐνταῦθα ἔμενεν. ἐτύγγανε δὲ φρούριον οἰκοδομησάμενος ἐν Αὐρασίῳ, Ζερβούλην ὄνομα. οὗ δὴ ἐσελθὼν σὺν πᾶσι Μαυρουσίοις ἡσύχαζε. [20] Σολόμων δὲ χρόνον μὲν τρίβεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἥκιστα ἤθελε, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταμουγάδην πεδία σίτου ἀκμάζοντος ἔμπλεα εἶναι ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἐδήου τὴν γῆν. πυρπολήσας τε ἅπαντα ἐς Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον αὐθις ἀνέστρεψεν. [21] Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν, Ἰαύδας καταλιπὼν Μαυρουσίων τινάς, οὓς μάλιστα ὄρετο ἐς τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρασίου ὑπερβολὴν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέβη, ὅπως μὴ πολιορκουμένους ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφᾶς ἐπιλίποι. [22] χῶρόν τε εὐρὼν κρημοῖς τε πάντοθεν ἀνεχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἀποτόμων πετρῶν καλυπτόμενον, [23] Τοῦμαρ ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσύχαζε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον ἐς τρεῖς ἐπολιόρκουν ἡμέρας. καὶ τόξοις χρώμενοι, ἅτε οὐχ ὑψηλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι βαρβάρων ἔβαλλον. [24] τύχῃ δὲ τινι ξυνέπεσεν ἅπαντας Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τούτοις δὴ ἐντυχόντας τοῖς βέλεσι θνήσκειν. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβη καὶ νύξ ἐπέλαβε, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι τῶν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις ἡγεμόνων πυθόμενοι διαλύειν ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν προσεδρεῖαν. [26] ἄμεινον γὰρ Σολόμων ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ τε Ἰαύδαν καὶ Μαυρουσίων τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι, οἰομένῳ, ἣν ἐκείνους πολιορκία ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοὺς ἐν Ζερβούλῃ βαρβάρους προσχωρήσειν σφίσιν. [27] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἀντέχουν τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ οἰόμενοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες ἤδη οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἀνήρηντο, φεύγειν τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπολιπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [28] αὐτίκα γοῦν ἅπαντες σιγῇ τε καὶ οὐδεμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο. [29] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐδεὶς, καίπερ πολεμίων ἀναχωρούντων, ἐφαίνετο, ἐθαύμαζόν τε καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διηποροῦντο. [30] ξὺν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἀμνηχία τὸ φρούριον περιόντες ἀνακεκλιμένην τὴν πυλίδα εὐρίσκουσιν ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Μαυρουσῖοι ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. [31] ἔς τε τὸ φρούριον ἐσελθόντες ἐν ἀρπαγῇ ἅπαντα ἐποίησαντο, διώκειν μέντοι ἥκιστα τοὺς πολεμίους διανοοῦντο, ἄνδρας κούφως τε ἐσταλμένους μένους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐμπεύρους. [32] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντα ἐλήρισαντο, φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου καταστησάμενοι πεζῇ ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω.

Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τοῦμαρ τὸν χῶρον, οὗ δὴ καθείρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡσύχαζον οἱ πολέμιοι, ἄγχι που ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ, ἔνθα οὔτε ὕδατος ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγου οὔτε ἄλλου του ἀναγκαίου ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ἔσσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

[2] χρόνου δὲ τριβομένου συχνοῦ τῶν τε βαρβάρων οὐδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντων, αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ πιεζόμενοι ἡσχαλλόν.

[3] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπορία ἤχθοντο, ὃ δὴ αὐτὸς Σολόμων ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδου, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι κύλικα μίαν ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω.

[4] ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶδε δυσανασχετοῦντάς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ τὰ παρόντα δυσχερῇ φέρειν οὐκέτι οἶους τε ὄντας, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τε τοῦ χωρίου, καίπερ δυσπροσόδου ὄντος, διανοεῖτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε:

[5] ‘Ἐπειδὴ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους πολιορκεῖν, πρᾶγμα πρότερόν τε κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος καὶ νῦν τοῖς γε οὐχ ὀρῶσι τὰ δρώμενα παντελῶς ἄπιστον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἄνωθεν ὑπουργοῦντας ἐπικουρίᾳ ταύτην δὴ μὴ καταπροδιδόναι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’ ὑφισταμένους σὺν προθυμίᾳ τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώσκειν εὐτυχημάτων ἐφίεσθαι.

[6] ὥς πᾶσα μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ῥοπὴ ἐς τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν περιίσταται: ἦν δέ τις ἐθελοκακήσας προδιδοίη τὴν τύχην, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν αἰτιῶτο δικαίως, αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν πεποιημένος.

[7] Μαυρουσίων μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὀρᾶτε δῆπου καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ δὴ πάντων ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς τηροῦσιν.

[8] ὑμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ μηδαμῶς ἀχθομένους τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμολογίαν προσδέχεσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην ὀλιγορῶντας τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κινδύνου προσίσθαι νίκην.

[9] μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τούσδε ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκίνδυνον ἔσται, οὓς δὴ τῷ λιμῷ μαχομένους ἤδη οὐποτε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς χειρὰς ἀφίξεσθαι οἶμαι. ἅπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑμᾶς ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας ἅπαντα προσήκει προθύμως τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκτελεῖν.’

[10] Τοσαῦτα Σολόμων παρακελευσάμενος διεσκοπεῖτο ὅθεν ἂν σφίσι τοῦ χωρίου πειράσασθαι ἄμεινον εἴη, ἀπορουμένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφύκει.

[11] λίαν γάρ οἱ ἄμαχος τις ἢ δυσχωρία ἐφαίνετο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ Σολόμων ταῦτα ἐν νῷ ἐποιεῖτο, ἢ τύχη ὁδὸν τινα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπορίσατο τήνδε.

[12] Γέζων ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις πεζός, τοῦ καταλόγου ὀπτίων εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέγραπτο: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν τῶν συντάξεων χορηγὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

[13] οὗτος ὁ Γέζων, εἴτε παίζων εἴτε θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἢ καὶ τι αὐτὸν θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι δοκῶν ἀνέβαινε μόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν τινες ξυστρατιωτῶν ἦσαν, ἐν θαύματι πολλῷ ποιούμενοι τὰ γινόμενα.

[14] ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ Μαυρουσίων τρεῖς οἱ ἐς τὸ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπήντων δρόμῳ.

[15] ἅτε δὲ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐ ζυντεταγμένοι ἐβάδιζον, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἕκαστος ἦει.

[16] παίσας δὲ τὸν πρῶτόν οἱ ἐντυχόντα ὁ Γέζων ἐκτεινεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάτερον διειργάσατο.

[17] ὃ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ὀπισθεν ἰόντες πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν.

[18] ὥς δὲ τὰ δρώμενα ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, οὔτε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναμείναντες τῆς πορείας σφίσιν ἡγήσασθαι οὔτε τὰς σάλπιγγας τὴν ξυμβολὴν σημήναι, καθάπερ

εἵστο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν φυλάσσοντες, ἀλλὰ πατάγῳ τε πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευόμενοι ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [19] ἐνταῦθα Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Λεόντιος, οἱ Ζαῦνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [20] οἷς δὴ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καταπεληγμένοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας σφῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι ἔμαθον, αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον. [21] Ἰαύδας τε αὐτὸς ἀκοντίῳ πληγείς τὸν μηρὸν ὁμῶς διέφυγέ τε καὶ ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀπεχώρησε. [22] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ διαρπάσαντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον οὐκέτι τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐκλείπειν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνος ἐνταῦθα φρούρια οἰκοδομησαμένου φυλάσσειν, ὅπως μὴ αὐθις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὄρος Μαυρουσίῳ ἐσβατὸν ἔσται. [23] Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πέτρα ἀπότομος κρημνῶν ἐς μέσον ἀνέχουσα: πέτραν αὐτὴν Γεμινιανοῦ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: οὗ δὴ πύργον οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι βραχὺν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενοι καταφυγὴν τινα ἰσχυράν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης ἐδείξαντο. [24] ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν Ἰαύδας τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμέραις πρότερον ὀλίγαις ἐναποθέμενος, ἕνα τε γέροντα Μαυρούσιον φύλακα τῶν χρημάτων καταστησάμενος. [25] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὑπετόπασεν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τόνδε τὸν χώρον ἀφίξεσθαι οὐτ' ἂν βία ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα τὸν πύργον ἐλεῖν. [26] ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὰς δυσχωρίας διερευνώμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἦκον, καὶ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν πύργον ξὺν γέλῳτι ἐνεχείρησεν: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐτόθαζον, ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἀμήχανων ἐφιεμένου καταγελῶσαι: [27] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου διακύψας ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος στρατιώτης ἐπειδὴ χερσί τε καὶ ποσὶν ἀναβαίνων ἐγγὺς που ἐγεγόνει, σπασάμενος ἡσυχῇ τὸ ξίφος ἐξήλατό τε ὡς εἶχε τάχους καὶ τοῦ γέροντος εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν παίει, τεμεῖν τε αὐτὸν διαμπαῖς ἴσχυσεν. [28] ἥ τε κεφαλὴ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται θαρσοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας τὰ τε χρήματα, μεγάλα κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐνθένδε ἐξεῖλον. [29] ἀφ' ὧν δὴ Σολόμων πολλὰς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων περιέβαλε τείχεσι. [30] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Νουμιδίας νικηθέντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, Ζάβην τε τὴν χώραν, ἣ ὑπὲρ ὁρος τὸ Αὐράσιόν ἐστι Μαυριτανία τε ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται μητρόπολιν Σίτιφιν ἔχουσα, τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν προσεποίησε: [31] Μαυριτανίας γὰρ τῆς ἐτέρας πρώτης Καισάρειας τυγχάνει οὕσα, οὗ δὴ ὁ Μαστίγας ξὺν Μαυρουσίῳ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἴδρυτο, ζῦμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία κατήκοά τε καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ πλήν γε δὴ πόλεως Καισαρείας ἔχων. [32] ταύτην γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοις Βελισάριος τὸ πρότερον ἀνεσώσατο, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδηλωται λόγοις: ἐς ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι ναυσὶ μὲν εἰς αἰεὶ στέλλονται, περὶ δὲ ἰέναι οὐκ εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ Μαυρουσίῳ ἐν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων τῇ χώρᾳ. [33] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λίβυες ἅπαντες, οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ἦσαν, εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοὺς τυχόντες καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος ἀρχῆς σῶφρονός τε καὶ λίαν μετρίας, ἔς τε τὸ λοιπὸν πολέμιον ἐν νῷ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, ἔδοξαν εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

Τετάρτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ ἐς τοῦναντίον γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. ἔτος γὰρ ἑβδομὸν τε καὶ δέκατον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν

αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, Κῦρος τε καὶ Σέργιος, οἱ Βάκχου τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες, πόλεων τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸς βασιλέως ἄρχειν ἔλαχον, Πενταπόλεως μὲν Κῦρος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, [2] Τριπόλεως δὲ Σέργιος. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λεπτίμαγναν πόλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, ἐπιθυρολλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τοῦτου ἕνεκα ἦκοιεν, ὅπως ὁ Σέργιος δῶρά τε καὶ ξύμβολα σφίσι τὰ νομιζόμενα δοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνηται. [3] Σέργιος δὲ Πουδεντίῳ ἀναπεισθείς, Τριπολίτῃ ἀνδρὶ, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ Βανδιλικοῦ πολέμου Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ὑπηρετήσαντος, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς μάλιστα δοκίμους τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο, ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν ὑποσχόμενος τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ μένειν ἐκέλευσε. [4] τοῦτοις δὴ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα πίστει ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ παρασχόμενος, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θοίνην ἐκάλεσε. τούτους δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους νῦν δολερῶ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, ὅπως Σέργιον ἐνεδρεῦσαντες κτείνωσιν. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἄλλα τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ λήια σφίσιν οὐ δέον δηῖῶσαι. [6] ἅπερ ὁ Σέργιος ἐν ἀλογία πεποιημένος, ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου ἐξαναστὰς ἐφ' οὐπὲρ καθῆστο, ἐβούλετο ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [7] καὶ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ἐπωμίδος λαβόμενος ἐνεχέρι οἱ ἐμπόδιος εἶναι. [8] ἔς τε θόρυβον ἐνθένδε καταστάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη ξυνέρρεον. [9] τῶν δὲ τις Σεργίου δορυφόρων τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαυρούσιον διεχρήσατο. [10] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταραχῆς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ μεγάλης, οἱ Σεργίου δορυφόροι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. [11] καὶ αὐτῶν εἷς, ἐπειδὴ κτεινομένου τοὺς ἄλλους εἶδε, τοῦ τε οἰκήματος ἵνα δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο ἐκπεπήδηκε, λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔς τ' τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἀφικόμενος τὰ σφίσι ξυμπεσόντ' ἐδήλου. [12] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔς τε τὸ οἰκεῖν στρατόπεδον κομίζονται δρόμῳ καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένοντο [13] οἷς δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Λεπτίμαγναν ἀφικομένῳ Σέργιῳ τε καὶ Πουδέντιῳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαζον. [14] τῆς τε μάχης ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένην τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ληισάμενοι τῶν τε χρημάτων ἐκράτησαν καὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων ἐξηνδραπόδισαν μέγα τ' χρῆμα. [15] ὕστερον δὲ Πουδέντιος θράσει ἀπερισκέπτῳ ἐχόμενος θνήσκει. Σέργιος δὲ σὺν τ' Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἥδη γὰρ καὶ συνεσκόταζεν, ἔξ Λεπτίμαγναν ἐσήλασε. [16] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι μείζον παρασκευῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. Σέργιο δὲ παρὰ Σολόμωνά τὸν θεῖον ἐστάλη, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μείζονι στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴοι· ὃ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὗρεν. [17] οἳ τε βάρβαρο ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι πλεῖστα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῇ ἐλήισαντο τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων· Ἀντάλας δ' οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτ' Ῥωμαίοις πιστοῦ διαμεμενηκότος καὶ δι' αὐτ' ἴσου ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντος ἥδη Σολόμωνι ἐκπεπολεωμένος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτι τε τῶν σιτήσεων αἷς αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμῆκε Σολόμων ἀφείλετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε ταραχὴν τινα αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζακηνοὺς γινομένην ἐπενεγκών. [18] τότε οὖν τούτους Ἀντάλας τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄσμενός τε εἶδε καὶ ὁμαίχμιαν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ Σολόμωνά τε καὶ Καρχηδόνά σφίσι ἡγήσατο. [19] Σολόμων δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα

ἤκουσε, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει, καὶ καταλαβὼ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τεβέστην, ἐξ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνῳ διέχουσαν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Βάκχου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες Κῦρός τε καὶ Σέργιο καὶ Σολόμων ὁ νεώτατος. [20] δείσας τε τὸ τῷ βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἐπεμψε παρὰ τῶν Λευαθῶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, μεμφόμενος μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἔνσπονδῷ Ῥωμαίων ὄντες εἶτα ἐν ὅπλοις γενόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἀξιῶν ἐν σφίσι κρατύνασθαι, ὅρκους τε ὁμείσθαι τοὺς δεινοτάτου ὑπέσχετο, ἣ μὴν ἀμνηστία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξ αὐτοὺς χρήσεσθαι. [21] χλευάζοντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημέγ' οἱ βάρβαροι πάντως αὐτὸν ὁμείσθαι τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἔφασαν, ἅπερ καλεῖν εὐαγγέλι νενομίκασιν. [22] οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ Σέργιος ταῦτα ὁμόσα εἶτα τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἔκτεινε, βουλομένοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶη ἐς μάχην ἰοῦσι τούτων δὴ τῷ λογίῳ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, ὅποιαν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιόρκους δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς βεβαίῳ τατα πιστεύσαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ξυνθήκῃ καθιστῶνται. ταῦτα Σολόμων ἀκούσας τὰ ἐξ τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. [23] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μοίρᾳ τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων λείβ' ὅτι πλείστην ἀγούση ξυμβαλὼν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας ἀφελὼν τε τὴν λείαν ἐφύλασσε πᾶσαν. [24] δυσανασχετοῦσι δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δεινὰ ποιουμένοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδου τὰ λάφυρα, ἔφασκεν ἀναμένειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ὅπως δὴ ἅπαντα τηνικαῦτα διανείμονται, καθάπερ ἂν ἐς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω φαίνηται. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐθις οἱ βάρβαροι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς ξυμβολὴν ὥρμηντο, ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων τέ τινες ἀπελείποντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἦσαν. [26] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἀγχώματος ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, ὕστερον δὲ πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπερβαλλομένων τῶν Μαυρουσίων, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὁ πολλοὶ ἔφευγον, Σολόμων δὲ καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινες χρόνον μὲν τινα βαλλόμενοι ἀντεῖχον, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπερβιαζομένων τῶν πολεμίων σπουδῇ ἔφευγον ἐς τε ρύακος ἐκείνῃ ρέοντος χαράδραν ἀφίκοντο [27] ἔνθα δὴ ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου Σολόμων ἐκπίπτει ἐς ἔδαφος, καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ταῖς χερσὶν οἱ δορυφόροι ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καθίζουσι. [28] περιώδυνον δὲ γεγονότα καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔτι τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἔχεσθαι καταλαβόντες οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτόν τε κτείνουσι καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων πολλοὺς. αὕτη τε τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ Σολόμων ἐγένετο.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σολόμωνος, Σέργιος αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν, δόντος βασιλέως παρέλαβε τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. [2] ὃς δὴ φθορᾷ πολλῆς αἰτιώτατος τῷ Λιβύων γένει ἐγένετο ἅπαντές τε αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠχθοντο, ἄρχοντες μὲν, ὅτι ἀσύνητος ὢν κοιμῆ καὶ νέος τόν τε τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλαζονικώτατος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, ὕβριζέ τε λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερέωρα, πλούτου τε δυνάμει καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς τοῦτο ἀεὶ ἐπιχρώμενος· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ὅτι δὴ ἄνανδρός τε καὶ μαλθακὸς παντάπασιν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι γυναικῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλοτριῶν ἄτοπός τις ἐραστὴς ἐγεγόνει. [3] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάννης ὁ Σισινιόλου τῇ Σεργίου δυνάμει χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν τὰ πολέμια καὶ διαφερόντως εὐδόκιμος, ἀχαρίστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀτεχνῶς ἔτυχε. [4] διὸ δὴ οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε ἄλλος τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἠβούλετο. [5] τῷ δὲ Ἀντάλα οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντες εἶποντο καὶ

Στότζας ἐκ Μαυριτανίας μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. [6] ἐπεὶ τε οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐπέξῃει τῶν πολέμιων, ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ληιζόμενοι ἀδεῶς ἅπαντα. τότε Ἀντάλας Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γράμματα ἔγραψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀρνηθείην, Μαυρούσιοι δὲ πρὸς Σολόμωνος ἐν σπονδαῖς πεπονθότες ἀνόσια ἔργα, ἐν ὅλοις ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ σοι ταῦτα ἀνταίροντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἐγώ. [8] οὐ γὰρ μόνον με τῶν σιτήσεων ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω ἄσπερ μοι πολλῶ πρότερον χρόνῳ Βελισάριός τε διώρισε καὶ σὺ δέδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἔκτεινεν, οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχων. [9] τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην παρὰ τοῦ ἡδικοκότης ἡμᾶς λαβόντες ἔχομεν. εἰ δέ σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ δουλεύειν τε Μαυρουσίους τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν ἥπερ εἰώθασι, Σέργιον μὲν τὸν τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐπανήκειν παρὰ σέ κέλευε, ἄλλον δὲ στρατηγὸν εἰς Λιβύην πέμπε. [10] οὐ γάρ σε ἐπιλείψουσιν ἄνδρες ξυνετοὶ τε καὶ Σεργίου τῷ παντὶ ἀξιώτεροι: ἔως γὰρ οὗτος τῷ σῷ ἐξηγεῖται στρατῷ, εἰρήνην ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Μαυρουσίους ξυνίστασθαι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν.’ Ἀντάλας μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ [11] ταῦτα ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ μαθὼν τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐς Σέργιον ἔχθος, οὐδ’ ὥς παραλύειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤθελε, Σολόμωνος τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰσχυρόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [12] Σολόμων δέ, ὁ Σεργίου ἀδελφός, δόξας ξὺν τῷ θεῷ Σολόμωνι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμελήθη: οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὸν περιόντα ἔγνω. [13] ἐτύγχανον δὲ ζωγρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἅτε νέον κομιδῇ ὄντα Μαυρούσιοι, [14] καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἶη. ὁ δὲ Βανδίλος μὲν γένος, Σολόμωνος δὲ δοῦλος ἔφασκεν εἶναι. φίλον μέντοι τῶν τινα ἱατρῶν, Πηγάσιον ὄνομα, εἶναι οἱ ἐν πόλει Λαρίβῳ, πλησίον που οὔσῃ, ὃς αὐτὸν ὠνήσαιο τὰ λύτρα διδοῦς. [15] οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαυρούσιοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενοι ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Πηγάσιον καὶ οἱ Σολόμονα ἐπεδείκνυν, ἡρώτων τε εἰ οἱ τοῦτον ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἐστι. [16] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὡμολόγει ὠνήσεσθαι, πεντήκοντά οἱ χρυσῶν ἀπέδοντο τὸν Σολόμονα. [17] ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος Σολόμων τοὺς Μαυρουσίους, ἅτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεираκίου ὄντος ἐξηπατημένους, ἐτόθῃζεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ Σολόμων ἔφασκεν, ὁ Βάκχου μὲν παῖς, [18] Σολόμωνος δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς εἶναι. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλοῦντες καὶ δεινὰ ποιοῦμενοι, ὅτι δὴ Σεργίου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐνέχυρον κρατερὸν ἔχοντες εἶτα οὕτω παρέργως ἀφῆκαν, ἐς Λάριβόν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ὅπως τὸν Σολόμονα ξὺν τῇ πόλει αἰρήσουσιν. [19] οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν προσεδρεῖαν κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομισάμενοι ἔτυχον, τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐφ’ ᾧ χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενοι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν εὐθὺς διαλύσωσιν. [20] οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐλεῖν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν οἴομενοι, ἐπεὶ Μαυρουσίους τειχομαχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἡσκηται, σπανίζειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἥκιστα ἔγνωσαν, τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τρισχιλίους κεκομισμένοι χρυσοὺς τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, καὶ οἱ Λευάθαι ἐπ’ οἴκου ξύμπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

Ἀντάλας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς ξυνελέγοντο αὐθις ἐν Βυζακίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς Στότζας ξυνῆν, στρατιώτας τε ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ Βανδύλους ἔχων. [2] Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Σισινιόλου, πολλὰ λιπαρούντων Λιβύων, στρατεύμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθεν. [3] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἱμέριος Θραξ τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἄρχων, ὃν δὴ τότε Ἰωάννης ἐκέλευε πάντας ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς ταύτη καταλόγους ξὺν τοῖς ἐκάστῳ ἡγουμένοις ἐλθόντα ἐς χωρίον Μενεφέσση, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ, [4] σφίσι ξυμμιῖσαι. ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας ἐνταῦθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, Ἱμερίῳ ἔγραφε τὰ τε ξυμπεσόντα δηλῶν καὶ σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐτέρωθι ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἅπαντες ὑπαντιάσωσι τοῖς πολεμίους. [5] τύχη δέ τι οἱ ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἔχοντες ὁδῷ ἐτέρα χρησάμενοι τὸν Ἱμέριον εὗρεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον γέγονεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσίν. [6] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ νεανίας Σεβηριανός, Ἀσιατικοῦ παῖς, Φοῖνιξ, Ἑμεσηνὸς γένος, καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων. [7] ὃς δὴ μόνος ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις, πεντήκοντα οὖσι, τοῖς πολεμίους ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. [8] καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντειχόν τινα, ἔπειτα δὲ πλήθει πολλῶν βιαζόμενοι ἐς λόφον ἀνέδραμον ἐνταῦθα πη ὄντα, οὗ δὴ καὶ φρούριον οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν. [9] διὸ δὴ ὁμολογία σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκόσι παρέδωκαν. [10] οἱ δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινα ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ ζωγρήσαντες ἅπαντας, Ἱμέριον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον, τῷ δὲ Στότζᾳ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέδοσαν, ὁμολογοῦντας σφίσι ξὺν προθυμίᾳ. πολλῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσεσθαι: τὸν μέντοι Ἱμέριον, ἦν μὴ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ποιῇ, κτείνειν ἠπειλοῦν. [11] ἐπήγγελλον δὲ πόλιν Ἀδραμητὸν ἐπιθαλασσίαν μηχανῇ τι σφίσιν ἐνδοῦναι. καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἰσχυρίζετο βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἀδραμητὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν. [12] τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι Ἱμέριον μὲν ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ξὺν στρατιώταις τῶν Στότζᾳ ἐπομένων τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, Μαυρουσίους δεδεμένους δῆθεν ἐφέλκοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀπισθεν εἶποντο. [13] καὶ τῷ Ἱμερίῳ εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστώσι ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πύλαις ἐπέστελλον, ὥς νικῶν μὲν κατὰ κράτος ὁ βασιλέως στρατός, ἥξει δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, πλῆθος Μαυρουσίων δορυαλώτων ἄγων ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσον: οὕτω τε τῶν πυλῶν σφίσιν ἀνοιγνυμένων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ξὺν τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ ἰοῦσι γενέσθαι. [14] καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀδραμητηνοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθέντες, οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ πάντων ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στρατιωτῶν εἶχον, τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέχοντο. [15] τότε δὴ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἱμερίῳ ἐσβάντες σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη τὰς πύλας ἐπιτιθέναι τοὺς ταύτη φύλακας οὐκέτι εἶων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ πόλει αὐτίκα ἐδέξαντο τὸν τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατόν. [16] ληισάμενοί τε αὐτὴν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φύλακας καταστησάμενοι ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [17] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν ζωγρηθέντων τινὲς μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον, ἐν οἷς Σεβηριανός τε καὶ Ἱμέριος ἦν. ἐκ Μαυρουσίων γὰρ τοῖς φεύγειν ἐθέλουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξὺν τῷ Στότζᾳ οὕτι ἄκοντες ἔμειναν. [18] Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῶν τις ἱερέων, Παῦλος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐφεστήκει τῇ τῶν νοσούντων ἐπιμελείᾳ, κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίμων τισίν, 'Αὐτὸς μὲν,' ἔφη, 'ἐς Καρχηδόνα

σταλήσομαι καὶ κατὰ τάχος ξὺν στρατῷ ἐπανήξειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, ὑμῖν δὲ μελήσει τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως [19] στράτευμα δεῖξασθαι.’ οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν βρόχοις τισὶν ἀνάφαντες νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καθῆκαν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἡίονα γενόμενος, ὀλκάδος τε ἀλιέων ἐπιτυχὼν ἐνταυθὰ πη οὔσης χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας τοὺς ταύτης κυρίους ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει. [20] οὗ δὴ καταπλεύσας καὶ Σεργίῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν τὸν τε λόγον ἅπαντα ἔφρασε καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ὡς Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσομένῳ διδόναι ἡξίου. [21] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα Σέργιον ἥκιστα ἥρεσκεν, ἅτε τοῦ ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατοῦ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὅδε ὀλίγους οἱ στρατιώτας τινὰς διδόναι ἐδεῖτο, λαβὼν τε ἄνδρας οὐ πλεον ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐπενοεῖ τοιαύδε. [22] νηῶν τε ἄθροισιν καὶ ἀκάτων συχνῶν ποιησάμενος ναύτας τε πολλοὺς ἐνταυθὰ ἐσεβίβασε καὶ Λίβυας ἄλλους, ἱμάτια περιβεβλημένους ἃ δὴ Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατιῶται εἰώθασιν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι. [23] ἄρας τε τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ εὐθὺς Ἀδραμητοῦ κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψας τινὰς λάθρα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως δοκίμοις ἐσήμαινεν ὡς Γερμανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔναγχος ἦκων Ἀδραμητηνοῖς λόγοι πολλοῦ ἄξιον στράτευμα πέμψειεν. [24] οἷς δὴ θαρσύνοντας ἐκέλευε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἀνακλινᾶ' σφίσι πυλῖδα μίαν. [25] οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε ὁ Παῦλος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε καὶ βασιλεῖ Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνέσώσατο: ἢ τε ἀμφὶ Γερμανῷ φήμη ἐνθένδε ἀρξαμένη ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐχώρησεν. [26] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐς τὰς Λιβύης ἐσχατιὰς φεύγοντες ὥχοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ γνόντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἥ αὐτοὶ Ἀδραμητηνῶν φεισάμενοι πάντων τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνων πεπόνθασι. [27] διὸ δὴ πανταχῇ ἐπισκῆψαντες ἀνόσια Λίβυας ἔργα εἰργάσαντο, οὐδεμιὰς ἡλικίας φεισάμενοι, γέγονέ τε τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα. [28] Λιβύων γὰρ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς πόλεις διέφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ νήσους τὰς ἄλλας. [29] οἱ μέντοι λόγιμοι σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Παῦλος ἦν, ὁ τὴν Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσάμενος βασιλεῖ. [30] οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι ἀδεέστερον, ἅτε οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος, ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ Στότζας ἐν δυνάμει ὢν ἤδη. [31] Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ εἶποντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτόμολοι ἦκοντες, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγεννημένοι, [32] ἐθελούσιοι δὲ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες. Ἰωάννης δέ, οὗ δὴ λόγος τις ἦν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, Σεργίῳ προσκεκρουκῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν.

Ἐν τούτοις δὲ βασιλεὺς ἄλλον ἐς Λιβύην στρατηγὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ξὺν στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς μὲν καὶ εὖ γεγονότα, [2] ἔργων δὲ πολέμιων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρον. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἀθανάσιον ἑπαρχον ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκοντα ἔστελλε καὶ Ἀρμενίους ὀλίγους τινάς, ὧν Ἀρταβάνης τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, Ἰωάννου παῖδες, Ἀρσακίδαι μὲν γένος, ἔναγχος δὲ ἀπολιπόντες τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα, ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους αὖθις ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόμολοι ἦκοντες. [3] συνῆν δὲ τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἢ τε ἀδελφῇ καὶ Πρεϊέκτα ἡ γυνή, Βιγλεντίας θυγάτηρ τῆς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀδελφῆς. [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Σέργιον μετεπέμπετο, ἀλλ' αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον Λιβύης

στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευεν εἶναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους διελομένους. [5] ἐπέβαλε δὲ Σεργίῳ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ βαρβάρους, Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίοις αἰεὶ διαμάχεσθαι. [6] καταπλεύσαντός τε τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Σέργιος μὲν ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας ξὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, Ἀρεοβίνδος δὲ Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Στότζαν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι μαθὼν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σικκαβενερίαν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσας, Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν: [7] τῷ τε Σεργίῳ ἔγραφε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ κοινῇ ἅπαντες ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρήσουσι. [8] Σέργιος μὲν οὖν τῶν τε γεγραμμένων καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὀλιγωρεῖν ἔγνω, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ ἀμυθῆται ἡνάγκαστο πολεμίων πλήθει ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [9] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Στότζᾳ μέγα τι αἰεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος, ἐκάτερός τε αὐτοῖν ἠύχετο φονεὺς θατέρου γενόμενος οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [10] τότε γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γίνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἄμφω ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλαύνοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦλθον. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον ἔτι προσιόντα τὸν Στότζαν κατὰ βουβῶνα τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ καιρίαν πληγὴς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν, οὐπω μὲν τεθνεώς, χρόνον δέ τινα ὀλίγον ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπιβιωσόμενος τῇ πληγῇ. [12] ἐπελθόντες δὲ πάντες αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ εἶποντο καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς, Στότζαν μὲν ὀλιγοψυχοῦντα ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς ἔθεντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρήσαντες τὸν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, ἅτε πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντες, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο. [13] τότε δὴ φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἡδὺν τινα θάνατον θνήσκει, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀμφὶ τῷ Στότζᾳ ἐς πέρας ἀφίκται. χώρος δέ τις ἦν κατάντης ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀποβάλλει ὀκλάσας ὁ ἵππος. [14] ἐφ' ὃν αὖθις αὐτὸν ἀναθρόσκειν πειρώμενον καταλαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κτείνουσιν, ἄνδρα γενόμενον δόξῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγαν. ὅπερ ὁ Στότζας μαθὼν ἐτελεύτησε, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὡς ἥδιστα τὸ λοιπὸν θνήσκει. [15] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταβάνου ἀδελφὸς θνήσκει, ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας περιώδυνός τε τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀρετῇ γεγονώς μάλιστα, ἀξύμφορόν τε νομίσας εἶναι τοῖν δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπειν, τὸν μὲν Σέργιον εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ξὺν στρατῷ ἐπεμψεν, Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ Λιβύης παρέδωκε κράτος.

Γόνθαρις δὲ δυοῖν μῆσιν ὕστερον ἢ Σέργιος ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, τυραννίδι ἐπέθετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐτύγχανε μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν Νουμίδαις καταλόγων ἡγούμενος διατριβὴν τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων, ἔπρασσε δὲ λάθρα ἐς Μαυρουσίους ὅπως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα χωρήσωσιν. [2] αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἔκ τε Νουμιδίας καὶ Βυζακίου πολεμίων στρατὸς ἐς ταὐτὸ ἀγηγερμένος ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦεσαν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Νουμιδῶν μὲν Κουτζίνας τε καὶ Ἰαύδας, Βυζακηνῶν δὲ Ἀντάλας. [3] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τύραννος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ὃν δὴ οἱ στασιῶται, Στότζα τετελευτηκότος, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο. [4] γνοὺς δὲ Ἀρεοβίνδος τὴν ἔφοδον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἀρχόντων ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ Γόνθαριν μετεπέμπετο.

παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀρταβάνης. [5] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρεόβινδος
Γόνθαριν ἐξηγεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. [6] ὁ δὲ
προθύμως οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπηρετήσιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐποίει τάδε. τῶν
οἰκετῶν ἓνα, Μαυρούσιον μὲν γένος, τέχνην δὲ μάγειρον, ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων
στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι, καὶ δόκησιν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ
τὸν δεσπότην ἀποδράς ὄχετο, λάθρα δὲ τῷ Ἀντάλα εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτῷ Γόνθαρς
κοινωνεῖν βούλοιο τῆς Λιβύων ἀρχῆς. [7] ὁ μὲν οὖν μάγειρος κατὰ ταῦτα
ἐποίει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντάλας τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀσμένως ἤκουσε, τοσοῦτον δὲ
ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς αἱ γενναῖαι τῶν πράξεων οὐ διὰ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιγίνεσθαι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πεφύκασι. [8] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Γόνθαρς ἤκουσε, τῶν δορυφόρων
ἓνα, Οὐλίθεον ὄνομα, ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο, παρὰ τὸν Ἀντάλαν
εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὡς ἀγγοτάτῳ Καρχηδόνος αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν ἰέναι. [9] οὕτω
γάρ οἱ τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [10] ὁ μὲν οὖν
Οὐλίθεος κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων Ἀντάλα ξυμβαίνει, ἐφ' ᾧ Βυζακίου μὲν
Ἀντάλας ἄρχοι, τό τε ἡμισυ τῶν Ἀρεόβινδου χρημάτων ἔχων καὶ
πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόμενος,
Γόνθαρς δὲ τὸ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα λάβοι, Καρχηδόνος τε τὸ κράτος καὶ Λιβύης
τῆς ἄλλης ἔχων. [11] ταῦτά τε διαπεπραγμένοις ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων
στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἅπαν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίητο, ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ
φυλακτήρια πύλης ἐκάστης νειμάμενοι. [12] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
εὐθὺς Καρχηδόνος σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦσαν, ἔν τε χωρίῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ καλουμένῳ
στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἐνθένδε τε ἄραντες τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρόσω
ἐχώρουν. [13] τινὲς δὲ ὑπαντιάσαντες τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐς χεῖρας τε
αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἦλθον καὶ Μαυρουσίους οὐ συχνοὺς ἔκτειναν. [14] οὕς
δὴ ὁ Γόνθαρς εὐθὺς ἀνεκάλει κακίζων ἅτε ἀνεπισκέπτως τε θρασυνομένους
καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐθέλοντας ἐς προὔπτόν τινα ἐμβαλεῖν κίνδυνον. [15]
Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Κουτζίναν λάθρα ἔπρασσε
προδοσίας πέρι. καὶ οἱ ὁ Κουτζίνας ὡμολόγησεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ
γένωνται, ἐπὶ τε Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ τραπέσθαι. [16]
Μαυρούσιοι γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ
πιστὸν ἔχουσι. ταῦτα ἐς Γόνθαριν Ἀρεόβινδος ἐξήνεγκεν. [17] ὁ δὲ
παρακρούεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐθέλων παρῆνει τῷ
Ἀρεόβινδῳ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς Κουτζίναν ὡς ἤκιστα ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν
ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι. [18] Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν οὖν καὶ Κουτζίνας λάθρα
παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ πέμποντες ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐς Ἀντάλαν ἐπιβουλῇ διατριβὴν εἶχον.
[19] Γόνθαρς δὲ αὖθις τὸν Οὐλίθεον στείλας ἔκπυστα τῷ Ἀντάλα ἐποίησε τὰ
πρασσόμενα. [20] καὶ ὅς οὔτε τι τῷ Κουτζίνα ἐπικαλεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε ὅτι ἐπέπυστο
τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνδηλος αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τι ἐξήνεγκε τῶν αὐτῷ τε
καὶ Γονθάριδι ξυγκειμένων. [21] ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἄμφω πολέμοι τε καὶ δυσμενεῖς
ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες νῶ τε πονηρῷ ξυνετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ τε τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑκάτερος
φίλον ἀλλήλοις ξυστρατεύοντες ἦσαν. [22] τοιαυτὴ μὲν γνώμη Κουτζίνας τε
καὶ Ἀντάλας ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ στρατὸν ἐπῆγον. Γόνθαρς δὲ
κτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον διανοεῖτο, τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν τυραννίδος
ἐπιβατεύειν, ἐν παρατάξει λάθρα τοῦτο δρᾶν ἠθελεν, ὅπως πρὸς ἐτέρων μὲν ἢ

ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν γεγενῆσθαι δόξειεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἀνελεῖσθαι τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. [23] ἀπάτη τοίνυν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον περιελθὼν πείθει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξελθόντα ὁμόσε ἰέναι, ἥδη που Καρχηδόνος ἄγχιστα ἤκουσιν. [24] ἐδόκει γοῦν αὐτῷ τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. [25] ἀλλ' Ἀρεόβινδος ἀπείρως τε λίαν ἐς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχων μελλήσει ἐχρήτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [26] μελετῶν τε γὰρ ὅπως ἐνδύσαιοτο τὴν τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξαρτυόμενος ἐς τὴν ἐξοδὸν τὸν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάλωσε χρόνον. [27] διὸ δὴ τὴν παρατάξιν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀποθέμενος ἡσυχὴ ἔμενε. [28] Γόνθαρὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες τὴν μέλλῃσιν πεποιῆσθαι ὑποτοπῆσας ἅτε τῶν πρassoμένων αἰσθανόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τὸν τε φόνον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἔγνω.

Ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἐποίει τάδε. τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς φυλακὴν εἶχε, λίθους μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς ἔνερθεν ἔθηκεν, ὥς μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐπιτιθέναι εὐπετῶς δύναίτο, ἄνδρας τε τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις πολλοὺς ἔστησεν, αὐτὸς τε τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς εἰστήκει ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πύλαις. [2] ἐπενόει δὲ ταῦτα οὐ Μαυρουσίων ἔνεκα, ὅπως τῇ πόλει αὐτοὺς δέξεται ἄβεβαιοι γὰρ Μαυρούσιοι παντάπασιν ὄντες ὑπόπτως ἔχουσιν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [3] τοῦτο τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος γενέσθαι ξυμβαίνει· ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἄπιστος ἐς τοὺς πέλας καθέστηκε φύσει, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πιστεύειν ὅτῳδὺν δύναται, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως ἔχειν ἀναγκάζεται ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης τὸν τοῦ πέλας σταθμώμενος τρόπον. [4] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Μαυρουσίους ἠλπίζε Γόνθαρὶς πιστεύσαντάς οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως Ἀρεόβινδος ἐμπεσὼν ἐς μέγα τι δέος ἐς φυγὴν τε εὐθὺς ὀρμηθεῖ καὶ κατὰ τάχος Καρχηδόνα ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζοιτο. [5] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν μεταξὺ ἐπιγεγόμενος διεκώλυσεν. [6] μαθὼν δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὰ ποιούμενα, τὸν τε Ἀθανάσιον καὶ τῶν δοκίμων τινὰς μετεπέμπετο. [7] παρὴν δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρίτος αὐτός, τῷ τε Ἀρεοβινδῷ παρήνει μήτε ἀναπεπτωκέναι μήτε τόλμῃ τῇ Γονθάριδος ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένους ἰόντα ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, πρὶν τι περαιτέρω γεγενῆσθαι κακόν. [8] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδος παρὰ Γόνθαριν τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τινά, Φρέδαν ὄνομα, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Φρέδας ἐπανήκων οὐδαμῇ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι Γόνθαριν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐσῆγγελλεν, ἥδη ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥς ἐς μάχην ἰέναι διενοεῖτο. [10] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γόνθαρὶς Ἀρεόβινδον εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας διέβαλεν, ὥς ἀνανδρός τε εἶη καὶ ἅμα μὲν δέει ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενος, ἅμα δὲ τὰς συντάξεις σφίσιν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων διδόναι, δρασμόν τε ξὺν Ἀθανασίῳ βουλεύεται καὶ αὐτίκα ἐκ Μανδρακίου ἀποπλεῖν μέλλουσιν, ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται λιμῷ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις μαχόμενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐπυνθάνετό τε εἶπερ αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἶη ἅμφω ξυλλαβοῦσιν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. [11] οὕτω γὰρ ἠλπίζεν Ἀρεόβινδον ἢ τοῦ θορύβου ἡσθημένον φυγῇ χρῆσεσθαι, ἢ καταληφθέντα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφθαρῆσεσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [12] χρήματα μέντοι αὐτὸς οἶκοθεν ὡμολόγει τοῖς στρατιώταις προῖεσθαι ὅσαπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ δημόσιον

ὄφλε. [13] καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε λόγους ἐπῆνουν καὶ θυμῷ ἐς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον πολλῷ εἶχοντο, μεταξὺ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ζὺν τε Ἀρταβάνη καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκεται. [14] καὶ γίνεται μάχη ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ κάτω ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας οὗ Γόνθαρις εἰστήκει, ἐν ἧ οὐδέτεροι τὸ ἔλασσον ἔσχον. [15] ἔμελλόν τε ξυλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅσοι βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, τοὺς στασιώτας κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντας ὁ Γόνθαρις πω ἐξηπατήκει, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀκραιβνεῖς ἔμενον. [16] Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ τότε πρῶτον ἄνδρας κτεινομένους ἰδὼν 'οὐ γὰρ πω ἐθὰς τοῦ θεάματος τούτου ἐτύγχανεν ὧν κατεπλάγη τε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσας οὐκ ἐνεγκών τε τὰ ὀρώμενα φεύγει. [17] Ἔστι δὲ τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Καρχηδόνης περιβόλου νεὼς πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτῇ, οὗ δὴ ἄνδρες οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἡσκηται: μοναχοὺς καλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀεὶ νενομίκαμεν: τοῦτον Σολόμων δειμάμενος τὸν νεῶν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον τειχίσματί τε περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο. [18] ἐνταῦθα καταφυγὼν Ἀρεόβινδος ἐσεπῆδησεν, ἐνθα τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. [19] τότε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ζύμπαντες ἐνθένδε ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. [20] Γόνθαρις δὲ κατὰ κράτος νενικηκῶς ζὺν τοῖς στασιώταις τὸ Παλάτιον ἔσχε, καὶ τὰς τε πύλας τὸν τε λιμένα ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἤδη ἐφύλαττε. [21] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀθανάσιον μετεπέμπετο, καὶ ὃς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἦλθε, [22] θωπεῖα τε πολλῇ χρώμενος δόκησιν παρείχετο ὡς αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα ἢ πρᾶξις ἀρέσκοι. [23] ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἱερέα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδον ἐκέλευε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντα ἐς Παλάτιον ἦκειν, ἀπειλήσας πολιορκήσιν τε ἀπειθήσαντα καὶ μηκέτι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐξελὼν κτείνειν. [24] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς Ῥεπάρατος ἰσχυρίζετο Γονθάριδος γνώμη τῷ Ἀρεόβινδῳ ὁμείσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄχαρι πρὸς ἐκείνου ζυμβήσεσθαι, φράσας καὶ ὅσα μὴ πειθομένῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἠπειλίησε. [25] δέισας δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ὡμολόγησεν αὐτίκα τῷ ἱερεῖ ἔψεσθαι, ἦν τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν ἱεουργήσας, ἥπερ εἴθισται, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπομοσάμενος ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη. [26] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ οὐδὲν τι μελλήσας αὐτῷ εἶπετο, ἱμάτιον ἀμπερόμενος οὔτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἄλλῳ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ ἢ ἰδιώτῃ παντάπασι πρέπον: κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [27] ἐπειδὴ τε ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Παλατίου ἐγένοντο, τὰ θεῖα ἐν χερσὶ λόγια παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λαβὼν τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς ὧσιν ἦλθε. [28] πρηνῆς τε πεσὼν χρόνον πολὺν αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ τε θεῖα λόγια προτεινόμενος καὶ τὸ παιδίον ὅπερ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀζιωθὲν λουτροῦ ἔτυχεν, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τὴν πίστιν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, παρέσχετο. [29] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξανέστησεν ὁ Γόνθαρις μόλις, πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων ἀνεπνυθάνετο τοῦ Γονθάριδος, εἰ οἱ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται. [30] καὶ ὃς θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότατα ἤδη ἐκέλευεν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ζὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης οἰχήσεσθαι. [31] εἶτα τὸν ἱερέα Ῥεπάρατον ἀποπεμψάμενος, Ἀρεόβινδόν τε καὶ Ἀθανάσιον δειπνεῖν ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκέλευε. [32] καὶ δειπνοῦντα μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐτίμα: πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε:

δειπνήσαντα δὲ οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδειν ἐν κοιτῶνι μόνον ἠνάγκαζεν: οὗ δὴ τὸν Οὐλίθεον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεμψεν. [33] οἵπερ αὐτὸν κωκύοντά τε καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς συχναῖς χρώμενον πολλά τε πρὸς ἔλεον ἐπαγωγὰ φθεγγόμενον ἐς αὐτοὺς κτείνουσιν. Ἀθανασίου μέντοι ἐφείσαντο, τὸ γήρας, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπεριδόντες.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μὲν Ἀρεοβίνδου κεφαλὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ὁ Γόνθαρις ἐπεμψε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. [2] Ἀντάλας τοίνυν, ὅτι τέ οἱ τῶν ξυγκειμένων οὐδὲν ἐπετέλει, δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τὰ τε ὁμωμοσμένα τὰ τε εἰργασμένα τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς τὸν Ἀρεοβίνδον ἐννοῶν ἥσχαλλεν. [3] οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐδόκει ὁ τοιοῦτους ὅρκους ἡδικηκῶς οὔτε αὐτῷ ποτε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὀτφοῦν πιστὸς ἔσσεσθαι. [4] πολλὰ γοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ προσχωρεῖν ἤθελε: διὸ δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. [5] γνούς τε Μαρκέντιον, ὃς τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἦρχεν, ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ταύτῃ ἐπικειμένων καταφυγεῖν, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν φράσας τε τὸν πάντα λόγον καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δούς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπηγάγετο. [6] καὶ Μαρκέντιος μὲν ἔμενε ξὺν τῷ Ἀντάλᾳ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, στρατιῶται δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Βυζακίῳ διατριβὴν εἶχον, εὐνοικῶς βασιλεῖ ἔχοντες, Ἀδραμητὸν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. [7] οἱ δὲ τοῦ Στότζα στρατιῶται, οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ χίλιοι ὄντες, αἰσθόμενοι τῶν ποιουμένων, Ἰωάννου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ: [8] καὶ ὃς αὐτοὺς ἀσμένως τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Οὐννοὶ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Βανδίλοι ἅπαντες. [9] καὶ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἀνέβη καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ ὑπηρετήσῃ ἐπιτάσσοντι ὡμολόγησε. [10] λάθρα δὲ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐβουλεύετο, Γρηγορίῳ τε τῷ ἀνεψίῳ καὶ Ἀρτασίρῃ τῷ δορυφόρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο. [11] Γρηγόριος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνάγων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Ἀρταβάνη, νῦν σοι πάρεστι μόνῳ τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀναδήσασθαι κλέος, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι ὑπερβαλέσθαι. [12] ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ βασιλέως λαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ἦκεν, ἄρχοντας μὲν ἔχων τούς οἱ ἐπομένους καὶ ξυμβούλους πολλούς, στόλον δὲ νηῶν οἷον οὐπὼ ἡμεῖς ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, ἵππον τε πολλὴν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἐπαξίως οἱ παρεσκευασμένα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [13] οὕτω τε πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀνεσώσατο Λιβύην Ῥωμαίοις. [14] ἅπερ ἅπαντα οὕτως ἀπόλωλεν ὥστε, εἰ μὴδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνει, ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀποκέκριται Ῥωμαίοις τανῦν ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου νίκης τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξημιῶσθαι, καὶ πρὸς γε τὸ μὴδὲ φυλάξαι τάγαθὰ δυνατοῖς γεγονέναι. [15] τὸ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀνασώσασθαι τανῦν βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ σῇ μόνῃ ψυχῇ τε καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ δεξιᾷ κεῖται. [16] οὐκοῦν ἐκλογίζου μὲν ὥς εἴ Ἀρσακίδης ἀνέκαθεν γένος, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὥς τοῖς εὖ γεγονόσιν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἀεὶ τε καὶ πανταχῇ πρέπει. [17] πολλὰ γοῦν σοι ἔργα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας θαυμαστὰ πέπρακται. Ἀκάκιον γάρ, νέος ὢν ἔτι, τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σίτταν τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ἐκτεινας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ γνώριμος γεγονώς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσας. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ τηλικόσδε εἴ, ὥς σὸν εἶναι μὴ περιορᾶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ κυνὶ μεθύοντι κεῖσθαι, ἐνδείκνυσο τανῦν ὥς

εὐγενεΐα τε καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα, ὧ ἡγαθέ, τὰ πρόσθεν εἰργάσω· ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Ἀρτασίρης ὅδε ἅπαντα ἐπιτάττοντι ὅση δύναμις ὑπουργήσομεν.’ [19] Γρηγόριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀρταβάνου δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὥρμησεν. [20] ὁ δὲ Γόνθαρς Ἀρεοβίνδου μὲν τὴν τε γυναικα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τινος οἰκίας ἡνάγκασε μένειν, οὔτε τι ὑβρίσας λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὅτῳ οὐκ ἐς αὐτάς οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνδεεστερώς ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐχούσας οὔτε τι ἄλλο βιασθεΐσας εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι γράψαι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον ἢ Πρεϊέκτα ἡνάγκαστο ὡς Γόνθαρς μὲν αὐτάς τε τιμῇ ἐς ἅγαν καὶ καθαρὸς εἶη παντάπασι τοῦ τάνδρὸς φόνου, Οὐλίθεω δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐργασθεῖη, Γονθάριδος οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος. [21] ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γόνθαρς Πασιφίλῳ ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἀνδρὶ γεγονότι μὲν τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στασιωτῶν πρώτῳ, ξυναραμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν. [22] ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ ὁ Πασίφιλος, ἦν ταῦτα ποιοίη, ξυνοικεῖν τε αὐτῷ βασιλέα τὴν κόρην καὶ προῖκα κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπιδώσειν χρημάτων μεγάλων. [23] Ἀρταβάνην τε τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀντάλῃ καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐκέλευε. [24] Κουτζίνας γάρ, ἅτε τῷ Ἀντάλῃ προσκεκρουκῶς, ἀπέστη τε αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ Γονθάριδι προσεχώρησεν· ὃ δὴ τὸν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέσχετο. [25] τὸ μὲν οὖν στράτευμα ἡγουμένου Ἀρταβάνου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντάλῃ ἐχώρει. ξυνηὴν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἄρχων, καὶ Οὐλίθεος ὁ δορυφόρος· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Μαυρούσιοι, [26] ὧν Κουτζίνας ἦρχε. πόλιν τε Ἀδραμητὸν διαμείψαντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνταῦθα πη ὄντας, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὀλίγῳ ἄποθεν τῶν πολεμίων ἠϋλίσαντο. [27] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Οὐλίθεος, μοῖρᾴν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχοντες, αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ καὶ Κουτζίνας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ στράτευμα. [28] οὗς δὴ οὐ ξυνεγκόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἀντάλῃ Μαυρούσιοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [29] ἀλλ’ ἐθελοκακήσας Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου στρέψας τε τὸ σημεῖον ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνε. [30] διὸ δὴ Οὐλίθεος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦκοντα κτείνειν διανοεῖτο. [31] παραιτούμενος δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἔφασκε δεῖσαι μὴ Μαρκέντιος ἐξ Ἀδραμητοῦ πόλεως ἐπιβοηθήσας τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπῃ ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν ὧν, ἀνῆκεστα σφᾶς ἔργα ἐργάσθαι· [32] ἀλλὰ Γόνθαριν χρῆναι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι. [33] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐβουλευέτο ἐς Ἀδραμητὸν ἰὼν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τῷ βασιλέει στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι. [34] ἄμεινον δὲ οἱ πολλὰ διαλογισαμένῳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γόνθαριν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαντι βασιλέα τε καὶ Λιβύην πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάξαι δυσκόλων. [35] ἀναστρέψας οὖν ἐς Καρχηδὸνα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι δὴ στρατεύματος αὐτῷ πλείονος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεήσει. [36] ὁ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα μὲν ἐξοπλίσαι τὸν στρατὸν ἤθελεν, αὐτὸς δὲ φυλακὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καταστήσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσασθαι. [37] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνῆρει ἐς οὗς ὑποψία τινὶ καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐχρήτο. [38] τῷ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ὃν δὴ καταστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνοιο φυλακῇ ἔμελλε, τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἅπαντας οὐδὲν ὑπολογισαμένῳ κτείνειν.

Τὰ τε ἄλλα διοικησάμενος ὅπῃ οἱ ἐδόκει ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους

ἑστιᾶν ἔγνω, ὥς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν ἔξοδον ποιησόμενος. [2] ἔν τε οἰκῇματι οὗ δὴ στιβάδες ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρεῖς, τὴν θοίνην ἐποίει. [3] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατεκλίνετο, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῆς πρώτης, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀθανάσιός τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἦσαν, τῶν τε Γονθάριδι γνωρίμων τινές, καὶ Πέτρος Θρᾶξ μὲν γένος, δορυφόρος δὲ Σολόμωνος γενόμενος πρότερον. [4] ἐν ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις στιβάσι Βανδύλων οἱ πρῶτοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. [5] Ἰωάννην μέντοι, ὃς τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἦρχε, Πασίφιλος ἰδίᾳ εἰστία, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ὅπῃ ἐκάστω τῶν Γονθάριδι ἐπιτηδεῖων φίλον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [6] Ἀρταβάνης τοίνυν ἡνίκα ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν θοίνην ἐκαλεῖτο, τοῦτόν οἱ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν ἐς τὸν τοῦ τυράννου φόνον οἰόμενος, τὸ βούλευμα ἐπιτελεῖν διενοεῖτο. [7] ἐς Γρηγόριον οὖν καὶ Ἀρτασίρην καὶ δορυφόρους ἑτέρους τρεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξενεγκὼν τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους ζῦν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκέλευσεν εἶσω γενέσθαι: ἄρχόντων γὰρ ἑστιωμένων ὀπισθεν ἐστάναι τοὺς δορυφόρους νόμος· εἶσω δὲ γενομένους ἐγχειρεῖν ἄφνω, ἡνίκα ἂν σφίσι δοκῇ ὁ καιρὸς ὥς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν, πρῶτόν τε τὸν Ἀρτασίρην ἔργου ἔχεσθαι. [8] τῷ δὲ Γρηγορίῳ ἐπέστελλε τῶν Ἀρμενίων πολλοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτους ἀπολεξαμένῳ ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπαγαγέσθαι, τὰ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας: ἄλλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὶ τοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐν πόλει ἐπομένους ὀπλιζέσθαι θέμις· τούτους τε ἐν τῷ προστώῳ ἀπολιπόντι εἶσω ζῦν τοῖς δορυφόροις γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν βούλευμα μηδενὶ ἐξεπτεῖν, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰπεῖν μόνον, ὥς ἐς τὸν Γόνθαριν ὑπόπτως ἔχοι, ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ἀρταβάνους ἐς τὴν θοίνην αὐτὸν κεκληκέναι: [9] βούλεσθαι τοίνυν ἐστάναι μὲν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς Γονθάριδος φύλακας οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο, τοῦ δὲ παίζειν δόκησιν τινα παρεχομένους τῶν μὲν ἀσπίδων ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι φέρουσιν ἄπτεσθαι, πάλλοντας δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ ἄλλως κινουντας ἄνω κάτω ἐς αἰεὶ στρέφειν: θορύβου δὲ ἢ κραυγῆς ἐντὸς γενομένης ἀραμένους τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτὰς βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ. [10] Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεν, ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. ὃ τε Ἀρτασίρης ἐπενόει τάδε: τῶν βελῶν τινα διελὼν δίχα τῷ καρπῷ τῆς εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἐπέθετο κατὰ τὰς τομὰς μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα. ἱμασί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφίγξας ὑπερθε τὸ ταύτη τοῦ χιτωνίσκου μέρος ἐπέβαλλεν. [11] ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἦν τις αὐτῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενος ἐγχειρῇ παίειν, μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεινὸν πεπονθέναι ξυμβαίη, προβεβλημένῳ μὲν τὴν λαϊὰν χεῖρα, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρου ἀποκαυλιζομένου ἐν τῇ ἐς τὸ ξύλον ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἄψασθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος. Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἀρτασίρης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐποίει. [12] τῷ δὲ Ἀρταβάνῃ ἔλεξεν ὧδε: Ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἐγχείρημα ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὑποστήσεσθαι καὶ ξίφει τῷδε τοῦ Γονθάριδος σώματος ψαύσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πότερα ὁ θεὸς τῷ τυράννῳ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ξυγκατεργάσεται μοι τὸ τόλμημα τοῦτο, ἢ τινα ἐμὴν ἁμαρτάδα τινύμενος ἐνταῦθα τε ἀπαντήσας ἐμπόδιος εἴη. [13] ἦν τοίνυν οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ πληγέντα τὸν τύραννον ἰδῆς, σὺ δὴ με τῷ ξίφει τῷ ἐμῷ μηδὲν τι μελλήσας ἀπόκτεινον, ὅπως μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ αἰκίζόμενος γνώμη τε τῇ σῇ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥρμηκέναι εἰπὼν αἰσχιστά τε αὐτὸς διαφθαρείην καὶ σε προσαπολεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖν ἀκούσιος.’ [14] τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀρτασίρης εἰπὼν ζῦν τε Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐν

παρὰ τὰς στιβάδας ἐλθὼν ὀπισθεν Ἀρταβάνου ἐστήκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παρὰ τοὺς φύλακας μένοντες τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίουν. [15] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρτασίρης, ἄρξαμένης που τῆς θοίνης, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἤδη τε τῆς τοῦ ἀκινάκου λαβῆς ἤπτετο. [16] ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὁ Γρηγόριος διεκώλυσεν ἔτι τὸν Γόνθαριν ὅλον εἰπὼν τῇ Ἀρμενίων φωνῇ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι, οὐπω ἐκπεπωκότα τοῦ οἴνου τι μέγα. [17] ἀνοιμῶξας τοῖνυν Ἀρτασίρης, 'Ὡ ἄνθρωπε,' εἶπεν, 'ὡς καλὴν ἔχοντά με ψυχὴν οὐ δέον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεκώλυκας.' [18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, ἤδη που καταβεβρεγμένος ὁ Γόνθαρς τοῖς δορυφόροις τῶν βρώσεων ἐδίδου, φιλοτιμία τινὶ χρώμενος. [19] οἱ δὲ ταύτας λαβόντες ἐσθίειν ἤδη τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμελλον, μόνων ἀπολελειμμένων παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν δορυφόρων τριῶν, ὥνπερ Οὐλίθεος εἰς ἐτύγγανεν ὦν. [20] ἐξῆι δὲ καὶ Ἀρτασίρης, ὡς τῶν βρώσεων ζὺν τοῖς ἐτέροις γευσόμενος. [21] ἐνταῦθά τις αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἔννοια μή τί οἱ σπάσασθαι βουλομένῳ τὸν ἀκινάκην ἐμπόδιον εἴη. [22] ἔξω τοῖνυν γενόμενος ἔρριψε μὲν λάθρα τοῦ ξίφους τὴν θήκην, γυμνὸν τε αὐτὸ ὑπὸ μάλης λαβὼν πρὸς τῆς ἐπωμίδος κεκαλυμμένον παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐσεπῆδυσεν, ὡς κρύφα τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐρῶν. [23] ὅπερ Ἀρταβάνης ἰδὼν τῷ τε θυμῷ ζέων καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀγωνίας ὑπερβολῇ ἐς βαθεῖάν τινα ἐμπεσὼν μέριμναν, κινεῖν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἤρξατο καὶ πολλὰς ἀμείβειν τοῦ προσώπου χροάς, ἔνθους τέ τις τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πράξεως γεγενῆσθαι παντελῶς ἔδοξεν. [24] ὅπερ ὁ Πέτρος ἰδὼν ξυνήκε τὸ ποιούμενον, οὐ μέντοι ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινά, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα λίαν ἤρεσκε τὰ πρassoμένα. [25] τὸν δὲ Ἀρτασίρην, ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ τυράννου ἐλθόντα, τῶν τις οἰκετῶν ὤσε, μικρὸν τε ὀπισθεν ἀποκεχωρηκότος κατενόησε τὸ ξίφος γυμνὸν ἀνέκραγέ τε, 'Τί τοῦτο, βέλτιστε'; [26] λέγων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γόνθαρς παρὰ τῶν ὧτων τὸ δεξιὸν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν στρέψας τε τὸ πρόσωπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν. [27] Ἀρτασίρης δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ ξίφει μεταξὺ ἔπαισε καὶ τοῦ βρέγματος μοῖράν τινα ζὺν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἀπέκοψε. [28] Πέτρος δὲ ἀναβοήσας ἐνεκελεύετο τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸν ἀνοσιώτατον κτείνειν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [29] ἀναθρώσκοντα δὲ Γόνθαριν Ἀρταβάνης ἰδὼν 'ἐγγύθι γὰρ κατεκλίνεται ὁ μάχαιραν ἀμφήκη σπασάμενος, ἢ οἱ παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν ἀπεκρέματο μεγάλη τις οὖσα, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ τυράννου πλευρὰν ἄχρι ἐς τὴν λαβὴν ζύμπασαν ὥσας ἐνταῦθα μεθήκε. [30] καὶ ὡς οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀναθορεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἅτε δὲ καιρίαν λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν. [31] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸ ξίφος ὡς κατὰ κόρρης κατὰζων ἐπήνεγκεν: ὁ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς χεῖρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν προβαλλόμενος τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο. [32] τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀποθεμένου ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν βελῶν ἐκτομαῖς, αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς γεγονὼς ἔκτεινε τὸν Οὐλίθεον οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [33] Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης, ὁ μὲν τὸ Γονθάριδος ξίφος, ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Οὐλίθεου πεπτωκότος ἀρπάσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς λειπομένους αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν. [34] γέγονε τοῖνυν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κραυγῆς τε καὶ ταραχῆς μέγα τι χρῆμα. αἰσθόμενοι τε ταύτης ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρμενίων παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ τυράννου φύλακας ἴσταντο, τὰς ἀσπίδας εὐθὺς ἀνελόμενοι κατὰ τὰ σφίσι ξυγκείμενα ἐπὶ τὰς στιβάδας ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε Βανδίλους ζύμπαντας τοὺς τε Γονθάριδι ἐπιτηδεῖους ἀνεῖλον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. [35] Τότε

Ἀρταβάνης τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐμαρτύρατο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ χρημάτων: ὅσα γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἐλέλειπτο ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φύλακες τὴν Γονθάριδος τελευτὴν ἔμαθον, ζυνετάσσοντο τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις αὐτίκα πολλοί: τῆς γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδου οἰκίας οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. ζυμφρονήσαντες τοίνυν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβόων καλλίνικον. [37] ἥ τε φωνὴ προῖοῦσα μὲν ἐκ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαισία δὲ ὑπερφυῶς οὖσα ἐς πόλιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν πολλὴν ἴσχυσεν. [38] ἐνθὲν δὲ οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐς τῶν στασιωτῶν τὰς οἰκίας τοὺς μὲν ὕπνον αἰρουμένους, τοὺς δὲ σιτία, ἐνίους δὲ θαμβήσαντάς τε τῷ δέει καὶ ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ ἐχομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [39] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Πασίφιλος ἦν. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ζὺν Βανδύλων τισὶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφεύγει. [40] οἷς δὴ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ παρασχόμενος ἔνθεν τε ἐξαναστήσας ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσάμενος διεφύλαξε. [41] γέγονε δὲ ὁ τοῦ τυράννου φόνος ἕκτη καὶ τριακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρᾳ, ἑνατον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείᾳς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [42] Ἀρταβάνης τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου κλέος περιεβάλετο μέγα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [43] καὶ Πρεῖεκτα μὲν εὐθὺς ἡ Ἀρεοβίνδου γυνὴ μεγάλῳ αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο χρήμασι, βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο Λιβύης ἀπάσης. [44] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ἔχρηζε βασιλείᾳς ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο, [45] βασιλεὺς δὲ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην μεταπεμψάμενος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Πάππου ἀδελφὸν Λιβύης στρατηγὸν μόνον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο. [46] οὗτος Ἰωάννης ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο, Ἀντάλα τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοῖς ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τῶν τε πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ σημεῖα πάντα τὰ Σολόμωνος τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενος βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ληισάμενοι ἔτυχον ἡνίκα Σολόμων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ ἐξήλασε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [47] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Λευάθαι αὐθις στρατῶ μεγάλῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Τριπόλεως χωρίων ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ζυνέμιζαν. [48] οἷσπερ Ἰωάννης ὑπαντιάσας ἡσσηθεῖς τε τῇ ζυμβολῇ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν ἐς Λαρίβους φεύγει. [49] καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ πολέμοι μέχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ζύμπαντα καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Λίβυας τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας εἰργάσαντο. [50] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς περιγενομένους ἀγείρας καὶ Μαυρουσίους ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κουτζίναν ἐς ζυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ἐτρέψατο. [51] Ῥωμαῖοί τε αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπισπόμενοι μοῖραν μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τῆς Λιβύης τὰς ἐσχατίας διέφυγον. [52] οὕτω τε Λιβύων τοῖς περιγενομένοις, ὀλίγοις τε καὶ λίαν πτωχοῖς οὖσιν, ὃν περ καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τινὰ ζυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

BOOK V.

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα τῆδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον τὸν Γοθικὸν εἶμι, ἐπειπὼν πρότερον ὅσα Γόθοις τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [2] Ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βασιλευόντος Αὐγουστος εἶχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος, ὃν καὶ Αὐγουστούλον ὑποκοριζόμενοι ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δὴ μεираκίον ὢν ἔτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἣν οἱ Ὀρέστης ὁ πατὴρ διωκεῖτο ξυνετώτατος ὢν. [3] ἐτύγγανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον Σκίρους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα Γοθικὰ ἔθνη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι: ἐξ οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τε Ἀλαρίχου καὶ Ἀττίλα συνηνέχθη παθεῖν ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [4] ὅσῳ τε τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἤκμαζε, τοσούτῳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἀξίωμα ἤδη ὑπέλγηε, καὶ τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιηλύδων τυραννούμενοι ἐβιάζοντο: ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀνέδην ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ τι ἐκουσίους ἠνάγκαζον καὶ τελευτῶντες ξύμπαντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς νείμασθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγροὺς ἤξιουν. [5] ὢν δὴ τὸ τριτημόριον σφίσι διδόναι τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐκέλευον, ταῦτά τε ποιήσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ὁμολογοῦντα εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [6] ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ὀδοάκρος ὄνομα, ἐς τοὺς βασιλέως δορυφόρους τελῶν: ὃς αὐτοῖς τότε ποιήσιν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ὠμολόγησεν, ἥνπερ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσονται. [7] οὕτω τε τὴν τυραννίδα παραλαβὼν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸν βασιλέα κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἐν ιδιώτῳ δὲ λόγῳ βιοτεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασε. [8] καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ τριτημόριον τῶν ἀγρῶν παρασχόμενος τούτῳ τε τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτοὺς βεβαιότατα ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκρατύνετο δέκα. [9] Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ Γόθοι, οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης δόντος βασιλέως κατώκηντο, ὅπλα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, Θεουδερύχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, ἀντήραν, ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ὑπάτων δίφρον ἀναβεηκότος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. [10] Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεὺς, τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος, Θεουδερύχῳ παρήνει ἐς Ἰταλίαν πορεύεσθαι καὶ Ὀδοάκρῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντι τὴν ἐσπερίαν ἐπικράτησιν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γόθοις πορίζεσθαι. [11] ἄμεινον γάρ οἱ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἥκοντι, τύραννον βιασαμένῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ἢ βασιλεῖ διαμαχομένῳ ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἰέναι. [12] Θεουδέρυχος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦει, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γόθων λεῶς εἶπετο, παιδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλά ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε κόλπου ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐγένοντο, διαπορθμεύεσθαι, νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν, ἥκιστα εἶχον: περιόντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον πρόσω ἐχώρουν διὰ τε Ταυλαντίων καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν. [14] τούτοις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδοάκρον ὑπαντιάσαντες μάχαις τε ἡσσηθέντες πολλαῖς ἐν τε Ῥαβέννῃ σὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἵρξαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων ἰσχυροῖς οὔσι. [15] καθεστηκότες δὲ εἰς πολιορκίαν οἱ Γόθοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χωρία ξύμπαντα τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν εἶλον, Καισῆναν δὲ τὸ

φρούριον, ὅπερ σταδίοις τριακοσίοις Ραβέννης διέχει, Ράβενναν τε αὐτήν, ἔνθα καὶ Ὀδόακρον συμπέπτωκεν εἶναι, οὔτε ὁμολογία οὔτε βία ἐλεῖν ἴσχυον. [16] Ῥάβεννα γὰρ αὕτη ἐν πεδίῳ μὲν κεῖται ὑπὲρ ἐς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου τὰ ἔσχατα, δυοῖν σταδίοις διειργομένη μέτρῳ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, οὐκ εὐέφοδος δὲ οὔτε ναυσὶν οὔτε πεζῶν στρατῷ φαίνεται οὔσα. [17] αἱ τε γὰρ νῆες καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἥκιστα ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἐμπόδιός ἐστι βράχος ποιουμένη οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ κατὰ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡῖονα ταύτην, καίπερ τοῖς πλέουσιν ἄγχιστα ὀρωμένην, τῇ τοῦ βράχους περιουσία ἐκαστάτῳ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [18] καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐσβατὴ οὐδαμῇ γίνεταί· Πάδος τε γὰρ ὁ ποταμός, ὃν καὶ Ἡριδανὸν καλοῦσιν, ἐξ ὀρίων τῶν Κελτικῶν ταύτῃ φερόμενος καὶ ποταμοὶ ἄλλοι ναυσίποροι ξὺν λίμναις τισὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν περιβάλλοντες ἀμφίρρυτον ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. [19] ἐνταῦθα γίνεταί τι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον οἶον· ἡ θάλασσα πρῶτ' ἐκαστὴν σχῆμα ποταμοῦ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς γῆν ἀναβαίνει καὶ πλόϊμον αὐτὴν παρεχομένη ἐν μέσῃ ἡπείρῳ, αὐτὴς ἀναλύουσα τὸν πορθμὸν ἀναστρέφει ἀμφὶ δεξιὴν ὀψίαν, καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὴν ξυνάγει τὸ ῥεῦμα. [20] ὅσοι οὖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομίζεον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ἐνθένδε ἐκφέρειν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἢ κατ' ἄλλην ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν, τὰ φορτία ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, κατασπᾶσαντές τε αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ οὗ δὴ ὁ πορθμὸς γίνεσθαι εἶωθε, προσδέχονται τὴν ἐπιρροήν. [21] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὕτη ἀφίκηται, τά τε πλοῖα κατὰ βραχὺ ἐκ γῆς ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ ναῦται ἔργου ἐχόμενοι ναυτῖλλονται ἤδη. [22] καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἐς αἰὲ γίνεταί, ἄχρι ἐς Ἀκυληίαν πόλιν. [23] οὐ μέντοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα μὲν βραχὺ φαίνεται τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος ἰσχυρὰ γίνεταί, μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην διχότομον ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν καρτερὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιρροὴ γίνεσθαι ἐφύκε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔχει. [24] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θεωδερίῳ Ῥάβενναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἤδη, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδόακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὑπὸ διαλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεῖ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θεωδερίχός τε καὶ Ὀδόακρος ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ δαίταν ἐξουσιν. [25] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θεωδερίχος Ὀδόακρον λαβὼν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενος, νῶ τε δολερῷ καλέσας ἐπὶ θοίνῃν, ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βαρβάρων τῶν πολεμίων προσποιησάμενος ὅσους περιεΐναι ξυνέπεσεν αὐτὸς ἔσχε τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος. [26] καὶ βασιλέως μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ σχήματος οὔτε τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιβατεῦσαι ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆξ διεβίου καλούμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σφῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καλεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι νενομίκασι, τῶν μὲντοι κατηκόνων τῶν αὐτοῦ προὔστη ζύμπαντα περιβαλλόμενος ὅσα τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ ἤρμοστοι. [27] δικαιοσύνης τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπεμελήσατο καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διεσώσατο, ἐκ τε βαρβάρων τῶν περιοίκων τὴν χώραν ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξε, ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς ἄκρον ἐληλύθει ὥς μάλιστα. [28] καὶ ἀδίκημα σχεδὸν τι οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εἰργάζετο οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκότι ἐπέτρεπε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τῶν χωρίων τὴν μοῖραν ἐν

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς Γότθοι ἐνείμαντο ἥνπερ Ὀδοάκρος τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν. [29] ἦν τε ὁ Θευδέριχος λόγῳ μὲν τύραννος, ἔργῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀληθῆς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ηὑδοκιμηκότων οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, ἔρως τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τε Γότθοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πολὺς ἤκμασε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου. [30] ἐτέρων γὰρ ἕτερα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἰεὶ αἰρουμένων τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν ξυμβαίνει ἀρέσκειν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ οἷς ἂν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ πρασσόμενα ᾗ, λυπεῖν δὲ ὧν τῆς γνώμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρήσειεν. [31] ἔτη δὲ ἐπιβιούς ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτελεύτησε, φοβερὸς μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις γεγωνὸς ἅπασι, πόθον δὲ αὐτοῦ πολὺν τινα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀπολιπών. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [32] Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦσθιν, πρῶτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτῳ ἐγενέσθην ἅμφω. [33] φιλοσοφίαν δὲ ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελησαμένῳ οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένῳ καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθόνον τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐπηγαγέτην. [34] οἷς δὴ συκοφαντοῦσι Θευδέριχος ἀναπεισθεὶς ἅτε νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντε τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο. [35] δειπνοῦντι δὲ οἱ ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἰχθύος μεγάλου κεφαλὴν οἱ θεράποντες παρετίθεσαν. αὕτη Θευδερίχῳ ἔδοξεν ἡ κεφαλὴ Συμμάχου νεοσφαγοῦς εἶναι. [36] καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὁδοῦσιν ἐς χεῖλος τὸ κάτω ἐμπεπηγόσι, τοῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς βλοσυρόν τι ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ μανικὸν ὀρώσιν, ἀπειλοῦντί οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐώκει. [37] περιδεὴς δὲ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοῦ τέρατος γεγωνὸς καὶ ῥιγώσας ἐκτόπως ἐς κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεχώρησε δρόμῳ, τριβώνιά τε πολλὰ οἱ ἐπιθεῖναι κελεύσας ἡσύχαζε. [38] μετὰ δὲ ἅπαντα εἰς Ἑλπίδιον τὸν ἱατρὸν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐξενεγκὼν τὴν ἐς Σύμμαχόν τε καὶ Βοέτιον ἀμαρτάδα ἔκλαιεν. [39] ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀδίκημα τοῦτο πρῶτόν τε καὶ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς αὐτοῦ δράσας, ὅτι δὴ οὐ διερευνησάμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὴν περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν γνῶσιν ἤνεγκε.

Τελευτήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀταλάριχος, ὁ Θευδερίχου θυγατρίδοϋς, ὅκτῳ γεγωνὸς ἔτη καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη τρεφόμενος. [2] ὁ γάρ οἱ πατὴρ ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. χρόνῳ τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. [3] Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δέ, ἅτε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπίτροπος οὔσα, τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο, ξυνέσεως μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἄγαν τὸ ἄρρενωπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη. [4] ὅσον τε χρόνον τῆς πολιτείας προὔσθη, οὐδένα τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐκόλασεν ἢ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσεν. [5] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γότθοις ξυνεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀδικίαν ὀργῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Συμμάχῳ τε καὶ Βοετίῳ παισὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπέδωκεν. [6] ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὸν παῖδα ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαitan ὁμότροπον καταστήσασθαι καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἤδη ἠνάγκαζε. [7] τρεῖς τε ἀπολεξαμένη τῶν ἐν Γότθοις γερόντων οὗσπερ ἠπίστατο μᾶλλον ἀπάντων ξυνετούς τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι, ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι Ἀταλάριχῳ ἐκέλευε. [8] Γότθοις δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἥρσκε. τῆς γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμία βαρβαρικώτερον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ἤθελον. [9] καὶ ποτε ἡ μὲν μήτηρ

ἀμαρτάνοντά τι ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι τὸν παῖδα λαβοῦσα ἐρράπισε· καὶ ὃς δεδακρυμένος ἐς τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆλθε. [10] Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ λοιδοροῦμενοι ἰσχυρίζοντο βούλεσθαι αὐτὴν τὸν παῖδα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅπως αὐτὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθοῦσα Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ζὺν αὐτῷ ἄρχῃ. [11] ξυλλεγέντες τε, ὅσοι δὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγιμοι ἦσαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐλθόντες ἡτιῶντο οὐκ ὀρθῶς σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἣ ξυμφέρει τὸν βασιλέα παιδεύεσθαι. [12] γράμματά τε γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι ἀνδρίας, καὶ διδασκαλίας γερόντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τε τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον. [13] δεῖν τοίνυν τὸν ἐν τινὶ ἔργῳ τολμητὴν τε καὶ δόξῃ μέγαν ἐσόμενον, φόβου τοῦ ἐκ διδασκάλων ἀπαλλαγέντα, τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μελέτας ποιεῖσθαι. [14] ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ Θευδέριχός ποτε Γότθων τινὰς τοὺς παῖδας ἐς γραμματιστοῦ πέμπειν ἐφῆ· [15] λέγειν γὰρ ἅπασιν ὡς, ἥνπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύτους ἐπιγένηται δέος, οὐ μήποτε ξίφους ἢ δορατίου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἀξιώσουσιν. [16] ἐννοεῖν τε αὐτὴν ἐδικαίουν ὡς ἄρα οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Θευδέριχος χώρας τε τοσαύτης κύριος γεγονὼς καὶ βασιλείαν οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν περιβαλλόμενος τελευτήσῃ, καίπερ γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχων. [17] ‘Οὐκοῦν, ὦ δέσποινα,’ ἔφασαν, ‘παιδαγωγοὺς μὲν τούτους χαίρειν τανῦν ἔα, σὺ δὲ Ἀταλαρίχῳ ὁμοδιαιτούς ἡλικίας τινὰς δίδου, οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡλικίαν ζυνακμάζοντες ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν κατὰ γε τὸν βάρβαρον νόμον ὀρμήσουσι.’ [18] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, οὐκ ἐπήνεσε μὲν, δέισασα δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλὴν, δόκησιν τε παρείχετο ὡς πρὸς ἡδονῆς αὐτῇ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ξυνεχώρει ἅπαντα ὅσων οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτῆς ἔχρηζον. [19] τῶν τε γερόντων Ἀταλαρίχον ἐκλελοιπότων παῖδες αὐτῷ τινες ξυνῆσαν κοινωνοὶ τῆς διαίτης ἐσόμενοι, οὐπω μὲν ἡβηκότες, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ προτερεύοντες, οἵπερ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἡβην ἦλθεν, ἐς τε μέθην καὶ γυναικῶν μίξεις παρακαλοῦντες, κακοήθη τε διαφερόντως εἶναι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας ἀπειθέστερον κατεστήσαντο. [20] ὥστε οὐδὲ μεταποιεῖσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ παράπαν ἡξίου, καίπερ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἤδη ξυνισταμένων, οἳ γε καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀναχωρεῖν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέδην ἐκέλευον. [21] Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ οὕτε κατωρρώδησε τὴν τῶν Γότθων ἐπιβουλὴν οὕτε οἷα γυνὴ ἐμαλθακίσθη, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐνδεικνυμένη, τρεῖς ἀπολέξασα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογιμωτάτους τε καὶ αὐτῇ αἰτιωτάτους τῆς στάσεως, ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας ἰέναι, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀλλήλων· τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο ἐφ’ ᾧ τὴν χώραν φυλάξουσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου. [22] ἀλλ’ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι διὰ τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν ἔξυνῆσαν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξηρτύνοντο. Ἄπερ οὐκέτι φέρειν ἢ γυνὴ οἷα τε οὕσα ἐπενόει τοιάδε. [23] πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπνυθάνετο εἴπερ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴῃ Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν τὴν Θευδέριχου παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκειν· βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα. [24] βασιλεὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς ἐλθεῖν τε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκέλευε καὶ τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου οἰκῶν τὸν κάλλιστον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλε γενέσθαι, ὅπως

ἐπειδὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, καταλύοι τε αὐτόσε καὶ χρόνον διατρίψασα ὅσον ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, οὕτω δὴ κομίζηται ἐς Βυζάντιον. [25] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἔγνω, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξασα Γότθους, δραστηρίους τε καὶ αὐτῇ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἔστελλεν ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, ἅτε τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους αὐτῇ γενομένους. [26] αὐτὴ δὲ ἄλλα τε χρήματα καὶ τετρακόσια Χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν νηὶ μιᾷ ἐνθεμένη, ἐς ταύτην τε ἐμβιβάσασα τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων τινάς, πλεῖν μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἀφικομένους δὲ ὀρμίζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ ταύτης λιμένι, τῶν δὲ φορτίων, ἕως αὐτῇ ἐπιστέλλοι, [27] μὴδ' ὅτιοις ἐκφορεῖν τῆς νεώς. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς τρεῖς πύθηται, μένοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ναῦν μεταπέμποιτο, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχουσα πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν δέος· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν τινα περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνειν, οὐδεμιᾶς οἱ ἀγαθῆς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος, πλέοι τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως ζῆν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζοιτο. [28] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸν Ἐπίδαμνίον λιμένα, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐποίουν. [29] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, τῶν φόνων οἱ ἐξεργασμένων ἥπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν τε ναῦν μετεπέμπετο καὶ μένουσα ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατύνατο.

Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Γότθοις Θευδάτος ὄνομα, τῆς Θευδερίχου ἀδελφῆς Ἀμαλαφρίδης υἱός, πόρρω που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἦκων, λόγων μὲν Λατίνων μεταλαχὼν καὶ δογμάτων Πλατωνικῶν, πολέμων δὲ ἀμελετήτως παντάπασιν ἔχων, μακράν τε ἀπολελειμμένος τοῦ δραστηρίου, ἐς μέντοι φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. [2] οὗτος ὁ Θευδάτος πλείστον μὲν τῶν ἐν Τούσκοις χωρίων κύριος ἐγεγόνει, βιαζόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ λειπόμενα τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. γείτονα γὰρ ἔχειν συμφορὰ τις Θευδάτῳ ἐδόκει εἶναι. [3] ταύτην αὐτῷ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὴν προθυμίαν ἀναστέλλειν ἠπειγέτο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἤχθετό τε αὐτῇ ἐς αἰὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. [4] ἐβουλεύετο οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Τουσκίαν ἐνδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ βουλῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίωμα κομισάμενος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν διατρίβοι. [5] ταῦτα Θευδάτου βεβουλευμένου πρέσβεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα ἦκον, ὃ τε τῆς Ἐφέσου ἱερεὺς Ὑπάτιος καὶ Δημήτριος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Μακεδόσι Φιλίππων, δόξης ἕνεκεν ἦν Χριστιανοὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν ἀμφιγνοοῦντες. [6] τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἐγὼ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι· ἀπονοίας γὰρ μανιώδους τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι διερευνᾶσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅποια ποτέ ἐστιν. [7] ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἶμαι καταληπτὰ, μὴ τί γε δὴ τὰ εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν ἦκοντα. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκινδύνως σεσιωπῆσθω μόνῳ τῷ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὰ τετιμημένα. [8] ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ ὅτιοις εἶποιμι ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθός τε παντάπασιν εἴη καὶ ζύμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔχει. [9] λεγέτω δὲ ὥς πη ἕκαστος γινώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἶται, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης. Θευδάτος δὲ ζυγγεγόμενος λάθρα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τούτοις ἀγγέλλειν ἐπέστελλεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἅπερ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἴη, ἐξειπὼν ὅσα μοι ἄρτι δεδήλωται. [10] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀταλάριχος ἐς κραιπάλην ἐμπεπτωκὸς ὄρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν νοσήματι μαρασμοῦ ἦλω. [11] διὸ δὴ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα διηπορεῖτο· οὔτε

γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς γνώμῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐλληλακότος, ἦν τε αὐτὸς Ἀταλάριχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζεται, οὐκ ᾤετο αὐτῇ τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι, Γότθων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις προσκεκρουκυῖα. [12] διὸ δὴ τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος ἐνδιδόναι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως αὐτῇ σώζοιτο, ἠθέλεν. [13] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, σὺν τε Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ὑπατίῳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων. [14] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Ἐπιδάμνου λιμένι ὀρμίζεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, αὐτὴν δὲ μέλλειν ἔτι, καίπερ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, ἔπεμψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐφ' ᾧ κατασκευάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ἀγγεῖλει: [15] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε, τοῖς τε ἀμφὶ τῷ Λιλυβαίῳ ξυνταραχθεῖς ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδηλωταὶ καὶ ὅτι Οὐννοὶ δέκα ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατοπέδου, δρασμοῦ ἐχόμενοι, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, Οὐλίαρίς τε αὐτούς, ὃς Νεάπολιν ἐφύλασσεν, Ἀμαλασοῦνθης οὗτι ἀκουσίου ὑπεδέξατο, Γότθοι τε Γήπαισι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον πολεμοῦντες, πόλει Γρατιανῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐσχατιᾷ κειμένη, ὡς πολεμῖα ἐχρήσαντο. [16] ἅπερ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ἐπικαλῶν γράμματά τε γράψας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμψεν. Ὅς ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ εἶασε πράσσοντας ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον, ἐς δὲ Ῥάβενναν αὐτὸς κομισθεὶς καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων, τοὺς τε βασιλέως λόγους ἀπήγγειλε λάθρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἐνεχείρισεν. [17] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Τὸ ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριον, ἡμέτερον ὄν, βία λαβοῦσα ἔχεις, καὶ βαρβάρους δραπέτας ἐμοὺς γεγενημένους δεξαμένη ἀποδοῦναι οὐπὼ καὶ νῦν ἔγνωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Γρατιανὴν τὴν ἐμὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, [18] οὐδὲν σοι προσῆκον, εἰργάσω. ὅθεν ὥρα σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι ποῖα ποτὲ τούτοις τελευτῇ γένοιτο.' [19] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἡ γυνὴ τὰ γράμματα ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε: 'Βασιλέα μέγαν τε καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον, ὀρφανῷ παιδί καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαισθανομένῳ μᾶλλον ξυλλαβέσθαι εἰκὸς ἢ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας διάφορον εἶναι. [20] ἀγὼν γάρ, ἦν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ξυσταίῃ, οὐδὲ τὴν νίκην εὐπρεπῇ φέρει. [21] σὺ δὲ τὸ Λιλυβαῖον Ἀταλάριχῳ ἐπανασεῖεις καὶ φυγάδας δέκα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντων ἀμαρτάδα ξυμπεσοῦσαν ἀγνοία τινὶ ἐς πόλιν φιλίαν. [22] μὴ δῆτα, μὴ σὺ γε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ μὲν ὡς, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Βανδύλους ἐστράτευες, οὐχ ὅσον σοι ἐμποδὼν ἔστημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἔδομεν, ἄλλων τε καὶ ἵππων τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφ' ὧν σοὶ ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικράτησις μάλιστα γέγονε. [23] καίτοι ξύμμαχος ἂν καὶ φίλος δικαίως καλοῖτο οὐχ ὃς ἂν τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν ἐς τοὺς πέλας προΐσχοιτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν τῷ ἐς πόλεμον ἑκαστον ὅτου ἂν δέοιτο ὑπουργῶν φαίνοιτο. [24] ἐκλογίζου δὲ ὡς τηνικαῦτα ὁ στόλος ὁ σὸς οὔτε ἀλλαχῇ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἶχεν ὅτι μὴ Σικελία προσχεῖν οὔτε τῶν ἐνθένδε ὠνηθέντων χωρὶς εἰς Λιβύην ἰέναι. [25] ὥστε σοὶ τὸ τῆς νίκης κεφάλαιον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐστίν: ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπόροις τὴν λύσιν διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπόβασιν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος. [26] τί δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἥδιον ἂν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γένοιτο; καὶ μὴν ἐλασσοῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἡμῖν ξυμβαίνει, οἳ γε οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου νόμον τὸ τῶν λαφύρων νεμόμεθα μέρος. [27] νῦν δὲ

καὶ τὸ Σικελίας Λιλύβαιον, ἄνωθεν Γότθοις προσήκον, ἀξιοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, πέτραν, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, μίαν ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀργυρίου ἀξίαν, ἦν ἀνθυπουργεῖν σε Ἀταλαρίχῳ εἰκὸς γε ἦν, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ξυναραμένῳ, εἴπερ ἄνωθεν τῆς [28] σῆς βασιλείας οὕσα ἐτύγχανε.’ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε: λάθρα δὲ αὐτῷ ξύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν ἐγχειριεῖν ὡμολόγησεν. [29] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήκοντες ἅπαντα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἠγγειλαν: Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἅπερ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ δοκοῦντα εἶη, Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὅσα Θεωδάτου λέγοντος ἤκουσαν, καὶ ὡς δυνάμει μεγάλη ἐν Τούσκοις ὁ Θεωδάτος χρώμενος, χώρας τε ἐνταῦθα τῆς πολλῆς κύριος γεγονώς, πόνῳ ἂν οὐδενὶ τὰ ὡμολογημένα ἐπιτελεῖν οἶός τε εἶη. [30] οἷς δὴ περιχαρὴς γεγονώς βασιλεὺς Πέτρον, Ἰλλυριὸν γένος, ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ὁρμώμενον, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς ἔστελλεν, ἓνα μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥητόρων, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ἐς τὸ πείθειν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῆδε, ἐν τούτῳ Θεωδάτον Τοῦσκοι πολλοὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ διέβαλον βιάσασθαι ἅπαντας τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀφελέσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γὰρ τὴν βασιλείον οἰκίαν αὐτήν, ἦν δὴ πατριμῶνιον Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν νενομίκασι. [2] διὸ δὴ ἐς τὰς εὐθύνas καλέσασα Θεωδάτον ἡ γυνὴ διαρρήδην τε πρὸς τῶν διαβαλόντων ἐληλεγμένον ἀποτινύναι πάντα ἠνάγκασεν ἅπερ οὐ δέον ἀφείλετο, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. [3] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐς ἅγαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσκεκρουκῖα διάφορος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγεγονέει ἀνιωμένῳ ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅτι διαμαρτάνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι ἀδύνατος ἦν. [4] Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀταλαρίχος μὲν τῇ νόσῳ καταμαρανθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁκτὼ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούς ἔτη. Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἔχρην γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φύσιν τὴν Θεωδάτου ποιησαμένη καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐναγχος δράσειεν, οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπετόπησεν, ἦν τι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσεται μεῖζον. [5] μεταπεμψαμένη τοίνυν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ ἦκε, τιθασσεύουσα ἔφασκε χρόνου ἐξεπίστασθαι ὥς οἱ ὁ παῖς ἐπίδοξος εἶη ὅτι δὴ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσῃ: τῶν τε γὰρ ἱατρῶν πάντων ταῦτα γινωσκόντων ἀκηκοέναι καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου σώματος αἰεὶ μαραινομένου ἡσθῆσθαι. [6] ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ Θεωδάτῳ ἑώρα Γότθους τε καὶ Ἰταλιώτας δόξαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τινα ἔχοντας, ἐς ὃν περιεστήκει τὸ Θεωδερίχου γένος, τούτου δὴ αὐτὸν διακαθᾶραι τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ὀνόματος ἐν σπουδῇ οἱ γενέσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτῷ καλουμένῳ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπόδιον εἶη. [7] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὴν ξυνταράξαι, εἴ γε περισταίῃ τοῖς ἡδίκησθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤδη αἰτιωμένοις οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν ὅτῳ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀγγείλωσι, δεσπότην δὲ τὸν δυσμενῆ ἔχειν. [8] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτόν, οὕτω καθαρὸν γεγεννημένον, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρακαλεῖν: δεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὄρκους δεινотάτοις καταληφθῆναι ὡς ἐς Θεωδάτον μὲν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα ἄγοιτο, αὐτὴ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. [9] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θεωδάτος ἤκουσεν, ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένη Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ὁμωμοκῶς, ἐπὶ λόγῳ τῷ πονηρῷ ὡμολόγησεν, ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων ὅσα δὴ ἐκείνη πρότερον ἐς αὐτὸν εἰργασμένη ἐτύγχανεν. [10] οὕτω μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην τῆς οἰκείας καὶ τῶν Θεωδάτῳ ὁμωμοσμένων ἀπατηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τῆς

ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο. [11] πρέσβεις τε πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἄνδρας
Γότθους Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐδήλου. [12] Θεοδότος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
παραλαβὼν, πάντα οἱ τάναντία ὧν ἐκείνη τε ἤλπισε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο
ἔπρασσε. [13] καὶ Γότθων τῶν πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀνηρημένων τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς
ἐπαγαγόμενος, πολλοὺς τε καὶ λίαν λογίμους ἐν Γότθοις ὄντας, τῶν τε
Ἀμαλασοῦνθη προσηκόντων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τινὰς ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν
φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, οὐπὼ τῶν πρέσβων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένων. [14] ἔστι δὲ τις
λίμνη ἐν Τούσκοις, Βουλσίνη καλουμένη, ἥς δὴ ἐντὸς νῆσος ἀνέχει, βραχεῖα
μὲν κοιμίδι οὖσα, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν ἔχουσα. [15] ἐνταῦθα Θεοδότος τὴν
Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν καθεῖρξας ἐτήρει. δέισας δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ βασιλεῖ ἀπὶ
αὐτοῦ προσκεκρουκῶς εἴη, ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς Λιβέριόν τε καὶ
Ὀπιλίωνα στείλας σὺν ἐτέροις τισί, παραιτεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει βασιλεῖα
ἐπήγγελλεν, ἰσχυριζομένους μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη
ξυμβῆναι, καίπερ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστα δεινὰ εἰργασμένη τὰ πρότερα. [16] καὶ
κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε καὶ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν οὐτι ἐκουσίαν
ἠνάγκασε γράψαι. [17] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. Πέτρος δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ
πρεσβείᾳ ἐστέλλετο προειρημένον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντυχεῖν μὲν
κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων Θεοδᾶτῳ καὶ ὄρκῳ τὰ πιστὰ παρεχομένῳ ὥς
οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν πρassoμένων ἐκπυστον γένοιτο, οὕτω τε τὰ ἀμφὶ Τουσκίαν ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν θέσθαι, [18] καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυγγενόμενον λάθρα
ξυμπάσης περὶ Ἰταλίας διοικήσασθαι, ὅπῃ ἑκατέρῳ ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [19] ἐς δὲ
τὸ ἐμφανὲς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Λιλυβαίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἑναγχος ἐμνήσθη
πρεσβεύσων ἦει. οὐπὼ γάρ τι περὶ τῆς Ἀταλαρίχου τελευτῆς ἢ τῆς Θεοδᾶτου
ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυμπεπτακότων βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει. [20] Πέτρος δὲ
ὁδῷ πορευόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθης πρέσβεσι ξυγγενόμενος τὰ
ἀμφὶ τῇ Θεοδᾶτου ἀρχῇ ἔμαθε· [21] γενόμενος δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐν πόλει
Αὐλῶνι, ἢ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κεῖται, ἐνταῦθά τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριόν τε καὶ
Ὀπιλίωνα ἐντυχὼν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξύμπαντα ἔγνω, ἔς τε βασιλεῖα ταῦτα
ἀνενεγκὼν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [22] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε,
Γότθους τε καὶ Θεοδᾶτον ξυνταράξει διανοούμενος, πρὸς μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν
γράμματα ἔγραφε, δηλοῦντα ὅτι αὐτῆς ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα μεταποιεῖσθαι ἐν
σπουδῇ ἔχοι· τῷ δὲ Πέτρῳ ἐπέστελλε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ
τε Θεοδᾶτῳ φανερὰ καὶ Γότθοις ἅπασι καταστήσασθαι. [23] πρέσβων δὲ τῶν
ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκομίσθησαν, τὸν πάντα λόγον
βασιλεῖ ἠγγείλαν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Λιβέριος· [24] ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καλὸς τε
καὶ ἀγαθὸς διαφερόντως, λόγου τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενος·
[25] Ὀπιλίῳ δὲ μόνος ἐνδελεχέστατα ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲν ἐς Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν
ἀμαρτεῖν Θεοδᾶτον. Πέτρου δὲ ἀφικομένου ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυνέβη
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [26] Γότθων γὰρ συγγενεῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης
ἀνηρημένων Θεοδᾶτῳ προσελθόντες οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε σφίσι τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ
ἀσφαλεῖ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, ἦν γε μὴ αὐτοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ὅτι τάχιστα
ἐκποδὼν γένηται. [27] ξυγχωροῦντός τε αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι τὴν
Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [28] ὅπερ Ἰταλιώτας τε ὑπερφυδῶς ἅπαντας καὶ
Γότθους τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνίασεν. [29] ἀρετῆς γὰρ πάσης ἢ γυνὴ ἰσχυρότατα

ἐπεμελεῖτο, [30] ὅπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θεωδᾶτος ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου ἐξειργασμένον ἄσπονδος βασιλεῖ τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται. [31] Θεωδᾶτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας τοὺς Ἀμαλασούνθης φονεῖς ἐν τιμῇ τε καὶ σπουδῇ ἔχων, Πέτρον τε καὶ βασιλέα πείθειν ἠθέλεν ὥς αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα ἀκουσίῳ, Γότθοις ἐργασθεῖν τὸ μῖσος τοῦτο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριον ἠδοκιμηκέναι κατὰ Γελίμερόν τε καὶ Βανδύλων τετύχηκε. βασιλεὺς δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη ξυνενεχθέντα μαθὼν εὐθὺς καθίστατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἕνατον ἔτος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων. [2] καὶ Μοῦνδον μὲν τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸν ἔς τε Δαλματίαν ἰέναι, τὴν Γότθων κατήκοον, καὶ Σαλῶνων ἀποπειράσασθαι ἐκέλευεν ἣν δὲ ὁ Μοῦνδος γένος μὲν βάρβαρος, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς τε βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνους καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, Βελισάριον δὲ ναυσὶν ἔστελλε, στρατιώτας ἐκ μὲν καταλόγων καὶ φοιδεράτων τετρακισχιλίου, ἐκ δὲ Ἰσαύρων τρισχιλίου μάλιστα ἔχοντα. [3] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν λόγμιοι μὲν Κωνσταντῖνός τε καὶ Βέσσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, Περάνιος δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἄγχιστα Μήδων, γενόμενος μὲν τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἰβήρων, αὐτόμολος δὲ πρότερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν ἦκων, καταλόγων δὲ ἱππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος, πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Οὐρσικῖνος, ἀρχηγὸς δὲ Ἰσαύρων Ἐννης. [4] εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Οὐννοὶ ξύμμαχοι διακόσιοι καὶ Μαυρούσιοι τριακόσιοι. στρατηγὸς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν Βελισάριος ἦν, δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς πολλοὺς τε καὶ δοκίμους ἔχων. [5] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φώτιος, ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνης υἱὸς ἐκ γάμων προτέρων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηγῆτης, ξυνετώτατος δὲ καὶ φύσεως ἰσχύον ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν δηλώσας. [6] βασιλεὺς τε Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ στέλλεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκωνται, ὡς δὴ κατὰ χρεῖαν τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀποβάντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς νήσου. [7] καὶ ἦν μὲν δυνατὰ ἢ ὑποχειρίαν αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι, κατέχειν τε καὶ αὐτῆς μηκέτι μεθίσθαι: ἦν δὲ τι ἐμπόδιον ὑπαντιάσῃ, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Λιβύης, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησὶν τῆς βουλήσεως παρεχομένου. [8] Πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔγραψε τάδε: ‘ Γότθοι Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βία ἐλόντες οὐχ ὅσον αὐτὴν ἀποδιδόναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς οὔτε φορητὰ οὔτε μέτρια. [9] διόπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν στρατεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάσμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς ξυνδιαφέρειν ἡμῖν πόλεμον τόνδε, ὃν ἡμῖν κοινὸν εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὀρθή, ἀποσειομένη τὴν Ἀρειανῶν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ ἐς Γότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος.’ [10] τοσαῦτα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε: καὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, πλείονα δώσειν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ὡμολόγησεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ξυμμαχήσιν ὑπέσχοντο. [11] Μοῦνδος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ὑπαντίασαν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες, νικήσαντές τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ, Σάλωνα ἔσχον. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Σικελίαν Κατάνην ἔλαβεν. ἔνθεν τε ὁρμώμενος Συρακούσας τε ὁμολογία καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἄλλας παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Πανόρμῳ φυλακὴν εἶχον, θαρσοῦντες τῷ περιβόλῳ ἦν γὰρ

ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον προσχωρεῖν τε Βελισαρίῳ ἥκιστα ἤθελον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπάγειν τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον. [13] Βελισάριος δὲ λογισάμενος ἀμήχανον εἶναι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν ἐσπλεῖν τὸν στόλον ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐκέλευεν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος διήκοντα. [14] ἦν γὰρ τοῦ τε περιβόλου ἐκτὸς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος. οὗ δὴ τῶν νηῶν ὀρμισσάμενων τοὺς ἰστούς ξυνέβαινε τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπερτέρους εἶναι. [15] αὐτίκα οὖν τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἅπαντας τοξοτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος ἀπεκρέμασεν ἄκρων ἰστών. [16] ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν βαλλόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς δέος τι ἄμαχον ἦλθον καὶ Πάνορμον εὐθὺς ὁμολογία Βελισαρίῳ παρέδοσαν. [17] βασιλεὺς τε ἐκ τοῦδε Σικελίαν ὅλην ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν κατήκοον εἶχε. τῷ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τότε κρεῖσσον λόγου εὐτύχημα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [18] τῆς γὰρ ὑπατείας λαβὼν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐπὶ τῷ Βανδύλους νενικηκέναι, ταύτης ἔτι ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεστήσατο Σικελίαν ὅλην, τῇ τῆς ὑπατείας ὑστάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας εἰσῆλθε, πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ Σικελιωτῶν κροτούμενος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ νόμισμα χρυσοῦ ρίπτων ἅπασιν. [19] οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες μέντοι αὐτῷ πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ξυνέβη τύχη πᾶσαν ἀνασσωσάμενῳ τὴν νῆσον Ῥωμαίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐσεληλακέναι, τὴν τε τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχήν, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίου βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένῳ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενέσθαι. Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερῆσαι ξυνέντυχεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Πέτρος ἔμαθεν, ἐγκείμενος πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ δεδισσόμενος Θευδάτον οὐκέτι ἀνίει. [2] καὶ ὃς ἀποδειλιάσας τε καὶ ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ εἰ δορυάλωτος ξὺν τῷ Γελίμερι αὐτὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἐς λόγους τῷ Πέτρῳ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἦλθεν, ἐς τε ζύμβασιν ἐν σφίσιν ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θευδάτος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Σικελίας ἐκστήσεται πάσης, πέμψει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ τριακοσίας ἔλκοντα λίτρας, Γότθους τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐς τρισχιλίους, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, Θευδάτῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν οὐδαμῇ ἔσεσθαι τῶν τινα ἱερέων ἢ βουλευτῶν ἀποκτινύναι, ἢ ἀνάγραπτον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ὅτι μὴ βασιλέως ποιεῖσθαι γνώμη· [3] ἦν δέ γε τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὰς ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἢ ἄλλο βουλῆς ἀξίωμα Θευδάτος ἀγαγεῖν βούληται, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν δώσειν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα αἰτήσιν διδόναι· [4] εὐφημοῦντα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον ἀναβοήσιν αἰεὶ βασιλέα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα Θευδάτον, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ εἴ που ἄλλῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον δεήσει γενέσθαι. [5] εἰκόνα τε χαλκὴν ἢ ὕλης ἐτέρας μὴ ποτε Θευδάτῳ μόνῳ καθίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι μὲν αἰεὶ ἀμφοτέροις, στήσεσθαι δὲ οὕτως· ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τὴν Θευδάτου. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ζυμβάσει γράψας τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ὁ Θευδάτος ἀπεπέμψατο. [6] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ψυχῆς ὀρρωδία περιλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς δειμάτα τε ἀπῆγεν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντα καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, δεδισσομένη τῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὀνόματι, καὶ ὥς, εἴ γε βασιλέα οὐδαμῇ ἀρέσκει τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Πέτρῳ συγκεείμενα, ὁ πόλεμος εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσῃ. [7] αὖθις οὖν Πέτρον μεταπεμπάμενος ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς ἥδη γενόμενον ἅτε κοινολογούμενος λάθρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο, εἰ τὴν ζύμβασιν βασιλεῖ πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἔσεσθαι οἶεται. [8] καὶ ὃς οὕτω δὴ ὑποτοπάζειν

ἔφη. “Ὡς δὲ γε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ ἀρέσκει τὸν ἄνδρα, τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γενήσεται;”
[9] εἶπεν. ἀπεκρίνατο Πέτρος ‘Πολεμητέα σοι τὸ λοιπόν, ὦ γενναῖε.’ ‘Τί δέ;
δίκαια ταῦτα, ὦ φίλτατε πρεσβευτά;’ ἔφη. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη ὑπολαβὼν ‘Καὶ
πῶς οὐ δίκαιον, ὦ ἀγαθέ,’ εἶπε, ‘τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκάστου
φυλάσσεσθαι;’ ‘Τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν;’ ὁ Θεοδότος ἡρώτα. [10] “Ὅτι σοὶ μὲν
σπουδὴ πολλὴ φιλοσοφεῖν,” ἔφη, “Ἰουστινιανῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων γενναῖον
εἶναι. διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι τῷ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντι θάνατον ἀνθρώποις
πορίζεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοσοῦτοις τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ μήποτε εὐπρεπὲς εἶη, καὶ
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἧς δηλονότι μετασχόντι σοι μὴ οὐχὶ
φόνου παντὸς ἐλευθέρῳ εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον: ἐκεῖνον δὲ χώρας μεταποιήσασθαι
οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἄνωθεν [11] τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῇ.” ταύτῃ ὁ
Θεοδότος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας ἐκστήσεσθαι. [12] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ὥμοσε: τὸν τε
Πέτρον ὄρκοις κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐ πρότερον ἐκπυστα ταῦτα ποιήσεται, πρὶν ἂν
βασιλέα οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον τὴν προτέραν ζυμβασιν ἴδοι. [13] καὶ Ῥουστικὸν τῶν
τινα ἱερέων καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ
ὁμολογίᾳ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ καὶ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε. [14] Πέτρος μὲν
οὖν καὶ Ῥουστικὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενοι τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα βασιλεῖ
ἡγγεῖλαν, καθάπερ Θεοδότος σφίσιν ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς λόγους
ἐνδέχεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἥκιστα ἤθελε, [15] τὰ ἐν ὑστέρω γεγραμμένα ἐπέδειξαν.
ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ὁ γέγονα μὲν βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐπὶ πλῆτῃς,
τετύχηκε γάρ μοι τετέχθαι τε ἐν βασιλεύῳ θεοῦ καὶ τεθράφθαι τοῦ γένους
ἀξίως, πολέμων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις θορύβων εἰμὶ οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. [16]
περὶ λόγων γὰρ ἀκοὴν ἄνωθεν ἐρωτικῶς ἐσχηκότι μοι καὶ διατριβὴν ἐς τοῦτο
ἀεὶ πεποιημένῳ ζυμβαίνει τῆς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταραχῆς ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς τὸδε εἶναι.
[17] ὥστε ἥκιστα με εἰκὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ζηλοῦντα τιμὰς τὸν μετὰ
κινδύνων διώκειν βίον, ἐξὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐκποδὼν ἵστασθαι. [18] τούτοις γάρ μοι
οὐδέτερον ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστί: τὸ μὲν, ὅτι κόρῳ τετιμῆται, πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἡδέων
ἀπάντων, τὸ δέ, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἐθισθῆναι ἐς ταραχὴν φέρει. [19] ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ μοι χωρία
γένηται οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ δώδεκα κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον φέροντα πρόσοδον, περὶ
ἐλάχιστον ἂν αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ποιήσαιμι, καὶ σοὶ τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ
Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐγχειρῶ κράτος. [20] ὡς ἔγωγε ἡδὶον ἂν ζὺν τῇ
ἀπραγμοσύνῃ γεωργὸς εἶην ἢ ἐν μερίμναις βασιλικαῖς βιῶν, κινδύνους ἐκ
κινδύνων παραπεμπούσαις. [21] ἀλλὰ πέμπε ἄνδρα ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτῳ με Ἰταλίαν
τε καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα παραδοῦναι προσήκει.’ [22] Θεοδότου μὲν ἡ
γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἡσθεὶς ἀμείβεται ὥδε: ‘Πάλαι
μὲν σε ζυνετὸν εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχον, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ μεμαθηκὼς οἶδα οἷς οὐκ
ἔγνωκας τὸ τοῦ πολέμου καραδοκεῖν πέρας. [23] ὅπερ ἤδη πεπονθότες τινὲς ἐν
τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ σοὶ οὐ ποτε μεταμελήσει φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ
πολεμίων ποιησαμένῳ. [24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἅπερ αἰτεῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἔξεις, καὶ
προσέσται σοὶ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις Ῥωμαίων τιμαῖς ἀναγράφω εἶναι. [25] νῦν μὲν
οὖν Ἀθανάσιόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀπέσταλκα, ὅπως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐκατέρῳ τὸ
βέβαιον ἔσται. ἡξεῖ δὲ ὅσον οὐπω καὶ Βελισάριος παρὰ σέ, πέρας ἅπασιν [26]
ἐπιθήσων ὅσα ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν ζυγκείμενα ᾖ.’ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς γράψας Ἀθανάσιον

τε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφόν, ὃς πρῶν ἐς Ἀταλάρχον, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ Πέτρον αὐθις τὸν ῥήτορα ἔπεμψεν, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ μὲν χωρία τῆς βασιλέως οἰκίας, ἣν πατριμῶνιον καλοῦσι, Θεοδάτῳ νεῖμαι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ ὄρκους ὀχύρωμα ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ποιησαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἐκ Σικελίας Βελισάριον μεταπέμψασθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ Ἰταλίαν παραλαβὼν ξύμπασαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοι. [27] καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὥστε αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὰν μεταπέμψωνται, κατὰ τάχος ἥκειν.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα τε βασιλεὺς ἔπρασσε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ Γότθοι, ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἀσιναρίου καὶ Γρίπα σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἦκον. [2] ἐπειδὴ τε Σαλώνων ἄγχιστα ἦκοντο, Μαυρίκιος σφίσιν, ὁ Μούνδου υἱός, οὐκ ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἦκων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ὑπηντίαζε. [3] καρτερὰς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς Γόθων μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ Μαυρίκιος ὁ στρατηγός. [4] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Μούνδος περιώδυνός τε γενόμενος τῇ ξυμφορᾷ καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει. [5] τῆς τε μάχης κρατερὰς γεγενημένης τὴν Καδμεῖαν νίκην Ῥωμαίοις νικῆσαι ξυνέπεσε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔπεσον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, Μούνδος δὲ κτείνων τε καὶ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ἐπόμενος καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ξυμφορᾷ ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων ὑφ' ὅτου δὴ τῶν φευγόντων πληγεῖς ἔπεσε, καὶ ἡ τε δίωξις ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα διελέλυτο. [6] τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεμνήσθησαν τοῦ Σιβύλλης ἔπους, ὅπερ ἄδόμενον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ τέρας αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἔλεγε γὰρ τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο ὥς, ἥνικα ἂν Ἀφρικὴ ἔχηται, ὁ κόσμος ξὺν τῷ γόνῳ ὀλεῖται. [7] τὸ μέντοι χρηστήριον οὐ τοῦτο ἐδήλου, ἀλλ' ὑπειπὼν ὅτι δὴ αὐθις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Λιβυὴ ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν, ὅτι τότε ξὺν τῷ παιδί ἀπολεῖται Μούνδος. λέγει γὰρ ὧδε: Αφριζα ξαπτα μυνδους ξυμ νατο περιβιτ. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ κόσμον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ Μούνδος δύναται, ὧντο ἀμφὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ λόγιον εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. ἐς δὲ Σάλωνα εἰσῆλθεν οὐδεὶς. [9] οἱ τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐπεὶ ἄναρχοι τὸ παράπαν ἐλείποντο, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι τῶν ἀρίστων οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένου ἐς δέος ἐλθόντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ φρούρια ἔσχον: [10] οὐδὲ γὰρ Σαλώνων τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπίστευον, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων οἱ ταύτῃ ᾤκνητο. [11] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θεοδάτος ἤκουσε, τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤδη παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντας ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ. ἐς γὰρ ἀπιστίαν ἱκανῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ βέβαιον τὴν διάνοιαν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτὸν ἡ παρούσα τύχη ἀλόγως τε καὶ τῶν καθεστώτων οὐκ ἐπαξίως ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἀπῆγε μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν καὶ αὐθις ἐς ἄφατόν τι ἀντικαθίστη θράσος. [12] καὶ τότε γοῦν τοῦ θανάτου περὶ Μούνδου τε ἀκούσας καὶ Μαυρικίου ἐπῆρθη τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤδη παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντας ἐρεσχελεῖν ἤξiou. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ Πέτρος ποτὲ ἅτε ὑπερβάντι τὰ βασιλεῖ ὁμολογημένα ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἄμφω Θεοδάτος δημοσίᾳ καλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [14] 'Σεμνὸν μὲν τὸ χρῆμα τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἄλλως ἐντιμον καθέστηκεν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γέρας ἐς τόδε οἱ

πρέσβεις ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διασώζουσιν, ἐς ὃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐπιεικεῖα φυλάξωσι τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀξίωμα. [15] κτεῖναι γὰρ ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν ἐνδίκως νενομίκασιν ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν ἢ ἐς βασιλέα ὑβρίσας φαίνεται, ἢ γυναικὸς ἄλλῳ ξυνοικουσίᾳ ἐς [16] εὐνὴν ἔλθοι.’ Θεοδότος μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Πέτρον ἀπέρριπεν, οὐχ ὅτι γυναικὶ ἐπλησίασεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἰσχυρίσῃται ἐγκλήματα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γίνεσθαι ἐς πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἄγοντα. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀμείβονται τοῖσδε: [17] ‘Οὐτε ταῦτα, ὧ Γότθων ἀρχηγέ, ταύτῃ ἥπερ εἰρηκας ἔχει, οὐτ’ ἂν σὺ παραπετάσῃσιν οὐχ ὑγίεσιν ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις ἐνδείξαιο. [18] μοιχῶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένῳ πρεσβευτῇ πάρεστι γίνεσθαι, ὧ γε οὐδὲ ὕδατος μεταλαγχάνειν ὅτι μὴ γνώμη τῶν φυλασσόντων ῥᾷδιόν ἐστι. [19] λόγους δέ, ὅσους ἂν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος ἀκηκοὺς εἶπῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐντεῦθεν αἰτίαν, ἣν γε οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ τύχῳσιν ὄντες, εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κελεύσας φέροιτο ἂν δικαίως τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ πρεσβευτῇ τὸ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἐκτελέσαι περίεστι μόνον. [20] ὥστε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἅπαντα ἐροῦμεν ὅσα ἀκούσαντες πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλημεν, σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἀκούσῃ πρῶως: ταρattoμένῳ γὰρ σοὶ ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις λελείμεται. [21] οὐκοῦν ὥρα σοὶ ἐκόντι ἐπιτελεῖν ὅσα βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγησας. ἐπ’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς ἤκομεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν σοὶ ἔγραψεν ἤδη λαβὼν ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἃ τοῖς Γότθων πρῶτοις ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ [22] αὐτοῖς δώσομεν.’ ταῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων ἐπεὶ παρόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες ἤκουσαν, Θεοδᾶτῳ ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα σφίσιν ἐπέστελλον. [23] εἶχε δὲ ὧδε: ‘Επιμελὲς γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐς πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὥπερ ὑμᾶς ἠσθῆναι εἰκός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀξιώτεροι ἔσεσθε, ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦξετε. [24] ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἐς ἥθη ξένα ἢ ἀλλόγνῳτα Γότθους καλοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ ὧν ἡθάσι γενομένοις ὑμῖν εἴτα ἐπὶ καιροῦ διεστάναι τετύχηκε. διὰ ταῦτα νῦν Ἀθανάσιός τε καὶ Πέτρος ἐστάλησαν αὐτόσε, [25] οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐς ἅπαντα ξυλλαβέσθαι χρεών.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Θεοδότος δὲ ἅπαντα ἀναλεξάμενος οὕτε τι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελεῖν ὧν βασιλεῖ ὑπέσχετο ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν φυλακῇ οὐ μετρία εἶχε. [26] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεὶ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαλματία ξυνενεχθέντα ἠκηκόει, Κωνσταντιανὸν μὲν, ὃς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱποκόμων ἦρχεν, εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἔπεμψε, στρατιὰν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιστείλας ἐνθένδε ἀγεῖραι καὶ Σαλῶνων ἀποπειραῖσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὰ εἴη: Βελισάριον δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι καὶ Γότθοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι. [27] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον τε ἀφίκετο καὶ χρόνον τινὰ διατρίψας ἐνταῦθα στρατιὰν ἤγειρεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθοι, Γρίπα σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον: [28] Κωνσταντιανὸς τε, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἄρας ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ὀρμίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον: ἔνθα δὴ ἄνδρας οὓς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ Γρίπας ἔπεμψε τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [29] καὶ αὐτοῖς τὰς τε ναὺς ἐπισκοποῦσι καὶ τὸ Κωνσταντιανοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔδοξε θάλασσά τε καὶ ἡ γῆ ξύμπασα στρατιωτῶν ἔμπλεως εἶναι, παρά τε τὸν Γρίπαν ἐπανήκοντες μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐπάγεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [30] ὁ δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα τι ἐμπεσὼν ὑπαντιάζειν τε τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἀξύνμορον ᾤετο εἶναι καὶ

πολιορκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ, οὕτω δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντος, ἥκιστα ἤθελε: [31] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσεν ὁ τε Σαλῶνων περιβόλος, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη καταπεπτώκει, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων τὸ ἐς Γότθους κομιδῇ ὕποπτον. [32] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδεύεται ὁ μεταξὺ Σαλῶνων τε καὶ Σκάρδωνος πόλεως ἐστὶ. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις πλέων ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου, Λυσίνη προσέσχεν, ἥ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κεῖται. [33] ἐνθένδε τε τῶν ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Γρίπα διερευνώμενοι ὁποῖα ποτε ἦ ἐσαγγείλωσιν. ἀφ' ὧν δὴ τὸν πάντα λόγον πυθόμενος εὐθὺς Σαλῶνων κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει. [34] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει, ἀποβιβάσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἡσύχαζε, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας Σιφίλαν τε αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐκέλευε τὴν στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν ἣν δὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ἐπύθετο εἶναι. καὶ Σιφίλας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [35] Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς Σάλωνας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσελάσαντες τῷ πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ προσωρμίσαντο. [36] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Σαλῶνων τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀνοικοδομούμενος σπουδῇ ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει: Γρίπας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαῖοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον, ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἀπεκομίσθησαν, οὕτω τε Κωνσταντιανὸς Δαλματίαν τε καὶ Λιβουρνίαν ζύμπασαν ἔσχε, Γότθους προσαγαγόμενος ἅπαντας οἱ ταύτῃ ἴδρυντο. [37] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Δαλματίαν ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος συνέγραψε.

Βελισάριος δὲ φύλακας ἐν τε Συρακούσῃ καὶ Πανόρμῳ ἀπολιπὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας διέβη ἐς Ῥήγιον ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν τε Σκύλλαν γεγενῆσθαι μυθοποιοῦσι καὶ Χάρυβδιν, καὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν ὁσημέραι οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι. [2] τῶν τε γὰρ χωρίων ἀτειχίστων σφίσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντων, φυλακὴν αὐτῶν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον καὶ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Γότθων μάλιστα τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἀρχῇ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἤχθοντο. [3] ἐκ δὲ Γότθων αὐτόμολος παρὰ Βελισάριον Ἐβρίμους ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἦλθεν, ὁ Θευδάτου γαμβρός, ὃς τῇ ἐκείνου θυγατρὶ Θευδενάνθῃ ξυνώκει. αὐτίκα τε παρὰ βασιλέα σταλείς, γερῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχε καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα ἦλθε. [4] τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐκ Ῥηγίου πεζῇ διὰ Βριττίων τε καὶ Λευκανῶν ἦει, παρηκολούθει τε ἄγχιστα τῆς ἡπείρου ὁ τῶν νηῶν στόλος. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, πόλει ἐνέτυχον ἐπιθαλασσίᾳ, Νεαπόλει ὄνομα, χωρίου τε φύσει ἐχυρὰ καὶ Γότθων πολλῶν φρουρὰν ἐχούσῃ. [6] καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἔξω βελῶν ὄντι ὁρμίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγὺς στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φρούριον ὃ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶν ὁμολογία εἶλεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δεομένοις ἐπέτρεπε τῶν τινας λογίμων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμψαι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπέιπώσι τε ὅσα αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀκούσαντες τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἀγγείλωσιν. [7] αὐτίκα οὖν οἱ Νεαπολῖται Στέφανον πέμπουσιν. ὃς ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦκεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖς, ὃ στρατηγέ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας στρατεῦον, οἱ πόλιν τε μικρὰν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ βαρβάρων δεσποτῶν

φρουρὰν ἔχομεν, ὥστε οὐδ' ἀντιπράξαι, [8] ἢν ἐθέλωμεν, ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροῖς τοῖσδε ξυμβαίνει παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς Θευδάτου χερσὶν ἀπολιποῦσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φυλακῇ ἤκειν. [9] οὐκοῦν, ἢν τι ἐς ὑμᾶς πράξωσιν, οὐ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπροδιδόντες φανήσονται. [10] εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές οὐδὲν ὑποστειλόμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμφορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκετε. Πρώμην μὲν γὰρ ἐλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ Νεάπολις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑποχειρία ἔσται, ἐκείνης δέ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀσφαλῶς ἔξετε. [11] ὥστε τινάλλως ὁ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τετρίψεται ταύτῃ.' Τοσαῦτα μὲν Στέφανος εἶπε. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε: [12] 'Τὸ μὲν εὖ ἢ ἄλλως ἡμᾶς βουλευσαμένους ἐνθάδε ἤκειν οὐ Νεαπολίταις σκοπεῖν δώσομεν. ἃ δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλῆς ἄξια, βουλόμεθα σκοπούμενους ὑμᾶς οὕτω δὴ πράσσειν ὅσα ἂν ξυνοίσειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλῃ. [13] δέξασθε τοίνυν τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἤκοντα, καὶ μὴ τὰ πάντων ἀνιαρότατα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔλῃσθε. [14] ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ δουλείαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀναδύομενοι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἐς πόλεμον χωροῦσιν, οὗτοι δὴ ἐν γε τῷ ἀγῶνι εὐημεροῦντες εὐτυχήματα διπλᾶ ἔχουσι, ζῶν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν κτησάμενοι, καὶ ἡσώμενοι φέρονται τι αὐτοῖς παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ ἐκόντες τῇ χεীরωνι ἔπεσθαι τύχῃ. [15] οἷς δὲ παρὸν ἀμαχητὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὅπως τὴν δουλείαν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καθιστῶνται, οὗτοι δὴ καὶ νενικηκότες, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐλασσόνως ἢ ἐβούλοντο ἀπαλλάξαντες ζῶν τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης ξυμφορὰν ἔξουσι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Νεαπολίτας ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. [16] Γότθοις δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσιν αἵρεσιν δίδομεν, ἢ ζῶν ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ τετάχθαι, ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν τὸ παράπαν οἴκαδε ἰέναι. [17] ὥς, ἢν τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀμελήσαντες ὅπλα ἡμῖν ἀνταίρειν τολμήσητε, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢν θεὸς θέλῃ, τῷ προστυχόντι ὥς πολεμῖω χρήσθαι. [18] εἰ μέντοι βουλομένοις ἢ Νεαπολίταις τά τε βασιλέως ἐλέσθαι καὶ δουλείας οὕτω χαλεπῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἀναδέχομαι τὰ πιστὰ διδοὺς ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν ἃ Σικελιώται πρώην ἐλπίσαντες ψευδορκίους ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔσχον εἰπεῖν.' [19] Ταῦτα μὲν Στέφανον Βελισάριος ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ μεγάλα ὑπέσχετο ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, Νεαπολίτας ἐς εὖνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως ὀρμήσονται. [20] Στέφανος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦκων τούς τε Βελισαρίου λόγους ἀπήγγελλε καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸς ἀπεφαίνετο βασιλεῖ μάχεσθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. [21] καὶ οἱ ξυνέπρασσεν Ἀντίοχος, Σύρος μὲν ἀνὴρ, ἐκ παλαιοῦ δὲ ὤκημένος ἐν Νεαπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ξυνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνταῦθα ἔχων. [22] Πάστῳρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ῥήτορε μὲν ἦσθιν καὶ λίαν ἐν γε Νεαπολίταις λογίμω, Γότθοις δὲ φίλῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὥς ἥκιστα βουλομένῳ μεταβάλλεσθαι. [23] τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὲ βουλευσαμένῳ ὅπως τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ἐν κωλύμῃ ἔσται, πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα τὸ πλῆθος ἐνηγέτην προῖσχεσθαι καὶ Βελισάριον ὅρκους καταλαμβάνειν ὅτι δὴ τούτων αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεύζονται. [24] ἐν βιβλιδίῳ δὲ ἅπαντα γράψαντε ὅσα Βελισάριον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐνδέξασθαι ὑπετόπησε Στεφάνῳ ἔδοσαν. [25] ὅς, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸ βασιλέως

στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἀφίκετο, τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξας τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οἱ πάντα τε ἐπιτελέσαι ὅσα Νεαπολίται προτείνονται καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁμείσθαι βουλομένῳ εἶη. ὁ δὲ αὐτόν, ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐπιτελῇ ἔσσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεπέμψατο. [26] ταῦτα Νεαπολίται ἀκούσαντες τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως στρατεύμα δέχεσθαι. [27] ἀπαντήσιν γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, εἴ τῳ ἱκανοὶ Σικελιωταὶ τεκμηριῶσαι, οἷς δὴ τετύχηκεν ἔναγχος βαρβάρων τυράννων τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείαν ἀλλαξαμένοις, ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ ἀπαθέσι δυσκόλων ἀπάντων. [28] καὶ πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὡς δὴ αὐτὰς ἀνακλινούντες ἦσαν. Γότθοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, κωλύειν μέντοι οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἐκποδῶν ἴσαντο. [29] Πάστῳρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ Γότθους ἅπαντας ἐς ἓνα συγκαλέσαντες χῶρον ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: ‘Πόλεως μὲν πλῆθος ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν προΐεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν δοκίμων κοινώσαντες εἶτα αὐτόνομον τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσονται γνῶσιν. [30] ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀνάγκη ξὺν ὑμῖν ὅσον οὐπῶ ἀπολουμένους ὕστατον ἔρανον τῇ: πατρίδι τήνδε παρέχεσθαι τὴν παραίνεσιν. [31] ὀρῶμεν τοῖνον ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες πολῖται, καταπροδίδοναι Βελισαρίῳ ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειγομένους, πολλὰ τε ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελιομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ὄρκους δεινότητος ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμείσθαι. [32] εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀναδέχεσθαι οἷός τέ ἐστιν ὡς ἐς αὐτόν ἤξει τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ξύμφορα εἶναι. [33] τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ γενησομένῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα χαρίζεσθαι πολλὴ ἄνοια. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἀδήλῳ κεῖται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀξιώχρεως ἐστί τὴν τῆς τύχης ἀναδέχεσθαι γνώμην, σκέψασθε ὑπὲρ οἷων ὑμῖν συμφορῶν ἡ σπουδὴ γίνεται. [34] ἦν γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι τῶν δυσμενῶν περιέσσονται, ὡς πολεμίους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ δεινότατα σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰργασμένους κολάσουσιν. [35] οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη βιαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ ἐθελokaκοῦντες ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν καθίστασθε. ὥστε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ κρατήσαντι τῶν πολεμίων ἴσως ἅπιστοί τε φανούμεθα καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων προδότηι, καὶ ἅτε δραπέται γεγεννημένοι, ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα φρουρὰν πρὸς βασιλέως κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἔξομεν. [36] ὁ γὰρ του προδότου τετυχηκῶς τῇ μὲν χάριτι ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νικήσας ἦσθη, ὑποψία δὲ ὕστερον τῇ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων μισεῖ καὶ φοβεῖται τὸν εὐεργέτην, αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας γνωρίσματα ἔχων. [37] ἦν μέντοι πιστοὶ Γότθοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενώμεθα, γενναίως ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐτοὶ τε τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσαντες μεγάλα ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ δράσουσι καὶ Βελισάριος ἡμῖν νενικηκῶς, [38] ἂν οὕτω τύχη, συγγνώμων ἔσται. εὖνοια γὰρ ἀποτυχοῦσα πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ ἀξυνέτου κολάζεται. [39] τί δὲ καὶ παθόντες κατωρρωδήκατε τῶν πολεμίων τὴν προσεδρεΐαν, οἱ οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες οὔτε του ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων κάθησθε οἴκοι, τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ φρουροῖς τοῖσδε τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες; οἰόμεθα δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν Βελισάριον ἐς τήνδε ξυμβῆναι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἡμῖν, εἴ τινα βία τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἐλπίδα εἶχε. [40] καίτοι εἰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνοίσοντα ποιεῖν ἤθελεν, οὐ Νεαπολίτας αὐτὸν δεδίσσεσθαι ἐχρῆν οὐδὲ τῇ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐς Γότθους ἀδικία τὴν οἰκείαν βεβαιοῦν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ Θευδάτῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὅπως κινδύνου τε καὶ

προδοσίας ἡμετέρας χωρὶς ἢ πόλις ἐς τὸ τῶν νικῶντων χωρήσει κράτος.’ [41] Τοσαῦτα Πάστῳρ τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἰπόντες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρήγον ἰσχυριζομένους τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ Γότθοι δὲ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλῶς τὸν περιβόλον ἰσχυρίζοντο. [42] οἷς δὴ Νεαπολίται ἡγμένοι ἐκέλευον Βελισάριον ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [43] ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. πολλάκις τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἀπεκρούσθη, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέσας πολλοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς δὴ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε. [44] τὸ γὰρ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος τὰ μὲν θαλάσσῃ, τὰ δὲ δυσχωρίαις τισὶν ἀπρόσοδόν τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀναντες εἶναι οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατόν. [45] καὶ τὸν ὀχετὸν μέντοι, ὃς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσηγε τὸ ὕδωρ, διελὼν Βελισάριος, οὐ σφόδρα Νεαπολίτας ἐτάραξεν, ἐπεὶ φρέατα ἐντὸς τε ὄντα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν παρεχόμενα αἰσθησιν τούτου σφίσιν οὐ λίαν ἐδίδου.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορκούμενοι λανθάνοντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Θευδάτον βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι. Θευδάτος δὲ πολέμου παρασκευὴν τινα ἤκιστα ἐποιεῖτο, ὦν μὲν καὶ φύσει ἀνανδρος, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [2] λέγουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ξυμβῆναι, ὃ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς ὀρρωδίαν μείζω ἀπήνεγκεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες: [3] καὶ ὥς δὲ εἰρήσεται. Θευδάτος καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἀμελέτητος ἦν τῶν τι προλέγειν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς πύστεις ποιεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς μαντείας ὀρμᾶν εἴωθε, τῶν τινος Ἑβραίων, δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὴν ἔχοντος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁποῖόν ποτε τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε τὸ πέρας ἔσται. [4] ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπήγγελλε χοίρων δεκάδας τρεῖς καθεύρξαντι ἐν οἰκίσκοις τρισὶ καὶ ὄνομα ποιησαμένῳ δεκάδι ἐκάστη, Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν, ἡμέρας ῥητὰς ἡσυχῇ μένειν. [5] Θευδάτος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὴν ἡ κυρία, ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσκοις ἄμφω γενόμενοι ἐθεῶντο τοὺς χοίρους, εὐρόν τε αὐτῶν οἷς μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἐπὶ ὄνομα δυοῖν ἀπολελειμμένοιιν νεκροὺς ἅπαντας, ζῶντας δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἅπαντας ἐς οὓς τὸ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ὄνομα ἦλθεν: ὅσοι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, τούτοις δὲ ξυνέβη ἀπορρυῆναι μὲν τὰς τρίχας ἅπασι, περιεῖναι δὲ ἐς ἡμισὺ μάλιστα. [6] ταῦτα Θευδάτῳ θεασαμένῳ καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀπόβασιν δέος φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν μέγα, εὖ εἰδοτὶ ὥς Ῥωμαῖοις μὲν ξυμπεσεῖται πάντως τεθνήξεσθαι τε κατὰ ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων στερήσεσθαι, Γότθοις δὲ ἡσσωμένοις τὸ γένος ἐς ὀλίγους ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐς βασιλέα δέ, ὀλίγων οἱ στρατιωτῶν ἀπολουμένων, [7] τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίξεσθαι κράτος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Θευδάτῳ λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν ὁρμὴν ἐπιπeseῖν ἐς ἀγῶνα Βελισαρίῳ καθίστασθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πῃ ἐς αὐτὰ πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀπιστίας ἔχει. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ Νεαπολίτας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν πολιορκῶν ἡσχαλλεν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ οὐδὲ προσχωρήσειν ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ᾤετο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλώσεσθαι ἠλπίζεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν δυσκολίαν ἀντιστατοῦσαν ὥς μάλιστα εἶχε. [9] καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν τριβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡνία, λογιζόμενον ὅπως μὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐπὶ Θευδάτον τε ἀναγκάζεται καὶ Ῥώμην ἰέναι. [10] ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι, μέλλον ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα

ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορουμένῳ εὐτυχία τοιαῦδε ζυνηνέχθη
χρησθαι. [11] τῶν τινὰ Ἰσαύρων ἐπιθυμία ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν
θεάσασθαι, καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον τῇ πόλει τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χρεῖαν παρέιχετο. [12]
ἐσβάς τε τῆς πόλεως ἀποθεν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν διέρρηξε Βελισάριος, ἐβάδιζε πόνῳ
οὐδενί, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτὸν ἅτε διερρωγότα ἐπελελοίπει. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα
τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, πέτρα μεγάλη ἐνέτυχεν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων χερσὶν
ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς φύσεως τοῦ χωρίου ἀποτεθείση. [14] ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἱ
τὸν ὀχετὸν δειμάμενοι πάσαι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαντες διώρυχα ἐνθένδε
ἐποιοῦν, οὐκ ἐς δίοδον μέντοι ἀνθρώπου ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, [15] ἀλλ' ὅσον τῷ
ὕδατι τὴν πορείαν παρέχεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζυνέβαινεν οὐκ εὖρος τὸ αὐτὸ
πανταχόσε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στενοχωρία ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ὑπηντίαζεν,
ἀνθρώπῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τεθωρακισμένῳ ἢ ἀσπίδα φέροντι, ἀπόρευτος οὖσα.
[16] ταῦτα τῷ Ἰσαύρῳ κατανοήσαντι οὐκ ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ ἐς
τὴν πόλιν ἰέναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ μέτρῳ τὴν ἐκείνῃ διώρυχα εὐρυτέραν ποιήσονται.
[17] ἅτε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφανὴς τε ὢν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἐς λόγους
ἦκων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς Παύκαριν ἤνεγκεν, ἄνδρα Ἰσαυρον, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου
ὑπασπισταῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Παύκαρις τὸν πάντα λόγον αὐτίκα τῷ
στρατηγῷ ἡγγεῖλε. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἡδονῇ ἀναπνεύσας καὶ
χρήμασι μεγάλοις τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν
ἦγε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν Ἰσαύρων τινὰς ἐταιρισάμενον ἐκτομῇν ὡς τάχιστα
τῆς πέτρας ποιεῖσθαι, φυλασσόμενον ὅπως τοῦ ἔργου μηδενὶ αἰσθησιν
δώσουσι. [19] Παύκαρις δέ, Ἰσαύρους ἀπολεξάμενος πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτηδείως
πάντῃ ἔχοντας, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐγένετο. [20] ἔς τε τὸν
χῶρον ἐλθόντες ἵνα δὴ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ἡ πέτρα ἐποίει, ἔργου εἶχοντο, οὐκ
ἀξίναις τὴν πέτραν οὐδὲ πελέκεσι τέμνοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἐνδηλὰ τῷ κτύπῳ τοῖς
πολεμίοις ποιήσωσι τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, ἀλλὰ σιδηρίοις τισὶν ὀξέσιν αὐτὴν
ἐνδελεχέστατα ξέοντες. [21] καὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ κατείργαστο, ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ
δυνατὰ εἶναι θώρακά τε ἀμπεχομένῳ καὶ ἀσπίδα φέροντι ταύτῃ ἰέναι. [22]
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαντα ἤδη ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἔννοια Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὡς, ἣν
πολέμῳ ἐς Νεάπολιν τῷ στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶη, τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις ἀπολωλέναι
ξυμβήσεται καὶ τᾶλλα ξυμπεσεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅσα πόλει πρὸς πολέμιον ἀλούσῃ
γίνεσθαι εἴωθε. [23] Στέφανόν τε εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἔλαξε τοιαύδε:
‘Πολλάκις εἶδον πόλεις ἀλούσας καὶ τῶν τήνικαυτα γινομένων εἰμὶ ἔμπειρος.
[24] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀναιροῦσιν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας, γυναῖκας δὲ θνήσκουσιν
αἰτουμένας οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὕβριν ἀγόμεναι πάσχουσιν ἀνῆκεστά
τε καὶ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια. [25] παῖδας δὲ οὔτε τροφῆς οὔτε παιδείας οὕτω
μεταλαχόντας δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πάντων ἐχθίστοις, ὧν ἐν ταῖς
χερσὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων αἷμα θεάανται. [26] ἐγὼ γάρ, ὃ φίλε Στέφανε, λέγειν τὸ
πῦρ, ὃ τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζεται κάλλος. ταῦτα
Νεάπολιν τήνδε ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ταῖς πρότερον ἀλούσαις πόλεσιν ὀρῶν
πάσχουσιν, αὐτῆς τε καὶ ὑμῶν ἐς οἶκτον ἦκω. [27] μηχαναὶ γὰρ μοι πεποίηνται
νῦν ἐς αὐτήν, ἣν μὴ οὐχὶ ἁλῶναι ἀδύνατον. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαίαν καὶ οἰκήτορας
Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἄνωθεν ἔχουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τύχης οὐκ ἂν
εὐξαίμην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγούντος, ἐλθεῖν, μάλιστα

ἐπεὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ μοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εἰσίν, ἀδελφοὺς ἢ
ξυγγενεῖς πρὸ τοῦδε ἀπολωλεκότες τοῦ τείχους: ὧν δὴ κατέχειν τὸν θυμόν, ἦν
πολέμῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔλωσιν, οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην. [28] οὐκοῦν ἔως ἔτι τὸ τὰ
ξυνοίσοντα ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πράσσειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι, βουλευσάσθε μὲν τὰ
βελτίω, φύγετε δὲ ξυμφοράν: ἥς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ξυμπιπτούσης ὑμῖν οὐ τὴν τύχην
δικαίως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰτιάσεσθε γνώμην.' [29] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν
Βελισάριος Στέφανον ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς ἐς Νεαπολιτῶν τὸν δῆμον παρῆλθε
δεδακρυμένος τε καὶ πάντα ξὺν οἰμωγῇ ἀγγέλλων ὅσα Βελισαρίου λέγοντος
ἤκουσεν. [30] οἱ δὲ 'οὐδὲ γὰρ χρὴν Νεαπολίτας ἀθῶους βασιλεῖ κατηκόους
γενέσθαι οὔτε ἔδεισάν τι οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

Τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰσοδὸν κατεστήσατο ὧδε. ἄνδρας ἀμφὶ
τετρακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς καὶ ἄρχοντε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας
Μάγνον τε, ὃς ἱππικοῦ καταλόγου ἠγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγὸν
Ἐννης, θωρακίσασθαι τε ἅπαντας καὶ τάς τε ἀσπίδας τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελομένους
ἡσυχάζειν, ἄχρι αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευε. [2] καὶ Βέσσαν μεταπεμψάμενος
αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπήγγειλε: βούλεσθαι γὰρ ξὺν αὐτῷ βουλὴν τινα περὶ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ποιήσασθαι: [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ
Ἐννῇ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιδείξας οὗ πρότερον διελὼν
τὸν ὄχετὸν ἔτυχε, τοῖς τετρακοσίοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγήσασθαι, [4] λύχνα
ἀνελομένους, ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἄνδρας δύο ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρησθαι ἐπισταμένους
ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένωνται, τὴν τε
πόλιν ξυνταράξαι καὶ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα σημήναι σφίσιν οἷοι τε ᾧσιν. [5] αὐτὸς δὲ
κλίμακας ὅτι πλείστας πρότερον πεποιημένας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν
ἐς τὸν ὄχετὸν ὑποδύντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῷ Βέσσᾳ καὶ
Φωτίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα ἔπρασσε. [6] πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον, ἐγρηγορέναι τε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν ἐπέταττε. καὶ
πολλοὺς μέντοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὓς δὴ εὐτολμοτάτους ᾤετο εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ
τὴν πόλιν ἰόντων οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον ὀπίσω
ἀπεκομίζοντο. [7] οὓς ἐπεὶ Μάγνος ἔπεσθαι οἱ, καίπερ πολλὰ παραινέσας, οὐκ
ἔπειθε, παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆκε. [8] τούτους δὲ Βελισάριος
κακίσας καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπολέξας διακοσίους σὺν Μάγνῳ ἰέναι ἐκέλευεν.
ὧν δὴ καὶ Φώτιος ἠγεῖσθαι θέλων, ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἐσεπήδησεν: ἀλλὰ
Βελισάριος αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν. [9] αἰσχυνθέντες δὲ τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ
Φωτίου τὴν λαιδορίαν καὶ ὅσοι τὸν κίνδυνον ἔφευγον, αἰθῆς αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι
τολμήσαντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἶποντο. [10] Βελισάριος δὲ δείσας μὴ τῶν πολεμίων
τισὶ τῶν πρᾶσσομένων αἰσθησις γένηται, οἱ δὴ ἐς τὸν πύργον φυλακὴν εἶχον
ὃς τοῦ ὄχετος ἄγχιστα ἐτύγγανεν ὧν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἦλθε καὶ Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε τῇ
Γότθων φωνῇ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ
τῶν ὅπλων πάταγος ἔναυλος εἴῃ. [11] καὶ Βέσσας μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναβοήσας μέγα
προσχωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ παρήνει, πολλὰ σφίσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ
ἔσεσθαι. [12] οἱ δὲ ἐτόθαζον, πολλὰ ἐς Βελισαρίον τε καὶ βασιλέα ὑβρίζοντες.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Βέσσᾳ ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [13] Ὁ δὲ Νεαπόλεως
ὄχετος οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καλύπτεται μόνον, ἀλλ' οὕτω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ
πλείστον διήκει, κύρτωμα ἐκ πλίνθου ὠπημένης ὑψηλὸν ἔχων, ὥστε

γενόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ ἀμφὶ Μάγνον τε καὶ Ἐννην ἅπαντες οὐδὲ ὅπου ποτὲ γῆς εἰσι ξυμβάλλεσθαι ἐδύναντο. [14] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ πη ἀποβαίνειν ἐνθένδε εἶχον, ἕως οἱ πρῶτοι ἐς χῶρον ἴκοντο οὗ τὸν ὀχετὸν ἀνώροφον ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι καὶ οἶκημα ἦν κοιμητὴ ἀπημελημένον. [15] ἐνταῦθα ἔσω γυνή τις ὄκει, μόνη τε οὖσα καὶ πενία πολλῇ ξυνοικοῦσα, καὶ δένδρον ἐλαίας καθύπερθεν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπεφύκει. [16] οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἶδον καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἦσθοντο εἶναι, ἐκβαίνειν μὲν διανοοῦντο, μηχανὴν μέντοι οὐδεμίαν εἶχον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ὑψηλὴ γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτυχεν οὖσα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνάβασιν τινα ἔχουσα. [17] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ξυνιόντων ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὀπισθεν ιόντων πολὺς τις ξυνέρρει ὁμιλος, ἐγένετο αὐτῶν τινι ἔννοια τῆς ἀνόδου ἀποπειράσασθαι. [18] καταθέμενος οὖν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα, ταῖς τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν βιασάμενος, ἐς τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οἶκημα ἦλθε. [19] καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν, ἦν μὴ σιωπῇ, κτείνειν ἠπειλήσεν. ἡ δὲ καταπλαγεῖσα ἄφωνος ἔμεινε. καὶ ὥς ἐκ τοῦ πρέμνου τῆς ἐλαίας ἱμάντα τινα ἰσχυρὸν ἀναψάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ ἱμάντος ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔρριπεν. οὗ δὴ λαβόμενος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἀνέβαινε μόλις. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβέβηκεσαν ἅπαντες τῆς τε νυκτὸς τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἔτι ἐλείπετο, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ πύργων δύο τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδέν τι αἰσθανομένους τοῦ κακοῦ, κτείνουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα Βελισάριος ξὺν τῷ Βέσσᾳ καὶ Φωτίῳ εἰστήκει, παραδοκῶν τὰ πρασσόμενα. [21] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐκάλουν, Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τὰς κλίμακας ἐρείσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε. [22] τῶν δὲ κλιμάκων οὐδεμίαν διήκειν ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξυνέβαινεν. ἅτε γὰρ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οἱ τεχνῖται ποιούμενοι μέτρου τοῦ καθήκοντος οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐγένοντο. [23] διόπερ δύο ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀναβαίνοντες οὕτω δὴ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπέρτεροι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐγένοντο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [24] Ἐς δὲ τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα οὐχ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὕτε ταῖς κλίμαξι χρῆσθαι οὕτε ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ στρατιῶται ἐδύναντο. [25] οἱ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἥδη προσκεκρουκότες, ἐμπόδιοί τε γεγενημένοι ὅπως μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαχητὶ ἔλωσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἦν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὥσιν ἔχοντες, καρτερῶς τε, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἥδη ἀλούσης, ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων προσβολῇ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπισθεν βαλλόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ κατὰ κράτος Νεάπολις ἦλω. καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἥδη ἀνακεκλιμένων ἅπας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰσῆει. [27] ὅσοι δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐτετάχατο τὰς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τετραμμένας, ἐπεὶ κλίμακες σφίσι παροῦσαι οὐδαμῇ ἔτυχον, ταύτας δὴ τὰς πύλας ἀφυλάκτους παντάπασιν οὖσας ἔκαυσαν. [28] ἔρημον γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἐκεῖνη τεῖχος, ἅτε τῶν φυλάκων δρασμῶ χρησαμένων, [29] ἐγένετο. φόνος τε ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἐγεγόνει. θυμῷ γὰρ ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσοις ἀδελφόν τινα ἢ ξυγγενὴ ἀποθανεῖν τειχομαχοῦντα τετύχηκε, τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι, ἔκτεινον, ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας

ἐσβάλλοντες παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπόδισαν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐλήισαντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ Μασσαγέται, οἳ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεχόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἐς αὐτὰ φυγόντων ἀνεῖλον, ἕως Βελισάριος πανταχόσε περιῶν διεκώλυσέ τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: [30] ‘Ἐπειδὴ νενικηκέναι τε ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐδοξίας ἀφῖχθαι, πόλιν ἀνάλωτον πρότερον οὖσαν ὑποχειρίαν ἡμῖν ποιησάμενος, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ ἀναξίους εἶναι τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἡσσημένους φιланθρωπία τὸ δικαίως κεκρατηκέναι τούτων ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [31] μὴ τοίνυν ἀπέραντα Νεαπολίτας μισήσητε, μηδὲ ὑπερόριον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχθος ποιήσητε. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσσημένους οὐδεὶς τῶν νενικηκότων ἔτι μισεῖ. [32] κτείνοντές τε αὐτοὺς οὐ πολεμίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθε τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ ζημιωθήσεσθε τῶν ὑπηκόων. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπους τοῦσδε μηδὲν ἐργάσησθε περαιτέρω κακόν, μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ πάντα χαρίζεσθε. [33] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θυμοῦ ἥσσους φαίνεσθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ χρήματα μὲν τὰ ἄλλα γινέσθω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα, γυναῖκες δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἀποδιδόσθω. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ οἱ νενικημένοι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡλικίων ἐξ ἀβουλίας ἐστέρηνται φίλων.’ [34] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα Νεαπολίταις πάντα ἀφήκεν, ὕβρεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἐς πείραν ἐλθόντα, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας διήλλαξεν. [35] οὕτω τε Νεαπολίταις ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰχμαλώτοις τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνασώσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνακτήσασθαι. [36] ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι χρυσὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τιμίων ἔχοντες ἔτυχον, οὗτοι δὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες ἀπεκρύψαντο, καὶ ταύτη τοὺς πολεμίους λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολαβόντες. ἢ τε πολιορκία ἐς ἡμέρας μάλιστα εἴκοσι κατατείνασα ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. [37] Γότθους δὲ τοὺς τῇδε ἀλόντας οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς Βελισάριος παντάπασι διαφυλάξας, οὐκ ἐλασσόνως ἢ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε. [38] Πάστῳρ δέ, ὃς ἐς ἀπόνειαν, ὡς πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, τὸν δῆμον ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλίσκομένην εἶδεν, ἐς ἀποπληξίαν ἐξέπεσε καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε νοσήσας πρότερον οὔτε ἄλλο τι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν ἄχαρι. [39] Ἀσκληπιόδοτος δέ, ὃς ξὺν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἔπρασσε, ξὺν τῶν λογίμων τοῖς περιοῦσι παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦλθε. [40] καὶ αὐτῷ Στέφανος ἐπιτωθάζων ἐλοιδορεῖτο ὧδε: ‘Ὁρα, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οἷα κακὰ τὴν πατρίδα εἰργάσω, τῆς ἐς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποδόμενος σωτηρίαν. [41] εἴτα εἰ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις εὖ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πράγματα, ἡξίωσας ἂν ἔμμισθός τε αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι καὶ ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τῶν τὰ βελτίω βεβουλευμένων τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προδοσίας ὑπαγαγεῖν. [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν βασιλεὺς εἶλε, σεσώσμεθα δὲ τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ, οὕτω δὲ εἰσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐτόλμησας ἄτε οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὔτε Νεαπολίτας οὔτε τὸ βασιλέως διαπεπραγμένος στρατόπεδον, ἀξίας τίσεις δίκας.’ [43] Στέφανος μὲν τῇ ξυμφορᾷ περιώδυνος ὢν ἐς Ἀσκληπιόδοτον ταῦτα ἀπέρριπεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε: ‘Ἀέληθας σαντὸν ἐγκωμιάζων ἡμᾶς, ὦ γενναῖε, οἷς δὴ εὐνοίαν τὴν ἐς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζεις. [44] εὖνους γάρ τις δεσπότηας

κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴη. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν οἱ κρατοῦντες τοιοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας φύλακα ἔξουσιν οἷον ἀρτίως πολέμιον εὔρον, ἐπεὶ ὁ τῇ φύσει τὸ πιστὸν ἔχων οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν γνώμην. [45] σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς φερομένων ἐτοιμῶς ἂν τοὺς τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐνδέξαιο λόγους. ὁ γὰρ τὸ τῆς διανοίας νοσῶν ἄστατον ἅμα τε ἔδεισε καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φιλάτους ἡρνήσατο πίστιν.’ [46] τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἶπε. Νεαπολιτῶν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀναχωροῦντα εἶδον, ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι, ἅπαντα αὐτῷ ἐπεκάλουν τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν δὴ ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ βραχὺ διεσπᾶσαντο. [47] οὕτω τε ἐν τῇ Πάστῳ οἰκία γενόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐζήτουν. τοῖς τε οἰκέταις τεθνάναι Πάστῳρα ἰσχυρίζομένοις ἥκιστα πιστεῦειν ἠξίου, ἕως αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν ἔδειξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν Νεαπολίται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἀνεσκολόπισαν. [48] οὕτω τε Βελισάριον παρητήσαντο ἐφ’ οἷς δικαίᾳ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενοι ἔδρασαν, τυχόντες τε αὐτοῦ συγγνώμονος διελύθησαν. οὕτω μὲν Νεαπολίται ἀπῆλλαξαν.

Γότθοι δὲ ὅσοις ἀμφὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον τὴν Θευδάτου ἡσυχίαν ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν γειτόνων οὔσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ βούλοιο διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, ἐν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενοι, ὥς δὴ τὰ Γότθων πράγματα προδιδοῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐθελουσίως, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐπιμελὲς εἶη, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἡσυχῇ βιοτεύοι, ὥς πλεῖστα περιβαλλόμενος χρήματα, ἐπειδὴ ἀλῶναι Νεάπολιν ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντά οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἤδη ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐς χωρίον ξυνελέγησαν Ῥώμης ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους διέχον, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Ῥεγάτα: ἐνταῦθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν ἄριστον εἶναι: πεδία γὰρ πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱππόβοτα. [2] ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμός, ὃν Δεκεννόβιον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐννεακαίδεκα περιῶν σημεία, ὅπερ ξύνεισιν ἐς τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκβάλλει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρακίνην, ἧς ἄγχιστα ὄρος τὸ Κίρκαιόν ἐστιν, οὗ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τῇ Κίρκῃ ξυγγενέσθαι φασίν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν νήσῳ Ὅμηρος τὰ τῆς Κίρκης οἰκία ἰσχυρίζεται εἶναι. [3] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὸ Κίρκαιον τοῦτο, ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης διήκον, νήσῳ ἐμφερές ἐστι, καὶ τοῖς τε πλεύουσιν ἄγχιστα τοῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἡῖονα βαδίζουσι νήσος δοκεῖ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τις ἐν αὐτῷ γένηται, τότε δὴ μεταμανθάνει ψευσθῆναι τῆς δόξης τὰ πρότερα. [4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος ἴσως νήσον τὸ χωρίον ὠνόμασεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἄνεμι. [5] Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Ῥεγάτα ξυνελέγησαν, βασιλέα σφίσι τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις Οὐίττιγιν εἵλοντο, ἄνδρα οἰκίας μὲν οὐκ ἐπιφανοῦς ὄντα, ἐν μάχαις δὲ ταῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον λίαν εὐδοκιμηκότα τὸ πρότερον, ἥνικα τὸν πρὸς Γήπαιδας πόλεμον Θευδέριχος διέφερε. [6] Θευδάτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐς φυγὴν τε ὥρμητο καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἤλαυνεν. Οὐίττιγίς δὲ κατὰ τάχος Ὀπταριν ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα Γότθον, ἐπιστείας αὐτῷ ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀγαγεῖν Θευδάτον. [7] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Θευδάτῳ οὗτος ὁ Ὀπταρις χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. κόρην τινὰ Ὀπταρις ἐπὶ κληρόν τε καὶ τὴν ὅσιν εὐπρεπῇ οὖσαν ἐμνηστεύετο. [8] ταύτην

Θευδάτος ἀφελόμενος τὸν μνηστήρα τοῦτον, χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθεὶς, ἐτέρῳ ἠγγύησε. διὸ δὴ τῷ τε θυμῷ καὶ Οὐιτιτίγιδι χαριζόμενος, πολλῇ Θευδάτον σπουδῇ τε καὶ προθυμίᾳ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνεὶς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἐδίωκε. [9] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ὁδῷ ἔτι πορευόμενον καταλαμβάνει, ἐς ἑδαφὸς τε ὑπτιον ἀνακλίνας ὥσπερ ἱερεῖόν τι ἔθυσεν. αὕτη τε Θευδάτῳ καταστροφή τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τρίτον ἐχούσης ἔτος, ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίτιτιγίς δὲ ἅμα Γότθοις τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσῆλαινε. γνούς τε τὰ Θευδάτῳ ξυνενεχθέντα, ἥσθη τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα Θευδεύσκλον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησατο. [11] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Γότθων πράγματα ἥκιστα οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, βέλτιον ἐνόμισεν ἐς Ῥάβενναν πρῶτον ἰέναι, ἐνταυθα τε πάντα ἐξαρτυσαμένῳ ὡς ἄριστα οὕτω δὴ καθίστασθαι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ξυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [12] ‘Αἰ μέγισται τῶν πράξεων, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐ καιρῶν ὀξύτητι, ἀλλ’ εὐβουλία φιλοῦσιν ὀρθοῦσθαι. [13] πολλάκις γὰρ μέλλησίς τε εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα μᾶλλον ὤνησε καὶ σπουδὴ οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἐπιδειχθεῖσα πολλοῖς ἀνεχαίτισε τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσκειν ἐλπίδα. [14] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι ἀπαράσκευοι μὲν, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μαχόμενοι, ἡσσῶνται ἢ ὅσοι τὴν ἐλάσσῳ ἰσχὺν ὡς ἄριστα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν. [15] μὴ τοίνυν τῷ παραυτίκα φιλοτίμῳ ἐπαιρόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐργασώμεθα: κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ ἀισχυνομένους τὴν εὐκλειαν ἀπέραντον διασώσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα φυγόντας ὕβριν ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. [16] καίτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς δὴ πού ἐπίστασθε ὡς τό τε Γότθων πλῆθος καὶ ξύμπασαν σχεδόν τι τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν σκευὴν ἐν τε Γαλλίαις καὶ Βενετίαις καὶ χώραις ταῖς ἐκαστάτω ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [17] καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ Φράγγων ἔθνη οὐχ ἥσσω τοῦδε πόλεμον διαφέρομεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ εὖ διαθεμένους ἐφ’ ἑτερον χωρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀμφίβολόν τι καθισταμένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἓνα πολέμιον ὀρῶντας τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσσᾶσθαι εἰκός. [18] ἐγὼ δὲ φημι χρῆναι νῦν μὲν εὐθὺ Ῥαβέννης ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ πρὸς Φράγγους πόλεμον διαλύσαντας τᾶλλα τε διωκημένους ὡς ἄριστα οὕτω δὴ Βελισαρίῳ παντὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ διαμάχεσθαι. [19] καὶ μοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τήνδε ὑμῶν ὑποστελλέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδὲ φυγὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν ὀκνεῖτω. [20] δειλιάς μὲν γὰρ προσηγορία ἐπιτηδείως προσπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς ὥρθωσεν, ἀνδρείας δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τισὶν ἐγγενόμενον, εἴτα ἐς ἥτταν ἐχώρησεν. [21] οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ξυμφόρῳ τῶν ἔργων ἔπασθαι ἄξιον. ἀνδρός τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀρχόμεναι δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τελευτᾶσαι μηνύουσι. [22] φεύγουσι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐχ οἱ ἂν μετὰ μεζόνος τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤκοιεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σώματα ἐς αἰὶ διασώζειν βουλόμενοι ἐκποδῶν ἴστανται. πόλεώς τε τῆσδε ἀλώσεως περὶ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν γινέσθω τι δέος. [23] ἦν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμῖν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχωσι, τὴν πόλιν ἐν βεβαίῳ Γότθοις φυλάξουσιν, ἀνάγκης τε πείραν οὐδεμιᾶς ἔξουσιν, [24] ἐπεὶ ἐν βραχεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξομεν χρόνῳ. καὶ ἦν τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῖς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστίν, ἐλάσσῳ βλάβουσι τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι: ἄμεινον γὰρ πρὸς δυσμενεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι. [25] ὅπως μέντοι μηδὲν τι ξυμβήσεται τοιοῦτον, ἐγὼ προνοήσω. ἄνδρας τε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντα ξυνετώτατον ἀπολείψομεν, οἱ

Ῥώμην φυλάξει ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν καλῷ κείσεται καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῆσδε ἡμῶν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γένοιτο βλάβος.’ [26] Οὐίτιγיס μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ Γότθοι ἅπαντες παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν πορείαν. μετὰ δὲ Σιλβερῖο τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τε ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ παραινέσας Οὐίτιγισ, καὶ τῆς Θεουδερίχου ἀρχῆς ὑπομνήσας, ἐνεκελεύετο ἅπασιν ἐς Γότθων τὸ ἔθνος εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν, ὄρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινοτάτοις ὑπὲρ τούτων καταλαβόν, ἄνδρας τε ἀπολέξας οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας Λεύδεριν, ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἦκοντα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐφ’ ᾧ Ῥώμην φυλάξουσιν σφίσιν: οὕτω δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει, τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς πλείστους ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [27] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο, Ματασοῦνθαν τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης θυγατέρα, παρθένον τε καὶ ὠραίαν ἤδη οὔσαν, γυναῖκα γαμετὴν οὔτι ἐθελούσιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως δὴ βεβαιωτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξει τῇ ἐς γένος τὸ Θεουδερίχου ἐπιμιξία. [28] ἔπειτα δὲ ἅπαντας Γότθους πανταχόθεν ἀγείρας διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ὅπλα τε καὶ ἵππους διανέμων κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστῳ, μόνους δὲ Γότθους οἱ ἐν Γαλλίαις φυλακὴν εἶχον, δέει τῶν Φράγγων οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν μεταπέμπεσθαι. [29] οἱ δὲ Φράγγοι οὗτοι Γερμανοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὅπη ὥκημένοι Γαλλίας τε ἐπεβάτευσαν καὶ διάφοροι Γότθοις γεγένηνται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

Τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ τε ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδεῖρων ἐσπλέοντι χώρα μὲν ἡ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, Εὐρώπη ὠνόμασται, ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ Λιβύη ἐκλήθη, ἣν δὴ προϊόντες Ἀσίαν καλοῦσι. [2] Λιβύης μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: ἔρημος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Νείλου ἐκροὴ οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσται, ὃν δὴ ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐνθὲνδε φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. [3] Εὐρώπη δὲ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένη Πελοποννήσῳ βεβαιότατα ἐμφερὴς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην ἐκατέρωθι κεῖται. καὶ χώρα μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ δύνοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν Ἰσπανία ὠνόμασται, ἄχρι ἐς Ἀλπεις τὰς ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πυρηναίῳ οὔσας. [4] Ἀλπεις δὲ καλεῖν τὴν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ δίοδον οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι νενομίσασιν. τὸ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε μέχρι τῶν Λιγυρίας ὁρίων Γαλλία ἐκλήθη. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλπεις ἕτεραι Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσι. [5] Γαλλία μέντοι Ἰσπανίας πολλῷ εὐρυτέρα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ἐκ στενοῦ ἀρχομένη Εὐρώπῃ ἐς ἄφατόν τι εὖρος ἀεὶ προϊόντι κατὰ λόγον χωρεῖ. [6] χώρα δὲ αὕτη ἐκατέρωθεν μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον πρὸς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ περιβάλλεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον θάλασσαν τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν καλουμένην ἔχει. [7] ἐν Γάλλοις δὲ ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ Ῥοδανός τε καὶ Ῥήνος ῥέουσι. τούτοις τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντοις ἄτερος μὲν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, Ῥήνος δὲ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. [8] λίμναι τε ἐνταῦθα πολλάι, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὥκηντο, βάρβαρον ἔθνος, οὐ πολλοῦ λόγου τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἄξιον, οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται. [9] τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ἀρβόρυχοι ὥκουν, οἱ ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ Γαλλίᾳ καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσπανίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. [10] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Θόριγγοι βάρβαροι, δόντος Αὐγούστου πρώτου βασιλέως, ἰδρύσαντο. [11] καὶ αὐτῶν Βουργουζῖωνες οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένοι ὥκουν,

Σούβαοί τε ὑπὲρ Θορίγγων καὶ Ἀλαμανοί, ἰσχυρὰ ἔθνη. οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι ἅπαντες ταύτῃ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἴδρυντο. [12] Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου Οὐισίγοτθοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν βιασάμενοι Ἰσπανίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ κατήκοα σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. [13] ἐτύγχανον δὲ Ἀρβόρουχοι τότε Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγεννημένοι. οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὶ κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐθέλοντες, ἅτε ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ πολιτείαν ἦν πάλοι εἶχον μεταβαλόντας, ποιήσασθαι, ἐληίζοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ πολεμησεῖοντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. [14] Ἀρβόρουχοι δὲ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπεὶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς Γερμανοὶ οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν, ἐταιρίζεσθαι τε ἠξίουσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις κηδεσθαι γίνεσθαι. [15] ἃ δὴ Ἀρβόρουχοι οὕτι ἀκούσιοι ἐνεδέχοντο: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, οὕτω τε ἐς ἓνα λεὼν ξυνελθόντες δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν. [16] Καὶ στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι ἐς Γάλλων τὰς ἐσχατίας φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐτετάχато. [17] οἱ δὴ οὔτε ἐς Ῥώμην ὅπως ἐπανήξουσιν ἔχοντες οὐ μὴν οὔτε προσχωρεῖν Ἀρειανοῖς οὓσι τοῖς πολεμίοις βουλόμενοι, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ χώραν ἦν πάλοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐφύλασσαν Ἀρβορύχοις τε καὶ Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν, ἐς τε ἀπογόνους τοὺς σφετέρους ξύμπαντα παραπέμπσαντες διεσώσαντο τὰ πάτρια ἥθη, ἃ δὴ σεβόμενοι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τηρεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. [18] ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν καταλόγων ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου δηλοῦνται ἐς οὓς τὸ παλαιὸν τασσόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ σημεῖα τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαγόμενοι οὕτω δὴ ἐς μάχην καθίστανται, νόμοις τε τοῖς πατρίοις ἐς αἰὲ χρῶνται. [19] καὶ σχῆμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν κὰν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι διασώζουσιν. [20] Ἐως μὲν οὖν πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἡ αὐτὴ ἔμενε, Γαλλίας τὰ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὀδοάκρος ἐς τυραννίδα μετέβαλε, τότε δὴ, τοῦ τυράννου σφίσιν ἐνδιδόντος, ξύμπασαν Γαλλίαν Οὐισίγοτθοι ἔσχον μέχρι Ἀλπεων αἱ τὰ Γάλλων τε ὄρια καὶ Λιγούρων διορίζουσι. [21] πεσόντος δὲ Ὀδοάκρου Θορίγγοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι τὴν Γερμανῶν δύναμιν ἤδη αὐξομένην δειμαίνοντες ἰσχυρότατα ἐγγόνει καὶ τοὺς αἰὲ ἐν ποσὶν ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐβιάζετό Γότθων δὴ καὶ Θεουδερίχου τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. οὓς δὴ ἐταιρίσασθαι Θεουδερίχος ἐθέλων ἐς κῆδος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [22] τῷ μὲν οὖν τῆνικαῦτα Οὐισιγότθων ἡγουμένῳ Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Θεουδερίχου τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἡγγύησεν, Ἑρμενεφρίδῳ δὲ τῷ Θορίγγων ἄρχοντι Ἀμαλαβέργαν τὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδης τῆς ἀδελφῆς παῖδα. [23] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Φράγγοι τῆς μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς βίας δεῖαι τῷ Θεουδερίχῳ ἀπέσχοντο, [24] ἐπὶ Βουργουζίῳνας δὲ πολέμῳ ἤεσαν. ὕστερον δὲ Φράγγοις τε καὶ Γότθοις ξυμμαχία τε καὶ ξυνθήκαι ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ Βουργουζιῳνῶν ἐγένοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι μὲν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πέμψωσιν: [25] ἦν δὲ ὁποτέρων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ ἕτεροι στρατεύσαντες τὸ Βουργουζιῳνῶν καταστρέψονται γένος καὶ χώραν ἦν ἔχουσι παραστήσωσιν, ποινὴν οἱ νενικηκότες παρὰ τῶν οὐ ξυστρατεύσάντων ῥήτῳ τι χρυσίον κομίζονται, κοινὴν δὲ καὶ οὕτω χώραν τὴν δορυάλωτον ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι. [26] οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ πολλὰ στρατῶ ἐπὶ Βουργουζίῳνας κατὰ τὰ σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις ξυγκείμενα ἦκον, Θεουδερίχος δὲ παρεσκευάζετο

μὲν δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐξέπιτηδες δὲ αἰεὶ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἔξοδον ἀπετίθετο, καταδοκῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα. [27] μόλις δὲ πέμψας ἐπέστελλε τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι σχολαίτερον τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν Φράγγους νενικηκέναι ἀκούσωσι τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι, ἦν δέ τι ξύμβαμα ξυμπεπτοκέναι αὐτοῖς πύθονται, μηκέτι περαιτέρω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. [28] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποιοῦν ὅσα Θευδέριχος σφίσιν ἐπήγγελλε, Γερμανοὶ δὲ κατὰ μόνας Βουργουζίωσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον. [29] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης φόνος μὲν ἑκατέρων πολὺς γίνεται: ἦν γὰρ ἀγχώματος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ ξυμβολή: [30] ἔπειτα δὲ Φράγγοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας ἧς τότε ᾤκουν ἐξήλασαν, ἔνθα σφίσι πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα ἦν, [31] αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ξύμπασαν ἔσχον. ἅπερ Γότθοι ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τάχος παρήσαν. κακιζόμενοι τε πρὸς τῶν ξυμμάχων τὸ τῆς χώρας δύσοδον ἡτιῶντο, καὶ τὴν ποινὴν καταθέμενοι τὴν χώραν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο, ξὺν τοῖς νενικηκόσιν ἐνείμαντο. [32] οὕτω τε Θευδερίχου ἡ πρόνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγνώσθη, ὅς γε σὺδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀποβαλὼν ὀλίγῳ χρυσῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτήσατο χώραν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Γότθοι τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ μοῖραν τινα Γαλλίας ἔσχον. [33] Μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τῆς δυνάμεως σφίσιν ἐπιπροσθεν ἰούσης ἐν ὀλιγοφρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι Θευδέριχόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἐπὶ τε Ἀλάριχον καὶ Οὐισιγόθους ἐστράτευσαν. [34] ἃ δὲ Ἀλάριχος μαθὼν Θευδέριχον ὅτι τάχιστα μετεπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦει. [35] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐισιγότθοι, ἐπεὶ Γερμανοὺς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καρκασιανὴν στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπύθοντο, ὑπηντίαζόν τε καὶ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι ἠρέμουν. [36] χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τριβομένου συχνοῦ ἡσχαλλόν τε καί, ἅτε τῆς χώρας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ληιζομένης, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο. [37] καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐς Ἀλάριχον πολλὰ ὕβριζον, αὐτόν τε διὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δέος κακίζοντες καὶ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὴν μέλλησιν ὀνειδίζοντες. [38] ἀξιώμαχοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι καὶ ῥᾶον κατὰ μόνας περιέσεσθαι Γερμανῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. [39] διὸ δὲ καὶ Γότθων σφίσιν οὐπω παρόντων Ἀλάριχος ἠνάγκαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι. [40] καθυπέρτεροι δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενοι τῶν τε Οὐισιγόθων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ Ἀλάριχον τὸν ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι. [41] καὶ Γαλλίας μὲν καταλαβόντες τὰ πολλὰ ἔσχον, Καρκασιανὴν δὲ πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ὃν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀλάριχος ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ῥώμην ἐλὼν ἐλήισατο. [42] ἐν τοῖς ἦν καὶ τὰ Σολόμωνος τοῦ Ἑβραίων βασιλέως κειμήλια, ἀξιοθέατα ἐς ἅγαν ὄντα. πρᾶσι γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλλώπιζεν, ἅπερ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν εἶλον. [43] Οὐισιγόθων δὲ οἱ περιόντες Γισέλιχον, νόθον Ἀλαρίχου υἱόν, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν ἀνεῖπον, Ἀμαλαρίχου τοῦ τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παιδὸς ἔτι κομιδῇ ὄντος. [44] ἔπειτα δὲ Θευδερίχου ξὺν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἦκοντος δείσαντες Γερμανοὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. [45] ἐνθεν τε ἀναχωρήσαντες Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα ἔσχον. ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι Θευδέριχος οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ταῦτα μὲν σφᾶς ξυνεχώρει ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαλλίας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνέσωσατο. [46] Γισελίχου τε ἐκποδὼν γενομένου ἐς τὸν θυγατρίδου Ἀμαλάριχον τὴν Οὐισιγόθων ἀρχὴν

ἤνεγκεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπετρόπευε παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. [47] χρήματά τε λαβὼν
ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Καρκασιανῇ ἔκειτο ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος
ἀπήλαιυνεν, ἄρχοντάς τε αἰεὶ καὶ στρατιὰν Θευδέριχος ἐς τε Γαλλίαν καὶ
Ἰσπανίαν πέμπων αὐτὸς εἶχε τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος προνοήσας τε
ὅπως βέβαιον αὐτὸ ἐς αἰεὶ ἔξει φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οἱ αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν
τοὺς ταύτη ἄρχοντας. [48] δεχόμενός τε αὐτὴν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν
φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν, τῷ Γότθῳ τε καὶ Οὐισιγότθῳ στρατῷ δῶρον ἐπέτειον
ἔπεμπε. [49] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισιγότθοι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἄτε
ἀρχόμενοι τε πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἐνὸς καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες παῖδας τοὺς
σφετέρους ἀλλήλοις ἐγγυῶντες ἐς ξυγγένειαν ἐπεμίνυντο. [50] Μετὰ δὲ
Θεῦδις, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὄνπερ Θευδέριχος τῷ στρατῷ ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψε, γυναῖκα
ἐξ Ἰσπανίας γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο, οὐ γένους μέντοι Οὐισιγότθων, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκίας
τῶν τινος ἐπιχωρίων εὐδαίμονος, ἄλλα τε περιβεβλημένην μεγάληα χρήματα
καὶ χώρας πολλῆς ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ κυρίαν οὖσαν. [51] ὅθεν στρατιώτας ἀμφὶ
δισχιλίους ἀγείρας δορυφόρων τε περιβαλλόμενος δύναμιν, Γότθων μὲν
Θευδέριχου δόντος τῷ λόγῳ ἤρχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τύραννος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν. [52]
δείσας δὲ Θευδέριχος ἄτε ξυνέσεως ἐς ἄκρον καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἦκων, μὴ οἱ
πόλεμον πρὸς δοῦλον τὸν αὐτοῦ διαφέροντι οἱ Φράγγοι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,
ἀπαντήσουσιν ἢ καὶ τι νεώτερον Οὐισιγότθοι ἐς αὐτὸν δράσουσιν, οὔτε
παρέλυε τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεῦδιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αἰεὶ ἐς πόλεμον
ἰόντι ἐκέλευε. [53] γράφειν μέντοι αὐτῷ Γότθων τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπήγγειλεν ὡς
δίκαιά τε ποιῶν καὶ ξυνέσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξια, ἣν Θευδέριχον ἐς Ῥάβενναν
ἦκων ἀσπάζοιτο. [54] Θεῦδις δὲ ἃ μὲν Θευδέριχος ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντα ἐπετέλει,
καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐποτε ἀποφέρων ἀνίει, ἐς Ῥάβενναν δὲ ἰέναι οὔτε
ἠθέλεν οὔτε τοῖς γράφουσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θευδέριχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Φράγγοι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἔτι
ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ Θορίγγους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ Ἑρμενέφριδόν τε τὸν αὐτῶν
ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. [2] ἡ
δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμενεφρίδου γυνὴ ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ λαθοῦσα παρὰ Θευδάτον τὸν
ἀδελφόν, Γότθων τῆνικαῦτα ἄρχοντα, [3] ἦλθε. μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ
Βουργουζιώνων τε τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες τὸν
μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα ἐς τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων καθεῖρξαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον,
αὐτοὺς δὲ κατηκόους ποιησάμενοι ξυστρατεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους ἄτε δορυαλώτους ἠνάγκαζον, καὶ τὴν χώραν ξύμπασαν ἦν
Βουργουζιώνες τὰ πρότερα ὥκουν, ὑποχειρίαν ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου
ἐκτήσαντο. [4] Ἀμαλάριχος τε, ὃς ἤρχεν Οὐισιγότθων, ἐπεὶ ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν
ἦλθε, δύναμιν τὴν Γερμανῶν κατορρωδήσας τὴν Θευδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ
Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντος ἐν γαμετῆς ἐποίησατο λόγῳ, καὶ Γαλλίαν πρὸς τε
Γότθους καὶ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Ἀταλάριχον ἐνείματο. [5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ
ποταμοῦ Γότθοι ἔλαχον, τὰ δὲ τούτου ἐκτὸς ἐς τὸ Οὐισιγότθων περιέστη
κράτος. [6] ξυνέκειτο δὲ φόρον ὃν Θευδέριχος ἔταξε μηκέτι ἐς Γότθους
κομίζεσθαι, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐκ Καρκασιανῆς πόλεως λαβὼν ἔτυχεν,
Ἀταλάριχος Ἀμαλάριχῳ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπέδωκεν. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄμφω τὰ
ἔθνη ταῦτα ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἀλλήλοις ξυνελθόντα ἔτυχε, τὴν αἴρεσιν ἔδωσαν ἀνδρὶ

ἐκάστω, τὴν ἐγγύην ἐς θάτερον ἔθνος πεπονημένω, πότερον γυναικὶ ἔπεσθαι βούλοιο, ἢ ἐκείνην ἐς γένος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἄγεσθαι. [8] ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς γυναικας ὅπη ἐβούλοντο ἄγοντες καὶ οἱ πρὸς γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἀγόμενοι. [9] ὕστερον δὲ Ἀμαλάριχος, προσκεκρουκῶς τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ, κακὸν μέγα ἔλαβε. [10] δόξης γὰρ ὀρθῆς τὴν γυναικα οὖσαν, αἴρεσιν αὐτὸς τὴν Ἀρείου ἔχων, οὐκ εἶα νομίμοις τοῖς εἰωθόσι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη τὰ πάτρια τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσχωρεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἤθεσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν πολλῇ ἀτιμία εἶχεν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ γυνὴ φέρειν, ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξήνεγκεν ἅπαντα. [11] διὸ δὴ ἐς πόλεμον Γερμανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέστησαν. καὶ λίαν μὲν ἰσχυρὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ μάχη, τέλος δὲ ἡσσηθείς Ἀμαλάριχος τῶν τε οἰκείων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. [12] Θευδίβερτος δὲ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ζὺν πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἔλαβε καὶ Γαλλίας ὁπόσον Οὐισίγοτθοι λαχόντες εἶχον. [13] τῶν δὲ ἡσσημένων οἱ περιόντες ἐκ Γαλλίας ζὺν γυναιξὶ τε καὶ παισὶν ἀναστάντες παρὰ Θεῦδιν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τυραννοῦντα ἐχώρησαν. οὕτω μὲν Γότθοι τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ Γαλλίας ἔσχον. [14] Χρόνω δὲ τῷ ὑστέρω Θευδάτος, ὁ τῶν Γόθων ἀρχηγός, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον εἰς Σικελίαν ἤκειν ἐπύθετο, ζυνθήκας πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ποιεῖται, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔχοντάς τε αὐτοὺς τὴν Γότθοις ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐν Γάλλοις μοῖραν καὶ χρυσίου κεντηνάρια λαβόντας εἴκοσι πόλεμον τόνδε σφίσι ζυνάρασθαι. [15] οὕτω τε τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἔργα ἐπιτελέσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. διὸ δὴ Γόθων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὧν Μαρκίας ἡγεῖτο, [16] φυλακὴν εἶχον. οὗς Οὐίτιγίς ἐνθὲνδε ἐξαναστῆσαι οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Φράγγοις ἀντιτάξασθαι αὐτοὺς ᾤετο ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, Γαλλίαν τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καταθέουσιν, ἦν αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλάσῃ. [17] ζυγκαλέσας οὖν εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις καθαρὸν ἦν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐχ ἡδεῖαν μὲν, ἄνδρες ζυγγενεῖς, ἀναγκαίαν δὲ ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνήγαγον: ὅπως δὲ ἀκούσησθε μὲν πρῶως, βουλευήσησθε δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐπαξίως. [18] οἷς γὰρ αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦσι, τὸ μὴ πειθομένους τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ τύχῃ οὕτω τὰ παρόντα διοικεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἡμῖν ὥς ἄριστα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς ἔχει. [19] Φράγγοι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἴστανται, οἷς ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολεμίοις οὖσι, τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι δαπανώμενοι, ἀντέχουν ἐς τόδε ὅμως ἰσχύσαμεν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἀπὴντα πολέμιον. [20] ἐφ' ἐτέρους δὲ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους ἰέναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον καταλύειν δεήσει, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι, ἦν δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν διαμείνωσι, μετὰ Βελισαρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τετάξονται πάντως. [21] τοὺς γὰρ ἐχθρὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐς εὐνοίαν τε καὶ ζυμμαχίαν συνάπτεσθαι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσηγεῖται φύσις. [22] ἔπειτα, ἦν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερον στρατόπεδον χωρὶς τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, λελείπεται ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρων ἡσσησθαι. [23] ἅμεινον οὖν ὀλίγῳ ἡμᾶς ἐλασσομένους τὰ πλείστα τῆς ἀρχῆς διασώσασθαι, ἢ πάντα ἔχειν ἐφιεμένους ζὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δυνάμει πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλέναι. [24] οἷμαι τοίνυν ὥς, ἦν Γαλλίας τὰς σφίσιν ὁμόρους Γερμανοῖς δώμεν, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ζὺν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Θευδάτος αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγησε δώσειν, οὐχ ὅσον ἀποτρέπονται τὸ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ

πόλεμον ἡμῖν ξυλλήψονται τόνδε. [25] ὅπως δὲ αὖθις, εὖ φερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν, Γαλλίας ἀνακτησώμεθα, ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδεῖς. ἐμὲ γάρ τις παλαιὸς εἰσέρχεται λόγος, τὸ παρὸν εὖ τιθῆναι κελεύων.’ [26] Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι, ξύμφορά τε οἰόμενοι αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἐπιτελῇ γενέσθαι ἤθελον. στέλλονται τοίνυν πρέσβεις αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ Γερμανῶν ἔθνος, ἐφ’ ᾧ Γαλλίας τε αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ χρυσῷ δώσουσι καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιήσονται. [27] Φράγγων δὲ τότε ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν Ἰδρίβερτός τε καὶ Θευδρίβετος καὶ Κλοαδάριος, οἱ Γαλλίας τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραλαβόντες διενείμαντο μὲν κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐκάστου ἀρχῆς, φίλοι δὲ ὠμολόγησαν Γότθοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ λάθρα αὐτοῖς ἐπικούρους πέμψειν, οὐ Φράγγους μέντοι, [28] ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν σφίσι κατηκόων ἐθνῶν. ὁμαιχμίαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων κακῷ ποιήσασθαι οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ξυλλήψεσθαι ὠμολόγησαν. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐφ’ οἷσπερ ἐστάλησαν διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπανῆκον ἐς Ῥάβενναν. τότε δὲ καὶ Μαρκίαν σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Οὐίτιγις μετεπέμπετο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίτιγις ἐπρασσεν, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι παρεσκευάζετο. ἀπολέξας οὖν ἄνδρας ἐκ καταλόγου πεζικοῦ τριακοσίου καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῇ Νεαπόλεως φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο. [2] ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Κύμην φρουρούς, ὅσους ᾤετο τῇ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φρουρίου φυλακῇ ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἄλλο γάρ τι ὀχύρωμα ἐν Καμπανίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ ἐν Κύμῃ τε καὶ ἐν Νεαπόλει, οὐκ ἦν. [3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Κύμῃ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὸ Σιβύλλης δεικνύουσι σπήλαιον ἔνθα δὴ αὐτῆς τὸ μαντεῖον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν· ἐπιθαλασσία δὲ ἡ Κύμη ἐστὶ, Νεαπόλεως ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους διέχουσα. [4] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν διεκόσμηε τὸ στράτευμα, Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, δείσαντες μὴ σφίσι ξυμβαίῃ ὅσα Νεαπολίταις ξυμπέπτωκε, λογισάμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν δέξασθαι. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς Σιλβέριος ἐς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς. [5] Φιδελίον τε πέμψαντες, ἄνδρα ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ὀρμώμενον, ἡ ἐν Λιγούροις κεῖται, ὃς δὴ Ἀταλαρίῳ παρήδρευε πρότερον· κοιαίστωρα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάλουν, ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν παραδώσειν ὑποσχύμενοι. [6] ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν Αππίαν ὁδὸν ἀφείς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἣν Ἄππιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἐννακοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖς πρότερον ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχεν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ· ἐκ Ῥώμης γὰρ αὕτη ἐς Καπύην διήκει. [7] εὖρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἀμάξας δύο ἀντίας ἰέναι ἀλλήλαις, καὶ ἔστιν ἀξιοθέατος πάντων μάλιστα. [8] τὸν γὰρ λίθον ἅπαντα, μυλὴν τε ὄντα καὶ φύσει σκληρόν, ἐκ χώρας ἄλλης μακρὰν οὐσης τεμὼν Ἄππιος ἐνταῦθα ἐκόμισε· [9] ταύτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς γῆς οὐδαμῇ πέφυκε. λείους δὲ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ὁμαλοὺς ἐργασάμενος, ἐγγωνίους τε τῇ ἐντομῇ πεποιημένος, ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνέδησεν, οὔτε χάλिका ἐντὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐμβεβλημένος. [10] οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις οὕτω τε ἀσφαλῶς συνδέδενται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡρμοσμένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐμπεφύκασιν ἀλλήλοις, δόξαν τοῖς ὀρῶσι παρέχονται· [11] καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ δὴ οὕτως ἀμάξαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ζώοις ἅπασι διαβατοὶ γινόμενοι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην οὔτε τῆς ἀρμονίας παντάπασι διακέκρινται οὔτε τινὶ αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆναι ἢ

μείονι γίνεσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀμαρυγῆς τι ἀποβαλέσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ. [12] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν εἶχον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἄγχιστα πη εἶναι ἐπύθοντο καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γνώμης ἦσθοντο, ἡσχαλλον τότε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἠπόρουν· [13] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίων σφίσι ἐνδιδόντων ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησαν ἅπαντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Λεῦδερὶς ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, αἰδεσθεὶς, οἶμαι, τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [14] ξυνέπεσέ τε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Βελισάριον μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσιέναι διὰ πύλης ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀσινარიάν, Γότθους δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐνθένδε διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ἣ Φλαμινία ἐπικαλεῖται, Ῥώμῃ τε αὖθις ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν, ἐνάτῃ τοῦ τελευταίου, πρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορευομένου Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς ἐνδέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [15] Λεῦδερὶν μὲν οὖν τὸν Γότθων ἄρχοντα καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλαχῇ διερρηγμένος ἐπεμελεῖτο· ἔπαλξιν δὲ ἐκάστην ἐγγώνιον ἐποίει, οἰκοδομίαν δὴ τινα ἐτέραν ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ εὐωνύμου τιθέμενος, ὅπως οἱ ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἐπιούσι μαχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφίσι τειχομαχούντων ἥκιστα βάλλωνται, καὶ τάφρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος βαθεῖάν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ ὥρυσσε. [16] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως τὴν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀποδεδειγμένην ἐμπειρίαν ἐπήνουν, ἐν θαύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ ποιοῦμενοι ἡσχαλλον, εἰ τινα ὡς πολιορκηθήσεται ἔννοιαν ἔχων ᾤθη ἐσιτητά οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην εἶναι, ἢ οὔτε πολιορκίαν οἷα τέ ἐστὶ φέρειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, καὶ τεῖχους περιβαλλομένη τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη ἐς ἄγαν ὑπὲρ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εὐέφοδος, [17] ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούων τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν οὐδὲν τι ἥσσον ἅπαντα ἐξηρτύετο, καὶ τὸν σῆτον ὃν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔχων ἐκ Σικελίας ἀφίκετο, ἐν οἰκήμασι καταθέμενος δημοσίοις ἐφύλασσε, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, καίπερ δεινὰ ποιουμένους, ἠνάγκαζεν ἅπαντα σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

Τότε δὴ καὶ Πίτζας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ἐκ Σαμνίου ἦκων, αὐτόν τε καὶ Γότθους οἱ ἐκείνῃ ξὺν αὐτῷ ᾤκηοντο, καὶ Σαμνίου τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου μοῖραν τὴν ἡμίσειαν Βελισαρίῳ ἐνεχείρισεν, ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς τῆς χώρας μετὰξὺ φέρεται. [2] Γότθοι γὰρ ὅσοι ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἴδρυντο, οὔτε τῷ Πίτζᾳ ἐπεσθαι οὔτε βασιλεῖ κατήκοοι εἶναι ἠθελον. στρατιώτας τέ οἱ Βελισάριος οὐ πολλοὺς ἔδωκεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. [3] πρότερον δὲ Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Αποῦλιοι, Γότθων σφίσι τῇ χώρᾳ οὐ παρόντων, Βελισαρίῳ ἐθελούσιοι προσεχώρησαν οἱ τε παράλιοι καὶ οἱ τὰ μεσόγεια ἔχοντες. [4] Ἐν τοῖς καὶ Βενεβεντός ἐστιν, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Μαλεβεντὸν ὀνόμασαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τανῦν δὲ Βενεβεντὸν καλοῦσι, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου ὀνόματος διαφεύγοντες βλασφημίαν· βέντος γὰρ ἄνεμον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται. [5] ἐν Δαλματία γάρ, ἣ ταύτης καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ κεῖται, ἀνέμου τι πνεῦμα σκληρόν τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἄγριον ἐπισκίπτειν φιλεῖ, ὅπερ ἐπειδὰν ἐπιπνεῖν ἄρξῃται, ὁδῷ ἰόντα ἔτι ἄνθρωπον ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἐστίν, ἀλλ'

οἰκοὶ ἅπαντες καθείρξαντες ἑαυτοὺς τηροῦσι. [6] τοιαύτη γὰρ τις ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥύμη τυγχάνει οὕσα ὥστε ἄνδρα ἱππέα ξὺν τῷ ἵπῳ ἀρπάσασα μετέωρον φέρει, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τε περιαγαγοῦσα τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος χώρας εἴτα ὅπη παρατύχη ἀπορρίπτουσα κτείνει. [7] Βενεβεντόν δὲ ἅτε καταντικρὺ Δαλματίας οὕσαν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐπὶ τε ὑψηλοῦ τινος χώρου κειμένην μοῖραν τινα φέρεσθαι τῆς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνέμου δυσκολίας συμβαίνει. [8] ταύτην Διομήδης ποτὲ ὁ Τυδέως ἐδείματο, μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους ἀποκρουσθεῖς. καὶ γνώρισμα τῇ πόλει τοὺς ὁδόντας συὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου ἐλείπετο, οὓς οἱ θεοὶ Μελέαγρος ἄθλα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου λαβὼν ἔτυχεν, οἱ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνταυθὰ εἰσι, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἰδεῖν ἄξιον, περίμετρον οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισπίθαμον ἐν μνηοειδεῖ σχήματι ἔχοντες. [9] ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι τὸν Διομήδην Αἰνεία τῷ Ἀγχίσου ἦκοντι ἐξ Ἰλίου φασὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τὸ τῆς Ἀθήνης ἄγαλμα δοῦναι ὃ ξὺν τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἀποσυλήσας ἔτυχεν, ὅτε κατασκόπῳ ἐς τὴν Ἰλίον ἦλθέτην ἄμφω πρότερον ἢ τήνδε ἀλώσιμον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. [10] λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῷ νοσήσαντί τε ὕστερον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖον οὐ ποτὲ οἱ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνδρὶ Τρωὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο διδοίη. [11] καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν ὅπου γῆς ἐστίν, οὐ φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰδέναι, εἰκόνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τινὶ ἐγκεκολλαμμένην δεικνύουσι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης ἱερῷ, οὗ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματος κεῖται, ὅπερ αἶθριον ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τοῦ νεῶ ἴδρυται. [12] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰκὼν πολεμούσῃ τε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἀνατεινούσῃ ἅτε ἐς ξυμβολὴν ἔοικε: ποδὴρη δὲ καὶ ὥς τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχει. [13] τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ τοῖς Ἕλληνικοῖς ἀγάλμασι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμφερές ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷα παντάπασιν τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐποιοῦν. [14] Βυζάντιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο Κωνσταντῖνον βασιλέα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμός ἐστι κατορυζάντα θέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. [15] Ἰταλίαν δὲ οὕτω ξύμπασαν ἢ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐστίν, ἄχρι ἐς τε Ῥώμην καὶ Σάμνιον Βελισάριος παρεστήσατο, τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς ἄχρι ἐς Λιβουρνίαν Κωνσταντιανός, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, [16] ἔσχεν. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. πέλαγος τὸ Ἀδριατικόν, ἐκροήν τινα πόρρω που τῆς ἡπείρου ἐκβάλλον, ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις ἔνθα δὴ τελευτῶσα τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀνάβασις ἰσθμὸν ποιεῖται. [17] ὃ τε γὰρ Κρισαῖος καλούμενος κόλπος, ἀπολήγων ἐς τὸ Λέχαιον, ἵνα δὴ Κορινθίων ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, ἐν μέτρῳ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα, ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτης ἰσθμόν: [18] καὶ ὁ ἀφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κόλπος, ὃν Μέλανα καλοῦσιν, οὐ πλέον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ἰσθμόν. [19] ἐκ δὲ Ραβέννης πόλεως, οὗ δὴ τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἰόνιος κόλπος, ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ὀκτὼ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐστίν. [20] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι προϊοῦσα ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροή ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς αἰὲ φέρεται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς πόλισμα πρῶτον ὁ Δρυοῦς οἰκεῖται, ὅπερ τανῦν Ὑδροῦς καλεῖται. [21] τούτου ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι καὶ Σαμνῖταί εἰσι, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Πικηνοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ράβενναν πόλιν ὤκηνται. [22] ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Καλαβρῶν τε μοῖρα ἢ λειπομένη ἐστὶ καὶ Βρίττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοί, μεθ' οὓς Καμπανοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ταρακίνην πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ οἱ Ῥώμης ὄροι ἐκδέχονται. [23] ταῦτα τὰ

ἔθνη ἑκατέρας τε θαλάσσης τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη μεσόγεα ζύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. αὕτη τέ ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη τὰ πρότερα. ἐν Βριττίοις γὰρ Λοκροὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι καὶ Κροτωνιάται καὶ Θούριοι. [24] τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν, Ἡπειρώται καλούμενοι, ἄχρι Ἐπιδάμνου πόλεως, ἥπερ ἐπιθαλασσία οἰκεῖται. [25] καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἔχομένη Πρέκαλις ἡ χώρα ἐστί, μεθ' ἣν Δαλματία ἐπικαλεῖται, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐσπερίας λελόγισται κράτει. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Λιβουρνία τε καὶ Ἰστρία καὶ Βενετίων ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν διήκουσα. [26] οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ταύτη ὤκηνται. ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν Σίσκιοί τε καὶ Σούαβοι ὅυχ οἱ Φράγγων κατήκοοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἕτεροὶ χώραν τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι. [27] καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους Καρνίοι τε καὶ Νωρικοὶ ἴδρυνται. τούτων δὲ Δάκαί τε καὶ Παννόνες ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Σιγγιδόνον καὶ Σίρμιον ἔχουσιν, ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διήκοντες. [28] τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν Γότθοι κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐκτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἦρχον, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λιγούριοι ὤκηνται. [29] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀλβανοὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαθῇ Λαγγοῦβιλλα καλουμένη οἰκοῦσι, τούτων τε ὑπερθεν ἔθνη τὰ Φράγγοις κατήκοά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γάλλοι τε καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Ἰσπανοὶ ἔχουσι. [30] τοῦ δὲ Πάδου ἐν δεξιᾷ Αἰμιλία τέ ἐστί καὶ τὰ Τούσκων ἔθνη, ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥώμης ὅρους διήκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ Ῥώμης ὅρια κύκλῳ ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν καταλαβὼν ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἅπαντα ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε, πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν ζὺν δορυφόροις ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ζαρτῆρι καὶ Χορσομάνῳ καὶ Αἰσχμάνῳ τοῖς Μασσαγέταις καὶ στρατιάν ἄλλην Κωνσταντίνῳ ἔδωκεν, ἐς τε Τουσκίαν ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι, ἐφ' ᾧ παραστήσεται τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [2] καὶ Βέσσαν ἐπήγγελλε καταλαβεῖν Ναρνίαν, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν μάλιστα ἐν Τούσκοις οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσας οὗτος Γότθος μὲν ἦν γένος τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν Θράκῃ ὤκηντων, Θευδερίῳ τε οὐκ ἐπισπομένων, ἠνίκα ἐνθένδε ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπῆγε τὸν Γότθων λεών, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [3] στρατηγὸς τε γὰρ ἦν ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξιός. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν οὔτι ἀκουσίων τῶν οἰκητόρων Ναρνίαν ἔσχε, Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ Σπολίτιόν τε καὶ Περυσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πολίσματα παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [4] ἐθελούσιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς πόλεσι Τούσκοι ἐδέχοντο. φρουρὰν οὖν ἐν Σπολίτιῳ καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ζὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐν Περυσίᾳ τῇ Τούσκων πρώτη ἡσύχαζεν. [5] Οὐίτιγισ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας στρατιάν τε καὶ ἄρχοντας Οὐνίλαν τε καὶ Πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμπευ. [6] οἷς Κωνσταντῖνος ὑπαντίσας ἐν τῷ Περυσίας προαστείῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθε. πλήθει δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπεραιρόντων ἀγχώματος μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφῶν ἀρετῇ καθυπέρτεροι γεγενημένοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, φεύγοντάς τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. [7] καὶ ζῶντας ἐλόντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρχοντας παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπεμψαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίτιγισ ἤκουσεν, ἡσυχάζειν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης οὐκέτι ἠθέλεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῷ Μαρκίας τε καὶ οἱ ζὺν αὐτῷ οὕπῳ ἐκ Γαλλίων ἦκοντες ἐμπόδιοι ἦσαν. [8] ἐς μὲν οὖν Δαλματίαν στρατιάν τε πολλὴν καὶ ἄρχοντας Ἀσινάριόν τε καὶ Οὐλιγίσalon ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ Δαλματίαν τῇ

Γότθων ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσονται. [9] καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ Σουαβίαν χωρίων στράτευμα ἐταιρισσάμενους τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων οὕτω δὴ εὐθὺς Δαλματίας τε καὶ Σαλῶνων ἰέναι. [10] ζὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ μακρὰ πλοῖα πολλὰ ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν πολιορκεῖν οἷοι τε ᾧσιν. [11] αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἰέναι ἠπείγετο, ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ αὐτῶν θεωρακισμένοι ζὺν τοῖς ἵπποις οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. [12] Ἀσινάριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὴν Σουαβίαν γενόμενος τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στράτευμα ἤγειρε, μόνος δὲ Οὐλιγίσσαλος Γότθοις ἐς Λιβουρνίαν ἠγήσατο. [13] καὶ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίῳ Σκάρδωνι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Βοῦρνον πόλιν· ἐνταῦθά τε τὸν συνάρχοντα ἀνέμεινεν Οὐλιγίσσαλος. [14] Κωνσταντιανὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ τὴν Ἀσιναρίου παρασκευὴν ἤκουσε, δέισας περὶ Σάλωσι, τοὺς στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο οἱ ζύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη φρούρια εἶχον. [15] καὶ τάφρον τε ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα ὥρυσσε κύκλῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὡς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο. Ἀσινάριος δὲ πάμπολύ τι στράτευμα βαρβάρων ἀγείρας ἐς Βοῦρνον πόλιν ἀφίκετο. [16] ἐνθα δὴ Οὐλιγίσσαλος τε καὶ τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ ζυμμίξας ἐς Σάλωνας ἦλθε. καὶ χαράκωμα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐποιήσαντο, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐπιθαλάσσιον μέρος ἐφρούρουν· οὕτω τε Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπολιόρκουν. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ναυσὶν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιθέμενοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπουσι καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καταδύουσι, πολλὰς δὲ ἀνδρῶν κενὰς εἶλον. [18] οὐ μέντοι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν Γότθοι διέλυσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίους κατὰ κράτος πολιορκοῦντες εἵρξαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γότθων ἐν Δαλματίαις ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [19] Οὐίτιγιδι δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκ Ῥώμης ἠκόντων ἀκούσαντι τὸ ζὺν Βελισαρίῳ στράτευμα βραχύτατον εἶναι, Ῥώμης τε ὑποκεχωρηκότη μετέμελε καὶ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [20] καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἱερέων ἐκ Ῥώμης ἦκων ἐνέτυχεν. οὗ δὴ ζὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ πυθέσθαι φασὶν Οὐίτιγιν εἰ Βελισάριος ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ εἴη, ἅτε δέισαντα μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν οἷός τε ἦ, ἀλλὰ φθάσῃ ἀποδρὰς ἐνθένδε. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἠκιστὰ οἱ χρῆναι τοῦτο ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι· [21] καὶ αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ ἀναδέχεσθαι μήποτε Βελισάριον δρασμῷ χρήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. καὶ τὸν ἔτι ἐπείγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, εὐξάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τὸ Ῥώμης θεάσασθαι τεῖχος πρότερον ἢ Βελισάριον ἐνθένδε ἀποδρᾶναι.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Γότθους πανδημεὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσε, διηπορεῖτο. οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κωνσταντῖνόν τε καὶ Βέσσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι ἤθελεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀλίγης οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς παντάπασιν οὔσης, καὶ τὰ ἐν Τούσκοις ἐκλιπεῖν ὀχυρώματα ἐδόκει οἱ ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις Γότθοι ἐπιτειχίσματα ἔχοιεν. [2] λογισάμενος οὖν Κωνσταντίνῳ τε καὶ Βέσσᾳ ἐπέστειλε φρουρὰν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀπολιπεῖν χωρίων, ὅση δὴ φυλάσσειν αὐτὰ ἱκανὴ εἴη, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. [3] καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐν τε γὰρ Περυσία καὶ Σπολιτίῳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος ζὺν τοῖς

ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπήλυνε. [4] Βέσσα δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ ἐν Ναρνίᾳ καθισταμένου ξυνέπεσε τὴν δίοδον ἐνθένδε ποιουμένων τῶν πολεμίων ἔμπλεα Γότθων τὰ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ πεδία εἶναι. [5] πρόδρομοι δὲ οὗτοι πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἦσαν· οἷς δὴ Βέσσας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν τοὺς τε κατ' αὐτὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐβιάζετο, ἐς Ναρνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν. [6] ἐνταῦθα τε φρουροὺς ἀπολιπών, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἦι παρέσεσθαι τε ὅσον οὐπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήγγελλε. Ῥώμης γὰρ Ναρνία πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίοις διέχει. [7] Οὐίτιγισ δὲ Περυσίας μὲν καὶ Σπολιτίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἥκιστα ἐνεχείρει· τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐχυρὰ ὡς μάλιστά ἐστι, καὶ τρίβεσθαι οἱ τὸν χρόνον ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε· [8] μόνον γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐγένετο Βελισάριον οὐπω ἀποδράντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐρέσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναρνίαν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μαθὼν οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα κινεῖν ἤθελε, δυσπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἄναντες ὃν τὸ χωρίον εἰδώς· κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ ὄρει. [9] ποταμοὺς δὲ Νάρνος τὸν τοῦ ὄρους παραρρεῖ πρόποδα, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει παρέσχε· ἄνοδοί τε δύο ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄγουσιν, ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δύοντα. [10] ταῦταιν ἀτέρα μὲν στενοχωρίαν τινὰ δύσκολον ἐξ ἀποτόμων πετρῶν ἔλαχεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἰέναι ἢ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπικαλύπτουσα διάβασιν ταύτῃ ἐργάζεται. [11] ταύτην δὲ τὴν γέφυραν Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδεῖματο, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον· τῶν γὰρ κυρτωμάτων πάντων ὑψηλότητόν ἐστιν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [12] Οὐίτιγισ οὖν οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τρίβεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦι, διὰ Σαβίνων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ῥώμης ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, σταδίοις τε αὐτῆς οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα διεῖχε, Τιβερίδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρα ἐνέτυχεν. [14] ἔνθα δὴ Βελισάριος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πύργον τε δειμάμενος καὶ πύλας αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενος στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτῃ μόνον ὁ Τίβερης διαβατὸς ἦν· νῆές τε γὰρ καὶ γέφυραι πολλαχόσε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τρίβεσθαι ἤθελε, στράτευμά τε ἄλλο ἐκ βασιλέως καταδοκῶν, καὶ ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλλον Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. [15] ἦν τε γὰρ ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι διαβαίνειν ἐγχειρήσωσιν ἐπὶ γεφύρας ἐτέρωθί πη οὔσης, οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας δαπανᾶσθαι σφίσιν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ πλοῖα βουλομένοις ἐς Τίβεριν κατασπάσαι τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πλείω αὐτοῖς, [16] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τετρίψεσθαι χρόνον. ἃ δὲ ἐν νῷ ἔχων τὴν τῆδε φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο· ἔνθα οἱ Γότθοι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ηὐλίσαντο, ἀπορούμενοί τε καὶ πολεμητέα ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐς τὸν πύργον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἰόμενοι· [17] ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτόμολοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ οὐπερ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχεν. [18] ἔννοια δὲ τότε Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφὶ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ τε διαβάσει τῶν πολεμίων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμπόδιοι γένωνται καὶ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου ἐπίδειξιν τινα ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιήσωνται. [19] στρατιῶται μέντοι ὅσοι φρουρὰν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ εἶχον, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν Γότθων ὄμιλον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου

κατωρρωδικότες τὸ μέγεθος, νύκτωρ τὸν πύργον ἐκλιπόντες ὄνπερ ἐφύλασσαν, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητον. [20] ἐς Ῥώμην δὲ σφίσιν οὐκ οἰόμενοι εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι ἐπὶ Καμπανίας λάθρα ἐχώρησαν, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κόλασιν δεῖσαντες, ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐρυθριῶντες.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι τὰς τοῦ πύργου πύλας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείραντες τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἵσταμένου. [2] Βελισάριος δὲ οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ξυμπεσόντων ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἦει, τὸν χῶρον ἐπισκευόμενος οὐπερ ἂν σφίσιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἄμεινον εἴη. [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγυτέρω ἐγένοντο, ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάσιν, ἐς χεῖράς τε αὐτῶν τισιν οὐτι ἐθελούσιοι ἦλθον. ἐξ ἱππέων δὲ ξυνίστατο ἡ ξυμβολὴ ἐκατέρωθεν. [4] τότε Βελισάριος, καίπερ ἀσφαλῆς τὰ πρότερα ὦν, οὐκέτι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσε, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἅτε στρατιώτης ἐμάχετο: [5] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ξυνέβη ἐς κίνδυνον πολὺν ἐκπεπτωκέναι, ἐπεὶ ζύμπασα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔκειτο. [6] ἔτυχε δὲ ἱππῶ τῆνικαῦτα ὀχοῦμενος, πολέμων τε λῖαν ἐμπεῖρῳ καὶ διασώσασθαι τὸν ἐπιβάτην ἐπισταμένῳ, ὃς δὴ ὅλον μὲν τὸ σῶμα φαιὸς ἦν, τὸ μέτωπον δὲ ἅπαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ἐς ῥίνας λευκὸς μάλιστα. τοῦτον Ἕλληνες μὲν φαλιόν, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσι. καὶ ξυνέπεσε Γότθων τοὺς πλείστους βάλλειν ἐπ' αὐτόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον τὰ τε ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδης. [7] αὐτόμολοι ὅσοι τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐς Γότθους ἦκον, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις μαχόμενον Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς, ἦν αὐτὸς πέση, διαφθαρήσεται Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα, κραυγὴ ἐχρῶντο, [8] βάλλειν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς ἵππον τὸν βάλαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γότθων στρατιὰν ζύμπασαν οὗτος δὴ περιφερόμενος ὁ λόγος ἦλθε, ζήτησιν μέντοι αὐτοῦ ἅτε ἐν θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ ἦκιστα ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐς Βελισάριον ἔφερε σαφῶς ἔγνωσαν. [9] ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκὴ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὥς πάντας ἰέναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέμενοι πάντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἔβαλλον. [10] ἤδη δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοτιμία μεγάλῃ ἐχόμενοι ὅσοι ἀρετῆς τι μετεποιοῦντο, ὥς ἀγχοτάτῳ παραγενόμενοι, ἅπτεσθαί τε αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρουν καὶ τοῖς δόρασι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ἔβαιον. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἐπιστροφάδην τοὺς ἀεὶ ὑπαντιάζοντας ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ὥς μάλιστα δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κινδύνῳ ἀπῆλυνσε. [12] γενόμενοι γὰρ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο οἷαν πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν δεδηλωσθαι οἷμαι: [13] τὰς γὰρ ἀσπίδας τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἵππου προβεβλημένοι, τὰ τε βέλη πάντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐπιόντας ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο. οὕτω τε ἡ ξυμβολὴ πᾶσα ἐς σῶμα ἐνὸς ἀπεκρίθη ἀνδρός. [14] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτουσι μὲν Γότθοι οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ χίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐμάχοντο, θνήσκουσι δὲ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Μαξέντιος ὁ δορυφόρος, ἔργα μεγάλα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος. [15] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τις τύχη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μήτε τετρωσθαι μήτε βεβλησθαι, καίπερ ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ γενομένης τῆς μάχης. [16] Τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἔφευγέ τε

πάμπολύ τι βαρβάρων πλῆθος, ἕως ἐς στρατόπεδον τὸ αὐτῶν ἵκοντο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ Γότθων πεζοὶ ἅτε ἀκμήτες ὄντες ὑπέστησαν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπεῴσαντο. [17] βεβοηθηκότων τε αὖθις ἱππέων ἐτέρων κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι ἔφυγον, ἕως ἀναβάντες ἔς τι γεώλοφον ἔστησαν. καταλαβόντων τε σφᾶς βαρβάρων ἱππέων, αὖθις ἵππομαχία ἐγένετο. [18] ἔνθα δὴ Βαλεντίνος, ὁ Φωτίου τοῦ Ἀντωνίνης παιδὸς ἱπποκόμος, ἀρετῆς δῆλωσιν ὥς μάλιστα ἐποιήσατο. μόνος γὰρ ἐσπιδήσας ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸν ὄμιλον ἐμπόδιός τε τῇ Γότθων ὀρμῇ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ διεσώσατο. [19] οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον: ἦλθον, διώκοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐνέκειντο ἀμφὶ τὴν πύλην ἣ Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται. [20] δείσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τοῖς φεύγουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ξυνεισβαλόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένωνται, ἀνακλίνειν τὰς πύλας ἤκιστα ἠθέλον, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλά τε σφίσιν ἐγκελευομένου καὶ ζὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀναβοῶντος. [21] οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διακύπτοντες ἐπιγινώσκειν οἶοι τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ τό τε πρόσωπον καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ζύμπασα λύθρῳ τε καὶ κονιορτῷ ἐκαλύπτετο, ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ καθορᾶν τις ἀκριβῶς εἶχεν: ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δύσιν. [22] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περιεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ᾤοντο: ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρότερον γενομένη τροπῇ φεύγοντες ἦκον, τεθνάναι Βελισάριον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριστεύοντα ἠγγέλλον. [23] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄμιλος τῶν πολεμίων ῥεύσας τε πολὺς καὶ θυμῷ μεγάλῳ ἐχόμενος, τὴν τε τάφρον εὐθὺς διαβῆναι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθέσθαι διεννοοῦντο, [24] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀθρόοι τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι ἐν χρῷ τε ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς ὀλίγον συνήγοντο. [25] οἱ μέντοι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἅτε ἀστρατήγητοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ περὶ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πεφοβημένοι, ἀμύνειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσιν, οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [26] Τότε Βελισάριον ἔννοιά τε καὶ τόλμα εἰσηλθεν, ἡ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου τὰ πράγματα διεσώσατο. ἐγκελευσάμενος γὰρ τοῖς ζὺν αὐτῷ πᾶσιν ἐξαπιναιῶς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέπεσεν. [27] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἀκοσμία πολλῇ ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διώξει χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἐπιόντας παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς φεύγοντας εἶδον, ὑποτοπήσαντες καὶ ἄλλο βεβοηθηκέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στράτευμα, ἐς φόβον τε πολὺν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταστάντες κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. [28] Βελισάριος δὲ ἤκιστα ἐκπεσὼν ἐς τὴν δίωξιν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέστρεψεν. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσέσαντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν ἅπαντας τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο. [29] παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν κινδύνου Βελισάριός τε καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἦλθεν: ἡ τε μάχη πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἡρίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν Βελισάριος, Γότθων δὲ Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος, ὃς, ἠνίκα ἡ μάχη ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπέπεσεν, οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τρισκαίδεκα πληγὰς λαβὼν τῷ σώματι ἔπεσε. [30] δόξας δὲ αὐτίκα τεθνάναι, ἡμελήθη τε πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, καίπερ νενικηκότων, καὶ ζὺν τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. [31] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπειδὴ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι ἔπεμψάν τινας ἐφ' ᾧ νεκρούς τε τοὺς σφετέρους θάψουσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ ὅσιά τῃ ἐκείνων ποιήσονται, οἱ τὰ σώματα τῶν κειμένων διερευνώμενοι Οὐίσανδον Βανδαλάριον ἔτι ἔμπουν

εὐρίσκουσι, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἐταίρων φωνήν τινά οἱ ἀφεῖναι ἤξιον. [32] ὁ δέ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐντὸς τῷ τε λιμῷ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης κακοπαθείας αὐχμῷ λίαν ἐκάετο, ὕδωρ οἱ ἔνευεν ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβάλλεσθαι. πίνοντα τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότα ἀράμενοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤνεγκαν. [33] μέγα τε ὄνομα Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν Γότθοις ἔσχε, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῶν πάμπολόν τινα ἐπεβίω χρόνον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ γεγενῆσθαι ξυνέπεσε. [34] Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγείρας, πυρά τε πολλὰ καίειν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐγρηγορέναι ἐκέλευε. καὶ τὸν περίβολον περιῶν κύκλῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα διεῖπε καὶ πύλῃ ἐκάστη τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων ἐπέστησε. [35] Βέσσας δέ, ὃς ἐν πύλῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πραίνεστίνῃ φυλακὴν ἔσχεν, ἄγγελον παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἔχσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν, δι' ἄλλης πύλης ἐμβεβληκότων ἢ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐστὶ Παγκρατίου ἀνδρὸς ἀγίου ἐπώνυμος οὖσα. [36] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅσοι ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἦσαν, σῶζεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας παρήνουν. αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε κατωρρώδησεν, οὔτε τὸν λόγον ὑγιᾶ ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. [37] ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν κατὰ τάχος, οἱ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἐπισκευάμενοι οὐδὲν πολέμιον τῇ πόλει ἐνταῦθα ξυμβῆναι ἀπήγγελλον. [38] πέμψας οὖν εὐθύς ἐς πύλιν ἐκάστην ἄρχουσι τοῖς πανταχῇ οὖσιν ἐπέστελλεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούσωσι κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσβεβληκέναι μοῖραν, μήτε ἀμύνειν μήτε φυλακὴν τὴν σφετέραν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μένειν: αὐτῷ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων μελήσειν. [39] ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως μὴ ἐκ φήμης οὐκ ἀληθοῦς ἐς ταραχὴν αἰθίς καθιστῶνται. Οὐίτιγισ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἔτι ἐν θορύβῳ πολλῷ καθεστῶτων, ἐς πύλιν Σαλαρίαν τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων, Οὔακιν ὄνομα, ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. [40] ὃς ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν καὶ Ῥωμαίους τῆς ἐς Γότθους ἀπιστίας κακίσας τὴν προδοσίαν ὠνείδιζεν ἣν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τε τῇ πατρίδι πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν, οἱ τῆς Γότθων δυνάμεως Γραικοὺς τοὺς σφίσιν οὐχ οἴους τε ἀμύνειν ὄντας ἡλλάξαντο, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρότερα οὐδένα ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγωδοὺς τε καὶ μίμους καὶ ναύτας λωποδύτας. [41] ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Οὔακис εἰπὼν, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο, [42] ἐς Γότθους τε καὶ Οὐίττιγιν ἀνεχώρησε. Βελισάριος δὲ γέλωτα πολὺν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὤφλεν, ἐπεὶ μόλις τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγὼν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ περιφρονεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευεν: εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὡς κατὰ κράτος αὐτοὺς νικήσει. ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ἔγνω ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται. [43] ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, νῆστιν ἔτι Βελισάριον ὄντα ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὅσοι παρήσαν ἄρτου βραχέος κομιδῇ γεύσασθαι μόλις ἠνάγκασαν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐκάτεροι διενυκτέρευσαν.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥώμην πολιορκίᾳ ἐλεῖν διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οὐδενὶ πόνῳ οἰόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἀμυνόμενοι ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. ἔχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὁ περίβολος δις ἑπτὰ πύλας καὶ πυλίδας τινάς. [2] Γότθοι δὲ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ὅλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ τεῖχος περιλαβέσθαι κύκλῳ, ἐξ ποιησάμενοι χαρακώματα πέντε πυλῶν χῶρον ἠνώχλουν, ἐκ τῆς

Φλαμινίας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν καλουμένην Πραϊνεστίναν· ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ἐντὸς Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπεποιήτο. [3] δεισάντες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ τὴν γέφυραν διαφθεύραντες οἱ πολέμοι, ἡ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἄβαρα σφίσι ποιήσωνται ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐκτὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ διήκοντα μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἥκιστα ἔχοιεν, χαράκωμα ἔβδομον Τιβέριδος ἐκτὸς ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίοις ἐπήξαντο, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡ γέφυρα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν μέσῳ εἴη. [4] διὸ δὴ ἄλλας δύο τῆς πόλεως πύλας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ξυνέβαινε, τὴν τε Αὐρηλίαν ἣ νῦν Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου ἅτε που πλησίον κειμένου ἐπώνυμός ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν. [5] οὕτω τε Γότθοι τῷ μὲν στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα περιεβάλλοντο τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν, ἅτε δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ οὐδαμῇ τὸ παράπαν εἰργόμενοι, ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν περίβολον κύκλῳ, ἡνίκα ἐβούλοντο, τῷ πολέμῳ ἦσαν. [6] Ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἐδείμαντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. πάλαι μὲν ὁ Τίβερις παραρρέων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [7] ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ περίβολος κατὰ τὸν ροῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέχει, ὑπτίως τε καὶ λίαν εὐέφοδός ἐστι. [8] τούτου τε ἀντικρὺ τοῦ χώρου, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Τιβέριδος, λόφον τινὰ μέγαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνθα δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μύλωνες ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες πεποίηνται, ἅτε ὕδατος ἐνταῦθα πολλοῦ διὰ μὲν ὀχετοῦ ἀγομένου ἐς τὴν τοῦ λόφου ὑπερβολήν, ἐς τὸ κάταντες δὲ ξὺν ῥύμῃ μεγάλη ἐνθένδε ἰόντος. [9] διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε λόφον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ὥς μήποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δυνατὰ εἴη τοὺς τε μύλωνας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάσιν εὐπετῶς τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν. [10] ζεύξαντες οὖν ταύτη τὸν ποταμὸν γεφύρᾳ, ξυνάπτειν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἔδοξαν καὶ οἰκίας συχνὰς ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντιπέρας δειμάμενοι μέσον τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πεποίηνται ῥεῦμα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. [11] Γότθοι δὲ τάφρους τε βαθείας ἀμφὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ὠρυξαν, καὶ τὸν χεῖν ὃν ἐνθένδε ἀφείλοντο ξυννήσαντες ὑπὲρ τοίχου τοῦ ἔνδον, ὑψηλὸν τε αὐτὸν ὥς μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι καὶ σκολόπων ὀξέων καθύπερθεν ἀμπολύ τι χρῆμα πηξάμενοι, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστερον τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὀχυρωμάτων τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα εἰργάσαντο. [12] καὶ χαρακώματος μὲν τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ Μαρκίας ἦρχεν ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ Γαλλίων ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀφίκτο, ξὺν οἷς ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐίτιγῖς ἡγεῖτο ἐκτος αὐτός· ἄρχων γὰρ ἦν εἷς κατὰ χαράκωμα ἕκαστον. [13] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταξάμενοι διεῖλον τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἅπαντας, ὅπως δὴ ὕδωρ ὥς ἥκιστα ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσίοι. Ῥώμῃ δὲ ὀχετοὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν τὸ πληθὸς εἰσιν, ἐκ πλίνθου δὲ ὀπημένῃς τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις πεποίηνται, ἐς τοσοῦτον εὖρους καὶ βάθους διήκοντες ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ ἵππῳ ὀχουμένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἱπευεῖν δυνατὰ εἶναι. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως διεκόσμηκε ὧδε. πυλῖδα μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Πιγκιανὴν καὶ πύλην τὴν ταύτης ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχεν, [15] ἡ Σαλαρία ὀνόμασται. κατὰ ταύτας γὰρ ἐπίμαχος ἦν ὁ περίβολος, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξιτητὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντα ἐτύγχανε. Πραϊνεστίναν δὲ Βέσσα ἔδωκε. [16] καὶ τῇ Φλαμινίᾳ, ἡ Πιγκιανῆς ἐπὶ θάτερὰ ἐστὶ, Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπέστησε, τὰς τε πύλας

ἐπιθεῖς πρότερον, καὶ λίθων μεγάλων οἰκοδομία ἐνδοθεν αὐτὰς ἀποφράξας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅπως δὴ αὐτὰς μηδενὶ ἀνακλίνειν δυνατὰ εἶη. [17] τῶν γὰρ χαρακωμάτων ἐνὸς ἀγχοτάτω ὄντος ἔδεισε μὴ τις ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐνταῦθα ἔσται. [18] τὰς δὲ λειπομένας τῶν πεζικῶν καταλόγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν τε ὀχετῶν ἕκαστον ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα οἰκοδομία ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κατέλαβε, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν κακουργήσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι. [19] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀχετῶν, καθάπερ μοι εἴρηται, διαιρεθέντων οὐκέτι τὰς μύλας τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνήργει, ζώοις τέ τισιν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὰς οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τροφῆς ἀπάσης ἅτε ἐν πολιορκίᾳ σπανίζοντες; οἱ γε καὶ ἵππων μόλις τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐδύναντο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Βελισάριος ἐξεῦρε τόδε. [20] ἔμπροσθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἧς ἄρτι πρὸς τῷ περιβόλῳ οὔσης ἐμνήσθην, σχοίνους ἄρτήσας ἐξ ἑκατέρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ὡς ἄριστα ἐντεταμένας, ταύταις τε λέμβους δύο παρ' ἀλλήλους ξυνδήσας, πόδας δύο ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχοντας, ἣ μάλιστα ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροὴ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς γεφύρας κυρτώματος ἀκμάζουσα κατῆι, μύλας τε δύο ἐν λέμβῳ ἑκατέρῳ ἐνθήμενος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκρέμασεν ἢ τὰς μύλας στρέφειν εἰώθει. [21] ἐπέκεινα δὲ ἄλλας τε ἀκάτους ἐχομένας τῶν αἰὲ ὀπισθεν κατὰ λόγον ἐδέσμευε, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνέβαλε. [22] προϊούσης οὖν τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ρύμης αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπασαι ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς καλινδούμεναι ἐνήργουν τε τὰς κατ' αὐτὰς μύλας καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ αὐτάρκη ἤλουν. ἃ δὴ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων γνόντες ἀφανίζουσι τὰς μηχανὰς τρὸς τῷ τοιῷδε. [23] δένδρα μεγάλα καὶ σώματα Ῥωμαίων νεοσφαγῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συμφοροῦντες ἐρρίπτουν. [24] τούτων τε τὰ πλεῖστα ξὺν τῷ ρέματι ἐς μέσα τὰ σκάφη φερόμενα τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκαύλιζε. Βελισάριος δὲ κατιδὼν τὰ ποιούμενα προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. [25] ἀλύσεις μακρὰς σιδηρᾶς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἤρτησεν, ἐξικνουμένας ἐς Τίβεριν ὅλον. αἷς δὴ προσπίπτοντα ξύμπαντα ὅσα ὁ ποταμὸς ἔφερε, ξυνίστατό τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἐχώρει. [26] ταῦτά τε ἀνέλκοντες αἰὲ οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔφερον. ταῦτα δὲ Βελισάριος ἐποίει οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν μυλῶν ἔνεκα ὅσον ὅτι ἐνθένδε ἐς δέος τε καὶ ἔννοιαν ἦλθε μὴ λάθωσιν ἀκάτοις πολλαῖς οἱ πολέμοι ἐντὸς τῆς γεφύρας καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γενόμενοι. [27] οὕτω τε οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς πείρας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι ταύτῃ προὐχώρει, ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Ῥωμαῖοι τούτοις μὲν τοῖς μύλωσιν ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ βαλανείων τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ παντάπασιν ἀπεκέκλειντο. [28] ὕδωρ μέντοι ὅσον πιεῖν διαρκὲς εἶχον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἑκαστάτῳ οἰκοῦσι παρῇν ἐκ φρεάτων ὑδρεῦσθαι. [29] ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπονόμους, οἵπερ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴ τι οὐ καθαρὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν ἔξω, ἀσφάλειαν ἐπινοεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεμίαν οἷόν τε τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆδε Βελισάριος διωκῆσατο. Σαμνιτῶν δὲ παῖδες πολλοί, πρόβατα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ποιμαίνοντες, δύο τοῦ σώματος ἐν σφίσιν εὖ ἦκοντας ἀπολέξαντες, καὶ αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Βελισαρίου ὀνόματος, Οὐίτιγιν δὲ τὸν ἕτερον ὀνομάσαντες, [2] παλαίειν ἐκέλευον. ὣν δὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθισταμένων, τὸν Οὐίτιγιν δῆθεν ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν παίδων ὁμιλος παίζοντες ἐπὶ δένδρου ἐκρήμων. [3] λύκου δὲ τύχη τινὶ ἐνταῦθα φανέντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔφυγον ἅπαντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου ἡρτημένος Οὐίτιγιν χρόνου οἱ τριβέντος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ θνήσκει. [4] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐς Σαμνίτας ἔκπυστα ἐγεγόνει, οὔτε κόλασιν τινα ἐς τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξυμβalόντες νικήσειν κατὰ κράτος Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. [5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος, τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἀήθεις παντάπασιν ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μὲν ἀλουσίᾳ ἐπέζοντο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, φυλάσσειν τε ἄϋπνοι τὸν περίβολον ἠναγκάζοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώρων τοὺς τε ἀγροὺς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ληιζομένους, ἥσχαλλόν τε καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότες πολιορκοῖντό τε καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου μέγεθος ἤκειεν. [6] ἐν σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδороῦντο, ὅς γε οὐκ ἀξιοχρεῶν πρὸς βασιλέως δύναμιν λαβὼν ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεύεσθαι. [7] ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ βουλῆς ἦν σύγκλητον καλοῦσι Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παραβύστῳ ὠνείδιζον. ἅπερ Οὐίτιγιν πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας συγκρούειν τε αὐτοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθέλων καὶ ἐς πολλὴν ταραχὴν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ταύτῃ οἰόμενος, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀλβιν ἔπεμψεν. [8] οἱ, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Βελισαρίου ἀφίκοντο, παρόντων Ῥωμαίων τε τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: ‘Πάλαι, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα: ἐν οἷς ἐν τόδε ἐστί, θράσος κεχώρισται ἀνδρείας. [9] τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἷς ἂν προσγένοιτο, ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐς κίνδυνον ἄγει, τὸ δὲ δόξαν ἀρετῆς ἱκανῶς φέρεται. [10] τούτων θάτερόν σε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπότερον μέντοι, αὐτίκα δηλώσεις. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία πιστεύων ἐπὶ Γότθους ἐστράτευσας, ὀρθῶς γὰρ δήπου ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον καὶ σοὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ὦ γενναῖε, διαρκῶς πάρεστιν: εἰ δὲ γε θράσει ἐχόμενος ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ὥρμησαι, πάντως σοὶ καὶ μεταμέλει τῶν εἰκῇ πεπραγμένων. [11] τῶν γὰρ ἀπονενωμένων αἱ γνώμαι, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι γένωνται, μετανοεῖν φιλοῦσι. νῦν οὖν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖσδε περαιτέρω τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν μηκύνεσθαι ποίει, οὗς δὴ Θευδέριχος ἐν βίῳ τρυφερῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐλευθέρῳ ἐξέθρεψε, μήτε τῷ Γότθῳ τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν δεσπότη ἐμποδὼν ἴστασο. [12] πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, σὲ μὲν οὕτω καθειργμένον τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατεπτηχότα ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ταύτης βασιλέα ἐν χαρακώματι διατρίβοντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ κατηκόους ἐργάζεσθαι; [13] ἡμεῖς δὲ σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ποιεῖσθαι ἥδη τὴν ἄφοδον κατ’ ἐξουσίαν παρέξομεν, ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς τὸ σῶφρον μεταματοῦσιν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε ἄξιον τρόπου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἶναι νομίζομεν. [14] ἡδέως δ’ ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαῖους ἔτι ἐροίμεθα

τούσδε, τί ποτε ἄρα Γότθοις ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς τε αὐτὰ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προὔδοσαν, οἳ γε τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας ἐπιεικείας ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀπήλυσαν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπικουρίας εἰσὶν ἔμπειροι.' [15] Τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: 'Ὁ μὲν τῆς ξυμβουλῆς καιρὸς οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. γνώμη γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἤκιστα εἰώθασι πολεμεῖν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' αὐτόν τινα τὰ οἰκεῖα διατίθεσθαι νόμος, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. [16] φημί δὲ ὑμῖν ἀφίξεσθαι χρόνον ἡνίκα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀκάνθαις βουλόμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς κρύπτεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔξετε. [17] Ῥώμην μέντοι ἐλόντες ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲν ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ταύτης τὰ πρότερα ἐπιβατεύσαντες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκον, νῦν οὐχ ἐκόντες τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις ἀπέδοτε. [18] ὅστις δὲ ὑμῶν Ῥώμης ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀμαχητὶ ἐπιβήσεσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει. ζῶντα γὰρ Βελισάριον μεθήσεσθαι ταύτης ἀδύνατον.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Βελισάριος εἶπε. [19] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντιλέγειν ἐτόλμων, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς Γότθους προδοσίᾳ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν κακιζόμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Φιδέλιος αὐτοὺς ἐρεσχελεῖν ἔγνω. [20] ὃς τότε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχος καταστάς πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντων μάλιστα ἔδοξε βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκομίζοντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν Οὐίτιγίς ἐπυνθάνετο ὁποῖός τε ἀνὴρ Βελισάριος εἴη καὶ γνώμης ὅπως ποτὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσει ἔχοι, ἀπεκρίναντο ὡς οὐκ εἰκότα Γότθοι ἐλπίζουσι, δεδίζεσθαι Βελισάριον ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ οἰόμενοι. [2] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τειχομαχεῖν τε πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξηρτύετο ὥδε. [3] πύργους ξυλίνους ἐποίησατο ἴσους τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου πολλάκις ξυμμετρησάμενος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς. [4] τούτοις δὲ τοῖς πύργοις τροχοὶ ἐς τὴν βάσιν ἐμβεβλημένοι πρὸς γωνία ἐκάστη ὑπέκιντο, οἳ δὴ αὐτοὺς κυλινδούμενοι ῥᾶστα περιάξουν ἔμελλον ὅπῃ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀεὶ βούλονται, καὶ βόες τοὺς πύργους ξυνδεδεμένοι εἴλκον. [5] ἔπειτα δὲ κλίμακας πολλὰς τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας ἡτοίμαζε καὶ μηχανὰς τέσσαρας αἱ κριοὶ καλοῦνται. [6] ἔστι δὲ ἡ μηχανὴ τοιαύτη. κίνες ὀρθοὶ ξύλινοι τέσσαρες ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις ἐστᾶσι. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς κίοσι δοκοὺς ὀκτὼ ἐγκαρσίας ἐνείροντες τέσσαρας μὲν ἄνω, τοσαύτας δὲ πρὸς ταῖς βάσεσιν ἐναρμόζουσιν. [7] οἰκίσκου τε σχῆμα τετραγώνου ἐργαζόμενοι προκαλύμμα πανταχόθεν ἀντὶ τοίχων τε καὶ τείχους διφθέρας αὐτῷ περιβάλλουσιν, ὅπως ἢ τε μηχανὴ τοῖς ἔλκουσιν ἐλαφρὰ εἴη καὶ οἱ ἔνδον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ᾧσιν, ὡς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἤκιστα βάλλεσθαι. [8] ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῆς δοκὸν ἐτέραν ἄνωθεν ἐγκαρσίαν ἀρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι κατὰ μέσσην μάλιστα τὴν μηχανὴν ἔχουσιν. ἥς δὴ ὀξεῖαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄκραν, σιδήρῳ πολλῷ καθάπερ ἀκίδα καλύπτουσι βέλους, ἢ καὶ τετράγωνον, ὥσπερ ἄκμονα, τὸν σίδηρον ποιοῦσι. [9] καὶ τροχοῖς μὲν ἡ μηχανὴ τέσσαρσι πρὸς κίονι ἐκάστῳ κειμένοις ἐπῆρται, ἄνδρες δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ πεντήκοντα κινουσιν ἔνδοθεν. [10] οἱ ἐπειδὰν αὐτὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσι, τὴν δοκὸν ἥς δὴ ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην μηχανῇ τινι στρέφοντες ὀπίσω ἀνέλκουσιν, αὐθὺς τε αὐτὴν ξὺν ῥύμῃ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφιάσιν. [11] ἡ δὲ συχνὰ ἐμβαλλομένη

κατασεῖσαι τε ὅπη προσπίπτει καὶ διελεῖν ῥᾶστα οἷα τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἢ μηχανὴν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἢ ἐμβολὴ προὔχουσα πλήσσειν ὅπου παρατύχοι, καθάπερ τῶν προβάτων τὰ ἄρρενα, [12] εἶωθε. τῶν μὲν οὖν τειχομαχοῦντων οἱ κριοὶ τοιοῦδε εἰσὶ. [13] Γότθοι δὲ πάμπολύ τι φακέλλων χρῆμα ἔκ τε ξύλων καὶ καλάμων ποιησάμενοι ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, ὅπως δὴ ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβαλόντες ὁμαλόν τε τὸν χώρον ἐργάσωνται καὶ ταύτῃ διαβαίνειν αἱ μηχαναὶ ἤκιστα εἰργωνται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γότθοι παρασκευασάμενοι τειχομαχεῖν ὥρμητο. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ μηχανὰς μὲν ἐς τοὺς πύργους ἐτίθετο ἄς καλοῦσι βαλλίστρας. τόξου δὲ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν αἱ μηχαναὶ αὗται, ἔνερθεν τε αὐτοῦ κοίλῃ τις ξυλίνη κεραία προὔχει, αὐτὴ μὲν χαλαρὰ ἡρτημένη, σιδηρᾷ δὲ εὐθείᾳ τινὶ ἐπικειμένη. [15] ἐπειδὴν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθένδε βάλλειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι, βρόχου βραχέος ἐνέρσει τὰ ξύλα ἐς ἄλληλα νεύειν ποιοῦσιν ἃ δὴ τοῦ τόξου ἄκρα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, τὸν τε ἄτρακτον ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ κεραίᾳ τίθενται, τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν, ἅπερ ἐκ τῶν τόξων ἀφίᾳσι, μήκος μὲν ἔχοντα ἥμισυ μάλιστα, εὖρος δὲ κατὰ τετραπλάσιον. [16] πτεροῖς μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐνέχεται, ἀλλὰ ξύλα λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν ἐνείροντες ὅλον ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους τὸ σχῆμα, μεγάλην αὐτῷ λίαν καὶ τοῦ πάχους κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἀκίδα ἐμβάλλοντες. [17] σφίγγουσί τε σθένει πολλῷ οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μηχαναῖς τισι, καὶ τότε ἡ κοίλῃ κεραία προῖοῦσα ἐκπίπτει μὲν, ξὺν ῥύμῃ δὲ τοσαύτῃ ἐκπίπτει τὸ βέλος ὥστε ἐξικνεῖται μὲν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ δύο τῆς τοξείας βολάς, δένδρου δὲ ἢ λίθου ἐπιτυχὸν τέμνει ῥαδίως. [18] τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ μηχανή ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου, ὅτι δὴ βάλλει ὡς μάλιστα, ἐπικληθεῖσα. ἐτέρας δὲ μηχανὰς ἐπήξαντο ἐν ταῖς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπάλξεσιν ἐς λίθων βολὰς ἐπιτηδεῖας. [19] σφενδόνη δὲ αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἐμφορεῖς καὶ ὄναγροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις λύκους ἔξω ἐπετίθεντο, οὓς δὴ ποιοῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [20] δοκοὺς δύο ἰσθᾶσιν ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας, ξύλα τε εἰργασμένα ἐπ' ἄλληλα θέμενοι τὰ μὲν ὀρθά, τὰ δὲ ἐγκάρσια ἐναρμόζουσιν, ὡς τῶν ἐνέρσεων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς ἄλληλα τρυπήματα φαίνεσθαι. [21] ἐκάστης δὲ ἀρμονίας ἐμβολὴ τις προὔχει, κέντρῳ παχεὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφορῆς οὖσα. καὶ τῶν ξύλων τὰ ἐγκάρσια ἐς δοκὸν ἐκατέραν πηξάμενοι, ἄνωθεν ἄχρι ἐς μοῖραν διήκοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ὑπτίας τὰς δοκοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνακλίνουσι. [22] καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτῶν ἐγγυτέρω οἱ πολέμιοι ἴκωνται, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἄκρων δοκῶν ἀνάμενοι ὠθοῦσιν, αὗται δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίνοντας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς προέχουσιν τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοιεν, εὐπετῶς κτείνουσι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

Γότθοι δὲ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ἡμέρα, Οὐιττίγιδος σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ὡς τειχομαχήσοντες ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προῖοῦσα ἢ τῶν πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν ὄψις παντάπασί τε ἀήθης οὖσα ἐξέπλησσε. [2] Βελισάριος δὲ βαδίζουσιν ξὺν ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν, ἐγέλα τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν μηδαμῶς ἄρχειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. οὗτου δὲ ἔνεκα γελῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα ἤκιστα ἐδήλου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐγνώσθη. [3] Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι αὐτὸν εἰρωνεύεσθαι ὑποτοπάσαντες ἐκάκιζόν τε καὶ ἀναιδῆ

ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἰόντας οὐκ ἀναστέλλοι τοὺς ἐναντίους, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι τῆς τάφρου ἐγγυτέρω ἵκοντο, πρῶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας, τῶν τινα θεωρακισμένων τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένων εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν καιρίαν πληγὴς ἔπεσεν ὕψτις, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ λεῶς ἅπας ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιον τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον, ἄριστον οἰωνὸν ξυνενεχθῆναι σφίσιν οἰόμενοι. [6] δις δὲ Βελισαρίου τὸ βέλος ἀφέντος, ταῦτο τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ξυνέβη, καὶ ἡ τε κραυγὴ μείζων ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἤρθη καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡσῆσθαι ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ᾤοντο. [7] καὶ τότε μὲν Βελισάριος τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ πάσῃ κινεῖν τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἐσήμαινε, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας ἐς μόνους τοὺς βόας ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. [8] πάντων τε τῶν βοῶν αὐτίκα πεσόντων, οὔτε τοὺς πύργους περαιτέρω κινεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι εἶχον οὔτε τι ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι ἀπορούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ οἶοί τε ἦσαν. [9] οὕτω δὲ Βελισαρίου τε ἡ πρόνοια ἐγνώσθη τοῦ μὴ ἐκαστάτω ὄντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναστέλλειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅτι γελῶν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων εὐήθειαν, οἱ δὲ βόας περιάξειν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ τεῖχος οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐλπίδα εἶχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ Σαλαρίαν πύλην ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίττιγίς δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποκρουσθεὶς, Γότθων μὲν στρατιὰν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φάλαγγα δὲ αὐτῶν βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιστείλας προσβολὴν μὲν μηδαμῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ποιεῖσθαι, μένοντας δὲ ἐν τάξει βάλλειν τε συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα Βελισαρίῳ καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐτέρωσε τοῦ τείχους ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς προσβάλλειν μέλλῃ στρατῷ πλείονι, οὕτω δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλην Πραίνεστίναν ἐπὶ μοῖραν τοῦ περιβόλου ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβάριον καλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον μάλιστα, [11] πολλῶν στρατῶν ἦν. ἐτύγγανον δὲ ἤδη καὶ μηχαναὶ ἄλλαι πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν καὶ κλίμακες πολλαὶ ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι. [12] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθων προσβολῇ ἐτέρα ἐς πύλην Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορος τάφος ἔξω πύλης Αὐρηλίας ἐστίν, ἀπέχων τοῦ περιβόλου ὅσον λίθου βολήν, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [13] πεποιήται γὰρ ἐκ λίθου Παρίου καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις μεμύκασιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐντὸς ἔχοντες. πλευραὶ τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις, εὖρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἐκάστη ἔχουσα, μήκος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος. [14] ἀγάλματά τε ἄνω ἐκ λίθου εἰσὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων θαυμάσια οἷα. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι τειχίσμασι δύο ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τείχους πεποιήναι. [15] ἔοικε γοῦν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ πύλης τῆς ἐκείνῃ προβεβλημένῳ. ἦν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐνταῦθα ὀχύρωμα ἰκανώτατον. τούτου δὲ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπιστήσας Βελισάριος ἔτυχεν. [16] ὃ δὲ ἐπέστειλε καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τείχους τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φαύλην τινὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἔχοντος. ἥκιστα γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμάχου ὄντος τοῦ περιβόλου, ἅτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραρρέοντος, οὐδεμίαν αὐτόθι προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσας, οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τὸ πλῆθος ἐνεμεν. [17] ἐς πεντακισχιλίους γὰρ μάλιστα τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆσδε τῆς πολιορκίας ξυνήει. [18] Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἡγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν

ἀποπειρώμενοι διαβάσεως ὁδεύοντας περὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τειχίσματι αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἐκείσε ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐβοήθει, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσι τῆς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τε καὶ τῷ τάφῳ φρουρᾶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρήγγελλεν. [19] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι πύλῃ τῇ Αὐρηλιά καὶ τῷ Ἀδριανοῦ πύργῳ προσέβαλλον, μηχανὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, κλιμάκων δὲ πάμπολύ τι ἐπαγόμενοι χρήμα καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει ῥᾶον ἔς τε ἀπορίαν καταστήσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι καὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου κρατῆσιν δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [20] θύρας δὲ προβεβλημένοι ἐβάδιζον, οὐδὲν ἐλασσουμένας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις θυρεῶν, καὶ ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀγχοτάτω αὐτῶν ἦκοντες. [21] ὑπὸ γὰρ τῇ στοᾷ κρυπτόμενοι ἦλθον ἢ ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν διήκει. ἐνθὲνδε φανέντες ἐξαπναιῶς ἔργου εἶχοντο, ὥς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλίστρᾳ χρῆσθαι τοὺς φύλακας οἷους τε εἶναι ὅτι γὰρ πέμπουσιν ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἐναντίας αἱ μηχαναὶ αὐταὶ τὰ βέλη οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεύμασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς θύρας ἀντιστατοῦντος. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ καρτερῶς τε οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο, βάλλοντες συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἤδη προσθήσειν τῷ τειχίσματι ἔμελλον, κυκλώσαντες σχεδὸν τι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀμυνομένους, αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ χωρήσειαν, κατὰ νότου ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐγίνοντο, χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐκπληξίς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο οὐκ ἔχουσι καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι, μετὰ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, μεγάλα λίαν ὄντα, διέφθειρον, αἶροντές τε λίθους περιπληθεῖς ἐνθὲνδε χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ βαλλόμενοι ἐνεδίδουσιν. [23] κατὰ βραχὺ τε αὐτῶν ὑποχωρούντων, τὸ πλεόν ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ ζὺν βοῇ μείζονι τόξοις τε καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας ἡμύνοντο. [24] καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν ἀψάμενοι ἐς δέος μέγα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦγον, ἢ τε προσβολὴ αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. [25] παρὴν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος δεδιζάμενός τε τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποπειρασαμένους καὶ ῥαδίως ὠσάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀφύλακτον, ὥσπερ ᾤοντο, τὸ ἐκείνη τείχισμα εὗρον. οὕτω τε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ ἀμφὶ πύλῃν Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο.

Ἐς μέντοι πύλῃν τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν, ἢ Παγκρατιανὴ καλεῖται, δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων ἐλθοῦσα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου ἔδρασε, χωρίου ἰσχυτοῦ: ἀνάντης τε γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ εὐπετὴς ταύτη ὁ τῆς πόλεως περίβολός ἐστι. [2] Παῦλος ἐνταῦθα φυλακὴν εἶχε, ζὺν καταλόγῳ πεζικῷ οὗ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πύλης Φλαμινίας ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδε κειμένη οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν εὐπρόσοδος. [3] οἱ Ῥῆγες ἐνταῦθα, πεζικὸν τέλος, ἐφύλασσον καὶ Οὐρσικίνος, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε. ταύτης δὲ μετὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχομένης πυλίδος, ἢ Πιγκιανὴ ὀνομάζεται, μοῖρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου δίχα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διαιρεθεῖσα, οὐκ ἐξ ἐδάφους μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ μήκους τοῦ ἡμίσεος, οὐκ ἔπεσε μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλως διεφθάρη, ἐκλίθη δὲ οὕτως ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς φαίνεσθαι. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Περιβόλον Διερωγότα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον. [5] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος καθελεῖν τε καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι Βελισάριον κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγχειροῦντα ἐκώλυν Ῥωμαῖοι, Πέτρον σφίσι τὸν ἀπόστολον ὑποσχέσθαι ἰσχυριζόμενοι

αὐτῷ μελήσειν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον σέβονται Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τεθήπασι πάντων μάλιστα. [6] ἀπέβη τε αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα ἐν τῷδε τῷ χωρίῳ ἧ διανοοῦντο καὶ προσεδόκων. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καθ' ὃν Γότθοι Ῥώμην ἐπολιόρκουν, οὔτε πολεμίων τις δύναμις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο οὔτε τινὰ ταραχὴν γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [7] καὶ ἐθαυμάζομέν γε ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐς μνήμην ἡμετέραν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων αὕτη τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ μοῖρα παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἦλθεν, οὔτε τειχομαχοῦντων οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευόντων τῷ τείχει, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνεχείρισαν. [8] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ὕστερόν τις ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τοῦτο ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν τήνδε οὕτω τὸ ἐκείνῃ διήρηται τείχος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. [9] Ἐν δὲ Σαλαρίᾳ πύλῃ Γότθος ἀνὴρ εὐμήκης τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια θώρακά τε ἐνδιδυσκόμενος καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, ὧν τε οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἐν τῷ Γότθων ἔθνει, οὐκ ἐν τάξει ζῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δένδρου ἰστάμενος ἔβαλλε συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις. [10] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανὴ ἐν πύργῳ κατὰ μέρος τὸ λαιὸν οὔσα τύχῃ τινὶ ἔβαλε. [11] διαβὰν δὲ τὸν τε θώρακα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸ βέλος ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ ἐς τὸ δένδρον ἔδω, ἐνέρσει τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα ξυνδήσαν νεκρὸν ἤρτησεν. [12] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι κατείδον, κατορρωδήσαντες καὶ βελῶν ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμεινον μὲν ἔτι ἐν τάξει, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐκέτι ἐλύπουν. [13] Βέσσας δὲ καὶ Περάνιος, Οὐιτιγίδος ἐν Βιβαρίῳ ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου σφίσι, Βελισάριον μετεπέμποντο. ὁ δὲ δεῖσας περὶ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τείχει ἣν γὰρ ταύτη ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθει αὐτός, τῶν τινα ἐπιτηδεῖων λιπὼν ἐν Σαλαρίᾳ. [14] καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἐν Βιβαρίῳ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πεφοβημένους, μεγάλην τε οὔσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὑπερφρονεῖν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη. [15] ἦν δὲ ὁ ταύτῃ χῶρος ὁμαλὸς κομιδῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐφόδοις τῶν προσιόντων ἐκκείμενος. τύχῃ τέ τινι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τείχος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διερρυήκει ὥς τῶν πλίνθων μὴ λίαν τὴν ξυνθήκην ξυνίστασθαι. [16] τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο βραχὺ περιέβαλλον ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἕνεκα ὅτι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ πύργων ὀχύρωμα εἶχεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπάλξεις τινὲς ἐνταῦθα πεποίηντο οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ὅθεν ἂν καὶ ἀπώσασθαι οἷόν τε ἦν τὴν ἐς τὸν περιβόλον ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τρυφῆς τινος οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς χάριν, ὅπως δὴ λέοντάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία καθεῖρξαντες ἐνταῦθα τηροῖεν. [17] διὸ δὴ καὶ Βιβάριον τοῦτο ὠνόμασται: οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον οὗ ἂν τῶν ζώων τὰ μὴ χειροῆθη τρέφεσθαι εἴωθεν. Οὐίτιγίς μὲν οὖν μηχανάς τε ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους ἡτοίμαζε καὶ ὀρύσσειν τὸ ἔξω τείχισμα τοὺς Γότθους ἐκέλευεν, οἰόμενος, ἦν τούτου ἐντὸς γένωνται, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοῦ τείχους κρατήσιν, ὅπερ οὐδαμῇ ἐχυρὸν ξυνηπίστατο εἶναι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ὀρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους τό τε Βιβάριον διορύσσοντας καὶ πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου προσβάλλοντας, οὔτε ἀμύνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι μένειν, ὅτι μὴ λίαν ὀλίγους, εἶα, καίπερ ἅπαν ζῶν αὐτῷ ἔχων εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγιμον ἦν. [19] κάτω δὲ ἅπαντας ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε θεωρακισμένους τε καὶ ξίφη μόνον ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι, διελόντες τὸν τοῖχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν ζῶν ἄλλοις τισὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

ἐσθίβασας ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχθου. [20] καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐσπετωκότας ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον, οὐτε ἀμυνομένους καὶ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαφθειρομένους ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον στενοχωρίᾳ. [21] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ καταπλαγέντων καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει συντεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλου ἄλλῃ φερομένου, τοῦ περιβόλου τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίνας ἐξαπινάϊως ἅπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤφειε τὸ στράτευμα. [22] καὶ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἤκιστα ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν, ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν, ὥρμητο: ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ποσὶ ῥᾶστα ἔκτεινον, ἥ τε διώξις πολλὴ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σφετέρων χαρακωμάτων τῇδε εἰτειχομάχουν. [23] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μηχανὰς καίειν ἐκέλευεν, ἐπὶ πλείστον τε ἡ φλόξ αἰρομένη μεῖζονα τὴν ἐκπληξιν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐποίει. [24] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ πύλιν Σαλαρίαν ξυμπεσεῖν τὴν ὁμοίαν τύχην ξυνέβη. τὰς τε γὰρ πύλας ἐξαπινάϊως ἀνέφωγον καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐνέπιπτον, τούτους τε οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ τὰ νῶτα στρέψαντας ἔκτεινον, [25] καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς μηχανήματα ἔκαιον. καὶ ἡ τε φλόξ πολλαχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη ἢ τε τῶν Γότθων ὑπαγωγὴ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τείχει τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγκελευομένων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασι τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν ὀδυρομένων. [26] ἀπέθανον δὲ Γότθων ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρισμῦριοι, ὥς αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τραυματίαι πλείους ἐγένοντο: ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει πολλῷ οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὰ πλείστα ἐτύγχανον εἰς αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιοῦμενοι ἀμύπολύ τι χρεῖμα καταπεπληγμένων τε καὶ φευγόντων ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρον. [27] ἢ τε τειχομαχίᾳ πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς δαίτην ὀψίαν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἠλίσσαντο ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ παιανίζοντες καὶ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σκυλεύματα ἔχοντες, Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς τε τραυματίας σφῶν θεραπεύοντες καὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ὀδυρόμενοι.

Βελισάριος τε γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν: ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευες, χώραν τε αὐτῆς περιβεβλημένοι πολλὴν καὶ Ῥώμην κατελάβομεν, ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους, ὥνπερ ἑναγχοὺς τὸν ἄρχοντα Λεούδερν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα. [2] συμβέβηκε δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων καταστησάμενοις ὥνπερ δυνατοὶ κατακεκρατηκέναι γεγόναμεν, τὸ στράτευμα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολελειφθαι. [3] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἤκουσιν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐς μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα συνειλεγμένοι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένοις παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμόν, ἡναγκασμένοις τε παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, μικροῦ κατακεχῶσθαι δοράτων συμβέβηκε πλήθει. [4] ἔπειτα δὲ τειχομαχίσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηχαναῖς τισὶ προσβάλοντες πανταχόσε τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοβοεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἀνῆρπασε τύχῃ. [5] τὰ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων νικῶντα τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κρεῖσσον, ἀναφέρεσθαι πρέπει. [6] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν πεπραγμένα, εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε ἀρετῇ, ὥς ἄριστα ἔχει: τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε βουλοίμην ἂν ἀμείνω

τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς σοῖς ἔσσεσθαι. [7] ὅσα μέντοι προσήκει ἐμέ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς πρᾶξαι, οὐ μήποτε ἀποκρύψομαι, ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὥς πρόεισι μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπη ἂν βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀπάντων προστάται ἐκ τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων τὰς αἰτίας ἢ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐς αἰεὶ φέρονται. [8] οὐκοῦν ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιῶται στελλέσθων ἐς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε καθίστασθαι. [9] οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα χρεὼν πιστεῦειν τῇ τύχῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἀλλὰ σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐκεῖνο εἰσὶτώ, ὥς ἦν νῦν ἡμῶν οἱ βάρβαροι περιέσσονται, Ἰταλίας τε τῆς σῆς ἐκπεσούμεθα καὶ προσαποβαλοῦμεν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ προσέσται ἡμῖν τοσαύτη τις οὐσα ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνῃ. [10] ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀπολεῖν δόξαμεν, οἳ γε περὶ ἐλάσσοнос τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ἐς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν πεποιήνται πίστεως. [11] ὥστε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἄχρι τοῦδε γενομένην εὐημερίαν εἰς συμφορῶν ὑπόθεσιν τετελευτηκέναι ξυμβήσεται. [12] εἰ γὰρ Ῥώμης ἡμῖν καὶ Καμπανίας καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον Σικελίας ἀποκεκροῦσθαι τετύχηκε, τὸ πάντων ἂν ἡμᾶς κουφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις δεδυνῆσθαι πλουτεῖν. [13] καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὥς Ῥώμην πώποτε πλείω τινὰ χρόνον οὐδὲ μυριάσι πολλαῖς διαφυλάξαι δυνατόν γέγονε, χώραν τε περιβεβλημένην πολλὴν καὶ τῷ μὴ ἐπιθαλασσίαν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποκεκλεισμένην ἀπάντων. [14] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νῦν μὲν εὐνοϊκῶς ἡμῖν ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ κακῶν αὐτοῖς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, μηκνυμένων, οὐδὲν μελλήσουσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρεῖσσω. [15] οἱ γὰρ ἐξ ὑπογύου τισὶν ἐς εὐνοίαν καθιστάμενοι, οὐ κακοτυχοῦντες, ἀλλ' εὖ πάσχοντες, τὸ πιστὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διασώζειν εἰώθασιν. [16] ἄλλως τε καὶ λιμῷ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναγκασθήσονται πολλὰ ὧν οὐκ ἂν βούλοιντο πρᾶξαι. [17] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδα θάνατον ὀφείλων τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζῶντά με οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐνθένδε ἐξελᾷν δύναιτο: σκόπει δὲ ὁποῖαν ποτέ σοι δόξαν ἢ τοιαύτη Βελισαρίου τελευτὴ φέρει.' [18] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ λίαν ξυνταραχθεὶς στράτευμά τε καὶ ναῦς σπουδῇ ἤγειρε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον ἐπέστελλε κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. [19] σταλέντες γὰρ ζὺν στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς ἔτυχον, ἐφ' ᾧ πλεύσουσιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. [20] οἱ δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑπαιτέρῳ γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν διεχεύμαζον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰτωλίας τε καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας χωρία. [21] ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτόν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπέρρωσεν. [22] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Νεαπόλει τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Θεωδερῖχου τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐτύγγανεν οὐσα, ἐκ ψηφίδων τινῶν ξυγκειμένη, μικρῶν μὲν ἐς ἄγαν, χροιαῖς δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδόν τι ἀπάσαις. [23] ταύτης τῆς εἰκόνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρυῆναι ζώντος Θεωδερῖχου ξυμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ξυνταραχθείσης, καὶ Θεωδερῖχῳ ξυνηνέχθη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [24] ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ ὀκτὼ ὕστερον αἱ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος γαστέρα ποιοῦσαι ψηφίδες διερρύησαν ἐξαπναιῶς, καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θεωδερῖχου θυγατρίδου εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτα. [25] χρόνου τε τριβέντος ὀλίγου πίπτουσι μὲν ἐς γῆν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ψηφίδες,

Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἡ Θεουδερίχου παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
 τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [26] Γότθων δὲ Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθισταμένων τὰ ἐκ
 τῶν τῆς εἰκόνης μηρῶν ἄχρι ἐς ἄκρους πόδας διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκε, [27] ταύτη
 τε ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ἐξίτηλος ἡ εἰκὼν γέγονεν: οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα
 τοῦτο ξυμβalόντες περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ ἰσχυρίζοντο τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως
 στρατόν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι τοὺς Θεουδερίχου πόδας ἢ τὸν Γότθων λεῶν ὧν
 ἐκεῖνος ἦρχεν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐέλπιδες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. [28] Ἐν
 μέντοι Ῥώμῃ τῶν τινες πατρικίων τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια προῦφερον,
 ἰσχυριζόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα γεγενῆσθαι
 μόνον. [29] χρῆναι γὰρ τότε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις καταστῆναί τινα, ἐξ οὗ δὴ
 Γετικὸν οὐδὲν Ῥώμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν δεῖσειε: [30] Γετικὸν γάρ φασιν ἔθνος τοὺς
 Γότθους εἶναι. εἶχε δὲ τὸ λόγιον ὧδε: θυντιλι μενσε ρεγε νηιλ γετιζυμ ιαμ. [31]
 πέμπτον δὲ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Μαρτίου
 ἵσταμένου ἡ πολιορκία κατ' ἀρχὰς γέγονεν, ἀπ' οὗ δὴ πέμπτον Ἰούλιον
 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι Μάρτιον πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς Νουμᾶ βασιλείας
 ἐνόμιζον μῆνα, ὅτε δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς δέκα μῆνας ὁ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνος ξυνῆι,
 Ἰουλίός τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κυντιλίος ὠνομάζετο. ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα τούτων οὐδὲν ὑγιές.
 [32] οὔτε γὰρ βασιλεὺς τότε Ῥωμαίοις κατέστη, καὶ ἡ πολιορκία ἐνιαυτῷ
 ὕστερον διαλυθῆσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ Τουτίλα Γότθων ἄρχοντος ἐς
 τοὺς ὁμοίους Ῥώμῃ κινδύνους ἰέναι, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθε λελέξεται λόγοις.
 [33] δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐ ταύτην δὴ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφοδον τὸ μαντεῖον
 δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ ἢ ἤδη ξυμβᾶσαν ἢ ὕστερόν ποτε ἐσομένην. [34] τῶν
 γὰρ Σιβύλλης λογίων τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξευρεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ οἶμαι
 ἀδύνατον εἶναι. [35] αἴτιον δὲ ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω ἐκεῖνα ἀναλεξάμενος
 ἅπαντα. ἡ Σίβυλλα οὐχ ἅπαντα ἐξῆς τὰ πράγματα λέγει οὐδὲ ἀρμονίαν τινὰ
 ποιουμένη τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἔπος εἰποῦσα ὅ τι δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Λιβύης κακοῖς
 ἀπεπῆδησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, [36] ἐνθὲνδε τε Ῥωμαίων ἐς μνήμην
 ἐλθοῦσα μεταβιβάζει ἐς τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὸν λόγον. καὶ πάλιν ἀμφὶ Ῥωμαίοις
 μαντευομένη προλέγει τὰ Βρεττανῶν πάθη. [37] ταύτη τε ἀδύνατά ἐστιν
 ἀνθρώπῳ ὁτῶσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν Σιβύλλης λογίων ξυνεῖναι, ἦν μὴ ὁ
 χρόνος αὐτὸς ἐκβάντος ἤδη τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐς πείραν ἐλθόντος
 ἀκριβῆς τοῦ ἔπους ἐρμηνεὺς γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λογιζέσθω ἕκαστος ὅπη
 αὐτῷ φίλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

Ἐπειδὴ Γότθοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν τειχομαχοῦντες, ηὔλisanτο τὴν νύκτα
 ἐκείνην οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη ἐκάτεροι. [2] τῇ δὲ ὕστεραίᾳ Βελισάριος πάντας
 Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευε παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐς Νεάπολιν ὑπεκκομίζειν, καὶ τῶν
 οἰκετῶν ὅσους μὴ ἀναγκαίους σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ τείχους τὴν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι
 ὄντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐς ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καθιστῶνται. [3] ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπήγγελλεν, εἴ τινη οἰκέτης ἢ θεράπεινα ἦν. οὐ
 γὰρ ἔτι οἷός τε εἶναι τὰς σιτήσεις αὐτοῖς ἔφασκεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κατὰ τὰ
 εἰωθότα παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν αὐτοῖς
 φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ. [4] οἱ
 δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ αὐτίκα ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦι. ἐκομίζοντο
 δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντες ἄπερ ἐν τῷ Ῥώμῃς λιμένι ὠρμίζετο, οἱ δὲ καὶ

πεξῆ ὁδῷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἀππία ἰόντες. [5] κίνδυνός τε οὐδεὶς ἢ δέος ἐκ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἐγένετο οὔτε τοῖς ταύτῃ βαδίζουσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἰοῦσιν. [6] οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι οὔτε Ῥώμην ξύμπασαν τοῖς χαρακώμασι περιβαλέσθαι διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οἶοί τε ἦσαν οὔτε κατ' ὀλίγους ἐτόλμων μακρὰν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς τῶν ἐναντίων. [7] καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ πολλὴ ἐξουσία ἐγένετο τῆς τε πόλεως ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξωθεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [8] μάλιστα δὲ νύκτωρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς δέος τε αἰεὶ μέγα καθίσταντο καὶ φυλακὰς ποιούμενοι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἡσύχαζον. [9] ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι συχνοὶ ἐξιόντες, ὅπῃ τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ καθεδύοντας ἢ ὁδῷ ἰόντας κατ' ὀλίγους εὐρήσειαν ὅτι πολλὰ ἐν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἄλλων τε ἀναγκαίων χρεῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ βόσκειν ἵππους τε καὶ ἡμιόνους καὶ ζῶα ὅσα ἐς βρῶσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐσκυλευκότες, πλείονων σφίσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πολεμίων ἐπείσπεσόντων ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, ἄνδρες φύσει τε ποδώκεις καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ προλαμβάνοντες. [10] οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑποχωρεῖν ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἴσχυον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ ῥᾶόν τε σφίσιν ἐνομίσθη καὶ βέλτιον εἶναι. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ ὁρῶν τὸν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἥκιστα ἐς τὴν τοῦ τείχους περίοδον ἐξικνούμενον, ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ φυλάσσειν οἱ αὐτοὶ αὔπνοι ἴσχυον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὕπνον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἤροῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐτετάχατο, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος πενία τε πιεζομένους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντας, ἅτε γὰρ βαναύσοις ἀνθρώποις ἐφήμερά τε ἅπαντα ἔχουσι καὶ ἀργεῖν διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἠναγκασμένοις πόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἰδιώτας ξυνέμιξε καὶ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἔνειμε, ῥητόν τινα μισθὸν ἰδιώτῃ ἀνδρὶ τάξας ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. [12] ὧν δὴ ἐγίνοντο μὲν ξυμμορίαὶ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαι, νύκτα δὲ τακτὴν ἢ φυλακὴ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέκειτο ξυμμορία ἐκάστη, ἐφύλασσόν τε αὐτῶν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες. καὶ ταύτῃ Βελισάριος ἐκατέρων τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυνεν. [13] Ὑποψίας δὲ ἐς Σιλβέριον τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα γεγεννημένης, ὡς δὴ προδοσίαν ἐς Γότθους πράσσοι, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμψεν αὐτίκα, ἕτερον δὲ ἀρχιερέα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, Βιγίλιον ὄνομα, κατεστήσατο. [14] τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐπ' αἰτία τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἐξελάσας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πολιορκίαν οἱ πολέμιοι διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα κατήγαγεν αὐθις. [15] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὗ δὴ ὁ προπάτωρ Μάξιμος τὸ ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν βασιλεῖα πάθος εἵργαστο. δεῖσας δὲ μή τις πρὸς φυλάκων τῶν κατὰ πύλας ἐπιβουλὴ γένηται, καὶ τις ἔξωθεν χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς κακουργήσων ἴοι, δις ἐκάστου μηνὸς τὰς τε κλεῖς ἀπάσας ἀφανίζων ἀνενεοῦτο αἰεὶ ἐς ἕτερον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐς φυλακτήριον ἄλλο μακρὰν ποῦ ἄποθεν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντικαθίστη, τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ἐτέρους ἐφίστη. [16] οἷς δὴ ἐπέκειτο μέτρον τι τοῦ τείχους περιοῦσιν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀναγράφεσθαι τὰ τῶν φυλάκων ὀνόματα, καὶ ἦν τις ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖη, ἕτερον μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσασθαι ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα, ἀναφέρειν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὅστις

ποτέ ὁ ἀπολειφθεὶς εἶη, ὅπως δὴ κόλασις ἢ προσήκουσα ἐς αὐτὸν γίνοιτο. [17] καὶ μουσικοῖς μὲν ὀργάνοις χρήσασθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ νύκτωρ ἐκέλευε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινὰς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἕξω ἐπεμπεν, οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον διανυκτερεύσειν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον, καὶ ζῶν αὐτοῖς κύνας ἠφίει, ὅπως δὴ μὴδὲ ἀποθὲν τις ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἰὼν διαλάθοι. [18] Τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεῶ τὰς θύρας τῶν τινες Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειράσαντο. [19] ὁ δὲ Ἰανὸς οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσση τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πένατες ἐκάλουν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ Τρία Φᾶτα· [20] οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοίρας νενομίκασι καλεῖν. ὁ τε νεῶς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. [21] ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. [22] θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἐκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσις ὄντος ἀνέωγον. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. [24] ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἶμαι, δόξαν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασι μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύναι λάθρα, οὐ μὲντοι παντάπασιν ἴσχυσαν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, [25] μεμυκέναι τὰς θύρας. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οἱ τοῦτο δρᾶν ἐγκεχειρηκότες· ζήτησις δὲ τοῦ ἔργου οὐδεμία ἄτε ἐν μεγάλῳ θορύβῳ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὕτε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐγνώσθη, οὕτε ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους κοιμίδῃ, ἦλθεν.

Οὐίτιγίς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θυμῷ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἐχόμενος τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς ἐς Ῥάβενναν πέμψας, Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἅπαντας οὕσπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα ἤγαγε κτείνειν ἐκέλευε. [2] καὶ αὐτῶν τινες μὲν προμαθόντες φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἐν οἷς Βηργεντίνος τε ἦν καὶ Ῥεπάρατος, Βιγιλίου ἀδελφός, τοῦ Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέως, οἵπερ ἄμφω ἐς Λιγούρους κοιμισθέντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. [3] μετὰ δὲ Οὐίτιγίς πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὀρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις οὕσαν ἐκφορεῖν τε εἴ τι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως βούλονται, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τὸν λιμένα, ὃν δὴ Πόρτον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω. [4] Ὅς δὴ ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους· μέτρῳ γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλασσία εἶναι διείργεται Ῥώμη· [5] ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὁ ποταμὸς Τίβερις τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχει, ὃς δὴ ἐκ Ῥώμης φερόμενος, ἐπειδὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγυτέρῳ γένηται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα, δίχα σχιζόμενος τὴν ἱερὰν νῆσον καλουμένην ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ. [6] προϊόντος τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐρυτέρα ἢ νῆσος γίνεται, ὥς τῷ μήκει τὸ τοῦ εὐρους μέτρον κατὰ λόγον εἶναι, σταδίους γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα ρεῦμα ἐκάτερον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχει· [7] ναυσίπορος τε ὁ Τίβερις ἀμφοτέρωθι μένει. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ὧν ἐκτὸς πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐδείμαντο, τεῖχος περιβεβλημένην ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα, Πόρτον τε αὐτὴν τῷ λιμένι ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσιν. [8] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐς

τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολῇ πόλιν Ὅστιά κεῖται, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡϊόνος ἐκτός, λόγου μὲν πολλοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξία, νῦν δὲ ἀτειχιστος παντάπασιν οὐσα. [9] ὁδὸν τοίνυν, ἥ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου φέρει, ὁμαλήν τε καὶ ἐμπόδιον οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι πεποιήναι. [10] βάρεις τε ἀεὶ πολλὰ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμίζονται, καὶ βόες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἀγχοτάτω ἐστᾶσιν. [11] ἐπειδὴ οὖν οἱ ἔμποροι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἀφίκωνται, ἄραντες τὰ φορτία ἐνθένδε καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθέμενοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι, πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ιστίοις μὲν ἢ κώπαις ἥκιστα χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἀνέμῳ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα οἶά τέ ἐστι τὰ πλοῖα ὠθεῖσθαι συχνὰ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλισσομένου καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἰόντος, οὐδὲ τι ἐνεργεῖν αἱ κώπαι δύνανται, τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ρύμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐταῖς ἀεὶ φερομένης. [12] βρόχους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βάρεων ἐς τῶν βοῶν τοὺς αὐχένας ἀρτήσαντες ἔλκουσιν αὐτὰς ὥσπερ ἀμάξας ἄχρι ἐς Ῥώμην. [13] ἐτέρωθι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Ὅστιας ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ὑλώδης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡϊόνος ἐγγύς, ἅτε τῆς τῶν βάρεων ἀνολκῆς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οὔσης. [14] Αφύλακτον οὖν τὴν πρὸς τῷ λιμένι πόλιν εὐρόντες οἱ Γότθοι αὐτὴν τε αὐτοβοεὶ εἶλον καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, [15] καὶ τὸν λιμένα ξὺν αὐτῇ ἔσχον. χιλίους τε σφῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς καταστησάμενοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν. [16] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὰ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐσκομίζεσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς Ὅστιας πόνῳ τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ. [17] οὐδὲ γὰρ καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων νῆες τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ ὀρμίζοντο, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ τῆς Ὅστιας ἀπέχοντι. [18] ἐνθένδε τε τὰ φορτία αἰρόμενοι ἐκόμιζον μόλις· αἴτιον δὲ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐγένετο. Βελισάριος γὰρ περὶ τῷ Ῥώμης περιβόλῳ δέισας τὸν λιμένα κρατύνασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ φυλακῇ ἴσχυεν. [19] οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν εἰ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσον, οὐ ποτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ χωρίου, ἐχυροῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Γότθοι ἔδρασαν. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον εἴκοσιν ἢ ὁ Πόρτος ἢ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ λιμὴν ἐάλω, Μαρτίνος τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἦκον, ἐξακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας ἱππεῖς ἐπαγομένῳ. [2] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι Οὐννοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται, οἱ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκεῖνι ὄχθης ἴδρυνται. [3] Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε αὐτῶν τῇ παρουσίᾳ καὶ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤετο. [4] τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, θυμοειδῆ τε καὶ δραστήριον, Τραϊανὸν ὄνομα, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν διακοσίους ἱππέας λαβόντα, ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐγγυτέρῳ ἴκωνται, ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ ἠσυχάζειν, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. [5] ἦν δὲ οἱ πολέμοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τὴν μάχην οὐκ εἶαν γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ξίφους ἢ δορατίου τινὸς ἅπτεσθαι, χρῆσθαι δὲ μόνοις τοξεύμασιν, ἥνίκα τέ οἱ τὴν φαρέτρην οὐδὲν ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν ἴδῃ, φεύγειν τε κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντα καὶ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀναχωρεῖν δρόμῳ. [6] ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας, τῶν τε τοξευμάτων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ ταύταις τεχνίτας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. Τραϊανὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐκ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἦει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [7]

καὶ οἱ μὲν. καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων, ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐσκευάσθαι τετύχηκεν. [8] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τραϊανὸν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ὄνπερ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ἔδειξεν, ἐνθένδε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες. [9] καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀτράκτους ἅτε ἐς πολὺν ἐμπίπτοντας ὁμιλον ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἵπου ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπιτυγχάνειν ξυνέβαιναν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἶδε κατὰ τάχος ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινον, διώκοντές τε οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο. [10] ὡς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγυτέρω ἴκοντο, τά τε ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν τοξεύματα οἱ τεχνῖται ἐνήργουν, καὶ τῆς διώξεως οἱ βάρβαροι κατωρρωδηκότες ἀπέσχοντο. [11] λέγονται δὲ Γότθοι οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ χίλιοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. ἡμέραις δὲ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον Βελισάριος Μουνδύλαν τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, καὶ Διογένην, διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, ξὺν ὑπασπισταῖς τριακοσίοις στείλας, ταῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς προτέροις ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [12] ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ξυνηνέχθη αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσους, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλείους, ἢ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔργῳ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολωλέναι. [13] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ξὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις Ὀύλαν τὸν δορυφόρον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ὅμοια τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσσονται, ταῦτα ἔδρασε. [14] τρεῖς τε, καθάπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιησάμενος τῶν ἐναντίων ἀμφὶ τετρακισχλίους διέφθειρεν. [15] Οὐίτιγיס δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσῆει τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τῆς τε ὀπλίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἔργα μελέτης' ῥᾶστα καὶ αὐτὸς ᾤετο τὰ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι, ἦν γε στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔφοδον ποιοίῃ. [16] ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἱππεῖς πεντακοσίους, ἄγχιστα τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἰέναι κελεύσας, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὀλίγων πολλακίς πολεμίων πεπόνθασι, ταῦτα δὴ ἐς ζύμπασαν τὴν ἐκείνων στρατιὰν ἐπιδειξάσθαι. [17] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ γενόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἔξω βελῶν, ἴσταντο. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ἄνδρας τε ἀπολέξας χιλίους καὶ Βέσσαν αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας ὁμόσε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέστελλεν. [19] οἱ δὲ κύκλωσιν τε τῶν βαρβάρων ποιησάμενοι καὶ κατὰ νότου αἰεὶ βάλλοντες κτείνουσί τε συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βιασάμενοι κατελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἠνάγκασαν. [20] ἔνθα δὴ τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης, τῶν Γότθων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες εἰς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. [21] οὗς δὴ ὁ Οὐίτιγισ ἅτε τῷ ἀνάνδρῳ ἥσσημένους ἐκάκιζε, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐτέροις τισὶν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἡσύχαζε, τρισὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκ πάντων τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἄνδρας ἀπολεξάμενος πεντακοσίους ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπιδειξάσθαι ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [22] οὗς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριος ἐγγυτέρω ἦκοντας εἶδε, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἄρχοντας Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν. [23] ἵππομαχίας τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως γεγεννημένης, τῷ πλήθει Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες τῶν πολεμίων, τρέπουσί τε αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας διαφθείρουσι. [24] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινὸν τε καὶ τύχης ἐναντίωμα παντάπασιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, εἰ πολλοὶ τε ὄντες πρὸς ὀλίγων πολεμίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ἡσῶνται καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους αὖθις ἰόντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς διαφθείρονται. [25] Βελισάριον δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τῆς ξυνέσεως Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπῆνουν, ἐν θαύματι

αὐτήν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡρώτων οἱ ἐπιτήδευοι ὅτῳ ποτὲ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους οὕτως ἡσσημένους διέφυγεν, εὐελπίς ἐγγέγονει τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι. [26] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὥς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ζῆν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κατενόησεν ὅτι ποτὲ τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ στρατιᾷ εἴη, ὥστε ἦν κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ζυμβολὰς ποιοίη, οὐδὲν ἂν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ὀλιγανθρωπία τὸ τῶν πολεμίων λυμῆνασθαι πλήθος. [27] διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι Οὐννοὶ ἱπποτοξόται εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, Γότθων δὲ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ ἥσκηται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς μόνοις δορατίοις τε καὶ ξίφεσιν εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοξόται πεζοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἐς μάχην καθίστανται. [28] οἱ τε οὖν ἱππεῖς, ἦν μὴ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ ζυμβολῇ εἴη, οὐκ ἔχοντες καθ' ὃ τι ἀμυνοῦνται πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων τοξεύμασι χρωμένων, εὐπετῶς ἂν βαλλόμενοι διαφθείρονται, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ κατ' ἀνδρῶν ἱπέων ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἱκανοὶ εἶεν. [29] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἰσχυρίζετο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ζυμβολαῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσησθαι. Γότθοι δὲ τῶν σφίσι ζυμβεβηκότων τὸ παράλογον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες οὔτε κατ' ὀλίγους τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον ἐχώρουν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐδίωκον, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἀπώσασθαι.

Ὑστερον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἅπαντες, ἐπαρθέντες τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐτυχήμασι, παντὶ τε τῷ Γότθων στρατεύματι ὤργων διὰ μάχης ἰέναι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς σφίσιν ᾤοντο. [2] Βελισάριος δέ, πάμπαν ἔτι εἶναι τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οἰόμενος, ὥκνει τε ἀεὶ τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεύειν στρατεύματι καὶ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐσπούδαζέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπενόει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέειπε, παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ μάχεσθαι ἤθελε, τὴν δὲ ζυμβολὴν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδὲν τι ἡσσον ποιήσασθαι. [4] πολλάκις τε ἀπεκρούσθη ἐς τοῦτο ὀρμήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀποθέσθαι ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ προγνόντας τὰ ἐσόμενα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ παρὰ δόξαν εὔρε. [5] διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμαχήσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἤθελε, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄσμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίσταντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐς τὴν ζυμβολὴν ὥς ἄριστα ἥσκητο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἀγείρας τὸ στρατεύμα ὅλον τοιαύδε παρεκελεύσατο: [6] 'Οὐ μαλακίαν τινὰ καταγνοῦς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων κατορρωδήσας τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμβολὴν ὥκνουν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς διαφέρουσιν εὖ καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, διασώσασθαι ὥμην δεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τὴν τῆς εὐπραξίας αἰτίαν. [7] οἷς γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ παρόντα χωρεῖ, ἐφ' ἑτερον μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀξυμφορὸν οἶμαι. ὀρῶν μέντοι ἐς τόνδε ὑμᾶς προθυμουμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐελπίς τέ εἰμι καὶ οὐποτε ὑμῶν τῇ ὀρμῇ ἐμποδῶν στήσομαι. [8] οἶδα γὰρ ὥς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥοπῆς ἢ τῶν μαχομένων κεκλήρωται γνώμη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ τούτων προθυμίᾳ κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. [9] ὥς μὲν οὖν ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τεταγμένοι πλήθους περιεῖναι οἰοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐξεπίσταται ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἀκοῇ λαβὼν, ἀλλ' ἐς πείραν ἀγῶνος τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἤκων. [10] ὅπως δὲ μὴ

καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἐμῶν στρατηγημάτων δόξαν μήτε τὴν ἐκ τῆσδε ὑμῶν τῆς προθυμίας ἐλπίδα, ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. [11] πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πεπραῖχθαι ξυμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν κρίνεσθαι τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας ἀνάγκη. [12] ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἡμῖν ξυλλαμβάνοντα, ὃς ἡμῖν δεδουλωμένου τοῖς φθάσασι τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων φρονήματος ῥάδιον, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπικράτησιν θήσεται. [13] τῶν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡτυχηκότων ἥκιστα ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυνῶμαι. ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ὅπλου ὑμῶν φειδέσθω μηδεῖς. [14] ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὑπὲρ πάντων ἕτερα τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην διαφθειρομένων ἀνθυπουργήσω.' [15] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τε πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς καὶ Σαλαρίας πύλης, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς διὰ πύλης Αὐρηλίας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [16] οἷς δὴ Βαλεντῖνον ἐπέστησε καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχοντα, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέστελλε μάχης μὲν μηδεμιᾶς ἄρχειν, μηδὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγγυτέρω ἰέναι, δόκησιν δὲ παρέχειν αἰεὶ τοῦ αὐτίκα προσβάλλειν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πολεμίων τινὲς τὴν ἐκείνη γέφυραν διαβαίνοντες ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χαρακμάτων οἰοί τε ᾧσι. [17] πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, τῶν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευομένων βαρβάρων ἱκανόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας οὐ μεταλαχόντας τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ κεχωρίσθαι. [18] καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ δήμου ἐθελούσιοί τινες ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι εἶποντο, ἐς μὲν τὴν ξυμβολὴν αὐτοὺς ξυντετάχθαι σφίσιν οὐκ εἶασε, δέισας μὴ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι γενόμενοι κατορρωδήσωσί τε τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσιν ὅλον, βάνανσοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ πολέμου ἀμελέτητοι παντάπασιν ὄντες. [19] ἐκτὸς δὲ πυλῶν Παγκρατιανῶν, αἱ ὑπὲρ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν εἰσι, φάλαγγα ποιησαμένους ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνη, λογισάμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὥς, εἴπερ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βαλεντῖνον ἴδωσιν οἱ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ πολέμιοι, οὐ ποτε θαρσήσουσι τὸ σφέτερον ἀπολιπόντες χαράκωμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς μάχην ἰέναι. [20] ἔρμαιον δὲ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι ἄνδρας τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [21] Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἱπομαχίαν μόνον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι ἠθέλεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεζῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, ἵππους τε τῶν πολεμίων ληϊσάμενοι καὶ τοῦ ἱππεύειν οὐκ ἀμελέτητοι γεγεννημένοι, [22] ἱππόται ἦσαν. τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ οὔτε φάλαγγα ἔχοντας λόγου ἀξίαν ποιήσασθαι οὔτε τοῖς βαρβάροις θαρσήσαντάς πω ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ καθισταμένους, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἀποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου παρατάσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα τῆς τάφρου ἐν τάξει μένειν, ὅπως, εἴ γε σφῶν τοὺς ἱππέας τρέπεσθαι ξυμβαίνοι, δέχεσθαί τε οἰοί τε ᾧσι τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἅτε ἀκμῆτες τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνεσθαι. [23] Πριγκίπιος δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Πισίδης γένος, καὶ Ταρμούτος Ἰσαυρος, Ἐννου τοῦ Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγοῦ ἀδελφός, Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: [24] 'Στρατηγῶν ἄριστε, μήτε τὸ στράτευμά σοι, ὀλίγον τε ὃν καὶ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς μαχησόμενον, ἀποτέμεσθαι ἀξίου τῇ πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μήτε χρῆναι

τὸ Ῥωμαίων πεζικὸν ὑβρίζεσθαι οἶον, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς πάλοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε μεγέθους κεχωρηκέναι ἀκούομεν. [25] εἰ γάρ τι οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακίας τεκμήριον τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντες τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι, ἵπποις μὲν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μόνοι ὀχοῦμενοι, κοινήν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀξιούντες τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ αὐτῶν μόνος ἕκαστος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι. [26] σὺ δὲ πάντας μὲν τοὺς πεζῶν ἄρχοντας, ἱππέας γὰρ ὀρθῶς γεγενημένους ἥκιστα τε ξυντάττεσθαι τοῖς σφῶν ὑπηκόοις ἐθέλοντας, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἱππέων στρατεύματι ἔχων ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασο, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἡγεῖσθαι ξυγχῶρει. [27] πεζοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ξὺν αὐτοῖς οἴσομεν, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι.' [28] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐ ξυνεχώρησεν· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἄνδρε μαχίμῳ ἐς ἄγαν ὄντε ὑπερηγάπα καὶ πεζοὺς ὀλίγους διακινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἠθέλε. [29] τέλος δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ βιαζόμενος ὀλίγους μὲν τινας ἐς τε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἄνω ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξὺν Ῥωμαίων τῷ δήμῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἶασε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Πριγκίπιόν τε καὶ Ταρμουτὸν ἐπιστήσας ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς ἵστασθαι ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε μὴ τὸν κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσι, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἦν τίς ποτε μοῖρα τρέποιτο, μὴ ὡς ἀπατάτῳ χωρήσαιεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφεύγοντες τοὺς διώκοντας οἰοί τε ὅσι ξὺν ἐκείνοις ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν παρεσκεύαστο ὧδε. Οὐίττιγίς δὲ Γότθους ἐξώπλισεν ἅπαντας, οὐδένα ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀπομάχους, ἀπολιπὼν. [2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Μαρκίαν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ μένειν ἐκέλευε, φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐν γεφύρᾳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [3] 'Ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν τισὶ περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δεδιέναι δοκοίη καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐς ὑμᾶς φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ τανῦν ὑπὲρ εὐτολμίας ὑμῖν ἐπαγωγὰ φθέγγεσθαι. [4] καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου λογίζονται. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι, ὧν μὲν ἂν δέοντο, πρῶτόν τι ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, κἂν πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεέστεροι τύχωσιν ὄντες, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δυσπρόσοδοι εἶναι, ὧν τῆς ὑπουργίας οὐ χρῆζουσιν. [5] ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὔτε βίου καταστροφῆς οὔτε ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μέλει. εὐξαίμην γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν πορφυρίδα ταύτην ἀποδύσασθαι τήμερον, εἰ Γότθος ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι μέλλοι. [6] καὶ τὸ Θευδάτου πέρας ὄλβιον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγενῆσθαι νενόμικα, ὃ γε ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων χερσὶ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἅμα τετύχηκε. [7] συμφορὰ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ προσπίπτουσα μὴ συμφθειρομένου τοῦ γένους τοῖς γε οὐκ ἀνοήτοις παραψυχῆς οὐκ ἐστέρηται. [8] ἐννοοῦντά με δὲ τὸ τε Βανδύλων πάθος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γελίμερος τέλος οὐδὲν εἰσέρχεται μέτριον, ἀλλὰ Γότθους μὲν ὁρᾶν μοι δοκῶ ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ δεδουλωμένους, γυναῖκας δὲ ὑμετέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐχθίστοις τὰ πάντων αἰσχιστα ὑπηρετούσας, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ἀγόμενον καὶ τὴν τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὅπῃ ποτὲ τοὺς νῦν πολεμίους ἀρέσκει· ταῦτα βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὅπως μὴ προσπέσωσι δείσαντας ἐς μάχην τήνδε καθίστασθαι. [9]

οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐν τῷ τῆς ξυμβολῆς χωρίῳ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν περιπλείονος τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν σωτηρίας ποιήσαισθε. ἐνὶ γὰρ μόνῳ κακοτυχεῖν ἄνδρες γενναῖοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι νομίζουσι. [10] θάνατος δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ταχὺς ἦκων, εὐδαίμονας αἰετὸς πρόσθεν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντας ἐργάζεται. [11] εὐδηλὸν τε ὥς, ἣν μετὰ τούτων ὑμεῖς τῶν λογισμῶν τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκητε, ῥᾶστα μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσετε, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ Γραικοὺς, κολάσετε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῆς τε ἀδικίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἧς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν. [12] ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν, οἱ δὲ θρασύνονται καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλιγορίαν. βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὐτύχημα. [13] Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐίτιγίς παρακελευσάμενος διεκόσμηε τὸ στράτευμα ἐς παράταξιν, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς μέσον καταστησάμενος, τοὺς ἵππεας δὲ ἐς ἄμφω τὰ κέρατα. [14] οὐκ ἄποθεν μέντοι τῶν χαρακωμάτων τὴν φάλαγγα διέτασσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ τροπὴ γένηται, εὐπετῶς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλαμβανόμενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐν χώρῳ πολλῷ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοῖς γινομένης. [15] ἥλπιζε γάρ, ἣν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἡ μάχη συσταδὸν γένηται, αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἀνθέξειν, τεκμαιρόμενος πολλῷ γε ὄντι τῷ παραλόγῳ ὅτι οὐκ ἀντίπαλον τῷ σφετέρῳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα εἴη. [16] Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται πρῶτ' ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου ἐκατέρωθεν εἶχοντο: Οὐίτιγίς δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ὀπισθεν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἀμφοτέρους ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὥρων. [17] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καθυπέρτερα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ τε βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων συχνοὶ ἔπιπτον, διώξις μὲντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεμία ἐγένετο. [18] ἄτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει μεγάλῳ οἱ Γότθοι καθεστῶτες ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐς τῶν διαφθειρομένων τὴν χώραν ἔτεροι ἴσταντο, αἴσθησίν τε οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀπολλυμένων παρείχοντο. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανὸν ἐφαίνετο λίαν ὀλίγοις οὖσιν ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [19] τὴν τε μάχην ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδα διενεγκοῦσιν ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη διαφθείρασι τῶν πολεμίων βουλομένοις ἣν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανέναι, ἣν τις αὐτοῖς γένηται σκῆψις. [20] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐγένοντο τρεῖς, Αθηνόδωρος τε, ἀνὴρ Ἰσαυρος, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, καὶ Θεοδωρίσκος τε καὶ Γεώργιος, [21] Μαρτίνου δορυφόροι, Καππαδόκαι γένος. αἰεὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξιόντες μετώπου δόρασι διειργάζοντο τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [22] Ἐν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ χρόνον μὲν συχνὸν ἀντεκάθηντο ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐπεκδρομάς τε αἰεὶ ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐσακοντίζοντες τοὺς Γότθους ἐλύπουν. [23] ἐπεξίεναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα ἤθελον, δεδιότες τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄντας, οὓς δὴ στρατιώτας τε ᾤοντο εἶναι καὶ τινα ἐνέδραν ἐς σφᾶς ποιουμένους ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως κατὰ νότου ἰόντες ἀμφιβόλους τε ποιησάμενοι διαφθείρωσιν. [24] ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας μεσοῦσης ὁρμᾷ μὲν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, τρέπονται δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οἱ Γότθοι τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες. [25] καὶ οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη λόφους ἀναβάντες ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, οὐ στρατιῶται δὲ πάντες, [26] ἀλλ' οἱ

πλειστοι γυμνὸς ὁμιλος. ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐτέρωθι ὄντος πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ναῦται καὶ οἰκέται τοῦ πολέμου μεταλαχεῖν ἐφιεμένοι ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ ταύτῃ στρατῷ. [27] καὶ πλήθει μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκπλήξαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἀκοσμία δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔσφηλαν. [28] ἐπιμιξία γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐς ἀταξίαν πολλὴν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐμπεπτωκότες, καίπερ σφίσι Βαλεντίνου πολλὰ ἐγκελευομένου, τῶν παραγγελλομένων ἥκιστα ἤκουον. [29] διόπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπιστόμενοί τινα ἔκτεινον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἡσυχάζοντας ἀδεῶς τὰ ποιούμενα θεᾶσθαι ξυνεχώρησαν. [30] οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκείνῃ διελεῖν γέφυραν ἐν νῷ ἐποίησαντο, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ πόλις μὴ ἐκατέρωθεν πολιορκοῖτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων. [31] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν γέφυραν διαβάντες κατὰ νότου τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγένοντο οἱ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ταύτῃ ἐμάχοντο. ὅπερ εἰ ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι, οἶμαι, οἱ Γότθοι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐτράποντο, ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο. [32] νῦν δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα ἐς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐτράποντο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀργυρώματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρήματα ἔφερον. [33] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τινα θεώμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἡσύχαζόν τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, τέλος δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ κραυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρησαν. [34] εὐρόντες δὲ ἀνθρώπους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὰ σφέτερα ληϊζομένους ἔκτεινάν τε συχνούς καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς κατὰ τάχος ἐξήλασαν. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐγκαταληφθέντες αὐτῶν οὐ διεφθάρησαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων τὰ χρήματα ρίψαντες ἄσμενοι ἔφευγον. [35] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἄλλος τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἄγχιστα τῶν σφετέρων στρατοπέδων ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους καρτερῶς ἡμύναντο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ πολλῷ πλείους διέφθειρον. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν τραυματαῖα γεγεννημένοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἵππων σφίσι διαφθαρέντων ἐξέλιπον τὴν παράταξιν, ἐν ὀλίγῃ καὶ πρότερον τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔσῃ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλιγανθρωπία διαφανῆς ἦν, πολὺ τε τὸ διαλλάσσον τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὁμίλου ἐφάνη. [37] ἅπερ ἐν νῷ λαβόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ. ὧν δὴ τὰ δόρατα οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο καὶ ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤκον. [38] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑφίσταντο, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἔφευγον. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ὑπεχώρει, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἡ τροπὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐγίνετο. [39] Πριγκίπιος δὲ καὶ Ταρμούτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς πεζῶν ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐς αὐτούς. [40] μαχομένους τε γὰρ καὶ τρέπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκιστα ἀξιοῦντας τῶν Γότθων οἱ πλειστοὶ ἐν θαύματι τοῦτο μεγάλῳ ποιοῦμενοι ἔστησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πεζοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλειστοὶ ἀδεέστερον διεσώθησαν. [41] Πριγκίπιος μὲν οὖν, κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον, αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, καὶ πεζοὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο. [42] Ταρμούτος δὲ δύο ἀκόντια Ἰσαυρικὰ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, νύττων τε αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐπιστροφάδην, ἐπειδὴ κοπτόμενος τὸ σῶμα ἀπέειπεν, Ἐννου τὰδελοφὺ ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν οἱσιν ἐπιβεβοηθήκοτος, ἀνέπνευσέ τε καὶ δρόμῳ ὄξεϊ

λύθρου τε καὶ πληγῶν ἔμπλεως ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον οὐδέτερον τῶν ἀκοντίων ἀποβαλὼν ἦει. [43] ποδώκης δὲ ὦν φύσει διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε, καίπερ οὕτω τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς Πιγκιανὰς πύλας ἐλθὼν ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτὸν τετελευτηκέναι δόξαντα ὑπὲρ ἀσπίδος ἄραντες τῶν τινες ἐταίρων ἐκόμισαν. [44] ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο ἐπιβίους ἐτελεύτησε, λόγον αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἐν τε Ἰσαύροις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [45] Πεφοβημένοι τε ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι φρουρᾷς τῆς ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐπιθέντες ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τῇ πόλει τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, δεδιότες μὴ ξυνεισβάλλωσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι. [46] καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι, τὴν τάφρον διαβάντες καὶ τῷ τείχει τὰ νῶτα ἐρείσαντες, ἔτρεμόν τε καὶ πάσης ἀλκῆς ἐπιλεησμένοι εἰστήκεισαν, ἀμύνεσθαί τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥκιστα ἴσχυον, καίπερ ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον ὑπερβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας. [47] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τὰ δόρατα ἐν τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ κατεαγόντα ἐτύγχανε, τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν στενοχωρία τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν. [48] ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καθεωρῶντο, οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες τοὺς τε ἀποκεκλεισμένους ἅπαντας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ βιάσασθαι. [49] ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἀμυνομένων πολὺ τι χρήμα ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις εἶδον, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπογόντες ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους κακίσαντες. [50] ἥ τε μάχη ἐν τοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων χαρακώμασιν ἀρξαμένη ἐν τε τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐτελεύτησε τείχει.

BOOK VI.

Μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διακινδυνεύειν οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων· ἱππομαχίας δὲ ποιούμενοι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων. [2] ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι, [3] ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπόμενοι. καὶ ποτε Βέσσας ἐν πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ξὺν τῷ δόρατι ἐσπηδήσας τρεῖς τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων ἔκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψεν. [4] αὐθις δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος τοὺς Οὐννους ἐπαγόμενος ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ὀψίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερβιαζομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶδεν, [5] ἐποίει τοιάδε. στάδιον μέγα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μονομάχοι τὰ πρότερα ἡγωνίζοντο, πολλὰ τε ἄλλα οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἀμφὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦτο ἐδείμαντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ στενωπούς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, πανταχόθι τοῦ χωρίου ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [6] τότε οὖν Κωνσταντῖνος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε περιέσεσθαι τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὁμίλου εἶχεν οὔτε κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐκτὸς φεύγειν οἷός τε ἦν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἅπαντας τοὺς Οὐννους ἀποβιβάσας πεζὸς ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκεῖνι στενωπῶν ἔστη. [7] ὅθεν δὴ βάλλοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τοὺς πολεμίους συχνοὺς ἔκτεινον. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα οἱ Γότθοι βαλλόμενοι ἀντείχον. [8] ἤλπιζον γάρ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τῶν Οὐννων τὰς φαρέτρας ἐπιλείπῃ τὰ βέλη, κύκλωσίν τε αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι καὶ δήσαντες ἐς στρατόπεδον αὐτοὺς τὸ σφέτερον ἄξειν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται, τοξόται μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐς πολὺν δὲ ὅμιλον βάλλοντες, τοξεύματι σχεδόν τι ἐκάστω πολεμίῳ ἀνδρὸς ἐπετύγχανον, ἦσθοντο μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ ἀπολωλότες, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς δυσμὰς ἰόντος ἡλίου οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [10] ἔνθα δὴ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἔπεσον· ἐπισπόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπεὶ τοξεύειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πολλῶν χρώμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπίστανται, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐς νῶτα βάλλοντες ἔκτεινον. οὕτω τε ἐς Ῥώμην Κωνσταντῖνος ξὺν τοῖς Οὐννοις ἐς νύκτα ἦκε. [11] Περανίου δὲ ἡμέραις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων τισὶ διὰ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγησαμένου ἐφευγον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Γότθοι, παλινδιώξεως δὲ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένης, τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων πεζὸς ἐς μέγαν καταστάς θόρυβον ἐς βαθεῖαν τινα κατῶρυχα ἐμπίπτει, οἶαι πολλαὶ τοῖς πάλοι ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σίτου παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα, [12] οἶμαι, πεποίηνται. οὔτε δὲ κραυγῇ χρῆσθαι τολμήσας, ἅτε που ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν πολεμίῳ, οὔτε τοῦ βόθρου τρόπῳ ὀφιοῦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι οἷός τε ὦν, ἐπεὶ ἀνάβασιν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ διανυκτερεῦειν ἠνάγκαστο. [13] τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ, τροπῆς αὐθις τῶν βαρβάρων γεγενημένης, τῶν τις Γότθων ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν κατῶρυχα ἐμπίπτει. [14] ἔνθα δὴ ἄμφω ἐς τε φιλοφροσύνην καὶ εὖνοίαν ξυνηλθέτην ἀλλήλοιν, ξυναγοῦσης αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀνάγκης, τὰ τε πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, ἥ μὴν κατεσπονδασμένην ἐκατέρῳ τὴν θατέρου σωτηρίαν εἶναι, καὶ τότε δὴ μέγα καὶ ἐξαισίον ἄμφω ἐβόων. [15] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῇ τε φωνῇ ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατῶρυχος διακύψαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ βοῶν εἴη. [16] οὕτω δὲ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν δεδογμένον, σιωπὴν μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ

πατρίῳ γλώσση ἑναγχος ἔφασκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτωκέναι, βρόχον τε αὐτούς, ὅπως ἀναβαίνειν, ἡξίου καθεῖναι. [17] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τάχιστα τῶν κάλων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπορρίψαντες τοῦ Γότθου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνολικὴν ᾤοντο, λαβόμενος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῶν βρόχων εἴλκετο ἄνω, τοιοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὡς, ἦν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνειν πρῶτος, οὐποτε τοῦ ἐταίρου ἀμελήσειν τοὺς Γότθους, ἦν δέ γε τὸν πολέμιον πύθωνται μόνον ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, οὐδένα ἂν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖντο λόγον. [18] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνέβη. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζον τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, πάντα τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀνεῖλκον, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι καὶ τὰ δεδομένα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων πιστὰ ἔφρασε. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ζὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαῖον κακῶν ἀπαθὴ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. [20] ἔπειτα δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν πολλὰκις ἐκατέρωθεν οὐ πολλοὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ὠπλίζοντο, ἐς μονομαχίαν δὲ αἰεὶ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας αὐτοῖς ἐτελεύτα καὶ πάσαις Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ᾧδὲ πη ἔσχεν. [21] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ξυμβολῆς ἐν Νέρωνος γινομένης πεδίῳ, διώξεις τε ἄλλων ἄλλῃ κατ' ὀλίγους ἱππεῖς ποιουμένων, Χορσάμαντις, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, Μασσαγέτης γένος, ζὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἄνδρας ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐδίωκεν. [22] ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ πεδίου πόρρῳ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινον, Χορσάμαντις δὲ μόνος ἔτι ἐδίωκεν. ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ Γότθοι στρέψαντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν. [23] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς μέσους χωρήσας, ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων δόρατι κτείνας, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦει, οἱ δὲ αὖθις τραπόμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [24] αἰσχυρόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν καθορᾶσθαι ὑπώπτευν ἄλλιν ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠθέλον. [25] ταῦτ' οὖν παθόντες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐς φυγὴν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐτράποντο, μέχρι τε τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν διώξιν ὁ Χορσάμαντις ποιησάμενος ἀνέστρεψε μόνος. [26] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐν μάχῃ ἐτέρᾳ κνήμην τὴν ἀριστερὰν βληθέντι τούτῳ ἐνομήσθη εἶναι ἄκρου ὁστέου τὸ βέλος ἀψάμενον. [27] ἀπόμαχος μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅσας δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γεγωνὼς τῇ πληγῇ ἅτε ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἠνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλ' ἠπειλῆσε τῆς ἐς τὸ σκέλος ὕβρεως τοὺς Γότθους ὅτι τάχιστα τίσασθαι. [28] ῥαῖσας οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔν τε ἀρίστῳ οἰνωμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐβούλευσεν ἰέναι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν πόδα ὕβρεως τίσασθαι, ἐν τε Πιγκιανῇ γενόμενος πηλιδί, στέλλεσθαι πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδον. [29] οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ φρουροὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδρὶ τῶν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων ἀρίστῳ εἶχόν τας τε πύλας ἀνέφξαν καὶ ὅπῃ βούλοιο ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. [30] κατιδόντες τε αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αὐτόμολον σφίσι τινὰ προσχωρεῖν ᾤοντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῦ τόξου εἶχετο, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅστις ποτὲ εἶη, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσιν. [31] οὓς δὴ εὐπετῶς ἀπωσάμενος ἀπήλαινε βάδην, πλειόνων τε Γότθων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντων οὐκ ἔφυγεν. [32] ὡς δὲ πλήθους πολλοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος ἀμύνεσθαι ἡξίου, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν πύργων θεώμενοι μαίνεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπώπτευν, ὡς δὲ Χορσάμαντις εἶη οὐπω ἠπίσταντο. [33] ἔργα μὲν ἐπιδειξάμενος μεγάλα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἔς τε κύκλωσιν ἐμπεπτωκῶς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατεύματος, [34] ποινὰς ἀλόγου θράσους ἐξέτισεν. ἅπερ ἐπειδὴ Βελισαρίου

τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἔμαθον, ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι, ἅτε τῆς πάντων ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διαφθαρείσης, ὠδύροντο.

Εὐθάλιος δέ τις ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐς Ταρακίαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκε, χρήματα ἔχων ἅπερ τοῖς στρατιώταις βασιλεὺς ὄφλε. [2] δεισας τε μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντες πολέμιοι τὰ χρήματά τε ἀφέλονται καὶ αὐτὸν κτείνωσι, γράφει πρὸς Βελισάριον ἀσφαλῆ οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. [3] ὁ δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν ἑκατὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν δοκίμους ἀπολεξάμενος ξὺν δορυφόροις δύο πέμπει ἐς Ταρακίαν οἵπερ αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα ξυγκομίσαιεν. [4] δόκησιν δὲ αἰεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρείχeto ὥς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μαχεσόμενος, ὅπως μὴ ἐνθένδε τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἢ τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἔνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἴωσιν. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Εὐθάλιον ἔγνω παρέσεσθαι, διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει ὥς ἐς μάχην τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν. [6] ὅλην μὲν οὖν δεύλην πρωίαν κατεῖχεν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἦδει γὰρ Εὐθάλιόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς νύκτα ἀφίξεσθαι. [7] ἐς δὲ ἡμέραν μέσσην ἄριστον ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐτὸν οἰόμενοι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι. [8] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Μαρτίνον μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίων Βελισάριος ἔπεμψε, ξυνταράσσειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιστεῖλας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [9] ἐκ δὲ πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ χαρακώματα ἔστελλεν· [10] οἷς δὴ τρεῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων ἐπέστησεν, Ἀρτασίρην τε ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ Βώχαν Μασσαγέτην γένος καὶ Κουτίλαν Θρᾶκα. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπήντησαν. [11] χρόνον δὲ πολὺν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶν οὐκ ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐπιουσί τε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς διώξεις ἑκάτεροι ἀγχιστροφούς ποιοῦμενοι ἐφώκεισαν βουλομένοις ἐς τοῦτο σφίσι δαπανᾶσθαι τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον. [12] προϊόντες μέντοι ὀργῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους εἶχοντο ἥδη· καρτερὰς τε γεγενημένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς, ἑκατέρων μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπίκουροι ἦλθον. [13] ὧν δὴ ἀναμιγνυμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ πόνος ἐπὶ μέγα ἦρετο. καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περιλαβοῦσα τοὺς μαχομένους ἐξέπλησσε. [14] τέλος δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀρετῇ ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Κουτίλας μέσσην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκοντίῳ πληγεὶς καὶ ταύτη τὸ δοράτιον ἐμπεπηγὸς ἔχων ἐδίωκε. [15] τῆς τε τροπῆς γενομένης ἅμα τοῖς περιούσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δύσιν ἐσήλασε, κραδαινομένου οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀκοντίου, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [16] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀρζήν, τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα, τῶν τις Γότθων τοξότης μεταξὺ τῆς τε ῥινὸς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βάλλει. [17] καὶ τοῦ μὲν τοξεύματος ἡ ἀκὴς ἄχρι ἐς τὸν αὐχένα ὀπίσω διήλθεν, οὐ μέντοι διεφάνη, τοῦ δὲ ἀτράκτου τὸ λειπόμενον ἐπὶν τε τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ἱπνεομένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσεῖετο. [18] ὃν δὴ ξὺν τῷ Κουτίλᾳ θεώμενοι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτι δὴ ἱπνεύοντο, οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἔχοντες. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [19] Ἐν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ τὰ βαρβάρων πράγματα καθυπέρτερα ἦν. οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ Μαρτίνον, πλήθει πολλῷ πολεμίων μαχόμενοι, καρτερῶς μὲν ὑφίσταντο, ἔπασχον δὲ τὰ δεινότετα, καὶ κινδύνου ἐς μέγα τι

ἀφίκοντο χρῆμα. [20] καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βώχαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς
ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀκραιφνεσί σώμασί τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἐπανάκοντας ἐς
Νέρωνος πεδίον ἰέναι. [21] ἥδη δὲ ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ὄνέ. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀμφὶ
Βώχαν ἐπιβεβοηγκότων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τροπῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίνετο, ἐς
ἣν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον Βώχας ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν δυοκαίδεκα πολεμίων δόρατα
φερόντων ἀφίκετο. [22] καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπαισαν μὲν ὁμοῦ τοῖς δόρασιν ἅπαντες. τοῦ
δὲ θώρακος ὑφισταμένου αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πληγαὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐλύπουν, εἷς δὲ τῶν
Γότθων ἐξόπισθεν ὑπὲρ μασχάλην τὴν δεξιὰν γυμνοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἄγχιστα
τοῦ ὤμου ἐπιτυχὼν ἔπληξε τὸν νεανίαν, οὐ καιρίαν μέντοι, οὐδὲ ἐς θανάτου
κίνδυνον ἄγουσαν. [23] ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ἄλλος μηρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν εὐώνυμον νύξας
τὸν ταύτῃ μυῶνα οὐκ εὐθείᾳ τινί, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσίᾳ πληγῇ ἔτεμε. [24] Βαλεριανὸς
δὲ καὶ Μαρτίνος τὰ ποιούμενα κατεῖδόν τε καὶ οἱ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ὡς τάχιστα
ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ Βώχα ἵππου ἄμφω λαβομένω
ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο. νύξ τε ἐπεγένετο καὶ ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Εὐθάλιος
ἦλθεν. [25] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένοντο, τῶν τραυμάτων
ἐπεμελοῦντο. Ἀρζου μὲν οὖν τὸ βέλος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἀφέλκεσθαι
βουλόμενοι οἱ ἱατροὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἥσχαλλον, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἔνεκεν, ὃν
δὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε σωθήσεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ὑμένων τε καὶ νεύρων
τρήσεσιν, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνταυθὰ ἐστίν, ἄνδρα τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ἄριστον
διαφθείρωσιν. [26] ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν τις ἱατρῶν, Θεόκτιστος ὄνομα, ὀπισθεν ἐς τὸν
αὐχένα ἐρείσας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ λίαν ἀλγοίῃ. [27] τοῦ δὲ ἀλγεῖν
φήσαντος, 'Οὐκοῦν αὐτός τε σωθήσῃ,' εἶπε, 'καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἂν βλαθήσῃ.'
ταῦτα δὲ ἰσχυρίσατο τεκμηράμενος ὅτι τοῦ βέλους ἡ ἀκὴς τοῦ δέρματος οὐ
πόρρω δήκει. [28] τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀτράκτου ὅσον ἔξω ἐφαίνετο ἐκτεμὼν ἔρριψε,
διελὼν δὲ τῶν ἰνίων τὸ δέρμα οὗ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ πολυώδυνος ἦν, ἐντεῦθεν
πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἀκίδα ἐφεῖλκυσε, τρισὶ τε προῦχουσιν ὀπίσω ὀξείαις καὶ
μοῖραν τοῦ βέλους τὴν λειπομένην ξὺν αὐτῇ φέρουσιν. [29] οὕτω τε Ἀρζης
κακῶν τε παντάπασιν ἀπαθὴς ἔμεινε καὶ οὐδὲ ἵχνος αὐτοῦ τῆς πληγῆς ἐς τὸ
πρόσωπον ἀπελείπετο. [30] Κουτίλας δὲ βιαιότερον τοῦ δορατίου ἐκ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεθέντος ἔπεπῆγει γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς λειποθυμίαν ἐξέπεσεν.
[31] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φλεγμαίνειν αἱ τῆδε μήνιγγες ἤρξαντο, φρενίτιδι νόσῳ ἀλοὺς οὐ
πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησε. [32] Βώχαν μέντοι αὐτίκα αἱματός τε ρύσις ἄφατος
ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ ἔσχε καὶ τεθηξομένῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐφέκει. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου
εἶναι ἱατροὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείας, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσίᾳ ἐντομῇ τὸν μυῶνα ἢ
πληγῇ ἔκοψεν. [33] ἡμέραις γοῦν ἀπέθανε τρισὶν ὕστερον. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο: Γότθων δὲ
θρῆνοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ κωκυτοὶ μεγάλοι ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἠκούοντο. [34] καὶ
ἐθαύμαζόν γε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πάθος ξυμβῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις
λόγου ἄξιον τῇ προτεραίᾳ, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς
διεφθάρησαν. [35] ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον,
ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ λίαν γε αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν ἐτάραξεν. [36] ἐγνώσθη
μέντοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὡς ἄνδρας δοκίμους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ
στρατοπέδου Γότθοι ἐθρήνουν, οὓς δὴ ὁ Βώχας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἔκτεινεν.
[37] Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ἀξίολογοὶ ξυμβολαί, ὥσπερ μοι συγγράψαι οὕτι

ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. πάσας μέντοι ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ
ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, καὶ δύο δὴ ἄλλας ὑστάτας, αἱ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις
εἰρήσονται. [38] τότε δὲ ὁ τε χειμῶν ἔληγε καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ
πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

Ἦδη δὲ τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς ἀρξαμένης λιμός τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ
πόλει ἐπέπεσε. καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις σῖτος μὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο, ἄλλο δὲ τῶν
ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοιπεί καὶ ὁ
λιμός ἀκριβῶς ξὺν τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπέizen. [2] ὧν δὴ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι μάχῃ μὲν
διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκέτι ἠθελον, ἐφύλασσον δὲ ὅπως
αὐτοῖς μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζοιτο. [3] ἐστὸν δὲ ὕδατος ὀχετῷ δύο μεταξὺ
Λατίνης τε καὶ Ἀλπίας ὁδοῦ, ὑψηλῷ ἐς ἄγαν, κυρτώμασί τε ἐπὶ πλείστον
ἀνεχομένῳ. [4] τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀχετῷ ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι Ῥώμης σταδίους
πεντήκοντα ξυμβάλλετον τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν δι' ὀλίγου
τρέπεσθον. [5] ὁ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χώραν λαχὼν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆνικαῦτα χωρεῖ
φερόμενος τὰ εὐώνυμα. [6] πάλιν δὲ ξυνιόντε καὶ χώραν τὴν προτέραν
ἀπολαβόντε τὸ λοιπὸν διακέκρισθον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χώρον τὸν μεταξὺ
ὀχύρωμα ξυμβαίνει τῷ ἐκ τῶν ὀχετῶν περιβάλλεσθαι. [7] τούτων δὲ τὰ κάτω
κυρτώματα οἱ βάρβαροι λίθοις τε καὶ πηλῷ φράξαντες φρουρίου σχῆμα
πεποιήναι κἀναυῖθα οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι
φυλακὴν εἶχον τοῦ μηκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [8] Τότε δὴ Ῥωμαίους πᾶσα μὲν ἐλπίς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπελελοιπεί,
πᾶσα δὲ ἰδέα κακοῦ περιεστῆκει. τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ σῖτος ἤκμαζε, τῶν
στρατιωτῶν οἱ εὐτολμότατοι ἐναγούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίας
τοῖς ἵπποις τε ὀχοῦμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ἐφέλκοντες ἐν τοῖς λῆϊσι ἐγίνοντο
νύκτωρ τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. [9] τέμνοντές τε τοὺς ἀστάχους καὶ τοῖς
ἵπποις οὓς αὐτοὶ ἐφείλκον ἐνθέμενοι, ἐς τὴν πόλιν λανθάνοντες τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐκόμιζον χρημάτων τε μεγάλων Ῥωμαίων τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν
ἀπεδίδοντο. [10] οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι βοτάναις τισὶν ἀπέζων, οἳ πολλὰ ἀμφὶ τε τὰ
προάστεια καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γίνονται. βοτάνη γὰρ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
οὔτε χειμῶνος ὥρα οὔτε ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπιλείπει καιρόν, ἀλλ' ἀνθεῖ τε αἰεὶ καὶ
τέθηλεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον. [11] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἵπποφορβεῖν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς
πολιορκουμένους τετύχηκε. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμιόνων τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
θνησκόντων ἀλλᾶντας ποιούμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο λάθρα. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ σῖτον τὰ λήϊα
οὐκέτι εἶχε καὶ ἐς μέγα κακὸν ἅπαντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀφίκοντο, Βελισάριόν τε
περίσταντο καὶ μάχῃ μιᾷ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠνάγκαζον,
Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι. καὶ αὐτῷ
ἀπορουμένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λίαν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐλεξάν
τινες τοιάδε: [13] 'Οὐ προσδεχομένους ἡμᾶς ἢ παροῦσα, ὧ στρατηγέ, κατέλαβε
τύχη, ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶν ἡμῖν τοῦναντίον τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκβέβηκε. [14] τετυχηκότες
γὰρ ὧν πρότερον ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατέστημεν, τανῦν ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν ξυμφορὰν
ἤκομεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡμῶν ἢ προλαβοῦσα δόξα τὸ καλῶς τῆς βασιλείας
προμηθείας ἐφίεσθαι, νῦν ἄνοιά τε οὕσα καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόθεσις.
[15] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς τόδε ἀνάγκης ἀφίγμεθα ὥστε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔτι βιάζεσθαι καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀπλίζεσθαι τετολμήκαμεν. [16] καὶ συγγνώμῃ μὲν εἰ πρὸς

Βελισάριον θρασυνόμεθα, γαστήρ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἀποροῦσα τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν
αἰσχύνεσθαι, [17] ἀπολελογήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς προπετείας ἡ τύχη. πάντων γὰρ
εἰκότως ἀνιαρότατος εἶναι δοκεῖ μηκυνόμενος τοῖς οὐκ εὖ φερομένοις ὁ βίος.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ξυμπεσόντα ἡμῖν ὀρᾷς δήπουθεν. [18] ἄγροί μὲν οὗτοι καὶ χώρα
ξύμπασα ὑποπέπτωκε ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων χερσίν· ἡ πόλις δὲ αὕτη τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἀποκέκλεισται πάντων οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐξ ὅτου δὴ χρόνου. [19] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν
ἤδη κεῖνται, τὸ μηδὲ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι κληρωσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ περιόντες, ὥς
ἂν συλλήβδην εἴπωμεν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ, ξυντετάχθαι τοῖς οὕτω κειμένοις
εὐχόμεθα. [20] πάντα γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὁ λιμὸς τὰ κακὰ φορητὰ
δείκνυσιν, ἔνθα τε ἂν φαίνεται, μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέρχεται λήθης καὶ
θανάτους ἅπαντας, πλὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ προσιόντος πρὸς ἡδονῆς εἶναι τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται. [21] ἕως τοίνυν ἔτι μὴ κεκράτηκεν ἡμῶν τὸ κακόν, δὸς
ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἀγωνίαν, ἐξ ἧς ἡμῖν ἢ περιεῖναι τῶν
πολεμίων ἢ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι ξυμβήσεται. [22] οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα
σωτηρίας ἢ μέλλησις φέρει, πολλὴ ἄνοια ἂν εἴη προτερήσασιν ἐς κίνδυνον
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων καθίστασθαι, οἷς δὲ τῇ βραδυτῇ δυσκολώτερος ὁ ἀγὼν
γίνεται, τὸ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνον τῆς παραυτίκα προπετείας
μεμπτότερον.' [23] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε:
'Ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ λίαν προσδεχομένῳ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν γεγένηται πάντα, ἐκβέβηκε
δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οὐδέν. [24] ἐγὼ γὰρ πάλαι οἶδα δῆμον ὅτι πρᾶγμα ἀβουλότατόν
ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε τὰ παρόντα φέρειν πέφυκεν οὔτε τὰ μέλλοντα προβουλεύεσθαι,
ἀλλ' ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν εὐπετῶς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις, διαφθείρεσθαι δὲ
ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπίσταται μόνον. [25] ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ὀλιγοψύχην οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἀπολέσαιμι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὔτε ὑμῖν τὰ βασιλέως
συνδιαφθείραιμι πράγματα. [26] πόλεμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλογίστου σπουδῆς
κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, ἀλλ' εὐβουλία τε καὶ προμηθεῖα τὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ
σταθμώμενος ῥοπήν. [27] ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν πεττεύειν οἰόμενοι τὸν ἓνα βούλεσθε
ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀναρρίπτειν κύβον, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ σύνηθες αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ
ξυμφόρου τὸ σύντομον. [28] εἴτα σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ
μάχης ἰέναι, πότε τὰς μελέτας τοῦ πολέμου πεποιημένοι· ἢ ποῖος τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἐκμαθὼν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐ χωρεῖ ἄχρι τῆς διαπειράς ἢ μάχης; οὐδὲ
αὐτός οἱ ἐμμελετᾷ ὁ πολέμιος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρέχεται. [29] νῦν μὲν τὴν
προθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἄγαμαι καὶ συγγνώμων εἰμι ταραχῆς τῆσδε· [30] ὥς δὲ ὑμῖν
ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν γέγονε καὶ ἡμεῖς μελλήσει προμηθεῖ χρώμεθα ἐγὼ
δηλώσω. στράτευμα ἡμῖν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσον ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἀθροίσας βασιλεὺς
ἔπεμψε καὶ στόλος ὅσος οὐ πώποτε Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέστη τὴν τε Καμπανίας
ἀκτὴν καὶ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου τὰ πλεῖστα καλύπτει. [31] ὀλίγων τε ἡμερῶν ξὺν
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖσι παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤξουσιν, τὴν τε ἀπορίαν ἡμῖν διαλύσοντες καὶ
πλήθει βελῶν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδα καταχώσοντες. [32] ἐλογισάμην
οὖν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων παρουσίαν τὸν τῆς ξυμβολῆς μᾶλλον ἀποθέσθαι καιρὸν
καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πορίζεσθαι κράτος, ἢ σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ
θρασυνόμενος τὴν τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν προΐεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἤξουσιν
καὶ μὴ περαιτέρῳ μελλήσουσιν, ἐγὼ προνοήσω.'

Τούτοις μὲν Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον παραθρασύνας Βελισάριος ἀπεπέμψατο,

Προκόπιον δέ, ὃς τὰδε ξυνέγραψεν, αὐτίκα ἐς Νεάπολιν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. φήμη γάρ τις περιήγγελλεν ὡς στρατεύμα ἐνταῦθα βασιλεὺς πέμψειε. [2] καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε ναῦς τε ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλήσασθαι καὶ στρατιώτας ἀγείραι ἅπαντας ὅσους ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐκ Βυζατίου ἦκειν τεύχην, ἢ ἵππων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουσιν ἐνταῦθα λελεῖσθαι, οἷους δὴ πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χωρία ἠκηκόει ἰέναι, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύτη φρουρῶν ἀφελέσθαι, ἤξειν τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον παρακομίζοντι ἐς Ὀστίαν, ὅθι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον. [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν ξὺν τῷ Μουνδίλᾳ τῷ δορυφόρῳ καὶ ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι διὰ πύλης ἡ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, νύκτωρ διήλθε, λαθὼν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἐφύλασσε. [4] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ ἀμφὶ Μουνδίλαν ἐπανήκοντες ἀφίχθαι ἤδη Προκόπιον ἐς Καμπανίαν οὐδενὶ ἐντυχόντα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήγγελλον, νύκτωρ γὰρ οὐποτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πορεύεσθαι, εὐέλπιδες μὲν γεγένηται πάντες, Βελισάριος δὲ θαρσύνων ἤδη ἐπενόει τάδε. [5] τῶν ἱπέων πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐξέπεμπε ὀχυρώματα, ἐπιστείλας, ἦν τινες τῶν πολεμίων ταύτη ἴωσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐσκομίσονται, ἔνθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκδρομάς τε καὶ ἐνέδρας πανταχόθι τῶν τῆδε χωρίων αἰεὶ ποιουμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ σθένει ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἢ τε πόλις ἐλασσόνως ἢ πρότερον τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζοιτο καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πολιορκεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοὶ πολιορκεῖν Ῥωμαίους δόξοιεν. [6] Μαρτῖνον μὲν οὖν καὶ Τραϊανὸν ξὺν χιλίοις ἐς Ταρακίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. οἷς δὴ καὶ Ἀντωνίναν τὴν γυναῖκα ξυνέπεμψε, ἐντειλάμενος ἕς τε Νεάπολιν αὐτὴν στέλλεσθαι ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ καὶ τύχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τὴν σφίσι ξυμβησομένην καταδοκεῖν. [7] Μάγνον δὲ καὶ Σινθούην τὸν δορυφόρον πεντακοσίους μάλιστα ἐπαγομένους ἐς Τίβουριν τὸ φρούριον ἔπεμψε, σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ῥώμης διέχον. [8] ἐς μέντοι τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα, σταδίους μὲν τοσοῦτους ἀπέχον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ ὁδῷ κείμενον, πρότερον ἤδη Γόνθαριν ξὺν Ἐρούλοις τισὶ πέμψας ἔτυχεν, οὗς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι βιασάμενοι ἐξήλασαν ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. [9] Ἔστι δέ τις νεὼς Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, Ῥώμης τοῦ περιβόλου τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπέχων, ὃ τε ποταμὸς αὐτὸν παραρρεῖ Τίβερις. ἐνταῦθα ὀχύρωμα μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐστὶ, στοὰ δὲ τις ἄχρι ἐς τὸν νεῶν διήκουσα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ οἰκοδομίαι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὔσαι οὐκ εὐέφοδον ποιοῦσι τὸν χῶρον. [10] ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ αἰδῶς πρὸς ταῦτα διὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς Γότθοις, ἐς οὐδέτερον γοῦν τοῖν ἀποστόλοις νεῶν παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ἄχαρι τι πρὸς αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆδε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐξοσιοῦσθαι ξυμβέβηκεν. [11] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ Βαλεριανόν, τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπαγαγόντα, χαράκωμα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν ὄχθην ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τε ἀδεέστερον οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοιντο καὶ οἱ Γότθοι μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀναστέλλοιντο τοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἀπωτάτω τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν σφετέρων ἰέναι. [12] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Οὐννοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οὐπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐνετέλλετο, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλυνε. [13] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἡσύχαζε, μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἄρχων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἀμύνεσθαι προθυμούμενος, ἦν τις ἐξῳθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ κακουργήσων ἴοι. [14] καὶ σῖτον μέντοι τισὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων

δήμου παρείχεται. Μαρτῖνος δὲ καὶ Τραϊανὸς διελθόντες νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ταρακίῃ ἐγένοντο, Ἀντωνίαν μὲν ἐς Καμπανίαν ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ταύτη ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες, ἔνθεν τε ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ποιούμενοι, τῶν Γόθων τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία περιιόντας ἀνέστελλον. [15] Μάγνος δὲ καὶ Σινθούης τοῦ τε φρουρίου ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ἐν βραχεῖ ἀνφοδομήσαντο χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἐλύπουν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅτε αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄν συχνά τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήσσοντες ἀεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας, ἕως Σινθούης ἐν μάχῃ δὴ τινι δόρατι πληγεῖς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τῶν τε νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων ἀπόμαχος τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε. [16] καὶ Οὐννοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν γειτόνων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, πεποιημένοι οὐκ ἐλάσσω κακὰ τοὺς Γόθους ἐποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἤδη, οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἀδείας οὔσης τὰς τροφὰς ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [17] καὶ λοιμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεισπεσὼν πολλοὺς ἔφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ ὕστατον, [18] ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, γεγονὸς ἔτυχε. καὶ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι ἐνθένδε ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν ἐς τᾶλλα χαρακώματα ὑπεχώρησαν. ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Οὐννοι παθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθον. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε. Προκόπιος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐνταῦθα ἤγειρε, καὶ νεῶν πολὺ τι χρήμα σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [20] παρὴν δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀντωνίνα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ τοῦ στόλου ἤδη ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεμελεῖτο. [21] Τότε καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βέβιος ἐμυκήσατο μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἠρεύξατο, καίτοι γε καὶ λίαν ἐπίδοξος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ὅτι ἐρεύξεται. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ξυνέβη ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκέναι. [22] τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο Νεαπόλεως μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίοις διέχει, τετραμμένον αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἀπότομον δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ἐστί, τὰ κάτω μὲν ἀμφιλαφὲς κύκλῳ, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεῖν κρημνῶδές τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον. [23] ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ Βεβίου ὑπερβολῇ σπῆλαιον κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα βαθὺ φαίνεται, ὥστε εἰκάζειν αὐτὸ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ὄρους διήκειν. [24] καὶ πῦρ ἐνταῦθα ὅρᾳν πάρεστιν, ἣν τις ὑπερκύπτειν τολμήσειε, καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τῷ ἄλλῳ ἢ φλοξ ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν στρέφεται, πράγματα οὐδενὶ παρεχομένη τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κτύπον τινὰ μυκηθμῷ ἐμπερῇ τὸ ὄρος ἀφῇ, κόνεως μέγα τι χρήμα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνίησι. [25] καὶ ἦν μὲν τινα ὁδῷ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο βαδίζοντα λάβῃ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμία μηχανὴ βιώσεσθαι ἐστίν, ἣν δὲ οἰκίαις τισὶν ἐπιπέσῃ, πίπτουσι καὶ αὐταὶ τῷ τῆς κόνεως πλῆθει ἀχθόμεναι. [26] ἀνέμου δὲ σκληροῦ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἀνιέναι μὲν αὐτὴν ξυμβαίνει ἐς ὕψος μέγα, ὥς μηκέτι ἀνθρώπῳ ὁρατὴν εἶναι, φέρεσθαι δὲ ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἴοι, ἐμπίπτειν τε ἐς γῆν ἢ ὥς ἐκαστάτω τυγχάνει οὕσα. [27] καὶ ποτε μὲν φασιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιπεσοῦσαν οὕτως ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ταύτη ἀνθρώπους ὥστε πανδημεῖ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου λιταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἐξιλιάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Λιβύης χρόνῳ ἑτέρῳ ἐμπεπτωκέναι. [28] καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑκατὸν ἢ καὶ πλείονων τὸν μυκηθμὸν τοῦτόν φασι γενέσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι

θάσσον ξυμβῆναι. [29] τοῦτο μέντοι ἀπισχυρισάμενοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπειδὴν τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτην ἐρεύξασθαι τὴν κόνιν ξυμβαίη, εὐθηνεῖν ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐκείνην χώραν καρποῖς ἅπασιν. [30] ἤηρ δὲ λεπτότατός ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ὑγείαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκὼς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ πάντων μάλιστα. ἐς τοῦτο ἀμέλει τοὺς φθόη ἀλόντας ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν χρόνων ἰατροὶ πέμπουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου κατέπλευσεν, Ἰσαύρων μὲν ἐς τὸν Νεαπόλεως λιμένα τρισχίλιοι, ὧν Παῦλος καὶ Κόνων ἡγούντο, ἐς Δρυοῦντα δὲ Θρᾶκες ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι, ὧν Ἰωάννης ἦρχεν ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ τοῦ πρώην τετυραννηκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι στρατιῶται ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ χίλιοι· ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μαρκέντιος ἦρχον. [2] ἐτύγγανε δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ζήνων ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς Ῥώμην διὰ τε Σαμνίου καὶ Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀφικόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦλθεν, ἀμάξας πολλὰς ἐκ Καλαβρῶν ἔχων, ἀνεμίγνυντο αὐτοῖς πεντακόσιοι ἡθροισμένοι ἐκ Καμπανίας, [3] ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται. οὗτοι μὲν ὁδὸν τὴν παραλίαν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἤεσαν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες, ἦν τι ἀπαντήση πολέμιον σφίσι, κύκλον τέ τινα καὶ χαρακώματος σχῆμα τὰς ἀμάξας ποιησάμενοι ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Κόνωνα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον, καὶ σφίσιν ἐς Ὀστίαν συμμῖζαι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον, σῖτον μὲν ἱκανὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθήμενοι, ναῦς δὲ ἀπάσας οὐ σίτου μόνον ἐμπλησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπάντων. [4] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνόν τε καὶ Τραϊανὸν ᾤοντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταρακίνης χωρία εὐρήσειν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ἰέναι· γεγονότες δὲ ἄγχιστα ἔμαθον ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς Ῥώμην μετάπεμپτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [5] Βελισάριος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσίεναι μαθὼν καὶ δέισας μὴ σφᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι πλήθει πολλῷ ἀπαντήσαντες διαφθείρωσιν ἐποίει τάδε. [6] πύλην τὴν Φλαμινίαν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε, λίθων οἰκοδομίαις αὐτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφραξεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμιοι εὐπετῶς ἔχωσιν ἢ βιάζεσθαι ἢ τινα ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι. [7] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυμβολὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, οὐδ' ἂν τι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσεσθαι σφίσι πολέμιον ἐνθένδε ὑπώπτευν. [8] ταύτης τῆς πύλης νύκτωρ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν περιελών, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἡτοίμαζεν. [9] ἅμα τε ἡμέρα διὰ πύλης Πιγκιανῆς Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Διογένην ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις ἔπεμψεν, οὓς δὴ ἐν τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι βάλλειν ἐκέλευσε καί, ἐπειδὴν οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, φεύγειν τε ἥκιστα αἰδουμένους καὶ μέχρι ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀπελαύνειν δρόμῳ. [10] τινὰς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐντὸς τῆς πυλίδος ἔστησεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Τραϊανόν, καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡρέθιζον, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Γότθοι ἐκ πάντων ἀγειρόμενοι τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἡμύνοντο. [11] ἀμφοτέροί τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἤεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι φεύγουσι δόξαν παρέχοντες, οἱ δὲ διώκειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι. [12] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς τὴν δίωξιν καθισταμένους εἶδε, πύλην τε τὴν Φλαμινίαν ἀνοίγνυσι καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐ

προσδεχομένους ἀφήσιν. [13] ἔν δὲ τῶν Γότθων στρατόπεδον παρὰ τὴν ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦν στενοχωρία κρημνώδης τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατος. [14] ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις βαρβάρων τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ σώματος ἐς ἄγαν εὗ ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε προϊόντας τοὺς πολεμίους, προτερήσας εἰστήκει καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐκάλει τε καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ξυμφυλάσσειν ἡξίου. [15] Μουνδίλας δὲ φθάσας αὐτόν τε ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων οὐδένα ἐς τοῦτον διελθεῖν τὸν στενωπὸν ξυνεχώρησε. [16] διελθόντες οὖν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατούντος, ἔς τε τὸ πλησίον χαράκωμα ἵκοντο καὶ αὐτοῦ τινες δι' ὀλίγου ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐκ ἔσχον ἐλεῖν ἰσχύϊ τοῦ χαράκωματος, καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαταλελειμμένων βαρβάρων. [17] ἢ τε γὰρ τάφρος ἐς μέγα τι βάθους ὠρώρυκτο χρήμα καὶ χοῦς ὃς ἐνθένδε ἀφήρητο, ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς αἰεὶ ἐντιθέμενος μοῖραν ἐς ὕψος τε ἦρετο καὶ ἀντὶ τείχους ἐγίνετο, τοῖς τε σκόλοπι περιεσταύρωτο ὑπερφυῶς, ὃξέσι τε λίαν καὶ συχνοῖς οὗσιν. [18] οἷς δὴ θαρσοῦντες οἱ βάρβαροι καρτερῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο. εἷς δὲ τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν, Ἀκυλῖνος ὄνομα, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, λώρου λαβόμενος ἵππου, ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῷ ἵππῳ ἐς μέσον τὸ χαράκωμα ἤλατο, καὶ τινας τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε. [19] περιστάντων δὲ αὐτὸν συγχά τε ἀκοντιζόντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ μὲν ἵππος πληγεῖς ἔπεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ δόξαν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίῳν διέφυγε. [20] πεζὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐπὶ πύλας Πιγκιανὰς ἦει. ἔτι τε διώκοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους καταλαβόντες καὶ κατὰ νότου βάλλοντες ἔκτειναν. [21] Ὅπερ δὴ οἱ ἅμφι Τραϊανὸν κατιδόντες, ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων σφίσι καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ καθεστῶτων ἱπέων, ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν. [22] τότε δὴ οἱ Γότθοι καταστρατηγηθέντες τε καὶ τῶν πολεμίῳν ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἀπειλημμένοι, οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινοντο. [23] πολὺς τε αὐτῶν γέγονε φόνος καὶ ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα διέφυγον μόλις, οἳ τε λοιποὶ περὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαράκωμασι δείσαντες αὐτοῦ φραζάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμενον, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπιέναι σφίσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι. [24] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν τις βαρβάρων Τραϊανὸν βάλλει ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, ὀφθαλμοῦ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἄνωθεν, [25] ὀλίγῳ δὲ τῆς ῥινὸς ἄποθεν. καὶ σίδηρος μὲν ἅπας ἐντὸς τε ἐπάγῃ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανῆς γέγονε, καίπερ μεγάλην τε τὴν ἀκίδα ἔχων καὶ μακρὰν κομιδῇ. τοῦ δὲ βέλους τὸ λειπόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν οὐδενὸς βιασαμένου εὐθὺς ἔπεσε: δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐδὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ σίδηρός πῃ ἐρηρεῖσθαι. [26] Τραϊανῷ μέντοι αἴσθησις τούτου οὐδεμία ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους διέμεινε. πέμπτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ αὐτόματον ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ προῦχον τὸ τοῦ σιδήρου ἄκρον ἐφάνη. [27] τρίτον τε τοῦτο ἔτος ἐξ οὗ κατὰ βραχὺ πρόεισιν ἔξω αἰεὶ. ἐπίδοξος οὖν ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἔξω γενήσεσθαι ἢ ἀκὺς ζύμπασα. ἐμπόδιος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδαμῇ γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχεν.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅπως ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσωσιν ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πρὸς τε τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίῳν διεφθαρμένοι, ἐς ὀλίγους τε ἤδη ἐκ μυριάδων περιεστηκότες πολλῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πολιορκοῦντες, ἔργῳ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πάντων ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν

ἀναγκαίων. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στράτευμα ἕτερον ἔλθειν τοῖς πολέμοις κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπύθοντο, οὐχ ὅσον ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ τῆς φήμης ἐξουσία ποιεῖν ἴσχυε, κατωρρωδικότες τὸν κίνδυνον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [3] ἔπεμψαν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην, Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμον τρίτον αὐτόν, ὃς παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔλθων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [4] ‘Ὡς μὲν οὐδετέροις ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ ζυμφέρον τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεχώρηκεν ἐξεπίσταται ἡμῶν ἕκαστος ἐς αὐτὴν ἡκὼν τῶν ἐνθὲνδε δυσκόλων τὴν πείραν. [5] τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἐκατέρων ἀρνηθεῖ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὧν γε οὐδετέροις ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κεῖσθαι συμπεπτώκεν; [6] ὥς δὲ ἀξυνέτων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπέραντά τε τάλαιπωρεῖν βούλεσθαι, φιλονεικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα, καὶ λύσιν τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων μηδεμίαν εὐρεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἂν, οἶμαι, τῶν γε οὐκ ὄντων ἀνοήτων ἀντίποι. [7] ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχη, τοὺς ἐκατέρων ἡγουμένους προσήκει μὴ δόξης τῆς οἰκειάς τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαν προῖεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ζυμφορα οὐ σφίσι αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σφῶν ἐναντίοις ἐλέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν παρόντων ποιεῖσθαι δυσκόλων. [8] τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετρίων ἐφίεσθαι πᾶσι χαλεποῖς δίδωσι πόρον, τῷ δὲ φιλονεικῶ τὸ μηδὲν περαίνεσθαι τῶν δεόντων συμπέφυκεν. [9] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καταστροφῆς περὶ τοῦδε βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ζυμφορα ἐκατέροις προτεινόμενοι, ἐν οἷς τι καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι οἰόμεθα, παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκομεν. [10] ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς χρώμενοι ξυνδιαφθεῖρεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι βουλευέσθε. [11] προσήκει δὲ μὴ ξυνεχεῖ ῥῆσει τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέρους ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ παραντίκα, [12] ἣν τι μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖως εἰρῆσθαι δοκῇ. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκατέροις εἰρηκέναι τε διὰ βραχέος ὅσα σφίσι κατὰ νοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ δέοντα πεπραχέναι ξυμβήσεται.’ ἀπεκρίνατο Βελισάριος: [13] ‘Οὕτω μὲν, ὅπως φατέ, προῖέναι τὸν διάλογον οὐδὲν κωλύσει, ὅπως δὲ εἰρηναιᾶ τε καὶ δίκαια πρὸς ὑμῶν λέγοιτο.’ [14] Αὐθις οὖν Γότθων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον: ‘Ἡδικήκατε ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ φίλους τε καὶ ζυμμάχους ὄντας ὅπλα οὐ δέον ἀράμενοι. ἐροῦμεν δὲ ἅπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον οἰόμεθα ξυνεπίστασθαι. [15] Γότθοι γὰρ οὐ βία Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐκτήσαντο, ἀλλ' Ὀδοάκρος ποτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθελὼν ἐς τυραννίδα τὴν τῆδε πολιτείαν μεταβαλὼν εἶχε. [16] Ζήνων δὲ τότε τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὴν κρατῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖν μὲν τῷ ξυμβεβασιλευκότι βουλούμενος καὶ τοῦ τυράννου τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐλευθεροῦν, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν δύναμιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, Θεωδέρικον ἀναπεῖθει τὸν ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα, καίπερ αὐτόν τε καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκεῖν μέλλοντα, καταλῦσαι μὲν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν ἐχθραν τιμῆς ἀναμνησθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἥς τετύχηκεν ἤδη, πατρίκιός τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὼς ὑπατος, Ὀδοάκρον δὲ ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς Αὐγούστουλον τίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτόν τε καὶ Γότθους τὸ λοιπὸν κρατεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. [17] οὕτω τοίνυν παραλαβόντες τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχὴν τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διεσώσαμεθα τῶν πρόποτε βεβασιλευκότων οὐδενὸς ἥσσον, καὶ Θεωδέρικου μὲν ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν διαδεξαμένου τὸ Γότθων κράτος νόμος τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν, οὐκ ἄγραφός ἐστι. [18] τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς θεὸν εὐσεβείας τε καὶ πίστεως οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐφυλάξαμεν, ὥστε Ἰταλιωτῶν μὲν τὴν δόξαν οὐδεὶς

οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐκ ἀκούσιος ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν μετέβαλε, Γότθων δὲ μεταβεβλημένων ἐπιστροφή τις οὐδαμῶς γέγονε. [19] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱερὰ τιμῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τετύχηκεν: οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἰς τι τούτων καταφυγὼν πώποτε πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων βεβίασται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχὰς αὐτοὶ μὲν διαγεγόνασιν ἔχοντες, [20] Γότθος δὲ αὐτῶν μετέσχευ οὐδεὶς. ἢ παρελθὼν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλεγχέτω, ἢ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἡμῖν εἰρησθαι οἴηται. προσθεῖη δ' ἂν τις ὥς καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα Γότθοι ξυνεχώρουν Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν βασιλέως ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος κομίζεσθαι. [21] ὑμεῖς δέ, τούτων τοιοῦτων ὄντων, Ἰταλίας μὲν οὐ προσεποιεῖσθε κακουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀδοάκρου βαρβάρων, καίπερ οὐ δι' ὀλίγου, ἀλλ' ἐς δέκα ἐνιαυτοὺς τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένου, νῦν δὲ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτὴν κεκτημένους, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκον, βιάζεσθε. [22] οὐκοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐκποδὼν ἴστασθε, τὰ τε ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσα ληϊσάμενοι τετυχήκατε.' Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος: 'Ἡ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις ὑμῶν βραχέα τε εἰρησθαι καὶ μέτρια προὔλεγεν, ἡ δὲ ῥῆσις μακρά τε καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀλαζονείας ὑμῖν γέγονε. [23] Θεωδέρικον γὰρ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων Ὀδοάκρῳ πολεμήσοντα ἐπεμψεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοι: τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ τύραννον τυράννου διαλλάσσειν βασιλεῖ ἔμελεν; ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ βασιλεῖ κατήκοος ἔσται. [24] ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν τύραννον εὖ διαθέμενος ἀγνωμοσύνη ἐς τᾶλλα οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἐχρήσατο: ἀποδιδόναι γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν γῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω. [25] οἷμαι δὲ ἔγωγε τὸν τε βιασάμενον καὶ ὃς ἂν τὰ τοῦ πέλας ἐκουσίως μὴ ἀποδιδῶ ἴσον γε εἶναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐτέρῳ τῷ οὐποτε οὐκ ἂν παραδοίην. [26] εἰ δέ του ἄλλου τυχεῖν βούλεσθε, λέγειν ἀφήμι.' [27] Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ πάντα ἡμῖν εἴρηται οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα λέληθεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅπως ἥκιστα φιλονεικεῖν δόξαιμεν, καὶ Σικελίας, τοσαύτης τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιαύτης τὸν πλοῦτον οὔσης, ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα, ἥς δὴ ἐκτὸς Λιβύην ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτηθῆναι οὐ δυνατόν.' [28] Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος: 'Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ Γότθους Βρεττανίαν ὅλην συγχωροῦμεν ἔχειν, μεῖζον τε παρὰ πολὺ Σικελίας οὗσαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γεγεννημένην. [29] τοὺς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ἢ χάριτός τινος ἄρξαντας τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβεσθαι ἄξιον.' [30] Βάρβαροι: 'Οὐκοῦν, ἦν τι καὶ περὶ Καμπανίας ὑμῖν ἢ Νεαπόλεως αὐτῆς εἵπομεν, οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε;' [31] Βελισάριος: 'Οὐ γὰρ ἐσμεν κύριοι τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διοικήσασθαι οὐχ ὅτι αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν.' Βάρβαροι: 'Οὐδ' ἦν χρήματα ῥητὰ φέρειν βασιλεῖ ἐφ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξωμεν;' [32] Βελισάριος: 'Οὐ δῆτα. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου τοῦ ἡμεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἢ ὥστε τῷ κεκτημένῳ φυλάξαι τὴν χώραν.' [33] Βάρβαροι: 'Φέρε δὴ, στέλλεσθαι ἡμᾶς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὰς ξυνθήκας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τακτὸν τινα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον καθ' ὃν προσήκει τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς ἐκεχειρίαν παρίστασθαι.' [34] Βελισάριος: 'Ἔστω: γινέσθω ταῦτα. οὐ γὰρ ποτε ὑμῖν εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένοις ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι.' [35] Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησάν τε ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐκάτεροι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Γότθων ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [36] ἡμέραις δὲ ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις συχνὰ παρ' ἀλλήλους φοιτῶντες τὰ τε ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ διετίθεντο καὶ ὅπως δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν τινας ἐπισήμων ἐκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἐν

ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέχονται.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ ὃ τε τῶν Ἰσαύρων στόλος τῷ Ῥωμαίων λιμένι προσέσχε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς Ὀστίαν ἦλθον, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολέμιων οὐδεὶς οὔτε καταίρουσιν οὔτε στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐμπόδιος σφίσιν ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. [2] ὅπως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διανυκτερεύειν οἰοί τε ὥσιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ τε Ἰσαυροὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἀγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος ὀρύξαντες φυλακὰς ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀεὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ταῖς ἀμάξαις φραζάμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε νῦξ ἐπεγένετο, Βελισάριος ἐς Ὀστίαν ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑκατὸν ἦλθε καὶ τὰ τε ξυμπεπτωκότα ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τὰ τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραθαρσύνας, τὰ τε φορτία ἐμπειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι. “Ὅπως γάρ,” ἔφη, “ἄνευ [4] κινδύνου ἢ ὁδὸς ἔσται ἐγὼ προνοήσω.” αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὄρθρου βαθέος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαινε, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῶν φορτίων τὴν παρακομιδὴν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [5] ἐδόκει δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ δεινῶς ἄπορον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι. οἱ τε γὰρ βόες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἡμιθνήτες ἅπαντες ἔκειντο, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον στενὴν τινα ὁδὸν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις πορεύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς βάρεις ἀνέλκειν, καθάπερ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶθιστο, ἀδύνατα ἦν. [6] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐχομένη Ῥωμαίοις τῆνικαῦτα ἀπόρευτος ἦν, ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, ὅσα γε παρ’ ὅχθην, ἀστίβητος παντάπασι τυγχάνει οὐσα. [7] διὸ δὴ τοὺς λέμβους νηῶν τῶν μειζόνων ἀπολεξάμενοι, σάνισι τε αὐτοὺς ὑψηλαῖς κύκλῳ τειχίσαντες, ὅπως οἱ πλέοντες πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἤκιστα βάλλωνται, τοξότας τε καὶ ναύτας ἐσεβίβασαν κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστου. [8] τῶν τε φορτίων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐνθέμενοι, διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίδος ἐς Ῥώμην πνεῦμα τηρήσαντες σφίσιν ἐπίφορον ἐναυτίλλοντο, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεβεβοηθήκει. [9] ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων συγχυοὺς τὰς ναῦς φυλάσσοντας. ἔνθα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ ποταμὸς ἦει, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔπλεον, ἀράμενοι τὰ τῶν λέμβων ἰστία: ἡ δὲ ὁ ῥοῦς ἐλίσσόμενος ὁδὸν πλαγίαν ἐφέρετο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεὶ τὰ ἰστία τῷ πνεύματι οὐδαμῇ ἐνηργεῖτο, ἐρέσσοντές τε καὶ τὸν ῥοῦν βιαζόμενοι πόνον οἱ ναῦται οὐ μέτριον εἶχον. [10] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καθημένοι ἐμπόδιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις ἤκιστα ἤθελον, ἢ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους ἐσκομίζεσθαι τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἰόμενοι, αἰτία τε οὐ λόγου ἀξία διακωλύειν τὴν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑποσχέσει Βελισάριος ἐκρατύνατο, ἀξύμορον σφίσιν εἶναι ἡγούμενοι. [11] Γότθοι μέντοι ὅσοι ἐν Πόρτῳ ἦσαν, ἐν χρῶ ἀεὶ παραπλέοντας τοὺς πολέμιους θεώμενοι, οὐδαμῇ ἥπτοντο, ἀλλὰ τεθηπότες ἐκάθηντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ πολλάκις ἀναπλεύσαντες ἅπαντα κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἐσεκομίσαντο τὰ φορτία, οἱ μὲν ναῦται ξὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν κατὰ τάχος ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στράτευμα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσηλθε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Παῦλος ἐν Ὀστίᾳ ξὺν τῶν Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἔμεινε. [13] Μετὰ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, Ζήνωνα μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι, Γότθοι δὲ Οὐλίαν, οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ἐν τρισὶ μῆσι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφόδῳ

χρήσονται, ἕως οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπανάγοντες γνώμην τὴν βασιλέως ἀγγείλωσιν. [14] ἦν δέ τινες καὶ ἀδικίας οἱ ἕτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπάρξωσι, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἀποδοθήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σφῶν ἔθνος. [15] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων οἱ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων παραπεμπόντων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, Ἰλδίγερ δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρός, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε. [16] Γότθοι τε οἱ τὸ ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον εἶχον, ἐπιλελοιπότην σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξέλιπόν τε αὐτὸ Οὐιττίγιδος γνώμη, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον: Παῦλος δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐξ Ὀστίας καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν. [17] αἵτιοι δὲ μάλιστα τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς ἀπορίας ἐγένοντο θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τι αὐτοῖς ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ ξυγχωροῦντες. [18] διὸ δὴ καὶ πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν, Κεντουκέλλας ὄνομα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέλιπον. [19] ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη, σταδίους αὐτῆς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα. [20] καὶ αὐτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμειος ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα ἔσχεον, Ῥώμης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον κείμενον, ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐνθένδε διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τηνικαῦτα τῶν πολεμίων, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἤδη κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον. [21] διὸ δὴ Γότθοι διαλύειν τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα καὶ τι ἐς Ῥωμαίους κακουργεῖν ὄρων. ἐμπνάντες οὖν παρὰ Βελισάριον πρέσβεις ἡδικῆσθαι σφᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔρασαν: [22] Οὐιττίγιδος γὰρ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Πόρτῳ μεταπεμψαμένου κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν Παῦλόν τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους τὸ ταύτῃ φρούριον λόγῳ οὐδενὶ καταλαβόντας ἔχειν. [23] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τε Ἀλβανῶ καὶ Κεντουκέλλαις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἡτιῶντο, ἠπειλοῦν τε, ἢ μὴ ταῦτα σφίσιν ἀποδιδῶ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν. [24] Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν γέλῳτι αὐτοὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, παραπέτασμα μὲν εἶναι ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπὼν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ οὐδένα ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Γότθοι ἐκλίποιν. [25] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποψία τινὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. Ἐπειτα δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην εἶδε στρατιωτῶν πλήθει ἀκμάζουσιν, ἄλλους τε ἱππέας ἐς χωρία Ῥώμης μακρὰν ποῦ ἄποθεν περιέπεμπε καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ τὸν ἀδελφιδεὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἱππεῦσιν, ὀκτακοσίους οὖσιν, ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀλβαν διαχειμάζειν, ἐν Πικηνοῖς κειμένην: [26] καὶ οἱ τῶν τε Βαλεριανῶ ἐπομένων τετρακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν Δαμιανὸς ὁ Βαλεριανοῦ ἀδελφιδεὸς ἦρχε, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας, διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. [27] οἷς δὴ δορυφόρους δύο, Σοῦνταν τε καὶ Ἀδηνιν, ἐπέστησε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Ἰωάννην ἔπεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγοῖτο, ἐκέλευε: τῷ δὲ Ἰωάννῃ ἐπήγγελλε, τέως μὲν τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν φυλάττοντας ὁρᾷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡσυχῇ μένειν: ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν αὐτοῖς λελύσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε: [28] παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ ἄφνω τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καταθεῖν τὴν Πικηνῶν χώραν, ἅπαντά τε ἐξῆς περιούντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία καὶ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς φήμης ἐπιδημοῦντα. [29] ταύτης γὰρ σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας ἄνδρας μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἀπολελεῖσθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὡς φαίνεται στρατευσαμένων, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χρήματα πανταχῇ εἶναι. [30] ἐξανδραποδίζειν οὖν καὶ ληΐζεσθαι τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα φυλασσόμενον μὴ

ποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων λυμῆνται. [31] ἦν δέ πη χωρίῳ ἐντύχη, ἄνδρας τε καὶ ὀχύρωμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔχοντι, πάσῃ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἀποπειράσασθαι. [32] καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἰέναι, τοῦ πράγματος δέ οἱ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένειν. [33] προϊόντι γάρ οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὀχύρωμα κατὰ νότου ἀπολιπόντι κίνδυνος πολὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔσται, ἐπεὶ οὐποτ' ἀμύνειν σφίσιν εὐπετὸς ἔξουσιν, ἦν που ἐνοχλοῖντο πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων. τὴν δὲ λείαν φυλάσσειν ἅπασαν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡ στρατιὰ διανέμοιτο. [34] εἴτα ζὺν γέλωτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν: 'Οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὲν τοὺς κηφῆνας πόνῳ μεγάλῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος οὐδεμιᾷ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ὀνίνασθαι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ζὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπεμψεν. [35] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃ τε Μεδιολάνων ἱερεὺς Δάτιος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίου ἐδέοντο φρουροὺς ὀλίγους σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι. [36] αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οὐ Μεδιόλανον μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιγουριάν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ Γότθων τε ἀποστῆσαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. [37] αὕτη δὲ ἡ πόλις ὥκισται μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις, μέση που μάλιστα Ῥαβέννης τε πόλεως καὶ Ἀλπεων τῶν ἐν Γάλλων ὀρίοις κειμένη: [38] ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ ἐστί: πρώτη δὲ πόλεων τῶν ἐσπερίων μετὰ γε Ῥώμην μεγέθει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα. καὶ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ὑποσχόμενος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσιν κατεῖχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη εἶχε. τῆς δὲ τύχης ὁ φθόνος ᾧδαιεν ἤδη ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἐπεὶ τὰ πράγματα εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς σφίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν προϊόντα ἑώρα, κακῶ τε κεραννύναι τινὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλουσα, ἔριν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας λόγου ἀξίας ἐπενόει Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἢ ὅπως τε ἔφω καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] Πρεσίδιος ἦν τις, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ὥκημένος μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ὣν δὲ οὐκ ἀφανής. οὗτος ὁ Πρεσίδιος, ὅτι δὴ Γότθοις προσκεκρουκώς, ἡνίκα Οὐίτιγις ἐπὶ Ῥώμην στρατεύειν ἔμελλε, ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον διῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ στελλόμενος φεύγει, οὔτε τῷ τὴν βουλήν κοινωσάμενος οὔτε τι τῶν χρημάτων ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ξιφίδια δύο αὐτὸς ἔφερεν, ὣν τὴν κουλεῶν χρυσῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις κεκαλλωπισμένῳ ἐτυχέτην. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν Σπολιτίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐς νεῶν τινα ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου κατέλυσεν. [3] ὃ δὴ Κωνσταντίνος ἀκούσας 'ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔτι ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν ἔχων, τῶν τινα ὑπασπιστῶν Μαξεντίολον πέμψας ἅμωφ ἀφαιρεῖται λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τῷ ἀκινάκα. [4] περιαλγῆς δὲ γεγονὼς τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐς Ῥώμην ὅτι τάχιστα παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεται, οὗ δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ἀφίκετο: ἤδη γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἠγγέλλετο. [5] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν τε θορύβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ Ῥωμαίοις καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, σιωπῇ ὁ Πρεσίδιος ἔμενεν: ὡς δὲ τὰ τε Ῥωμαίων καθυπέρτερα εἶδε καὶ Γότθων πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέα σταλέντας, καθάπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, Βελισαρίῳ συχνὰ προσιὼν τὴν τε ἀδίκιαν ἀπήγγελλε καὶ οἱ τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν ἠξίου. [6] ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτός, πολλὰ δὲ δι' ἐτέρων μεμφόμενος, παρήνει ἔργου τε ἀδίκου καὶ δόξης αἰσχροῦς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [7] ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντίνος 'χρὴν γὰρ οἱ γενέσθαι

κακῶς· τοὺς τε λόγους αἰεὶ ἐρεσχελὼν διεκρούετο καὶ τὸν ἡδικημένον ἐτόθαιζε. [8] Βελισαρίῳ δέ ποτε, ἵππῳ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὀχουμένῳ, ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πρεσίδιος τοῦ τε χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου ἐλάβετο καὶ μέγα ἀναβοῶν ἠρώτα εἰ ταῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ βασιλέως νόμοι, ἵνα ἐπειδάν τις τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγὼν ἰκέτης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἵκοιτο, οἶδε ἀφέλωνται βία ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων. [9] πολλῶν δὲ περιεστηκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ζὺν ἀπειλῇ κελευόντων μεθίσθαι, οὐ πρότερον ἀφῆκε, πρὶν δὴ αὐτῷ ὑπέσχετο Βελισάριος τὰ ξιφίδια δώσειν. [10] τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ Κωνσταντίνῳ τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ἐς οἰκίσκον τινὰ ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῶν μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ζυμπεπτωκότων ὑέμνησε, παρῆνει δὲ ὅσπερ γοῦν τοῦ χρόνου τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποδιδόναι. [11] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦ Τιβερίδος τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι ἢ τῷ Πρεσιδίῳ διδοίη. [12] θυμῷ τε ἥδη ἐχόμενος Βελισάριος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οὐκ οἶοιτο Κωνσταντίνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὠμολόγει ἅπαντα πείσεσθαι· βουλομένῳ γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι· τότε μέντοι, ὃ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτάττοι, οὐ μήποτε δράσειν. [13] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εἰσιέναι τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε, Κωνσταντίνος δὲ “Ὅπως με δηλαδὴ ἀποκτενοῦσιν,” ἔφη. “Οὐδαμῶς γε,” ὁ Βελισάριος εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸν σὸν ὑπάσπιστήν Μαξεντίολον, ὃς σοι τὰ ξιφίδια βιασάμενος ἤνεγκεν, ἀναγκάσωσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποδιδόναι ἅπερ αὐτοῦ [14] βία λαβὼν ἔτυχεν.” ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντίνος τεθνήξεσθαι παραντίκα οἰόμενος δρᾶσαι τι μέγα, πρὶν τι αὐτὸς πάθοι, ἐβούλετο. [15] διὸ δὴ τὸ ξιφίδιον εἶλκεν ὅπερ οἱ πρὸς τῷ μηρῷ ἀπεκρέματο, ἄφνω τε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Βελισαρίου γαστέρα ὥσεν. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγείς ὀπίσω τε ἀπέστη καὶ Βέσσα ἐγγὺς που ἐστηκότι περιπλακεῖς διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε. [16] Κωνσταντίνος μὲν οὖν, ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ ζέων, ἐπῆει, κατιδόντες δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς τὸ ποιούμενον ὁ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ χειρὸς λαμβανόμενος ὀπίσω ἀνθεῖλκον. [17] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσελθόντες οἱ δορυφόροι οὓς δὴ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐκάλεσε Βελισάριος, Κωνσταντίνου τε τὸ ξιφίδιον ζὺν βία πολλῇ ἐκ χειρὸς αἱροῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀρπάσαντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἄχαρι ἐν τῷ παραντίκα εἰργάσαντο, παρόντας αἰδούμενοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἶμαι, ἐς οἴκημα δὲ ἄλλο ἀπαγαγόντες, Βελισαρίου κελεύσαντος, [18] χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἔκτειναν. τοῦτο Βελισαρίῳ εἰργασται μόνον οὐχ ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ ἥθους τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῶν ἄξιον· ἐπεικεῖα γὰρ πολλῇ ἐς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχρήτο. ἀλλὰ ἔδει, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, Κωνσταντίνῳ γενέσθαι κακῶς.

Γότθοι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς Ῥώμης τὸν περίβολον κακουργεῖν ἤθελον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τινες ἐς τῶν ὀχετῶν ἓνα νύκτωρ καθῆκαν, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφήρηντο. [2] οἱ δὲ λύχνα τε καὶ δᾶδας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσόδου. ἔτυχε δὲ τινα διώρυχα οὐ μακρὰν Πιγκιανῆς πυλίδος τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τούτου κύρτωμα ἔχον, [3] ὅθεν δὴ τῶν τις φυλάκων τὸ πῦρ κατιδὼν τοῖς ζυμφυλάσσουσιν ἔφρασεν· οἱ δὲ λύκον αὐτοῦ παριόντα ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν. [4] ταύτῃ γὰρ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπερέχειν τὴν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ξυνέβαινε, πυρὶ δὲ εἰκάζεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ λύκου ὀφθαλμοὺς ᾤοντο. [5] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὅσοι τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἐνθα δὴ ἀνοδὸς τις ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς αὐτό που τὸ

Παλάτιον φέρονσα, οἰκοδομία τινι ἐνταῦθα ἐνέτυχον οὔτε πρόσω ἰέναι τὸ λοιπὸν συγχαρούση οὔτε τῇ ἀναβάσει τὸ παράπαν χρῆσθαι. [6] ταύτην δὲ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν Βελισάριος προμηθεῖα τινὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆσδε τῆς πολιορκίας πεποιήται, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. [7] λίθον οὖν ἓνα βραχὺν ἐνθένδε ἀφελόντες ὀπίσω τε ἀναστρέφειν εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν ἐπανήκοντες τὸν τε λίθον ἐνδεικνύμενοι πάντα ἀπήγγελλον. [8] καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἅμα τοῖς Γότθων ἀρίστοις ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἀμφὶ πυλίδα Πιγκιανὴν εἶχον, μνήμην τῆς τοῦ λύκου ὑποψίας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦντο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς Βελισάριον ἦλθεν, οὐ παρέργως ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας τε αὐτίκα τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δοκίμων ξὺν Διογένει τῷ δορυφόρῳ ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν καθῆκε καὶ διερευνήσασθαι ἅπαντα ξὺν πολλῷ τάχει ἐκέλευσεν. [10] οἱ δὲ τὰ λύχνα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν δάδων ὅσα διερρύνει πανταχοῦ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εὗρον, καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἣ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τῶν Γότθων ἀφήρητο κατανενοηκότες Βελισαρίῳ ἀπήγγελλον. [11] διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ὀχετὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ φυλακῇ ἔσχε καὶ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι ταύτης δὴ τῆς πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. [12] Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἔφοδον κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμηχανῶντο οἱ βάρβαροι. τηρήσαντες οὖν τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κλίμακάς τε καὶ πῦρ ἐπαγόμενοι, ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων προσδεχομένων, ἐπὶ πυλίδα Πιγκιανὴν ἤεσαν, ἐλπίδι θαρροῦντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, ἅτε οὐ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα λειφθέντων. [13] ἔτυχε δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τηνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυλακὴν ἔχων· ἕκαστοι γὰρ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν ἐτετάχατο. [14] ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶδε προσιόντας οὐκ ἐν τάξει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπήντησέ τε οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἰοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τρεψάμενος συχνοὺς ἔκτεινε. [15] κραυγῆς δὲ μεγάλης καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, γεγενημένης Ῥωμαῖοι τε ὡς τάχιστα πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου ξυνέρρεον καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄπρακτοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐχώρησαν. [16] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ αὐθις ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ περιβόλου καθίστατο. καί, ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐπιμαχωτάτη μάλιστα μοῖρα, ἣ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡ ὄχθη ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ταύτῃ οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ ὀχυρώματι τὸ τεῖχος ἀπημελημένως ἐδεΐμαντο, βραχὺ τε αὐτὸ καὶ πύργων ἔρημον παντάπασι ποιησάμενοι, ῥᾶον ἐνθένδε ἤλπιζε τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι φυλακτήριον λόγου ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [17] δύο οὖν Ῥωμαῖους ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν ὤκημένους χρήμασιν ἀναπεῖθει οἶνου ἄσκον ἔχοντας παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνη φρουροὺς ἰέναι περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶνον τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους χαρίζεσθαι, εἴτα ξὺν αὐτοῖς πόρρῳ τῶν νυκτῶν καθημένους πίνειν, ἐκάστῳ τε ἐς τὴν κύλικα ὑπνωτικὸν ἐμβαλεῖν φάρμακον ὅπερ σφίσιν αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκει. [18] ἀκάτους δὲ λάθρα ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ὄχθῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος εἶχεν, αἷς δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινάς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα οἱ φύλακες ὑπνῷ ἔχοντο, ξὺν κλίμαξιν ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντας τὴν ἐπιθεσιν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. [19] τὸ τε στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαζεν ὅλον, ὅπως ἅπασα κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἀλώη. [20] τούτων δὲ οὕτω ξυγκειμένων σφίσι· τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἄτερος τοῖν Οὐίτιγίδι ἐς ταύτην δὴ

παρεσκευασμένοι τὴν ὑπουργίαν· οὗ γὰρ ἔδει Ῥωμαίους τοῦτω τῷ Γότθων στρατοπέδῳ ἀλῶναι· αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐλθὼν Βελισαρίῳ τε ἅπαντα φράζει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐνδείκνυσιν. [21] ὃς δὴ αἰκίζόμενος ἐς φῶς τε ἅπαντα ἤνεγκεν ὅσα δρᾶν ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἐπεδείκνυνεν ὅπερ Οὐίτιγίς αὐτῷ ἐδεδόκει. [22] καὶ αὐτοῦ Βελισάριος τὴν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα λωβησάμενος ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ χαράκωμα ὄνῳ ὀχούμενον ἔπεμψε. [23] καὶ κατιδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐφῆ σφῶν τὰ βουλευματα ὁδῷ ἰέναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡ πόλις σφίσιν ἀλώσιμος εἴη.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος γράψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς δισχιλίῳις ἱππεῦσι τὴν Πικηνῶν περιῶν χώραν τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἐληΐζετο πάντα, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενος λόγῳ. [2] Οὐλίθεόν τε, τὸν Οὐιτιγίδος θεῖον, ζὺν Γότθων στρατῷ ὑπαντιάσαντα μάχῃ νικήσας αὐτόν τε κτείνει καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν. [3] διὸ δὴ οὐδεὶς οἱ ἐτόλμα ἔτι ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφῖκτο ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν, Γότθων μὲν ἐνταῦθα φρουρὰν οὐκ ἀξιόχρεόν τινα ἔμαθεν εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ ὀχυρόν τε καὶ ἀνάλωτον κατενόησε τὸ χωρίον. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσεδρεύειν μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα πρόσω ἤλαυνε. [5] ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ Οὐρβίνον ἀμφὶ πόλιν ἐποίει, ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων ἐσήλαυνεν, ἥπερ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ῥαβέννης διέχει. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ὑποψία ἐς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς οἰκήτορας πολλῇ χρώμενοι, ἐπειδὴ προῖεναι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐπύθοντο, ἀπεχώρησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ ἰόντες ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο. [7] οὕτω δὲ Ἰωάννης Ἀρίμινον ἔσχε πολεμίων φρουρὰν ὀπισθεν ἔν τε Αὐξίμῳ καὶ Οὐρβίνῳ ἀπολιπὼν, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Βελισαρίου ἐντολῶν ἐς λήθην ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενος, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ δραστηρίῳ τὸ ζυνητὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἦν Γότθοι πύθονται τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά πη Ῥαβέννης εἶναι, αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλύσουσι προσεδρεῖαν, [8] ἀμφὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ δείσαντες. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Οὐίτιγίς τε καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατὸς Ἀρίμινον ἔχουσιν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἦκουσαν, ἐς μέγα δέος ἀμφὶ Ῥαβέννη ἐμπεπωκότες ἄλλο τε ὑπολογισάμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, εὐθυωρόν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποίησαντο, [9] ὥς μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται. καὶ μέγα τι κλέος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ἰωάννης ἔσχε, διαβόητος καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὢν. [10] τολμητὴς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ αὐτουργὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἔς τε τοὺς κινδύνους ἄοκνος, δίαίτῃν τε σκληρὰν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν τινα ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχε βαρβάρου ὀτουοῦν ἢ στρατιώτου οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης τοιόσδε τις ἦν. [11] Ματασοῦνθα δέ, ἡ τοῦ Οὐιτιγίδος γυνή, δεινῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀχθομένη, ὅτι δὴ οἱ βία τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἦκειν ἐπύθετο, περιχαρὴς τε ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε καὶ πέμψασα παρ' αὐτὸν λάθρα γάμου τε καὶ προδοσίας περὶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε. [12] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πέμποντες αἰεὶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. Γότθοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Ἀρίμινον ἔμαθον καὶ ἅμα ζύμπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει, ὃ τε τῶν τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐξῆκεν ἤδη, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καίπερ οὐπω τι τῶν πρέσβειων ἕνεκα πεπυσμένοι. [13] τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς ἑαρινὰς ἦν, τῇ δὲ πολιορκίᾳ ἐνιαυτὸς τε

ἐτέτριπτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ ἡμέραι ἐννέα, ὅτε οἱ Γότθοι ἅπαντα σφῶν τὰ χαρακώματα καύσαντες, ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὁδοῦ εἶχοντο. [14] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φεύγοντας ὀρῶντες τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον ἢ τὸ παρὸν θήσονται. τῶν τε γὰρ ἱππέων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ παρεῖναι τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβαινε, ἄλλων ἄλλη πη ἐσταλμένων, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, αὐτοὶ τε ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πολεμίων οὐκ ᾔοντο εἶναι. ἅπαντας μέντοι πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππεάς Βελισάριος ὥπλισε. [15] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς διαβάνας τὴν γέφυραν εἶδεν, ἐξῆγε διὰ Πιγκιανῆς πύλης τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ τε μάχῃ ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονε τῶν προτέρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦσσαν. [16] καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν καρτερῶς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφισταμένων, πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξυμβολῇ ἔπεσον· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Γότθοι τραπόμενοι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος ἐποίουν· [17] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἠπείγετο πρῶτος. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἔπασχον· πρὸς τε γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. [18] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καταδυνάμενοι ἔθνησκον. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες οἱ λοιποὶ τοῖς πρότερον διαβάσι ξυνέμιζαν. [19] Λογγίνος δὲ Ἰσαυρος καὶ Μουνδύλας, οἱ Βελισαρίου δορυφόροι, διαφερόντως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἠρίστευσαν. ἀλλὰ Μουνδύλας μὲν τέτρασι βαρβάροις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν ἐκτείνε τε ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη· [20] Λογγίνος δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆς αἰτιώτατος γεγινὼς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.

Οὐτίγινι μὲν οὖν στρατῷ τῷ καταλοίπῳ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἰὼν τῶν χωρίων τὰ ὀχυρώματα πλήθει φρουρῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐν Κλουσίῳ μὲν τῇ Τούσκων πόλει χιλίους τε ἄνδρας καὶ ἄρχοντα Γιβίμερα ἀπολιπών, ἐν τε Οὐρβιβεντῷ τοσοῦτους, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Ἀλβίλαν ἄνδρα Γότθον ἐπέστησε. καὶ Οὐλιγίσalon ἐν τῇ Τουδέρα ξὺν τετρακοσίοις κατέλιπε. [2] ἐν δὲ δὴ Πικηνῶν τῇ χώρᾳ τετρακοσίους μὲν ἐς Πέτραν τὸ φρούριον εἶασεν, οἱ καὶ πρότερον ταύτῃ ᾤκητο, ἐν Αὐξίμῳ δέ, ἢ πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλεων ἐστὶ, Γότθους τε ἀριστίνδην ξυνειλεγμένους τετρακισχιλίους κατέλιπε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἄγαν δραστήριον Οὐίσανδον ὄνομα, ξὺν τε τῷ Μώρᾳ διςχιλίους ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ τῇ πόλει. [3] ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια δύο, Καισηνά τε καὶ Μοντεφέρετρα, ὧν δὴ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ φρουρὰν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ κατὰ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν κατεστήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ εὐθὺς Ἀρμίνου ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐχώρει. [4] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γότθοι τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, Ἰλδίγερά τε καὶ Μαρτίνον ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις πέμψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐτέρας ὁδοῦ θάττον ἰόντες φθάσωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ σφίσι ἐπέστελλεν Ἰωάννην μὲν καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστῆσαι ὡς τάχιστα, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἱκανοὺς μάλιστα ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὴν φυλακὴν καταστήσασθαι, ἐκ φρουρίου ἀφελομένους ὃ δὴ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰονίῳ ἐστίν, Ἀγκῶν ὄνομα, [5] δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Ἀρμίνου διέχον. ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον κατελήφει, Κόνωνα ξὺν τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ Θρακῶν στρατεύματι οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πέμψας. [6] ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἦν πεζοὶ τε καὶ μόνον ἀρχόντων οὐκ ἀξιολόγων σφίσι παρόντων Ἀρίμινον ἔχουσιν,

οὐποτε αὐτῆς ἐς πολιορκίαν Γόθων τὴν δύναμιν καταστήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδόντας ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης αὐτίκα ἰέναι, ἣν τε Ἀρίμινον πολιορκεῖν ἐθελήσωσι, τοῖς τε πεζοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς πλεῖω τινὰ χρόνον ἀρκέσειν: [7] καὶ ὡς ἱππεῖς δισχίλιοι ἐξῴθεν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἰόντες πολλὰ τε κακά, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσσονται καὶ ῥᾶον ἐς τῆς προσεδρείας αὐτοὺς τὴν διάλυσιν ξυνελάσουσι. [8] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Βελισάριος τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν. οἱ δὲ διὰ Φλαμινίας ὁδοῦ πορευόμενοι λίαν τε τοὺς βαρβάρους προτερήσαντες ἦσαν. [9] ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πολλῷ ὁμίλῳ οἱ Γότθοι σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ περιόδοις ἠναγκάζοντο μακραῖς τισι χρῆσθαι τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Φλαμινίᾳ ὁδῷ ὀχυρωμάτων ἥκιστα ἐθέλοντες ἄγχιστά πη ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται, Ναρνίαν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Περυσίαν εἶχον. [10] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐνέτυχον, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, ἀπεπειράσαντο τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὀχύρωμα οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐτεκτίναντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν: ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐς ἄγαν κρημνώδης. [11] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ποταμός τις οὐδενὶ ἐσβατὸς ὀξύτητι τοῦ ῥοῦ κάτεισιν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν πέτρα ἀνέχει ἀπότομός τε καὶ ὕψους ἐς τόσον διήκουσα, ὥστε τοῖς κάτω οὗσι φαινόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐστήκασιν, ὄρνισι τοῖς μικροτάτοις μεγέθους πέρι εἰκάζονται. [12] προϊόντι τε διέξοδος οὐδεμία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν. λήγουσα γὰρ ἡ πέτρα ἐς αὐτόν που μάλιστα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν ῥοῦν διήκει, διάβασιν τοῖς ταύτῃ ἰοῦσιν οὐδεμίαν παρεχομένη. [13] διώρυχα τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι ἐργασάμενοι, πυλὶδα τῷ χωρίῳ ταύτῃ πεποιήνται. [14] φράζαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας εἰσόδου τὸ πλεῖστον, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον πυλὶδα κἀνταῦθα λελεῖφθαι, φρούριόν τε αὐτοφυὲς ἀπειργάσαντο καὶ Πέτραν αὐτὸ λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι ἐκάλεσαν. [15] οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τῶν πυλίδων τὴν ἐτέραν μαχόμενοι τε καὶ πολλὰ βάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἦνυτον, καίπερ ἥκιστα σφᾶς ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους κατόπισθεν τὴν ἄνοδον βιασάμενοι κατὰ κορυφὴν λίθοις ἔβαλον ἐνθένδε τοὺς Γόθους. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδενὸς ἐπιτυγχάνειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, ἐπενόουν τάδε. [17] τμήματα μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ σκοπέλου ποιούμενοι πολλοὶ θ' ἅμα ὠθοῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας σταθμώμενοι ἐρρίπτουν. [18] τὰ δὲ ὅπη ἂν τῆς οἰκοδομίας καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προσπίπτοντα ψαυοί, κατέσειέ τε ἱκανῶς ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μέγα τι δέος καθίστη. [19] διὸ δὴ χεῖράς τε οἱ Γότθοι τοῖς ἔτι ἀμφὶ τὴν πυλίδαν οὗσιν ὥρεγον καὶ ξὺν τῷ φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία παρέδοσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθειῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως τε δοῦλοι καὶ Βελισαρίου κατήκοοι ὄντες. [20] καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Μαρτίνος τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦγον, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ τε καὶ γυναιξίν αὐτοῦ εἴασαν. ἐλίποντο δὲ τινὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων φρουράν. [21] ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ἀγκῶνα ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπαγαγόμενοι τῶν ἐκεῖνη πεζῶν ἐς Ἀρίμινον τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο, τὴν τε Βελισαρίου γνώμην ἀπήγγελλον. [22] Ἰωάννης δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεςθαι ἤθελε καὶ

Δαμιανὸν ξὺν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις κατεῖχεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπολιπόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ξὺν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς ἀνεχώρησαν.

Καὶ Οὐίτιγισ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. αὐτίκα τε πύργον ξύλινον τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καθυπέρτερον τεκτηνάμενοι τροχοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀνεχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤγον, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [2] ὅπως δὲ μὴ πάθωσιν ὅπερ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, οὐ διὰ τῶν βοῶν τὸν πύργον ἤγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἔνδον κρυπτόμενοι ἐφεῖλκον. [3] κλίμαξ δὲ ἦν τις τοῦ πύργου ἐντὸς εὐρεῖα ἐς ἄγαν, δι' ἧς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἀναβήσεσθαι εὐπετῶς ἔμελλον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τὸν πύργον τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσιν, ἐνθένδε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπιβήσονται κατὰ τὰς τοῦ τείχους ἐπάλξεις· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ πύργου ὑπερβολὴ εἵργαστο. [4] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστά πη ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη, φύλακας δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν πύργον καταστησάμενοι ἠϋλίσαντο ἅπαντες, ἐναντίωμα οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἐμπόδιον, οὐδὲ τάφρος ἐν μέσῳ ὅτι μὴ βραχεῖα παντάπασιν ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα. Οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ὥς ἡμέρα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἀπολούμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [6] Ἰωάννης δὲ οὔτε ἀπογνοὺς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον οὔτε τῷ δέει ξυνταραχθεὶς ἐπενόει τάδε. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις ἀπολιπόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις δικέλλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τοιαῦτα ὄργανα φέρουσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τῶν νυκτῶν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος ἐκέλευσε σιωπῇ τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσειν. [7] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ τὸν χοῦν ὄνπερ ἐνθένδε ἀνηροῦντο ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐς τὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐς αἰεὶ ἐτίθεσαν, ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοίχου ἐγίνετο. [8] λαθόντες τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοὺς πολεμίους καθεύδοντας βαθεῖαν τε καὶ εὐρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν τὴν τάφρον δι' ὀλίγου πεποιήνται, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατός τε ὁ περίβολος ἦν καὶ προσβάλλειν ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον. [9] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πόρρῳ που τῶν νυκτῶν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας ἐβόηθουν δρόμῳ, καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ τάφρῳ ὥς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίτιγισ δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πεπραγμένα κατανοήσας καὶ περιαλήσας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι διεχρήσατο μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τινάς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσσον ἐπάγειν τὴν μηχανὴν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐκέλευε φακέλλων πλῆθος τοὺς Γότθους ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ κατὰ τάχος ρίπτειν, οὕτω τε τὸν πύργον ἐνταῦθα ἐφέλκοντας ἄγειν. [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, ὥσπερ Οὐίτιγισ ἐπέτελλεν, ἔπρασσον προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, καίπερ τῶν ἐναντίων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένων. οἱ δὲ φάκελλοι, ἐμπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ πύργου, βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ὑπεχώρουν κάτω. [12] διὸ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι πρόσω ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἄναντες σφίσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο, οὗ δὴ ξυνήσαντες τὸν χοῦν ἔτυχον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, [13] Ῥωμαῖοι. δέισαντες οὖν μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγινομένης ἐπεξεληθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν μηχανὴν καύσωσιν, [14] ὀπίσω αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐφεῖλκον. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης κωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων τοὺς τε στρατιώτας

ἐξώπλισε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο: [15] “Ἄνδρες, οἷς τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου ξὺν ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, εἴ τῳ ὑμῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐστὶ βιώναι τε καὶ τοὺς οἶκοι ἀπολελειμμένους ἰδεῖν, μὴ ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ τῳ κεκτημένος τὴν τούτων ἐλπίδα ἢ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ γνῶτω. [16] ἡνῖκα μὲν γὰρ Βελισάριος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔστελλε, πολλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίς τε καὶ ἔρως ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἔργου προθυμίαν ἐνήγον. [17] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν γῇ τῇ παραλία πολιορκηθῆσθαι ὑποπτεύομεν, οὕτω δὴ θαλασσοκρατούντων Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν περιόψεσθαι τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ὑπετόπησεν ἄν τις. [18] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τότε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὥρμα ἐπίδειξις τε τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐσόμενον κλέος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [19] νῦν δὲ οὔτε περιεῖναι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς εὐψυχίας, οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, ἐπάναγκές τε οὐκ ἄλλου του ἢ τοῦ βιώσεσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔνεκα τοῦτον ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον. [20] ὥστε εἰ μὲν τισιν ὑμῶν ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυμβαίνει, πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδραγαθίζομένοις, εἴπερ τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοις, ἐνδόξοις γενέσθαι. [21] κτῶνται γὰρ εὐκλειαν οὐχ οἱ τῶν καταδεεστέρων κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἂν τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐλασσοῦμενοι τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μεγέθει νικῶεν. [22] οἷς δὲ τὸ φιλόψυχον ἐμπέφυκε μᾶλλον, τούτοις δὴ μάλιστα τὸ εὐτόλμοις εἶναι ξυνοίσει, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οἷς τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν τανῦν, ἴσταται, μόνῳ ἂν τῷ τῶν κινδύνων ὑπερφρονεῖν διασώζονται.” [23] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἰωάννης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπολιπών. [24] ἀνδρείως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑφισταμένων τῶν πολεμίων γέγονε καρτερὰ ἐς ἅγαν ἡ μάχη. καὶ τὸν μὲν πύργον μόλις τε καὶ ὥπὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ σφέτερον οἱ βάρβαροι στρατόπεδον ἐνεγκεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [25] τοσοῦτους μέντοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀπέβαλον τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, ὥστε οὐκέτι τειχομαχεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπογνόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, λιμῷ πιεζομένους προσχωρήσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους караδοκοῦντες. λίαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοιπίει, ἐπεὶ οὐχ εὖρον ὅθεν αὐτὰ διαρκῶς ἐσκομίσονται. [26] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε. Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἤκουσι χιλίους ἐπεμψεν Ἰσαύρους τε καὶ Θρακας. [27] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων Ἐννης, τῶν δὲ Θρακῶν Παῦλος, Μουνδύλας τε ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπάσπιστῶν ἔχων. ξυνην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φιδέλιος, ὃς ἐγεγόνει τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος. [28] ἐκ Μεδιολάνου γὰρ ὁρμώμενος ἐπιτήδειος τούτῳ ἔδοξε τῷ στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι ἅτε δυνάμιν τινα ἐν Λιγούροις ἔχων. [29] πλεύσαντες οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων λιμένος Γενούᾳ προσέσχον, ἣ Τουσκίας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐσχάτη, παράπλου δὲ καλῶς Γάλλων τε καὶ Ἰσπανῶν κεῖται. [30] ἐνθα δὴ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι, ὅπως ἂν Πάδον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι μηδὲν σφίσιν ἐμπόδιον εἴη. [31] οὕτω γοῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πάδον διαβάντες ἐς Τικηνὸν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, Γότθοι αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον. [32] ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα βάρβαροι ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτῃ ὄκνητο ἐν Τικηνῷ καταθέμενοι ἅτε ἐν χωρίῳ ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχοντι, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίποντο. [33] μάχης οὖν καρτερὰς γενομένης ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τρεψάμενοι

διέφθειράν τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐλεῖν παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον. μόλις γὰρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς πύλας οἱ βάρβαροι ἴσχυσαν, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων. [34] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελυνόντων Φιδέλιος εὐξόμενος ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκείνῃ νεῶν ὕστατος ἔμεινε. τύχῃ δὲ τινι ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου ἔπεσε. [35] καὶ αὐτὸν κατιδόντες Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἐπεπτώκει, ἐπεξελθόντες ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἔλαθον τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗ δὴ ὕστερον Μουνδίλας τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἤσχαλλον. [36] Ἐνθεν τε ἐς Μεδιόλανον πόλιν ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμαχητὶ ζὺν Λιγουρία τῇ ἄλλῃ ἔσχον. [37] ἅπερ ἐπειδὴ Οὐίτιγίς ἔμαθε, στράτευμά τε πολὺ κατὰ τάχος καὶ Οὐραΐαν ἄρχοντα, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἔπεμψε. [38] καὶ Θεοδίβερτος δέ οἱ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, ἄνδρας μυρίους δεηθέντι ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀπέστειλεν, οὐ Φράγγων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ Βουργουζιῶνων, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τὰ βασιλέως ἀδικεῖν πράγματα. [39] οἱ γὰρ Βουργουζιῶνες ἐθελούσιοι τε καὶ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ, οὐ Θεοδιβέρτῳ κελεύοντι ἐπακούοντες δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς τε Μεδιόλανον Ῥωμαίων ἥκιστα προσδεχομένων ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. ταύτῃ γοῦν οὐδὲ τι ἐσκομίσασθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἤχθοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ. [40] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν φυλακὴν οἱ στρατιῶται εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μουνδίλας πόλεις τε καταλαβὼν ἔτυχεν ὅσαι Μεδιολάνου ἄγχιστα οὔσαι ὀχυρώματα εἶχον, Βέργομόν τε καὶ Κῶμον καὶ Νοβαρίας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πολίσματα, καὶ φρουράς πανταχόθι λόγου ἀξίας καταστησάμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἔχων ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ἔμεινε, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ Ἐννης τε καὶ Παῦλος. [41] ὥστε ἀνάγκῃ οἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰεὶ τὴν φυλακὴν εἶχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιγούροις ἐφέρετο τῇδε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος ζυνέγραψε.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐπὶ τε Οὐίτιγιν καὶ τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦει, ὀλίγους μὲν τινας φρουρὰς ἔνεκα ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπολιπὼν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος. [2] πέμψας τέ τινας ἐς Τουδέραν τε καὶ Κλούσιον χαρακώματα ἐπήγγειλε ποιεῖσθαι, οἷς δὴ ἔψεσθαι τε ἔμελλε καὶ ξυμπολιορκήσιν τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους. [3] οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ προσιόντα τὸν στρατὸν ἔμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον πρέσβεις τε παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμψαν καὶ παραδώσειν ὁμολογία σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν ἑκατέραν ὑπέσχοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι. παραγενομένῳ τέ οἱ ἐπιτελῇ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐποίησαντο. [4] ὁ δὲ Γότθους μὲν ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ἐπὶ Σικελίας τε καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἔπεμψεν, ἐν δὲ Κλουσίῳ καὶ Τουδέρᾳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος πρόσω ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίτιγίς στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἄρχοντα Οὐάκιμον ἐς Αὐξιμον πέμψας τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Γότθοις ἐκέλευεν ἀναμίγνυσθαι, καὶ ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκῶν πολεμίους ἰόντας ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. [6] ὁ δὲ Ἀγκῶν οὗτος πέτρα τίς ἐστιν ἐγγώνιος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴληφε ταύτην: ἀγκῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμφερὴς ἐστίν. [7] ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα πόλεως μάλιστα Αὐξίμου, ἧς δὴ ἐστὶν ἐπίνειον. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα ἐπὶ πέτρας τῆς ἐγγωνίου ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἅπαντα οἰκοδομήματα, καίπερ ὄντα

πολλά, [8] ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀτείχιστα ἦν. Κόνων δέ, ὃς τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐάκιμον ἤκουσεν ἐπιέναι τε καὶ ἤδη που οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι, ἐπίδειξιν πεποιήται ἀλογίστου γνώμης. [9] παρὰ φαῦλον γὰρ ἡγησάμενος τό τε φρούριον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκήτορας ζὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς διασώσασθαι, τὸ μὲν ὀχύρωμα εἶασε παντάπασι στρατιωτῶν ἔρημον, ἅπαντας δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε ὡς ἐς παράταξιν διεκόσμησεν, οὐ βαθεῖάν τινα τὴν φάλαγγα ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὴν ὑπώρειαν ὅλην ὥσπερ ἐς κυνηγέσιον περιβάλλεσθαι. [10] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντας εἶδον, στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον εὐθὺς ἔφυγον. [11] ἐπιδιώξαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσέναι, αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν, κλίμακας δὲ τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες, τῆς ἀνόδου ἀπεπειράσαντο. τινὲς δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκία ἔκαιον. [12] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὸ φρούριον ᾤκουν, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκπεληγμένοι, προανακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα, κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ φεύγοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδέχοντο. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄγχιστα ἐγκειμένους τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἶδον, ὅπως μὴ συνεισβάλλωσι δείσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας κατὰ τάχος ἐπέθεντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπάλξεων βρόχους καθέντες, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ Κόνωνα αὐτὸν ἀνέλκοντες διεσώσαντο. [14] ταῖς μέντοι κλίμαξιν ἀνιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον τὸ φρούριον κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνδρες δύο, ἔργα θαυμάσια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἤδη αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι γενομένους ἀρετῇ ὥσαντο, ὧν ὁ μὲν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἦν ἐκ Θράκης, Οὐλμοῦθ ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ Βαλεριανοῦ, Γουβουλγουνδοῦ, [15] Μασσαγέτης γένος. τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρῳ τύχῃ μὲν τι καταπεπλευκότε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐτυχέτην: ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ τοὺς ἀνιόντας τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ μὲν φρούριον παρὰ δόξαν ἔσωσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμιθνήτες καὶ τὸ σῶμα κρεουργηθέντες ὅλον ἐνθένδε ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [16] Τότε Βελισαρίῳ Ναρσῆς ζὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκειν καὶ ἐν Πικηνοῖς εἶναι ἡγγέλλετο. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίας, ἄλλως δὲ ὀξὺς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εὐνοῦχον δραστήριος. [17] στρατιῶται δὲ αὐτῷ πεντακισχίλιοι εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε κατὰ συμμορίας ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ Ναρσῆς ἕτερος, ἐξ Ἀρμενίων τῶν Πέρσαις κατηκόων αὐτόμολος ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη πρότερον ζὺν Ἀρατίῳ τὰδελφῷ ἦκων, ὃς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ζὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔτυχεν. [18] εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ τοῦ Ἐρουλῶν ἔθνους δισχίλιοι μάλιστα, ὧν Οὐίσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλουῖθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἦρχον.

Οἵτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν Ἑρουλοὶ καὶ ὅθεν Ῥωμαῖοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν κατέστησαν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκουν πολὺν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὄμιλον, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἰλάσκεσθαι ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. [2] νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐτέροις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ γηράσκουσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις αὐτῶν ἢ γήρᾳ ἢ νόσῳ ἀλφῇ, ἐπάναγκές οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς συγγενεῖς αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζειν. [3] οἱ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ ἐς μέγα τι ὕψος ξυννήσαντες καθίσαντές τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ τῶν

ξύλων ὑπερβολῇ, τῶν τινα Ἑρούλων, ἀλλότριον μέντοι, ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμπον· [4] ξυγγενῇ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν φονέα εἶναι οὐ θέμις. ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς φονεὺς ἐπανήγει, ξύμπαντα ἕκαιον αὐτίκα τὰ ξύλα, ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀρξάμενοι. [5] παυσαμένης τε αὐτοῖς τῆς φλογὸς ξυλλέξαντες τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τῇ γῇ ἔκρυπτον. [6] Ἑρούλου δὲ ἀνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος ἐπάναγκες τῇ γυναικὶ ἀρετῆς τε μεταποιουμένη καὶ κλέος αὐτῇ ἐθελούσῃ λείπεσθαι βρόχον ἀναψαμένη παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάφον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν θνήσκειν. [7] οὐ ποιοῦσα τε ταῦτα περιεστήκει τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδόξω τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συγγενέσι προσκεκρουκέναι. τοιοῦτοις μὲν ἐχρῶντο Ἑρουλοι τὸ παλαιὸν νόμοις. [8] Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου δυνάμει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία τῶν περιοίκων βαρβάρων ἀπάντων καθυπέρτεροι γεγεννημένοι, ἐπιόντες τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, [9] ἐκάστους ἐνίκων καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐλητίζοντο. καὶ τελευτῶντες Λαγγοβάρδας τε Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἔθνη ὑπήκοα σφίσιν ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου πεποιήνται, οὐκ εἰθισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοχρηματίας τε καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένοι. [10] ἡνίκα μέντοι Ἀναστάσιος Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες Ἑρουλοι ἐφ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔλθοιεν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, χρόνος τε αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτῶν τριῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐτρίβη. [11] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς ἄγαν ἀχθόμενοι Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνέδην σφῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκάκιζον, φοιτῶντές τε αἰεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν μαλθακὸν τε καὶ γυναικῶδῃ ἐκάλουν, ἄλλοις τέ τισιν αὐτὸν ἐρεσχελοῦντες ὀνόμασι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο. [12] Ῥοδοῦλφός τε τὴν ὕβριν ὥς ἥκιστα φέρων ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε τινὰ σφίσιν ἀμαρτάδα ἐπενεγκὼν οὔτε λύσιν τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων σκηψάμενος, [13] ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπιφέρων αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἀκοῇ ἔλαβον, πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνεπυνθάνοντο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἠξίουσαν εἰπεῖν ἥς δὴ ἔνεκα Ἑρουλοι ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, ὁμολογοῦντες, εἰ μὲν τι ἀπεστερήκασι τοῦ φόρου, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ξὺν μεγάλῳ αὐτὸ ἀποτίσειν· εἰ δὲ μέμφονται μέτριον σφίσι τετάχθαι τὸν φόρον, ἀλλὰ μείζω ποιήσιν αὐτὸν οὐ μήποτε Λαγγοβάρδαι ὀκνηροὶ ἔσονται. [14] ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς πρέσβεις προτεινομένους ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ὁ Ῥοδοῦλφος ἀποπεμψάμενος πρόσω ἤλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὖθις πρέσβεις ἐτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν στείλαντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰ λιπαροῦντες ἰκέτευσαν. [15] οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἀπαλλαγέντων τρίτοι πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντες ἀπεῖπον Ἑρούλους πόλεμον ἀπροφάσιστον μηδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν. [16] ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γνώμῃ τοιαύτῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι, ἀλλ' ὥς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι, ἀντιτάσσονται τοῖς ἐπιούσι, μαρτυράμενοι τὸν θεόν, οὔπερ τῆς ῥοπῆς καὶ βραχεΐα τις τὸ παράπαν ἱκμὰς πάσῃ τῇ ἀνθρώπων δυνάμει ἀντίξους ἔσται· αὐτόν τε εἰκὸς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαις ἡγμένον ἀμφοτέροις πρυτανεῦσαι τῆς μάχης τὸ πέρας. [17] οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπον, δεδίσσεσθαι ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐπιόντας οἴομενοι, Ἑρουλοι δέ, ὑποστειλάμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, Λαγγοβάρδαις ἐγνωσαν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [18] ἡνίκα δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τὸν μὲν ὑπερθεν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀέρα ξυνέβαινε μελαίνῃ τινὶ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐς ἄγαν παχεῖα καλύπτεσθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Ἑρούλους αἰθρίαν ὑπερφυῶς εἶναι. [19] οἷς δὴ τεκμηριούμενος εἶκασεν ἂν τις

ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ἐς τὴν ζυμβολὴν Ἑρούλους ἵεσαι: οὐ γάρ τι τούτου πικρότερον βαρβάρους τέρας εἰς μάχην καθισταμένοις οἶόν τε εἶναι. [20] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτῳ Ἑρουλοι προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀφροντιστήσαντες πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν, πλήθει ὁμίλου τὸ τοῦ πολέμου σταθμώμενοι πέρας. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γέγονε, θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Ἑρούλων πολλοί, θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ῥοδοῦλφος αὐτός, οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι. [22] καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐπισπομένων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι αὐτοῦ ἔπесον, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες διεσώθησαν. [23] Διὸ δὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἤθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις οὐκέτι εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ἐχώρουν, τὴν γῆν ζύμπασαν ἢ ἐκτὸς Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ ζύν τε παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ περιόντες. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς χώραν οὗ δὴ Ῥογοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ᾤκηντο, οἱ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρησαν, ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο. [25] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἅτε ἐν χώρα ἐρήμῳ ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐξαναστάντες, ἄγχιστά που τῆς Γηπαίδων χώρας ἀφίκοντο. [26] καὶ αὐτοὺς Γηπαίδες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἱκέτας γενομένους ἐνοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ προσοίκους σφίσιν ξυνεχώρουν εἶναι. [27] ἔπειτα δὲ ἥρξαντο ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυσθαι. γυναικῶν τε γὰρ ἐβιάζοντο καὶ βοῦς τε καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα ἥρπαζον, καὶ ἀδικίας οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπελείποντο, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦρχον. [28] ἅπερ Ἑρουλοι φέρειν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες Ἰστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις προσοικεῖν ἔγνωσαν, Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ δεξάμενος ἰδρύεσθαι αὐτοῦ εἶασε. [29] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον προσκεκρούκασιν αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐργασάμενοι τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους: διὸ δὴ στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [30] νικήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστους μὲν ἔκτειναν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ζύμπαντας διαφθεῖραι γεγόνασιν. [31] ἀλλ' εἰς ἱκετείαν τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ κατάλοιποι αὐτῶν γεγονότες ἐδέοντο διασώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ζυμμάχους τε καὶ βασιλέως ὑπηρέτας τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχειν. [32] ταῦτά τε μαθόντα τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λειφθῆναι μὲν τισιν Ἑρούλων ζυνέβη, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ζύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις γεγέννηται οὔτε τι εἰργάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθόν. [33] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, χώρα τε ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἄλλοις χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ἐταίριζεσθαι τε παντελῶς ἴσχυσε καὶ Χριστιανούς γενέσθαι ἅπαντας ἔπεισε. [34] διόπερ τὴν δαίταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες τοῖς Χριστιανῶν νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸ ζυμμαχικὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ζυντάσσονται. [35] ἔτι μέντοι αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἄπιστοι καὶ πλεονεξία ἐχόμενοι βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πέλας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν, [36] οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ μίξεις οὐχ ὁσίας τελοῦσιν, ἄλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὄνων, καὶ εἰσι πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι. [37] Ὑστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις διέμειναν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράφεται: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀπέστησαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [38] Ἑρουλοι τὸ τοῦ τρόπου θηριῶδές τε καὶ μανιῶδες ἐνδείξάμενοι ἐς τὸν αὐτῶν ῥήγα ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Ὁχος ὄνομά, ἐξαπναιῶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπ'

οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἔκτειναν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπενεγκόντες ἢ ὅτι ἀβασίλευτο τὸ λοιπὸν βούλονται εἶναι. [39] καίτοι καὶ πρότερον ὄνομα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ιδιώτου δὲ ὅτουοῦν οὐδέν τι σχεδὸν ἐφέρετο πλέον. [40] ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθησθαι αὐτῷ ἅπαντες καὶ ζύσσιτοι εἶναι ἤξιουν, καὶ ἀνέδην ὅστις βούλοιο ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν: [41] ἀσυνθετώτεροι γὰρ ἢ ἀσταθμητότεροι Ἑρουλῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες. τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ σφίσιν ἐξειργασμένου μετέμελεν ἤδη. [42] ἔφασκον γὰρ ἄναρχοί τε καὶ ἀστρατήγητοι βιοτεύειν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι: πολλὰ γοῦν σφίσι βουλευσαμένοις ἄμεινον τῷ παντὶ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν τινα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου μεταπέμψασθαι ἐκ Θούλης τῆς νήσου. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

Ἦνικα Ἑρουλοὶ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνέστησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, ᾠκίσαντο ἐς τὰ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς χωρία, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτάς που τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρύσαντο: [2] οὗτοι γοῦν πολλῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ἡγουμένων σφίσιν ἡμειψαν μὲν τὰ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ἔρημον δὲ χώραν διαβάντες ἐνθένδε πολλὴν ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους καλουμένους ἐχώρησαν. [3] μεθ' οὗς δὴ καὶ Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον οὐ βιαζομένων σφᾶς τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων. [4] ἐνθένδε τε ἐς ὠκεανὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐναυτίλλοντο, Θούλῃ τε προσχόντες τῇ νήσῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Θούλη μεγίστη ἐς ἄγαν: Βρεττανίας γὰρ αὐτὴν πλέον ἢ δεκαπλασίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [5] κεῖται δὲ αὐτῆς πολλῷ ἄποθεν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ γῇ μὲν ἔρημος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένη ἔθνη τριακαίδεκα πολυανθρωπότατα ἵδρυται: βασιλεῖς τέ εἰσι κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον. [6] ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θαυμάσιον οἶον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀμφὶ θερινὰς μὲν τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα οὐδαμῇ δύνει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπὲρ γῆς φαίνεται. [7] μηνὶ δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἐξ ὕστερον ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς που τροπὰς ἥλιος μὲν ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα τῆς νήσου ταύτης οὐδαμῇ φαίνεται, νυξ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπέραντος κατακέχυται: κατήφειά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχει πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τοὺς τῆδε ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι μεταξὺ οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν. [8] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν νῆσον τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτη γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένῳ, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθῃ. [9] τῶν μέντοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀφικομένων ἐπυνθανόμην ὅπη ποτὲ οἷοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζεσθαι τὸ μέτρον οὔτε ἀνίσχοντος οὔτε δύνοντος τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις ἐνταῦθα ἡλίου. οἵπερ ἐμοὶ λόγον ἀληθῆ τε καὶ πιστὸν ἔφρασαν. [10] τὸν γὰρ ἡλίον φασὶ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας οὐ δύνει μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πῇ μὲν πρὸς ἔω, πῇ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. [11] ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐπανὼν αἰθὴς ἀμφὶ τὸν ὀρίζοντά τε γινόμενος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίκεται χῶρον, οὔπερ αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα τὰ πρότερα ἐώρων, ἡμέραν οὕτω καὶ νύκτα μίαν παρῳχηκέναι διαριθμοῦνται. [12] καὶ ἡνίκα μέντοι ὁ τῶν νυκτῶν χρόνος ἀφίκεται, τῆς τε σελήνης τῶν τε ἄστρον αἰεὶ τοῖς δρόμοις τεκμηριούμενοι τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζονται μέτρον. [13] ὀπηνίκα δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ μακρᾷ ταύτῃ διαδράμοι νυκτί, στέλλονται τινες ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολάς, εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς τοῦτό γε, τὸν

τε ἥλιον ἀμῆγεπῃ ἐνθένδε ὁρῶντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς κάτω ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἥλιος αὐτοὺς καταλάμψει. [14] οἱ δὲ πανδημεὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν εὐαγγέλια καὶ ταῦτα ἐν σκότῳ. αὕτη τε Θουλίταις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐορτῶν ἐστὶ: [15] δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι περιδεεῖς ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι, καίπερ ταῦτὸ συμβαῖνον σφίσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιλείποι τὸ παράπαν ὁ ἥλιος. [16] Τῶν δὲ ἰδρυμένων ἐν Θούλῃ βαρβάρων ἐν μόνον ἔθνος, οἱ Σκριθίφινοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτὴν ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται οὔτε ὑποδεδεμένοι βαδίζουσιν οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν οὔτε τι ἐδώδιμον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσιν. [17] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ γῆν γεωργοῦσιν οὔτε τι αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες ἀεὶ ζὺν ταῖς γυναίξιν τὴν θήραν μόνῃν ἐπιτηδεύουσι. [18] θηρίων τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων ζώων μέγα τι χρῆμα αἱ τε ὕλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλαι ὑπερφυῶς οὔσαι, καὶ τὰ ὄρη αὐτῇ ἀνέχει. [19] καὶ κρέασι μὲν θηρίων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων σιτίζονται, τὰ δέρματα δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε λίνον οὔτε ὄργανον ὅτῳ ράπτοιέν ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν θηρίων τοῖς νεύροις τὰ δέρματα ἐς ἄλληλα ταῦτα ζυνδέοντες οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀμπίσχονται. [20] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ βρέφη αὐτοῖς κατὰ ταῦτὰ τιθηνοῦνται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. [21] οὐ γὰρ σιτίζονται Σκριθιφίνων παιδία γυναικῶν γάλακτι οὐδὲ μητέρων ἄπτονται τιθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ζώων τῶν ἀλίσκομένων τοῖς μυελοῖς ἐκτρέφονται μόνοις. [22] ἐπειδὴν οὖν γυνὴ τάχιστα τέκοι, δέρματι τὸ βρέφος ἐμβαλομένη κρεμᾷ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δένδρου τινός, μυελὸν δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνθεμένη ζὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν στέλλεται θήραν. ἐπὶ κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα δρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα μετίασι τοῦτο. [23] τοῦτοις μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν αὕτη πη ἔχει. Οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι Θουλίται ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οὐδέν τι μέγα διαλλάσσουν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, θεοὺς μέντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσιν, οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους, ἐγγεῖους τε καὶ θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὕδασι πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα. [24] θύουσι δὲ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι, τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν ὄνπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιτο πρῶτον: [25] τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι. ἱερεύονται δὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον οὐ θύοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ξύλου κρεμῶντες, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ῥιπτοῦντες, ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ιδέαις οἰκτίσταις. [26] οὕτω μὲν Θουλίται βιοῦσιν. ὢν ἔθνος ἐν πολυάνθρωπον οἱ Γαυτοὶ εἰσι, παρ' οὓς δὴ Ἑρούλων τότε οἱ ἐπὶλύται ἰδρύσαντο. [27] Νῦν δὲ Ἑρουλοὶ οἱ δὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὤκηνται, φόνου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξειργασμένου, ἔπεμψαν τῶν λογίμων τινὰς ἐς Θούλην τὴν νῆσον, τοὺς διερευνησομένους τε καὶ κομιοῦντας, ἢν τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν αἵματος τοῦ βασιλείου οἴοι τε ᾧσιν. [28] ἐπεὶ τε οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐγένοντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου εὗρον, ἕνα μέντοι ἀπολέξαντες ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἤρεσκεν, ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφοντες ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν. [29] ὃς δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Δανοῖς ἐγένετο, τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. διὸ δὴ αὖθις οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι ἕτερον ἐπηγάγοντο Δάτιον ὄνομα. ᾧ δὴ ὁ τε ἀδελφὸς Ἀορδος εἶπετο καὶ τῶν ἐν Θούλῃ Ἑρούλων νεανία διακόσιοι. [30] χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ αὕτη τριβέντος συχνοῦ Ἑρούλοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σιγγιδόνον ἔννοια γέγονεν ὥς οὐ τὰ

ξύμφορα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῖεν ἐκ Θούλης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπαγόμενοι Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οὗτι ἐθελουσίου. [31] πέμψαντες οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον βασιλέως ἐδέοντο ἄρχοντα σφίσι πέμψαι, ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [32] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν τινα Ἑρουλῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχοντα εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε, Σουαρτούαν ὄνομα. [33] ὃνπερ Ἑρουλοι εἶδον μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ προσεκύνησαν ἄσμενοι ἐπιστέλλοντί τε τὰ εἰωθότα ἐπήκουον: ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἤκε τις ἀγγέλλων τοὺς ἐκ Θούλης νήσου ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι. [34] καὶ Σουαρτούας μὲν ὡς ἀπολέσων αὐτοὺς ὑπαντιάζειν ἐκέλευεν, Ἑρουλοι δὲ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπαινέσαντες εὐθὺς εἶποντο. [35] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδῷ ἀλλήλων διεῖχον, νύκτωρ μὲν ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἐς τοὺς ἐπηλύτας αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀποδρὰς ὤχετο. [36] καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν πάσῃ δυνάμει κατάγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Ἑρουλοι δὲ δύναιμι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Γήπαισι προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. αὕτη μὲν Ἑρουλοῖς αἰτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως γέγονε.

Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ναρσῆς ζῶν ἀμφοτέροις στρατεύμασιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Φίρμον, ἥ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, ἀπέχει δὲ Αὐξίμου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδόν. [2] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ζῶν πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅπη ποτὲ σφίσι πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰοῦσι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει. [3] ἦν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμινον πολιορκοῦντας χωρήσειαν, τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑπώπτευνον μὴ κατὰ νότου ἰόντες σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ταύτῃ ὤκημένους τὰ ἀνήκεστα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, δράσωσι, καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐδείκναιον μὴ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεινόν τι πάθωσιν. [4] οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι Ἰωάννη χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐπεκάλουν γάρ οἱ ὅτι θράσει τε ἀλογίστῳ καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἔρωτι ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει οὐδὲ ἢ Βελισάριος ἐξηγεῖτο ἐφῆ ταῦτο πολέμου περαίνεισθαι. [5] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἔκαστος οἱ φίλτατος ἦν Ἰωάννης ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων δέισας μὴ Βελισάριος πρὸς τὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰρημένα ἐνδοὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰ ἐν Ἀριμίῳ πράγματα θῆται ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [6] Ὅτι ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι διαλογίζεσθε, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις εἰκότως ἀμφιγνοήσειε τὴν βουλὴν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἀρεστί καὶ τοῖς ἐς πολέμου πείραν οὐδεμίαν ἐλθοῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. [7] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τε κίνδυνος ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ βλάβος ἐκατέρωθεν τοῖς γε ἀποτυχοῦσιν ἀντίπαλον. βουλευέσθαι τε ἱκανῶς ἄξιον καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἰοῦσιν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν. [8] ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν ἐς Αὐξίμον προσβολὴν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ἀποθέσθαι βουλοίμεθα, τὴν ζημίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐδαμῶς ἔξομεν: τί γὰρ ἂν μεταξὺ τὸ διαλλάσσω εἴη; ἐν Ἀριμίῳ δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, σφαλέντες, εἰ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἢ, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν καταλύσομεν. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐς τὰς σὰς ἐντολὰς ὕβρισεν, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, πολλὴν γε τὴν δίκην ἔχεις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν, ἐπεὶ σοι ἀρεστί σώζειν τε τὸν ἐπταικότα καὶ τοῖς πολεμίους προῖεσθαι. [10] σκόπει δὲ μὴ τὰς ποινὰς ὧν Ἰωάννης ἀγνοήσας ἡμαρτε παρὰ βασιλέως τε καὶ ἡμῶν λάβῃς. εἰ γὰρ νῦν Ἀρίμινον ἐξέλωσι Γότθοι, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίων δραστήριον καὶ στρατεύμα ὅλον καὶ πόλιν κατήκοον

βασιλεῖ δορυάλωτον πεποιοῖσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [11] καὶ οὐκ ἄχρι τούτου στήσεται τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπασαν καταστήσαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δυνήσεται τύχην. οὕτως γὰρ λογίζου περὶ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς πλήθει μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμῶν παρὰ πολὺ προὔχουσιν, ἐς ἀνανδρίαν δὲ οἷς πολλάκις ἐσφάλησαν ἐμπεπτώκασιν. εἰκότως· τὸ γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφείλετο. [12] ἦν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐημερήσωσι, τὸ τε φρόνημα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπολήσονται καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου μόνον ἡμῖν τῆς τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνως τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε διοίσουσι. [13] φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλασσόμενοι τῶν οὐπω δεδυστυχηκότων ἀμείνους ἀεὶ τὰς γνώμας εἶναι. Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [14] Στρατιώτης δέ τις ἐξ Ἀριμίνου λαθὼν τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν φυλακὴν ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ γράμματα ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης ἔγραψεν. [15] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ἀπαντα ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐπιλελοιπέναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μῆτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀντέχειν ἡμᾶς ἴσθι μῆτε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι οἷους τε εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἐπτά ἡμερῶν ἀκουσίους ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν τήνδε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγχειριεῖν: [16] περαιτέρω γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην ἥκιστα ἔχομεν, ἥνπερ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἦν τι οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς δράσωμεν, [17] ἀξιοχρεῶν οἶμαι.” Ἰωάννης μὲν ἔγραψεν ὧδε. Βελισάριος δὲ διηπορεῖτό τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέπιπτε. περὶ τε γὰρ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐδείκναινε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ πολεμίους ὑπώπτευε δηώσειν μὲν ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα περιύοντας τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, σφῶν δὲ κατόπισθεν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνεδρεύοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσμίζεσαν, πολλὰ τε κακὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, διεργάσεσθαι. [18] ἔπειτα μέντοι ἐποίει τάδε. Ἀράτιον μὲν ζὺν χιλίους ἀνδράσιν αὐτοῦ ἔλιπεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ στρατόπεδον ποιήσονται, πόλεως Αὐξίμου σταδίους διακοσίους ἀπέχον. [19] οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευε μῆτε πη ἐξανισταμένους ἐνθένδε ἰέναι μῆτε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀμυνομένους, ἦν ἐκεῖνοί ποτε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴωσι. [20] ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς βαρβάρους μάλιστα ἤλπιζεν ἄγχιστά που στρατοπεδευομένων Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε Αὐξίμῳ ἡσυχῇ μενεῖν καὶ οὐποτε κακουργήσοντας σφίσιν ἔψεσθαι. [21] στρατιὰν δὲ ἀξιολογωτάτην ζὺν ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν, ἧς Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Οὐλίαιρις καὶ Ναρσῆς Ἀρατίου ἀδελφὸς ἦρχον. [22] αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῷ στόλῳ Ἰλδίγερ ἐφειστήκει, ᾧ δὴ εὐθὺς Ἀριμίνου Βελισάριος ἐπέστελλε πλεῖν, φυλασσομένῳ ὅπως μὴ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν ἐγχειρήσωσιν: ὁδῷ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [23] καὶ στρατιὰν μὲν ἄλλην, ἧς Μαρτίνος ἦρχε, ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις παρακολουθοῦντας κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπειδὴν ἄγχιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἴκωνται, πυρὰ πλείονα καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ στρατοῦ καίειν, δόκησίν τε πλήθους πολλῷ πλείονος τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρέχεσθαι. [24] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλην ὁδὸν τῆς ἡϊόνος ἀπωτάτω οὖσαν ζὺν τε Ναρσῇ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διὰ πόλεως Οὐρβισαλίας ἦει, ἦν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις οὕτως Ἀλάριχος καθεῖλεν ὥστε ἄλλο γε αὐτῇ οὐδ’ ὅτι οὖν ἀπολέλειπται τοῦ πρότερον κόσμου, ὅτι μὴ πύλης μᾶς καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ ἐδάφους λείψανόν τι βραχύ.

Ἐνταῦθά μοι ἰδεῖν θέαμα ξυνηνέχθη τοιονόδε. ἡνίκα ὁ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸς ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἦλθε, γέγονεν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ταραχή τις πολλὴ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. [2] τῶν τε γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἔφευγον ἐξαπιναιῶς ὅπῃ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει, αἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμεναι ἤγοντο κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων. [3] ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ χωρίῳ μία τις γυνὴ ἀρτίως τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπολιποῦσα ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἔτυχε ἐπὶ γῆς κείμενον, καὶ εἴτε φευγουσα εἴτε ὑφ' ὅτουοῦν καταληφθεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἐπανήκειν οὐκέτι ἔσχεν· ἀφανισθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῇ δηλονότι ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξυνέπεσε. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν παιδίον ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ γεγονὸς ἔκλαιεν. αἷξ δὲ αὐτὸ μία ἰδοῦσα ὥκτιζέτο τε καὶ πλησίον ἀφικομένη ἔναγχος γὰρ τεκοῦσα καὶ αὐτῇ ἔτυχέ τὸν τιτθὸν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸ παιδίον ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἐφύλασσε, [5] μὴ κύων ἢ τι θηρίον αὐτὸ λυμάνηται. χρόνου τε τῇ ταραχῇ τριβέντος συχνοῦ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον μεταλαχεῖν τὸ παιδίον ξυνέβη. [6] γνωσθὲν δὲ Πικηνοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι δὴ ὁ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἐπὶ Γότθων μὲν τῷ πονηρῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦκοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐ πείσονται οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι, [7] ἐπανήλθον εὐθὺς οἴκαδε ἅπαντες. ἐν τε Οὐρβισαλίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενόμεναι, ὅσαι γένος Ῥωμαῖαι ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις περιὸν εἶδον, τὸ γεγονὸς ξυμβάλλειν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ὅτι δὴ βίῃ πεποίηνται. [8] καὶ τὸν τιτθὸν ἐκάστη ἐδίδου αἱ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχουσαι ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ παιδίον ἀνθρώπειον γάλα ἔτι προσίετο καὶ ἡ αἷξ αὐτοῦ μεθίσσεται ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ μηκωμένη ἀμφὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνδελεχέστατα, δεινὰ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῷ παιδίῳ ἄγχιστα αἱ γυναῖκες ἰοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸ ἐνοχλοῖεν, τό τε ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν μεταποιεῖσθαι ὡς οἰκείου τοῦ βρέφους ἡξίου. [9] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἱ τε γυναῖκες τὸ παιδίον οὐκέτι ἠνώχλουν καὶ ἡ αἷξ ἀδεέστερον ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιμελομένη ἐφύλαττε. διὸ δὴ Αἰγίσθον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐκάλουν. [10] καὶ ἡνίκα μοι ἐπιδημεῖν ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη, ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ παραλόγου ποιούμενοι παρὰ τε τὸ παιδίον ἦγον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεπίτηδες, [11] ἵνα βοᾷ, ἐλύπουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῖς λυποῦσιν ἀχθόμενον ἔκλαεν, ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ αἷξ ἑδυστήκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅσον λίθου βολὴν δρόμῳ τε καὶ μηκηθμῷ ἐχομένη πολλῷ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦει, ὑπερθέν τε αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσα ἔστη, ὥς μὴ τις αὐτὸ λυπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν δύνηται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Αἰγίσθῳ τούτῳ τοιαῦτά ἐστι. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν ἐχώρει. πλήθει γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενος τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἤθελεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ θανατῶντας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐώρα· [13] ὥτετο δὲ αὐτοῦς, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθωνται πανταχόθεν σφίσι πολεμίων ἐπιέναι στρατόν, ἀλκῆς ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς μνησθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς φυγὴν τρέψεσθαι. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἐσομένου ὑποτοπήσας. [14] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὅσον Ἀριμίνου ἀπέχειν ἡμέρας ὁδόν, Γότθοις τισὶν ὀλίγοις κατὰ τινα χρειαίαν ὁδῷ πορευομένοις ἐνέτυχον. [15] οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πολεμίων περιπεπτωκότες στρατῷ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἕως παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἰόντων βαλλόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ τραυματῖαι γεγεννημένοι ἐπὶ τινος τῶν ἐκείνῃ σκοπέλων ἀναδραμόντες διέλαθον. [16] ὅθεν σκοπούμενοι τὸν Ῥωμαῖον

στρατὸν ἐς πάσας δυσχωρίας ξυρρέοντας, πολλῷ πλείονας τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι. [17] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ Βελισαρίου σημεῖα ἰδόντες, αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔγνωσαν. νύξ τε ἐπέλαβε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἠύλισαντο, τῶν δὲ Γότθων οἱ τραυματῖαι λάθρα ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Οὐιτιγίδος στρατοπέδον ἦσαν. [18] οὗ δὴ ἀμφὶ μέσσην ἡμέραν γενόμενοι τάς τε πληγὰς ἐπεδείκνυν καὶ Βελισάριον σφίσι ξὺν στρατῷ κρεῖσσονι ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ὅσον οὕτω παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [19] οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς ἐς μάχην πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀριμίνου πόλεως τετραμμένοι· ταύτῃ γὰρ ὄντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφίξεσθαι, αἰεὶ τε ἐς τοῦ ὅρους τὰ ἄκρα ἔβλεπον ἅπαντες. [20] ἐπεὶ δέ, νυκτὸς σφίσι ἐπιγενομένης, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἡσυχάζον, πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα εἶδον, ἅπερ τὸ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ στρατεύμα ἔκαιεν, ἐς δέος τε ἀμήχανον ἦλθον: [21] κυκλωθῆσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἅμα ἡμέρα ὑπώπτευν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ξὺν δέει τοιούτῳ ἠύλισαντο, τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι στόλον νηῶν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντα ὁρῶσιν ἐξαίσιον οἶον: ἐς τε ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [22] ξυσκευαζόμενοι τε κατὰ τάχος τοσοῦτῳ θορύβῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ εἶχοντο ὥστε οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἐποιοῦντο ἢ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἀπαλλάσσοιτο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ Ῥαβέννης τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένοιτο. [23] καὶ εἰ μὲν τι ἰσχύος ἢ θάρρους περιεῖναι τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τετύχηκε, πλείστους τε ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν καὶ ζύμπας ἐνταῦθα ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐτελεύτησε. [24] νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ὀρρωδία τε σφίσι μεγάλῃ τοῖς φθάσασιν ἐπιγενομένη καὶ ἀσθένεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πολλοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσα. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι θορύβου ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ λειπόμενοι τῶν χρημάτων τινὰ δρόμῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἔθεον.

Πρῶτοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα τῶν Γότθων ὅσοι νόσοις τισὶν ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ἐποιήσαντο λόγῳ, καὶ χρήματα πάντα ξυνέλεξαν ὅσα φεύγοντες Γότθοι ἐλίποντο. [2] καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἦλθεν ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὠχριῶντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν αὐχμῶντας Ἰωάννην τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ εἶδε, τοῦ θράους ὑπαινιττόμενος τὸ ἀλόγιστον χάριτας αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν Ἰλδίγερὶ ὀφείλειν. [3] ὁ δὲ οὐκ Ἰλδίγερ, ἀλλὰ Ναρσῇ τῷ βασιλέως ταμίᾳ ὁμολογεῖν ἔφη, παραδηλῶν, οἶμαι, Βελισάριον οὐ σφόδρα ἐθελούσιον, ἀλλὰ Ναρσῇ ἀναπεισθέντα σφίσι ἀμῦναι. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅμφω ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. [4] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Ναρσῇ εἶον οἱ ἐπιτηδείοι ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ στρατεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνέπειθον ὅσον αἰσχρὸν εἶη τῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βασιλεῖ κοινωνοῦντι μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτοκράτορι τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῷ ἀνδρὶ ὑπακούειν. [5] οὐ γάρ ποτε Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ ἐκόντα εἶναι τῆς στρατιᾶς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρξειν ἀπεφαίνοντο, βουλομένῳ δέ οἱ καθ' αὐτὸν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πλείους τε στρατιώτας καὶ πολλῷ ἀμείνους ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔσσεσθαι. [6] τοὺς τε γὰρ Ἐρούλους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὦν Ἰουστῖνός τε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρατίῳ τε καὶ Ναρσῇ ἐπομένους οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ μυρίους ἔφασκον εἶναι, ἀνδρείους τε ὄντας καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, βούλεσθαι τε τὴν

Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν οὐ Βελισαρίῳ λογιζέσθαι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέρος καὶ Ναρσῆν φέρεσθαι. [7] τὴν γὰρ βασιλέως αὐτὸν οἶεσθαι ὁμιλίαν ἀπολιπεῖν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ κινδύνους ἰδίοις τὴν Βελισαρίου δόξαν κρατύνηται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἔργα ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιδειξάμενος διαβόητος ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, εἶη. [8] καίτοι οὐδὲ Βελισάριον ἔφασκον δυνήσεσθαι τι ἄνευ γε αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν δρᾶσαι. [9] στρατιᾶς γὰρ ἥς ἐκεῖνος ἄρχοι τὸ πλεῖστον ἤδη ἐν τε φρουρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἄσπερ αὐτὸς εἶλε, καὶ κατέλεγον ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἀρξάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντα. [10] Ναρσῆς τε ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, ἦσθη ἐς ἅγαν τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ οὔτε κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὔτε μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἔτι ἐδύνατο. [11] πολλάκις οὖν Βελισαρίου ἄλλου τοῦ ἔργου ἔχουσιν ἀξιοῦντος ἐς σκῆψεις τινὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἀναχωρῶν τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἀπεκρούετο. [12] ὧν δὴ αἰσθόμενος Βελισάριος ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐ ταῦτά ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου δοκῶ μοι γινώσκειν. [13] ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶ τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε παντάπασιν ἡσσημένων ὑπερφρονούντας. [14] ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτῃ ὑμῶν τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἐς προὔπτον ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖσθαι κίνδυνον οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους οὔτε ἀνανδρία τινὶ οὔτε ὀλιγανθρωπία ἡσῆσθαι ἡμῶν, προνοία δὲ μόνη καὶ βουλὴ καταστρατηγηθέντας ἐς φυγὴν ἐνθένδε τετράφθαι οἶδα. [15] δέδοικα δὲ μὴ ταῦτα ὑμεῖς τῇ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ δόξῃ σφαλλόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα δράσῃτε. [16] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ νενικηκέναι δοκοῦντες τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπαιρόμενοι διαφθείρονται ἢ οἱ παρὰ δόξαν μὲν ἐπταικότες, δέει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ φροντίδι πολλῇ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχόμενοι. [17] ῥαθυμία μὲν γὰρ τῶν εὖ καθεστῶτων τινὰς ἔφθειρε, πόνονος δὲ ξὺν μερίμνῃ τῶν δεδυστυχηκότων πολλοὺς ὤνησεν. [18] ἐπεὶ τῶν μὲν ὀλιγορῖα εἰκόντων ἡ δύναμις ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, μελέτη δὲ ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέναι ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν. [19] οὐκοῦν ἐνθυμείσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὥς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ μὲν Οὐίττιγίς τέ ἐστι καὶ Γότθων μυριάδες πολλαί, Οὐραῖας δὲ Μεδιόλανόν τε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιβέβληται Λιγουρίαν ὅλην, Αὐξίμος δὲ ἤδη στρατιᾶς πλήρης πολλῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ἄλλα τε χωρία πολλὰ πρὸς ἀξιομάχων ἡμῖν φρουρεῖται βαρβάρων μέχρι ἐς Οὐρβιβεντόν, ἢ Ῥώμης ἐν γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὔσα. [20] ὥστε νῦν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ἐν κινδύνῳ τὰ πράγματα κεῖται, ἐς κύκλωσίν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπεπτωκόσιν. [21] ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς καὶ Φράγγους αὐτοῖς ἐν Λιγουρίᾳ ξυντετάχθαι φασίν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔξω δέους μεγάλου ἐς μνήμην ἰέναι πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. [22] φημὶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε χρῆναι μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Λιγουρίαν τε καὶ Μεδιόλανον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπὶ τε Αὐξίμον καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνη πολεμίους χωρεῖν, ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ πράζοντας: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα τοῦ πολέμου ἔργα διαχειρίζειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστά τε δοκῇ καὶ βέλτιστα εἶναι.' Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [23] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: 'Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ στρατηγέ, μὴ οὐχὶ ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ σοι πάντα εἰρησθαι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντίποι. [24] πάντα δὲ τουτονὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Μεδιόλανόν τε καὶ Αὐξίμον ἀποκεκρίσθαι μόνον ἀζύμφορον εἶναι παντελῶς οἶμαι. [25] ἀλλὰ σὲ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐξηγεῖσθαι οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλοιο οὐδὲν ἀπαικός, ἡμεῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίων ἐπικτησόμεθα χώραν, ἣν μάλιστα Γότθους

προσποιεῖσθαι φασι, καὶ Ῥάβενναν ξυνταράζομεν οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι βούλεσθε διεργάσεσθε, πάσης ἀποκεκλεισμένους τῆς τῶν ἀμυνόντων ἐλπίδος. [26] ἦν γὰρ ξὺν ὑμῖν ἐν Αὐξίμῳ προσεδρεῦειν ἐλοίμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ τῶν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιόντων βαρβάρων περιέσται ἡμῖν ἀμφιβόλοις τε γεγενῆσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπολελειμμένοις αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι.’ καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ δείσας μὴ ἐς πολλὰ Ῥωμαίων ιόντων καταρρεῖν τε τὰ βασιλέως ξυμβαίη πράγματα καὶ τῇ ἐνθὲνδε ἀκοσμίᾳ ξυγχεῖσθαι, γράμματα βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς τοὺς στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντας ἔγραψεν. [28] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ναρσῆν τὸν ἡμέτερον ταμίαν οὐκ ἐφ’ ᾧ ἄρξαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμψαμεν: μόνον γὰρ Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, αὐτῷ τε ὑμᾶς ἔπεσθαι ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῇ ἡμετέρα πολιτεία προσήκει.’ τὰ μὲν οὖν βασιλέως γράμματα ὧδέ πη εἶχε. [29] Ναρσῆς δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀκροτελευτίου λαβόμενος ἀπ’ ἐναντίας Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζετο ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ξυμφόρου βουλευέσθαι: διὸ δὴ σφίσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος Περάνιον μὲν ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ξὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ, ἐφ’ ᾧ πολιορκήσουσιν αὐτήν, ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Οὐρβῖνον τὸ στρατεύμα ἐπῆγε, πόλιν τε ἐχυρὰν καὶ Γόθων φρουρὰν διαρκῆ ἔχουσαν ‘ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη Ἀρμίνου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξηγουμένῳ Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ζύμπαντες εἶποντο. [2] τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὸν πρόποδα ἐστρατοπέδευσαν δίχα: οὐ γὰρ πη ἀλλήλοις ξυνετετάχατο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. [3] κεῖται δὲ Οὐρβῖνος ἐπὶ λόφου περιφεροῦς τε καὶ ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. οὐ μέντοι ὁ λόφος οὔτε κρημνώδης οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀπόρευτός ἐστι, μόνον δὲ δύσσοδος τῷ ἀνάντης ἐς ἄγαν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγχοτάτῳ ιόντι. [4] μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτετάχατο ὧδε. Βελισάριος δὲ ῥᾶον σφίσι προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογία τοὺς βαρβάρους οἰόμενος ἅτε κατωρρωδικότας τὸν κίνδυνον, πρέσβεις τε παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψε καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι κατηκόους βασιλέως γενέσθαι παρήνει. [5] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τῶν πυλῶν ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι ‘οὐ γὰρ τῇ πόλει σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι πολλά τε καὶ λίαν ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπον, οἱ δὲ Γόθοι χωρίου τε ἰσχυρὸν θαρροῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἦκιστα ἐνεδέχοντο, κατὰ τάχος δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐνθὲνδε ἐκέλευον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [6] Βελισάριος οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάβδους παχείας τῷ στρατῷ ξυλλέγειν ἐπήγγελλε, στοάν τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι μακράν. [7] ἥς δὴ ἐντὸς κρυπτόμενοι ἔμελλον τῶν τε πυλῶν ξὺν αὐτῇ ἀγχοτάτῳ ιέναι, ἥ μάλιστα ὁ χώρος ὁμαλός ἐστι, καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [8] Ναρσῆ δὲ ξυγγενόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινές, ἀπέραντά τε ποιεῖν Βελισάριον καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἐπινοεῖν ἔφασκον. ἥδη γὰρ Ἰωάννην τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρασάμενον, καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγων τινῶν τηνικαῦτα φρουρὰν ἔχοντος, ἀνάλωτον αὐτὸ ἡσθῆσθαι παντάπασιν

εἶναι 'καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως', ἀλλ' αὐτὸν χρῆναι βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰμιλίας χωρία. [9] ταύτῃ ὁ Ναρσῆς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς νύκτωρ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσε, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλὰ λιπαροῦντος μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Οὐρβίνον πόλιν σφίσι ξυνελεῖν. [10] οὗτοι μὲν ἐς Ἀρίμινον κατὰ τάχος ζύν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἴκοντο. Μώρας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπεὶ κατὰ ἡμῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναχωρήσαντας ἅμα ἡμέρα εἶδον, ἐτόθαζον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς μεμενηκότας ἐρεσχελοῦντες. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ λειπομένη στρατιᾷ τειχομαχεῖν ἤθελε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα βουλευομένῳ εὐτύχημα γενέσθαι ξυνηγέθη θαυμάσιον οἶον. [12] μία τις ἦν ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ πηγὴ, ἐξ ἧς δὴ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντες ὕδρευοντο. αὕτη κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου ἀποξηρανθεῖσα ὑπέληγεν. [13] ἔν τε ἡμέραις τρισὶν οὕτως αὐτὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέλιπεν ὥστε ζύν τῷ πηλῷ ἐνθένδε αὐτὸ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀρνύμενοι ἔπινον. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδαμῇ πετυσμένους ἤθελεν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ περιβόλου. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσας κύκλῳ ἀμφὶ τὸν λόφον ἅπαντα ἔστησε, τινὰς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων ἐπάγειν στοάν· [15] οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν μηχανὴν νενομίκασι ταύτην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐντὸς ὑποδύντες ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ τὴν στοάν ἐφεῖλκον τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνοντες. [16] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι χεῖρας τὰς δεξιὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων προτεινόμενοι ἐδέοντο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ εἰδότες τι τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ ξυμπεπτωκότων τὸν τε πόλεμον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν δεδιέναι ὑπώπτευν. ἀμφοτέρω γοῦν τῆς μάχης ἄσμενοι ἀπέσχοντο. [17] καὶ Γότθοι Βελισαρίῳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία παρέδοσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως κατήκοοι ζύν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ γεγεννημένοι. [18] Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν θαύματί τε καὶ ξυμφορᾷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιεῖτο. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἔτι ἡσύχαζεν, Ἰωάννην δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Καισίναν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ κλίμακας φέροντες ἦσαν. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προσέβαλλόν τε καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπεπειρῶντο. καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀμυνομένων ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον καὶ Φανίθεος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. [21] Ἰωάννης δὲ Καισίνης τότε τοῦ φρουρίου ἀποτυχὼν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἠξίου, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ζύν τε Ἰουστίνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ πρόσω ἤλαυνε. [22] καὶ πόλιν μὲν ἀρχαίαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κατέλαβεν ἡ Φοροκορνήλιος ὠνόμασται, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ αἰεὶ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων, ξύμπασαν βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀνέσώσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Οὐρβίνον ἀμφὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινὰς εἶλεν, ἐς μὲν Αὐξίμον ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἰέναι ἀξύνφορον ᾤετο εἶναι· χρόνον γὰρ σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν προσεδρεῖᾳ ὑπώπτευε. [2] βία τε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν ἐρύματος ἰσχυρὸν ἀδύνατον ἦν, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, πολλὴν τινα ληϊσάμενοι χώραν μέγα τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χρῆμα ἐσηνέγκαντο σφίσιν. [3] Ἀράτιον δὲ σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν Φίρμῳ διαχειμάζειν ἐκέλευε φυλάσσειν τε ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐνθένδε ποιοῦμενοι ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία βιάζωνται· αὐτὸς μὲντοι ἐπὶ

Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατευμα. [4] Περάνιος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγην, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ Γότθους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑποσπανίζειν ἠκηκόει πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἤλπίζε τε, ἣν πρὸς τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ Βελισάριον παντὶ που παρόντα τῷ στρατῷ ἴδωσι, ῥᾶον ἐνδώσειν: [5] ὅπερ ἐγένετο. Βελισάριος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἀφίκετο, ἅπαντας μὲν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν χώρῳ ἐπιτηδείως κειμένῳ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύκλῳ περιῶν διεσκοπεῖτο εἴ πως αὐτὴν βιάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατα ἦ. καὶ οἱ μηχανὴ μὲν οὐδεμία ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὥστε βία τινὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. [6] λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ παντάπασιν ἐδόκει ἀμήχανός οἱ ἡ ἐπικράτησις ἔσεσθαι. [7] Λόφος γάρ τις ἐκ κοίλης γῆς ἀνέχει μόνος, τὰ μὲν ὑπερθεὶν ὑπτιός τε καὶ ὁμαλός, τὰ δὲ κάτω κρημνώδης. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν λόφον ἰσομήκεις πέτραι κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται τινα, οὐκ ἄγχιστα πη οὔσαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον βολὴν διέχουσαι λίθου. [8] ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόφου οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι τὴν πόλιν ἐδείμαντο, οὔτε τείχη περιβαλόντες οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεὶ φύσει αὐτοῖς τὸ χωρίον ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [9] μία γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν εἴσοδος τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἣν φυλασσομένοις τοῖς ταύτῃ ὤκημένοις οὐδεμίαν ἐτέρωθι πολεμίων προσβολὴν δεδιέναι ξυμβαίνει. [10] χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἢ τὴν εἴσοδον ἢ φύσις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐτεκτίνετο, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ποταμὸς αἰεὶ μέγας τε καὶ ἀπόρευτος τὰ μεταξὺ ἔχει τοῦ τε λόφου καὶ τῶν πετρῶν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. [11] διὸ δὴ καὶ βραχεῖαν τινα οἰκοδομίαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰσόδῳ πεποιήναι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι. καὶ πύλη τις ἐνταυθὰ ἐστίν, ἣν τότε Γότθοι ἐφύλασσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Οὐρβιβεντῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο, ἣ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κακουργήσειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχων ἢ λιμῷ παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. [13] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐσπάνιζον, καίπερ ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτὰ ἔχοντες, ὅμως τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ἥκιστα μὲν ἐς τροφῆς κόρον ἐρχόμενοι, ὅσον δὲ μὴ λιμῷ ἀποθνήσκειν χρώμενοι σιτίοις ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοιπίει, δέρρεις τε καὶ διφθέρας ὕδατι βρέχοντες πολὺν τινα χρόνον εἶτα ἦσθιον: Ἀλβίλας γὰρ ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμος μάλιστα, ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς κεναῖς ἐβοσκεν. [15] Ἦνίκα τε αὐθις ἐπαιῶν ὁ χρόνος τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν ἦνεγκεν, ὁ σῖτος ἤδη ἐν τοῖς ληϊτοῖς αὐτόματος ἤκμαζεν, οὐχὶ τοσοῦτος μέντοι ὅσος τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἦσσαν. [16] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐλαξίν οὐκ ἀρότροις οὐδὲ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκέκρυπτο, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολῆς κείμενος ἔτυχε, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ τινα ὀλίγην ἢ γῇ ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν. [17] οὐδενός τε αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀμήσαντος, πόρρῳ ἀκμῆς ἐλθὼν αὐθις ἔπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθὲνδε ἐφύη. ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰμιλία ξυμπεπτωκὸς ἔτυχε. [18] διὸ ἐκλιπόντες τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦλθον. οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία διὰ τὸ ἐπιθαλάττια εἶναι παντάπασιν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι. [19] καὶ Τούσκων δὲ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὁ λιμὸς ἦψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὤκηντο, τῶν δρυῶν τὰς βαλάνους ἀλοῦντες, ὥσπερ τὸν σῖτον, ἄρτους τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιοῦμενοι ἦσθιον. [20] καὶ νόσοις μὲν παντοδαπαῖς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἠλίσκοντο, [21] ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ περιγεγόμενοι διεσώζοντο. ἐν Πικηνῷ

μέντοι λέγονται Ῥωμαῖοι γεωργοὶ οὐχ ἥσους ἢ πέντε μυριάδες λαοῦ λιμῶ ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι πλείους ἐκτὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου. [22] Ὅποιοι δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔθνησκον αὐτὸς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [23] ἰσχυοὶ μὲν καὶ ὠχροὶ ἐγίνοντο πάντες· ἢ τε γὰρ σὰρξ ἀποροῦσα τροφῆς κατὰ γε τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον ἐαυτῆς ἤπτετο, καὶ ἡ χολὴ τῷ περιόντι τὸ κράτος τῶν σωμάτων ἦδη ἔχουσα οἰκειάν τινά εἰκασίαν ἐς ταῦτα ἡφίει. [24] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, πᾶσα τε αὐτοὺς ἰκμὰς ἐπελελοίπει καὶ τὸ δέρμα λίαν ἀπεσκληρὸς βύρση μάλιστα ἐμπερὲς ἦν, δόκησιν παρέχον ὥς ἄρα τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐμπεπηγὸς εἶη. τό τε πελιδνὸν ἐς τὸ μέλαν μεταβαλόντες δαδίους τισὶν ἐς ἄγαν καυθεῖσιν ἐώκεσαν. [25] καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἐκθαμβὰ ἦν, ἀεὶ δὲ δεινῶς τι μανικὸν ἔβλεπον. ἔθνησκόν τε οἱ μὲν ἀπορία τροφῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίαν αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰόντες. [26] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ σφίσιν ἀποσβεσθὲν ἅπαν τὸ θερμὸν ἔτυχεν ὅπερ ἡ φύσις ἐντὸς ἔκαυσεν, εἴ τις ἐς κόρον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ βραχύ, θρέψειεν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ καιροῦ τεχθέντα παιδιά, οἶδε καταπέσαι οὐκέτι τὰ σιτία ἔχοντες, πολλῶ διεφθείροντο θάσσον. [27] τινὲς δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ ὑπερβιαζομένου ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. καὶ λέγονται γυναῖκες δύο ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι ὑπὲρ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως ἄνδρας ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐδηδοκέναι, ἄσπερ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μόνας περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσε. [28] διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἐκεῖνη πορευομένους ξένους εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καταλύειν οὐπὲρ αὐταὶ ὄκουν ξυνέβαινεν· οὓς δὴ καθεύδοντας διαφθείρουσαι ἥσθιον. [29] λέγουσιν οὖν τὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ξένον ἐξ ὕπνου ἀναστάντα, ἠνίκα αὐτῷ ταῦτα τὰ γύναια ἐγχειρεῖν ἔμελλον, μαθεῖν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναθορόντα τὸν πάντα λόγον καὶ ἄμφω κτείνειν. [30] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι φασιν. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τῇ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀνάγκῃ ἐχόμενοι, εἴ πού τις παρατύχη πόα, πολλῇ μὲν σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦσαν, ὀκλάσαντες δὲ ἀνέλκειν αὐτὴν ἐκ γῆς ἐπειῶντο. [31] εἶτα 'οὐ γὰρ ἠδύναντο, ἐπεὶ πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἰσχὺς ἐπελελοίπει ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πόας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς πίπτοντες ἔθνησκον. [32] καὶ γῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔκρυπτεν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τις ὅτῳ καὶ ταφῆς λόγος γένοιτο· ὄρνις μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἤπτετο, οἷοι πολλοὶ σιτίζεσθαι πεφύκασιν νεκροῖς σώμασιν, [33] ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφεῖντο. σάρκας γὰρ ἀπάσας, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, προδεδαπανῆσθαι τῷ λιμῷ ἦδη τετύχηκε. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Οὐραϊὰν τε καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους Μεδιόλανον πολιορκεῖν ἤκουσε, Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Οὐλίαιριν ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [2] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς ποταμὸν Πάδον, ὃς Μεδιολάνου ἀπέχει ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. χρόνος τε σφίσι πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐτρίβη, ἀμφὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ βουλὴν ἔχουσιν. [3] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Μουνδίλας ἤκουσε, τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Παῦλον ὄνομα, παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [4] ὁ δὲ λαθὼν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τοῦ Πάδου τὴν ὄχθην ἤλθεν. ὁλκάδος δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ νηχόμενος ξὺν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίησατο. [5] κομισθεὶς οὖν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἥκων ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: 'Μαρτίνε τε καὶ Οὐλίαιρι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδὲ δόξης τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἤκοντες, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν Γότθων δύναμιν αὔξοντες. [6] Μεδιόλανος γὰρ ἦδε, πόλεον τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πασῶν μάλιστα μεγέθει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία παρὰ πολλὸν προὔχουσα, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πρὸς τε Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐπιτείχισμά τε οὖσα καὶ πάσης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἐμπέπτωκε μέγαν ξὺν τε Μουνδίλᾳ καὶ τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ, παρὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίῳ ἐνοχλουμένη, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελουμένη. [7] ἡλικία μὲν οὖν ἡδίκηται βασιλεὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, λέγειν ἀφίημι. οὐ γάρ μοι πλείοσι λόγοις ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδίδωσι χρῆσθαι, ὁξεῖάν τινα τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπιζητῶν, ἕως ἔτι λείπεται τις ἐλπίς. [8] ὑμᾶς δὲ φημι χρῆναι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα κινδυνεύουσι Μεδιολανίταις ἀμύνειν. ἦν γάρ τινι μελλήσει ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐς ἡμᾶς χρῆσθε, ἡμῖν μὲν τὰ πάντων πικρότατα πεπονθόσιν ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβήσεται, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίῳ τὴν βασιλέως προσέσθαι δύναμιν. [9] προδόται γάρ, οἷμαι, καλεῖσθαι εἰσι δίκαιοι οὐχ οἱ ἂν τὰς πύλας τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνακλίνουσιν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τι ἤσπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, οἱ ἂν πολιορκουμένοις παρὸν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀμύνειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκίνδυνον ὀκνησιν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐλόμενοι, τὴν ἐκείνων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν τοῖς πολεμίῳ δεδώκασι.' [10] Παῦλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Μαρτίνος δὲ καὶ Οὐλίαιρις ἔψεσθαι οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπαγγειάμενοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψαντο. [11] ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐθις τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθὼν ἐς Μεδιόλανον νύκτωρ εἰσῆλθε, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν ἐπέρρωσεν. [12] Οὐδὲν τι δὲ ἤσπον οἱ ἀμφοτέρω Μαρτίνον ὀκνῶν ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, χρόνος τε πολὺς ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ μελλήσει ἐτρίβετο. [13] μετὰ δὲ Μαρτίνος ἀπολύεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν ἐθέλων Βελισαρίῳ ἔγραψε τάδε: "Επεμψας ἡμᾶς ὧδε τοῖς ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐπαμυνούντας, καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλῇ σπουδῇ, ὥσπερ σὺ ἐκέλευες, ἄχρι ἐς Πάδον ποταμὸν ἤκομεν, ὃν διαβαίνειν ὁ στρατὸς δέδοικεν, ἐπεὶ δύναμίν τε Γότθων μεγάλῃν καὶ Βουργουζίωνων ἀμύπολυν τὴν ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἐν Λιγούροις εἶναι ἀκούομεν, πρὸς οὓς γε ἡμεῖς διαμάχεσθαι μόνοι οὐχ οἷοί τε οἰόμεθα εἶναι. [14] ἀλλὰ κέλευε Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον ὡς τάχιστα ἐν γειτόνων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν Αἰμιλίῳ τῇ χώρᾳ εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐπομένῳ κινδύνῳ ἡμῖν τοῦδε ξυνάρασθαι. [15] κοινῇ γὰρ ἐνθένδε ἰόντες αὐτοὶ τε σῶσι εἶναι καὶ δρᾶν τι κακὸν δυνησόμεθα τοὺς [16] πολεμίους.' Μαρτίνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν ἀνελέξατο, Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον ἐκέλευε ζῦν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ἐς Μεδιόλανον κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. οἱ δὲ πράξειν οὐδὲν ἔφασκον, ὃ τι μὴ Ναρσῆς ἐπιστέλλοι σφίσι. [17] διὸ δὴ καὶ Ναρσῆ Βελισάριος ἔγραψε τάδε: “Ἐνσῶμα εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὰν νόμιζε, ἣν δὴ ἦν μὴ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι μίαν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τὰ μέλη ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ τι ἀλλήλων χωρὶς ἐνεργεῖν βούλεσθαι, λελείπεται ἡμῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν διαπεπραγμένοις ἀπολωλέναι. [18] οὐκοῦν Αἰμιλίαν μὲν ἔα, οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἔχουσιν οὔτε τινὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ῥοπὴν φέρουσιν. [19] σὺ δὲ Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον κέλευε αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα εὐθὺ τῶν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πολεμίων ζῦν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ἰέναι, ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας. [20] ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα στρατιᾶς πλῆθος, ὅπερ ἂν καὶ στέλλοιμι, οὐκ εἶναι ξυμβαίνει, ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐς Μεδιόλανον ἐνθένδε ἰέναι ἀξύμφορον οἶομαι εἶναι. [21] χρόνου τε γὰρ τετρίψεται πλῆθος, ὥστε ὀπίσω τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξουσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἥνίκα ἐς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωνται, οὐδαμῶς ἔξουσιν. [22] ἦν δέ γε ζῦν τε Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Οὐλίاري οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐς Μεδιόλανον ἴωσι, κρατήσουσί τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν καταλήψονται αὐθις, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος.” [23] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε τὰ γράμματα, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Μεδιόλανον ζῦν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἰέναι. [24] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐστάλη, ὅπως ἀκάτους ἐνθένδε κομίζοι, οὕτω τε διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς δύνηται. ἀλλὰ νόσος αὐτῷ ξυμβᾶσα τὰ πρασσόμενα διεκώλυσεν. [25] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τῇ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν ὀκνήσει ἐχρῶντο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὰς Ναρσοῦ ἐντολὰς ἔμενον, ἐν τούτῳ χρόνῳ δαπανᾶσθαι πολὺ τι χρῆμα τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τετύχηκεν. [26] οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβιαζομένου κυνῶν τε καὶ μυῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐγεύσαντο καὶ ζῶν ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς βρῶσιν ἀνθρώπου οὔποτε ἦλθον. [27] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι πρέσβεις παρὰ Μουνδίαν πέμψαντες ἐνδοῦναι σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἐκέλευον, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἀπαθεῖς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κακῶν μείνωνσιν. [28] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὠμολόγησε πράξειν, ἦν ἐκείνοι ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν τὰ πιστὰ δώσουσι καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐς τῶν οἰκητόρων τινὰ δράσουσιν. [29] ὥς δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι Μουνδίᾳ τε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, θυμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐς Λιγούρους ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντας ἀπολοῦντες ἐνδηλοι ἦσαν, συγκαλέσας Μουνδίᾳς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [30] ‘Εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι πώποτε, παρὸν αἰσχυρῶς βιῶναι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν εἵλοντο σωτηρίας τῆς παραυτίκα τὴν εὐπρεπὴ τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν ἀλλαξάμενοι, τοιούτους δὴ τινες ἐν τῷ παρόντι βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ μὴ τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸν μετὰ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς βίον διώκειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Βελισαρίου διδασκαλίας, ἥς ἐκ παλαιοῦ μετασχοῦσιν ὑμῖν μὴ οὐχὶ γενναίοις τε καὶ λίαν εὐτόλμοις εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον. [31] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εἰς φῶς ἤκουσι μία τις ἅπασι προέρχεται τύχη, τοῖς καθήκουσι τεθνήξεσθαι χρόνοις: τρόπῳ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀλλήλων ὥς τὰ πολλὰ διαλλάσσουσιν. [32] διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι ἄνδρῳ μὲν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἅπαντες ὕβριν τε καὶ γέλωτα ὀφείλοντες τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

πρότερον, εἴτα τοῖς ἄνωθεν διωρισμένοις καιροῖς οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἀναπιμπλᾶσι τὴν πεπρωμένην, γενναίοις δὲ ἀνδράσι ξύν τε τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς περιουσίᾳ τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει πάσχειν. [33] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εἰ μὲν ἀνθρώπους τοῦσδε ξυνδιασώζουσιν ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τοῖς βαρβάροις παρῆν, ἔφερεν ἂν τοῦτο γοῦν τινα τῆς αἰσχροῦς ταύτης ἡμῖν σωτηρίας συγγνώμην. [34] ἦν δέ γε Ῥωμαίους τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδεῖν ἀνάγκη ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων διαφθειρομένους χερσίν, ὅτου τις ἂν εἴποι τοῦτο θανάτου πικρότερον ἔσται. [35] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις ξυγκατεργάζεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν δόξαιμεν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἐσμέν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κύριοι ἀρετῇ τὴν ἀνάγκην κοσμήσασθαι, εὐδοξον τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν θώμεθα τύχην. [36] φημί δὲ χρῆναι ὥς ἄριστα ἐξοπλισμένους ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ προσδεχομένους χωρεῖν. [37] δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμῖν περιέσται θάτερον: ἢ τὴν τύχην ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἰργάσθαι τι κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος ἢ τελευτῆς τετυχηκότας εὐδαίμονος εὐκλεῶς μάλιστα τῶν παρόντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν.' [38] Μουνδύλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς παρεκάλουν οἱ πολέμιοι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδοσαν. [39] καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργασάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ ξύν Μουνδύλᾳ εἶχον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἄνδρας μὲν κτείναντες ἠβηδὸν ἅπαντας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, γυναῖκας δὲ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενοι λόγῳ, αἷς δὴ Βουργουζίῳνας δεδώρηνται χάριν αὐτοῖς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἐκτίνοντες. [40] Ῥεπάρατον δὲ εὐρόντες τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχον, ἔκοψάν τε κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ κρέα τοῖς κυσὶν ἔρριψαν. [41] Βηργεντίνος δὲ 'καὶ γὰρ ἐντὸς ὧν Μεδιολάνου ἔτυχέ διὰ τε Βενετίων καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Δαλματίαν κομίζεται. καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐνθὲνδε ἦλθε, πάθος ἀγγέλλων μέγα τοῦτο ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε γενέσθαι. [42] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Γότθοι πόλεις τε τὰς ἄλλας ὁμολογία εἶλον αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἔτυχον φρουράς ἔχουσαι, καὶ Λιγουρίας αὐθις ὅλης ἐκράτησαν. Μαρτίνος δὲ καὶ Οὐλίαιρις ξύν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνέστρεφον.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὥδέ πη ἔσχε. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος τῶν ἐν Λιγουρίᾳ ξυμπεπτοκότων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα ἤδη, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦει. [2] τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Μεδιολάνῳ τετυχηκότα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πορείᾳ μαθὼν ἐν μεγάλῳ ἐποίησατο πένθει. [3] καὶ Οὐλίαιριν μὲν ἐς ὄψιν οἱ ἐλθεῖν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε. [4] βασιλεὺς δὲ τούτων μὲν ἔνεκα δεινὸν τι εἰργάσατο οὐδένα, τὴν δὲ Βελισαρίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ διαφορὰν ἀκούσας Ναρσῆν τε αὐτίκα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοκράτορα παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο. [5] ὥδε μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐπανῆκε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἄγων. Ἐρουλοὶ δὲ μένειν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ναρσοῦ ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωροῦντος οὐκέτι ἠξίουσαν, καίτοι Βελισαρίου πολλὰ ὑποσχομένου σφίσι πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ μένουσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συσκευασάμενοι ἅπαντες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ Λιγουρίας ἀπεχώρησαν. [6] οὐ δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ Οὐραῖᾳ στρατῷ, ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα ὅσα ἐπῆγον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέδοντο, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι ἀπώμοσαν, μήποτε Γότθοις ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἢ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [7] οὕτω τε εἰρηναίαν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία

ἦλθον. ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς Βιταλίῳ ξυγγενομένοις τῶν ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἡμαρτημένων μετέμελεν. [8] ἀφοσιούμεοί τε τὸ ἔγκλημα Οὐίσανδον μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτοῦ εἶσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες, Αλουῖθ τε ἡγουμένου σφίσι καὶ Φιλμουθ, ὅσπερ Φανιθεοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐν Καισίνῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. [9] Οὐίτιγισ δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ Γότθοι Βελισάριον ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥάβενναν ἤξειν ἀκούοντες ἐν δέσματι μεγάλῳ καθίσταντο καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις ὅτι γὰρ ἀξιώμαχοι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ μόνας ὄντο εἶναι ἔδοξεν ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικουρίαν ἐπάγεσθαι. [10] Γερμανῶν μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε δολεροῦ καὶ ἀπίστου ἤδη ἐν πείρᾳ γεγενημένοι ἀπέσχοντο, ἀγαπῶντες, ἦν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν, [11] ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. ἐς δὲ Λαγγοβαρδῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα Οὐάκην πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν, χρήματά τε μεγάλα προτεινόμενοι καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχιμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. [12] οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ φίλον τε καὶ ζῦμμαχον τὸν Οὐάκην ἔγνωσαν εἶναι, ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [13] Οὐίτιγισ τοίνυν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἀπορούμενος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰεὶ ξυνεκάλει πολλούς. παρ' ὧν δὴ συχνὰ ἐπυνθάνετο ὅτι ποτὲ οἱ βουλευομένῳ τε καὶ πράσسونτι ἄμεινον τὰ πράγματα ἔξει. [14] γινῶμαι οὖν πολλοὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ξυνιόντων ἐλέγοντο, αἱ μὲν ἐπιτηδεῖς τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον φέρουσαι. [15] ἐν αἷς καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν λόγον ἦλθεν, ὥς οὐ πρότερόν ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν ἴσχυσε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτε αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐς Πέρσας γεγέννηται. [16] τοὺς τε γὰρ Βανδύλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους τηνικαῦτα ἀπολωλέναι καὶ Γότθοις τὰ παρόντα ξυμπεπωκέναι. ὥστε, ἦν τις καὶ νῦν Ἰουστινιανῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα ξυγκρούῃ, οὐ μήποτε Ῥωμαῖοι, τούτου δὲ ἐκπεπολεμωμένου σφίσι τοῦ ἔθνους, πόλεμον ἄλλον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσι. [17] ταῦτα Οὐιττίγιδι τε αὐτῷ ἤρесе καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἔδοξεν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα Χοσρόην στέλλεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγχεῶσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους, οἵπερ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πολέμιον καταστήσουσι. [18] διὸ δὴ τῶν ἐν Λιγούροις ἱερῶν δύο χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς ταύτην ἀναπειθουσι τὴν ὑπουργίαν. [19] ὧν ἕτερος μὲν, ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπισκόπου δόκησιν τε καὶ ὄνομα περιβεβλημένος, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν εἶπετο. [20] γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς Χοσρόην γεγραμμένα Οὐίτιγισ ἐπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης ἡγμένος ἀνήκεστα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔργα Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [21] ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Χοσρόην τε καὶ Πέρσας βουλευέσθαι ἤκουσε, καταλύειν μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ πόλεμον ὥς τάχιστα ἔγνω, Βελισάριον δὲ μεταπέμψασθαι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειε. [22] τοὺς μὲν οὖν Οὐιττίγιδος πρέσβεις ἔτι γὰρ ὄντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐτύγχανον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης σταλήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, οἵπερ ἐς Γότθους τὰς σπονδὰς θήσονται ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ. [23] τούτους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐ πρότερον μεθῆκε Βελισάριος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἕως καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς

ἀμφὶ Ἀθανάσιον τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀφῆκαν. [24] οὓς δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένους γερῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἡξίωσεν, Ἀθανάσιον μὲν ὑπαρχον τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία πραιτωρίων καταστησάμενος, Πέτρῳ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχὴν παρασχόμενος. [25] καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Βελισάριος δὲ Αὐξιμόν τε καὶ Φισούλαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον ἤθελε, οὕτω τε ἐπὶ τε Οὐίτιγιν καὶ Ῥάβενναν ἰέναι, οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθαι δυναμένου, οὔτε τὰ ὀπισθε κακουργεῖν ἔχοντος. [2] Κυπριανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἐς Φισούλαν ἐπεμψε, καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς ἐκ καταλόγου οὗ Δημήτριος ἦρχεν, οἱ δὴ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. [3] Μαρτῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ οὐπὲρ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο ὃν καὶ Φαγὰν ἐκάλουν, ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν ἔστελλεν. [4] οὓς δὴ φροντίδα ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως μὴ Οὐραΐας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν, ἣν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἀποκρούεσθαι οὐχ οἰοί τε ᾧσιν, ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς λάθρα ἐπισπομένους κατὰ νότου ἰέναι. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν πόλιν Δορθῶνα πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν καταλαβόντες, αὐτοῦ τε ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αὐξιμον πόλιν χιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἔχων ἀφίκετο. [6] Αὐξιμος δὲ αὕτη πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἐν Πικηνοῖς πόλεων ἔστιν, ἣν δὴ μητρόπολιν καλεῖν νενομίκασι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἀκτῆς μὲν κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου σταδίους τέσσαράς τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, Ῥαβέννης δὲ πόλεως ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα. [7] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ, εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπρόσδοτος τοῖς πολεμίοις παντάπασιν οὔσα. [8] ἐνταῦθα Γότθων εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, Οὐίτιγίς ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ ταύτην ἐξέλῳσι πρότερον, ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν οὐποτε στρατεύειν τολμήσωσιν. [9] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Αὐξιμον ἦλθεν, ἐκέλευε Βελισάριος παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὰ ἔσχατα πάντα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι κύκλῳ. [10] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ συμμορίας γενόμενοι καλύβας ἄλλος ἄλλῃ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπήγγυντο, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Γότθοι μακρὰν που ἀπολελειμμένους ἀλλήλων καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἅτε ἐν μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχοντας, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀμφὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως, ἣ Βελισάριος στρατόπεδον ἔτι ποιούμενος ξὺν τε δορυφόροις καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν. [11] οἱ δὲ ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, ῥᾱστά τε αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ ὡσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐπισπόμενοι κατὰ μέσον τοῦ λόφου ἐγίνοντο. [12] ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιστραφέντες καὶ χωρίου ἰσχυρὸν πιστεύοντες ἀντίοι τοῖς διώκουσιν ἔστησαν, συγχούς τε αὐτῶν ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν βάλλοντες ἔκτειναν, ἕως νύξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτω τε διαλυθέντες ἐκάτεροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠύλισαντο. [13] ἔτυχον δὲ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Γότθων τινὲς ὀρθρου βαθέος τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἕνεκα ἐς τὰ ἐκείνῃ σταλέντες χωρία. [14] οἱ δὴ οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ παρουσίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἐς νύκτα ἐπανῆκον. ἄφνω τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πυρὰ κατιδόντες ἐν θαύματι τε καὶ δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. [15] καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστήναν

τολμήσαντες καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Αὐξίμον ἐσῆλθον. ὅσοι δὲ κατορρωδήσαντες ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἐς ὕλας τινὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης χωρήσουσιν, οὗτοι δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις γενόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. [16] Βελισάριος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν Αὐξίμον ἰσχυροτάτην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οὖσαν, παντελῶς τέ οἱ ἀμήχανα εἶναι προσβολὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι, βία μὲν τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ᾤετο, πολιορκία δὲ ἀκριβεῖ ἐς τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίδα εἶχε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑποχειρίους ποιήσασθαι. [17] Τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν πόαν τινὰ πολλὴν ἢ γῆ ἀνιῆσα ξυμβολῆς ἀφορμὴν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Γότθοις ἔφερε. [18] ταύτην γὰρ ἀποτεμνομένους ἀεὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔνεκα τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τε τῷ λόφῳ δρόμῳ πολλῶ ἀνιόντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντες ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, φέρεσθαι τὴν πόαν οὐδαμῇ εἶων, πολλοὺς τε ἀεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ διέφθειρον. [19] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσωμένοι ἐπενόουν τάδε. τῶν ἀμαξῶν τοὺς τροχοὺς ζὺν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρσοι ἀφελόμενοι ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, τέμνειν τε τὴν πόαν ἀρξάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀνιόντας ἤδη ἐς τοῦ λόφου τὰ μέσα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἶδον, τοὺς τροχοὺς ἀφῆκαν κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. [20] τύχη δέ τινι τούτους ξυνέπεσε τοὺς τροχοὺς ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς ἀνθρώπου οὐδενὸς ἀψαμένους ἐλθεῖν. ταύτης τε τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, τότε μὲν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐποίουν τάδε. [21] τὰς φάραγγας, αἱ τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσὶν ἄγχιστα, ἐνέδραις τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν προλοχίσαντες ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐφαίνοντο, ἥνίκα τε ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένοιτο, ἐκπηδῶντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν οἱ κρυπτόμενοι, πλήθει τε τοὺς ἐναντίους παρὰ πολὺ υπεραίροντες καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ μὴ προαισθῆσθαι ἐκπλήσσοντες πλείστους μὲν ἔκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀεὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεπον. [22] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις εἰστήκεσαν ἔβλεπον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ὑπεξανισταμένους τοὺς πολεμίους, κραυγῇ δὲ πολλῇ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνακαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἥνουν, ἐπεὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων βοῆς ἥκιστα ἤκουον, μήκει τε τοῦ λόφου ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτῶν διειργόμενοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεὶ ἐξεπίτηδες σφίσιν ἀντιπαταγούντων τοῖς ὅπλοις. [23] Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορουμένῳ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, προσελθὼν εἶπεν: 'Οἱ ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, ᾧ στρατηγέ, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ χρώμενοι νόμους τινὰς ἠπίσταντο δύο, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφκει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντι, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεκάλει τοὺς μαχομένους, ἥνίκα ταῦτα ἐδόκει τῷ στρατηγῷ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. [24] ταύτη τε ἀεὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκέλευον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἴσχυον. [25] κραυγὴ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς σημεῖναι τι σαφὲς οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, πατάγου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πανταχόσε ἀντικτυποῦντος καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐκπλήσσοντος τὰς τῶν μαχομένων αἰσθήσεις. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ τανῦν ἀμαθία τε ἢ τοιαύτη τέχνη ἐξώλισθε καὶ μιᾷ σάλπιγγι ἅμωφ δηλῶσαι ἀμήχανον, αὐτὸς οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν ποιεῖ. [27] σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς ἱππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου τοῖς στρατιώταις διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ταῖς δὲ πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας. [28]

ἐκατέρου γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἥχου μὴ οὐχὶ ξυνεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαγε λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ πρόεισι.’
[29] Προκόπιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ἅπαν ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα ἔλαξε τοιαύδε: ‘Προθυμίαν ἐς τὸδε ξυμφέρειν τε οἶμαι καὶ πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἀξίαν εἶναι, μέχρις ἂν μετρία τις οὕσα οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔχουσι προσποιῆται βλάβος. [30] τῷ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντι τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ χειρὸν αἰετρίεσθαι εἴωθεν. ὑμεῖς οὖν μὴ τῷ φιλονείκῳ τὸ λοιπὸν σφάλλεσθε: φεύγειν γὰρ δὴ πού τὸν κακουργοῦντα οὐδεμία αἰσχύνῃ. [31] ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐς κακὸν προὔπτον ἀνεπισκέπτως ἰὼν καὶ σωθεὶς ἐνθένδε, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνει: γενναῖος δὲ ὅς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀνδραγαθίζεται. [32] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν οὐχ οἰοί τέ εἰσι διαμάχεσθαι, προλοχίζοντες διαφθεῖρουν ἡμᾶς ἐγχειροῦσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐνέδραν τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι μεμπτότερον. [33] τοῦ γὰρ ἐνδιδόναι ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν γνώμαις οὐδὲν αἴσχιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὅπως μὴ προσπεσεῖσθε ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραις μελήσει. [34] ἔργον δ’ ἂν ὑμέτερον εἴη, ἐπειδὴν σημήνω, ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. αὕτη δὲ ὑμῖν ἡ δῆλωσις ἐκ σάλπιγγος, ᾧ στρατιῶται, τῆς πεζικῆς ἔσται.’ Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [35] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους, δρόμῳ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦσαν, τινὰς τε αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ ἔκτεινον. [36] ἐν οἷς ἓνα χρυσοφοροῦντα τῶν τις Μαυρουσίων ἰδὼν λαβόμενός τε τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, ὅπως ἀποδύοι, τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφεῖλκε. [37] Γότθος δὲ τις αὐτὸν ἀκοντίῳ βαλὼν μυώνων τε, οἱ ὀπισθέν εἰσι τῶν κνημῶν, ἐκατέρων ἐπιτυχῶν, ἐνέρσει τοῦ ἀκοντίου ἄμφω τῷ πόδε ξυνέδησεν. [38] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ὁ Μαυρούσιος τῶν τριχῶν ἐχόμενος τὸν νεκρὸν εἶλκεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τὰς ἐνέδρας ἐκίνουν, Βελισάριος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὄρων τὰ ποιούμενα, ταῖς σάλπιγξι τοὺς πεζοὺς οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο ἡγεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευεν. [39] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ βραχὺ ἤδη ὑπεχώρουν, τὸν Μαυρούσιον ξὺν τῷ ἀκοντίῳ ἀράμενοι. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἔπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλ’ ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης, ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς Οὐίτιγιν ἐβουλεύοντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς στέλλεσθαι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐτόλμα ἴλῃσειν γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας οὐκ ἂν ποτε ᾤοντο, ἐπενόουν τάδε. [3] ἀσέλῃνον νύκτα τηρήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι οὓς δὴ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπειν διεννοοῦντο, γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐν χερσὶ θέμενοι, ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, ἐβόων ἅπαντες πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξαίσιον. [4] εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἐς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς καταστῆναι λίαν τε σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀλίσκομένης τῆς πόλεως: [5] οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ παντάπασι Ῥωμαῖοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, Βελισαρίου γνώμῃ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβουλήν τινα ὑποτοπάσαντες ἔσεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥκειν. ἃ δὴ δεδιότες ᾤοντο ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἡσυχάζουσι διασωῆσθαι ἢ ἐς προὔπτον τινα κίνδυνον ἐν νυκτὶ ἀσελῇν χωρεῖν. [6] οὕτω γοῦν οἱ βάρβαροι λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ

Ῥαβέννης τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔπεμψαν. οἱ οὐδενὸς πολεμίου ἄνδρὸς ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες παρὰ τε Οὐίτιγιν τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἔδειξαν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ἡνίκα ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐς τὴν ἐν Αὐξίμῳ φρουρὰν καθίστης, τὰς κλεῖς ἔφησθα παρακαταθέσθαι ἡμῖν Ῥαβέννης τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς σῆς. [8] διὸ δὴ ἐπήγγελλες ἡμῖν παντὶ σθένει φυλάσσεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς μέρος παραδῶμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ Γότθων κράτος, ἰσχυρίζου τε δεομένοις ἡμῖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ παρέσεσθαι αὐτεπάγγελτος. [9] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε λιμῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ μαχόμενοι πιστοὶ φύλακες τῆς σῆς βασιλείας γεγόναμεν, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπωςτιοῦν ἡμῖν βοηθεῖν ἔγνωκας. [10] λογίζου τοίνυν μὴ ποτε Αὐξιμον ἐλόντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἀνελόμενοι, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα κειμένων ὑπερορᾷς, οὐδενὸς τῶν σῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὦσι.’ τὰ γράμματα μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. [11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὰ Οὐίτιγίς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκα τοὺς ἄνδρας πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν Αὐξίμῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπεπέμψατο, μετὰ δὲ πολλὰ λογισάμενος ἡσυχίαν ἤγε. [12] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπώπτευε μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἐπισπόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ποιήσωνται, καὶ πολλὴν οἰόμενος ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν εἶναι ἐς ἀμήχανόν τι δέος ἐξέπιπτε. [13] μάλιστα δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσεν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄθεν ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πορίζηται. [14] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄτε θαλασσοκρατοῦντες καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀγκῶνι φρούριον ἔχοντες, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ἐκ τε Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐνταῦθα κατατιθέμενοι ἐς καιρὸν ἐνθένδε εὐπετῶς ἔφερον. [15] Γότθοις δὲ στρατεύουσιν ἐς Πικηνῶν τὴν χώραν πόρον οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐννοῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐς ἀμηχανίαν καθίστατο. [16] Οὐιτιγίδος μὲν οὖν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Αὐξιμον ἤνεγκαν οἱ πρόων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε σταλέντες καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κεναῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπέρρωσαν. [17] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλακὴν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι συμβαίῃ καὶ αὐθις τοιοῦτο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο τῇδε. [18] Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον Φισούλαν πολιορκοῦντες τῷ μὲν περιβόλῳ προσβάλλειν ἢ ἄγχιστά που αὐτοῦ ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον: δυσπρόσοδον γὰρ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν τὸ φρούριον ἦν. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων σφίσι συχνὰ ἐπεξιόντων μάχῃ τε μᾶλλον διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πύξεσθαι, ἀγχώμαλοι μὲν αἱ ξυμβολαὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐγίνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ πλέον ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες ἔς τε τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς πολεμίους κατέκλεισαν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασσον, [19] ὥστε μηδένα πῃ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντες καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν ἔπεμπον, βοηθεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι, ὥς οὐκέτι πλείω τινὰ ἀνθέξουσι χρόνον. [20] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ Οὐραῖαν ἐκέλευε ξὺν τῷ ἐν Λιγούροις στρατῷ ἐς Τικινοὺς ἰέναι: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρίζετο πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων δυνάμει τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέσεσθαι. [21] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει καὶ ἅπαν κινήσας τὸ ξὺν αὐτῷ στράτευμα ἐς Τικινοὺς ἦει: Πάδον τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐγγὺς που τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἦλθον. [22] οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἀντεκάθηντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν μάλιστα ὅσον σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. χειρῶν δὲ οὐδέτεροι

ἥρχον. [23] τοῖς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξεν ἀποκρῆν, εἰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμποδῶν στήσονται, ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας πορεύεσθαι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ὥκνουν διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, λογιζόμενοι ὥς, ἣν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ξυμβολῇ ἀτυχήσωσιν, ἅπαντα Γότθων διαφθεροῦσι τὰ πράγματα. [24] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἐπιμεινόμενοι ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔξουσι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ἐκάτεροι ἡσυχίαν ἤγον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φράγγοι κεκακῶσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούσαντες καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ῥᾶστα ἂν οἰόμενοι Ἰταλίας τὰ πολλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιήσασθαι, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἕτεροι ἐς τοσόνδε χρόνον διαφέρουσι μῆκος περὶ χώρας ἀρχῇ οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐν γειτόνων οὔσης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡσυχῇ μένοντες ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδῶν στήσονται. [2] ὄρκων τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παραιτίῳ καὶ ξυνηκῶν ἐπιλελησμένοι, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Γότθους ἐπεποιήντο ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὰ ἐς πίστιν σφαλερώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐς μυριάδας δέκα εὐθὺς ξυλλεγνέτες, ἡγουμένου σφίσι Θεουδιβέρτου, ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσαν, ἱππέας μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀμφὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἔχοντες, [3] οἱ δὲ καὶ μόνοι δόρατα ἔφερον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες οὔτε τόξα οὔτε δόρατα ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ ἐλέκυν ἓνα. οὗ δὲ ὁ μὲν σίδηρος ἀδρός τε καὶ ὀξὺς ἐκατέρωθι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, ἡ λαβὴ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου βραχεῖα ἐς ἄγαν. [4] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἐλέκυν ρίπτοντες ἀεὶ ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ τάς τε ἀσπίδας διαρρηγνύναι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς κτείνειν. [5] Οὕτω μὲν Φράγγοι τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀμείναντες αἱ Γάλλους τε καὶ Ἰταλοὺς διορίζουσιν, ἐν Λιγούροις ἐγένοντο. [6] Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῶν πρότερον τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχομένοις μεγάλα πολλὰκις ὑπὲρ ξυμμαχίας προέσθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσασθαι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶδὲ Θεουδιβέρτον παρεῖναι στρατῷ πολλῷ ἤκουσαν, ἔχαιρον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχητὶ περιέσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤοντο. [7] οἱ δὲ Γερμανοί, τέως μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἐς Γότθους ἄχαρι ἔπρασσον, ὅπως σφίσι μηδεμία κωλύμῃ ἐς τοῦ Πάδου τὴν διάβασιν πρὸς αὐτῶν γένηται. [8] ὥς δὲ ἴκοντο ἐς Τικινῶν πόλιν, ἵνα δὲ γέφυραν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐτεκτῆναντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπουργοῦν οἱ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες καὶ τὸν Πάδον κατ' ἐξουσίαν διαβαίνειν εἶων. [9] ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων οὐσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὖρον ἱερεῦόν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου ἐρρίπτουν. [10] οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης φυλάσσουσι, θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσια ἱερεύοντες, ταύτῃ τε τὰς μαντείας ποιοῦμενοι. [11] κατιδόντες δὲ Γότθοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἐς τε ἄμαχόν τι δέος κατέστησαν καὶ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐς τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἄσμενοι ἐθέωντο κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σφᾶς προσιόντας, ἐπὶ ξυμμαχία τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤκειν οἰόμενοι. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμιλος Γερμανῶν πολὺς ἐπιρρεύσας ἔργου τε εἶχοντο καὶ τοὺς πελέκους ἐσακοντίζοντες συγχονὺς ἤδη ἐσίνοντο, στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων

στρατοπέδου ἰόντες τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἔθεον. [13] φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισάριον ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἐλεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐνθὲνδε τε αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι μάχῃ νικήσαντα. ᾧ δὴ ξυμμίξαι βουλόμενοι ἄραντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τάχος ἦσαν. [14] ἐντυχόντες δὲ παρὰ δόξαν πολεμίων στρατῷ οὗτι ἐθελοῦσι οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχον, ἐπὶ Τουσκίαν δὲ ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. [15] ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι ἅπαντα ἐς Βελισάριον τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. [16] Φράγγοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, νενικηκότες, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα ἐλόντες παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνταῦθα εὖρον, δι' ὀλίγου δὲ ἅπαντα διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν δαπανήσαντες, ἄλλο τι οὐδὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ βόας τε καὶ τοῦ Πάδου τὸ ὕδωρ προσφέρεσθαι εἶχον. [17] ταῦτα τὰ κρέα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ καταπέψαι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες γαστρός τε ῥύσει καὶ δυσεντερίας νόσῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡλίσκοντο, ὧν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὥς ἥκιστα ἴσχυον. [18] φασὶ γοῦν τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ Φράγγων στρατοῦ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι. διὸ δὴ περαιτέρω ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ Φράγγων τε στρατὸν παρεῖναι ἀκούσας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰωάννην μάχῃ ἡσσηθέντας φυγεῖν ἐς ἀμυχανίαν κατέστη, περὶ τε τῇ πάσῃ στρατιᾷ δείσας καὶ διαφερόντως περὶ τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκουσιν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐγγυτέρῳ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπύθετο εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὴ πρὸς Θευδίβερτον ἔγραψε τάδε: [20] “Ἄνδρα μὲν ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον μὴ οὐχὶ ἀψευδεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἔθνων τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, οἶμαι, ὃ γενναῖε Θευδίβερτε, [21] οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι. τὸ δὲ καὶ ὄρκους ἀδικοῦντας ἐν γράμμασι κειμένους περιορᾶν τὰ ξυγκείμενα οὐδ' ἂν τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις ἐπιτηδεύεις ἔχοι. ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐξαμαρτάνων οἶσθα, καίτοι ὁμολογήσας ἐναγχος πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Γότθους τόνδε ξυλλήψεσθαι. [22] νῦν δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν ἔστηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπλα οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἀράμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκεις. μὴ σύ γε, ὃ βέλτιστε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα μέγαν ὑβρίζων, ὃν δὴ πού τὴν ὕβριν μὴ λίαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμείψεσθαι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη. [23] κρεῖσσον δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀσφαλῶς αὐτόν τινα ἔχειν ἢ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων μεταποιούμενον ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καθίστασθαι.” [24] ταύτην ἐπεὶ Θευδίβερτος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς Γερμανῶν κακιζόμενος, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως θνήσκοιεν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐφήμῳ, ἄρας τοῖς περιουσί τῶν Φράγγων ἐπὶ οἴκου ξὺν τάχει πολλῷ ἀπεχώρησεν.

Οὕτῳ μὲν Θευδίβερτος στρατεύσας ἐς Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἄφοδον ἐποιήσατο. οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀνέστρεψαν οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, ὅπως μὴ τινα οἱ πολέμιοι ἔφοδον ἐπὶ σφῶν τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ποιήσονται. [2] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Αὐξίμῳ, Φράγγων μὲν ἀφίξεως πέρι οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι, ἀπειρηκότες δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα οὕτῳ μέλλουσαν, αὐθις μὲν Οὐίτιγιν διανοοῦντο μαρτύρεσθαι, λαθεῖν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φυλακὴν οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ἐπένθουν. [3] μετὰ δὲ τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Βέσον γένος Βουρκέντιον ὄνομα, ὑπὸ Ναρσῆ τεταγμένον τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ, μόνον ἰδόντες ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν φυλακὴν

ἔχοντα, ὥς μή τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόαν ληψόμενος ἴοι, ἔς τε λόγους αὐτῷ ξυνήλθον ἐγγυτέρω ἦκοντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες ὥς οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν κακουργήσωσι ξυγγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον, ἔσεσθαι οἱ μεγάλα ἐπαγγειλαμένοις παρὰ σφῶν χρήματα. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιστολὴν τινα ἐς Ῥάβενναν διακομίσαι, τάξαντες μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα χρυσίον ῥητόν, πλέον δὲ ὑποσχόμενοι δώσειν, ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν Οὐιτιγίδος γράμματα ἐπανήκοι φέρων. [5] τοῖς δὲ χρήμασιν ὁ στρατιώτης ἀναπεισθεὶς ὑπουργήσῃν τε ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτελὴ ἐποίησε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. γράμματα γοῦν κατασσεσημασμένα λαβὼν ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. καὶ Οὐιτιγίδι ἐς ὄφιν ἔλθων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. [6] ἐδήλου δὲ τάδε: “Ὅπη μὲν ἡμῖν τὰ παρόντα ἔχει σαφῶς εἴσεσθε, πυνθανόμενοι ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παραπομπὸς εἴη. [7] Γόθῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμήχανά ἐστι. τῶν δὲ βρωμάτων ἡμῖν τὸ εὐπορώτατον ἢ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος πόα τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἥς γε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄψασθαι τανῦν ἔξεστιν, ὅτι μὴ πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἀγῶνι. ταῦτα ἐς ὃ τι ἡμῖν τελευτήσῃ σέ τε χρὴ καὶ Γόθους τοὺς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογίζεσθαι.” [8] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Οὐιτιγὶς ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται ὥδε: “Ἀναπεπτωκέναι δὲ ἡμᾶς, ὃ φίλτατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οἰέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδὲ ἐς κακίας τοσόνδε ἦκειν ὥστε ῥαθυμία τὰ Γόθων καταπροΐεσθαι πράγματα. [9] ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔναγχος ἦ τε τῆς ἐξόδου παρασκευὴ ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἦσκητο καὶ Οὐραΐας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν. [10] ἀλλ’ ἡ Φράγγων ἔφοδος παραδόξως ἐπιτεσοῦσα πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἀνεχαίτισεν, ὧν ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν δικαίως φεροίμην. [11] ὅσα γὰρ μείζω ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου δύναμιν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπτακόσι τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτοις εἶναι χαρίζεται, τῆς τύχης ἐφ’ αὐτὴν ἐπισπωμένης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγκλήματα. [12] νῦν μέντοι ‘καὶ γὰρ Θεουδιβερτον ἐκποδὼν ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι ἀκούομεν’ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, πάσῃ τῇ Γόθων στρατιᾷ παρεσόμεθα. [13] χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς τὰ παραπίπτοντα φέρειν ἀνδρείως τε καὶ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἐπιτηδεύως, λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν, ἥς ἔνεκα ἐκ πάντων ἀπολέξας ὑμᾶς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ κατεστησάμην, αἰσχυνομένους δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν Γόθοι ἅπαντες ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἔχοντες Ῥαβέννης τε ὑμᾶς καὶ [14] τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας προβέβληνται.’ τοσαῦτα γράψας Οὐιτιγὶς καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς δὴ ἐς Αὐξιμον ἀφικόμενος, παρὰ τε τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἦλθε καὶ ἀρρώστημα ὃ τι δὴ οἱ ξυμβεβηκέναι σκηψάμενος ἔς τε ἱερόν τι οὐκ ἄποθεν ὃν διὰ τοῦτο ἐσχολακέναι, κατέστη μὲν αὐθις ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἥπερ εἰώθει, λαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ γράμματα ἔδωκεν: ἅπερ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγνωσθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντας, [15] καίπερ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζομένους, ἐπέρρωσε. διὸ δὴ προσχωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ πολλὰ τιθασσεύοντι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλον. αὐθις δὲ ‘οὐδὲ γὰρ σφίσι στράτευμα ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐξεληλυθὸς ἠγγέλλετο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἦδη ἤχοντο Βουρκέντιον πάλιν πέμπουσι, τοῦτο ἐν γράμμασι δηλώσαντες μόνον, ὥς πέντε ἡμερῶν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν οἷοι τέ εἰσι τῷ λιμῷ μάχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκεν αὐθις, Οὐιτιγίδος ἐπιστολὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς ἀναρτῶσαν. [16]

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ μακρὰν οὕτω προσεδρεῖαν πεποιήνται, διηποροῦντο, οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας σφίσιν ἐν τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρῶντες. [17] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο ζῶντά τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκίμων λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἂν γνοίῃ ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ δεινὰ καρτεροῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ οἱ Βαλεριανὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπουργήσιν εὐπετῶς ὡμολόγει. [18] εἶναι γάρ τινας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἐκ τοῦ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνους, οἱ κρύπτεσθαι τε ὑπὸ λίθῳ βραχεῖ ἢ φυτῷ τῷ παρατυχόντι εἰώθασιν καὶ ἀναρπάξαι ἀνδρα πολέμιον. [19] τοῦτό τε αἰεὶ παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ἔνθα ἴδρυνται, ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐνδείκνυνται. ἦσθη τῷ λόγῳ Βελισάριος καὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε. [20] Βαλεριανὸς οὖν ἀπολέξας τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἓνα σώματός τε μεγέθους περί εὗ ἦκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον, ἀνδρα πολέμιον ἄγειν ἐπέστελλε, χρήματά οἱ μεγάλα πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσσεσθαι. [21] δράσειν δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ εὐπετῶς ἔφασκεν οὐπὲρ ἡ πόα τυγχάνει οὔσα: χρόνου γὰρ πολλοῦ ταύτῃ τοὺς Γότθους ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων σιτίζεσθαι. [22] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκλαβηνὸς ὀρθρου βαθέος ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος, ἐν θάμνῳ τινὶ ἐγκαλυψάμενός τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγὼν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐκρύπτετο. [23] ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθος ἀνὴρ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων τὰς βοτάνας κατὰ τάχος ξυνέλεγεν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ θάμνου ὑποτοπάζων οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, συχνὰ δὲ περισκοπῶν ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐνθένδε ἐς αὐτὸν ἴοι. [24] καὶ οἱ ἐπιπεσὼν ὀπισθεν ὁ Σκλαβηνὸς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνάρπαστον ἐποιήσατο, σφίγγων τε μέσον καρτερῶς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦνεγκε καὶ φέρων Βαλεριανῷ ἐνεχείρισεν. [25] ὃ δὴ πυνθανομένῳ, ὅτῳ ποτὲ Γότθοι πιστεύοντες καὶ τί τὸ ἐχυρὸν ἔχοντες ἦκιστα ἐθέλουσι προσχωρεῖν σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκούσιοι τὰ δεινότατα ἐγκαρτεροῦσι, τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τῷ Βουρκεντίῳ ὁ βάρβαρος ἔφρασε καὶ αὐτόν οἱ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκοντα ἤλεγχε. [26] ὁ δὲ Βουρκέντιος, ἐπεὶ ἔκπυστος ἤδη γεγονῶς ἦσθετο, οὐδὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπέκρυψε. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος μὲν τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτὸν ὅτι βούλονται παρέδωκε χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ζῶντα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔκαυσαν, θεωμένων τὰ ποιούμενα τῶν πολεμίων. Βουρκέντιος μὲν οὕτω τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπέλαυσε.

Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀντέχοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρῶν ἐς τοῦ ὕδατος καθίστασθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διενοεῖτο, ταύτῃ ῥᾶθιν τε καὶ εὐπωρότερον αἰρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενος. [2] καί, ἦν γάρ τις κρήνη Αὐξίμου πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει, τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπέχουσα ὅσον λίθου βολήν, κατὰ βραχὺ μάλιστα τὸν ροῦν ἀφιεῖσα ἐς τινα δεξαμενὴν αὐτόθι ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσαν, ἣ τε δεξαμενὴ πλήρης γεγενημένη ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὀλίγης ἐπιρροῆς παρείχετο πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑδρεύεσθαι, ἐννοιά τις Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὥς, ἦν μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνταῦθα ξυσταίῃ, οὐ μὴ ποτε οἰοί τε ὅσιν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων βαλλόμενοι ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιρροῆς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι. [3] διαφθεῖραι γοῦν ἐθέλων τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον, κύκλῳ τε αὐτὸ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενος, δόκησιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρείχετο ὥς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλεῖν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πανταχόθεν μέλλοι. [4] διὸ δὴ

κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ Γότθοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὡς ἐνθένδε ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰσαύρους πέντε τοὺς ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἐμπείρους ζῶν τε πελέκεσι καὶ ἄλλοις ὀργάνοις ἐς λίθων ἐκτομὰς ἐπιτηδείους ἐς τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἀσπίδων πλήθει κρυπτομένους ἐσήγαγε, διαφθεῖραί τε καὶ διελεῖν τοὺς τοίχους πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευεν. [6] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπώπτευον ἰέναι, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ὅπως ἂν ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενομένους εὐπετῶς βάλλοιεν, ἐν νῷ τὸ ποιούμενον ἥκιστα ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐντὸς γενομένους τῆς δεξαμενῆς εἶδον, λίθους τε καὶ τοξεύματα πάντα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλον. [7] τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἅπαντες ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, μόνοι δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἰσαυροὶ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἔργου εἶχοντο· κύρτωμα γάρ τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδατος σκιᾶς ἔνεκα τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τῇδε πεποιήται. [8] οὗ δὴ ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων, καίπερ συχνὰ βαλλόντων, ἐφρόντιζον. [9] Διὸ δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν ταύτη πυλίδα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἅπαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἦσαν. [10] καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισαρίου σφίσιν ἐγκελευομένου σπουδῇ πολλῇ ὑπηντίαζον. γίνεται μὲν οὖν μάχη καρτερὰ ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὠθισμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ φόνος ἐκατέρων πολὺς. [11] Ῥωμαίων δὲ μᾶλλον συχνοὶ ἔπιπτον. ἅτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπερθεν ἀμυνόμενοι ὀλίγοι τε πολλοὺς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ τῷ ὠθισμῷ περιγενόμενοι πλείους ἔκτεινον ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔθνησκον. [12] ἐνδιδόναι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, παρόντα τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευόμενον Βελισάριον αἰσχυνόμενοι. [13] τότε δὴ καὶ βέλος τι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἦει ζὺν ροίζῳ πολλῷ, πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐνταῦθα βληθέν. [14] ὅπερ Βελισάριος μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶδεν. οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὔτε φυλάσσεσθαι οὔτε πη ἐκτρέπεσθαι ἴσχυσε. δορυφόρος δὲ τις Οὐνίγαστος ὄνομα παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐστηκὼς κατενόησέ τε οὐκ ἄποθεν ὃν τῆς Βελισαρίου γαστρός, καὶ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν προβαλλόμενος ἔσωσε μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου, αὐτὸς δὲ πληγὴς τῷ τοξεύματι εὐθὺς μὲν περιώδυνος γεγονὼς ἀνεχώρησε. [15] μετὰ δὲ τῶν νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων οὐκέτι τὴν χεῖρα ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσεν. ἥ τε μάχη πρῶι ἀρξαμένη ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν ἀφίκετο. [16] Καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄνδρες ἐπτὰ ὑπὸ τε Ναρσῇ καὶ Ἀρατίῳ τασσόμενοι ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, ἔς τε τὴν δυσχωρίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἀνάντης ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ περιθέοντες καὶ κτείνοντες τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἀεὶ σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντας, ἕως διωσάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνη βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. [17] οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνδιδόντας ὀρῶντες ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, οἱ τε βάρβαροι αὐθις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τὴν τε δεξαμενὴν διεφθάρθαι καὶ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἅπαν ἐπιτετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον χάλिका ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι παντελὲς ἴσχυσαν. [19] οἱ γὰρ πάλαι τεχνῖται, ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελούμενοι μάλιστα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην τὴν οἰκοδομίαν εἰργάσαντο, ὥστε μήτε χρόνῳ μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῇ εἵκειν. [20] ἄπρακτοι γοῦν οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοῦ χῶρου κρατήσαντας εἶδον, ἐκ τῆς δεξαμενῆς ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [21] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν τε ζώων τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ βοτάνας ἐς ἀνθρώπου φθορὰν ἱκανῶς πεφυκυίας ρίπτειν

ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε καὶ λίθον κατακεκαυμένην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἦν πάλαι μὲν τίτανον, τανῦν δὲ ἄσβεστον καλεῖν νενομίκασιν ἐμβαλόντας ἐνταῦθα σβεννύειν. [22] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι φρέατι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ὕδωρ τι βραχὺ ὡς μάλιστα ἔχοντι ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐχρῶντο. [23] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Βελισάριος οὔτε βία τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν οὔτε τινα ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι ὕδατος πέρι ἢ ἄλλου ὁπουοῦν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, μόνῳ τῷ λιμῷ περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίδα ἔχων. [24] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο. οἱ τε Γότθοι καταδοκοῦντες ἔτι τὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης στρατὸν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡσύχαζον. [25] Ἦδη δὲ οἱ ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκούμενοι ὡς μάλιστα τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, φέρειν τε τὸ κακὸν οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, ἀπειπόντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα, τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [26] Κυπριανῷ τοίνυν καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες, τά τε πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογία παρέδωκαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν ζὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπαγόμενοι, φρουράν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν Φισούλῃ καταστησάμενοι, ἐς Αὐξίμον ἦλθον. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγουμένους τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ βαρβάροις ἀεὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος ἐκέλευε τῆς ἀπονοίας μεθίεσθαι, τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀποσεισαμένους ἐλπίδα: ὄνησις γάρ τις οὐ μὴ ποτε οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἔσται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ κεκακωμένοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐς ταῦτόν τυχῆς τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ ἀφίζονται. [28] οἱ δὲ πολλὰ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λογισάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ λιμῷ οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἠξίου, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ζὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης πορεύσονται. [29] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τοῖς παροῦσι διηπορεῖτο, πολεμίους μὲν τοιοῦτους τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀναμίγνυσθαι ἀζύμοφορον εἶναι οἰόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ ὑστερήσαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἠθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβεννάν τε καὶ Οὐίττιγιν, ἠωρημένων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἰέναι. [30] Φράγγοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσον, Γότθοις ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπίδοξοι ὄντες. ὧν δὴ προτερῆσαι τὴν παρουσίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων διαλύειν τὴν προσεδρεῖαν μήπω Αὐξίμου ἀλούσης οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. [31] οἱ τε στρατιῶται οὐκ εἶων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα, τραύματα μὲν πολλὰ ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὧνπερ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔτυχον, πόνους δὲ πάντα ἀπαριθμοῦντες τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ σφίσι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκότας, ὧν δὴ ἅθλα εἶναι τῶν ἡσσημένων τὰ λάφυρα ἰσχυρίζοντο. [32] τέλος δὲ οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καιροῦ ὀξύτητι ἀναγκασθέντες, καὶ Γότθοι τῷ λιμῷ βιαζόμενοι ξυνίασιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ ἡμίσεια Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διανέμονται, τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα Γότθοι ἔχοντες βασιλέως κατήκοοι ᾤσιν. [33] ἑκάτεροι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκαν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα κύρια εἶναι, Γότθοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀποκρύψασθαι. [34] οὕτω τε δὴ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐνείμαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Αὐξίμον ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῷ βασιλέως στρατεύματι ἀνεμίγνυντο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος Αὐξίμον εἶλε, Ῥαβενναν πολιορκεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐνταῦθα ἐπῆγε. Μάγνον τε πέμψας ζὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπὲρ Ῥαβέννης ἐκέλευε Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην ἀεὶ

περιόντα φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθένδε οἱ Γότθοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. [2] καὶ Βιτάλιος δέ οἱ ξὺν στρατῷ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἀφικόμενος ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐφύλασσε. ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη τις τύχη, δήλωσιν ἀντικρυς ποιούμενη ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴ πρυτανεύει ἀμφοτέροις τὰ πράγματα. [3] συχνὰς γὰρ οἱ Γότθοι ἀκάτους πρότερον ἐν Λιγούροις συλλέξαντες ἐς τὸν Πάδον καθῆκαν, ὥσπερ ἐμπλησάμενοι σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης διεννοοῦντο. [4] οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπέληγεν ὥστε αὐτοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἕως ἐπελθόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀκάτους σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἅπασιν εἶλον. [5] ὁ τε ποταμὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς ροὴν ἐπανιών τὸν καθήκοντα ναυσίπορος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγεγόνει. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβῆναι οὐ πώποτε πρότερον ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. [6] ἥδη τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἤρξαντο τῶν ἐπιτηδίων ὑποσπανίζειν. οὔτε γὰρ διὰ κόλπου τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἰονίου εἶχον, θαλασσοκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεκέκλειντο. [7] γνόντες δὲ οἱ Φράγγων ἄρχοντες τὰ ποιούμενα προσποιεῖσθαι τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες, πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπουσι, ξυμμαχίας ὑπόσχεσιν προτεινόμενοι, [8] ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς χώρας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρξουσιν. ὅπερ Βελισάριος ὡς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεροῦντας Γερμανοῖς ἐπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ Θεοδόσιον τὸν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστῶτα. [9] Πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις Οὐίτιγιδι ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: “Ἐπεμψαν ἡμᾶς οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες, δυσχεραίνοντες μὲν ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Βελισαρίου πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἤκουσαν, τιμωρεῖν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τάχιστα κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [10] τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πεντήκοντα ἤδη που τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερβεβηκέναι οἴομεθα, οὐσπερ τοῖς πελέκεσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ καταχῶσιν αὐχοῦμεν. [11] ὑμᾶς δὲ οὐ τῶν δουλωσομένων τῇ γνώμῃ ἔπεσθαι ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου εὐνοία τῇ ἐς Γότθους καθισταμένῳ. [12] ἄλλως τε, ἢ μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ξὺν ἡμῖν ἔλησθε, οὐδεμία λελείπεται Ῥωμαίοις ἐλπίς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναδυσόμεθα τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. [13] ἢν δέ γε ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις τετάξονται Γότθοι, οὐδ' ὡς τῷ Φράγγῳ ἔθνη ἀνθεξουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, ἀλλὰ περιέσται ὑμῖν τὸ ξὺν τοῖς πάντων πολεμιωτάτοις ἡσσησθαι. [14] ἐς προὔπτον δὲ κακὸν ἰέναι, παρὸν κινδύνου ἐκτὸς σώζεσθαι, πολλὴ ἄνοια. ὅλως δὲ ἄπιστον πᾶσι βαρβάροις τὸ Ῥωμαίων καθέστηκεν γένος, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει πολεμίων ἐστίν. [15] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ξυνάροξομέν τε βουλομένοις ὑμῖν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης καὶ τὴν χώραν διοικησόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. σὲ δὲ καὶ Γότθους ἐλέσθαι εἰκὸς ὅτι ἂν ὑμῖν ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ.” Φράγγοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [16] Παρελθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὥδε: “Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ λυμανεῖται τὸ Γερμανῶν πλήθος, ὅπερ οὗτοι δεδίττεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τί ἂν τις ἐν ὑμῖν μακρολογίῃ, οἷς γε διὰ μακρὰν ἐμπειρίαν ἅπασαν ἐξεπίστασθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ροτὴν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα ἀρετὴ ἀνθρώπων ὁμίλῳ φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι; [17] ἐῷμεν γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πάντων μάλιστα βασιλεῖ πάρεστι πλήθει στρατιωτῶν περιεῖναι τῶν

πολεμίων. τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων πιστόν, ᾧ χρησθαι αὐχοῦσιν ἐς πάντας βαρβάρους, μετὰ γε Θορίγγους καὶ τὸ Βουργουζιάνων ἔθνος, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιδέδεικται. [18] ὥς ἡμεῖς γε ἡδέως ἂν Φράγγους ἐροίμεθα τίνα ποτὲ μέλλοντες ὁμείσθαι θεὸν τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῖν ἐχυρὸν ἰσχυρίζονται δώσειν. [19] τὸν γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένον ὄντινα τετιμήκασι τρόπον ἐπίστασθε δὴ που: οἱ γε χρήματα μὲν τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, Γαλλίας δὲ ὅλας παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ξυμμαχία κεκομισμένοι οὐχ ὅσον ὑμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου συνάρασθαι οὐδαμῶς ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα οὕτως ἀνέδην καθ' ὑμῶν εἶλοντο, εἴ τις ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πάδῳ ξυμπεπτωκότων διασώζεται λόγος. [20] καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ φθάσαντα λέγοντας ἐλέγχειν τὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἀσέβημα; τῆς παρούσης αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο μιαιώτερον. [21] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιλεησμένοι τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡμολογημένων τε καὶ ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ὁμωμοσμένων κοινωνεῖν τῶν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. [22] ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτου παρ' ὑμῶν τύχωσιν, εἰς τί ποτε αὐτοῖς τελευτήσῃ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἀκόρεστον σκοπεῖσθαι προσήκει.' [23] Τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν. Οὐίτιγίς δὲ ξὺν Γότθων τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολλὰ κοινολογησάμενος τὰς τε πρὸς βασιλέα ξυνθήκας εἴλετο καὶ ἀπράκτους ἀπεπέμψατο τοὺς Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Γότθοι μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἤδη, Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐφύλασσε τοῦ μὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [24] καὶ Βιτάλιον μὲν ἐς Βενετίους ἰόντα ὥς πλεῖστα ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰλδίγερα πέμψας τὸν Πάδον ἐφύλασσε κατέρωθεν, ὅπως τε οἱ βάρβαροι μᾶλλον ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδώσουσι καὶ τὰς ξυνθήκας ποιήσονται ἢ αὐτὸς βούλεται. [25] καὶ ἐπεὶ σῖτον πολλὸν ἐν δημοσίοις οἰκήμασιν ἔτι ἐντὸς Ῥαβέννης ἀποκεῖσθαι ἔγνω, τῶν τινα ταύτῃ ὤκημένων ἀνέπεισε χρήμασι ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκήματα ξὺν τῷ σίτῳ λάθρα ἐμπρῆσαι. [26] φασὶ δὲ καὶ γνώμη Ματασοῦνθης, τῆς Οὐιτιγίδος γυναικός, ταῦτα ἀπολωλέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ σῖτος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκέκαυτο, οἱ μὲν τινες ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπετόπαζον, οἱ δὲ κεραυνῷ τὸν χῶρον βεβλήσθαι ὑπόπτευνον. [27] ἐκάτερα δὲ λογιζόμενοι Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐίτιγίς ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέπιπτον, οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πιστεῦειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμείσθαι οἰόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο. [28] Ἐν δὲ Ἄλπεσιν αἱ Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἄλπεις Κουτίας καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, φρουρία συχνὰ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [29] οὗ δὴ Γότθοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ξὺν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὤκημένοι, φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὕσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βούλεσθαι Βελισάριος προσχωρεῖν ἤκουσε, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινά, Θωμᾶν ὄνομα, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες παραστήσονται ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. [30] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀφικομένους Σίσιγίς, ὃς τῶν ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίων ἦρχεν, ἐνὶ τῶν φρουρίων δεξάμενος, αὐτὸς τε προσεχώρησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστους εἰς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν. [31] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐραΐας τετρακισχιλίους Λιγούρους τε καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσι φρουρίων ἀπολεξάμενος, ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ὥς βοηθήσων κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [32] οὔτερ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Σισίγιδι πεπραγμένα ἐπίθοντο, ἀμφὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δεδιότες, [33] ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ἠξίουσαν ἰέναι. διὸ δὴ Οὐραΐας παντὶ τῷ

στρατῶ ἐς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Κουτίας ἦλθε καὶ τὸν Σίσιγιν ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐπολιόρκει. ταῦτα Ἰωάννης τε, ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς, καὶ Μαρτίνος πυθόμενοι ἄγχοτάτω γὰρ Πάδου ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἐτύγγανον κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι φρουρίων τισὶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπισκήψαντες εἶλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὤκημένους ἠνδραποδίσαντο, ἐν οἷς παῖδάς τε συχνοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐραῖα στρατευομένων ξυνεπεσεν εἶναι. [34] πλεῖστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν φρουρίων ὀρμώμενοι εἶποντο. [35] οἵπερ, ἐπεὶ ἀλῶναι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔμαθον, ἀποταξάμενοι τοῦ Γότθων στρατοπέδου ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐραῖας οὔτε τι ἐνταῦθα ἀνύτειν οὔτε τοῖς ἐν Ῥαβέννη κινδυνεύουσι Γότθοις βοηθεῖν ἰσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ ἄπρακτος ἐς Λιγουρίαν ζὺν ὀλίγοις ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. καὶ Βελισάριος κατ' ἐξουσίαν Οὐίτιγιν τε καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους ἐν Ῥαβέννη καθεῖρξε.

Τότε δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο, Δόμνικός τε καὶ Μαξιμῖνος, ἐκ βουλῆς ἄμφω, ἐφ' ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην κατὰ τάδε ποιήσονται: [2] Οὐίτιγιν μὲν πλούτου τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φέρεσθαι, χώρας τε ἄρχειν ἢ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἐστί: τῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων τὸ ἥμισυ βασιλέως εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶν ὑπήκοα ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ποιήσασθαι. [3] Βελισαρίῳ τε οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα δειξάντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐκομίσθησαν. μαθόντες δὲ Γότθοι καὶ Οὐίτιγίς ἐφ' ᾗ ἤκοιεν, ἄσμενοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὠμολόγησαν τὰς σπονδὰς θήσεσθαι. [4] ἅπερ ἀκούσας Βελισάριος ἡσχαλλεν, ἐν ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ ποιούμενος, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἐφῆ, παρὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τό τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ δορυάλωτον Οὐίτιγιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγεῖν. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥαβέννης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, γράμμασιν οἰκείοις ἐπιρρῶσαι τὰς ξυνθήκας ἤκιστα ἠθέλεν. [6] ὥνπερ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι νῷ τε δολερῷ τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσι Ῥωμαίους προτείνεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, καὶ ὑπονίᾳ ἐς αὐτοὺς μεγάλῃ ἐχρῶντο, ἄντικρὺς τε ἤδη ἔφασκον ἄνευ τῶν Βελισαρίου γραμμάτων τε καὶ ὄρκων οὔποτε ξυνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι. [7] Ἀκούσας δὲ βελισάριος λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινάς, ὡς δὴ ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι τὸν πόλεμον καταλύειν οὐδαμῶς Βούλοίτο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας, Δομνίκου τε καὶ Μαξιμίνου παρόντων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [8] Ἐπὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὡς ἤκιστα ἐστάναι αὐτός τε οἶδα καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ταυτά μοι γινώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οἶμαι. [9] πολλοὺς τε γὰρ ἐπίδοξος, ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεται, οὔσα ἢ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίς ἔσφηλε, καὶ τοῖς ἡτυχηκένοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἤδη παρὰ δόξαν περιεῖναι ξυνέβη. [10] διὸ δὴ φημι χρῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευομένους οὐ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα προβάλλεσθαι μόνον, ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἔσσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης. [11] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὑμᾶς τε τοὺς ξυνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺςδε τοὺς βασιλέως πρέσβεις ξυνεισάγειν ἔδοξεν ἔμοιγε, ὅπως ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐλόμενοι ὃ τι ἂν βασιλεῖ ξυνοίσειν δοκῇ, μήποτε τινα ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων κατ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσῃσθε μέμψιν. [12] τῶν γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη σιωπᾶν μὲν ἕως ἔξῃσιν ἐξελέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, σκοπούμενοι δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀπόβασιν τὰς αἰτίας ποιεῖσθαι. [13] ὅσα μὲν

οὖν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσιν βασιλεῖ τε δέδοκται καὶ Οὐιτιγίδι βουλομένῃ ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού. [14] εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν ξύμφορα ταῦτα εἶναι δοκεῖ, λεγέτω παρελθὼν ἕκαστος. εἰ μέντοι πᾶσάν τε Ἰταλίαν οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνασώσασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ποιήσασθαι, οὐδὲν κωλύσει μηδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν.’ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος εἶπεν, [15] ἅπαντες ἄντικρυς ἀπεφώνησαν τὰ βασιλέως βουλευόμενα βέλτιστα εἶναι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς οἷους τε ἔσεσθαι περαιτέρω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάζεσθαι. [16] Βελισάριος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῇ γνώμῃ γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ἠξίου δηλῶσαι, ὥς μήποτε αὐτὴν ἀρνηθεῖεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ γράψαντες ἐν βιβλιδίῳ ἐδήλουν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων. [17] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο. Γότθοι δὲ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι οὐκέτι τε ἀντέχειν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ δυνάμενοι Οὐιτιγίδος μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἠχθοντο ἅτε ὡς μάλιστα δεδυστυχηκότος, βασιλεῖ δὲ προσχωρεῖν ὤκνουν, δεδιότες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅπως δὲ μὴ δοῦλοι βασιλέως γενόμενοι ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας ἀνίστασθαι ἀναγκάζονται καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἰόντες ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσεσθαι. [18] ἐν σφίσιν οὖν αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι, εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις καθαρὸν ἦν, βασιλέα τῆς ἐσπερίας βελισάριον ἀνειπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πέμψαντες δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν λάθρα ἐδέοντο ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι: ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄσμενοι ἔψεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ καταστῆναι μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἐκόντος βασιλέως ἥκιστα ἠθέλει: [20] τῷ τε γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου ὀνόματι ὑπερφυῶς ἤχθετο καὶ ὄρκους δεινотάτοις πρὸς βασιλέως καταληφθεὶς πρότερον ἔτυχε, μήποτε αὐτοῦ περιόντος νεωτεριεῖν: ὅπως δὲ τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσεται, ἀσμένως ἔδοξε τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι. [21] ὣν δὴ αἰσθόμενος Οὐιτιγὶς ἔδεισέ τε καὶ Γότθους ὡς βέλτιστα βεβουλευσθαι εἰπὼν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς λάθρα παρήνει ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι: [22] οὐδένα γάρ οἱ ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος αὐθις τοὺς τε βασιλέως πρέσβεις καὶ πάντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ Γότθους τε ἅπαντας ξὺν Οὐιτιγίδι δορυαλώτους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ χρήματα μὲν πάντα ληΐσασθαι, [23] Ἰταλίαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ξύμψασαν ἀνασώσασθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ ὑπέρογκον τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις εὐτύχημα ἔφασκον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ πράσσειν αὐτὸν ὅπῃ ἂν δύνηται τι ὡς τάχιστα ἠξίου. [24] αὐτίκα γοῦν παρὰ τε Οὐιτιγίν καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους Βελισάριος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἔπεμψε, κελεύων ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσῃν ὅσα ὑπέσχοντο. [25] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποτίθεσθαι ὁ λιμὸς ξυνεχώρει, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγκείμενος ἐς ταύτην ἐνήγε. [26] διὸ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον στέλλουσιν αὐθις, ἄλλο μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐροῦντας, ἐν παραβύστῳ δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους, ὡς ἄχαρί τε αὐτῶν ἐργάσεται οὐδένα καὶ βασιλεὺς τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ Γότθων εἴη, οὕτω τε ξὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἤξοντας. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὤμοσεν ἅπαντα, καθάπερ οἱ πρέσβεις ἠξίου, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ Οὐιτιγίδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁμείσθαι ἔφη. [28] καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀποσεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν οἰόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐφίεσθαι αὐτῇς πάντων μάλιστα, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευον ἰέναι. [29] καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην

καὶ Ναρσῆν καὶ Ἀράτιον· τούτους γάρ οἱ ὥς μάλιστα δύσνους εἶναι ὑπόπτευν· ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε ζῆν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τὰ τε ἀναγκαῖα σφίσι πορίζεσθαι· αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἔφασκε δυνατὰ εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χωρίον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [30] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, ζῆν Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχῳ, ἄρτι ἦκοντι ἐκ Βυζαντίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι σὺν Γότθων τοῖς πρέσβεισιν ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει. [31] καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐμπλησάμενος σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐκέλευε κατὰ τάχος ἐς Κλάσσεσς τὸν λιμένα ἐσπλεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ Ῥαβέννης προάστειον καλοῦσιν οὗ ὁ λιμὴν ἐστίν. [32] Ἐμοὶ δὲ τότε διασκοπούμενῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥάβενναν εἰσοδὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔννοιά τις ἐγένετο, ἀνθρώπων μὲν ζυνέσει ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὥς ἥκιστα περαίνεσθαι τὰ πρασσόμενα, εἶναι δὲ τι δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ στρέφον τὰς διανοίας ἐνταῦθα ἄγει οὗ δὴ κωλύμη τις τοῖς περαινομένοις οὐδεμία ἔσται. [33] τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους οἱ Γότθοι πλήθει καὶ δυνάμει παρὰ πολὺν ὑπεραίροντες καὶ οὔτε μάχῃ διακριθέντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο, οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτφοῦν δεδουλωμένοι τὸ φρόνημα, δορυάλωτοί τε πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ὄνομα ἐν ὕβρει οὐδεμιᾷ ἦγον. [34] αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐτύγγανον γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀκηκουῖαι μεγάλους τε τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης καθήμεναι εἶδον, ἔς τε τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πᾶσαι ἀπέπτυν, καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμεναι τοὺς νενικηκότας τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ὠνείδιζον. [35] Βελισάριος δὲ Οὐίτιγιν μὲν οὐ ζῆν ἀτιμία ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ὤκνητο, ἐς ἀγροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντας, [36] ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. πολέμιον γὰρ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπόπτευν ἐσεσθαι, οὐδὲ Γότθους ποτὲ ταύτῃ ξυστήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς πρότερον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐκεῖνῃ χωρία καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἄσμενοι ἦσαν. [37] οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἐγίνοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Γότθων ἐν γε Ῥαβέννῃ πλήθει ἡσθῶντο. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐν Παλατίῳ χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἅπερ διακομίζειν βασιλεῖ ἐμελλε. [38] Γότθων γὰρ οὐδένα οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐληΐσατο οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ ληΐσασθαι ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν οὐσίαν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα διεσώσατο. [39] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα φυλακὴν εἶχον Ῥαβεννάν τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἔχουσιν, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία παραδιδόναι καὶ ἅπερ ἐφύλασσαν ἀξιοῦντες. [40] καὶ ὅς, ἅπασι τὰ πιστὰ προθυμώτατα παρασχόμενος, Ταρβήσιόν τε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν Βενετίοις ὀχύρωμα ἦν παρεστήσατο. Καισὴνα γὰρ ἐν Αἰμιλία μόνῃ ἐλέλειπτο, ἣν δὴ πρότερον ζῆν Ῥαβέννῃ παραστησάμενος ἔτυχε. [41] καὶ Γότθοι μὲν ἅπαντες ὅσοι τούτων δὴ τῶν χωρίων ἦρχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὰ πιστὰ ἔλαβον, παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦκοντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον· Ἰλδίβαδος δέ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὅσπερ φρουρᾶς τῆς ἐν Βερώνῃ ἦρχε, πρέσβεις μὲν ἐς Βελισάριον ἐφ' οἷσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ εὐρὼν Βελισάριος ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦλθεν οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ ὑποχείριος γέγονε. τύχῃ γάρ τις αὐτῷ ζυνέβη ἣν δὴ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

Τινὲς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες βασκανίαν ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχοντες

διέβαλλον αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ, τυραννίδα οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐπενεγκόντες. [2] βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταύταις ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέκειτο ἤδη, Βελισάριον μὲν ὡς τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειεν· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Ἰταλίας Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε, καὶ Κωνσταντιανῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐπέστελλεν ἰέναι. [3] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ Πάδου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐκτὸς ἴδρυντο, ἀκούσαντες ὡς Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς μεταπέμποιτο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶχον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἰόμενοι Βελισάριον τῆς ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν πίστεως περὶ ἐλάσσονος τὴν Ἰταλίας βασιλείαν ποιήσασθαι. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τῆς ἀφόδου τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ξυμφρονήσαντες, εἴ τι αὐτῶν καθαρὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, ἐς Τικινὸν παρὰ Οὐραΐαν τὸν Οὐιττίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἦλθον, πολλὰ τε πρότερον ζὺν αὐτῷ κλαύσαντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε· [5] 'Οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῷ Γότθων γένει αἰτιώτατος τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἢ σὺ γέγονας. ἡμεῖς γάρ τὸν θεῖον τὸν σόν, οὕτως ἀνάνδρως τε καὶ ἀτυχῶς ἐξηγοῦμενον, πάλαι ἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς παρελύσαμεν, ὥσπερ Θευδάτον τὸν Θευδερίχου ἀδελφιδοῦν, εἰ μὴ σου τὸ δοκοῦν δραστήριον αἰσχυρόμενοι Οὐιττίγιδι μὲν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα ξυγχωρεῖν ἔγνωμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ σοὶ μόνῳ παραδιδόναι τὴν Γότθων ἀρχήν. [6] ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡ τότε δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν εὐγνωμοσύνη, νῦν ἄνοιά τε φαινομένη καὶ τῶνδε ἡμῖν τῶν ξυμφορῶν αἰτία. [7] Γότθων γάρ, ὥσπερ οἴσθα, ὦ φίλε Οὐραΐα, τεθνάναι μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξυμβαίνει, τῶν δὲ περιόντων, εἴ τι μὲν ἀριστον ἀπολέλειπται, ζὺν τε Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ χρήμασι πᾶσι Βελισάριος ἄγων οἰχήσεται. [8] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πείσεσθαι, ὀλίγους τε καὶ λίαν οἰκτροὺς καθεστῶτας, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. [9] τοιούτων τοίνυν περιεστηκότων δεινῶν, τὸ ζὺν εὐκλείᾳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ παιδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τῆς γῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας ἀγομένους ἰδεῖν. [10] πράξομεν δέ τι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἣν γέ σε τῶν ἔργων ἀρχηγὸν ἔξομεν.' Γότθοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [11] Οὐραΐας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· 'Ὡς μὲν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς πρὸ τῆς δουλείας ἡμᾶς τὸν κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι, ταῦτά με ὑμῖν γινώσκειν ξυμβαίνει. [12] ἐς Γότθων δέ με τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι παντάπασιν οἶμαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι· πρῶτα μὲν, ὅτι Οὐιττίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν, ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἡτυχηκότος, εὐκαταφρόνητος ἂν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκοίη, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς συγγενεὰς ἀεὶ τὰς ὁμοίας τύχας παραπέμπεσθαι οἴονται ἄνθρωποι. [13] ἔπειτα δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσια ποιεῖν δόξαιμι, ἐπιβατεύων τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μοι ἀχθομένους ὑμῶν τοὺς πλείστους, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξω. [14] ἐγὼ δέ φημι χρῆναι Γότθων ἄρχοντα ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε Ἰλδίβαδον καθίστασθαι, ἄνδρα ἐς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς ἥκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον. [15] ὃ δὴ καὶ Θεῶδιν θεῖόν γε ὄντα τὸν τῶν Οὐισιγόθων ἡγούμενον ξυνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς οὐδὲν ἀπεικός. διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ζὺν ἐλπίδι ἀμείνوني πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους διοίσομεν.' [16] Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐραΐας εἰπὼν τὰ ξύμφορα Γότθοις ἅπασι λέγειν ἔδοξε. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰλδίβαδος ἐκ Βερώνης αὐτίκα μετὰπεμπος ἦλθεν. [17] ὃ δὴ τὴν πορφύραν περιβαλόντες, βασιλέα τε Γότθων ἀνεῖπον καὶ σφίσιν εὖ θέσθαι τὰ παρόντα ἐδέοντο. ὧδε μὲν ἐς τὴν

ἀρχὴν Ἰλδὶβαδος κατέστη. [18] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γότθους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: “Ἀπαντας ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, πολλῶν ξυνεπίσταμαι εἶναι πολέμων ἐμπείρους, ὥστε οὐποτε εἰκότως εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως χωρήσομεν. ἐμπειρία γὰρ λογισμὸν φέρουσα θρασύνεσθαι ἥκιστα εἴωθεν. [19] ἄξιον δὲ ἀναμνησθέντας πάντων ὑμᾶς τῶν πρότερον ξυμπεπτωκότων, οὕτω τανῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων βουλευέσθαι. [20] λήθη γὰρ πολλοῖς τισιν ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἤδη φθασάντων ἐπῆρε μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας τὰς γνώμας, [21] ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἱκανῶς ἔσφηλεν. Οὐτίγινις τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκόντων γε οὐδὲ ἀντιτεινόντων ὑμῶν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν καθήκε τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ’ ἀπειπόντες τότε πρὸς τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα ξυμφορώτατον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡγήσασθε εἶναι Βελισαρίῳ οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἐπακούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς σώμασι διακινδυνεύειν ἀπέραντα. [22] νῦν μέντοι αὐτὸν ἀκηκοότες ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνωτε. καίτοι ἐχρῆν ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ δοκεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεδογμένων παρὰ δόξαν πολλάκις ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόβασις ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἐχώρησε. [23] τύχη γὰρ καὶ μετὰμελος τὰ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πεφύκασιν: ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Βελισαρίῳ ξυμβῆσεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός. [24] ἄμεινον τοίνυν πυθέσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ πρότερον, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ ἀντικαθιστάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόην ξυγκείμενα, οὕτω τε ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰ δεύτερα ιέναι.” [25] Ταῦτα Ἰλδὶβαδος εἰπὼν εὖ τε βεβουλευθεῖσθαι Γότθοις ἔδοξε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες τῶν τε ξυγκειμένων σφίσιν ὑπέμνησαν καὶ ἅτε διαλυτὴν τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἐκάκιζον, αὐθαίρετον μὲν ἀποκαλοῦντες ἀνδράποδον, ὀνειδίζοντες δὲ ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐρυθριῶη πρὸ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν δουλείαν αἰρούμενος, ἄλλα τε τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεκάλουν. [26] οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἰλδὶβαδὸν ἐθελοῦσιον ἀφίξεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο, τὴν τε πορφυρίδα καταθησόμενον ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ βασιλέα Βελισάριον Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν προσκυνήσοντα. [27] οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτα ἔλεγον, οἰόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα οὐδὲν μελλήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [28] ὁ δὲ οὐ προσδεχομένους αὐτοῖς ἀντικρὺς ἀπεῖπεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ζῶντος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως Βελισάριος ἐπιβατεύοι τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματος. [29] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀπηλλάσσοντό τε ὡς τάχιστα καὶ Ἰλδὶβάδῳ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγελλον. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦει καὶ ὁ χεიმὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

BOOK VII.

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος, ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἠωρημένων, ζύν τε Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς δοκίμοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰλδιβάδου παισὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐπαγόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκε, καὶ οἱ Ἰλδιγέρ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτίνος ζύν Ἡρωδιανῷ εἶποντο μόνοι. [2] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Οὐίττιγιν μὲν ζύν τῇ γυναικὶ ἀσμένως εἶδε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ὁμιλον κάλλους τε σώματος καὶ μεγέθους πέρι ἐθαύμασε. [3] τὸν δὲ Θεουδερύχου πλοῦτον ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα δεξάμενος ἐν Παλατίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐν παραβύστῳ θέαμα προϋθῆκεν, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων φιλοτιμούμενος, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκεν οὔτε τὸν θρίαμβον Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο, ὥσπερ ἡνίκα Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους νενικηκὼς ἦλθε. [4] πᾶσι μέντοι ἐν διηγήμασι Βελισάριος ἦν, νίκας τε δύο ἀναδησάμενος, οἷας οὐπὼ πρότερον ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ διαπεπρᾶχθαι ξυνέπεσε, καὶ βασιλεῖς μὲν ἀγαγὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς Βυζάντιον δύο, Γιζερίχου δὲ καὶ Θεουδερύχου τό τε γένος καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάφυρον Ῥωμαίοις παρὰ δόξαν πεποιημένος, ὧν δὴ ἐπιφανέστερος ἔν γε βαρβάροις οὐδεὶς πώποτε γεγωνὼς ἔτυχε, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλοῦτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐθις ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποκομίσας, γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα μοῖραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ἀνασώσάμενος. [5] ἦν τε Βυζαντίοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας προϊόντα ἰδεῖν, ἢ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπανήκοντα, κόρον τε αὐτῶν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου οὐδεὶς ἔλαβε. [6] πομπὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροτάτῃ ἢ πρόοδος ἐφέκει, ἐπεὶ οἱ Βανδύλων τε πλῆθος καὶ Γότθων τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων ἀεὶ εἶπετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας καὶ εὐπρόσωπος πάντων μάλιστα. [7] οὕτω δὲ πρᾶν τε καὶ εὐπρόσοδον παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ πένητί τε λίαν καὶ ἀδόξῳ ἐμφορῆς εἶναι. [8] Ἔρωσ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς τε στρατιωτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀγροίκων ἄμαχος τις ἐγένετο, ὅτι δὴ ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας φιλοδορώτατος ἐγεγόνει ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων: τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἡτυχηκότων χρήμασι μεγάλοις παρεμυθεῖτο τὰ πρότερα τραύματα καὶ τοῖς εὐδοκμήμασι ψέλλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς ἔχειν ἄθλα παρείχεν, ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν στρατιώτου ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπολωλὸτος ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισαρίου αὐτίκα ὑπῆρχεν: ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀγροίκους ὅτι δὴ τοσαύτῃ φειδοῖ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ ἐχρήτο ὥστε βιασθῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν πώποτε στρατηγούντος Βελισαρίου τετύχηκε, πλουτεῖν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ξυνέβαινε πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδημοίῃ στρατιᾶς πλῆθος. [9] ἀπεδίδοντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ γνώμην τὰ ὄνια πάντα. καὶ ἡνίκα μὲν ἀκμάζοι τὰ λῆτα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσε μὴ τι παριούσα ἢ ἵππος λυμῆνται. [10] τῶν δὲ ὠραίων ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ὄντων ἄσασθαι αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξουσία ἐγένετο. [11] καὶ μὴν καὶ σωφροσύνης ὑπερφυῶς μετεποιεῖτο: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἄλλης ὅτι μὴ τῆς γεγαμημένης γυναικὸς ἥπτετο. [12] αἰχμαλώτους οὖν ἐκ τε Βανδύλων καὶ Γότθων ἐλὼν τοσαύτας τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαύτας τὰ πρόσωπα, οἷας οὐδεὶς πού ἀνθρώπων εἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἐς

ὄψιν αὐτῶν τινα ἤκειν οὔτε ἄλλως ἐντυχεῖν εἶασεν. [13] ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγχίνους τε διαφερόντως κἀν τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπινοῆσαι τὰ βέλτιστα ἱκανώτατος. [14] ἐν μέντοι κινδύνοις πολέμου εὐψυχός τε ἦν ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ζὺν λογισμῷ εὐτολμώτατος, ὁζὺς τε καὶ μελλητῆς ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ ἐγχειρήσει, [15] κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐκάτερον. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἐν μέν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐελπὶν τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταραχῆς παρείχeto κρείσσω, εὐημερῶν δὲ οὔτε ἐπῆρτο οὔτε ἐτρύφα: μεθύοντα γοῦν Βελισάριον οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν. [16] Ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐν τε Λιβύῃ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ προὔστη, νικῶν τε διετέλει καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ κτώμενος. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγνώσθη. [18] αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ προὔχων καὶ πλούτου μὲν πολλοῦ ἐξουσία, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τοὺς πώποτε στρατηγούς ὑπεραίρων, φοβερός, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐγένετο. [19] ἀντιτείνειν τε γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντι, οἶμαι, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἐπιτελῇ τε πράσσειν ὅσα ἐπιτάττοι οὐδαμοῦ ἀπηξίου, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν. [20] ἐπτακισχιλίους γὰρ ἱππέας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρείχeto: ὧν δὴ ἀπόβλητος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐγεγόνει, αὐτῶν δὲ ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἐν τῇ παρατάξει ἐστάναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρίστους ἤξιουν. [21] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἠνίκα πρὸς Γότθων πολιορκούμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ξυμβολαῖς ἔβλεπον, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἀνεφθέγγοντο ὥς οἰκία μία τὴν Θεωδερίχου δύναμιν καταλύει. [22] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, δυνατὸς γεγονὼς τὰ τε ζυνοίσοντα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ἔπρασεν ἀεὶ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ. [23] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κέρδη οἰκεῖα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες διαπράσσεσθαι, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους ληΐζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνδιδόναι τοὺς κατηκόους ἤδη ἤρξαντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐφρόνουν τὰ δέοντα ἔτι οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν παραγγελλομένων ἐπακούοντας εἶχον. [24] διὸ δὴ πολλὰ τε αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτήθη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεφθάρη Ῥωμαίοις ζύμπαντα ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ. ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [25] Ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀναστάντα ὁδῷ ἰέναι Ἰλδίβαδος ἐπύθετο, τοὺς τε βαρβάρους ζυνηγεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσους νεώτερα πράγματα ἤρεσκε. [26] καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὥς μάλιστα ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Γότθων τῷ γένει τὸ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποίειτο. [27] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οὐ πλέον ἢ χίλιοι αὐτῷ εἶποντο καὶ πόλιν μίαν Τικινὸν εἶχον, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Λιγουριά καὶ Βενεταίᾳ ἦσαν. [28] Ἦν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστὼς λογισμοῖς: λογοθέτην τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [29] οὗτος ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπεκάλει ζημίαν. τοιούτων δὲ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοὺς ὑπάγων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔνδοξος ἐξ ἀδόξων ταχὺ γέγονεν, ἐκ πενήτων ἀτεχνῶς πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ χρήματα μεγάλα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ἐπράξατο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὀλίγους τε καὶ πτωχοὺς εἶναι καὶ ὀκνηρῶς εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχειν αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [30] Βυζάντιοι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ψαλίδιον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν,

ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ῥάδιον ἦν ἀποτεμονομένῳ κύκλῳ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα ἔλασσον μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς ὅσον βούλοιο ἐξεργάζεσθαι, φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ ὥς τὸ κυκλοτερές σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. [31] ψαλίδιον γὰρ τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτῳ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται. τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον μετεπέμψατο, [32] ἐς Ἰταλίαν πέμπει. ὁ δὲ γεγωνὸς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογισμοὺς προὔθηκε λόγον οὐκ ἔχοντας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλιώτας οὔτε τῶν βασιλέως ἀψαμένους χρημάτων οὔτε τι ἄτοπον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ὑπουργήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ἐκάλει, τὴν ἐς Θευδέρικον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Γότθων ἄρχοντας ἀδικίαν ἐπικαλῶν, ἀναγκάζων τε ἀποτινύνναι, εἴ τι ἐκείνους ἐξαπατήσαντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, [33] ἐκέρδαινον. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τὰ τε τραύματα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῇ τῶν λογισμῶν μικρολογίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἡμίβετο. διὸ δὴ οἱ τε Ἰταλιῶται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δύσνοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστασθαι ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν ἐποίουν ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ πράγματα. [34] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες διὰ ταῦτα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Βιτάλιος δὲ μόνος ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν Βενετίοις ἄλλο τε πλῆθος στρατιᾶς ἔχων καὶ βαρβάρων Ἑρουλῶν πολὺν τινα ὄμιλον διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν Ἰδιβάδῳ ἐτόλμησε, δείσας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐτὸν ἦκοντα οὐκέτι ἀναστέλλειν οἷοί τε ᾧσι. [35] μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρβήσιον γενομένης Βιτάλιος παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθεὶς ἔφυγεν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς σώσας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑρουλοὶ τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ Οὐίσανδος ὁ τῶν Ἑρουλῶν ἀρχηγὸς θνήσκει. [36] Θευδιμουῖνδος δὲ ὁ Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου υἱός, μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, ἐς κίνδυνον μὲν θανάτου ἦλθεν, ὅμως δὲ ζῶν Βιταλίῳ διέφυγεν. Ἰδιβάδου τε ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου παρὰ τε βασιλέα ἦλθε καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [37] Ὑστερον δὲ Οὐραῖαν Ἰδιβάδῳ προσκεκρουκέναι ξυνέπεσεν ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. ἦν τῷ Οὐραῖᾳ γυνὴ πλούτῳ τε καὶ σώματος κάλλει τὰ πρωτεῖα φερομένη ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις πασῶν μάλιστα. [38] αὕτη ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατήλθέ ποτε, κόσμου τε περιβεβλημένη πολὺ τι χρῆμα καὶ θεραπείαν ἐπαγομένη λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν. [39] τὴν τε Ἰδιβάδου γυναῖκα ἐν ἱματίοις λιτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἰδοῦσα, οὔτε ὡς ξυνοικοῦσαν βασιλεῖ προσεκύνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβρισεν. ἔτι γὰρ Ἰδιβάδος πενία ξυνῆν ὡς ἥκιστα βασιλικοῖς ἐντυχὼν χρήμασι. [40] περιαλγῆς δὲ γενομένη τῆς ὕβρεως τῇ ἀτοπίᾳ τοῦ Ἰδιβάδου γυνή, παρὰ τε τὸν ἄνδρα δεδακρυμένη ἦλθε καὶ οἱ ἀμύναι τὰ ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῆς Οὐραῖου γυναικὸς παθούσῃ ἠξίου. [41] διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἰδιβάδος Οὐραῖαν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους διέβαλεν, ὡς δὴ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτομολεῖν μέλλοι, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον δόλῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ Γότθων ἐχθος ἐνέπεσε. [42] βουλομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως Οὐραῖαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Ἰδιβάδῳ ἅτε ἀνόσια εἰργασμένων ἐλοιδοροῦντο. τίσασθαι μέντοι τούτου δὴ τοῦ φόνου αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν. [43] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Οὐέλας, Γήπαις μὲν γένος, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων ἀξίωμα ἦκων. [44] οὗτος ἀνὴρ, μνησθεὶς γυναικὸς εὐπρεποῦς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐξαισίον τινα ἔρωτα ἦρα, ἐσταλμένον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐφ' ᾧ τινα ποιοίῃ ζῶν ἐτέροις

τισιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφοδον, τὴν μνηστὴν ἑτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὶ Ἰδιβάδος, εἴτε ἀγνοία εἴτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἡγμένος, ξυνώκισεν. [45] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπανήκων Οὐέλας ἤκουσε, θυμοειδὴς ὢν φύσει, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου ὕβριν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτίκα κτείνειν Ἰδιβάδον ἔγνω, [46] χαριεῖσθαι Γότθοις ἅπασιν ταύτῃ οἰόμενος. καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν Γότθων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐστιῶντα τηρήσας τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. [47] ἀριστῶντα γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους περιίστασθαι νόμος. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν ἐς τὰ βρώματα ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος πρηνὴς ἔκειτο, Οὐέλας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄφνω τῷ ξίφει τὸν τράχηλον παiei. [48] ὥστε, τῶν βρωμάτων ἐτι ἐχομένων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δακτύλοις, ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν καταρραγεῖσα ἐξέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς θάμβος τι μέγα τοὺς παρόντας ἤνεγκεν ἅπαντας. [49] αὕτη μὲν τίσις Ἰδιβάδον περιήλθε τοῦ Οὐραῖα φόνου. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔλγηε, καὶ τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

Ἐράριχος δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ Ῥογὸς μὲν γένος, δύναμιν δὲ περιβεβλημένος ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην. οἱ δὲ Ῥογοὶ οὗτοι ἔθνος μὲν εἰσι Γοτθικόν, αὐτόνομοί τε τὸ παλαιὸν ἐβίου. [2] Θευδερίχου δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐταιρισσάμενον σὺν ἄλλοις τισιν ἔθνεσιν, ἔς τε τὸ Γότθων ἀπεκέκριντο γένος καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντα ἔπρασσον. [3] γυναιξὶ μέντοι ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπιμινύμενοι ἀλλοτρίαις, ἀκραιφνέσι παίδων διαδοχαῖς τὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διεσώσαντο. [4] τοῦτον Ἐράριχον, ἐπεὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰδιβάδου φόνῳ καθεστῆκει τὰ πράγματα, βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οἱ Ῥογοὶ ἀνείπον. [5] ὅπερ τοῖς Γότθοις οὐδαμῶς ἥρεσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πολλὴν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀθυμίαν κατέστησαν ἅτε τῶν ἐλπίδων σφίσι διεφθαρμένων ἄσπερ ἐπὶ Ἰδιβάδῳ τὰ πρότερα ἔσχον, ὃς δὴ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ Ἰταλίας κράτος Γότθοις ἀνασώσασθαι ἱκανὸς ἦν. [6] Ἐράριχος μέντοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔδρασε: μῆνας γὰρ πέντε ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [7] Τουτίλας ἦν τις, Ἰδιβάδου ἀνεψιός, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνέσεως ἦκων καὶ τὸ δραστήριον ὥς μάλιστα ἔχων καὶ λόγου ἐν Γότθοις πολλοῦ ἄξιος. οὗτος ὁ Τουτίλας Γότθων μὲν τήνικαυτα τῶν ἐν Ταρβησίῳ ἄρχων ἐτύγγανεν. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι Ἰδιβάδον οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπύθετο, πέμπας πρὸς Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, τὰ πιστὰ οἱ δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐδεῖτο, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὢν ἦρχε, ξὺν Ταρβησίῳ παραδώσει Ῥωμαίοις. [9] ἅπερ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀσμένως ἀκούσας ὡμοσεν ἅπαντα καθάπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤτησε, τακτὴ τε ἡμέρα ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀμφοτέροις ξυνέκειτο, ἐν ᾗ ἔμελλε Τουτίλας τε καὶ Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Ταρβησίῳ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τινὰς τῶν Κωνσταντιανῶ ἐπιτηδείων καὶ σφᾶς γε αὐτοὺς ξὺν αὐτῇ ἐγχειρίσαι. [10] Ἦδη δὲ Γότθοι τῇ Ἐραρίχου ἀρχῇ ἦχοντο, οὐκ ἀξιώχρεων τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρῶντες τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκάκιζον ἅτε μεγάλων ἔργων ἐμπόδιον γεγονότα σφίσιν, ὅτι δὴ ἐκποδὼν Ἰδιβάδον πεποιήται. [11] τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες πέμπουσι παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐς Ταρβήσιον, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακαλοῦτες. πολὺν γὰρ ἤδη πόθον τῆς Ἰδιβάδου ἀρχῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸν

ἐκεῖνου ξυγγενῇ ἔτρεπον, εὐέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενόμενοι τῷ βούλεσθαι ταῦτά. [12] ὁ δὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσιν ἀντικρυς τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογίαν ἀποκαλύψας ἔφασκεν ὥς, ἦν Γότθοι Ἑράριχον τῆς κυρίας ἐντὸς κτείνουσιν, ἔσεται τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντα ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσει ἢ αὐτοὶ βούλονται. [13] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς τὴν Ἑραρίχου καταστροφὴν εἶχοντο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. [14] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολαύοντες ἀσχολίας οὔτε ξυνίσταντο οὔτε τι δρᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους διεννοοῦντο. [15] Ἑράριχος δὲ Γότθους ἅπαντας συγκαλέσας πρέσβεις ἀνέπεισε πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι, δεησομένους ἐφ' ᾧ εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεται, ἐφ' οἷσπερ Οὐιτιγίδι τὰ πρότερα σπένδενσθαι ἠθέλεν: ὥστε τὰ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ Γότθους ἔχοντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι Ἰταλίας τῆς ἄλλης. [16] καὶ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ταῦτα ἐπήνεσαν, ἀπολέξας τινὰς τῶν οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ Καβαλλάριον ὄνομα. [17] οἱ δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα ταῦτα δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ πράξιν ἐμελλον ἅπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν εἴρηται, λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο μὴδὲν πρὸς βασιλέα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως χρήματά τε αὐτὸς πολλὰ λήψεται καὶ ἐς πατρικίους ἀνάγραφτος εἴη ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς ζύμπασαν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατάθοιτο σχῆμα. [18] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐγένοντο, κατὰ ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. ἐν τούτῳ Γότθοι Ἑράριχον κτείνουσι δόλῳ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε κατὰ τὰ ζυγκείμενα σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν Τουτίλας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε τά τε ἀμφὶ Ἑραρίχῳ ξυνενεχθέντα καὶ ὅτι Γότθοι Τουτίλαν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσαντο, κακίζων τε καὶ ἔρεσχελῶν τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας οὐκέτι ἀνίει. [2] διὸ δὴ φυλακτῆρια καταστησάμενοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ Βέσσας καὶ Βιτάλιος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ζύμπαντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξυνελέγοντο, οὗ δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, διατριβὴν εἶχον. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἅπαντες ξυνελέγησαν, ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βερώνῃ, ἢ ἐν Βενεταίᾳ ἐστί, στρατεῦσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτὴν τε καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξέλωσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τε Τουτίλαν καὶ Τικινούς ἰέναι. [4] οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ξυνεἵλεκτο, ἄρχοντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἑνδεκα ἦσαν, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἐτύγγανον Κωνσταντινιανὸς τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οἱ καὶ εὐθὺ πόλεως Βερώνης ἐχώρουν. [5] γενόμενοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ πεδίῳ. τούτου γὰρ πανταχόσε τοῦ χωρίου πεδία ἱππῆλατά ἐστι, διήκοντα ἐς Μάντουαν πόλιν, ἥπερ διέχει πόλεως Βερώνης ἡμέρας ὁδῷ. [6] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Βενέτοις ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Μαρκιανὸς ὄνομα, ὅσπερ ἐν φρουρίῳ μὲν κατῴκητο πόλεως Βερώνης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχων τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [7] καί, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν τις φυλάκων ἐκ παιδὸς γνῶριμος, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς χρήμασιν ἀναπεῖθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα δεῖξασθαι. [8] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὁμολόγει ὁ τῶν πωλῶν φύλαξ, πέμπει τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν πράξαντας ὁ Μαρκιανὸς παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε

ξυγκείμενα ἐσαγγείλωσι καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσβάλλωσι νύκτωρ. [9] ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ξύμφορον εἶναι προτερῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἓνα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἦν δέ γε ὁ φύλαξ αὐτοῖς ἀνακλίνη τὰς πύλας, ἔχεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸν στρατὸν δέξασθαι. [10] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν, Ἀρταβάξης δὲ μόνος Ἀρμένιος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὗτι ἀκουσίως καθῆκεν αὐτόν. [11] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Περσῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν γῆς σὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας, τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐξελὼν φρούριον. [12] τότε δὲ ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἁπὸ τῶν νυκτῶν ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. [13] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ φύλαξ ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο ἀνεπέτασε σφίσι τὰς πύλας, οἱ μὲν τινες ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶτες τὸ στράτευμα μετεπέμποντο, οἱ δὲ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ταύτη φυλάσσοντας ἔκτειναν ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι ἅπαντες ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ, διὰ πυλῶν ἐτέρων φεύγοντες ὤχοντο. Πέτρα δὲ τις ἐς ἄγαν ὕψηλὴ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέχει, ὅθεν ἅπαντα κατανοεῖν πάρεστι τὰ ἐν Βερῶνῃ πρᾶσσόμενα καὶ ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς ταύτη ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁρᾶν. [15] ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι καταφυγόντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἠσύχαζον. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα τῆς πόλεως ἦκον οὐκέτι ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀμφισβητούντων τῶν στρατηγῶν. [16] ἔτι τε αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ διαμαχομένων τῇ λείᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τε ἤδη διαφανῶς γέγονε καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανεοηκότες τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολεμίων καὶ ὅσον Βερῶνῃς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα διέχον εἰστήκει, δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πυλῶν ὅθεν ἀπαλλαγέντες πρότερον ἔτυχον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐσεληλυθότες ἔχεσθαι ἴσχυσαν. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ξυμφορονήσαντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις κατέφυγον, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀρταβάξης πάντων μάλιστα ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐνδεικνύμενοι καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύοντο. [18] Καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Βερῶνῃ χρημάτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διοικησάμενοι παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [19] ἀποκεκλεισμένας δὲ σφίσι τὰς πύλας εὐρόντες ἰσχυρότατά τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνομένους ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἀπήλαινον, καίπερ μαχομένους ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς ἐτέρους θεώμενοι καὶ δεομένους μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν, ἕως ἂν καταφυγόντες ἐς αὐτοὺς σώζοιντο. [20] διὸ δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάξην τῷ τε πλήθει βιαζόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπικουρίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ἔξω ἤλαντο ἅπαντες. [21] οἷς μὲν οὖν καταπεσεῖν ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ χωρίου ξυνέβη, οὗτοι δὴ ἀθῶοι ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀρταβάξης ἦν· ὅσοι μέντοι ἐς δυσχωρίας κατέπεσον, αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. [22] ἐπεὶ τε Ἀρταβάξης ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθε, πολλὰ τε ὀνειδίσας καὶ λοιδορησάμενος ἅπασιν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦει, τὸν τε Ἡριδανὸν διαβάντες ἐν Φαβεντία πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἡ χώρας μὲν τῆς Αἰμιλίας ἐστὶ, σταδίου δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ῥαβέννης διέχει.

Τουτίλας δὲ τὰ ἐν Βερῶνῃ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν Γότθων τε τῶν ἐκ Βερῶνῃς

πολλοὺς μετεπέμπετο, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήσαν, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦει. ὁ δὲ μαθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [2] καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρταβάξης ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, ὑπερφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε ἡμῶν τῷ πλήθει ἐλασσομένων τανῦν ἀξιούτω, μηδέ, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Βελισαρίῳ δεδουλωμένους ἀγωνίζεται, λογισμῷ ἀναπεπτωκότι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴτω. [3] πολλοὶ γὰρ δόξῃ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ ἐξηπατημένοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔσφηλαν, καὶ καταφρόνημά τισιν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι γινόμενον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καταλῦσαι δύναμιν ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἢ προλαβοῦσα κακοπραγία τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς εὐτυχίαν παρακαλεῖ. [4] τύχη γὰρ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθοῦσα ἐς εὐτολμίας ὑπερβολὴν περιέσταται. [5] καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ὑποψία τανῦν ἡγμένος ἐν ὑμῖν εἴρηκα, ἀλλ’ οἷς διακινδυνεύσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑναγχος ἐκμεμάθηκα τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόλμαν. [6] καὶ με νομιζέτω μηδεὶς ζῆν ὀλίγους τισὶν ἡσσηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων θαυμάσαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ καὶ πλήθει ὑπεραιρόντων καὶ τούτῳ ἐλασσομένων τοῖς γε πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμαχισομένοις ἐνδηλος γίνεται. [7] οἶμαι τοίνυν ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τηρήσασι τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐπειδὴν ἐς ἡμῖς διαβαίνουσιν, ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναί ἢ πᾶσιν ἀθρόοις ἤδη γεγεννημένοις. [8] μηδενὶ τε ἄδοξος εἶναι ἢ τοιαύτη δεδόχθω νίκη. δόξαν τε γὰρ καὶ ἄδοξιν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόβασιν ὀνομάζειν φιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότας εἰώθασιν ἐπαινεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐ διερευνώμενοι τῆς [9] νίκης τὸν τρόπον.’ Ἀρταβάξης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄρχοντες τῷ διαμαχομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔπρασσον, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μένοντες τὸν καιρὸν ἔτριβον. [10] Ἦδη δὲ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς ἄγχιστα ἐγγέγονει, καὶ ἐπεὶ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔμελλον, ξυγκαλέσας Τουτίλας ἅπαντας τοιαῦτα παρεκελεύσατο: ‘Αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ζύμπασαι μάχαι, ὧ ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, ὁμοίαν τινὰ μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπαγγελλούμεναι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὀρμῶσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσουντι χρώμενοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάμεθα τόνδε. [11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡσσηθέντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔξουσιν. ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης πλῆθος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέλειπται καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπιβοηθήσειν οὐδὲν ἀπείκός. ἡμῶν δὲ ταῦτο τοῦτο παθόντων τὸ Γότθων ὄνομα μετὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπολωλέναι λελείπεται. [12] ἐκ μυριάδων γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμᾶς ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβέβηκε. τοσαῦτα ὑπειπὼν κάκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου οἶομαι εἶναι, ὥς ἡνίκα μὲν ζῆν Ἰλδιβάδῳ ὅπλα ἀνταῖρειν βασιλεῖ ἔγνωτε, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑμῖν οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς χιλίους ξυμβιοῦν ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ χώρα περίστατο ζύμπασα ἐς Τικινὸν πόλιν. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ξυμβολῇ γεγόνατε κρείσσους, ἐπίπροσθεν ἡμῖν τά τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς χώρας κεχώρηκεν. ὥστε ἦν καὶ νῦν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, προϊόντος, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τοῦ πολέμου πάμπαν κρατήσιν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [14] τοῖς γὰρ νενικηκόσιν αἰεὶ τὸ πλείοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει. προθυμείσθω τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος παντὶ σθένει τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τὴν μάχην ἐξεπιστάμενος τὴν νῦν οὐκ εὐδοκιμηκόσιν ἡμῖν ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς

τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμήχανον. [15] ἄξιον δὲ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀδικία θαρροῦντας. [16] οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τοὺς κατηκούς βεβίωται ὥστε Ἰταλιώταις τανῦν τῆς τετολμημένης οὐ δέον αὐτοῖς ἐς Γότθους προδοσίας κολάσεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας προσδεῖ. οὕτω ξυλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ξύμπαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ κακὰ πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεχθέντων γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [17] τί δ' ἂν πολεμίων εὐαλωτότερον γένοιτο οἷς γε τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ διῆτα πεπραγμένα οὐχ ὕγιως ἔχει; καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει εὐέλπιδας ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα γίνεσθαι πρέποι. [18] οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνθρώπων χωροῦμεν ἢ ὅσοι ἔναγχος ἐν μέσῃ Βερώνῃ γενόμενοι μεθέντες τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, καίπερ διώκοντος τῶν πάντων αὐτοὺς οὐδενός, οὕτω δὴ αἰσχυρῶς ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο.' [19] Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας παρακελευσάμενος τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τριακοσίους ἐκέλευεν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντας, κατόπισθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένηται, κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν ἰόντας βάλλειν τε καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπως ἐκείνοι ξυνταραχθέντες οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μνήσονται. [20] αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς εὐθὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχώρει: [21] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐθὺς ὑπηντίαζον. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀμφοτέρω ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐγγυτέρω ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, Οὐάλαρις ὄνομα, μέγας τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ εἶδος φοβερὸς ἄγαν, ἔτι μέντοι δραστήριός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ ἐν μεταίχμῳ ἔστη, τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προὔκαλεῖτο, εἴ τίς οἱ βούλοιο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [22] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι κατωρρωδικοτέρες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη μόνος. [23] ἄμφω τοῖνυν τῷ ἵπῳ κατ' ἀλλήλοιον ἐλάσαντε, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο, τὰ δόρατα ὥθουν, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ προτερήσας ἐφθασε τὸν Οὐάλαριν ἐς πλευράν τὴν δεξιὰν παίσας. [24] ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος καιρίαν τυπεὶς ὕπιος ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ οἱ τὸ δόρυ ἐξόπισθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς ἐρεισθὲν πεσεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδαμῇ εἶα. [25] ὁ δὲ Ἀρταβάζης ἐνέκειτο ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ δόρυ ἐς τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὠθῶν ἔγκατα. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἀλῶναι καιρίᾳ πληγῇ ὑπετόπαζεν. [26] οὕτω τε ξυνέβη Οὐαλάριδος τὸ τοῦ δόρατος ἄκρον σιδήριον σχεδόν τι ὀρθὸν γεγεννημένον τοῦ Ἀρταβάζου θώρακος ἅπτεσθαι, κατὰ βραχὺ τε προῖον διελθεῖν μὲν τὸν θώρακα ὅλον, ὀλισθῆσαν δὲ τοῦ δέρματος ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζου ἀνχένα ψαῦσαι. [27] τύχῃ τέ τινι ἀρτηριάν ἐνταῦθά πη οὖσαν ἐπίπροσθεν ἰὼν ὁ σίδηρος τέμνει, καὶ ῥύσις αὐτίκα πολλοῦ αἵματος ἦν. [28] αἰσθησὶς δὲ ὀδύνης οὐδεμία τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνεν, [29] Οὐάλαρις δὲ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε. καὶ Ἀρταβάζης δέ, τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέτι λωφῆσαντος, τρίτῃ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Ῥωμαίοις τε κατέσεισε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε ἀπόμαχος ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὰ πράγματα αὐτὸς ἔσφηλεν. [30] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω βελῶν γεγωνὼς τοῦ τραύματος ἐπεμελεῖτο, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα ἄμφω ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [31] Καρτερᾶς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς οἱ τριακόσιοι βάρβαροι κατόπισθεν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐφάνησαν, οὓς δὴ κατιδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι

καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν σφίσι μαχομένων οἰόμενοι ἕς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἔπесον καὶ αὐτίκα ἕς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, [32] ὥσπερ ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. φεύγοντάς τε οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔκτεινον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ζωγρήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα ξύμπαντα ἔλαβον, ὅπερ οὐπω πρότερον Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε. τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔφευγε, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅπῃ ἔτυχον διασωθέντες ἐφύλασσον.

Χρόνῳ δὲ Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον στράτευμα ἐπὶ τε Ἰουστίνον καὶ Φλωρεντίαν ἔπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας Γότθων τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπέστῃσε, Βλέδαν καὶ Ρουδέριχον καὶ Οὐλίαριν. οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ ἕς Φλωρεντίαν ἦλθον, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἕς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [2] Ἰουστίνος δὲ ξυνταραχθεὶς ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσκομισάμενος οὐδὲν ἔτυχεν, ἔπεμψεν ἕς Ῥάβενναν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας, [3] βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενος. νύκτωρ τε ὁ σταλεις τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἕς Ῥάβεννάν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀπήγγειλε. [4] διὸ δὴ στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων λόγῳ ἄξυν εὐθὺς ἕς Φλωρεντίαν ἦει, ὧν δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ Κυπριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοὺς ἡγοῦντο ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπύθοντο, [5] λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς χωρίον Μουκέλλιν ὄνομα, Φλωρεντίας διέχον ἡμέρας ὁδόν. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς Ἰουστίνῳ ξυνέμιξεν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς τῶν αὐτῷ ἐπομένων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ εἶασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν. [7] Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ πορευομένοις ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενον πρόσω ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἕξ ἐπιδρομῇς τοῖς πολεμίους ἀπροσδόκητον ἕς χειρας ἔλθειν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα σχολῇ βαδίζον ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι. κλήρους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμβεβλημένοι τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐκαραδόκουν ἕς τοῦτο γνώμην. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν κληρὸς ἐκπεπήδηκεν ἕς Ἰωάννην, οὐκέτι δὲ βουλομένοις τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἦν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα. [9] διὸ δὴ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἰωάννης ἠνάγκαστο ἐπίπροσθεν ἰὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον γνόντες τὸ μὲν πεδῖον, οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐτύγχανον, δέει πολλῷ ἀπολιπεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἕς λόφον δὲ μέγαν τινὰ ὃς ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ξὺν θορύβῳ ἀνέδραμον. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, ἀναδραμόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔργου εἶχοντο. [11] καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀμυνομένων ὠθισμός τε πολὺς γέγονε καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἔργα ἐνδεικνύμενοι θαυμαστὰ ἔπιπτον. [12] Ἰωάννου δὲ κραυγῇ τε καὶ ταραχῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν πολεμίους ὀρμήσαντος ξυνέβη τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκοντίῳ βληθέντα πεσεῖν: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκρουσθέντες ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν. [13] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἕς τὸ πεδῖον ἀφικόμενοι φάλαγγά τε ποιησάμενοι ἴσαντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν φυγόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐδέξαντο, ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἂν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίους χωρήσαντες ἐνίκησάν τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἐλεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [14] ἀλλὰ τύχη τινὶ ξυνέβη ἕς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον φήμην οὐκ ἀληθῆ περιφέρεισθαι, ὡς δὴ Ἰωάννης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ δορυφόρους ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἕξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθεῖη. [15] ἐπεὶ τε ὁ λόγος ἕς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε, μένειν ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι

ἡξίουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν αἰσχροῦ τινος ζυμπαντες ἦσαν. [16] οὐδὲ γὰρ ζυντεταγμένοι οὐδὲ κατὰ ζυμμορίας τινάς, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος ὡς πῃ ἐδύνατο ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμητο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ταύτῃ ἀπώλοντο, ὅσοι μὲντοι διεσώθησαν ἡμέρας πολλὰς οὐδαμῇ διωκόμενοι ἔφευγον. [17] χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔτυχεν ἐς ὄχυρά τινὰ ἐσελθόντες ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἢ ὅτι τεθνεῶς Ἰωάννης εἶη. [18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε ζυνεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀλλήλοις οὔτε ζυνίστασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διανοοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔμενε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαζε, δειδῶς μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴωσι. [19] Τουτίλας δὲ φιλοφροσύνην ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, προσποιεῖσθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἴσχυσε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθελούσιοι ζῆν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείστοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔλγη, καὶ ἑβδομον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ζυνέγραψεν.

Ἐπειτα δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας Καισιανὴν τε καὶ Πέτρην τὰ φρούρια εἶλεν. ὀλίγον τε ὕστερον ἐς Τουσκίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα χωρίων ἀποπειρασάμενος, ἐπεὶ οἱ προσχωρεῖν οὐδεὶς ἠθέλε, Τίβεριν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐς μὲν τὰ Ῥώμης ὅρια οὐδαμῇ ἦλθεν, ἐς Καμπανοὺς δὲ καὶ Σαμνίτας αὐτίκα ἤκων Βενεβεντὸν πόλιν ἐχυρὰν παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ τεῖχη ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκον ἐκ τε ὄχυροῦ ὁρμώμενον πράγματα Γότθοις παρέχειν δύνηται. [2] μετὰ δὲ Νεαπολίτας πολιορκεῖν ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει, καίπερ ἐπαγωγὰ πολλὰ λέγοντα, ὡς ἥκιστα ἠθέλον. Κόνων γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσε, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἰσαύρων χιλίους ἔχων. [3] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἡσύχαζε, πέμψας δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν, Κύμην τε τὸ φρούριον καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ὄχυρά τινὰ εἶλε, χρήματά τε ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι μεγάλη ἴσχυσε. [4] καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα εὐρῶν οὔτε ὕβρισε καὶ ζῆν πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκε, μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τε ζυνέσει καὶ φιλανθρωπία ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔσχε. Καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ὑπηντίαζαν, ὀλίγους αἰὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ περιπέμπων ἔργα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια ἔπρασσε. [5] Βριττίους μὲν καὶ Λευκανοὺς παρεστήσατο, καὶ Ἀπουλίαν ζῆν Καλαβρία ἔσχε, τοὺς τε δημοσίους φόρους αὐτὸς ἔπρασσε, καὶ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ἀντὶ τῶν τὰ χωρία κεκτημένων ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰλλα καθίστη ἅτε τῆς Ἰταλίας γεγωνὸς κύριος. [6] διὸ δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ χρόνοις τοῖς καθήκουσιν οὐ κομιζομένη τὰς συνειθισμένας συντάξεις χρήματα μεγάλα βασιλεὺς ὤφειλε. [7] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται τῶν τε προσηκόντων ἐκπεπτωκότες καὶ ἐς κινδύνου μέγεθος αὐθις ἐληλακότες ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον παρεῖχον, ἔν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄσμενοι ἔμενον. [8] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Ῥάβενναν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ Ῥώμην, Σπολίτιον δὲ Βέσσας, καὶ Ἰουστίνος Φλωρεντιαν, Κυπριανὸς δὲ Περυσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φυγὼν τε καὶ διασωθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε. [9] Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς μαθὼν τε καὶ ἐν ζυμφορᾷ πεποιημένος τῶν Ἰταλίας πραιτωρίων ἐπαρχὸν Μαξιμίον ὡς τάχιστα κατεστήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιστάτης εἶη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζηται. [10]

καὶ οἱ νεῶν ξυνέπεμψε στόλον, Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος. ἤγειτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Θρακῶν Ἡρωδιανός, τῶν δὲ Ἀρμενίων Φάζας Ἴβηρ, Περανίου ἀδελφιδοῦς· ξυνέπλεον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐννοι ὀλίγοι.

[11] Μαξιμῖνος μὲν οὖν ἄρας ἐκ Βυζαντίου παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς τὴν Ἥπειρον ἦλθεν· ἔνθα δὴ τὸν καιρὸν κατατρίβων ἐκάθητο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [12] ἦν γὰρ πολεμίων ἔργων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δειλός τε καὶ μελλητῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [13] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον στρατηγὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὃς δὴ τὰ πρότερα ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστράτευε καταλόγου πεζικοῦ ἄρχων. [14] καταπλεύσας οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ Κόνωνά τε καὶ Νεαπολίτας πικρότατα πολιορκεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παντάπασι σπανίζοντας ἤκουσε, βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἤθελεν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατεύματα βραχύ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον εἶπετο, [15] ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπάσης ἀγείρας σίτου τε αὐτὰς ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἔπλει, δόκησιν παρέχων τοῖς ἐναντίοις πάμπολύ τι στρατεύμα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι. [16] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. μέγαν γὰρ σφίσιν ἐπιέναι στρατὸν ᾧοντο, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ στόλου πολὺ τι χρῆμα πλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπύθοντο. [17] καὶ εἰ μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς Νεαπόλεως ἰέναι Δημήτριος ἤθελεν, οἷμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκπληξάι τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντιστατοῦντος. [18] νῦν δὲ κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον καταίρειν μὲν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Ῥώμης καταπλεύσας λιμένα, στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀγείρειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [19] οἱ δὲ ἅτε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἡσσημένοι τε καὶ μέγα δέος ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, ἔπεσθαι Δημητρίῳ ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. διὸ δὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ ἤκουσιν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἰέναι ἠνάγκαστο. [20] Ἦν δὲ τις Δημήτριος ἕτερος, Κεφαληνὸς γένος, ναύτης μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔργων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἀκριβῶς ἔμπειρος, πλεύσας δὲ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐγένετο ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν δόκιμος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτροπον βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Νεαπόλεως κατεστήσατο.

[21] ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ χωρίον πολιορκεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀσελγείᾳ πολλῇ ἐχόμενος ἐς τὸν Τουτίλαν συχνὰ ὕβριζε, λίαν τε ἀθυρόγλωσσος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ ἀνὴρ ᾧφθη. [22] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας Κόνωνος ἐς λέμβον τινὰ λάθρα ἐσβάς ἐτόλμησε παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν Δημήτριον ἰέναι μόνος. [23] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου σωθεὶς τε καὶ ξυγγενόμενος τῷ Δημητρίῳ ἐθάρσυνέ τε μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνήγε. [24] Τουτίλας δὲ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀκούσας δρόμωνας μὲν πολλοὺς ἄριστα πλέοντας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατήραν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν οἱ πολέμιοι Νεαπόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου κατέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἅπαντας ἔτρεψε. [25] καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, ἐζώγρησε δὲ πλείστους, διέφυγον δὲ ὅσοι ἐς τῶν νεῶν τοὺς λέμβους ἐσπηδῆσαι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἴσχυσαν, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦν. τὰς γὰρ ναῦς ἀπάσας σὺν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις, αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν, [26] οἱ βάρβαροι εἶλον. οὗ δὴ καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Νεαπόλεως ἐπίτροπον εὔρον. γλῶσσάν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἄμφω ἀποτεμόντες οὐκ ἔκτειναν μὲν, οὕτω δὲ λωβησάμενοι ὅπη βούλοιντο ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. ταύτην τε Τουτίλα τὴν δίκην Δημήτριος γλώσσης ἀκολάστο

ἐξέτισεν.

Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ Μαξιμίνος πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ Σικελίᾳ προσέσχεν, ἕς τε τὰς Συρακούσας ἀφικόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε, κατορρωδῶν τὰ πολέμια. [2] ἃ δὴ μαθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπον, βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Κόνων ἐκ Νεαπόλεως ἰσχυρότατα πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων πολιορκούμενοι· ἤδη γὰρ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοιπεί. [3] ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ κατατρίψας τῇ ὀρρωδίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰς τε βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς ἔδεισε καὶ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεῖπεν, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἅπαντα ξὺν τε Ἡρωδιανῷ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Φάζῃ ἐς Νεάπολιν ἔπεμψε, σφοδρότατα ἐγκειμένης ἤδη τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥρας. [4] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Νεαπόλεως ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, κατέβαινε σκληρὸς ἄνεμος, ἐξαίσιον τινα χειμῶνα ἐγείρων. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν ζόφος ἅπαντα ἐνδίδου, ὁ δὲ κλύδων τὰς κόπας ἀνασπᾶν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐνεργεῖν τοὺς ναύτας οὐκ εἶα. διὰ τε τῶν ῥοθίων τὸν κτύπον ἔτι ἀλλήλων κατακούειν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ζύγχυσίς τε λαμπρῶς ἐκράτει καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπρυτάνευε βία, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ὥς ἡκιστα ἐθελουσίους ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν οὗ δὴ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ πολέμιοι. [6] ἐπιβαίνοντες οὖν κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς σκάφεσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ κατέδουν οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐζώγησαν δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν στρατηγόν. [7] Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ καὶ Φάζας ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν αἱ νῆες οὐ λίαν που ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου ἦλθον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε. [8] Τουτίλας δὲ καλῶδιον ἀναψάμενος ἐς τὸν Δημητρίου αὐχένα, ἕς τε τὸν Νεαπόλεως περίβολον εἴλκε καὶ παραινεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐκέλευε μηκέτι ἀνονήτοις ἐλπίσι πιστεύοντας διαφθεῖρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅτι τάχιστα Γότθοις ἐνδιδόντας μεγάλων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν. [9] ἀδύνατον γὰρ βασιλέα τὸ λοιπὸν ἄλλην σφίσιν ἐπικουρίαν πέμψαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα διολωλέναι. Δημήτριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὅσα Τουτίλας ἐκέλευεν. [10] οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τῷ τε λιμῷ ἤδη καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀπορίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς πιεζόμενοι, ἐπεὶ τό τε πάθος Δημητρίου εἶδον καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας ἤκουσαν, ἀπογνόντες ἐλπίδος ἀπάσης ἕς τε οἰμωγὰς καὶ ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτον, ἦν τε ἡ πόλις θορύβου πολλοῦ καὶ κωκυτοῦ ἔμπλεως. [11] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ Τουτίλας αὐτοὺς ζυγκαλέσας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ὅυδεμίαν αἰτίαν ἢ μέμψιν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔχοντες, ἄνδρες Νεαπολῖται, τανῦν ἐς πολιορκίαν τήνδε κατέστημεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθίστων ὑμᾶς ἀπαλλάξαντες δεσποτῶν οἰοί τε ὦμεν τὰς τε χάριτας ὑμῖν ἐκτινύναι, ὥνπερ ἡμᾶς δεδρακότες ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ χαλεπώτατα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων πεπόνθατε. [12] μόνους γὰρ Ἰταλιωτῶν ὑμᾶς ἀπάντων εὐνοιάν τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐς Γότθων τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι καὶ ἀκουσίους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις γεγενῆσθαι ζυμβέβηκεν. [13] ὥστε καὶ νῦν πολιορκεῖν ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐκείνοις ἠναγκασμένοι τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῶν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, αἰσχυνόμεθα, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ πονηρῷ Νεαπολιτῶν τὴν προσεδρεῖαν ποιούμενοι. [14] μὴ τοίνυν ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας δεινοῖς Γότθοις οἴεσθε δεῖν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετεῖν ἐπειγόμενοι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εἰσὶν ἄξιοι πρὸς αὐτῶν

φέρεσθαι, κἂν μὴ διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀναγκάζονται τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπράσσεσθαι χάριν. [15] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὥς ἤκιστα ὑμᾶς δέος εἰσίτω, μηδὲ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἡγμένοι κρατήσιν αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν οἴεσθε: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ βίου παράλογα τύχη τινὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐλθόντα τῷ χρόνῳ αὐθις καταρρεῖν εἶωθεν. [16] οὕτω δὲ ὑμῖν εὖνοι καθέσταμεν ὥστε καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ πάντας στρατιώτας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὅπῃ βούλοιντο συγχωροῦμεν ἰέναι, ἣν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες ἡμῖν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλάσσοιντο, πάντα τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας: καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς Νεαπολιτῶν σωτηρίας ὁμείσθαι οὐδὲν κωλύσει.’ [17] Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ἐπήνεσαν δὲ οἱ τε Νεαπολῖται καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Κόνωνι στρατιῶται πάντες. πολλὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπίεξε. [18] πίστιν μέντοι ἐς βασιλέα φυλάσσοντες καὶ βοήθειάν τινα ἔτι παρέσεσθαι σφίσι παραδοκοῦντες τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ὠμολόγουν ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. [19] Τουτίλας δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως ἀνασοβεῖν ἐλπίδα ἐθέλων τριῶν μηνῶν ἔταξε χρόνον, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτον τὰ ὠμολογημένα ποιήσωσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ προσβολὴν τινα κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ποιήσεσθαι ἰσχυρίζετο, οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι. [20] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐδέδοκτο. οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι οὐκ ἀναμείναντες τὴν κυρίαν ἴλιαν γὰρ ἐβιάζοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τῇ πόλει Τουτίλαν τε καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐδέξαντο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραπεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Νεάπολιν Τουτίλας εἶλε, φιланθρωπίαν ἐς τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπεδείξατο οὔτε πολεμῶ οὔτε βαρβάρῳ ἀνδρὶ πρέπουσαν. [2] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους λιμῷ νενοσηκότας λαβὼν, οἷς δὴ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς ὀπίσω ἦδη ἐκεχωρήκει, δείσας μὴ βρώσεως ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, [3] ἀποπνιγείεν, ἐπενόει τάδε. φυλακὰς ἔν τε τῷ λιμένι καὶ ταῖς πύλαις καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευε μηδένα πῃ ἐνθὲνδε ἰέναι. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπασι μικρολογία τινὶ προμηθεὶ ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὰ σιτία παρείχετο, προσεπιβάλλων ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη τοσοῦτον τοῦ μέτρου ὅσον οὐ δοκεῖν αἰσθῆσιν τινα τῶν ἐντιθεμένων ἐς αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι. [5] οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἕκαστον ὅπῃ βούλοιο ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [6] Κόνωνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας, ὅσους δὴ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἤκιστα ἤρεσκεν, ἐς ναῦς ἐμβιβάσας πλεῖν κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰσχύνῃ σφίσι φέρειν οἰόμενοι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναχώρησιν, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς διανοοῦντο. [7] τοῦ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος ἀπαίρειν ἐνθὲνδε οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες διηποροῦντο, δεδιότες μὴ τι Τουτίλαν τῶν ὠμολογημένων ὀλιγωρεῖν διὰ τὸ κεκρατηκέναι ξυμβαίῃ, καὶ κακόν τι μέγα πρὸς αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν. [8] ὥνπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἦσθετο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρηγόρει τε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας, θαρσεῖν μὲν ἦδη ἐκέλευε καὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ φόβῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναμίγνυσθαι, τά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθὲνδε ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου δέοιντο, ἅτε παρὰ φίλων κομίζεσθαι. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔτι σφίσιν ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἐφέρετο καὶ χρόνος ἐτρίβη συχνός, ἵππους τε καὶ ὑποζύγια παρασχόμενος, ἐφοδίους τε αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκέλευεν ὁδῷ ἰόντας πορεύεσθαι, πομποὺς τινας τῶν ἐν Γότθοις δοκίμων σφίσι ξυμπέμψας. [10] Τὸ δὲ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος

ἐνεχείρισεν, ὅπως αὐτὴν μὴ καταλαβόντες αὐτῆς Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὀρμώμενοι πράγματα Γοτθοῖς παράσχωσιν. [11] ἐν πεδίῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως διακρίνεσθαι μάχη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤθελεν ἢ τέχναις τισὶ καὶ σοφίσμασι διαμάχεσθαι. μοῖραν μέντοι αὐτοῦ καθελὼν πολλὴν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν. [12] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ῥωμαῖός τις αὐτῷ προσελθὼν, Κῆλαβρος γένος, ἡτιᾶτο τῶν δορυφορῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τίνα τὴν παῖδα παρθένον οὖσαν οὐτὶ ἐκουσίαν βιάσασθαι. [13] καὶ ὃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἀπαρνηθέντα τὸ ἐγκλημα τίσασθαι τῆς ἀμαρτάδος ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξε. [14] δεῖσαντες δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ἄρσενος γὰρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ξυλλεγόντες εὐθὺς καὶ Τουτίλα ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἐδέοντο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφείναι. [15] Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος τε καὶ ταραχῇ οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Οὐκ ἀπανθρωπίας ὑπερβολὴ εἶκον οὐδὲ ξυγγενῶν ὑπερηρόμενος ξυμφοραῖς, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα δεδιὼς μή τι Γότθοις ξυμβήσεται φλαῦρον, ἐς λόγους τούσδε, ὧς ξυστρατιῶται, [16] καθίσταμαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οἶδα, ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα μεταβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον. [17] φιλοφροσύναν μὲν γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν παρανομίαν εἰώθασιν, ἐξ ἧς διεφθάρθαι τε τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα καὶ ξυντεταράχθαι ξυμβαίνει, σκαιὸν δὲ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς δύσκολον, ὃς ἂν τὰ νόμιμα περιστέλλειν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς βούληται, ὅπως δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις παραπετάσασιν ἐς τὴν ἀσέλγειαν χρώμενοι ἀδεέστερον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τε ἱκανοὶ εἶεν καὶ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [18] ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ μὴ τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀμαρτάδα ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνταλλάξασθαι, μηδὲ τοῦ μιάσματος τοῦδε αὐτοὶ τὸ μέρος οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες μεταλαχεῖν. τό τε γὰρ ἐξαμαρτεῖν καὶ τὸ διακωλύειν τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἐξημαρτηκότας τιμωρίαν, οἶμαι, ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστί. [19] βούλομαι τοίνυν οὕτως σκοπούμενους ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν, ὡς νῦν αἵρεσις ὑμῖν δυοῖν πρόκειται, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὦν ἡδίκηκε μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην, ἢ τὸ Γότθων γένος σεσῶσθαι τε καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεκτῆσθαι κράτος. [20] σκέψασθε γάρ: ἦν ἡμῖν κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατιωτῶν μὲν πλῆθος δόξη τε καὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐμπειρίᾳ λαμπρόν, χρήματα δὲ ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσω, ἵππων δὲ καὶ ὄπλων περιουσίας ὑπερβολὴ τις, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν γε Ἰταλιώταις ὀχυρώματά ἐστιν. καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖα παντάπασιν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις ἐφόδια. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θεοδᾶτῳ ταπτόμενοι, ἀνδρὶ τὸ δίκαιον περὶ ἐλάσσονος τῆς ἐς τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας πεποιημένῳ, ἴλεον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν παρανομία τῇ ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν ὡς ἡκιστα κατεστήσαμεν, ὅπῃ ποτὲ κεχώρηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ τύχη ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού, ὑφ’ οἷων τε καὶ ὁπόσων ἡσημένιοι ἀνδρῶν. [22] νῦν δὲ τὴν δίκην παρ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς ὢν ἐξημάρτομεν ἱκανῶς ἔχων αὐτῆς ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα ῥυθμίζει τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἡμῖν ἢ κατ’ ἐλπίδα τὰ πράγματα ἄγει, οἷς γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν νενικηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε. [23] περιστέλλειν οὖν τὴν τῆς νίκης πρόφασιν τῷ τὰ δίκαια πράσσειν ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῇ ἰόντας φθονερούς ἡμᾶς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖν. [24] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν εὐδοκμεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐκάστου ἢ τοῦ

πολέμου πρυτανεύεται τύχη.’ Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [25] ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι τὸν δορυφόρον οὐκέτι ἐξητοῦντο, ἀλλ’ εἶων ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ πράσσειν δοκοίη. καὶ ὃς τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν διεχρήσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τῇ βιασθείῃ παρέσχετο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἔπρασεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τῶν κατηκόων χρήματα ἥρπαζον, καὶ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀσελγείας οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν ὑπελίποντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἔχοντες ἐρωμένας ἐκώμαζον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρεχόμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν ιδέαν ἀτοπίας ἐνέπιπτον. [2] τοῖς τε Ἰταλιώταις περιῆν ἅπασιν πάσχειν τὰ χαλεπώτατα πρὸς ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων. [3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγροὺς ἐστέρηντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἐπιπλα πάντα. καὶ προσῆν αὐτοῖς αἰκίζεσθαι τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφθεῖρεσθαι, τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένοις. [4] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀμύνειν σφίσι κακουμένοις πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅσον ἐρυθριᾶν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποθεινοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἷς ἐξημάρτανον ἀπειργάζοντο. [5] οἷς δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀπορούμενος γράμματα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, ἄντικρυς ἀποφαίνων ὅτι δὴ Γότθων τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντέχειν ἀδύνατος εἴη. [6] οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ὥσπερ τὴν γνώμην ἐπιψηφίζοντες, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐσήμαινον τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὀκνήσεως. Ἰταλιώταις μὲν τὰ πράγματα ἐφέρετο τῇδε. Τουτίλας δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιστολὴν ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ὅσοι μὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς πέλας ἢ προλαβούσης ἀγνοίας ἴσως ἢ λήθης ἐπιγενομένης τινός, τούτοις ἄξιον τοὺς τὰ δεινὰ πεπονθότας συγγνώμονας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀμαρτάδος ξυμπεσὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον. [8] ἦν δέ τις ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῇ μόνῃς, τούτῳ δὲ μηδὲ ἀντιλέγειν ποτὲ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λελείπεται. [9] οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γνώμης αὐτὸς φέρεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη. [10] οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, λογίζεσθε ἤδη τί ποτε ἄρα ὑμῖν ἀπολελογῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἐς Γότθους εἰργασμένα ξυμβήσεται: πότερα ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν τὰς Θεουδερύχου τε καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθης εὐεργεσίας τετύχηκεν, ἢ χρόνῳ τε αὐτὰς καὶ λήθῃ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξιτήλους εἶναι; [11] καίτοι οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ φαύλοις τισὶν οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦς, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, ἐπιδεδείχθαι ξυνέβη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔς γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔναγχός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπογυίου, ὧ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι. [12] ἀλλὰ τὴν Γραικῶν ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀρετὴν ἢ ἀκοῇ λαβόντες ἢ πείρᾳ μαθόντες οὕτω δὴ προήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν πράγματα ἔγνωτε; [13] καίτοι ἐξεναγεῖσθε μὲν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς, οἶμαι, ἄριστα, ὁποῖων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτύχετε ξένων καὶ φίλων ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού, εἴ τι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέμνησθε λογισμῶν. [14] ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας, ὧν τῆς τε φιλοφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ἀπώνασθε: ὧν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ἐς τοῦτο τύχης τὰ πράγματα ἤκει. [15] ὑμῶν δὲ οἰέσθω μηδεὶς μήτε ὑπὸ νέου φιλοτιμίας τὰ ὀνειδῇ ταῦτα ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι μήτε με ἅτε βαρβάρων ἄρχοντα

κομπωδεστέρους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. [16] οὐ γὰρ ἡμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἔργον εἶναι φημι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τινὰ ἰσχυρίζομαι τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικίας αὐτοὺς μετελθεῖν. [17] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων δόξειεν εἶναι τὸν μὲν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς τίνυσθαι, ὑμᾶς δὲ τῇ τοῦτων ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἀτοπία καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἐθέλιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν; δότε τοίνυν τινὰ πρόφασιν ὑμῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Γόθους ἀπολογίας, [18] ἡμῖν δὲ τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς συγγνώμης. δώσετε δέ, ἢν γε μὴ ἀναμενοῦντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι βραχείας τινὸς καὶ ταύτης ἀνονήτου ὑμῖν ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος ἔλῃσθε μὲν τὰ κρείσσω, ἐπανορθώσητε δὲ τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς οὐ δέον ὑμῖν πεπραγμένα.' [19] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. ἐγχειρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν τισιν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς δίδοναι. [20] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. Ἰωάννης δὲ τοὺς τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἰδόντας ἀποκρίνασθαι τι πρὸς Τουτίλαν διεκώλυσε. διὸ δὴ αὖθις ὁ Τουτίλας γράψας γραμμάτια πολλά, ὄρκους τε αὐτοῖς τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐνθέμενος διαρρήδην ἀπώμοσε μήποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὰ κακὸν τι ἐργάσασθαι Γόθους. [21] οἵτινες μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ βιβλίδια ταῦτα ἐκόμισαν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐν τοῖς διαφανέσι τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις παγέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, ἐγνώσθη: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κατεστήσαντο εὐθὺς ἅπαντας. [22] Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας μοῖραν μὲν τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας ἐς Καλαβρίαν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ἐν Δρυοῦντι φρουρίου ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς ἥκιστα οἱ προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον οἱ φυλακτῆριον ταύτη ἔχοντες, τοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐσταλμένους ἐκέλευεν ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία ἦει. [23] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθεν, ἔς τε ἀμνηχανίαν ἐμπέπτωκε καὶ Βελισάριον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν πέμψαι, καίπερ ἔτι Περσῶν ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένων, ἠνάγκαστο. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔλῃγε, καὶ τὸ ἔνατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραπεν.

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦει. ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατιώτας ὡς μάλιστα ὀλίγους εἶχε 'τοὺς γὰρ οἱ ἐπομένους τοῦ ἐν Μήδοις στρατοπέδου ἀποστῆσαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε Θράκην ὅλην περιῶν χρήματά τε προϊέμενος, ξυνῆγε νέους ἐθελουσίους. [2] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ βασιλέως γνώμη καὶ Βιτάλιος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός, ἄρτι ἐπανάκων ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὗ δὴ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολιπὼν ἔτυχεν. [3] ἄμφω γοῦν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἀγείραντες ἐν Σάλλωσιν ἐγένοντο, γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τὰ πρῶτα ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε ὅπῃ ἂν δυνατόν εἴη διενεγκεῖν. [4] τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥώμης χωρία ἀποβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον, οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνοντες 'ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τε Καλαβροῖς στρατοπεδεύεσθαι καὶ Καμπανοῖς ἤκουσαν' οὔτε αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ ὀτφοῦν βιαζόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν Δρυοῦντι πολιορκούμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς παντάπασιν ἐκλειοιπώτων βαρβάροις τοῖς πολιορκουσιν ἐς λόγους ξυνῆλθον. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογία ἐνδώσουσι, τακτὴ τε ἀμφοτέροις ἐν τούτῳ ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο. [6] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ μήκος πλοίοις ἐνθέμενος Βαλεντίνον ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν εἰς Δρυοῦντα ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους

φυλάκας τοῦ φρουρίου ἐνθὲνδε ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, οὓς δὴ νόσῳ τε
ξυντετηκέναι καὶ λιμῷ ἔμαθε, τῶν δὲ ξυμπλεόντων τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ
ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστήσασθαι· ῥᾶον γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀκμητὰς τε ὄντας καὶ
οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντας τὸ φρούριον ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ
διαφυλάξειν. [7] Βαλεντίνος μὲν οὖν τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου
ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσε τέτρασι πρότερον τῆς κυρίας ἡμέραις,
ἀφύλακτόν τε τὸν λιμένα εὐρὼν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς τὸ
φρούριον εἰσελθεῖν ἴσχυσε. [8] τοῖς γὰρ ὁμολογημένοις οἱ Γότθοι θαρσοῦντες
οὐδέν τε μεταξὺ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζοντες σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι, ὀλιγώρως ἤδη τὰ
ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα διαθέμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [9] τότε μέντοι καταπλέοντα ἐκ τοῦ
αἰφνιδίου τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες ἔδεισάν τε καὶ τὴν προσεδρεΐαν διέλυσαν,
μακρὰν τε ἄποθεν τοῦ χωρίου γενόμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ πάντα ἐς
Τουτίλαν τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Δρυοῦντος
τὸ φρούριον κινδύνου ἦλθε. [10] τῶν δὲ ξὺν Βαλεντίνῳ τινὲς λήϊσασθαι
βουλόμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνι χωρία ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐποιήσαντο, τοῖς τε πολεμίοις τύχη
τινὶ ὑπαντιάσαντες πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡτόνι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [11] καὶ παρὰ
πολὺ ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἔφυγον, ἵνα δὴ
ἑβδομηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποβαλόντες ἐς τὸ φρούριον οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν.
[12] Βαλεντίνος δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλοι φρουροὺς ἐνθὲνδε ἡμιθνήτας εὐρὼν
ὑπεξήγαγεν, ἐτέρους δὲ ἀντικαταστησάμενος ἀκραιφνεῖς, καθάπερ οἱ
ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς χρόνον αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπὼν
ἐνιαύσιον, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Σάλωνα ἦλθε. [13] Καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ
τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθὲνδε ἄρας Πόλῃ προσέσχεν. οὗ δὴ τὸ στράτευμα διέπων χρόνον
τινὰ ἔμενε. [14] Τουτίλας δὲ ἥκειν αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας, τὴν τε δύναμιν
ἐθέλων γνῶναι ἦνπερ ἐπήγετο, ἐποίει τὰδε. Βόνος ἦν τις Ἰωάννου ἀνεψιὸς
φρουρᾶς ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Γενούᾳ. [15] τούτου δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι χρησάμενος
γράμματα διῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισάριον ἔγραψεν ἅτε
παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα παραγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν κινδύνοις τισὶ
χαλεποῖς οὓσιν. [16] ἄνδρας τε ἀπολεξάμενος περιέργους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πέντε
τά τε γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε καὶ δύναμιν ἀκριβῶς κατανοεῖν τὴν Βελισαρίου
ἐπέστελλεν, ἐνδεικνυμένους ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ Βόνου σταλεῖεν. [17] Βελισάριος μὲν
οὖν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντας ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ, ὥσπερ εἴωθει,
εἶδεν. [18] ἀναλεξάμενός τε τὰ γράμματα Βόνῳ ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὅτι δὴ
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἤξει. οἱ δὲ περισκοπήσαντες ἅπαντα,
καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε Τουτίλας, ἔς τε τὸ Γόθων στρατόπεδον ἐπανῆκον
καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι. [19] Ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Τίβουριν πόλιν, Ἰσαύρων φρουρὰν ἔχουσαν, προδοσίᾳ εἴλε
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τῶν τινες οἰκητόρων τὰς πύλας ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐφύλασσαν.
[20] οὗτοι Ἰσαύροις τοῖς ξυμφυλάσσουσι διάφοροι γεγεννημένοι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς
πρὸς αὐτῶν γινομένης αἰτίας ἄγχιστά που ἐνστρατοπεδευομένους τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐπηγάγοντο νύκτωρ. [21] οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰσαυροὶ ξυμφρονήσαντες
ἀλίσκομένης τῆς πόλεως σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [22] τῶν δὲ
οἰκητόρων οὐδενὸς οἱ Γότθοι ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ
ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν τρόπῳ δὴ ὄνπερ ἐξεπιστάμενος ἔγωγε ὥς ἥκιστα

ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὥς μὴ ἀπανθρωπίας ἀπολείπω μνημεῖα τῷ ὀπισθεν χρόνῳ: ἐν οἷς καὶ Κάτελλος ἀπώλετο ἐν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. [23] καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Τίβουριν ἔσχον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκέτι ἠδύναντο ἐκ Τούσκων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐσκομίζεσθαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις κειμένη Ῥώμης ὑπερθεν ὥς ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα εἰσπλεῖν βουλομένοις ἐγίνετο.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Τιβούρει οὕτω γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε. Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀφικόμενος Γότθους τε τοὺς παρόντας καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας ξυναγαγὼν ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: ‘Οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα πρὸς τῆς κακίας διερρηκέναι ξυμβέβηκεν. [2] ἄνωθεν γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἐμπέφυκεν ἀτεχνῶς πράγμασι, πολλὰς τε ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεις μοχθηρία τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀναχαιτίζειν τε καὶ διαφθείρειν ἱκανῶς ἴσχυσεν. ὅπερ καὶ νῦν τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἔσφηλεν. [3] ᾧ δὴ τοσοῦτον τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν μέλει, ὥστε τὴν Περσῶν ἐπικράτησιν περὶ ἐλάσσοнос τοῦτων ποιούμενος ἀποστεῖλαί με τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐγνώκεν, ὅπως ἐπανορθώσω καὶ ἰάσωμαι εἴ τι τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς Γότθους εἵργασται. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ὑφ’ ὅτου οὖν ἀμαρτάνεσθαι οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἔξω, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν βασιλεῖ τε διαρκῶς πρέπον καὶ παραπυλῆς τοῖς ἡγαπημένοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. [5] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον ὑμῖν τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι ξυμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλέως εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ξυνεῖναι τε καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτίκα προσέσται: οὗ τί ἂν ἀξιώτερον γένοιτο ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων; [6] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὑμῖν πάρειμι, προσήκει καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον πάσῃ δυνάμει χρήσασθαι, [7] ὅπως ἂν τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ὠφελείας ἀπόναισθε. ὅτῳ τε ὑμῶν ξυγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι παρὰ Τουτίλᾳ τῷ τυράννῳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, μεταπεμψάσθω τούτους ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν βασιλέως δηλώσας γνώμην. [8] οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ τε ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο. ὥς ἔγωγε οὔτε τῷ πολεμῆσειων ἐνθάδε ἀφῆγμαι οὐτ’ ἂν ἐκὼν ποτε τοῖς βασιλέως κατηκόοις πολέμιος εἴην. [9] εἰ μέντοι καὶ νῦν παρὰ φαῦλον ἡγησάμενοι τὸ τὰ βελτίῳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι οἶδε ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἡμῖν ἴωσιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ὥς μάλιστα ἀκουσίους ὥς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι.’ [10] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος εἶπε. προσεχώρει δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐδείς οὔτε Γότθος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος. ἔπειτα δὲ Θουριμουθ τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ τῶν [11] ἐπομένων τινὰς ξύν τε Βιταλίῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς Αἰμιλίαν πέμψας, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων. [12] Βιτάλιος οὖν ξύν τῷ στρατῷ τούτῳ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βονώνειαν γενόμενός τινά τε τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρίων ὁμολογία ἐλὼν ἐν Βονωνείᾳ πόλει ἡσύχαζε. [13] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰλλυριοὶ ξύμπαντες, ὅσοι ξύν αὐτῷ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε παθόντες οὔτε ἀκούσαντες, λάθρα ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [14] πρέσβεις τε παρὰ βασιλέα πέμψαντες συγγνώμην διδόναι σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀφικομένοις ἢ ὅτι συχνὸν σφίσι χρόνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ στρατευομένοις τάς τε συντάξεις ὥς ἥκιστα κομιζομένοις χρήματα δὴ πολλὰ τὸ δημόσιον ὤφειλε. [15] στρατεύματος δὲ

Οὐννικοῦ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπισκήψαντος παῖδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραποδίσθαι τετύχηκεν. [16] ἃ δὴ πυθόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν γε Ἰταλιώταις σπανίζοντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς τὰ πρῶτα χαλεπήνας, εἶτα συγγνώμων ἐγένετο. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀναχώρησιν στρατεύμα ἐπὶ Βονώνειαν ἐπεμψεν, ὥς Βιτάλιον καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναρπάσσοντας. [17] ἀλλὰ Βιτάλιός τε καὶ Θουριμούθ προλοχίσαντες ἐνέδραις τισὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας πολλοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν, [18] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. ἔνθα Ναζάρης, ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, στρατιωτῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἄρχων, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πάντων μάλιστα ἐπεδείξατο. οὕτω τε ὁ Θουριμούθ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦλθε. [19] Τότε δὴ Βελισάριον τρεῖς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ, Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ῥικίλαν καὶ Σαβινιανόν, ἔστειλε ξὺν χιλίοις στρατιώταις ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐνταῦθα πολιορκουμένοις ἐπαμνουῦντας. [20] οἱ δὲ Τουτίλαν τε λαθόντες καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον νύκτωρ ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπεκδρομάς τέ τινας ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους διανοοῦντο. [21] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι ἐξήλθον μὲν ὥς ὑπαντιάσσοντες, κατασκόπους δὲ πέμψαι πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, κατασκευομένους τὴν δύναμιν, ὥς μὴ ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι. [22] Ῥικίλας δὲ ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος οἰνωμένος γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγγανεν ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ οὐκ εἶα ἰέναι, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [23] Γότθοις τε τρισὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὥς ἀντιταξόμενος ἔστη· ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γὰρ ἀνδρίας ἐτύγγανεν ἥκων· πολλοὺς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἰδὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιρρέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [24] τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἵππου ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ὀκλάσαντος, κραυγὴ τε πολλὴ τῶν πολεμίων γέγονε καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἠκόντιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες. ὧν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. [25] καὶ Ῥικίλας μὲν δόρασι πολλοῖς κεκαλυμμένος θνήσκει, τρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους οἱ ἀμφὶ Θουριμούθ, ἄραντές τε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν ἐκόμισαν, οὐκ ἐπαξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν κληρωσάμενον. [26] Ἔπειτα Σαβινιανός τε καὶ Θουριμούθ Μάγνῳ κοινολογησάμενοι ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν εὕρισκον εἶναι περαιτέρω διατριβὴν τινα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, λογισάμενοι ὅτι δὴ οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλοῖς γε οὐσὶν ἀξίόμαχοί ποτε γένοιτο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιορκουμένων καταδαπανῶντες τροφὰς ἀλώσιμον ἔτι θάσσον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ποιήσονται. [27] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ χίλιοι παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν ἄφοδον, ὥς νύκτωρ τῆς ἀποπορείας ἀρξόμενοι· αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν τις στρατιωτῶν αὐτομολήσας λάθρα ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἔκπυστα ἐποίησε τὰ πρασσόμενα. [28] Τουτίλας τοίνυν ἄνδρας δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐφύλασσε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπὸ σταδίων Αὐξίμου τριάκοντα, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησὶν παρεχόμενος. [29] οἱ ἐπεὶ παρίοντες ἀμφὶ νύκτα μέσσην τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔργου εἶχοντο. [30] καὶ αὐτῶν διακοσίους μὲν ἔκτειναν, Σαβινιανὸς δὲ καὶ Θουριμούθ ξὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ λαθεῖν τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀρίμινον ἴσχυσαν. [31] τῶν μέντοι ὑποζυγίων ἀπάντων Γότθοι ἐκράτησαν, ἃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν τε θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἔφερον. [32] Ἔστι

δὲ πολίσματα δύο πρὸς τῇ Ἀκτῇ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, Πίσαιρος τε καὶ Φανός, μεταξὺ τῆς τε Αὐξίμου καὶ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως κείμενα. ὦν δὴ τὰς οἰκίας τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀρχὰς Οὐίτιγίς ἐμπήσας τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλεν ἄχρι ἐς ἡμισυ μάλιστα, ὅπως μὴ καταλαβόντες αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι πράγματα Γότθοις παρέξωσι. [33] τούτων θάτερον, Πίσαιρον, Βελισάριος καταλαβεῖν ἐγγω: ἔδοξε γάρ οἱ ἐς ἵππων νομὰς ἐπιτηδεῖως τὸ χωρίον κεῖσθαι. πέμψας οὖν νύκτωρ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εὐρὸς τε καὶ μῆκος πύλης ἐκάστης ξυνεμετρήσατο λάθρα. [34] τὰς τε πύλας τεκτηνάμενος καὶ σιδήρῳ περιβαλὼν εἵτά τισιν ἀκατίοις ἐνθήμενος ἔπεμψεν, ἃς δὴ ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σαβινιανόν τε καὶ Θουριμουῖθ κατὰ τάχος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐναρμόσαντας ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν, ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου κατεπεπτώκει, ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τρόπῳ, λίθους τε καὶ πηλὸν καὶ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἐμβαλλομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [35] Τουτίλας δὲ μαθὼν τὰ πρασσόμενα στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. [36] καὶ ἀποπειρασάμενος χρόνον τε ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας τινά, ἐπεὶ ἐξελεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἄπρακτος ἐν Αὐξίμῳ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν. [37] Ἐπεξῆει δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τειχῶν ἕκαστοι ἔμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην στείλας, Ἀρτασίρην τε, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ Βαρβατίωνα Θρᾶκα, ὡς ξυμφυλάζοντας Βέσσα τὴν πόλιν ὥς ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν ὦν, ἐπέστελλε τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπεξιέναι. [38] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατός, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων ἀντιτάξασθαι σφίσι τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἦσθοντο οὖσαν, τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [39] διὸ δὴ ἐν Πικηνοῖς ἀμφὶ τε Φίρμον καὶ Ἀσκούλον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔλγη, καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις οὐδαμῇ ἔχων Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀνεψιὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν, ὅρκους αὐτὸν δεινотάτοις καταλαβὼν ὡς ἐπανάκειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν σπουδῇ θήσεται, βασιλέως δεησόμενον στρατιάν τε πολλὴν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πέμψαι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. [2] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι λίαν ὄντες οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι ἤθελον, χρήματά τε πολλὰ φάσκοντες τὸ δημόσιον σφίσιν ὀφείλειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπάντων ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι. [3] καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ γράμματα ὑπὲρ τούτων βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃ βασιλεῦ κράτιστε, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων χωρίς. ὦν οὐδ' ἂν τις μὴ διαρκῶς ἔχων πόλεμον, οἶμαι, διενεγκεῖν οὐ μὴ ποτε ἱκανὸς εἴη. [4] Θρᾶκας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνδελεχέστατα περιελθόντες στρατιώτας ξυνήγομεν κομιδῇ ὀλίγους οἰκτροὺς οὐδέ τι ὅπλων ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας καὶ μάχης ὄντας παντάπασιν ἀμελετήτους. [5] ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους ἐνταῦθα οὔτε αὐτάρκεις ὄντας καὶ κατεπτηχότας τοὺς πολεμίους δεδουλωμένους τε τὸ φρόνημα τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων πολλάκις ἡσσησθαι, οἱ γε οὐδὲ εἰκὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους διέφυγον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐς τὴν γῆν ρίψαντες. [6] χρημάτων δὲ πρόσδοτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πορίζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀδύνατά ἐστι, πάλιν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κατελιγμένης. [7] διὸ δὴ καὶ ὑπερήμεροι γεγεννημένοι ἐς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς

συντάξεις ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα ἔχομεν: ἀφείλετο γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ ὄφλημα. [8] εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ᾧ δέσποτα, ἴσθι, ὥς τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ στρατευομένων οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡτομοληκότες τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔδει Βελισάριον ἐς Ἰταλίαν στέλλεσθαι μόνον, ἄριστα σοὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασται: εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἰταλίωταις ἥδη πού μέσοις: εἰ δὲ περιεῖναι βούλει τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξαρτῦεσθαι δεῖ. [10] στρατηγὸς γάρ τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ὑπουργούντων χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. δορυφόρους τοίνυν καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς μάλιστα μοι πάντων σταλῆναι προσήκει, ἔπειτα πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος Οὐννων τε καὶ ἄλλων βαρβάρων, οἷς καὶ χρήματα ἥδη δοτέον.’ [11] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ χρόνον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ διατρίψας πολὺν οὐδὲν μὲν διεπράξατο ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθεν, ἔγχε δὲ τοῦ Γερμανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοῦ παῖδα. [12] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Φίρμον τε καὶ Ἀσκουλον ὁμολογία εἶλεν: ἐς Τούσκους τε ἀφικόμενος Σπολίτιόν τε καὶ Ἀσίσην ἐπολιόρκει. ἦρχε δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Σπολίτῳ φυλακτηρίου Ἡρωδιανός, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἀσίσῃ Σισίφριδος, Γότθος μὲν γένος, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ λίαν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἔχων. [13] Ἡρωδιανὸς μὲν οὖν τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἡσυχῇ μέινωσιν. [14] ὧν ἦν μὴ ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγένηται, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ζύν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι Γότθοις ἐνδῶσειν. τόν τε παῖδα ὁμηρον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρέσχετο. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὴν μὲν ἡ κυρία, στράτευμα δὲ οὐδαμῶθεν Ῥωμαίων ἦλθεν, Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα Τουτίλα καὶ Γότθοις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Σπολίτιον ἐνεχείρισαν. [16] φασὶ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχθος αὐτόν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον Γότθοις ἐνδοῦναι: λογισμοὺς γὰρ αὐτόν Βελισάριος τῶν βεβιωμένων ἠπέλιψε πράξειν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Σπολίτῳ ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε. [17] Σισίφριδος δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπεκδρομὴν ποιησάμενος, τῶν τε ζὺν αὐτῷ πλείστους ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. [18] Ἀσίσηνοί τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐνέδοσαν. πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κυπριανὸν εὐθὺς Τουτίλας, ἐνδοῦναι οἱ αὐτῷ Περυσίαν ἡξίου, δεδιττόμενος μὲν ἦν ἀπειθήσῃ, χρήμασι δὲ αὐτόν δωρήσασθαι μεγάλοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, [19] ἦν γε ταῦτα ἐπιτελοίῃ. ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ πρὸς Κυπριανοῦ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, τῶν ἐκείνου δορυφόρων ἓνα, Οὐλίφον ὄνομα, χρήμασιν ἀναπειθεὶ δόλῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαχρήσασθαι. [20] Οὐλίφος μὲν οὖν μόνῳ τῷ Κυπριανῷ ἐντυχὼν ἔκτεινέ τε αὐτόν καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν φεύγων ὤχετο. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦσσαν οἱ Κυπριανοὶ στρατιῶται βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσαν: διὸ δὴ Γότθοι ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃν ἦει, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀγγχοῦ ἐγένετο, ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο: τοὺς μέντοι γεωργοὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀδεῶς ἐκέλευεν, ἥπερ εἰώθασιν, ἐς αἰὶ γεωργεῖν, τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ ἀποφέροντας ὅσους τὸ πρότερον ἔς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀποφέρειν ἡξίου. [2] Γότθων δὲ τινῶν ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβάλλου ἀφικόμενων Ἀρτασίρης τε καὶ Βαρβατίων, πολλοὺς τε τῶν ἐπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενοι, Βέσσα ὥς ἡκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος, ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαντο. [3] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς

φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. οἷς δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἕς τε τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκπεπωκότες ἐνέδραις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέτυχον. [4] οὗ δὴ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες αὐτοὶ ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διέφυγον μόλις, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεξίεναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καίπερ ἐγκειμένοις, οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων. [5] Καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λιμός τις ἀκριβὴς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπέβλεπεν, οὐκέτι δυναμένους τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰσκομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀποκεκλεισμένων φορτίων. [6] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Γότθοι Νεάπολιν εἶλον, ναυτικὸν ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι ἀκάτων πολλῶν κὰν ταῖς νήσοις ταῖς Αἰόλου καλουμέναις καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῇδε ἐπὶκείνται, ἕς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσον. [7] ὅσαι οὖν νῆες ἐκ Σικελίας ἀναγόμεναι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, πᾶσαι γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσὶ. [8] Τουτίλας δὲ στρατεύμα ἐς Αἰμιλίαν πέμψας, πόλιν Πλακεντίαν ἐξελεῖν ἢ βίᾳ ἢ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐκέλευεν. [9] αὕτη δὲ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰμιλίῳ τῆς χώρας, ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχουσα. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ἡριδανῷ κεῖται καὶ μόνῃ τῶν τῇδε χωρίων Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος οὖσα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ στρατὸς οὗτος Πλακεντίας ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, λόγους προὔφερον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὅπως τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ Τουτίλας τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐνδοῖεν. [11] ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν σφίσι προὔχῳρει, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰσθόμενοι. [12] Τότε τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν ὑποψία προδοσίας περὶ ἐγένετο ἐς Κέθηγον, πατρίκιον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς. διὸ δὴ ἐς Κεντουκέλλας ἀπιὼν ὤχετο. [13] Βελισάριος δὲ περὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι δέσας, ἐπεὶ ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀμύνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἀπανίστασθαι τε ἐνθένδε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, ὅπως δὴ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ κάμνουσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν οἷός τε εἴη. [14] καὶ οἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς ἐς Ῥαβένναν ἀφικομένῳ μετέμελεν, ἃ δὴ Βιταλίῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς ἔδρασε πρότερον οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ξυμφόρῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα καθεῖρξας αὐτὸν ἐδεδώκει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διοικεῖσθαι ῥοπήν. [15] καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἢ Βελισάριον ἐλῆσθαι τὰ χεῖρω, ἐπεὶ χρῆν τότε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι κακῶς, ἢ βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ βελτίω, ἐμπόδιον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, Τουτίλας τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βουλευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς πᾶν τὸνναντίον Βελισαρίῳ ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [16] οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπνεῖ ἐξ οὐρίας τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα βουλευομένοις οὐδὲν ἀπαντιάσει δεινόν, ἀντιπεριάγοντος αὐτὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐς πᾶν ζυμφορον. [17] ἀνδρὶ δέ, οἶμαι, κακοτυχοῦντι εὐβουλία οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, παραιρουμένου αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ ἀληθὴ δόξαν τοῦ χρῆναι παθεῖν. [18] ἦν δέ τι καὶ βουλευσῆταί ποτε τῶν δεόντων, ἀλλὰ πνέουσα τῷ βουλευσάντι ἀπ' ἐναντίας εὐθὺς ἢ τύχῃ ἀντιστρέφει αὐτῷ τὴν εὐβουλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότατα τῶν ἀποβάσεων. [19] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἐκείνῃ ἔχει οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰουστίνον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥαβέννης φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτὸς ἐνθένδε διὰ τε Δαλματίας καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων κομίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἵνα δὴ στρατεύμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου караδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. γράψας τε βασιλεῖ γράμματα, τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐσήγγελλεν. [20] ὁ δὲ οἱ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Ἰσαάκην

Ἀρμένιον Ἀρατίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφὸν ζὺν στρατῷ ἐπεμψε βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν. [21] οἱ δὴ ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ξυνέμιξαν. Καὶ Ναρσῆν δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον παρὰ τῶν Ἐρούλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πείσει ἐς Ἱταλίαν στρατεύεσθαι. [22] καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἐρούλων πολλοὶ εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημουθ ἦρχον καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἤλθον. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διαχειμάσαντες ἔμελλον ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. [23] ζυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἐπὶ κλήσιν ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ ζυνέβη τις τύχη μεγάλη Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ἐργάσασθαι. [24] βαρβάρων γὰρ Σκλαβηνῶν πολὺς ὅμιλος ἔτυχον ἑναγχος διαβάντες μὲν ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ληϊσάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξανδραποδίσαντες πάμπολυ πλῆθος. [25] οἷς δὴ Ἐρουλοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες, νικήσαντές τε παρὰ δόξαν μέτρῳ σφᾶς πολλῶ ὑπεραίροντας, αὐτοὺς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. [26] τότε δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ τινα εὐρὼν ἐπιβατεύοντα τοῦ Χιλβουδίου ὀνόματος, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ στρατηγῆσαντος, διελέγξαι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ῥαδίως ἔσχε. τοῦτο δὲ ὅ τί ποτε ἦν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

Χιλβούδιος ἦν τις ἐκ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκίας ἐσάγαν μὲν δραστήριος τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τόσον δὲ χρημάτων κρείσσων ὥστε ἀντὶ μεγίστου κτήματος ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ εἶχε τὸ κεκτηθῆναι μηδέν. [2] τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Χιλβούδιον, ὅτε δὴ τέταρτον ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχήν, Θράκης στρατηγὸν ἀνειπών, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο, φυλάσσειν κελεύσας ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς ἔσται, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάβασιν πολλάκις ἤδη Οὐννοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ πεπονημένοι ἀνῆκεστα Ῥωμαίους ἔργα εἰργάσαντο. [3] Χιλβούδιος δὲ οὕτω τοῖς βαρβάροις φοβερὸς γέγονεν ὥστε ἐς τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον, ὅσον ζὺν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμῇ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν, οὐχ ὅσον διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέραν σὺν Χιλβουδίῳ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. [4] ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ τρισὶν ὕστερον διέβη μὲν ὁ Χιλβούδιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἥπερ εἰώθει ζὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ, Σκλαβηνοὶ δὲ πανδημεὶ ὑπηντίαζον. [5] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης Ῥωμαίων τε πολλοὶ ἔπεσον καὶ Χιλβούδιος ὁ στρατηγός. [6] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ τε ποταμὸς ἐσβατὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα εὐέφοδα γέγονε, ζύμπασά τε ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἀρετῇ ἀντίρροπος γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε. [7] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ διάφοροι ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον, ἔνθα δὴ τοῖς Ἄνταις ἡσσηθῆναι τῶν ἐναντίων τετύχηκεν. [8] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Σκλαβηνὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, Χιλβούδιον ὄνομα, αἰχμάλωτον εἶλεν, ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼν ὥχετο. [9] οὗτος ὁ Χιλβούδιος προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου εὖνους τε ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους δραστήριος. [10] πολλάκις τε τοῦ δεσπότη προκινδυνεύσας ἡρίστευσέ τε διαφερόντως καὶ κλέος ἴσχυσε περιβαλέσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέγα. [11] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἄνται ἐπισκῆψαντες εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία πολλοὺς ἐληΐσαντο καὶ

ἡνδραπόδισαν τῶν ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίων. οὕπερ ἐπαγόμενοι ἀπεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἡθῇ. [12] Τούτων δὲ ἓνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἰς φιλάνθρωπόν τινα ἤγαγεν ἡ τύχη καὶ πρᾶον δεσπότην. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε λίαν καὶ οἶος ἀπάτη τοὺς ἐντυχόντας περιελθεῖν. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε βουλόμενος ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας ἐπήνεσε καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἱ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρίσατο τάγαθὰ ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἀχάριστον δεσπότη φιλανθρωποτάτῳ φανήσεσθαι, ἀλλ', ἦν γε αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰσηγουμένῳ ἐπακούειν ἐθέλλῃ, κύριον αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων. [14] εἶναι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνῃ Χιλβούδιον, τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῆσαντα, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ, πάντας βαρβάρους λανθάνοντα ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν. [15] ἦν τοίνυν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη προέσθαι τε τὰς τοῦ Χιλβουδίου τιμὰς καὶ διακομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, δόξαν τε ἀγαθὴν καὶ πλούτου αὐτὸν πάμπλουτο χρῆμα περιβαλέσθαι πρὸς βασιλέως οὐκ ἀπαικὸς εἶναι. [16] ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἰπὼν τὸν κεκτημένον εὐθὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ ζῆν αὐτῷ γίνεται ἐν Σκλαβηνοῖς μέσοις: ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀδεδῶς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. χρήματα γοῦν πολλὰ τῷ Χιλβούδιον κεκτημένῳ προέμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ὠνοῦντο καὶ ζῆν αὐτῷ ἀπιόντες εὐθὺς ὥχοντο. [17] ἐπεὶ τε ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐγένοντο, ἀνεπνυθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ πριάμενος, εἰ Χιλβούδιος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἴη. [18] καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηξίου τὰ ὄντα καταλέγειν ζῆν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὥς εἴη μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀντῆς τὸ γένος, μαχόμενος δὲ ζῆν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι πρὸς Σκλαβηνοὺς, τότε πολεμίους σφίσιν ὄντας, πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀλώῃ, τανῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἡθῇ, ἐλεύθερος τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ γε τὸν νόμον καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται. [19] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσίον προέμενος εἰς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκὸς ἡσχαλλεν, ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχὼν οὐ μετρίως τινός. [20] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος τὸν τε ἄνθρωπον παρηγορεῖν τὴν τε ἀλήθειαν ἐκκρούειν ἐθέλων, ὥς μή τι αὐτῷ τῆς ἐς τὴν οἰκειάν ἐπανόδου χαλεπὸν εἴη, Χιλβούδιον μὲν ἐκείνον ἔτι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι, δεδιότα δὲ ἅτε δὴ ὄντα ἐν μέσοις βαρβάροις ὥς ἥκιστα ἐθέλειν ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ἦν μέντοι γένηται ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀποκρύβεσθαι τὸν ἀληθεῖ λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κρύφα ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων. [21] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθεν, ἡγείροντο μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἄνται σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, κοινὴν δὲ εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡξίουσαν, μεγάλα σφίσιν οἰόμενοι ἀγαθὰ ἔσσεσθαι, κυρίως ἡδὴ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Χιλβουδίου γεγενημένοις. [22] τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ τά τε ζυμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἐκατέροις ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται τούτοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς βαρβάροις. [23] θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα: εἰμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔν γε ἀνθρώποις ροπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἡδὴ ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἡ νόσφ

ἀλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἣν διαφυγῶσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσιν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἶονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι. [24] σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικίσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον. [25] ἐς μάχην δὲ καθιστάμενοι πεζῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ πολλοὶ ἴασιν ἀσπίδια καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, θώρακα δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐνδιδύσκονται. [26] τινὲς δὲ οὐδὲ χιτῶνα οὐδὲ τριβώνιον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνας τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, οὕτω δὲ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις καθίστανται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἐκατέρους φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος. [27] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσσουσιν. εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν ἢ ξανθοὶ εἰσὶν οὔτε πη ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροὶ εἰσὶν ἅπαντες. [28] δίαίταν δὲ σκληρὰν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένην, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ ῥύπου ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνδελεχέστατα γέμουσι, πονηροὶ μέντοι ἢ κακοῦργοι ὡς ἥκιστα τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ κὰν τῷ ἀφελεῖ διασώζουσι τὸ Οὐννικὸν ἦθος. [29] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄνομα Σκλαβηνοῖς τε καὶ Ἄνταις ἐν τῷ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν: Σπόρους γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκηνημένοι τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦσι. [30] διὸ δὴ καὶ γῆν τινα πολλὴν ἔχουσι: τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆς ἐτέρας τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ὄχθης αὐτοὶ νέμονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν λεῶν τοῦτον ταύτη πη ἔχει. [31] Ἄνται δὲ τότε ἀγειρόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἠνάγκαζον ὁμολογεῖν σφίσι ὅτι Χιλβούδιος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἶη. [32] ἀρνηθέντα τε κολάζειν ἠπειλοῦν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς πρέσβεις τινὰς παρὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους στείλας ἡξίου ξυνοικίεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, Τούρριν ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις αὐτὴν δειμαμένου, ἔρημος δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ληΐσασμένων αὐτὴν τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων. [33] ταύτη γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρᾳ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἅτε προσηκούσῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμολόγει δεδωρῆσεσθαι καὶ σφίσι ξυνοικεῖν μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, χρήματα δὲ μεγάλα σφίσι προῖεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἔνσπονδοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντες Οὐννοις ἐμπόδιοι ἐς αἰὲ γένωνται, καταθεῖν βουλομένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [34] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπήνεσάν τε καὶ πράξιν ἅπαντα ὑπέσχοντο, εἵπερ αὐτοῖς τὸν Χιλβούδιον στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐθις καταστησάμενος ξυνοικιστὴν δοίῃ, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχυρίζόμενοι, ἥπερ ἠβούλοντο, Χιλβούδιον εἶναι. [35] ταύταις δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἤδη καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθέλε' τε καὶ ἔφασκε Χιλβούδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἶναι. ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτὸν στελλόμενον ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ καταλαμβάνει. [36] καὶ συγγενόμενος, ἐπεὶ φενακίζοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶρε 'καίπερ τὴν τε Λατίνων ἀφιέντα φωνὴν καὶ τῶν Χιλβουδίου γνωρισμάτων πολλὰ ἐκμαθόντα τε ἤδη καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοντά ἐν τε δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξε καὶ τὸν πάντα

ἐξείπειν λόγον ἡνάγκασεν, οὕτω τε ἐς Βυζάντιον ζὺν αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

Βασιλεὺς μὲν ταῦτα ἅπερ μοι δεδήλωται ἔπρασσεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, Φωκᾶν ὄνομα, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, ζὺν στρατεύματι ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον ζυμφυλάξουσιν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὥνπερ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχε, καὶ ὅπη ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ ἦ ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιούμενοι ζυνταράξουσιν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [2] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ Φωκᾶν πέμψαντες λάθρα ἐς Ῥώμην σημαίνουνσι Βέσσα ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἐπιέναι τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ χαρακώματι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου μέλλουσι· δεήσει οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενον, ἡνίκα αἰσθηται τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς, βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὅπως τι καὶ δρᾶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκάτεροι δυνήσονται μέγα. [3] Βέσσα δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε, καίπερ ἐς τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχοντι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ζὺν πεντακοσίοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐπισκήψαντες τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἔκτειναν, αἰσθησίς τε τοῦ ἐνθὲνδε θορύβου τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ταχὺ γέγονεν. [4] ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξῆει, κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν λιμένα κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἀνεχώρησαν. [5] Πέμψαντές τε παρὰ Βέσσαν αὐθις ἡτιῶντο μὲν ὁκνησὶν τινα οὐ δέον αὐτῷ ἐμπεπτωκεναί, ἰσχυριζόμενοι δὲ ὡς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἑτέραν ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιήσονται παρεκάλουν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς καιρὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιθέσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [6] ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπεξιόντα διακινδυνεύειν ἀπεῖπεν. οἱ μὲντοι ἀμφὶ Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ Φωκᾶν ζὺν στρατῷ πλείονι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι διανοοῦντο καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἤδη ἐγένοντο. [7] στρατιώτης δὲ τις ὑπὸ Ἰννοκεντίῳ ταττόμενος αὐτόμολος παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἡκὼν ἀγγέλλει ὡς ἡμέρα τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἔφοδος ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔσται. [8] καὶ ὃς τῶν χωρίων ὅσα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τοῦτο εἶχεν ἐνέδραις ἔγνω προλοχίζειν ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. οὗ δὴ τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς τε πλείστους ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ θνήσκουσιν. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον κομίζονται. [9] Τότε καὶ Βιγίλιος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἔπεμψεν, οἰόμενος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τοῖς τὰ φορτία παραπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. [10] αἱ μὲν οὖν νῆες αὗται ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμοι χρόνῳ τε βραχεῖ προτερήσαντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυσαν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα αἱ νῆες ἐνταῦθα κατάρωσι, κρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [11] ὅπερ κατιδόντες ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐν Πόρτῳ εἶχον, ἔς τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνέβαινον ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια σείοντες τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ σημαίνειν ἐβούλοντο μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἑτερωσε, ὅπη παρατύχη, [12] ἐκτρέπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων οὐ ζυιέντες, ἀλλὰ χαίρειν τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα παρακαλεῖν, τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφόρου ὄντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ λιμένος κατὰ τάχος ἐγένοντο. [13] ἔπλεον δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ καὶ τις ἐπίσκοπος Βαλεντίνος

ὄνομα. ἔκ τε τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν πλοίων ἀπάντων οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐκράτησαν. [14] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ τὸν Τουτίλαν ἤγαγον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἐφέλκοντες ὥχοντο. [15] τοῦτου ὁ Τουτίλας ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως ὅσα ἐβούλετο, ἐπενεγκὼν τε αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὡς ἡκιστα ἀληθίζεται, ἄμφω τῷ χεῖρι ἀπέκοψε. [16] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔλγηε, καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ἐτύγγανε γὰρ πολὺν τινα χρόνον διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Σικελία διατριβὴν ἔχων. [2] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Πλακεντία πολιορκούμενοι ἀπάντων ἤδη σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντων ἐς βρώσεις οὐχ ὁσίας τινάς, βιαζόμενοι τῷ λιμῷ, ἦλθον. [3] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Πλακεντίαν ὁμολογία Γότθοις παρέδωκαν. [4] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε καὶ Ῥώμην πρὸς Τουτίλα πολιορκουμένην ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοιπεί. [5] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Ῥώμης ἱερεῦσιν, ὄνομα μὲν Πελάγιος, διάκονος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν, ὃς δὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ χρόνον διατρίψας συχνὸν φίλος μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένος μεγάλα ἐς Ῥώμην ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγγανεν ἀφικόμενος. [6] ἐν ταύτῃ τε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορουμένοις πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων προέμενος, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι δόκιμος, μεῖζον, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ φιланθρωπία κλέος ἀπῆνεγκε. [7] τοῦτον Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πελάγιον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀμύχανα τῷ λιμῷ ἔπασχον, πείθουσι παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε ἰέναι καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐκεχειρίαν διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἦν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία ταύτης δὴ ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίκηται, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία καὶ τὴν πόλιν Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν. [8] ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ Πελάγιος παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦλθεν. ἤκοντά τε αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας ἀσπασάμενος αἰδοῖ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ πρῶτος ἔλεξεν ὥδε: [9] 'Πᾶσι μὲν, ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, νόμος βαρβάροις τὸ χρήμα τῶν πρέσβων σέβειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιουμένους, οἷός αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ ἄλλως τιμὰν ἐν σπουδῇ ἄνωθεν γέγονε. [10] τιμὴν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν οὐ πραότῃ προσώπων οὐδὲ ῥημάτων ὄγκῳ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων διακεκρίσθαι οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἢ λόγοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσιν ἐς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι. [11] τετιμῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἐκείνῳ ξυμβαίνει, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἀποκαλύψαντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπέμπωιντο, περιυβρίσθαι δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ, ὃς ἂν ὑπούλων τε καὶ ξυμπεπλασμένων ἀκούσας ῥημάτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο. [12] τριῶν τοίνυν ἐκτός, ὃ Πελάγιε, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅτου ἂν δεηθείης, οὐ μὴ ποτε πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀτυχήσεις. [13] ἂ δὴ φυλασσόμενόν σε σιωπᾶν ἄμεινον, ὅπως μὴ σαυτῷ αἰτιώτατος γεγωνῶς τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνύειν ὧν ἔνεκα ἦλθες τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μέμψιν ἡμῖν ἀναθήσεις. [14] τῷ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖως τοῖς παροῦσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμπέφυκε. λέγω δὲ ὅπως μήτε Σικελιωτῶν τινος ἔνεκα μήτε τῶν Ῥώμης περιβόλων, ἢ τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν, τοὺς λόγους

ποιήσεις. [15] οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν ἢ Γότθους φειδοῖ ἐς Σικελιωτῶν τινα χρήσεσθαι, ἢ τόδε τὸ τεῖχος ἐστάναι, ἢ δούλους τοὺς ξὺν ἡμῖν στρατευσαμένους τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις δουλεύειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλογίστῳ ταῦτα προτείνεσθαι γνώμη τῷ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτίκα ἐξευπεῖν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκλύσομεν.’ [16] “Ἦν μὲν ἡ νῆσος εὐδαίμων ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐκεῖ φυομένων πασῶν μάλιστα, ὥστε οὐ τοῖς αὐτὴν ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπαρκεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε εἰσκομιζομένους ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων φορὰν διαρκῶς ἔχειν. [17] διόπερ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐδέοντο Θεουδερῖχου Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα Γότθων καταστῆναι φρουράν, ὥς μηδὲν αὐτῶν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἶη. [18] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων κατέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατός, οὔτε ἀνδρῶν πλήθει οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ ἀξιώμαχοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὄντες. [19] Σικελιῶται δὲ τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες οὐκ ἐς Γότθους ταῦτα ἀνήνεγκαν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι καθεῖρξαν αὐτούς, οὐκ ἄλλο προσκρούειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐδὲν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναπετάσαντες προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ τὰς τῶν πόλεων πύλας ἐδέξαντο ὑπτίαις χερσὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀπιστότατα, ἐκ χρόνου καιροφυλακοῦντες πολλοῦ δραπετεῦσαι μὲν τῆς τῶν κεκτημένων χειρός, νέους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἀγνώτας αὐτοῖς δεσπότας εὐρεῖν. [20] ἐντεῦθεν τε ὀρμώμενοι καθάπερ ἐξ ἐπιτειχίσματος οἱ πολέμοι τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀπονητὶ ἔσχον καὶ Ῥώμην τήνδε κατέλαβον, σίτον ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπαγαγόμενοι τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πολιορκουμένοις ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος ἀντέχειν ξύμπασι Ῥωμαίοις. [21] τὰ μὲν οὖν Σικελιωτῶν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ὧν περ αὐτοῖς Γότθους συγγνώμονας εἶναι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἔσται, τοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὄγκου παραιρουμένου τοῖς ἡδικοῦσι τὸν ἔλεον. [22] Τούτων δὲ τῶν περιβόλων ἐντὸς καθεῖρξαντες αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες παρατάσσεσθαι ἡμῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, σοφίσμασι δὲ καὶ παραγωγαῖς ἀεί τε καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν Γότθους ἐκκρούοντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου γεγένηται. [23] ὅπως τοίνυν καὶ ὕστερον μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιμεν προνοεῖν ἄξιον. τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαξ ἀγνοία σφαλέντας ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐκπεπτωκέναι κακοπραγίαν οὐ προειδομένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἤδη συνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, οὐ τύχης ἐναντίωμα γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐς ἄνοιαν τῶν ἐπταικότων, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, [24] περιίστασθαι. προσθεῖη δ’ ἂν τις ὥς καὶ τὸν Ῥώμης καθαιρεθῆναι περίβολον μάλιστα πάντων ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει. οὐδὲ μεθ’ ἐτέρων γὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν καθειργμένοι πάντων τε ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πολιορκηθήσεσθε πρὸς τῶν ἐπιόντων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσουσι μὲν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, ἄθλον δὲ τῶν νικῶντων ὑμεῖς οὐ μετὰ κινδύνων ὑμετέρων γενήσεσθε. [25] τῶν μέντοι προσκεχωρηκότων ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν ἔνεκα τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὥς, ἢ περ ἐκείνους συνταξαμένους τε ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν κεκομισμένους τοῦ μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις προήσεσθαι τανῦν ἐγχειρίσειν ὑμῖν γνοίημεν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ πιστὸν ἔξομεν. [26] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐς τοὺς ἀπάντων οἰκτροτάτους ὀλιγοροῦντα βέβαιον ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο τι

γνώρισμα ἐς πάντας τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυμβάλλοντας τὴν ἀπιστίαν αἰεὶ περιφέρειν φιλεῖ.’ [27] Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Πελάγιος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: ‘Κατεσπουδάσθαι σοι μάλιστα πάντων ἐμέ τε, ὃ γενναῖε, καὶ τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ὑπειπὼν ὄνομα ἐν μοίρᾳ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀτιμοτάτῃ ξυνέταξας. [28] ὑβρίζειν γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρα φίλον τε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἐγωγε οἶμαι οὐχ ὅς ἂν κατὰ κόρρης πατάξαι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀσελγείᾳ ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσαιτο, ἀλλ’ ὅς ἂν ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψασθαι τὸν ἐς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα γνοίῃ. [29] οὐ γὰρ ὅπως τιμῆς πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τινὸς τύχῳσι, καθεῖναι αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τι ἀγαθὸν διαπεπραγμένοι τοῖς ἐσταλκόσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπανάξωσιν. [30] ὥστε προπηλακισθέντας ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον διαπεπράχθαι τι ὧν ἔνεκα ἤλθον ἢ λόγων ἐπιεικεστέρων ἀκούσαντας τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχόντας ἐπανελθεῖν. παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι δεῖ περὶ τούτων ὧν αὐτὸς εἴρηκας. [31] τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἐνοχλοίῃ τὸν γε πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀπειπόντα τὴν ξύμβασιν ; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἂν σιωπῶην, ὡς ἐνδιηλός εἰ ὀπόσῃ ἐς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σοὶ ὅπλα ἀντάραντας φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι μέλλεις, ὅς ἐς Σικελιώτας τοὺς οὐδαμῇ σοι ἀπηντηκότας ἀκήρυκτον τὸ ἔχθος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐγnows. [32] ἀλλ’ ἐγωγε μεθεὶς τὴν πρὸς σὲ δέησιν τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸν θεὸν μεταθήσομαι, ὅς δὴ τοῖς τὰς ἱκεσίας ὑπερφρονοῦσι νεμεσᾶν εἴωθε.’

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἄπρακτον ἐπανάηκοντα εἶδον, ἐν πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο. ἔτι τε μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων ὁ λιμὸς ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ἀνήμεστα αὐτοὺς ἔργα εἰργάζετο. τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας οὐπω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει, ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἀντείχον. [2] διὸ δὴ ἄθρόοι Ῥωμαῖοι γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι, Βέσσα τε καὶ Κόνωνι, προσελθόντες, δεδακρυμένοι ξὺν οἰμωγῇ πολλῇ ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε: ‘Τοιαύτας μὲν οὕσας, ὃ στρατηγοί, τύχας ἡμῖν τὰς παρούσας ὁρῶμεν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ τι δρᾶν ὑμᾶς ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἰσχύομεν, οὐκ ἂν τινα ἡμῖν τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦτο μέμψιν ἐπήνεγκεν. [3] ἢ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπερβολὴ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἔχει. νῦν δὲ ἀμύνειν ἔργῳ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, δηλώσοντές τε λόγῳ καὶ ἀποκλαύσοντες τὴν ξυμφορὰν παρ’ ὑμᾶς ἤκομεν. ὅπως δὲ ἀκούσησθε πράως, οὐ ξυνταρασσόμενοι τῷ τῶν λόγων θράσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πάθους ἀκμῇ τοῦτο σταθμώμενοι. [4] ὁ γὰρ ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἠναγκασμένος οὐκ ἔργοις, οὐ ρήμασι τὴν εὐκοσμίαν διασώσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν δύναται. [5] ἡμᾶς, ὃ στρατηγοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε ξυγγενεῖς ὑμῖν νομίζετε εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοτρόπους τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας ἡθεσι γεγονέναι, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἐκόντας τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως δέχεσθαι στρατόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίους τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας καὶ ὅπλα ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἀραμένους, εἴτα ἡσσηθέντας τῇ μάχῃ, ἀνδράποδα δορυάλωτα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ γε τὸν τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι νόμον. [6] καὶ χορηγεῖτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἰχμαλώτοις τροφὴν οὐ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἀποχρῶσαν, ἀλλ’ ὥστε ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχουσιν, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς περιόντες ἀνθυπουργήσωμεν ὑμῖν ὅσα τοὺς οἰκέτας τοῖς κεκτημένοις ὑπηρετεῖν ἄξιον. [7] εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ ράδιον ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀφεῖναι ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοῦτε χειρός, ἐκεῖνο κερδανοῦντες, τὸ μὴ περὶ τὰς τῶν δούλων πονεῖσθαι ταφάς: ἦν δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀπολέλειπται, ἀποκτινύναι ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦτε καὶ μὴ ἀποστερήσητε τελευτῆς σῶφρονος μὴδὲ θανάτου φθονήσητε τοῦ πάντων

ἡδίστου, ἀλλὰ πράξει μῖα μυρίων ἀπαλλάξατε Ῥωμαίους [8] δυσκόλων.’ ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βέσσαν ἀκούσαντες τὸ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν σφίσιν ἀδύνατον, τὸ δὲ ἀποκτινύναι ἀνόσιον ἔφασαν εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀφεῖναι ἀκίνδυνον. Βελισάριον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίσαντο, ταύτῃ τε αὐτοὺς παρηγορήσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο. [9] Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων τε καὶ μηκυνόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα κακοῦ ἦρετο, βρώσεις ὑποβάλλων ἐκτόπους τε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερορίους. [10] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων, οἵπερ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχον· σίτου γὰρ πολὺ τι μέτρον ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται χρείας τῆς οἰκείας ἀποτεμνόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο Ῥωμαίων τοῖς εὖ πράσσουσι χρημάτων μεγάλων· μεδίμνου μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ ἑπτὰ ἐγγέγονει χρυσοῖ. [11] οἷς μέντοι οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐφέρετο, ὥστε βρώσεως ἐς τόσον ἀξιοτέρας μεταλαγχάνειν ἱκανοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς τὸ τεταρτημόριον κατατιθέντες πιτύρων τε τὸ μέδιμνον ἐμπλησάμενοι ἦσθιον, τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτοῖς ἡδίστην τε καὶ τρυφερωτάτην ποιούσης τὴν βρωσιν. [12] καὶ βοῦν δέ, ὃν ἂν ἐπεξιόντες οἱ Βέσσα ὑπασπισται λάβοιεν, ἀπεδίδοντο κατὰ πεντήκοντα χρυσῶν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἵππος τεθνεῶς ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ὑπῆρχεν, ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν εὐδαίμοσιν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ἐτάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ κρέαςι ζώου τεθνηκότος ἐντρυφᾶν εἶχεν. [13] ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος ἅπας ὄμιλος τὰς ἀκαλήφας μόνας ἦσθιον, οἷαι πολλαὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον κἂν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις πανταχῇ τῆς πόλεως φύονται. [14] ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ τὸ τῆς πόας δριμύν τὰ τε χεῖλη καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν φάρυγγα δάκνη οὐ παρέργως αὐτὰς ἔψοντες ἦσθιον. [15] Τέως μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα εἶχον, οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν σίτον καὶ τὰ πίτυρα ὠνούμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἤδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα βίον αὐτῶν τὸν ἐφήμερον ἀντηλλάσσοντο. [16] τελευτῶντες δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται σίτον οὐκ εἶχον, ὄνπερ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπόδονται, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῷ Βέσσᾳ ὀλίγος ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, οὕτε Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτου ὠνοῖντο, ἐς τὰς ἀκαλήφας ἅπαντες ἔβλεπον. [17] ταύτης δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ διαρκούσης τῆς βρώσεως, οἱ γε οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰέναι παντάπασιν εἶχον, ἐξίτηλοι μὲν αἱ σάρκες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγίνοντο, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα ἐς τὸ πελιδνὸν κατὰ βραχὺ ἦκον εἰδῶλοις αὐτοὺς ἐμφερεστάτους εἰργάζετο. [18] πολλοὶ τε βαδίζοντες ἔτι καὶ τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτοῖς μασσομένων τὰς ἀκαλήφας, ἔθνησκόν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἐς γῆν ἐπιπτον. [19] ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων τὴν κόπρον ἦσθιον. πολλοὶ τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι διεχρήσαντο, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε κύνας οὔτε μῦς εὔρισκον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ζῶον νεκρὸν ὅτῳ σιτίζοιντο. [20] Ἦν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ, πέντε παίδων πατήρ, ὃν δὴ περιστάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἀπτόμενοι τροφὴν ἔπραττον· [21] ὁ δὲ οὔτε ἀνοιμώζας οὔτε ὅτι ξυνεταράχθη ἐνδηλος γεγονώς, ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρότατα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ πάθος ὅλον ἀποκρυσάμενος, ἐπεσθαὶ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας ὥς δὴ τροφὴν ληψομένους ἐκέλευεν. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν γέφυραν ἦλθε, δήσας ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ θοιμάτιον, τούτῳ τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καλυπτόμενος ἤλατο ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὕδωρ, θεωμένων τὰ δρώμενα τῶν τε παίδων καὶ πάντων Ῥωμαίων οἱ ταύτῃ ἦσαν. [23] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες

λαμβάνοντες χρήματα ἕτερα μετῆκαν Ῥωμαίους ὅσοις ἐνθένδε βουλομένοις ἦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [24] ὀλίγων τε ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὥχοντο φεύγοντες ὥς πη ἕκαστος δυνατὸς ἐγγέγονει. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῆς δυνάμεως καταμαρανθείσης αὐτοῖς τῷ λιμῷ ἢ δὴ πλέοντες ἢ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἀπέθανον. [25] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διεφθάρησαν. Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐκεχωρήκει ἐς τοῦτο ἡ τύχη.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Ἰσαάκῃ στράτευμα ἐς Ἐπίδαμόν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ξυνέμιξεν, Ἰωάννης μὲν ἅπαντας διαπορθμευσάμενους ἤξιον τὸν κόλπον πεζῇ ἰόντας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κοινῇ τὰ προσπίπτοντα φέρειν, Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ἀξύμφορον τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πλέουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην χωρία μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν: [2] πεζῇ γὰρ ἰοῦσι χρόνον τε σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πλείω καὶ τι ὑπαντιάσειν ἴσως ἐμπόδιον: Ἰωάννην δὲ διὰ τε Καλαβρῶν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ἰόντα ἐξελάσαι μὲν ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάρους ὄντας, ὑποχείρια δὲ ποιησάμενον τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ξυμμιῶσαι σφίσιν ἤκοντα ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην χωρία. [3] οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς καταίρειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διενοεῖτο. ὤφειτο γὰρ πικρότατα πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τινα, ὥς γε τὸ εἶκος, βραχυτάτην τριβὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα λυμανεῖσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. [4] καὶ πλέουσι μὲν ἀνέμου τε σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος πεμπταίοις ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα καταίρειν δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι, στρατῷ δὲ ἐκ Δρυοῦντος πεζῇ ἰοῦσιν οὐδ' ἂν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι. [5] Ταῦτα βελισάριος Ἰωάννῃ ἐπιστείλας παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρε: πνεύματος δὲ σκληροῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος Δρυοῦντι προσέσχον. [6] οὗπερ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι, ὅσοι δὴ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φρουρίου, διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρεῖαν εὐθύς κομίζονται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βρεντέσιον, δυοῖν μὲν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Δρυοῦντος διέχουσαν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀκτῇ τοῦ κόλπου κειμένην, ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν, ὑποτοπάζοντες Βελισάριον αὐτίκα δὴ διαβήσεσθαι τὸν ἐκείνην πορθμόν, ἔς τε Τουτίλαν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. [7] ὁ δὲ πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ὑπαντιάσων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποίησατο καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ ἐκέλευεν, ὅπῃ ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη, τὴν δίοδον ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. [8] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἐκ Δρυοῦντος ἀπέπλευσεν, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀφροντιστήσαντες δίαιταν οὐ κατεσπουδασμένην ἐν Καλαβροῖς εἶχον καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἡσυχῇ μένων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφύλασσε τὰς ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσόδους, ὥς μή τι ἐσκομιζέσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνατὰ εἴη. [9] ἐν τε τῷ Τιβέριδι ἐπενόει τάδε. χῶρον κατανοήσας ἢ μάλιστα ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν στενῷ κάτεισιν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐνενήκοντα, δοκοὺς ἐσάγαν μακρὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας ὄχθης ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐξικνουμένας ἐνταῦθα ἐς γεφύρας κατέθετο σχῆμα. [10] πύργους τε δύο ξυλίνους παρ' ἐκατέραν ὄχθην τεκτηνάμενος φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν, ὥς μηκέτι ἀκάτοις τισὶν ἢ πλοίοις ἄλλοις ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἀναγομένοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιτητὰ εἴη. [11] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος μὲν ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα κατήρε, καὶ τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στράτευμα ἔμενεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Καλαβρίαν διαπορθμεύεται, Γότθων ἥκιστα αἰσθόμενων, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη,

διατριβὴν εἶχον. [12] δύο τε τῶν πολεμίῳ λαβῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ὁδῷ ἰόντας τὸν μὲν ἕνα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄτερος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων λαβόμενος ζωγραῖσθαι ἤξiou. [13] ‘Οὐ γὰρ ἀχρεῖός σοι,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἔσομαι.’ ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννου, τί δὲ οὐκ ἀπολούμενος συνοίσειν ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ μέλλει, Γότθοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἥκιστα προσδεχομένοις ἐπιστήσιν αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο. [14] καὶ ὃς ἀτυχῆσιν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς δεήσεως οὐδαμῇ ἔφασκε, χρῆναι δὲ οἱ πρῶτα τὰς τῶν ἵππων νομὰς ἐνδεικνύναι. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὠμολόγει καὶ ταῦτα ὁ βάρβαρος σὺν αὐτῷ ἦι. [15] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν πολεμίῳ τοὺς ἵππους νεμομένους καταλαβόντες ἀναθρώκουσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πεζοὶ ὄντες ἐτύγγανον: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ χωροῦσι δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον. [16] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἄνοπλοι τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες αὐτοῦ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες διαφυγόντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐκομίσθησαν. [17] Ἰωάννης δὲ Καλαβροὺς ἅπαντας παρηγορῶν τε καὶ τιθασσεύων ἐς εὐνοίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπηγάγετο, πολλὰ σφίσιν ὑποσχόμενος πρὸς τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἔσσεσθαι. [18] ἄρας τε ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, πόλιν καταλαμβάνει Κανουσίον ὄνομα, ἥ κεῖται μὲν ἐν Ἀπουλίοις που μέσοις, πέντε δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Βρεντεσίου διέχει ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἰόντι. [19] τούτου Κανουσίου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου ἀπέχουσι Κάνναι, ἵνα δὲ λέγουσι Λιβύων στρατηγούντος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀννίβαλος τὸ μέγα πάθος ξυμβῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. [20] Ἐνταῦθα Τουλλιανὸς τις, Βεναντίου παῖς, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, δύναμιν πολλὴν ἐν τε Βριττίοις καὶ Λευκανοῖς ἔχων, Ἰωάννη ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἡττάτω μὲν τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν τῶν πρόσθεν ἐς Ἰταλιώτας αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένων, ὠμολόγει δέ, ἦν τι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιεικεία ἐς αὐτοὺς χρήσονται, Βριττίους τε καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσι, κατηκόους βασιλεῖ αὐτῆς ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐσομένους οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἢ πρότερον ἦσαν. [21] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς προσκεχωρηκέναι βαρβάροις τε καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς οὖσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων βιαζομένους, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ἀδικουμένους. [22] Ἰωάννου δὲ πάντα ἰσχυριζομένου πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιώταις τάγαθὰ ἔσσεσθαι, ξὺν αὐτῷ ὁ Τουλλιανὸς ἦι. [23] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑποψία οἱ στρατιῶται οὐδεμιᾶ ἐς Ἰταλιώτας ἔτι εἶχοντο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου φίλιά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει κατήκοα. [24] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἤκουσε, Γόθων τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Καπύην πέμπει. οἷς δὲ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴν τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στράτευμα ἐνθένδε ἴδοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντας, ἔπεσθαι σφίσι αἰσθησιν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμίαν παρεχομένους: [25] αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα μελήσειν. δείσας τε διὰ ταῦτα Ἰωάννης μὴ ἐς κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίῳ τινὰ ἐμπέσῃ, παρὰ Βελισάριον μὲν οὐκέτι ἦι, ἐς δὲ Βριττίους καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐχώρει. [26] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Γότθοις Ῥεκιμούνδος, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὃνπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ τῇ Βριττίων φρουρᾷ καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Γόθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καὶ Μαυρουσίων αὐτομόλων τινὰς ἔχοντα, ἐφ’ ᾧ ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν τε κατὰ Σκύλλαν φυλάξει πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡϊόνα, ὡς μήτε ἐνθένδε τινὲς ἀπαίρειν ἐς Σικελίαν μήτε ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐνταῦθα καταπλεῖν ἀδεέστερον

οἱοί τε ὥσι. [27] τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ μεταξύ Ῥηγίου τε καὶ Βέβωνος ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ αὐτάγγελος Ἰωάννης ἐπιπεσὼν κατέπληξέ τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς αὐτοὺς μεμνημένους, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. [28] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, δύσβατόν τε ὄν καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, κατέφυγον, Ἰωάννης δὲ διώξας τε καὶ ζὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει γενόμενος, οὕπῳ τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις κρατυναμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν, πλείστους μὲν τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἔκτεινεν, ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένους, Ῥεκμοῦνδον δὲ καὶ Γότθους ζὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ὁμολογία εἶλεν. [29] Ἰωάννης μὲν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐς αἰὶ καραδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐμέμφετό τε ὅτι δὴ οὐ διακινδυνεύσας τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καπύῃ φυλάσσουσι τριακοσίοις οὗσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦκων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίοδον ἐνεχείρῃσε, καίπερ βαρβάρους ἀριστίνδην ζυνειλεγμένους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. Ἰωάννης δὲ τὴν δίοδον ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀπουλίας ἐχώρησεν, ἐν τε χωρίῳ Κερβαρίῳ καλουμένῳ ἡσύχαζε.

Δείσας οὖν Βελισάριος ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκούμενοις, μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον δράσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσκομίζειν διενοεῖτο. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς γε τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ὥστε μάχῃ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, πρότερον ἐπενόει τάδε. [3] ἀκάτους δύο ἐσάγαν εὐρείας ζεύξας τε καὶ λίαν ἐς ἀλλήλας ζυνδήσας, πύργον ξύλινον ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐτεκτῆνατο, πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον τῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ πεποιημένων. [4] ζυμμετρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔτυχε πρότερον, πέμψας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, οἵπερ εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτόμολοι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο. [5] δρόμωνάς τε διακοσίους τείχεσι ξυλίνους περιβαλὼν ἐς Τίβεριν καθήκε, πανταχόθι τῶν ξυλίνων τειχῶν τρυπήματα ποιησάμενος, ὅπως δὴ βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθὲνδε σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη. σῆτόν τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλὰ τοῖς δρόμῳσι τούτοις ἐνθήμενος στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐπλήρου. [6] στρατιώτας δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν χωρίοις ἐχυροῖς τισιν ἀμφὶ τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἔστησεν, οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευσε μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καί, ἣν τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸν Πόρτον ἴωσι, διακωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [7] τὸν δὲ Ἰσαάκην ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἐσαγαγὼν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέδωκε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων ἐτύγχανε. καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε μηδεμιᾶ ἐνθὲνδε μηχανῇ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδ' ἣν Βελισάριον πύθηται πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολλοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς αἰὶ ἔχεσθαι, ὅπως, ἣν τι σφίσιν ἐναντίωμα ὑπαντιάσῃ, ἔξουσιν ὅπῃ διαφυγόντες σωθήσονται. [8] ὀχύρωμα γὰρ ἄλλο ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφίσι πανταχόσε πολέμια ἦν. [9] Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς ἓνα τῶν δρομῶνων ἐσβὰς τοῦ τε στόλου ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὰς ἀκάτους ἐφέλκειν ἐκέλευεν, [10] οὗ δὴ τὸν πύργον ἐτύγχανε τεκτινάμενος. τοῦ δὲ πύργου ὑπερθεὶν λέμβον τινὰ ἔθετο, πίσης τε καὶ θείου καὶ ῥητίνης αὐτὸν ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσα δὴ τοῦ πυρὸς βρῶσις ὀξυτάτῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. [11] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ, καὶ πεζὸς παραβεβηθήκει στρατός. [12] πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βέσσαν τῇ προτεραίᾳ

ἐκέλευε τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πολλῶ στρατῷ ἐπεξιόντα ξυνταράξαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ὅπερ οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας πολλάκις ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν. [13] ἀλλὰ Βέσσας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐπιτελῇ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ἔγνω. [14] ἔτι γάρ οἱ μόνῳ τι τοῦ σίτου ἐλέλειπτο, ἐπεὶ ὅσον ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ Σικελίας ἄρχοντες πρότερον ἔπεμψαν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπαρκέσοντα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντί, αὐτὸς ὀλίγον μὲν κομιδῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον κεκομισμένος ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῳ ἀπέκρυσεν, ὥνπερ τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων μεγάλων διαλύεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἥκιστα ἤθελε. [15] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος πόνῳ ἀναπλέοντες ἅτε τοῦ ρεύματος σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος ἦσαν. Γότθοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [16] ἤδη δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄγχιστα τῆς γεφύρας γενόμενοι φρουρᾷ πολεμίων ἐνέτυχον, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σειρᾶς σιδηρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο, ἣν οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἐναποθέμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθης ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐξικνουμένην, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν γέφυραν ἰέναι οἱ ἐναντίοι εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. [17] καὶ αὐτῶν βάλλοντες τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλυσιν ἀνελόμενοι εὐθὺ τῆς γεφύρας ἐχώρησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τάχιστα ἐς αὐτὴν ἦλθον, ἔργου εἶχοντο, οἱ τε βάρβαροι ἐκ τῶν πύργων ἡμύνοντο καρτερώτατα. [18] ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐξαναστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν. Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τὰς ἀκάτους, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ὁ πύργος πεποίηται, ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἀγαθῶν θατέρου τῶν πολεμίων πύργου, ὃς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Πόρτον ὁδοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰστήκει, ἐκέλευε τὸν λέμβον ὑφάψαντας ὑπερθεῖν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ πύργου ρίπτειν. [19] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ἐμπεσὼν δὲ τῷ πύργῳ ὁ λέμβος αὐτόν τε αὐτίκα μάλα ἐνέπρησε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Γότθους ἅπαντας, ἐς διακοσίους μάλιστα ὄντας. [20] ἐκαύθη δὲ καὶ Ὅσδας σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε, Γότθων ἀπάντων μαχιμώτατος ὢν. θαρσύναντες δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπιβεβοηθηκότας βαρβάρους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔβαλλον. [21] οἱ δὲ καταπεπληγμένοι τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα, ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἡδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο: τῆς τε γεφύρας Ῥωμαῖοι ἤπτοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἔμελλον αὐτίκα μάλα διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἰέναι, ἔς τε Ῥώμην κομίζεσθαι οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος. [22] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα βουλομένη τῇ τύχῃ, τῶν τινος φθονερῶν δαιμόνων μηχανὴ γέγονεν, ἣ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [23] Ἐν ᾧ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῆδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐφέρετο, ἐν τούτῳ τις φήμῃ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Πόρτον ἐλθοῦσα περιήγγελλεν, ὡς νικῶν μὲν Βελισάριος, ἀνέλοιτο δὲ τὴν ἄλυσιν, διαφθείρας τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [24] Ἰσαάκης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κλέους τοῦδε μεταλαχεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. τὰς τε Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς ἀλογήσας, ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην ἀπιὼν ὄχθετο. [25] καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὔσπερ ἐνταῦθα Βελισάριος καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν, ἵππεῖς ἐπαγόμενος ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαρακῶμα ἤλαυνεν, οὗ Ῥουδέριχος ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [26] ἐπελθὼν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ

Ῥουδέριχον ὑπαντιάσαντα ἔπληξεν. [27] οἱ δὲ Γότθοι εὐθὺς λιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπεχώρησαν, ἢ πληθος πολεμίων ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰσαάκην ὀπισθεν εἶναι, ἢ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξαπατῶντες, ὅπως δὴ αὐτούς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ἐλεῖν δύνωνται. [28] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ Ἰσαάκῃ εἰσδύσαντες ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα τὸν τε ἄργυρον ὅσπερ ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα ἤρπαζον. [29] ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ αὐτίκα οἱ Γότθοι πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνουσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ζῶντα δὲ Ἰσαάκην ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν οὐ πολλοῖς εἶλον. ἤκοντές τε ἱππεῖς παρὰ Βελισάριον δρόμῳ ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι δὴ ἔχοιτο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων Ἰσαάκης. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλαγείς οἷς ἠκηκόει καὶ οὐ διερευνησάμενος ὅποιά ποτὲ μηχανῇ Ἰσαάκης ἀλώῃ, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος τὸν τε Πόρτον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἅπαντα διεφθάρθαι σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἄλλο τε οὐδὲν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ὀχύρωμα, ὅποι ἂν καταφυγόντες τὸ λοιπὸν σῴζοντο, ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπέπτωκεν οὐ γεγονὸς αὐτῷ πρότερον τοῦτο γε. [31] διὸ δὴ κατὰ τάχος ὀπίσω ὑπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενος μὲν ἀτάκτοις ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἀνασωσόμενος δὲ πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ χωρίον. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖον στρατὸς ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [32] ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόρτῳ γενόμενος Βελισάριος, τὴν τε Ἰσαάκου manίαν ἔγνω καὶ τῆς οὐ δέον οἱ αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης ταραχῆς ἦσθετο, τῷ τε τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματι περιώδυνος γεγωνὸς ἐνόσει τὸ σῶμα. [33] πυρετὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενόμενος ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ὑπερφυῶς τε αὐτὸν ἠνία καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον θανάτου ἤγεν. [34] ἡμέραιν δὲ δυοῖν ὕστερον Ῥουδερῖχῳ τε ξυνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας περιαλγῆσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ τὸν Ἰσαάκην διέφθειρε.

Βέσσας τε τὸν σῖτον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεμπολῶν ἐπλούτει, πρυτανευούσης αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὅλος εἰς μέριμναν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακῶς οὔτε φυλακῆς τοῦ περιβόλου οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουσιν ἀσφαλείας πέρι ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπτωκέναι μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς γε βουλομένοις ἐξῆν, φυλακτῆριον δὲ ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπημελημένον ὡς μάλιστα. [2] οἷς γὰρ αἰετὴν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπικεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε, πολλὴ ἐξουσία τοῦ καθεύδειν ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφειστήκει, ὅστις ἂν καὶ λόγον τινὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ποιοῖτο: οὐδὲ περιιώντες τινὲς κύκλῳ τῶν περιβόλων, ἥπερ εἰώθει, διερευνᾶσθαι τοὺς φύλακας ὃ τί ποτε ποιοῦσιν ἠξίου, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τις τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτοῖς ξυμφυλάσσειν ἠδύνατο. [3] ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ κομιδῇ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐλείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπερφυῶς κεκακωμένοι. [4] Τέσσαρες οὖν Ἰσαυροὶ, ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀσιναρίαν φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, τηρήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐχομένοις καθεύδειν ἐπέβαλλεν, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ἐκείνῃ τείχους ἐπέκειτο, κάλως τε ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀναρτήσαντες ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξικνουμένους, καὶ τούτων χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις λαβόμενοι ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀφικόμενοι δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει αὐτόν τε ὠμολόγουν καὶ τὸν Γότθον στρατὸν: δυνατοὶ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [5] καὶ ὃς χάριτας σφίσιν ἀδράς ἔξιν ὁμολογήσας, ἥνπερ ἐπιτελῇ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κυρίους τε αὐτοὺς καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, δύο τῶν ἐπομένων ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε κατασκευομένους τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι Γότθοις ἔφασκον ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι. [6] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ

παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφίκοντο, τῶν καλωδίων λαβόμενοι ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, οὐδενὸς ἐνταῦθα ἢ φθεγγομένου ἢ τῶν ποιουμένων αἰσθησιν ἔχοντος. [7] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, τοῖς βαρβάροις οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ πάντα ἐδείκνυν, ὥς ἀνίεναι μὲν βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐμπόδιον εἴη, ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ πολλὴ ἂν ἐξουσία γένοιτο σφίσιν, οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ταῦτά τε αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν Τουτίλα κελεύσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο. [8] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἤσθη μὲν πως τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ, ὑποψία δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐς τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐχόμενος οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν ἤξιον. [9] ἡμέραις τε οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον αὖθις οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον, ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ ὅς ἐτέρους δύο ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἅπαντα διερευνησάμενοι ἀπαγγείλωσιν. [10] οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκοντες ἅπαντα ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἠγγέλλον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται πολλοὶ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στελλόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν Γότθοις δέκα ὁδῶ ἰοῦσιν ἐνέτυχον, οὓς δὴ ἐλόντες παρὰ τὸν Βέσσαν εὐθὺς ἄγουσι. [11] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ὃ τί ποτε ὁ Τουτίλας διανοοῖτο, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τινὰς σφίσιν Ἰσαύρων ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν: ἤδη γὰρ ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐγεγόνει. [12] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων ἀκούσαντες ἐν τε πολλῇ ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἔσχον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐντροπὴν οὐδεμίαν πεποιήντο. καὶ τρίτον οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ Τουτίλα ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ ἔργον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνήγον. [13] ὁ δὲ ἄλλους τε ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψε καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων τινά, οἵπερ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλαντες ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπέρρωσαν. [14] Τουτίλας δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νῦξ ἐγεγόνει, ἅπαν ἡσυχῇ ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγεν ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀσιναρίαν. καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐν Γότθοις ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἰσχύος πέρι εὖ ἠκόντων ζὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις διὰ τῶν βρόχων ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευεν, ἐς ἐκεῖνον δηλονότι τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐς ὃν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ταύτη τείχους ὕπνον ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῶν ἄλλων αἰρουμένων ἐπέβαλεν. [15] οἵπερ, ἐπειδὴ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καταβαίνουνσι μὲν ἐς πύλας τὰς Ἀσιναρίας, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τό τε ξύλον πελέκεσι διαφθεύουσιν ὥπερ ἐνέρσει τοίχου ἐκατέρου ἐναρμοσθέντι τὰς πύλας ἐπιζευγνύναι εἰώθεσαν, τά τε σιδηρία ξύμπαντα οἷς δὴ τὰς κλεῖς αἰεὶ οἱ φύλακες ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἔκλειόν τε τὰς πύλας καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀνέωγον. [16] οὕτω δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες, ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο, τῇ πόλει Τουτίλαν τε καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐδέξαντο. Τουτίλας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐς ἓνα χῶρον ξυναγαγὼν σκεδάννυσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶασεν: ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι ξυμβαίῃν ταραχῆς δέ, [17] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῇ πόλει καὶ θορύβου ἐπιπεσόντος οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ζὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔφευγον, ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ εὐπετές γέγονεν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ζὺν Ῥωμαῖοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσι. [18] τῶν δὲ πατρικίων Δέκιος καὶ Βασίλειος ζὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἵπποι γὰρ σφίσι παρόντες ἔτυχον ζὺν τῷ Βέσσᾳ φυγεῖν ἰσχυσαν. [19] Μάξιμος δὲ καὶ Ὀλύβριος καὶ Ὀρέστης καὶ τινες ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν ἔφυγον. τοῦ μέντοι δήμου πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οἵπερ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ κατέφυγον μόλις. [20] τῶν γὰρ

ἄλλων ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν ἀπιόντες ἤδη πρότερον ἐς ἐτέρας ὥχοντο χώρας, οἱ δὲ τῷ λιμῷ διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλα νύκτωρ ἠγγελλον ὅτι δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ χαρίεντα τὸν λόγον αὐτοὺς εἰρηκέναι εἰπὼν οὐκ εἶα διώκειν. [21] τί γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον ἀνθρώπῳ γένοιτο, ἔφη, πολεμίων φευγόντων; [22] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν ἥδη καὶ οὐδεμία ἐτι ἐνέδρας τινὸς ὑποψία ἐλέλειπτο, Τουτίλας μὲν ἐς τὸν Πέτρου νεῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὐξόμενος ἦει, Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας διέφθειρον. [23] ἀπέθανόν τε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἑξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἐξήκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, Πελάγιος αὐτῷ ἐς ὅσιν ἤλθε τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ φέρων, παντί τε τρόπῳ τὴν ἱκεσίαν προτεινόμενος ‘Φείδου τῶν σῶν, ὦ δέσποτα’ εἶπε. [24] καὶ ὡς ἐπιτωθάζων τε καὶ ἐνδιαθρυπτόμενος ἔφη ‘Νῦν με, ὦ Πελάγιε, ἱκετεύσων ἐλήλυθας.’ ‘Ὅτε με’ ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπεκρίνατο ‘δοῦλον σὸν ὁ θεὸς εἶναι πεποίηκεν. [25] ἀλλὰ δούλων τῶν σῶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὦ δέσποτα, φείδου.’ ταύτην ὁ Τουτίλας τὴν ἱκεσίαν δεξάμενος ἀπεῖπε Γότθοις μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποκτινύναι τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ τιμώτατα ἐξελεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ληΐζεσθαι. [26] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πατρικίων οἰκίαις εὗρε, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα οὐπὲρ ὁ Βέσσας κατέλυε. τὰς γὰρ ἀνοσίας, ὡς γε δεδήλωται, τοῦ σίτου τιμὰς ὁ κακοδαίμων Τουτίλα ἤθροιζεν. [27] οὕτω τε περιέστη τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ῥουστικιανῇ, τῇ Βοετίου μὲν γαμετῇ γενομένη, παιδί δὲ Συμμάχου, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προῖεμένη, δούλων τε καὶ ἀγροίκων ἀμπεχομένοις ἱμάτια, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρτον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων αἰτουμένοις βιοῦν. [28] ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας περιόντες καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐς ἀεὶ κόπτοντες τροφὴν διδόναι σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου. [29] Καὶ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥουστικιανὴν κτείνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ χρήματα προῖεμένη τοῖς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι τὰς Θευδερίχου εἰκόνας διαφθείρειε, τοὺς φόνους ἀμυνομένη Συμμάχου τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Βοετίου τοῦ ξυνοικήσαντος. [30] Τουτίλας δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν αὐτὴν ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας ὕβρεως ἐκτὸς διεφύλαξε, καίπερ Γότθων ἐς κοίτην ὡς μάλιστα ἐφιεμένων αὐταῖς ξυνελθεῖν. [31] διόπερ αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσθαι ξυνέβη οὔτε ἀνδρὶ ξυνοικούσῃ οὔτε παρθένῳ ἢ χήρᾳ οὔσῃ, μέγα τε κλέος ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου Τουτίλας ἔσχε.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Γότθους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ὁ Τουτίλας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: ‘Οὐ καινὴν τινα οὐδὲ ἀγνώτα ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα ἐρῶν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν πολλάκις ἐς ὑμᾶς εἶπον, ὑμῖν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐνδεξαμένοις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ξυνηνέχθῃ γενέσθαι. [2] μὴ τοίνυν τινὶ ὀλιγωρία διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παραίνεσιν τανῶν χρήσῃσθε. [3] λόγων γὰρ τῶν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀγόντων κόρον οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι, κὰν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τις ἀποκναίειν δοκῇ: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίαν ἀπειπεῖν ἄξιον. [4] λέγω δὲ ὅτι πρῶην μὲν ἐς μυριάδας εἴκοσι μαχιμωτάτων ξυνιόντες στρατιωτῶν πλούτῳ τε ὑπερφυεῖ χρώμενοι καὶ ἵππων τε καὶ ὀπλων περιουσίαν τινά, ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, ἐνδεικνύμενοι, καὶ

γερόντων ξυνητωτάτων πολλὸν ὁμιλον, ὅπερ τοῖς ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένοις
ξυμφορώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐπτακισχιλίων Γραικῶν ἡσσηθέντες,
τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀφηρήμεθα. [5] νῦν δ' ἡμῖν ἐς
ὀλίγους ἀπολειφθεῖσι γυμνοὺς τε καὶ οἰκτροὺς καὶ οὐδ' ὅτουοῦν τῶν πάντων
ἐμπείρους κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων πλέον ἢ δισμυρίων ὄντων τετύχηκε. [6] τὰ
μὲν οὖν πεπραγμένα συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ: τὰς δὲ τῶν οὕτω
ξυμβαινόντων αἰτίας ἐν εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα δηλώσω: ὅτι Γότθοι μὲν
πρότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων περὶ ἐλάσσονος πεποιημένοι τὸ δίκαιον,
ἔπρασσον ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς κατηκόους Ῥωμαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, οἷς δὴ,
ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἡγμένος ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τότε ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστράτευσε. [7]
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλήθει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ τῶν
ἐναντίων παρὰ πολλὸν ὑπεραίροντες δυνάμει τινὶ ἀφανεῖ τε καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα
γινωσκομένη ἡσσηθήμεν. [8] οὐκοῦν τὸ φυλάξαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται,
διασώζουσι δηλονότι τὸ δίκαιον. μεταβαλλομένοις γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πολέμια ἔσται. [9] οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένει οὐδὲ φύσει ἐθνῶν
ξυμμαχεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος τιμῶτο. πόνος τε
οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τάγαθὰ ἐφ' ἐτέρους μετενεγκεῖν. [10] ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ
ἀδικεῖν μόνον ἐν γνώμῃ ἐστί, θεῷ δὲ ξύμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐφέυκε κεῖσθαι.
[11] φημὶ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς χρῆναι τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς
κατηκόους τηρεῖν. ταῦτόν γὰρ ἂν εἴη λέγειν τὴν εὐημερίαν ἐς αἰὶ
διασώζεσθαι.' [12] Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἐς τοὺς Γότθους εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ξυγκαλέσας πολλὰ ὠνείδισέ τε καὶ ἐκάκισεν, οἱ δὴ πολλὰ
πρὸς τε Θευδερίχου καὶ Ἀταλαρίχου ἀγαθὰ πεπονθότες, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀπάσης αὐτοὶ ἐς αἰὶ καταστάντες καὶ τὴν τε πολιτείαν διοικησάμενοι,
πλούτου τε περιβεβλημένοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, εἴτα ἐς Γότθους τοὺς εὐεργέτας
πολλῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἐχόμενοι, ἐς ἀπόστασίν τε οὐ δέον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
πονηρῷ ἴδοιεν καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐπαγάγοιντο, προδόται σφῶν
αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγεννημένοι. [13] καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο μὲν εἴ τι πρὸς
Γότθων πάθοιεν αὐτοὶ κακὸν πώποτε. [14] λέγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζεν, εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν
σφίσι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ξυμβαίνει, καταλέγων ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅτι
δὴ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀφήρηντο σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσας, πρὸς δὲ τῶν καλουμένων
λογοθετῶν αἰκίζόμενοι λογισμοὺς ἐκτίνειν τῶν σφίσιν ἐς Γότθους
πεπολιτευμένων ἀναγκασθεῖεν καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένοι φόρους τοὺς
δημοσίους οὐδέν τι ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τοῖς Γραικοῖς φέροιεν: ἄλλα
τε πολλὰ ἐνετίθει τῷ λόγῳ, ὅσα δεσπότην δυσμενῇ τοὺς δεδουλωμένους
ὠνείδίζειν εἰκός. [15] Ἡρωδιανόν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν
αὐτῷ παραδόντας Ἰσαύρους “Ὑμεῖς μὲν” ἔφη “ζύντροφοι Γότθοις γεγεννημένοι
οὐδὲ χῶρόν τινα ἔρημον ἐς τήνδε ἡμῖν ἐνδιδόναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγνώκατε, οἶδε
δὲ ἡμᾶς Ῥώμῃ τε αὐτῇ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ ἐδέξαντο. [16] διόπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οἰκετῶν
λόγῳ γεγέννησθε, οὗτοι δὲ Γότθοις φίλοι τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ ξυγγενεῖς
γεγεννημένοι τὰς ὑμετέρας [17] ἀρχὰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν.” οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρίκιοι
ταῦτα ἀκούοντες σιωπῇ εἶχοντο. Πελάγιος δὲ Τουτίλαν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν
ἐπτακίτων τε καὶ δεδυστυχηκῶτων παραιτούμενος οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτοὺς
φιλανθρωπίας ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. [18] Ἐπειτα δὲ Πελάγιον

τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ῥητόρων ἓνα, Θεόδωρον ὄνομα, πρέσβεις ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλεν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινотάτοις καταλαβὼν, ὅτι τε εὐνοία ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσονται καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξουσιν. [19] ἐπέστελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ παντὶ σθένει παρὰ βασιλέως πορίζεσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζεται Ῥώμην ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ζύμπασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου διαφθείρας βουλῆς ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγειν. καὶ γράμματα δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. [20] ἤδη μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ζυμπεπτωκότα. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθον, ἀπήγγειλάν τε ὅσα ὁ Τουτίλας σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισαν. [21] Ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ὅσα μὲν ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ μεμαθηκέναι σε ἅπαντα οἶμαι, σιωπᾶν ἔγνωκα. [22] ὦν δὲ ἔνεκα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπέσταλκα τούσδε αὐτίκα εἶση. αἰτούμεθα τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὰ σέ τε προσίεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν. [23] ὥνπερ μνημεῖά τε καὶ παραδείγματα κάλλιστα ἔχομεν Ἀναστάσιόν τε καὶ Θεωδέριχον, οἳ βεβασιεύκασιν μὲν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων ἅπαντα ἐνεπλήσαντο τὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνον. [24] ἦν γάρ σοι ταῦτά ποτε βουλομένῳ εἶη, πατήρ τε ἂν ἐμὸς εἰκότως καλοῖο καὶ ζυμμάχους [25] ἡμᾶς ἐφ' οὓς ἂν βούλοιο τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξεις.” ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων ἅπαντας ἤκουσεν, ἀπεπέμψατο αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τοῦτό τε μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ Τουτίλᾳ γράψας, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου πεποιήται Βελισάριον, κύριός τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος εἶη τὰ πρὸς Τουτίλαν ὅπως βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Βυζάντιον καὶ αὐθις ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν Λευκανοῖς τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Τουλλιανὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνι ἀγροίκους ἀγείρας τὴν εἴσοδον στενοτάτην οὔσαν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι κακουργήσοντες ἴοιεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Λευκανίας χωρία. [3] καὶ Ἄνται δὲ αὐτοῖς τριακόσιοι ξυμφύλασσον, οὕσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα δεηθέντι Τουλλιανῷ ἀπολιπὼν πρότερον ἔτυχεν: ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μάχεσθαι ἐν δυσχωρίαις πάντων μάλιστα. [4] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔμαθε, Γότθους μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον καθεῖναι ἀξύνμορον ὤετο εἶναι, ἀγροίκων δὲ πλῆθος ἀγείρας, Γότθων τε ξυμπέμψας αὐτοῖς ὀλίγους τινάς, ἐκέλευε τῆς εἰσόδου σθένει παντὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι. [5] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν, ὠθισμὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, Ἄνται δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς δυσχωρίας σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τουλλιανὸν ἀγροίκους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐτρέψαντο. [6] φόνος τε αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει πολὺς. Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἔγνω Ῥώμην μὲν καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπολιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἐπὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἰέναι. [7] τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντός μάλιστα. ἐμπιπρᾶν δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἔμελλε, Ῥώμην τε μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος μαθὼν πρέσβεις τε καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. [8] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ Τουτίλας ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθον, εἰπόν τε ὧν ἔνεκα ἦκοιεν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Πόλεως μὲν κάλλη οὐκ ὄντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπων ἂν φρονίμων εὐρήματα εἶεν καὶ πολιτικῶς βιοτεύειν ἐπισταμένων, ὄντα δὲ ἀφανίζειν τοὺς γε ἀξυνέτους εἰκὸς καὶ γνώρισμα τοῦτο τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως οὐκ αἰσχυνομένους χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀπολιπεῖν. [9] Ῥώμη μέντοι πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη ὠμολόγηται εἶναι. [10] οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἀρετῇ εἵργασται οὐδὲ χρόνου βραχείας δυνάμει ἐς τόσον μεγέθους τε καὶ κάλλους ἀφίκται, ἀλλὰ βασιλέων μὲν πλῆθος, ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἀρίστων συμμορίαὶ πολλάί, χρόνου τε μῆκος καὶ πλούτου ἐξουσίας ὑπερβολὴ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τεχνίτας ἀνθρώπους ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [11] οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν τοιαύτην, οἷανπερ ὀρᾷς, κατὰ βραχὺ τεκτηνήμενοι, μνημεῖα τῆς πάντων ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐπιγενησομένοις ἀπέλιπον, ὥστε ἡ ἐς ταῦτα ἐπήρεια εἰκότως ἂν ἀδίκημα μέγα ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ παντός αἰῶνος δόξειεν εἶναι: [12] ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προγεγεννημένους τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς μνήμην, τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγενησομένους τῶν ἔργων τὴν θεάν. [13] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἐκεῖνο εὖ ἴσθι, ὥς δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ ἡσσηθήσῃ βασιλέως ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ, ἡ περιέσῃ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι. [14] ἦν μὲν οὖν νικῶνς, Ῥώμην τε καθελὼν, οὐ τὴν ἐτέρου του, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀπολωλεκῶς ἂν, ᾧ βέλτιστε, εἴης, καὶ διαφυλάξας, κτήματι, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, τῶν πάντων καλλίστῳ πλουτήσεις: ἦν δέ γε τὴν χεῖρῳ σοι τύχην πληροῦσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, σώσαντι μὲν Ῥώμην χάρις ἂν σώζοιτο παρὰ τῷ νενικηκότι πολλή, διαφθείραντι δὲ φιланθρωπίας τε οὐδεὶς ἐτι λελείπεται λόγος καὶ προσέσται τὸ μηδὲν τοῦ ἔργου ἀπόνασθαι. [15] καταλήψεται δέ σε καὶ δόξα τῆς πράξεως ἀξία πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἥπερ ἐφ' ἐκάτερά σοι τῆς γνώμης ἐτοίμως ἔσθηκεν, [16] ὅποια γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀρχόντων

τὰ ἔργα εἶη, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα φέρεσθαι.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ πολλάκις ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς παραινέσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς πεπονημένος τὴν μάθησιν, ἐπείσθη τε καὶ Ῥώμην εἰργάσατο ἄχαρι περαιτέρω οὐδέν. σημήνας τε Βελισαρίῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοὺς πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψατο. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος Ῥώμης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον ἐνστρατοπεδευσασμένους ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀληθδόνι ἐκέλευεν ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως δὴ μηδεμία ἐξουσία τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἶη ἔξω πη τοῦ Πόρτου ἰέναι: αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἦει. [19] Ῥωμαίων μέντοι τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ζὺν αὐτῷ εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ζὺν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα ἐάσας, ἀλλ’ ἔρημον αὐτὴν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπών. [20] Ἰωάννης δὲ Τουτίλαν οἱ ἐπιέναι μαθὼν, μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀπουλίας οὐκέτι ἤξιου, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκετο. τῶν τε πατρικίων οἱ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀγόμενοι ἐς Λευκανοὺς πέμψαντες τῶν οἰκείων τινάς, Τουτίλα γνώμῃ, τοὺς σφετέρους ἀγροίκους ἐκέλευον μεθίεσθαι μὲν τῶν πρασσομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς γεωργεῖν ἥπερ εἰώθεσαν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τάγαθὰ ἀπήγγελλον τῶν κεκτημένων. [21] οἱ δὲ ἀπετάξαντο μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον: Τουλλιανὸς δὲ φυγὼν ὄχρετο, καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι Ἄνται παρὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [22] οὕτω μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, πλην τοῦ Δρυοῦντος, αὐτῷ ὑποχείρια Γότθοις τε καὶ Τουτίλα γέγονε. θαρσοῦντες δὲ ἤδη οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ κατὰ συμμορίας σκεδαννύμενοι περιήεσαν κύκλῳ ἅπαντα. [23] ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [24] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δείσας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἅπαντάς τε τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἀγείρας, ἀμφὶ ὅρος τὸ Γάργανον, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀπουλίῳις πού μέσοις ἀνέχει, ἐν τῷ Ἀννίβαλος τοῦ Λίβυος χαρακώματι στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τις ζὺν τῷ Κόνωνι ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγόντων, ἡνίκα ἡ πόλις ἤλίσκετο, Μαρτινιανὸς ὄνομα, Βυζάντιος γενος, Βελισαρίῳ προσελθὼν στέλλεσθαι αὐτόμολος διῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξιου, μεγάλη Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ δράσειν: δόξαν τε τοῦτο Βελισαίῳ, ἀπιὼν ὄχρετο. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας ἰδὼν ὑπερφυνῶς ἦσθη. [2] εὐδοκίμουντα γὰρ ἐν μονομαχίαις τὸν νεανίαν ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδε πολλάκις. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων τε δύο καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν ἕτερον εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ὁμήρου λόγῳ ἐφύλασσε, ἔς τε Σπολίτιον ζὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπεμψεν. [3] Ἐτύγχανον δὲ Γότθοι, ἡνίκα Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἐνδιδόντος Σπολίτιον εἶλον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες, τοῦ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυνηγεσίῳ, ὅπερ καλεῖν ἀμφιθέατρον νενομίκασι, τάς τε εἰσόδους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποφράξαντες καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν αὐτομόλων, [4] ἐφ’ ᾧ φυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. Μαρτινιανὸς οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς Σπολίτιον ἦλθε, στρατιώτας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐταίρिसασθαι ἴσχυσεν, οὗσπερ ἀνέπειθε δράσαντάς τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους μέγα οὕτω δὴ ἐπανάκειν ἐς τὸ

Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [5] στείλας δέ τινας καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Περυσία φυλακτηρίου ἐκέλευεν οἱ στρατεύματα ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς Σπολίτιον πέμψαι, τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τὴν δῆλωσιν ποιησάμενος. [6] Ὅδοιγὰν δὲ Οὐννος ἦρχε τότε τῆς ἐν Περυσία φρουρᾶς, Κυπριανοῦ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, δόλω ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ὅσπερ ξὺν στρατεύματι ἐπὶ τὸ Σπολίτιον ἦει. [7] Μαρτινιανὸς δὲ ἄγχιστα πη εἶναι τὸ στρατεύμα τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιώταις τοῦ τε φυλακτηρίου τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέφθειρε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐδέξατο. οἱ δὲ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων πλείστους, τινὰς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ Βελισάριον ἤγον. [8] Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ ἔννοια γέγονεν ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἐς ὃ τι τύχης ἐληλύθει θεάσασθαι. τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὖν χιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἦει. [9] Ῥωμαῖος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφικόμενος δρόμῳ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἵπερ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν Ἀλγηδόνι, τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατεύμα ἤγγειλεν. [10] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προλοχίσαντες ἐνέδραις τισὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης χωρία, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα πη ἀφικομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. [11] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψάμενοι, πλείστους τε διαφθείραντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [12] Ἔστι δὲ Καλαβρῶν ἐπιθαλασσία πόλις ὁ Τάρας, δυοῖν σχεδὸν τι ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Δρυοῦντος διέχουσα, ἐπὶ τε Θουρίους καὶ Ῥηγίνους ἐνθένδε ἰόντι. [13] ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισί, Ταραντηνῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων, ἀφίκετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος. [14] καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶδε μεγίστην τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, πᾶσαν μὲν φυλάξαι οἷός τε ἔσεσθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ὤφετο, ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἀμφὶ τινα χῶρον στενὸν μάλιστα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς κόλπον ἰοῦσαν, οὗ δὴ Ταραντηνῶν ὁ λιμὴν ἐστίν, ἰσθμὸν τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χῶρον οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ σταδίων εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐπενόει τάδε. [15] ἀποτεμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τὴν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ μοῖραν τειχίσματί τε αὐτὴν περιέβαλεν ἐκ θατέρου θαλάσσης μέρους ἄχρι ἐς ἕτερον καὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρυσεν. [16] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε οὐ Ταραντηνοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ὄκουν συνήγαγε, καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῖς λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίπετο. [17] ταῦτη τε Καλαβροὶ ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι Γότθων ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [18] Τουτίλας δὲ φρούριον ἐν Λευκανοῖς καταλαβὼν ἐχυρώτατον ἄγχιστα πη τῶν Καλαβρίας ὀρίων κείμενον, ὅπερ Ἀχεροντίδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε φυλακῆριον ἀνδρῶν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τετρακοσίων καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἦει, τῶν βαρβάρων τινὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία, οἵπερ ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειτο φυλακῇ, τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα ὄντων.

Βελισαρίῳ δὲ τόλμα προμηθῆς γέγονε τότε ἀρχὴν μὲν μανιώδης δόξασα εἶναι τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσι πρῶτον, ἐκβᾶσα δὲ ἐς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπέρογκον. [2] τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν Πόρτῳ ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε,

προσποιεῖσθαι τε αὐτὴν σθένει παντὶ ἤθελεν. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν ὅσα καθελὼν τοῦ περιβόλου Τουτίλας ἔτυχε βραχεῖ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι χρόνῳ, ἐποίει τάδε. [4] λίθους ἀγχιστὰ πη ὄντας ξυναγαγὼν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ξυνέβαλεν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐντὸς ἔχοντας, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τίτανον εἶχεν οὔτε τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μόνον τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σώζοιτο πρόσωπον, σκολόπων τε μέγα τι χρῆμα ἔξωθεν ἴστη. [5] ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ τάφρους βαθείας ἀμφὶ τὸν περιβόλον ὅλον ὀρύξας πρότερον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [6] παντὸς δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ταῦτα ἐργαζομένου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου καθήρητο τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τετέλεστο. [7] τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ὤκνητο ἐνταῦθα ἠγείροντο, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ οἰκήσεως ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τέως σπανίζοντες ἀφθονίαν ἐνταῦθα εὔρον, ἥνπερ Βελισάριος ποιεῖν ἴσχυσε, ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας πάντων ἐμπλησάμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἔς τε Ῥώμην διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐσκομίσας. [8] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἄρας αὐτίκα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἦλθεν, οὐπω Βελισαρίου τὰς πύλας ἐναρμόσασθαι τῷ περιβόλῳ ἰσχύσαντος. [9] πάσας γὰρ διαφθείρας Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔφθη τεχνιτῶν ἀπορία Βελισάριος τεκτινάμενος. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἠλίσσαντο παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμόν, ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ θυρόβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦεσαν. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν χώραν τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περιβόλων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπionτας πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐκέλευε. [12] γέγονε τοῖνυν καρτερὰ μάχη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐλπίδα εἶχον αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, τοῦ δὲ πράγματος σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένων, ὀργῇ χρώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέκειντο, τοῦ θυμοῦ σφᾶς παρὰ δύναμιν ἐς τὴν εὐτολμίαν ὀρμώντος. [13] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχοντο, τοῦ κινδύνου, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐς τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐνάγοντος. [14] γέγονεν οὖν φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλομένων πολὺς, κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἐκότεροι εἶχοντο καὶ ἡ μάχη πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. [15] ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γενόμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν, τῶν ἐν σφίσιν τραυματιῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, Ῥωμαῖον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρίας πέρι μάλιστα πάντων εὖ ἤκοντες ἐν περιτροπῇ τὰς τῶν πυλῶν χώρας ἐφύλασσον, τριβόλους ἔμπροσθεν πολλοὺς θέμενοι, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν. [16] Οἱ δὲ τριβόλοι τοιοῦδε εἰσί. σκολόπων τεττάρων ἰσομήκων μάλιστα τὰ ὀπισθε πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναρμολογούμενοι τριγώνου σχῆμα τὰς αὐτῶν εὐθείας πανταχόθεν ἐργάζονται, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ὅπου παρατύχη ρίπτουσι. [17] ταύτῃ τε τῶν σκολόπων οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἰσχυρότατα ἐστήκασιν πάντες, ὁ δὲ λειπόμενος ἀνέχων μόνος ἐμπόδιον ἀνδράσι τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐς αἰὲ γίγνεται. [18] ὁσάκις δὲ τις τοῦτον δὴ κυλινδεῖ τὸν τρίβολον, ὁ μὲν τέως ἐκ τῶν σκολόπων τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ὀρθιον κληρωσάμενος χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔστηκεν, ἄλλος δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενος ἄνω τοῖς ἐπιέναι βουλομένοις ἐμπόδιόν ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοι τοιοῦδε εἰσίν. ἐκότεροι δὲ οὕτω μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἠλίσσαντο. [19]

Τῇ δὲ ὕστεραίᾳ Τουτίλᾳ αὖθις παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἡμύνοντο. καθυπέρτεροί τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ γεγενημένοι ἐπέξελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησαν. [20] καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑποχωρούντων διώκοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς πόρρῳ πού τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. οὓς δὴ κυκλώσεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον, ὥς μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος ἑκατένοιθε γὰρ τὰ ποιούμενά τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα στείλας διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴσχυσεν. [21] οὕτω τε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, πλείστους δὲ τραυματίας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπαγόμενοι. [22] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τὰ τε τραύματα θεραπεύοντες καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι ἅμα γὰρ σφίσι διέφθαρτο ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ πάσῃ ποιούμενοι. Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς τειχομαχήσαντες ἦσαν. [23] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σφίσιν ὑπαντίασαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. τύχῃ τέ τινα ὁ τὸ Τουτίλα σημεῖον φέρων καιρίαν πληγὴν αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπίπτει καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔρριψε. [24] καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὅσοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμάχοντο, ὥρμησαν ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀρπασόμενοι. φθάσαντες δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ εὐτολμότατοι τό τε σημεῖον ἀρπάζουσι καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ χεῖρα τὴν λαιὰν ἀποτεμόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβον. [25] ψέλλιον γὰρ χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὁ πεπτωκὼς φορῶν ἔτυχε λόγου ἄξιον, ὅπερ ἐναβρύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤκιστα ἤθελον, φεύγοντες δηλονότι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αἰσχύνῃ. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ἐτρέποντο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τοῦ νεκροῦ σῶμα ἐσκύλευσαν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐπὶ πλείστον διώκοντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἦλθον. [27] Τότε δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Γότθοις λόγιμοι ἦσαν Τουτίλᾳ προσελθόντες ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε καὶ ἀνέδην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀβουλίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμην ἐλὼν οὔτε ξύμπασαν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς πολεμίοις καταληπτὴ εἴη, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ αὐτοῖς ἐργασθὲν ἔτυχε, τοῦτο λόγῳ αὐτὸς οὐδενὶ διαφθεῖρειν. [28] οὕτω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπέφυκε πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἀποβάσεις αἰεὶ τὴν γνώμην ρυθμίζειν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῷ τῆς τύχης ῥεύματι προσχωρεῖν, ἀγχιστρόφους τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταστάσεις ποιεῖσθαι τῆς δόξης. [29] διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθοι εὐημεροῦντα μὲν τοῖς ἐγχειρήμασι Τουτίλαν ἐτεθήπεσαν ἴσα θεῷ, ἁμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀήττητον ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἥνικα πόλεων τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἐκ μοίρας τινὸς τὰ τεῖχη διαφθεῖρειν εἶα, σφαλέντι δέ, ὥπερ ἐρρήθη, λοιδορεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίουν τῶν ἑναγχοῦ σφίσιν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰρημένων ἀμνημονοῦντες, ἀπ' ἐναντίας τε αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἰόντες. [30] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ οἷον τέ ἐστὶ μὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς αἰεὶ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει γίνεσθαι εἴωθε. [31] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρεῖαν ἐς Τίβουριν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, πάσας σχεδὸν τι τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας διελόντες, ὅπως μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐπετῶς σφίσιν ἐπιέναι οἴοι τε ᾧσι. [32] γέφυραν μέντοι μίαν, ἣ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, διαφθεῖραι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ ἀγχιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα. τό τε ἐν Τιβούρει φρούριον ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σθένει παντὶ ἔγνωσαν. [33] καθελόντες γὰρ αὐτὸ πρότερον

ἔτυχον: τὰ τε χρήματα ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι ἅπαντα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [34] καὶ Βελισάριος ἀδεέστερον ἤδη τὰς πύλας τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου πανταχόθι ἐφαρμοσάμενος σιδήρῳ τε αὐτὰς περιβαλὼν αὐθις βασιλεῖ τὰς κλεῖς ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον στράτευμα ἐπὶ Περυσίαν ὁ Τουτίλας στείλας, οἵπερ ἀμφὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοὺς σπανίζοντας ἦσθοντο ἤδη, πέμπαντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐδέοντο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι, ῥᾶον ἂν οὕτω καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐξελεῖν Περυσίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι. [3] Τουτίλας δὲ οὐ λίαν ἐς τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα προθυμουμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶν παραίνεσιν τινα ποιῆσθαι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλε. [4] διὸ δὴ ζυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: “Ὅρων ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ζυστρατιῶται, ἐμὲ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοντας, ἀγανακτοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ζυμπεπτωκὸς ἐναντίωμα, ζυναγαγεῖν τανῦν ἔγνωκα, ὅπως ὑμῶν δόξαν ὥς ἡκιστα ὀρθὴν ἀφελὼν ἀντικαθιστάναι τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω δυνήσωμαι, καὶ μήτε ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκον ἐς ἐμὲ δόξητε μήτε ἀγνωμοσύνη εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας χρῆσθαι. [5] τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ σφάλλεσθαι ποτε πέφυκεν, ὅστις τε ἄνθρωπος ὢν εἴτα δυσχερῶς ἔχων ἐς τὰ προσπίπτοντα φαίνεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμαθίας, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποίσεται δόξαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ὑπεκστήσεται τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀνάγκην. [6] βούλομαι δὲ τῶν πρότερον πεπραγμένων ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησαι, οὐχ ὅσον ἔνεκα τοῦ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ζυμβεβηκότων ἐκλύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαιότερον ἂν ταύτας ὑμῖν προσῆκειν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [7] Οὐίτιγίς γάρ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθιστάμενος ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε Φανοῦ μὲν καὶ Πισαύρου τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων πόλεων τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλε, Ῥώμην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἰταλίας πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀφῆκεν οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν λυμηνάμενος. [8] ἐκ μὲν οὖν Φανοῦ καὶ Πισαύρου φλαῦρον οὐδὲν Γότθοις ζυμβέβηκεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, Γότθοις καὶ Οὐιττίγιδι ἐκεχωρήκει τὰ πράγματα. [9] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐπειδὴ διδόντων ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, ἐλογισάμην τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι δόξασιν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἔπεσθαι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λυμηνάμενων τοῖς πράγμασι διδόναι βλάβος. [10] φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲν τι μέγα διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων δοκοῦσιν, ἢ δὲ πείρά τισι γινομένη διδάσκαλος κρεῖσσω τὸν ἐκμαθόντα τῶν οὐ τετυχηκότων τῆς διδασκαλίας τῷ παντὶ τίθῃσιν. [11] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν Βενεβεντὸν εἵλομεν, τὰ τεῖχη καθελόντες τῶν ἄλλων εὐθὺς ἐκρατοῦμεν, ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοὺς περιβόλους καθελεῖν ἔγνωμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐχυροῦ τινος ὁρμώμενος ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς σοφίζεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον δυνατὸς εἴη, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀναγκάζεται ἡμῖν ἐς πεδῖον κατιῶν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [12] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον, ἐγὼ δὲ καθαιρεῖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀλισκομένας ἐκέλευον. [13] ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν εὐβουλίαν θαυμάζοντες ὑπουργεῖτε τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, τὸ ἔργον, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, οἰκειούμενοι. ὁ γὰρ ἐπαινέσας τὸν δράσαντα οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτουργὸς γίνεται. [14] νῦν δὲ μεταβέβλησθε, ὧ φίλτατοι Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη Βελισάριον κρεῖσσον λόγου θράσος ἐλόμενον τῶν ἐγκεχειρημένων αὐτῷ

παρὰ δόξαν κρατεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταπεπλήχθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἅτε ἀνδρεῖον ὑμῖν ξυμβαίνει. [15] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ θρασεῖς εὐτολμοὶ κέκληνται ἢ οἱ προμηθεῖς ἀσφαλεῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰ καθεστῶτα τολμήσας ἐννοία τοῦ δοκοῦντος δραστηρίου τετίμηται, ὁ δὲ προμηθεὶ γνώμη ἀποκνήσας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποτυχὼν τε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπισπᾶται τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων καὶ πράξας κατὰ νοῦν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς γε ἀμαθέσιν ἐργάσασθαι δοκεῖ. [16] Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἐκλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, δι' ὧν ὑμῖν ἀγανακτεῖν ξυμβαίνει τανῦν. Ἡ Βελισάριον εὐδοκιμηκέναι καθ' ὑμῶν οἴεσθε, οἵπερ δορυάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ δραπέται γεγενημένοι ὑπ' ἐμοί τε στρατηγοῦντι ὅπλα ἀντάραντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδύνησθε; [17] καίτοι εἰ μὲν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα ὑμᾶς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη, ταύτην ὑμᾶς αἰσχυνομένους χρήσιωπᾶν, ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθυμουμένους ὥς οὐδὲν πέφυκεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μένειν: εἰ δέ τις ὑμῖν τύχῃ ἐκεῖνο τὸ κράτος ἐβράβευσε, σέβειν μᾶλλον ἢ δυσκόλως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχειν ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει, ὥς μὴ προσκεκρουκότες τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην μεταμαθεῖν βιάζησθε. [18] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος τρόπου φανεῖη τοὺς πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα περιβεβλημένους εὐτυχήματα οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν βραχεῖ τε τανῦν πταίσαντας οὕτω δεδουλωσθαι τὸ φρόνημα; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀπαξιοῦν τε καὶ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπους εἶναι. [19] τὸ γὰρ ἐν οὐδενὶ σφάλλεσθαι χρόνῳ θεοῦ ἂν ἴδιον γένοιτο. τούτων τοίνυν φημὶ χρῆναι ἀφεμένους ὑμᾶς προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐν Περυσίᾳ πολεμίοις ἰέναι. ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν δυνήσησθε, αὐθις ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐν καλῷ κείσεται. [20] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξυμπεσὼν οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἀποίητον τίθεσθαι δύναίτο, εὐτυχημάτων δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιγινομένων τοῖς ἐπταικόσι λελωφηκέναι ξυμβαίνει τὴν τῶν κακῶν μνήμην. [21] Ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν ἡ Περυσίας ἐπικράτης οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. Κυπριανὸς γὰρ ὅς τῶν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε, τύχῃ τε καὶ βουλαῖς ἡμετέραις ἐκποδὼν γέγονε, πλήθος δὲ ἄναρχον ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζον ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἥκιστα πέφυκεν. [22] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὀπισθὲν τις ἐς ἡμᾶς κακουργήσει: τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας τούτου ἔνεκα καθελεῖν ἔγνωκα, ὥς μὴ τι πάθοιμεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀπροσδόκητον, καὶ ὑπόπτους ξυμβαίνει Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, ὅπερ διὰ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὁρᾶν ἄρεστι. [23] γινῶμαι γὰρ ἀλλήλαις μαχόμεναι διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐλέγχονται. οὐκοῦν οὐδέ πῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου δεδύνηνται. ἀναχαιτίζει γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἢ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμφοῖν ὑποψία. οἷς δ' ἂν αὕτη ἐγγένηται, φθόνον τε καὶ ἔχθος ἐπάναγκες ξυνοικίζεσθαι. [24] ὧν δὴ μεταξὺ ἐπιτεσόντων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.' τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Περυσίαν ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνταῦθά τε ἀφικόμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰωάννη Ἀχεροντίδα τὸ φρούριον πολιορκοῦντι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, ἐννοία τις καὶ τόλμα γέγονεν, ἡ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τὴν βουλήν διασώσασθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ κλέος περιβαλέσθαι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἴσχυσε. [2] Τουτίλαν γὰρ καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν τειχομαχεῖν ἀκούσας ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον, τῶν ἱπέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ προρρηθέν, ἐς Καμπανούς,

οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιείς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἥει ἔνταυθα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπὼν Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ὅπως ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδόκητος ἀναρπάσαι τε καὶ διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς οἴος τε εἶη ἅτε τῶν ἐνταυθα χωρίων ἀτειχίστων παντάπασιν ὄντων. [3] Ξυνηνέχθη δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τουτίλαν δείσαντα, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ τις τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κακουργήσων ἴοι, στράτευμα ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἱππέων στείλαι. [4] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν Μεντούρῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἄμεινον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐνταυθα ἡσυχῇ μένειν τῶν τε ἵππων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἵκω γὰρ πολλῶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ σφίσιν ὁμιλῆσαι ξυνέβη, στείλαι δὲ τινας τὰ ἐν Καπύῃ τε κατασκευομένους καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις. χώραν δὲ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι τὴν μεταξὺ οὐ πλεόν ἢ σταδίους τριακοσίου. [5] τετρακοσίου οὖν, οὔσπερ δὴ ἵπποις τε καὶ σώμασιν ἀκραιφνέσι χρῆσθαι ξυνέτυχε, ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψαν. [6] τύχῃ τέ τινι ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὸν τε ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸν καὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς τετρακοσίους βαρβάρους ἐν Καπύῃ γενέσθαι, οὐδετέρους τι πρότερον τῶν ἐναντίων πέρι ἀκούσαντας. [7] καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἰσχυρὰ γίνεται· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ὄψει ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον· νικῶσι δὲ κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [8] ὀλίγοι τε τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ δρόμῳ ἐχόμενοι ἐς Μεντοῦρναν ἀφίκοντο. οὔσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἄλλοι εἶδον τοὺς μὲν αἵματι περιρρεομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ βέλη ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι φέροντας, ἄλλους δὲ οὔτε τι φθεγγομένους οὔτε τι ἀπαγγέλλοντας τῶν ξυμπεσόντων, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἐχομένους καὶ τὸ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δέος ἐνδεικνύντας, αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον. [9] καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐλθόντες πλῆθος ἀμύθητον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων ἐσήγγελλον, ταύτῃ δηλονότι τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς αἰσχύνῃν ἰώμενοι. [10] Ἐτύγχανον δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν εἰς Γότθους ἡτομοληκότων τὸ πρότερον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία ἰόντες, [11] οἷπερ Ἰωάννῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνταυθα εὔρε, γυναῖκας δὲ σχεδόν τι ἀπάσας. [12] Ῥώμης γὰρ ἀλισκομένης πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες φεύγουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπισπόμενοι ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἀφίκοντο, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ πάσαις ἀλῶναι ξυνέβη. [13] Κλημεντῖνος μέντοι, πατρίκιος ἀνὴρ, καταφυγὼν ἔς τινα τῶν ἐκείνῃ νεῶν, τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλεν, ἐπεὶ φρούριον ὃ Νεαπόλεως ἀγχιστά ἐστι Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐνδοὺς πρότερον, τὴν βασιλέως, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὀργὴν ἐδεδίει· Ὁρέστης τε, ὁ Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὼς ὑπατος, ἀγχιστα μὲν πῃ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, ἵππων δὲ ἀπορία ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. [14] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ξὺν τοῖς προσκεχωρηκόσιν ἑβδομήκοντα στρατιώταις ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [15] Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν πένθει ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλῳ καὶ τίσασθαι Ἰωάννην τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἡπείγετο. διὸ δὲ ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων μοῖραν τινα φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα ἐνταυθα ἀπολιπὼν. [16] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐν Λευκανοῖς στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος κατασκόπους τε πρότερον πέμψας, οἱ δὲ ἀπάσας διερευνώμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐφύλασσον μὴ πολεμίων στρατὸς κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦν. [17] ἐν νῶ τε τὸ τοιοῦτον Τουτίλας ἔχων, ὅτι δὴ

οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστι κατασκόπων χωρὶς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καθῆσθαι, τὰς συνειθισμένας ὁδοὺς ἐκλιπὼν διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ κρημνώδη τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ λίαν ἀνέχει, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν τις ὑποτοπάζειν ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄβατα τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα νομίζεται εἶναι. [18] οἱ μέντοι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ κατασκοπῇ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου σταλέντες αἰσθόμενοι μὲν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία γενέσθαι, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα σαφὲς πεπυσμένοι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐγένετο δείσαντες ἤλαυνον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [19] καὶ ξυνηνέχθη ὁμοῦ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι νύκτωρ. ὀργῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ οὐ προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤδη ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀβελτερίας ἀπώνατο. [20] στράτευμα γὰρ δεκαπλάσιον ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἦν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων εὐδηλὸν τε ὄν ὅτι δὴ στρατῷ κρείσσονι ξύμφορόν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, δέον τε μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὀρθρου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὥς μὴ ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν δυνατοὶ εἶεν, τοῦτο μὲν ὥς ἤκιστα ἐφυλάξατο· ἦ γὰρ ἅπαντας σαγηνεύσας εὐθὺς ἂν τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶλεν· ἀλλὰ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζόμενος ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπέστη τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ. [21] καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐς ἀλκὴν εἶδεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι ἐκαθευδον, οὐ μέντοι ἀνελεῖν πολλοὺς δεδύνηνται Γότθοι, ἀλλὰ ἀναστάντες οἱ πλεῖστοι ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [22] ἔξω δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γενόμενοι ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ἅπερ ἄγχιστά πη πολλὰ ἀνέχει, ἀναδραμόντες ἐσώθησαν. [23] ἐν οἷς Ἰωάννης τε αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ Ἄρουφος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα. [24] Ἦν δέ τις ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Γιλάκιος ὄνομα, Ἀρμένιος γένος, ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχων. οὗτος ὁ Γιλάκιος οὔτε ἐλληνίζειν ἠπίστατο οὔτε Λατίνην ἢ Γοτθικὴν ἢ ἄλλην τινα ἢ Ἀρμενίαν μόνην ἀφεῖναι φωνήν. [25] τούτῳ δὴ Γότθοι ἐντυχόντες τινὲς ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. κτεῖναι γὰρ τὸν παραπίπτοντα οὐδαμῇ ἠθελον, ὥς μὴ ἀλλήλους διαφθεῖρουν ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, [26] ἀναγκάζοντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ἴσχυσε πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Γιλάκιος στρατηγὸς εἴη. τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα, ὃ δὴ πρὸς βασιλέως λαβὼν ἔτυχε, πολλάκις ἀκούσας ἐκμαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. [27] ταύτῃ τοίνυν οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι δὴ πολέμιος εἴη, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐξώγησαν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἄνθρωπον διεχρήσαντο. [28] Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄρουφος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἔφευγόν τε πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκοντο, Γότθοι δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ληϊσάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἰταλιώταις στρατόπεδα τῇδε ἐφέρετο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στράτευμα πέμπειν ἄλλο ἐπὶ Γότθους καὶ Τουτίλαν ἔγνω, γράμμασι τοῖς Βελισαρίου ἡγμένος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγε, τὰ παρόντα σφίσι πολλάκις σημῆνας. [2] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Πακούριόν τε τὸν Περανίου καὶ Σέργιον τὸν Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικόμενοι τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ξυνέμιζαν. [3] μετὰ δὲ Βῆρόν τε ξὺν Ἐρούλοις τριακοσίοις καὶ Οὐαράζην Ἀρμένιον γένος ξὺν ὀκτακοσίοις Ἀρμενίοις στέλλει, Βαλεριανόν τε τὸν τῶν Ἀρμενίων στρατηγὸν ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς πλέον ἢ χιλίοις οὗσιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [4] Βῆρος οὖν πρῶτος Δρυοῦντι προσχὼν καὶ

τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀφείς μένειν μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ᾗθελεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου στρατόπεδον ἦν, ἰππεύων δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πρόσθεν ἦει. [5] ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλὰ μέθης νόσῳ ἀνειμένος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θράσει ἀπερισκέπτῳ ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχετο. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα πη πόλεως Βρεντεσίου ἀφίκοντο, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. Ἄπερ ὁ Τουτίλας μαθὼν 'Ὁ Βῆρος δυοῖν' ἔφη 'τὸ ἕτερον: ἡ δυνάμει μεγάλη χρηται, ἡ ἀνοία πολλῇ ἔχεται. [7] ἴωμεν τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπως ἡ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποπειρασώμεθα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἡ τῆς ἀνοίας ἐκεῖνος τῆς αὐτοῦ [8] αἰσθηται.' ὁ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλας ταῦτα εἰπὼν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει, Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ παρόντας ἤδη κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατέφυγον ἐς ὕλην τινὰ ἐγγὺς πη οὖσαν. [9] κυκλώσαντές τε αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι πλέον μὲν ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν, ἔμελλον δὲ Βῆρόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς λειπομένους ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας κρυπτομένους χειρώσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τύχη τις αὐτοῖς ξυμβᾶσα διεσώσατο ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου. [10] νῆες γὰρ ἐν αἷς ὃ τε Οὐαράζης καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρμένιοι ἐπλεον, ἄφνω ἐς τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν κατήραν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶδε, πλείονα ἤπερ ἦν ὑποτοπάζων εἶναι τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄρας αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπήλυνεν, οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Βῆρον ἄσμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς δρόμῳ ἀφίκοντο. [11] ὃ τε Οὐαράζης πλεῖν μὲν ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Τάραντα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀφίκετο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [12] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν ὅτι δὴ πολλὴν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πέμψειεν, οἷσπερ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ ξυμίζαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμοσεῖναι. [13] ἥδη δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἄγχιστα κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἦκων διαπορθευέσασθαι μὲν ᾤετο οἱ ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. [14] στρατιώταις τε γὰρ καὶ ἵπποις ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρκέσειν, ἐπεὶ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἦν. [15] τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐπομένων Ἰωάννη πέμψας ὡμολόγησε διαχειμάσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦξειν. [16] Βελισάριος οὖν ἐπειδὴ τὰ βασιλέως ἀνελέξατο γράμματα, ἐνακοσίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, ἱππεῖς μὲν ἑπτακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ διακοσίους, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς ἐκείνη χώρας καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς Κόνωνα ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ Σικελίας αὐτίκα ἔπλει. [17] ἐνθεν τε ἀνηγάγετο. καταίρειν διανοούμενος ἐς τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Σκύλαιον καλούμενον χῶρον, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὴν Σκύλλαν οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι φασιν, οὐχ ὅτι ταύτῃ πη τὸ θηριῶδες γύναιον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν, ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σκυλάκων μέγα τι χρῆμα, οὗσπερ κυνίσκους τανῶν καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [18] τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρχὴν μὲν εἰκότα ἐς αἰεὶ γίνεται, ἡ δὲ φήμη αὐτὰ περιαγαγοῦσα ἐς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς δόξας οὐκ ὀρθὰς ἀγνοία τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. [19] καὶ προϊὼν οὕτως ὁ χρόνος ἰσχυρὸς μὲν τις δημιουργὸς αὐτίκα τοῦ μύθου καθίσταται, μάρτυρας δὲ τῶν οὐ γεγονότων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐξουσία τῆς τέχνης, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐταιρίζεται. ταῦτά τοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν ὠνόμασαν ἐπιχώριοι Κυνὸς Κεφαλὴν ἄκραν τὴν μίαν Κερκύρας τῆς νήσου ἢ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλιόν ἐστιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κυνοκεφάλους τινὰς εἶναι βούλονται τοὺς τῇδε ἀνθρώπους. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ

Λυκοκρανίτας καλοῦσι τῶν Πισιδῶν τινας, οὐχ ὅτι λύκων κεφαλὰς ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Λύκου Κράνος τὸ ὄρος ἐκλήθη ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη ἐκάστω βουλομένῳ εἴη ταύτῃ δοκεῖτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἰέναι τοῦ Τάραντος ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἔστι δέ τις ἀκτὴ μνηοειδὴς ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ τῆς ἡϊόνος ὑποχωρούσης ἢ θάλασσα ὥσπερ ἐν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς γῆς ἀναβαίνει. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης διάπλους ἅπας ἐς χιλίους σταδίους διήκει, ἐκατέρωθι δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν ἐκβολὴν κεῖται πολίσματα δύο: θάτερον μὲν ὁ Κρότων πρὸς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ὁ Τάρας δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα. [3] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡϊόνος Θουρίων ἢ πόλις οἰκεῖται. τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἀντιστατοῦντος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σὺν πολλῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένου, περαιτέρω δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐφίεντος, τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχε. [4] Βελισάριος οὖν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἐνταῦθα εὔρεν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅθεν ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζοντο εἶχεν, αὐτὸς μὲν ζύν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, ὅπως ἐνθὲνδε μεταπέμπεσθαι τε καὶ διέπειν τὸ ζὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατεύμα δύνηται: [5] τοὺς δὲ ἵππεῖς ἅπαντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι παρὰ τὰς τῆς χώρας εἰσόδους, Φάζαν τε τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ Βαρβατίωνα τὸν δορυφόρον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας. [6] οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ῥᾶστα ᾤετο σφίσι μὲν καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς σφετέροις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα πορίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκρούεσθαι δυνατοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [7] τὰ γὰρ Λευκανῶν ὄρη μέχρι ἐς Βριττίους διήκοντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐν στενῷ ξυνιόντα δύο μόνας εἰσόδους στενὰς μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται, ὧν ἀτέρα μὲν Πέτρα Αἵματος τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ κέκληται, Λαβοῦλαν δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν καλεῖν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νενομίκασιν. [8] ἐνταῦθα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν Ῥουσκιανὴ ἐστὶ τὸ Θουρίων ἐπίνειον, ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ἐδείμαντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης πολλῷ πρότερον καταλαβὼν ἔτυχε φρουρὰν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐκείνη καταστησάμενος. [9] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίου στρατιῶται ἐνταῦθά πη ἰόντες πολεμίων στρατεύματι ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὔσπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀποπειράσονται τοῦ τῆδε φρουρίου. [10] ἐς χεῖρας δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα ἐλθόντες ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἔτρεψαν, καίπερ αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι, καὶ πλεόν ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν. [11] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φεύγοντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα πάντα ἐσήγγελλον: οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμεινον, ἅτε δὲ ἀναρχοὶ καὶ νενικηκότες ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. [12] οὔτε γὰρ ἀγηγεμένοι ἡσύχαζον οὔτε ἄγχιστα τῆς στενοχωρίας ἐγκαθεζόμενοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀλιγορίαν τραπόμενοι νύκτωρ μὲν ὥς ἀπωτάτω ἀλλήλων διεσκηνημένοι ἐκάθευδον, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διερευνώμενοι περιήρχοντο, οὔτε τινὰς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στείλαντες οὔτε ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἀσφαλείας ἐπὶ βεβουλευμένοι. [13] Τουτίλας οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἐπύθετο ἅπαντα, ἐς τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς τοῦ παντός στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦει. [14] καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδοκῆτως οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις, ἀλλ' οὕτω περιουσίαν ὥσπερ εἴρηται, [15] κατέπληξέ τε καὶ συνετάραξεν ἅπαντας. ἐνταῦθα Φάζας ἄγχιστα γάρ πη

ἔσκηνημένος ἐτύγχανεν ὑπαντιάσας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδειξάμενος, τισὶ μὲν τοῦ διαφυγεῖν αἴτιος γέγονεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι θνήσκει. [16] μέγα τε πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ζυνέβη, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅτε διαφέροντας τὰ πολέμια τὴν ἐλπίδα ζύμπαντες εἶχον. [17] ὅσοι μέντοι φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὥς πη ἐκάστω δυνατὰ γέγονε διεσώθησαν. πρῶτός τε Βαρβατίων ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ζὺν ἐτέροις δυοῖν φεύγων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθε. καὶ τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπαγγέλλων ἐπεῖπεν οἶεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρέσεσθαι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἔν τε μεγάλῳ πένθει ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσεπήδησεν. ἔνθεν τε ἄραντες καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ Σικελίας Μεσήνῃ προσέσχον, ἣ τοῦ μὲν Κρότωνος ἐπτακοσίους σταδίου διεχεί, Ῥηγίνων δὲ καταντικρὺ κεῖται.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Σκλαβηνῶν στράτευμα διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον Ἰλλυριοὺς ἅπαντας ἄχρι Ἐπιδαμνίων ἔδρασαν ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, κτείνοντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίζοντες τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενοι. [2] ἤδη δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ τε καὶ δοκοῦντα ἐχυρὰ τὰ πρότερα εἶναι οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐξελεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ περιήρχοντο ζύμπαντα κατ' ἐξουσίαν διερευνώμενοι. [3] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἄρχοντες στράτευμα πεντακισχιλίων τε καὶ μυρίων ἔχοντες εἶποντο, ἄγχιστα μέντοι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι. [4] Τότε δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ πολλάκις χειμῶνος ὥρα σκληροὶ τε λίαν καὶ ὑπερφυεῖς ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ χωρίοις ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο, νύκτωρ ἅπαντες. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ὥκημένοι καταχωσθήσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐνθένδε φλαῦρον αὐτοῖς ζυνηνέχθη παθεῖν. [6] Τότε καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχους ἀναβάς ἐπέκλυσε μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἥρδευσε πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μὲν Θηβαΐδι τῇ ὑπερθεῖν οὔσῃ ὑφίζανοντά τε καὶ ἀποχωροῦντα τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ ὕδατα παρείχετο τοῖς τῇδε ὥκημένοις σπεῖρειν τε τὴν γῆν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἥπερ εἴωθει. [7] χώρας δὲ τῆς ἔνερθεν ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐπεπόλασεν, οὐκέτι ἀπέβη, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῇ ζύμπαντα διαγέγονε τὸν τοῦ σπεῖρειν καιρὸν, οὐ ζυμπεσὸν τοῦτό γε πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, ἔστι δὲ οὐ καὶ ἀπολωφῆσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπέκλυσε αὐθις οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. [8] ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα ἐσεσήπει τὰ σπέρματα, ὅσα δὴ μεταξὺ καταβεβλημένα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔτυχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ζυμφορᾶς ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ζῶων ἀπορία τροφῆς τὰ πλεῖστα ἐφθάρη. [9] Τότε καὶ τὸ κῆτος, ὃ δὴ Βυζάντιοι Πορφύριον ἐκάλουν, ἐάλω. τοῦτό τε τὸ κῆτος πλεόν μὲν ἢ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τὰ ἀμφ' αὐτὸ χωρία ἠνώχλει, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ διαλείπον, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, πολὺν τινα μεταξὺ χρόνον. [10] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν κατέδυσε πλοῖα, πολλῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβατας ζυνταράττον τε καὶ βιαζόμενον ὥς ἀπωτάτω ἀπήνεγκεν. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο χειρώσασθαι. ἐπιτελέσαι δὲ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔσχεν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ τανῦν ἀλῶναι ζυνέπεσεν. [11] ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γαλήνῃ τὴν θάλασσαν πολλὴ ἔχουσα, δελφίνων δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ στόματος Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ζυνέρρεον. [12] οἵπερ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸ κῆτος ἰδόντες ἔφρευγον ὥς πη ἐκάστω

δυνατὰ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀμφὶ τοῦ Σαγάριδος τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἤλθον. τινὰς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν καταλαβὼν τὸ κῆτος καταπιεῖν εὐθὺς ἴσχυσεν. [13] εἴτε δὲ πείνη εἴτε φιλονεικία ἔτι ἐχόμενον οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐδίωκεν, ἕως δὴ αὐτὸ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς γῆς ἐκπεσὼν ἔλαθεν. [14] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ἰλύϊ βαθείᾳ κομιδῇ ἐντυχὼν ἐβιάζετο μὲν καὶ πάντα ἐκίνει, ὅπως δὴ ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσοιτο, διαφυγεῖν δὲ τὸ τέναγος τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ πηλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας ἤλθε, δρόμῳ εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν, ἀζίναις τε πανταχόθεν ἐνδεδεχέστατα κόψαντες οὐδ' ὥς ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ σχοίνοις ἀδραῖς τισιν εἵλκον. [16] ἐν τε ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι εὕρισκον μῆκος μὲν πηχῶν μάλιστα τριάκοντα ὄν, εὖρος δὲ δέκα. ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε κατὰ συμμορίας τινὰς διασπασάμενοι οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐγεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν ταριχεῦσαι τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσιν σφίσιν ἐγνώσαν. [17] Βυζάντιοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε σεισμῶν ἦσθοντο καὶ τὰ ζυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τε τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῷ κήτει τούτῳ ἐγνώσαν, προὔλεγον αὐτίκα ζυμβήσεσθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτῶν ἐκάστω ἦρεσκε. [18] φιλοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενοι τὰ ἐσόμενα τερατεύεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀποκναιόμενοι τὰ ζυμβησόμενα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τεκμηριοῦσθαι. [19] ἐγὼ δὲ μαντείας τε καὶ τεράτων δηλώσεις ἄλλοις ἀφιεῖς ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδα, ὥς ἡ μὲν τοῦ Νείλου ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας διατριβὴ μεγάλων αἰτία ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι συμφορῶν γέγονε, τὸ δὲ κῆτος ἀφανισθὲν πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγὴ κακῶν διαδείκνυται οὕσα. [20] τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τὸ κῆτος τοῦτο, οὐπὲρ ἐμνήσθην, ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶναι, ὃ δὴ ἀλῶναι ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπάνειμι. [21] Τουτίλας οὖν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ἃ προδεδήλωται, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζειν ἐπύθετο, ἐξαιρήσειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ὅτι τάχιστα, ἢν μή τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἰοί τε ὦσιν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατό τε ὥς ἀγχοτάτῳ καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Τουσινιανὸς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ δισχιλίους ἐς Σικελίαν ναυσὶν ἐπεμψε καὶ Βαλεριανὸν οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [2] καὶ ὃς διαπορθμευσάμενος ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ εὔρεν. [3] ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀντωνίνα μὲν ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ ἐς Βυζαντιὸν στέλλεται, τῆς βασιλίδος δεησομένη μείζονι παρασκευῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξαρτύεσθαι. [4] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα νοσήσασα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα τε καὶ εἴκοσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιβιοῦσα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ πολιορκούμενοι πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις ξυνίασιν, ὠμολόγησάν τε μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θέρους ὥρας τὸ φρούριον ἐνδώσειν, ἢν μή τις ἐπιγένηται μεταξὺ βοήθεια σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἅπαντες μείνωσιν. [6] ἦσαν δὲ Ἰταλῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τε καὶ λόγιμοι, καὶ Δεοφέρων ὁ Τουλλιανοῦ ἀδελφός, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ τριακόσιοι, οὐσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Χαλαζάρ τε αὐτοῖς τὸν δορυφόρον ἐπιστήσας, Μασσαγέτην γένος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ

Γουδίλαν Θραῦκα, καὶ πεζοὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ φρουρίου σταλέντες. [7] Τότε καὶ ὅσοι στρατιῶται πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ φρουρᾷ ἐτετάχατο τὸν σφῶν ἄρχοντα Κόνωνα κτείνουνσιν, ἐμπορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἐπενεγκόντες. [8] πρέσβεις τε τῶν ἱερέων τινὰς πέμπουσιν, ἀπισχυριζόμενοι ὥς, ἣν μὴ βασιλεὺς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀμνηστίαν σφίσι διδοίη χρόνου τε ῥητοῦ τὰς συντάξεις ἐκτίσοι ὅσας δὴ αὐτοῖς τὸ δημόσιον ὠφειλε, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες προσχωρήσουσι. βασιλεὺς τε αὐτοῖς τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. [9] Βελισάριος δὲ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα μεταπεμψάμενος ξύν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βαλεριανῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι στόλον πολὺν ἀγείρας εὐθὺ Ῥουσκιανῆς κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπαμύνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων. [10] οἱ τε ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ κατιδόντες εὐέλπιδές τε γενόμενοι οὐκέτι τοῖς πολεμίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καίπερ ἐνισταμένης ἤδη τῆς σφίσι ξυγκειμένης ἡμέρας. [11] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα χειμῶνος ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖνῃ ἀκτῆς ἀλμμένου παντάπασιν οὔσης, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ξυνηνέχθη διασκεδάννυσθαι. [12] ταύτῃ τε χρόνου μῆκος σφίσι τριβῆναι ξυνέβη. αὐθὶς τε ἀγῆγερμένοι ἐν τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανὴν ἀνήγοντο. οὗπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι εἶδον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ἀμφὶ τὴν ἡῖονα ἐγένοντο τὴν ἀπόβασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστέλλειν διανοούμενοι. [13] Τουτίλας τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀντιμετώπους ἔστησε ταῖς τῶν νηῶν πύρραις. τοὺς μὲν δόρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τόξα ἐντειναμένους. [14] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἶδον, καταρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἄγχιστα οὐδαμῇ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ χρόνον μὲν τινα τὰς ναῦς ἐκαστάτῳ ἀνακωχεύσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν πρύμναν τε πάντες ἐκρούοντο καὶ ἀναχθέντες τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν αὐθὶς λιμένι προσέσχον. [15] Οὗ δὴ ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντα τὰ ταύτῃ τε ὥς ἄριστα διοικήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίσασθαι, Ἰωάννην δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸν τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἐς γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀποβιβάσαντας ὁδῷ τε πορευομένους ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἰέναι, ξυνταράζοντας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς τὰ ἐκεῖνῃ πολιορκοῦντας πολίσματα. [16] οὕτῳ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς Τουτίλαν διαλύσαντα τὴν προσεδρεῖαν ἐπισπέσθαι ἐλπίδα εἶχον. [17] Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις χιλίοις οὗσι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει: Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον δείσας ταῖς ναυσὶ κόλπον περιῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος εὐθύ. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐν Πικηνοῖς τε γενήσεσθαι ξύν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ᾧετο καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ξυμμίξαι. [18] ἀλλὰ Τουτίλας διαλύσαι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν οὐδ' ὥς ἠθέλεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, δισχιλίους δὲ ἱππεῖς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Πικηνοὺς στέλλει, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάροις ξυμμιζαντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἀποκρούονται. [19] Οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς τὰ τε ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη παντάπασιν ἐπελελοιπεί καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας ἐλπίδα εἶχον, Γουδίλαν τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Δεοφέροντα τὸν Ἰταλιώτην παρὰ Τουτίλαν πέμψαντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, δεόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πεπραγμένων ξυγγνώμονα εἶναι. [20] ὁ δὲ

Τουτίλας ἐς ἄλλον οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐς τὸν Χαλαζάρ ἐπιτελέσειν τὴν κόλασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο ἅτε τὰ πρόσθεν ξυγκείμενα ἡλογηκότα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τὸ ἐγκλημα ἐπιχωρεῖν πᾶσιν. [21] οὕτω τοῖνυν αὐτὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐδέξατο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χαλαζάρ ἄμφω τε τῷ χειρε ἀποτεμὼν καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους μένειν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Γόθοις ξυντάζονται: ὅπερ κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι τοῖς ἀλικομένοις πράσσειν εἴωθει: [22] οἷς δὲ τὸ μένειν ἐν ἡδονῇ ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, τούτους δὴ γυμνοὺς ὅπη βούλιντο ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τινὰ οἱ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀκούσιον ξυστρατεύεσθαι. [23] ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπολελειμμένων ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. [24] τῶν μέντοι Ἰταλῶν τὰ μὲν χρήματα πάντα ἀφείλετο, τὰ δέ γε σώματα κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθῇ εἶασεν. [25] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπογενομένης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένη ἐδέετο βασιλέως μετὰπεμπτόν οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα ἐλθεῖν. ῥᾶστά τε διεπράξατο τοῦτο. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐπικείμενος ἰσχυρότατα βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινες ἐπίθεσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο. οἵπερ ὅπως τε ἐς τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο κατέστησαν καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀφίκοντο, [2] αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Ἀρταβάνη Γόνθαριν καθελόντι τὸν τύραννον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐξαισία τις ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο Πρεϊέκταν τὴν βασιλέως ἀδελφιδῆν, ἣν εἶχεν ἐγγυητήν, [3] γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτῇ βουλομένη ὡς μάλιστα ἦν, οὐκ ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένη, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ χάριτας ὡμολόγει πολλὰς ἅτε τισαμένῳ μὲν τὸν Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φόνον, αὐτὴν δὲ ἀνασωσαμένῳ καὶ ἀναρπάσαντι, αἰχμάλωτόν τε οὔσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ τυράννῳ Γονθάριδι μέλλουσιν οὔτι ἐκουσίαν ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνελθεῖν. [4] ἐπεὶ τε ἄμφω ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, Πρεϊέκταν μὲν Ἀρταβάνης βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, καίπερ Λιβύης ὅλης στρατηγὸς καταστάς, ἔχρηζε βασιλέως, ἀναπλάσας τινὰς οὐχ ὕγιεις σκήψεις, [5] ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο. ἐνήγε γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡ τοῦ γάμου ἐλπίς, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐνθένδε ἀγαθὰ ὑποφαίνουσα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐ πόρρῳ αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι. [6] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εὐημερίας ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἐπιλαβόμενοι οὐ δύνανται τὴν διάνοιαν ἐνταῦθα ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ παραδοκοῦσι τὰ πρόσω, καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ χωροῦσιν, ἕως καὶ τῆς οὐ δέον ὑπαρξάσης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας στερήσονται. Βασιλεὺς μέντοι τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο, [7] ἕτερον ἀντικαταστήσας Λιβύης στρατηγόν, ἧπέρ μοι δεδιήγεται. [8] γενόμενον δὲ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἄλλως ἡγάπα. [9] ἦν γὰρ εὐμήκης τε το σῶμα καὶ καλός, τό τε ἦθος ἐλευθέριος καὶ ὀλίγα ἅττα φθεγγόμενος. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐτετιμῆκει. [10] στρατηγόν τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα φοιδεράτων καταστησάμενος ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνεγράφατο τὸ ἀξίωμα. [11] τῇ μέντοι Πρεϊέκτα ξυνοικίζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ πρότερον ξυγγενῆς τε οὔσα καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσα. [12] ἦν

δὴ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποσεισάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτυχε τῶν τινος ἴσως παραπεπτωκυίας αἰτίας, ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι προσκροῦειν ξυμβαίνει. [13] αὕτη, τέως μὲν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ οὐκ εὖ καθεστήκει τὰ πράγματα, οἴκοι καθήστο ἐν πάσῃ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, τὰ παρόντα σιωπῇ φέρουσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἤδη λαμπρὸς τε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ μέγας ἐγεγόνει ταῖς τύχαις, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤλθεν. ἰκέτις τε γενομένη τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἡξίου. [14] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς ἔπεφύκει γὰρ αἰὲν δυστυχοῦσαις γυναῖξιν προσχωρεῖν ἀκουσίῳ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ ὡς μάλιστα ξυνοικεῖν ἔγνω, τὴν τε Πρεῖέκταν Ἰωάννης ὁ Πομπηίου τοῦ Ὑπατίου γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο. [15] ταύτην Ἀρταβάνης τὴν ξυμφορὰν οὐκ ἤνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλ' ἡγριαίνετό τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένον Ῥωμαίους ἔλεγε τόσα... γυναῖκα μὲν τὴν οἱ αὐτῷ κατηγγυημένην ἐκόντα ἐκοῦσαν ἀγαγέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἐφῆ, τῇ δὲ πάντων αὐτῷ δυσμενεστάτῃ οὔσῃ πλησιάζειν ἀναγκάζεται τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἀνιᾶν πέφυκεν. [16] ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ταύτην ἀσμένως ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα εὐθύς. [17] Ἐτυγχανε δὲ βασιλεῖ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀνεσιὸν ὄντα Βοραῖδην ἀδελφὸν ἔχειν. οὗτος οὖν Βοραΐδης ὁ Γερμανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἐναγχος ἐτετελευτήκει, τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀπολιπών. [18] οὔσης δὲ αὐτῷ γυναικὸς τε καὶ παιδὸς μιᾶς, τοσαῦτα τὴν παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ἔχειν ὅσα ὁ νόμος ἠνάγκαζε. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς τῇ παιδί μᾶλλον ἀμύνειν ἡξίου· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Γερμανὸν ἔδακνε.

Βασιλεῖ μὲν οὖν τά τε ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ Γερμανῷ ταύτη πη εἶχεν. ἦν δέ τις Ἀρσάκης ὄνομα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀρσακίδης ἀνὴρ, τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κατὰ γένος προσήκων. [2] ὃς δὴ κακουργῶν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐφωράθη καὶ προδοσίας διαφανῶς ἐάλω ἅτε δὴ ἐς Χοσρόην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα πράγματα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα πράσσων. [3] βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸν ἄλλο μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ξάνας δὲ οὐ πολλὰς κατὰ νότου ἐπόμπευσε καμὴλῳ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀχούμενον, οὐδὲν μέντοι αὐτὸν οὔτε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τῆς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φυγῇ ἐξημίωσε. δυσφορούμενος δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν Ἀρσάκης δολώσεις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπινόειν ἤρξατο. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε ξυναχθόμενόν οἱ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἅτε ξυγγενὴ εἶδεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρέθιζε τε καὶ λόγων ἐνέδραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταλαβὼν ἐκάκιζεν, οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε ἡμέραν τινὰ ἀνιείς, ἀνδρεῖόν τε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον ἀπὸ καιροῦ γεγονότα ὠνείδιζεν. [6] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κακοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις γενναῖόν τε καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος διαλυτὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, φίλον τε ὄντα καὶ ἐστιάτορα Γόνθαριν αὐτοχειρὶ λαβόντα κτεῖναι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [7] ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι ἀποδειλιάσαντα οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ἐνταῦθα καθῆσθαι, τῆς μὲν πατρίδος οἱ φρουρουμένης τε ἐνδεδεχέστατα καὶ δασμοῖς ἐκτετηκυίας ἀήθεσι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένου ἐπὶ ξυνθηκῶν τε καὶ ξυμβάσεως λόγῳ, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου τε καὶ σκεδαννυμένου αἰὲν πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [8] ἀλλὰ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων αὐτῷ Ἀρταβάνης ἀποχρῆν οἶται, εἰ στρατηγὸς τε Ῥωμαίων εἴη καὶ ὑπατος καλοῖτο μόνον. ‘Καὶ σὺ μὲν’ ἔφη ‘ξυγγενεῖ τέ μοι ὄντι καὶ πεπονθότε

ἀνήμεστα ἔργα οὐδαμῇ συναλγεῖς· ἐγὼ δέ σε οἰκτεῖρω τῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ταῖν
γυναικοῖν, ᾧ βέλτιστε, τύχης, ἣς τε οὐ δέον ἐστέρησαι καὶ ἧ ξυνοικεῖν
ἠναγκάσθης. [9] καίτοι οὐδένα εἰκός, ὅτῳ φρονήματος καὶ κατὰ βραχύ τινος
μέτεστι, τὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀναδύεσθαι φόνον οὔτε ὀκνήσει οὔτε ὀρρωδία τινί,
ὃς δὴ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς αἰεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἄωρι νύκτωρ, ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν
ιερέων ἐσχατογέρουσιν ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδῇν ἔχων. [10]
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔφη 'οὐδέ τίς σοι ἀντιστήσεται τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ξυγγενῶν. ὁ
μέντοι γε πάντων δυνατώτατος Γερμανός, οἶμαι, ξυλλήψεται σοι
προθυμούμενος ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, νεανίαις τε οὔσι καὶ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ
καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζέουσιν, οὓς γε καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοματίσειν ἐλπίδα
ἔχω. [11] ἡδικοῦμενοι γὰρ πρὸς ἐκείνου τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη ὅσα οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε
τις ἄλλος Ἀρμενίων οὐδεὶς.' τοιούτοις Ἀρσάκης αἰεὶ καταγοητεύων τὸν
Ἀρταβάνην, ἐπειδὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐνδόντα εἶδεν, ἐπὶ τινι Περσαρμένιον ἕτερον,
[12] Χαναράγγην ὄνομα, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγεν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Χαναράγγης νεανίας
μέν, καλὸς δὲ τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μέντοι κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
παιδαριώδης. [13] Ἐπεὶ οὖν Ἀρσάκης αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνην τὰ τε ἐς τὴν
γνώμην καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόγους ξυνέμιξεν, ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐπαγγειλάμενος
Γερμανόν τε καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ὁμογνώμονας ἐς τὸ ἔργον θήσεσθαι
σφίσι. [14] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰουστίνος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Γερμανοῦ παίδων νεανίας
μέν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πράξεις ὀξύτερος· [15]
ὥστε καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἀναβεβήκει.
ἀφικόμενός τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἔφασκέν οἱ λάθρα ἐν ἱερῷ τινι ἐντυχεῖν
βούλεσθαι. [16] ἐπεὶ τε ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐγενέσθην ἅμφω, ἡξίου πρῶτον Ἀρσάκης τὸν
Ἰουστίνον δι' ὄρκων ἰσχυρίσασθαι μὴ ποτε τοὺς λόγους ἐς τινὰ τῶν πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ ἐς τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἐξοίσειν. [17] ταῦτά τε ὁμωμοκότι τῷ
ἀνδρὶ ὠνείδιζεν εἰ βασιλεῖ ξυγγενὴς πλησιαίτατος ὢν ἀγοραίους μὲν καὶ
ἀγελαίους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἔχοντας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς προσῆκον ὀρῶν τὰς τῆς
πολιτείας ἀρχάς, αὐτὸς δὲ τηλίκος ὢν ἤδη ὥς αὐτοῦ εἶναι διοικεῖσθαι τὰ
πράγματα, οὐχ αὐτὸν μόνον περιορῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐπ' ἄκρον
ἀρετῆς ἦκοντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν ιδιώτου μοίρᾳ καθημένους
τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. [18] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι ξυνέβη, ἣς
δὴ κληρονόμος τὰ γε ὅσα βεβουλησθαι Βοραῖδην αὐτὸς γεγωνώς, εἶτα οὐ δέον
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφήρηται. [19] καίτοι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
περιοφθῆσεσθαι εἰκὸς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα Βελισάριος ἐξ
Ἰταλίας ἀφίκηται. ἡγγέλλετο γὰρ ὢν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἤδη πού μέσοις. [20] τοσαῦτα
ὑπειπὼν Ἀρσάκης ἐς τὴν ἐς βασιλέα ἐπιβουλὴν τὸν νεανίαν ὥρμα, τὰ τέ οἱ
αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ ξυγκείμενα καὶ τῷ Χαναράγγῃ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο
ἀποκαλύψας. [21] ταῦτα Ἰουστίνος ἀκούσας ξυνεταράχθη τε καὶ ἰλιγγιάσας
ἄντικρυς τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ ἀπεῖπε μὴτ' ἂν οἱ αὐτῷ μήτε Γερμανῷ τῷ πατρὶ ταῦτά
ποτε ποιητέα εἶναι. [22] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρσάκης τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ
ἀπηγγείλεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνος ἐς τὸν πατέρα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκε. καὶ ὃς
Μαρκέλλῳ κοινολογησάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ
πρᾶγμα συμβουλὴν ἐποιεῖτο, εἴπερ σφίσι ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα ἐξενεγκεῖν
ξύμφορον εἴη. [23] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐμβριθέστατός τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τῇ

σιωπῇ τὰ πολλὰ νέμων, οὔτε χρημάτων τι ἔνεκα πράσσων οὔτε λόγων ἢ πράξεων γελωτοποιῶν ἀνεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλως ἀνειμένη διαίτη χαίρων, ἀλλὰ βίον σκληρόν τέ τινα καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀλλότριον ἐς αἰεῖ ἔχων, τοῦ μέντοι δικαίου ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπυρώτατος ἐραστής. [24] ὃς δὴ τότε οὐκ εἶα τὸν λόγον ἐς βασιλέα φέρεσθαι. ‘Σὲ μὲν γάρ τούτου’ ἔφη ‘μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἀξύμφορον. ἦν γάρ τι λάθρα ἐρεῖν βασιλεῖ βούλοιο, ὑποτοπήσουσί τε εὐθὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνην αὐτὸ μεμνηνύσθαι, καὶ ἦν που Ἀρσάκης διαφυγὼν λαθεῖν δύνηται, ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ ἔγκλημα μενεῖ. [25] ἐγὼ δέ τι μὴ λίαν ἀκριβολογησάμενος ἢ πιστεύειν αὐτὸς ἢ βασιλεῖ ἐσαγγέλλειν οὐδαμῇ εἴωθα. [26] βούλομαι τοίνυν ἢ τῶν λόγων αὐτήκοος γενέσθαι ἢ τῶν μοι ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὑμετέρας ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγοντός τι ὑπὲρ τούτων διαφανές.’ [27] Ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀκούσας Ἰουστίνον τὸν παῖδα ἐκέλευε πράσσειν ὅπως ἡ Μαρκέλλου ἐπίταξις ἐπιτελῆς εἴη. [28] ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκη μὲν τι ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπεῖν οὐκέτι εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἀπειπὼν ἔτυχε. [29] τοῦ δὲ Χαναράγγου ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη ἑναγχος Ἀρσάκης παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκοι. ‘Εγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε’ ἔφη ‘τῶν τι ἀπορρήτων ἐθάρσησα ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τοιῷδε ὄντι καταλιπεῖν. [30] ἀλλ’ εἰ μοι βούλοιό τι αὐτὸς τῶν προὔργου εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι τάχα [31] ἂν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν πράξαιμεν.’ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ Χαναράγγης τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐς τὸν Ἰουστίνον ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅσα δὴ πρότερον Ἀρσάκης αὐτῷ εἰπὼν ἔτυχεν. [32] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστίνος αὐτὸς τε ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὡμολόγει ὁμογνωμονοῦντα παρέξεσθαι, ἐδόκει τῷ Γερμανῷ τὸν Χαναράγγην ἐς λόγους συμμιῆσαι, τακτὴ τε ἡμέρα τῷ διαλόγῳ ξυνέκειτο. [33] ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλῳ σημήνας ἡξίου τῶν τινά οἱ ἐπιτηδείων παρέχεσθαι σφίσιν, [34] αὐτήκοον τῶν Χαναράγγου λόγων ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ Λεόντιον παρείχετο, τὸν Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν, ἄνδρα λόγου τε τοῦ δικαίου μεταποιοούμενον καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενον μάλιστα. [35] ὃν δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐν δωματίῳ ἐκάθισεν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπεκρέματό τις παχεῖα σινδὼν παραπέτασμα τῆς στιβάδος οὔσα, ἐφ’ ἧς ἐστιᾶσθαι εἰώθει. [36] ταύτης τε τῆς σινδόνης τὸν μὲν Λεόντιον ἐντὸς ἔκρυψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ παιδί ἐκτὸς ἔμενον. [37] ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Χαναράγγου ἀφικομένου ἤκουσε σαφῶς ὁ Λεόντιος ἅπαντα λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐγεγόνει. [38] ἐν τοῖς καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν λόγον ἦλθεν, ὥς, ἦν βασιλέα κτείνωσι Βελισαρίου ἔτι ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁδῷ ἰόντος, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν βεβουλευμένων προχωρήσειε σφίσιν: εἴπερ αὐτοῖς μὲν βασιλέα Γερμανὸν καταστήσεσθαι βουλομένοις εἶη, Βελισάριον δὲ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς ἀθροίσειν εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, οὕτω τε σφίσιν ἐπιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἀπωθεῖσθαι ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται. [39] δεήσει γοῦν ἐς μὲν τὴν Βελισαρίου παρουσίαν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τάχιστα ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε ἀφίκηται καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐν Παλατίῳ εἴη, τότε δὴ, ἐσπέρας βαθείας που οὔσης, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντας ἀπροσδοκίτους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ Μάρκελλόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν βασιλεῖ κτείνειν. [40] οὕτω γάρ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀδεέστερον ἢ βούλονται διοικήσονται. Ταῦτα Μάρκελλος πρὸς Λεοντίου μαθὼν οὐδ’ ὥς ἐς βασιλέα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔγνω, ἀλλ’ ἔτι

ὀκνήσει πολλῇ εἶχeto, τοῦ μὴ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην σπουδῇ πολλῇ κατεργάσασθαι ἀπερισκέπτως. [41] ὁ μέντοι Γερμανὸς ἅπαντα ἕς τε Βούζην καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐξήνεγκε, δέισας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ τινα ἐκ τῆς μελλήσεως ὑποψίαν λάβῃ. [42] Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν Βελισάριος ἄγχιστά του ἤδη ἠγγέλλετο, Μάρκελλος μὲν ἕς βασιλέα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἕς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνην ἐκέλευε, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τισὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε βάσανον. [43] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ξύμπασα ἕς φῶς τε ἤδη ἐληλύθει καὶ διαρρήδην ἐν γράμμασιν ἦν, ἅπαντας βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκάθισεν, οὗπερ εἰώθασι τὰς ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις ποιεῖσθαι γνώσεις. [44] οἵπερ ἀναλεξάμενοι ἅπαντα ὅσα τοῖς εὐθυνομένοις δεδιγῆσθαι τετύχηκεν, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἕς Γερμανόν τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τὸ ἐγκλημα ἦγον, ἕως ὃ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλου τε καὶ Λεοντίου τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρασχόμενος ἐκλύειν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἔσχεν. [45] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης διώμοτοι ἰσχυρίσαντο μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν σφᾶς τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλὰ ταύτη πάντα ξυνενεχθῆναι ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιῆγεται. [46] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο ἅπαντες ἅτε οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμαρτηκότων. [47] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω πάντες ἐν βασιλέως ἐγένοντο, αὐτὸς μὲν ὅξυ θυμωθεὶς βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτει τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἠγριαίνεται τὴν βραδυτῆτα τῆς δηλώσεως αἰτιώμενος, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων δύο μὲν τινες θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν ὠμολόγουν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ δυσφορούμενοις ἐώκεσαν· ταύτη τε τὸν βασιλέως θυμὸν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρον, ἄλλοτριάς αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι συμφορὰς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [48] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατεπτηχότες σιωπῇ εἶχοντο, τῷ μὴ ἀντιστατεῖν ἂ βούλοιτο ἐγχωροῦντες αὐτῷ· Μάρκελλος δὲ μόνος ὀρθοστομήσας διασώσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵσχυσε. [49] τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλκων τε καὶ βιαζόμενος δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ Γερμανὸν μὲν οἱ ἐπικαιρότατα ἔφη τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐξεπεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ περιέργως ἀκριβολογούμενον σχολαιότερον αὐτὰ μεμνηνυκέναι. [50] καὶ τὴν βασιλέως ὀργὴν οὕτω κατέπαυσε. μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κλέος οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος περιεβάλετο ἕς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἅτε ἀρετῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μεταποιούμενος. [51] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς παρέλυσεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἅπαντας οὐ ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, ἐν Παλατίῳ μέντοι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκίῳ.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ πολέμου τόνδε κύριοι τῆς ἐσπερίας οἱ βάρβαροι διαρρήδην ἐγένοντο πάσης. τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος, καίπερ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ κράτος νενικηκόσιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἕς τοῦτο ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον σφίσι χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ὀνήσει διεφθάρθαι πολλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰταλίαν προσαπολέσθαι, καὶ Ἰλλυριὸς τε καὶ Θράκας σχεδόν τι ξύμπαντας ἐπιδεῖν πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ὁμόρων γεγεννημένων δημιουμένους τε καὶ διαφθειρομένους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. [2] Γαλλίας μὲν ὅλας τὰς σφίσι κατηκόους κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν Γότθοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἀντιτάξασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [3] ταύτην τε τὴν πρᾶξιν

οὐχ ὅπως οὐ διακαλύειν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπέρρωσε σφίσι, τοῦ μή τί οἱ ἐναντίωμα τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεπολεωμένων ὑπαντίασαι. [4] οὐ γάρ ποτε ᾤοντο Γαλλίας ζῆν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκτῆσθαι Φράγγοι, μὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἔργον ἐπισφραγίσαντος τοῦτο γε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες Μασαλίαν τε τὴν Φωκαέων ἀποικίαν καὶ ζύμπαντα τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἔσχον, θαλάσσης τε τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἐκράτησαν. [5] καὶ κáθηνται μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ τὸν ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι, νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλων πεποιήνται, οὐ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος, ἥπερ εἴθισται, χαρακτηῖρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ στατήρι τούτῳ, [6] ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. καίτοι νόμισμα μὲν ἀργυροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἦ βούλοιο ποιεῖν εἴωθε, χαρακτηῖρα δὲ ἴδιον ἐμβαλέσθαι στατήρι χρυσῷ οὔτε αὐτὸν θέμις οὔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὄντιναοῦν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων βαρβάρων, καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄντα χρυσοῦ κύριον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσι προῖεσθαι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο οἷοι τέ εἰσιν, εἰ καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ξυμβάλλοντας εἶναι ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Φράγγοις ἐχώρησεν. [7] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Τουτίλα καθυπέρτερα τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, Φράγγοι Βενετίων τὰ πλεῖστα σφίσι προσεποιήσαντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων δυναμένων ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι οὔτε Γότθων οἶων τε ὄντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἑκατέρους διενεγκεῖν. [8] Γήπαιδες δὲ πόλιν τε Σίρμιον καὶ Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάσας καταλαβόντες ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα βασιλεὺς αὐτὰς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀφείλετο Γότθους· ἐξηνδραπόδισάν τε τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐληΐζοντο βιαζόμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [9] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς συντάξεις οὐκέτι ἐδίδου, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο σφᾶς ἀνέκαθεν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων κομίζεσθαι. [10] Λαγγοβάρδας δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδωρήσατο Νωρικῷ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Παννονίας ὀχυρώμασί τε καὶ ἄλλοις χωρίοις πολλοῖς καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις ἄγαν. [11] διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων Λαγγοβάρδαι ἐξαναστάντες ἐνθένδε ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἰδρύσαντο, [12] Γηπαίδων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν Δαλμάτας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς μέχρι τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου ὁρίων ληϊσάμενοι ἡνδραπόδισαν, ἐπειδὴ τε τῶν τινες αἰχμαλώτων ἐνθένδε φυγόντες οἵκαδε ἀποκομίζεσθαι ἴσχυσαν, περιόντες τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅτε Ῥωμαίοις ἔνσπονδοι ὄντες ἦν τινὰς τῶν ἀποδράντων ἐπιγνοῖεν ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδων οἰκείων δεδραπετευκότων ἐπελαμβάνοντο, τῶν τε γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἐκομίζοντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. [13] καὶ ἄλλα μέντοι Δακίας χωρία δόντος βασιλέως Ἐρουλοὶ ἔσχον ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σιγγιδόνον, οὗ δὴ ἱδρυνται νῦν, Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καταθέοντες καὶ ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγένηται ἐν τοῖς φοιδεράτοις καλουμένοις ταττόμενοι. [14] ἡνίκα οὖν Ἐρούλων ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις σταλεῖεν, τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ληϊζονται, τὰς συντάξεις ἀπάσας πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται.

Οὕτῳ μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι διεδάσαντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἅτε δὴ ἐν γειτόνων πῃ ᾤκημένοι ἀλλήλοις διάφοροι γεγένηται ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [2] πολεμῆσιόντές τε προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ἐς

ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι ὥρων τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, χρόνος τε τῇ
ξυμβολῇ τακτὸς ὤριστο. [3] Λαγγοβάρδαι δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι Γήπαισιν
ἀξιόμαχοι κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ ἔσσεσθαι ἵπληθι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλασσοῦσθαι τῶν
πολεμίων ξυνέβαινέ Ῥωμαίους ἔγνωσαν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι. [4]
πέμψαντες οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πρέσβεις στράτευμα σφίσιν
ἐδέοντο πέμψαι. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γήπαιδες ἔγνωσαν, πέμπουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς
Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεησομένους. ἦρχε δὲ τότε Γηπαίδων
μὲν Θορισὶν ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων Αὐδοῦν. [5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς
λόγους μὲν τοὺς πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούειν ἔγνω, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι ξυνιόντων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς παρ' αὐτὸν γινομένων. [6] ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι
βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: 'Ἡμῖν μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
καταπεπληγῆσθαι τῇ Γηπαίδων ἀτοπία ξυμβαίνει, οἳ γε τοσαῦτά τε τὸ πλῆθος
καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν παρανενομηκότες ἀρχὴν νῦν καὶ τὴν
μεγίστην τῶν ὕβρεων ὑμῖν κομιοῦντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤκουσιν. [7] οὗτοι γὰρ ἂν μόνοι
τὰ ἔσχατα ἐς τοὺς πέλας ὑβρίζοιεν, οἳ λίαν αὐτοὺς εὐπετεῖς εἰς τὸ
ἐξαπατᾶσθαι οἰόμενοι τῆς τῶν ἡδικομένων ἀπολαύσοντες εὐηθείας παρ'
αὐτοὺς ἤκοιεν. [8] ὑμᾶς δὲ διασκοπεῖσθαι τοσοῦτον αἰτοῦμεν, ὅπη ποτὲ
γνώμης τὰ ἐς φιλίαν Γήπαισιν ἔχει. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὡς
ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξεργάσαισθε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἐπεὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ προγεγεννημένοις
τεκμηριοῦσθαι τὰ ἐσόμενα ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ δύνανται ἄνθρωποι. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν
ἐς ἐτέρους τινὰς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι μόνον τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος
ξυνέβαινε, πολλοῦ λόγου τε ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν μαρτυρίας
ἐδέησε, διελέγχειν ἐφιεμένοις τὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τρόπον: νῦν δὲ τὸ παράδειγμα
ἐγγύθεν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν πάρεστι.' [10] 'Σκέψασθε γάρ: Γότθοι μὲν τὴν
Δακῶν χώραν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχον, Γήπαιδες δὲ τοῦ Ἰστρου
ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥκνητο ἅπαντες, Γότθων μὲν οὕτω κατεπτηχότες τὴν
δύναμιν ὥστε τὸν ποταμὸν διαπορθευέσθαι οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀποπειράσασθαι
πώποτε ἴσχυσαν, ἔνσπονδοι δὲ καὶ φίλοι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες καὶ δῶρα
πολλὰ τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πρὸς τε τῶν
ἔμπροσθεν βεβασιλευκότων, [11] καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μέντοι οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν. ἡδέως
ἂν οὖν πυθοίμεθα τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τί ποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτοῖς ἐς
Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὸν εἵργασται. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν οὐ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα εἰπεῖν: [12]
ἔως μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἶχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν ὑμᾶς ἀδικοῖεν, οὐ γνώμη τινί, ἀλλ' ἀπορία
ἠναγκασμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [13] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπέκεινα προσποιεῖσθαι
ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἠξιοῦτε, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε τὸ ἐκ Γότθων αὐτοὺς ἀνεσόβει δέος. [14] τίς
δ' ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνην ποτὲ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν καλοίη; ποία δὲ φιλίας βεβαίωσις ἐν
τῇ τοῦ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἀμηχανία γενήσεται; οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα, οὐκ
ἔστι. δύναμις γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐνδείκνυται μόνη, ἐξάγουσα πᾶσιν ἐν
δημοσίῳ τῇ τοῦ δρᾶν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸν τρόπον. [15] ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα
Γήπαιδες εἶδον Γότθους μὲν ἐκ Δακίας ἀπεληλαμένους ἀπάσης, ὑμᾶς δὲ
ἀσχολία τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχομένους, πανταχόθι τῆς γῆς ἐπιβατεῦσαι
τῆς ὑμετέρας οἱ μαιρώτατοι τετολμήκασι.' [16] 'Πῶς ἂν τις ἐφικέσθαι δύναιτο
λόγῳ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀτοπίας; οὐ κατεφρόνησαν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς; οὐκ
ἔλυσαν σπονδῶν τε καὶ συμμάχων θεσμούς; [17] οὐχ ὕβρισαν εἰς οὓς ἥκιστα

ἐχρῆν; οὐκ ἐβίασαντο βασιλείαν ἥς δοῦλοι ἂν εὖξαιτο εἶναι, ἦν τις σχολὴ ὑμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γένηται; Γήπαιδες, ὧ βασιλεῦ, Σίρμιον ἔχουσι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀνδραποδίζουσιν, ὅλην τε προσποιεῖσθαι Δακίαν ἀνυχοῦσι: [18] τίνα πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ποτε ἢ ζῦν ὑμῖν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότες; ἢ τίνος ἀγωνίας ἄθλα τὴν χώραν ταύτην πεποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα ἔμμισθοι πρὸς ὑμῶν γεγονότες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κεκομισμένοι χρόνον οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπόσον ἄνω. [19] καίτοι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐ γέγονε πρᾶξις μιαιωτέρα ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολεμῆσειντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε θαρσοῦσιν ἀφῆχθαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοσόνδε περιωρισμένῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἤκειν. [20] ἴσως που καὶ ἀναιδεΐας περιουσία ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλέσουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῖς οὕτω κατεσπουδασμένοις ὑμῖν. [21] καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἀποδωσειόντες ἤκουσιν ὥνπερ ἐπεβάτευσαν οὐδὲν σφίσι προσῆκον, Λαγγοβάρδας αἰτιωτάτους τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας λογιστέον Ῥωμαῖοις, ὥνπερ τῷ δέει ἀναγκασθέντες τὴν ἀκούσιον εὐγνωμοσύνην ὡπὲ τοῦ καιροῦ μεταμπίσχονται. [22] τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάγκην πεποιημένῳ τὴν χάριν εἰκότως ὁ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τυχὼν εἴσεται. εἰ δέ γε μὴδὲ νῦν ἐκστῆναι τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων βεβούληνται, τίς ἂν εἴη ταύτης δὴ τῆς κακοτροπίας ὑπερβολή; [23] 'Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀφελεία βαρβαρικῇ, λόγων σπανιζούσῃ, τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδαμῇ ἐπαξίως εἰρήσθω. [24] σὺ δέ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, διασκοπούμενος ὅσα ἐνδεεστέως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὰ Ῥωμαῖοις τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς σοῖς ξυνοίσοντα πρᾶσσε, τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐννοῶν, ὥς ἡμῖν μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συντετάξονται Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίως, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς οὗσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρήσουσι.' [25] Λαγγοβάρδαι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. γενόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ οἱ Γηπαίδων πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὥδε: 'Δίκαιον, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίας αἰτήσῃ παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἀφικομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, ὥς δίκαιά τε δεησόμενοι πάρεσι καὶ ξύμφορα τοῖς ξυμμαχήσουσιν, οὕτω τε τοὺς λόγους ὥνπερ ἔνεκα πρεσβεύουσι ποιεῖσθαι. [26] ὥς μὲν οὖν ἡδικήμεθα πρὸς Λαγγοβαρδῶν, αὐτόθεν δῆλον: δίκη γὰρ διαλύειν τὰ διάφορα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχομεν, [27] δικάζεσθαι δὲ οἷς ἂν σπουδάζεταιται βιάζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ πρόσσεστιν. [28] ὥς δὲ πολυανθρωπία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ Γήπαιδες παρὰ πολὺ Λαγγοβαρδῶν κρείσσους τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, [29] τί ἂν τις ἐν εἰδόσι μακρολογοίῃ; τὸ δὲ ζῦν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν καθισταμένους ἐς κακόν τι προὔπτον ἰέναι, παρὸν τὴν νίκην ζῦν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ταπτομένους ἀκίνδυνον ἔχειν, οὐκ ἂν τινας οἰόμεθα τῶν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφρονούντων ἐλέσθαι. [30] ὥστε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἐτέρους τινὰς ἰοῦσι ξυντετάξονται τὸ λοιπὸν Γήπαιδες, χάριν μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ὀφείλοντες, δυνάμεως δὲ περιουσία ξυμποριζόμενοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν. [31] καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο λογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἂν πρόποι, ὥς Λαγγοβάρδαι μὲν ἐξ ὑπογυίου Ῥωμαῖοις γεγέννηται φίλοι, Γήπαιδας δὲ ὑμῖν ἐνσπόνδους τε τὸ ἀνέκαθεν καὶ γνωρίμους γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει. [32] φιλία δὲ χρόνου μήκει ξυμπλεκόμενη τὴν διάλυσιν οὐκ εὐπετὴ ἔχει. ὥστε ξυμμάχους οὐ δυνατοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαίους κεκτήσεσθε. [33] δικαίωμα μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγωγὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἡμῖν.' 'Θεάσασθε δὲ ὅποιοι Λαγγοβάρδαι τοὺς τρόπους εἰσὶ. [34] δίκη μὲν τὰ διάφορα

διαλῦσαι, καίπερ πολλὰ προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενοι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἤδη πού ἐν χερσὶ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναποδίζοντες τῷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσθένειαν ξυνεπίστασθαι παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες Ῥωμαίους ἀνελέσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ δέον ἀγῶνα. [35] πάντως δὲ οἱ κλῶπες οὗτοι τό τε Σίρμιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ Δακίας ἄττα χωρία ὑπόθεσιν ὑμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε προΐσχονται εἶναι. [36] καίτοι πόλεων τε καὶ χώρας τοσοῦτον τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ περίεστιν ὥστε καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινας, οἷς ἂν καὶ δόις μοῖραν τινα πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν. [37] Φράγγους ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ Ἐρούλων ἔθνος καὶ τούτους Λαγγοβάρδας τοσούτοις ἐδωρήσω πόλεώς τε καὶ χώρας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, [38] μέτροις, ὅποσα οὐκ ἂν τις διαριθμήσαιτο. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες, τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐβούλου, διαπεπράγμεθα: ὁ δὲ τι προΐεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βεβουλευμένος κρείσσω παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τετυχηκότος τῆς χάριτος τὸν προτερήσαντά τε καὶ γνώμη τὸ δῶρον αὐτονόμῳ ἐλόμενον οἶεται εἶναι, ἣν μὴ ἐς τὸν κεκτημένον ὑβρίζων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φίλος οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι θαρσῶν, τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίωσιν πεποιῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ὅπερ καὶ Γήπαισιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [39] ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν αἰτοῦμεν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἰέναι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ: εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκποδῶν ἀμφοτέροις στήναι. ταῦτα γὰρ βουλευόμενοι δίκαιά τε ποιεῖτε καὶ λίαν ἐπιτηδεῖως τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.' [40] Καὶ Γήπαιδες μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. βουλευσάμενος δὲ πολλὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποπέμψασθαι ἀπράκτους ἔγνω, ὁμαιοῦσαν δὲ πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας διώμοτον πεποιημένους πλέον αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐς μυρίους ἱππεῖς ἐπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης καὶ Ἀράτιος ἦρχον. [41] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς, προρρηθὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλείας, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα διαμαχήσωνται πρὸς τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος, ἐνθένδε σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἰέναι. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκων. [42] ξύμμαχοι δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐρουλοι πεντακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημουθ ἦρχον. [43] οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες Ἐρουλοι ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντες ξὺν τοῖς Γήπαισιν ἐτετάχατο, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντες οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτυχον ἐξ αἰτίας ἢ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη. [44] Μοῖρα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ ἰόντων Ἐρούλων τισὶ ξὺν Ἀόρδῳ τῷ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀδελφῷ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιτυχάνουσι. [45] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης νικῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀορδὸν τῶν τε Ἐρούλων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. γνόντες δὲ Γήπαιδες ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατόν, τὰ διάφορα εὐθὺς Λαγγοβάρδαις διέλυσαν, ἔς τε σπονδὰς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ξυνέβησαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων. [46] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἔμαθον, ἐν πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι ἐδύναντο πρόσω ἰέναι οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω εἶχον δειμαίνοντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Ἐρουλοι καταθέοντες τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν ληΐσωνται χώραν. [47] αὐτοῦ γοῦν μείναντες ἐς βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

Βελισάριος μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει, γῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰταλῶν πενταετὲς οὐδαμῇ ἀποβάς, οὐδέ πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι ἐνταῦθα ἰσχύσας, ἀλλὰ

φυγῇ κεκρυμμένη ἐχόμενος πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἔκ τε ὀχυρώματος αἰεὶ ἐπιθαλασσίῳ τινὸς ἐς ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας ὀχύρωμα διηνεκὲς [2] ναυτιλλόμενος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε Ῥώμην τε ἀνδραποδίσαι καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα. τότε δὲ καὶ Περυσίαν πόλιν. ἡ πρώτη ἐν Τούσκοις οὖσα ἐτύγχανε. πικρότατα πολιορκουμένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἥπερ αὐτοῦ ἐτι ὁδῷ ἰόντος κατ' ἄκρας ἐάλω. [3] ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικόμενος διατριβὴν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε, πλούτου μὲν ἐξουσίαν περιβεβλημένος πολλήν. εὐτυχήμασι δὲ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ ξυμβεβηκόσιν ἀπόβλεπτος ὢν, ἅπερ οἱ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐστράτευσε ξυμβόλῳ προὔλεγε τινὶ οὐκ ἀφανεῖ τὸ δαιμόνιον. [4] Ὅδὲ ξύμβολος ἐγένετο ὧδε. ἦν τις Βελισαρίῳ κλῆρος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῷ προαστείῳ ὃ δὴ Παντεῖχιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεῖρῳ. ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἡ ἔμελλε Βελισάριος ἐπὶ τε Γελίμερα καὶ Λιβύην ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἐνδεδεχέστατα πλήθειν οἱ τὰς ἀμπέλους ξυνέβη. [5] οἴνου τε ὃς ἐνθένδε γεγωνὸς ἔτυχε πίθων οἱ θεράποντες ἐμπλησάμενοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἔνερθεν κατορύξαντες, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεν πηλῷ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐπιβύσαντες, ἐν τῷ οἴνῳ κατέθεντο. [6] μῆσι δὲ ὀκτῶ ὕστερον ἐν πίθῳ τισὶν ἀναβράσσω ὁ οἶνος διεσπάσατο μὲν τὸν πηλὸν ὥπερ ἐπέφρακτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ὑπερβλύσας δὲ καὶ ρεύσας πολὺς ἐς τοσόνδε γῆν τὴν ἐχομένην ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε καὶ τέλμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐργάσασθαι μέγα. [7] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ θεράποντες εἶδον, ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι ἔσχον, αὖθις δὲ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πίθους τῷ πηλῷ ἀποφράξαντες τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο πολλὰκις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγωνὸς εἶδον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκτημένον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, ὃ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγείρας ἐπέδειξε τὰ ποιούμενα: οἷπερ τῷ ξυμβόλῳ τεκμηριούμενοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν οἰκίαν μεγάλην προὔλεγον ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι. [9] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Βελισαρίῳ ἐχώρησε. Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, ξὺν Ἰταλοῖς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα τῆνικάδε παροῦσι, πολλοῖς τε καὶ λογιμωτάτοις ἐσάγαν οὖσιν, οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ἔχρηζε βασιλέως Ἰταλίας μεταποιεῖσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν Γόθιγος ἐνήγε, πατρίκιος ἀνὴρ, ἐς τῶν ὑπᾶτων τὸν δίφρον ἀναβεβηκὼς πολλῷ πρότερον: ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτων δὴ ἔνεκεν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος ἔτυχεν ἔναγχος. [11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰταλίας μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο προνοήσῃν αὐτὸς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διατριβὴν εἶχεν, εὖ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἐν σφίσιν ἀντιλεγόμενα σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος μάλιστα. [12] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Λαγγοβάρδης ἀνὴρ ἐς Γήπαιδας φεύγων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [13] ἡνίκα Λαγγοβαρδῶν Οὐάκης ἦρχεν, ἦν τίς οἱ ἀνεψιὸς Ῥισιούλφος ὄνομα. ὃν δὴ ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὰν Οὐάκης τελευτήσῃεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκάλει. [14] προνοήσας οὖν Οὐάκης ὅπως εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἄγοιτο, ἔγκλημα Ῥισιούλφῳ ἐπενεγκὼν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον φυγῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξημίωσεν. [15] ὃς δὴ ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστὰς τῶν πατρίων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους αὐτίκα φεύγει, παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα δυοῖν. [16] χρήμασι δὲ Οὐάκης τοὺς βαρβάρους τούτους ἀνέπεισε τὸν Ῥισιούλφον κτείνειν. τῶν δὲ Ῥισιούλφου παίδων ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, Ἰλδίγης

ὄνομα, ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς φεύγει. [17] Οὐ πολλῶ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Οὐάκης νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐς δὲ Οὐάλδαρον, τὸν Οὐάκου υἱόν, ἡ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἦλθεν ἀρχή. ὧ δὴ παιδὶ κομιδῇ ὄντι ἐπίτροπος καταστάς Αὐδοῦν τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο. [18] δυνάμει τε πολλῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρώμενος αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔσχε, τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου νόσῳ αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. [19] ἡνίκα τοῖνυν Γήπαισί τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαις ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, Ἰλδίγης εὐθὺς Λαγγοβαρδῶν τε τοὺς οἱ ἐπισπομένους καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν πολλοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς Γήπαιδας ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν Γήπαιδες κατάξιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλπίδα εἶχον. [20] γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας σπονδῶν ἕνεκα ὁ μὲν Αὐδοῦν τὸν Ἰλδίγην εὐθὺς ἅτε πρὸς φίλων ἐξητεῖτο Γηπαίδων, οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐκδοῦναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκέλευον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ὅπη βούλοιο διασώσασθαι. [21] καὶ ὅς μελλήσῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Γηπαίδων τισὶν ἐθελουσίοις ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς αὐθὺς ἀφίκετο. [22] ἔνθεν τε ἀναστὰς παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἦει, στράτευμα οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἔς τε Βενετίας ἀφικόμενος Ῥωμαίοις τισὶν ὑπαντήσας, ὧν Λάζαρος ἠγεῖτο, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε, τρεψάμενός τε αὐτοὺς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν. οὐ μέντοι Γότθοις ξυνέμιξεν, ἀλλ' Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάς αὐθὺς ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς ἀπεχώρησεν. [23] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε ἡπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων, Ἰνδούλφ ὄνομα, βάρβαρος γένος, θυμοειδὴς τε καὶ δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λειφθεὶς ἔτυχε, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις προσεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας εὐθὺς ξὺν στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Δαλματίας χωρία. [25] ὃς δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ Μουικούρῳ καλουμένῳ γενόμενος, ὅπερ ἐπιθαλάσσιον ἀγχιστά πη Σαλῶνων ἐστί, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέμισγε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις ἅτε Ῥωμαῖός τε ὧν καὶ Βελισαρίῳ προσήκων, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτός τε τὸ ξίφος ἀράμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐπισπομένοις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἑξαπιναιῶς ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [26] ληϊσάμενός τε τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ ἄλλῳ ἐν τῇ παραλία κειμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ Λαυρεάτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [27] οὗ δὴ ἐπιβὰς τοὺς παραπετωκότας ἀνήρει. Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Κλαυδιανὸς ἔγνω, ὅσπερ τότε Σαλῶνων ἦρχε, στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων δρομώνων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. [28] οἱ δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Λαυρεάτῃ ἐγένοντο, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἔφυγον ὅπη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε, τοὺς δρόμοντας ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀπολιπόντες. οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πλοῖα ἐμπλεα σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν. [29] ἅπερ ἅπαντα Ἰνδούλφ τε καὶ Γότθοι ἐλόντες κτείναντές τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊσάμενοι παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦλθον. [30] καὶ ὁ χεიმὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἅπαν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος εἰς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐτύγγανε δὲ Βελισάριος τρισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, οὗσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ καταστησάμενος Διογένην αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐπέστησεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν τε διαφερόντως καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. [2] διὸ δὴ χρόνου μῆκος τῇ προσεδρεῖα

ταύτη ἐτίριβετο. οἱ τε γὰρ πολιορκούμενοι ἀρετῆς περιουσίᾳ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν
Γότθων στρατὸν ἀξιόμαχοι ὄντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Διογένης ἕς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῇ
φυλακῇ ἐχρήτο ὥς μή τις κακουργήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἱοὶ καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς
πόλεως σίτον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου σπεύρας ἐνδεῖν σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὥς
ἥκιστα ἐποίει. [3] πολλάκις δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τειχομαχεῖν ἐγχειρήσαντες καὶ τοῦ
περιβόλου ἀποπειράσασθαι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, ἀρετῇ σφᾶς ἀπωσαμένων
ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων. τοῦ μέντοι Πόρτου κρατήσαντες Ῥώμην κατὰ κράτος
ἐπολιόρκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [4] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς
ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤκοντα εἶδεν, ἄρχοντα πέμπειν ζὺν στρατῷ
ἄλλον ἐπὶ Γότθους τε διενοεῖτο καὶ Τουτίλαν. [5] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτελῇ ταύτην δὴ
ἐπεποιήκει τὴν ἔννοιαν, οἶμαι ἂν, Ῥώμης μὲν ἐτι ὑπ' αὐτῷ οὔσης, σεσωσμένων
δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπιβεβοηθηκοσιν
ἀναμίσγυσθαι δυναμένων, περιέσεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ. [6] νῦν
δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Λιβέριον ἀπολεξάμενος, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πατρικίων, ἐν
παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ἀσχολίας οἱ ἴσως ἐπιγενομένης ἐτέρας
τινὸς τὴν προθυμίαν κατέπαυσε. [7] Χρόνου δὲ τῇ Ῥώμης πολιορκία τριβέντος
πολλοῦ, τῶν τινὲς Ἰσαύρων, οἱ ἄμφι πύλην ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου
ἐπώνυμός ἐστι φυλακὴν εἶχον ἅμα μὲν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν
πρὸς βασιλέως σφίσι δεδόσθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὀρώντες τοὺς
παραδόντας Ῥώμην τὰ πρότερα Γότθοις κεκομψευμένους ἐπὶ μεγάλων τινῶν
χρημάτων ὄγκῳ, Τουτίλᾳ λαθραιότατα ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες ὡμολογησαν τὴν
πόλιν ἐνδώσειν, [8] τακτὴ τε ξυνέκειτο ἡμέρα τῇ πράξει. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρὴν ἡ
κυρία, Τουτίλας μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν νυκτῶν
φυλακῇ δύο πλοῖα μακρὰ καθῆκεν, ἄνδρας ἐνταῦθα χρῆσθαι ταῖς σάλπιγξιν
ἐπισταμένους ἐνθέμενος. [9] οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλε διὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβέριδος
ἐρέσσοντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἤκωσι ταῖς
σάλπιγξιν ἐνταῦθα ἡχεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν
ἄγχιστα πύλης τῆς εἰρημένης, ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι,
λανθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [11] λογισάμενός τε ὥς ἦν τινες
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαδρᾶναι
οἰοί τε ὦσιν, ἴωσιν ἐς Κεντουκέλλας, ἐπεὶ ὀχύρωμα ἕτερον τῶν τῇδε χωρίων
οὐδαμῇ σφίσιν ἐλέλειπτο, ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων ἐνέδραις τισὶ προλοχίζειν ἔγνω
τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸν φέρουσαν, οἷς δὴ ἐπήγγελλε τοὺς φεύγοντας διαχρήσασθαι.
[12] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ὄντες, ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐγένοντο, ἐχρῶντο
ἤδη κατὰ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ταῖς σάλπιγξι. [13] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καταπλαγέντες
ἐς μέγα τε δέος καὶ θόρυβον καταστάντες ἐξαπινάϊως ἀπολιπόντες οὐδενὶ
λόγῳ τὰ σφέτερα φυλακτήρια ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς τὸ
ἐκείνη τεῖχος εἶναι οἰόμενοι. [14] μόνοι τε οἱ προδιδόντες Ἰσαυροὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν
φυλακῇ μέιναντες τάς τε πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον καὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐδέξαντο. [15] καὶ πολὺς μὲν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἐνταῦθα
γεγένηται φόνος, πολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες δι' ἐτέρων πυλῶν ὤχοντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ
Κεντουκέλλας ἰόντες ὑπὸ τε τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι γενόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. ὀλίγοι
μέντοι αὐτῶν διέφυγον μόλις, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διογένην πληγέντα φασὶ
διασεσῶσθαι. [16] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Παῦλος μὲν ὄνομα, Κίλιξ

δὲ γένος, ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐφειστήκει τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, ὕστερον δὲ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων ἕς τε Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσε καὶ ξὺν τῷ Διογένει ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃς φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο. [17] οὗτος ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλίσκομένης τότε τῆς πόλεως, ξὺν ἱππεῦσι τετρακοσίοις ἕς τε τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ τάφον ἀνέδραμε καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔσχε τὴν ἕς Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν νεὼν φέρουσιν. [18] τοῦ δὲ Γότθων στρατοῦ, ὀρθρου τε ὄντος καὶ μέλλοντός τι ὑποφαίνειν ἡμέρας, τοῦτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἕς χεῖρας ἐλθόντος, ἐνταῦθα ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφιστάμενοι τὸ πλεόν ἔσχον· τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅτε πλήθους τε μεγάλου καὶ στενοχωρίας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔσης πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [19] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶδε, κατέπαυσε μὲν αὐτίκα τὴν μάχην, Γότθους δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντικαθεζομένους ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν, οἰόμενος λιμῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰρήσειν. [20] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν Παῦλος τε καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι ἀπόσιτοι διαγεγόνασιν, τὴν τε νύκτα οὕτως ἠύλίσαντο· τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν σιτίζεσθαι τῶν ἵππων τισίν, ὁκνησὶς δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τῆς ἐδωδῆς οὐ ξυνειθισμένῳ διεκρούσατο μέχρι ἕς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν, καίπερ πιεζομένους τῷ λιμῷ ἕς τὰ μάλιστα. [21] τότε δὲ πολλὰ λογισάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἕς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλέσαντες, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι εὐπρεπεῖ θανάτῳ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον. [22] ὀρμησαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κτεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὅσους ἂν ἐκάστω δυνατὰ εἴη οὕτω τε ἀνδρείως τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν ἅπαντες. [23] ἀλλήλους τοίνυν ἐξαπιναιῶς περιπλακέντες καὶ τῶν προσώπων καταφιλήσαντες τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἡσπάζοντο, ὥς ἀπολούμενοι εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. [24] Ὅπερ κατανοήσας ὁ Τουτίλας ἔδεισε μὴ θανατῶντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ σωτηρίας πέρι ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Γότθους δράσωσι. [25] πέμψας οὖν παρ' αὐτοὺς δυοῖν προϋτείνετο αὐτοῖς αἵρεσιν, ὅπως ἢ τοὺς ἵππους ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενοι, ἀπομόσαντές τε μηκέτι ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεύεσθαι, κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ἕς Βυζάντιον ἀπαλλάσσωνται, ἢ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Γότθοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυστρατεύσωσι. [26] τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς λόγους ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον εἵλοντο ἅπαντες, ἔπειτα δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄνοπλοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αἰσχυρόμενοι, δειμαίνοντες δὲ μὴ τισιν ἐνέδραις ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ περιπεπωκότες διαφθαρεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ σφίσι χρόνου τὰς συντάξεις πολλοῦ τὸ Ῥωμαίων δημόσιον ὤφειλεν, ἅπαντες ἐθελούσιοι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀνemiγνυντο, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι Παῦλος τε καὶ τῶν τις Ἰσαύρων, Μίνδης ὄνομα, Τουτίλα ἕς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἕς Βυζάντιον σφᾶς ἐδέοντο στεῖλαι. [27] παῖδάς τε γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας σφίσιν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὧν περ χωρὶς βιοτεῦειν οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι. [28] οὕσπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἅτε ἀληθιζομένους ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφοδίοις τε δωρησάμενος καὶ παραπομπὰς ξυμπέμψας ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἄλλοι μέντοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ὅσοι καταφυγόντες ἕς τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ ἔτυχον, ἕς τριακοσίους ὄντες, τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες Τουτίλα προσεχώρησαν. [29] Ῥώμην δὲ οὔτε καθελεῖν οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν Τουτίλας ἠθέλεν, ἀλλὰ Γότθους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ξυνοικίζειν ἐνταῦθα ἔγνω ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε.

Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῶν πρότερον παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων τὸν ἄρχοντα πέμψας, τὴν παῖδά οἱ γυναῖκα ἐδέιτο γαμετὴν δοῦναι. [2] ὁ δὲ τὴν αἴτησιν ἀπεσεῖσατο, Ἰταλίας αὐτὸν οὔτε εἶναι οὔτε ἔσσεσθαι ποτε βασιλέα φάσκων, ὅς γε Ῥώμην ἔλῶν ἔχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῆς οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῆς καθελὼν τοῖς πολέμοις μεθῆκεν αὐθις. [3] διὸ δὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι ὅτι ταχιστα πάντα ἐκέλευεν, ὅσα καθελὼν τε καὶ πυρπολήσας αὐτὸς ἔτυχε, ἥνικα Ῥώμην τὸ πρότερον εἶλε: τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕσπερ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐφύλασσε μετεπέμπετο. [4] ἐνταῦθα τε ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱππικὸν θεασάμενος, τὴν στρατιὰν ἡτοίμαζε πᾶσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν στρατεύσων. [5] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ πλοῖα τετρακόσια ὥς ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ στόλον νεῶν μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἄγαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς ἐφῶς ἐνταῦθα σταλείσας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τε καὶ φορτίοις πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔλῶν ἔτυχε. [6] Στέφανόν τε ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευτὴν ἐπέμψε, τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τόνδε καταλύειν αἰτῶν, ἐνσπόνδους δὲ Γότθους ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτῷ ξυμμαχήσουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμους τοὺς ἄλλους ἰόντι. [7] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὔτε τὸν πρεσβευτὴν οἱ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθεῖν ξυνεχώρησεν οὔτε τινὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἐντροπὴν τὸ παράπαν πεποιήται. [8] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, αὐθις τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ζύμφορον δὲ οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, Κεντουκελλῶν ἀποπειρασμένῳ πρότερον οὕτῳ δὴ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἰέναι. [9] ἦρχε δὲ τότε τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος, δύναμιν ἀξίόχρεων ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [10] καὶ ὁ μὲν Γότθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Κεντουκέλλας ἀφίκοντο, ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [11] πρέσβεις δὲ πέμψας παρὰ Διογένην ὁ Τουτίλας αὐτόν τε προὔκαλεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας, ἦν μὲν σφίσι βουλομένοις ἢ μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [12] ἐν ἐλπίδι τε παρῆναι μηδεμιᾷ ἔχειν, δύναμιν ἐτέραν τινὰ ἐκ βασιλέως σφίσιν ἀφίξεσθαι: [13] ἀδύνατον γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι πόλεμον πρὸς Γότθους τόνδε διενεγκεῖν, εἰ τῷ ἱκανὰ τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτου ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ξυμβάντα. [14] αἵρεσιν οὖν προὔτεινέτο ἐλέσθαι ὅποτέραν ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλοιντο, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλασσομένοις ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. [15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Διογένης οὔτε μάχῃ διακρίνεσθαι βουλομένοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον εἶναι οὔτε μέντοι ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, ἐπεὶ παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο. [16] πόλιν δέ, ἥσπερ φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ ἐνδοῦναι οὐδαμῇ ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τις σκῆψις αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα στέλλεσθαι βουλομένοις, τανῶν πάρεστιν: [17] ἐς χρόνον δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι τινὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐδέοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα σημήνωσιν, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ μεταξὺ βοηθείας ἐκ βασιλέως ἐνταῦθα ἰούσης οὕτῳ δὴ ἀπαλλάσσονται, Γότθοις μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες, οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστον δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλαν ἤρεσκε, τακτὴ ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο, ἄνδρες δὲ τριάκοντα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ

δέδονται ταύτη καὶ Γότθοι τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐχώρησαν. [19] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον, οὐ πρότερον διέβησαν τὸν τῆδε πορθμόν, ἕως φρουρίου τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἀπεπειράσαντο. [20] ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος, οὗσπερ Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν. [21] οἷπερ ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἶχον, τειχομαχοῦντάς τε ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες τὸ πλεόν ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἔσχον. [22] ὕστερον μέντοι πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατακλεισθέντες ἡσύχαζον. [23] Τουτίλας δὲ μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ χρόνῳ ὑστέρῳ ἐξαίρῃσειν καρδοκῶν τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους, ἐς δὲ Ταραντηνοὺς στράτευμα πέμψας τὸ ἐκείνη φρούριον παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ· καὶ Γότθοι δὲ οὗσπερ ἐλίπετο ἐν Πικηνῶν τῇ χώρᾳ πόλιν Ἀρίμινον τηνικάδε προδοσίᾳ εἶλον. [24] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα ἐβούλευσε πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Γότθους τε καὶ Τουτίλαν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλεν εἶναι. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε, Γότθοι μὲν ἐν φροντίδι μεγάλῃ ἐγένοντο· δεξιὰ γάρ τις ἢ ἀμφὶ Γερμανῷ δόξα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν. [25] εὐέλπιδες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοί τε γεγενημένοι εὐθὺς ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ τῷ τε κινδύνῳ καὶ τῇ τάλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντεῖχον. [26] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως μεταμαθὼν Λιβέριον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ἐς τὸ ἔργον καταστήσασθαι ἀντὶ Γερμανοῦ ἔγνω. [27] καὶ ὁ μὲν παρασκευασάμενος ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτίκα ξὺν στρατῷ ἀποπλεύσει ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ μετέμελεν αὐθις, ἡσυχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενε. [28] τότε δὴ Βῆρος ξὺν ἀνδράσιν οὓς ἀγείρας μαχιμωτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχε Γότθοις τοῖς ἐν Πικηνῷ οὓσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν πόλεως Ῥαβέννης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, τῶν τε ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον στράτευμα Σκλαβηνῶν οὐ πλεόν ἢ ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀγγεγερμένοι, ποταμόν τε Ἰστρον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, διέβησαν, καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ποταμόν Εὐρον εὐθὺς διαβάντες δίχα ἐγένοντο. [2] εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν ἀτέρα μὲν συμμορία ὀκτακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα τοὺς καταλοίπους. [3] ἑκατέροις μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἐν τε Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θραξίν, ἡσσήθησάν τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες οὕτω παρ' ἑκατέρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν στρατοπέδων, καίπερ ἐλασσόνων παρὰ πολὺ ὄντων, ἀπήλλαξαν, Ἀσβάδῳ ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν πολεμίων ξυμμορία ξυνέμιξεν. [5] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς Κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελῶν ἔτυχε, τῶν δὲ ἱπικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχεν οἱ ἐν Τζουρουλῷ τῷ ἐν Θράκῃ φρουρίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται, [6] πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ὄντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκλαβηνοὶ τρεψάμενοι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πλείστους μὲν αἰσχροτάτα φεύγοντας ἔκτειναν, Ἀσβαδὸν δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐζώγρησαν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς πυρὸς ἐμβεβλημένον φλόγα

ἔκαυσαν, ἱμάντας πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ νότου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκδείραντες. [7] ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένοι τὰ χωρία ξύμπαντα, τὰ τε Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν, ἀδεέστερον ἐλπίζοντο, καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ πολιορκία ἐκάτεροι εἶλον, οὔτε τειχομαχῆσαντες πρότερον, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πεδῖον καταβῆναι τολμήσαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταθεῖν ἐγκεχειρήκασιν αἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι πώποτε. [8] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατῷ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον φαίνονται διαβεβηκότες ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου, πλὴν γε δὴ ἐξ ὅτου μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [9] Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τὸν Ἀσβαδὸν νενικηκότες μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν ληϊσάμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα καὶ πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν τειχομαχῆσαντες εἶλον, καίπερ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν, Τόπηρον ὄνομα· ἡ πρώτη μὲν Θρακῶν τῶν παραλίῳν ἐστί, τοῦ δὲ Βυζαντίου διέχει ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν δυοκαίδεκα. [10] εἶλον δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐν δυσχωρίαις πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας γενόμενοι αἱ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά εἰσιν ἥλιον, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι Ῥωμαίους ἠνώχλουν. [11] ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ὅσοι τὸ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον εἶχον οὐ πλείους αὐτοὺς ἢ ὅσοι καθεωρῶντο εἶναι, ἀνελόμενοι αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα ἐξίσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες. [12] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὺς κατωρρωδικότες ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν χωροῦσι· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν διώξιν ἐκπεπτοκότες πόρρῳ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [13] ἀναστάντες οὖν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν κατόπισθέν τε τῶν διωκόντων γενόμενοι ἐσιτητὰ σφίσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ἐποιοῦν. [14] ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ φεύγειν δοκοῦντες ἀμφιβόλους ἤδη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποίηται. οὗς δὴ ἅπαντας οἱ βάρβαροι διαφθείραντες τῷ περιβόλῳ προσέβαλον. [15] οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστερημένοι, γίνονται μὲν ἐν ἀμνηχανίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. [16] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔλαιόν τε καὶ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον θερμήναντες τῶν τειχομαχοῦντων κατέχεον, καὶ λίθων βολαῖς πανδημεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρώμενοι τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακράν πρὸς ἐγένοντο. [17] ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοὺς πλήθει βελῶν οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἐκλιπεῖν τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἠνάγκασαν καὶ κλίμακας τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσαντες κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν εἶλον. [18] ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐλπίσαντο, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων πεποίηται λόγῳ. [19] καίτοι τὰ πρότερα οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ συμμορία ἡ ἑτέρα, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκησαν χώρα, τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠβηδὸν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. ὥστε γῆν ἅπασαν, ἥπερ Ἰλλυριῶν τε καὶ Θρακῶν ἐστί, νεκρῶν ἔμπλεον ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀτάφων γενέσθαι. [20] Ἐκτεινον δὲ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας οὔτε ζῖφει οὔτε δόρατι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ σκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰσχυρότατα, ὅζεῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ζῖν βία πολλῇ τοὺς δευαίους ἐκάθιζον, τὴν τε σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλουτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐνείροντες ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκατα, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι ἠξίου. [21] καὶ ξύλα δὲ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τε χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας τῶν ἡλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἶτα ῥοπάλοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχέστατα παίοντες, ὥς δὴ κύνας ἢ ὄφεις ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον

διέφθειρον. [22] ἄλλους δὲ ζύν τε βουσί καὶ προβάτοις, ὅσα δὴ ἐπάγεσθαι ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον, ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις καθεύδαντες, οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. οὕτω μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας ἀεὶ ἀνῆρουν. [23] ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐτέρας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τῶν αἱμάτων μεθύοντες πλήθει, ζωγρεῖν τὸ ἐνθὲνδε ἡξίουσαν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων τινάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἐπαγόμενοι ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

Ὑστερον δὲ Γότθοι τῷ Ῥηγίνων προσέβαλον ὀχυρώματι, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι καρτερώτατα σφᾶς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο, ἔργα τε ὁ Θουριμούθ ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [2] γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐνδεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, ὅπως δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι μηδὲν μὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζωνται, ἀπορία δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν: αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Σικελίαν διαπορθμευσάμενος τῷ Μεσηνῶν προσέβαλε τείχει. [3] καὶ οἱ Δομνεντίολος ὁ Βούζου ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὅσπερ τῶν τῆδε Ῥωμαίων ἦρχεν, ὑπαντιάσας τε πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἔλασπον ἔσχεν. [4] αὐθις δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιμελούμενος ἡσυχίαν ἦγε. Γότθοι δέ, μηδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος, ἐλῆψαντο Σικελίαν σχεδὸν τι ὅλην. [5] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ πολιορκούμενοι, ὧν δὴ Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος ἦρχον, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα σφᾶς παντάπασιν ἐπελελοίπει, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδοσαν. [6] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε, στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐκ καταλόγων πεζῶν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος, ἄρχοντά τε Λιβέριον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν νῆσον διασώσασθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [7] ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄρχοντα τοῦ στόλου καταστησάμενῳ Λιβέριον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα μετέμελεν: ἦν γὰρ ἐσχατογέρων τε ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα καὶ ἀμελέτητος πολεμέων ἔργων. [8] Ἀρταβάνη τε ἀφείς τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα πάντα καὶ στρατηγὸν καταλόγων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης καταστησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθὺς ἐπεμψε, στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ παρασχόμενος, ἐπιστείλας δὲ τὸν ζὺν τῷ Λιβεριῷ παραλαβεῖν στόλον, ἐπεὶ Λιβέριον ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο. [9] αὐτοκράτορα δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους πολέμου Γερμανὸν κατεστήσατο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιόν. ὃ δὴ στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ἔδωκε, χρήματα δὲ λόγου ἄξια παρασχόμενος στρατιὰν ἐπέστελλεν ἐκ τε Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείραντι οὕτω δὴ στέλλεσθαι σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῇ. [10] καὶ οἱ Φιλημούθ τε τὸν Ἑρουλον ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν αὐτοῦ μὲν Γερμανοῦ κηδεστήν, Βιταλιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑστρατηγὸς γὰρ ὧν τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καταλόγων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπήγγελλε. [11] Τότε δὴ Γερμανὸν φιλοτιμία πολλή τις ἔσχε Γότθων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἀναδήσασθαι, ὅπως οἱ Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀνασώσασθαι περιέσται τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [12] Στότζα γὰρ τετυραννηκὸς ἐν γε Λιβύῃ τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὸ Λιβύης κράτος βεβαιοτάτα ἤδη ἔχοντας αὐτὸς ἐκ βασιλέως σταλεις καὶ μάχῃ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ δόξαν νικήσας τὴν τε τυραννίδα κατέπαυσε καὶ Λιβύην αὐθις ἀνεσώσατο τῇ

Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [13] καὶ νῦν δὲ τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἐληλακότων ἐς ὃ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, μέγα δὴ ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι κλέος ἐβούλετο ἅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὴν ἰσχύσας βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔτετελευτήκει γάρ οἱ πολλῷ πρότερον ἢ γυνὴ Πασσάρα ὄνομά Ματασοῦνθαν ἐν γαμετῆς ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ, τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα, Οὐιτιτίγιδος ἥδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. [15] ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἦν ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἢ γυνὴ εἶη, αἰσχύνεσθαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, Γότθους ὄπλα ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς Θευδερίχου τε καὶ Ἀταλαρίχου ἀρχῆς. [16] ἔπειτα δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα τὰ μὲν ἐκ βασιλέως, τὰ δὲ πλείω οἴκοθεν οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ προῖεμενος στρατιάν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πολλὴν ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἀγεῖραι δι' ὀλίγου εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσε. [17] Ῥωμαῖοί τε γάρ, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια, τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ὧν δὴ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ ἦσαν, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ πεποιημένοι, Γερμανῶ εἶποντο, ἔκ τε Βυζαντίου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, Ἰουστίνου τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδῶν, πολλὴν ἐνδειξαμένων περὶ ταῦτα σπουδὴν, [18] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἀπὼν ὥχετο. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ καταλόγων ἱππικῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἴδρυντο, δόντος βασιλέως, ξυνέλεξε. [19] καὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ οἵπερ ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διατριβὴν εἶχον, κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Γερμανοῦ ἦκοντες καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι, [20] ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἄλλοι τε βάρβαροι ἐκ πάσης ἀγειρόμενοι ξυνέρρεον γῆς. καὶ ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος ὀπλίτας χιλίους ἐν παρασκευῇ πεποιημένους αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέσχετο πέμψειν. [21] Τούτων δὴ καὶ πλειοτέρων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀγγελλομένων, οἷα δὴ ἐξεργάζεσθαι εἶωθεν ἐς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια προοῖοντα ἢ φήμη, Γότθοι ἅμα μὲν ἔδεισαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἐγένοντο, εἰ σφίσιν ἐς γένος τὸ Θευδερίχου πολεμητέα εἶη. [22] στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὅσοι Γότθοις ἐτύγχανον ἀκούσιοι ξυστρατεύοντες, ἄγγελον πέμψαντες Γερμανῶ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευον ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενον αὐτὸν ἴδοιεν, ἐνστρατοπεδευομένην τε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι μελλήσαντες ζὺν ἐκείνοις τετάζονται πάντως. [23] οἷς δὴ ἅπασι θαρσῆσαντες οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἔν τε Ῥαβέννη καὶ εἴ που ἄλλη πόλις σφίσι λελειφθαι τετύχηκεν, εὐέλπιδες ἰσχυρότατα γεγενημένοι, τὰ χωρία βασιλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλάσσειν ἤξιον. [24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ζὺν τῷ Βήρῳ τὰ πρότερα ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἦσσημένοι τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ διέφυγόν τε καὶ σκεδαννύμενοι περιήεσαν, ὅπη ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν, ἐπειδὴ ὁδῷ ἰέναι Γερμανὸν ἤκουσαν, ἀθρόοι ἐν Ἰστρίᾳ γεγενημένοι, ἐνταυθα τε τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο προσδεχόμενοι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [25] Τότε δὴ ὁ Τουτίλας, ἡμέρα γὰρ ἢ ξυγκειμένη αὐτῷ τε καὶ Διογένει ἀμφὶ Κεντουκέλλαις εἰστήκει, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευέν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι. [26] Διογένης δὲ τούτου δὴ κύριος ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς οὐκέτι εἶναι: ἀκκοεῖν γὰρ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Γερμανὸν καταστῆναι τε καὶ ζὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι. [27] τῶν δὲ ὁμήρων βουλομένων οἱ αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους ἀπολαβεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Γότθων σφίσι δεδομένους ἀποτινύναι. [28] τοὺς τε

σταλέντας ἀποπεμφάμενος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως φυλακτηρίου ἐπεμελεῖτο, Γερμανόν τε καὶ τὸ ξὺν αὐτῷ караδοκῶν στράτευμα. [29] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Γερμανοῦ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν Σαρδικῇ, τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν πόλει, ἀγείραντός τε καὶ διέποντος, ἅπαντά τε ἰσχυρότατα ἐξαρτυομένου τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευήν, Σκλαβηγῶν ὅμιλος ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον ἀφίκετο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν: Ἰστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἀμφὶ Νάϊσον ἤλθον. [2] ὧν δὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀποσκεδασθέντας μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πλανωμένους δὲ καὶ κατὰ μόνας περιούοντας τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία τῶν τινὲς Ῥωμαίων καταλαβόντες τε καὶ ξυνδήσαντες ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα οὗτος δὴ ὁ τῶν Σκλαβηγῶν στρατὸς καὶ ὃ τι κατεργασόμενοι διέβησαν ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. [3] οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρίσαντο ὡς Θεσσαλονίκην τε αὐτὴν καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν πολιορκία ἐξαίρησοντες ἤκοιεν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, ἄγαν τε ξυνεταράχθη καὶ πρὸς Γερμανὸν εὐθὺς ἔγραψεν, ὁδὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀναβαλέσθαι, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμῦναι, καὶ τὴν Σκλαβηγῶν ἔφοδον ὅση δύναμις ἀποκρούσασθαι. καὶ Γερμανὸς μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα διατριβὴν εἶχε. [4] Σκλαβηγοὶ δὲ γνόντες διαρρήδην πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Γερμανὸν ἐν Σαρδικῇ εἶναι ἐς δέος ἤλθον: [5] μέγα γὰρ ὄνομα ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. ἥνικα Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Γερμανοῦ θεῖος τὴν βασι: λείαν εἶχεν, Ἄνται, οἱ Σκλαβηγῶν ἄγχιστα ᾤκηται, Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. [6] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Γερμανὸν βασιλεὺς Θράκης ὅλης στρατηγὸν καταστησάμενος οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. ὃς δὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθων τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ κατὰ κράτος τε μάχῃ νικήσας σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαφερόντως ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους περιεβάλετο. [7] δειμαίνοντες οὖν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ μοι εἶρηται, Σκλαβηγοί, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιολογώτατην αὐτόν ἐπάγεσθαι οἰόμενοι ἅτε πρὸς βασιλέως στελλόμενον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὁδοῦ μὲν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἀπέσχοντο, ἐς δὲ τὸ πεδῖον καταβῆναι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἰλλυριῶν διαμείψαντες ἐν Δαλματία ἐγένοντο. [8] ὧν δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφροντιστήσας πάσῃ ἐπήγγελλε τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυσκευάζεσθαι, ὡς ἡμέραιν δυοῖν ὕστερον ὁδοῦ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀρξόμενος. [9] Ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέπεσε τύχῃ νοσήσαντι ἐξαπναιῶς τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι. εὐθυωρόν τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείος τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ στρατηγός τε ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξιός, ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασι τὰ τε νόμιμα καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον βεβαιοτάτα φυλάσσειν ἐξεπιστάμενος, δικάσας μὲν ὀρθότατα πάντων μάλιστα, χρήματα δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἅπασι δεδανεικῶς μεγάλα καὶ τόκον οὐδ' ὅσον λόγῳ κεκομισμένος πρὸς αὐτῶν πώποτε, ἐν Παλατίῳ μὲν καὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐμβριθέστατός τε καὶ σοβαρὸς ἄγαν, ἐστιάτωρ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν οἶκοι ἡδύς τε καὶ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ἐπίχαρις, οὐδέ τι ἐν Παλατίῳ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὅση δύναμις ξυγχωρῶν, οὐδὲ στασιώταις τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῆς βουλήσεως ἢ τῆς ὁμιλίας μεταλαχῶν

πώποτε, καίπερ καὶ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει πολλῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐληλακότων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε. [10] Βασιλεὺς δὲ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιώδυνος γεγωνὼς Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε, τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν. Γερμανοῦ δὲ γαμβρόν, ξὺν Ἰουστινιανῷ θατέρῳ τοῖν Γερμανοῦ παίδοιν τῷ στρατῷ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγήσασθαι. [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαλματίας ἦσαν, ὥς ἐν Σάλωσι διαχειμάσοντες, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατα σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι τηνικάδε τοῦ καιροῦ περιουσι τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον ἐς Ἰταλίαν κομίζεσθαι: διαπορθμεύεσθαι γὰρ νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν ἀμήχανα ἦν. [12] Λιβέριος δέ, οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος ὥνπερ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ μετέμελε, Συρακούσαις προσέσχε πολιορκουμέναις πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. [13] βιασάμενός τε τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους ἐς τε τὸν λιμένα κατήρε καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. καὶ [14] Ἀρταβάνης δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐν Κεφαλωνία γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριον ἤδη ἐνθένδε ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ Σικελίας κεχωρηκέναι ἔγνω, ἄρας ἐνθένδε πέλαγος αὐτίκα τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν καλούμενον διέβη. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλαβρῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, χεμιῶνός οἱ ἐξαισίου ἐπιτεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σκληροῦ τε ὑπεράγαν ὄντος καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσιν ἰόντος, οὕτως ἀπάσας διασκεδάννυσθαι τὰς ναῦς ξυνηνέχθη, ὥς δοκεῖν ὅτι δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ ἐς τὴν Καλαβρίαν ἐξενεχθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [16] οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ διωθόμεναι ἀνέστρεφόν τε βιαζόμεναι ὑπερφυῶς καὶ αὖθις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δέ, ὅπῃ παρατύχη, ἢ διεφθάρθαι ἢ διασεσῶσθαι τετύχηκε. [17] ναῦς δὲ μία, ἐν ἣ ἔπλει Ἀρταβάνης αὐτός, τοῦ ἰστοῦ οἱ ἐν τῷ σάλῳ τούτῳ ἀποκοπέντος, ἐς τοσόνδε κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσα, πρὸς τε τοῦ ροθίου φερομένη καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐπισπομένη Μελίτῃ προσέσχε τῇ νήσῳ. οὕτω μὲν Ἀρταβάνην διασεσῶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ξυνέπεσε. [18] Λιβέριος δὲ οὔτε τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι ἢ μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἶός τε ὦν διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σφίσιν ἅτε πολλοῖς οὖσιν ἐς πλείω χρόνον οὐδαμῇ διαρκούντων, ἄρας ἐνθένδε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἐς Πάνορμον ἀπεχώρησε. [19] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ Γότθοι σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ληϊσάμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ Σικελίας χωρία ἵππων μὲν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ ζώων ἄλλων μέγα τι χρήμα, σῖτον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρπούς ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς νήσου μετενεγκόντες καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα, μεγάλα κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὴν τε νῆσον ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέστρεφον, τρόπῳ ὁρμώμενοι τοιῷδε. [20] τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων, Σπῖνον ὄνομα, ἐκ Σπολιτίου ὁρμώμενόν οἱ αὐτῷ παρέδρον οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καταστησάμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν. [21] οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει Κατάνῃ, ἀτειχίστῳ οὔσῃ, διατριβὴν εἶχε. τύχη τέ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέβη ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. [22] ὃν δὴ ρύεσθαι ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπείγόμενος τῶν τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν γυναῖκα, αἰχμάλωτον οὔσαν, ἀφεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἤθελε. [23] γυναῖκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουσαν ἀνταλλάξασθαι ἀνδρὸς τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [24] δείσας οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθαρεῖν, ὡμολόγησε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα Τουτίλαν ἀναπεῖσειν Σικελίας μὲν ἀπανίστασθαι, παντὶ δὲ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν διαπορθμεύσασθαι. [25] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄρκοις αὐτὸν σφίσιν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καταληφθέντα Γότθοις ἀπέσσαν, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὴν

γυναῖκα κεκομισμένοι. [26] ὁ δὲ Τουτίλα ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
ξυμφῶρῳ Γότθους ἔφασκε Σικελίαν ληϊσαμένους σχεδόν τι ὅλην ὀλίγων τινῶν
φρουρίων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν. [27] ἔναγχος γὰρ ἰσχυρίζετο ἀκηκοέναι,
ἡνίκα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτύγγανεν ὢν, Γερμανὸν μὲν τὸν βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ κηδεστὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν
τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα παντὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ συλλεγέντι στρατῷ εἶναι μὲν ἤδη ἐν
Δαλματία, εὐθὺ δὲ Λιγουρίας αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ξυσκευαζομένους ἐνθὲνδε
χωρήσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Γότθων ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς παιδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας
ἀνδραποδίσουσι καὶ χρήματα ληϊσονται πάντα, οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ὑπαντιάζειν
ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις διαχειμάζοντας. [28] ἦν γὰρ
ἐκείνων περιεσόμεθα, Σικελίας αὖθις ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ παρέσται ἡμῖν
ἀδεέστερον ἐπιβήσεσθαι πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι. [29] ταύτῃ ὁ Τουτίλας
τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς φρουροὺς μὲν ἐν ὀχυρώμασι τέτρασιν εἶασεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ ξύμπασαν τὴν λείαν ἐπαγόμενος παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν
διεπορθμεύσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [30] Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ ὁ
βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δαλματίαν ἐν Σάλωσι διαχειμάζειν ἐγνωσαν,
ἐνθὲνδε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν εὐθὺ Ῥαβέννης ὁδῷ ἵεναι διανοούμενοι.
[31] Σκλαβηνοὶ δέ, οἳ τε τὰ πρότερα ἐν γῇ τῇ βασιλέως γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ μοι
ἔναγχος δεδιῆγται, καὶ ἄλλοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἴστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες
καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀναμιχθέντες, κατέθεον ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχήν. [32] καὶ τινες μὲν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ εἶχον ὥς Τουτίλας τούτους δὴ τοὺς
βαρβάρους χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας ἐπιπέμψειε τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις,
ὅπως δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀδύνατα εἴη τὸν πρὸς Γότθους πόλεμον ἀσχολία τῇ ἐς
τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὖ διοικήσασθαι. [33] εἴτε δὲ Τουτίλα χαριζόμενοι
εἴτε ἄκλητοι Σκλαβηνοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἐς τρία μέντοι τέλη
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἀνῆκεστα ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ὅλῃ ἔργα
εἰργάσαντο, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληϊζόμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν
χώρᾳ οἰκεῖα διαχειμάζοντες οὐδὲν τε δεδιότες πολέμιον. [34] ὕστερον δὲ
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἧς ἄλλοι
τε καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Ἀράτιος καὶ Ναζάρης ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ
Γερμανοῦ παῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. [35] ἐπιστάτην
δὲ Σχολαστικὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν κατεστήσατο, τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ἕνα. [36]
Οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς μοῖραν τῶν βαρβάρων καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀμφὶ
Ἀδριανούπολιν, ἥπερ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐν μεσογείοις κεῖται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν
Βυζαντίου διέχουσα. [37] καὶ πρόσω μὲν χωρεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι εἶχον·
λείαν γὰρ ἐπήγοντο ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ζώων ἄλλων καὶ πάντων χρημάτων
ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσονα. [38] μένοντες δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠπείγοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας
ἵεναι, τούτου δὴ αὐτοῖς αἰσθησιν ὥς ἦκιστα παρεχόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Σκλαβηνοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [39] χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ
τριβομένου συγχοῦ ἡσχαλλόν τε οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ξύμπαντα εὐπορα ἔχοντες
ἅτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας περιορῶσι τῶν
ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένους καὶ οὐ βούλονται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας

ιέναι. [40] οἷς δὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀναγκασθέντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυνέμιζαν. καὶ γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ μάχη, ἡσσωδῶνται δὲ κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι. [41] ἔνθα δὴ στρατιῶνται μὲν πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι θνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι ξὺν τοῖς καταλοιποῖς μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν, [42] ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. καὶ Κωνσταντιανοῦ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι εἶλον, τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς ὀλιγορίαν τραπόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [43] καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλουμένην ἐληΐζοντο κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἀδήωτον ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείαν αὐτοὺς πολλὴν τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν ξυνηνέχθη: οὕτω δὲ χώραν πολλὴν ληΐζόμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἀφίκοντο, ἅπερ ὀλίγῳ πλεον ἢ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν Βυζαντίου διέχει. [44] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς τούτοις δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις, μοῖρα τε αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες τινὶ καὶ ἐξαπινάως ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἐτρέψαντο. [45] καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μέγα τι διεσώσαντο χρήμα, τό τε Κωνσταντιανοῦ σημεῖον εὐρόντες ἀνείλοντο. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ βάρβαροι ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

BOOK VIII.

Ὅσα μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε μοι δεδιήγηται, τῇδε ξυγγέγραπται ἥπερ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ χωρίων ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἔργα τὰ πολέμια ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι διελόντι τε καὶ ἀρμοσαμένῳ τοὺς λόγους, οἵπερ ἤδη ἐξενεχθέντες πανταχόθι δεδήλωνται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκίεσται. [2] γράμμασι γὰρ τοῖς ἐς τὸ πᾶν δεδηλωμένοις οὐκέτι εἶχον τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοῦσδε γεγονέναι ξυνέβη, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸ Μῆδων γένος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους ἐξήνεγκα, ἐν τῷδὲ μοι τῷ λόγῳ πάντα γεγράφεται, ἱστορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ποικίλῃν ξυγκίεσθαι. [3] Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὅσα ξυνέβη ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς πενταετηρίδος ἐκεχειρίας ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγεγόνει καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιήγηται λόγοις: τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἐνιαντῷ Μηδικῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἐσέβαλον. [4] οἷσπερ ἐφειστήκει Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, Χοριάνης ὄνομα, πολέμων ἐσάγαν πολλῶν ἔμπειρος, καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἀλανῶν γένους πολλοὶ εἵποντο. [5] οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς χώραν τῆς Λαζικῆς ἢ ἐπικαλεῖται Μοχρήσις, ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. [6] ρεῖ δέ πη ἐνταῦθα ποταμὸς Ἴππις, οὐ μέγας οὐδὲ ναυσίπορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς ἐσβατός, οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν χάρακα ἐποιήσαντο, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἄποθεν. [7] Ὅπως δὲ τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγομένοις ἔκδηλα τὰ ἐπὶ Λαζικῇ χωρία ἔσται ὅσα τε γένη ἀνθρώπων ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἴδρυνται, καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν σφίσιν ὥσπερ οἱ σκιαμαχοῦντες διαλέγεσθαι ἀναγκάζονται, οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἀναγράψασθαι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον ἄνθρωποι οἰκοῦσι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντι μὲν ὥς καὶ τῶν παλαιότερων τισὶ γέγραπται ταῦτα, οἰομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῖς πάντα εἰρῆσθαι: [8] ὧν γέ τινες Τραπεζουντίων ὁμόρους ἢ Σάνους ἔφασαν, οἱ τανῦν Τζάνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ἢ Κόλχους εἶναι, Λαζοὺς ἐτέρους καλέσαντες οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τούτου προσαγορεύονται τοῦ ὀνόματος. [9] καίτοι ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. Τζάνοι μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλίας ὥς ἀπωτάτω ὄντες προσοικοῦσι τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ μεταξὺ ἀποκρέμαται, λίαν τε ἄβατα καὶ ὅλως κρημνῶδη, χώρα τε πολλὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐς αἰεὶ οὕσα καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι καὶ λόφοι ὑλῶδεις καὶ σήραγγες ἀδιέξοδοι, οἷς δὴ ἅπασι μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιοι εἶναι διείργονται Τζάνοι. [10] Κόλχους δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι μὴ τοὺς Λαζοὺς εἶναι, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ὥκηνται: τὸ δὲ ὄνομα μόνον οἱ Κόλχοι, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα, τανῦν ἐς τὸ Λαζῶν μεταβέβληνται. [11] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ μέγας αἰὼν μετὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνα ἀναγραψαμένους ἐπιγενόμενος αἰεὶ τε συννεωτερίζων τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καθεστώτων τὰ πρότερα νεοχμῶσαι ἴσχυσεν, ἐθνῶν τε μεταστάσεις καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ὀνομάτων διαδοχαῖς. [12] ἄπερ μοι διαμετρήσασθαι ἀναγκαιότατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ τὰ μυθώδη περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλοντι ἢ ἄλλως ἀρχαῖα, οὐδὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου δεθῆναι τὸν Προμηθεᾶ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι: [13] μύθου γὰρ ἱστορίαν

παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι οἶμαι· ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεξιόντι τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, ὅσα δὴ τανῦν ἐπιχωριάζει τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἐκάστω.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Πόντος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐς Κόλχων τὴν γῆν. [2] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι Βιθυνοὶ τε καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Ὀνωριάται καὶ Παφλαγόνες ὤκηνται, οἱ δὴ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Ἡράκλειάν τε καὶ Ἄμαστρον ἐπιθαλασσίας πόλεις ἔχουσι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦς οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλούμενοι μέχρι ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν καὶ τὰ ταύτης ὄρια. ἐνταῦθα πολίσματά τε ἄλλα ἐπιθαλασσίδια καὶ Σινώπη τε καὶ Ἀμισὸς οἰκεῖται, Ἀμισοῦ δὲ ἄγχιστα τό τε Θεμίσκουρον καλούμενον καὶ Θερμῶδων ποταμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων στρατόπεδον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων γεγράψεται μοι οὐ πολλῶ ὀπισθεν. [3] Τραπεζουντίων δὲ τὰ ὄρια διήκει ἕξ τε κόμην Σουσούρμενα καὶ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον καλούμενον χωρίον, ὅπερ Τραπεζουντίων διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς παραλίας ἐς Λαζικὴν ἰόντι. [4] Τραπεζοῦντος δὲ μοι ἐπιμνησθέντι οὐ παριτέον τὸ πλείστω παραλόγῳ τῇδε ξυμβαῖνον. τὸ γὰρ μέλι ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς περὶ Τραπεζοῦντα χωρίοις πικρὸν γίνεται, ἐνταῦθα μόνον στασιαζομένης τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸ δόξης. [5] τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰ Τζανικῆς ὄρη πάντα ἀνέχει, ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτῶν Ἀρμένιοι Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὤκηνται. [6] Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν Τζανικῶν ὁρῶν κάτεισι ποταμὸς Βόας ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἕξ τε λόχμας παμπληθεῖς ἰὼν καὶ χώραν λοφώδη περιερχόμενος φέρεται μὲν ἄγχιστα τῶν Λαζικῆς χωρίων, ποιεῖται δὲ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, οὐ μέντοι Βόας καλούμενος. [7] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγὺς ἵκηται, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα μετήσῃ τοῦτο, ἑτέρας δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε προσηγορίας μεταλαγχάνει, ἐκ τῶν οἱ ἐπιγινομένων ὄνομα κτῶμενος. [8] Ἀκαμψιν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὴ κάμψαι αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάσσει ἀναμιχθέντα ἀμῆχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ ξὺν ρύμῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ ὀξύτῃ τοῦ ῥοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ταραχὴν τοῦ ῥοθίου πολλὴν ἐπίπροσθεν ἐργαζόμενος, ὥστε ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰὼν ἄπορον ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτῃ διάπλουν· οἱ τε ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Πόντου, εἴτε Λαζικῆς εὐθὺ πλέοντες εἴτε καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες, οὐκέτι ἐξῆς διαπλεῖν δύνανται. [9] κάμψαι γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν ῥοῦν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτῳ μὲν ἀναγόμενοι τοῦ ἐκείνῃ πελάγους, ἐπὶ μέσον δὲ που τὸν Πόντον ἰόντες, οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῆς δύνανται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Βόαν τοιαῦτά ἐστι. [10] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον αὐτονόμων ἀνθρώπων ὅροι ἐκδέχονται, οἱ δὴ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν μεταξὺ ὤκηνται. καὶ κόμη τις, Ἀθῆναι ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖται, οὐχ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ἄποικοι, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἶονται, τῇδε ἰδρύσαντο, ἀλλὰ γυνή τις Ἀθηναία ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις κυρία ἐγεγόνει τῆς χώρας, ἥσπερ ὁ τάφος ἐνταῦθα καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐστίν. [11] μετὰ δὲ Ἀθήνας Ἀρχαβίς τε οἰκεῖται καὶ Ἀψαροῦς, πόλις ἀρχαία, ἥ τοῦ Ῥιζαίου διέχει ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν τριῶν μάλιστα. [12] αὕτη Ἀψυρτος τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὸ πάθος γεγενημένη. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Μηδεΐας τε καὶ Ἰάσονος τὸν Ἀψυρτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ χωρίον λαβεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέθνησκε, τὸ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὠνομάζετο. [13] ἀλλὰ πολλὺς ἄγαν μετὰ

ταῦτα ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρίθμοις διαδοχαῖς ἐναγκάσας αὐτὸς διαφθεῖραι μὲν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβολὴν ἴσχυσεν ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὄνομα ζύγκεται τοῦτο, ἐς δὲ τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον τρόπον μεταρρυθμῆσαι τὴν προσηγορίαν τῷ τόπῳ. [14] τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀψύρτου καὶ τάφος ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν. αὕτη πόλις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν πολυάνθρωπος, καὶ τεῖχους μὲν αὐτὴν περιέβαλε μέγα τι χρῆμα, θεάτρῳ δὲ καὶ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκαλλωπίζετο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷσπερ πόλεως μέγεθος δείκνυσθαι εἶωθε. νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτῶν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπολέλειπται, ὅτι μὴ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη. [15] Ὡστε εἰκότως θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις τῶν Κόλχους φαμένων Τραπεζουντίοις ὁμόρους εἶναι. ταῦτη μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δέρας ξὺν τῇ Μηδεῖᾳ συλήσας Ἰάσων οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἦθη φυγῶν φαίνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν τε ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοτάτω βαρβάρους. [16] λέγουσι μὲν οὖν ὡς κατὰ τοὺς Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος χρόνους κατὰλογοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐνταυθὰ τε καὶ μέχρι ἐς Λαζοὺς καὶ Σαγίνας ἱδρυντο. [17] τὰ δὲ νῦν ἄνθρωποι ἐνταυθὰ οἰκοῦσιν οὔτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως κατήκοοι ὄντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοῖς οὖσιν οἱ Λαζῶν ἐπίσκοποι τοὺς ἱερεῖς καθίστανται σφίσι. [18] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔνσπονδοὶ τε καὶ φίλοι ἀμφοτέροις ἐθέλοντες εἶναι, τοὺς ἐξ ἐκατέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀεὶ στελλομένους παραπέμψειν διηνεκῶς ὡμολόγησαν: ὁ δὴ φαίνονται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ δρῶντες. [19] ἀκάτοις γὰρ ἰδίαις τοὺς παρὰ θατέρου βασιλέως ἐς τὸν ἕτερον στελλομένους ἀγγέλους ναυτιλλόμενοι παραπέμπουσι. φόρου μέντοι ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ γεγένηνται ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. [20] τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄρη τε λίαν ἀπότομα ἀποκρέμαται καὶ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει. καὶ αὐτῆς ὑπερθεὶς οἱ Περσαρμένιοι καλούμενοι ὥκηνται, καὶ Ἀρμένιοι οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι εἰσι μέχρι ἐς τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὄρους διήκοντες. [21] Ἐκ δὲ Ἀσαρουντος πόλεως ἐς Πέτραν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Λαζῶν ὄρους, οὗ δὴ τελευτᾷ ὁ Εὐξείνιος Πόντος, μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδός. ἀπολήγων δὲ ὁ Πόντος ἐνταυθὰ μηνοειδῇ τίθεται τὴν ἀκτὴν. [22] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς τούτου διάπλους ἐς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ πεντακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους διήκει, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὀπισθεν ξύμπαντα Λαζικὴ τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ὠνόμασται. [23] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν Σκυμνία τε καὶ Σουανία ἐστί. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη Λαζῶν κατήκοα τυγχάνει ὄντα. καὶ ἄρχοντας μὲν οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι τῶν ὁμογενῶν τινὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς ἐπιγένηται ἢ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως ἐς ἀεὶ εἴθισται. [24] ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐκ πλαγίου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Μέσχοι Ἰβήρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοοι ὥκηνται, [25] τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες. ὄρη δὲ τὰ Μέσχων οὐ σκληρὰ οὐδὲ καρπῶν ἀφορὰ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐθηνοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ Μέσχοι γεωργοὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ ἀμπελῶνες τυγχάνουσιν ἐκεῖ ὄντες. [26] ταῦτη δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ὄρη ἐπείκεινται ἄγαν τε ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκει: ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Ἰβηρία ἐστί, μέχρι ἐς Περσαρμενίους διήκουσα. [27] Διὰ δὲ τῶν ὁρῶν ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Φᾶσις ποταμὸς κάτεισιν, ἐκ τῶν Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενος καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μηνοειδὲς τοῦ Πόντου ἐκβάλλει. [28] ταύτῃ τε ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν αὐτὸν διορίζειν τινὲς

οἷονται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατιόντος τοῦ ῥοῦ Ἀσία ἐστί, τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐρώπῃ ὠνόμασται. [29] κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης μοῖραν ζύμπαντα Λαζῶν τὰ οἰκία ζυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ οὔτε πόλισμα οὔτε ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα οὔτε κώμην τινὰ λόγου ἀξίαν Λαζοὶ ἔχουσι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Πέτραν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο πρότερον. [30] κατὰ ταύτην δὲ πού τὴν Λαζικῆς μοῖραν ἀπέκειτο, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ δέρας ἐκεῖνο, οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν Ἀργῶ ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι μυθολογοῦσι. λέγουσι δὲ ταῦτα, ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀληθιζόμενοι ἦκιστα. [31] οὐ γὰρ ἄν, οἶμαι, λαθὼν τὸν Αἰήτην Ἰάσων ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάσσετο ζὺν τῇ Μηδεῖᾳ τὸ δέρας ἔχων, εἰ μὴ τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Κόλχων οἰκία τοῦ χωρίου διείργετο Φάσιδι ποταμῷ, ἵνα δὴ τὸ δέρας ἐκεῖνο κεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε, ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ παραδηλοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγραφάμενοι. [32] ὁ μὲν οὖν Φᾶσις τῇδε φερόμενος, ἥπερ μοι δεδιήγηται, ἐς αὐτόν που λήγοντα ἐκβάλλει τὸν Εὐξεινὸν Πόντον. τοῦ δὲ μνηοειδοῦς κατὰ μὲν τὴν μίαν ἀρχήν, ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, Πέτρα ἢ πόλις ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῇ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης μοῖραν Ἀψιλίων ἡ χώρα ἐστί: [33] Λαζῶν δὲ κατήκοοι εἰσι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἀψίλιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ζύμπαντα ἔθνη ὧν περ ἐμνήσθην ἐς τόδε τοῦ λόγου.

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας καθύπερθεν ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιόν ἐστι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ Καύκασος, ἐς τοσόνδε ὕψος ἀνέχει, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν ὑπερβολῶν οὔτε ὄμβρους οὔτε νιφετοὺς ἐπιψαύειν ποτέ: τῶν γὰρ νεφελῶν αὐτὰς ἀπασῶν καθυπερτέρας ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. τὰ δὲ μέσα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων χιόνων ἔμπλεα διηνεκές ἐστι. [2] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόποδες ὑψηλοὶ ἐσάγαν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστεροι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἄλλοις σκοπέλων. [3] τῶν δὲ τοῦ Καυκασίου ὄρους προπόδων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τε βορρᾶν ἄνεμον καὶ ἥλιον δύοντα τετραμμένοι ἐς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θρᾶκας διήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τε ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἐς τὰς διεξόδους ἐξικνουῦνται αὐτὰς αἱ τὰ τῇδε ὠκημένα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη ἐς γῆν τὴν τε Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄγουσιν. [4] ὧν περ ἀτέρα μὲν Τζοῦρ ἐπικέκληται, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα Πύλη ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κασπία ἐκλήθη. ταύτην δὲ τὴν χώραν ἢ ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Κασπίας κατατείνει Πύλας Ἀλανοὶ ἔχουσιν, αὐτόνομον ἔθνος, οἱ δὴ καὶ Πέρσαις τὰ πολλὰ ζυμμαχοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἄλλους πολεμίους στρατεύουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Καυκασίῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [5] Οὐννοι δέ, οἱ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλούμενοι, ἐνταῦθα ὄκηνται καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη. ἐνθένδε μὲν τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ὠρμησθαὶ φασιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Θεμίσκουρον καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ἥπερ μοι ἑναγχος εἴρηται, [6] οὗ δὴ πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι Ἀμισός ἐστι. τανῦν δὲ οὐδαμῇ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος χωρίων Ἀμαζόνων τις μνήμη ἢ ὄνομα διασώζεται, καίτοι καὶ Στράβωνι καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ λόγοι ἀμφ' αὐταῖς πολλοὶ εἴρηνται. [7] ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσι μάλιστα πάντων τὰ γε κατὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ζὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι ἔφασαν οὐ πώποτε γένος γυναικῶν ἀνδρείων γεγονέναι, οὐδ' ἐν ὄρει μόνῳ τῷ Καυκασίῳ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν θεσμῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν χωρίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ζὺν γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεῦσαι, στρατοπέδόν τε ἀμφὶ

ποταμὸν Θερμώδοντα ποιησαμένους ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ γῆν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν πολλὴν καταθέοντας, ὑπαντιασάντων σφίσι τῶν τῇδε ὥκημένων, ἅπαντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, οὐδένα τε αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἐπανήκειν ἐς τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ χαράκωμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ταύτας διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, δεῖ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναγκασθείσας, τό τε ἀρρενωπὸν ἀμφιέσασθαι οὐτὶ ἐθελουσίας καὶ ἀνελομένας τὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολελειμμένην τῶν ὅπλων σκευήν, καὶ ταύτη ἐξοπλισαμένας ὡς ἄριστα ἔργα ἀνδρεῖα ζῶν ἀρετῇ ἐπιδείξασθαι, διωθουμένης ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὰς τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἕως δὴ ἀπάσαις διαφθαρῆναι ζυνέπεσε. [8] ταῦτα δὲ ὧδέ πη γεγονέναι καὶ ζῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς Ἀμαζόνας στρατεύσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οἶομαι, τεκμηριούμενος οἷς δὴ καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ κατ' ἐμὲ ζυνηγέθη γενέσθαι. [9] τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύματα μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους παραπεμπόμενα τῶν προγεγενημένων τῆς φύσεως ἰνδαλμα γίνεται. [10] Οὕννων τοίνυν καταδραμόντων πολλακίς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, τοῖς τε ὑπαντίασασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πεσεῖν ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ῥωμαῖοι διερευνώμενοι τῶν πεπτωκότων τὰ σώματα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν αὐτοῖς εὔρον. [11] ἄλλο μέντοι γυναικῶν στράτευμα οὐδαμῇ τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπιχωρίαζον ἐφάνη. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα γεγενῆσθαι πώποτε ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. [12] Μετὰ δὲ Ἀψιλίους τε καὶ τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβασγοὶ ὥκηνται, ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκοντες. οἱ δὲ Ἀβασγοὶ Λαζῶν μὲν κατήκοοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν, [13] ἄρχοντας δὲ ὁμογενεῖς δύο ἐσαεῖ εἶχον. ὢν ἄτερος μὲν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἴδρυτο. [14] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μέχρι μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ ἄλση τε καὶ ὕλας ἐσέβοντο: θεοὺς γὰρ τὰ δένδρα βαρβάρῳ τινὶ ἀφελεία ὑπώπτευον εἶναι. [15] πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων τὰ δεινότερα διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἔπασχον. ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὅσους ἂν παῖδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει ἀγαθοὺς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ἴδοιεν, τούτους δὴ ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες εὐνούχους τε ἀπεργαζόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις χρημάτων μεγάλων. [16] τοὺς τε αὐτῶν πατέρας ἔκτεινον εὐθύς, τοῦ μὴ αὐτῶν τινὰς τίσασθαι ποτε τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἀδικίας τὸν βασιλέα ἐγχειριεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπόπτους αὐτοῖς τῶν κατηκόων τινὰς ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἢ τε τῶν υἱέων εὐμορφία σφίσιν ἐς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπεκρίνετο: [17] διεφθείροντο γὰρ οἱ ταλαίπωροι, παίδων θανάσιμον δεδυστυχηκότες εὐπρέπειαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις εὐνούχων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐλῇ γένος Ἀβασγοὶ ἐτύγγανον ὄντες. [18] Ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἅπαντα Ἀβασγοὶς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον τετύχηκε μεταμπίσχεσθαι. [19] τὰ τε γὰρ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα εἵλοντο καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν τινὰ ἐκ Παλατίου εὐνούχων στείλας, Ἀβασγὸν γένος, Εὐφρατᾶν ὄνομα, τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλεῦσι διαρρήδην ἀπέιπε μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει τὴν ἀρρενωπίαν ἀποψιλοῦσθαι, σιδήρῳ βιαζομένης τῆς φύσεως. ὁ δὴ ἄσμενοι Ἀβασγοὶ ἤκουσαν, [20] καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἐπιτάξει θαρροῦντες ἦδη τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο σθένει παντὶ διεκώλυν.

ἐδεδίει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος μὴ ποτε παιδίου πατὴρ εὐπρεποῦς γένηται. [21] τότε δὴ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερὸν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς οἰκοδομησάμενος, ἱερεῖς τε αὐτοῖς καταστησάμενος, διεπράξατο ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς ἦθη τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι, τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς ἄμφω Ἀβασγοὶ καθελόντες αὐτίκα ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ βιοτεῦν ἐδόκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀβασγῶν ὄρους κατὰ μὲν ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον Βρούχοι ὥκηνται, Ἀβασγῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν μεταξύ ὄντες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου Ζήχιο ἱδρυνται. [2] τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ζήχοις κατὰ μὲν παλαιὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλέα καθίστη, τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπακούουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. [3] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Σαγίνοι μὲν οἰκοῦσι, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς παραλίας Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔσχον. [4] φρουρίᾳ τε δειμάμενοι ἐπιθαλασσίδια δύο, Σεβαστόπολιν τε καὶ Πιτιοῦντα, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ ἀλλήλοιν διέχοντα, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστήσαντο. [5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερα κατάλογοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς πάντα χωρία ἐκ τῶν Τραπεζοῦντος ὁρίων ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς Σαγίνας εἶχον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται· νῦν δὲ μόνα τὰ δύο ταῦτα φρούρια ἐλέλειπτο σφίσιν, οὗ δὴ τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ Χοσρόης, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων ἐς τὴν Πέτραν, στράτευμα Περσῶν ἐνταῦθα στέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, τοὺς τε τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα καθέξοντας καὶ καθιζησομένους ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίοις. [6] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖον στρατιῶται προμαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, προτερήσαντες τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες ἕς τε τὰς ἀκάτους μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐσβάντες ἐς ἥπειρον εὐθὺς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ καὶ Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν ἐχώρησαν, ζημιώσαντες μὲν τῇ τῶν φρουρίων διαφθορᾷ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, κέρδος δὲ αὐτῇ πορισάμενοι μέγα, ὅτι δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς οὐ γεγόνασιν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἄπρακτοι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Πέτραν ἀνέστρεφον Πέρσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [7] Ὑπὲρ δὲ Σαγίνας Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ ἱδρυνται. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν Εὐλυσία μὲν ἡ χώρα ὠνόμασται, βάρβαροι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄνθρωποι τὰ τε παράλια καὶ τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιν καλουμένην Λίμνην καὶ ποταμὸν Τανάιν, ὃς δὴ ἐς τὴν Λίμνην ἐσβάλλει. [8] αὕτη δὲ ἡ Λίμνη ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ ταύτη ὥκηνται Κιμμεριοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, τανῦν δὲ Οὐτίγουροι καλοῦνται. [9] καὶ αὐτῶν καθύπερθεν ἐς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἔθνη τὰ Ἀντῶν ἄμετρα ἱδρυνται. παρὰ δὲ τὸν χώρον αὐτὸν ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Λίμνης ἐκβολὴ ἄρχεται, Γότθοι οἱ Τετραξίται καλούμενοι ὥκηνται, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὴ τὰ Χριστιανῶν νόμιμα σεβόμενοι περιστέλλουσιν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [10] Τανάιν δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν ταύτην, ἥπερ ἐκ Λίμνης ἀρξαμένη τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον διήκει, ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν, ὥς φασιν, εἴκοσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον ὃς ἐνθένδε πνεῖ Ταναίτην προσαγορεύουσιν. [11] εἴτε δὲ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης ἐγένοντό ποτε οἱ Γότθοι οὗτοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄμφι τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ἦσκητο, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεία τε τανῦν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη πολλῇ τιμῶσι τὴν δόξαν. [12] Οὗτοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον 'λέγω δέ, ἡνίκα πρῶτόν τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν

ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχὴν πρέσβεις τέτταρας ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπεμψαν, ἐπίσκοπον σφίσι τινὰ δεόμενοι δοῦναι: ἐπεὶ ὅστις μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱερεὺς ἦν τετελευτήκει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ἔγνωσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ Ἀβασγοῖς ἱερέα βασιλεὺς πέμπει: καὶ αὐτοῖς προθυμότατα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσας τὴν δέησιν ἀπεπέμψατο. [13] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οὗτοι δέει Οὐννων τῶν Οὐτιγούρων ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανές, αὐτηκόων πολλῶν ὄντων, ἀποστοματίζοντες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἤκοιεν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ βασιλεῖ ἠγγειλαν, ὡς λαθραιότατα δὲ συγγενόμενοι ἅπαντα φράζουσιν, ὅσα συνοίσειν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἔμελλε, συγκρουομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰεὶ τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων βαρβάρων. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον οἱ Τετραζῖται καὶ ὅθεν ἀναστάντες ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

Πάλαι μὲν Οὐννων, τῶν τότε Κιμμερίων καλουμένων, πολὺς τις ὄμιλος τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἐνέμοντο ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. [2] καὶ ποτὲ τις αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν, ᾧ δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο δύο, ἄτερος μὲν Οὐτιγούρ ὄνομα, Κουτρίγούρ δὲ ὁ ἕτερος. [3] οὔτε, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν βίον συνεμετρήσατο, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἄμφω ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διεδάσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν: [4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Οὐτίγουροι, οἱ δὲ Κουτρίγουροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζονται. οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες τῇδε ὤκηντο, κοινὰ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ζύμπαντα ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι δὲ ἀνθρώποις οἱ δὴ τῆς τε Λίμνης καὶ τῆς ἐνθὲνδε ἐκροῆς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴδρυντο, ἐπεὶ οὔτε διέβαινόν ποτε τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα οὔτε διαβατὰ εἶναι ὑπόπτευον, πρὸς τὰ εὐκολώτατα περίφοβοι ὄντες, τῷ μὴδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι αὐτῶν πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἀμελέητοι τῆς διαβάσεως παντάπασιν εἶναι. [5] Λίμνην δὲ τὴν Μαῖωτιν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκβολὴν ὑπερβάντι εὐθὺς μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ταύτης ἀκτὴν οἱ Τετραζῖται καλούμενοι Γότθοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκηντο, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην ἄρτίως: πολλῷ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄποθεν Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ γένη ζύμπαντα ἴδρυντο. [6] οἱ δὴ καὶ Σκύθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλοῦντο, ἐπεὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἅπερ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία εἶχον, Σκυθικὰ μὲν ἐπὶ κοινῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν Σαυρομάται ἢ Μελάγχλαινοι, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. [7] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, φασίν, εἴπερ ὁ λόγος ὑγιής ἐστι, τῶν μὲν Κιμμερίων νεανίας τινὰς ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἔλαφον δὲ μίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν φεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ὕδατα ἐσπηδῆσαι ταῦτα. [8] τοὺς τε νεανίας, εἴτε φιλοτιμία εἴτε φιλονεικία τινὶ ἔχομένους, ἢ καὶ τι δαιμόνιον αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκασε, τῇ ἐλάφῳ ἐπισπέσθαι ταύτῃ, μηχανῇ τε μεθίσθαι αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾷ, ἕως ζῆν αὐτῇ ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἀκτὴν ἴκοντο. [9] καὶ τὸ μὲν διωκόμενον ὃ τι ποτ' ἦν εὐθὺς ἀφανισθῆναι: ἴδοκεῖν γάρ μοι οὐδὲ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἐνταῦθα ἐφάνη, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ γενέσθαι κακῶς τοῖς τῇδε ὤκημένοις βαρβάροις τοὺς δὲ νεανίας τοῦ μὲν κυνηγεσίου ἀποτυχεῖν, μάχης δὲ ἀφορμὴν καὶ λείας εὐρέσθαι. [10] ἐς ἣθ' ἔτι γὰρ τὰ πάτρια ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντες ἐνδηλα πᾶσι Κιμμερίοις πεποιήνται ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα βατὰ σφίσι τὰ ὕδατα εἶη. ἀνελόμενοι οὖν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα πανδημεῖ τε διαβάντες ἐγένοντο μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέραν ἠπειρῷ, Βανδίων μὲν ἤδη ἐνθὲνδε ἀναστάντων ἐπὶ τε Λιβύης ἰδρυσαμένων, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ δὲ Οὐισιγόθων οἰκησαμένων. [11] Γότθοις οὖν τοῖς ἐς τὰ τῇδε ὤκημένοις πεδία ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιτεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν,

τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτρέψαντο ἅπαντας. [12] ὅσοι τε αὐτοὺς διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ξὺν παισὶ τε καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἀπέλιπον μὲν τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, διαπορθμευσάμενοι δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο. [13] Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς ταύτῃ ὤκημένους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν, μετὰ δὲ δόντος βασιλέως ὤκῃσαντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυνεμάχουν Ῥωμαίοις, τάς τε συντάξεις ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται πρὸς βασιλέως κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ φοιδεῖσθαι ἐπικληθέντες· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς τότε Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἡσσημένοι αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τισὶν ἔνσπονδοι· [14] ἐγένοντο σφίσι· φοῖδερα γὰρ Λατῖνοι τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ καλοῦσι ξυνθήκας, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται λόγοις· τὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέφερον οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἕως ὅχοντο ἀπίοντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν, Θεουδερίχου ἡγουμένου σφίσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Γότθων τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. [15] Οὕννοι δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κτείναντες, τοὺς δέ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐξαναστήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν Κουτρίγουροι μὲν παιδὰς τε καὶ γυναῖκας μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο, [16] οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὄκνηται. καὶ δῶρα μὲν πολλὰ πρὸς βασιλέως ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζονται, καὶ ὥς δὲ διαβαίνοντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον καταθέουσιν ἐσαεὶ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, [17] ἔνσπονδοὶ τε καὶ πολέμιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες. Οὐτίγουροι δὲ ξὺν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο, μόνοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα καθιζήσόμενοι. [18] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, Γότθοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Τετραζίταις καλουμένοις ἐνέτυχον. [19] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φραζάμενοι ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ Γότθοι ἀντικρὺ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι ἔστησαν, σθένει τε τῷ σφετέρῳ καὶ χωρίου ἰσχυΐ θαρσοῦντες· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμώτατοι ἀπάντων εἰσὶ τῶν τῇδε βαρβάρων. [20] καὶ ἡ πρώτη τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἐκροή, οὗ δὴ τότε οἱ Τετραζίται Γότθοι ἴδρυντο, ἐν κόλπῳ ξυνιοῦσα μνηοειδεῖ, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, μίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰσοδὸν οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν τοῖς ἐπιούσι παρείχετο. [21] ὕστερον δὲ οὔτε γὰρ Οὕννοι χρόνον τινὰ τριβεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα ἤθελον, οἱ τε Γότθοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ὁμίλῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνθέξιν οὐδαμῇ ἡλπιζόν' ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀναμιχθέντες κοινῇ ποιήσονται τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ἰδρύσονται μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡλείρῳ παρ' αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκβολῆς μάλιστα τὴν ἀκτὴν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τανῦν ἴδρυνται, φίλοι δὲ καὶ ξύμμαχοι τὸ λοιπὸν Οὐτιγούροις ὄντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα βιώσονται τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. [22] οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἶδε οἱ Γότθοι τῇδε ἰδρύσαντο καὶ τῶν Κουτριγούρων, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν γῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Λίμνης οὔσῃ μόνοι Οὐτίγουροι τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ὄκνηται, ἀλλ' ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς διειργόμενοι μετὰξὺ οὓσιν ἀκουσίῳ ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχονται. [23] Ὑπερβάντι δὲ Λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν τῇδε πεδίων Κουτρίγουροι Οὕννοι, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ὤκῃσαντο· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Σκύθαι τε καὶ Ταῦροι ξύμπασαν ἔχουσι τὴν ταύτῃ χώραν, ἥσπερ μοιρά τις Ταυρικὴ καὶ νῦν ἐπικαλεῖται, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν νεῶν γεγονέναι φασίν, οὐπὲρ ποτε ἡ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἰφιγένεια προὔστη. [24] καίτοι Ἀρμένιοι ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς Κελεσηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ τὸν νεῶν τοῦτον γεγονέναι φασὶ

Σκύθας τε τηνικάδε ξύμπαντας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, τεκμηριούμενοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τε Ὀρέστη καὶ πόλει Κομάνη δεδιηγημένοις μοι ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ λόγου. [25] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστί· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐτέρωθι γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυμπεπτωκότων, ἄνθρωποι προσποιεῖσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὡς πάτρια ἦθη, ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἢν μὴ τῇ δοκῇσιν τῇ αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ἔπωνται. [26] Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πόλις θαλασσία οἰκεῖται, Βόσπορος ὄνομα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος γενομένη οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. [27] ἐκ δὲ Βοσπόρου πόλεως ἐς πόλιν Χερσῶνα ἰόντι, ἡ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ, Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστί, βάρβαροι, Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, τὰ μεταξὺ ἅπαντα ἔχουσι. [28] καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολίσματα δύο ἀγχοῦ Χερσῶνος, Κῆποι τε καὶ Φανάγουρις καλούμενα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν. ἅπερ οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν βαρβάρων τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐλόντες τινὲς ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. [29] ἐκ δὲ Χερσῶνος πόλεως ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσιν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν δέκα, βάρβαροι δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνη ξύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. [30] Ἰστρος δὲ ποταμὸς ἐξ ὁρέων μὲν τῶν Κελτικῶν ρεῖ, περιῶν δὲ τὰς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας, φερόμενός τε ἐπὶ τὰ Δακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ἐκβάλλει ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα. [31] Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου περίοδος ἐκ Καλχηδόνας μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον ταύτη πη ἔχει. [32] ἐς ὅσον δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἦδε διήκει, ἅπαντα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, βαρβάρων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ῥημένων ἐνταῦθα τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπιμυξίας τε Ῥωμαίοις παρ' αὐτῶν τινάς, ὅτι μὴ ὅσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν, ἴσως οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς πρότερον ταῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκόσι διαμετρήσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τι ξυμβαίνει εἰρησθαι. [33] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι διαφανὲς ἐστίν, ὡς Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνας ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, δυοῖν καὶ πεντήκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ· ὃ δὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τεκμηριούμενος φαίη ἂν τις καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ Πόντου μοῖραν μέτρου τοῦδε εἶναι οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἀναγράψασθαι οὐ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα δεινοί. [2] λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν τὰ ἡπείρω ταῦτα διορίζειν ποταμὸν Τάναϊν, ἀπισχυρίζομενοι μὲν χρῆναι τὰς τομὰς φυσικὰς εἶναι, τεκμηριούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἡ μὲν θάλασσα προϊοῦσα ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν φέρεται μοῖραν, ποταμὸς δὲ Τάναις ἐκ τῶν ἀρκτῶν φερόμενος ἐς ἄνεμον νότον μεταξὺ ταῖν ἡπείρων χωρεῖ· ἔμπαλιν δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἰόντα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι. [3] ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἰόντες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον ἰσχυρίζονται εἶναι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς τὰ μὲν ἡπείρω ταῦτα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃ τε ἐν Γαδεΐροις διορίζει πορθμὸς ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ ἐξίων καὶ ἡ προϊοῦσα ἐνθένδε θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιβύη τε καὶ Ἀσία ὠνόμασται, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πάντα Εὐρώπη ἐκλήθη μέχρι που ἐς λήγοντα τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον. [4] Τούτων δὲ δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων ὁ μὲν Τάναϊς ποταμὸς ἐν γῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης τικτόμενος ἐκβάλλει ἐς Λίμνην τὴν

Μαιώτιδα, ἡ δὲ Λίμνη ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται οὕτε λήγοντα οὐτε μὴν κατὰ μέσον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρόσω. [5] τὰ δὲ εὐώνυμα τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου τῇ τῆς Ἀσίας λογίζεται μοῖρα. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ποταμὸς Τάναϊς ἐξ ὁρέων τῶν Ῥιπαίων καλουμένων ἔξεισιν, ἅπερ ἐν γῇ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀναγραφάμενοι ὁμολογοῦσι. [6] τούτων δὲ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὁρῶν τὸν Ὁκεανὸν ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. τὰ τοίνυν αὐτῶν τε καὶ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ ὀπισθεν ζύμπαντα Εὐρωπαϊα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐπάναγκες εἶναι. [7] πόθεν οὖν ἄρα ποτὲ ἄρχεται ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν διορίζειν ὁ Τάναϊς οὐ ῥάδιον εἶναι εἰπεῖν. ἦν δὲ τινα ποταμὸν διορίζειν ἄμφω τὰ ἡπεῖρω λεκτέον, [8] οὗτος δὴ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Φᾶσις ἂν εἴη. καταντικρὺ γὰρ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Γαδεῖροις φερόμενος ταῖν ἡπεῖροιν κατὰ μέσον χωρεῖ, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν πορθμὸς ἐξ Ὁκεανοῦ ἐξιὼν θάλασσαν τήνδε ἀπεργαζόμενος τὰ ἡπεῖρω ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔχει, ὁ δὲ Φᾶσις κατ' αὐτόν που λήγοντα μάλιστα ἰὼν τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐς τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τὰ μέσα ἐκβάλλει, τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐκτομὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διαφανῶς ἐκδεχόμενος. [9] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκάτεροι προτεινόμενοι διαμάχονται. Ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνος ὁ πρότερος λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος, ὄνπερ ἀρτίως ἐλέγομεν, μήκει τε χρόνου κεκόμψενται καὶ ἀνδρῶν τινῶν παλαιωτάτων δόξη, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ἐκεῖνο εἰδὼς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνθρωποι ἅπαντες, ἦν τινος φθάσῃσι λόγου ἀρχαίου πεποιημένοι τὴν μάθησιν, οὐκέτι ἐθέλουσι τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ζητήσῃ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ταλαιπωρεῖν, οὐδὲ νεωτέραν τινὰ μεταμαθεῖν ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιότερον ὑγιές τε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐντιμον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐκαταφρόνητον νομίζεται εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γελοῖον χωρεῖ. [10] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τανῦν οὐ περὶ νοερῶν ἢ νοητῶν τινὸς ἢ ἀφανῶν ἄλλως γίνεταί τις ζητήσις, ἀλλὰ περὶ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ χώρας: ἅπερ ὁ χρόνος οὐτε ἀμείβειν οὐτε πῇ ἀποκρῦψασθαι ἴσχυσεν. [11] ἢ τε γὰρ πείρα ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐς μαρτυρίαν ἱκανωτάτη, οὐδὲν τε παρεμποδισθῆσθαι οἶμαι τοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς εὐρέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. [12] ὁ τοίνυν Ἀλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τετάρτῃ φησὶ μίαν μὲν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ζύμπασαν, νομίζεσθαι δὲ εἰς μοῖρας τε καὶ προσηγορίας τρεῖς διαιρεῖσθαι, Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην. [13] καὶ αὐτῶν Λιβύης μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Νεῖλον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ποταμὸν μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην διορίζειν τὸν Κόλχον Φᾶσιν. εἰδὼς δὲ τινὰς ἀμφὶ Ταναΐδι ποταμῷ ταῦτα οἶεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστέρω ἐπέειπε. [14] καὶ μοι οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἡροδότου τὰ γράμματα τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεῖναι ὧδέ πῃ ἔχοντα: 'Οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εὐούση γῇ ὀνόματα τριφάσια κέεται, ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ ὀρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος. [15] οἱ δὲ Ταναῖν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαίτην καὶ πορθμῖα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσιν.' ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ τῷ Λυομένῳ εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῆς τραγωδίας τὸν ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν τέρμονα καλεῖ γῆς τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. [16] Κάκεινο δὲ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἰρήσεται, ὡς τούτων δὴ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφῶν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μαιωτίν οἶοντα Λίμνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Λίμνης χωρεῖν, μητέρα τε διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Πόντου καλεῖσθαι τὴν Λίμνην. [17] ταῦτά τέ φασι τεκμηριούμενοι, ὅτι δὴ

ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰεροῦ ἢ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκροῇ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου καθάπερ τις ποταμὸς κάτεισι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πέρας εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ Πόντου οἶονται [18] οἱ δὲ τοῦ λόγου κατηγοροῦντες ἀποφαίνουσιν ὅτι δὴ μία τις ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ ξύμπασα ἢ θάλασσα οὕσα καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐτέρωθι ἀπολήγουσα ἐς γῆν τὴν Λαζῶν κατατείνει, πλὴν γε εἰ μὴ τις, φασί, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διάλλασσον ἐτερότητα εἶπῃ, ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἢ θάλασσα Πόντος ὠνόμασται. [19] Εἰ δὲ τὰ ρεύματα ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καλουμένου κάτεισιν ἐς Βυζάντιον, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. τὰ γὰρ ἐν πορθμοῖς ἅπασι ξυμπίπτοντα πάθῃ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φαίνεται εἶκοντα, οὐδέ τις αὐτὰ φράσαι πώποτε ἱκανὸς γέγονεν. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σταγειρίτης Ἀριστοτέλης, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐν Χαλκίδι τῇ τῆς Εὐβοίας τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα γεγωνώς, κατανοῶν τε τὸν ταύτῃ πορθμόν, ὄνπερ Εὐριπον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ λόγον τὸν φυσικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνᾶσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐνίστε μὲν τὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τούτου ρεύματα ἐκ δυσμῶν φέρεται, ἐνίστε δὲ ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πλεῖν τὰ πλοῖα ξύμπαντα ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει. ἦν δέ ποτε τοῦ ροῦ ἐξ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἰόντος, ἀρξαμένων τε τῶν ναυτῶν ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῇ τοῦ ροθίου ἐπιρροῇ ναυτίλλεσθαι, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα ἦν, ὅπερ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀναστρέφει μὲν τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐνθεν ὥρμηται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πλεῖ, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνέμων τινὸς ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιπνεύσαντος, ἀλλὰ γαλήνης τε βαθείας τινὸς καὶ νηνεμίας ἐνταῦθα οὔσης, ταῦτα ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐννοῶν τε καὶ ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος, δυσθανατῶν ἐπὶ ξυννοίᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου. [21] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν διείργοντι πορθμῷ πολλὰ τῷ παραλόγῳ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλουμένου πελάγους τὸ ρεῦμα ἐκεῖσε ἰέναι. [22] καίτοι ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδεῖρων ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος γίνεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕλιγγοι ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐνταῦθα συχνοὶ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης αἰτίας τὰς ναῦς διαχρῶνται. [23] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι πρὸς τῆς Χαρύβδews ῥοφεῖσθαι τὰ πλοῖα, ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ τηνικάδε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ τούτῳ. [24] οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα οἶονται τὰ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ἐν πᾶσι ξυμβαίνοντα τοῖς πορθμοῖς, ἐκ τῆς ἄγχιστα οὔσης ἐκατέρωθεν ἡπείρου ξυμβαίνειν: βιαζόμενον γὰρ φασὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ ρόθιον ἐς ἀτόπους τινὰς καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσας ἀνάγκας χωρεῖν. [25] Ὡστε εἰ καὶ ὁ ροῦς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καλουμένου ἐς Βυζάντιον δοκεῖ φέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τις τὴν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἀπολήγειν ἰσχυρίσαιο ἐνταῦθα εἰκότως. [26] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ στερρᾷς τινὸς ὁ λόγος ὁδε φύσεως ἔστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἢ στενοχωρία κἀνταῦθα νικάτω. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παντάπασιν τὸ τοιοῦτον ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [27] λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀσπαλιεῖς τῶν τῇδε χωρίων ὡς οὐχ ὅλος δὴ εὐθὺς τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὁ ροῦς κάτεισιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω, ἅπερ ἡμῖν διαφανὴ ἐστί, κατὰ ταῦτα ἰέναι ξυμβαίνει, τὰ μέντοι ἔνερθεν, ἵνα δὴ ἄβυσσός ἐστί τε καὶ ὠνόμασται, τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄνω διαρρήδην χωρεῖν, ἔμπαλιν τε τοῦ φαινομένου ἐσαεὶ φέρεσθαι. [28] ταῦτά τοι, ἐπειδὴν ἄγραν μετιόντες ἰχθύων τὰ λῖνα ἐνταῦθά πῃ ἀπορρίψωσι, ταῦτα δὲ αἰεὶ τῷ ρεύματι βιαζόμενα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰερὸν φέρεσθαι. [29] Ἐν δὲ Λαζικῇ πανταχόθεν ἢ γῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποκρουομένη τὴν πρόοδον καὶ ἀναχαιτίζουσα τὸν αὐτῆς δρόμον, πρῶτόν τε

καὶ μόνον ἀπολήγειν αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δηλονότι τὰ ὅρια σφίσι τῇδε θεμένον. [30] ἀπτομένη γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος οὔτε πρόσω χωρεῖ οὔτε πη ἐς ὕψος ἐπαίρεται μεῖζον, καίπερ πανταχόθεν αἰεὶ περιρρομένη ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς ἀναρίθμων τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ἄγαν, ἀλλ' ἀναποδίζουσα ὀπίσω ἐπάνεισιν αὐθις καὶ μέτρον διαριθμουμένη τὸ ταύτης ἴδιον, διασώζει τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὅρον, ὥσπερ τινὰ δειμαίνουσα νόμον, ἀνάγκη τε τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφιγγομένη μὴ τι τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐκβᾶσα φανεῖη. [31] τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτὰς οὐκ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίου ξυμβαίνειν κεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων γινωσκέτω τε καὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ αὐτῷ δ φίλον.

Ὅτου δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔνεκα Λαζικῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν ἤδη μὲν πρόσθεν μοι ἐρρήθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ Πέρσας μάλιστα πάντων ἐς τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν, ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω, ὅτι δὴ καὶ χώραν τήνδε περιηγησάμενος ξύμπασαν σαφῇ τὸν περὶ τούτου πεποίηκα λόγον. [2] πολλάκις οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χοσρόου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐκ εὐδιήγητα μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπήνεγκαν πάθη, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄφελος οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπενεγκαμένοις ἐνθένδε τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι προσκεκακῶσθαι ξυνέπεσε: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀποβεβληκότες αἰεὶ ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. [3] διὸ δὴ ἐς ἥθη ἐπανιόντες τὰ πάτρια Χοσρόῃ ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ διαφθορέα τοῦ Περσῶν γένους αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν. [4] καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπανήκοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα πάθεσιν ἔτυχον ὠμилηκότες ἀνηκέστοις τισί, ξυστήσεσθαι τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ διαχρήσεσθαι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ, εἰ μὴ προμαθὼν ἐφυλάξατο, θωπεῖα πολλῇ τοὺς ἐν σφίσι λογιμωτάτους περιελθὼν. [5] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐθέλων μέγα τι ὄφελος Περσῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκπορίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε. Πόλει γοῦν Δάρας αὐτίκα ἐγκεχειρηκῶς ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐς ἀπὸγνωσίν τε τῆς τοῦ χωρίου ἐπικρατήσεως παντάπασιν ἦλθεν. [6] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐξαίρῃσιν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχεν, οὕτω φυλασσομένων τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρῶν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πολιορκῶν μηχανῇ τινὶ περιέσεσθαι αὐτῶν ἤλπιζε. [7] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαι ἐν πόλει Δάρας διαρκῶς ἐστὶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἀποκείμενα, ὅπως δὴ ἐς μέγα τι χρόνου διαρκέσειε μῆκος, καὶ πηγὴ ἄγχιστά πη φυομένη ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει ποταμὸν ἀπεργάζεται μέγαν ὥσπερ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺ φέρεται, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐφιεμένων ἐτέρωσέ πη αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπειν ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. [8] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένηται, τὴν τε πόλιν περιῶν ξύμπασαν καὶ τὰς ταύτης δεξαμενὰς ἐμπλησάμενος εἴτα ἔξεισιν, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐς χάος ἐμπεσὼν ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ὅπῃ [9] ποτὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἐκδίδωσιν οὐδενὶ γέγονε φανερόν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χάος οὐκ ἐπὶ παλαιοῦ γεγονὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτην ἢ φύσις αὐτὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἀπαντοματίσασα ἔθετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει τοῖς προσεδρεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας πιάζεσθαι ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ. [10] Ταύτης οὖν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀποτυχὼν ὁ Χοσρόης τῆς πείρας ἐς ἐννοίαν ἦλθεν ὥς, ἣν καὶ πόλιν οἱ

Ῥωμαίων ἐτέραν τινὰ παραστήσασθαι δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλὰ καθίζεσθαι οὐ μή ποτε οἷός τε εἶη ἐν μέσῳ Ῥωμαίων, ὀχυρωμάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω πολλῶν. [11] καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν γὰρ τούτου δὴ εἵνεκα ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ἡνίκα ἐξεῖλεν, ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. διὸ δὴ μετεωρισθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ μακροτέρας ἐλπίδος ὤχεϊτο, διερευνώμενος ἀμήχανα ἔργα. [12] ἀκοῇ γὰρ ἔχων ὄντινα τρόπον ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου οὗτοι δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ὥκηνται Λίμνην ἀδεῶς κατατρέχουσι Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαις Λαζικὴν ἔχουσι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἡνίκα ἂν βουλομένοις ἦ, εὐθὺς Βυζαντίου ἰέναι, οὐδαμῇ διαπορθμευομένοις τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βαρβαρικὰ ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἰδρυταὶ ἔσαι δρῶσι. [13] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι μεταποιοῦνται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

Χοριάνης μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰππιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Γουβάζης τε, ὁ Κόλχων βασιλεὺς, ἔμαθε καὶ Δαγισθαῖος, ὅσπερ ἠγεῖτο τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐπείκοινα βουλευσάμενοι ἦγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν στράτευμα. [2] γενόμενοί τε Ἰππιδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πότερα μένουσί τε αὐτοῖς καὶ δεχομένοις ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἰτέον, ὅπως δὴ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου ποιησάμενοι ἐπίδειξιν Πέρσαις, ἐνδηλά τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις καταστησάμενοι ὥς καταφρονήματι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, τῆς τε ξυμβολῆς αὐτῆς ἄρχοντες δουλωσάτω τῶν ἀνθισταμένων τὸ φρόνημα ἱκανοὶ εἶεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τε ἡ γνώμη ἐνίκα τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρακαλούντων, [3] ὥρμητο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. ἐνταῦθα Λαζοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυντάσσεσθαι οὐκέτι ἤξιουν, προτεινόμενοι ὅτι δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὔτε πατρίδος οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων προκινδυνεύοντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γῆς τῆς πατρώας ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν: ὥστε κἂν γυναῖκας τὰς σφετέρας ἐρυθριῶεν, [4] εἰ σφίσι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ξυμβαίῃ κρατεῖσθαι. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴν αὐτοσχεδιάσειν ὑπώπτευν. [5] πρῶτοί τε αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ὥργων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμοσε ἰέναι, ὅπως αὐτοὺς μὴ ξυνταράξωσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐχ ὅμοια σφίσιν ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον προθυμούμενοι. [6] ταῦτα νεανιευσαμένον Λαζῶν περιχαρὴς ὁ Γουβάζης γενόμενος μικρὸν τε ἄποθεν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλέσας τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο. [7] Ἐπαραινέσιν μὲν ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὁρμῶσαν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα δεῖ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ποιεῖσθαι. οἷς γὰρ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη τὴν προθυμίαν ἀνίστησι, παρακελεύσεως ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς προσδεῖν οἶομαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχηκεν. [8] ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν γὰρ καὶ παίδων καὶ γῆς τῆς πατρώας καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπίας Πέρσαι. [9] τοῖς δὲ τι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βιαζομένοις οὐδεὶς τῶν πάντων παραχωρεῖ, ὑπερμάχεσθαι τῶν προσηκόντων ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς φύσεως. [10] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε δὲ ὡς Πέρσαις τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲν ἴστησιν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γεγονόσι τοῦ δύνασθαι, οὐδὲ ἄρξουσιν μόνον ἡμῶν ἢ τάξουσιν φόρους ἢ τὰ ἄλλα κατηκόους ποιήσονται, εἴ τι μὴ ἐπιλελήσμεθα ὧν Χοσρόης ἐγκεχείρηκεν ἐφ' ἡμῖν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ἣν νῦν περιέσσονται ἡμῶν

τῷ πολέμῳ. [11] ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἄχρι τοῦ λόγου προῖέτω μοι τὰ τῆς Περσῶν πείρας, μὴδὲ διαλιπέτω τὸ Λαζῶν ὄνομα. οὐ χαλεπὸς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς Μήδους ἀγὼν, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσι καὶ ὑπερβαλλομένοις τῇ μάχῃ. [12] τῷ γὰρ ξυνειθισμένῳ τὸ δύσκολον οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, προδαπανηθείσης τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ταλαιπωρίας μελέτη καὶ πείρα. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε νενικημένων ἐν ξυμβολαῖς καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως θρασυνομένων ἡμᾶς δεήσει. [13] φρόνημα γὰρ δουλωθὲν ἅπαξ παλινδρομεῖν ἥκιστα εἴωθε. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖτε.’ [14] Τοσαῦτα Γουβάξης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγε τὸ Λαζῶν στράτευμα, καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Λαζῶν ἵππεις τεταγμένοι ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἦσαν, ὀπισθεν δὲ οὐκ ἄγχιστα πη, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀπωτάτω, [15] ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἵππος αὐτοῖς εἴπετο. τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγούντο Φιλήγαγός τε, Γήπαις γένος, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ, καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, οὗ δὴ κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην. [16] ἐν ὑστέρῳ δὲ Γουβάξης τε ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαγισθαῖος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων πεζοῖς εἶποντο, λογισάμενοι ὥς, εἰ τοῖς ἵππευσι τραπήναι ξυμβαίη, ἐς αὐτοὺς ῥᾶστα σωθήσονται. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαζοὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐτάξαντο, Χοριάνης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν χιλίους τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπολεξάμενος τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς ἄριστα, πρόσω ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπισθεν ἦει, φυλακτῆριον ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [18] προτερήσασα δὲ ἡ Λαζῶν ἵππος ἀτιμάζει τὰς ἐπαγγελίας οἷς ἔδρασεν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων διαβαλοῦσα τὰς πρόσθεν ἐλπίδας. [19] τοῖς γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων προδρόμοις ἐντετυχηκότες ἐξαπινάϊως οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν ὄψιν, τρέψαντες αὐτίκα τοὺς ἵππους, κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπείγόμενοι ἀνεμίγνυντο, ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦντες καταφυγεῖν οἷς δὴ ξυντάσσεσθαι τὰ πρότερα ὥκνουν. [20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων. ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο, χειρῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον οὐδὲ ξυνέμισγον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκάτεροι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἀνεπόδιζον, ὑποχωρούντων δὲ ἐπεβάτευν, ἔς τε ὑπαγωγὰς καὶ παλινδιώξεις καὶ ἀγχιστρόφους μεταβολὰς πολὺν τινα κατέτριψαν χρόνον. [21] Ἦν δέ τις Ἀρταβάνης ὄνομα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, Περσαρμένιος γένος, ὅσπερ ἐς Ἀρμένιους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους πολλῷ πρότερον ἀπηντομοληκὼς ἔτυχεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ φόνῳ Περσῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς πίστιν πεποιημένος ἐχέγγυν. [22] Βαλεριανῷ γὰρ τότε στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα Ῥωμαίους οἱ αὐτῷ διδόναι ἐδεῖτο: τυχόν τε ὧνπερ ἐβούλετο, ἐς φρουρίον ἐν Περσαρμένιοις κείμενον ἦει. [23] οὗ δὴ ἑκατὸν τε καὶ εἴκοσι Περσῶν φυλακτῆριον ὑπὸ τῷ φρουρίῳ αὐτὸν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐδέξαντο, οὕπῳ ἐνδηλον ὄντα ὅτι δὴ μεταπορευθεὶς τὴν πολιτείαν νεωτερίζει. [24] ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν κτείνας καὶ ζύμπαντα ληισάμενος τὰ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ χρήματα, μεγάλα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα, παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἤλθε, πιστός τε σφίσιν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ φανεῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυνεστράτευν. [25] οὗτος Ἀρταβάνης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ

μάχη δύο ξὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἐγένετο, οὗ δὴ ἀφίκοντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινές. [26] ἐφ' οὓς Ἀρταβάνης ὀρμήσας, τῶν Περσῶν ἕνα, ψυχῆς τε ἀρετῇ καὶ σώματος ἀλκῇ ἐπεικῶς μέγαν, τῷ δόρατι εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ρίψας προσουδίζει χαμαί. [27] τῶν δέ τις βαρβάρων παρὰ τῷ πεπτωκότι ἐστὼς ξίφει κατὰ κόρρης τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπάταξεν οὐ καιρίαν πληγὴν. ἄτερός τε τῶν τῷ Ἀρταβάνη ἐπισπομένων, Γότθος γένος, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν χεῖρα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου κεφαλῇ ἔχοντα, κατὰ λαγόνᾳ ἐπιτυχὼν τὴν εὐώνυμον διεχρήσατο. [28] καὶ οἱ χίλιοι τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν, τὸν τε Χοριάνην σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν στρατῷ ἔμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀνεμίγνυντο σφίσιν. [29] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον πεζοὶ ἐς ἱππεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἦν. [30] τότε δὴ Φιλίγαγός τε καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐλάσσους εἶναι ἢ ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπιούσαν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἵππον οἴομενοι, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἀπέγνωσαν τὴν Λαζῶν δύναμιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀποθορόντες ταῦτό ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς ἅπαντας. [31] ἐς φάλαγγά τε ὡς βαθυτάτην ταξάμενοι πεζοὶ μετωπηδὸν ἀντίοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, τὰ δόρατα ἐπανατεινόμενοι σφίσιν. [32] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται 'οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιδραμεῖν πεζοῖς γε οὔσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐδύναντο οὔτε αὐτῶν ξυνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἵπποι ταῖς τε τῶν δοράτων αἰχμαῖς καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαίτιζον, ἐπὶ τὰ τόξα ἔβλεπον ἅπαντες, ἐλπίδι θαρσοῦντες ὡς πλήθει βελῶν ῥᾶστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς φυγὴν τρέφονται. [33] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν Λαζοῖς ἅπασιν ταῦτό τοῦτο ἐποίουν. ἐκατέρωθεν τε συχνὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύματα ἦει, ἕκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον. [34] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀλανοὶ μάλιστα συνεχῇ τὰ βέλη πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀφίεσαν. ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ τὰς ἀσπίδας ξυνέβαινεν ἀποκρούεσθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ Χοριάνη τῷ Περσῶν ἄρχοντι βεβλήσθαι ξυνέβη. [35] ὑφ' ὅτου μέντοι οὗτος ἀνὴρ βληθείη, φανερόν οὐδενὶ γέγονε: τύχη γάρ τινι ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου ἰὼν ὁ ἄτρακτος ἐς τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν αὐχένα παγείς εὐθυωρὸν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, ἐνός τε θανάτῳ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τε μάχῃ ἐκλίθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἡ νίκη ἐχώρει. [36] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἔκειτο, δρόμῳ δὲ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα οἱ βάρβαροι ἦσαν, οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν τοῖς Λαζοῖς ἐπιστόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες αἰρήσειν αὐτοβοεῖ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον. [37] ἀλλὰ τις τῶν Ἀλανῶν εὐψυχίας πέρι καὶ σώματος ἰσχύος εὖ ἦκων, τοξεύειν τε συχνὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα διαφερόντως ἐξεπιστάμενος, ἐς τοῦ χάρακος τὴν εἴσοδον στενοτάτην οὔσαν εἰστήκει, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐπιούσι παρὰ δόξαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγένετο. [38] Ἰωάννης δέ, ὁ τοῦ Θωμᾶ παῖς, μόνος ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκων ἐξαπινάίως τὸν ἀνθρωπον δόρατι ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκράτησαν. καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, ὡς ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν. [39] αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα γενομένη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν στρατιὰ τοὺς ἐν Πέτρῳ φρουροὺς τῷ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πλήθει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιρρώσαντες

ἀνεχώρησαν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Λαῖοι Δαγισθαῖον ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλον, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκοντες, προδοσίαν τε καὶ μηδισμόν ἐπιφέροντες. [2] Πέρσαις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀναπεισθέντα οὐ βεβουλησθαι καταπεπτοκότος τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἐπιβατεῦσαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους θυλάκους μεταξὺ ψάμμου ἐμπλησμένους καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ἀντὶ λίθων ποιησάμενους τοῦ περιβόλου ὅσα καταπεπτώσει ταύτῃ κρατύνασθαι. [3] ἔλεγόν τε ὡς Δαγισθαῖος, εἴτε χρήμασιν εἴτε ὀλιγοῖα ἐς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐς ἑτερόν τινα χρόνον ἀπέθετο, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μεθῆκεν, ἥς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέσθαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει. [4] αὐτὸν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι καθείρξας ἐτήρει: Βέσσαν δέ, ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἦκοντα, στρατηγὸν Ἀρμενίων καταστησάμενος ἐς Λαζικὴν πέμπει, ἄρχειν ἐπαγγείλας τοῦ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ. [5] οὗ δὴ καὶ Βενῖλος, ὁ Βούζου ἀδελφός, ξὺν στρατῷ ἤδη σταλὲις ἔτυχε καὶ Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ ὁ Βάβας ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Οὐλίγαγος Ἑρουλος γένος. [6] Ὁ τε Ναβέδης ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Λαζικὴν στρατῷ ἄλλο μὲν τι λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, Ἀβασγοῖς δὲ ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν ἐπιχωριάσας τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, παῖδας τῶν ἐν σφίσι λογίμων ἐξήκοντα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαβε. [7] τότε δὲ ποιούμενος ὁ Ναβέδης ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, καὶ Θεοδώραν Ὀψίτη ξυνοικήσασαν ὅς ἐγεγόνει Γουβάζου μὲν θεῖος, Λαζῶν δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐρῶν ἐν Ἀψιλίοις εἶλεν, ἔς τε τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπήνεγκε. [8] Ῥωμαῖα δὲ γένος ἡ γυνὴ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ Λαζῶν βασιλεῖς ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμποντες βασιλέως τε γνώμῃ ξυνιόντες ἐς κηδός τιςι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς γυναικας ἐνθένδε γαμετὰς ἐκομίζοντο. [9] καὶ Γουβάζης ἀμέλει Ῥωμαῖας γυναικὸς ἐγεγόνει γένος. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα οἱ Ἀβασγοὶ οὗτοι ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [10] Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους καθεῖλον, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιγῆται, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων πρὸς βασιλέως στελλόμενοι ἐπεχωριάζον τε αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν ἡξίουσαν, καινὰ τε αὐτοῖς ἄττα ἐπέταττον. [11] οἷσπερ Ἀβασγοὶ βιαιοτέροις οὖσιν ἀτεχνῶς ἦχοντο. δέισαντες οὖν μὴ Ῥωμαίων δοῦλοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσονται, τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐθις κατεστήσαντο σφίσι Ὀψίτην μὲν ὄνομα ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, [12] Σκεπαρνᾶν δὲ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ἐς ἀγαθῶν γὰρ ἐκπεπτοκότες ἀπόγνωσιν τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα σφίσι μοχθηρὰ εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἅτε πονηροτέρων ὄντων, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἀντηλλάσσοντο, δυνάμιν τε ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Πέρσαις ὡς λαθραϊότατα προσεχώρησαν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε στρατεύμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στείλαι. [13] ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας αὐτοῖς Οὐλίγαγόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ υἱόν, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἄτερος μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς ἡγουμένων, Σκεπαρνᾶς ὄνομα, ἐν Πέρσαις τινὰ διατριβὴν ἔχων: [14] μετὰπεμπτος γὰρ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφῆκτο. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, τὴν Ῥωμαίων μαθὼν ἔφοδον, τοὺς τε Ἀβασγοὺς ἅπαντας ἡγείρε καὶ ὑπαντιάζειν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν. [15] Ἔστι δὲ χῶρος μετὰ τοὺς Ἀψιλίας ὄρους ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἀβασγίαν εἰσόδῳ τοιούσδε: ὁρος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν

Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐλασσοῦμένον τε καὶ ὑπολήγον ὥσπερ τις κλίμαξ κατατείνει καὶ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. [16] καὶ φρούριον μὲν ἐχυρώτατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους περὶ ἀξιολογώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀβασγοὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπωρεΐᾳ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου ἐδείξαντο. [17] οὗ δὴ καταφεύγοντες ἐκκρούουσιν αἰεὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐδαμῇ ἐχόντων τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. μία δὲ εἰσοδος εἰσάγουσά ἐστιν ἐς τε τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἀβασγῶν χώραν, ἥπερ ἀνδράσι σύνδου ἐρχομένοις ἀπόρευτος τυγχάνει οὔσα. [18] μηχανὴ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ μόλις πεζεύοντα ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. τῆς τε ἀτραποῦ ταύτης ὑπέρκειται φάραγξ ἐσάγαν σκληρὰ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου διήκουσα μέχρι ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. [19] φέρεται δὲ καὶ προσηγορίαν τῆς φάραγδος ἀξίαν ὁ χῶρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐλληνίζοντες οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι τὰ Τραχέα καλοῦσιν. [20] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στόλος μεταξὺ ὁρίων τῶν τε Ἀβασγῶν καὶ Ἀσιλίων κατέπλευσεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ Οὐλίγαγος ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβιβάσαντες περὶ ἐχώρουν, οἱ τε ναῦται ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἀπάσαις παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τῷ στρατῷ εἶποντο. [21] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν Τραχέων ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐξωπλισμένους τε ὀρῶσιν Ἀβασγοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τῆς ἀτραποῦ ὑπερθεῖν ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην κατὰ τὴν φάραγγα ὅλην ἐν τάξει ἐστῶτας, ἀμηχανία τε πολλὴ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὰ σφίσι παρόντα οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ λογισάμενος Ἰωάννης ἄκεσιν τινα τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρε. [22] τὸν γὰρ Οὐλίγαγον ζὺν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐάσας αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαγόμενος τὰς ἀκάτους ἐπλήρου. ἐρέσσοντές τε χῶρον τὸν τῶν Τραχέων περιήλθον τε καὶ διέβησαν ὅλον καὶ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων ταύτη ἐγένοντο. [23] ἄραντες οὖν τὰ σημεῖα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦσαν. Ἀβασγοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγκειμένους ἰδόντες ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν δὲ ζὺν πολλὴ ἀκοσμία τραπόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, οὕτω τῷ δέει καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμηχανία συμποδιζόμενοι ὥστε οὔτε τὴν πατρίαν σφίσι δυσχωρίαν ἔτι διαγινώσκειν ἐδύναντο οὔτε πη εὐπετῶς ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [24] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπισπόμενοί τε καὶ καταλαβόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. δρόμῳ τε ζὺν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενοι ἀνακεκλιμένης ἔτι ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῆς ταύτης πυλίδος· οἱ γὰρ φύλακες ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς θύρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔτι ἐδέχοντο. [25] τῶν τε φυγόντων τοῖς διώκουσιν ἀναμιχθέντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵενται ἅπαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ σώζεσθαι, [26] οἱ δὲ τοῦ τὸ φρούριον ἐξελεῖν. ἀνακεκλιμένας οὖν τὰς πύλας εὐρόντες συνεισέβαλον ἐς ταύτας ἀλλήλοις. οἱ γὰρ πυλωροὶ οὔτε διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς εἶχον οὔτε τὰς πύλας ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐπιτιθεῖναι. [27] Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀβασγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι ζὺν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἠλίσκοντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων κεκρατηκέναι οἰόμενοι πόνῳ δυσκολωτέρῳ ἐνταῦθα ὠμίλουν. [28] τῶν γὰρ οἰκῶν συχνῶν τε οὐσῶν καὶ οὐ λίαν διεχουσῶν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον τεύχους πανταχόθεν συμπεφραγμένων, Ἀβασγοὶ ἐς αὐτὰς ἀναβάντες καὶ σθένει παντὶ ἀμυνόμενοι, τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐβαλλον, πόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ τῷ ἐς παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλέφ καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀπορία ἐχόμενοι, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς οἰκίας ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε. [29] πῦρ τοίνυν αὐταῖς πανταχόθεν ἀνάψαντες τοῦ

ἀγῶνος παντάπασι τούτου ἐκράτησαν. Ὀπίτης μὲν οὖν, ὁ τῶν Ἀβασγῶν ἄρχων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ φυγεῖν ἰσχυσεν, ἐς τε Οὐννους τοὺς πλησιοχώρους καὶ ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον ἀνεχώρησε. [30] τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἢ ξὺν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐξηνθρακωμένοις τετεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη, ἢ ὑπὸ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων γεγονέναι χερσίν. ἐξώγησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων γυναῖκας ξὺν γόνῳ παντί, τοῦ τε φρουρίου τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον κατεστήσαντο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Ἀβασγοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα: ἐν δὲ Ἀψιλίοις ἐγένετο τάδε.

Ἀψίλιοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοοι Λαζῶν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἔστι δέ τι φρούριον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα: Τζιβιλὴν αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. [2] τῶν δὲ τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Τερδέτης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ εἶχε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει, Γουβάζη τῷ τῶν Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ προσκεκρουκῶς τε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχων, Πέρσαις ὠμολόγησε λάθρα τοῦτο δὴ ἐνδῶσειν τὸ φρούριον, στρατεύμα τε Περσῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει ἐς Ἀψιλίαν ἦει. [3] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστα τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προτερήσας αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις οἱ Λαζοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες ἀπιστεῖν τῷ Λαζῶν ἄρχοντι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψία ἐχόμενοι. οὕτω τε ἀφικόμενον τὸ Περσῶν στρατεύμα τῷ φρουρίῳ ὁ Τερδέτης ἐδέξατο. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μῆδοι οὐ Λαζικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀψιλίαν ἔχεσθαι τότε πρὸς αὐτῶν ᾤοντο. οὕτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὕτε Λαζοὶ ἀσχολία τῇ ἀμφὶ Πέτρα τε καὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ πιεζόμενοι Ἀψιλίοις ἐπαμύνειν ἔσχον. [5] Ἦν δὲ τις γυνὴ τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου, Ἀψιλία γένος, τὴν ὧσιν εὐπρεπὴς μάλιστα. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκτόπως ἐρασθεὶς ἐξαπινάϊως ὁ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύματος ἄρχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πειρᾶν ἤρξατο, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, βιάζεσθαι μελλήσει αὐτὴν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐνεχείρησεν. [6] οἷς δὴ ὀξυθυμῳθεὶς ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, αὐτόν τε νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεληλυθότας ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε, παρανάλωμα τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐπιθυμίας γεγενημένους, καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔσχεν αὐτός. Ἀψίλιοί τε Κόλχων διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέστησαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ σφᾶς πρὸς Περσῶν κακουμένους προσποιεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. [7] ἀλλὰ Γουβάζης Ῥωμαίων χιλίους καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ υἱόν, οὐπὲρ ἑναγχος ἐπεμνήσθην, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν: ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τιθασσεύων ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ ἔσχε καὶ Λαζῶν κατηκόους κατεστήσατο αὖθις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε Ἀψιλίοις καὶ Τζιβιλῇ τῷ φρουρίῳ τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [8] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον Χοσρόῃ ξυνέβη μηδὲ τὸν γόνον τῇ ἀπανθρωπιά τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνέπαφον μείναι. τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀνασῶζαδος ὄνομα ἔδυνатаι δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Περσῶν φωνῇ ἀθανατίζων προσκεκρουκῶς αὐτῷ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῇ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία ἐξαμαρτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς εὐνὴν συνιών. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα φυγῇ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξημίωσεν. [9] ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Οὐαζαῖνη χώρα, ἀγαθὴ μάλιστα, οὗ δὴ πόλις Βηλαπατῶν καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Κτησιφῶντος διέχουσα. [10] ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαγγείλαντος Ἀνασῶζαδος οὗτος διατριβὴν εἶχε. Τότε δὲ τῷ Χοσρόῃ χαλεπώτατα νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

ἀφανισθῆναι· νωσώδης γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης φύσει. [11] ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἱατροὺς πανταχόθεν πολλάκις ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγειρεν, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Τριβούνος ὁ ἱατρὸς ἦν, Παλαιστίνος γένος. [12] ὁ δὲ Τριβούνος οὗτος λόγιος μὲν ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐς τέχνην τὴν ἱατρικὴν οὐδενὸς ἥσσω, ἄλλως δὲ σώφρων τε καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς ἐς ἄκρον ἦκων. [13] καὶ ποτε Χοσρόην κακῶς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντα ἰασάμενος ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, δῶρα πολλά τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κεκομισμένους. [14] ἡνίκα τοίνυν ἡ ταύτης προτέρα ἐκεχειρία ἐγένετο, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόης τὸν ἱατρὸν τοῦτον συνδιαιτησόμενον αὐτῷ ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἤτησε δοῦναι. τῆς τέ οἱ αἰτήσεως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσης, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Τριβούνον ὁ Χοσρόης αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτου ἂν δέηται. [15] ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἤτει τῶν πάντων χρημάτων ἢ ὥστε οἱ Ῥωμαίων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς Χοσρόην ἀφεῖναι. [16] ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄλλους τε τρισχιλίους ἀφήκε καὶ ὅσους πρὸς ὄνομα ἐξητήσατο ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λογίμους ὄντας, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ Τριβούνος ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [17] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνασώζαδος τὰ Χοσρόῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ ξυμπεσόντα ἔγνω, τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύων, νεώτερα πράγματα ἔπρασσε. [18] τοῦ τε πατρός οἱ ῥαῖσαντος, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀποστήσας καὶ ὄπλα ἀντάρας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζων ἦει. [19] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Φάβριζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε. νικήσας οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ Φάβριζος ὑποχείριόν τε τὸν Ἀνασώζαδον πεποιημένος παρὰ Χοσρόην οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἦνεγκε. [20] καὶ ὃς τοὺς τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλωβήσατο, οὐ τὰς ὄψεις ἀφελόμενος, ἀλλὰ βλέφαρά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἀκοσμία πολλῇ ἀντιστρέψας. [21] περόνην γὰρ σιδηρὰν πυρακτώσας τινὰ καὶ ταύτῃ μόνον τοῖν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφθαλμοῖν τὰ ἔξω χρίσας, οὕτω δὴ τῶν βλεφάρων τὸν κόσμον λωβήσασθαι ἔσχε. [22] ταῦτα δὲ Χοσρόης τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἐποίει μόνον, ὅπως ἂν τῷ παιδί ἀναστέλληται ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐλπίς. ἄνδρα γὰρ λώβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφήσει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι Πέρσαις, ὥσπερ κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἀνασώζαδῳ τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ τρόπου ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· τὸ δὲ ἐέμπτον ἔτος τῆς ἐκεχειρίας διήνυστο. [2] καὶ Πέτρον μὲν ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐῷ παντάπασι διοικήσονται. [3] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔψεσθαι οἱ ἄνδρα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν ταῦτα διαθησόμενον, ὅπῃ ἑκατέρους ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [4] Ἰσδιγούσαναν τε αὖθις οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔπεμψεν, ὀφρυάζοντά τε καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ τινὶ ἀμυθήτῳ ἐχόμενον, οὗ δὴ ὁ τε τύφος καὶ τὸ φύσημα φορητὸν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων οὐδενὶ ἔδοξεν. [5] ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπομένων τε καὶ θεραπευόντων πάμπλου πληθος. εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἰέναι. [6] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογιμωτάτων, οἱ δὴ καὶ διαδήματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν χρυσᾷ ἐφόρου. [7] ἔδακνέ τε τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὐ κατὰ πρεσβευτήν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον φιλοφροσύνης τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἡζώισε. [8] Βραδούκιος μέντοι ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐκέτι ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ

Χοσρόην φασίν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι, ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπενεγκόντα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὁμοτράπεζος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ γέγονεν. [9] ‘οὐ γὰρ ἂν,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐρμηνεύς γε ὢν ἐς τοῦτο ἀξιώματος πρὸς βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, εἰ μὴ καταπροδοὺς ἔτυχε τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα.’ τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ἰσδιγούσαν αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν φασίν, ὥς λάθρα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς λόγους ἔλθοι. [10] τὰ δὲ πρῶτα ὁ πρεσβευτὴς οὗτος βασιλεῖ ἐντυχὼν οὐ μικρὸν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ, οὐ μέγα εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ ἡτιάτο Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἡδικηκέναι, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδους Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐν σπονδαῖς λυμήνασθαι φάσκων, ἄλλα τε οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐπιφέρων ἐγκλήματα, ὧν ἐπερ μοι ἐπιμνησθῆναι οὔτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [11] Ἐν μὲν οὖν Βυζαντίῳ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. Βέσσας δὲ παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Πέτρας ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυσσον, ἵνα δὴ καὶ Δαγισθαῖος τὰ πρότερα τὴν διώρυχα πεπονημένος τὸν περίβολον ταύτῃ καθεῖλεν. οὗτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ὥρυσσον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [12] οἱ τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην δειμάμενοι, ἐπὶ πέτρας μὲν ἔθεντο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια, ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ χώματος αὐτὰ ξυνέβαινε κεῖσθαι. [13] ἦν δὲ τις τοῦ τείχους μοῖρα ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖα, ἧς δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς σκληρᾶς τε καὶ ἀμυχάνου τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ θεμέλια ἐτεκτίναντο. [14] ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν μοῖραν Δαγισθαῖος τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ τανῦν Βέσσας διώρυσσον ὁμοίως, οὐκ ἐφείσης τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι περαιτέρω ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς διώρυχος μήκος συμμετρούσης τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρυτανευούσης εἰκότως. [15] Ἦνίκα οὖν Πέρσαι μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς τοῦτο τοῦ τείχους ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἤθελον, οὐ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα τὴν οἰκοδομίαν πεποιήνται, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [16] κάχληκος τὸν κενωθέντα ἐμπλησάμενοι χώρον δοκοὺς παχείας αὐτοῦ ὑπερθεῖν ἔθεντο, ὥσπερ ἐνδελεχέστατα ζύσαντες ὁμαλὰς τε παντάπασι καταστησάμενοι ἔξευξαν μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλας ἐς μέγα τι εὖρος, κρητῖδα δὲ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ θεμελίων ποιησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου καθύπερθεν αὐτῶν ἐτεκτίναντο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμπείρως. ὅπερ οὐ ζυνέντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔνερθεν τῶν θεμελίων ποιῆσθαι τὴν διώρυχα ᾔφοντο. [17] καὶ τὸν χώρον κενώσαντες ὅλον ἐκ τῶν δοκῶν ὧν περ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς γῆς τὸν μὲν περίβολον κατασεῖσαι κατὰ πολὺ ἰσχυσαν, μοῖρά τε αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναίως κατεπεπτῶκει, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε πῃ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦτο ἐκλίθη οὔτε τις αὐτῷ τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολὴ ξυνεταράχθη, ἀλλ’ ἀκραίφνης ὅλον εὐθείᾳ τινὶ καταβάσει, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, ἐς τὸν κενωθέντα χώρον καταβὰν ἔστη, καὶ τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἐφύλασσε χώραν, οὐκ ἐς ὕψος ὅσον τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ’ ἐς τι ἦσσαν. [18] κενωθέντος οὖν παντὸς τοῦ τῶν δοκῶν ἔνερθεν χώρου ὑφίζανεν αὐτὰς ἐνταῦθα ζὺν τῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οἰκοδομίᾳ πάσῃ ζυνέβη. [19] Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδ’ ὥς ἐσβατὸν ἐγγέγονει τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν ὄμιλος, ἡνίκα πολὺς ζὺν τῷ Μερμερόῃ ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, μέγα τι χρῆμα τῇ πρόσθεν οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐνθέμενοι ὑψηλὸν ἐσάγαν τὸν περίβολον ἐτεκτίναντο. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ κατασεισθὲν αὐθις ἐστηκὸς εἶδον, διηποροῦντό τε καὶ ἀμυχανίᾳ πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [21] οὔτε γὰρ διορύσσειν ἔτι ἠδύναντο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀποκεκριμένης τῆς κατώρυχος σφίσι, κριῶ τε χρῆσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀνάντει ἐτειχομάχουν, ἢ δὲ

μηχανὴ αὕτη ἐφέλκεσθαι οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ τε καὶ λίαν ὑπτίῳ. [22] Τύχη δέ τινα ξυνεκύρησεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ εἶναι βαρβάρων τῶν Σαβείρων ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [23] οἱ Σάβειροι ἔθνος μὲν ἐστὶν Οὐννικόν, ὥκηνται δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη, πάμπολυ πλῆθος μὲν ἐσάγαν ὄντες, ἐς ἀρχὰς δὲ πολλὰς ἐπικεικῶς διηρημένοι. [24] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ μὲν τινὲς εἰσι τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, οἱ δὲ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐκ παλαιοῦ γινώριμοι. τοῖν τε βασιλέοιν ἐκάτερος χρυσίον εἰώθει τακτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνσπόνδοις προῖεσθαι, οὐκ ἐπέτειον μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα ἂν ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡ χρεία ἐνάγοι. [25] τότε οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν Σαβείρων τοὺς οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν ἔστειλέ τινα τὸν τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοὺς κομιοῦντα. [26] ὁ δὲ ἑπολεμίων γὰρ μεταξὺ ὄντων ἐς ὄρη τὰ Καυκάσια ἰέναι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήματα ἐπαγόμενος οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν ἀφικνεῖται μὲν παρά τε τὸν Βέσσαν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἐς τὴν Πέτρας πολιορκίαν καθίστατο, παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Σαβείρους πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν τινὰς ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς τὰ χρήματα ληψομένους παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκειν, οἳ τε βάρβαροι τρεῖς ἀπολεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικήν εὐθὺς ἐπεμψαν: οἳ δὴ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τειχομαχίαν κατέστησαν. [27] Οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους εἶδον ἀπογνόντας τε καὶ ἀπορουμένους τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι, μηχανὴν τινα ἐπετεχνήσαντο, οἷα οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν τινί, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε: καίτοι τεχνιτῶν μὲν πολλὸς ὁμιλος ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ γέγονε τε αἰεὶ καὶ τανῦν ἐστιν. [28] ἐς χρείαν δὲ πολλὰκις ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κατέστησαν τῆς μηχανῆς ἐκάτεροι ταύτης, ἐς ἐρύματα τειχομαχοῦντες ἐν χωρίοις σκληροῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις τισὶ κείμενα: ἀλλ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦτο γεγένηται ὅπερ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τανῦν γέγονεν: οὕτως αἰεὶ προϊόντι τῷ χρόνῳ συννεωτερίζειν τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἐπινοίας φιλεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις. [29] κριὸν γὰρ αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οἱ Σάβειροι οὗτοι, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, [30] ἀλλὰ καινουργήσαντες ἐτέρῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. οὐ γὰρ δοκοὺς ἐς τὴν μηχανὴν ταύτην, οὐκ ὀρθὰς, οὐκ ἐγκαρσίας ἐμβέβληνται, ἀλλὰ ῥάβδους παχείας τινὰς ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες, καὶ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ τῶν δοκῶν πανταχόθι ἐναρμοσάμενοι, βύρσαις τε τὴν μηχανὴν καλύψαντες ὅλην τὸ τοῦ κριοῦ διεσώσαντο σχῆμα, μίαν δοκὸν μόνην, ἥπερ εἴθισται, κατὰ μέσσην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀλύσεσιν ἀναρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς τισίν, ἥπερ τὸ ἄκρον ὀξὺ γεγεννημένον καὶ σιδήρῳ περικαλυφθὲν ὥσπερ βέλους ἀκίς ἐμελλε συχνὰ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι. [31] οὕτω δὲ κούφην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπειργάσαντο, ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων ἐφέλκεσθαι ἢ διωθεῖσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες τεσσαράκοντα, οἳ καὶ τὴν δοκὸν ἀνασύρειν τε καὶ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι ἐμελλον, ἔνδον τῆς μηχανῆς ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βυρσῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἔφερον τὸν κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [32] Τρεῖς μὲν οὗτοι οἱ βάρβαροι μηχανὰς τοιαύτας εἰργάσαντο, τὰς δοκοὺς ξὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ ἐκ τῶν κριῶν ἀφελόμενοι, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐφέλκειν: ὑποδύντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστην οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεχθέντες ὥς ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ τεύχους ἔθεντο. [33]

ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ μηχανῆς ἐκάστης ἕτεροι ἴσταντο, τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κράνεσι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κεκαλυμμένοι καὶ κοντοὺς ἔχοντες, ὥνπερ τὰ ἄκρα σιδηρίοις ἀγκιστροειδέσιν ἐρήρειστο, τούτου δὴ παρεσκευασμένων αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ἡ τοῦ κριοῦ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐμβολὴ ξυγχῆρῃ τὰς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολάς, τούτοις δὴ τοῖς κοντοῖς περιαιρεῖν τε τοὺς ξυγχεομένους τῶν λίθων καὶ ἀπορρίπτειν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [34] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἔργου εἶχοντο καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη συχναῖς ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς κατεσεῖετο, οἱ δὲ τῶν μηχανῶν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὄντες τοῖς ἀγκιστροειδέσι κοντοῖς τῶν λίθων τοὺς ξυνταρασσομένους ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ξυνθήκης ἐρρίπτουν, ἀλώσεσθαι τε ἡ πόλις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [35] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπενόουν τάδε. ξύλινον πύργον, ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρεσκεύαστο, καθύπερθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτίθεντο, ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλεων τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχιωτάτων, ἥλοις τε σιδηροῖς καὶ θώραξι τὰς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβαλόντων. [36] ἀγγεῖα δὲ θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου ἐμπλησάμενοι καὶ φαρμάκου ὅπερ Μῆδοι μὲν νάφθαν καλοῦσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Μηδείας ἔλαιον, πυρί τε ταῦτα ὑφάψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν κριῶν ἔβαλλον, ὥσπερ ὀλίγου ἐμπιπράναι πάσας ἐδέησαν. [37] ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ ταύτας, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐστῶτες, τοῖς κοντοῖς, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, ἐνδελεχέστατα περιαιροῦντες τὰ βαλλόμενα καὶ περικαθαίροντες, ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν εὐθὺς ἐρρίπτουν. [38] οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀνθέξειν ὑπόπτειον: τὸ γὰρ πῦρ οὗ προσψάυσειεν ἐνεπίμπρα αὐτίκα, εἰ μὴ εὐθυωρὸν ἀποβληθεῖη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [39] Βέσσας δὲ αὐτὸς τεθωρακισμένος καὶ ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στρατεύμα κλίμακας πολλὰς ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦ τείχους προῆγε. [40] καὶ λόγῳ τοσοῦτον παραθαρρύνας, ὅσον μὴ ἀμβλῦναι τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμήν, ἔργοις τῆς παρακελεύσεως τὰ λοιπὰ ἔνειμεν. ἀνὴρ γὰρ πλέον ἢ ἐβδόμηκοντα γεγωνὸς ἐτῶν καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξωρος ὢν ἤδη πρῶτος ἐπέβη τῆς κλίμακος. [41] ἐνταῦθα μάχη καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξις γίνεται Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις οἷαν ἔγωγε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οὐδαμῇ οἶμαι ξυνενεχθῆναι. [42] τὸ μὲν γὰρ βαρβάρων πλῆθος εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ξυνήει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. [43] καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν τραυματίαι σχεδὸν τι γεγόνاسι πάντες, ὀλίγοις τε λίαν ἐπ' ἀθώοις τοῖς σώμασι περιεῖναι ξυνέβη. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἐβιάζοντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπεκρούοντο. [44] ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ κτεινομένων πολλῶν οὐ μακράν που ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον Πέρσαι: ὠτισμοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν κλιμάκων ὑπερβολῇ γεγενημένου ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἅτε πολεμίους καθύπερθεν οὔσι μαχόμενοι ἔθνησκον καὶ Βέσσας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πεσὼν ἔκειτο. [45] καὶ τότε δὴ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίας πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔβαλον, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ξυνέστησάν τε σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ κράνη μὲν ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, θώρακας δὲ ἀμπερόμενοι πάντες, ἔτι μέντοι καθύπερθεν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι καὶ ἐν χρῶ ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις, ὀροφῆς αὐτῷ σχῆμα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὸν τε στρατηγὸν ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα ἔκρυψαν καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα παντὶ σθένει ἀπεκρούοντο. [46] καὶ πάταγος μὲν τῶν αἰετῶν πεμπομένων κἀν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

ὄπλοις ἀποκαυλιζομένων πολλὺς ἐγεγόνει, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ ἄσθητι καὶ
ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἕκαστος εἶχετο. [47] Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἅπαντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἀμύνειν ἐν
σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν, καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀνέστελλον. [48] Τότε δὴ ὁ Βέσσας ὁὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξανίστασθαι εἶχε, τῆς
ὀπλίσεως ἀντιστατούσης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ σώματός οἱ οὐκ εὐσταλοῦς ὄντος,
ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ εὐσαρκός τε καί, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐσχατογέρων οὐκ ἐς
ἀμυχανίαν ἐξέπεσε, καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦκων, ἀλλὰ βουλευεταί τι
ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ὥπερ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διασώσασθαι
ἔσχε. [49] τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις ἐπέστελλε σύρειν τε αὐτόν ἐκ ποδὸς καὶ ὥς
ἀπωτάτω τοῦ τείχους ἐφέλκειν. [50] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ αὐτόν οἱ μὲν
ἔσυρον, οἱ δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὑπεχώρουν, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας ὑπερθεν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους
ἔχοντες, τοσαύτην δὲ ποιούμενοι βάδισιν ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἐσύρετο, ὥς μὴ
ἀπαρακάλυπτος γεγωνὼς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων βληθεῖη. [51] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Βέσσας
ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγεγόνει, ἐξανίστατό τε καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ἦει, τῆς τε κλίμακος ἐπιβατεύσας αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν ὥρμητο. [52]
ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεδείκνυντο ἀρετῆς
ἄξια. περίφοβοί τε γινόμενοι Πέρσαι καιρὸν σφίσι τινὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους
διδόναί ἤτουν, ὅπως συσκευασάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσωνται τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες. [53]
Βέσσας δὲ δολώσεις αὐτοὺς ἐπιτεχνάσασθαι ὑποτοπάζων, ὅπως μεταξὺ
κρατύνωνται τὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὀχύρωμα, τὴν μὲν ξυμβολὴν καταπαύειν ἔφη
οὐχ οἷός τε εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ βουλομένους αὐτῷ ξυγγενέσθαι,
τῶν στρατοπέδων μαχομένων, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἰέναι
τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς. [54] Τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τὸν
λόγον γίνεται μὲν αὐθις καρτερὰ τις μάχη καὶ ὠθισμὸς πολλός, ἔτι δὲ
ἀγχωμάλου τῆς ξυμβολῆς οὔσης ξυνηνέχθη τὸ τεῖχος ἐτέρωθι, οὐπερ
διορύξαντες Ῥωμαῖοι πρότερον ἔτυχον, ἐξαπιναιῶς καταπεσεῖν. ἐνταῦθα οὖν
πολλοὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ξυνέρρεον. [55] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πλήθει τοὺς πολεμίους
παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες, καίπερ δίχα διηρημένοι, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
βάλλοντές τε καὶ ὠθοῦντες καρτερώτατα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέκειντο. [56] Πέρσαι
δὲ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἀντεῖχον, ἐκατέρωθι βιαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαιρεθεῖσα ἡ
ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη διαφανῆς ἦν. [57] οὕτω δὲ πονουμένων
ἀμφοτέρων ἔτι τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ οὔτε Περσῶν ἀποκρούεσθαι
δυναμένων ἐγκειμένους σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαίων βιάζεσθαι
παντάπασι τὴν εἴσοδον οἶων τε ὄντων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, Ἀρμένιος γένος,
Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱὸς ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, τὰ μὲν
καταπεπτοκότα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὠθισμοὺς εἶασεν, Ἀρμενίων
δὲ τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενος ὀλίγους τινὰς διὰ τοῦ κρημνωδους, ἥπερ
ἅπαντες τὴν πόλιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι ὑπόπτειον, βιασάμενος ἀνέβη τοὺς ταύτῃ
φρουρούς. [58] κατὰ τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις γενόμενος ἓνα Περσῶν τῶν τῆδε
ἀμυνομένων, ὅπερ μαχιμώτατος ἐδόκει εἶναι, δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. ἐσβατόν τε
Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [59] Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ
ἐστήκεσαν μέγα τι χρῆμα τῶν πυρφόρων ἀγγείων ὑψηλῶν, ὅπως τῶν
βαλλομένων τῷ περιόντι καταφλέξαι αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς μηχανὰς οἷοί τε
ᾧσιν, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἅπαντα τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθεῖσθαι. [60]

πνεῦμα δὲ νότου σκληρόν τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς ἄγαν ἐξαπινάϊως ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ζὼν πολλῶ πατάγῳ ἐπιπεσόν, τῶν τοῦ πύργου σανίδων ἀμηγέπη μιᾷ ἦπατο. [61] οὐ ζυνιέντων δὲ αὐτίκα τῶν ἐνταῦθα Περσῶν ἴκοντο γὰρ καὶ θορύβῳ καὶ δέει καὶ ταραχῇ ἀμέτρῳ εἶχοντο ἅπαντες, ἥ τε ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς παρηρεῖτο τὴν αἴσθησιν ἢ φλόξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη τῷ τε τῆς Μηδείας ἐπωνύμῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἷσπερ ἄλλοις ἐξήρτυτο τὸν πύργον ὅλον καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐνέπρησεν. [62] ἐξηνθακωμένοι τε ἅπαντες ἔπεσον, οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, οἱ δὲ τούτου ἐκτός, ἵνα δὴ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστήκεσαν: οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσοι δὴ ἐς τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ καταπεπτοκότα ἐμάχοντο, ἐνδιδόντων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τε ὀλιγορίαν ἐμπεπτοκότων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καὶ κατ' ἄκρας ἢ Πέτρα ἐάλω. [63] Τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναδραμόντες καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνη καταλαβόντες ὀχύρωμα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσους οὐκ ἔκτειναν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, ἐζώγρησαν ἅπαντας ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα ὄντας. [64] καὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτὼ μὲν καὶ δέκα ἀκραιφνεῖς εὖρον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες τραυματῖαι ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Θωμᾶ υἱός, λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδῳ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων βληθεὶς ἔργα τε θαυμαστὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταλαβόντας πολιορκοῦντες λόγους προὔφερον, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς προτεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμολογοῦντες, ταύτῃ Πέρσας παραδοκοῦντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσιν. [2] οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ἐς ἀντίστασιν εἶδον, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνθέξειν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ οἰόμενοι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀρετὴν θανατῶντες. [3] Βέσσας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποστήσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων ἀντικαταστήσαι τε ἐς τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὡς πλησιαιτάτα αὐτοῖς ἰέναι κελεύει παραίνεσίν τέ τινα ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσασθαι, δηλώσας ὅσα δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶπεῖν βούλοιο. [4] Καὶ ὃς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Τί πεπονθότες ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὧ βέλτιστοι Πέρσαι, τὸν ὀλεθρον διατείνεσθε τοῦτον, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τὰ θανάσιμα σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα διαφανῶς ἀτιμάζοντες; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἀντιστατεῖν, οὐδὲ ζυνετὸν τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ὑπέκειν: οὐδὲ μὴν ἄδοξόν τ' οὐδὲ τύχη τῇ παρούσῃ [5] ἐπομένους βιώναι.' ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀγαθῆς τινὸς ἐλπίδος τυχοῦσα τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐκφεύγει δικαίως, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἔργων περιβάλλεται τὰ αἰσχροτάτα: κακῷ γὰρ τῷ ἀμηχάνῳ τὸ σύγγνωμον ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. [6] μὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν προὔπτῳ ζηλοῦτε κινδύνῳ, μηδὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀλλάξασθε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὡς ἀναβιώσεσθαι μὲν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀδύνατον, οἱ δὲ περιόντες καὶ χρόνῳ διαχρήσονται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, ἣν γε τοῦτο κρεῖσσον εἶναι δοκῇ. [7] βουλεύσασθε οὖν τὴν ὑστάτην βουλήν καὶ περισκοπεῖσθε τὰ ζύμφορα, ἐκεῖνο εἰδότες, ὡς ταῦτα ἂν τῶν βουλευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα εἴη ἐν οἷς τὸ μεταμέλειν τοῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσται. [8] ὡς ἡμεῖς γε ὑμᾶς καὶ ζυγομαχοῦντας οἰκτείρομεν καὶ θανατῶντων φειδόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐνδιαθρυπτομένους

τε καὶ βλακεύοντας ἔλεειν ἀξιοῦμεν, ἥ Ῥωμαίοις Χριστιανοῖς νόμος. [9] ἄλλο τε ὑμῖν περιέσται οὐδέν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω μεταβαλόντες Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀντὶ Χοσρόου κύριον ἔξετε: ὑπὲρ γὰρ τούτων ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσιν ὁμολογοῦμεν. [10] μὴ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαχρήσησθε, παρὸν σώζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπὶ οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν ὀνήσει, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ θανατᾶν τοῦτό γε. [11] γενναῖος δὲ ὃς ἂν ἐγκατερῇ τὰ δεινότατα, ἡνίκα τι προσδοκᾷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν ἐκούσιον τελευτὴν ἄνθρωποι, ἔνθα δὴ τις ἐπίκειται κρείσσων τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κινδύνῳ ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ βίου μὲν καταστροφή ἄχρηστος ἄνοια προπετής, τὸ δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἀνόητον θράσος τοῦ δραστηρίου πρόσχημα οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς τοῖς γε σώφροσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ. [12] καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρή, μὴ τι δόξητε καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀγνωμονεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπολεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, παραδεδώκει τοῖς διασώζειν ἐφιεμένους. [13] τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτά ἐστι, βουλευσέσθε δὲ ὑμεῖς δηλονότι ὧν περ ἀξίοις ὑμῖν ζυμβαίνει εἶναι.' [14] Ἡ μὲν παραίνεσις ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοῇ δέχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐθελοκωφοῦντες ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαῖοιεν προσεποιοῦντο. [15] καὶ τότε, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευσαμένου, Ῥωμαῖοι πῦρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐμβέβληνται, τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐνδῶσιν τὰ σώματα σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι. [16] τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὅτι δὴ σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τετεφρῶσθαι ζυμβήσεται, ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ εἰδότες καθ' ὃ τι σωθήσονται ἀμυνόμενοι, οὐδ' ὥς ὑποχείριοι τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ζὺν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εὐθὺς ἅπαντες, θαυμάζοντες τὰ ποιούμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καταφλεγόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. [17] δι' ὅσης τε σπουδῆς ὁ Χοσρόης Λαζικήν ἤγε τῆνικαδε φανερόν γεγονεν: ὃς γε στρατιώτας μὲν τοὺς πάντων λογιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐν τῷ τῆς Πέτρας κατεστήσατο φυλακτηρίῳ, ὅπλα δὲ κατέθετο τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε ληϊσμένων αὐτὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστω πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἐπιβαλεῖν σκευήν, καίτοι κὰν τῇ ἀκροπόλει πολλὰ καυθῆναι ζυνέβη. [18] εὗρηται δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ τεταριγευμένων κρεῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα δὴ ἔμελλε πενταετὲς τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις πᾶσιν ἐπαρκέσειν. [19] οἶνον δὲ οὐκ ἔτυχον ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι Πέρσαι, πλήν γε ὅτι τὸν τε ὀξίνην καὶ διαρκὴ κύαμον. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπύρρεον ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι εὔρον, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι διηποροῦντο, ὥς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τοῖς κρυφίοις ὀχετοῖς ἔμαθον. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [21] Ἡνίκα Πέτραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐλὼν τῇδε τὸ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι προσεδρεύσουσι μὲν αὐτῇ μηχανῇ πάσῃ, εὐθὺς δὲ διελεῖν τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐγχειρήσουσιν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. [22] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ὅπερ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήγετο ἐς τρεῖς διελὼν μοίρας κατὰ ῥυχά τε βαθεῖαν κοιμίδι ποιησάμενος, ὀχετοὺς ἐτεκτῆνατο τρεῖς, τὸν ἕνα μὲν κάτω ἐς τῆς κατὰ ῥυχος ταύτης τὰ ἔσχατα, κόπρῳ καὶ λίθοις καλύψας ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῆς κατὰ ῥυχος μέσα: ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε κρύψας τὸν δεύτερον, ὑπερθεὶν τὸν τρίτον ἐδείματο, ὑπὲρ γῆς τε ὄντα καὶ ὀρατὸν πᾶσιν: ὥστε τριώροφον κεκρυμμένως τὸν ὀχετὸν εἶναι. [23] ὧν περ οὐ ζυνέντες κατ' ἀρχὰς

τῆς πολιορκίας Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν διαφανῆ ὀχετὸν διελόντες, ἐπίπροσθέν τε οὐκ ἐπεξαγαγόντες τὸν ἐπὶ διώρυγι πόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἔργου πρὸ τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπωλείας ἀποπαυσάμενοι, ὥντο ἐνδεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὸ ὕδωρ, σφαλλούσης αὐτοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρὰ τὸ πονεῖσθαι ὀλιγωρίας. [24] τῆς δὲ προσεδρείας μηκυνομένης, τῶν τινὰς πολεμίων λαβόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔμαθον ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ὑδρεῦεσθαι. [25] κατορύξαντες τοῖνον τὸν χῶρον εὐρίσκουσι τὸν δεῦτερον ὀχετὸν ἐνταυθὰ πη ὄντα, καὶ τοῦτον διελόντες αὐτίκα ὥντο ταύτῃ πᾶσαν κατειργάσθαι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς δευτέροις ἐν τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διδασκαλίᾳ παιδευθέντες τὰ πρότερα. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες ἐπίρρεον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζόν τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [27] τὸ δὲ γεγονὸς παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες, τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς σφετέρας παρὰ τοὺς πόνους ὀλιγωρίας ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡσθάνοντο. [28] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ὁ Βέσσας εὐθὺς βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε, τὸν δὲ Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὥς μὴ πράγματα οἱ πολέμοι σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχωνται. [29] καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἀποδεδειγμένης τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπήνεσεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας, ὅτι δὴ ὅλον καθεῖλε τὸ τεῖχος. [30] γέγονεν οὖν ὁ Βέσσας αὐθις οἷς τε εὐημέρησεν οἷς τε ἀρετῆς πεποιῆται δήλωσιν ἀπόβλεπτος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [31] ἥνίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο, ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχον ἅτε ἀνδρειοτάτῳ διαγεγονότι τὰ πρότερα. [32] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνταυθα δεδυστυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε, Ῥώμῃς τε οὕτω τοῖς Γότθοις ἀλούσης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, καὶ διεφθαρμένου ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον Ῥωμαίων τοῦ γένους, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς οὕτω δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναστρέψαντα στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας αὐτόν. [33] διέσυρον δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖ βεβουλευμένα ἐχλευάζον, εἰ τῷ Βέσσῃ τούτῳ, Γότθων τε ἡσσηθέντι κατὰ κράτος καὶ τυμβογέροντι γεγενημένῳ, πόλεμον τὸν Μηδικὸν ἐγχειρίσειεν ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς βίου. [34] ἀλλὰ τούτων σχεδὸν τι ἅπασι δεδογμένων, εὐτυχία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ τοιαῦδε τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷδε ξυνηνέχθη χρῆσθαι. οὕτως ἄρα οὐχ ἥπερ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ροπῇ πρυτανεύεται τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ὃ δὴ τύχην εἰώθασι καλεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ταύτῃ πρόεισι τὰ ξυμβαίνοντα ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐνδὴλα γίνεται. [35] τῷ γὰρ παραλόγῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι φιλεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης ὄνομα προσχωρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ φίλον, ταύτῃ δοκεῖτω.

Μερμερόης δέ, δείσας μὴ τι Πέτρα τε καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς τῇδε ἀπολελειμμένοις φλαῦρον διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ξυμβαίῃ, ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταυθα ἦει, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ὁ καιρὸς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγγε. [2] μεταξὺ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἅπαντα τῆς μὲν ὁδοῦ ταύτης τὸ παράπαν ἀπέσχετο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἄλλο τι χωρίον Λαζοῖς ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ οὐκ ἦν. [3] ἀναστρέψας δὲ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα εἰσόδους, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατός ἐστιν, αὐτόν τε πεζῇ διαμείψας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ποταμόν, Ῥέοντα ὄνομα, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῃ νουσίπορον ὄντα, τοῦ τε Φάσιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ ταύτῃ γενόμενος ἐπὶ πόλιν,

Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὄνομα, ἥ πρώτη τε καὶ μεγίστη ἐν Λαζοῖς ἐστίν, ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα. [4] ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλέφαντες ὁκτὼ εἶποντο. ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἐμελλόν ἰστάμενοι Πέρσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσπερ ἐκ πύργων κατὰ κορυφῆς ἐνθένδε βάλλειν. [5] ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν τις Περσῶν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ταλαιπωρίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀγασθεῖη, οἳ γε τὴν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ὁδὸν φέρουσιν, κρημνώδεσιν τε νάπαις καὶ δυσχωρίαις λοχμώδεσιν πανταχόθι ξυνεχομένην, ὕλαις τε οὕτως ἀμφιλαφέσιν καλυπτομένην, ὥς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ δοκεῖν ἀπόρευτον τὰ πρότερα εἶναι, οὕτως ὁμαλῇ κατεστήσαντο ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὅσους βούλοιντο ἐπαγομένους ταύτῃ στρατεύειν. [6] ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμμαχοι Οὐννοὶ ἐκ τῶν Σαβείρων καλουμένων δισχιλίοι τε καὶ μύριοι. [7] ἀλλὰ δέσας ὁ Μερμερόης μὴ ἐς πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ὄντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μήτε τι αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν ἐπαγγέλλοντι ἐβελήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τι ἀνῆκεστον ἐς τὸ Περσῶν στρατεύμα δράσωσι, τετρακισχιλίους μὲν ξυστρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν εἶασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρήμασι πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [8] Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς δισχιλίοι μὲν καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν ἀγγεγερμένοι ἐς ταῦτο ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει φυλακτηρίῳ τρισχιλίοι ἦσαν, ὧν Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ Βάβας ἦρχον, ἄμφω ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια· [9] οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἐντὸς τῶν ἐκβολῶν ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ἐκεῖνο διανοοῦμενοι, ὥστε ἦν πῃ ἐπισκῆπη ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατός, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι βοηθοῖεν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Βενίλος τε καὶ Οὐλίγαρος· ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐαράζης ὁ Περσαρμένιος, ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκων, ᾧ δὴ Τζάνοι ὀκτακόσιοι εἶποντο. [11] Βέσσας γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν Πέτραν εἶλε, πονεῖν μὲν ἔτι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλεν, ἐς δὲ Ποντικούς καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀποχωρήσας ἐπεμελεῖτο ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πόρων, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογία τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις πράγματα ἔσφηλεν. [12] εἰ γὰρ εὐθὺς τότε νενικηκώς, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ τὴν Πέτραν ἐλὼν ἐς τὰ Λαζῶν τε καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅρια ἦλθε καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνῃ δυσχωρίας ἐφράξατο, οὐκ ἂν, μοι δοκεῖ, ἔτι Περσῶν στρατεύμα ἐς Λαζικὴν ἦει. [13] νῦν δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος τοῦ πόνου τούτου ὀλιγορήσας μόνον οὐχὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις Λαζικὴν αὐτοχειρὶ παραδέδωκε, τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ὀλίγα φροντίσας. [14] εἰώθει γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπιχωρεῖν τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἕς τε τὴν δίαitan καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παρανομοῦντες ἠλίσκοντο. [15] Ἦν δὲ Λαζῶν φρούρια δύο πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὁρίοις, Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανίς. ἅπερ ἐν δυσχωρίαις κείμενα χαλεπαῖς τισὶ καὶ ὅλως δυσκόλοις δυσπρόσοδα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα ἐτύγγανε. [16] ταῦτα Λαζοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν πόνῳ πολλῷ ἐφρούρουν, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐδωδύμων τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν φύεται, ἀλλὰ φέροντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσεκομίζοντο. [17] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Λαζοὺς ἀναστήσας ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο. [18] οἳ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐλύμοις ἀποζῆν ὥσπερ οἱ Κόλχοι ἐς πλείω χρόνον, οὐκ εἰωθὸς σφίσιν, ὥς ἥκιστα

εἶχον, Λαζοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι φέροντές τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον. [19] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὰ καταλαβόντες ἔσχον, ἔν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέλαβον τὰς ἀντιδόσεις Βώλου τε τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῦ Φαραγγίου πεπονημένοι, ὥσπερ μοι ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις πάντα ἐρρήθη. [20] Λαζοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ φρούρια ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ αὐτὰ Πέρσαι ἐπιτειχίσματα κατὰ σφῶν ἔχοιεν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖν θάτερον, ὅπερ Σκάνδα καλοῦσιν, αὐθις οἰκοδομησάμενοι ἔσχον, ὃ τε Μερμερόης ἐπίπροσθεν ἦγε τὸν Μήδων στρατόν. [21] Ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, Ῥοδόπολις ὄνομα, ἥπερ ὑπηντίαζε πρώτη τοῖς ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐσβάλλουσιν, εὐέφοδός τε καὶ ἐπιμαχωτάτη ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [22] διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν πολλῷ πρότερον δείσαντες Λαζοὶ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔμαθον, [23] εὐθὺ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἦσαν. γνούς δὲ ὁ Μερμερόης τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν. [24] ἄμεινον γάρ οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τούτους πρότερον ἐξελόντι οὕτω δὴ ἐς τῆς Αρχαιοπόλεως τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, ὥς μὴ ὀπισθεν αὐτοὶ ἰόντες κακουργήσωσι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [25] ὥς ἀγχοτάτω δὲ τοῦ Αρχαιοπόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενος ἡσπάσατο ἐρεσχελῶν τε τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τι νεανιευσάμενος ὥς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπανήξει σφίσι. [26] βουλομένῳ γάρ οἱ αὐτῷ ἔφασκεν εἶναι Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἄλλους προσειπεῖν πρότερον, οἳ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδεύονται ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν. [27] οἳ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενοι ἰέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ βούλοιο, ἰσχυρίσαντο μέντοι ὥς, ἦν τοῖς ἐκείνη Ῥωμαίοις ἐντύχη, οὐ μὴ ποτε αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξει. [28] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἥσους οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἢ φέρειν τῶν ἐπιόντων τὴν δύναμιν ἐς τὰς σφίσι παρεσκευασμένας ἀκάτους ἐμβάντες ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν διεπορθεύσαντο ἅπαντες, τῶν σφίσι παρόντων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα μὲν διακομίζειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν, ἐν ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβεβλημένοι, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι τρυφᾶν δύνωνται. [29] γενόμενος οὖν ἐνταῦθα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὁ Μερμερόης οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἔρημόν τε παντάπασιν ἰδὼν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἥσχαλλέ τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἐδυσφορεῖτο. [30] καύσας τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων χαράκωμα καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἀνέστρεφεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Αρχαιοπόλιν ἦγε.

Κεῖται δὲ Αρχαιοπόλις ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς σκληροῦ ἐσάγαν, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν παραρρεῖ ἐξ ὁρῶν κατιῶν ἄπερ τῆς πόλεως καθύπερθέν ἐστι. [2] πύλαι δὲ αὐτῇ αἱ μὲν κάτω εἰσὶ, φέρουσαι παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὴν ὑπώρειαν, οὐκ ἀπρόσοδοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄνοδον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τινὰ ἐς αὐτὰς οὐχ ὁμαλῇ εἶναι: αἱ δὲ ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐξάγουσαι δυσπρόσοδοι ἐσάγαν εἰσὶ: χῶροι γὰρ λοχμῶδεις πρὸ τούτων τῶν πυλῶν εἰσίν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκοντες. [3] ἐπεὶ τε ὕδατος ἄλλου τοῖς τῇδε ὥκημένοις οὐδαμῇ μέτεστι, τεῖχη δύο ἐνθένδε οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐτεκτήναντο, ὅπως ἂν σφίσις ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ ἀρύεσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη. Μερμερόης οὖν παντὶ σθένει τειχομαχεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐποίει τάδε. [4] πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς Σαβείροις ἐπήγγειλε κριοὺς παμπληθεῖς ἐργάζεσθαι, οἷους ἂν φέρειν ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων δυνατοὶ εἶεν, ἐπεὶ μηχανὰς μὲν τὰς

συνειθισμένας τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς Ἀρχαιοπόλεως τὸν περιβόλον ἐπάγεσθαι εἶχε, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα κείμενον, ἡκηκόει δὲ ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδοις Σαβείροις ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέτρας τεῖχος ἐργασθεῖη οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπινενοημένοις ἐπόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς πείρας ὠφέλειαν μετῆι. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπαγγελλλόμενα ἐποίουν. [5] κριοὺς τε αὐτίκα συχνοὺς ἐτεκτῆναντο, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος Ῥωμαίοις εἰργάσθαι Σαβείρους ἐρρήθη. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν Δολομίτας καλουμένους κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ κρημνώδη στέλλει ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπιστείλας τοὺς ταύτη πολεμίους δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [6] οἱ δὲ Δολομίται οὗτοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσιν, ὥκημένοι ἐν Πέρσαις μέσοις, οὐ μὴν κατήκοοι γεγόνασιν βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν πρόποτε. [7] ἰδρυμένοι γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀποτόμοις τε καὶ ὅλως ἀβάτοις αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ἐκ παλαιοῦ διαγεγόνασιν ἐς τὸδε τοῦ χρόνου: μισθαρνοῦντες δὲ αἰεὶ συστρατεύουσι Πέρσαις ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσι. [8] καὶ πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἅπαντες, ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τρία. [9] θεῖν δὲ λίαν ἐν τε τοῖς κρημνοῖς καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἐξεπίστανται, ὥσπερ ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ. [10] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μερμερόης αὐτοὺς τῇδε τειχομαχεῖν ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς κάτω τοὺς τε κριοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος ἦι. [11] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ξὺν τοῖς Σαβείροις ἐς τὸ τεῖχος συχνὰ βάλλοντες, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καλύψαντες τὸν ταύτη ἀέρα, οὐ μακράν που ἐγένοντο ἀναγκάσαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίους ἐκλιπεῖν τὰς ἐπάλξεις. [12] οἱ δὲ Δολομίται τὰ δοράτια ἐκ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐλύπουν. [13] πανταχόθι τε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα πονηρά τε καὶ κινδύνων ἔμπλεα ἐγεγόνει, ἔσχατα ἐσχάτων κακὰ πάσχουσι. [14] Τότε δὴ Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας, εἴτε ἀρετὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι εἴτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, ἢ καὶ τι αὐτοὺς θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, εἶασαν μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινάς, οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας ἀμύνασθαι, τοὺς πλείστον δὲ ξυγκαλέσαντες βραχεῖάν τινα παρακέλευσιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τάδε: 'Τὸν μὲν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, καὶ τὴν περιλαβοῦσαν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκην ὁρᾶτε. [15] δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτοις δὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ὡς ἡκιστα εἶκειν. τοὺς γὰρ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας ἐλθόντας τοῦτο ἂν διασώσασθαι δύναίτο μόνον, τὸ μὴ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφίεσθαι: ἐπεὶ τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸ διαφθεῖρεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. [16] καὶ τὸδε δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐννοεῖν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς δεήσει, ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶνδε ἀμυνομένοις τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῖν κείσεται, ἣν καὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὡς προθυμότητα διενέγκωμεν. [17] μάχη γὰρ ἐκ διεστηκότων ξυνισταμένη ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐδενὶ ξυγχωρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περίσταται κράτος. [18] ἣν μέντοι ἢ ξυμβολὴ ξυσταδὸν γένηται, τά τε τῆς προθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον κρατήσῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας ἢ νίκη χωρήσῃ. [19] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εὐημερήσαντες μὲν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου μαχόμενοι οὐδὲν ἄν τι τῆς εὐημερίας ἀπόναινο μέγα, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκῳ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἀπεῶσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὁ κίνδυνος αὐθις ἐν ἀκμῇ γίνεται, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ σφαλέντες αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, [20] συνδιαφθείρονται τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν. ἐκ χειρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους νενικηκότες

ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι, εὐέλπιδες τε τῇ προσπεσούσῃ τανῶν ἀπογνώσει γεγενημένοι. [21] τοὺς γὰρ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας τινὸς ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντας τὸ θεῖον ἀεὶ διασώζεσθαι μάλιστα εἶωθε.’ [22] Τοσαῦτα Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας παρακελευσάμενοι τάς τε πύλας ἀνέωγον καὶ τὸ στράτευμα δρόμῳ ἐξήγον, ὀλίγων ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθά τινων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [23] τῶν τις Λαζῶν τῇ προτεραίᾳ, λόγιμος μὲν ὢν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει, ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει δὲ ὀκνημένος, ἔπρασσε πρὸς Μερμερόνῃ ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι προδοσίας πέρι. [24] ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπήγγελλε χαρίζεσθαι Πέρσαις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως, ἥνικα ἐς τειχομαχίαν καθιστῶνται, τὰ οἰκία ἐμπρήσῃ λάθρα, ἔνθα ὃ τε σίτος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπέκειτο. [25] ἐπέστελλε δὲ ταῦτα, δυοῖν γενήσεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον λογισάμενος: ἥ γὰρ Ῥωμαίους περὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο σπουδάζοντάς τε καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένους ἐνδῶσειν σφίσι κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἐπιβατεύειν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἢ τειχομαχοῦντας ἀποκρούεσθαι βουλομένους Πέρσας ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὀλιγορῖα ποιήσεσθαι: [26] καιομένων δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πόνῳ σφᾶς οὐδενὶ πολιορκία ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ἐξαιρήσειν. [27] τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ὁ Μερμερόνης τούτῳ δὴ τῷ Λαζῷ ταῦτα ἐπέστελλεν: ὁ δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὡμολόγει ἐπιτελῆ δράσειν, ἥνικα τὴν τειχομαχίαν ἀκμάζουσιν ἴδῃ, πῦρ ὡς λαθραϊότατα τοῖς δωματίοις τούτοις ἐνάψας. [28] αἰρομένην δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἐξαπινάϊως Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδόντες ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐβόηθουν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ πῦρ ἔσβεσαν ἀμηγέτη λυμηνάμενον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν. [29] Ἐμπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήξαντες πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀνταίρειν τολμῶντας. [30] Πέρσαι γὰρ ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντας ἐπεξιέναι σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλων διεστηκότες ὡς ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐτετάχατο ξὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ. [31] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τοὺς κριοὺς φέροντες ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ τὰ ἐς μάχην ἀπαράσκευοι, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὰ τόξα ἐντεταμένα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες συσταδὸν ἐγκειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχον. [32] οὕτω δὴ κόπτοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιστροφάδην αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ξυνέβη δὲ τότε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἓνα πληγέντα, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἢ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου ξυνταραχθέντα, περιστρέφεσθαι τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀναχαιτίζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβάτας ρίπτειν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλύειν. [33] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἀνεπὸδιζον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ διεχρῶντο. [34] θαυμάσειε δ’ ἂν τις ἐνταῦθα δικαίως, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι καθ’ ὃ τι χρὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, τοῖς παροῦσι δηλονότι ξυνταραχθέντες, ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [35] Ἦνικα Χοσρόης τε καὶ ὁ Μῆδων στρατὸς ἐτειχομάχουν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐδέσσης περίβολον, τῶν τις ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβεβηκότος οἱ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις μαχιμωτάτων, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὅτι δὴ δι’ ὀλίγου βιασάμενος τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνῃ πύργου ἀμυνομένους ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν συχνὰ βαλλομένους

τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσει. [36] ἐδόκει γάρ τις μηχανὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλέπολις εἶναι. ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι χοῖρον ἐκ τοῦ πύργου ἐπικρεμάσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγον. [37] κραυγμὸν γάρ τινα, ὦν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἤρτημένος, ὁ χοῖρος ἐνθένδε ἤφει, ὥνπερ ὁ ἐλέφας ἀχθόμενος ἀνεχαίτιζε καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἀναποδίζων ὀπίσω ἐχώρει. ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε. [38] νῦν δὲ τὸ παρειμένον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἢ τύχῃ ἐπλήρου. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Ἑδέσσης ἐμνήσθην, οὐ σιωπήσομαι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τέρας πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ξυνεγεθέν. [39] ἡνίκα γὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης λύειν ἔμελλε τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδάς, γυνή τις ἐν πόλει βρέφος ἐκούει τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῶς ἀνθρωπόμορφον, δύο δέ τοι κεφαλὰς ἔχον. ὁ δὴ τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσι φανερόν γεγονεν. [40] Ἑδεσσά τε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἑῷα σχεδὸν τι πᾶσα καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἢ πολλὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ βασιλεῦσι περιμάχητος δυοῖν γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. [41] Τῆς δὲ ταραχῆς οὕτως ἐπιπεσοῦσης τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ὅσοι δὴ αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν ἐτετάχατο, τὴν μὲν ταραχὴν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων θεώμενοι, τὸ δὲ ξυμβεβηκὸς οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένοι, κατωρρώδησαν, ἔς τε ὑπαγωγὴν ζῶν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐτράποντο. [42] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Δολομίται παθόντες ἔξ ὑπερδεξίων γὰρ μαχόμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα πάντα ἐώρων αἰσχροὺς τινα φυγὴν ἔφενον, ἢ τε τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγονέη. [43] καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τρεῖς τετύχηκεν εἶναι, τέσσαρα δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν σημείων Ῥωμαῖοι εἶλον, ἅπερ εὐθὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψαν. [44] ἵππους δὲ φασιν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ἐς δισμυρίους ἀπολωλέναι, οὐ βληθέντας οὐδὲ πληγέντας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν μὲν ὁδὸν πορευθέντας, κόπῳ δὲ ὠμιληκότας ἐν ταύτῃ πολλῷ, τροφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λαζικῇ ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἥκιστα ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντας, οὕτω τε λιμῷ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πιεζομένους πολλῇ διεφθάρθαι. [45] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς πείρας ὁ Μερμερόης ἀποτυχὼν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Μοχήρησιν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἀποτυχόντες, Λαζικῆς τῆς ἄλλης τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον. [46] Ἀρχαιοπόλεως δὲ ἡ Μοχήρησις ἡμέρας μίᾳς ὁδῷ ἀπέχει, πολλὰς καὶ πολυανθρώπους κόμας ἔχουσα — καὶ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος αὕτη μάλιστα ἢ ἀρίστη ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἶνος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καρποὶ ἀγαθοὶ φύονται, καίτοι τά γε ἄλλα τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐ ταύτῃ ἔχει. [47] ταύτην παραρρεῖ τὴν χώραν ποταμός, Ῥέων ὄνομα, οὗ δὴ καὶ φρούριον ὠκοδομήσαντο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κόλχοι, ὥνπερ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενον ἐσάγαν ὑπὶ εὐέφοδον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [48] Κοτιάϊον δὲ τότε τὸ φρούριον ὠνομάζετο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, νῦν μέντοι Κόταῖς αὐτὸ καλοῦσι Λαζοὶ τῇ τῆς φωνῆς ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος διαφθείροντες ἀρμονίαν. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀριανὸς οὕτως ἱστορήσεν. [49] ἕτεροι δὲ φασὶ πόλιν τε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις τὸ χωρίον καὶ Κοίταιον καλεῖσθαι· ἐνθεν τε τὸν Αἰήτην ὠρμῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτόν τε Κοιταῖα καὶ γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Κοιταῖδα καλεῖν. [50] Τοῦτο Μερμερόης τανῦν ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν τοῦ ἔργου εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἦδη ἐνέκειτο, ξύλινα τοῦ φρουρίου ὅσα καταεπτῶκει ὡς τάχιστα ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. [51] τοῦ δὲ Κόταῖς ἄγχιστα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατόν ἐστιν,

Οὐθιμέρεος ὄνομα: ἐν ᾧ δὴ φυλακτήριον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἱ Λαῖοι εἶχον. [52] μετεῖχον δὲ σφίσι τῆς τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακῆς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι τινές. [53] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μερμερόης τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, γῆς τε τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ κάλλιστα ἔχων, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις γινόμενος ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος φρούριον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἢ ἐς χώραν τὴν τε Σουανίαν καὶ τὴν Σκυμνίαν καλουμένην ἰέναι, [54] καίπερ σφίσιν αὐτῆς κατηκόου οὔσης. πολεμίων γὰρ ἐν Μοχηρήσιδι ὄντων, Λαῖοις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁδοῦ ἀποκεκλειῆσθαι τῆς εἰς τὰ ταῦτη χωρία ζυμβαίνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Χοσρόου πρεσβευτῆς Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐς λόγους Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνίων πολὺ τι χρόνου κατέτριψε μῆκος. [2] πολλὰ τε διαφιλονεικήσαντες ἐν ὑστάτῳ ξυνέβησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ πενταετὴ μὲν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐν τῇ ἐκατέρου βασιλείᾳ ἐπικρατεία εἶναι, φοιτῶντας δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπικηρυκευομένους ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Λαζικῇ καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς διάφορα διοικήσασθαι. [3] ξυνέκειτο δὲ Πέρσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας τῶν πέντε τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ εἴκοσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ μηνῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, οὓς δὴ μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐς ταύτην διαδραμεῖν μεταξὺ ἔτυχεν, ἕως ἐκάτεροι παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπρέσβευον, ἕτερα κεντηνάρια ἔξ. [4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἔφασκον Πέρσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγους ζυγκεχωρηκένας γενέσθαι. [5] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴκοσι κεντηνάρια Ἰσδιγούσνας μὲν αὐτόθεν ἡξίου κομίζεσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἤθελεν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος τέτταρα δοῦναι, τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ξυνθήκας Χοσρόην ἐνέχυρον ἔχειν. [6] ὕστερον μέντοι τὸ ζυγκείμενον ἅπαν χρυσίον Ῥωμαῖοι Πέρσαις εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν δασμοὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν. [7] τὰ γὰρ αἰσχρὰ ὀνόματα, οὐ τὰ πράγματα, εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἰσχύνεσθαι. [8] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Βερσαβοὺς ὄνομα, λόγιμός τε διαφερόντως καὶ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. [9] ὅνπερ ποτὲ Βαλεριανὸς ἐν Ἀρμενίοις παραπετωκότα ἐν ξυμβολῇ δορυάλωτον εἶλεν, ἔς τε Βυζάντιον αὐτίκα βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε. [10] καὶ αὐτῷ χρόνος πολὺς φυλασσομένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐτρίβη. βουλομένῳ τε ἦν τῷ Χοσρόῃ χρημάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προῖεσθαι πλῆθος, ὅπως τὸν Βερσαβοῦν ἐπανήκοντα ἴδῃ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη. [11] ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὸν Ἰσδιγούσνα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφήκεν: ἐπηγγέλλετο γὰρ βασιλεῖ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς οὗτος ἀναπείσειν Χοσρόην ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀναστῆσαι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [12] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἐκεχειρία ἥδε Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις, πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείᾳ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [13] ταύταις δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπιεικῶς ἤχθοντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν δικαίαν τινὰ ἢ ἀλόγιστον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν μέμψιν, οἷά γε τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. [14] Ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι δὴ Λαζικῆς βεβαιότατα πρὸς Περσῶν ἀρχομένης αἱ ξυνθήκαι αὗται γεγόνασιν, ὥς μὴ τις πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἀδεέστερόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐνοικεῖν δύνωνται. [15] ὅθεν αὐτοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξελάσαι οὐδεμιᾷ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα μηχανῇ ἔξουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐνθὲνδε Πέρσαις εὐέφοδον τὸ

λοιπὸν ἔσται. ταῦτα οὖν ἀποσκοποῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἥσχαλλον καὶ δυσφοροῦμενοι διηποροῦντο: [16] καὶ ὅτι Πέρσαι τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν σφίσιν ἐν σπουδῇ γεγονός, δόξαν δὲ οὔτε πολέμῳ κρατήσιν οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι, λέγω δέ, ὅπως ἐς δασμοῦ ἀπαγωγὴν ὑπόφοροι αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσονται, ἰσχυρότατα ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῷ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ὀνόματι ἐκρατύναντο. [17] τάξας γὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης Ῥωμαίοις κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον τεσσάρων δασμόν, οὐπερ γλιχόμενος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαφανὴς ἦν, ἐς ἑνδεκα ἔτη τανῦν καὶ μῆνας ἑξ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἑξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα κεντηνάρια τῇ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας κεκόμισται σκῆψει, ὄνομα τῷ δασμῷ τὰς σπονδὰς θέμενος, καίπερ ἐπὶ Λαζικῇ μεταξὺ βιαζόμενός τε καὶ πολεμῶν, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη. [18] ὥνπερ Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐν ἐλπίδι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαις ἥσθοντο οὐ κεκρυμμένως γεγενημένοι. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο. Ἰσδιγούσνας δὲ χρήματά τε περιβαλλόμενος ὅσα οὐδεὶς πρέσβειων πώποτε, καὶ πάντων, οἶμαι, πλουσιώτατος Περσῶν γεγονώς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμῆκει τε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. [20] μόνος δὲ πρέσβειων ἀπάντων οὗτος ἐς πείραν φυλακῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ βάρβαροι εἶποντο πολλοὶ ἐσάγαν ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐντυγχάνειν τε καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷς ἂν βούλοιντο, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πανταχόσε περιπάτους ποιεῖσθαι, ὠνεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι ὅσα ἦν βουλομένοις σφίσι, καὶ ξυμβόλαια ποιεῖσθαι πάντα ἐργασίᾳ τε τῇ περὶ ταῦτα ἐνδιατρίβειν ξὺν πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ, καθάπερ ἐν πόλει αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ, Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἐπομένου ἢ ξυνόντος ὅλως ἢ τηρεῖν ἀξιοῦντος, ἥπερ εἰώθει. [21] Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετύχηκέ τι τῶν οὐπὼ πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, γεγονότων ξυνενεχθῆναι. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἔτους μετόπωρον ἦν, αὐχμὸς δὲ καὶ πνιγμὸς ὥσπερ θέρους μέσου ἐγένετο θαυμαστὸν ὅσον: ὥστε ἀμέλει ρόδων μὲν πλῆθος ἄτε ἥρος ὄντος ἐφύη, τῶν εἰωθότων οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν διαλασσόντων. [22] καρποὺς δὲ τὰ δένδρα σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντα νέους τινὰς αὐθις ἤνεγκε, κὰν ταῖς ἀμπέλαις οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐγένοντο βότρυες, καίπερ τοῦ τρυγῆτου γεγενημένου ἡμέραις ἤδη οὐ πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν. [23] οἷς δὴ οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τεκμηριούμενοι προὔλεγον ἀπροσδόκητον μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι, οἱ μὲν ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον. [24] ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τι ξυμβεβηκὸς γεγονέναι οἶμαι, νότων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνέμων, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐπιτεσόντων καὶ θέρμης ἐνθὲνδε παρὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα πολλῆς τε καὶ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης τῇ χώρᾳ. [25] εἰ δέ τι, ὥσπερ οὗτοί φασι, καὶ σημαίνει παρὰ δόξαν ἐσόμενον, βεβαίότατα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβησομένων εἰσόμεθα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τάδε ἀμφὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπὶ Λαζικῇ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Γουβάξης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Χοσρόην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐπιβουλεύειν θάνατον ἥσθετο. [3] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λαζῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν δεινὰ πάσχοντες καὶ διαφερόντως τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμῆδιζον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐ τὰ Περσῶν ἀσπαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαξέοντες τῆς

Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν δυσχερῶν τὰ τέως μὴ παρόντα αἰρούμενοι. [4] ἦν δέ τις ἐν Λαζοῖς οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἀνὴρ Θεοφόβιος ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τῷ Μερμερόῃ λαθραϊότατα ἐς λόγους ξυμμίξας φρούριον ἐνδώσειν τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος ὠμολόγησεν. [5] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ἐπάρας ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥρμησε ταύτην, φίλον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσσεσθαι, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀνάγραφτον ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι μέγαν. οἷς δὴ Θεοφόβιος ἐπαρθεὶς πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο. [6] Καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐπιμιξία Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαζοῖς τότε, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πέρσαις πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πανταχόσε περιήρχοντο τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ ποταμὸν Φάσιν ἐλάνθανον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρχαϊόπολιν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκεῖνι ὀχυρωμάτων καταλαβόντες ἐκρύπτοντο: καὶ Γουβάξης αὐτός, ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεύς, ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. [7] πόνῳ γοῦν ὁ Θεοφόβιος οὐδενὶ ἴσχυσε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Μερμερόῃ ἐπιτελέσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ φρουρίῳ γενόμενος ἔφασκε Λαζοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις οἳ τὸ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτῆριον εἶχον ὥς ἅπας μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἀπολώλει, Γουβάξῃ δὲ βασιλεῖ καὶ Λαζοῖς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι διαφθαρεῖν τὰ πράγματα, Κολχίς δὲ ζύμπασα πρὸς Περσῶν ἔχοιτο, καὶ οὐδέ τις ἐλπίς Ῥωμαίοις ποτὲ ἢ τῷ Γουβάξῃ ἀνασωθήσεσθαι τῆς χώρας τὸ κράτος. [8] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερα κατὰ μόνας ταῦτα τὸν Μερμερόην διαπεπράχθαι, μυριάδας τε πλέον ἐπτά ἐπαγαγόμενον Περσῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ βαρβάρους Σαβείρους παμπληθεῖς: νῦν δὲ καὶ βασιλέα Χοσρόην στρατῷ ἀμυθῆτῳ ἐνθάδε ἤκοντα ἐξαπιναιῶς αὐτοῖς ἀναμείχθαι καὶ οὐκ ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲ αὐτὴν Κόλχων τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ τὴν γῆν ἐπαρκέσειν. [9] ταῦτα τερατευσάμενος Θεοφόβιος ἐς δέος μέγα καὶ ἀμηχανίαν κατεστήσατο τοὺς ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς. [10] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλιπάρουν πρὸς θεοῦ τοῦ πατρῴου ἰκετεύοντες τὰ παρόντα ὅση δύναμις εὖ θέσθαι σφίσι. [11] καὶ ὃς αὐτοῖς ὠμολόγει πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ οἴσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φρούριον ἐνδώσουσι Πέρσαις. Ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῦτα ἤρεσκεν, αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς αὐθὶς τε τῷ Μερμερόῃ ἐς ὅπιν ἦκων ἅπαντα ἔφραζεν. [12] ὁ δὲ Περσῶν ἄνδρας τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος ἐπεμψε, τά τε πιστὰ παρεξομένους ἀμφὶ τε τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῖς τῇδε φρουροῖς καὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο καθέξοντας. [13] οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαις τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος φρούριον ἔσχον καὶ Λαζικῇ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἰσχυρότατα ἐκρατύναντο. [14] οὐ μόνην δὲ Λαζικὴν ταύτην οἱ Πέρσαις ὑποχειρίαν πεποιήνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σκυμνίαν τε καὶ Σουανίαν, ἐκ δὲ Μοχηρήσιδος ἄχρι ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἄβατα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ ζύμπαντα τὰ ἐκεῖνι χωρία τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο. [15] ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε Λαζοὶ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἢ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐτόλμων οὐδέ πη τοῖς πολεμίους ἐπεζεῖναι. [16] Μερμερόης δὲ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐγκειμένης ὥρας ζύλινον μὲν τεῖχος ἐν Κόταϊς ἐτεκτῆνατο, φρουράν τε Περσῶν τῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισχιλίων ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἐν τε τῷ Οὐθιμέρεος ἄνδρας αὐτάρκεις ἀπολιπών. [17] οἰκοδομησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Λαζῶν φρούριον, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σαραπανίν, πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὁρίοις Λαζικῇς

κειμένον, αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. [18] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς ἀγείρεσθαι τε μαθὼν καὶ ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [19] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γουβάζης τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον διελύθησάν τε καὶ διεσώθησαν ὥς πη ἐκάστω δυνατὰ γέγονεν. [20] ὁ τε Γουβάζης ἀναδραμὼν ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς διεχειμάζε ξύν τε τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείοις, τῇ μὲν ἀμηχανία τῶν παρόντων κακῶν διαμαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἀνάγκην, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον θαρσῶν, ταύτῃ τε τὴν τύχην παρηγορῶν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν, οἷα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, [21] καὶ караδοκῶν τὰ βελτίω. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Λαζοὶ τῇ πρὸς βασιλέα Γουβάζην αἰδοὶ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐν τοῖς σκοπέλοις κατέτριβον, δύσκολον μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὐδέν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων δειμαίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἀμηχανὰ τε καὶ ὅλως ἀπρόσδοκα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, λιμῶ δὲ καὶ ψύχει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ δυσθανατῶντες. [22] Ὁ δὲ Μερμερόης οἰκία τε πολλὰ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Μοχήρησιν κόμαις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πανταχόθι καταστησάμενος τῶν τῆδε χωρίων, τῶν τε αὐτομόλων περιπέμπων τινὰς ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ἀκρωρείας καὶ τὰ πιστὰ παρεχόμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἴσχυσεν: οἷς δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορουμένοις ἐχορήγει συχνὰ καὶ ὥς οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο, τὰ τε ἄλλα διφκεῖτο ξύν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ ἅτε τῆς χώρας γεγονῶς κύριος. [23] καὶ πρὸς Γουβάζην ἔγραψε τάδε: 'Δύο ταῦτα ρυθμίζει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν βίον, δύναμις τε καὶ φρόνησις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ δυνατῷ περιόντες τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ τε βιοτεύουσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὅπῃ βούλονται τοὺς καταδεεστεροὺς ἐσαι ἄγουσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν δεδουλωμένοι τοῖς κρείττοσι, τῷ ξυνετῷ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ἰώμενοι, θωπεῖα τοὺς κρατοῦντας μετίασι καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις βιοῦν δύνανται, πάντων ἀπολαύοντες τῇ κολακείᾳ ὥνπερ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν στερεῖσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [24] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τισὶ σφίσι φέρεται οὕτως, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώποις ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπασιν πανταχόθι γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι ἐμπέπηγε φύσει. [25] καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὦ φίλε Γουβάζη, ἦν μὲν οἶμι περιέσεσθαι Περσῶν τῷ πολέμῳ, μήτε μέλλε μήτε σοι ἐμπόδιον γινέσθω μηδέν. [26] εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῆς Λαζικῆς ἔνθα ἂν βούλοιο ὑφισταμένους τε τὴν σὴν ἔφοδον καὶ ἀντιπαραταττομένους ὑπὲρ χώρας τῆσδε ὅση δύναμις: ὥστε παρέσται σοι διαγωνιζομένῳ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. [27] εἰ μέντοι ἀδύνατος ὢν Περσῶν τῇ δυνάμει ἀντιτάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδας, σὺ δέ, ὦ ἄγαθέ, τὸ δεύτερον διαχειρίζε, τὸ γνῶθι σαυτόν, καὶ προσκύνει τὸν σαυτοῦ δεσπότην Χοσρόην ἅτε βασιλέα καὶ νενικηκότα καὶ κύριον. [28] αἶτει τέ σοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἴλεων εἶναι, ὅπως ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν δυνατὸς εἴης τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν. [29] ὥς ἔγωγε ἀναδέχομαι βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἴλεων τέ σοι γενήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν, ὁμήρους σοι παρεχόμενον παῖδας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων ἀρχόντων, ὥς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔξεις. [30] εἰ δέ σοι τούτων οὐδέτερον βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ἐξ τινος ἐτέραν ἀπιὼν χώραν δὸς τοῖς διὰ

τὴν σὴν ἀβουλίαν τάλαιπῶροις γενομένοις Λαζοῖς ἀναπνεύσαι ποτε καὶ ἀπὸ δυσκόλων τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐγκειμένων ἀνενεγκεῖν μηδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντον ὄλεθρον τόνδε προστρίβεσθαι βούλου ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχούμενος· λέγω δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας. [31] οὐ γάρ σοι τιμωρεῖν ποτὲ δυνατοὶ ἔσονται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡμέραν δεδύνηται τήνδε.’ Μερμερόης μὲν ταῦτα ἔγραψε. [32] Γουβάζην δὲ οὐδ’ ὥς ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὀρῶν κολωνοῖς ἔμενε, караδοκῶν τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίαν καὶ τῷ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ἔχθαι ὥς ἥκιστα ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπόγνωσιν ἐγκλίνειν ἐθέλων. [33] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βουλήματος ἀρμόζονται χρεῖαν, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τῷ ἀρέσκοντι αὐτοὺς αἰὶ προσχωροῦσι, καὶ προσίενται τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα, οὐ διασκοπούμενοι μὴ ψευδῆς εἶη, τῷ δὲ λυποῦντι χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες ἀπιστοῦσιν, οὐ διερευνώμενοι μὴ ἀληθὲς εἶη.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινὲς μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες, γνόντες τε ὡς Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ σπουδῆς εἶη μηκέτι πρὸς Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐς βασιλέα γενόμενοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ μετᾴξει διοικήσεσθαι ὡμολόγουν, ὡς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου του ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσωνται· [2] χρόνου γὰρ κατατριῖσαι μῆκος ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη τὰ πολλὰ οὔση, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται, ταύτη τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυνατὰ εἶη. [3] ἐνδελεχέστατα δὲ διερευνωμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυθνομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθὲς εἶη ἔφασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκώληκάς τινας τῆς μετᾴξης δημιουργοὺς εἶναι, τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς διδασκάλου τε οὔσης καὶ διηνεκῶς ἀναγκαζούσης ἐργάζεσθαι. [4] ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκώληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακομίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν γόνον εὐπορόν τε καὶ ῥάδιον ὅλως. εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκωλήκων τῶνδε τὸν γόνον ᾧ ἐκάστου ἀνάριθμα. [5] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ᾧ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τῆς γονῆς ὕστερον κόπρῳ καλύψαντες ἄνθρωποι ταύτη τε διαρκῇ θερμήναντες χρόνον ζῶα ποιοῦσι. [6] ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρήσασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸν λόγον. [7] οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι ἐν Σηρίνδῃ αὐθις τὰ τε ᾧ μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκώληκάς τε αὐτὰ τρόπῳ ᾧπερ ἐρρήθη μεταπεφυκέναι διαπραζάμενοι τρέφουσιν τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. [8] τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μετᾴξει ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε. [9] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Ἰσδιγούσνας τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελλε. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν χρήματα κεκομισμένος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐπεσφράγισε, Λαζικῆς δὲ μεθίεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν. [10] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τούτοις Οὐννων τῶν Σαβείρων ἐταιρισάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα ξὺν Πέρσαις τισὶ τῷ Μερμερόῃ εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. ᾧ δὴ ἐπέστελλεν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλέφαντάς οἱ πολλοὺς ἔστειλε. [11] Μερμερόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Οὐννων στρατῷ ἐκ Μοχρησίδος ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ Λαζῶν ὀχυρώματα ἦει, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος. [12] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ’ ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ, Μαρτίνου ἡγουμένου σφίσι, χωρίου ἰσχύι σφᾶς

αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα κρατυνάμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [13] ξυνήν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γουβάζης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης τινός, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Λαζῶν τινὰ ἔδρασε. [14] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν φρουρίῳ τῷ μαθὼν τὴν Γουβάζου ἀδελφὴν εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐξαίρησων μηχανῇ πάσῃ. [15] καρτερώτατα δὲ ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτῃ φρουρῶν καὶ χωρίου σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης τῆς φύσεως ὀχυρότητι ἄπρακτοι ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα ἐπὶ Ἀβασγούς σπουδῇ ἵεντο. [16] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Τζιβιλῇ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες τὴν διόδον καταλαμβάνοντες στενοτάτῃν τε καὶ κρημνώδῃ οὖσαν, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὸ παράπαν τε ἀδιέξοδον, ἐμπόδιοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο. [17] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Μερμερόης καθ' ὃ τι τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους βιάζεται, ὑπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τε Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὡς πολιορκήσων αὐτίκα ἦει. τοῦ τε περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προὐχώρει, ἀνέστρεφεν αὐθις. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν Σαβείρων τὸν ἄρχοντα ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. [19] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ τῷ νεκρῷ γενομένης ὕστερον Πέρσαι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἐπὶ τε Κόταις καὶ Μοχίρησιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέπρακτο τῇδε. [20] Τὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἅπαντα Ῥωμαίοις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς καθεστήκει. τῷ γὰρ Ἰωάννῃ, ὃν περ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο, εὐτυχήματα λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [21] ὃς δὴ ἓνα τῶν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις ἀρχόντων ἐταιρಿಸάμενος, Κουτζίναν ὄνομα, τὰ τε πρότερα μάχῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνίκησε καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Ἰαύδαν, οἱ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τε καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶχον, ὑποχειρίους πεποίηται, εἰποντό τε αὐτῷ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. [22] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔν γε Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο. τοῖς μέντοι φθάσασι πολέμοις τε καὶ στάσεσιν ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἡ χώρα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οὔσα διέμεινεν.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Εὐρώπῃ γενέσθαι. Γήπαιδες μὲν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, τὰς σπονδὰς θέμενοι πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς σφίσι πολεμίους ὄντας ἐτύγχανον. [2] παντάπασι δὲ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες τὰ διάφορα πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλύσαι πολεμητέα σφίσιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ᾤοντο εἶναι. [3] Γήπαιδες μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ πολέμῳ ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν. [4] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Γηπαίδων Θορισίν, τῶν δὲ Λαγγοβαρδῶν Αὐδοῦν ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ ἀνδρῶν μυριάδες πολλαὶ εἶποντο. ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστά πη ἀμφοτέρω ἦλθον, οὐπω δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς ἀλλήλων καθεωρῶντο. [5] δείματα δὲ τὰ πανικὰ καλούμενα ἐξαπιναιῶς ἑκατέροις ἐπιτεσόντα φεύγοντας ἀπ' αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἅπαντας ὀπίσω ἀπήνεγκε, μόνων τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν. [6] οἵπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνθέλκειν τε καὶ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναχατίζειν ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐδὲν ἦνουν οὔτε θωπεΐαις οἰκτραῖς οὔτε ἀπειλαῖς φοβεραῖς χρώμενοι. [7] Περιδεῆς οὖν γεγονῶς Αὐδοῦν ὁρῶν διασκεδαννυμένους ἀκόσμως οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ ἦδει τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ὁμοίαν κεκληρῶσθαι τύχην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους

εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτησομένους. [8] οἵπερ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Γηπαίδων Θορισὶν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα εἶδον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τετυχηκότων κατενόησαν τὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ξυνενεχθέντα καὶ τῷ Θορισὶν ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἀνεπνύοντο αὐτοῦ ὅπη ποτέ οἱ γῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ πλῆθος εἶη. [9] καὶ ὃς τῶν ξυμπεπτοκότων οὐδὲν ἀρνηθεὶς ‘Φεύγουσιν οὐδενὸς διώκοντος’ ἔφη. οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες ‘Ταὐτὸ τοῦτο,’ φασί, ‘Λαγγοβάρδαι πεπόνθασιν. ἀληθίζομένῳ γάρ σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀποκρυσόμεθα. [10] οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ γένη ταῦτα διολωλέναι ὥς ἥκιστα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ διέλυσε τὴν παράταξιν, σωτήριον ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβαλὼν δέος, φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιχωρήσωμεν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ, τὸν πόλεμον καταλύοντες.’ “Ἐστω, γινέσθω ταῦτα,” ὁ Θορισὶν ἔφη. δυοῖν τε οὕτως ἐνιαυτοῖν ἐκεχειρίαν πεποιήνται, [11] ὅπως μεταξὺ ἐπικηρυκεύομενοί τε καὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ φοιτῶντες ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ διάφορα διαλύσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐκάτεροι ἀνεχώρησαν. [12] Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐχ οἱοί τε γεγεννημένοι ἐς τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τὴν διάλυσιν ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, αὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔργα χωρεῖν ἐμελλον. [13] δειμαίνοντές τε Γήπαιδες τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπίδοξοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὥς Λαγγοβάρδαις ξυντάσσονται τῶν τινὰς Οὐννων ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν ἐπάγεσθαι διεννοοῦντο. [14] ἔπεμψαν οὖν παρὰ τῶν Κουτριγούρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὴ ἐνθένδε ὤκνηται Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐδέοντο πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας ξυνδιενεγκεῖν σφίσιν. [15] οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς ἔπεμψαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ Χινιαλὼν, ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [16] Γήπαιδες δὲ τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὕπω ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει καιρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἐνιαυτὸς ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς καταθεῖν μεταξὺ τὴν βασιλέως γῆν, πάρεργον τῆς σφετέρας ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν διάβασιν ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τε Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίοις ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Οὐννους ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ κατ’ αὐτοὺς διαπορθμεύσαντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἀφίεσαν. [18] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πάντα σχεδὸν τι ἐληΐσαντο τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε. πέμψας παρὰ Οὐννων τῶν Οὐτιγούρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὴ ἐπέκεινα Λίμνης ὤκνηται τῆς Μαιώτιδος, ἐμέμφετό τε καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ἀπεκάλει τὴν ἐς Κουτριγούρους ἀπραγμοσύνην, εἵπερ τὸ τοὺς φίλους διαφθειρομένους περιορᾷ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀδικωτάτοις καταλέγειν δεήσει. αὐτῶν γὰρ Κουτριγούροι, [19] ἔφη, πλησιοχώρων ὄντων ἀφροντιστήσαντες, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Βυζαντίου χρήματα μεγάλα κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας οὐ θέλουσιν ἀποπαύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὁσημέραι καταθέουσὶ τε καὶ ληΐζονται αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [20] τούτων δὲ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ μέρος κερδαίνοντες, οὐδὲ τῆς λείας Κουτριγούροις διαλαγχάνοντες, οὐ προσποιοῦνται κακουμένους Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ αὐτοῖς φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες. [21] ταῦτα σημῆνας τοῖς Οὐτιγούροις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ χρήμασι μὲν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ὑπομνήσας δὲ ὅσων δώρων καὶ προτερον πολλάκις πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀναπεῖθει σφᾶς ἔφοδον αὐτίκα ἐς τῶν Κουτριγούρων τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους

ποιήσασθαι. [22] Οἱ δὲ Γότθων τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων, οἳ δὴ Τετραξῖται καλοῦνται, δισχιλίους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι διέβησαν πανδημεὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. [23] ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Σανδὶλ, ἀνὴρ ξυνετώτατος μὲν καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος, ἐς ἀλκὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίησαντο, τῶν Κουτριγούρων πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ὥνπερ ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμυνομένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον μὲν ἡ μάχη ἐγεγόνει, μετὰ δὲ Οὐτίγουροι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες φεύγοντες, ὅπη αὐτῶν ἐκάστω δυνατὰ γέγονε, διεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

Τούτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμαχομένων ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, τοῦ τε κινδύνου σφίσι κατὰ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀκμάζοντος, εὐτυχία χρησθαι Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη πολλῇ. [2] ὅσοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Κουτρίγούροις ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐς μυριάδας, ὥς φασι, ξυνιόντες πολλὰς, ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ διαλαθόντες ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἐξαναστάντες οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου ἐς τὰ πατρία ἦθη ἀφίκοντο, καὶ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώναντο. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Ἀράτιον στρατηγὸν στείλας παρά τε Χινιαλὼν καὶ Οὐννους τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀγγεῖλαι μὲν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφίσιν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ξυνενεχθέντα, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς προϊέμενον πείσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. [4] οἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐτιγούρων τὴν ἐφοδὸν γνόντες καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρατίου κεκομισμένοι ξυνέβησαν μήτε φόνον ἐτι ἐργάσεσθαι μήτε ἀνδραποδεῖν Ῥωμαίων μηδένα μήτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι δράσειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἅτε διὰ φίλων ποιήσεσθαι τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων. [5] ξυνέκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν δυνατοὶ εἶεν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἐπανιόντες ἰδρύεσθαι, μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστεως τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχεσθαι: ἦν δέ γε αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ μένειν ἀδύνατα ἦ, ἐπανίεναι μὲν αὐθις αὐτοὺς ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, βασιλέα δὲ σφᾶς δωρήσασθαι τισι τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνταῦθα ἐνοικησάμενοι ἔνσπονδοί τε τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίοις ἔσονται καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ξυμφυλάξουσιν ἐκ πάντων βαρβάρων. [6] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ Οὐννων τῶν ἡσημένων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ διαφυγόντων τοὺς Οὐτιγούρους δισχίλιοι ἦλθον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενοι: [7] ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σιννίων, ὅσπερ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ πολλῶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδύλους ἐστράτευσε: γίνονται τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἰκέται. καὶ ὃς αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ἐν τε χωρίοις ἰδρύσασθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐκέλευσεν. [8] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Σανδὶλ, ὁ τῶν Οὐτιγούρων βασιλεὺς, ἔμαθε, παρωξυσμένος τε καὶ περιωργισμένος, εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν Κουτρίγούρους ὁμογενεῖς ὄντας ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τινύμενος ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστήσειεν αὐτοὺς τῶν πατρίων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέως σφᾶς ἐνδεξαμένου ἐνοικησάμενοι ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ πολλῶ ἄμεινον βιοτεύσουσιν, ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ἐς βασιλέα τὰ πεπραγμένα ὀνειδιζόντας, οὐκ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῖς τινὰ ἐγχειρίσας 'ἐπεὶ γραμμάτων παντάπασιν Οὐννοι ἀνήκοοί τε καὶ ἀμελέτητοι ἐς τότε εἰσὶ καὶ οὔτε γραμματιστὴν τινὰ ἔχουσιν οὔτε τῷ περὶ τὰ γράμματα πόνῳ συναύξεται αὐτοῖς τὰ παιδιὰ, βαρβαρικώτερον δὲ ἅπαντα ἀποστοματιοῦντας ὅσα δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπιστεῖλαιε σφίσιν. [9] Ἀφικόμενοι οὖν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς ὧσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν οἱ ἔφασαν δι' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τάδε βασιλέα Σανδὶλ: 'Παροιμίαν τινὰ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκηκοὼς οἶδα, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ αὐτῆς ἐπιλέλῃσμαι, [10] τοιαύτη τις ἡ παροιμία τυγχάνει οὔσα. τὸ θηρίον ὁ λύκος τῆς μὲν τριχὸς, φασίν, ἴσως ἂν τι καὶ παραλλάξαι οὐκ ἀδύνατος εἴη, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην οὐ μεταστρέφει, οὐκ ἀφιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ μεθαρμοσαμένῳ ταύτην τῆς φύσεως. [11] ταῦτα μὲν,' παροιμιαζόμενός φησιν ὁ Σανδὶλ, 'τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκήκοα, πλαγίῳ τινὶ παραδηλούντων τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λόγῳ. οἶδα δέ τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας μαθὼν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἀγροικιζόμενον βάρβαρον ἐκμαθεῖν: [12] τοὺς κύνas οἱ ποιμένες ἐπιτιτθίους ὄντας ἀναιρούμενοι οὐκ ἀπημελημένους οἶκοι

ἐκτρέφουσιν, εὐγνωμον δὲ τοῖς σιτίζουσι ζῶον ὁ κύων καὶ τὰ ἐς χάριν μνημονικώτατον. πράσσεται οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ποιμέσι τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, τοῦ τῶν λύκων ἐπιόντων ποτὲ διακρούεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἐφόδους τοὺς κύνας παραστάτας τε καὶ σωτῆρας τοῖς προβατίοις καθισταμένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γῇ τῇ πάσῃ γίνεσθαι οἶμαι. [13] τεθέαται γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς οὔτε ποιμνὴ κύνας ἐπιβουλεύσαντας οὔτε λύκους ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς πώποτε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ τοῦτον ἡ φύσις θεσμὸν κυσί τε καὶ προβάτοις καὶ λύκοις νομοθετήσασα ἔθετο. [14] οἶμαι δὲ κὰν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ σῇ, οὗ δὴ πραγμάτων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάντων, τάχα δέ που καὶ τῶν ἀμυγνάνων, περιουσίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, παράλλαξιν τούτων τινὰ οὐδαμῇ γίνεσθαι. [15] ἡ γοῦν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ἑμοῖς δεῖξατε ὅπως ἂν τι καὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδ' ἄ μάθοιμεν: εἰ δὲ ἀραρότως ταῦτα πανταχῇ πέφυκεν, οὐ καλὸν σοί ἐστι Κουτρίγούρων τὸ γένος ξεναγεῖσθαι, οἶμαι, τεθολωμένον ἐπαγαγομένῳ γειτόνημα, καὶ οὕς ὄντας ὑπερορίους οὐκ ἤνεγκας, τανῦν ἐνδήμους πεπονημένῳ. [16] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ τρόπον ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐνδείζονται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ τούτου χωρὶς οὔτε πολέμιος ἐπιλείπει διαφθείρων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἡσσηθείς ἀμείνων ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ σοί, οὔτε φίλος περιέσται Ῥωμαίοις, ἐμπόδιός ποτε τοῖς καταθέουσι γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐσόμενος, δέει τοῦ μή, ἐπειδὰν φέρεται παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ κράτιστα, τοὺς ἡσσημένους ἐπιδεῖν ἐπιφανέστερον αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πράσσοντας, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀγόνῳ τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχομεν, τοῖς δὲ Κουτρίγούροις σιτώνειν τε καὶ τοῖς οἰνῶσι κατακραίπαλὰν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ παρονίδας αἰρεῖσθαι πάσας. [17] πάντως δέ πη καὶ βαλανείων αὐτοῖς μέτεστι, καὶ χρυσοφοροῦσιν οἱ πλανῆται καὶ ἱματίων οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσι λεπτῶν τε καὶ πεποικιλμένων καὶ καταληλειμμένων χρυσῶ. καίτοι Κουτρίγουροι μὲν Ῥωμαίων [18] ἀνάρθμα πλήθῃ ἐξηνδραποδικότες τὰ πρότερα μετήνεγκαν ἐς γῆν τὴν σφετέραν. [19] οἷς δὴ τὰ ἀνδραποδώδη πάντα ἐπέχειν οὐ πάρεργον τοῖς καταράτοις ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα οὐχ ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐντεῖναι καὶ θανατοῦν ἴσως πρόχειρον ἦν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δεσπότη βαρβάρῳ ὃ τε τρόπος καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία ἐφήσιν. [20] ἡμεῖς δὲ πόνοις τε ἡμετέροις καὶ κινδύνους ἐς ψυχὴν φέρουσι τύχης αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαντες τῆς τότε κρατούσης τοῖς γειναμένοις ἀπέδομεν, διαπονήματα ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου γεγεννημένους. [21] ὣν δὴ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐκάτεροι κεκομίσμεθα, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπολαύομεν ἔτι τῶν πατρίων κακῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποφυγοῦσι τὴν αὐτῶν δουλώσιν χώρας τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσομοιροῦντες [22] διαλαγχάνουσι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν Οὐτιγούρων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τιθασσεύσας καὶ δώρων πλήθει παρηγορήσας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον τῷ τε Οὐάρνων ἔθνεϊ καὶ στρατιώταις νησιώταις οἱ δὴ ἐν νήσῳ τῇ Βριττία καλουμένῃ ὤκηνται, πόλεμος καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. [2] Οὐάρνοι μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἵδρυνται, διήκουσι δὲ ἄχρι ἐς Ὠκεανὸν τὸν ἀρκτῶν καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥῆνον, ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς τε διορίζει καὶ Φράγγους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἵδρυνται. [3] οὗτοι ἅπαντες, ὅσοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφὶ Ῥῆνον ἐκατέρωθεν ποταμὸν ὤκηντο, ἰδίου μὲν τινος

ὀνόματος ἕκαστοι μετελάγχανον, ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ἅπαντες. [4] Βριττία δὲ ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ τούτου μὲν Ὤκεανοῦ κεῖται, τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων καταντικρὺ τῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῶν μάλιστα, Βρεττανίας δὲ καὶ Θούλης τῆς νήσου μεταξύ ἐστίν. [5] ἐπεὶ Βρεττανία μὲν πρὸς δύοντά που κεῖται ἥλιον κατὰ τῆς Ἰσπανῶν τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας, ἀμφὶ σταδίου οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους τῆς ἡπείρου διέχουσα, Βριττία δὲ ἐς τῆς Γαλλίας τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς Ὤκεανὸν τετραμμένα, Ἰσπανίας δηλονότι καὶ Βρεττανίας πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. [6] Θούλη δέ, ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπους εἰδέναι, ἐς Ὤκεανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἄρκτῳ τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βρεττανία καὶ Θούλη ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι λόγοις ἐρρήθη· Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἷς αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐφέστηκε. [7] καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. [8] τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μετανιστάμενοι ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν. [9] οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν ἐς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον προσποιεῖσθαι φασιν. [10] ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον ὁ Φράγγων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον στείλας ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἀγγίλων ξυνέπεμψε, φιλοτιμούμενος ὥς καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἥδε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν καλουμένην νῆσον τοιαυτὰ ἐστί. [11] Τῶν δὲ Οὐάρνων ἀνὴρ τις οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον, Ἑρμεγίσκλος ὄνομα, ἦρχεν. ὅσπερ τὴν βασιλείαν κρατύνασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων, τὴν Θεοδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Φράγγων ἄρχοντος γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο. [12] τετελευτήκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔναγχος ἢ πρότερον ξυνοικοῦσα γυνή, παιδὸς ἐνὸς γενομένη μήτηρ ὃν καὶ ἀπέλιπε τῷ πατρὶ Ῥάδιγιν ὄνομα, ᾧ δὴ ὁ πατὴρ παρθένου κόρης, γένους Βριττίας, ἐμνήστευσε γάμον, ἥσπερ ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ἦν τότε Ἀγγίλων τοῦ ἔθνους, χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ τῆς μνηστείας αὐτῇ δεδωκὼς λόγῳ. [13] οὗτος ἀνὴρ ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱπευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθήμενον εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζοντα. [14] εἶτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεῖς εἶτε ἄλλο μὲν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος μαντευομένου τερατευσάμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὥς τεθνήξεται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὕστερον. [15] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος δηλοῦν πρόρρησιν. “Εγὼ μὲν οὖν προορώμενος” ἔφη “ὅπως δὴ ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ βιώσεσθε, τοῖς τε Φράγγοις ἐς κῆδος συνῆλθον, γυναῖκα ἐνθένδε τὴν ἐμοὶ ξυνοικοῦσαν ἐπαγαγόμενος, καὶ τῷ παιδί τῷ μὲν περιβέβλημαι τὴν Βριττίαν μνηστήν. [16] ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι ὑποτοπάζω αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, εἰμὶ δὲ ἅπαις ἄρσενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου, ὅσα γε τὰ γυναικὸς τῆσδε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἀνυμέναιός τε καὶ ἀνυμφος ἔτι νῦν ἐστί, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐπικοινωνοῦμαι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ εἴ τι ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀσύμφορον δόξειεν εἶναι, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωμαι τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ κατακυροῦντες διαπεραίνετε. [17] οἶμαι τοίνυν Οὐάρνοις ξυνοίσειν τὴν κηδεῖαν ἐς Φράγγους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τοὺς νησιώτας ποιεῖσθαι. [18] Βρίττιοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ὑμῖν οἶοι τέ εἰσιν, ὅτι

μη ὁψέ τε καὶ μόλις: Οὐάρνοι δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τοῦτι μόνον τοῦ Ῥήνου τὸ ὕδωρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν γειτόνων μὲν ὡς πλησιαίτατα ὄντας ὑμῖν, ἐς δυνάμεως δὲ κεχωρηκότας μέγα τι χρῆμα, ἐν προχείρῳ ἔχειν εὖ ποιεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἴη: [19] λυμανοῦνται δὲ πάντως. ἦν μὴ τὸ κῆδος αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἔσται. βαρεῖα γὰρ φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπερβάλλουσα αὐτοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων δύναμις γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἀδικίαν ἐτοιμοτάτη, ἐπεὶ γείτονι δυνατῷ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐκπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. [20] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, παρείσθω μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦδε νησιῶτις μνηστή, χρήματα πάντα ὅσα παρ' ἡμῶν κεκομισμένη τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἔτυχε τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπενεγκαμένη μισθόν, ἧ νόμος ἀνθρώπων ὁ κοινὸς βούλεται: Ῥάδιγίς δὲ ὁ παῖς ξυνοικιζέσθω τῇ μητρὶα τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πάτριος ἡμῖν ἐρήσι νόμος.' [21] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρα νοσήσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμεγίσκλου υἱός, Οὐάρνων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, γνώμη τῶν ἐν βαρβάροις τοῖσδε λογίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει τὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βουλὴν καὶ τὸν γάμον αὐτίκα τῇ μνηστῇ ἀπειπὼν τῇ μητρὶα ξυνοικίζεται. [22] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τοῦ Ῥαδίγιδος μνηστῇ ἔμαθεν, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ πράγματος συμφοράν, τίσασθαι αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὕβρεως ὥρμητο. [23] τίμιον γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις σωφροσύνη νομίζεται εἶναι, ὥστε δὴ μόνου παρ' αὐτοῖς ξυντετυχηκότος ὀνόματος γάμου, μὴ ἐπιγενομένου τοῦ ἔργου, δοκεῖ πεπορνεῦσθαι γυνή. [24] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἐέμψασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅτου δὴ ὑβρίσειεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἔνεκα, οὔτε πεπορνευμένην οὔτε τι ἄλλο εἰργασμένην εἰς αὐτὸν ἄχαρι. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνύτειν οὐδὲν ταύτῃ ἐδύνατο, τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἀνελομένη ἐπὶ πολέμια ἔργα ἐχώρει. [26] Ναῦς οὖν αὐτίκα τετρακοσίας ἀγείρασα στρατεύμα τε αὐταῖς ἐνθεμένη οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μυριάδων δέκα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὴ ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐάρνους τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ. [27] ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἕνα, ξυνδιοικησόμενον αὐτῇ τὰ παρόντα, οὐχ ὡς μέντοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐν ιδιώτου τελοῦντα μοίρα. [28] ἄλκιμοι δὲ εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα βαρβάρων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι, ἔς τε τὰς ξυμβολὰς πεζοὶ ἴασιν. [29] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον εἰσὶ τοῦ ἱππέεσθαι ἀμελέτητοι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἵππον ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστιν ἐπίστασθαι σφίσι ξυμβαίνει, ἐπεὶ ἵππον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ οὐδὲ ὅσα κατ' εἰκόνα θεῶνται: οὐ γὰρ ποτε τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἐν γε Βριττία γεγονὸς φαίνεται. [30] εἰ δέ ποτε αὐτῶν τισὶν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἢ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Φράγγοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἵππους ἔχοντι ἐπιχωριάσασθαι ξυμβαίη, ἐνταῦθα τε ἵπποις ὀχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀνάγκης εἴη, ἀναθρόσκειν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ αὐτοὺς μετεωρίζοντες ἀνθρωποὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τε βουλομένους ἐνθένδε αὐθις αἶροντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατατίθενται. [31] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Οὐάρνοι ἱππῶται εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅπαντες. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι τοιοῦδε εἰσὶ. περὶνως δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτερέται πάντες. οὐδὲ ἰστία τούτοις δὴ τοῖς νησιώταις τυγχάνει ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐρέσποντες ἀεὶ ναυτίλλονται μόνον. [32] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, παρθένος μὲν ἦπερ αὐτῶν ἦρχε, χαράκωμα

ἐχϋρὸν πηξαμένη παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκβολὴν ποταμοῦ Ῥήνου, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ ἔμνε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι κελεύει. [33] ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ Οὐάρνοι τότε τῆς τε Ὠκεανοῦ ἡϊόνος καὶ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῆς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. οὗ δὴ ἀφικομένων κατὰ τάχος Ἀγγίλων ξυνέμιζαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροι ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις, ἥσωνται δὲ κατὰ κράτος Οὐάρνοι. [34] καὶ αὐτῶν πίπτουσι μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ξὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν τρέπονται ἅπαντες, οἱ τε Ἀγγίλοι τὴν διώξιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δι' ὀλίγου πεποιημένοι, ἧ θέμις πεζοῖς, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [35] οὕσπερ ἐκάκιζεν ἐπανήκοντας ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ παρθένος, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο πικρότατα, οὐδὲν τῇ στρατιᾷ λόγου ἄξιον ἰσχυριζομένη πεπράχθαι, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀγάγοιεν αὐτῇ ζῶντα Ῥάδιγιν. [36] Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς μάλιστα μαχιμωτάτους εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν, ἀπαγγείλασα δορυάλωτον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανῇ πάσῃ. [37] οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐπίταξιν περιήρχοντο διερευνώμενοι ξύμπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, ἕως ἐν ὕλῃ ἀμφιλαφεῖ κρυπτόμενον Ῥάδιγιν εὗρον: δῆσαντές τε αὐτὸν τῇ παιδί ἀπεκόμισαν. [38] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰστήκει, τρέμων τε καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑποτοπάζων θανάτῳ οἰκτίστω: ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου οὔτε ἀπέκτεινεν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ὀνειδίσασα τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἡλογηκῶς τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐτέρᾳ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνέλθοι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πεπορνευμένης αὐτῷ τῆς μνηστῆς. [39] καὶ ὃς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολογούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σπουδὴν προὔφερεν, ἱκεσίους τε προὔτεινετο λόγους καὶ λιταῖς ἀνέμισγε τὴν ἀπολογίαν πολλαῖς, ἐς τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀναφέρων τὸ ἔγκλημα. [40] βουλομένη τε αὐτῇ ξυνοικισθῆσεσθαι ὠμολόγει καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τὸ πρότερόν οἱ αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἐπιγεννησομένοις ἰάσεσθαι. [41] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν παῖδα ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τῶν τε δεσμῶν ἀφεῖτο Ῥάδιγίς τῆς τε ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης ἡξίωτο, ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν Θευδιβέρτου εὐθὺς ἀδελφὴν, τὴν δὲ Βριττίαν ἐγγήματο. ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. [42] Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Βριττίᾳ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐδείμαντο μακρὸν οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι, δίχα τέμνον αὐτῆς πολλήν τινα μοῖραν: τοῦ δὲ τεῖχους ὃ τε ἀῆρ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἐκάτερά ἐστι. [43] τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τεῖχους πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὐεξία τε ἀέρων ἐστὶ συμεταβαλλομένη ταῖς ὥραις, θέρους μὲν μετρίως ἀλεεινὴ, ψυχρινὴ δὲ χειμῶνος: [44] καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν πολλοὶ ὄκνηται κατὰ ταῦτα βιοτεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὰ τε δένδρα καρποῖς ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω γινομένοις ὠραίοις ἄνθει, τὰ τε λήϊα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον τέθηλεν: [45] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕδασιν ἡ χώρα ἐναβρυνομένη διαρκῶς φαίνεται. πρὸς δύοντα δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὥστε ἀμέλει ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡμῶριον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα βῶναι, ἔχως δὲ καὶ ὄφεις ἀνάριθμοι καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπὰ γένη διακεκλήρωται τὸν χώρον ἐκεῖνον. [46] καί, τὸ δὴ παραλογώτατον, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσιν ὥς, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος τὸ τεῖχος ἀμείψας ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴοι, εὐθυρὸν θνήσκει, τὸ λοιμῶδες τῶν ἐκεῖνη ἀέρων ὥς ἥκιστα φέρων, τοῖς τε θηρίοις ἐνθαδε ἰοῦσιν ὁ θάνατος εὐθὺς ὑπαντιάζων ἐκδέχεται. [47] Ἐνταῦθα δέ μοι γενομένῃ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λόγου μυθολογία ἐμπερεστάτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ μοι οὔτε πιστὸς τὸ παράπαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι,

καίπερ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων οἱ δὴ τῶν μὲν πρᾶσσομένων αὐτουργοί, τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτήκοοι ἰσχυρίζοντο γεγονέναι, οὔτε παριτέος παντάπασιν, ὥς μὴ τά γε ἀμφὶ Βριττίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ ἀναγραφόμενος ἀγνοίας τινὸς τῶν τῆδε ξυμβαινόντων διηνεκῶς ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν. [48] Λέγουσιν οὖν τὰς τῶν ἀποβιούντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ διακομίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, σπουδαιότατα μὲν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκηκῶς πολλάκις τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐς ὀνείρων δέ τινα δύναμιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι νενομικῶς τὰ θρυλλούμενα. [49] παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν Ὠκεανοῦ νήσον κώμας παμπληθεῖς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι σαγηνεύοντές τε καὶ γῆν γεωργοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' ἐμπορίαν ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐς τήνδε τὴν νήσον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοοι ὄντες, φόρου μέντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὐπώποτε παρασχόμενοι, ὑφειμένου αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄχθους, ὑπουργίας τινός, ὥς φασιν, ἔνεκα, ἥ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λελέξεται. [50] Λέγουσιν οἱ ταῦτ' ἄνθρωποι ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς σφίσιν. ὅσοις οὖν τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο τῇ τῆς ὑπουργίας διαδοχῇ ἰτέον ἐστίν, οὗτοι δὴ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ξυσκοτάζη, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καθεύδουσι, προσδεχόμενοι τὸν συναγωγέα τοῦ πράγματος. [51] ἄωρὶ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν τῶν μὲν θυρῶν σφίσιν ἀρασσομένων αἰσθάνονται, φωνῆς δέ τις ἀφανοῦς ἐπαΐουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλούσης. [52] αὐτοὶ τε ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα βαδίζουσιν, οὐ ξυνιέντες μὲν ὅποια ποτὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναγκαζόμενοι. [53] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀκάτους παρεσκευασμένας ὀρῶσιν ἐρήμους τὸ παράπαν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τὰς σφετέρας μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας τινάς, ἐς ἃς δὴ ἐσβάντες τῶν κωπῶν ἄπτονται. [54] καὶ τῶν βάρεων αἰσθάνονται ἀχθομένων μὲν ἐπιβατῶν πλήθει, ἄχρι δὲ ἐς σανίδας τε ἄκρας καὶ τῶν κωπῶν τὴν χώραν τῷ ῥοθίῳ βεβαπτισμένων, ἀποδεουσῶν τε τοῦ ὕδατος ὅσον οὐδὲ δάκτυλον ἕνα, αὐτοὶ μέντοι οὐδένα θεῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἐρέσσοντες ὥραν ἐς τὴν Βριττίαν καταίρουσι. [55] καίτοι ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἡνίκα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ναυτίλλονται, οὐχ ἰστίοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες, ἐς νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν μόλις ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύονται. ἐς τὴν νήσον δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἀποφορτιζόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τῶν βάρεων σφίσι κούφων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κακ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπαιρομένων ἐν τε τῷ ὕδατι καταδυομένων οὐδέν τι ἄλλο, πλὴν γε ὅσα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν αὐτὴν. [56] Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὀρῶσιν οὔτε ξυμπλέοντα οὔτε ἀπαλλασσόμενον τῆς νηός, φωνῆς δὲ ἀκούειν τινὸς ἐνθὲνδε φασὶ τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις ἀπαγγέλλειν δοκούσης πρὸς ὄνομα τῶν συμπεπλευκότων αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον, τά τε ἀξιώματα ἐπιλεγούσης οἷς πρώην ἐχρῶντο καὶ πατρόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλούσης. [57] ἦν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξυνδιαπορθμευσάμεναι αὐτοῖς τύχῳσι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποστοματίζουσι τὰ ὀνόματα οἷσπερ ξυνοικοῦσαι ἐβίων. [58] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι ξυμβαίνειν φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος ἐφέρετο ὧδε. Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπεμψάμενος βασιλεὺς, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, διὰ

τιμῆς ἦγε, καὶ οὐδὲ Γερμανοῦ τετελευτηκότος πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὴν ὄντα, τῶν βασιλικῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἄρχοντα καταστησάμενος, αὐτοῦ κατεῖχεν. [2] ἦν τε τῷ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ὁ Βελισάριος Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν πρότεροι ἀνάγραπτοί τε ἐς πατρικίους γενόμενοι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναβεβήκεσαν τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς αὐτῷ τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταντο πάντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ νόμῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. [4] ταῦτά τε βασιλέα κομιδῇ ἤρεσκεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ διεχεύμαζεν ἐν Σάλωσι. προσδεχόμενοί τε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄπρακτοι ἔμενον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἑκατιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ Γοθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε. [5] Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ Ἰωάννης μὲν διενοεῖτο ἐκ Σαλῶνων τε ἐξανίστασθαι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν διεκώλυεν, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐπέστελλεν, ἕως Ναρσῆς ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀφίκηται. αὐτὸν γὰρ τοῦδε αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐβούλευσεν. [7] ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα βουλομένη βασιλεῖ εἶη διαρρήδην μὲν τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ φανερόν γέγονε: βασιλέως γὰρ βούλευμα ἔκπυστον ὅτι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἐθελουσίου ἀμήχανά ἐστιν: ἃ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντες ἄνθρωποι ἔλεγον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [8] ἔννοια Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὥς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες Ἰωάννου ἐπακούειν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐθελήσουσιν, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες καταδεέστεροί τι αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα εἶναι. [9] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδισε μὴ διχοστατοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ ἢ ἐθελοκακοῦντες τῷ φθόνῳ συγγέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα. [10] Ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἀπαγγέλλοντος Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρός, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης διατριβὴν εἶχον: ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς. [11] ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ὥς ἄρχοι μὲν Ἰταλίας ποτὲ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θεουδερίχου θυγατρίδους, βοῶν δὲ τις ἀγέλη ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν ὀψίαν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἦκει διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦν Φόρον Εἰρήνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι: [12] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πῃ ὁ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεὸς κεραυνόβλητος γενόμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ κεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τις ἀρχαία πρὸ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρήνη, καὶ βοῦς ἐπὶ ταύτης χαλκοῦς ἔστηκε, Φειδίου, οἶμαι, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἢ Λυσίππου ἔργον. [13] ἀγάλματα γὰρ ἐν χώρῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τούτοις δὴ τοῖν ἀνδρῶν ποιήματά ἐστιν. οὗ δὴ καὶ Φειδίου ἔργον ἕτερον: τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγάλματι γράμματα. [14] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μύρωνος βοῖδιον. ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα ἐγκαλλωπίσματα Ῥώμης ποιήσασθαι. [15] ἓνα δὲ ταῦρον ἔφη τῶν τῆνικαδε παριόντων εὐνοῦχον τῆς τε ἀγέλης ἀπολειπόμενον καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς κρήνης ἐπιβατεύσαντα καθύπερθεν βοῶς τοῦ χαλκοῦ στήναι. [16] τύχῃ δὲ τινι παριόντα τινά, Τοῦσκον γένος, κομιδῇ ἄγροικον δόξαντα εἶναι, ξυμβάλλοντα τὸ ποιούμενον φάναι ἑῖσι γὰρ μαντικοί καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ Τοῦσκοί ὥς εὐνοῦχός ποτε καταλύσει τὸν ἄρχοντα Ῥώμης. [17] καὶ τῆνικαδε μὲν ὃ τε Τοῦσκος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγος γέλωτα ὦφλε. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς πείρας αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι τὰς προρρήσεις φιλοῦσι χλευάζειν, οὐκ ἀναχαιτίζοντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐλέγχου, τῷ μῆτε ἀποβεβηκέναι τὰ πράγματα μῆτε τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον εἶναι πιστόν, ἀλλὰ

μῦθος τινὶ γελοιώδει ἐμπερὴ φαίνεσθαι. [18] Νῦν δὲ δὴ ἅπαντες τὸ ζῦμβολον τοῦτο 'τοῖς ἀποβεηκόσιν ὑποχωροῦντες' θαυμάζουσι. [19] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν ἐστρατήγει Ναρσῆς, ἡ στοχαζομένης τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς βασιλέως γνώμης, ἡ πρυτανευούσης τὸ δέον τῆς τύχης. [20] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ναρσῆς στρατεύμα τε λόγου ἄξιον καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένους ἐστέλλετο. [21] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐν μέσῃ Θράκῃ ἐγένετο, χρόνον τινὰ ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει ἀποκεκλεισμένος τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔμεινε. [22] στρατεύμα γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐπισκῆψαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἅπαντα ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς σφίσι ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, μόλις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ Σαλόνων Ναρσῆν ἔμενε, Ναρσῆς δὲ Οὐννων τῇ ἐφόδῳ συμποδιζόμενος σχολαίτερον ἦει, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Τουτίλας προσδεχόμενος τὴν Ναρσοῦ στρατιὰν ἐποίει τάδε. [2] ἄλλους τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθίστη, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐάσας. [3] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ὅση δύναμις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ μεταμέλει τῶν οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην εἰργασμένων τὰ πρότερα, ἐπεὶ ἐμπρήσας αὐτῆς πολλὰ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τίβεριν ποταμόν. [4] οἱ δὲ καθεστῶτες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα πάντα, μὴ ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσι προσηκόντων δυνατοὶ ἦσαν μεταποιεῖσθαι. [5] Καίτοι ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν φιλοπόλιδες Ῥωμαῖοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, περιστέλλειν τε τὰ πάτρια πάντα καὶ διασώζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲν ἀφανίζεται Ῥώμῃ τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου. [6] οἱ γὰρ καὶ πολὺν τινα βεβαρβαρωμένοι αἰῶνα τάς τε πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλωπισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, ὅσα οἷόν τε ἦν χρόνῳ τε τοσοῦτ' ὁ μῆκος καὶ τῷ ἀπαμελεῖσθαι δι' ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχειν. [7] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι, ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναῦς Αἰνείου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τόδε κεῖται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἄπιστον. [8] νεώσοικον γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθην, ἐνταυθα τε αὐτὴν καταθέμενοι, ἐξ ἐκείνου τηροῦσιν. ἥπερ ὁποῖα ποτὲ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [9] Μονήρης τε ἡ ναῦς ἥδε καὶ περιμήκης ἄγαν τυγχάνει οὖσα, μῆκος μὲν ποδῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ γὰρ ὕψος τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐρέσσεσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατα εἶναι. [10] ξύλων δὲ κόλλημα οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ παράπαν ἐνταυθα ἐστὶν οὐδὲ σιδήρων ἄλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πλοίου εἰς ἄλληλά πη ἐρήρεισται, ἀλλὰ μονοειδῇ ξύμπαντ' ἐστὶ λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσω καὶ μόνῳ γεγονότα, ὅσα γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πλοίῳ. [11] ἡ τε γὰρ τρόπις μονοφυῆς οὖσα ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν πρῶραν διήκει, κατὰ βραχὺ μὲν θαυμασίως ἐπὶ τὸ κοῖλον ὑποχωροῦσα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐνθένδε κατὰ λόγον εὖ μάλα ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθόν τε καὶ διατεταμένον ἐπανιοῦσα. [12] τά τε παχέα ξύμπαντα ξύλα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν ἐναρμοσθέντα ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ δρυόχους καλοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ νομέας' ἐκ τοίχου μὲν ἕκαστον θατέρου ἄχρι ἐς τῆς νεῶς διήκει τὸν ἕτερον τοῖχον. [13] ὑφίζανοντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξ ἑκατέρας ἄκρας καμπὴν ποιεῖται διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον, ὅπως ἂν τὴν νῆα μάλιστα κοίλῃν ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὴν τῆς χρείας

ἀνάγκην τὰ τε ξύλα διακοψάσης καὶ ξυναρμοσασμένης τὰ πρότερα τὸ κύρτωμα τοῦτο εἴτε χειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τε καὶ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς τῶν νομέων ἀνωμαλίας ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ γεγενημένης. [14] σάνις τε πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάστη ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἐς τῆς νηὸς ἐξικνεῖται τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρχήν, μονοειδῆς οὖσα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρὰ τοῦτου ἔνεκα προσλαβοῦσα μόνον, ὅπως δὴ ταῖς δοκοῖς ἐναρμοσθεῖσα τὸν τοῖχον ποιῇ. [15] οὕτω μὲν ἡ ναῦς ἥδε πεποιημένη κρείσσω παρέχεται τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαίνοντα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα τίθεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις τὰ ξυνειθισμένα νικῶσα καὶ τοῦ λόγου κρατεῖ. [16] τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν ξύλων οὐδὲν οὔτε σέσηπεν οὔτε τι ὑποφαίνει ὥς σαπρὸν εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνῆς πανταχόθι οὖσα ἡ ναῦς, ὥσπερ ὑπόγυον τῷ τεχνίτῃ τῷ αὐτῆς, ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, νεναιπηγημένη, ἔρρωται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ Αἰνείου νηὶ ταύτῃ ἔχει. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐς τριακόσια Γότθων πληρώσας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἐπιστεῖλας δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [18] οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Φαιάκων χώραν, ἣ νῦν Κέρκυρα ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζεσθαι ἔσχε. [19] νῆσον γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ διάπλῳ οἰκουμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν πορθμοῦ μέχρι ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος διηπορούμην ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἡ νῆσος εἶη. [20] ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδαμῇ νῆσον τεθέαμαι, ὅτι μὴ τρεῖς, οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν τῆς Φαιακίδος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων, ἄγχιστά πῃ ἀλλήλων οὖσας, βραχείας κομιδῇ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων οἰκία ἐχούσας οὔτε ζῶων οὔτε ἄλλων τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. Ὅθονοι δὲ καλοῦνται τανῦν αἱ νῆσοι αὗται. [21] καὶ φαίη ἂν τις τὴν Καλυψὼ ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα γῆς τῆς Φαιακίδος ὄντα οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν ἢ σχεδία, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νεὼς τινος χωρὶς ἐνθένδε διαπορθμεύσασθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὅσον τεκμηριουῖσθαι εἰρήσθω. [22] τοῖς γὰρ παλαιοτάτοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐναρμόσασθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ ὁ πολὺς χρόνος τὰ τε τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα καὶ τὴν ἀμφοῖς αὐτοῖς δόξαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ. [23] Τὸ πλοῖον ἀμέλει ὅπερ ἐν γῇ τῇ Φαιάκων ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ πεποιημένον παρὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀκτὴν ἔστηκεν, ἐκεῖνό τινες οἰοῦνται εἶναι ὃ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἐκόμισεν, ἥνικα ξεναγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη. [24] καίτοι οὐ μονοειδὲς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλιστα πολλῶν ζύγκειται. [25] καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκεκόλαπται καὶ διαρρήδην βοᾷ τῶν τινὰ ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. [26] Δία γὰρ Κάσιον ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ἣ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἔστηκεν ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον Κασώπῃ ἐπικαλεῖται. [27] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐκ λίθων πολλῶν καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐκεῖνη πεποιήται ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ τοῦ Ἀτρέως τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Γεραιστῷ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἀφοσιούμενος κὰν τούτῳ τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν, ἥνικα διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας πάθος τὸν ἀπόπλουν ἢ Ἄρτεμις ξυνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. [28] ἃ δὴ γράμματα ἐν πλοίῳ τούτῳ ἢ θηνικάδε ἢ ὕστερον ξυσθέντα δηλοῖ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ. ὦν τὰ μὲν πλείστα ἐξίτηλα χρόνῳ τῷ μακρῷ γέγονε, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα καὶ ἐς τότε διαφαίνεται λέγοντα ὧδε: Νῆά με λαϊνέην ἰδρύσατο τῇδ' Ἀγαμέμνων, Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς σῆμα πλοῖζομένης. [29]

καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔχει· ‘Τύννιχος ἐποίει Ἀρτέμιδι Βολοσίᾳ.’ οὕτω γὰρ τὴν Εἰλειθυιαν ἐν τοῖς ἅνω χρόνοις ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ βολὰς τὰς ὠδῖνας ὠνόμαζον. ἐμοὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ὄθεν περ ἐξέβην ἰτέον. [30] Ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οὗτος ὁ Γότθων στόλος ἀφίκετο, αὐτὴν τε ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπίκεινται, [31] αἱ Συβόται καλοῦνται· διαβάντες δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξαπιναιῶς ἅπαντα ἐληΐζοντο τὰ ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην χωρία καὶ διαφερόντως Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Ἀγχίαλον, οὗ δὴ Ἀγχίσην, τὸν Αἰνείου πατέρα, ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀλούσης ξὺν τῷ παιδί πλέοντά φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ χωρίῳ δοῦναι. [32] περιόντες δὲ τὴν παραλίαν ὅλην καὶ ναυσὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐντυχόντες πολλαῖς αὐτοῖς φορτίοις ἀπάσας εἶλον. ἐν ταῖς εἶναι ξυνέβη καὶ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς αἱ τῇ Ναρσοῦ στρατιᾷ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔφερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

Τουτίλας δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον Γότθων στρατεύμα ἐς Πικηνούς ἐτύγγανε πέμψας, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐξελοῦσιν· οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐν Γότθοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπέστησε, Σκιποῦάρ τε καὶ Γίβαλ καὶ Γουνδούλφ, ὅσπερ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἐγεγόνει ποτέ. [2] τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰνδοῦλφ ἐκάλουν. οἷς δὴ καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τὸ φρούριον κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν πολιορκοῦντες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν θήσονται. [3] χρόνου δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεῖα τριβέντος συχνοῦ, συνέβαινε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι. [4] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης διατριβὴν ἔχων, ἀμύνειν τε κατὰ μόνας τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀγκῶνι Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐπὶ Σαλῶνων ὄντα ἔγραψε τάδε· ‘Μόνος ὁ Ἀγκῶν ἡμῖν τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς ἀπολέλειπται, ὥς αὐτὸς οἶσθα, εἴπερ ἔτι νῦν ἀπολέλειπται. [5] οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ Ῥωμαίοις πικρότατα πολιορκουμένοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βοηθοῦντες ἔξωροι ὦμεν, ὀπίσω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες, ἑωλόν τε τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προθυμίαν ποιοῦμενοι. [6] ἀλλὰ παύσομαι. ἡ γὰρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀνάγκη μακροτέραν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔῃ γίνεσθαι, τὸν χρόνον ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἀκριβῶς σφίγγουσα καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ὀξυτέραν τοῦ [7] λόγου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ζητῶν.’ ταύτην Ἰωάννης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς βασιλέως ἀπορρηθέν, αὐτοκέλευστος ἐτόλμα ἰέναι, τῶν οἱ πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος ἐπηγγελημένων προὔργιαίτεραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης στενοχωρίαν πεποιημένους. [8] ἄνδρας τε ἀπολεξάμενος οὓς μάλιστα πάντων ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ὤρετο εἶναι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐμπλησάμενος πλέοντά τε ὥς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ὥς ἄριστα πεποιημένα, ἐνία τε αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνθήμενος, ἄρας ἐκ Σαλῶνων τῷ Σκάρδωνι προσέσχεν. οὗ δὴ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ξὺν ναυσὶ δώδεκα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἦλθεν. [9] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν, κοινολογησάμενοί τε καὶ τὰ σφίσι ξύμφορα δόξαντα εἶναι βεβουλευμένοι, ἐνθένδε μὲν ἀποπλεύουσιν, ἐς δὲ ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέραν κατάραντες ἐς χωρίον ὁρμίζονται ὃ δὴ Σενογαλλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, [10] τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθων στρατηγοὶ ἔμαθον, πλοῖα μακρὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα, ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὄντα, Γότθων τῶν

λογίμων αὐτίκα ἐπλήρουν. [11] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τοῦ φρουρίου ἀπολιπόντες εὐθὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρουν. [12] ἤγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μεμενηκότων ὁ Σκιποῦαρ, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντων Γίβαλ τε καὶ Γουνδούλφ. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε ἄγχιστα ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ναὺς ἑκάτεροι ἀνεκώχουν καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτὰς ἐς ὀλίγον παραίνεσιν ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐποιοῦντό τινα. [14] Πρῶτοί τε Ἰωάννης καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος μόνου τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τανῦν οἰέσθω, μηδὲ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀποκριθῆσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, ἀλλὰ ζύμπαν, ὥς συνελόντας εἰπεῖν, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον ἐνταῦθα ἐστάναι, ἐνθα τε ἂν ἀποκλῖναι ξυμβαίῃ τὴν μάχην, συγκληροῦσθαι αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πέρας. [15] οὕτωσι γὰρ περὶ τῶν παρόντων σκοπεῖσθε: πολλή τις ἐπὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀπόκειται τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπή, τοὺς τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντας ἡττάσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάναγκες. [16] λιμῷ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἡ ἀρετὴ ξυνοικίζεσθαι, πεινῆν τε καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς φύσεως. [17] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀπολέλειπται, ὅπῃ ἂν τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποκεῖσθαι δεῖσῃ, οὕτω τε οἱ πολέμοι κρατοῦσι τῆς χώρας ὥστε φίλιον οὐδὲν μεμένηκεν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα χωρίον, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ τῶν τι ἐπιτηδείων ἐκπορίζεσθαι χρή. [18] ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἡμῖν ἡ προσδοκία μεμένηκε πᾶσα τοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου τῆς ἀντιπέρας καταίρουσιν ἐνταῦθα προσχεῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν. [19] οὐκοῦν εὐήμερήσαντες ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τήμερον καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, κρατυνάμενοι τάχα ἂν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ πρὸς Γότθους πολέμου ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. [20] σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἄλλο μέντοι πικρὸν οὐκ ἂν εἵπομεν, ἀλλὰ δοίῃ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ὁ θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις διηνεκῇ εἶναι. κάκεῖνο δὲ λογίζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἄξιον, ὥς κακοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γινομένοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀποφεύγειν ἐξόν. [21] οὔτε γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἔξετε πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων κατελιγμένην οὔτε τὴν θάλασσαν πλώϊμον, οὔτω θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὖσα καὶ ξυμμεταβαλλομένη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἔργοις. [22] ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε τοίνυν ὅση δύναμις, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ἐκλογιζόμενοι, ὥς ἡσσηθέντες μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὴν ὑστάτην ἤτταν κληρώσεσθε, νενικηκότες δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄγαν εὐδαιμόνων ξὺν τῇ εὐκλείᾳ τετάξεσθε.’ [23] Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸς τοσαῦτα εἶπον. καὶ οἱ Γότθων δὲ ἄρχοντες τοιάνδε τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποίησαντο: ‘Ἐπειδὴ πάσης ἀπεληλαμένοι τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πολὺν τινα χρόνον οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐν ὁποίοις ποτὲ μυχοῖς οἶδε οἱ κατάραιοι τῆς γῆς ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης διαλαθόντες τανῦν ἡμῖν τετολμήκασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, καὶ ὥς ἀναμαχοῦμενοι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἤκουσιν, ἐπάναγκες αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἐγγενόμενον θράσος ἀναχαιτίζειν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ὥς μὴ ἐνδιδόντων ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτοῖς ἐς μέγα χωροῖη. [24] ἀμαθία γὰρ οὐ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἀναστελλομένη ἀναβαίνει μὲν ἐπ’ ἄπειρον τόλμαν, ἐς ἀνηκέστους δὲ τῶν παραπιπτόντων τελευτᾷ συμφοράς. [25] δεῖξατε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ὥς Γραικοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ἄνδρροι φύσει καὶ ἡσσημένοι θρασύνονται, μηδὲ συγχωρήσητε τὴν

διάπειραν αὐτοῖς πρόσω ἰέναι. [26] ἀνανδρία γὰρ καταφρονηθεῖσα ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἐξάγεται μείζω, [27] ἐπεὶ τῷ προΐέναι τὸ θάρσος ἄοκνον γίνεται. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἀνθέξιν αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθιζομένοις ὑμῖν μηδαμῶς οἶεσθε. φρόνημα γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν αὐτῷ χρωμένων μὴ συμμετρούμενον πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἔργου ἐπαιρόμενον ἐν ἀκμῇ φαίνεται, ἀρξαμένης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν. [28] ὅτε τοῖνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν ὄντινα τρόπον οἱ πολέμιοι πολλακίς ἀποπειρασάμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπῆλλαξαν, ἐκλογίξεσθε δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀμείνους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηται, ἀλλὰ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς προλαβοῦσι τετολμηκότες, τὴν ὁμοίαν καὶ νῦν κληρώσονται τύχην.' [29] Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν Γόθων ἄρχοντες παρακελευσάμενοι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάσαντες μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐσάγαν ἰσχυρά, πεζομαχία ἐμφερῆς οὔσα. [30] τὰς τε γὰρ ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἀντιπρώρους ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκάτεροι στήσαντες τὰ τοξεύματα ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφίεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀρετῆς τι μετεποιοῦντο, ἄγχιστα πῇ ἀλλήλων γινόμενοι ἐν χρῶ τε ξυνιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ξυνέμιγον, ξίφεσὶ τε καὶ δόρασιν, ὥσπερ ἐν πεδίῳ, μαχόμενοι. [31] καὶ τὰ μὲν προοίμια τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦδε τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει. Ὑστερον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπειρία τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν ξὺν πολλῇ ἀταξία τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε διέφερον: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δίσταντο ὥστε διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ μόνας ἐμβάλλειν, οἱ δὲ συχνοὶ ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἀεὶ τῇ τῶν πλοίων στενοχωρία ξυνεποδίζοντο. [32] εἵκασεν ἄν τις φορημδὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἱκρία ξυγκεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐδὲ τοξεύειν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς διεστῶτας ἠδύναντο, ὅτι μὴ ὄψε τε καὶ μόλις, οὐδὲ ξίφεσιν ἢ δόρασι χρῆσθαι, ἡνίκα ἂν σφίσιν ἐγκειμένους αὐτοὺς ἴδοιεν, ἀλλὰ κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὠθισμῷ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διηνεκῶς εἶχοντο, ξυγκρούοντές τε ἀεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐθὶς διωθόμενοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ πῇ μὲν συμφύροντες τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ μέτωπον, πῇ δὲ ἀποφοιτῶντες πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῶν σφετέρων ἐκάτεροι. [33] τὰς τε παρακελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἄγχιστα ὄντας ξὺν ὀλολυγῇ πολλῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰς διαστάσεις αὐτοὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐργάζωνται. [34] ἡσυχολημένοι τε τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμηχανίᾳ τῆς κατὰ σφῶν νίκης αἰτιώτατοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνοντο. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνδρείως μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν, ἐμπείρως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν διαχειρίζοντες, τὰ τε πλοῖα μετωπηδὸν στήσαντες, καὶ οὔτε κατὰ πολὺ διεστῶτες ἀλλήλων οὔτε μὴν ἄγχιστα ξυνιόντες περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας, ἀλλὰ συμμέτρους ἀεὶ τὰς τε ξυνόδους καὶ διαστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι, ἦν μὲν ναῦν πολεμίαν ἀποσκεδαννυμένην τῶν ἄλλων θεῶντο, κατέδουν ἐμβάλλοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, εἰ δέ που ξύγχυσιν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἴδοιεν, ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον καὶ ἡνίκα σφίσιν ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἀτάκτοις οὔσι καὶ συντριβέσι γεγενημένοις τῷ τῆς ἀταξίας καμάτῳ, [35] ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ἀπειρηκότες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τε τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀμαρτάδας ξυμπεπτωκυίας, οὐκ εἶχον καθ' ὃ τι μαχέσονται, οὐδὲ ναυμαχοῦντες, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ καθάπερ ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἐστῶτες, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἐπικινδύνως ἠτρέμιζον, ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ καταλιπόντες. [36] διὸ δὴ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν οἱ Γόθοι

αἰσχροῦν ζῖν πολλῇ ἀκοσμία ἐτράποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀλκῆς οὔτε φυγῆς τινὸς εὐπρεποῦς οὔτε τοῦ ἄλλου ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοὺς ἄγοντος ἐμέμνηντο ἔτι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλοίων τῶν πολεμίων ὥς τὰ πολλὰ σκεδαννόμενοι διηποροῦντο. [37] καὶ αὐτῶν τινὲς ναυσὶν ἑνδεκα διέφυγον καὶ λαθόντες ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [38] ὧν δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοχειρὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐταῖς ναυσὶ καταδύοντες ἔκτεινον: τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Γουνδοῦλφ μὲν ζῖν ταῖς ἑνδεκα ναυσὶ λαθὼν ἔφυγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐξώγρησαν Ῥωμαῖοι. [39] Καὶ ἔπειτα οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑνδεκα ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντες τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν, ὥς μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γένωνται, αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν ὁ τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκῶνι ἐπολιόρκουν. [40] φράσαντές τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ξυμπεσόντα εὐθυωρὸν ζῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποίησαντο, τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπόντες, καὶ δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν ἐγγὺς πη οὖσαν ἀνέδραμον. [41] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον αἰροῦσι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐσκομίσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐνθένδε. [42] καὶ Βαλεριανὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Σάλωνας ἀνέστρεψεν. αὕτη διαφερόντως ἡ μάχη τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν Τουτίλα καὶ Γότθων κατέλυσεν.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῇδε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Λιβέριος μὲν ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετὰπεμπος ἦλθεν, Ἀρταβάνης δέ, τοῦτο βασιλεῖ δεδογμένον, παντὸς ἦρχε τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ. [2] ὃς δὴ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ φρουρίοις ἀπολελειμμένους, ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ὄντας, πολιορκῶν, μάχῃ τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπεξιόντας νικῆσας ἐς πᾶσαν τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστησάμενος ὕστερον ὁμολογίᾳ ζύμπαντας εἶλεν. [3] οἷς οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοι τε γεγεννημένοι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ξυμπεπτωκόσι περιαλοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεγίνωσκον, ἤδη δυσέλπιδες τὸ παράπαν γεγεννημένοι, λογιζόμενοι τε ὥς ἐν τῷ παρόντι δὴ αἰσχροῦς ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παντάπασι διεφθαρμένοι, ἦν τις Ῥωμαίοις βοήθεια καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐπιγένηται, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἀντέχειν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ χρόνου ῥοπήν τινα ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστήξουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ πρεσβείαν διαπράξασθαι τι ἐκ βασιλέως ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον. [4] πολλάκις γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ὁ Τουτίλας ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. οἱ, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὅσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἦλθον, ἀνεδίδαξαν μὲν ὥς τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ μὲν πολλὰ κατέλαβον Φράγγοι, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγένηται, Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Δαλματίας, αἵπερ ἀκραίφνεις διέμειναν μόναι, Ῥωμαίοις ἐξίστανται Γότθοι, δασμοὺς δὲ καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀποφέρειν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ συμμαχήσιν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν βασιλεὺς βούλοιο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατήκοοι αὐτῷ ἔσσεσθαι: [5] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς μάθησιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν λεγομένων ποιούμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἅπαντας ἀπεπέμπετο, πρὸς τὸ Γότθων ὄνομα χαλεπῶς ἔχων, ἄρδην τε αὐτὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐξελάσαι διανοούμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ζυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [6] Θεοδίδερτος δέ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσῳ, Λιγυρίας τε χωρία ἅττα καὶ Ἄλπεις Κουτίας καὶ Βενετιῶν τὰ πολλὰ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ὑποτελῇ ποιησάμενος. [7] τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τῶν

μαχομένων οικείαν οἱ Φράγγοι εὐκαιρίαν πεπονημένοι τοῖς ἐκείνων περιμαχήτοις αὐτοὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐπλούτουν. [8] καὶ Γότθοις μὲν πολίσματα ὀλίγα ἐν Βενετίοις διέμεινε, τὰ τε ἐπιθαλασσίδια χωρία Ῥωμαίοις· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὑποχείρια σφίσιν ἅπαντα πεποιήνται Φράγγοι. [9] Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γότθων πόλεμον τόνδε ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόντων καὶ πολεμίουσιν οὐ δυναμένων ἐπικταῖσθαι καινοὺς, Γότθοι τε καὶ Φράγγοι ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασι, καὶ ξυνέκειτο, μέχρι μὲν ἂν Γότθοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροιν, ἔχοντας ἑκατέρους ὥνπερ ἐγένοντο ἐγκρατεῖς ἡσυχῇ μένειν, μηδὲν τε σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμιον εἶναι. [10] ἣν δέ γε βασιλέως ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ περιέσεσθαι Τουτίλαν τῷ πολέμῳ συμβαίῃ, τηνικάδε Γότθους τε καὶ Φράγγους διοικήσασθαι ταῦτα, ὅπῃ ἂν συνοίσειν ἑκατέροις δοκῇ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε ξυνέκειτο. [11] τὴν δὲ Θευδιβέρτου ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Θευδίβαλδος ὁ παῖς. βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς Λεόντιον, τὸν Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς, πρεσβευτὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἕς τε ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ Χωρίων ἐκστῆναι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰτούμενος ὥνπερ Θευδιβέρτος οὐ δέον ἐπιβατεῦσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχε. [12] Λεόντιος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Θευδίβαλδον ἀφίκετο, ἔλεξεν ὥδε: “Ἴσως μὲν τι καὶ ἄλλοις παρὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας τισὶ τετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσεν, ὅποιον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τανῦν πρὸς ὑμῶν γεγονέναι ξυνέβη, οὐδενί, οἶμαι, ξυνηνέχθη πώποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [13] βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ πρότερον κατέστη ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε, οὐδὲ Γότθοις πολεμῆσειν ἐνδηλος γέγονεν, ἕως αὐτῷ Φράγγοι φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι χρήματα μεγάλα κεκομισμένοι τὴν ἀγωνίαν ξυλλήψεσθαι ὡμολόγησαν. [14] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὅπως τι δρᾶν τῶν ὡμολογημένων ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν Ῥωμαίους τοιαῦτα οἶα οὐδ' ἂν τις ὑποπτεῦσαι ῥαδίως ἔσχε. [15] ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς Θευδιβέρτος χώρας ἐπιβατεῦσαι ὑπέστη, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ἥσπερ βασιλεὺς πόνῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ κινδύνοις πολέμου, καὶ ταῦτα Φράγγων ἀπάντων ἐκποδῶν ἵσταμένων, κύριος γέγονε. [16] διόπερ τανῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἤκω, οὐχ ὅπως μέμψομαι ἢ αἰτιάσομαι, ἀλλ' αἰτησόμενός τε καὶ παραινέσων ὅσα ξυνοίσειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλει. [17] λέγω δὲ ὅπως βεβαιότατα μὲν διασώζητε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐπραξίαν, συγχωρήσητε δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια: [18] τοὺς γὰρ δύναμιν περιβεβλημένους μεγάλῃν καὶ βραχέων τινῶν οὐχ ὅσια κτήσις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι πολλάκις τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τῷ ἀδίκῳ ἐς ταῦτό ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε, καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅπως ἡμῖν τὸν πρὸς Τουτίλαν ξυνδιενέγκητε πόλεμον, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποτελοῦντες ὁμολογίαν. [19] τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν πρέπον γνησίους παισὶ πάντων μάλιστα, ἐπανορθοῦν μὲν, εἴ τι τοῖς γειναμένοις ἡμαρτηθῇ ξυμβαίνει, περιστέλλειν δὲ καὶ κρατύνεσθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἵργασται. [20] ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα διαφερόντως εὐκτὰ τοῖς συνετωτάτοις ἂν εἴῃ, ὅπως δὴ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἄριστα οἱ παῖδες ζηλοῖεν, εἰ δέ τι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς πέπρακται, μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλου τοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι. [21] καίτοι ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς ἀκλήτους Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον τόνδε ξυνάρασθαι. πρὸς Γότθους γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, οἱ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχθροὶ τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστοι γεγονάσι Φράγγοις, ἄσπονδά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκήρυκτα πολεμοῦντες τὸν πάντα

αἰῶνα. [22] οἱ δὲ νῦν μὲν δεῖ τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαξιούσι κολακικοὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς εἶναι· εἰ δέ ποτε ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τὴν ἐς Φράγγους ἐνδείξονται γνώμην. [23] πονηροὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἀμείβειν μὲν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντες, οὐ πράσσοντες κακῶς δύνανται, ἀποκρύπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν κακοπαθείαις εἰώθασιν, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ τῶν πέλας τινὸς δέωνται, τῆς χρείας αὐτοὺς συγκαλύπτειν ἀναγκαζούσης τὴν μοχθηρίαν. [24] ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀνανεοῦτε μὲν τὴν ἐς βασιλέα φιλίαν, ἀμύνεσθε δὲ τοὺς ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν δυσμενεῖς δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [25] Λεόντιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Θεοδίδαιος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε· ‘Συμμάχους μὲν ἐπὶ Γότθους ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες καλεῖτε· φίλοι γὰρ ἡμῖν τανῦν Γότθοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. εἰ δὲ ἀβέβαιοι Φράγγοι ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶεν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὶ ἔσονται. [26] γνώμη γὰρ ἅπαξ μοχθηρὰ ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὀφθεῖσα ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς δικαίας ὁδοῦ ἀεὶ πέφυκεν. ὧν μέντοι ἐπεμνήσθητε χωρίων ἔνεκα, τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὥς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς Θεοδίβερτος οὔτε βιάσασθαι πώποτε τῶν ὁμόρων τινὰ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε κτήμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπιτηδᾶν. [27] τεκμήριον δέ· οὐ γὰρ εἰμι πλούσιος. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενος, ἀλλὰ Τουτίλα ἔχοντος ἤδη αὐτὰ καὶ διαρρηδὴν ἐνδιδόντος καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ χρῆν μάλιστα βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν συνήδεσθαι Φράγγοις. [28] ὁ γὰρ τοὺς τι ἀφελομένους τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων ἰδίων ὑφ’ ἐτέρων τινῶν βιασθέντας ὀρῶν, εἰκότως ἂν χαίροι, τὴν δίκην ἐκτετικέναι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοὺς αὐτὸν ἡδικοτάτας οἰόμενος, ἢν μὴ ἐς τοὺς βιασαμένους αὐτὸς φθονερὸς γένηται, ἐπεὶ τὸ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δικαιώματα ἐς φθόνον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι οἴονται ἄνθρωποι. [29] δικασταῖς μέντοι ἐπιτρέπειν οἷοί τε ἔσμεν τὴν περὶ τούτων διάγνωσιν, ὥστε εἴ τι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φανερὸν γένηται, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀποτινύναι μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐπάναγκες εἶη. ὑπὲρ τε τούτων πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον σταλήσονται παρ’ ἡμῶν [30] οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.’ τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν τε Λεόντιον ἀπεπέμψατο καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Λεῦδαρδον, ἄνδρα Φράγγον, τέταρτον αὐτὸν παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὥνπερ ἔνεκα ἦλθον. [31] Τουτίλας δὲ νήσους τὰς Λιβύῃ προσηκούσας καταλαβεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε. στόλον οὖν αὐτίκα νηῶν ἀγείρας καὶ στρατεύμα τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος ἀξιόχρεων ἔς τε Κουρσικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶ στέλλει. [32] οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς Κουρσικὴν ἀποπλεύσαντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου, τὴν νῆσον ἔσχον, [33] μετὰ δὲ καὶ Σαρδῶ κατέλαβον. ἄμφω δὲ τὰ νήσω ὁ Τουτίλας ὑποτελεῖς ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου πεποίηται. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἦρχε, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐπεμψεν. [34] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Καρανάλεως πόλεως ἄγχιστα ἵκοντο, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι διανοοῦντο· τειχομαχεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ὥντο οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον διαρκὲς εἶχον. [35] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιπεσόντες τρεψάμενοί τε αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πολλοὺς ἐκτεῖναν. [36] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φεύγοντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκα ἐς τὰς ναῦς διεσώθησαν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταυθὰ τε διαχειμιάσαντες ἔμενον, [37] ἐφ’ ᾧ δὲ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ

παρασκευῇ πλείονι ἐπὶ τε Κουρσικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶ αὐθις στρατεύσωσι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν Σαρδῶ τανὺν Σαρδινίαν καλοῦσιν. [38] ἐνταῦθα φύεσθαι ξυμβαίνει πόαν ἥς δὴ ἀπογενομένοις ἀνθρώποις αὐτίκα σπασμὸς θανάσιμος ἐπιγίνεται, οἱ δὴ τελευτῶσιν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον, γέλωτα γελᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπασμοῦ δοκοῦντές τινα, ὥνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ χώρᾳ Σαρδώνιον καλοῦσι. [39] τὴν δὲ Κουρσικὴν οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Κύρνον ἐκάλουν. ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι πίθηκες γίνονται, οὕτω δὴ τινων ἵππων ἀγέλαι εἰσὶ τῶν προβατίων ὀλίγῳ μειζόνων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐστί.

Σκλαβηγῶν δὲ πολλὸς ὄμιλος Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπισκῆψαντες πάθη ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα εἰργάσαντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, οὗ δὴ ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες ἡγούντο. οἵπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν [2] πολέμιων παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι χωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ὅπισθεν δὲ αἰεὶ μένοντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους ἐσίνοντο, [3] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ζωγρήσαντες βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψαν. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦσσαν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τὰ δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. [4] ἐν ταύτῃ τε τῇ λεηλασίᾳ χρόνου τι μέγα κατατρίψαντες μῆκος τὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς νεκρῶν ἀνέπλησαν ἀπάσας, ἐξανδραποδίσαντες δὲ ἀνάριθμα πλήθη καὶ ληϊσάμενοι ξύμπαντα, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν σὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ διαπορθμευομένους ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἴσχυσαν σφᾶς ἐνεδρεῦσαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ βιάσασθαι τρόπῳ, ἐπεὶ Γῆπαιδες αὐτοὺς μισθαρνήσαντες ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ διεπόρθμευσαν μακρόμισθοι γεγενημένοι. ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ γὰρ ἐκάστη κατὰ στατήρα χρυσοῦν ἢ μίσθωσις ἦν. [6] διόπερ βασιλεὺς ἐδυσφορεῖτο, οὐκ ἔχων τὸ λοιπὸν ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστέλλοι διαβαίνοντας ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐφ' ᾧ ληϊσονται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἣ ξὺν ταῖς ὠφελίαις τὴν ἀποπορείαν ποιουμένους ἐνθῆνδε, ἠθελε τε τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει ἐς συνθήκας καταστῆναι τινας. [7] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γῆπαιδὲς τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι αὐθις πολεμῆσιόντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦσαν. Γῆπαιδὲς τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες δύναμιν ἀνήκοοι γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ἦσαν ὥς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁμαιχμίαν διωμότως πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας πεποίηται φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχον. [8] πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, βασιλέα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ ὅς αὐτοῖς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. [9] δεηθέντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἄνδρες δυοκαίδεκα ὅρκια δόντες, ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς συνθήκας ἐπέρρωσαν. [10] οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Λαγγοβάρδαις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν δεομένοις στρατιὰν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ Γῆπαιδας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἐπενεγκὼν Γῆπαισι Σκλαβηγῶν τινας ἐπὶ πονηρῶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας διαβιβάσαι ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. [11] Ἠγούντο δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ταύτης Ἰουστίνος τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Σουαρτούας, ὃς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μὲν ἄρχων Ἐρούλοις κατέστη πρότερον, ἐπαναστάντων δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀπὸ Θούλης τῆς νήσου ἡκόντων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐς βασιλέα τε ἀφίκετο φεύγων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταλόγων εὐθὺς γέγονε, καὶ Ἀμαλαφρίδας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, Ἀμαλαφρίδης μὲν θυγατριδοῦς, τῆς Θεοδερίχου

τοῦ Γότθων βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς, Ἑρμενεφρίδου δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θορίγγων ἡγησάμενον. [12] ὄνπερ Βελισάριος μὲν σὺν Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤγαγε, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Αὐδουὴν τῷ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἄρχοντι κατηγγύησε. [13] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τούτου οὐδεὶς παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀφίκετο, ὅτι μὴ οὗτος Ἀμαλαφρίδας σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Οὐλπίαναν βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος διατριβὴν ἔσχον, στάσεως ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τῶν οἰκητόρων γεγενημένης, ὥνπερ ἕνεκα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων γεγράφεται. [14] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀμαλαφρίδᾳ ἐς τὰ Γηπαίδων ἦθη ἀφίκοντο, ὑπαντίαςάντων δὲ τῶν Γηπαίδων σφίσι καὶ μάχης καρτερὰς γενομένης ἡσώσονται Γήπαιδες, καὶ αὐτῶν παμπληθεὶς φασὶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. [15] Αὐδουὴν τε, ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν βασιλεὺς, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμψας εὐαγγέλια μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδήλου, νενικημένων τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμέμφετο δὲ οὐ παραγενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατόν, καίπερ Λαγγοβαρδῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ἔναγχος ἐσταλμένων ἐφ' ᾧ Ναρσῆ ξυστρατεύσωσιν ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [16] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτεσόντες ἐξάισιοι τὴν τε Βοιωτίαν καὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον κατέσεισαν. [17] καὶ χωρία μὲν ἀνάριθμα, πόλεις δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐς ἑδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐν ταῖς Χαιρώνειά τε καὶ Κορώνεια ἦν καὶ Πάτραι καὶ Ναύπακτος ὅλη, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ φόνος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων πολὺς. [18] καὶ χάος δὲ τῆς γῆς πολλαχῇ ἀποσχισθείσης γεγένηται. τὰ δὲ διαιρεθέντα ἔνια μὲν αὐθὺς ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντα τὸ πρότερον τῇ γῇ σχῆμά τε καὶ εἶδος ἀπέδωκεν, ἔστι δὲ οὗ καὶ διεστηκότα μεμένηκεν: ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι εἰσι δυνατοὶ ὅτι μὴ περιόδοις πολλαῖς χρώμενοι. [19] ἐν δὲ γε τῷ πορθμῷ ὄνπερ μεταξὺ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Βοιωτίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, γέγονέ τις ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἀμφὶ τε πόλιν τὴν Ἐχιναιῶν καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Σκάρφειαν. [20] πόρρω τε τῆς ἡπείρου ἀναβᾶσα καὶ κατακλύσασα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐς ἑδαφος καθεῖλεν εὐθύς. χρόνος τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ πολὺς ἐπιχωριαζούσῃ τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐτρίβη, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πεζῇ ἰοῦσι βατὰς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γενέσθαι τὰς νήσους αἵπερ ἔντοσθεν τοῦ πορθμοῦ τούτου τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης δηλονότι ῥοθίου ἐκλιπόντος μὲν τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν, ἐπιπολάζοντος δὲ παρὰ δόξαν τὴν γῆν ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. [21] ἡνίκα δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανιέναι ξυνέπεσεν, ἰχθύες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπελείποντο, ὥνπερ ἡ ὄψις ἀήθης παντάπασιν οὔσα τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις τερατώδης τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [22] οὗς δὴ ἐδωδύμους εἶναι οἰόμενοι ἀνεῖλοντο μὲν ὡς ἐπήσοντες, θερμῆς δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀψαμένης ἐς ἰχθῶράς τε καὶ σηπεδόνας οὐ φορητὰς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. [23] ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, οὗ δὴ τὸ Σχίσμα ὠνόμασται, καὶ σεισμὸς ὑπερμεγέθης γενόμενος πλείω φόνον ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι εἰργάσατο, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ τινα ἐορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες ἔτυχον ἐκ πάσης τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταῦθα τότε τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα ξυνειλεγμένοι πολλοί. [24] Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλίᾳ τάδε ξυνέπεσε. Κροτωνιάται καὶ στρατιῶται οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες, ὧν Παλλάδιος ἦρχε, πικρότατα πρὸς Γότθων

πολιορκούμενοι καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, πολλάκις μὲν λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, ὥς εἰ μὴ βοηθοῖεν ὅτι τάχιστα σφίσιν, [25] οὗτι ἐθελουσίως σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδώσουσιν. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐνθένθε αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσων ἦλθε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ μαθὼν τὰ ἐν Κρότωνι πρασσόμενα πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις φρουροὺς ἐξ τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῖς ἐν Κρότωνι πολιορκουμένοις βοηθεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [2] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν: ἄραντές τε σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχον. οἱ τε βάρβαροι ἐξαπιναιῶς τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες θορόβῳ πολλῶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. [3] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα διέφυγον, οἱ δὲ πεζῇ ἰόντες ἐς ὄρος τὸ Σκύλαιον ἀνεχώρησαν. ἃ δὴ ξυνενεχθέντα πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδόυλωσε Γότθων τὸ φρόνημα. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ῥάγναρις τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ δόκιμος μάλιστα, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, καὶ Μόρας, ὅσπερ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς ἐν Ἀχεροντία φρουροῖς, Πακουρίῳ τῷ Περανίου τῶν ἐν Δρυοῦντι Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντι, γνώμῃ τῶν σφίσιν ἐπομένων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λαβόντες Ῥωμαίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσουσι ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα ὧν περ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ καταστάντες ἐτύγγανον. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Πακούριος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεται. [5] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἐκ Σαλόνων ἄρας ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἦει παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, μεγάλῳ ὑπερφυῶς ὄντι: χρήματα γὰρ κεκομισμένος ἐπιεικῶς μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως ἐτύγγανεν. [6] ἀφ' ὧν δὴ ἔμελλε στρατιάν τε ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγεῖραι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρκέσειν τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάγκαις, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατιώταις ἐκλῦσαι τὰ πρόσθεν ὀφλήματα πάντα, ἐφ' οἷσπερ αὐτοῖς ὑπερήμερος χρόνου πολλοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει, οὐ κομιζόμενοις ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ἥπερ εἴθισται, τὰς σφίσι τεταγμένας συντάξεις: ἔτι μέντοι καὶ αὐτῶν βιάσασθαι τῶν παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπηυτομοληκότων τὰς γνώμας, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοὺς τοῖς χρήμασι τούτοις χειροθήεις γεγεννημένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταγνῶναι προαίρεσιν. [7] Λίαν γὰρ τὰ πρότερα πόλεμον τόνδε ἀπημελημένως διαφέρων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀξιολογωτάτην αὐτοῦ πεποίηται τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν ὑστάτῳ. [8] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτόν οἱ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐγκείμενον εἶδεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν στρατεύοι, φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδέδεικται στρατηγῷ πρέπουσαν, οὐκ ἄλλως βασιλεῖ ἐπαγγέλλονται ὑπηρετήσιν ὁμολογήσας, ἢ μὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀξιωμαχους ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλῃ. [9] χρήματά τε οὖν καὶ σώματα καὶ ὅπλα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπαξίως πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κεκόμισται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ προθυμίαν αὐτὸς ἀοκνοτάτην ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀξιόχρεων στρατιὰν ἐξήγειρεν. [10] ἐκ τε γὰρ Βυζαντίου ἐπηγάγετο Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα κάκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων ἐκ τε Ἰλλυριῶν πολλοὺς ἤθροισε. [11] καὶ Ἰωάννης δὲ ξὺν τε τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ ἀπολελειμμένῳ

ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦει. [12] καὶ Αὐδοῦνι, ὁ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος, χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁμαιχμίας ξυνθήκη, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ἐς ξυμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ καὶ θεραπεία εἶπετο μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν πλεόν ἢ τρισχιλίων. [13] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους πλεόν ἢ τρισχιλίοι, ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημουθ ἦρχον, καὶ Οὐννοὶ τε παμπληθεῖς καὶ Δαγισθαῖος ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαλλαγείς, καὶ Καβάδης, Πέρσας ἔχων αὐτομόλους πολλοὺς, ὁ Ζάμου μὲν υἱός, Καβάδου δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως υἱωνός, οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τοῦ χαναράγγου σπουδῇ διαφυγόντος τε Χοσρόην τὸν θεῖον καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον ἀφικομένου ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἥθη: καὶ Ἀσβαδος, νεανίας τις, Γήπαις γένος, διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὁμογενεῖς τετρακοσίους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια: καὶ Ἀρούθ, Ἑρουλος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐκ παιδὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν δίαιταν στέρζας καὶ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ποιησάμενος, αὐτός τε μαχιμώτατος ὢν καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους ἐπομένους ἔχων ἐν πολέμου κινδύνοις ὡς μάλιστα δοκιμωτάτους: Ἰωάννης τε, ὁ Φαγᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν, οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγαγόμενος ὁμιλον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. [14] Ἦν οὖν μεγαλοδωρότατος ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους ὁζὺς ἐσάγαν, δύναμιν τε πολλὴν περιβεβλημένος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀδεέστερον ἐς τὰ σπουδαζόμενα ἐχρήτο τῇ γνώμῃ. [15] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται εὐεργέτου αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον. [16] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδεικτο στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὡς ἀσμενέστατα ἕκαστοι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἤθελον, οἱ μὲν ἐκτίνειν οἱ ἐθέλοντες παλαιὰς χάριτας, οἱ δὲ καταδοκοῦντες, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι. [17] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἑρουλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, διαφερόντως πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὖ πεπονθότες. [18] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Βενετίων ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ τῶν ἐκείνῃ φυλακτηρίων ἦρχον, ἄγγελον στείλας ἤτεῖτο τὴν δίοδον σφίσιν ἅτε φίλοις οὕσι παρέχεσθαι. [19] οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Ναρσῇ ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔφασαν, ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανὲς τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐξενεγκόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα κατακρυσψάμενοι, τοῦ Φράγγων ἔνεκα ξυμφόρου ἢ τῆς ἐς τοὺς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν κωλύμην ποιεῖσθαι, σκῆψιν δὲ τινα οὐ λίαν εὐπρόσωπον δόξασαν εἶναι προβεβλημένοι, ὅτι δὴ Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς σφίσι πολεμιωτάτους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἦκει. [20] ἐπὶ τούτοις διαπορουμένῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Ναρσῇ καὶ Ἰταλῶν τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀμφὶ τῷ πρακτέῳ πυνθανομένῳ ἐσήγγλόν τινες ὡς εἰ καὶ Φράγγοι παρήσουσι σφᾶς τήνδε τὴν δίοδον ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐνθένδε κομίζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔξουσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν πορείαν ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι ὅτι μὴ ἄχρι ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην. [21] Τουτίλαν γὰρ ἀπολεξάμενον εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, στρατηγὸν τε αὐτοῖς καταστησάμενον Τεῖαν τὸν Γότθον, ἄνδρα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, στείλει ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην Γότθων κατήκοον οὖσαν, ἐφ' ᾗ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ διακωλύοι τὴν πάροδον, ὅσα γε δυνατά. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [22] Ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Τεῖας ἐγένετο ἐν πόλει Βερώνῃ, τὴν ἐκείνῃ

δίοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέφραξε πᾶσαν, ἀδιέξοδά τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπορα πανταχόσε ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Πάδον τὰ χωρία εἶναι ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτων σκευωρησάμενος, καὶ πῇ μὲν λόχμας τε καὶ τάφρους καὶ φάραγγας τεκτινάμενος, πῇ δὲ τέλμινάς τε ὡς βαθυτάτας καὶ χώρους τεναγώδεις τινὰς αὐτὸς τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἐφύλασσε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές, ὡς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν τι ἀποπειρῶνται τῆς ἐνθένδε ὁδοῦ. [23] ταῦτα δὲ Τουτίλας ἐμψυχάζων, οἰόμενος διὰ μὲν τῆς παραλίας κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ῥωμαίοις μήποτε δυνατὰ ἔσσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ ναυσίποροι ποταμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπόρευτα παντάπασιν παρέχονται εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία: ναῦς δὲ αὐτοὺς τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχειν, ὥστε δὴ ἀθρόους παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἣν δέ γε κατ' ὀλίγους ναυτίλλωνται, αὐτὸς ἂν τῷ καταλοίπῳ στρατῷ τῶν Γότθων τοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἀποβαίνοντας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναστεύειε. [24] τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν γνώμη ὃ τε Τουτίλας ἐπήγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Τεΐας ἐποίει. Ναρσῆ δὲ λίαν ἀμυχανοῦντι Ἰωαννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ, τῶν τῇδε χωρίων ἐμπείρως ἔχων, παρήνει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μὲν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι, κατηκόων σφίσιν ὄντων, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, παρακολουθεῖν δὲ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς καὶ ἀκάτους πολλὰς. [25] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς γένωνται, γέφυραν ἐκ τῶν ἀκάτων τούτων τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοθίῳ ἐναρμοσάμενοι, ῥᾶον ἂν καὶ ἀπονώτερον ποιήσαιντο τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ταῦτα παρήνει, πείθεται δὲ Ναρσῆς, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ραβέννης κομίζεται.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Ἰλδιγισὰλ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀνὴρ, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τοῦ Αὐδουίν ὄντος ἐχθροῦ, ὃς τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεῖτο· αὐτῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν Αὐδουίν βιασάμενος ἔσχεν· ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀποδράς τῶν πατρίων ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεται. [2] οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοφροσύνης ἡξίωσεν, ἄρχοντά τε κατεστήσατο ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου φυλακῆς τεταγμένων λόχων, οὐσπερ σχολὰς ὀνομάζουσιν. [3] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἔθνους ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὴ μίαν πρῶτον ἐπὶ Θράκης δίαιταν εἶχον. [4] τὸν Ἰλδιγισὰλ οὖν Αὐδουίν μὲν πρὸς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐξητεῖτο ἅτε φίλος τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ξύμμαχος ὢν, μισθὸν τῆς φιλίας τὴν προδοσίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἱκέτου εἰσπραττόμενος, ὃ δὲ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐδίδου. [5] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰλδιγισὰλ, ἐνδεέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δόξαν ἐπικαλῶν οἱ αὐτῷ τὴν τε τιμὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι, δυσφορομένῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφώκει. ὃ δὴ Γόαρ κατενόησε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, πάλαι τε δορυάλωτος ἐν τῇδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐνταῦθα ἦκων, ἡνίκα τὸν πόλεμον Οὐίτιγισ ὁ Γότθων βασιλεὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διέφερε: [6] θυμοειδὴς δὲ ὢν καὶ δραστήριος ἄγαν πρὸς τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν ζυγομαχῶν διαέγονεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Γότθοι μετὰ τὴν Οὐίτιγιδος ἐπικράτησιν ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, βασιλεῖ ὅπλα ἀντάραντες, κακουργῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ διαφανῶς ἦλθον. φυγῇ δὲ ζημιωθείς τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν Ἀντινόου κομίζεται, καὶ χρόνος αὐτῷ πολὺς ἐν τῇ ποινῇ ταύτῃ ἐτρίβη. [7] ἀλλ' ὕστερον οἰκτισάμενος βασιλεὺς

κατήγαγεν ἐς Βυζάντιον. οὗτος ὁ Γόαρ τὸν Ἰλδιγισάλ ἰδὼν ἀσχάλλοντα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐνδελεχέστατα νουθετῶν ἀναπεῖθει δρασμῷ χρῆσασθαι, ξὺν αὐτῷ ὁμολογήσας ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. [8] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ ἤρεσκε, φεύγουσι μὲν ἐξαπιναίως ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν, ἐς δὲ Ἄπρων ἀφικόμενοι τὴν Θρακῶν πόλιν ἀναμίννυνται Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς τῆδε οὔσι. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς ἵπποφορβίοις κατατυχόντες μέγα τι χρήμα ἵππων ἐνθένδε ἐπαγόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [9] Ὡνπερ ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἦσθετο, ἐς τε Θράκην ὅλην καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς στεῖλας ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλε τοῖς δραπεταῖς τούτοις σθένει παντὶ ὑπαντιάσαι. [10] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Οὕνων τῶν Κουτριγούρων καλουμένων ὀλίγοι τινὲς οἳ δὴ ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξαναστάντες, ἥπερ μοι οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται, δόντος βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἰδρύσαντό τοῖς φεύγουσι τούτοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [11] ἡσσηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ τινὲς μὲν πίπτουσιν, οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ τραπόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. οὕτω τε Θράκην ὅλην διεληλύθασιν Ἰλδιγισάλ τε καὶ Γόαρ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος. [12] ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δὲ γενόμενοι Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν εὗρον ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ξυνειλεγμένον. [13] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τούτου ἄλλοι τέ τινες καὶ Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Ῥεκίθαγος καὶ Λεωνιανὸς καὶ Ἀριμουθ ἦρχον, οἳ δὴ ἐτύγχανον τὴν ἡμέραν ἱπεύσαντες ὅλην. [14] ἐς τε χῶρον ὑλῶδη ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἔστησαν, ὥς αὐλισόμενοί τε καὶ διανυκτερεύσοντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην. [15] τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλον οἳ ἄρχοντες οὗτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἵππων τῶν σφετέρων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν ταύτη ρέοντα ποταμὸν αὐτοὺς ἀναψύχειν, παρηγοροῦντας τὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ κόπον. [16] αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἕκαστος δορυφόρους ἐπαγόμενοι ἀποκεκρυμμένως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔπινον· δίψει γάρ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, χαλεπῇ εἶχοντο. [17] οἳ δὲ ἀμφὶ Γόαρ καὶ Ἰλδιγισάλ ἀγχοῦ που ὄντες καὶ σκοποὺς πέμψαντες ταῦτα ἐγνώσαν. ἀπροσδόκητοί τε πίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστάντες ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεέστερον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν πορείαν ἦπερ ἐβούλοντο διωκῆσαντο. [18] ἄναρχοι γὰρ οἳ στρατιῶται γενόμενοι διηποροῦντό τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμηχανοῦντες ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνον. Γόαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰλδιγισάλ οὕτω διαφυγόντες ἐς Γήπαιδας ἦλθον. [19] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τις ἐκ Γηπαίδων, Οὐστρίγοτθος ὄνομα, ἐς Λαγγοβάρδας φυγὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἐλεμοῦνδος μὲν ὁ Γηπαίδων γεγωνὺς βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσφ, τούτου δὴ οἱ μόνου τοῦ Οὐστρίγοτθου ἀπολελειμμένου παιδός, ὄνπερ ὁ Θορισὶν βιασάμενος ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. [20] διὸ δὴ ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἔχων τὸν ἡδίκηκότα καθ' ὃ τι ἀμύνηται, ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστὰς τῶν πατρίων ἐς Λαγγοβάρδας Γήπαισι πολεμίους ὄντας ἀπιὼν ὤχετο. [21] ἐγένοντο δὲ Γήπαισιν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πρὸς τε βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ τὸ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἔθνος διαλλαγῇ, ὁρκίοις τε ἀλλήλους δεινοτάτοις κατέλαβον ἥ μὴν τὸ λοιπὸν φιλίαν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπέραντον διασώσασθαι. [22] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς βεβαιότατα ξυντελεσθή, βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Αὐδούιν ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος παρὰ Θορισὶν τὸν Γηπαίδων ἄρχοντα πέμψαντες τὸν Ἰλδιγισάλ ἅτε κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐξητοῦντο, τὴν ἐς τὸν ἱκέτην τὸν αὐτοῦ προδοσίαν δεόμενοι δῆλωσιν τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς φιλίας

ποιήσασθαι πρώτην. [23] Καὶ ὃς τοῖς Γηπαίδων λογίοις κοινολογησάμενος τὰ παρόντα σπουδῇ ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ ποιητέα οἱ τὰ πρὸς τοῖν βασιλείῳν αἰτμένα εἶη. [24] οἱ δὲ ἄντικρυς μὴ ποιήσῃν ἀπεῖπον, κρεῖσσον ἀπισχυρισάμενοι εἶναι Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει αὐταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ γόνῳ παντὶ διολωλέναι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἢ ἄνοσίοις ἐπ' ἀσεβήματι γενέσθαι τοιούτῳ. [25] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θορῖσιν ἐς ἀμυχανίαν ἐξέπιπτεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκουσίων τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ ἔργον εἶχεν οὔτε ἀνακυκλεῖν πόλεμον, πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πεπαυμένον πολλῷ, πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἔτι ἤθελεν. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐπενόει τάδε. [26] πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Αὐδοῦν ἐζητεῖτο τὸν Ἐλεμούνδου υἱὸν Οὐστρίγοτθον, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ ἁμαρτάδα ὁρμῶν, τῶν τε ἱκετῶν ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι τὴν προδοσίαν παρακαλῶν. [27] τῇ γὰρ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἀτοπίας ὀκνήσει τὴν ἐπίταξιν αὐτῶν ἀναχαιτίσειν ἐλπίδα εἶχεν, ἀλλ' Αὐδοῦν αὐτὸν μηδεμιᾷ μελλήσει τῇ παρανομίᾳ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ λήψεσθαι. [28] τούτων τε αὐτοῖς δεδογμένων ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὥς οὔτε Λαγγοβάρδα οὔτε Γήπαιδες ἐθέλουσι τοῦ μιάσματος μεταλαχεῖν σφίσιν, ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανὲς οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ἑκάτερος δὲ δόλῳ τὸν θατέρου ἐχθρὸν ἔκτεινεν. [29] ὄντινα μέντοι τρόπον, ἀφίημι λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἀμφοῖν λόγοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσουσιν οἷά γε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ λαθραιότατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἰλδιγισὰ καὶ Οὐστρίγοτθον ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

Τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν ἀφικομένοις ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν ἀνემίγνυντο Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰουστίνος οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ταύτῃ ἐλέλειπτο. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐννέα ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐτέτριπτο, Οὐσδρίλας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τοῦ ἐν Ἀρμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἄρχων, πρὸς Βαλεριανὸν ἔγραψε τάδε: [3] 'Πάντα ταῖς φήμαις καταλαβόντες, τοῖς τε φάσμασιν ἤδη ξύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν συσχόντες καὶ ὀφρυάσαντες οὐχ ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ταύτῃ τε Γότθους, ὥσπερ οἶσθε, δεδιζάμενοι, εἴτα κάθησθε νῦν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῷ μὲν ἀποκεκρύφθαι ὥς ἤκιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδηλοῖ, οἶμαι, ξυμφουροῦντες ἔτι τὸ φρόνημα τοῦτο, βαρβάρων δὲ παμμίκτῳ ὁμίλῳ τὴν οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ὑμῖν κατατρίβοντες χώραν. ἀλλ' ἀνάστητε ὅτι τάχιστα καὶ πολεμίων ἔργων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπτεσθε, δεῖξατέ τε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Γότθοις, μηδὲ ἀναρτήσητε μακροτέραις ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς, [4] προσδεχομένους ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ θέαρα.' ἡ μὲν γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, Γότθων τῆς ἀλαζονείας γελάσας, καθίστατο εὐθὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ἐξοδον, φρουρὰν ζὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀπολιπών. [5] γενόμενοι τε πόλεως Ἀρμίνου ἄγχιστα, εὗρον οὐκ εὐπετὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐνθένδε τὴν δίοδον οὔσαν, Γότθων περιηρηκώτων τὴν ἐκεῖν γέφυραν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. [6] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀρίμινον παραρρέων ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἀόπλῳ ἐνὶ πεζῇ ἰόντι μόλις διαβατὸς γίνεται διὰ τῆς γεφύρας πόνῳ τε καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἢ τὴν δίοδον ἀναστέλλοντος: πλήθει δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαφερόντως ἐξωπλισμένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀντιστατούντων, τρόπῳ ὅτῳ οὖν ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύσασθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστι. [7] διόπερ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐν τῷ γεφύρας χώρῳ γενόμενος ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπορούμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διεσκοπεῖτο ὁπόθεν ἂν ποτε πόρον τινὰ τῷ πράγματι εὔροι. [8] οὗ δὴ καὶ

Οὐσδρίλας τινὰς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἰπέων ἦλθε, μὴ τι τῶν πρασσομένων αὐτὸν διαλάβοι. τῶν δὲ τις Ναρσῆ ἐπισπομένων τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλεν, ἐνὶ τε τῶν ἵππων κατατυχὼν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν. [9] οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐσδρίλαν τότε μὲν ἐνθὲνδε κατὰ τάχος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγόμενοι τῶν σφίσι μαχιμωτάτων διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵεντο, ὥς ἀπροσδόκητοὶ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ τὸν Ναρσῆν διαχρησόμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [10] ἐπὶ θατερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διερευνώμενος τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν διάβασιν ἤδη ἀφίκτο. ἀλλὰ τῶν τινὲς Ἑρούλων τύχη αὐτοῖς τινὶ ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαντες κτείνουσί τε τὸν Οὐσδρίλαν, καὶ ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐπιγνωσθέντα παρὰ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, καὶ Ναρσῆ ἐπιδείξαντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐπέρρωσαν πάντας, τεκμηριουμένους τῷ ξυμβεβηκότι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ Γόθοις πολέμια εἶναι: οἱ γε τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ προνοίας τινὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀφῆρηντο. [11] Ναρσῆς δέ, καίπερ Οὐσδρίλα πεπτωκότος, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, πρόσω ἠπείγε τὸ στράτευμα. οὔτε γὰρ Ἀρίμνην οὔτε ἄλλο τι χωρίον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόμενον ἐνοχλεῖν ἠθέλεν, ὥς μὴ τις αὐτῷ τρίβοιτο χρόνος, μηδὲ τῷ παρέργῳ τῆς χρείας ἢ σπουδαιοτάτῃ διείργοιτο πρᾶξις. [12] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἄτε πεπτωκότος σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἡσυχάζοντων τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐμποδίων καθισταμένων ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀδεέστερον γεφύρα τὸν ποταμὸν ζευξας διεβίβασε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα. [13] ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς Φλαμηνίας ἐνθὲνδε ἀφόμενος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἦει. Πέτρας γὰρ τῆς Περτούσης καλουμένης, ἥσπερ μοι τὸ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος καρτερὸν χωρίου φύσει ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται λόγοις, κατειλημμένης τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολλῷ πρότερον, ἀπόρευτα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα, ὅσα γε κατὰ τὴν Φλαμηνίαν ὁδόν, ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν. ὁδὸν οὖν ὁ Ναρσῆς διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἀφείς τὴν βάσιμον ἦει.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τά γε ἀμφὶ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. Τουτίλας δὲ πεπτυσμένος ἤδη τὰ ἐν Βενεταίαις ξυνενεχθέντα Τεϊαν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὴν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν προσδεχόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρίοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήσαν, μόνον τε δισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς ἐλείποντο ἔτι, τούτους δὴ οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἀλλὰ παντὶ ἄρας τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὥς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ὑπαντίαςων ἦει. [3] ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ τά τε τῷ Οὐσδρίλᾳ συμπεπτωκότα καὶ Ἀρίμνην τοὺς πολεμίους διαβεβηκέναι μαθὼν, ὅλην μὲν Τουσκίαν ἀμείψας, ἐν ὅρῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀπεννίνῳ καλουμένῳ γενόμενος, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἔμενεν ἄγχιστα κώμης ἥνπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ταγίνας καλοῦσιν. [4] ἥ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ Ναρσοῦ ἡγουμένου οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Ἀπεννίνῳ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, σταδίους ἑκατὸν μάλιστα τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου διέχοντες, ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ μὲν, λόφους δὲ ἄγχιστά πη περιβεβλημένῳ πολλούς, ἵνα δὴ ποτε στρατηγοῦντα Ῥωμαίων Κάμιλλον τῶν Γάλλων ὁμίλον διαφθεῖραι μάχῃ νενικηκότα φασί. [5] φέρει δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ χῶρος καὶ διασώζει τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν Γάλλων τὸ πάθος, Βουσταγαλλῶρων καλούμενος. βοῦστα γὰρ Λατῖνοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς καλοῦσι

λείψανα. [6] τύμβοι τε τῇδε γεώλοφοι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκείνων παμπληθεῖς εἰσίν. Αὐτίκα δὲ στείλας ἐνθένδε Ναρσῆς τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς παραίνεσιν ἐπήγγελλε ποιεῖσθαι τῷ Τουτίλᾳ καταθέσθαι μὲν τὰ πολέμια, βουλευέσθαι δὲ εἰρηναῖά ποτε, διαριθμουμένῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτός, ἀνθρώπων ἄρχων ὀλίγων τέ τινων καὶ ὑπόγουον νόμῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνειλεγμένων, πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαμάχεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο. [7] ἔφη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε δὴ αὐτόν, εἰ πολεμησεῖοντα ἴδοιεν, μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐγκελεύεσθαι τακτὴν διορίσαι τινὰ ἡμέραν τῇ μάχῃ. [8] ἐπειδὴ γοῦν οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι τῷ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν νεανιευόμενος ἐκομπνεύετο ὡς τρόπῳ αὐτοῖς παντὶ πολεμητέον εἶη, οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες ‘Ἄλλ’, ὦ γενναῖε’ ἔφασαν ‘ῥητόν τινα καιρὸν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τίθει.’ καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα ‘ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ξυμμίξωμεν’ ἔφη. [9] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Ναρσῆν ἐπανάκοντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν ἐπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ Τουτίλαν δολώσεις ὑποτοπάζων ἐπινοεῖν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τῇ ὑστεραία μαχούμενος. [10] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. ἡμέρᾳ γὰρ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη αὐτάγγελος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ παρῆν ὁ Τουτίλας. ἥδη δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἑκατεροὶ ἀντεκάθηντο, οὐ πλεον ἢ δυοῖν διέχοντες τοξευμάτων βολαῖν. [11] Ἦν γέ τι γεώλοφον ἐνταῦθα βραχύ, ὃ δὴ καταλαβεῖν ἀμφοτέρω διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχον, ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ σφίσιν οἰόμενοι κεῖσθαι, ὅπως τε βάλλειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἔχοιεν καὶ ὅτι χῶροι λοφώδεις, ἥπέρ μοι δεδήλωται, ἐνταῦθά πη ἦσαν, ταύτῃ τοι κυκλώσασθαι τινὰς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον κατὰ νότου ἰόντας ἀμήχανον ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ μιᾶς τινὸς ἀτραποῦ, [12] ἢ παρὰ τὸ γεώλοφον ἐτύγγανεν οὐσα. διὸ δὴ περὶ πλείονος αὐτὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀμφοτέροις ἐπ’ ἀνάγκης ἦν, Γότθοις μὲν, ὅπως ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ποιήσονται, Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ὅπως δὴ ταῦτα μὴ πάθοιεν. [13] ἀλλὰ προτερήσας Ναρσῆς πεντήκοντα ἐκ καταλόγου πεζοὺς ἀπολέξας ἁωρὶ νύκτωρ ὡς καταληψομένους τε καὶ καθέξοντας αὐτὸ ἔστειλε. [14] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [15] ἔστι δὲ τις χειμάρρους τοῦ γεωλόφου ἐπίπροσθεν, παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, τοῦ δὲ χώρου καταντικρὺ οὗ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο Γότθοι, οὗ δὴ οἱ πεντήκοντα ἔστησαν, ἐν χρῷ μὲν ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐς φάλαγγα δὲ ὡς ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξυντεταγμένοι. [16] Μεθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς ἰδὼν Τουτίλας ἀπώσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. Ἰλην τε ἱπέων εὐθὺς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἐξελᾶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐνθένδε αὐτοὺς ἐπιστείλας. [17] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς θορόβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴεντο, ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ ἐξαιρήσοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ξυντεταγμένοι καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι, [18] τὰ δὲ δοράτια ἐπανατεινόμενοι ἔστησαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν Γότθοι σπουδῇ ἐπιόντες ξυνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα, τῶν τε ἀσπίδων τῷ ὠθισμῷ καὶ τῶν δορατίων τῇ ἐπιβολῇ πυκνοτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυγκεχυμένη ὡς καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, ἐξεπίτηδές τε πάταγον ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐποίουν, ταύτῃ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους ἀεὶ δεδισσόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ταῖς τῶν δορατίων αἰχμαῖς. [19] καὶ οἱ τε ἵπποι ἀνεχαιτίζοντο τῇ τε δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῷ πατάγῳ λίαν ἀχθόμενοι καὶ διέξοδον οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀπεκναίνοντο, ἀνθρώποις τε οὕτω ξυμφραζαμένοις μαχόμενοι καὶ

τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ εἴκουσι, καὶ ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι ὥς ἤκιστα ἐπαΐουσιν. ἀποκρουσθέντες τε τὴν πρώτην ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν. [20] καὶ αὖθις ἀποπειρασάμενοι καὶ ταῦτὰ πάσχοντες ἀνεπὸδιζον. πολλάκις τε οὕτως ἀπαλλάξαντες οὐκέτι ἠνώχλουν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ἵλην Τουτίλας ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀντικαθίστη. [21] ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἀπαλλαγέντων ἕτεροι ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν καθίσταντο. πολλὰς τε ἵλας ὁ Τουτίλας οὕτως ἀμείψας ἐπὶ πάσαις τε ἄπρακτος γεγονὼς εἶτα ἀπεῖπεν. [22] Οἱ μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα κλέος ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀπήνεγκαν μέγα, δύο δὲ αὐτῶν διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἡρίστευσαν, Παῦλός τε καὶ Ἀνσίλας, οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπηδηκότες τῆς φάλαγγος δῆλωσιν ἀρετῆς μάλιστα πάντων πεποίηται. [23] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι κατέθεντο εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐντεινάμενοι ἔβαλλον ἐπικαιριώτατα στοχαζόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων. [24] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους διεχρήσαντο, ἕως ἔτι εἶχον τοὺς ἀτράκτους αὐτοῖς αἱ φαρέτραι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οἱ δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβεβλημένοι κατὰ μόνας τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. [25] ἐπειδὴν τε ἱππευόμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι παίοντες ἀπεκαύλιζον τῶν δοράτων εὐθὺς τὰς αἰχμὰς. [26] πολλάκις δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἀναστελλόντων τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς ξυνηνέχθη τὸ θατέρου ξίφος ἣν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Παῦλος ὀνόματι συγκεκάμφθαι τῇ ἐς τὰ ξύλα συνεχεῖ τομῇ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀχρεῖον εἶναι. ὅπερ αὐτίκα μὲν προσουδίζει χαμαί, [27] χερσὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέραις ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν δοράτων ἀφηρεῖτο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. τέτταρά τε δόρατα οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους διαφανῶς ἀφελόμενος αἰτιώτατος γέγονε τοῦ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοὺς ἀπογνῶναι. [28] διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὑπασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ναρσῆς τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσατο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. ἐκάτεροι δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς παράταξιν. καὶ Ναρσῆς τὸ στράτευμα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ ξυναγαγὼν τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο: 'Τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς ἀγωνίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις καθισταμένοις παρακελεύσεώς τε ἂν ἴσως δεήσειε πολλῆς καὶ παραινέσεως ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ὁρμώσης, ὅπως δὴ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐναντίων πλεονεκτοῦντες κατὰ νοῦν μάλιστα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπαλλάξωσιν: ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἷς καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ πάσῃ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι πρὸς καταδεεστεροὺς ἢ μάχῃ ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδεῖν οἶομαι ἢ τῷ θεῷ Ἰλεφ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. [2] εὐχῇ τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ληστῶν τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἴεσθε, οἱ γε δοῦλοι βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγεννημένοι τύραννόν τε αὐτοῖς ἀγελαῖόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ συρφετοῦ προστησάμενοι ἐπικλοπώτερον συνταράξαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινὸς ἴσχυσαν. [3] καίτοι τούτους γε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι νῦν τὰ εἰκότα λογιζομένους ὑπώπτευσεν ἂν τις. [4] οἱ δὲ θράσει θανατῶντες ἀλογίστῳ τινὶ καὶ μανιώδῃ προπέτειαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι προὔπτον αὐτοῖς θάνατον ἀναιρεῖσθαι τολμῶσιν, οὐ προβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, οὐδὲ τί ἐπιγενήσεται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου караδοκοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην ἐπὶ τὰς ποινὰς τῶν

πεπολιτευμένων ἀγόμενοι. ὧν γὰρ ἄνωθέν τι κατεγνώσθη παθεῖν, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτόματοι. [5] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὑμεῖς μὲν πολιτείας εὐνόμου προκινδυνεύοντες καθίστασθε εἰς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, οἱ δὲ νεωτερίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις ζυγομαχοῦντες, οὐ παραπέμψειν τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐς διαδόχους προσδοκῶντές τινας, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδότες ὡς συναπολεῖται αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα καὶ μετ' ἐφημέρου βιοτεύουσι τῆς ἐλπίδος. [6] ὥστε καταφρονεῖσθαι τὰ μάλιστά εἰσιν ἄξιοι. τῶν γὰρ οὐ νόμῳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ πολιτεῖᾳ ξυνισταμένων ἀπολέλειπται μὲν ἀρετὴ πᾶσα, διακέκριται δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἡ νίκη, οὐκ εἰωθυῖα [7] ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.' τοιαύτην μὲν ὁ Ναρσῆς τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἐποιήσατο. Καὶ Τουτίλας δὲ τεθηπότας. τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους ὀρῶν ξυγκαλέσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τάδε. 'Υστάτην ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον. [8] ἄλλης γάρ, οἶμαι, παρακελεύσεως μετὰ τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν οὐκέτι δεήσει, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς ἡμέραν μίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβήσεται πάντως. [9] οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐκνευρίσθαι τετύχηκε καὶ περιηρῆσθαι δυνάμεις ἀπάσας, πόνοις τε καὶ μάχαις καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ὠμิลηκότας ἐπὶ χρόνου παμμέγεθες μῆκος, ἀπειρηκέναι τε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάγκας, ὥστε, ἢν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τῇ νῦν τῶν ἐναντίων περιεσόμεθα, οὐδαμῶς ἀναποδιεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν, ἢν δὲ ἡμεῖς τι προσπταίσωμεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλπίς οὐδεμία εἰς τὸ ἀναμαχήσεσθαι λελείπεται Γότθοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἦσαν ἐκατέρους σκῆψιν ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν εὐπρόσωπον διαρκῶς ἔξομεν. [10] ἀπολέγοντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανιέναι οὐκέτι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἴσως διωθουμένης αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῆς χρείας ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναχαιτίζονται, δεδισσομένης αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς τῆς τῶν κακῶν μνήμης. [11] τοσαῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκηκοότες ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε μὲν τῷ παντὶ σθένει, μηδεμίαν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ἀποτιθέμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, ταλαιπωρεῖσθε δὲ ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, μηδὲ τὸ σῶμα ταμιευόμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλον. [12] ὅπλων δὲ ὑμῖν γινέσθω καὶ ἵππων μηδεμία φειδῶ, ὡς οὐκέτι χρησίμων ἐσομένων ὑμῖν. ἅπαντα γὰρ προκατατρίψασα τὰ ἄλλα ἡ τύχη, μόνην τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφύλαξε ταύτην. [13] τὴν εὐψυχίαν τοίνυν ἀσκεῖτε καὶ πρὸς εὐτολμίαν παρασκευάζεσθε. οἷς γὰρ ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἡ ἐλπίς, ὥσπερ τανῦν ὑμῖν, ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χρόνου τινὰ βραχυτάτην ῥοπὴν ἀναπεπτωκέναι ξυνοίσει. [14] παρεληλυθίας γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνόνητος ἡ σποδὴ τὸ λοιπὸν γίνεται, κἂν διαφερόντως ὑπέρογκος ᾖ, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς φύσεως ἀρετὴν ἔωλον, ἐπεὶ παρελθούσης τῆς χρείας ἔξωρα καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐπάναγκες εἶναι. [15] οἶμαι τοίνυν προσήκειν ὑμᾶς ἐπικαιριώτατα ἐν ἔργῳ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, ὡς ἂν δυνήσεσθε καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι. ἐξεπίστασθέ τε ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξιώλεθρος μάλιστα ἡ φυγὴ γίνεται. [16] φεύγουσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι λιπόντες τὴν τάξιν οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἢ ὅπως βιώσονται: ἢν δὲ θάνατον ἡ φυγὴ προὔπτον ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλῃ, ὁ τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστὰς τοῦ φυγόντος πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔσται. [17] τοῦ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὁμίλου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον, ἐξ ἐθνῶν ξυνειλεγμένων ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστων. ξυμμαχία γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ἐρανισθεῖσα οὔτε τὴν πίστιν οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν ἀσφαλῇ φέρεται, ἀλλὰ

σχοζομένη τοῖς γένεσι μερίζεται καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις εἰκότως. [18] μὴδὲ γὰρ οἶσθε Οὐννους τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδας καὶ Ἑρούλους ποτέ, χρημάτων αὐτοῖς μεμισθωμένους οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόσων, προκινδυνεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον. [19] οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ἄτιμος ὥστε καὶ ἀργυρίου τὰ δευτερεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδα ὥς μάχεσθαι τὰ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ποιούμενοι ἐθελοκακήσουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἢ κεκομισμένοι τὴν μίσθωσιν, ἢ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὑποτετελεκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων. [20] τοῖς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τερπνότατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι μὴ ὅτι πολέμια, ἢ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς πράσσεται, ἀλλὰ βιασθεῖσιν ἢ μισθαρνήσασιν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἀναγκασθεῖσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ καταθύμιον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀναγκαιῷ μοχθηρὰ φαίνεται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρήσωμεν.'

Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶπε. τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα ἐς μάχην ξυνήει καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. μετωπηδὸν μὲν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἅπαντες ἔστησαν, ὡς βαθύτατόν τε καὶ περίμηκες τῆς φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. [2] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερόν Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀμφὶ τὸ γεώλοφον εἶχον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἴ τι ἄριστον ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐτύγγανεν ὄν: [3] ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς στρατιωτῶν, δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ βαρβάρων Οὐννων εἶπετο πλῆθος ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένων: [4] κατὰ δὲ δεξιὸν Βαλεριανὸς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Φαγᾶς σὺν τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο πάντες. [5] πεζοὺς μέντοι τοξότας ἐκ τῶν καταλόγου στρατιωτῶν ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔστησαν ἐς ἄμφω τὰ κέρα. κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε Λαγγοβάρδας καὶ τὸ Ἑρούλων ἔθνος καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ὁ Ναρσῆς ἔταξεν, ἕκ τε τῶν ἵππων ἀποβιβάσας καὶ πεζοὺς εἶναι καταστησάμενος, ὅπως ἂν μὴ κακοὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενόμενοι ἢ ἐθελοκακοῦντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ὀξύτεροι εἶεν. [6] τὸ μέντοι πέρας κέρως τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετώπου Ναρσῆς ἐγγώνιον κατεστήσατο, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ἱππεῖς ἐνταῦθα στήσας. [7] προεῖρητο δὲ τοῖς μὲν πεντακοσίοις, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τισὶ τραπῆναι ξυμβαίῃ, ἐπιβοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν σπουδῇ, τοῖς δὲ χιλίοις, ὀπηνίκα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων πεζοὶ ἔργου ἄρχωνται, κατόπισθ' ἐν αὐτῶν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀμφιβόλους ποιήσασθαι. [8] καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντίαν τὴν στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ἔστησε. καὶ περιῶν τὴν οἰκείαν παράταξιν τοὺς στρατιώτας παρεθράσυνε τε καὶ παρεκάλει ἐς εὐτολμίαν προσώπῳ καὶ λόγῳ. [9] καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτό τοῦτο ἐποίει, ψέλλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ χαλινοὺς χρυσοὺς ἐπὶ κοντῶν μετεωρίσας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τῆς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον προθυμίας ὑπεκκαύματα ἐνδεικνύμενος. [10] χρόνον δὲ τινα μάχης οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ ἀμφοτέρω ἐμμενον, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπίθεσιν. [11] Μετὰ δὲ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ, Κόκκας ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ δραστηρίῳ διαρκῶς ἔχων, τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας, ἄγχιστα ἦλθε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, προῦκαλεῖτό τε, εἴ τίς οἱ βούλοιο πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἐπεξίεναι. [12] ὁ δὲ Κόκκας οὗτος εἰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐτύγγανεν ὧν τῶν παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπητυτομοληκότων τὰ πρότερα. [13] καὶ οἱ αὐτίκα τῶν τῆς Ναρσοῦ δορυφόρων ἀντίος ἔσθη, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀνζαλᾶς

ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος. [14] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόκκας ὀρμήσας πρῶτος ὡς τῷ δόρατι παίσων ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον ἴετο, καταστοχαζόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου γαστροῦ. [15] ὁ δ' Ἀνζαλᾶς ἐξαπιναιῶς τὸν ἵππον ἐκκλίνας ἀνόνητον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο γενέσθαι τῆς οἰκείας ὀρμῆς. ταύτη τε αὐτὸς ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ πολεμίου γενόμενος ἐς πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄριστερὰν τὸ δόρυ ὤσε. [16] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου πεσὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος νεκρὸς ἔκειτο· κραυγὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὑπερφυῆς ἦρθη, οὐδ' ὡς μέντοι μάχης τινὸς οὐδέτεροι ἦρξαν. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ μόνος ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἐγένετο, οὐ μονομαχήσων, ἀλλὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις τοῦτον ἐκκρούσων. Γόθων γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους δισχιλίους ἄγχιστά πη προσιέναι μαθὼν ἀπετίθετο ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν παρουσίαν τὴν ξυμβολήν, ἐποίει δὲ τάδε. [18] πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἀπηξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅστις ποτὲ εἶη. τὴν τε γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν κατακόρως τῷ χρυσῷ κατελιημμένην ἡμίπσχετο καὶ τῶν οἱ φαλάρων ὁ κόσμος ἔκ τε τοῦ πύλου καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἀλουργός τε καὶ ἄλλως βασιλικὸς ἀπεκρέματο θαυμαστος ὅσος. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερφυεῖ ὀχούμενος ἵππῳ παιδιὰν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἐπαιζε τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐπισταμένως. τὸν τε γὰρ ἵππον ἐν κύκλῳ περιελίσσων, ἐπὶ θάτερὰ τε ἀναστρέφων αὐθις κυκλοτερεῖς πεποιήτο δρόμους. [20] καὶ ἵππευόμενος μεθίει ταῖς αὖραις τὸ δόρυ, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τε κραδαινόμενον ἀρπασάμενος εἶτα ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς χεῖρα παραπέμπων συχνὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, καὶ μεταβιβάζων ἐμπίρως, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τῇ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελέτῃ, ὑπτιάζων καὶ ἰσχύάζων καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερα ἐγκλινόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν δεδιδαγμένος. [21] ταῦτά τε ποιῶν πᾶσαν κατέτριψε τὴν δειλὴν πρωϊάν. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν τῆς μάχης ἀναβολὴν μηκύνειν ἐθέλων ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, φάσκων ἐθέλειν αὐτοῖς ἐς λόγους ξυμμιῆσαι. Ναρσῆς δὲ φενακίζειν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζετο, εἴ γε πολεμῆσειον τὰ πρότερα, ἥνικα τοῦ προτείνεσθαι λόγους ἐξουσία εἶη, νῦν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος ἐς τοὺς διαλόγους χωροίη.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γόθοις καὶ οἱ δισχιλίοι ἦκον· οὐσπερ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα Τουτίλας ἀφικέσθαι μαθὼν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς ἄριστον ἦγεν, αὐτὸς τε ἐς σκηνὴν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχώρησε καὶ Γόθοι διαλύσαντες τὴν παράταξιν ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ καταλύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγονῶς Τουτίλας τοὺς δισχιλίους ἤδη παρόντας εὔρε. το τε ἄριστον ἅπαντας αἰρεῖσθαι κελεύσας καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν μεταμφιασάμενος ἅπασαν ἐξῶπλίσατο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν στρατιωτῶν λόγῳ, εὐθὺς δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξῆγεν, ἀπροσδόκητος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι οἰόμενος καὶ ταύτη αἰρήσειν. [3] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπαρασκεύους Ῥωμαίους εὔρε. δείσας γὰρ ὁ Ναρσῆς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ σφίσιν ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀπέειπεν ἅπασι μῆτε ἄριστον αἰρεῖσθαι μῆτε ἀποδαρθεῖν μῆτε μὴν ἀποθωρακίσασθαι τῶν πάντων μηδένα μῆτε τοῦ χαλινοῦ μεθεῖναι τὸν ἵππον. [4] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀποσίτους τὸ παράπαν αὐτοὺς εἶασεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀκρατισαμένους ἐκέλευσε διηνεκὲς οὕτως ἀποσκοποῦντας караδοκεῖν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον. [5] τρόπῳ μὲντοι τῷ αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ κέρα, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται εἰστήκεισαν, ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς τοῦ Ναρσοῦ γνώμῃ ἐτράπετο. [6] Γόθοι δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες ὀπισθεν

τῶν ἱππέων ἀθρόοι ἴσταντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἣν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τραπήναι ξυμβῆ, ἀναστρέφοντες μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ φεύγοντες σώζονται, ἐπίκοινα δὲ ἀμφοτέροι εὐθὺς χωρήσαιεν. Προεῖρητο δὲ Γότθοις ἅπασι μήτε τοξεύματι μήτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῶν ἐς συμβολὴν τήνδε ὅτι μὴ τοῖς δόρασι χρῆσθαι. [7] διὸ δὴ Τουτίλαν πρὸς τῆς ἀβουλίας καταστρατηγηθῆναι τῆς αὐτοῦ ξυνηνέχθη: ὅς γε καθιστάμενος ἐς τήνδε τὴν μάχην οὐκ οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς παρείχετο τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν οὔτε τῇ ὀπλίσει ἀντίξουν οὔτε τῇ τάξει ἀντίρροπον οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀντίπαλον, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐκάστοις ὡς ἐπικαιρότατα ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχρῶντο, ἢ τοξεύοντες, ἢ δόρατα ὠθοῦντες, ἢ ξίφῃ διαχειρίζοντες, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐνεργοῦντες τῶν σφίσι προχείρων κὰν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτηδεῖων, οἱ μὲν ἱππευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καθιστάμενοι, κατὰ τὸ τῇ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον, καὶ πῇ μὲν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων διαπρασσόμενοι, πῇ δὲ προσιόντας δεχόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποκρουόμενοι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. [8] οἱ δὲ τῶν Γότθων ἱππεῖς, τῶν πεζῶν σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω, μόνοις θαρσοῦντες τοῖς δόρασιν ὀρμῇ ἀνεπισκέπτῳ ἐπήεσαν, ἐν τε τῷ πόνῳ γενόμενοι τῆς σφετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπώναντο. [9] ἐπὶ μέσους γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρμήσαντες ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ πεζῶν τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων γενόμενοι, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεῖπον εὐθὺς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοξόται ἄμφω τοῦ μετώπου τὰ κέρα ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς κατὰ βραχὺ ἔτρεπον, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [10] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ Γότθοι ἀπέβαλον, οὕτω τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυμμιζάντες, πολλῶν τε ἀνηκέστων κακῶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντες ὄνέ τε καὶ μόλις ἐς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίκοντο τὴν παράταξιν. [11] Ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὰς ἢ τῶν σφίσι ξυμμάχων βαρβάρων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔχω. [12] μία γὰρ ἀπάντων προθυμία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἐναγώνισις ἦν, ἕκαστοί τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ὡς καρτερώτατα δεξάμενοι τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ἀπεώσαντο. [13] ἤδη δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξαπινάως ἐκινήθη ἐκάτερα, Γότθων μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. [14] ὠρμημένοις γὰρ ἐς αὐτοὺς Γότθοι οὐκ ἀντεῖχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐνεδίδοσαν ἐπιόντων αὐτῶν καὶ προτροπάδην ἀνέστρεφον, καταπεπληγμένοι αὐτῶν τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ καὶ τῇ εὐκοσμῇ. [15] ἐς ἀλκὴν τε οὐδαμῇ ἔβλεπον, ὥσπερ φάσματα ἐπιτεσόντα σφίσι δειμαίνοντες ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολεμοῦμενοι. [16] δι' ὀλίγου δὲ εἰς πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφικομένους πολλῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἤρετο καὶ πρόσω ἐχώρει. [17] οὐ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦλθον, ὥς ἀναπνεύσοντές τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναμαχοῦμενοι, ἥπερ εἴθισται, ἢ ὠθισμῷ τοὺς διώκοντας ἀπωσόμενοι ἢ παλιώξιν ἐγχειρίσοντες ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ πολέμου ἰδέαν, ἄλλ' οὕτως ἀτάκτως ὥστε αὐτῶν τισὶ καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτεσοῦσης ξυνέπεσε. [18] διόπερ αὐτοὺς οἱ πεζοὶ οὔτε διαστάντες ἐδέξαντο οὔτε διασωσόμενοι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτοῖς προτροπάδην ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ διέφθειρον. [19] ὃ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατός, τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολαύοντες ὀρρωδίας, φειδοῖ οὐδεμιᾶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἀντιβλέπειν τολμῶντας, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις παρεχομένους ὅ τι βούλονται χρῆσθαι: οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς

τὰ τε δείματα ἐπεκάθιζε καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐκράτει. [20] Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξακισχίλιοι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐξώγρησαν, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτείναν. οὐ μόνον δὲ Γότθοι ἀνήρηντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν πλεῖστοι, τῶν τὸ πρότερον ἀποταξαμένων μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ, ἀπηυτομοληκότων δέ, ἡπέρ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. [21] ὅσοις δὲ διὰ τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ μήτε ἀπολωλέναι μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὗτοι διαλαθεῖν τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὥς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἵππου ἢ ποδῶν ἢ τύχης ἔσχενην καιροῦ ἢ χώρου φέροντος ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτυχεῖν. [22] Ἦδε μὲν οὖν ἡ μάχη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε παντάπασι νῆδη. Τουτίλαν δὲ φεύγοντα ἐν σκότῳ σὺν ἀνδράσιν οὐ πλέον ἢ πέντε οὖσιν, ὥνπερ ὁ Σκιποῦαρ εἰς ἐτύγγανεν ὢν, τῶν τινὲς Ῥωμαίων ἐδίωκον, οὐκ εἰδότες ὥς Τουτίλας εἶη: ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσβαδὸν τὸν Γήπαιδα ξυνέβαιναν εἶναι. [23] ὅσπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλα ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένετο, ὥς τῷ δόρατι αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν νώτων παίσων ἐπῆει. [24] Γοτθικὸν δὲ τι μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς Τουτίλα οἰκίας φεύγοντι τῷ δεσπότη ἐπόμενον, τύχην τε ἀπαξιοῦν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν, ἀνέκραγε μέγα: ‘Τί τοῦτο, ὦ κύων, τὸν δεσπότην τὸν σαυτοῦ πλήξων ὥρμηκας;’ ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀσβαδὸς ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸ δόρυ σθένει παντὶ ὥσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Σκιποῦαρ τὸν πόδα πληγείς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [25] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Σκιποῦαρ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν διωκόντων πληγεὶς ἔσθη, οἱ τε ξὺν Ἀσβάδῳ πεποιημένοι τὴν δίωξιν, τέτταρες ὄντες, ὅπως αὐτὸν διασώσوينτο, οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, [26] ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον. οἱ δὲ τῷ Τουτίλα ἐπισπόμενοι, διώκειν σφᾶς ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι, οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν πρόσω ἤλαυνον, καίπερ αὐτὸν καιρίαν πληγέντα καὶ λειποψυχοῦντα βεβαιότατα ἐπαγόμενοι, πρυτανευούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν βίαιον δρόμον. [27] σταδίους δὲ ἀνύσαντες τέσσαράς τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐς χωρίον ἀφίκοντο Κάπρας ὄνομα. οὗ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζοντες Τουτίλα τὴν πληγὴν ἐθεράπευον, ὅσπερ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τὸν βίον ἐξεμέτρησεν. [28] ἐνταῦθά τε αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπισπόμενοι κρύψαντες τῇ γῇ ἀνεχώρησαν. Αὕτη γέγονε Τουτίλα τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου καταστροφή, ἔτη ἑνδεκα Γότθων ἄρξαντι, οὐκ ἐπαξίως ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα πρότερον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχώρησε, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐ κατὰ λόγον ἢ τελευτῇ ἐπεγένετο. [29] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἡ τύχη ὠραῖζομένη τε διαφανῶς καὶ διασύρουσα τὰ ἀνθρωπεῖα τό τε παράλογον τὸ αὐτῆς ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βουλήματος ἀπροφάσιστον ἐπιδέδεικται, Τουτίλα μὲν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος αὐτοματίσασα, δειλίαν δὲ οὕτω τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ καταστροφὴν ἀπαυθαδισαμένη. [30] ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ, οἶμαι, καταληπτὰ οὔτε γέγονε πώποτε οὔτε μήποτε ὕστερον ἔσται: λέγεται δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ δοξάζεται διαψιθυριζόμενα ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, ὥς πῃ ἐκάστῳ φίλον, λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι δοκοῦντι εἶναι παρηγοροῦντι τὴν ἄνοιαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [31] Τουτίλαν γοῦν Ῥωμαῖοι οὕτως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἕως αὐτοῖς γυνὴ μία, Γότθα γένος, ἔφρασε τε καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπέδειξεν. [32] οἱ τε ἀκηκοότες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν θήκην ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ

διορύξαντες ἐξήνεγκαν μὲν τὸν Τουτίλαν ἐνθὲνδε νεκρόν, ἐπιγνόντες δὲ αὐτόν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ θαύματος ἐμπλησάμενοι τὴν σφετέραν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐθις αὐτὸν τῇ γῇ ἔκρυψαν, ἔς τε Ναρσῆν αὐτίκα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκαν. [33] Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τά γε κατὰ Τουτίλαν καὶ τήνδε τὴν μάχην ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλὰ τρὸς τῷ ἐτέρῳ φασίν: ὄνπερ μοι ἀναγράψασθαι οὐ τοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [34] λέγουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστον οὐδὲ παράλογον τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν ξυνεχθῆναι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκροβολιζομένων τινῶν βέλος ἐκ τοξεύματος τῷ Τουτίλᾳ ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπτεσεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τοῦ πέμψαντος, ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἐν στρατιώτου λόγῳ ὥπλισμένος τε καὶ παρατεταγμένος ὅπου δὴ τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπημελημένος εἰστήκει, οὐ βουλόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδηλος εἶναι, οὐδὲ πᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν παρεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ τύχης τούτῳ ταῦτα σκευωρουμένης τινὸς καὶ ἰθυνάσης ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸν ἄτρακτον: καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν καιρίαν βληθέντα, ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, περιώδυνον γεγεννημένον ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος ζῦν τε ὀλίγοις κατὰ βραχὺ ὀπίσω ἰέναι. [35] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς Κάπρας ἀντέχοντα τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τὸν ἵππον ἑλάν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ λειποψυχήσαντα τὸ λοιπὸν μεῖναι τὴν πληγὴν θεραπεύσοντα, οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἐπιγενέσθαι τὴν τέλειον ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου. [36] τὴν δὲ Γότθων στρατιὰν οὕτε ἄλλως ἀξιόμαχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπομάχου σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν γεγεννημένου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἐν θάμβει γενέσθαι, εἰ μόνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὁ Τουτίλας καιρίαν βληθείη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περιφόβους τε καὶ ἀθύμους γεγεννημένους ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν καὶ ὑπαγωγὴν οὕτως αἰσχροῦ ἐμπεπτωκέναι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ γινώσκει.

Ναρσῆς δὲ περιχαρὴς τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι γενόμενος ἐπαναφέρων οὐκ ἀνίει ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἅπαντα, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν ποσὶ διωκεῖτο. [2] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν οἱ ἐπισπομένων Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀπαλλαξείων τῆς ἀτοπίας ὅς γε πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία τάς τε οἰκοδομίας, αἷς ἂν ἐντόχοιεν, ἐνεπίμπρασιν καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφευγούσαις βιαζόμενοι ἐπλησίαζον χρήμασι μεγάλοις αὐτοὺς δεξιωσάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Δαμιανόν, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν, ζῦν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρια σφίσι κελεύσας, ὅπως μηδενὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ λυμῆνωνται. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ Λαγγοβαρδαὶ ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, Βαλεριανὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βερώναν, ὡς πολιορκήσων τε καὶ παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ. [4] δεισάντες τε οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες Βαλεριανῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ὡς σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία ἐνδώσαντες. [5] ἃ δὲ Φράγγοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία εἶχον, διεκώλυον προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ τῆς χώρας ἅτε αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης ἀξιοῦντες μεταποιεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄπρακτος ἐνθὲνδε παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι Βαλεριανὸς ἀνεχώρησε. [6] Γότθοι δέ, ὅσοι ἀποφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς διεσώθησαν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Πάδον, πόλιν τε Τικινὸν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἔσχον, ἄρχοντά τε τὸν Τεῖαν κατεστήσαντο σφίσιν. [7] ὃς δὲ τὰ χρήματα εὐρὼν ἅπαντα ὅσα Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν ἐν Τικινῷ καταθέμενος, Φράγγους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι

διενοεῖτο, Γότθους δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων διεῖπε τε καὶ διεκόσμη, ξυλλέγων σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας. [8] ταῦτα ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀκούσας Βαλεριανὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ Γότθοι ἀδεέστερον ξυστήσεσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦει. [9] ἐν Τούσκοις τε γενόμενος Ναρνίαν μὲν ὁμολογία εἶλε, καὶ Σπολιτινοῖς ἀτειχίστοις οὓσι φρουρὰν ἔλιπεν, ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπιστείλας ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου καθελόντες ἐτύγγανον Γότθοι. [10] ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἀποπειρασομένους τοῦ ἐν Περυσία φυλακτηρίου. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῶν ἐν Περυσία φρουρῶν αὐτόμολοι γεγονότες Ῥωμαῖοι δύο, Μελιγῆδιός τε καὶ Οὐλριφος, ὅσπερ Κυπριανοῦ δορυφόρος γεγονὼς πρότερον, Τουτίλα πολλά οἱ ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς Κυπριανὸν τότε ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου δόλῳ ἔκτεινεν. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μελιγῆδιος λόγους τοῦ Ναρσοῦ ἐνδεξάμενος ἐβουλεύετο ζῆν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐλριφον τῶν πρᾶσσομένων αἰσθόμενοι ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς. [12] καὶ Οὐλριφος μὲν ζῆν τοῖς οἱ ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, Μελιγῆδιος δὲ παρέδωκε Περυσίαν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα. τῷ μέντοι Οὐλίφῳ ξυνέβη τίσις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι ἐπιπεσοῦσα, ἐν αὐτῷ μάλιστα διεφθάρθαι τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὸς τὸν Κυπριανὸν διεχρήσατο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω κεχώρηκε. [13] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν ἔχοντες ἐπειδὴ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας ἄγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς τὰ δυνατὰ σφίσιν ὑπαντιάσοντες. [14] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Τουτίλας πολλὰς μὲν ἐμπρησάμενος τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομίας, ἥνικα δὴ αὐτὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεῖλεν. ... ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ λογισάμενος, ὥς ἐς ὀλίγους ἀποκεκριμένοι οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶσι τὸ λοιπὸν Γότθοι ἅπαντα τὸν περίβολον Ῥώμης διαφυλάξαι, τειχίσματι βραχεῖ ὀλίγην τινα τῆς πόλεως μοῖραν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ περιβάλων τάφον καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ τείχει ἐνάψας φρουρίου κατεστήσατο σχῆμα. [15] ἐνταῦθά τε τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατα καταθέμενοι Γότθοι ἐς μὲν τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ἐφύλασσον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως τείχος ἀπημελημένον ὑπερεώρων. [16] φρουροὺς τοίνυν σφῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ τηνικάδε ἀπολιπόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς οἱ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι τείχους τῶν πολεμίων ἀποπειράσασθαι τειχομαχοῦντων ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [17] Ὅλον μὲν οὖν τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον διὰ μεγέθους ὑπερβολὴν οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιόντες περιβάλλεσθαι εἶχον οὔτε Γότθοι φρουρεῖν. [18] διασκεδαννύμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅπῃ παρατύχοι προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοξοτῶν ἐπαγόμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα ἐς μοῖράν τινα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέσκηπτεν, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ζῆν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις προσέβαλλε. [19] Φιλημουθ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑρουλοὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι μέρος ἠνώχλουν, ἐκαστάτω τε αὐτῶν οἱ λοιποὶ εἵποντο. ἐτειχομάχουν δὲ ἅπαντες ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ὄντες. [20] καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνιστάμενοι ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου, ἵνα δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο προσβολή, ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα παντάπασιν ἦν, Γότθων ἀπάντων ὅπῃ ἂν οἱ πολέμοι ἐπισκήψαιεν ἀγειρομένων, ἥτέρ μοι εἴρηται. [21] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γνώμῃ Ναρσοῦ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος στρατιώτας τε παμπληθεῖς ἔχων καὶ τό τε Ναρσοῦ καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου σημεῖον καὶ κλίμακας

πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος μοῖρα τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξαπναιῶς ἐπέσκηψε, φρουρὰς τὸ παράπαν ἐρήμῳ οὕσῃ. [22] τὰς τε κλίμακας εὐθὺς ἀπάσας οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου τῷ τείχει ἐρείσας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ζῶν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, τὰς τε πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον. [23] ὥνπερ αὐτίκα Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἐβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἅπαντες ὅπῃ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεπήδησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ. [24] Ἐνταῦθα μοι τοῦ λόγου ἔννοια γέγονεν ὄντινα ἡ τύχη διαχλευάζει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τρόπον, οὐκ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἰοῦσα οὐδὲ ἴσοις αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπουσα, ἀλλὰ ξυμμεταβαλλομένη χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ, καὶ παίζει ἐς αὐτοὺς παιδίαν τινα παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ τὸν χώρον ἢ τὸν τρόπον διαλλάσσουσα τὴν τῶν τालαιπῶρων ἀξίαν, εἴ γε ὁ Ῥώμην μὲν ἀπολωλεκῶς τὰ πρότερα Βέσσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τῆς Λαζικῆς Πέτραν, ἔμπαλιν δὲ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος Πέτραν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ βασιλεῖ Ῥώμην. [25] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν γέγονέ τε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσται, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὕτη τύχη ἀνθρώποις ᾖ. Ναρσῆς δὲ τότε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον πολεμῶν ἦει. [26] κατορρωδήσαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων κεκομισμένοι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριόν οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παρέδοσαν, ἔκτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [27] οὕτω τε Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος τὸ πέμπτον ἑάλω, ἥσπερ εὐθύς ὁ Ναρσῆς τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψε.

Τότε δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διαφανέστατα ἐπιδέδεικται ὥς ἅπασιν, οἷσπερ ἔδει γενέσθαι κακῶς, καὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα δοκοῦντα εἶναι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀποκέκριται, κατὰ νοῦν τε ἀπαλλάξαντες ἴσως τῇ τοιαύτῃ εὐημερίᾳ ξυνδιαφθείρονται. [2] Ῥωμαίων γὰρ τῇ τε ξυγκλήτῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν νίκην τήνδε πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον φθόρου αἰτίαν ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [3] Γότθοι μὲν φεύγοντες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ἀπογνόντες, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, τοὺς παρατυχόντας σφίσι Ῥωμαίους οὐδεμιᾷ διεχρῶντο φειδοῖ. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὥς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδῳ. [5] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξυγκλήτου βουλῆς, τοῦτο Τουτίλα δεδογμένον, τὰ πρότερα ἔμενον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία. [6] ὥνπερ τινες, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκ Καμπανίας ἐξαναστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Γότθοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ ὀχυρώμασιν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἅπαντα διερευνώμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία τοὺς πατρικίους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην. [7] ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ Τουτίλας, ἡνίκα Ναρσῆ ὑπαντιάσων ἐνθένδε ἦει, τῶν ἐκ πόλεως ἐκάστης δοκίμων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παῖδας ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, οὐσπερ μάλιστα τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ᾤετο εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν γειναμένοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ξυνδιαιτήσονται ὑπειπών, [8] ὁμήρους δὲ οἱ λόγῳ τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοὺς Τουτίλας μὲν τότε ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδον ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι, Τεῖας δὲ τανῦν ἐνταῦθα εὐρὼν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [9] Ῥάγναρις τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τοῦ ἐν Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου, καίπερ τὰ πιστὰ γνώμη βασιλέως πρὸς τοῦ Πακουρίου κεκομισμένος, Ῥωμαίοις τε

προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογήσας, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, παρασχόμενος δὲ καὶ Γότθους ἕξ ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ Τεῖαν ἤκουσε βασιλέα καταστάντα Γότθοις τοὺς τε Φράγγους ἕς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθέλειν ὁμόσε ἰέναι, μεταπορευθεὶς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ὁμολογημένα οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. [10] σπουδάζων δὲ καὶ διατεινόμενος τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπενόει τάδε. πέμπας παρὰ τὸν Πακούριον ἤτει σταλῆναι οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινάς, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔξιν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἕς τε τὸν Δρυοῦντα ἰέναι σφίσι δυνατὰ εἶη ἐνθένδε τε διαπορθμευσάμενοις τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Πακούριος μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βεβουλευμένων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων πεντήκοντα στέλλει. [12] ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ φρουρίῳ δεξάμενος καθεῖρξεν εὐθύς, τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ ἐσήμαινεν ὥς, εἴπερ αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας βουλομένῳ εἶη τοὺς αὐτοῦ ῥύεσθαι, ἀποδιδόναι δεήσει τοὺς Γότθων ὁμήρους. [13] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πακούριος ὀλίγους μὲν τινας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ εἵασε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα ἤει. [14] Ῥάγναρις δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεντήκοντα μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἔκτεινεν, ὥς ὑπαντιάσων δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος τοὺς Γότθους ἐξῆγεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν, ἡσσῶνται Γότθοι. [15] Ῥάγναρίς τε αὐτοῦ ἀποβαλὼν πλείστους ἔξιν τοῖς καταλοιπίοις δρασμῷ εἶχετο. ἕς μέντοι τὸν Τάραντα εἰσελθεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε, πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιβεβλημένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἕς Ἀχεροντίδα ἐλθὼν ἔμεινε. [16] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν τε Πόρτον πολιορκήσαντες ὁμολογίᾳ εἶλον καὶ φρούριον ἐν Τούσκοις, ὃ δὴ Νέπα καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ Περτούσῃ ὀνομαζομένη ὀχύρωμα. [17] Τεῖας δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἀξιωμαχοὺς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Γότθους κατὰ μόνας ᾤετο εἶναι παρὰ Θευδίβαλδον τὸν Φράγγων ἄρχοντα ἐπεμψε, χρήματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενος ἐπὶ τε ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλῶν. [18] ἀλλὰ Φράγγοι τὰ ξύμφορα, οἶμαι, βεβουλευμένοι οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς Γότθων οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠφελείας ἐβούλοντο θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιεῖν Ἰταλίαν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, καὶ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ κινδύνους ὑφίστασθαι ἤθελον. ἐτύγχανε [19] δὲ Τουτίλας ἕνια μὲν τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Τικινῷ καταθέμενος, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν φρουρίῳ ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἐν Κύμῃ τῇ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ φρουροὺς ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔξιν Ἡρωδιανῷ ἐπιστήσας. [20] τούτους δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐξελεῖν ἐς Κύμην τινὰς τοὺς τὸ φρούριον πολιορκήσοντας ἐπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ῥώμην διακοσμῶν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἄλλους στείλας ἐκέλευε Κεντουκέλλας πολιορκεῖν. [21] Τεῖας δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐν Κύμῃ φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέισας, ἀπογνοὺς τε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἐλπίδα, τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους διέτασσε ὥς τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρήσων. [22] Ὡνπερ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ Φιλημουθὸν ἔξιν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι ἕς τὰ ἐπὶ Τουσκίας χωρία ἰέναι κελεύει, ἐνταῦθά τε καθίσηςομένους καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀναχαιτίσοντας τὴν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ὁδόν, ὅπως οἱ Κύμην πολιορκοῦντες ἀδεέστερον αὐτὴν ἢ βία ἢ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐξελεῖν δύναιτο. [23] ἀλλὰ

Τεῖας ὁδοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰς ἐπιτομωτάτας ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφείς, περιόδους δὲ πολλὰς καὶ μακροτάτας περιβαλλόμενος, διὰ τε τῆς παραλίας κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἰόν, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκετο, [24] τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἅπαντας. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Ναρσῆς ἔμαθε, τοὺς τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ Φιλημουθ μετεπέμπετο, οἱ τὴν δίοδον ἐν Τούσκοις ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἄρτι Πέτρην ἐξαιροῦντα τὴν Περτοῦσαν καλουμένην μετεκάλει ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, τὰς τε δυνάμεις ξυνήγειρε, παντὶ τε καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ὥς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένος ἐς Καμπανοὺς ἦει.

Ἔστι δὲ τι ὅρος ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ὁ Βέβιος, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι δὴ πολλάκις ἀφίησιν ἤχον μυκηθμῷ ἐμφερῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ξυμβαίη, ὁ δὲ καὶ κόνεως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ξεούσης μέγα τι χρῆμα ἐρευνεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ἐκεῖνό μοι τοῦ λόγου ἐρρήθη. [2] τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὅρους, ἥπερ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Αἵτνης, κενὰ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου τετύχηκεν εἶναι, οὗ δὴ ἔνερθεν διηνεκὲς τὸ πῦρ καίεται. [3] ἐς τόσον δὲ βάθος τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κενὸν διήκειν ξυμβαίνει ὥστε δὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεῖᾳ ἐστῶτι ὑπερκύπτειν τε τολμῶντι ἐνθένδε οὐ ῥαδίως ἢ φλόξ ὁρατὴ γίνεται. [4] ὁπνίκα δὲ ξυνενεχθεῖ τῷ ὄρει τῷδε τὴν κόνιν, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐρεύγεσθαι, καὶ πέτρας ἀποτεμνομένη ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Βεβίου ἐσχάτων ἢ φλόξ ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους τούτου μετεωρίζει, τὰς μὲν βραχείας, τὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας κομιδῇ οὔσας, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτὰς ἀποπεμπομένη ὅπη παρατύχοι διασκεδάννυσι. [5] ῥέει δὲ καὶ ῥύαξ ἐνταῦθα πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀκρωρείας κατατείνων ἄχρι ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ ἔτι πρόσω, ἅπερ ἅπαντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἵτην γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὄχθας δὲ ποιεῖται ὑψηλὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ῥύαξ, τὰ ἔνερθεν τέμνων. [6] καὶ φερομένη μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥύακος τὰ πρῶτα ἢ φλόξ καιομένη εἰκάζεται ὕδατος ἐκροῇ: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποσβεσθῆναι ξυμβαίη, ἀναστέλλεται μὲν τῷ ῥύακι ὁ δρόμος εὐθύς, ἐπίπροσθὲν τε ὁ ῥοὺς οὐδαμῇ πρόεισι, τὸ δὲ ὑφίζανον τούτου δὴ τοῦ πυρὸς πηλὸς φαίνεται σποδιᾷ ἐμφερής. [7] Κατὰ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Βεβίου τὸν πρόποδα ὕδατος πηγαὶ ποτίμου εἰσί. καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρόεισι Δράκων ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Νουκερίας πόλεως φέρεται. τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμφοτέρωι τότε. [8] ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δράκων τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα βραχύς, οὐ μέντοι ἐσβατὸς οὔτε ἱππεῦσιν οὔτε πεζοῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν στενῷ ξυνάγων τὸν ῥοῦν τὴν τε γῆν ἀποτεμνόμενος ὥς βαθύτατα ἐκατέρωθεν ὥσπερ ἀποκρεμαμένας ποιεῖται τὰς ὄχθας. [9] πότερα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος φέρεται τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ φύσιν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. καταλαβόντες δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἄγχιστα, πύργους τε ξυλίνους ταύτῃ ἐνθέμενοι μηχανάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς βαλλίστρας καλουμένας ἐνταῦθα πεποιήνται, ὅπως ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνοχλοῦντας δύνωνται βάλλειν. [10] ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν οὖν γίνεσθαι τινα ξυμβολὴν ἀμήχανα ἦν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, μετὰξὺ ὄντος: ἀμφοτέρωι δὲ ὥς ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὄχθης γενόμενοι τοξεύμασι τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. [11] ἐγίνοντο δὲ καὶ μονομαχίαι τινές, Γότθου ἀνδρός, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐκ προκλήσεως τὴν γέφυραν διαβαίνοντος. χρόνος τε μηνῶν δυοῖν τοῖν στρατοπέδοις ἐς τοῦτο ἐτρίβη. [12] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐθαλασσοκράτουν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι, ἐσκομιζόμενοι

τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ναυσὶν ἀντεῖχον, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [13] ὕστερον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τε πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων προδοσίᾳ Γότθου ἀνδρὸς εἶλον ὃς δὴ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐφειστήκει πάσαις, καὶ αὐτοῖς νῆες ἀνάρητοι ἦλθον ἐκ τε Σικελίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς. [14] ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ καταστησάμενος δουλώσαι τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ φρόνημα παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν. [15] Οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοι γεγενημένοι καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς ὄρος ἄγχιστα ὃν καταφεύγουσιν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι Γάλακτος Ὅρος τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ: οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπισπένθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τῆς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατούσης. [16] ἀλλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις αὐτίκα ἐνταῦθα ἀναβεβηκόσι μετέμελεν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσπάνιζον, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐκπορίζεσθαι αὐτὰ οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες. [17] διὸ δὴ τὴν ἐν ξυμβολῇ τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰρετωτέραν τῆς πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ εἶναι οἰόμενοι ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρὰ δόξαν ἐχώρουν, ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοῖς ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπέπεσον. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀμυνοῦμενοι ἔστησαν, οὐ κατὰ ἄρχοντας ἢ λόχους ἢ καταλόγους τὴν τάξιν καταστησάμενοι, οὐδὲ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ διακεκριμένοι ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ τῶν σφίσι παραγγελλομένων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ἀκουσόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπῃ ποτὲ παρατύχη, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταξόμενοι. [19] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἵππων ἀφέμενοι πρῶτοι πεζῇ μετωπιδὸν εἰς βαθεῖαν φάλαγγα ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα ἰδόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτάξαντο πάντες. [20] Ἐνταῦθ' αἱ μάχαι τε πολλοῦ λόγου ἀξία καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ τῶν τινὸς λεγομένων ἡρώων, οἷμαι, καταδεεστέρα γεγράψεται, ἥς δὴ ὁ Τεῖας δήλωσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιήται. [21] Γότθους μὲν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπόγνωσις ὥρμα, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς, καίπερ ἀπονεινομένους ὀρῶντες, ὑφίσταντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, τοῖς καταδεεστέροις ἐρυθριῶντες ὑποχωρεῖν, ἀμφοτέρω τε θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας πολλῷ ἔεντο, οἱ μὲν θανατῶντες, [22] οἱ δὲ ἀρετῶντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη πρῶτ' ἡρξάτο, Τεῖας δὲ πᾶσιν ἐνδηλος γεγενημένος καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος, ἐπανατεινόμενος δὲ τὸ δόρυ, πρῶτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἔσθη. [23] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες, οἰόμενοί τε, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαλυθήσεσθαι τὴν ξυμβολὴν σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅσοι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, παμπληθεῖς ὄντες, καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ὥθουν, οἱ δὲ ἐσηκόντιζον. [24] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι κεκαλυμμένος ταύτῃ μὲν τὰ δόρατα ἐδέχετο πάντα, ἐμπίπτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πολλοὺς διεχρήτο. [25] καὶ ὁπνίκα οἱ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐμπλεων οὖσαν πεπηγόντων δοράτων θεῶτο, τῶν τινὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ταύτην παραδιδούς ἐτέραν ἡρεῖτο. [26] οὕτω μαχόμενος ἐς τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τριτημόριον διαγέγονε, καὶ τότε δὴ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐμπεπηγότα ἢ ἀσπίς εἶχε, κινεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ὅπῃ βούλοιο καὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐκέτι ἴσχυε. [27] τῶν δὲ τινα ὑπασπιστῶν μετεκάλει σπουδῇ, οὐ τὴν τάξιν λιπὼν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄχρι ἐς δάκτυλον ἓνα οὐδὲ ἀναποδίσας, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἐπαγαγόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐρείσας, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλάγιος γεγινώς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐρηρυσμένος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰστήκει, κτείνων τε τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ καὶ ἀποκρούμενος τῇ λαίᾳ καὶ

ἀνακαλῶν τὸ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ ὄνομα. [28] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος παρήν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην εὐθὺς τῆς βαρυνομένης τοῖς δόρασιν ἀντηλλάσσετο. [29] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ χρόνου τινὰ βραχεῖαν στιγμήν γυνῶ γενέσθαι τὰ στέρνα ξυνέβη, τύχη τέ οἱ ξυνέπεσε τότε ἀκοντίῳ βεβλήσθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐθυωρὸν θνήσκει. [30] καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ κοντοῦ μετεωρίσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς στρατιᾷ ἐκατέρᾳ περιόντες ἐδείκνουν, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν, ὅπως δὴ θαρσῆσωσι μᾶλλον, Γότθοις δέ, ὅπως ἀπογνόντες τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσωσιν. [31] Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥς τὴν ξυμβολὴν κατέλυσαν Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι σφίσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνεσκόταζεν, αὐτοῦ ἐκάτεροι διαλυθέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄπλων σκευῇ ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [32] ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἀναστάντες ὀρθρου τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐθις ἐτάξαντο καὶ μέχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ οὔτε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις οὔτε πη ἐτρέποντο ἢ ἀνεπὸδιζον, καίπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν κτεινομένων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγριωμένοι τῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπηνεῖ ἔργου εἶχοντο, Γότθοι μὲν εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δὴ τὴν ὑστάτην διαφέρουσι μάχην, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐλασσοῦσθαι ἀπαξιούντες. [33] ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ τὸν Ναρσὴν πέμψαντες τῶν λογίμων τινὰς μεμαθηκέναι μὲν ἔλεγον ὥς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σφίσιν ὁ ἀγὼν γένοιτο: αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀντιταχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν: καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι ξυμβάλλοντες τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν γνωσιμαχεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν βούλεσθαι καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, οὐ μέντοι βασιλεῖ ἐπακούσοντας, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν αὐτόνομοι βιοτεύουσιν, ἐδέοντό τε εἰρηναίαν σφίσι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους, οὐ φθονοῦντας αὐτοῖς λογισμοῦ σώφρονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐφοδίοις αὐτοῦς δωρουμένους, ὅσα δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐναποθέμενος ἔτυχε πρότερον. [34] ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ναρσὴς ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παρήνει δέησιν ἐνδέχεσθαι τήνδε, καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, μηδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι τόλμης ἐν ἀπογνώσει φυομένης τοῦ βίου, ἥ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἐχομένοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπαντιάζουσι χαλεπὴ γίνεται. [35] 'Ἄρκεϊ γάρ,' ἔφη, 'τοῖς γε σώφροσι τὸ νικᾶν, τὸ δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἐθέλιν ἴσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀξύμφορον τρέποιτο.' [36] Πείθεται τῇ ὑποθήκῃ Ναρσὴς, καὶ ξυνέβησαν ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκ πάσης ἀπαλλάσσονται Ἰταλίας εὐθύς, πόλεμόν τε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διοίσουσιν ἔτι. [37] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ χίλιοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαναστάντες ἐς Τικινόν τε πόλιν καὶ χωρία τὰ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδον ἐχώρησαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰνδούλφ, οὐπὲρ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθη. [38] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὄρκια δόντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα ἐπέρρωσαν. οὕτω τε καὶ Κύμην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐξεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸ ὀκτωκαίδέκατον ἔτος ξυνετελεύτα τῷ Γοτθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

Secret History

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄχρι δεῦρο ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, τῇδὲ μοι δεδιήγεται, ἥπερ δυνατόν ἐγεγόνει τῶν πράξεων τὰς δηλώσεις ἀπάσας ἐπὶ καιρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἀρμοσαμένῳ: τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείσεται, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γεγράφεται πάντα, ὅποσα δὴ τετύχηκε γενέσθαι πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [2] αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν περιόντων ἔτι τῶν αὐτὰ εἰργασμένων ὅτῳ δεῖ ἀναγράφεσθαι τρόπῳ. οὔτε γὰρ διαλαθεῖν πλήθη κατασκόπων οἷόν τε ἦν οὔτε φωραθέντα μὴ ἀπολωλέναι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῖς γε οἰκειοτάτοις τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχον. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰρημένων ἀποκρύψασθαι τὰς αἰτίας ἠναγκάσθην. τὰ τό τε δ' οὖν τέως ἄρρητα μέιναντα καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλωμένων ἐνταῦθά μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰς αἰτίας σημῆναι δεήσει. [4] Ἀλλὰ μοι ἐς ἀγώνισιν ἐτέραν ἰόντι χαλεπὴν τινα καὶ δεινῶς ἄμαχον τῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ τε καὶ Θεοδώρῳ βεβιωμένων βαμβαίνειν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζειν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκεῖνο διαριθμουμένῳ ξυμβαίνει, ὅτι δὴ μοι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται τὰ μήτε πιστὰ μήτε εἰκότα φανησόμενα τοῖς ὀπισθεν γενησομένοις, ἄλλως τε ὀπηνίκα ἐπὶ μέγα ρεύσας ὁ χρόνος παλαιότεραν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀπεργάζεται, δέδοικα μὴ καὶ μυθολογίας ἀποίσομαι δόξαν κὰν τοῖς τραγωδοδιδασκάλοις τετάξομαι. [5] ἐκεῖνῳ μέντοι τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχον οὐκ ἀποδειλιάσω τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἔργου, ὥς μοι οὐκ ἁμαρτύρητος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἄνθρωποι δαημονέστατοι μάρτυρες τῶν πράξεων ὄντες ἀξιώχρεω παραπομποὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πίστεως ἔσονται. [6] Καίτοι με καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐς λόγον τόνδε ὀργῶντα πολλάκις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνεχάιτισε χρόνον. ἐδόξαζον γὰρ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις ἀξύμφορον ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ πονηρότατα μάλιστα ξυνοίσει ἄγνωστα χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ εἶναι, ἢ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς ἀκοὴν ἥκοντα ζηλωτὰ γίνεσθαι. [7] τῶν γὰρ κρατούντων αἰεὶ τοῖς πλείστοις εὐπορος ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἢ ἐς τῶν προγεγεννημένων τὰ κακὰ μίμησις, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τοῖς παλαιότεροις ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐς αἰεὶ τρέπονται. [8] ἀλλὰ με ὕστερον ἐς τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦτο ἠνεγκεν, ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τυραννήσουσιν ἔνδηλον ἔσται ὥς μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὴν τίσιν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων περιελθεῖν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶη, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνάγραπτοι αὐτῶν αἱ πράξεις καὶ οἱ τρόποι ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσονται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε ἴσως ὀκνηρότερον παρανομήσουσι. [9] τίς γὰρ ἂν τὸν Σεμιράμιδος ἀκόλαστον βίον ἢ τὴν Σαρδαναπάλου καὶ Νέρωνος μανίαν τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἀνθρώπων ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ τοῖς τότε γεγραφόσι τὰ μνημεῖα ταῦτα ἐλέλειπτο; ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια πεισομένοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πρὸς τῶν τυράννων οὐκ ἀκερδὴς αὕτη παντάπασιν ἢ ἀκοὴ ἔσται. [10] παραμυθεῖσθαι γὰρ οἱ δυστυχοῦντες εἰώθασιν τῷ μὴ μόνοις σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ ξυμπεσεῖν. διὰ τοι ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν ὅσα Βελισαρίῳ μοχθηρὰ εἵργασται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὅσα Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ μοχθηρὰ εἵργασται ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [11] Ἦν τῷ Βελισαρίῳ γυνή, ἥς δὴ

ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, πάππου μὲν καὶ πατρὸς ἡνιόχων, ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκῃ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐνδείξαμένων, μητρὸς δὲ τῶν τινος ἐν θυμέλῃ πεπορνευμένων. [12] αὕτη τὰ πρότερα μάχλον τινὰ βιώσασα βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐξεργωγῖα, φαρμακευσί τε πατράοις πολλὰ ὠμληκυῖα, καὶ τὴν μάθησιν τῶν οἱ ἀναγκαίων ποιησαμένη, ἐγγυητὴ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ γυνὴ γέγονε, [13] μήτηρ ἤδη παίδων γενομένη πολλῶν. εὐθύς μὲν οὖν ἡξίου μοιχεῦτρια τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι, ξυγκαλύπτειν μέντοι τοῦργον τοῦτο ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, οὐ καταδυομένη τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, οὐδέ τι πρὸς τοῦ ξυνοικοῦντος δειμαίνουσα δέος· οὔτε γὰρ αἰδῶ τινα ἔργου ὅτουοῦν ἔλαβε πώποτε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μαγγανείαις πολλαῖς κατεῖλθεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος ὑποπεύουσα τίσιν. λίαν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ Θεοδώρα ἡγριαίνετο τε καὶ ἐσεσῆρει. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὑπουργήσασα χειροήθη πεποιήται, πρῶτα μὲν Σιλβέριον διαχρησαμένη τρώπῳ ᾧπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωάννην κατεργασαμένη τὸν Καππαδόκην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀδεέστερόν τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἀποκρυπτομένη ἅπαντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου. [15] Ἦν δέ τις νεανίας ἐκ Θράκης ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, Θεοδόσιος τοῦνομα, δόξης γεγωνὸς ἐκ πατέρων Εὐνομιανῶν καλουμένων. [16] τοῦτον, ἡνίκα ἐς Λιβύην ἀποπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Βελισάριος τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν καὶ χερσὶν ἀνελόμενος ἐνθένδε οἰκείαις εἰσποιητὸν ἐποίησατο ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ παῖδα, ἥπερ εἰσποιεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἄτε παῖδα ὄντα ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἡγάπα τε ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς κὰν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένη ἀμφ' αὐτὴν εἶχεν. [17] εὐθύς τε ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐκτόπως ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ καὶ κατακορῆς γεγωνῖα τῷ πάθει ἀπεσεῖσατο μὲν θεῖον τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων δέος τε καὶ αἰδῶ ξύμπασαν, ἐμίγνυτο δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν παραβύστῳ, τελευτῶσα δὲ καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ θεραπαινίδων παρόντων. [18] κάτοχος γὰρ ἤδη τῷ πόθῳ τούτῳ γεγεννημένη καὶ διαφανῶς ἐρωτόληπτος οὔσα οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἔργου κώλυμα ἔβλεπε. καί ποτε ὁ Βελισάριος ἐπ' αὐτοφῶρῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν λαβὼν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐξηπάτητο πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκὼν γε εἶναι. [19] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω ἐν δωματίῳ καταγείῳ εὐρὼν ἐμεμήνει, ἡ δὲ οὔτε ἀποδειλιάσασα οὔτε καταδυσαμένη τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, 'Ἐνταῦθα', ἔφη, 'τῶν λαφύρων τὰ τιμιώτατα σὺν τῷ νεανίᾳ κρύψουσα ἤλθον, ὥς μὴ ἐς βασιλέα ἔκπυστα γένηται'. [20] ἡ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σκηπτομένη εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι δόξας ἀφῆκε, καίπερ τῷ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκκελυμένον τὸν ἱμάντα ὀρῶν τὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ξυνδέοντα, ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐβούλετό οἱ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ὀφθαλμῶν θεάν ὥς ἥκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι. [21] τῆς δὲ μαχλοσύνης ἀεὶ προϊούσης ἐς κακὸν ἄφατον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι θεώμενοι τὰ πραττόμενα ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, δούλη δὲ τις Μακεδονία ὄνομα ἐν Συρακούσαις, ἡνίκα Σικελίας ἐκράτησε Βελισάριος, ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις τὸν δεσπότην καταλαβοῦσα, μὴ ποτε αὐτὴν τῇ κεκτημένη καταπροήσσεσθαι, τὸν πάντα αὐτῷ λόγον ἐξήνεγκε, δύο παιδάρια πρὸς μαρτυρίαν παρασχομένη, οἷς δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν. [22] ταῦτα μαθὼν Βελισάριος τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἐκέλευσε διαχειρίσασθαι. [23] ὁ δὲ προμαθὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον φεύγει. τῶν γὰρ ἐπομένων οἱ

πλείστοι τῷ ἀβεβαίῳ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γνώμης ἡγμένοι ἀρέσκουν τὴν γυναῖκα μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δοκεῖν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν, οἳ γε καὶ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπικείμενα τότε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ προῦδοσαν. [24] Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ Βελισάριον ὁρῶν περιώδυνον γεγονότα τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυνήλγει καὶ τοῦτο ἐπέειπεν ὡς “Ἐγὼγε θᾶσσον ἂν τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν νεανίαν κατειργασάμην”. [25] ὅπερ Ἀντωνίνα μαθοῦσα, κεκρυμμένως αὐτῷ ἐχαλέπαινε, ὅπως ἔγκοτα ἐνδείξεται [26] τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχθος. ἦν γὰρ σκορπιώδης τε καὶ ὀργὴν σκοτεινὴ. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἢ μαγγανεύσασα ἢ θωπεύσασα πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς οὐχ ὑγιὲς τὸ κατηγορήμα τὸ ταύτης γένοιτο: καὶ ὃς Θεοδόσιον μὲν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ μετεπέμψατο, Μακεδονίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία τῇ γυναικὶ ἐκδοῦναι ὑπέστη. [27] οὗς δὴ ἅπαντας πρῶτα τὰς γλώττας, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ἀποτεμοῦσα, εἴτα κατὰ βραχὺ κρεουργήσασα καὶ θυλακίους ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἔρριψε, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν Εὐγενίου ὄνομα ὑπουργήσαντός οἱ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἄγος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐς Σιλβέριον εἵργασται μίasma. [28] καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Βελισάριος τῇ γυναικὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς κτείνει. τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῷ Πραισιδίῳ καὶ τοῖς ξιφιδίοις τηνικάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. [29] μέλλοντος γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεσθαι, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἢ Ἀντωνίνα, ἕως αὐτὸν τοῦ λόγου [30] ἐτίσατο, οὐτὲρ ἐγὼ ἀρτίως ἐμνήσθην. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχθος μέγα περιεβάλλετο ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις λογίμων ἀπάντων. [31] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε. Θεοδόσιος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀρῖζεσθαι οἷός τε εἶναι, ἵνα δὴ τότε διατριβὴν εἶχον Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνα, ἣν μὴ Φώτιος ἐκποδὼν γένηται. [32] ὁ γὰρ Φώτιος πρόχειρος μὲν φύσει ἐς τὸ δάκνεσθαι ἦν, ἦν τις αὐτοῦ παρ' ὄψου ἀυτῇ δύνηται μᾶλλον, ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ δικαίως ἀποπνίγεσθαι οἱ ξυνέβαινε, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς μὲν καίπερ υἱὸς ὢν ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐγίγνετο λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ δυνάμει τε πολλῇ ἐχρήτο καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα περιεβάλλετο. [33] λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης τε καὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐς ἑκατὸν κεντηνάρια ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Παλατίοις συλήσαντα ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ κατ' ἐξουσίαν διαχειρίσαι ταῦτα ξυνέβη. [34] ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνίνα ἐπεὶ τὴν Θεοδοσίου γνώμην ἔμαθεν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἐνεδρεῦσά τε τὸν παῖδα καὶ φονίους τισὶν ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτὸν μετιοῦσα, ἕως καταπράξασθαι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁδῷ ἰέναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν τὰς ἐνέδρας οἷόν τε ὄντα, τὸν δὲ Θεοδόσιον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρ' αὐτὴν ἦκεν. [35] οὗ δὴ κατακόρως τῆς τε τοῦ ἐρωμένου διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐηθείας ἀποναμένη χρόνῳ ὕστερον ξὺν ἀμφοῖν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν. [36] ἔνθα δὴ Θεοδόσιον ἐδεδίσσετο τὸ συνειδέναι καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. λήσειν γὰρ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς οὐδαμῇ ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐώρα οὐκέτι τὸ πάθος ἐγκρυφιάζειν οἶαν τε οὔσαν, οὐδὲ κεκρυμμένως ἐξερρωγένη, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην μοιχαλίδα εἶναί τε καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἀπαξιούσαν. [37] διὸ δὴ αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀποθριζάμενος ἥπερ εἴθισται ἐνέγραψεν εἰς τοὺς μοναχοὺς καλουμένους αὐτόν. [38] τότε δὴ κατ' ἄκρας ἐμάνη καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ξὺν τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τρόπον μεταβαλοῦσα τὸν πένθιμον περιήει συχνὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν κωκύουσα, ὀλολυγῇ τε κεκρημένη ὠλοφύρετο οὐκ ἀπολελειμμένου τάνδρως,

ὅποιον αὐτῇ ἀγαθὸν ὠλόλῃ, ὥς πιστὸν, ὥς εὐχαριν, ὥς εὐνοϊκὸν, ὥς δραστήριον. [39] τελευτῶσα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐς ταύτας δὴ ἐπαγαγομένη τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐκάθισεν. ἔκλαε γοῦν ὁ ταλαίπωρος τὸν ποθεινὸν ἀνακαλῶν Θεοδόσιον. [40] ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς βασιλέα ἐλθὼν, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλίδα ἰκετεύων, ἀνέπεισε Θεοδόσιον μεταπέμψασθαι ἅτε ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὄντα τε καὶ ἐσόμενον. [41] ἀλλὰ Θεοδόσιος ἀπεῖπε μηδαμῇ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐμπεδώσειν ἰσχυρισάμενος τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπιτήδευμα. [42] ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ λόγος κατάπλαστος, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα Βελισάριος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀποδημοίῃ, αὐτὸς παρὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίναν ἀφίκηται λάθρα. ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο.

II

Αὐτίκα γὰρ Βελισάριος μὲν ὡς Χοσρόη πολεμήσων ξὺν τῷ Φωτίῳ ἐστέλλετο, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς αὐτῇ πρότερον τοῦτο γε. [2] τοῦ γὰρ μὴ κατὰ μόνας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθιστάμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τε γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης μαγγανευμάτων ὀλιγοροῦντα φρονῆσαι τι ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τῶν δεόντων, πανταχόσε τῆς γῆς ξὺν αὐτῷ στέλλεσθαι ἐπιμελὲς οἱ ἐγίνετο. [3] ὅπως δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς Θεοδοσίῳ παρὰ Ἀντωνίναν ἐσιτητὰ εἶη, Φώτιον ἐκποδὼν οἱ γενέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [4] πείθει τοίνυν τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐρεσχελεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐς αἰεὶ καὶ προπηλακίζειν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντας καιρόν· αὐτὴ τε γὰρ γράφουσα ἐς ἡμέραν σχεδὸν τι ἐκάστην διέβαλλε τε διηνεκὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί πάντα ἐκίνει. [5] οἷς δὴ ὁ νεανίας ἀναγκασθεὶς διαβόλως ἔγνω τῇ μητρὶ χρῆσθαι, ἤκοντά τέ τινα ἐκ Βυζαντίου, ὃς δὴ ἀπήγγελλε Θεοδοσίον λάθρα ξὺν Ἀντωνίνῃ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, παρὰ Βελισάριον εὐθὺς εἰσάγει, φράζειν ἐπιστείλας τὸν πάντα λόγον. [6] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Βελισάριος ἔγνω, ὀξυθυμωθεὶς ὑπερφυῶς ὡς παρὰ τοὺς Φωτίου πόδας ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδεῖτο τιμωρεῖν οἱ αὐτῷ πάσχοντι ὑφ' ὧν ἤκιστα χρῆν ἀνόσια ἔργα. 'Ὡ παῖ' λέγων 'γλυκύτατε, πατέρα μὲν τὸν σὸν ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν οὐδαμῇ οἴσθα, ἐπεὶ σε ὑπὸ τιτθοῦ τρεφόμενον ἔτι καταλιπὼν ξυνεμετρήσατο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ του τῶν αὐτοῦ ὦνησαι. ἦν γὰρ τὰ ἐς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμων. [7] ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δὲ καίπερ ὄντι πατρὶ τραπεῖς, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τηλικόσδε εἶ, ὡς σὸν εἶναι ἀμύνειν ἀδικουμένῳ μοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἔς τε ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἤκεις καὶ πλούτου περιβέβλησαι τοσόνδε χρῆμα, ὥστε πατὴρ τε καὶ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἅπαν ἔγωγε καλοίμην ἂν, ὃ γενναῖε, καὶ εἶην δικαίως. [8] οὐχ αἵματι γὰρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις εἰώθασι δῆτα σταθμᾶσθαι τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους στοργὴν [9] ἄνθρωποι. ὥρα σοι τοίνυν μὴ περιδεῖν ἐμὲ μὲν πρὸς τῇ τῆς οἰκίας διαφθορᾷ καὶ χρημάτων ἐστερημένον τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν σὴν αἰσχος ἀναδουμένην οὕτω δὴ μέγα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [10] ἐνθυμοῦ τε ὡς αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμαρτάδες οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἵενται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παίδων ἄπτονται μᾶλλον, οὓς γε καὶ δόξαν τινὰ φέρεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον συμβήσεται, ὡς φύσει τὸν τρόπον ταῖς γειναμέναις εὐόικασιν. [11] οὕτωςί τε λογίζου περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ πάνυ μὲν φιλῶ, καὶ ἦν μοι τίσασθαι τὸν διαφθορέα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξῆ, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἐργάσομαι φαῦλον, περιόντος δὲ Θεοδοσίου ταύτῃ τὸ ἐγκλημα ἐπιχωρεῖν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην.' [12] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Φώτιος ὑπηρετήσιν μὲν ὡμολόγει ἐς ἅπαντα, δεδιέναι δὲ μή τι λάβοι ἐνθένδε κακὸν, τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀβεβαίῳ τῆς Βελισαρίου γνώμης τά γε ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων· ἄλλα τε γὰρ αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ τὸ Μακεδονίας δυσωπεῖν πάθος. [13] διὸ δὴ ἄμφω ἅπαντας ἀλλήλοις ὡμοσάτην ὅσοι δὴ ἐν Χριστιανοῖς δεινότατοι ὄρκοι εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, μήποτε ἀλλήλῳ καταπρόσῃσθαι ἄχρι τῶν ἐς τὸν ὄλεθρον φερόντων κινδύνων. [14] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ παρόντι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, ὁπνῆκα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίκεται, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσον Θεοδόσιος ἴοι, τηνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου Φώτιον ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενον

Θεοδόσιον τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐδενὶ πόνῳ χειρώσασθαι. [15] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε τὴν ἐσβολὴν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσίδα πεποίηνται χώραν, ἀμφὶ τε Ἰωάννη τῷ Καππαδόκῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδῆλωται. [16] ἔνθα δὴ τοῦτό μοι τῷ δέει σεσιώπηται μόνον, ὅτι γε οὐκ εἰκὴ τὸν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἢ Ἀντωνίνα ἐξηπατήκει, ἀλλ' ὅρκων αὐτοὺς πλήθει, ὥνπερ οὐδὲν φοβερώτερον ἔν γε Χριστιανοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ, πιστωσαμένη, μηδεμιᾷ δολερᾷ γνώμῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι. [17] ταῦτά τε διαπεπραγμένη καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλίδος θαρροῦσα φιλίᾳ Θεοδόσιον μὲν ἐς Ἑφεσον στέλλει, αὐτὴ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποτοπάζουσα ἐναντίῳμα ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω κομίζεται. [18] ἄρτι δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τὸ Σισαυράνων φρούριον ἐλόντι ὁδῷ ἰοῦσα πρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλλεται. καὶ ὅς τᾶλλα πάντα ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ πεποιημένος ὀπίσω ὑπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. [19] ξυνηνέχθη γάρ, ἥπερ μοι τὰ πρότερα δεδιήγηται, καὶ ἕτερα ἅττα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γενέσθαι, ἅπερ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ὥρμα. τοῦτο μέντοι πολλῶ ἔτι θάσσον ἐνταῦθα ἀνῆγεν. [20] ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, οὐ μοι ἀκίνδυνον τῆνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάσας εἰπεῖν. [21] ἔγκλημά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο Βελισαρίῳ πρὸς πάντων Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τὰ καιριώτατα αὐτὸς περὶ ἐλάσσονος πραγμάτων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πεποιήται. [22] ἀρχὴν μὲν γάρ τῃ τῆς γυναικὸς πάθει ἐχόμενος, ὥς ἀπωτάτω γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς Ῥωμαίων οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἤκειν, ἀναστρέψας αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καταλαβεῖν τε καὶ τίσασθαι οἷός τε εἶη. [23] διὸ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Ἀρέθαν Τίγριν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐκέλευσεν, οἳ γε οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἡμέρας ὁδῷ ἀπολελεῖσθαι [24] ὄρων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. φρούριον γάρ τὸ Σισαυράνων διὰ μὲν πόλεως Νισιβίδος ἰόντι πλέον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀρίων διέχει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τούτου δὴ τοῦ μέτρου ξυμβαίνει τὸ μεταξὺ εἶναι. [25] καίτοι εἰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ Τίγριν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤθελεν, οἷμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ξύμπαντα ληΐσασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας χωρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐς Κτησιφῶντα πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀντιστατοῦντος σφίσιν ἀφῆχθαι, καὶ τοὺς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσοι τε Ῥωμαίων ἄλλοι ἐνταῦθα ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, διασωσάμενον ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Χοσρόῃ αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν ἀδεέστερον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀποκομίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Κολχίδος. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον τετύχηκε τοῦτο αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [26] Ἦνίκα Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου εἰς γῆν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν Κολχίδα τά τε ἄλλα διεπράξατο, ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, καὶ Πέτρην εἴλε, πολλοὺς τοῦ Μῆδων στρατοῦ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη τῷ τε πολέμῳ καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις. δύσοδος τε γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἡ Λαζική ἐστὶ καὶ ὅλως κρημνώδης. [27] καὶ μὴν καὶ λοιμοὶ ἐπιτεσόντος σφίσι τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολωλέναι ξυνέπεσε, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. [28] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τινες ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐνταῦθα ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἡγγελλον ὥς Ναβέδην μὲν Βελισάριος ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν μάχῃ νικήσας πρόσω χωροῖη, πολιορκία δὲ τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐλὼν φρούριον Βλησχάμην τε καὶ Περσῶν ἱππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους δορυαλώτους πεποιήται, στράτευμα δὲ ἄλλο

Ῥωμαίων ζύν γε Ἀρέθα τῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντι πέμπειεν, ὅπερ διαβὰν ποταμὸν Τίγγριν ξύμπαντα λεηλατήσσειε τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, πρότερον ἀδήωτα ὄντα. [29] ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ στράτευμα Οὐννων ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ὁ Χοσρόης στείλας, ὅπως τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀσχολίᾳ μηδεμία τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐν Λαζικῇ πρassoμένων αἰσθησις γένηται. [30] τούτους τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπήγγελλον ἕτεροι Βαλεριανῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας παρὰ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἡσσηθέντας τῇ μάχῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολωλέναι. [31] ἅπερ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀκούσαντες καὶ κακοπαθείᾳ μὲν τῇ ἐν Λαζοῖς κεκακωμένοι, δεδιότες δὲ μή τι ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ ἐντυχόντες πολεμίων στρατῷ ἐν κρημνοῖς καὶ χωρίοις λοχμώδεσιν ἅπαντες οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ διαφθαρεῖεν, περιδεεῖς ἀμφὶ τε παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι γεγεννημένοι, εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, Χοσρόῃ ἐλοιδοροῦντο ἐπικαλοῦντες ὥς ἔς τε τοὺς ὄρκους ἡσέβηκώς καὶ τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσβάλοι μὲν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν προσῆκον, ἀδικοῖη δὲ πολιτείαν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ ἀξιωτάτην πασῶν μάλιστα, ἥς τῷ πολέμῳ περιεῖναι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο· ἐμελλον δὲ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν. [32] οἷς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς εὔρετο τοῦ κακοῦ ἴασιν τήνδε. γράμματα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνελέξατο, ἅπερ ἑναγχος ἡ βασιλὶς τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐτύγγανε γράψασα. [33] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε “Ὅπως σε, ὦ Ζαβεργάνη, διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχω, εὖνουν σε οἰομένη τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν εἶναι, οἶσθα ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀφιγμένος. [34] οὐκοῦν πράττοις ἂν εἰκότα τῇ δόξῃ, ἣν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔχω, εἴ γε βασιλέα Χοσρόην εἰρηναῖα πείθοις ἐς πολιτείαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βουλεύεσθαι. [35] οὕτω γάρ σοι ἀγαθὰ μεγάλα πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀναδέχομαι τοῦμοῦ ἔσεσθαι, ὅς γε οὐδὲν [36] ἂν ὅ τι καὶ ἄνευ γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς πράξειεν.” ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναλεξάμενος, ὄνειδίσας τε Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εἰ πολιτεῖαν οἶονται εἶναι, ἣν γυνὴ διοικεῖται, [37] τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁρμὴν ἀναστέλλειν ἔσχεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ζὺν δέει πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆει, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον οἰόμενος σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσαντος ἄσμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπεκομίσθη.

III

Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐρίσκει τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφικομένην. καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσε, πολλάκις τε διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτὴν ἐγγχειρήσας ἐμαλθακίσθη, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, [2] ἔρωτος ἡσσηθεὶς διαπύρου τινός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μαγγανείαις πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς καταλαμβανόμενον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐκλύεσθαι. Φώτιος δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν Ἑφεσον στέλλεται, τῶν τινα εὐνούχων, Καλλίγονον ὄνομα, προαγωγὸν τῆς κεκτημένης ὄντα δεσμεύσας τε καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ αἰκιζόμενος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἅπαντα ἐξήνεγκε τὰ ἀπόρρητα. [3] καὶ Θεοδόσιος μὲν προμαθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωάννου καταφεύγει τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ἀγιώτατόν ἐστι καὶ ἐπιεικῶς ἐντιμον. [4] Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἑφέσου ἀρχιερεὺς χρήμασιν οἱ ἀναπεισθεὶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐν τούτῳ ἡ Θεοδώρα ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ δειμαίνουσα, ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα δὴ αὐτῇ ξυνεπεπτόκει, Βελισάριον ζὺν αὐτῇ ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμπεται. [5] Φώτιος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας Θεοδόσιον μὲν ἐς Κίλικας πέμπει, οὗ δὴ οἱ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ διαχειμάζοντες ἔτυχον, τοῖς παραπομποῖς ἐπιστείλας λαθραιότατα μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον διακομίζειν, ἐς Κίλικας δὲ ἀφικομένοις κεκρυμμένως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, μηδενὶ αἰσθῆσιν παρεχομένοις ὅποι γῆς εἴη. αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τε Καλλιγόνῳ καὶ τοῖς Θεοδοσίου χρήμασιν ἄδροις τισιν οὗσιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν. [6] ἐνταῦθα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπίδειξιν πεποίηται ἐς πάντα ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι δὴ χάριτας φονίους εἰδείη μείζοσί τε καὶ μιαιωτέροις ἀμείβεσθαι δώροις. [7] Ἀντωνίνα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα οἱ ἔναγχος τὸν Καππαδόκην ἐχθρὸν ἐνεδρεύσασα προὔδωκεν, αὐτὴ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκείνῃ ἐγγχειρίσασα ἀνδρῶν ἀνεγκλήτως ἀνῆρκε. [8] τῶν γὰρ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Φωτίῳ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινῶν μὲν τὰ σώματα αἰκισαμένα, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπικαλέσασα, ὅτι ἐς τὸ ἄνδρε τούτῳ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν, οὕτω διέθετο ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ τί ποτε ἡ τύχη ἐτελεύτα οὕτω νῦν ἴσμεν: ἄλλους δὲ φυγῇ ἐξημίωσε, ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐπενεγκοῦσα. [9] ἓνα μέντοι τῶν Φωτίῳ ἐς τὴν Ἑφεσον ἐπισπομένων, Θεοδόσιον ὄνομα, καίπερ ἐς ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἦκοντα, τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφελομένη ἐν δωματίῳ καταγείῳ τε καὶ ὅλως ζοφώδει ἔστησεν ἐπὶ φάτνης τινὸς βρόχον οἱ τοῦ τραχήλου ἀναψαμένη ἐς τοσόνδε βραχὺν, ὥστε αὐτῷ δὴ ἐντετάσθαι καὶ χαλαρὸν μηδαμῇ εἶναι. [10] ἐστηκὼς ἀμέλει διηνεκὲς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς φάτνης ὁ τάλας ἡσθιέ τε καὶ ὕπνον ἡρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἤνυσεν ἀπάσας τῆς φύσεως χρείας, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ τοῖς [11] ὄνοις εἰκάζεσθαι ὃ τι μὴ βρωμασθαι ἐλέλειπτο. χρόνος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη, ἕως μελαγχολίας νόσῳ ἁλοὺς μανεῖς τε ἐκτόπως καὶ οὕτω δὴ ταύτης τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀφεθεὶς εἶτα ἀπέθανε. [12] καὶ Βελισάριον οὐτὶ ἐκούσιον Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καταλλαγῆναι ἠνάγκασε. Φώτιον δὲ αἰκισμοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνδραποδώδεσι περιβαλοῦσα καὶ ξάνασα κατὰ τε τοῦ νότου καὶ τῶν ὤμων πολλὰς, ἐκλέγειν ἐκέλευεν ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς Θεοδόσιός τε καὶ ὁ προαγωγὸς εἴη. [13] ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὑπὸ τῆς βασάνου κατατεινόμενος τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐμπεδοῦν ἔγνω, ἀνὴρ νοσώδης μὲν καὶ ἀνειμένος γεγονῶς πρότερον, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα

θεραπείαν ἐσπουδακῶς, ὕβρεώς τε γενόμενος ἢ ταλαιπωρίας τινὸς ἄπειρος. [14] οὐδὲν γοῦν αὐτὸς τῶν Βελισαρίου κεκρυμμένων ἐξείπεν. ὕστερον μέντοι ἅπαντα τὰ τέως ἀπόρρητα ἐς φῶς ἐληλούθει. [15] καὶ Καλλίγονον μὲν ἡδ' ἐνταῦθα εὐροῦσα τῇδε παρέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Θεοδόσιον μετακαλέσασα ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, εὐθὺς μὲν κρύπτει ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μεταπεμψαμένη Ἀντωνίαν, [16] 'Ὡ φιλότατή πατρικία' ἔφη 'μάργαρον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμὰς τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐμπέπτωκεν, οἷον οὐδεὶς ποτ' ἀνθρώπων εἶδε. καὶ σοι βουλομένη οὐκ ἂν φθονήσαιμι τοῦ θεάματος τούτου, [17] ἀλλὰ ἐπιδειξῶ.' καὶ ἡ μὲν οὐ ξυνιῖσα τοῦ πρασσομένου τὸν μάργαρόν οἱ ἐπιδειξάι πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει. ἡ δὲ τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἐξ οἰκιδίου τῶν τινος εὐνούχων [18] ἐξαγαγοῦσα ἐπέδειξεν. Ἀντωνίαν δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περιχαρὴς ἄγαν γεγонуῖα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀχανὲς ἔμεινε, χάριτάς τε οἱ δεδρακέναι ὠμολόγει πολλὰς, σῴτειράν τε καὶ εὐεργέτιν ἀποκαλοῦσα καὶ δέσποιναν ὄντως. [19] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἡ βασιλὶς κατασχοῦσα ἐν Παλατίῳ τρυφῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐπαθείας ἡξίου, στρατηγόν τε ἠπέιλησε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καταστήσεσθαι. [20] ἀλλὰ τις προτερήσασα δίκη νόσφ' ἀλόντα δυσεντερίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει. [21] ἦν δὲ οἰκίδια τῇ Θεοδώρᾳ ἀπόκρυφα μὲν καὶ ὅλως λεληθότα ζοφώδη τε καὶ ἀγείτονα, ἔνθα δὴ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας δῆλως γίνεται. [22] ἐνταῦθα τὸν Φώτιον ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος καθεῖρξασα ἐτήρει. ὅθεν δὴ αὐτῷ ξυνέβη τις τύχη οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις διαφυγόντι ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [23] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεοτόκου, ὅσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίοις ἀγιώτατός ἐστί τε καὶ ὠνομάσθη, παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἱκέτης καθῆστο. ἐντεῦθεν τε αὐτὸν ἀναστήσασα βία τῇ πάσῃ καθεῖρξεν αὐτίς. [24] τὸ δὲ δὴ δευτερον ἐς τῆς Σοφίας τὸ ἱερὸν ἦκων, ἐς αὐτὴν που τὴν θείαν δεξαμενὴν ἐξαπιναίως ἐκάθισεν, ἥνπερ μάλιστα πάντων νενομίκασι Χριστιανοὶ σέβειν. [25] ἀλλὰ κἀνθένδε ἀφέλκειν αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἴσχυσε. χωρίον γὰρ ἀβέβηλον πώποτε ἀνέφαπτον αὐτῇ οὐδὲν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ βιάζεσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ ζύμπαντα οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι. [26] καὶ ζὺν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερεῖς καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ δέει ἐξίσταντο καὶ ἐνεχώρουν αὐτῇ ἅπαντα. [27] τριῶν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη, ὕστερον δὲ ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ Ζαχαρίας ἐπιστάς ὄναρ ὄρκους, φασὶν, ἐκέλευσε φεύγειν, συλλήψεσθαι οἱ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε ὁμολογήσας. [28] ταύτῃ τε τῇ ὄψει ἀναπεισθεὶς ἀνέστη τε ἐνθένδε καὶ διαλαθὼν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦλθε, μυρίων μὲν αὐτὸν διερευνωμένων ἀνθρώπων, οὐδενὸς δὲ τὸν νεανίαν, καίπερ ἐντυχόντα ὀρῶντος. [29] οὗ δὴ ἀποθριξάμενός τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν καλουμένων τὸ σχῆμα περιβαλλόμενος τὴν ἐκ Θεοδώρας κόλασιν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχε. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκῶς, τιμωρεῖν τε οὐδαμῇ τούτῳ ἐλόμενος πάσχοντι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀνόσια ἔργα, ἐς πάντα οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πολέμια τὰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὗρεν: εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τε Μήδους καὶ Χοσρόην σταλεις τὸ τρίτον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν κακότητα ὥφλε. [31] καίτοι ἐδόκει τι λόγου ἄξιον διαπεπράχθαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνθένδε ἀποσεισάμενος. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης Εὐφράτην διαβάς ποταμὸν Καλλίνικον πόλιν πολυάνθρωπον οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου εἴλε καὶ μυριάδας ἠνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων πολλὰς, Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον

ἐπισπένθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε, δόξαν ἀπήνεγκεν ὥς δυοῖν
θάτερον, ἢ ἐθελοκακήσας ἢ ἀποδειλιάσας, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

IV

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τι ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπιπεσεῖν ξυνηρέθη τοιόνδε. ὁ μὲν λοιμὸς, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθη, ἐπενέμετο τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀνθρώπους. βασιλεῖ δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ χαλεπώτατα νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο ὅτι ἀπολώλει. [2] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον περιαγαγοῦσα ἡ φήμη διεκόμισεν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγον τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς ὡς, ἦν βασιλέα Ῥωμαῖοι ἕτερόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταστήσωνται σφίσιν, οὐ μήποτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψωσιν. [3] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεῖ μὲν ράϊσαι ξυνέβη, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι διαβόλοις ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. [4] Πέτρος τε γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃνπὲρ ἐπὶ κλησιν Φαγᾶν ἐκάλουν, Βελισαρίου τε καὶ Βούζου ἐκεῖνα λεγόντων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀκηκοέναι ἅπερ μοι ἀρτίως δεδήλωται. [5] ταῦτά γε ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα ἐπικαλέσασα ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰρηῇσθαι μεστὴ ἐγεγόνει. [6] ἅπαντας οὖν εὐθὺς μετακάλεσασα ἐς Βυζάντιον, ζήτησίν τε τοῦ λόγου τούτου ποιησαμένη, τὸν Βούζην μετεπέμψατο εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐξαπινάως, ὡς τι αὐτῷ κοινολογησομένη τῶν ἄγαν σπουδαίων. [7] ἦν δέ τι οἶκημα ἐν Παλατίῳ κατάγειον, ἀσφαλὲς τε καὶ λαβυρινθῶδες καὶ οἶον Ταρτάρῳ εἰκάζεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καθεῖρξασα ἐτήρει. [8] καὶ ὁ Βούζης οὖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληται, ἐνταῦθα τε ἀνὴρ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενόμενος ἄγνωστος αἰὶ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ ἔμεινεν. [9] οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν σκότῳ κατήμενος διαγινώσκειν οἶός τε ἐγεγόνει πότερον ἡμέρα ἢ νύκτωρ [10] εἶη οὐτε ἄλλῳ τῷ ἐντυχεῖν εἶχεν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ, ὅσπερ οἱ ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τὰ σιτία ἐρρίπτει, ὥσπερ τι θηρίον θηρίῳ ἄφωνος ἀφῶν ὠμίλει. [11] καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τετελευτηκέναι εὐθὺς ἔδοξε, λόγον μέντοι ἡ μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τινα ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς. ἐνιαιυτῶν δὲ δυοῖν ὕστερον πρὸς μισὶ τέσσαρσιν οἰκτισαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκε. [12] καὶ ὃς ὥσπερ ἀναβεβιωκὼς ἅπασιν ὤφθη. ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνθένδε αἰὶ ἀμβλυώττειν τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα νοσῶδει εἶναι. [13] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Βούζῃ τῇδε ἐχώρησε. Βελισάριον δὲ βασιλεὺς, καίπερ οὐδενὸς τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἀλόντα, ἐγκειμένης τῆς βασιλίδος παραλύσας ἥς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς Μαρτίνον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐφῶς στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο, τοὺς τε Βελισαρίου δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἴ τι ἐν πολέμῳ δόκιμον ἦν, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων τισὶν ἐπέστειλε διαδάσασθαι. [14] οἱ δὲ κλήρους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐμβεβλημένοι αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἅπαντας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διενείμαντο, ὡς πῃ κατατυχεῖν ἐκάστῳ συνέβη. [15] καὶ τῶν φίλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτῷ τὰ πρότερα ὑπουργηκῶτων πολλοῖς ἀπέιπε παρὰ Βελισάριον μηκέτι ἰέναι. [16] καὶ περιήρχετο πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ ἄπιστος ὄψις, Βελισάριος ἰδιώτης ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, σχεδὸν τι μόνος, σύννους αἰὶ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὀρρωδῶν θάνατον. [17] μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς πολλὰ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἔω χρήματα εἶναι, πέμψασα τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων τινὰ κεκόμισται πάντα. [18] ἐτόγγανε δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα, ὡς μοι εἴρηται, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ διάφορος γεγεννημένη, τῇ δὲ βασιλίδι φιλάτῃ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ οὕσα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἅτε Ἰωάννην ἐναγχος κατεργασαμένη τὸν

Καπαδόκην. [19] διὸ δὴ χαρίσασθαι ἡ βασιλὶς τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ βουλευσαμένη, ἅπαντα ἔπραττεν ὅπως ἐξαιτήσασθαι τε τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ γυνή καὶ ἀπὸ ξυμφορῶν τηλικῶνδε ρύσασθαι δόξειε, ταύτῃ τε οὐ μόνον τῷ τάλαιπῶρῳ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς καταλλαγῆναι συμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρρήδην αὐτὸν ἄτε πρὸς αὐτῆς διασεσωσμένον αἰχμάλωτον ἀναρπάσασθαι. [20] ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἦλθε μὲν ποτε Βελισάριος πρῶτ' ἐς Παλάτιον, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ζῖν ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ὀλίγοις τισίν. [21] οὐκ εὖμενδ' οὐδὲ πειρασάμενος βασιλέως τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιυβρισμένος ἐνταῦθα ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν μοχθηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγελαίων, οἵκαδε ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ὀψίαν ἀπὼν ὥχετο, συχνὰ τε περιστρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ταύτῃ καὶ πανταχόσε περισκοπούμενος, ὁπόθεν ποτὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλύντας ἴδοι. [22] ζῖν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ὀρρωδίᾳ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος καθῆστο μόνος, γενναῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐννοῶν, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐγεγόνει ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων, ἰδρῶν δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ ἰλιγγίων καὶ ζῖν τρόμφ' πολλῶ ἀπορούμενος, φόβοις τε ἀνδραποδῶδεσι καὶ μερίμναις ἀποκναιόμενος φιλοψύχοις τε καὶ ὅλως ἀνάνδροις. [23] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἄτε οὔτε τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ὅλως ἐπισταμένη οὔτε τι τῶν ἐσομένων καταδοκοῦσα περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ἐποιεῖτο συχνοὺς ὀδυρεγμίαν σκῆπτομένη· [24] ἔτι γὰρ εἰς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτως εἶχον. μετὰ δὲ τις ἐκ Παλατίου, Κουαδράτος ὄνομα, ἦκεν ἥδη δεδουκότος ἡλίου, τὴν τε αὐλειὸν ὑπερβὰς ἐξαπινάϊως παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιδα ἔστη θύραν, φάσκων πρὸς τῆς βασιλίδος ἐνταῦθα ἐστάλθαι. [25] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἤκουσε, χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος ἐλκύσας ὑπτίως ἔκειτο, πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐτοιμότατος· οὕτως ἅπαν αὐτὸν τὸ ἄρρενωπὸν ἀπελελοίπει. [26] οὐπω τοῖνον ὁ Κουαδράτος παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν γράμματά οἱ τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπέδειξεν. [27] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε· “Ἄ μὲν εἰργάσω ἡμᾶς, ὦ βέλτιστε, οἶσθα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ὀφείλουσα τῇ σῇ γυναικί, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματά σοι ἀφεῖναι ζῦμπαντα ἔγνωκα, ἐκείνη τὴν σὴν δωρουμένη ψυχὴν. [28] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐνθεν σοὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων περίεστιν· ὁποῖος δὲ σὺ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔση διὰ τῶν πραχθησομένων εισόμεθα.” [29] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἀνελέξατο, ἅμα μὲν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐπὶ μέγα ἄρθεις, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐπίδειξιν ἐθέλων ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἀναστὰς εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτει. [30] καὶ χειρὶ μὲν ἐκατέρᾳ περιλαβὼν αὐτῆς ἅμφω τὰς κνήμας, τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν ἀεὶ τῶν ταρσῶν τῆς γυναικὸς μεταβιβάζων, τοῦ μὲν βίου καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν ἐκάλει, ἀνδράποδον δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνθένδε πιστὸν ὁμολόγει καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ ἔσεσθαι. [31] καὶ τῶν χρημάτων δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἐς τριάκοντα χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ δοῦσα, τᾶλλα Βελισαρίῳ ἀπέδοτο. [32] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῇδε κεχωρήκει, ὥπερ ἡ τύχη οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον Γελίμερά τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιν δορυαλώτους παρεδεδώκει. [33] ἐκ παλαιοῦ δὲ Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ Θεοδῶραν πλοῦτος ὁ τοῦτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἔκνιζεν, ὑπέρογκός τε ὢν καὶ βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἄξιος. [34] ἔφασκόν τε ὡς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων Γελίμερός τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιδος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποκρυσάμενος λάθρα ἔτυχε, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῶν βραχεῖαν τέ τινα καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόλογον βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε. [35] πόνους δὲ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν τὴν βλασφημίαν διαριθμούμενοι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ σκῆψιν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν

κεκομισμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [36] τότε δὲ ἡ βασιλις αὐτοῦ λαβομένη κατωρρωδηκότος τε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσαντος ὅλως πράξει μιᾷ διεπράξατο ξυμπάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας κυρία γενέσθαι. [37] ἐς κῆδος γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ξυνηλθέτην εὐθὺς, Ἰωαννίνα τε ἡ Βελισαρίου θυγάτηρ, ἥσπερ μόνης ἐγεγόνει πατὴρ, Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ τῆς βασιλίδος θυγατρίδῳ μνηστὴ γέγονε. [38] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τε ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν οἰκειάν ἡξίου καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀποδειχθεὶς πάλιν ἐπὶ Χοσρόην καὶ Μήδους ἐξηγήσεσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ οὐδαμῶς εἶα: περιυβρίσθαι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔφασκεν, ἅπερ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεσθαι. [39] Διὸ δὲ Βελισάριος ἀρχὼν τῶν βασιλικῶν καταστάς ἱποκόμων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ δευτέρον ἐστάλη, ὁμολογήσας βασιλεῖ, ὥς φασι, χρήματα μήποτε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ αἰτήσιν, ἀλλὰ ξύμπασαν αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χρήμασιν οἰκείοις ποιήσεσθαι. [40] πάντες μὲν οὖν ὑπετόπαζον τὰ τε ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Βελισάριον διοικήσασθαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ὁμολογήσαι ἀμφὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἃ δεδιήγεται, ἀπαλλαξείοντα τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ διατριβῆς, ἐπειδὴν τε τάχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου ἐκτὸς γένηται, ἀρπάσεσθαι τε αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τι γενναῖον καὶ ἀνδρὶ πρέπον ἐπὶ τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς βιασαμένοις φρονήσιν. [41] αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος ὄρκων τε τῶν Φωτίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδείοις ὁμωμοσμένων ἐν λήθῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ ὀλιγοῖα γενόμενος εἶπετο τῇ γυναικὶ, καταστάς ἐκτόπως εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρωτόληπτος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξήκοντα ἤδη γεγонуῖαν ἔτη. [42] ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγένετο, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐχῶρει, ἐπεὶ οἱ διαρρήδην τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ πολέμια ἦν. [43] πρῶτον μὲν γε τὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσιν ἐπὶ τε Θευδάτον καὶ Οὐίτιγιν βουλευόμενα, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τοῖς πρασσομένοις δοκοῦντα ἔχειν, ἐς ξύμφορον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐτελεύτα τέλος: ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ δόξαν μὲν ἀπήνεγκεν ὅτι δὴ τὰ βελτίω βεβούλευται ἅτε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε πραγμάτων γεγονῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσι κακοτυχοῦντι τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀβουλίας δόκησιν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη. [44] οὕτως ἄρα οὐκ ἀνθρώπων βουλαῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ πρυτανεύεται τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ὃ δὴ τύχην εἰώθασι καλεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ταύτῃ πρόεισι τὰ ξυμβαίνοντα, [45] ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐνδηλα γίνεται. τῷ γὰρ ἀλόγῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι φιλεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης ὄνομα προσχωρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥς περ ἐκάστῳ φίλον, ταύτῃ δοκεῖτω.

Βελισάριος δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενος αἰσχιστα ἐνθένδε ἀπήλλαξε: τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς ἐς πεντάετες ἀποβῆναι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ὅτι μὴ ἔνθα τι ὀχύρωμα ἦν. ναυτιλλόμενος δὲ πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια [2] περιήει. Τουτίλας δὲ λυσσῶν ἦν αὐτὸν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν, οὐ μέντοι εὗρεν, ἐπεὶ ὀρρωδίᾳ πολλῇ αὐτός τε καὶ ξύμπας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἶχετο. [3] διὸ δὴ οὔτε τῶν ἀπολωλότων τι ἀνεσώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥώμην προσαπώλεσε καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα. [4] ἐγένετο δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ κέρδους αἰσχροῦ ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος ἅτε οὐδὲν ἐκ βασιλέως κεκομισμένος, Ἰταλοὺς ἀμέλει σχεδὸν πάντας, οἵπερ ὥκνητο ἐπὶ τε Ῥαβέννης καὶ Σικελίας, καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου κατατυχεῖν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσχεν, ἐληΐσατο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, λογισμοὺς δῆθεν τῶν βεβιωμένων καταπραττόμενος. [5] οὕτω γοῦν καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν μετιῶν χρήματα ἦτει, ἅπαντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπανασείων. [6] οἷς δὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀχθόμενος ἀπετάξατο μὲν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐθὺς ζύν τε τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τῷ Σπολιτίῳ Τουτίλᾳ καὶ Γότθοις ἐνέδωκεν. [7] ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδῷ διχοστατῆσαι συνέβη, ὅπερ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα μάλιστα ἐσφρηλεν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [8] Ἐς τοῦτο ἀπεχθείας Γερμανῷ ἡ βασιλὶς ἦλθεν ἐπιδηλότατόν τε ἅπασι τὸ ἐχθος ἐποίει, ὥστε αὐτῷ κηδεύειν, καίπερ βασιλέως ἀνεπιῶν ὄντι, ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς, ἄνυμοί τε αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες διαγεγόνασι, μέχρις αὐτῇ ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου. ἢ τε θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ Ἰουστίνᾳ ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη ἠβήσασα ἔτι ἀνυμέναιος ἦν. [9] διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἡνίκα Ἰωάννης πρὸς Βελισαρίου σταλὲς ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ καταστῆναι ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀμφὶ τῇ κηδεῖᾳ ἠνάγκαστο, καὶ ταῦτα λίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ὄντι. [10] ἐπεὶ τε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤρεσκεν ἄμφω, ὅρκοις ἀλλήλους ἐγνώσαν δεινотάτοις καταλαβεῖν ἢ μὴν τὸ κῆδος ἐπιτελέσειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖν ἐκάτερος τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐπὶ θατέρῳ ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν, ὁ μὲν τῷ ξυνειδέναί ὅτι δὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὀρέγοιτο, ὁ δὲ κηδεστοῦ ἀπορούμενος. [11] ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα τίς γένηται διὰ πάσης ὁδοῦ ἰοῦσα ἐκάτερον μετιέναι μηχανῇ πάσῃ οὐκ ἀπηξίου, ὅπως ἂν τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύοι. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖν καίπερ πολλὰ δεδιξαμένη ἀναπειθῆναι οὐδέτερον ἔσχε, διαρρήδην ἀπολεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἠπειλήσε. [13] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης αὐθὺς ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλὲς οὐδαμῇ ξυμμίξαι Βελισαρίῳ ἐτόλμησε, τὴν ἐξ Ἀντωνίνης ἐπιβουλήν δείσας, ἕως Ἀντωνίνα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε. [14] τὴν τε γὰρ βασιλίδᾳ ταύτῃ ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν αὐτοῦ φόνον οὐκ ἄπο τοῦ εἰκότος ἂν τις ὑπώπτευσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίνης σταθμωμένῳ τρόπον ἅπαντά τε Βελισάριον ἐνδιδόναι τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπισταμένῳ δέος ἐγένετο μέγα καὶ τὸν ἐσῆει. [15] τοῦτο γοῦν Ῥωμαῖοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους ἐστῶτα προσουδίξει χαμαί. [16] Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. ἀπογνοὺς δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο ὅπως οἱ ἐξῆ ἔνθενδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [17] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνδεχόμενον βασιλέᾳ τὴν δέησιν ἐγνώ, ἄσμενος εὐθὺς ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, χαίρειν πολλὰ τῷ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς φράσας, καὶ τὰ μὲν πλείστα

ὕποχρεια τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών, Περυσίαν δὲ πικρότατα πολιορκία πιεζομένην, ἥπερ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ὁδῶ ἰόντος κατ' ἄκρας ἀλουσα ἐς πᾶσαν κακοῦ ἰδέαν ἤλθεν, ἥπερ μοι πρότερον δεδιήγηται. ζυνηνέχθη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τύχης ἐναντίωμα ζυμπεσεῖν τοιόνδε. [18] Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς τῆς Βελισαρίου παιδὸς ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὴν ἐγγύην ἐπειγομένη τῷ θυγατριδῷ, συχνὰ γράφουσα τοὺς γειναμένους τὴν κόρην ἠνώχλει. [19] οἱ δὲ τὸ κῆδος ἀναδύομενοι ἀπετίθεντο μὲν ἐς παρουσίαν τὴν σφετέραν τὸν γάμον, μεταπεμπομένης δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον τῆς βασιλίδος, ἀδύνατοι εἶναι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τανὺν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐσκήπτοντο. [20] ἡ δὲ γλιχομένη μὲν κύριον τὸν θυγατρίδου τοῦ Βελισαρίου καταστήσεσθαι πλούτου, ἥδει γὰρ ἐπὶ κληρὸν ἐσομένην τὴν παῖδα, οὐκ ὄντος Βελισαρίῳ ἐτέρου τοῦ γόνου, ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ Ἀντωνίνης γνώμῃ θαρσεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα, δειμαίνουσα τε μὴ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν οὐ φανεῖσα πιστὴ ἐς τὸν αὐτῆς οἶκον, καίπερ αὐτῆς οὕτω φιλανθρώπου ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τυχοῦσα, διασπάσῃται τὰ ζυγκείμενα, ἐργάζεται ἀνόσιον ἔργον. [21] τῷ γὰρ μεираκίῳ τὴν παιδίσκην ζυνοικίζει οὐδενὶ νόμῳ. φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ πλησιάσαι οὐτὶ ἐκουσίαν ἠνάγκασε κρύβδην, οὕτω τε διαπεπαρθενευμένη τὸν ὑμέναιον τῇ κόρῃ ζυστῆναι, τοῦ μὴ βασιλέα τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύσαι. [22] τοῦ μέντοι ἔργου ἐξεργασμένου ἔρωτι ἀλλήλοιον διαπύρῳ τινὶ ὃ τε Ἀναστάσιος καὶ ἡ παῖς εἶχοντο, καὶ χρόνος σφίσιν οὐχ ἥσσω ἢ ὀκτὼ μηνῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτίρβη. [23] ἠνίκα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπογενομένης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤλθεν, ἐπελάθετο μὲν ἐθελουσία ὧν ἐκείνη ἔναγχος εἰς αὐτὴν εἵργαστο, ὡς ἥκιστα δὲ ὑπολογισαμένη ὡς, ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡ παῖς αὐτῇ ζυνοικίζοιτο, πεπορνευμένη τὰ πρότερα ἔσται, τὸν Θεοδώρας ἔκγονον κηδεστὴν ἀτιμάζει, τὴν τε παῖδα ὡς μάλιστα ἀκουσίαν βιασαμένη ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἀπέστησε. [24] μεγάλην τε ἀγνωμοσύνης ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀπηνέγκατο δόξαν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἥκοντά τε οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀναπεῖθει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ἄγους αὐτῇ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦδε. ὥστε διαρρήδην τηνικάδε ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τρόπος ἐλήλεγκται. [25] καίτοι διομοσάμενος Φωτίῳ τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶ πρότερον καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα οὐδαμῇ ἐμπεδώσας συγγνώμης ἐτύγχανε πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [26] αἴτιον γὰρ τοῦ ἀπίστου τάνδρῳ οὐ τὴν γυναικοκράτειαν, ἀλλὰ δέος τὸ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος ὑπώπτειον εἶναι. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἀπογενομένης, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, οὔτε Φωτίου οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ τῶν οἱ ἀναγκαίων λόγος γεγένητο, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ δέσποινα μὲν ἡ γυνὴ ἐφαίνετο οὔσα, κύριος δὲ Καλλίγονος ὁ προαγωγὸς ἦν, τότε δὴ ἀπογόνοντες αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες ἐχλεύάζον τε διαθρυλλοῦντες καὶ ἄτε ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνοντι ἐλοιδοροῦντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα Βελισαρίῳ ἀπαρακαλύπτως εἰπεῖν ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [28] Τὰ δὲ Σεργίῳ τῷ Βάκχου παιδὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἡμαρτημένα διαρκῶς μὲν ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις δεδήλωται, ὃς δὴ αἰτιώτατος γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις ἐνταῦθα διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα, τὰ τε πρὸς Λευάθας αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν εὐαγγελίων ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος καὶ τοὺς ὀδοήκοντα πρέσβεις οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαχρησάμενος, τοσοῦτον δὲ μοι τανὺν ἐντιθέναι τῷ λόγῳ δεήσει, ὡς οὔτε νῶ ὁλοερῶ οἱ ἄνδρες οὔτοι παρὰ Σέργιον ἤλθον οὔτε τινὰ σκῆψιν ὁ Σέργιος ὑπονίας περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ διώμοτος ἐπὶ θοίνῃν καλέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας διεχρήσατο

οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. [29] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Σολόμωνι καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ καὶ Λίβυσι
πᾶσι διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. [30] δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ, ἄλλως τε καὶ Σολόμωνος
τετελευτηκότος, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, οὔτε τις ἄρχων οὔτε τις στρατιώτης ἐς
πολέμου κίνδυνον ἰέναι ἤξιον. [31] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάννης ὁ Σισιννιόλου
τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθει ἀπόμαχος ἦν, ἕως Ἀρεόβινδος ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίκετο. [32] ἦν
γὰρ ὁ Σέργιος μαλθακὸς μὲν καὶ ἀπόλεμος, τὸ δὲ ἦθος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν κομιδῇ
νέος, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐχόμενος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους,
τεθρυμμένος τε τὴν δίαίταν καὶ τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν. [33] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς
Ἀντωνίνης τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἐγγόνης ἐτύγχανε μνηστήρ γεγωνὼς,
τίσιν τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλὶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ παραλῦειν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδαμῇ
ἤθελε, καίπερ ἐνδελεχέστατα διαφθειρομένην Λιβύην ὀρώσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ
Σολόμωνα τὸν Σεργίου ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Πηγασίου φόνου αὐτῇ τε καὶ βασιλεὺς
ἀθῶον ἀφῆκεν. ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [34] Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πηγάσιος
τὸν Σολόμωνα πρὸς τῶν Λευαθῶν ὠνήσατο καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' οἴκου
ἀπεκομίσθησαν, ὁ μὲν Σολόμων ζύν τε Πηγασίῳ τῷ ἐωνημένῳ καὶ
στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις τισὶν εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἐστέλλετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτη
λαβὼν ὁ Πηγάσιος ὅ τι δὴ ἀδικοῦντα Σολόμωνα χρῆναί οἱ ἔφασκεν ἐν μνήμῃ
εἶναι ὡς αὐτὸν ἔναγχος ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὁ θεὸς ρύσαιτο. [35] ὁ δὲ χαλεπήνας,
ὅτι δὴ οἱ ἄτε δορυαλώτῳ ὠνείδισε, τὸν Πηγάσιον εὐθύς ἔκτεινε, ταῦτά τε
σῶστρα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπέδωκεν. [36] ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Σολόμων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε,
καθαρὸν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς τοῦ φόνου ἐποίει ἅτε προδότην ἀνελόντα τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [37] γράμματά τε αὐτῷ ἐδίδου τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀσφάλειαν
παρεχόμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σολόμων οὕτω τὴν τίσιν διαφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφάν
ἄσμενος ἦει, τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ γένος τὸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὀψόμενος. [38] ἡ δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τίσις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καταλαβοῦσα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν
ἀφανίζει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Σολόμωνι τε καὶ Πηγασίῳ τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

VI

Οἵτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ Θεοδώρα ἤστην τρόπον τε ὅτῳ διεσπάσαντο τὰ Ῥωμαίων [2] πράγματα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. Λέοντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, γεωργοὶ νεανῖαι τρεῖς, Ἰλλυριοὶ γένος, Ζίμαρχος τε καὶ Διτύβιστος καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ ἐκ Βεδεριάνης, πράγμασιν ἐνδελεχέστερα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πενίας οἰκοὶ μαχόμενοι τούτων τε ἀπαλλαξείοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεῦσθαι ὥρμησαν. [3] καὶ περὶ βαδίζοντες ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, σισύρας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοὶ φέροντες, ἐν αἷς δὴ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ διπύρους ἄρτους οἴκοθεν ἐμβεβλημένοι ἀφίκοντο, ταχθέντας τε ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦ Παλατίου τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπελέξατο. κάλλιστοι γὰρ ἅπαντες τὰ σώματα ἦσαν. [4] χρόνον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι πόλεμος πρὸς τὸ Ἰσαύρων ἔθνος ὅπλα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀραμένους κατέστη. [5] στρατιάν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἥσπερ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο, ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυρτός. οὗτος Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰουστίνον ἀμαρτάδος τινὸς ἕνεκα ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθείρξεν, ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανιεῖν ἔμελλεν, εἰ μὴ τις μετὰ τὸ ἐπιγενομένη ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐκώλυσεν. [6] ἔφη γὰρ οἱ ἐν ὄνειρῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐντυχεῖν τινα παμμεγέθη τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τᾶλλα κρείσσω ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι. [7] καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐπισκῆψαι μεθεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃνπερ καθείρξας ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτύγχανεν· αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕπνου ἐξαναστάντα ἐν ἀλογία τὴν τοῦ ὄνειρου ὄψιν ποιήσασθαι. [8] ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ καὶ ἐτέρας νυκτὸς ἐδόκει μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄνειρῳ καὶ αὐθις τῶν λόγων ἀκοῦειν ὥνπερ ἡκηκόει τὸ πρότερον, ἐπιτελέσαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα οὐδ' ὥς [9] βεβουλησθαι. τρίτον τέ οἱ ἐπιστάσαν τὴν τοῦ ὄνειρου ὄψιν ἀπειλῆσαι μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, ἢ μὴ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ποιοίῃ, ἐπειτεῖν τε ὡς αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας χρέος οἱ μέγα ὀργισθησομένῳ ἐς χρόνον τὸν ὀπισθεν εἶη. [10] Τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως Ἰουστίνῳ περιεῖναι ξυνέβη, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως οὗτος Ἰουστίνος ἐχώρησεν. [11] ἄρχοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, αὐτὸς τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυνάμει τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τυμβογέρων μὲν γεγονὼς ἤδη, ἀμάθητος δὲ γραμμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀναλφάβητος ὢν, οὐ γεγονὼς ἔν γε Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον τοῦτό γε. [12] εἰθισμένον δὲ γράμματα οἰκεῖα τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐντιθέναι τὸν βασιλέα, ὅσα ἂν ἐπαγγέλλοντος αὐτοῦ γίνοντο, αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε ἐπηγγείλεν οὔτε τοῖς πρασσομένοις συνηντίστασθαι οἷός τε ἦν. [13] ὃς δὲ παρεδρεύειν αὐτῷ ἔλαχεν, ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίστωρος Πρόκλος ὄνομα, [14] αὐτὸς δὴ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ ἅπαντα ἔπρασεν. ὅπως δὲ μαρτυρίαν τῆς βασιλέως χειρὸς ἔχοιεν, οἷς δὴ ἐπίκειται τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, ἐπενοήθη τάδε. [15] ξύλῳ εἰργασμένῳ βραχεὶ ἐγκολάψαντες μορφήν τινα γραμμάτων τεττάρων, ἅπερ ἀναγνῶναι τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται, γραφίδα τε βαφῇ βάψαντες, ἣ βασιλεῖς γράφειν εἰώθασιν, [16] ἐνεχειρίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ. καὶ τὸ ξύλον, οὗπερ ἐμνήσθη, τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐνθέμενοι, λαβόμενοι τε τῆς βασιλέως χειρὸς, περιῆγον μὲν ζῆν τῇ γραφίδι ἐς τῶν τεττάρων γραμμάτων

τὸν τύπον, ἐς πάσας τε τὰς τοῦ ξύλου αὐτὴν περιελίξαντες ἐντομὰς οὕτω δὴ ἀπηλλάσσοντο, τοιαῦτα βασιλέως γράμματα φέροντες. [17] Τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἰουστίνῳ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις εἶχε. γυναικὶ δὲ ὄνομα Λουπικίνῃ ξυνέκει. αὕτη δὲ δούλῃ τε καὶ βάρβαρος οὖσα τοῦ πρόσθεν αὐτὴν ἐωνημένου παλλακὴ γέγονε. καὶ αὕτῃ μὲν ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπὶ βίου δυσμαῖς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. [18] Ἰουστίνος μὲν οὖν οὔτε τι πονηρὸν τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐργάζεσθαι οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἴσχυεν. εὐηθεία γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο, ἄγλωττός τε παντάπασιν ὦν καὶ ἀγροικιζόμενος μάλιστα. [19] ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰουστινιανὸς νέος ὦν ἔτι διωκεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ξύμπασαν καὶ γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις ξυμφορῶν αἴτιος, οἷας τε καὶ ὅσας ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα οὐδεὶς που πρότερον ἀκοῇ ἔλαβεν. [20] ἐς τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον φόνον καὶ χρημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἀλλοτρίων ῥᾶστα ἐχώρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μυριάδας πολλὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, καίπερ αὐτῷ αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν παρασχομένων. [21] καὶ φυλάσσειν μὲν τῶν καθεσταμένων οὐδὲν ἠξίου, ἅπαντα δὲ νεοχμοῦν ἐς αἰεὶ ἤθελε, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μέγιστος δὴ οὗτος ἦν [22] διαφθορεὺς τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων. τὸν μὲν οὖν λοιμὸν, ὅσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, καίπερ ἐπισκήψαντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, διέφυγον ἄνθρωποι οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ὅσοις διαφθαρῆναι τετύχηκεν, ἢ οὐδαμῇ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλόντες ἢ περιγενόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ σφίσις ἀλῶναι ξυνέβη. [23] ἄνδρα δὲ τοῦτον διαφυγεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι Ῥωμαίῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πάθος ὅλῳ τῷ γένει ἐπεισπεσὼν ἀνέπαφον οὐδένα παντελῶς εἶασε. [24] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔκτεινεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ πενία μαχομένους ἀφείξαι ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν τετελευτηκότων εἰργάζετο, εὐχομένους τὰ παρόντα σφίσι διαλυῖσαι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ. τινῶν μέντοι ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εἶλεν. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μόνην καταλυῖσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, Λιβύης τε καὶ Ἰταλίας οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦ ἔνεκα πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἴσχυσεν ἢ ὥστε ξὺν τοῖς πρότερον ὑφ' αὐτῷ οὕσι διολέσαι [26] τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους. οὕτω γοῦν δεκαταῖος εἰς τὴν δύναμιν γεγωνὼς Ἀμάντιον τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ἄρχοντα ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπενεγκὼν, πλην γε δὴ ὅτι ἐς Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα λόγον τινὰ προπετὴ εἶποι. [27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φοβερώτατος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Βιταλιανὸν τὸν τύραννον μετεπέμψατο, ᾧ δὴ τὰ πιστὰ πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας παρέσχετο, διαλαχὼν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Χριστιανοῖς μυστηρίων. [28] ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον ἐξ ὑποψίας αὐτῷ προσκεκρουκὸτα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐν Παλατίῳ λόγῳ οὐδενὶ διεχρήσατο, πίστει οὕτω δεινοτάτας ἐμπεδῶσαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιώσας.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς μοίρας δύο διεστηκότος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, μίαν αὐτὸς τὴν Βενέτων ἐταιρισάμενος, ἣ οἱ καὶ τὸ πρότερον κατεσπουδασμένη ἐτύγχανε, ξυγγεῖν τε καὶ ξυνταράξαι ἅπαντα ἴσχυσε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίους τὴν πολιτείαν πεποίηκεν. [2] οὐχ ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ Βένετοι ἐπισπένθαι τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γνώμῃ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι στασιῶται ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. [3] καὶ αὐτοὶ μέντοι προϊόντος ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ σωφρονέστατοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [4] ἐνδεεστέως γὰρ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμάρτανον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Πρασίνων οἱ στασιῶται ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπρασσον ἀεὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐς ὅσον σφίσι δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει, καίπερ κατὰ μόνας διηνεκὲς κολαζόμενοι. [5] ὅπερ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ θρασύνεσθαι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς ἀεὶ ἤγεν. ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ εἰώθασιν ἐς ἀπόνοιαν τρέπεσθαι ἄνθρωποι. [6] τότε οὖν τοὺς Βενέτους αὐτοῦ ῥιπίζοντός τε καὶ διαφανῶς ἐρεθίζοντος ἅπανα κατ' ἄκρας ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐκινήθη ὥσπερ σεισμοῦ ἢ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος ἢ πόλεως ἐκάστης πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλούσης. [7] πάντα γὰρ ἐν ἅπασι ξυνεταράχθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ ὁ τῆς πολιτείας κόσμος ξυγχύσεως ἐπιγενομένης ἐς πᾶν τουναντίον ἐχώρησαν. [8] Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς στασιώταις τὰ ἐς τὴν κόμην ἐς νεώτερόν τινα μετεβέβλητο τρόπον. ἀπεκείροντο γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις. [9] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μύστακος καὶ τοῦ γενείου οὐδαμῇ ἤπτοντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κατακομᾶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὥσπερ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐς ἀεὶ ἤθελον. [10] τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς κροτάφους ἀποτεμόμενοι τὰ ὀπισθεν ἀποκρέμασθαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον λόγῳ οὐδενὶ εἶων, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται. διὸ δὴ καὶ Οὐννικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκάλουν. [11] Ἐπειτα δὲ τὰ ἐς τὰ ἱμάτια εὐπάρυφοι ἠξίουσαν ἅπαντες εἶναι, κομπωδεστέραν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ἀξίαν ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὴν ἐσθῆτα. [12] κτᾶσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων παρῆν. τοῦ δὲ χιτῶνος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ χεῖρε μέρος αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν καρπὸν ξυνῆει σφίσιν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι ἐς ὅμον ἐκάτερον ἐς ἄφατόν τι εὖρους διεκέχυτο χρῆμα. [13] ὡσάκεις τε ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῖς σείοιτο ἀναβοῶσιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τε καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις, ἢ ἐγκελευομένοις, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐς ὕψος αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀτεχνῶς ἤρετο, αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενον τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς οὕτω καλόν τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀδρὸν εἶη ἂν, ὥστε δεῖν γε αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἱματίων καλύπτεσθαι, οὐκ ἐννοοῦσιν ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τῷ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡραιωμένῳ τε καὶ κενῷ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐξίτηλον διελεγχθεῖη. [14] αἱ ἐπωμίδες δὲ καὶ ἀναξυρίδες καὶ τῶν ὑποδημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ἐς τῶν Οὐννων τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπεκέκριτο σφίσιν. [15] Ἐσιδηροφόρου δὲ νύκτωρ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἅπαντες σχεδόν, ἐν δέ γε ἡμέρᾳ ξιφίδια παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν δίστομα ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ἀποκρυψάμενοι, ξυνιστάμενοί τε κατὰ συμμορίας, ἐπειδὰν ξυσκοτάζοι, ἐλωποδύτουν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἐν τε ὅλῃ ἀγορᾷ καὶ τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀφαιρούμενοι τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τὰ τε ἱμάτια καὶ ζώνας τε καὶ περόνας

χρυσᾶς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοιεν. [16] τινὰς δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἀρπαγῇ καὶ κτείνειν ἤξιουν, ὅπως μηδενὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀναγγείλωσιν. [17] οἷς δὴ ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν Βενέτων οἱ μὴ στασιῶται μάλιστα ἤχθοντο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἔμενον. [18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ζῶναις τε καὶ περόναις καὶ ἱματίοις πολλῶ ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὡς πλείστοι ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τῷ φιλοκάλῳ ἀπόλωνται, καὶ οὐπὼ δεδουκότος ἡλίου ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκρύπτοντο. [19] μηχανομένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐς τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας πρὸς τῆς τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς γινομένης ἐπὶ μέγα τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θράσος ἐς αἰεὶ ἦρετο. [20] ἁμαρτία γὰρ παρρησίας ἀξιοθεῖσα ἐπ' ἄπειρον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κολαζόμενα τὰ ἐγκλήματα φιλεῖ οὐκ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἀποκόπτεσθαι. [21] φύσει γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι ἐς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν εὐπετῶς τρέπονται. [22] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Βενέτων ἐφέρετο τῇδε. τῶν δὲ ἀντιστασιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέκλινον μοῖραν, ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ξυναμαρτάνειν τε καὶ μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην, οἱ δὲ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐς ἐτέρας τινὰς ἐλάνθανον χώρας: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ πρὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς κολαζόμενοι. [23] καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ νεανία πολλοὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐταιρίαν ξυνέρρεον οὐδεπώποτε πρότερον περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακότες, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεώς τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἐξουσία ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένοι. [24] οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν μίasma ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὠνομασμένον, ὅπερ οὐχ ἡμαρτήθη τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκτὸς ἔμεινε. [25] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σφῶν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας διεφθείρον, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν προσκεκρουκότας αὐτοῖς ἔκτεινον. [26] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἀναπείσαντες ἀπεδείκνυν τοὺς σφετέρους ἐχθροὺς, οὐσπερ ἐκεῖνοι διεχρῶντο εὐθὺς ὄνομα μὲν Πρασίνων αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκόντες, [27] ἀγνῶτας δὲ σφίσι παντάπασιν ὄντας. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν σκότῳ ἔτι οὐδ' ἐν παραβύστῳ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας καιροῖς, ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χώρῳ, ἀνδράσι τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις τῶν πρασσομένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντων. [28] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπικαλύπτειν ἐδέοντο τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ἐπεὶ τοι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπέκειτο κολάσεως δέος, ἀλλὰ τις προσῆν καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀξίωσις, ἰσχύος τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐμποιοιμένοις ἐπίδειξιν, ὅτι δὴ πληγῇ μιᾷ τῶν τινα παραπετωκότων γυμνὸν ἔκτεινον, ἐλπίς τε οὐδενὶ τοῦ ἔτι βιώσεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῆς διαίτης σφαλερῷ ἔμενε. [29] πάντες γὰρ ἐγκεῖσθαι σφίσι τὸν θάνατον τῷ περιδεεῖς εἶναι ὑπόπτεον, καὶ οὔτε τόπος τις ὄχυρός οὔτε καιρὸς ἐχέγγυός τινι ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν τιμωτάτοις κὰν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι λόγῳ οὐδενὶ διεφθείροντο, πίστις τε οὐδεμία πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλῇ ἔθνησκον. [30] Ζήτησις μέντοι οὐδεμία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ τὰ πάθη ἀπροσδόκητα πᾶσιν ἔπιπτε καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν οὐδεὶς ἦμυνε. [31] νόμου δέ τινος ἢ συμβολαίου δύναμις τις ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς τάξεως οὐκέτι ἐλέλειπτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον ἅπαντα τετραμμένα ξυνεταράχθη, τυραννίδι τε ἦν ἡ πολιτεία ἐμπερὴς μάλιστα, οὐ καθεστῶση μέντοι γε, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάστην τε ἀμειβομένη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀρχομένη. [32] τῶν τε ἀρχόντων αἱ γνώμαι ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμέναις ἐώκεσαν, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς φόβῳ δεδουλωμένων τὸ φρόνημα, οἱ τε δικάζοντες τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ποιούμενοι γνώσεις

τὰς ψήφους ἐδίδουσαν, οὐχ ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δίκαιά τε καὶ νόμιμα ἔναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν διαφερομένων ἐκάστῳ τὰ ἐκ τῶν στασιωτῶν δυσμενῆ τε καὶ φίλα ἐτύγγανεν ὄντα. δικαστῇ γὰρ ὀλιγορηκότι τῆς ἐκείνων προρρήσεως θάνατος ἢ ζημία ἐπέκειτο. [33] Καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν δανεισταὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα τοῖς ὠφληκόσι ζῆν βίᾳ πολλῇ οὐδὲν τοῦ ὀφλήματος κεκομισμένοι ἀπέδοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ οὔτι ἐκούσιοι ἐλευθέρους τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀφῆκαν. [34] φασὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκάς τινας πολλὰ ὦν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς αὐτῶν δούλοις ἀναγκασθῆναι. [35] ἤδη δὲ καὶ παῖδες οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτοις διὰ τοῖς νεανίαις ἀναμιχθέντες τοὺς πατέρας ἠνάγκαζον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὔτι ἐθελουσίους ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ χρήματα σφίσι προῖεσθαι. [36] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσιοι παῖδες τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς κοίτην ἀνοσίαν οὐκ ἀγνοούντων ἠναγκάσθησαν τῶν πατέρων ἐλθεῖν. [37] καὶ γυναῖξι μέντοι ἀνδράσι ξυνοικούσαις ταῦτόν τοῦτο ξυνέβη παθεῖν. καὶ λέγεται γυνὴ μία κόσμον περιβεβλημένη πολὺν πλεῖν μὲν ζῆν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τι προάστειον τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ ἡπεῖρῳ, ἐντυχόντων δὲ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ τῶν στασιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴν ζῆν ἀπειλῇ ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐς δὲ ἄκατον τὴν οἰκείαν ἐμβιβασάντων, ἐσελθεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκατον ζῆν τοῖς νεανίαις, ἐγκελευσαμένη τῷ ἀνδρὶ λάθρα ἀλλὰ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεδιέναι φαῦλον· [38] οὐ γάρ τι ξυμβήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ ὕβρισθῆναι· ἔτι δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ζῆν πένθει μεγάλα ἐς αὐτὴν βλέποντος ἐς τε τὴν θάλασσαν καθεῖναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [39] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ τούτοις διὰ τότε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τετολμημένα. ἥσσον δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἡνία ἢ τὰ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀμαρτηθέντα, ἐπεὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν κακούργων πεπονθόσι τὰ χαλεπώτατα μέρος ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς δι' ἀταξίας ἐμβάσης ἀνίας τὸ προσδοκᾶν αἰεὶ τὴν πρὸς τῶν νόμων τε καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τίσιν. [40] ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα εὐέλπιδες εἶναι ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὰ παρόντα σφίσι φέρουσιν ἄνθρωποι, βιαζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τῆς τῇ πολιτεία ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, περιαλγοῦσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐς αἰεὶ τρέπονται. [41] ἡμάρτανε δὲ οὐχ ὅτι μόνον προσποιεῖσθαι τοὺς κακουμένους ἥκιστα ἠθέλεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι προστάτης τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καθίστασθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου· [42] χρήματά τε γὰρ μεγάλα τοῖς νεανίαις τούτοις προῖετο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀξιώματα καλεῖν ἐδικαίου.

VIII

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράττετο καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νόσημα ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενον τὸ κακὸν πανταχῇ ἐπέσκηψε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [2] βασιλεῖ δὲ τῶν πρασσομένων ἡκιστα ἔμελεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τις αἰσθησις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγένετο, καίπερ αὐτόπτη τῶν δρωμένων ἐν τοῖς ἵπποδρομίῳις ἀεὶ γινομένων. [3] ἡλίθιός τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἦν καὶ νωθεὶ ὄνῳ ἐμφερῆς μάλιστα καὶ οἷος τῷ τὸν χαλινὸν ἔλκοντι ἔπεσθαι, συχνὰ οἱ σειομένων τῶν ὧτων. [4] Ἰουστινιανὸς ταῦτά τε ἔπρασσε καὶ ξύμπαντα τᾶλλα ἐκύκα. ὅσπερ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐπελάβετο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχῆς, χρήματα μὲν τὰ δημόσια εὐθὺς καταναλοῦν κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν ἅτε αὐτῶν κύριος γεγονώς. [5] Οὕννων γὰρ τοῖς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνουσι πλείστα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προΐετο: ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐφόδοις ἀποκεῖσθαι συχναῖς ξυνέβαινε [6] Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἀπογευσάμενοι γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι Ῥωμαίων πλούτου μεθίεσθαι οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο τῆς ἐνταῦθα φερούσης ὁδοῦ. [7] Πολλὰ δὲ ρίπτειν καὶ ἐς θαλαττίους οἰκοδομίας τινὰς ἡξίου, βιαζόμενος τὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐς ἀεὶ ρόθιον. [8] ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἡόνος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει φιλονείκως ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἐπιρροαῖς ἔχων καὶ καθάπερ ἐξουσία πλούτου πρὸς τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος δύναμιν. [9] τὰς τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδίας ἐκάστων οὐσίας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἤγειρε, τοῖς μὲν ὃ τι δὴ ἐγκλημα οὐχ ἁμαρτηθὲν ἐπικαλέσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἅτε αὐτὸν δεδωρημένων τερατευσάμενος. [10] πολλοὶ δὲ φόνων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων τοιούτων ἀλόντες, εἴτα ἐξιστάμενοι αὐτῷ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων διέφυγον ὧν ἥμαρτον μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην: [11] ἕτεροι δὲ χωρίων, οὐ δέον, τοῖς πέλας τινῶν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀμφισβητοῦντες, ἐπεὶ καταδικαιτήσασθαι τῶν ἀντιδίκων οὐδαμῇ εἶχον τοῦ νόμου σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, οἱ δὲ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀντιλεγόμενοις αὐτὸν δωρησάμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, αὐτοὶ μὲν χάριτι ἀζημίῳ κερδάναντες τὸ γνῶριμοι γεγονέναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, τρόπῳ δὲ παρανομωτάτῳ καταδικάσασθαι τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἰσχύσαντες. [12] Οὐκ ἄπο δὲ καιροῦ ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ εἶδος τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σημῆναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα οὔτε μακρὸς οὔτε κολοβὸς ἄγαν, ἀλλὰ μέτριος ἦν, οὐ μέντοι ἰσχνός, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ εὖσαρκος, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὄψιν στρογγύλος τε καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφος: ἐπυρρία γὰρ καὶ δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ἀπόσιτος ὢν. [13] ὅπως δὲ ἅπαν αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος συλλήβδην σημῆνω, Δομετιανῷ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παιδὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐμφερέστερος ἦν, οὐπερ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς κακοτροπίας ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπώναντο ὥστε οὐδὲ κρεουργήσαντες ὅλον ἐκλῦσαι τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ δόγμα ἐγεγόνει τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς μηδὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου ἐν γράμμασιν εἶναι μηδ' εἰκόνα ἠντιναοῦν αὐτοῦ διασώζεσθαι. [14] τό τε γοῦν ὄνομα τοῦτο πανταχόσε ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης γραμμάτων καὶ εἴ που ἄλλη τοῦτο γεγράφθαι ξυνέβη ἐκκεκολαμμένον ἰδεῖν μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων πάρεστι μόνον, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν οὐδαμῇ φαίνεται οὔσα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅτι μὴ χαλκῇ μία ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. [15] ἦν τῷ Δομετιανῷ γυνὴ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ἄλλως κοσμία, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὴ κακὸν τι οὐδένα εἰργάσατο πώποτε τῶν πάντων

ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε τις αὐτῇ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράξεων ἤρεσκε. [16] διόπερ αὐτὴν ἄγαν ἀγαπωμένην ἢ βουλή τότε μεταπεμψαμένη αἰτεῖσθαι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη ἐκέλευεν. [17] ἡ δὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἰκέτευε, τό τε Δομετιανοῦ σῶμα λαβοῦσα θάψαι καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ ἀναθεῖναι εἰκόνα χαλκῇν, ὅποι ἂν ἐθέλοι. [18] καὶ ἡ μὲν βουλή ξυνεχώρει ταῦτα: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας τῶν τὸν ἄνδρα κρεουργησάντων ἀπολεῖναι βουλομένη [19] μνημεῖα τῷ ὀπισθεν χρόνῳ ἐπενόει τάδε. τὰ Δομετιανοῦ ξυλλεξαμένη κρέα, ξυνθεῖσά τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἐναρμوسαμένη ἐς ἄλληλα κατέρραψε μὲν τὸ σῶμα ὅλον, τοῖς δὲ πλάσταις ἐνδειξαμένη ἐν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τὸ πάθος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἐκέλευεν. [20] οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῖται τὴν εἰκόνα εὐθὺς ἐποίουν. λαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φεροῦσης ἀνόδου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνταῦθα ἰόντι, εἰδὸς τε τὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος δηλοῦσαν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. [21] εἰκάσειεν ἂν τις τό τε ἄλλο Ἰουστινιανοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ τοῦ προσώπου ἅπαντα ἦθι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰκόνι διαφανῶς εἶναι. [22] Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶδος τοιοῦτός τις ἦν: τὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐς μὲν τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἂν φράσαιμι. ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε καὶ εὐπαράγωγος, ὃν δὴ μωροκακοήθη καλοῦσιν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀληθιζόμενος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ νῶ δολερῶ ἅπαντα ἐς αἰεὶ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων, καὶ τοῖς ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέλουσιν ἀποκείμενος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [23] καὶ τις ἀήθης κρᾶσις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπεφύκει ἐκ τε ἀνοίας καὶ κακοτροπίας ξυγκεκραμένη. καὶ τάχα τοῦτο ἦν ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις τῶν τις ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων ἀπεφθέγγατο, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῶν χρωμάτων τῇ μίξει. [24] γράφω μέντοι ὧν μοι ἐφικέσθαι οὐ δυνατὸν γέγονεν. ἦν τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εἴρων, δολερὸς, κατάπλαστος, σκότιος ὀργὴν, διπλοῦς, ἀνθρωπος δεινὸς, ὑποκρίνασθαι γνώμην τελεώτατος, καὶ δάκρυα οὐχ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τινος ἢ πάθους ἐκφέρων, ἀλλὰ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ καιροῦ κατὰ τὸ τῆς χρείας παρὸν, ψευδόμενος ἐς αἰεὶ, οὐκ εἰκὴ μέντοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα καὶ ὅρκους δεινοτάτους ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυγκειμένοις πεποιημένος, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς κατηκόους τοὺς αὐτοῦ. [25] ἀνεχώρει δὲ τῶν τε ὁμολογημένων καὶ ὁμωσομένων εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὰ χεῖριστα, δέει τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσι βασάνων διώμοτα εἰς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἡγμένα. [26] φίλος ἀβέβαιος, ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, φόνων τε καὶ χρημάτων διάπυρος ἐραστής, δύσερίς τε καὶ νεωτεροποιὸς μάλιστα, ἐς μὲν τὰ κακὰ εὐπαράγωγος, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ οὐδεμιᾷ ξυμβουλῇ ἦκων, ἐπινοῆσαι μὲν τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ὀξὺς, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ αὐτὴν που τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀλμυρὰν εἶναι οἰόμενος. [27] πῶς ἂν τις τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρόπων ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸς εἴη; ταῦτα τε καὶ πολλὰ ἔτι μείζω κακὰ οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἔχων ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἢ φύσις ἐδόκει τὴν κακοτροπίαν ἀφελομένη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταθέσθαι ψυχῇ. [28] ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς μὲν τὰς διαβολὰς εὐκολὸς ἄγαν, ἐς δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας ὀξὺς. οὐ γάρ τι πώποτε διερευνησάμενος ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας τοῦ διαβάλλοντος τὴν γνώσιν εὐθὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔγνω. [29] ἔγραφέ τε γράμματα οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει, χωρίων τε ἀλώσεις καὶ πόλεων ἐμπρησμούς καὶ ὅλων ἐθνῶν ἀνδραποδισμούς ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχοντα. [30] ὥστε εἴ τις ἄνωθεν ἅπαντα τὰ Ῥωμαίους ξυνεγεχθέντα σταθμώμενος

ἀντισηκοῦν αὐτὰ τούτοις ἐθέλοι, δοκεῖ μοι ἂν πλείω φόνον εὐρέσθαι ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε ξυμβάντα ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ αἰῶνι γεγενῆσθαι τετύχηκε. ^[31] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χρημάτων ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀναίσθητον κτῆσιν ἀοκνότατος ἦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σκῆψιν ἡξίου τινὰ παραπέτασμα τοῦ δικαίου προβεβλημένος τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ἐπιβατεύειν· γενομένων δὲ οἰκείων ἐτοιμότατος ἦν ἀλογίστῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ περιφρονεῖν τε καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προῖεσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. ^[32] καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χρήματα οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ἄλλον τινὰ ἔχειν τῶν ἀπάντων εἶα, ὥσπερ οὐ φιλοχρηματίας ἡσώμενος, ἀλλὰ φθόνῳ ἐς τοὺς ταῦτα κεκτημένους ἐχόμενος. ^[33] ἐξοικίσας οὖν ῥᾶστα τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς πενίας δημιουργὸς ἅπασι γέγονεν.

IX

Ἰουστινιανῷ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι φράσαι τῇδέ
πι εἶχεν. ἔγχε δὲ γυναῖκα, ἡ ὄντινα τρόπον γενομένη τε καὶ τραφεῖσα καὶ
τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς γάμον ξυναφθεῖσα πρόρριζον Ῥωμαίους τὴν πολιτείαν
ἐξέτριπεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [2] Ἀκάκιος ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θηριοκόμος τῶν ἐν
κυνηγεσίῳ θηρίων μοίρας Πρασίνων, ὃνπερ ἀρκοτρόφον καλοῦσιν. [3] οὗτος ὁ
ἀνὴρ Αναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ παίδων
οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων τριῶν θήλεος γένους, Κομιτοῦς τε καὶ Θεοδώρας καὶ
Ἀναστασίας, ὃνπερ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη οὕπῳ ἐπταετὴς γεγονυῖα ἐτύγγανεν. [4] ἡ δὲ
γυνὴ ἐκπεσοῦσα ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ὃς δὴ ζὺν αὐτῇ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν
οἰκίαν καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλεν. [5] ὁ δὲ τῶν
Πρασίνων ὀρχηστῆς Ἀστέριος ὄνομα χρήμασι πρὸς ἐτέρου ἀναπεισθεὶς
τούτους μὲν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀπέστησε, τὸν δὲ οἱ τὰ χρήματα δόντα ἐς αὐτὴν
ἀντεκατέστησεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. τοῖς γὰρ ὀρχησταῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξῆν διοικεῖσθαι
κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἢ βούλονται. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ζύμπαντα ἡ γυνὴ ἐν
κυνηγεσίῳ ἀγηγεμένον εἶδε, στέμματα ταῖς παισὶν ἐν τε τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ
ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνθεμένη ἐς τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐκάθισεν. [7] ἀλλ' οἱ Πράσινοι
μὲν προσίσθαι τὴν ἱκετείαν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, Βένετοι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ
κατεστήσαντο τῆς τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ ὁ θηριοκόμος ἐτετελευτήκει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔναγχος.
[8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παιδία ταῦτα ἐς ἥβην ἦλθε, καθῆκεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα
σκηνῆς αὐτίκα ἡ μήτηρ, ἐπεὶ εὐπρεπεῖς τὴν ὄψιν ἦσαν, οὐ μέντοι ὑπὸ χρόνον
τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάσας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκάστη ἔδοξεν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ὠραία εἶναι. [9]
ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη Κομιτὴ ἤδη ἐν ταῖς καθ' αὐτὴν ἐταίραις λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει·
Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ μετ' ἐκείνην χιτωνίσκον χειριδωτὸν ἀμπεχομένη δούλῳ παιδὶ
πρέποντα τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπηρετοῦσα εἶπετο καὶ τὸ βάθρον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀεὶ
ἔφερεν, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἐκείνη ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καθῆσθαι εἴωθε. [10] τέως μὲν οὖν
ἄωρος οὖσα ἡ Θεοδώρα ἐς κοίτην ἀνδρὶ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ οἷα γυνὴ
μίγνυσθαι· ἡ δὲ τοῖς κακοδαιμονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν τινὰ μισητίαν ἀνεμίσγετο, καὶ
ταῦτα δούλοις, ὅσοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπόμενοι ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάρεργον τῆς
οὔσης αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρίας τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦτον εἰργάζοντο, ἔν τε μαστροπείῳ
πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ παρὰ φύσιν ἐργασίᾳ τοῦ σώματος
διατριβὴν εἶχεν. [11] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἔς τε τὴν ἥβην ἀφίκετο καὶ ὠραία ἦν
ἤδη, εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καθῆκεν αὐτὴν, ἐταῖρα τε εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει, οἷανπερ οἱ
πάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλουν πεζήν. [12] οὐ γὰρ αὐλήτρια οὐδὲ ψάλτρια ἦν, οὐ μὴν
οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν αὐτῇ ἥσκητο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῖς ἀεὶ
περιπίπτουσιν ἀπεδίδοτο μόνον ἐκ παντὸς ἐργαζομένη τοῦ σώματος. [13] εἴτα
τοῖς μίμοις τὰ ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάντα ὠμίλει καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτηδευμάτων
μετεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, γελωτοποιοῖς τισὶ βωμολοχίαις ὑπηρετοῦσα. ἦν γὰρ ἀστεία
διαφερόντως καὶ σκώπτρια, ἀπόβλεπτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει. [14] οὐ
γὰρ τινος αἰδοῦς τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ μετὴν ἢ διατραπεῖσάν τις αὐτὴν πώποτε εἶδεν,
ἀλλ' ἐς ἀναισχύντους ὑπουργίας οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐχώρει, καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἦν
οἷα ραπιζομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ κόρρης πατασσομένη χαριεντίζειν τε καὶ

μέγιστα ἀνακαγχάζειν, ἀποδυσασμένη τε τὰ τε πρόσω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γυμνὰ ἐπιδείξει, ἃ τοῖς ἀνδράσι θέμις ἄδηλά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ εἶναι. [15] Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐχλεύαζε τε βλακεύουσα καὶ νεωτέραις ἀεὶ τῶν μίξεων ἐνδιαθρυπτομένη ἐπιτεχνήσεται παραστήσασθαι τὰς τῶν ἀκολάστων ψυχὰς ἐς ἀεὶ ἴσχυεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχανόντων ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν αὐτὴ γελοιάζουσα τε καὶ βομολόχως ἰσχιάζουσα τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἅπαντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀγενεῖους ὄντας ἐπέειρα. [16] ἦσσαν γάρ τις οὕτως ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης οὐδαμῇ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς ξυναγώγιμον δεῖπνον πολλάκις ἐλθοῦσα ξὺν νεανίαις δέκα, ἢ τούτων πλείοσιν, ἰσχύι τε σώματος ἀκμάζουσι λίαν καὶ τὸ λαγνεῦειν πεποιημένοις ἔργον, ξυνεκοιτάζετο μὲν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἅπασι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην, ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πάντες ἀπέπειοιεν, ἦδε παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκέτας ἰοῦσα τριάκοντα ὄντας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνεδυάζετο μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, κόρον δὲ οὐδ' ὥς ταύτης δὴ τῆς μισητίας ἐλάμβανε. [17] Καί ποτε ἐς τῶν τινος ἐπιφανῶν οἰκίαν ἐλθοῦσα μεταξὺ τοῦ πότου θεωμένων αὐτὴν, ὥς φασι, τῶν ξυμποτῶν ἀπάντων, ἐς τὸ προὔχον ἀναβᾶσα τῆς κλίνης ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν ἀνασύρασα τε τὰ ἱμάτια οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [18] ἢ δὲ κάκ τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ φύσει, δυσφορομένη ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τιθοὺς αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἢ νῦν εἰσι τρυπῶν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλην ἐνταῦθα μίξιν ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι δυνατὴ εἴη. [19] καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ἐκῦει, πάντα δὲ σχεδὸν τεχνάζουσα ἐξαμβλίσκειν εὐθὺς ἴσχυε. [20] Πολλάκις δὲ κὰν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπὸ θεατῇ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ γυμνὴ διὰ μέσου ἐγένετο, ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχουσα μόνον, οὐχ ὅτι μέντοι ἡσχύνετο καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ δεικνύναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνταῦθα γυμνῷ παντάπασι παριέναι οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀμφὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχοντι. οὕτω μέντοι τοῦ σχήματος ἔχουσα, [21] ἀναπεπτωκυῖα τε ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει ὑπτία ἔκειτο. θῆτες δὲ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὸ ἔργον τόδε ἐνέκειτο, κριθὰς αὐτῇ ὑπερθεῖν τῶν αἰδοίων ἐρρίπτουν, ἃς δὴ οἱ χῆνες, οἱ ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγγανον, τοῖς στόμασιν ἐνθένδε κατὰ μίαν ἀνελόμενοι ἦσθιον. [22] ἢ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσα ἐξανίστατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πράξει ἐώκει. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναισχυντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναισχυντοποιὸς πάντων μάλιστα. [23] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποδυσασμένη ξὺν τοῖς μίμοις ἐν μέσῳ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς λорδουμένη τε καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ἀποκεντῶσα τοῖς τε διάπειραν αὐτῆς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς οὐπῶ πεπλησιακόσι τὰ ἐκ παλαιστρας τῆς αὐτῇ εἰωθυίας βρενθυομένη. [24] οὕτω δὲ ἀκολάστως ἐς τὸ σῶμα τὸ αὐτῆς ὕβριζεν, ὥστε τὴν αἰδῶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῆς φύσεως χώρα κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ ἔχειν ἐδόκει. [25] οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτῇ πλησιάζοντες ἐνδηλοὶ εὐθὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ κατὰ νόμον τῆς φύσεως τὰς μίξεις ποιοῦνται: ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων ἐντύχοιεν, ἀποκλινόμενοι σπουδῇ ὑπεχώρουν, μή του τῶν ἱματίων τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀψάμενοι μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ μιάσματος τούτου δόξειαν. [26] ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός. ἐς μέντοι τὰς συνθεατρίας ἀγριώτατα εἰώθει ἐς ἀεὶ σκορπιαίνεσθαι: βασκανία γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο. [27] Ἐκηβόλῳ δὲ ὕστερον Τυρίῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντι Πενταπόλεως ἐς τὰ αἰσχιστα

ὕπηρετήσουσα εἶπετο, ἀλλὰ τι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσκεκρουκυῖα ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλαύνετο: διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἀπορεῖσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ξυνέπεσεν, ἅπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπορίζετο τὴν ἐς τὸ σῶμα παρανομίαν, ἥπερ εἶηστο, ἐργαζομένη.

[28] ἐς μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὰ πρῶτα ἦκεν. ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἕω περιελθοῦσα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανῆκεν, ἐργασία χρωμένη ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη, ἣν γε ὀνομάζοντι, οἶμαι, ἀνθρώπῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἴλεως ὁ θεὸς εἴη, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ δαίμονος χῶρόν τινα τῆς Θεοδώρας ἀκολασίας ἀγνῶτα εἶναι.

[29] Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τετέχθαι τε τῇδε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τετράφθαι ξυνέβη καὶ ἐς δημοσίους πολλὰς διαβοήτῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [30] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον αὐθις, ἡράσθη αὐτῆς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπλησίαζεν ὡς ἐρωμένη, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἀναγαγὼν ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα. [31] δύναμιν τοίνυν ἐξαισίαν τινὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐπεικῶς μεγάλα περιβαλέσθαι ἡ Θεοδώρα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσε. πάντων γὰρ ἥδιστον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐφαίνετο, ὃ δὴ ξυμβαίνειν τοῖς ἐκτόπως ἐρῶσι φιλεῖ, χάριτάς τε πάσας καὶ χρήματα πάντα τῇ ἐρωμένη χαρίζεσθαι. [32] ἐγένετό τε ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ ἔρωτος τοῦδε ὑπέκκαυμα. ξὺν αὐτῇ τοίνυν πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν δῆμον διέφθειρεν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν. [33] ἄμφω γὰρ μοίρας τῆς Βενέτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς στασιώταις τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν πράγματα ἔθεντο. [34] χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ κακοῦ ἐλελωφῆκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [35] Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ἐν δὲ τῇ νόσῳ ταύτῃ ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὅτι δὴ ἀποθάνοι: οἱ μέντοι στασιῶται ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἡμάρτανον, καὶ τινα Ὑπάτιον οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα δι' ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερῷ διεχρήσαντο. [36] ἐξεργασμένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ταραχῇ ἐς βασιλέα ἦλθε, τῶν τε ἁμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος, ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀπουσίας ἐλάβετο, τὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀτοπίαν ἐπὶ μέγα αἶρειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα, ὅσα δὴ γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. [37] τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχῳ ἐπέστελλε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάντων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τίσεις. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Θεόδοτος ὄνομα, ὃνπερ Κολοκύνθιον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν. [38] καὶ ὃς διερευνώμενος ἅπαντα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν κακούργων ἐλεῖν τε καὶ διαχρήσασθαι νόμῳ ἴσχυσε, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαλαθόντες [39] ἐσώθησαν. μετὰ γὰρ ἐπιαπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς πράγμασι Ῥωμαίων ἔδει. ὁ δὲ παράδοξον διασωθεὶς ἐξάπινα σωτηρίαν καὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον κτείνειν ἅτε φαρμακέα καὶ μάγον εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρει. [40] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅτῳ ποτὲ προσχήματι χρώμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαφθείρειε, τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος ἠνάγκαζε λόγους ὡς ἥκιστα ὑγιεῖς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ φθέγγεσθαι. [41] πάντων δὲ οἱ ἐκποδῶν ἰσταμένων καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν ἐς τὸν Θεόδοτον ὀδυρομένων ἐπιβουλήν, μόνος ὁ Πρόκλος τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιστωρος ἔχων ἀρχὴν καθαρὸν ἀπέφαινε τοῦ ἐγκλήματος εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θανάτου οὐδαμῇ ἄξιον. [42] διὸ δὴ ὁ Θεόδοτος ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλέως κομίζεται γνώμη. γνοὺς δὲ ἦκειν τινὰς ἐνταῦθα, οἵπερ αὐτὸν διαφθεροῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἦν κρυπτόμενος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, οὕτω τε διαβιὸς ἐτελεύτησε. [43] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἁμφὶ Θεοδότῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. οἱ δὲ στασιῶται σωφρονέστατοι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐγένοντο ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [44] οὐ

γάρ ἔτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἠνεύχοντο, καίπερ σφίσι παρὸν ἀδεέστερον
τῇ ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν παρανομία χρηῖσθαι. [45] τεκμήριον δέ: ὀλίγων γάρ τινων
ὑστερον τόλμαν τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐνδειξαμένων τίσις οὐδεμία ἐς αὐτοὺς γέγονεν. [46]
οἱ γὰρ τοῦ κολάζειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀεὶ ἔχοντες παρρησίαν τοῦ διαλανθάνειν
τοῖσδε τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένοις παρείχοντο, ταύτῃ αὐτοὺς τῇ ξυγχωρήσει ἐς τὸ
τοῖς νόμοις ἐπεμβαίνειν ἐνάγοντες. [47] Ἔως μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλὶς περιῆν ἔτι,
γυναῖκα ἐγγυητὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ποιήσασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ
εἶχεν. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μόνον ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, καίπερ ἀντιστατοῦσα
τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν. [48] πονηρίας μὲν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπωτάτω οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν,
ἄγροικος δὲ ἦν κοιμῶν καὶ βάρβαρος γένος, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται. [49]
ἀντιλαβέσθαι τε ἀρετῆς οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπειροτάτῃ οὕσα διατετέλεκε
τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων, ἥ γε οὐδὲ ξὺν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ αὐτῆς ἰδίῳ
ἄτε καταγελάστῳ ὄντι ἐς Παλάτιον ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' Εὐφημία ἐπικληθεῖσα. χρόνῳ
δὲ ὑστερον τῇ βασιλίδι μὲν ἀπογενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. [50] ὁ δὲ ἡλιθιάζων τε καὶ
κοιμῶν ἐσχατογέρων γενόμενος, πρὸς τῶν ἀρχομένων γέλωτα ὤφλεν,
ὀλιγοψία τε πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντες ἄτε τῶν πρασσομένων οὐ
ξυνιέντος, ὑπερεώρων, Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ἐθεράπευον. κυκῶν
γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ ξυνταράσσων ἀνεσόβει ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα. [51] τότε δὴ τὴν ἐγγύην
πρὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ἐνεχέειν ποιεῖν. ἀδύνατον δὲ ὄν ἄνδρα ἐς ἀξίωμα βουλῆς
ἦκοντα ἐταίρα γυναικὶ ξυνοικίζεσθαι, νόμοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς παλαιότατοις
ἀπορρηθὲν, λῦσαί τε τοὺς νόμους τὸν βασιλέα νόμῳ ἐτέρῳ ἠνάγκασε καὶ τὸ
ἐνθένδε ἄτε γαμετῇ τῇ Θεοδώρα ξυνώκησε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν βάσιμον
κατεστήσατο τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐταίρας ἐγγύην, τυραννῶν τε αὐτίκα ἐπεβάτευε τῆς
τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τιμῆς προσχήματι συμπεπλασμένῳ τῆς πράξεως
ἐπικαλύπτων τὸ βίαιον. [52] ἀνείπον γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ θεῷ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων, εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, δειμάτων περιουσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἡγμένοι τὴν
ψηφον. [53] παρέλαβον τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανὸς τε καὶ Θεοδώρα
πρότερον τῆς Πασχαλίας ἑορτῆς ἡμέραις τρισίν, ὅτε δὴ οὔτε ἀσπάσασθαι τῶν
φίλων τινὰ οὔτε εἰρηναῖα προσεῖπεῖν ἔξεστιν. [54] ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς
ὑστερον Ἰουστίνος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούς ἔτη ἐννέα, μόνος
δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ξὺν Θεοδώρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

Οὕτω γοῦν ἡ Θεοδώρα, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τεχθεῖσά τε καὶ τεθραμμένη καὶ
 παιδευθεῖσα ἐς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐμποδισθεῖσα ἦλθεν. [2] οὐδὲ
 γὰρ τῷ γήμαντι ὕβρεώς τις οἴησις γέγονεν, εἴ οἱ παρὸν ἐκ πάσης
 ἀπολεξαμένῃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς γαμετὴν γυναικὰ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πασῶν
 γυναικῶν μάλιστα εὖ τε γεγυῖαν καὶ τροφῆς κρυφαίου μεταλαχοῦσαν, τοῦ
 τε αἰδεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀμελέτητον γεγεννημένην, καὶ σωφροσύνη ξυμφικισμένην,
 πρὸς δὲ τῷ κάλλει ὑπερφυᾷ καὶ παρθένον τινὰ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον
 ὀρθότιτθον οὔσαν. [3] ὁ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἄγος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ ἴδιον
 πεποιῆσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου, ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν προδεδηλωμένων καταδύμενος, καὶ
 γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν ἄλλα τε περιβεβλημένη μεγάλα μιάσματα καὶ
 παιδοκτονίας πολλὰς ἐθελουσίῳ ἀμβλώσεων. ἄλλο τέ μοι ἐνδεῖν ἦθους πέρι
 μνημονεῦσαι τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν οἶμαι. [4] ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ
 τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη οὗτος ἂν ἀξιοχρεῶς ὁ γάμος σημῆναι διαρκῶς εἶη, ἐρμηνεύς
 τε καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ τρόπου καὶ λογογράφος γινόμενος. [5] ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἀλογήσας
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἀπαξιοῖ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι βδελυρὸς
 φαίνεσθαι, τούτῳ δὴ οὐδεμία παρανομίας ἀτραπὸς ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 ἀναίδειαν ἀεὶ τοῦ μετώπου προβεβλημένος ῥᾶστά τε καὶ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐς τῶν
 πράξεων τὰς μιαιωτάτας χωρεῖ. [6] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τις ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς
 τὸ αἷσχος τοῦτο ἀναδουμένην τὴν πολιτείαν ὀρῶν δυσφορεῖσθαι τε καὶ τὴν
 πρᾶξιν ἀπειπεῖν ἔγνω, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἴσα θεῷ προσκυνήσοντες. [7] ἀλλ'
 οὐδέ τις ἱερεὺς δεινοπαθῶν ἐνδηλος γέγονε, καὶ ταῦτα δέσποιναν αὐτὴν
 προσερεῖν μέλλοντες. [8] καὶ ὁ πρότερον αὐτῆς θεατῆς δῆμος δοῦλος εὐθύς
 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αὐτῆς εἶναι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ὑπτίαις ἐδικαίου χερσίν. [9] οὐδέ
 τις στρατιώτης ἡγρίωτο, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς
 Θεοδώρας πραγμάτων ὑφίστασθαι μέλλοι οὐδέ τις αὐτῇ ἄλλος ἀπῆντησε τῶν
 ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πάντες, οἶμαι, τῷ ταῦτα οὕτω δεδόσθαι κεκλιμένοι
 ἐνεχώρησαν ξυμπεραίνεσθαι τὸ μίasma τοῦτο, ὥσπερ τῆς τύχης ἐπίδειξιν τῆς
 δυνάμεως πεποιημένης, ἥ δὴ ἅπαντα πρυτανευοῦση τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὥς ἥκιστα
 μέλει οὔτε ὅπως ἂν τὰ πραττόμενα εἰκότα εἶη οὔτε ὅπως ἂν ταῦτα κατὰ λόγον
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγενῆσθαι δοκῇ. [10] ἐπαίρει γοῦν τινα ἐξαπινάϊως ἀλογίστῳ
 τινὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς ὕψος μέγα, ὥπερ ἐναντιώματα μὲν πολλὰ ξυμπεπλέχθαι δοκεῖ,
 ἀντιστατῇ δὲ παρὰ τι ἔργον τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ἄγεται μηχανῇ πάσῃ ὅπῃ
 ποτὲ αὐτῇ διατέτακται, ἀπάντων ἐτοίμως ἐξισταμένων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων
 προΐούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ ἐχέτω τε καὶ
 λεγέσθω. [11] Ἡ δὲ Θεοδώρα εὐπρόσωπος μὲν ἦν καὶ εὐχαρις ἄλλως, κολοβὸς
 δὲ καὶ ὠρακιῶσα οὐ παντάπασιν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπόχλωρος εἶναι, γοργόν τε καὶ
 συνεστραμμένον ἀεὶ βλέπουσα. [12] τῶν δὲ δὴ αὐτῇ βεβιωμένων ἐν τῇ θυμέλῃ
 τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα λέγοντι οὐκ ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐπαρκέσαι, ὀλίγα δὲ ἅττα ἐν τοῖς
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς τρόπου τοῖς
 ἐπιγεννησομένοις ὅλην ἂν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν δήλωσιν ἱκανὸς εἶην. [13] νῦν δὲ
 αὐτῆς καὶ τάνδρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐν ὀλίγῳ δηλωτέον ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τι

ἀλλήλοιν χωρὶς ἐς τὴν δαίταν ἐπραξάτην. [14] χρόνον μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἔδοξαν ἅπανι ταῖς τε γνώμαις ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοιν ἰέναι, ὕστερον μὲντοι ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοῖν ξυμπεπλάσθαι ἡ δόκησις αὕτη ἐγνώσθη, τοῦ μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντας τοὺς κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐπαναστῆναι, ἀλλὰ διεστάναι τὰς γνώμας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπασι. [15] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς διαναστήσαντε καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔν γε τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις σκηπτομένῳ ἀλλήλοιν ἰέναι διεσπᾶσαντο οὕτως ἅπαντας, ὥσπερ μοι λελέξεται οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στασιώτας διείλοντο. [16] καὶ ἡ μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῶν Βενέτων ἐπλάσσετο καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ἀναπετάσασα ἐνεδίδου κόσμῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐξαμαρτάνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὰ ἀνήκεστα. [17] ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντι μὲν καὶ ἀποσκύζοντι λάθρα ἐφάκει, κελεύθῳ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἀντιστατεῖν οὐχ οἶφ' τε ὄντι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεταμπισχόμενοι τὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι δόξαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἦσαν. [18] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Βενέτους οἷα ἐξαμαρτάνοντας κολάζειν ἠξίου, ἡ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπαίνουσα ἐδυσφορεῖτο ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἔκοῦσα τάνδρὸς ἡσσηθείη. [19] Τῶν μὲντοι Βενέτων οἱ στασιῶται, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, σωφρονέστατοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ πέλας βιάζεσθαι ὅσα ἐξῆν οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουν, ἐν τε ταῖς περὶ τὰς δίκας φιλονεικίαις ἐδόκει μὲν ἑκάτερος ἐνὶ τῶν διαφόρων ἀμύνειν, νικᾶν δὲ αὐτοῖν τὸν λόγῳ τῷ ἀδίκῳ ξυνιστάμενον ἐπάναγκες ἦν: οὕτω δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα χρημάτων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ληΐζεσθαι. [20] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ὁδε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῷ καταλέγων ἐπιτηδεύοις ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐνεβίβαζε τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τε καὶ εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἃ βούλοιντο, ἐπειδὴν δὲ πλούτου τι μέγα χρῆμα περιβεβλημένοι φανεῖεν, εὐθύς τι προσκεκρουκότες τῇ γυναικὶ διάφοροι ἦσαν. [21] ὣν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μεταποιεῖσθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεθεῖς εὖνοιαν τὰ ἐς τὴν σπουδὴν τάραχος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐγίνετο. [22] καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτίκα εἰργάζετο αὐτοὺς ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὁ δὲ διῆθεν οὐκ ἐπαισθανόμενος τῶν πραττομένων σύμπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν οὐσίαν κτήσει ἀναισχύντῳ ἡσπάζετο. [23] τούτοις τε ἀεὶ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐν σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ξυμφρονοῦντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐμφανὲς στασιάζειν ποιοῦμενοι, διαστήσασθαι τε τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα βεβαιοτάτα κρατύνεσθαι ἔσχον.

XI

Ἐπειδὴ οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, συγχεῖν ἅπαντα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσεν. ἃ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν νόμῳ ἀπορρηθέντα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσηγε, τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ ξυνειθισμένα καθελὼν ζύμπαντα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κεκομισμένοις τὸ τῆς βασιλείας σχῆμα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἅπαντα μεταλλάσσοι ἐφ' ἑτερον σχῆμα. [2] ἀρχάς τε γὰρ τὰς μὲν οὐσας ἀνῆρει, τὰς δὲ οὐκ οὐσας ἐφίστη τοῖς πράγμασι: τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐποίει, οὐ τῷ δικαίῳ εἰκὼν οὐδὲ τῷ ζυμφορῷ ἐς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ ἅπαντα νεώτερά τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμα εἶη. ἦν δέ τι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐν τῷ παρατύτῳ ἡκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθετο. [3] Χρημάτων δὲ ἀρπαγῆς ἢ φόνου ἀνθρώπων κόρος αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλ' οἰκίας μὲν παμπληθεῖς ληϊσάμενος εὐδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρας ἐξίτηι, προέμενος εὐθὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τισιν, ἢ ἀνοήτοις οἰκοδομίαις λείας τῆς προτέρας τὰ χρήματα. [4] καὶ μυρίους δὲ ἴσως λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνελὼν ἐς πλείονων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλήν αὐτίκα μάλα καθίστατο. [5] εἰρήνης τοίνυν Ῥωμαίοις οὔσης ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἔχων ὅστις γένηται τῶν φόνων ἐπιθυμία πάντας βαρβάρους πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους ξυνέκρουε, τῶν δὲ Οὐννων τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς μετακαλῶν χρήματα μεγάλα σφίσιν ἀτόπῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ προῖετο, φιλίας ἐνέχυρα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ταῦτα ποιούμενος: ὅπερ αὐτὸν ἐρρήθη καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας πεποιηκέναι. [6] οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τῶν ξυναρχόντων τινὰς ζῶν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεμπον, καταθέειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως κελεύοντες, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπεμπολεῖν τῷ ταύτην ὠνεῖσθαι λόγῳ οὐδενὶ βουλομένῳ δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [7] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἠνδραπόδιζόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσαν ἔμμισθοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγίνοντο: ἕτεροι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς τάλαιπῶρους Ῥωμαίους καθίσταντο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν λείαν ἄθλα τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν ἐδέχοντο. [8] οὕτω τε ἅπαντες ξυλλήβδην εἰπεῖν οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἀπαξάπαντα. [9] ἀρχόντων γὰρ εἰσι τοῖς βαρβάροις τούτοις ξυμμορίαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ περιήρχετο πόλεμος τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἀλογίστου λαβὼν, τὸ δὲ πέρας εὐρέσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνακυκλούμενος τὸν [10] πάντα αἰῶνα. διὸ δὴ χῶρος μὲν τις ἢ ὅρος ἢ σπήλαιον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀδήωτον οὐδαμῇ ἔμεινε, χώραις δὲ πολλαῖς πλέον ἢ πεντάκις ἀλῶναι συνέβη. [11] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸς Μήδων τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν καὶ Ἀντῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιήγεται λόγοις: ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῦδε ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου ὑπεῖπον, τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων ἐνταυθὰ μοι ἦν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. [12] Καὶ Χοσρόῃ μὲν κεντηναρίων πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προέμενος, αὐτογνωμονήσας δὲ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ λελῦσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς γέγονεν, Ἀλαμούνδαρόν τε καὶ Οὐννους τοὺς Πέρσαις ἐνσπόνδους σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐταιρίζεσθαι, ὅπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπαρακαλύπτως

εἰρησθαι δοκεῖ. [13] ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰ ἐκ τῶν στάσεων τε καὶ πολέμων κακὰ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀνήγειρε καὶ ἐρρίπιζεν, ἐν τούτῳ βουλευσάμενος, αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου τὴν γῆν πολλαῖς μηχαναῖς ἐμπλεων γίνεσθαι καὶ χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι πλεῖω, φόνον καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπενόει πολὺν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. [14] Χριστιανῶν δόξαι ἀπόβλητοι πολλαὶ εἰσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ αἰρέσεις καλεῖν νενομίκασι, Μοντανῶν τε καὶ Σαββατιανῶν καὶ ὅσαις ἄλλαις πλανᾶσθαι αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασι γινώμει. [15] τούτους ἅπαντας δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκέλευε μετατίθεσθαι, ἄλλα τε ἀπειλήσας ἀπειθοῦσι πολλὰ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἢ ξυγγενεῖς μηκέτι παραπέμπειν οἷόν τε εἶναι. [16] τούτων δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν καλουμένων, καὶ διαφερόντως οἷσπερ ἡ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἡσκητο δόξα, πλουτόν τινα εἶχεν ἀκοῆς κρείττω. [17] οὔτε γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος βουλή ξύμπασα οὔτε τις ἄλλη μεγίστη μοῖρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὰ γε εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν εἰκάζεσθαι τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔσχε. [18] κειμήλιά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ξυγκείμενα ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων ἀμύθητά τε καὶ ἀναρίθμητα ἦν, οἰκίαι τε καὶ κῶμαι παμπληθεῖς, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ πανταχόθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅση ἄλλη πλούτου ἰδέα ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἅτε οὐδενὸς αὐτὰ τῶν πώποτε βεβασιλευκότων ὀχλήσαντος. [19] πολλοὶ τε ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ταῦτα δόξης ὄντες ὀρθῆς, τῇ τῶν σφετέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων προφάσει ἐνθένδε αἰεὶ τοῦ βίου τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἶχον. [20] τούτων μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν πρῶτον τὰς οὐσίας δημοσιώσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο ἐξαπιναίως τὰ χρήματα πάντα. ἐξ οὗ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποκεκλεισθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου συνέβη. [21] Πολλοὶ δὲ εὐθὺς πανταχόσε περιόντες δόξης τῆς πατρίου τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠνάγκαζον μεταβάλλεσθαι. [22] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀγροίκους οὐχ ὅσια ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπαγγέλλουσιν ἀντιστατεῖν ἅπαντες ἔγνωσαν. [23] πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρήσαντο εὐσεβεῖν μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας οἰόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πλεῖστος ὁμιλος γῆς τῆς πατρῴας ἐξιστάμενοι ἔφευγον, Μοντανοὶ δὲ, οἱ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ κατόκηντο, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς τοῖς σφετέροις καθερίζαντες τούτους τε τοὺς νεῶς αὐτίκα ἐμπρήσαντες ξυνδιεφθάρησαν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πᾶσά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ φόνου τε ἦν καὶ φυγῆς ἐμπλεως. [24] Νόμου δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σαμαρείταις αὐτίκα θεθέντος ταραχὴ ἄκριτος τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέλαβεν. [25] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τε Καισαρείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὄκουν, παρὰ φαῦλον ἡγήσάμενοι κακοπάθειάν τινα ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτου φέρεσθαι δόγματος, ὄνομα Χριστιανῶν τοῦ σφίσι παρόντος ἀνταλλαζάμενοι τῷ προσχήματι τούτῳ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἀποσείσασθαι κίνδυνον ἴσχυσαν. [26] καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοις μὲν τι λογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπιεικείας μετῆν, πιστοὶ εἶναι τὰ ἐς δόξαν τήνδε οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, οἱ μέντοι πλεῖστοι ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι, ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ ἠναγκασμένοι δόγμα τὸ πάτριον μετεβάλοντο, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπὶ τε Μανιχαίους καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Πολυθέους ἀπέκλιναν. [27] οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ξύμπαντες ἄθροοι γεγεννημένοι ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν βασιλεῖ ἔγνωσαν, βασιλέα σφίσι τῶν τινα ληστῶν προβεβλημένοι, Ἰουλιανὸν ὄνομα, Σαβάρου υἱόν. [28] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἀντεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἡττηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ διεφθάρησαν ξὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι. [29] καὶ λέγονται μυριάδες

ἀνθρώπων δέκα ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ χώρα ἡ πάσης γῆς ἀγαθὴ
μάλιστα ἔρημος γεωργῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονε. [30] τοῖς τε τῶν χωρίων κυρίοις
Χριστιανοῖς οὗσι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο ἐς μέγα κακὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀναγκαῖον
γὰρ γέγονε σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐνθένδε μετακομιζομένοις φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον ἄδρὸν
τινα ὄντα ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα βασιλεῖ φέρειν, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ ἡ τοῦ
ἔργου τούτου ἐντροπὴ γέγονεν. [31] Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας καλουμένους
τὴν δῶξιν ἦγεν αἰκίζόμενός τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενος. [32]
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος δῆθην μεταλαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν
τῷ λόγῳ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκκρούοντες, οὗτοι δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπὶ ταῖς
σπονδαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἄλλοις οὐχ ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἠλίσκοντο. [33] τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς εἰργασμένα ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθέν μοι
λόγοις λελέξεται. [34] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν νόμῳ ἀπεῖργεν, οὐ τὰ μετὰ
τὸν νόμον διερευνώμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλόντας.
[35] ἐγένετό τε ἡ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστροφή οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατηγόρου χωρὶς
ἐπράσσετο ἡ ἐς αὐτοὺς τίσις, ἐνός τε ἀνδρὸς ἡ παιδὸς λόγος, καὶ τούτου
δούλου, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, καὶ ἀκουσίου μαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκτημένον
ἀναγκασθέντος, [36] ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἀκριβῆς ἔλεγχος. τοὺς τε οὕτως ἀλίσκομένους
τὰ αἰδοῖα περιηρημένους ἐπόμεπεν. οὐκ ἐς πάντας μέντοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ
κακὸν ἦγετο, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἢ Πράσινοι εἶναι ἢ μεγάλα περιβεβλησθαι χρήματα
ἔδοξαν ἢ ἄλλο τι τοῖς τυραννοῦσι προσκεκρουκότες ἐτύγχανον. [37] Καὶ μὴν
καὶ τοῖς μετεωρολόγοις χαλεπῶς εἶχον. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέπταις
τεταγμένη ἀρχὴ ἠκίζετο τε ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας καὶ ξαίνουσα κατὰ τοῦ
νότου πολλὰς ἐπὶ καμήλων φερομένους ἐπόμεπεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν
γέροντάς τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιεικεῖς ὄντας, ἄλλο αὐτοῖς ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα,
πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σοφοὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας [38] ἐν τοιούτῳ χώρῳ ἐβούλοντο
εἶναι. ἔφευγον τοίνυν ἀνθρώπων διηνεκὲς πολλὺς ὄμιλος οὐκ ἐς βαρβάρους
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς μακρὰν ὤκισμένους Ῥωμαίους, ἦν τε ἰδεῖν ἐν χώρᾳ
τε ἀεὶ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη τοὺς πλείστους ξένους. [39] τοῦ γὰρ διαλαθεῖν ἕνεκα
γῆς τῆς πατρῴας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἠλλάξαντο εὐπετῶς ἕκαστοι, [40] ὥσπερ τῆς
πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἀλούσης. τὸν μὲν οὖν πλοῦτον τῶν
εὐδαιμόνων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη μετὰ γε τοὺς
ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, τρόποις οἷσπερ εἴρηται Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ
Θεοδώρα ληϊσάμενοι ἔσχον. [41] ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ
χρήματα ξύμπαντα ἴσχυσαν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

XII

Ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ζήνων ὄνομα, ἐκείνου Ἀνθεμίου υἱὸνός, ὅσπερ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ πρότερα ἔσχε. τοῦτον δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες ἄρχοντα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καταστησάμενοι ἔστελλον. [2] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν χρημάτων τὸ πλοῖον τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐμπλησάμενος τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διέθετο: ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ σταθμός τε ἀργύρου ἀναρίθμητος καὶ χρυσώματα μαργάροις τε καὶ σμαράγδοις καλλωπισθέντα καὶ λίθοις ἄλλοις τοιούτοις ἐντίμοις: οἱ δὲ τινὰς ἀναπείσαντες τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων εἶναι δοκούντων τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκφορήσαντες, πῦρ δὲ ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ ἐμβεβλημένοι τῷ Ζήνωνι ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευον ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου τὴν τε φλόγα ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ξυνηνέχθαι καὶ διολωλέναι τὰ χρήματα. [3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ζήνωνι μὲν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀπογενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ κύριοι τῆς οὐσίας εὐθὺς ἄτε κληρονόμοι γεγόνασι. [4] διαθήκην γάρ τινα προῦφερον, ἥνπερ οὐ παρ' ἐκείνου ξυγκεῖσθαι διατεθρύλληται. [5] Καὶ Τατιανοῦ τε καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ τῆς Ἰλαρᾶς τρόπῳ τῷ ὁμοίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κληρονόμους πεποίηται, οἵπερ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα πρῶτοι ἔν γε Ῥωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἦσαν. τινῶν δὲ οὐ διαθήκας, ἀλλ' ἐπιστολὰς διεσκευασμένοι τὴν οὐσίαν ἔσχον. [6] οὕτω γὰρ Διονυσίου τε κληρονόμοι γεγόνασιν, ὃς ἐν Λιβάνῳ ᾤκει, καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βασιλείου παῖδός, ὃς δὴ ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν Ἑδεσσηνῶν ἐγεγόνει πάντων, βία δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐκδέδοται τοῖς Πέρσαις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [7] τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης οὐκέτι ἠφίει, ἐπικαλὼν Ῥωμαίοις ἠλογηκέναι τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ πρὸς Βελισαρίου δοθεὶς ἐτύγχανεν ἀποδίδοσθαι μέντοι ἄτε δορυάλωτον γεγονότα ἤξιον. [8] ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μάμμη ἑπιοῦσα γὰρ ἔτι ἐτύγχανε τὰ λύτρα παρεχομένη οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ δισχιλίας λίτρας ἀργύρου τὸν υἱὸν ὠνήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [9] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ λύτρα ταῦτα ἐς Δάρας ἦλθε, μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ συμβόλαιον γενέσθαι οὐκ εἶα, ὥς μὴ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, [10] εἰπὼν, ὁ Ῥωμαίων κομίζεται πλοῦτος. οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ὕστερον τῷ μὲν Ἰωάννῃ νοσήσαντι ξυνέβη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύων ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπλάσας τινὰ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄτε φίλον οὐ πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν τὸν Ἰωάννην γράψαι ὥς οἱ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλθεῖν. [11] πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ὀνόματα καταλέγειν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ὥνπερ αὐτόματοι κληρονόμοι γεγέννηται. [12] Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Νίκα καλουμένη στάσις ἐγένετο, κατὰ μίαν διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων οὐσίας ἤξιον: ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, τότε δὴ ἀθρόας σχεδὸν τι εἰπεῖν ἀπάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τὰς οὐσίας δημοσιώσαντες, τὰ μὲν ἔπιπλα πάντα καὶ τῶν χωρίων ὅσα κάλλιστα ἦν ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο διεχείρισαν, ἀπολέξαντες δὲ τὰ φόρου πικροῦ τε καὶ βαρυτάτου ὑποτελῆ ὄντα, φιλανθρωπίας προσχίματι τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις ἀπέδοντο. [13] διὸ δὴ πρὸς τε τῶν φορολόγων ἀγχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκναιόμενοι τόκοις ὀφλημάτων ἀειρρῦτοις τισὶ δυσθανατοῦντες ἀκούσιοι διεβίωσαν. [14] διὸ δὴ ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμῶν

οὐδὲ πώποτε ἔδοξαν οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δαίμονες παλαμναῖοι τινες καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι βροτολογιῶ ἦσθιν, οἳ δὴ ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι ὅπως ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπεια γένη τε καὶ ἔργα ὡς ῥᾶστα καὶ τάχιστα διαφθεῖρουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι, ἀνθρώπειόν τε ἡμπύσχοντο σχῆμα καὶ ἀνθρωποδαίμονες γεγενημένοι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ζύμπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατέσεισαν. [15] τεκμηριώσαι ὃ ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτο πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων δυνάμει. τὰ γὰρ δαιμόνια τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ζυμβαίνει πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι διακεκρίσθαι. [16] πολλῶν ἀμέλει γεγονότων ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀνθρώπων τύχῃ ἢ φύσει φοβερῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, οἳ μὲν πόλεις, οἳ δὲ χώρας, ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔσφηλαν, ὄλεθρον δὲ ζυμπάντων ἀνθρώπων ζυμφοράς τε γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης οὐδεὶς ὅτι μὴ οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ἐργάζεσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔσχον, ὧν δὴ καὶ ἡ τύχη ὑπουργεῖ τῇ γνώμῃ συγκατεργαζομένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθοράν [17] σεισμοῖς τε γὰρ καὶ λοιμοῖς καὶ ὑδάτων ποταμίων ἐπιρροαῖς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πλεῖστα διολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, ὥς μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται. οὕτως οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖω, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ σθένει. τὰ δεινὰ ἔπρασσον. [18] Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα φάναι τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τισὶν ὡς οὐ Σαββατίου τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τινὸς υἱὸς εἶναι. [19] ἡνίκα γὰρ αὐτὸν κύειν ἔμελλεν, ἐπιφοιτᾷ αὐτῇ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ὀρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἰσθῆσίν τινα ὅτι δὴ πάρεστιν αὐτῇ παρασχὼν ἅτε ἄνδρα γυναικὶ πλησιάσαντα, καθάπερ ἐν ὄνειρῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. [20] Τινὲς δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ παρόντων τε πόρρῳ που τῶν νυκτῶν καὶ ζυγγινομένων ἐν Παλατίῳ δηλονότι, οἷσπερ ἐν καθαρῷ ἢ ψυχῇ ἦν, φάντασμα τι θεάσασθαι δαιμόνιον ἄηθες σφίσιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξαν. [21] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν ἄφνω μὲν αὐτὸν θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἐξαναστάντα περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖν: συχνὸν γὰρ καθῆσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἴθιστο: τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ ἀφανισθείσης τὸ ἄλλο οἱ σῶμα τούτους δὴ τοὺς μακροὺς διαύλους ποιεῖν δοκεῖν, αὐτόν τε ἅτε οἱ τῶν ὁμμάτων περὶ τὴν θεάν ὡς ἥκιστα ὑγαινόντων, ἀσχάλλοντα καὶ διαπορούμενον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστάναι. [22] ὕστερον μέντοι τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ σώματι ἐπανηκούσης τὰ τέως λειπόμενα οἶεσθαι [23] παρὰ δόξαν ἀναπιμπλάναι. ἄλλος δὲ παρεστάναι οἱ καθημένῳ ἔφη, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸ πρόσωπόν οἱ κρέατι ἀσήμῳ ἰδεῖν ἐμπερὲς γεγονός: οὔτε γὰρ ὀφρὺς οὔτε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν ὄντας οὔτε ἄλλο τι τὸ παράπαν ἔφερε γνῶρισμα: χρόνου μέντοι αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὄψεως ἐπανήκον ἰδεῖν. ταῦτα οὐκ αὐτὸς θεασάμενος γράφω, ἀλλὰ τῶν τότε θεάσασθαι ἰσχυριζομένων ἀκούσας. [24] Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ μοναχόν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλον πρὸς τῶν αὐτῷ γῆν τὴν ἔρημον ζυνοικούντων ἀναπεισθέντα σταλῆναι μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον τοῖς ἄγχιστα σφίσιν ἐνφικημένοις ἐπαμυνούντα, βιαζομένοις τε καὶ ἀδικουμένοις ἀνύποιστα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενον αὐτίκα εἰσόδου τῆς παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τυχεῖν: [25] μέλλοντα δὲ εἶσω παρ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, ἀμείψαι μὲν τὸν ἐκείνῃ οὐδὸν θατέρῳ τοῖν ποδοῖν, ἐξαπιναιῶς δὲ ἀναποδίζοντα ὀπίσω ἰέναι. [26] εὐνοῦχον μὲν οὖν τὸν εἰσαγωγέα καὶ τοὺς τῇδε παρόντας πολλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον λιπαρεῖν ἐπίπροσθεν βαίνειν, τὸν δὲ οὐδέν τι ἀποκρινάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραπληγὶ εοικότα ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, οὗ δὴ κατέλυε, γεγονότα: τῶν τέ οἱ ἐπομένων ἀναπνυθανομένων ὅτου ἔνεκα ταῦτα ποιοίῃ,

φάναι λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς ὡς τῶν δαιμόνων τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενον ἴδοι, ᾧ δὴ ξυγγενέσθαι ἢ τι παρ' αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀξιοίῃ. [27] πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ δαίμων τις ἀλιτήριος εἶναι, ὅς γε ποτοῦ ἢ σιτίων ἢ ὕπνου εἰς κόρον οὐδέποτε ἤλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀμηγέπη τῶν παρατεθέντων ἀπογευσάμενος ἁπρὶ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τὰ βασίλεια, καίπερ ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. [28] Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Θεοδώρας ἐραστῶν τινες, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἦν, νύκτωρ τι αὐτοῖς ἐπισκῆψαν δαιμόνιον ἐξελάσαι τοῦ δωματίου, ἵνα δὴ σὺν αὐτῇ ἐνυκτέρευον: ὀρχηστρίς δέ τις Μακεδονία ὄνομα ἐγεγόνει τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχεῦσι Βενέτοις, δύναμιν περιβεβλημένη πολλήν. [29] γράμματα γὰρ Ἰουστινιανῷ γράφουσα ἔτι τοῦ Ἰουστίνου διοικουμένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, οὕς ἂν βούλοιτο τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφῷσι λογίμων ἀνήρει οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐποίει ἀνάγραπτα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον γίνεσθαι. [30] ταύτην τὴν Μακεδονίαν φασὶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Λιβύης ποτὲ ἤκουσαν τὴν Θεοδώραν ἀσπαζομένην, ἐπειδὴ λίαν δυσφορουμένην τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀσχάλλουσαν εἶδεν οἷς δὴ περιύβριστό τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἐκηβολίου καὶ χρήματά οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἀπολώλει, πολλὰ παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ παραθρασύνειν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἅτε τῆς τύχης οἴας τε οὔσης καὶ αὐθις αὐτῇ χορηγοῦ γενέσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων. [31] τότε λέγουσι τὴν Θεοδώραν εἰπεῖν ὡς καὶ ὄναρ αὐτῇ ἐπισκῆψαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην πλούτου ἕνεκα μηδεμίαν κελεύσαι ποιεῖσθαι φροντίδα. [32] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἵκοιτο, τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἄρχοντι ἐς εὐνὴν ἤξειν, τούτῳ τε ἅτε γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ξυνοικήσεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κυρίαν αὐτὴν πάντων χρημάτων γενήσεσθαι.

XIII

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δὴ δόξης τοῖς πλείστοις εἶχεν. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν ἦν τὸ ἄλλο ἦθος οἷος δεδήλωται, εὐπρόσιτον δὲ παρείχεν αὐτὸν καὶ πρᾶγον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὐδενί τε τῶν πάντων ἀποκεκλείσθαι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσόδου συνέβαινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστῶσιν ἢ φθεγγομένοις οὐδεπώποτε χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν. [2] οὐ μέντοι διὰ ταῦτα ἡρυθρία τινὰ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπολουμένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὀργῆς πώποτε ἢ ἀκροχολίας τι ὑποφαίνων ἐς τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας ἔνδηλος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πρᾶος μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, καθειμέναις δὲ ταῖς ὀφρυσίν, ὑφειμένη δὲ τῇ φωνῇ ἐκέλευε μυριάδας μὲν διαφθεῖραι μηδὲν ἡδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων, πόλεις δὲ καθελεῖν, χρήματά τε ἀνάγραπτα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πάντα ποιεῖσθαι. [3] εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἦθους προβατίου γνώμην τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχειν. ἦν μέντοι τις αὐτὸν ἰλεούμενος τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἱκεσίους λιταῖς παραιτεῖσθαι πειρῶτο, ἐνταῦθα ἡγριωμένος τε καὶ σεσηρῶς μεστοῦσθαι ἐδόκει, ὥς μὴ τινι τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων δοκούντων εἶναι ἐξατεῖσθαι ἐν ἐλπίδι τὸ λοιπὸν εἶη. [4] Δόξαν δὲ βέβαιον ἀμφὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἔχειν ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ φθόρῳ τῶν κατηκόων. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἱερεῦσιν ἀδεέστερον τοὺς πέλας ξυνεχώρει βιάζεσθαι καὶ ληΐζομένοις τὰ τῶν ὁμόρων συνέχαιρεν, εὐσεβεῖν ταύτῃ ἀμφὶ τὸ θεῖον οἰόμενος. [5] δίκας τε τοιαύτας δικάζων τὰ ὅσια ποιεῖν ᾤετο, ἦν τις ἱερῶν λόγῳ τῶν τι οὐ προσηκόντων ἀρπάσας νενικηκώς τε ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο. τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ περιεῖναι τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν ἐναντίων ᾤετο εἶναι. [6] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ κτῶμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὰς τῶν περιόντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων οὐσίας, καὶ ταύτας τῶν τινι νεῶν εὐθὺς ἀνατιθεῖς τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο παραπετάσματι, ὥς μὴ ἐς [7] τοὺς βιασθέντας ἢ τούτων αὐθις ἐπανίοι κτήσις. ἀλλὰ καὶ φόνων ἀριθμὸν ἄκριτον διὰ ταῦτα εἰργάζετο. ἐς μίαν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῷ Χριστῷ δόξαν συναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας προσχήματι πράσπων· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἦν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες. [8] οὕτως ἦν αὐτῷ κατεσπουδασμένος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς αἰὲ φθόρος, ἐπινοῶν τε ζῆν τῇ γαμετῇ οὐποτε ἀνίει τὰς ἐς τοῦτον φερούσας αἰτίας. [9] ἄμφω γὰρ τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀδελφὰς εἶχον, οὗ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαλλάσσειν τὸν τρόπον ξυνέβη, πονηρὸς μὲν ἑκάτερος ἦν, τὰ μέντοι ἐναντιώτατα ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοὺς ὑπηκόους διέφθειρον. [10] ὁ μὲν γὰρ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἐς τὴν γνώμην κουφότερος ἦν, ὑποκείμενος τοῖς αἰὲ παράγειν ὅποι ποτ' ἐδόκει βουλομένοις αὐτὸν, ἦν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς φιланθρωπίαν ἢ ἀκερδίαν ἄγοι, θῶπας τε λόγους ἐνδεδεχέστατα προσιέμενος. [11] ἔπειθον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κολακεύοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὅτι μετέωρος ἀρθείη καὶ ἀεροβατοίῃ. [12] Καί ποτε αὐτῷ παρεδρεύων Τριβωνιανὸς ἔφη περιδεῆς ἀτεχνῶς εἶναι μὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναληφθεὶς λάθοι ταῦτα. τοιοῦτους δὲ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἦτοι σκώμματα ἐν τῷ τῆς διανοίας ἐποιεῖτο βεβαίῳ. [13] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θαυμάσας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἅτε πονηρῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο. καὶ κακίσας τῶν τινα

ὕπηκῶν αὖθις αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέτης ἐγίνετο λόγῳ, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς μεταβεβλημένος αἰτίας. [14] τὰ γὰρ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἦει ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καὶ ἐβούλετο ἔνδηλος εἶναι. [15] ὅπως μέντοι ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς φιλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθος εἶχεν, ὑπεῖπον ἤδη, τοῖς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰργασμένοις τεκμηριώσας. [16] ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄτρεπτος ἦν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἄγαν ἀβέβαιος. ὥστε ἀμέλει τῶν μὲν οἱ ἐσπουδασμένων κατειργάσατο πλείστους, φίλος δὲ τῶν πώποτε μισουμένων οὐδενὶ γέγονεν. [17] οὓς δὲ μάλιστα γνωρίμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους ἔδοξεν ἔχειν, τούτους τῇ ὁμόζυγι ἢ ἄλλῳ ὁτῶν χαριζόμενος ἀπολουμένους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προῦδῳκε, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἔνεκα τεθνήξονται μόνῃς. [18] ἄπιστος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι πλὴν γε δὴ τῆς τε ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ φιλοχρηματίας διαφανῶς ἦν. ταύτης γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποστῆσαι δυνατόν οὐδενὶ γέγονεν. [19] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἃ πείθειν αὐτὸν ἢ γαμετὴ οὐκ εἶχε, χρημάτων αὐτῷ μεγάλων ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου ἐσομένων ἐμβαλομένη ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦν περ ἐβούλετο οὕτι ἐθελούσιον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφεῖλκε. [20] κέρδους γὰρ οὐκ εὐπρεποὺς ἔνεκα καὶ νόμους τιθέναι καὶ αὐτὸν πάλιν αὐτοὺς καθελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου. [21] Ἐδίκασέ τε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ἐνθα ἂν αὐτὸν μείζων τε ὀφθεῖσα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπόσχεσις ἄγοι. [22] καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γὰρ κλέπτοντι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας αἰσχύνῃν αὐτῷ φέρειν τινὰ οὐδαμῇ ᾤετο, ἥνίκα δὴ οὐχ ἀπαξάπαντα ἀφελέσθαι λόγῳ τινὶ εἶχεν ἢ ἐγκλημα ἐπενεγκῶν ἀπροσδόκητον, ἢ διαθήκης οὐ γεγεννημένης προσχήματι. [23] ἔμεινέ τε αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντας, οὐ πίστις ἢ δόξα πρὸς θεὸν ἀσφαλῆς, οὐ νόμος ὀχυρὸς, οὐ πρᾶξις βεβαία, οὐ συμβόλαιον οὐδέν. [24] στελλομένων δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων ἐπὶ τινὰ πρᾶξιν, εἰ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλεκέναι ξυνέβη τῶν σφίσι παραπεπτωκότων πολλοὺς καὶ χρημάτων τι ληῖσασθαι πλῆθος, οὗτοι δὴ εὐθὺς εὐδόκιμοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐδόκουν τε εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ἅτε δὴ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελέσαντες· εἰ δὲ φειδοῖ τινι ἐς ἀνθρώπους χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, δύσνους τε αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ πολέμιος ἦν. [25] ἀπογνοὺς τε, ὥσπερ ἀρχαιότροπὸν τινὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φύσιν, ἐς τὴν ὑπουργίαν οὐκέτι ἐκάλει. ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἐνδείκνυσθαι αὐτῷ ὡς πονηροὶ εἶεν, καίπερ σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐ ταύτῃ ἐχόντων. [26] ὑποσχόμενος δὲ τισι πολλάκις καὶ ὄρκῳ ἢ γράμμασι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ὀχυρωτέραν πεποιημένος, εὐθὺς ἐθελούσιος ἐς λήθην ἀφῖκτο, δόξης τι φέρειν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο οἰόμενος. [27] καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ μόνον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἔπρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται ἔμπροσθεν. [28] Ἦν τε ἄυπνός τε ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν καὶ σιτίοις μὲν ἢ ποτῷ κατακορῆς οὐδαμῇ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ ἀπογευσάμενος ἀπηλλάσσετο. [29] ὥσπερ γὰρ τι αὐτῷ πάρεργον τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸν ἀγγαρευομένης τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπόσιτος ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας δύο τὰ πολλὰ ἔμενεν, ἄλλως τε ἥνίκα ὁ πρὸ τῆς Πασχαλίας καλουμένης ἑορτῆς χρόνος ἐνταῦθα ἄγοι. [30] τότε γὰρ πολλάκις ἡμέραιν δυοῖν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, γεγονὼς ἄσιτος ὕδατί τε βραχεῖ ἀποζῆν ἐπηξίου καὶ βοτάναις ἀγρίαις τισὶν, ὥραν τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, καταδαρθὼν μίαν, εἴτα περιπάτους ἀεὶ [31] ποιούμενος τὸν ἄλλον κατέτριβε

χρόνον. καίτοι εἰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐς πράξεις δαπανᾶν ἀγαθὰς ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ μέγα ἂν τι εὐδαιμονίας ἐκεχωρήκει τὰ πράγματα. [32] νῦν δὲ τῇ φύσεως ἰσχύϊ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πονηρῷ χρώμενος ξύμπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελεῖν ἴσχυσεν. ἐγρηγορέναι τε γὰρ διηνεκὲς καὶ τάλαιπωρεῖν καὶ πονεῖσθαι οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἔργον πεποιήται ἢ ὥστε κομπωδεστέρας ἀεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι τὰς συμφοράς. [33] ἦν γὰρ ὅπερ εἴρηται, διαφορόντως ὀξὺς ἐπινοῆσαι τε καὶ ταχὺς ἀποτελέσαι ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὥστε αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθὰ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέβαινε.

XIV

Πραγμάτων γὰρ ἦν ἁωρία πολλή καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν, ὥνπερ μοι ὀλίγων ἐπιμνησθέντι σιωπῇ δοτέον τὰ λοιπὰ ξύμπαντα, ὡς μὴ ὁ λόγος ἀπέραντος εἴη. [2] πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐς βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχον οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ξυμφυλάσσειν ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν [3] διάνοιαν ἐβαρβάριζεν. ὅσα τε γράφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ βούλοιτο, οὐ τῷ τὴν κοιαίστωρος ἔχοντι τιμῇ, ἤπερ εἰώθει, ἐπέστελλε διοικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὰ πλεῖστα, καίπερ οὕτω τῆς γλώττης ἔχων, ἐκφέρειν ἡξίου καὶ τῶν παρατυχόντων πολὺς ὅμιλος, ὥστε τοὺς ἐνθένδε ἡδικημένους οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτῳ ἐπικαλοῖεν. [4] τοῖς δὲ ἀσηκρῆτις καλουμένοις οὐκ ἀπεκέκριτο τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐς τὸ τὰ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα γράφειν, ἐφ' ᾧπερ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐτετάχατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ εἴ που διατάσσειν τοὺς διαιτῶντας ἐν πόλει δεήσειεν, ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν γνῶσιν ἰτέον εἴη. [5] οὐ γὰρ εἶα τινα ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ τὰς ψήφους διδόναι, ἀλλὰ αὐθαδιζόμενος ἀλογίστῳ τινὶ παρρησίᾳ κρίσεις τε αὐτὸς τὰς ἐσομένας ἐρρῦθμιζεν ἀκοῆς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς τῶν διαφορομένων λαβὼν καὶ ἀνάδικα εὐθὺς ἀβασανίστως τὰ δεδικασμένα ἐποίει οὐ νόμῳ τινὶ ἢ δικαίῳ ἡγμένος, [6] ἀλλ' ἀπαρακαλύπτως αἰσχροκερδεῖα ἡσώμενος. δωροδοκῶν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἡσχύνετο, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰδῶ τῆς ἀπληστίας ἀφελομένης. [7] Πολλάκις δὲ τὰ τε τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δεδοκιμασμένα ἐς ἑτέραν τινα ἐτελεύτησε κρίσιν. [8] ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλή ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι ἐκάθητο, οὔτε τῆς ψήφου οὔτε τοῦ καλοῦ κυρία οὔσα, σχήματος δὲ μόνου καὶ νόμου ξυνειλεγμένη παλαίου εἵνεκα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι τινα ὁτῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλεγμένων τὸ παράπαν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ σύννοκος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαλαγχάνειν μὲν ἀλλήλοιν τῶν διαφορομένων ἐσκήπτοντο, ἐνῖκα δὲ τὰ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ξυγκείμενα. [9] ἦν δὲ τῷ δόξειεν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι παρανενομηκότι νενικηκέναι, ὅδε καὶ ἄλλο τι χρυσίον τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενος νόμον εὐθὺς διεπράττετο ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀπάντων ἐλθόντα τῶν πρόσθεν κειμένων. [10] ἦν δὲ καὶ τις ἕτερος τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἀπολωλότα ἐπιζητοίη, αἷθις αὐτὸν μετακαλεῖν τε καὶ ἀντικαθιστάναι αὐτοκράτωρ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, οὐδὲν τε ἐν τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως βεβαίῳ εἰστήκει, ἀλλ' ἐπλανᾶτο περιφερομένη πανταχόσε ἢ τῆς δίκης ῥοπὴ ὅπη ἂν αὐτὴν βαρῆσας ὁ πλείων χρυσὸς ἀνθέλκειν ἰσχύει ἔκειτό τε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Παλατίου καὶ προϋτίθετο οὐ δικαστικῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθετικῆς πωλητήρια. [11] Τοῖς δὲ ῥεφερενδαρίοις καλουμένοις οὐκέτι ἀπέχρη ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὰς τῶν ἰκετευόντων δεήσεις, ἐς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναγγεῖλαι μόνον, ἤπερ εἰώθει, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἰκέτῃ δοκῇ, ἀλλὰ ξυμφορήσαντες ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἄδικον λόγον, φενακισμοῖς μὲν τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ παραγωγαῖς τισιν ἐξηπάτων, τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ὑποκείμενον φύσει. [12] ἔξω δὲ αὐτίκα γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν σφίσιν ὠμιληκότων τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καθεῖρξαντες χρήματα οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἀνεξελέγκτως ἐπράσσοντο ὅσα

ἀν αὐτοῖς διαρκῇ εἴῃ. [13] καὶ στρατιῶται οἱ τὴν ἐν Παλατίῳ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ παρὰ τοὺς διαιτῶντας γενόμενοι βιαίῃ χειρὶ τὰς δίκας ἐσῆγον. [14] πάντες τε ὡς εἶπεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντες τάξιν ὁδοὺς τότε κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐβάδιζον ἀπόρους τε καὶ ἀστιβήτους σφίσι τὰ πρότερα οὐσας, καὶ τὰ πράγματα πλημμελῶς πάντα ἐφέρετο, οὐδὲ ὀνόματός τινος ἰδίου μεταλαχόντα, ἐφκει τε ἡ πολιτεία βασιλίδι παιζόντων παιδίων. [15] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι παριτέον, ὥσπερ τοῦδε ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου ὑπεῖπον. λελέξεται δὲ ὅστις ἀνὴρ πρῶτος δικάζοντα δωροδοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἀνέπεισε. [16] Λέων ἦν τις, Κίλιξ μὲν γένος, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. οὗτος ὁ Λέων κράτιστος ἐγένετο κολάκων ἀπάντων, καὶ οἷος ταῖς τῶν ἀμαθῶν διανοαῖς τὸ δόξαν ὑποβαλέσθαι. [17] πειθὼ γάρ οἱ τινα ξυναιρομένην ἐς τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἐπὶ φθόρῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶχεν. οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρῶτος Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀναπεῖθει ἀπεμπολεῖν χρημάτων τὰς δίκας. [18] ἐπειδὴ τε κλέπτειν ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἔγνω, οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ὁδῷ προῖον τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρει, ὅστις τε δίκην λαχεῖν ἄδικον τῶν τινι ἐπιεικῶν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, εὐθὺς παρὰ τὸν Λέοντα ἦει, καὶ μοῖραν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τινα ὁμολογήσας τῷ τε τυράννῳ καὶ αὐτῷ κείσεσθαι, αὐτίκα νενικηκώς, οὐ δέον, ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ Παλατίου. [19] καὶ Λέων μὲν χρήματα ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι μεγάλα κομιδῇ ἴσχυσε, χώρας τε πολλῆς κύριος γέγονε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν. [20] ἦν τε οὐδὲν τοῖς ξυμβεβηκόσιν ὀχύρωμα, οὐ νόμος, οὐχ ὄρκος, οὐ γράμματα, οὐ ποινὴ ξυγκειμένη, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, ὅτι μὴ Λέοντι καὶ βασιλεῖ χρήματα προέσθαι. [21] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς γνώμης τῆς τοῦ Λέοντος ἔμενεν, ἀλλὰ μισθαρνεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἡξίου. [22] κλέπτων γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ προστεθαρρηκότων ὀλιγωρεῖν τε καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ αἰσχύνην ὑπώπτευεν εἶναι. [23] οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, εἰ μόνον τὸ κερδαίνειν προσῇ, ἐδόξαζεν οἱ αὐτῷ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντι ἔσεσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Θεοδώρα δὲ ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἐπεπῆγει τὴν γνώμην. [2] ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ ἀναπαισθεῖσα ἢ ἀναγκασθεῖσα εἰργάζετο οὐδὲν πώποτε, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπετέλει αὐθαδιαζομένη δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, οὐδενὸς ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τὸν παραπεπτωκότα τολμῶντος. [3] οὐδὲ γὰρ χρόνου μῆκος, οὐ κολάσεως πλησμονή, οὐχ ἰκετείας τις μηχανή, οὐ θανάτου ἀπειλή, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖται τῷ παντὶ γένει ἐπίδοξος οὐσα, καταθέσθαι αὐτὴν τι τῆς ὀργῆς ἔπειθε. [4] καὶ συλλήβδην Θεοδώραν τῷ προσκεκρουκότι καταλλαγεῖσαν οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὁ παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἔχθος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τριγένειαν παρέπεμπε. [5] ὁ γὰρ θυμὸς αὐτῇ κινεῖσθαι μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰν ἐτοιμώτατος ἦν, ἐς δὲ τὸ λωφῆσαι ἀμήχανος. [6] Τὸ μέντοι σῶμα ἐθεράπευε μειζρόνως μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν, ἐλασσόνως δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμίαν. [7] ταχύτατα μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον, ἐς τὸ ἀκρατίζεσθαι ἐνθένδε ἐχώρει. [8] ἀκρατισαμένη δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν. ἀριστῶσα μέντοι καὶ δεῖπνον αἰρουμένη ἐς πᾶσαν ιδεάν ἐδωδίμων τε καὶ ποτῶν ἤρχετο, ὕπνοι τε αὐτῆς αἰεὶ μακρότατοι ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ἡμερινοὶ μὲν ἄχρι πρώτων νυκτῶν, νυκτερινοὶ δὲ ἄχρις ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος. [9] εἰς πᾶσάν τε οὕτως ἀκρασίας ἐκπεπτωκυῖα τρίβον ἐς τόσον ἡμέρας καιρὸν ἅπασαν διοικεῖσθαι ἤξιον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [10] καὶ ἦν τῷ ἐπιστεῖλλε πρᾶξιν τινα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ αὐτῆς γνώμη, ἐς τοῦτο τύχης περιειστῆκει τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς τε τιμῆς παραλυθῆναι ξὺν ὕβρει μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ. [11] Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ ἅπαντα πράσσειν ῥάδιον ἦν, οὐχ ὅσον τῷ τῆς διανοίας εὐκόλῳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἄυπνος ἦν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ εὐπρόσοδος πάντων μάλιστα. [12] πολλὴ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἐξουσία ἐγένετο, καίτοι ἀδόξοις τε καὶ ἀφανέσι παντάπασιν οὖσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐντυχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινολογεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξ ἀπορρήτων συγγίνεσθαι. [13] παρὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλίδαν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὶ ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ εἰσιτητὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ προσήδρευον μὲν ἐς αἰεὶ ἅπαντες ἀνδραποδώδη τινὰ προσεδρέϊαν ἐν δωματίῳ στενῷ τε καὶ πνιγνῷ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. κίνδυνος γὰρ ἀπολελειφθαι τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὶ ἀνύποιστος ἦν. [14] ἴσταντο δὲ διηνεκὲς ἐπ' ἄκρων δακτύλων, αὐτὸς καθυπέρτερον ἕκαστος τῶν πέλας διατεινόμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἔχειν, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐνδοθεν ἐξιόντες εὐνοῦχοι ὀρῶεν. [15] ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν τινες μόλις τε καὶ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, ἐσιόντες δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλλάσσοντο, προσκυνήσαντες μόνον καὶ ταρσοῦ ἐκατέρου ποδὸς ἄκρῳ χεῖλει ἀψάμενοι. [16] φθέγγεσθαι γὰρ ἢ αἰτεῖσθαι τι μὴ ἐκείνης ἐγκελευομένης οὐδεμία παρρησία ἐγένετο. ἐς δουλοπρέπειαν γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἦλθε, δουλοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὴν ἔχουσα. [17] οὕτω τε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα διεφθείρετο τοῦ μὲν τυράννου τῷ ἄγαν εὐήθει δοκοῦντι εἶναι, [18] Θεοδώρας δὲ τῷ χαλεπῷ καὶ λίαν δυσκόλῳ. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ εὐήθει τὸ ἀβέβαιον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δυσκόλῳ τὸ ἄπρακτον. [19] Ἐν τοῖς μὲν οὖν

τῆς τε γνώμης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐφαίνετο, κοινὰ δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἢ τε φιλοχρηματία καὶ ἡ τῶν φόνων ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. [20] ἄμφοι γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ψεύδεσθαι εἶχον, καὶ ἦν μὲν τις τῶν Θεοδώρα προσκεκρουκότων ἀμαρτάνειν λέγοιτό τι βραχὺ τε καὶ λόγου οὐδαμῇ ἄξιον, αἰτίας εὐθὺς ἀναπλάσσουσα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲν προσηκούσας, ἐς μέγα τι κακοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦρεν. [21] ἐγκλημάτων τε ἠκούετο πλῆθος καὶ καταλύσεως περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων ληΐζεσθαι δικαστήριον ἦν, καὶ δικασταὶ ξυνελέγοντο πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀγειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον διαμαχέσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀρέσκειν τῇ ἐς τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπανθρωπία τῇ βασιλίδι τὸ βούλημα [22] ἱκανὸς γένοιτο. οὕτω τε τοῦ παραπετωκότος τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραφτον ἐποίει, πικρότατα δὲ αὐτὸν αἰκισαμένη, καίπερ ἴσως εὐπατρίδην τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντα, ἢ φυγῇ ζημιῶν ἢ θανάτῳ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου. [23] ἦν δὲ γε τῶν αὐτῇ ἐσπουδασμένων τινὶ ἐπὶ φόνοις ἀδίκους ἢ ἐτέρῳ τῷ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων ἁλῶναι ξυμβαίνειν, διασύρουσα καὶ χλευάζουσα τὴν τῶν κατηγορῶν ὁρμὴν σιωπᾶν τὰ προσπεσόντα οὐτι ἐθελουσίους ἠνάγκαζεν. [24] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα εἰς γελοιοποιίαν μεταβάλλειν, ὅταν αὐτῇ δοκῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ θεάτρῳ ἔργον πεποίηται. [25] καὶ ποτε ἦν τις τῶν πατρικίων γέρων τε καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἐν ἀρχῇ γεγονώς, οὗπερ ἐγὼ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς ἦκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὥς μὴ ἀπέραντον τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν ποιήσωμαι, τῶν αὐτῇ ὑπηρετούντων τινὰ ὀφείλοντά οἱ χρήματα μεγάλα εἰσπράξασθαι οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ἐσῆλθε παρ' αὐτὴν, τὸν τε συμβαλόντα αἰτιασόμενος καὶ δεηθησόμενος αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι τὰ δίκαια. [26] ὅπερ ἡ Θεοδώρα προμαθοῦσα τοῖς εὐνούχοις ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ πατρίκιος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἴκοιτο, κυκλώσασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἅπαντας, ἐπακοῦειν δὲ αὐτῇ φθεγγομένη, ὑπειποῦσα ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι δεῖ. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πατρίκιος ἐς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἦλθε, προσεκύνησε μὲν ὥσπερ αὐτὴν προσκυνεῖν εἴθιστο, δεδακρυσμένη δὲ εὐκρίως 'ὦ δέσποινα', ἔφη, 'χαλεπὸν πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρημάτων δεῖσθαι. [28] ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγνώμην τε καὶ ἔλεον φέρει, ταῦτα ἐς ὕβριν τῷδε ξυμβαίνει τῷ ἀξιώματι ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [29] ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄφθουν ἀπορουμένῳ τὰ ἔσχατα πάρεστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπόντι τοῖς χρήταις ὄχλου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εὐθὺς ἀπηλλάχθαι, πατρίκιος δὲ ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔχων ὅθεν ἂν ἐκτίσαι τοῖς χρήταις τὰ ὀφλήματα ἱκανὸς εἴη μάλιστα μὲν τοῦτο ἂν εἰπεῖν αἰσχυρθείη, εἰπὼν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε πείσαι ὥς οὐχ οἷόν τε ὅν τῷδε πενίαν τῷ τάγματι ξυνοικίζεσθαι. [30] ἦν δὲ γε καὶ πείσῃ, τὰ πάντων αὐτῷ αἰσχυστά τε καὶ ἀνιαρότατα πεπονθέναι ξυμβήσεται. [31] οὐκοῦν, ὦ δέσποινα, εἰσὶ μοι χρήσται, οἱ μὲν δανείσαντες τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδανεισμένοι. [32] καὶ τοὺς μὲν δανείσαντας ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐγκειμένους οὐχ οἷός τέ εἰμι αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀποκρούσασθαι, οἱ δὲ γε ὀφείλοντες, οὐ γὰρ πατρικίοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, εἰς σκῆψεις τινὰς ἀπανθρώπους χωροῦσιν. [33] ἀντιβολῶ τοίνυν καὶ ἰκετεύω καὶ δέομαι βοηθησαί τέ μοι τὰ δίκαια [34] καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλάξαι κακῶν.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐμμελῶς, 'πατρικίε ὁ δεῖνα', καὶ ὁ τῶν εὐνούχων χορὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀντεφθέγγατο, [35] 'μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις'. αὐτῆς δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

ἵκετεύσαντός τε καὶ ῥῆσιν τινα ἐμπερῇ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις εἰπόντος κατὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἢ τε γυνὴ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ὁ χορὸς ἀντεφθέγγετο, ἕως ἂν ἀπειπὼν ὁ ταλαίπωρος προσεκύνησέ τε ἥπερ εἰώθει καὶ ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε ὥχετο. [36] ἐν προαστείοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπιθαλαττίοις τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Ἡρίῳ διατριβὴν εἶχε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπομένων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος κακοπαθείᾳ πολλῇ εἶχετο. [37] τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων γὰρ ἐσπάνιζον καὶ θαλαττίοις ὠμίλουν κινδύνους, ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἢ τοῦ κήτους ἐνταῦθά ποι ἐπισκήψαντος. [38] ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κακὰ οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα ὦντο εἶναι, ὅσον ἦν γε μόνον αὐτοῖς τρυφᾶν ἐξεῖν. [39] ὁποῖος δὲ ὁ Θεοδώρας πρὸς τοὺς προσκεκρουκώτας ἐφαίνετο τρόπος, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, ὀλίγων δηλονότι ἐπιμνησθεῖς, ὥς μὴ ἀτελεύτητα πονεῖν δόξαιμι.

XVI

Ἦνίκα Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τῆς Γόθοις ἀπαλλαξείουσα διατριβῆς μεταπίσχεσθαι τε τὸν βίον ἔγνω, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον διενεοῖτο πορεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, λογισαμένη ἡ Θεοδώρα ὡς εὐπατρίδης τε ἡ γυνὴ καὶ βασιλὶς εἴη, καὶ ἰδεῖν μὲν εὐπρεπῆς ἄγαν, ἐπινοεῖν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιο γοργὸς μάλιστα, ὑποπτον δὲ αὐτῆς ποιησαμένη τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ διαφερόντως ἄρρενωπὸν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλαφρὸν δείσασα, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεδρεῦειν τὴν γυναῖκα μέχρις ἐς θάνατον ἐν βουλῇ ἔσχεν. [2] αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἀναπεῖθει τὸν ἄνδρα, Πέτρον μόνον αὐτὸν ἅτε πρεσβεύσοντα ἐς Ἰταλίαν πέμψαι. [3] ὃ δὴ στελλομένῳ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐπέστελλεν ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαίροις δεδιγῆται λόγοις, ἵνα δὴ μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐκπύστους ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀληθείας δέει τῆς βασιλίδος ἀδύνατα ἦν. [4] αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλε μόνον, ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν, ἣν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ποιοίη, [5] καταστησαμένη τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὅς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενος 'οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ὀκνηρῶς ἐς ἄδικον φόνον ἰέναι, ἀρχῆς τιнос ἴσως ἢ χρημάτων ἐν ἐλπίδι κειμένων μεγάλων' οὐκ οἶδα ἦντινα Θευδάτῳ παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενος διαχρήσασθαι τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμεώς τε καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἔχθους. [6] Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. [7] ἦν δέ τις Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπιστολογράφος, Πρίσκος ὀνόματι, ἄγαν πονηρὸς μὲν καὶ Παφλαγῶν καὶ πρέπων τῷ προστάτῃ τὸν τρόπον ἀρέσκειν, λίαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν τῶν ὁμοίων οἰόμενος· διὸ δὴ καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων ὧν κύριος ὑπῆρχεν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τάχιστα γέγονε. [8] τοῦτον δὴ ἅτε ὀφρυάζοντά τε καὶ οἱ ἀντιτείνειν πειρώμενον ἡ Θεοδώρα ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα διέβαλε. [9] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτὴ μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον χειμῶνος μέσου εἰς ναῦν ἐμβιβάσασα ὅπῃ ἐβούλετο ἔπεμψε καὶ ἀποθρίζασα ἱερέα οὐτὶ ἐκούσιον ἠνάγκασεν εἶναι. [10] αὐτὸς δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενος ὅτι δὴ τῶν ποιουμένων οὐδὲν εἰδείη Πρίσκον μὲν οὐ διηρευνᾶτο ὅπῃ γῆς εἴη οὐδὲ ἐν μνήμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ ὥσπερ ληθάρῳ ἀλοὺς καθῆστο, τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ὀλίγων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων [11] ἐλήϊσατο πάντα. ὑποψίας δὲ συμπεσούσης αὐτῇ ἐρωτολήπτῳ εἶναι εἰς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἓνα, Ἀρεόβινδον ὄνομα, βάρβαρον μὲν γένος, εὐπρεπῇ δὲ καὶ νεανίαν, ὄνπερ ταμίαν αὐτὴ καταστησαμένη ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη τὸ ἐγκλημα, καίπερ, ὥς φασι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δαιμονίως ἐρῶσα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι πικρότατα αὐτὸν ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας αἰκίζεσθαι ἔγνω, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἔγνωμεν, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν ἄχρι νῦν εἶδεν. [12] ἦν γάρ τι τῶν πρassoμένων ἀποκρύπτεσθαι αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἶη, τοῦτο δὴ ἄρρητόν τε καὶ ἀμνημόνευτον ἅπασιν ἔμεινε, καὶ οὕτε τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ ἀγγεῖλαι τῶν τινι ἀναγκαίων ἔτι ἐξῆν οὕτε τῷ μανθάνειν βουλομένῳ πυνθάνεσθαι, κἂν πάνυ τις περίεργος ἦν. [13] τοιοῦτο γὰρ δέος ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τυράννων

οὐδενὸς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν τινα τῶν προσκεκρουκότων οἶόν τε ἦν. [14] πλῆθος γὰρ κατασκόπων αὐτῇ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ πρασσόμενα ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐσήγγελλον. [15] ἡνίκα τοίνυν τοῦ παραπεπτωκότος τὴν κόλασιν ἐκφέρεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐποίει τάδε. [16] τὸν ἄνθρωπον μετακαλεσαμένη, ἦν τις τῶν λογίμων ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, μόνη τε αὐτῇ τῶν ὑπουργούντων τινὶ παραδοῦσα μόνῳ ἐπήγγελλεν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας αὐτὸν μετακομίσει τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [17] καὶ ὃς ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν κατακεκαλυμμένον αὐτὸν καὶ δεθέντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγωνῶς, οὗ οἱ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπετέτακτο, ἐνταῦθα παρεδίδου λαθραιότερον τῷ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντι, φυλάσσειν τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐπιστεῖλας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπειπὼν μηδενὶ φράζειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ τὸν ταλαίπωρον ἢ βασιλὶς οἰκτίζηται ἢ χρόνον πολὺν τῇ ἐνταῦθα κακοπαθείᾳ δυσθανατήσας τε καὶ καταμαρανθεὶς τελευτήσκειν, ἀπὴλλάσσετο. [18] Καὶ Βασιανὸν δὲ τινα Πράσινον, οὐκ ἀφανῆ νέον ὄντα, αὐτῇ διαλοιδωρησάμενον δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχε. διὸ δὴ ὁ Βασιανὸς 'οὐ γὰρ ἀνήκοος ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐγεγόνει ἐς τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τὸν νεὼν φεύγει. [19] ἡ δὲ οἱ ἐπέστησεν αὐτίκα τὴν τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲν μὲν τῆς λοιδορίας ἐπικαλεῖν ἐπαγγείλασα, ὅτι δὲ παιδεραστοίῃ ἐπενεγκοῦσα. [20] καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναστήσασα ἠκίζετο ἀνυποίστω τινὶ κολάσει, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἅπας ἐπεὶ ἐν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς εἶδε σῶμα ἐλευθερίον τε καὶ ἀνειμένη ἄνωθεν διαίτη ἐντραφέν, ἀπῆλγησάν τε τὸ πάθος εὐθύς καὶ ξὺν οἰμωγῇ ἀνέκραγον οὐράνιον ὅσον ἐξαιτούμενοι τὸν νεανίαν. [21] ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον κολάσασα καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀποτεμομένη διέφθειρεν ἀνεξελέγκτως, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνεγράψατο. [22] οὕτως ἡνίκα ὀργῇ τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο, οὔτε ἱερὸν ὀχυρὸν ἐγεγόνει οὔτε νόμου τοῦ ἀπαγόρευσις οὔτε πόλεως ἀντιβόλησις ἐξελέσθαι τὸν παραπεπτωκότα ἱκανὴ ἐφαίνετο οὔσα, οὔτε ἄλλο αὐτῇ ἀπῆντα τῶν πάντων οὐδέν. [23] καὶ Διογένην δὲ τινα οἶα Πράσινον ὄντα δι' ὀργῆς ἔχουσα, ἄνδρα ἀστεῖον καὶ ποθεινὸν ἅπασί τε καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν γάμων ἀνδρείων συκοφαντεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. [24] δύο γοῦν ἀναπέισασα τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκετῶν κατηγόρους τε καὶ μάρτυρας τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐπέστησε. [25] τοῦ δὲ οὐ κρύβδην ἐξεταζομένου καὶ λαθραιότατα, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίῳ, δικαστῶν ἡρημένων πολλῶν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀδόξων, διὰ τὴν Διογένηος δόξαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκουν ἀκριβολογουμένοις τοῖς δικασταῖς οἱ τῶν οἰκετῶν λόγοι ἀξίόχρεοι ἐς τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ παιδαρίων ὄντων, Θεόδωρον τῶν Διογένηι ἀναγκαίων τινὰ ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν οἰκιδίῳις καθεῖρξεν. [26] ἐνταῦθα πολλαῖς μὲν θωπείαις, πολλοῖς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον αἰκισμοῖς περιῆλθεν. ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, νευρὰν βοείαν ἐς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀμφοῖ τὰ ὦτα περιελίζοντας τὴν νευρὰν στρέφειν τε καὶ σφίγγειν ἐκέλευε. [27] καὶ τοὺς μὲν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὺς Θεόδωρος ἐκπεπηδηκέναι τὴν οἰκεῖαν λιπόντας χώραν ὑπώπτευεν, οὐδὲν μέντοι τῶν οὐ γεγονότων ἀναπλάσσειν ἔγνω. [28] διὸ δὴ οἱ μὲν δικασταὶ ἅτε ἀμαρτυρήτου δίκης Διογένηος ἀπέγνωσαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἑορτὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πανδημεῖ ἦγεν.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. ἐρρήθη δὲ ἀρχομένῳ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου
 καὶ ὅσα Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Φώτιον καὶ Βούζην αὐτῇ ἐργασθείη. [2] στασιῶται
 δὲ Βένετοι δύο Κίλικες γένος Καλλινίκῳ τῷ Κιλικίας Δευτέρως ἄρχοντι σὺν
 θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐπιστάντες χειρῶν ἀδίκων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦρξαν, τὸν τε αὐτοῦ
 ἱποκόμον ἄγχιστά που ἐστώτα καὶ ἀμύνειν τῷ κεκτημένῳ πειρώμενον
 ἔκτειναν, τοῦ τε ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ δήμου θεωμένου παντός. [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς
 στασιώτας ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τοῦδε ἀλόντας τοῦ φόνου ἐν δίκη ἀνεῖλεν, ἡ
 δὲ μαθοῦσα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Βενέτους προσποιεῖται ἐνδεικνυμένη, ἔτι αὐτὸν τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ τῶν φονέων τάφῳ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [4]
 βασιλεὺς δὲ κλάειν τε καὶ ὀδυρεσθαι τὸν ἀπολωλότα σκηπτόμενος καθῆστο
 γρυλλίζων, πολλὰ τε τοῖς ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπουργηκόσιν ἀνατεινόμενος οὐδὲν
 ἔδρασε, τὰ μέντοι χρήματα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ληΐζεσθαι ὥς ἥκιστα
 ἀπηξίωσεν. [5] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα κολάσεις τῇ
 Θεοδώρα ἐπινοεῖν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν. πόρνας ἀμέλει πλέον ἢ πεντακοσίας ἀγείρασα
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ ἐς τριώβολον, ὅσον ἀποζῆν μισθαρνούσας, ἔς τε τὴν ἀντιπέραν
 ἤπειρον στείλασα ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Μετανοίᾳ μοναστηρίῳ καθεῖρξε τὸν βίον
 μεταμφιέσασθαι ἀναγκάζουσα. [6] ὧν δὴ τινες ἐρρίπτουν αὐτὰς ἀφ' ὕψηλοῦ
 νύκτωρ, ταύτη τε τῆς ἀκουσίῳ μεταβολῇ ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [7] Δύο δὲ κόραι ἐν
 Βυζαντίῳ ἀδελφαὶ ἦτην, οὐκ ἐκ πατρός τε καὶ τριγωνίας ὑπάτων μόνον, ἀλλ'
 ἀνέκαθεν αἵματος τοῦ πρώτου ἔν γε τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ γεγονυῖαι. [8] ταῦταις
 ἤδη ἐς γάμον ἐλθούσαις ἀπολωλότων τῶν ἀνδρῶν χήραις γεγονέναι
 ξυνέπεσεν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἄνδρας ἡ Θεοδώρα δύο ἀγελαίους τε καὶ βδελυροὺς
 ἀπολέξασα συνοικίζειν αὐταῖς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, ἐπικαλοῦσα μὴ σωφρόνως
 βιοῦν. [9] ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται δεῖσασαι, ἐς τὸ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερὸν φεύγουσιν, ἔς
 τε τὸν θεῖον λουτρῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τῆς ἐνταῦθα κολυμβήθρας ἀπρίξ εἶχοντο. [10]
 ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην αὐταῖς ἀνάγκην τε καὶ κακοπάθειαν προσετρίψατο ἡ
 βασίλισσα ὥστε αὐταῖς ἀπαλλαξιούσαις τῶν ἐνθὲνδε κακῶν τὸν γάμον
 αὐτῶν ἀνταλλάξασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ γέγονεν. οὕτως αὐτῇ ἄχραντος οὐδεὶς ἢ
 ἄσυλος μεμένηκε χῶρος. [11] αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν ἀνδράσι πτωχοῖς τε καὶ
 ἀπερριμμένοις πολλῷ ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας ἀξίας ἀκούσiai ξυνωκίσθησαν,
 καίπερ εὐπατριδῶν σφίσι παρόντων μνηστήρων. [12] ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐταῖς χήρα
 καὶ αὐτῇ γεγονυῖα οὔτε ἀνομιῶξαι οὔτε [13] ἀποκλαῦσαι τολμῶσα τὸ πάθος
 παρῆν τῇ ἐγγυῇ. ὕστερον δὲ ἀφοσιουμένη ἡ Θεοδώρα τὸ μίasma, δημοσίαις
 αὐτὰς παρηγορήσαι ξυμφοραῖς ἔγνω. [14] ἄρχοντα γὰρ ἐκάτερον κατεστήσατο.
 καὶ ταῖς μὲν κόραις παραψυχὴ οὐδ' ὥς γέγονε, πάθη δὲ ἀνήκεστα καὶ
 ἀνύποιστα τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῖς σχεδόν τι ἅπασι πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ξυνηνέχθη
 παθεῖν, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις λελέγεται. [15] Θεοδώρα γὰρ οὔτε
 ἀρχῆς οὔτε πολιτείας ἀξίωσις οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιμελὲς ἦν, εἰ τὸ βούλημα
 περανεῖται μόνον. [16] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυήσασα τῶν ἐραστῶν, ἡνίκα ἔτι
 ἐπὶ σκηνῇς ἦν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ ὅπῃ τοῦ καιροῦ αἰσθημένη πάντα μὲν ἐς τὸ
 ἀμβλύσκειν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐποίει, ἄωρον δὲ ἀποκτινύναι τὸ βρέφος οὐδεμιᾷ

μηχανῇ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολλῶ ἀπελέλειπτο τοῦ ἀνθρωποειδὲς γένος γεγενῆσθαι.
[17] διὸ δὴ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προϋχῶρει, τῆς πείρας ἀφεμένη τίκτειν ἠνάγκαστο. ὁρῶν
δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ τοῦ τεχθέντος πατὴρ ἀπορουμένην τε καὶ ἀσχάλλουσιν, ὅτι μήτηρ
γενομένη τῷ σώματι ὁμοίως ἐργάζεσθαι οὐκέτι ἂν δυνατὴ εἴη, ἐπεὶ καὶ
ἀληθῶς δὴ ὑπῆσθετο ὡς διαχρήσεται τὸ παιδίον, ἀνεύλετό τε καὶ Ἰωάννην
ἐπονομάσας, ἐπεὶ ἄρσεν ἦν, ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐς ἣνπερ ὠρμητο ἀπὼν ὥχετο.
[18] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἤδη μειράκιον ἦν, τὸν
πάντα λόγον αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἔφρασε. [19] καὶ ὅς ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τῷ
πατρὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντι τὰ νόμιμα ποιήσας, χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἐς
Βυζάντιον ἦλθε καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τὰς εἰσόδους ἀεὶ ποιούμενοις τὸ
πρᾶγμα ἀγγέλλει. [20] οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου αὐτὴν
λογιεῖσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐπαγγέλλουσι τῇ μητρὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῆς Ἰωάννης ὁ
υἱὸς ἦκοι. [21] δεῖσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μὴ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος γένηται,
τὸν παῖδά οἱ ἐς ὅψιν ἐκέλευεν ἦκειν. [22] ἐπεὶ τε εἶδε παραγενόμενον, τῶν
οἰκείων τινὶ ἐνεχειρίσεν, [23] ὥπερ ἀεὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπέχειν εἰώθει. καὶ τρώφῳ
μὲν ὅτῳ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνισται οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὐδεὶς δὲ
αὐτὸν ἄχρι δεῦρο ἰδεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπογενομένης τῆς βασιλίδος ἔσχε. [24] Τότε καὶ
ταῖς γυναιξὶ σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσαις τὸν τρόπον διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. ἐξήμαρτον γὰρ
ἐς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξουσία τῇ πάσῃ, οὐ φέροντος αὐταῖς κίνδυνόν τινα ἢ βλάβην
τοῦ ἔργου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσαι μοιχείας ἀλοῖεν, αὐταὶ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ἔμενον, παρὰ
δὲ τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτίκα ἰοῦσαι ἀντίστροφοὶ τε γενόμεναι καὶ δίκην οὐ
γεγονότων ἐγκλημάτων ἀντιλαχοῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπῆγον. [25] περιῆν τε
αὐτοῖς ἀνεξελέγκτοις οὔσι τὴν μὲν προῖκα ἐν διπλασίῳ ἀποτινύουσαι,
μεμαστιγμένους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον ἀπαχθῆναι, καὶ αὖ
πάλιν τὰς μοιχευτρίας ἐπιδεῖν κεκομψευμένας τε καὶ πρὸς τῶν μοιχῶν
ἀδεέστερον λαγνευόμενας. τῶν δὲ μοιχῶν πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ
τιμῆς ἔτυχον. [26] διόπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάσχοντες πρὸς τῶν γυναικῶν
ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀσμενέστατα ἀμαστιγῶται σιωπῇ ἔμενον, τὴν παρρησίαν αὐταῖς
τῷ μὴ πεφωρᾶσθαι δοκεῖν ἐνδιδόντες. [27] Αὕτη ἅπαντα πρυτανεύειν
αὐτογνωμονοῦσα τὰ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἤξιον. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἱερωσύνas
ἐχειροτόνει, ἐκεῖνο μόνον διερευνωμένη καὶ φυλασσομένη ἐνδελεχέστατα, μὴ
καλὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς τις ὁ τὸ ἀζῖωμα μετῴων εἴη, καὶ οὐχ οἷός τέ οἱ ἐσόμενος ἐς τὰ
ἐπαγγελλόμενα ὑπουργήσῃ. [28] καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἅπαντας τῇ θεῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τινὶ
διωκεῖτο, τοῦ τε γαμεῖν πρότερον οὐδεμίαν ἄνθρωποι ἐγγύην ἐκουσίαν
πεποιήναι. [29] γυνὴ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐγένετο, οὐχ ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν
ἦρεσκεν, ὅπερ κὰν τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλομένη τῇ Θεοδώρα
εἴη. [30] ὅπερ αὖ καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις ἀνάπαλιν ξυνέβαινε πάσχειν. ἀνδράσι
γὰρ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐθελούσιν ἠναγκάζοντο. [31] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν νύμφην
ἐκ τῆς παστάδος ἀποβιβάσασα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνυμέναιον τὸν νυμφίον ἀφήκε,
τοῦτο μόνον ξὺν ἀκροχολίᾳ εἰποῦσα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν ἀπαρέσκοι. [32] ὅπερ ἄλλους
τε πολλοὺς ἔδρασε καὶ Λέοντα, ὅσπερ ῥεφερενδάριος ἦν τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ
Σατορνῖνον, τὸν Ἑρμογένους τοῦ μαγίστρου γεγονότος ἐπὶ μνηστῇ. τούτῳ
γὰρ τῷ Σατορνῖνῳ ἦν τις ἀνεψιαδῇ παρθένος μνηστῇ, ἐλευθέριος καὶ κοσμία,
ἥνπερ οἱ Κύριλλος ὁ πατὴρ κατηγγύησεν Ἑρμογένους τοῦ βίου ἥδη

ἀπολυθέντος. [33] πεπηγυίας τε αὐτοῖς τῆς παστάδος τὸν νυμφίον καθεῖρξεν, ἔς τε τὴν ἑτέραν παστάδα ἤχθη, ἔγχευε τε κωκύων καὶ οἰμώζων ὅσον τὴν Χρυσομαλλοῦς παῖδα. [34] Χρυσομαλλῶ δὲ αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ὀρχηστρίς ἐγεγόνει καὶ αὖθις ἐταῖρα, τότε δὲ ζὺν ἑτέρα Χρυσομαλλοῖ καὶ Ἰνδαροῖ ἐν Παλατίῳ τὴν δίαίταν εἶχεν. [35] ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ φαλλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτρῳ διατριβῆς τῇδε διωκοῦντο τὰ πράγματα. [36] ξυγκαταδαρθὼν δὲ ὁ Σατορνίνος τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ διαπεπαρθενευμένην εὐρὼν ἔς τινα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξήνεγκεν ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄτρητον γῆμαι. [37] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς Θεοδώραν ἦλθε, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευεν ἅτε ἀποσεμνυνόμενον τε καὶ ὀγκωθέντα οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, μετέωρον αἶρειν, οἷα τὰ ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶντα παιδία, ξαίνουσά τε κατὰ τῶν νώτων πολλὰς ἀπεῖπεν αὐτῷ μὴ φλυάρῳ εἶναι. [38] Οἷα μέντοι καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Καππαδόκην εἰργάσατο ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. ἅπερ αὐτῇ διαπέπρακται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ χαλεπαινούση, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανε· τεκμήριον δέ: τῶν γὰρ ὕστερον δεινότερα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐργασαμένων οὐδένα τοῦτο πεποιήται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ τε ἄλλα τῇ γυναικὶ καταντικρὺ ἐτόλμα ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλλεν, ὥστε αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν. [39] τῶν γὰρ αἰτιῶν, ὅπερ ὑπέειπον, ἐνταυθὰ μοι μάλιστα τὰς ἀληθεστάτας ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. [40] ἥνικα τε αὐτὸν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καθεῖρξε πεπονθότα ὅσα μοι ἀμφοῖν αὐτῷ προδεδήλωται, οὐδ' ὥς τινα ἔλαβε τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κολάσεως κόρον, ἀλλὰ ψευδομάρτυρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ διερευνωμένη οὐδέποτε ἀνίει. [41] τέτρασι δὲ ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον Πρασίνους εὐρέσθαι δύο τῶν ἐν Κυζίκῳ στασιωτῶν ἰσχυσεν, οἵπερ τῶν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι. [42] καὶ αὐτοὺς θωπεύεις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἀπειλαῖς περιῆλθεν, ὥστε ἄτερος μὲν κατορρωδήσας καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸ μίasma τοῦ φόνου ἐς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀνήνεγκεν. [43] ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐλθεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω, καίπερ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς βασάνου καταταθείς, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ καὶ τεθνήξεται αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [44] διὸ δὴ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην τούτῳ δὴ τῷ παραπετάσματι διαχρήσασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔσχε, τοῖν δὲ νεανίαιν τούτοις χεῖρας τὰς δεξιὰς ἔτεμε, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι ψευδομαρτυρεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, τοῦ δὲ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιφανῆς ἢ ἐπιβουλή ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται. [45] τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πρassoμένων τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποίειτο τῶν πρassoμένων μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ζυνεῖναι.

XVIII

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ δαίμων τις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀνθρωπόμορφος ἦν, τεκμηριώσαιο ἂν τις τῷ μεγέθει σταθμώμενος ὧν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακῶν ἔδρασεν. [2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἡ τοῦ δεδρακότος δύναμις ἐνδηλος γίνεται. [3] τὸ μὲν οὖν μέτρον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φράσαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένων οὐκ ἂν ποτε, μοι δοκεῖ, τῶν πάντων τινὶ ἢ τῷ θεῷ δυνατὰ εἶη. [4] θάσσον γὰρ ἂν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν πᾶσαν ψάμμον ἐξαριθμήσειεν ἢ ὅσους ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνῆρηκε. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαριθμούμενος, ἦνπερ ἔρημον τῶν ἐνοικούντων ξυμπέπτωκεν εἶναι, μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας φημί ἀπολωλέναι. [5] Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτον διήκουσα μέτρον οὕτως ἀπόλωλεν ὥστε ὁδὸν ἰόντι πολλὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐντυχεῖν χαλεπὸν τε καὶ λόγου ἄξιον εἶναι. [6] καίτοι Βανδύλων μὲν τῶν ὅπλα ἀρχὴν αἰρομένων ἐνταῦθα μυριάδες ὀκτὼ ἐτύγγανον οὔσαι, γυναίων δὲ καὶ παιδαρίων καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτῶν τίς ἂν εἰκάσειε μέτρον; [7] Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὤκημένων τὰ πρότερα καὶ γῆν γεωργούντων ἐργασίαν τε τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργαζομένων, ὅπερ μοι αὐτόπτη ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγονέναι τετύχηκε, πῶς ἂν τις τὸ πλῆθος διαριθμῆσθαι ἰκανὸς εἶη τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων; τούτων δὲ πολλῷ ἔτι πλείους Μαυρούσιοι ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα, οἷς δὴ ἅπασι ξύν τε γυναίξιν καὶ γόνυ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. [8] πολλοὺς δὲ αὖ τῇ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπισπομένων ἡ γῆ ἔκρυσεν. ὥστε εἴ τις μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐν γε Λιβύῃ πεντακοσίας ἰσχυρίζεται ἀπολωλέναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῷ πράγματι, οἶμαι, [9] διαρκῶς εἴποι. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι Βανδύλων εὐθὺς ἡσημένων οὐχ ὅπως κρατύνεται τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπικράτησιν ἐπιμελὲς οἱ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὅπως οἱ ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν φυλακὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εὐνοίᾳ τῶν κατηκόων εἶη προϋνόησεν, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριον αὐτίκα μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ μετεπέμπετο, τυραννίδα οἱ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπεγκαλέσας, ὅπως τὸ ἐνθὲνδε διοικούμενος κατ' ἐξουσίαν Λιβύην καταπιὼν ὅλην ληΐζηται. [10] Τιμητὰς ἀμέλει τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε καὶ φόρους ἐπετίθει πικροτάτους τινὰς οὐ πρότερον ὄντας. καὶ τῶν χωρίων προσεποιεῖτο, εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν, καὶ Ἀρειανοὺς τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μυστηρίων εἴργε. [11] καὶ ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς συντάξεσιν ὑπερήμερος ἦν, καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγεγόνει βαρὺς. ἐξ ὧν αἱ στάσεις φυόμεναι τετελευτήκασιν εἰς ὀλεθρον μέγαν. [12] οὐ γὰρ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι ποτε ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ ξυγγεῖν τε καὶ ἀναθολοῦν ἐπεφύκει πάντα. [13] Ἰταλία δὲ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τριπλασία Λιβύης οὔσα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἢ ἐκείνῃ πανταχόθι γεγένηται. ὥστε δὴ μέτρου τῶν κἀνταῦθα [14] ἀνηρημένων ἐγγύθεν ἢ δήλωσις ἔσται. ἢ γὰρ αἰτία τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκότων ἤδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται. ἅπαντά τε γὰρ ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῷ ἡμαρτήθη. [15] καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους λογοθέτας προσεπιτέμψας ἀνεχαίτισέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν εὐθὺς ἅπαντα. [16] κατέτεινε δὲ ἡ Γότθων ἀρχὴ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐκ Γάλλων τῆς γῆς ἄχρι τῶν Δακίας ὀρίων, [17] οὗ δὴ πόλις τὸ Σίρμιόν ἐστι. Γαλλίας μὲν οὖν καὶ Βενετίων γῆν τὴν πολλὴν Γερμανοὶ ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός. [18]

Σίρμιον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία Γήπαιδες κατέχουσιν, ἅπαντα μέντοι συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημα. [19] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος, τοὺς δὲ νόσος τε καὶ λιμὸς διεχρήσαντο, ἃ δὴ τῷ πολέμῳ ἔπεσθαι πέφυκεν. [20] Ἰλλυριοὺς δὲ καὶ Θράκην ὅλην, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια, ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Χερροννησιωτῶν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν, Οὐννοὶ τε καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται σχεδόν τι ἀνὰ πᾶν καταθέοντες ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ Ἰουστινιανὸς παρέλαβε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα εἰργάσαντο τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους. [21] πλέον γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστη ἐσβολῇ οἶμαι ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας εἴκοσιν εἶναι τῶν τε ἀνηρημένων καὶ ἡνδραποδισμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, ὥστε τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν ἀμέλει ταύτης πανταχόσε τῆς γῆς ξυμβαίνειν εἶναι. [22] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ τε καὶ Εὐρώπῃ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ξυνενεχθέντα τοιαῦτά ἐστι. Σαρακηνοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐφ' οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τῶν Περσίδος ὁρίων πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον διηνεκῶς καταθέοντες οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεδελεχέστατα κατειργάσαντο, ὥστε ὀλιγανθρωπότατα ζύμπαντα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, καὶ οὐ μήποτε ἀνθρώπων, οἶμαι, δυνατόν ἔσται τὸ μέτρον τῶν οὕτως ἀπολωλότων διερευνημένῳ εὐρέσθαι. [23] Πέρσαι τε καὶ Χοσρόης τετράκις μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τὰς τε πόλεις καθεῖλον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὓς ἂν λάβοιεν ἐν τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἀλικομέναις καὶ χώρα ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν κτείνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας αὐτοῖς ἐπαγόμενοι, ἔρημον τὴν γῆν κατεστήσαντο τῶν ἐνοικούντων, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκῆσαι ξυνέπεσεν. [24] ἐξ οὗ δὲ καὶ εἰς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἐσήλασαν, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Λαζοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις διαφθεῖρεσθαι μέχρι δεῦρο ξυμβαίνει. [25] Οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ Πέρσαις ἢ Σαρακηνοῖς ἢ Οὐννοῖς ἢ τῷ Σκλαβηνῶν γένει ἢ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν ἀκραιφνέσιν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ξυνηνέχθη ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [26] ἐν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἐφόδοις καὶ πολλῶ ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐν τε πολιορκίαις καὶ ξυμβολαῖς ἐναντιώμασι πολλοῖς προσεπταικότες οὐδὲν τι ἥσσαν ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. [27] οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρβαροι σχεδόν τι πάντες τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μαιφονίας ἀπώναντο. [28] ἦν μὲν γὰρ τε καὶ Χοσρόης αὐτός τε πονηρὸς τὸ ἦθος καὶ, ὥς μοι ἐν λόγοις εἴρηται τοῖς καθήκουσι, τὰς μὲν αἰτίας αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὅδε παρείχετο πάσας. [29] οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου τοῖς καιροῖς ἐναρμόζειν τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ καιροῦ πάντα εἰργάζετο, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐξαρτυρόμενος αἰεὶ νῶ δολερῶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας πολέμου αἰτίας, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναπεπτωκώς τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔργων παρασκευὴν ὀκνηρῶς ἄγαν διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ποιούμενος, ἀντὶ τε σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα περισκοπῶν μὲν τὰ μετέωρα, περιέργος δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει γινόμενος, καὶ οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον μεθίεις, τῷ μαιφόνος τις καὶ παλαμναῖος εἶναι, οὔτε περιεῖναι τῶν πολεμίων οἷός τε ὦν, τῷ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας περιεργάζεσθαι. [30] ταύτῃ τε αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡ γῆ ζύμπασα ἔμπλεως αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου ἐκ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ βαρβάρων σχεδόν τι πάντων διαρκῶς γέγονε. [31] Ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πανταχόθι γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [32] τὰ δὲ κατὰ στάσιν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη ξυνενεχθέντα διαριθμούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἀνθρώπων φόνον ταύτῃ ξυμβῆναι ἢ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον οἶομαι. [33] τοῦ γὰρ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιστροφῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς

ἀμαρτανομένοις ὡς ἥκιστα ὄντων, ἀλλὰ κατεσπουδασμένου τῷ βασιλεῖ
θατέρου τοῖν μεροῖν μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ θάτεροι ἦγον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῷ
ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τῷ θαρσεῖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσίν τε καὶ ἀπόνοιαν αἰεὶ ἔβλεπον,
καὶ πῇ μὲν ἀθρόοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰόντες, πῇ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους μαχόμενοι, ἡ καὶ
κατ' ἄνδρα ἓνα τὰς ἐνέδρας, ἃν οὕτω τύχοι, ποιούμενοι ἐς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα
ἐνιαυτοὺς οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν αὐτοῖ τε εἰργάζοντο ἀλλήλους ἀνήκεστα
ἔργα καὶ πρὸς τῆς τῷ δῆμῳ ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διεφθείροντο. [34] ἡ
μέντοι τίσις τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς τοὺς Πρασίνοους
ἐγίνετο. ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἡ ἐς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους αἰρετικούς
κόλασις φόνου ἐνέπλησε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [35] ταῦτα δέ μοι ὅσον ἐν
κεφαλαίῳ εἰρησθαι ἀπομνημονεύεται τανῦν, ἐπεὶ μοι ἱκανῶς ὀλίγῳ
ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται. [36] Ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐν σώματι γενόμενον δαίμονα
τετύχηκε γενέσθαι ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὥνπερ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτὸς ἄτε
βασιλεὺς καταστὰς ἔδωκε· καὶ ὅσα μέντοι κατακεκρυμμένη δυνάμει καὶ
φύσει δαιμονία διειργάσατο ἀνθρώπους κακὰ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [37] τούτου γὰρ
Ῥωμαίων διοικουμένου τὰ πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα πάθη ξυνηνέχθη
γενέσθαι, ἅπερ οἱ μὲν τῇ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τῇδε παρουσίᾳ ἰσχυρίζοντο
καὶ μηχανῇ ξυμβῆναι, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ θεῖον τὰ ἔργα μισῆσαν ἀποστραφέν τε
ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, χώραν δαίμοσι τοῖς παλαμναίοις ἐνδεδωκέναι ταῦτα
διαπράξασθαι [38] τῇδε. Ἔδεσαν μὲν γὰρ Σκιρτὸς ἐπικλύσας ὁ ποταμὸς
μυρίων δημιουργὸς τοῖς ἐκεῖνι ἀνθρώποις συμφορῶν γέγονεν, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς
ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράψεται. [39] Νεῖλος δὲ ἀναβάς μὲν ἥπερ εἰώθει, χρόνοις δὲ
οὐκ ἀποβάς τοῖς καθήκουσι, δεινὰ τινας τῶν ὥκημένων εἰργάσατο ἔργα, ἅπερ
μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδιήγεται. [40] Κύνδος δὲ Ταρσὸν περιβαλλόμενος σχεδόν τι
πᾶσαν ἡμέρας τε αὐτὴν ἐπικλύσας πολλὰς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως αὐτὴν
ἀνήκεστα κακὰ ἔδρασε. [41] σεισμοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχειάν τε καθεῖλον τὴν τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
πρώτην καὶ Σελεύκειαν, ἥπερ αὐτῆς ἐκ γειτόνων οἰκεῖται, καὶ τὴν ἐν Κίλιξιν
ἐπιφανεστάτην Ἀνάζαρβον. [42] αἷς τῶν ξυναπολωλότεων ἀνθρώπων τὸ μέτρον
τίς ἂν διαριθμεῖσθαι δυνατός εἴη; προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις τὰ τε Ἰβωρα καὶ
Ἀμάσειαν, ἡ πρώτη ἐν Πόντῳ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, Πολύβοτόν τε τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ
καὶ ἦν Πισίδαι Φιλομηδὴν καλοῦσι, Λύχνιδόν τε τὴν ἐν Ἠπειρώταις καὶ
Κόρινθον, αἱ δὴ πολυανθρωπόταται ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. [43] ταύταις γὰρ
ἀπαξάπασαις ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σεισμῷ τε καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς
ὥκημένοις σχεδόν τι πᾶσι ξυνδιολωλέναι τετύχηκεν. [44] ἐπιγενόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ
λοιμὸς, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα τῶν περιγινομένων
ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆνεγκε μοῖραν. [45] τοσούτων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο φθόρος,
Ἰουστινιανοῦ πρότερον Ῥωμαίοις διοικουμένου τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ὕστερον
τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.

XIX

Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο ἀπαξάπαντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι, ὅψιν ὀνείρου ὑπειπὼν πρότερον ἦνπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τῶν τιनि ἐπιφανῶν ἰδεῖν ζυνηγέθη. [2] ἔφη γάρ οἱ δοκεῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνείρῳ ἐστάναι μὲν που ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡίονα, ἥ δὴ Χαλκηδόνος καταντικρὺ ἐστίν, ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνη πορθμὸν ἐστῶτα μέσον. [3] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐκπλεῖν ὅλον, ὥστε οἶεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐστάναι, οὐκέτι τοῦ πορθμοῦ ταύτη ἐπιόντος, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ρύπου τε πολλοῦ καὶ φορυτοῦ γέμον, βρύσαν ἐξ ὑπονόμων ἐκατέρωθεν ὄντων, ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτον ἐκπλεῖν ἅμα, γυμνὸν τε αὖθις ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ πορθμοῦ χῶρον. [4] Ἡ μὲν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὅψις ἐδήλου τοιαῦτα. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ οὗτος, ἡνίκα οἱ ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, χρημάτων δημοσίων ἐμπλεων τὴν πολιτείαν εὗρεν. [5] Ἀναστάσιος γὰρ προνοητικώτατός τε ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομικώτατος πάντων αὐτοκρατόρων γενόμενος, δείσας ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ οἱ ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξόμενος χρημάτων ὑποσπανίζων ἴσως τοὺς κατηκόους ληΐζῃται, χρυσοῦ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος, τὸν βίον ζυνεμετρήσατο. [6] οὕσπερ ἅπαντας Ἰουστινιανὸς ὡς τάχιστα διεσπάσατο, πῇ μὲν θαλασσίους οἰκοδομίαις λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσαις, πῇ δὲ τῇ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φιλότῃ: καίτοι φήθη ἂν τις αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐς ἄγαν ἀσώτῳ ἐσομένῳ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπαρκέσειν. [7] ἰσχυρίζοντο γὰρ οἱ τοῖς θησαυροῖς τε καὶ ταμείοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν ἐφεστῶτες, Ἀναστάσιον μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔτη πλέον ἢ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἄρξαντα διακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀπολιπεῖν. [8] ἐπὶ μέντοι Ἰουστίνου ἔτη ἑννέα τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, τούτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ζύγχευσίν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προστριψαμένου, τετρακισχίλια κεντηνάρια ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσκομισθῆναι οὐδενὶ νόμῳ, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπολελειφθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτι περιόντος Ἰουστίνου πρὸς τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δεδαπανῆσθαι ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται λόγοις. [9] ἅπερ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ σφετερίζεσθαι τε οὐ δέον καὶ ἀναλοῦν ἴσχυσεν, οὐδ' ἂν τινα λόγον ἢ λογισμὸν ἢ μέτρον φανῆναι μηχανή τις οὐδεμία ἐστίν. [10] ὥσπερ γὰρ τις ποταμὸς ἀένναος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκδηιούμενος κατεληΐζετο τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐπέρρει δὲ ἅπαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐθύς. [11] Πλοῦτον οὕτω τὸν δημόσιον εὐθύς ἐκφορήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατηκόους τὸ βλέμμα ἤγε, πλείστους τε αὐτίκα τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο ἀρπάζων τε καὶ βιαζόμενος οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τε οὐδαμῇ γεγονότων ὑπάγων τοὺς εὐδαίμονας ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη δοκοῦντας εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολυθείαν, τοῖς δὲ δόξης ἐν Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ὀρθῆς αἵρεσιν, τοῖς δὲ παιδεραστίας, ἐτέροις ἱερῶν γυναικῶν ἔρωτας, ἢ ἄλλας τινὰς οὐ θεμιτὰς μίξεις, ἄλλοις στάσεως ἀφορμὴν, ἢ μέρους Πρασίνου στοργὴν, ἢ ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν, ἢ ὄνομα ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκὼν, ἢ κληρονόμος αὐτόματος τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἢ καὶ περιοῦσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, γινόμενος ἅτε ἐσποιητὸς πρὸς αὐτῶν γενόμενος. [12] αἱ γὰρ δὴ σεμνότεραι τῶν πράξεων αὐτῷ τοιαῦται ἦσαν.

ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὴν γενομένην ἐπ' αὐτὸν στάσιν, ἣν Νίκα ἐκάλουν, διοικησάμενος πᾶσι κληρονόμος τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς εὐθὺς γέγονεν ἤδη μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγεται, καὶ ὅπως τῆς στάσεως πρότερον οὐκ ὀλίγων αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστου τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο. [13] Τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδένα ἀνιείς καιρὸν χρήμασιν ἐδωρεῖτο μεγάλοις, ἐφ' οὓς τε καὶ ἐσπερίους πρὸς τε ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίαις ὤκημένους καὶ γῆς πανταχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ἔθνη, ὥνπερ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν πρότερον εἶχομεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἰδόντες εἶτα τοῦ γένους ὄνομα ἔγνωμεν. [14] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ πυνθανόμενοι τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦθος ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὴ ἐκ πάσης γῆς ξυνέρρεον ἐς Βυζάντιον. [15] καὶ ὃς οὐδεμιᾶ ὀκνήσει, ἀλλ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τι καὶ ἔρμαιον εἶναι οἰόμενος τὸν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαντλεῖν πλοῦτον, βαρβάροις δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἢ ῥοθίοις τισὶ θαλασσίοις προῖεσθαι, ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ξὺν ἀδροῖς χρήμασιν ἀπεπέμπετο. [16] ταύτῃ τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἅπαντες κύριοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων παντάπασι γεγέννηται πλούτου, ἢ τὰ χρήματα πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι ἢ ληϊζόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἢ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδόμενοι, ἢ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπεμπολοῦντες, τὴν τε τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψιν, ἣς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, ἐς τοῦτο τῷ ἰδόντι [17] ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε. καὶ ἄλλους μέντοι ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τῆς τῶν κατηκόων λειλασίας τρόπους ἴσχυσεν, οἵπερ ἐς ὅσον δυνατὸς ἂν εἶην αὐτίκα μάλα λελέξονται, δι' ὧν οὐκ ἀθρόας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ τὰς πάντων οὐσίας ληϊζεσθαι διαρκῶς ἔσχε.

Πρῶτα τῷ δήμῳ οἱ ἔπαρχον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφίστη, ὃς δὴ ἔμελλε τοῖς τὰ πωλητήρια ἔχουσι πόρου ἐνιαυσίου ἐνθένδε διαλαγχάνων ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμβιβάζειν τοῦ τὰ ὧνια ὅπη βούλονται ἀποδίδοσθαι. [2] καὶ περιεστήκει τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τριπλασίονα μὲν καταβαλλομένοις τιμήματα, ὅτῳ δὲ ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἐπικαλοῖεν, [3] καλοῖεν, οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσι. μέγα τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου βλάβος ἡγείρετο. μέρος γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦδε φερομένης τοῦ πόρου πλουτεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τῷ πράγματι ἐφεστῶσα ἀρχὴ ἤθελε. [4] τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπηρεταὶ τῆς αἰσχυρᾶς ταύτης ὑπουργίας ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ οἱ τὰ πωλητήρια ἔχοντες τῆς τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἐξουσίας δραξάμενοι ἀνήκεστα ἔργα τοὺς τότε ὠνεῖσθαι δεομένους εἰργάζοντο, οὐχ ὅσον πολλὰ εἰρηται πολλαπλάσια τὰ τιμήματα κομιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δολώσεις ἐν τοῖς ὠνίοις μηχανώμενοι ἀμυθήτους τινάς. [5] Ἐπειτα δὲ πολλὰ καταστησάμενος τὰ καλούμενα μονοπώλια τὴν τε κατηκόων σωτηρίαν ἀπεμπολήσας τοῖς τὸ ἄγος τοῦτο ἐνεργολαβεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν τίμημα τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀντιφορτισάμενος ἀπηλλάσσετο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβεβληκόσι παρείχετο τὴν ἐργασίαν [6] ἢ βούλονται διοικήσασθαι. ὅπερ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἡμαρτάνετο κὰν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρχαῖς. βασιλέως γὰρ μοῖρᾴν τινα οὐ πολλὴν ἀεὶ τῶν φωρίων κομιζόμενου αἱ τε ἀρχαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πράγματι ἐφεστῶτες ἐκάστῳ ἄδεέστερον τοὺς σφίσι παραπίπτοντας ἐλγίζοντο. [7] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανῶν οἱ ἐς τοῦτο οὐσῶν τῶν πάλαι διατεταγμένων ἀρχῶν, ἐτέρας δύο ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπετεχνήσατο, καίτοι ἅπαντα μετῆι πρότερον τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἢ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσα ἀρχή. [8] ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀεὶ πλείους τε οἱ συκοφάνται εἶεν καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι θᾶσσον τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπταικότων ἀνθρώπων τὰ σώματα αἰκίζοιτο, ταύτας δὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπινοεῖν ἔγνω. [9] καὶ αὐταῖν τὴν ἐτέραν μὲν τοῖς κλέπταις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπέστησεν, ὄνομα ταύτῃ ἐπιθεῖς πραιτώρα δήμων· τῇ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρᾳ τοὺς τε παιδεραστοῦντας ἐς ἀεὶ τίνυσθαι καὶ γυναιξίν οὐ νόμιμα μιγνυμένους ἐπήγγελλε, καὶ εἴ τῳ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἦσκηται, [10] ὄνομα ταύτῃ ἐπιθεῖς κοιαισίτωρα. ὁ μὲν οὖν πραιτῶρ εἴ τινα ἐν τοῖς φωρίοις λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια εὔρε, ταῦτα δὴ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀποφέρειν ἡξίου, φάσκων [11] οὐδαμῇ φαίνεσθαι τοὺς τούτων κυρίου. ταύτῃ τε χρημάτων ἀεὶ τῶν τιμιωτάτων διαλαγχάνειν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ κοιαισίτωρ καλούμενος τοὺς παραπετωκότας κατεργαζόμενος, ἃ μὲν βούλοιτο, βασιλεὶ ἔφερεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐπλούτει τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις οὐδενὶ νόμῳ. [12] οἱ γὰρ δὴ τούτων τῶν ἀρχῶν ὑπηρεταὶ οὔτε κατηγόρους ἐπῆγοντο οὔτε μάρτυρας τῶν πεπραγμένων παρείχοντο, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀκατηγόρητοί τε καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτοι ὥς λαθραιότατα ἐντυχόντες ἐκτείνοντό τε καὶ ἀφηροῦντο τὰ χρήματα. [13] Ὑστερον δὲ ὁ παλαμναῖος οὗτος ταύταις τε καὶ τῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσῃ ἀρχῇ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπέστελλεν, ἐρίζειν σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰπὼν ὅστις αὐτῶν πλείους τε καὶ θᾶσσον διαφθείρειν ἱκανὸς εἴη. [14] καὶ αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐρέσθαι φασίν, ἦν

ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς τίς ποτε διαβάλλοιτο, τίνος ἂν αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ πράγματος διάγνωσις εἴη· τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι, ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν προτερήσας τοὺς ἄλλους φθάνοι. [15] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος καλουμένην ἀρχὴν διέθετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἥσπερ διαφερόντως ἐπεμελοῦντο οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες, ὅπως τε τὰ ἄλλα ἔμπειροι καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς νόμους μάλιστα εἶεν οἱ ταύτην διαχειρίσαντες καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατοι, ὥς οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλου ὀλέθρου τοῦτου γε τῇ πολιτείᾳ γενησομένου, εἴπερ οἱ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες ἢ ἀπειρία τινὶ ἔχοντο ἢ φιλοχρηματία ἐφεῖντο. [16] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης Τριβωνιανὸν κατεστήσατο, οὗπερ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις διαρκῶς εἴρητο. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τριβωνιανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, μοῖραν μὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, καίτοι παιδὸς τέ οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι καὶ πλήθους ἐκγόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, Ἰούνιλον δὲ Λίβυν γένος ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς κατεστήσατο ταύτης, νόμου μὲν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ῥητόρων τις ἦν, γράμματα δὲ Λατῖνα μὲν ἐξεπιστάμενον, Ἑλληνικῶν μέντοι ἔνεκα οὐδὲ πεφοιτηκότα πρὸς γραμματιστοῦ πώποτε, οὐδὲ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτὴν ἐλληνίζειν δυνάμενον· πολλὰκις ἀμέλει φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα προθυμηθεὶς ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετούντων γέλωτα ὥφλεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακότα, ὅς γε γράμματα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀπεμπολῶν ὥς ἥκιστα κατεδύετο. [18] ἐνὸς δὲ στατήρος χρυσοῦ ἔνεκα τὴν χεῖρα ὀρέγειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδαμῇ ὥκνει. [19] οὐχ ἥσσόν τε ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον τοῦτον ἢ πολιτεία τὸν γέλωτα ὥφλεν. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰούνιλος ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου ἀφίκετο, Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀξιώματος κατεστήσατο, νόμων μὲν ὄντα οὐκ ἀμελέτητον, νέον δὲ κομιδῇ καὶ οὐπὼ ἀγωνίας δικανικῆς ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντα, κλεπτίστατον δὲ καὶ ἀλαζονικώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [21] οὗτος Ἰουστινιανῷ ποθεινότητος τε ἄγαν καὶ φίλτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κλέπτειν τε καὶ δικάζειν αἰεὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου. [22] διὸ δὴ χρήματα μεγάλα χρόνου ὀλίγου Κωνσταντῖνος ἔσχε καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ τινι κόμπῳ ἐχρήτο, ἀεροβατῶν τε καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους περιφρονῶν, κἂν μὲν τινες αὐτῷ πολλὰ βούλοιντο χρήματα προέσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ κατατιθέντες τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων τισὶ τὰ σφίσιν ἐσπουδασμένα κατορθοῦν ἴσχυον. [23] αὐτῷ μέντοι ἐντυχεῖν ἢ ξυγγενέσθαι τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ γέγονε δυνατόν, ὅτι μὴ ἐς βασιλέα δρόμῳ ἰόντι ἢ ἀπαλλασσομένῳ ἐνθένδε οὐ βάδην, ἀλλὰ σπουδῇ τε καὶ τάχει πολλῷ τοῦ μὴ τινὰ οἱ ἀκερδῇ ἀσχολίαν τοὺς προσιόντας προστρίβεσθαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε. βασιλεῖ τῷδε εἶχε. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ τῶν πραιτωρίων ἐπάρχου ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα κεντηνάρια πρὸς τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπράσσετο φόροις. [2] οἷς δὴ ὄνομα τὸ ἀερικὸν ἐπιτίθεικεν, ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλῶν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ τεταγμένη τις οὐδὲ ξυνειθισμένη οὔσα ἢ φορὰ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ τύχη τινὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀέρος αἰὲ αὐτὴν φερομένην ἐλάμβανε, δέον τῆς πονηρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖν ἔργα. [3] ὣν δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τεταγμένοι ἀδεέστερον αἰὲ ταῖς ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους ληστεiais ἐχρῶντο. [4] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀποφέρειν ἤξιουν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλούτον βασιλικὸν περιεβάλλοντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [5] ὥνπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπιστροφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐδικαίου ποιῆσθαι, καιροφυλακῶν ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πλούτου τι μέγα περιβάλλονται χρῆμα, ἔγκλημα ὃ τι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκῶν ἀπροφάσιστον ἀθρόον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν ἱκανὸς εἴη. ὅπερ καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Καππαδόκην εἰργάσατο. [6] ἅπαντες οὖν ἀμέλει ὅσοι τῆς τιμῆς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐλαμβάνοντο πλούσιοι ἐξαπινάως οὐδενὶ γεγένηται μέτρῳ, δυοῖν μέντοι χωρὶς, Φωκᾶ τε, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τοῦ δικαίου ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐπιμελητοῦ γεγονότος: κέρδους γὰρ ὅτουοῦν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀξιώματι καθαρὸς ἔμεινε, καὶ Βάσσου, ὃς δὴ ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν. [7] ὥνπερ οὐδέτερος ἐνιαυτὸν διασώσασθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀχρεῖοί τε καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ παράπαν ἀλλόκοτοι μνηῶν που ὀλίγων τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἔξω γεγένηται. [8] ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστόν μοι διηγουμένῳ ἀτελεύτητος ὁ λόγος εἴη, ταῦτα κἀν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπράσσετο ταῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρχαῖς. [9] Πανταχόθι μέντοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποίει τάδε. τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολεξάμενος διεφθάρθαι ἀπεδίδοτο τὰς ἀρχὰς σφίσι χρημάτων μεγάλων. [10] σώφρονι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ξυνέσεως ὁπωστιοῦν μεταλαχόντι ἔννοια οὐδεμία ἐγένετο χρήματα οἰκεῖα προῖεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἡδικοτάς ληΐζεται. [11] τοῦτό τε τὸ χρυσίον πρὸς τῶν ξυμβαλλόντων κεκομισμένους ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὺς ἐνεβίβαζε τοὺς κατηκόους πάντα ἐργάζεσθαι. [12] ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλον τὰς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπολύντες ἀπάσας πλούσιοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι αὐτοί. [13] οἱ δὲ τὰς τῶν πόλεων τιμὰς ἐπὶ τόκοις ἀδροῖς τισιν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης δεδανεισμένοι καὶ τῷ ἀποδοδομένῳ ἀπαριθμήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, πᾶσαν κακοῦ ιδέαν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους αἰὲ ἐνδεικνύμενοι οὐκ ἄλλου του ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ καθίσταντο ἢ ὅπως τοῖς χρήσταις τὰ ὁμολογημένα τελέσειαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις τετάξονται, οὐκ ἔχοντος αὐτοῖς κίνδυνόν τινα ἢ ὕβριν τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ πλείους τῶν σφίσι παραπεπτωκότων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀποκτείναντες ληΐζεσθαι ἴσχυον. [14] τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φονέως τε καὶ ληστοῦ ὄνομα ἐς τὸ τοῦ δραστηρίου αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέβαινε. [15] ὅσους μέντοι τῶν ἐχόντων ἀρχὰς ἦσθετο πλούτῳ ἀκμάζοντας, τούτους δὴ σκήψεσι σαγηνεύσας εὐθὺς ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἀφηρεῖτο τὰ χρήματα. [16] Μετὰ δὲ νόμον τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔγραψε μετιόντας ὀμνύναι ἢ μὴν καθαρὸς ἀπὸ πάσης

κλοπῆς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ μήτε τι δώσειν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκα [17] μήτε λήψεσθαι. ἀράς τε πάσας ἐπέβαλεν, ὅσαι πρὸς τῶν παλαιοτάτων ὀνομασμέναι εἰσιν, ἣν τις τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐκβαίη. [18] ἀλλὰ τοῦ νόμου τεθέντος οὐπω ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ κατηραμένων ὀλιγορήσας, καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰσχύνης ἀδεέστερον τὰ τιμήματα τῶν ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ δημόσιον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔπραττεν. [19] οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνημένοι διώμοτοι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πάντα ἐσύλων. [20] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐπετεχνήσατο ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον. τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὥσπερ ἀζιωτάτας ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ὥετο εἶναι, οὐκέτι ἀπεμπολεῖν ἔγνω ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα, μισθωτοὺς δὲ διερευνώμενος ἐχειροτόνει, τάξας αὐτοῖς ὅ τι δὴ μισθαρνοῦντας ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ φώρια πάντα. [21] οἱ δὲ τὴν μίσθωσιν κεκομισμένοι ἀδεέστερον ξυμφορήσαντες ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἅπαντα ἔφερον καὶ περιήρχετο μισθοφόρος ἐξουσία τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματι καταλιτίζομένη τοὺς ὑπηκόους. [22] οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκριβολογούμενος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐκείνους ἐφίστη τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ δὴ πάντων κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον μιαιώτατοι ἦσαν, αἰεὶ τε τὸ [23] κακὸν τοῦτο ἰχνηλατῶν κατετύγχανεν. ἡνίκα οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς πρώτους πονηροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατεστήσατο ἐς φῶς τε αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξουσία τὴν κακοτροπίαν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἐθαυμάζομέν γε ὅπως δὴ κακότητα τοσαύτην ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἐχώρησεν. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ χρόνῳ τῷ ἀρχὰς ἐκδεξάμενοι πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι παρελᾶν ἴσχυσαν, διηποροῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄντινα τρόπον οἱ πρόσθεν πονηρότατοι δόξαντες τοσούτῳ παραλόγῳ ἅτε αὐτοὶ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γεγονότες ἐν τοῖς σφετέραις ἐπιτηδεύμασι, πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἡσσήθησαν, αὐθίς τε οἱ τρίτοι τοὺς δευτέρους ὑπερηκόντισαν πονηρία τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἕτεροι τοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καινοτομήμασιν ὄνομα χρηστὸν τοῖς φθάσασι προσετρίψαντο. [25] μηχανομένου τε τοῦ κακοῦ πᾶσιν ἐκμεμαθηκέναι τῷ ἔργῳ ξυνέβη ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' ἄπειρον μὲν ἢ πονηρία φύεσθαι εἴωθε, μαθήσει δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐκτρεφομένη καὶ τῇ τῆς παρρησίας ἐξουσία ἐς τὸ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς παραλίπτουσιν ἐξαγομένη ἐς τοσόνδε αἰεὶ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἐς ὅσον δύναται ἢ τῶν βλαπτομένων σταθμᾶσθαι δόξα. [26] Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὖν τά γε ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ταύτη πη εἶχε. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ Οὐννων πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνδραποδίσασί τε καὶ ληϊσαμένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν οἱ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγοὶ βεβουλευμένοι ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἀπεπήδησαν, ἐπεὶ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ γράμματα εἶδον, ἀπεροῦντα σφίσι τὴν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπίθεσιν, ἀναγκαίων αὐτῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων ἐπὶ Γότθους ἴσως ἢ ἐπὶ ἄλλους πολεμίων τινάς. [27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐληΐζοντο μὲν ὥς πολέμιοι καὶ ἡνδραποδίζοντο τοὺς τῆδε Ῥωμαίους, ξὺν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεία καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἅτε φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο. [28] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γεωργῶν τῶν ἐνταυθὰ τινες, παίδων τε σφετέρων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθῳ ἐξηνδραποδισμένων ἡγμένοι, ἀθρόοι τε γεγενημένοι ἀναχωροῦσι πολλοὺς ἐτύγχανον κτείναντες, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἵππους ἴσχυσαν ξὺν πάσῃ ἀφελέσθαι τῇ λείᾳ, πραγμάτων μέντοι ἐς πείραν ἤλθον ἐνθὲνδε δυσκόλων. [29] ἐκ Βυζαντίου γάρ τινες ἐσταλμένοι αἰκίζεσθαι τε

αὐτῶν καὶ λωβάσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει
ἡξίουں, ἕως τοὺς ἵππους ἅπαντας δοῖεν οὔσπερ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφείλοντο.

Ἦνίκα δὲ βασιλεύς τε καὶ Θεοδώρα τὸν Καππαδόκην Ἰωάννην ἀνεῖλον, ἀντικαθιστάναι μὲν ἐς τιμὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἤθελον, ἄνδρα δέ τινα πονηρότερον εὔρεῖν ἐπὶ κοινῆς ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο, περισκοπούμενοί τε τὸ τοιοῦτο τῆς τυραννίδος ὄργανον καὶ πάσας διερευνῶντες τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώμας, ὅπως ἔτι θᾶσσον τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀπολεῖν δύνωνται. [2] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ παραυτίκα Θεόδοτον ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατεστήσαντο, ἄνδρα οὐ καλοῖται μὲν, οὐ σφόδρα δὲ ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῖς ἰκανὸν γεγονότα. [3] ὕστερον δὲ ἅπαν διερευνώμενοι περιήρχοντο. εὗρον δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἀργυραμοιβόν τινα Πέτρον ὀνόματι, Σύρον γένος, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν Βαρσύμην ἐκάλουν· ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ τραπέζης καθημένος κέρδη αἰσχροτάτα ἐκ ταύτης δι᾽ ἐπορίζετο τῆς ἐργασίας, τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὀβολοὺς κλοπὴν εὖ μάλα τεχνάζων καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυμβάλλοντας αἰεὶ τῷ τῶν δακτύλων τάχει ἐκκρούων. [4] δεξιὸς γὰρ ἦν κλέψαι μὲν τὰ τῶν αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότων ἀνέδην, ἀλοὺς δὲ ὁμόσαι καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἀμάρτημα τῷ τῆς γλώττης περικαλύψαι θράσει. [5] ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατιώταις καταλεχθεῖς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀτοπίας ἐλήλακεν ὥστε Θεοδώρα ἀρέσκειν τε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀδίκων αὐτῇ βουλημάτων ῥᾶστα ὑπουργεῖν τὰ ἀμήχανα. [6] διὸ δὴ Θεόδοτον μὲν, ὃνπερ μετὰ τὸν Καππαδόκην καταστησάμενοι ἔτυχον, τῆς τιμῆς αὐτίκα παρέλυσαν, Πέτρον δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπέστησαν, [7] ὅσπερ αὐτοῖν διεπράξατο κατὰ νοὺν ἅπαντα. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατευομένους ἀποστερῶν τὰς συντάξεις ἀπάσας οὔτε αἰσχυνθεῖς οὔτε δείσας πώποτε ὤφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀνίους τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον προῦθηκεν, ἀτιμότερας τε αὐτὰς καταστησάμενος ἀπεδίδοδο τοῖς ταύτην δι᾽ οὐκ ἀποκνοῦσι τὴν ἀνοσίαν ἐμπορίαν ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐφίεις διαρρήδην τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνησάμενοις ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς τε καὶ οὐσίαις ἢ βούλονται χρήσασθαι. [8] αὐτῷ τε γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταβεβληκότι τὸ τίμημα ἢ τοῦ συλᾶν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀρπάζειν ἐξουσία ξυνέκειτο. καὶ προῆει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τῶν βίων ὧν, [9] ἐπράττετό τε τὸ συμβόλαιον τῆς τῶν πόλεων διαφθορᾶς ἐν τε τῶν δικαστηρίων τοῖς προῦχουσι καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιήρχετο ληστής ἐννομος, ὄνομα τῇ πράξει τίθεις τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμήμασι τῆς ἀρχῆς καταβεβλημένων χρημάτων, οὐκ ἐχούσης τινὰ ἐλπίδα τῆς τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἐπιστροφῆς. [10] καὶ πάντων δὲ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπηρετούντων, πολλῶν τε καὶ δοκίμων ὄντων, τοὺς πονηροτάτους αἰεὶ ἐς αὐτὸν εἴλκε. [11] τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐξήμαρτε μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ταύτην πρότερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον τὴν τιμὴν ἔσχον. [12] Ἡμαρτάνετο δὲ τοιοῦτο κᾶν τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχῇ κᾶν τοῖς Παλατίνοις, οἱ δὴ ἀμφὶ τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ τὰ πριβᾶτα καλούμενα τό τε πατριμῶνιον ἐπιτελεῖν αἰεὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν εἰώθασιν, ἐν πάσαις τε συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ταῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις τεταγμέναις ἀρχαῖς. [13] ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ὅδε ὁ τύραννος τὰ πράγματα διωκῆσατο, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκάστη τοὺς τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι προσήκοντας πόρους πῇ μὲν αὐτὸς, πῇ δὲ ὁ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχων προσεποιοῦντο ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, οἱ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν ὑπουργοῦντες

πενόμενοι τὰ ἔσχατα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον δουλοπρεπέστατα ὑπουργεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. [14] Σίτου δὲ πολλοῦ κομιδῇ ἐς Βυζάντιον κεκομισμένου ἐσεσῆπει μὲν ὁ πλεῖστος ἤδη, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτον πόλεσι ταῖς ἐφαίς ἐπέβαλλε κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστη, καίπερ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐπιτηδείως ἐς βρῶσιν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπέβαλλέ τε, οὐχ ἥπερ ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸν κάλλιστον σῖτον εἰῶθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ ἀξιώτερον, ἦν τε τοῖς ὠνουμένοις ἐπάναγκες χρήματα μεγάλα προεμένοις ἐπὶ τιμήμασι φορτικωτάτοις, εἴτα τὸν σῖτον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ ἐς τινα ὕδροχόην ἀπορριπτεῖν. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σίτου ἀκραιφνοῦς τε καὶ οὐπω σεσηπότος μέγα τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἀπέκειτο, καὶ τοῦτο πλείστων τῶν πόλεων ταῖς σίτου ὑποσπανιζούσαις ἀπεμπολεῖν ἔγνω. [16] ταύτῃ γὰρ διπλάσια τὰ χρήματα ἐποίει ἄπερ τοῖς ὑποτελέσι τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ σίτου τὰ πρότερα ἐλελόγιστο. [17] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς νέωτα οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἢ τῶν καρπῶν φορὰ ἤκμαζεν, ἐνδεεστερώς μὲν ἢ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁ σιταγωγὸς στόλος ἀφίκετο, Πέτρος δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενος, ἐκ τῶν ἔν τε Βιθυνία καὶ Φρυγία καὶ Θράκη χωρίων πρίασθαι μέγα τι χρῆμα σίτου [18] ἤξιον. ἦν τε ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς ταύτῃ οἰκοῦσι μέχρι μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ φορτία φέρειν, ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ξὺν κινδύνῳ αὐτὰ ἐσκομίζεσθαι καὶ βραχέα μὲν τιμήματα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, τὴν ζημίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε μεγέθους καθίστασθαι ὥστε ἀγαπᾶν ἦν τις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὅν τε σῖτον οἴκῳ δημοσίῳ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τίμημα ἕτερον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατατιθέναι. [19] τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἄχθος ὅπερ καλεῖν συνωνὴν νενομίκασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' ὥς σίτος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἰκανὸς ἐγεγόνει, πολλοὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλον. [20] ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατευόμενοι σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες ἅτε τὰς εἰωθυίας οὐ κεκομισμένοι ξυντάξεις, θορύβῳ τε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταραχῇ πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [21] βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν ἤδη τε αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε καὶ παραλύειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠθέλε διὰ τε ταῦτα ἄπερ ἐρρήθη καὶ ὅτι χρήματα δαιμονίως μεγάλα ἠκηκόει αὐτῷ ἀποκεκρῦφθαι, [22] ἄπερ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου σεσυληκῶς ἔτυχε. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. Θεοδώρα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα οὐκ εἶα. ἐκτόπως γὰρ τὸν Βαρσύμην ἠγάπα, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, τῆς τε πονηρίας ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ τοῖς κατηκόοις διαφερόντως λυμαίνεσθαι. [23] αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ὡμοτάτῃ ἦν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως καὶ τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας ἠξίου τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον αὐτῇ ἐπιτηδείως ὥς μάλιστα ἔχειν. [24] φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ καταμαγευθεῖσαν πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου ἀκούσιον αὐτῷ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν. [25] περὶ τε γὰρ τοὺς φαρμακείας καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια περιέργως ἐσπουδάκει ὁ Βαρσύμης οὗτος, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μανιχαίους ἐτεθήπει τε καὶ αὐτῶν προστατεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου. [26] καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα ἢ βασιλὶς ἀκούσασα οὐ μεθῆκε τὴν ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔτι διὰ ταῦτα περιστέλλειν τε καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἔγνω. [27] μάγοις τε γὰρ καὶ φαρμακεῦσι καὶ αὐτὴ ὁμιλήσασα ἐκ παιδὸς ἅτε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦτο ἀγόντων διεβίω πιστεῦσά τε τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐς αἰὲ ἔχουσα. [28] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν οὐ τοσοῦτον θωπεύουσα χειροήθη ποιήσασθαι, ὅσον τῇ ἐκ τῶν δαιμονίων ἀνάγκῃ. [29] οὐ γάρ τις ἦν εὐφρων ἢ δίκαιος ὅδε ἀνὴρ ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀγαθὸν βέβαιος, ὥστε κρείσσων ποτὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ φόνων μὲν καὶ χρημάτων ἔρωτος διαφανῶς ἦσσαν, τοῖς

δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶσι καὶ κολακεύουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἰκῶν. [30] ἔν τε πράξεισι ταῖς μάλιστα οἱ ἐσπουδασμέναις μετεβάλλετό τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ κονιορτῷ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐμφορῆς ἐγεγόνει. [31] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν ἢ ἄλλως γνωρίμων ἐλπίδα τινὰ ποτε ἀσφαλῆ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσχευεν, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις αὐτῷ ἐς αἰετὴς ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐγένοντο γνώμης. [32] οὕτω τε καὶ τοῖς φαρμακεύσιν, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, εὐεφοδὸς ὦν καὶ τῇ Θεοδώρα πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑποχείριος ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἢ βασιλὶς ἅτε σπουδαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν Πέτρον ὄντα ὑπερηγάπα. [33] ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἦς τὰ πρότερα εἶχε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν παρέλυσεν μόλις, Θεοδώρας δὲ ἐγκειμένης οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἄρχοντα τῶν θησαυρῶν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο, Ἰωάννην παραλύσας ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμῆς, ὅσπερ αὐτὴν παρειληφῶς μισί που ὀλίγοις πρότερον ἔτυχεν. [34] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Παλαιστίνος, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἄγαν, καὶ οὔτε πορίζεσθαι χρημάτων ἀδίκων πόρους εἰδὼς, οὔτε τῷ λυμηνάμενος πώποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [35] ἀμέλει καὶ διαφερόντως ἡγάπων αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς ἅπας. διὰ τοι τοῦτο Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ τὴν ὁμόζυγα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκεν, οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ τῶν σφίσιν ὑπουργούντων καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν παρὰ δόξαν τινὰ ἴδοιεν, ἰλιγγιῶντες καὶ δυσφορούμενοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πάσῃ μηχανῇ αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα διωθεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [36] Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ Πέτρος ἐκδεξάμενος θησαυρῶν τε τῶν βασιλικῶν προὔστη καὶ συμφορῶν αὐθις μεγάλων αἰτιώτατος ἅπασιν γέγονεν. [37] ἀποτεμνόμενος γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, ἅπερ ἐν παραψυχῇ λόγῳ πολλοῖς χορηγεῖσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πρὸς βασιλέως ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατέτακται, αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐ δέον ἐπλούτει καὶ μοῖραν ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖ ἀνέφερεν. [38] οἱ δὲ τὰ χρήματα περιηρημένοι ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ περιεκάθηντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει ἐκφέρειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἔλασσον αὐτὸ καταστησάμενος, πρᾶγμα οὐδεπώποτε γεγονὸς πρότερον. [39] Τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ πη εἶχεν. ὅπως δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους πανταχῇ διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [40] ἀπέχρη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας στελλομένων ἀρχόντων ἐπιμνησθεῖσιν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σημῆναι τὰ πάθη. πρῶτους γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες οὗτοι τοὺς τῶν χωρίων κυρίους βιαζόμενοι ἐλητίζοντο, καὶ ὥς δὲ τᾶλλα εἰρήσεται πάντα.

Πρῶτον μὲν εἰθισμένον ὄν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἕκαστον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν
 ἔχοντα οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς τῶν δημοσίων ὀφλημάτων
 λειψάνοις τοὺς κατηκόους δωρεῖσθαι πάντα, τοῦ μήτε τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τε
 καὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἐκτίνοιεν τὰ λείψανα ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντας διηνεκὲς
 ἀποπνίγεσθαι μήτε τοῖς φορολόγοις σκήψεις παρέχεσθαι, συκοφαντεῖν
 ἐγχειροῦσι τῶν τοῦ φόρου ὑποτελῶν τοὺς οὐδὲν ὀφείλοντας, οὗτος ἐς δύο καὶ
 τριάκοντα ἐτῶν χρόνον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους εἰργάσατο. [2] καὶ ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπορουμένοις ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἀποδρᾶναι τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἔτι
 ἐπανιέναι. [3] καὶ οἱ συκοφάνται τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἀπέκναιον κατηγορίαν
 ἐπανασείοντες ἅτε τὸ τέλος ἐνδεεστέρως ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταβάλλοντας τῆς
 ἐγκειμένης τῷ χωρίῳ φορᾶς. [4] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον οἱ ταλαίπωροι τὴν καινὴν τοῦ
 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐδεδίδεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνων τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος οὐδὲν
 προσῆκον βαρύνεσθαι φόροις. [5] πολλοὶ γοῦν ἀμέλει τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν τοῖς
 συκοφάνταις ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ προέμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [6] ἔπειτα δὲ Μήδων
 μὲν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῆς Ἀσίας γῆν τὴν πολλήν, τῶν δὲ δὴ Οὐννων καὶ
 Σκλαβηνῶν καὶ Ἀντῶν ξύμπασαν Εὐρώπην ληϊσαμένων, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς
 μὲν καθελόντων ἐς ἔδαφος, τὰς δὲ ἀργυρολογησάντων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα,
 τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐξανδραποδισάντων ξὺν χρήμασι πᾶσιν, ἔρημόν τε τῶν
 οἰκητόρων καταστησαμένων χώραν ἐκάστην ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδρομαῖς,
 φόρον μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀφῆκε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐνιαυτοῦ ταῖς
 ἀλούσαις τῶν πόλεων μόνον. [7] καίτοι εἰ καθάπερ Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς
 ἐπτάετες ταῖς ἀλούσαις τὰ τέλη ἐπιχωρεῖν ἔγνω, οἶμαι ὃ ἂν οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸν
 πεποιῆσθαι τὰ δέοντα, ἐπεὶ Καβάδης μὲν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις ὥς ἥκιστα
 λυμηνάμενος ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, Χοσρόης δὲ ἅπαντα πυρπολήσας ἐς ἔδαφος
 καθεῖλε, μείζω τε προσετρίψατο τοῖς περιπεπτωκόσι τὰ πάθη. [8] καὶ τούτοις
 μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἷσπερ τὸ γελοιῶδες τοῦτο τοῦ φόρου ἀφῆκε καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασι, πολλάκις μὲν δεξαμένοις τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν, διηνεκὲς δὲ
 Οὐννων τε καὶ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν γῆν τὴν ἐφ' ἃν ληϊσαμένων, οὐδὲν δὲ
 ἦσσαν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βαρβάρων ταῦτα ἐργαζομένων αἰεὶ καὶ καθ'
 ἐκάστην τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίους, βασιλεὺς οὗτος χαλεπώτερος εὐθὺς γέγονε
 βαρβάρων ἀπάντων. [9] συνωναῖς τε γὰρ καὶ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐπιβολαῖς τε καὶ
 διαγραφαῖς οἱ τῶν χωρίων κύριοι τῶν πολεμίων ἀνακεχωρηκότων αὐτίκα
 μάλα ἠλίσκοντο. [10] ὃ τι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστί τε καὶ βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ
 δηλώσω. [11] Τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτρέφειν
 στρατὸν κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς κειμένης ἐκάστῳ φορᾶς, τιμημάτων
 καταβαλλομένων οὐχ ἥπερ ἐφήσιν ὁ παρὼν τῇ χρεῖᾳ καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἥπερ ἔξεστι
 καὶ διώρισται, οὐ διερευνώμενοι δὲ, εἴπερ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 ξυμβαίνει. [12] περιέστηκέ τε τοὺς δειλαίους τούτους ἀνάγκη τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια
 στρατιώταις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐσκομίζεσθαι, πάντα ὄνουνμένους αὐτὰ τιμημάτων
 πολλῶν ἐς ἄγαν ἀξιοτέρων καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ χώρας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μακράν που
 οὔσης καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἀποκομίζειν, οὗ δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυμβαίνει

εἶναι, μετρεῖν τε τοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν χορηγοῖς, οὐ καθάπερ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις νόμος, [13] ἀλλ' ἥπερ ἐκείνοις ἂν βουλομένοις εἴη. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅπερ συνωνὴ καλεῖται, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἅπασιν ἐκνευρίσθαι τοῖς τῶν χωρίων κυρίοις ξυμβαίνει. [14] φόρον γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐχ ἥσσανα ἢ δεκαπλασίονα ἐγκατατιθέναι σφίσιν ἐπάναγκες, οἷς γε οὐ μόνον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῷ στρατῷ χορηγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῖτον ἐς Βυζάντιον πολλάκις διακομίζειν ταῦτα πεπονθόσι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁ Βαρσύμης καλούμενος μόνος τὸ τοιοῦτο ἄγος ἐξαμαρτάνειν τετόλμηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ Καππαδόκης, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ μετὰ τὸν Βαρσύμην τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλαβόντες ἀξίωμα. [15] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς συνωνῆς ταύτη πη ἔχει: τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὄνομα ὀλεθρός τίς ἐστὶν ἀπρόοπτος ἐξαπιναιῶς τοῖς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοις ἐπιγενόμενος πρόρριζόν τε αὐτοῖς ἐκτρίβων τὴν τοῦ βίου ἐλπίδα. [16] χωρίων γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐρήμων τε καὶ ἀπόρων γεγεννημένων, ὧν δὴ τοῖς τε κυρίοις καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἥδη τετύχηκεν ἢ παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι, ἢ γῆν πατρῶαν ἀπολιποῦσι τοῖς ἐγκειμένοις σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα κακοῖς κρύπτεσθαι, οὐκ ἀπαξιούσιν ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς οὐπῶ διεφθαρμένοις παντάπασι. [17] Τοιοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὄνομα ἐστίν, ἐπιπολάσαν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ δὲ τῶν διαγραφῶν ὡς συντομώτατα φράσαντι ἀπηλλάχθαι τῇδε πη ἔχει. [18] ζημίαις πολλαῖς ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους περιβάλλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἦν ἀνάγκη: ὥνπερ τάς τε ἀφορμὰς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀφίημι λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὥς μὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἀπέραντος εἴη. [19] ταύτας οἱ τὰ χωρία ἔχοντες ἀπέτινον, τίμημα κατατιθέντες κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐγκειμένης ἐκάστω [20] φορᾶς. οὐκ ἄχρι δὲ τούτων αὐτοῖς τὸ κακὸν ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ ξύμπασαν περιλαβόντος τὴν τε ἄλλην οἰκουμένην καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τῶν τε γεωργῶν ἀφανίσαντος μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐρήμων ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς τῶν χωρίων γεγεννημένων, οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐς τοὺς τούτων κυρίους. [21] φόρον γὰρ τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐποτε ἀνίει πραττόμενος οὐχ ἥπερ ἐκάστω ἐπέβαλλε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γειτόνων τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὴν μοῖραν. [22] προσὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὥνπερ ἐμνήσθην ἀρτίως ἅτε τοῖς τῶν χωρίων δεδυστυχηκόσι τὴν κτῆσιν ἀεὶ ἐγκειμένων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἀνὰ τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ τιμώτατα δωματίων τῶν σφετέρων ὠκημένοις ὑπηρετεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις τε καὶ ἀπημελημένοις τῶν οἰκιδίων δίαιταν ἔχειν. [23] Ἄπερ ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τε καὶ Θεοδώρας βασιλείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ οὔτε πόλεμον οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ λελωφεκέναι τετύχηκεν. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ δωματίων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο παριτέον ἡμῖν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οἰκίας βαρβάροις ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν παρεχόμενοι ἐπακισμυρίοις μάλιστα οὖσιν, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν σφετέρων ὀνίνασθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσετρίβοντο δυσκόλοις ἐτέροις.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῷ εἰργασμένα σιωπῇ δοτέον, οἷς δὴ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐπέστησεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων χρήματα σφᾶς ὅτι πλείστα ξυλλέγειν ἐνθένδε κελεύσας, εὖ εἰδότας ὡς μοῖρα τῶν πορισθησομένων ἢ δωδεκάτῃ αὐτοῖς κείσεται. [2] ὄνομα δὲ λογοθέτας αὐτοῖς ἔθετο. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπενόουν τάδε. τὰς στρατιωτικὰς συντάξεις οὐχ ὁμοίως νόμος χορηγεῖσθαι ἐφ᾽ ἑξῆς ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ νέοις μὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς. οὗσι καὶ στρατευσαμένοις ἀρτίως ἐλάσσων ὁ πόρος, πεπονηκόσι δὲ καὶ μέσοις που ἤδη καταλόγου γεγενημένοις ἐπὶ μείζον χωρεῖ. [3] γεγηρακόσι μέντοι καὶ μέλλουσι τῆς στρατείας ἀφίεσθαι πολλῷ ἔτι κομπωδεστέρα ἢ σύνταξις, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδίᾳ βιοῦντες ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχοιεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ξυμμετρήσασθαι τὸν βίον ξυμβαίῃ, παραψυχὴν τινα τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολιπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν [4] οἰκίαν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. ὁ τοίνυν χρόνος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταδεεστέρους ἐς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἢ τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένων τοὺς βαθμοὺς ἀεὶ ἀναβιβάζων πρυτανεύει κατὰ πρεσβεῖα τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου συντάξεις ἐκάστω. [5] ἀλλ' οἱ λογοθέται καλούμενοι οὐκ εἶων ἐκ τῶν καταλόγων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὀνόματα, καίπερ ὁμοῦ διαφθειρομένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους συχνοὺς γινομένους, τῶν πλείστων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς καταλόγους ἔτι ἐπλήρουν, καὶ ταῦτα χρόνου συχνοῦ. [6] καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ περιειστῆκει τῇ μὲν πολιτεία τὸν τῶν στρατευομένων ἀριθμὸν ἐνδεέστερον ἀεὶ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς περιούσι πρὸς τῶν πάλαι τετελευτηκότων διωθουμένοις ἐπὶ μοίρας παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς καταδεεστέρας ἀπολελειφθαι, τὰς τε ξυντάξεις ἐλαττόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσήκουσαν κομίζεσθαι τάξιν, τοῖς δὲ λογοθέταις διαλαγχάνειν Ἰουστινιανῷ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. [7] Ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἄλλαις ζημιῶν ιδέαις πολλαῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέκναιον, ὥσπερ ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων, ἐπικαλοῦντες τοῖς μὲν ὡς Γραικοὶ εἶεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ παράπαν τινὶ γενναίῳ γενέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτεταγμένον πρὸς βασιλέως σφίσι στρατεῦοντο, καίπερ ἀμφὶ τούτῳ γράμματα βασιλέως ἐνδεικνυμένοις, ἅπερ οἱ λογοθέται διαβάλλειν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐτόλμων: ἄλλοις δὲ, ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐταίρων ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἀπολελειφθαι τινὰς ξυμβαίῃ. [8] ὕστερον καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων τινὲς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν στελλόμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διηρευνῶντο δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις τοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπιτηδείους ὄντας ὡς ἦκιστα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ἅτε ἀχρεῖους ὄντας ἢ γεγηρακότας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς ζώνας ἐτόλμων, οἷπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς προσαιτοῦντες τροφὴν δακρύων τε καὶ ὀλοφύρσεως ἀεὶ προφάσεις τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐγίνοντο πᾶσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ πείσωνται, χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπράττοντο, ὥστε πάντων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅτε τρόποις ἐκνεενυρισμένους πολλοῖς πτωχοτέρους τε γεγονέναι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν προθυμεῖσθαι ξυνέβη. [9] ὅθεν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πράγματα λελύσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. οὗ δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ λογοθέτης σταλεις τοῖς

μὲν στρατιώταις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐθάρρει, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλοὺς χρήματα ἔπραττε, τῶν ἐς Θευδέρηχον καὶ Γότθους πεπολιτευμένων ἀμύνεσθαι φάσκων. [10] οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία πρὸς τῶν λογοθετῶν ἐπιέζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πᾶσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες τοῖς στρατηγοῖς παμπληθεῖς τε καὶ δόξῃ μεγάλοι τὰ πρότερα ὄντες, λιμῶ καὶ πενία δεινῇ ἤχθοντο. [11] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅθεν τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσι πορίσονται. [12] Προσθήσω δέ τι τούτοις καὶ ἕτερον, ἐπεὶ με ὁ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγος ἐς τοῦτο ἄγει. οἱ Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλευκότες ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις πανταχόσε τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐσχατιῶν πάμπλου κατεστήσαντο στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἂν μάλιστα μοῖραν ταύτῃ τὰς ἐφόδους Περσῶν τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν ἀναστέλλοντες, [13] οὕσπερ λιμιταναίους ἐκάλουν. τούτοις Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὕτω δὴ παρέργως τε καὶ φαύλως ἐχρήτο, ὥστε τεσσάρων ἢ πέντε αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτῶν τῶν συντάξεων τοὺς χορηγοὺς ὑπερημέρους εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις εἰρήνη γένοιτο, ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ ταλαίπωροι οὗτοι ἅτε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσοντες χρόνου ῥητοῦ τὰς ὀφειλομένας σφίσι ξυντάξεις τῷ δημοσίῳ χαρίζεσθαι: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς στρατείας ὄνομα αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [14] τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ μὲν ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς φυλακτηρίων ἐκτὸς ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐξαπινάϊως ἔβλεπον εἰς τῶν εὐσεβεῖν εἰωθότων τὰς χεῖρας. [15] Ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ πεντακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ Παλατίου κατέστησαν, οὕσπερ σχολαρίους καλοῦσι. [16] καὶ αὐτοῖς συντάξεις ἀνέκαθεν πλείους ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὸ δημόσιον ἀεὶ χορηγεῖν εἴωθε. τούτους οἱ πρότεροι μὲν ἀριστίνδην ἀπολέξαντες ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν τιμὴν ἤγον. [17] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ζήνων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, πᾶσιν ἐξουσία ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνάνδροις καὶ ἀπολέμοις οὗσι παντάπασιν τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιβατεύειν. [18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀνδράποδα κατατιθέντες τίμημα τὴν στρατείαν ὠνοῦντο ταύτην. ἡνίκα τοίνυν Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς πολλοὺς ἐς τὴν τιμὴν κατεστήσατο ταύτην, χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος. [19] ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτοις τοῖς καταλόγοις οὐδένα ἐνδεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσθετο, ἐτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐς δισχιλίους ἐντέθεικεν, οὕσπερ ὑπεραρίθμους ἐκάλουν. [20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ὑπεραρίθμους ἀπεσεῖσατο αὐτίκα μάλα, τῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀποδοὺς σφίσιν. [21] Ἐς μέντοι τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ τῶν σχολαρίων ἀριθμοῦ ὄντας ἐπενόει τάδε. ἡνίκα στράτευμα ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἢ Ἰταλίαν ἢ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς σταλήσεται ἐπίδοξον εἶη, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς ξυστρατεύουσιν ἐπήγγελλε συσκευάζεσθαι, καίπερ ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπιτηδεῖως αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατεῦσθαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχειν, οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα μὴ γένηται δείσαντες χρόνου οἱ ῥητοῦ τὰς ξυντάξεις ἀφίεσαν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς σχολαρίοις πολλάκις ξυνηέχθη παθεῖν. [22] καὶ Πέτρος δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡνίκα τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου εἶχεν ἀρχὴν, ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτοὺς κλοπαῖς ἀμυθήτοις ἀπέκναιε. [23] πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα ὑβρίζειν εἰδὼς, κλεπτίστατος δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ ρύπου αἰσχροῦ ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως. τούτου τοῦ Πέτρου κὰν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τὸν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης φόνον τῆς Θευδερίχου παιδὸς εἰργασμένου. [24] Εἰσι δὲ καὶ

ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ πολὺ ἀξιώτεροι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλεῖον τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῖς χορηγεῖν εἴωθεν ἅτε καὶ μείζων κατατιθεῖσι τοῦ τῆς στρατείας ὀνόματος τὰ τιμήματα, οἳ δὴ δομῆστικοί τε καὶ προτίκτωρες ἐπικαλοῦνται καὶ ἀνέκαθεν ἀμελέτητοί εἰσι πολέμιων ἔργων. [25] τάξεως γὰρ καὶ προσώπου ἕνεκα μόνον ἐν Παλατίῳ εἰώθασιν καταλέγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν οἳ μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ χωρίων ἐτέρων ἴδρυνται. [26] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους Ἰουστινιανὸς τρόπῳ αἰεὶ δεδισσόμενος τῷ εἰρημένῳ μεθίσταται ἡνάγκαζε τῶν προσηκουσῶν σφίσι συντάξων. [27] ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ τοῦτο εἰρήσεται. νόμος ἦν ἀνὰ πενταετηρίδα ἐκάστην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον δωρεῖσθαι χρυσίῳ τακτῷ. [28] πέμποντες δὲ ἀνὰ πεντάετες πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς παρέρχοντο στατήρας χρυσοῦς στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ πέντε. [29] καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ πράσσεσθαι αἰεὶ μηχανῇ πάσῃ. ἐξ οὗτου δὲ ἀνὴρ ὅδε διωκῆσατο τὴν πολιτείαν, τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν οὔτε διεπράξατο οὔτε ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ χρόνου δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν τριβέντος ἤδη, ὥστε καὶ λήθην τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τινά. [30] Τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον τῆς ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους λεηλασίας ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. οἳ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἢ ὀπλιζόμενοι ἢ γράμματα διαχειρίζοντες ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ὑπηρετοῦντες τάσσονται μὲν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ἀρχὴν ἔσχατοι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἀναβαίνοντες αἰεὶ ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἢ ὑπεξιόντων τὴν χώραν τάξεως ἕκαστοι τῆς κατὰ αὐτοὺς ἐς τόδε χωροῦσιν, ἕως ἄν τις βαθμοῦ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τοῦ πρώτου ἤδη ἐς τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀφίκηται πέρας. [31] καὶ τοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἀξιώματος ἤκουσι χρήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατέτακται τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε πλέον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἢ ἐς ἑκατὸν χρυσοῦ ἀγεῖρεσθαι κεντηνάρια τούτοις, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε γηροκομεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὺς μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ὠφελείας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἔνθεν ξυνέβαινε, τῆς τε πολιτείας τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μέγα εὐπορίας αἰεὶ ταύτῃ ἐχώρει. [32] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ὅδε τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀποστερήσας σχεδὸν τι ἀπάντων, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις κακὰ ἤνεγκεν. ἀψαμένη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πενία πρῶτον, εἴτα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχώρει, οἷς τι καὶ πρότερον ὠφελείας μετῆν. [33] καὶ ἦν τις τὴν ξυμπεπτωκυῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ζημίαν ἐς ἔτη δύο καὶ τριάκοντα διαριθμοῖτο, εὐρήσει τὸ μέτρον ὧν περ αὐτοὺς ἀποστερεῖσθαι ξυνέπεσε.

Τοὺς μὲν στρατευομένους οὕτως ὁ τύραννος ὅδε διεχρήσατο. ἅπερ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναύτας καὶ βαναύσους καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους, δι' αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἵργασται, [2] φράσων ἔρχομαι. πορθμῷ δύο ἐκατέρωθεν Βυζαντίου ἐστὸν, ἄτερος μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἀβυδον, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου Πόντου, οὗ τὸ Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. [3] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντου πορθμῷ τελωνεῖον μὲν ἐν δημοσίῳ ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἄρχων δὲ τις ἐκ βασιλέως στελλόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ καθῆστο, διερευνώμενος μὲν, ἦν ναὺς ὅπλα φέρουσα ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐ βασιλέως ἴοι γνώμη, καὶ ἦν τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγοιτο οὐ φερόμενος γράμματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ σημεῖα οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη· οὐ γὰρ θέμις τινὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγεσθαι οὐκ ἀφειμένον πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχῇ ὑπουργοῦσι πραττόμενος δὲ τοὺς τῶν πλοίων κυρίους τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενον ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ὁ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τοῦ ἔργου τούτου λαμβάνειν ἡξίου· [4] ὁ μέντοι ἐπὶ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐτέρου στελλόμενος τὸν μισθὸν ἀεὶ πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος ἦν καὶ διερευνώμενος ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταῦτά τε, ἅπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ ἦν τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους κομίζοιτο, οἱ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἴδρυνται Πόντον, ὥνπερ οὐ θέμις ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους κομίζεσθαι. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐξῆν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ναυτιλλομένων προσίεσθαι. [5] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τελωνεῖόν τε δημόσιον κατεστήσατο ἐν πορθμῷ ἐκατέρῳ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἄρχοντας δύο ἐς ἀεὶ πέμπων μίσθωσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς παρείχετο τὴν ξυγκειμένην, ἐπήγγελλε δὲ χρήματά οἱ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐνθένδε ἀποφέρειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [6] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἢ εὐνοϊὰν οἱ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἀπαξάπαντα πρὸς τῶν πλεόντων τὰ τῶν φορτίων τιμήματα ληϊζόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [7] Ἐν μὲν οὖν πορθμῷ ἐκατέρῳ ταῦτα ἐποίει· ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ἐπενόει τάδε. τῶν τινὰ οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων προϋστήσατο, Σύρον μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἀδδαῖον, ᾧ δὴ ἐπήγγελλεν ἐκ νηῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα καταιρουσῶν ὄνησιν τινὰ οἱ πορίζεσθαι. [8] ὁ δὲ πλοῖα ἅπαντα τὰ καταίροντα ἐς τὸν Βυζάντιον λιμένα οὐκέτι ἐνθένδε ἡφίει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ναυκλήρους ἢ τοῖς τιμήμασιν ἐξημίῳ νηῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ ἀναφορεῖν ἐς τε Λιβύην καὶ [9] Ἰταλίαν ἠνάγκαζε. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι οὔτε θαλαττουργεῖν ἔτι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καύσαντες τὰ σφέτερα πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἄσμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [10] ὅσοις μέντοι ἐπ' ἀνάγκης ἦν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐργασίας τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, οὗτοι δὴ τριπλασίαν πρὸς τῶν ἐμπόρων τὴν μίσθωσιν κεκομισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐφορτίζοντο τοῖς τε ἐμπόροις περιειστῆκει ταύτην σφίσις αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν πρὸς τῶν τὰ φορτία ὠνουμένων ἰάσασθαι, οὕτω τε λιμοκτονεῖσθαι πάσῃ μηχανῇ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ξυνέβαιναν. [11] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆδε κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐφέρετο. ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ κέρματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἵργασται, οὗ μοι παριτέον οἶομαι εἶναι. [12] τῶν γὰρ ἀργυραμοιβῶν πρότερον δέκα καὶ διακοσίους ὀβολοὺς, οὓς φόλλεις καλοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς στατήρος χρυσοῦ προῖεσθαι τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσιν

εἰωθότων, αὐτοὶ ἐπιτεχνώμενοι κέρδη οἰκεῖα ὀδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ στατήρος δίδοσθαι τοὺς ὀβολοὺς διετάξαντο. ταύτη δὲ νομίσματος ἐκάστου χρυσοῦ ἕκτην ἀπέτεμον μοῖραν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [13] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι τῶν ὀνίων τὰ πλεῖστα εἰς τὰ καλούμενα περιστήσαντες μονοπώλια, τοὺς τι ὠνήσασθαι βουλομένους ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀπέπνιγον, μόνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνέφαπτα τὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐλέλειπτο πωλητήρια, μηχανῶνται καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς τάδε. [14] ἱμάτια τὰ ἐκ μετάρης ἐν Βηρυτῷ μὲν καὶ Τύρῳ πόλεσι ταῖς ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰώθει. [15] οἱ τε τούτων ἔμποροί τε καὶ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ καὶ τεχνῖται ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὥκουν, ἐνθὲνδε τε εἰς γῆν ἅπασαν φέρεσθαι τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ξυνέβαινεν. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεῦοντος οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄντες ἀξιοτέραν ἀπεδίδοντο τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην, αἰτιώμενοι μείζον μὲν ἢ πρότερον ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παρόντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καταβάλλεσθαι τὸ τίμημα Πέρσαις, πλείω δὲ νῦν τὰ δεκατευτήρια εἶναι ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, δόκησιν ἅπασιν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρεχόμενος ὅτι διὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτοίῃ, νόμῳ ἅπασιν ἀπέειπε μὴ πλέον ἢ ὀκτὼ χρυσῶν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐσθῆτος τὴν λίτρην εἶναι. [17] καὶ προστίμημα ἔκειτο τοῖς παραβησομένοις τὸν νόμον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων στερεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀμήχανά τε καὶ ἄπορα ἐδόκει παντάπασιν εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν τοὺς ἐμπόρους μείζονος τιμῆς τὰ φορτία ταῦτα ἐωνημένους ἐλάσσειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀποδίδοσθαι. [18] διὸ δὴ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐργολαβεῖν οὐκέτι ἤξιον, ἐπικλοπώτερον δὲ φορτίων τῶν σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ βραχὺ τὰς πράσεις, δηλονότι τῶν γνωρίμων τισίν, οἷσπερ τὰ τοιαῦτα καλλωπίζειν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν προῖεμένοις ἐν ἡδονῇ ἢ ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ ἐγίνετο. [19] ὣν δὴ ἡ βασιλεὺς ἐπιψιθυρίζοντων τινῶν αἰσθομένη, καίπερ οὐ βασανίσασα τὰ θρυλούμενα, ξύμπαντα εὐθὺς τὰ φορτία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφείλετο, καὶ χρυσίον αὐτοὺς εἰς κεντηνάριον ἐπιτιμησαμένη. ἄρχει δὲ ταύτης ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ τοῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφεστὼς θησαυροῖς. [20] Πέτρον οὖν τὸν Βαρσύμην ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐπὶ ταύτης καταστησάμενος τῆς τιμῆς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπεχώρουν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἀνόσια ἔργα. [21] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἅπαντας τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐδικαίου τηρεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεχνίτας αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀναγκάζων ἐργάζεσθαι ἀπεδίδοτο, οὐκέτι ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς βαφῆς μὲν τῆς προστυχούσης τὴν οὐγκίαν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ ἐξ χρυσῶν, βάμματος δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ὅπερ καλεῖν ὀλόβηρον νενομίκασι, πλέον ἢ τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι χρυσῶν. [22] καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐνθὲνδε μεγάλα χρήματα ἔφερεν, αὐτὸς δὲ περιβαλλόμενος πλείω ἐλάνθανεν, [23] ὅπερ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενον εἰς ἀεὶ ἔμεινε. μόνος γὰρ εἰς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου ἔμπορός τε ἀπαρακαλύπτως καὶ κάπηλος τοῦ ἐμπολήματος τοῦδε καθίσταται. [24] ἔμποροι μὲν οὖν ὅσοι πρότερον τὴν ἐργασίαν ταύτην μετήεσαν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη θαλαττουργοὶ τε καὶ ἔγγειοι ἐφέροντο ὡς τὸ εἶκος τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας κακά. [25] ἐν δὲ πόλεσιν ὁ δῆμος σχεδὸν τι ὅλος ταῖς εἰρημναῖς προσαιτητῆς ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐγένετο. βάνανσοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ χειρῶνακτες λιμῷ παλαίειν, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἠναγκάζοντο, πολλοὶ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν

μεταβαλλόμενοι φεύγοντες ὥχοντο ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη. [26] μόνος δὲ αἰεὶ ὁ τῶν
θησαυρῶν ἄρχων ἐνεργολαβῶν τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο μοῖραν μὲν βασιλεῖ,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πόρων τῶν ἐνθένδε ἀποφέρειν ἡξίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλείω
φερόμενος δημοσίαις συμφοραῖς ἐπλούτει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν.

Ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον τῶν πόλεων τοὺς κόσμους καὶ τὰ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα πάντα ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη καθελεῖν ἴσχυσεν αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. [2] πρῶτα μὲν καταλύειν τὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀξίωμα ἔγνω. τὰ τε γὰρ ἑπαθλα αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, οἷσπερ τρυφᾶν τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τῆς συνηγορίας ἀφειμένοι εἰώθασι, καὶ διωμότους συνίστασθαι τοὺς διαφερομένους ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περιυβρισμένοι ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ ἐγένοντο. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δοκούντων εἶναι ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πάσας, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, ἀργεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τούτῳ ἐλέλειπτο. [4] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἄνθρωποι λόγου ὅτουσιν οὐδὲν ἄξιον, οὔπερ ἂν καὶ ἀμφισβητοῖεν ἀλλήλοις. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἐξ ἐνδόξων δὲ λίαν κομιδῇ ἄδοξοι πανταχόθι γεγονότες τῆς γῆς πενία μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, πολλῇ εἶχοντο, μόνην δὲ ὕβριν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου φερόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [5] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐλευθερίων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. τὰς τε γὰρ σιτήσεις, ἃς οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔταξαν, ταύτας δὴ οὗτος ἀφείλετο πάσας. [6] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅσους οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες ἀπάσας πολιτικῶν σφίσιν ἢ θεωρητικῶν οἰκοθεν πεποίηνται πόρους, καὶ τούτους μεταγαγὼν φόροις ἀναμίξαι τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐτόλμησε. [7] καὶ οὔτε ἰατρῶν τις ἢ διδασκάλων τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγένετο λόγος οὔτε δημοσίας τις ἔτι οἰκοδομίας προνοεῖν ἴσχυσεν οὔτε λύχνα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐκάετο οὔτε τις ἦν ἄλλη παραψυχὴ τοῖς ταύτας οἰκοῦσι. [8] τὰ τε γὰρ θέατρα καὶ ἱππόδρομοι καὶ κυνηγέσια ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅπαντα ἤργει, οὐ δὴ οἱ τὴν γυναικα τετέχθαι τε καὶ τεθράφθαι καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι ξυνέβαιναν. [9] ὕστερον δὲ ταῦτα δὴ ἀργεῖν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκέλευσε τὰ θεάματα, τοῦ μὴ τὰ εἰωθότα χορηγεῖν τὸ δημόσιον πολλοῖς τε καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀναρίθμοις οὖσιν, [10] οἷς ἐνθένδε ὁ βίος. ἦν τε ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ λύπη τε καὶ κατήφεια, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκῆψασαι πάθος, καὶ βίος πᾶσιν ἀγέλαστος. [11] ἄλλο τε τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐφέρετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν διηγῆμασιν, οἴκοι τε οὗσι καὶ ἀγοράζουσι κἂν τοῖς ἱεροῖς διατρίβουσιν ἢ συμφοραὶ τε καὶ πάθη καὶ καινοτέρων ἀτυχημάτων ὑπερβολή. [12] Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ λείπεται, τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ὕπατοι Ῥωμαίων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐγινέσθην δύο, ἄτερος μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. [13] ὅστις δὲ εἰς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκαλεῖτο ταύτην πλεόν ἢ κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ εἵκοσιν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀναλοῦν ἔμελλεν, ὀλίγα μὲν οἰκεῖα, [14] τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος. ταῦτά τε τὰ χρήματα ἐξ τε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥνπερ ἐμνήσθην, καὶ ἐς τῶν βίων τοὺς ἀπορωτέρους ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον φερόμενα καὶ διαφερόντως ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα ἐς αἰὲν τῇ πόλει ἀνίστη. [15] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὐκέτι καιροῖς τοῖς καθήκουσι ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολλοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ὕπατος καθίστατο χρόνου, τελευτῶντες δὲ οὐδὲ ὄναρ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐώρων, ἐξ οὗ δὴ

πενία τινί ἐνδελεχέστετα ἐσφίγγετο τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τὰ μὲν εἰωθότα τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρεχομένου, τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τρόποις ἅπασι πανταχόθεν ἀφαιρουμένου. [16] Ὡς μὲν οὖν τὰ δημόσια καταπιὼν ζύμπαντα χρήματα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὁ λυμεὼν οὗτος ἕκαστόν τε ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ζύμπαντας τὰς οὐσίας ἀφήρηται, [17] διαρκῶς δεδιγῆσθαι οἶμαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐδαίμονας δοκοῦντας εἶναι συκοφαντίᾳ περιὼν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα ἴσχυσεν, ἱκανώτατά μοι εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω, οὐ μέντοι στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἄρχουσι πᾶσιν ὑπηρετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Παλατίῳ στρατευομένους, γεωργοὺς τε καὶ χωρίων κτήτορας καὶ κυρίους καὶ οἷς ἐν λόγοις τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ ναύτας βαναύσους τε καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὁ βίος, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας, ἐς οὓς δικνεῖσθαι βλάβος τὸ ἐκ τοῦδε συμβαίνει. [18] Οἷα δὲ τοὺς τε προσαιτητὰς καὶ ἀγελαίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ πτωχοὺς τε καὶ λώβῃ πάσῃ ἐχομένους εἰργάσατο, αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν: τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις λελέξεται. [19] πρῶτα μὲν, ὅπερ εἴρηται, ἅπαντα περιβεβλημένος τὰ πωλητήρια καὶ ὠνίων τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τὰ λεγόμενα καταστησάμενος μονοπώλια πλέον ἢ τριπλάσια τιμήματα πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπράττετο. [20] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπεὶ ἀνάριθμά μοι ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε λόγῳ ἀτελευτήτῳ καταλέγειν φιλονεικοίην: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοὺς ἄρτους ὠνουμένων πικρότατα ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐσύλει, οὓς δὴ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ πάσῃ λώβῃ ἐχομένους ἀνθρώπους μὴ οὐκ ὠνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατον. [21] αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τρία κεντηνάρια φέρεσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐνθένδε ἤξιου, ὅπως οἱ ἄρτοι ἀξιώτεροι ᾧσι καὶ σποδοῦ ἔμπλεω: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς αἰσχροκερδείας ἀσέβημα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὀκνηρὸς ἦει: [22] ταύτη δὲ τῇ σκῆψει οἰκεῖα κέρδη ἐπιτεχνώμενοι οἷς ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη αὐτοὶ μὲν ῥᾶστα ἐς πλουτόν τινα περίσταντο μέγαν, λιμὸν δὲ τοῖς πτωχοῖς χειροποιήτῳ ἐν εὐθηνούσι χρόνοις αἰεὶ παρὰ δόξαν εἰργάζοντο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ σῖτον ἐτέρωθέν τι ἐισκομίζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἅπασι τούτους δὴ ὠνουμένους ἄρτους ἐσθίειν. [23] Τὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὄχετόν διερρωγότα τε ὀρῶντες καὶ μοῖραν ὕδατος ὀλίγην τινὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα ὑπερεώρων τε καὶ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν αὐτῷ προέσθαι ἤθελον, καίπερ ὁμίλου αἰεὶ ἀμφὶ τὰς κρήνας ἀποπνιγομένου πολλοῦ, καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἀποκεκλεισμένων ἀπάντων: καίτοι ἐς οἰκοδομίας θαλασσίους τε καὶ ἀνοήτους ἄλλας μέγεθος χρημάτων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προῖετο, πανταχόθι τῶν προαστείων ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὥσπερ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοὺς οὐ χωρύντων, ἐν οἷς δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες διαβιοῦν ἐς αἰεὶ ἤθελον. [24] οὕτως οὐ χρημάτων φειδοῖ, ἀλλὰ φθόρου ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ ὄχετοῦ οἰκοδομίας ὀλιγωρεῖν ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦδε ἐτοιμότερος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων χρήματά τε προσποιεῖσθαι κακῶς, καὶ ταῦτα χειρόνως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα προέσθαι. [25] δυοῖν τοίνυν ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐν τε ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πενομένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς οὗσιν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἄρτου, δι' ἀμφοῖν αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ μοι δεδιῆγεται, βασιλεὺς ὅδε ἔβλαψε, τὸ μὲν ἄπορον σφίσι, τὸν δὲ πολλῷ ἀξιώτερον ἐργασάμενος. [26] Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ προσαιτητὰς,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρωθι ᾠκημένων τινὰς ἔδρασε ταῦτα, ὥσπερ μοι αὐτίκα λελέγεται. [27] Ἰταλίαν γὰρ Θευδέρικος ἐλὼν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ῥώμης Παλατίῳ στρατευομένους αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, ὅπως τι διασώζοιτο πολιτείας ἐνταῦθα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἵχνος, μίαν ἀπολιπὼν σύνταξιν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστω. [28] ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι παμπληθεῖς ἄγαν. οἱ τε γὰρ σιλεντιάριοι καλούμενοι καὶ δομέστικοι καὶ σχολάριοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, οἷς δὴ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπελέλειπτο ἢ τὸ τῆς στρατείας ὄνομα μόνον, καὶ ἡ σύνταξις αὕτη ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν ἀποχρῶσα μόλις αὐτοῖς, ἅπερ ἔς τε παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους Θευδέρικος αὐτοὺς παραπέμπειν ἐκέλευσε. [29] τοῖς τε προσαιτηταῖς οἱ παρὰ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν δίαιταν εἶχον, τρισχιλίους σίτου μεδίμνους χορηγεῖν ἀεὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισεν: ἅπερ ἅπαντες οὗτοι διαγεγόνασιν κομιζόμενοι ἕως Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ψαλίδιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο. [30] πάντα γὰρ εὐθὺς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ περιελεῖν ἔγνω. ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν τε πρᾶξιν προσήκατο ταύτην καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχεν. ἐν ταύτῃ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰργάσατο τάδε. [31] Τοῦ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις φυλακτηρίου οἱ τὰ ἐκεῖνι γεωργοῦντες χωρία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπεμελοῦντο, ἐκ περιτροπῆς τε τὸ ἐνταῦθα τεῖχος ἐφύλασσον, ἡνίκα δὴ ἔφοδος βαρβάρων τινῶν ὡς ἐπισκῆψαι ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [32] ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τότε Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος προνοεῖν Πελοποννησίων σκηπτόμενος οὐκ ἔφη γεωργοῖς τὸ ταύτῃ φυλακτήριον ἐπιτρέψειν. [33] στρατιώτας οὖν ἐνταῦθα εἰς δισχιλίους καταστησάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι σφίσι τὰς συντάξεις διώρισεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πασῶν πόλεων τὰ τε πολιτικά καὶ θεωρητικά ζύμπαντα χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ τῷ προσχήματι τούτῳ μετήνεγκεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνθὲνδε οἱ στρατιῶται οὗτοι σιτίζοιντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐταῖς οὔτε τις ἐν δημοσίῳ οἰκοδομία ἀνενεώθη οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οἷόν τε ἦν γίνεσθαι. [34] Ἰουστινιανὸς μέντοι τὰ τῇδε διωκόμενα τῷ Ψαλιδίῳ οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει ἐπέρρωσε. [35] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. ἰτέον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πτωχοὺς. Ὑφαιστός τις ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ῥήτορσιν ἐγεγόνει, ὅσπερ παραλαβὼν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχὴν τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῦ στασιάζειν κατέπαυσε, φοβερὸς τοῖς στασιώταις φανείς, ἔσχατα δὲ ἐσχάτων κακὰ τοῖς τῇδε ᾠκημένοις ἐνδεδείκται πᾶσι. [36] πάντα γὰρ εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πωλητήρια ἐς τὸ καλούμενον μονοπώλιον καταστησάμενος ἄλλον μὲν ἐμπόρων οὐδένα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐργάζεσθαι εἶα, μόνος δὲ ἀπάντων αὐτὸς γεγωνὼς κάπηλος παρεδίδото τὰ ὄνια πάντα, δηλονότι τὰς τούτων τιμὰς τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ σταθμώμενος, ἀπεπνίγετό τε τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνει ἢ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις, οὗ δὴ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πενομένοις τὰ πρότερα εὖωνα διαρκῶς ἐγεγόνει πάντα, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ἄρτῳ ἐπίεξε. [37] τὸν γὰρ σῖτον αὐτὸς ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων ὠνεῖτο μόνος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐς μέδιμνον ἓνα ἐτέρῳ ἐνδιδοὺς πρίασθαι, ταύτῃ τε τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄρτων τιμήματα διετίθετο ἥπερ ἐβούλετο. [38] πλοῦτον τοίνυν καὶ ἀμύθητον αὐτὸς τε δι' ὀλίγου περιβάλετο καὶ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀμφὶ τούτῳ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνεπλήσατο. [39] καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὁ δῆμος δέει τοῦ Ὑφαίστου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰδοῖ τῶν οἱ ἐς αἰ

ἐσκομιζομένων χρημάτων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὑπερηγάπα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [40] Βουλευσας δὲ Ἥφαιστος οὗτος ὅπως τὴν βασιλέως διάνοιαν πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξελεῖν δύνηται, προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. [41] Διοκλητιανὸς Ῥωμαίων γεγονὼς αὐτοκράτωρ σίτου μέγα τι χρῆμα δίδοσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισε. [42] ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος τηνικάδε διαδασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἄχρι δεῦρο παρέπεμψαν. [43] ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἐνθένδε μυριάδας ἐς διακοσίας ἐπετείους μεδίμων τοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζοντας ἀφελόμενος τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐντέθεικε, βασιλεῖ γράψας ὥς οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ ἥ ξυμφέρει τοῖς πράγμασι μέχρι νῦν ταῦτα οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι κομίζονται. [44] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐμπεδώσας τὴν πρᾶξιν διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτὸν μείζονος ἔσχεν, Ἀλεξανδρέων δὲ ὅσοι ταύτην εἶχον τοῦ βίου ἐλπίδα, ταύτης δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας ἀπώναντο.

XXVII

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ εἰργασμένα τοσαῦτά ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγῳ ἐπαρκεῖν δύνασθαι. [2] ὀλίγα δέ μοι ἄττα ἐκ πάντων ἀπολεξαμένῳ εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει, δι' ὧν αὐτοῦ ἐνδηλον καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθεν γενησομένοις τὸ ἦθος ἅπαν διαφανῶς ἔσται, καὶ ὡς εἴρων τε ἦν καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε ἱερέων οὔτε νόμων αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, οὔτε δήμου κατεσπουδασμένου αὐτῷ δοκοῦντος εἶναι, οὐ μὴν οὔτε τινὸς τὸ παράπαν αἰδοῦς ἢ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ξυμφόρου ἢ ὅτου τι προὔργου ἐς αὐτὴν γένοιτο, ἢ ὅπως σκήψεώς τινος τὰ πρασσόμενα τυχεῖν δύναιτο, οὔτε ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν ἐσῆει, ὅτι μὴ μόνη ἀφαίρεσις τῶν ἐν πάσῃ γῇ κειμένων χρημάτων. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐνθὲνδε. [3] Ἀρχιερέα κατεστήσατο Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὐτὸς Παῦλον ὄνομα. ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ῥόδων τις, Φοῖνιξ γένος, ἔχων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχήν. [4] ᾧ δὴ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς ἅπαντα Παύλῳ ὑπηρετεῖν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπως δὴ ἀτελεύτητον μένοι τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένων μηδέν. [5] ταύτῃ γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων τοὺς αἰρετικούς ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐν Καλχηδόνι σύνοδον ὥετο δυνατόν ἔσεσθαι. [6] ἦν δὲ τις Ἀρσένιος, Παλαιστίνος γένος, ὅσπερ Θεοδώρα τῇ βασιλίδι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐπιτήδειος γεγονώς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν τε πολλὴν μεγάλα τε περιβαλλόμενος χρήματα ἐς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ἦλθε, καίπερ μιαιώτατος ὢν. [7] οὗτος Σαμαρείτης μὲν ἦν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν προσέσθαι δύναμιν ὀνόματος ἀντιλαβέσθαι τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ἔγνω. [8] ὁ μὲντοι πατήρ τε καὶ ἀδελφὸς τῇ τούτου δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες διαγεγόνاسι μὲν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει, περιστέλλοντες τὴν πάτριον δόξαν, γνώμῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς Χριστιανούς εἰργάζοντο πάντας. [9] διὸ δὴ οἱ πολῖται σφίσιν ἐπαναστάντες ἄμφω ἔκτειναν θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ, κακὰ τε πολλὰ ξυνηνέχθη Παλαιστίνιοις ἐνθὲνδε γενέσθαι. [10] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν οὔτε Ἰουστινιανὸς οὔτε βασιλὶς κακόν τι ἔδρασαν, καίπερ αἰτιώτατον γεγονότα δυσκόλων ἀπάντων, ἀπέιπον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Παλάτιον μηκέτι ἰέναι: ἐνδελεχέστατα γὰρ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα πρὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἠνωχλοῦντο. [11] οὗτος Ἀρσένιος βασιλεῖ χαριεῖσθαι οἰόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ξὺν τῷ Παύλῳ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν στέλλεται, ὡς δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπηρετήσων καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς πειθῷ ξυγκατεργασόμενος αὐτῷ δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [12] ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τούτον, ἡνίκα οἱ τοῦ Παλατίου ἀποκεκλείσθαι ξυνέπεσε, τῶν ἐν Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἀμελέτητος γεγονέναι δογμάτων ἀπάντων. [13] ὅπερ τὴν Θεοδώραν ἠνίασε: τὴν ἐναντίαν γὰρ ἐσκήπτετο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοῦτο ἰέναι, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἴρηται. [14] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐγένοντο, διάκονόν τινα Ψόην ὄνομα Ῥόδωνι Παῦλος παρέδωκε τεθνηξόμενον, φάσκων δὴ αὐτὸν μόνον οἱ αὐτῷ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῦ μὴ τὰ βασιλεῖ δεδογμένα ὑποτελέσαι. [15] τοῖς δὲ βασιλέως γράμμασι Ῥόδων ἡγμένος, συχνοῖς τε οὔσι καὶ λίαν σπουδαίοις, αἰκίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔγνω. καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς βασάνου κατατεινόμενος αὐτίκα θνήσκει. [16] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς βασιλέα ἦλθεν, ἐγκειμένης ἰσχυρότατα τῆς βασιλίδος, ἅπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παύλῳ τε καὶ Ῥόδωνι καὶ Ἀρσενίῳ εὐθὺς ἐκίνει, ὅσπερ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τούτοις δὴ

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπηγγελμένων ἐπιλελησμένος ἀπάντων. [17] Λιβέριον οὖν τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἄνδρα πατρικίον καταστησάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν δοκίμων ἱερέων τινὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἔστειλε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ποιησομένους διάγνωσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης ἀρχιδιάκονος Πελάγιος ἦν, τὸ Βιγίλιου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑποδὺς πρόσωπον, ἐπιτεταγμένον οἱ τοῦτό γε πρὸς τοῦ Βιγίλιου: [18] τοῦ τε φόνου ἐληλεγμένου Παῦλον τῆς ἱερωσύνης εὐθὺς καθεῖλον, φυγόντα δὲ Ῥόδωνα ἐς Βυζάντιον τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀφείλετο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ τρισκαίδεκα ἐπιστολάς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐνδειξαμένου, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἅγαν ἐπαγγέλλων τε ἅπαντα τῷ Παύλῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀντιτείνειν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἐπιτελέσαι τὰ δόξαντα δυνατός εἴη. [19] Ἀρσένιον τε Λιβέριος γνώμη Θεοδώρας ἀνεσκολόπισε, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιοῦν βασιλεὺς ἔγνω, καίπερ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐπεγκαλεῖν ἔχων ἢ ὅτι ξὺν τῷ Παύλῳ δίαιταν εἶχε. [20] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ αὐτῷ εἵργασται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτά μοι εἴρηται αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [21] ὁ Παῦλος χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων ἐπτά τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενος ἡξίου τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν ἅτε αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ νόμῳ ἀφηρημένος. [22] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τὰ τε χρήματα ἐδέξατο πρῶως καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχεν, ἀρχιερέα τε ὠμολόγησεν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὐτὸν καταστήσεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καίπερ ἐτέρου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντος, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυνουκίσαντάς τε καὶ ὑπουργεῖν τετολμηκότας ἔκτεινέ τε αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο. [23] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σεβαστὸς ἐς ἅγαν διατεινόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Παῦλος δὲ διαρρήδην ἐπίδοξος ἦν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπολήψεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ. [24] ἀλλὰ Βιγίλιος τηνικάδε παρὼν εἶκιν βασιλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτάττοντι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω. ἔφασκε γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τε εἶναι ψῆφον τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸς ἀνάδικον διειργάσθαι, [25] τὴν Πελαγίου παραδηλῶν γνῶσιν. οὕτως ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ὅτι μὴ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεως αἰετὶ ἔμελεν. εἰρήσεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε. [26] Φαυστῖνος ἦν τις, Παλαιστῖνος γένος, Σαμαρείτης μὲν γεγωνὼς ἄνωθεν, ὀνόματος δὲ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ νόμου. [27] οὗτος ὁ Φαυστῖνος ἐς τε βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν, ἥσπερ αὐτὸν παραλυθέντα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς τε τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκοντα τῶν τινες ἱερέων διέβαλλον ἐπενεγκάμενοι ὡς Σαμαρειτῶν νόμιμα περιστέλλει, καὶ Χριστιανούς δράσειε τοὺς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ὥκημένους ἀνόσια ἔργα. [28] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀγριαίνεσθαι τε καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι διὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα ὑφ' ὅτου οὖν διασύροιτο. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τὴν διάγνωσιν πεποιημένοι τοῦ πράγματος φυγῇ τὸν Φαυστῖνον ἐζημίωσαν, βασιλέως ἐγκειμένου σφίσι. [30] βασιλεὺς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ χρήματα ὅσα ἐβούλετο κεκομισμένος ἀνάδικα εὐθὺς τὰ δεδικασμένα ἐποίησε. [31] Φαυστῖνος δὲ αὖθις τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα ἔχων, βασιλεῖ τε ὠμίλει ἐπίτροπός τε καταστάς τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τε καὶ Φοινίκῃ βασιλικῶν χωρίων ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα κατειργάζετο ὅσα οἱ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [32] ὄντινα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς

τρόπον τὰ Χριστιανῶν δικαιώματα περιστέλλειν ἡξίου, καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶνδε βραχέων ὄντων τεκμηριοῦν ἔστιν. [33] ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει κατέσειε χρημάτων κειμένων βραχυτάτῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ.

XXVIII

Πρίσκος τις ἐν τῇ Ἑμεσηνῶν ἐγένετο πόλει, ὅσπερ ἀλλότρια γράμματα μιμεῖσθαι εὐφυῶς ἐξηπίστατο, τεχνίτης τε ἦν περὶ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο δεξιὸς ἄγαν. [2] ἐτύγγανε δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἑμεσηνῶν ἐκκλησία τῶν τινος ἐπιφανῶν κληρονόμος γεγεννημένη χρόνοις τισὶ πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. [3] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πατρίκιος μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, Μαμμιανὸς δὲ ὄνομα, γένει λαμπρὸς καὶ περιουσία χρημάτων. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ Πρίσκος διερευνησάμενος πόλεως τῆς εἰρημένης τὰς οἰκίας πάσας, εἴ τινας εὖρ τε πλούτῳ ἀκμάζοντας καὶ πρὸς ζημίαν χρημάτων μεγάλων διαρκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτων διερευνησάμενος ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοὺς προπάτορας, γράμμασιν αὐτῶν παλαιοῖς ἐντυχῶν, βιβλίδια πολλὰ ὥς παρ' ἐκείνων γεγραμμένα πεποίηται, ὁμολογούντων πολλὰ χρήματα τῷ Μαμμιανῷ ἀποδώσειν ἅτε παρακαταθήκης λόγῳ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνου κεκομισμένων. [5] τό τε ὁμολογημένον ἐν τούτοις διὰ τοῖς καταπλάστοις γραμματείοις χρυσίον ξυνῆει οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἑκατὸν κεντηνάρια. [6] καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὲ τινος, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τηνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου καθήμενος, ἠνίκα ὁ Μαμμιανὸς περιῆν, δόξαν τε πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἔχων, ἅπαντα ἐπετέλει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν γραμματεῖα, ἕκαστον οἰκείοις ἐπισφραγίζων αὐτὸς γράμμασιν, ὥνπερ ταβελλίωνα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ γράμματα δαιμονίως μιμησάμενος τοῖς διοικουμένοις τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑμεσηνῶν ἐκκλησίας παρέδωκεν, ὁμολογηκόσι μοῖραν αὐτῷ τινα κεῖσθαι τῶν ἐνθένδε πορισθησομένων χρημάτων. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ νόμος ἐμποδῶν ἴστατο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δίκας ἀπάσας ἐς τριακοντούτιν παραγραφὴν ἄγων, ὀλίγας δὲ ἅττας καὶ τὰς ὑποθηκαρίας καλουμένας τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν μήκει ἐκκρούων, [8] μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενοι ἐδέοντο σφίσι τὸν τῶν πολιτῶν ὄλεθρον οὐδὲν ὠφληκότων συγκατεργάζεσθαι. [9] ὁ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κεκομισμένος μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ νόμον ἔγραψεν, οὐ χρόνοις τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς καθήκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτῶν ἑκατὸν πλήθει δικῶν τῶν αὐταῖς προσηκουσῶν ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν Ἑμέσῃ μόνον κύρια εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [10] Ἑμεσηνοῖς τε τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο διαιτᾶν ἔταξε Λογγίνον τινα δραστήριον τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἰσχυρὸν ἄγαν, ὃς καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχὴν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὕστερον ἔσχεν. [11] οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν τινι τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην κεντηναρίοιν ἐκ βιβλίων τῶν εἰρημένων λαχόντες δυοῖν, κατεδικάσαντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὐθὺς, ὃ τι καὶ ἀπολογήσαιο οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος διὰ τε χρόνου τοσόνδε μήκος καὶ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων. [12] ἐν πένθει δὲ μεγάλῳ ἐκάθηγτο οἱ τε ἄλλοι ζύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ὁμῶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐκκείμενοι καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ τῶν Ἑμεσηνῶν λογιμώτατοι. [13] τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ ἐς τοὺς πλείστους ἤδη τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιρρέοντος προμήθειάν τινα τοῦ θεοῦ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε. [14] Πρίσκον ὁ Λογγίνος τὸν τοῦτο διὰ τὸ σκαιώρημα ἐργασάμενον ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ κομίζειν οἱ τὰ γράμματα ἐκέλευσεν, ἀναδυόμενόν τε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐρράπισε δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [15] ὁ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροῦ λίαν τὴν πληγὴν οὐδαμῇ

ἐνεγκὼν ἔπεσεν ὕπτιος, τρέμων δὲ ἤδη καὶ περιδεὴς γεγονὼς, ὅλως τε Λογγῖνον ἠσθῆσθαι τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπονοῶν ὡμολόγει, οὕτω τε τῆς σκαιωρίας ἀπάσης ἐς φῶς ἐνεχθείσης τὴν συκοφαντίαν πεπαῦσθαι ξυνέβη. [16] Ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐς τοὺς νόμους ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην εἰργάζετο τοὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς Ἑβραῖοι τιμῶσι καταλύειν ὁδε βασιλεὺς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. [17] ἦν γάρ ποτε αὐτοῖς ἐπανίων ὁ χρόνος τὴν Πασχαλίαν ἐορτὴν πρὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγαγὼν τύχοι, οὐκ εἶα ταύτην τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καιροῖς τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἄγειν, οὐδέ τι ἐν ταύτῃ δεξιοῦσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίμων. [18] πολλοὺς τε αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τεταγμένοι ἄτε προβατείων κρεῶν ἐν τούτῳ γευσαμένους τῷ χρόνῳ, τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν παρανομίας ὑπάγοντες χρήμασιν ἐζημίουν πολλοῖς. [19] ἔργα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀνάρηθμα ἐξεπιστάμενος οὐκ ἂν τι ἐνθείην, ἐπεὶ πέρας δοτέον τῷ λόγῳ. ἀποκρήσει γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἥθος σημῆναι.

Ὅτι δὲ εἶρων τε καὶ κατάπλαστος ἦν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τὸν Λιβέριον
 τοῦτον, οὐπὲρ ἐμνήσθην ἀρτίως, παραλύσας ἥς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς, Ἰωάννην ἀντ'
 αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο Αἰγύπτιον γένος, ἐπὶ κλήσιν Λαξαρίωνα. [2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ
 Πελάγιος ἔγνω Λιβερῖον φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὢν, τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἶπερ ὁ ἀμφὶ Λαξαρίωνα λόγος ἀληθὴς εἴη. [3] καὶ ὅς εὐθὺς
 ἀπηρνήσατο μηδὲν πεπραγέναι τοιοῦτο ἀπισχυρισάμενος, γράμματά τε αὐτῷ
 πρὸς Λιβέριον ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐντελλόμενος βεβαιότατα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχεσθαι, καὶ
 μηδενὶ αὐτῆς τρόπῳ μεθίεσθαι. [4] οὐ γὰρ ταύτης ἐθέλειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αὐτὸν
 παραλῦσαι. ἦν δὲ τις τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θεῖος, Εὐδαίμων ὄνομα, ἔς τε τὸ
 τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἦκων καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος πολλὰ ἐπίτροπος τέως
 τῆς βασιλέως οὐσίας ἰδίας. [5] οὗτος Εὐδαίμων ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἠκηκόει ἅπερ
 ἐρρήθη, καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλέως ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ ἐν βεβαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ τὰ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς εἴη. [6] ὁ δὲ ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Λιβέριον ἐγγράπτο ἀρνησάμενος, πρὸς τὸν
 Ἰωάννην γράμματα γράψας ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς δυνάμει πάσῃ
 ἐπέστελλεν. [7] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτῷ νεώτερον ἀμφ' αὐτῇ βεβουλεῦσθαι. οἷσπερ
 ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀναπεισθεὶς Λιβέριον ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταγωγίου ἅτε
 αὐτῆς παραλελυμένον ἐκέλευε. [8] Λιβέριος δὲ αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι οὐδαμῇ
 ἔφασκεν, ἡγμένος δηλονότι τοῖς βασιλέως καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμασιν. [9] ὁ μὲν οὖν
 Ἰωάννης τούς οἱ ἐπομένους ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λιβέριον ἦει, ὁ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφ'
 αὐτὸν εἰς ἀντίστασιν εἶδε. μάχης τε γενομένης, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ
 Ἰωάννης αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων. [10] Εὐδαίμονος οὖν ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου,
 μετάπεμptos εὐθὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁ Λιβέριος ἦν, ἥ τε σύγκλητος βουλὴ τὴν
 διάγνωσιν ποιουμένη τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀπεψηφίσατο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ
 αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπελθόντος, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένου τὸ μίasma ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [11]
 βασιλεὺς μέντοι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως αὐτὸν ἐξημίωσε χρήμασι λάθρα. [12]
 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀληθίζεσθαί τε ἠπίστατο καὶ εὐθύγλωστος ἦν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρεργόν τι τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἄπο τοῦ καιροῦ οἶμαι εἶναι. ὁ
 μὲν γὰρ Εὐδαίμων οὗτος ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ξυγγενῶν μὲν οἱ
 ἀπολελειμμένων πολλῶν, οὔτε διαθήκην τινὰ διαθέμενος οὔτε τι ἄλλο τὸ
 παράπαν εἰπών. [13] ὑπὸ χρόνον τε τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τις ἄρχων γεγινὼς τῶν ἐν
 Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ὄνομα Εὐφρατᾶς ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου, ἀδελφιδὸν μὲν
 ἀπολιπὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ διαθέμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ πολλῇ ἐς ἄγαν [14] οὔση.
 ἅμφω δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, κληρονόμος γεγενημένος αὐτόματος
 καὶ οὐδὲ τριώβολόν τι τῶν νομίμων κληρονόμων προέμενος. [15] τοσαύτη
 αἰδοῖ ἔς τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος
 ἐχρήτο. [16] οὕτως καὶ τὰ Εἰρηναίου πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν τελευτήσαντος
 δικαίωμα οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχων ἀφείλετο. [17] Τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐχόμενον ὑπὸ
 χρόνον τε τὸν αὐτὸν γεγονὸς οὐκ ἂν σιωπῶην. Ανατόλιος τις ἦν ἐν
 Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τῷ λευκώματι τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχων. τούτου τὴν παῖδα γαμετὴν
 γυναῖκα τῶν τις Καισαρέων πεποιῆται, [18] Μαμιλιανὸς ὄνομα, οἰκίας
 ἐπιφανοὺς ἄγαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ κόρη ἐπὶ κλήρος, ἐπεὶ μόνης αὐτῆς Ανατόλιος

ἐγεγόνει πατήρ. [19] νόμῳ δὲ ἄνωθεν διωρισμένον, ἐπειδὴν βουλευτῆς τῶν
τινος πόλεων οὐκ ἀπολελειμμένων οἱ παίδων γόνου ἄρρενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφανισθείη, τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ὑπὸ τούτου χρημάτων τὸ μὲν
τεταρτημόριον δίδοσθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως βουλευτηρίῳ, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀπόνασθαι, γνώρισμα ἡθους τοῦ
οἰκείου κἀνταῦθα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνδεικνύμενος, νόμον ἔναγχος ἐτύγχανε
γράφας, ἔμπαιιν τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διοικούμενον ὅπως δὴ, ἐπειδὴν βουλευτῆς
ἅπαις τελευτῶν γόνου ἄρρενος τῆς οὐσίας οἱ μὲν κληρονόμοι τὸ τέταρτον
ἔχοιεν, τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα τό τε δημόσιον καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λεύκωμα φέροιτο.
[20] καίτοι οὐδεπώποτε δημόσιον ἢ βασιλεὺς ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι
χρημάτων βουλευτικῶν μετασχεῖν ἔσχε. [21] τούτου τοίνυν κειμένου τοῦ
νόμου, Ἀνατολίῳ μὲν ἐπεγένετο ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, ἡ δὲ τούτου παῖς
τὸν τούτου κλῆρον πρὸς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως βουλευτήριον
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐνείματο, καὶ αὐτῇ γράμματα βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸς καὶ
Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν οἱ τοῦ λευκώματος ἔγραψαν, τῆς περὶ τούτων αὐτὴν ἀφιέντες
ἀντιλογίας ἅτε τὰ σφίσι προσήκοντα κεκομισμένοι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. [22]
ὕστερον καὶ Μαμμιανὸς ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου, ὅσπερ Ἀνατολίῳ κηδεστῆς
ἐγεγόνει, παιδὸς οἱ ἀπολελειμμένης μιᾶς, ἥπερ καὶ μόνη τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
οὐσίαν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔσχε. [23] μετὰ δὲ καὶ αὕτη περιούσης ἔτι οἱ τῆς μητρὸς
ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, ἀνδρὶ μὲν ξυνοικισθεῖσα τῶν λογίμων τινί,
μήτηρ δὲ οὔτε θήλεος οὔτε ἄρρενος γενομένη γόνου. [24] ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανὸς
πάντων ἀντελάβετο τῶν χρημάτων εὐθὺς, ἐκεῖνο ἀποφθεγξάμενος τὸ
θαυμάσιον, ὡς τὴν Ἀνατολίου παῖδα γυναῖκα γραῦν οὔσαν τοῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς πλουτεῖν χρήμασιν οὐχ ὅσιον εἶη. [25] ὅπως δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μὴ
ἐν τοῖς προσαιτηταῖς τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξεται, στατήρα χρυσοῦν ἐς ἡμέραν
ἐκάστην τὴν γυναῖκα φέρεσθαι ταύτην διώρισεν, ἕως ἂν περιτῇ, τοῦτο θέμενος
ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, δι' ὧν τὰ χρήματα ἐληΐσαστο ταῦτα, ὡς τὸν στατήρα προεῖται
τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τοῦτον: 'ἔθος γάρ μοι', ἔφη, 'τά τε ὅσια καὶ εὐσεβῇ
πράττειν'. [26] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀπόχρη λέγειν, ὅπως μὴ ὁ λόγος
κατακόρως ἔχοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων γε ὄντι δυνατόν
ἀπομνημονεῦσαι. [27] ὅτι δὲ οὐ Βενέτων τῶν οἱ ἐσπουδασμένων δοκούντων
εἶναι λόγον τινὰ πεποιήται χρημάτων παρόντων, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [28] Μαλθάνης
τις ἐγεγόνει ἐν Κίλιξι Λέοντος ἐκείνου γαμβρὸς, ὃς περιεῖπεν, ὥσπερ μοι
ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου ρεφερενδαρίου τιμὴν. [29] τοῦτον βίας
ἀναστέλλειν ἐπέστελλε τὰς ἐν Κίλιξι. ταύτης τε τῆς σκήψεως ὁ Μαλθάνης
λαβόμενος ἀνήκεστα κακὰ Κιλικῶν τοὺς πλείστους εἰργάζετο, καὶ τὰ
χρήματα ληϊζόμενος τὰ μὲν τῷ τυράννῳ ἔπεμπε, τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐδικαίου
πλουτεῖν. [30] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὰ σφίσι παρόντα σιωπῇ ἔφερον, Ταρσέων δὲ
ὅσοι Βένετοι ἦσαν τῇ ἐκ βασιλέως παρρησίᾳ θαρσοῦντες ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Μαλθάνην οὐ παρόντα σφίσι πολλὰ ὕβριζον. [31] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ
Μαλθάνης ἔγνω, πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς Ταρσὸν εὐθὺς ἀφίκετο
νύκτωρ περιπέμπων τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ὀρθρου βαθέος
καταλύειν ἐκέλευεν. [32] ἔφοδον δὲ οἰόμενοι ταύτην οἱ Βένετοι εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. ξυνέβη τοίνυν ἄλλα τε κακὰ ἐν σκότῳ γενέσθαι καὶ

Δαμιανόν, [33] ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς, τοξεύματι βληθέντα πεσεῖν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Δαμιανὸς οὗτος τῶν τῇδε Βενέτων προστάτης. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν, οἱ τε Βένετοι δυσφοροῦμενοι θορύβῳ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολλῶ εἶχοντο, καὶ βασιλέα μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ πράγματι ἠνώχλουν ἄγαν, Λέοντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μαλθάνην ξύν δεινοτάταις ἀπειλαῖς πολλὰ ἐδυσφῆμουν. [34] καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἀγριαίνεισθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐσκήπτετο. γράμμα οὖν εὐθὺς ἔγραψε, ζήτησίν τε καὶ τίσιν τῶν τῷ Μαλθάνῃ πεπολιτευμένων κελεύων γενέσθαι. [35] ἀλλὰ Λέων αὐτῷ χρυσίου προέμενος πλῆθος τοῦ τε θυμοῦ αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς Βενέτους στοργῆς ἔπαυσε, τοῦ τε πράγματος ἀνεξετάστου μενεηκότος Μαλθάνην βασιλεὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντα ξύν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχεν. [36] ἐξιόντα δὲ οἱ Βένετοι ἐκ βασιλέως τηρήσαντες πληγὰς αὐτῷ προσετρίψαντο ἐν Παλατίῳ καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ αὐτῶν τινες διεκώλυσαν, οἱ γε πρὸς Λέοντος χρήματα ἤδη κεκομισμένοι λάθρα ἐτύγγανον. [37] καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐλπεινοτάτην καλοίῃ, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς μὲν δωροδοκήσας ἀνεξέταστα κατέλειπε τὰ ἐγκλήματα, στασιῶται δὲ βασιλέως ἐν Παλατίῳ ὄντος ἐπαναστῆναι τῶν τινι ἀρχόντων οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐτόλμησαν, [38] ἀδίκων τε χειρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄρξαι; τίσις μέντοι τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα οὐδεμία οὔτε εἰς τὸν Μαλθάνην ἐγένετο οὔτε εἰς τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ εἴ τις βούλοιτο τὸ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τεκμηριούσθω ἥθος.

Εἰ δέ τινα καὶ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ξυμφόρου ποιεῖται λόγον, τὰ ἐς δρόμον τε αὐτῷ τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους εἰργασμένα δηλώσει. [2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις γεγενημένοι, προνοήσαντες ὅπως ἅπαντά τε σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλοιτο τάχιστα καὶ μηδεμιᾶ διδῶτο μελλήσει, τὰ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη ξυμπίπτοντα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ στάσιν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀπρόοπτον συμβαίνοντα πάθος τὰ τε πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πανταχόθι πρασσόμενα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅπως τε οἱ τοὺς φόρους παραπέμποντες τοὺς ἐπετείους διασώζονται βραδυτῆτός τε καὶ κινδύνου χωρὶς, δημόσιον ὁξύν τινα πανταχόσε πεποιήνται δρόμον τρόπον τοιῷδε. [3] ἐς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ σταθμοὺς κατεστήσαντο, πῇ μὲν ὀκτῶ, πῇ δὲ τούτων ἐλάσσους, οὐ μέντοι ἦσσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἢ κατὰ πέντε. [4] ἵπποι δὲ ἴσταντο ἐς τεσσαράκοντα ἐν σταθμῷ ἐκάστῳ. ἵπποκόμοι δὲ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ τῶν ἵππων μέτρου ἐτετάχατο ἐν πᾶσι σταθμοῖς. [5] συχναῖς δὲ ἵππων δοκιμωτάτων ὄντων διαδοχαῖς ἐλαύνοντες ἀεὶ οἷσπερ ἐπίκειται τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, δέκα τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἀμείβοντες ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἔπρασσον ἅπαντα ὅσα μοι ἀρτίως δεδήλωται, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν χωρίων πανταχῇ κύριοι, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἐν μεσογείοις τὰ χωρία ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν, εὐδαιμονέστατοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦσαν. [6] τοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος σφίσι καρποὺς ἵππων τε καὶ ἵπποκόμων τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀποδιδόμενοι, [7] χρήματα μεγάλα ἐφέροντο. ξυνέβαινέ τε διὰ ταῦτα τῷ δημοσίῳ δέχεσθαι μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους ἐκάστῳ φόρους, ἀντιπαραδέχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐσκομίζουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καὶ προσῆν τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ δέοντα. [8] Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρότερα ταύτη πη εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ οὗτος πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ἐκ Καλχηδόνας ἄχρι ἐς Δακίβιζαν καθελὼν δρόμον ἠνάγκασε πάντας ἐκ Βυζαντίου εὐθὺς ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Ἐλενούπολιν οὕτι ἐθέλουσίους ναυτίλλεσθαι. [9] πλείοντες οὖν ἐν ἀκάτοις βραχείαις τισὶν, οἷαι διαπορθμεύεσθαι τῇδε εἰώθασι, χειμῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἐπὶ μέγα κινδύνου χωροῦσι. τῆς γὰρ ἀναγκαίου σπουδῆς ἐγκειμένης σφίσι καιροφυλακεῖν τε καὶ προσδέχεσθαι μέλλουσιν τὴν γαλήνην ἀδύνατά ἐστιν. [10] ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὁδὸν φέρουσιν τὸν δρόμον ἐπὶ σχήματος τοῦ πρόσθεν ὄντος εἶασεν εἶναι, ἐς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ζύμπασαν ἔω μέχρι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ἡμέρας ὁδῷ κατὰ σταθμὸν ἕνα κατεστήσατο μόνον, οὐχ ἵππων μέντοι, [11] ἀλλ' ὄνων ὀλίγων. διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν ξυμβαίνοντα ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη μόλις τε καὶ ὁπρὲ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐσαγγελλόμενα ἐπικουρίας οὐδεμιᾶς τυγχάνειν εἰκὸς, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένοι καρπῶν τῶν σφετέρων σεσηπότων τε καὶ εἰκῇ κειμένων ἀνόνητοι ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται. [12] Τὰ δὲ τῶν κατασκόπων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἄνδρες πολλοὶ ἐν δημοσίῳ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐσιτίζοντο, οἱ δὴ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντες ἐν τε τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλείοις γινόμενοι ἢ ἐμπορίας ὀνόματι ἢ τρόπῳ ἑτέρῳ, ἔς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνώμενοι ἕκαστα, ἐπανήκοντες ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν πάντα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπαγγέλλειν ἠδύναντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπόρρητα. [13] οἱ δὲ

προϋμαθον ἐφύλασσόν τε καὶ ἀπρόοπτον οὐδὲν ξυνέπιπτε σφίσι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χρῆμα κὰν τοῖς Μήδοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν. Χοσρόης μὲν οὖν μεῖζους, ὥσπερ φασί, πεποημένος τὰς τῶν κατασκόπων ξυντάξεις προμηθείας τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπήλαυσεν. [14] οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις γινομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀναλώσας καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν κατασκόπων ὄνομα ἐξέτριπεν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἡμαρτήθη καὶ Λαζική πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐάλω, Ῥωμαίων οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένων ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶη. [15] ἀλλὰ καὶ καμήλους παμπληθεῖς τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρέφειν εἰώθει, αἱ δὴ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἰόντι ἅπαντα φέρουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶποντο. [16] καὶ οὔτε τοῖς γεωργοῖς τότε ἀγγαροφορεῖν ἐπάναγκες ἦν οὔτε τι ἐνδεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ξυνέβαινε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας περιεῖλεν Ἰουστινιανὸς σχεδόν τι ἀπάσας. διὸ δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντος τὰ νῦν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. [17] Τὰ μὲν οὖν σπουδαιότατα τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπεφέρετο τῇδε. οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον καὶ τινος αὐτοῦ τῶν γελοίων ἐπιμνησθῆναι. [18] τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ῥητόρων Εὐάγγελός τις ἦν οὐκ ἄσημος ἀνὴρ, ὅσπερ ἐπιφόρου οἱ τοῦ τῆς τύχης πνεύματος γενομένου χρημάτων τε ἄλλων καὶ χώρας πολλῆς κύριος γέγονεν. [19] ὕστερον δὲ καὶ κόμην ἐπιθαλασσίαν τινὰ, Πορφυρεῶνα ὄνομα, τριῶν χρυσίου κεντηναρίων ἐπρίατο. ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον εὐθὺς ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ τιμήματος προέμενος μοῖραν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφθεγξάμενος, ὡς Εὐαγγέλω ῥήτορι ὄντι οὐ μήποτε εὐπρεπὲς εἶη κόμης τοιαύτης κυρίῳ εἶναι. [20] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων, ἀμνηστέον αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθέντες, παυσόμεθα λέγειν. [21] Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεοχμωθέντων καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι. πάλαι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ παρὰ βασιλέα ἰοῦσα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε προσκυνεῖν εἰθιστο. πατρίκιος μὲν τις ἀνὴρ παρὰ μαζὸν αὐτοῦ προσεκύνει τὸν δεξιόν. [22] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ καταφιλήσας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξίει, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες γόνυ κλίναντες βασιλεῖ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [23] βασιλῖδα μέντοι προσκυνεῖν οὐδαμῇ εἰθιστο. παρὰ δὲ Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ Θεοδῶραν τὰς εἰσόδους ποιούμενοι οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἅπαντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα εἶχον ἐπιπτον μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ στόμα, χειρῶν δὲ καὶ ποδῶν ἐς ἄγαν σφίσι τετανυσμένων τῷ χεῖλει ποδὸς ἐκατέρου ἀνάμενοι ἐξανίσταντο. [24] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀνεδύετο ταύτην, ἢ γε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις προσίσθαι Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ὑπ' αὐτῇ κειμένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, πρᾶγμα πῶποτε οὐ γεγονὸς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [25] καὶ πάλαι μὲν οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυγγεγόμενοι αὐτόν τε βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα βασιλῖδα ἐκάλουν, ἀρχόντων τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἕκαστον ὅπῃ αὐτῷ ἀξιώματος πέρι τὰ παρόντα ἔχοι. [26] ἦν δὲ τις τούτοις ὁποτέρῳ ἐς λόγους ξυμμίξας βασιλέως ἢ βασιλίδος ἐπιμνησθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσπότην τε ἀποκαλοῖν καὶ δέσποιναν, ἢ καὶ μὴ δούλους τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων ὀνομάζειν πειρῶτο, τοσοῦτος δὴ ἀμαθὴς τε καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀκόλαστος ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἅτε ἡμαρτηκῶς τὰ πικρότατα καὶ ὑβρίσας ἐς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆι. [27] Καὶ τὰ πρότερα μὲν ὀλίγοι τε καὶ μόλις ἐν βασιλείοις ἐγίνοντο, ἐξ ὅτου δὲ οὗτοι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον,

ἄρχοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐνδελεχέστατα διατριβὴν εἶχον. [28] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τά τε δίκαια καὶ νόμιμα πράσσειν γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ ἐξῆν. [29] οἳ τε οὖν ἄρχοντες διοικούμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα ἐν τοῖς καταγωγίοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔμενον, οἳ τε ἀρχόμενοι βίαιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ὀρῶντες οὔτε ἀκούοντες βασιλέα, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ὀλίγα ἠνώχλουν. [30] οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῶν κατηκόων ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐς αἰὲ ἔλκοντες ἅπαντας σφίσι δουλοπρεπέστατα προσεδρεύειν ἠνάγκαζον· ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν εἰς ἡμέραν σχεδόν τι ἐκάστην τὰ μὲν δικαστήρια πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ ὄχλον τε καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ὠθισμὸν μέγαν καὶ δουλοπρέπειαν ἐς αἰὲ ξύμπασαν. [31] οἳ τε αὐτοῖν ἐπιτήδευοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι τὴν τε ἡμέραν διηνεκῶς πᾶσαν καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς αἰὲ πολλήν τινα μοῖραν ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶτες ἄυπνοί τε καὶ ἀπόσιτοι παρὰ καιροὺς τοὺς εἰωθότας γινόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσε. [32] τούτων μέντοι ἀφειμένοι πάντων διεμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅπη ποτὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰ χρήματα εἶη. [33] οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν βαρβάροις ἅπαντα εἶναι, οἳ δὲ βασιλέα ἔφασκον ἐν οἰκίσκοις πολλοῖς καθεύδοντα ἔχειν. [34] ὁπνίκα οὖν ἡ ἄνθρωπος ὣν ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπέλθῃ τοῦ βίου, ἡ ἄτε τῶν δαιμόνων ἄρχων ἀπολύσῃ τὸν βίον, ὅσοι τῆνικάδε περιόντες τύχῳσι, τάληθές εἴσονται.

The Buildings of Justinian

BOOK I.

[1] Οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, οὐδὲ λόγου δυνάμει θαρσῶν, οὐδὲ χωρίων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐς τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν γραφὴν ὥρμηκα· ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὑφ' οὗ ἂν παρρησίας ἐς τόδε ἀγοίμην. [2] ἀλλὰ μοι πολλάκις ἔννοια γέγονεν ὁπόσων τε καὶ πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον ἱστορία ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεσθαι εἶωθε, παραπέμπουσα τε εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγόνους τῶν προγεγενημένων τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ἀνταγωνιζομένη τῷ χρόνῳ κρυφαῖα ποιεῖσθαι διατεινομένων τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν εὐφημίαις αἰετῶν ἀναλεγομένων αὐτὴν ἐπαίρουσα, τῆς δὲ κακίας ἐπιλαμβανομένη διηνεκές, ταύτῃ τε ἀποκρουομένη τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν. [3] τούτου οὖν δὴ μόνου ἐπιμελητέον ἡμῖν, ὅπως δὴ ἐνδηλα τὰ πεπραγμένα διαφανῶς ἔσται καὶ ὑφ' οὗτοῦ ἐργασθεῖν τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα δέ, οἶμαι, οὐδὲ γλώσση τραυλιζούσῃ τε καὶ ἰσχυρόνῳ οὔσῃ ἀμήχανά ἐστι. [4] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εὐγνώμονας μὲν ἱστορία ἐς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐνδείκνυται γεγονέναι τῶν ἀρχομένων τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας, ἐν μείζοσι δὲ π[4]αυτοῖς ἐκτετικέναι τὰ χαριστήρια, οἳ γε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπὶ καιροῦ μὲν τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἡγησαμένων ἀπώναντο, ἀθάνατον δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένων τῇ μνήμῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν διασώζουσι. [5] διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων πολλοὶ ἀρετῶσι μὲν τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ζηλοῦντες τιμάς, ἐς δὲ τὰς βλασφημίας χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἀναδύονται. οὗτοῦ δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα ὑπεῖνον αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[6] Ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγονεν, ὃς τὴν πολιτείαν πλημμελῶς κινουμένην παραλαβὼν μεγέθει μὲν αὐτὴν μείζω τε καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν εἰργάσατο, ἐξέλασας ἐνθὲνδε τοὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιασαμένους αὐτὴν βαρβάρους, ὥσπερ μοι λεπτολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται λόγοις. [7] καίτοι λέγουσί ποτε Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀνεπιστημόνως ἔχοι πόλιν μικρὰν ποιῆσαι μεγάλην. [8] ὁ δὲ δὴ οὐκ ἀμελέτητός ἐστιν ἐμπορίζεσθαι πολιτείας ἑτέρας· πολλὰς ἀμέλει προσεποίησεν ἤδη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἀλλοτρίας καθ' αὐτὸν οὔσας, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργηκεν οὐ πρότερον οὔσας. [9] πλανωμένην δὲ εὐρὼν τὴν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν τὰ πρότερα ἐς πολλὰ τε ἀναγκαζομένην ἰέναι, συντρίψας ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάνας φερούσας ὁδοὺς, διεπράξατο ἐν τῶν βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾷ ἐστάναι κρηπίδος. π[610] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους λαβὼν τῷ τε παμπληθεῖς οὐ δέον γεγονέναι σκοτεινοῦς ὄντας καὶ ξυγχεομένους διαφανῶς τῷ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλοις ἰέναι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄχλου αὐτοῦς τῆς τερθρείας ἀποκαθάρας, τὸ δὲ ἐς ἀλλήλους διχοστατεῖν βεβαιότατα κρατυνόμενος διεσώσατο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλευουσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίας ἀφείδ, τοὺς δὲ βίου δεομένους πλούτῳ πεποιημένους κατακορεῖς καὶ τύχην αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπηρεάζουσαν βιασάμενος, εὐδαίμονι βίῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ξυνόκισεν. [11] ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πανταχόθεν ὑποκειμένην τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ στρατιωτῶν τε πλήθει ἐπέρρωσε καὶ ὀχυρωμάτων οἰκοδομίας ἀπάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας ἐτειχίσατο.

[12] Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν ἑτέροις μοι συγγέγραπται λόγοις, ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ οἰκοδομουμένων δεδημιουργηται, ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται. ἄριστον μὲν δὴ βασιλέα γεγονέναι Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσῃν φασίν, ὃν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας. [13] εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτός τις ἦν ὁ Κῦρος ἐκεῖνος οἷος δὴ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ παιδεύεται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. [14] τάχα γάρ που καὶ ἡ τοῦ γεγραφότος αὐτὰ δεξιότης κεκομψευμένη δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου ἐγκαλλώπισμα τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι διαρκῶς ἴσχυσε. [15] τοῦ δὲ ρ[8]καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (ὃν δὴ καὶ φύσει βασιλέα καλῶν τις, οἶμαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ὡς ἡπίος ἐστὶ, καθ' Ὅμηρον), εἴ τις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν βασιλείαν διασκοποῖτο, παιδίαν τινα τὴν Κύρου ἀρχὴν οἰήσεται εἶναι. [16] τεκμηριώσει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἡ μὲν πολιτεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται, τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἢ διπλάσια γεγεννημένη, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν αὐτῷ σκαιωρησάμενοι μέχρι ἐς φόνον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίπερ ἐξεληλεγμένοι διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγούντες Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσιν ἀξίωμα.

[17] Τανῦν δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, ὥς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτὰς θεωμένοις ξυμβαίῃ ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα. [18] πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τῶν προγεγεννημένων οὐκ ἐμπεδωθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄπιστα γέγονεν. εἴη δ' ἂν εἰκότως τὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ πάντα τῷ λόγῳ κρηπίς. [19] ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔργου, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον, πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεναι τηλαυγές.

[20] Ἄνδρες ἀγελαῖοί ποτε καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος ρ[10]Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπαναστάντες τὴν Νίκα καλουμένην στάσιν εἰργάσαντο, ἥπερ μοι ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδιήγῃται λόγοις. [21] ἐνδεικνύμενοι δὲ ὥς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅτε ἀποφράδες τὰ ὅπλα ἀντήραν, ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτόλμησαν (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεὼν ἐπικαιριώτατα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι), ἐπεχῶρει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς διαπράξασθαι τὸ ἀσέβημα, προειδῶς εἰς ὅσον τι κάλλος τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν μεταστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. [22] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηνθρακωμένη τότε ξύμπασα ἔκειτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιαύτην ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὥστε, εἰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν τις ἐπύθετο πρότερον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς διολωλέναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἴη καὶ τοιάνδε γενέσθαι, δείξας τι αὐτοῖς τῶν νῦν φαινομένων ἐκτύπωμα, δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ὡς συντομώτατα εὐξασθαι πεπονθυῖαν σφίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεάσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν μεταβάλοιτο σχῆμα. [23] ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀφροντιστήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομῇν σπουδῇ ἴετο, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἡγειρεν ἅπαντας. [24] Ἀνθέμιος δὲ Τραλλιανός, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλουμένη μηχανικῇ λογιώτατος, οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων, ρ[12]ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προγεγεννημένων πολλῷ, τῇ βασιλέως ὑπουργεῖ σπουδῇ, τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὰ ἔργα ρυθμίζων, τῶν τε γενησομένων προδιασκευάζων ἰνδάλματα, καὶ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν αὐτῷ ἕτερος, Ἰσίδωρος

ὄνομα, Μιλήσιος γένος, ἔμφρων τε ἄλλως καὶ πρέπων Ἰουστινιανῷ ὑπουργεῖν βασιλεῖ. [25] ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς, προκαταστησαμένου τοὺς ἐς τὰ πραχθισόμενα χρησιμωτάτους αὐτῷ ἐσομένους. [26] καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νοῦν εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγασθεῖη τούτου διὰ ἔνεκα, ὅτι διὰ ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα τοὺς καιριωτάτους ἀπολέξασθαι ἔσχε.

[27] Θέαμα τοίνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλιστευμένον γεγένηται, τοῖς μὲν ὀρῶσιν ὑπερφυές, τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι παντελῶς ἄπιστον· ἐπὶ ῥηται μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὕψος οὐράνιον ὅσον, καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινένευκεν ὑπερκειμένη τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει, κοσμοῦσα μὲν αὐτήν, ὅτι αὐτῆς ἐστίν, ὠραῖζομένη δέ, ὅτι αὐτῆς οὖσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε διὰ ἐνθύνδε ἡ πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται. [28] εὖρος δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ μῆκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἀποτετόρνενται, ὥστε καὶ περιμήκης καὶ ὅλως εὐρεῖα οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται. κάλλει δὲ ἀμυθῆτφ p[16]ἀποσεμνύνεται.

[29] τῷ τε γὰρ ὄγκῳ κεκόμψεται καὶ τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ τοῦ μέτρου, οὔτε τι ὑπεράγαν οὔτε τι ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ζυνειθισμένου κομπωδεστέρα καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου κοσμιωτέρα ἐπιεικῶς ἐστὶ, φωτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ὑπερφυῶς πλήθει. [30] φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι, τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν περικέχυται. [31] καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεῷ πρόσωπον (εἶη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἵνα διὰ τῶν θεῶ ἱερουργοῦσι τὰ ἄρρητα) τρόπῳ τοιῷδὲ δεδημιούργηται. [32] οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχει, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας πεποιημένη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βραχὺ, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέσα ὑποχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ σχῆμά τε κατὰ ἡμῖς τὸ στρογγύλον ἰοῦσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς ὕψος ἀπότομον ἐπανεστήκεν. [33] ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὑπερβολὴ ἐς σφαίρας τεταρτημόριον ἀποκέκριται, ὑπερθέν τε μηνοειδὲς τι αὐτῇ ἕτερον τοῖς προσεχέσι τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπὶ ῥηται, τῇ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖα θαυμάσιον, τῷ δὲ σφαλερῷ τῆς συνθέσεως δοκοῦντι εἶναι φοβερὸν ὅλως. [34] δοκεῖ γὰρ πῃ οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ ἐπηρωρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπικινδύνως τοῖς ἐνθάδε οὖσι μετεωρίζεσθαι. καίτοι διαφέροντως ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστήρικται. [35] τούτων δὲ διὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα κίονες ἐπ' ἐδάφους εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ p[18]κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστῶτες, ἀλλ' εἴσω κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμικυκλον ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ ἀλλήλοις ὑπεξιστάμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεράνωθεν οἰκοδόμημα μηνοειδὲς ἀποκρέματα. [36] τοῦ δὲ διὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον κατ' ἀντικρὺ τὰς εἰσόδους ἔχων ἐγγήγερται τοῖχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν οἷ τε κίονες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπερθέν ὁμοιότατα τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐστήκασιν. [37] κατὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νεῷ μέσα λόφοι χειροποίητοι ἐπανεστήκασιν τέσσαρες, οὓς καλοῦσι πεσσούς, δύο μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν, δύο δὲ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις, κίονας ἐν μέσῳ ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἔχοντες. [38] πεποίηνται δὲ οἱ λόφοι λίθοις εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετοι, λογάδην μὲν συνειλεγμένοις, ἐς ἀλλήλους δὲ πρὸς τῶν λιθολόγων ἐπισταμένως ἐναρμοσθεῖσιν, ἐς ὕψος μέγα. εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς εἶναι σκοπέλους ὀρῶν ἀποτόμους. [39] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀνῆδες τέσσαρες ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνέχουσι· καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄκρα ζύνδυο ζυνιόντα εἰς ἀλλήλα ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ ἡρήρεται τῶν λόφων τούτων, τὰ δὲ διὰ ἄλλα

ἐπιρμένα εἰς ἀπέραντον ὕψος ἠώρηται. [40] τῶν δὲ ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο κατὰ κενοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπανεστήκασιν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, αἱ δὲ λειπόμεναι οἰκοδομίαν τέ τινα καὶ κίονας π[20]μικροὺς κομιδῇ ἔνερθεν ἔχουσιν. [41] ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν κυκλοτερὴς οἰκοδομία ἐν στρογγύλῳ ἐπῆρται· ὅθεν αἰεὶ διαγελᾷ πρῶτον ἡ ἡμέρα. [42] ὑπεραίρει γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, καὶ διαλείπει τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κατὰ βραχύ, ἐξεπίτηδες παρειμένον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τοὺς χώρους, οὗ δὴ τὸ διηρημένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας συμβαίνει εἶναι, φέγγους διαρκῶς ἀγωγοὺς εἶναι. [43] τῶν δὲ ἀψίδων τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐξειργασμένης, ἐς τρίγωνα τέσσαρα μεταξὺ τὸ ἔργον ἀποτετέλεσται. [44] καὶ ἡ μὲν τριγώνου ἐκάστη κρητὶς πεπιεσμένη τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν ἀψίδων ἐνέρσει ὀξεῖαν ποιεῖται τὴν κάτω γωνίαν, συναναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν εὐρυνομένη τῇ μεταξὺ χώρα ἐς τὸ κυκλοτερές τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς λειπομένας ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. [45] τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς παμμεγέθους ἐπανεστηκυῖα τις σφαιροειδὴς θόλος ποιεῖται αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον. [46] δοκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερεῶς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ σφαίρᾳ τῇ χρύσει ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη καλύπτειν τὸν χῶρον. [47] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐς ἄλληλά τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐν μεταρσίῳ ἐναρμοσθέντα, ἐκ τε ἀλλήλων ἠωρημένα καὶ μόνοις ἐναπεριδόμενα τοῖς ἄγχιστα οὖσι, μίαν μὲν ἁρμονίαν ἐκπρεπεστάτην τοῦ ἔργου ποιοῦνται, οὐ παρέχονται δὲ τοῖς θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τινι ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ μεθέλκει τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ μεταβιβάζει ῥᾶστα ἑαυτό. [48] ἀγχίστροφός τε π[22]ῇ τῆς θεᾶς μεταβολὴ ἐς αἰεὶ γίνεται, ἀπολέξασθαι τοῦ ἐσορῶντος οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος ὃ τι ἂν ποτε ἀγασθεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. [49] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἀποσκοποῦντες πανταχόσε τὸν νοῦν, τὰς τε ὀφρῦς ἐπὶ πᾶσι συννενευκότες, οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσι ξυνεῖναι τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται αἰεὶ ἐνθένδε καταπεπληγμένοι τῇ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἀμηχανία. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πη ἔχει.

[50] Μηχαναῖς δὲ πολλαῖς βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Ἀνθέμιος ὁ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ οὕτω δὴ μετεωρίζομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεπράξαντο εἶναι· ὥσπερ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπάσας ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι τε ἄπορον καὶ λόγῳ φράσαι ἀμήχανον, μία δὲ μοι μόνον ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται ἢ δύναιτ' ἂν τις σύμπασαν τοῦ ἔργου τεκμηριῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν. [51] ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε· οἱ λόφοι, ὧν περ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις πεποιήνται, ἀλλὰ τρώπῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων ἐπιβολῇ ἐν τετραγώνῳ διαπεπόνηται, [52] σκληρῶν μὲν φύσιν, ἐργασίαν δὲ λειών, ἐντομὴν δέ, εἰ μὲν τὰ προὔχοντα ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοῦ λόφου πλευρῶν μέλλοιεν, ἐγγωνίων, εἰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ κεκλήρωνται χώραν, ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ γεγενημένων. [53] συνήρμοσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ τίτανος, ἦν περ ἄσβεστον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄσφαλτος, ἡ Σεμιράμιδος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φιλοτιμία, οὐκ π[24]ᾶλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μόλιβδος ἐς τέλμα χυθεῖς, καὶ μεταξὺ πανταχόσε χωρήσας, τῶν τε λίθων τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ ἐντετικῶς καὶ συνδέων ἀλλήλοις αὐτούς. [54] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ἐπὶ τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῷ ἴωμεν.

Χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδήλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, κεραυνῶσα τὸν

κόμπον τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῷ. [55] στοαὶ τέ εἰσιν ἑκατέρωθι δύο, οἰκοδομία μὲν τοῦ νεῷ οὐδεμία διειργόμεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεῖζον αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσαι τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μέτρον, καὶ τῷ μήκει μέχρι ἐς τὸ πέρας συνεξικνούμεναι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος καταδεέστεραι. [56] καὶ αὐταῖς δὲ ἢ τε ὀροφὴ θόλος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐγκαλλώπισμα. ταῦταιν δὲ ταῖν στοαῖν ἀτέρα μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐχομένους διακεκλήρωται, γυναιξὶ δὲ ταὐτὸ ποιουμέναις ἢ ἄλλη ἀνεῖται. [57] παραλλὰξ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ διαφέρουσι δήπου ἀλλήλαιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐταῖν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς π[26]κάλλος διήκει καὶ ὠραῖζει τὸ ἐμφερές. [58] τίς δ' ἂν τῶν ὑπεράφων τῆς γυναικονίτιδος ἐρμηνεὺς γένοιτο, ἢ τὰς τε παμπληθεῖς διηγοῖτο στοὰς καὶ τὰς περιστύλους αὐλάς, αἷς ὁ νεῶς περιβέβληται; [59] τίς δὲ τῶν τε κίωνων καὶ λίθων διαριθμήσαιτο τὴν εὐπρεπεῖαν, οἷς τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώπισται; λειμῶνι τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν ὠραίῳ τὸ ἄνθος. [60] θαυμάσειε γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοάζον, καὶ οἷς τὸ φοινικοῦν ἐπανθεῖ καὶ ὧν τὸ λευκὸν ἀπαστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὗς ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ποικίλλει χροιαῖς ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος ἢ φύσις. [61] ὀπηνίκα δὲ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ ἴοι, ξυνήσι μὲν εὐθὺς ὥς οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ροπῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνενται. ὁ νοῦς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαιρόμενος ἀεροβατεῖ, οὐ μακράν που ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν μάλιστα οἷς αὐτὸς εἵλετο. [62] καὶ τοῦτο οὐ τὴν πρώτην μόνον ἰδόντι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐκάστω ταῦτο τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὄψεως αἰὲ ἀρχομένης. [63] τούτου κόρον οὐδεὶς τοῦ θαύματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ παρόντες μὲν τῷ ἱερῷ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις γεγῆθασιν, ἀπρόντες δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλόγοις ἀποσεμνύνονται. [64] ἔτι μέντοι τῶν κειμηλίων τοῦ νεῷ τοῦδε τὰ τε χρυσώματα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις ξύμπαντα μὲν φράσαι ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἀμήχανον ἅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν· ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ τεκμηριοῦσθαι τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγόμενοις ἐφίμημι. [65] ὁ γὰρ τοῦ π[28]ἱεροῦ τὰ μάλιστα χῶρος ἀβέβηλος καὶ μόνους ἱερεῦσι βατός, ὄνπερ καλοῦσι θυσιαστήριον, λιτρῶν ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἐπιφέρεται τέτταρας.

[66] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίας, ἥνπερ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, συνελόντι τε καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ διαριθμησαμένῳ εἰπεῖν, λόγῳ τε βραχυτάτῳ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιολογώτατα φράσαι, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ. [67] οὐ χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδεῖματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονουμένη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [68] τῶν ἀψίδων, ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως (λῶρους δὲ αὐτάς οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ ἐπικαλοῦσι) μία τις, ἢ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίον ἐστίν, ἐπανειστήκει μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν ἤδη, οὐπω δὲ ὅλη κατὰ τὸ μέσον συντετέλεστο, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἔτι. [69] οἱ δὲ πεσσοὶ ὧν δὴ ὑπερθεν ἢ οἰκοδομία ἐγένετο, τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὸ μέγεθος, ἀμηγέπη ἐξαπιναίως ἀπορρηγνύμενοι, οὐκ ἐς μακράν διαλυθησομένοις ἐώκεσαν. [70] οἱ μὲν οὐ ἀμφί τε Ἀνθέμιον καὶ Ἰσίδωρον τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσι περίφοβοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, δυσέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ γεγενημένοι. [71] αὐτίκα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτῳ μὲν ποτε ἡγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῷ δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ γὰρ ἐστι μηχανικός, ἐς τὸ πέρας αὐτοῖς περιελίξαι τὴν ἀψίδα ταύτην ἐπήγγελλεν. αὕτη

γάρ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνεχομένη τῶν ἔνερθεν p[30]πεσσῶν οὐκέτι δεήσει. [72] καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος ἦν, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι κόλαξ τε ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μάρτυρες πάρειςι τῶν τῆνικάδε πεπραγμένων πολλοί, οὐκ ὀκνητέα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου λειπόμενά ἐστιν. [73] οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῖται τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ ἀψὶς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἡώρητο πᾶσα, ἐπισφραγίζουσα τῇ πείρᾳ τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας ἀλήθειαν. [74] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπῆδας αἱ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τοιόνδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [75] οἱ μὲν λῶροι καλούμενοι τοῦ νεῶ τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐξωγκωμένοι ἡώρηντο, βαρυνόμενα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεπονήκει τὰ ἔνερθεν πάντα, κιονές τε οἱ τῇδε ὄντες χάλικας σμικρὰς ὥσπερ ἀποξυσθέντες ἀφίεσαν. [76] καὶ αὖθις μὲν ἄθυμοι τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσιν οἱ μηχανικοὶ γεγενημένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα ἐσήγγελλον. [77] αὖθις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. τούτων δὴ τῶν πεπονηκότων τὰ ἄκρα, ὅσα τῶν ἀπῆδων ἐπέψαυε, διελεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραντίκᾳ ἐκέλευσεν, ἐντιθέναι δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴν τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑγρὸν ἀπολωφῆσειεν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα. [78] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν· ἡ δὲ κτίσις διαέγονε τὸ p[32]λοιπὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οὔσᾳ. φέρεται δὲ τι καὶ μαρτύριον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου τοιόνδε.

[2] [1] Ἀγορά τις πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα· καλοῦσι δὲ Αὐγουσταῖον τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ἐνταῦθα ξυνθῆκαι λίθων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἡ ἐπτά ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποιοῦνται, κατὰ μὲν ἀπόβασιν ξυγκείμεναι πᾶσαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάστη τῆς ἔνερθεν οὔσης ἐλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν λίθων ἕκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθμὸν γεγονέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείνη ἀγειρομένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βάθρων καθῆσθαι. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λίθων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπανέστηκεν ἐξαισίον ὅσον, οὐ μονοειδῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἐν περιδρόμῳ εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετος, ἐγγωνίσις μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ οὔσιν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐμπειρία τῶν λιθοδόμων ἐναρμοσθεῖσι. [3] χαλκὸς δὲ ἄριστος ἐν τε πίναξι καὶ στεφάνοις διαχυθεὶς περιβάλλει πανταχόθι τοὺς λίθους, ἐν μὲν τῷ βεβαίῳ συνδέων, ἐν κόσμῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς συγκαλύπτων, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι πάντα καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐς τοῦ κίονος τὸν τύπον ἀπομιμούμενος. [4] ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὗτος τὸ μὲν χρῶμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ ἀκιβδήλου πρῶτος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέων ἰσοστάσιος ἀργύρῳ εἶναι. [5] ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ p[34]χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ὑπερμεγέθης ἵππος, τετραμμένος πρὸς ἔω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδιουμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ. [6] ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὥς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἡρήρεται οὗ ὑπερθέν ἐστιν, ὥς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τὸ μὴ ἐστήξειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἶεν. [7] τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλκῇ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν κολοσσῷ ἐμφορῆς. ἔσταλται δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς ἡ εἰκὼν· [8] οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδεται καὶ τὰ σφυρά ἐστι κνημίδων χωρὶς. [9] εἴτα ἡρωϊκῶς θεωράκιστα καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὥς κατασεείοιτο παρεχόμενον, αἶγλη τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει. [10] φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς εἶναι τὸν ὀπωρινὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀστέρα. βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν

ἡνιόχησιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιούμενος. [11] καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαϊᾷ πόλον, παραδηλῶν ὁ πλάστης ὅτι γῆ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ θάλασσα δεδουλωται πᾶσα, ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὅπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπικείται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπóρισται κράτος. [12] προτεινόμενος δὲ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους p[36]διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους καθῆσθαι οἶκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὥδε πη ἔχει.

[13] Ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁμορον οὔσαν καὶ συγκαταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πρότερον τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγέθῃ ἐδείματο, ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σχεδόν τι ἀπάντων, μετὰ γε τῆς Σοφίας τὸν νεῶν, οὐδενὸς δευτέρον. [14] ἦν δὲ τις μεταξὺ ταύταιν δὴ ταῖν ἐκκλησίαιν ξενῶν, ἀνθρώποις ἀνειμένος ἀπορουμένοις τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα, εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῖεν. [15] τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τις θεοσεβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο, Σαμψὼν ὄνομα. ἔμεινε δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς τοῖς στασιώταις ἀνεπαφὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκατέρᾳ συγκαταφλεχθεὶς ἀπολώλει. [16] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνφοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς, κάλλει μὲν κατασκευῆς ἀξιώτερον, πλήθει δὲ οἰκιδίων παρὰ πολὺ μείζω· προσόδῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐπετείων δεδωρῆται χρημάτων μεγάλων, ὅπως δὴ πλείοσιν ἐς αἰὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνθρώποις ἰῶτο τὰ πάθη. [17] κόρον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἢ πλησμονὴν τινα ὡς ἦκιστα ἔχων, δύο ξενῶνας ἐτέρους ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἔθετο ἐν ταῖς Ἰσιδώρου τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίου καλουμέναις οἰκίαις, τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας αὐτῷ τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἔργων ξυνεπιλαμβανομένης τὸ ἱερώτατον. [18] τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀλλὰ ἱερὰ ζύμπαντα, ὅσα τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνέθηκε, τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν, ὥστε λεπτολογεῖσθαι μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς ἀμήχανα εἶναι. [19] οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰὼν p[38]ἐπαρκέσοι κατάλογον πεπονημένοις ἀποστοματίσαι πρὸς ὄνομα τούτων δὴ ἕκαστον. ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν ἀποχρήσει.

[3] [1] Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας νεῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεπιστάμεθα βουλομένῳ εἶναι, καὶ διαφανῶς εἰσηγεῖται ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἰτέον. [2] πολλὰς τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἐδείματο πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς οὕτω δὴ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις καὶ χρημάτων ὄγκῳ ἐξεργασθείσας ὑπερφυεῖ, ὥστε ἦν τις αὐτῶν μίαν κατὰ μόνας θεῶτο, εἰκάσειεν ἂν τοῦτο αὐτῷ μόνον εἰργᾶσθαι τὸ ἔργον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ἡσυχολημένον ἅπαντα τῆς βασιλείας κατατρίῃσαι τὸν χρόνον. [3] ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου ἱερὰ μοι γεγράφεται. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἓνα τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν ᾠκοδομήσατο πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις· αὐτῷ γὰρ λογιστέον καὶ τὰ Ἰουστίνῳ εἰργασμένα τῷ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν κατ' ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς διωκεῖτο· ἐπιθαλάσσιος δὲ ὁ νεῶς ἐστιν, ἱερώτατος τε καὶ σεμνὸς ἅγαν, ἐπιμήκης μὲν, κατὰ λόγον δὲ περιβεβλημένος τῷ μήκει τὸ εὖρος, τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνεχόμενος ὅτι μὴ τμήμασι λίθου Παρίου ἐν κίωνων λόγῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶσι. [4] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ νεῶ μέρη κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστᾶσιν οἱ κίονες, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα ὑποστέλλονται εἶσω. [5] μάλιστα δὲ ἂν τις ἀγασθεῖν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦδε εἶσω γενόμενος τὸ μὲν

ρ[40]ὑπέρογκον τοῦ σφαλεροῦ χωρὶς τεταγμένον ὄρων, τὸ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τοῦ ἀπειροκάλου ἐλεύθερον.

[6] Ἔτερον δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Πηγῇ ἀνέθηκεν. ἐνταυθα ἔστι δάσος κυπαρίσσω ἀμφιλαφές, λειμὼν ἐν ἀπαλαῖς ταῖς ἀρούραις τεθληῶς ἄνθεσι, παράδεισος εὐφορῶν τὰ ὠραῖα, πηγὴ ἀνοφερτὴ βλύζουσα γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πότιμον, ἱεροπρεπῇ ἐπιεικῶς πάντα. [7] ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος χῶρος· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν νεῶν οὐδὲ ὀνόμασιν ἐπαξίους συλλαβεῖν ῥάδιον, οὐδὲ διανοίᾳ σκιαγραφῆσαι, οὐδὲ διαψιθυρίσαι τῷ λόγῳ. [8] τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει, ὥς τῶν ἱερῶν κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ὑπεραίρει τὰ πλεῖστα. [9] ταῦτα δὲ ἅμφω τὰ ἱερὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως πεποίηται τείχους, τὸ μὲν ἀρχομένου παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡῖονα, τὸ δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Χρυσῶν καλουμένων Πυλῶν, ἃς δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πέρας συμβαίνει εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ ἅμφω ἀκαταγόνιστα φυλακτήρια τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως εἶεν. [10] ἔτι μέντοι κἂν τῷ Ἡραίῳ, ὅπερ Ἱερὸν καλοῦσι τανῦν, τῇ θεοτόκῳ νεῶν οὐκ εὐδιήγητον κατεστήσατο.

[11] Ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Δεύτερον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἱεροπρεπές τε καὶ ἀγαστὸν ὅλως ἀνέθηκεν ἔδος Ἄννη ἀγία, ἣν τῆς μὲν θεοτόκου γεγονέναι μητέρα τινὲς οἴονται, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ τιτθῆν. ρ[421][2] ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἦπερ ἐβούλετο γεγονὼς ὁ θεὸς καὶ τριγωνίας ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γενεαλογεῖται τὰ ἐκ μητρὸς ἀνθρώπῳ ἴσα. [13] τούτου δὲ διὰ τοῦ νεῶ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀμφὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγυῖαν ἐσχάτην Ζωῇ μάρτυρι σεμνὸν ἐπιεικῶς ἔδος πεποίηται.

[14] Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἱερὸν εὗρεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βραχὺ τε καὶ ἀφεγγές ἄγαν καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἀνεῖσθαι πρέπον πρὸς σενάτορος τινος τῶν πατρικίων ἐν χρόνῳ γεγεννημένον τῷ ἔμπροσθεν, κοιτωνίσκῳ οἰκίας ἀτεχνῶς ἐμφερὲς οὐδὲ λίαν εὐδαίμονος. [15] διὸ δὴ καθεῖλε μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, ὥς μή τι αὐτῷ τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθεῖη. [16] εὐμέγεθες δὲ τεκτινόμενος κατὰ τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον τρόπον, ἐς κάλλος μεταβιβάζει θαυμάσιον οἶον. [17] ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τέμενός ἐστιν, οὐ κατὰ πολὺ δὲ φαίνεται προέχον τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μῆκος. τῆς δὲ πλευρᾶς ἡ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄκρα παχὺς ἐκατέρωθεν τοίχος λίθοις ἐν πλήθει ξυγκειμένοις ἀποτετόρνενται, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα ἐξ ὑπαγωγῆς ἀποχωρῶν ὑποστέλλεται. [18] καὶ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μὲν ἀνέχουσι τὸν νεῶν κίονες χροιαῖς τισὶ ποικιλλόμενοι φύσει. ὁ δὲ καταντικρὺ πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον τοῖχος ταῖς εἰς τὸν νεῶν εἰσαγούσαις διήρηται θύραις.

[4] [1] Ἐς δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλους τὸ πιστὸν ἐπιδέδεικται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. πρῶτα μὲν Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ νεῶν οὐ πρότερον ὄντα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ρ[44]ἐδείματο παρὰ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν, ἣ Ὁρμίσδου τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπώνυμος ἦν· [2] ταύτην γὰρ οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν Παλάτιον εἶναι δοκεῖν τε καὶ πρέπειν τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ τῆς οἰκοδομίας διαπραξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοκράτωρ κατέστη Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλείοις ἐνήψεν. [3] οὗ δὴ καὶ τέμενος ἄλλο ἀγίοις ἐπιφανέσι Σεργίῳ τε καὶ Βάκχῳ ἐδείματο, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τέμενος ἄλλο ἐκ πλαγίου τούτῳ παρακείμενον. [4] ἅμφω δὲ τούτῳ τῷ νεῷ οὐκ ἀντιπροσώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας ἀλλήλοιν ἐστάσι, συνημμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλήλοισι ἐνάμιλλοι ὄντες, καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐπικοινωνοῦμενοι, καὶ ἴσα ἀλλήλοισι τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα

καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα περιβεβλημένοι, καὶ ἄτερος θατέρου οὔτε κάλλους πέρι οὔτε μεγέθους οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς πλεονεκτῶν ἢ ἐλασσούμενος δείκνυται. [5] ὁμοίως μὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερος τῇ αἴγλῃ τῶν λίθων ὑπεραστράπτει τὸν ἥλιον, ὁμοίως δὲ χρυσοῦ περιουσία πανταχόθι κατακορῆς ἐστὶ καὶ κατακομᾷ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν. [6] ἐνὶ μέντοι διαλλάσσουσι μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μῆκος αὐτοῖν τῷ μὲν κατ' εὐθὺ διαπεπόνηται, τῷ δὲ οἱ κίονες ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐστᾶσιν. [7] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μία μὲν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων στοὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος τῷ περιμήκης εἶναι ὠνομασμένη· ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ προπύλαια p[48]πάντα, ἢ τε αὐλὴ καὶ μέταυλοι θύραι καὶ τὸ προσήκειν τοῖς βασιλείοις. [8] οὕτω δὲ ἄμφω ἄγαστὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ὥστε διαφανῶς τῆς τε πόλεως ὅλης καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν βασιλείων ἐγκαλλώπισμα τυγχάνει ὄντα.

[9] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ὑπερφυῶς σέβων ἐποίει τοιάδε. ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις νεῶς ἅπασι μήκει τε χρόνου κατασεισθεὶς ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι ἐστήξειν γεγωνὸς ὑποπτος. [10] τοῦτον περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὅλον οὐχ ὅσον ἀνανεώσασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους πέρι ἀξιώτερον καταστήσασθαι. [11] ὑπετέλεσε δὲ τὸ σπούδασμα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εὐθεῖαι συνημμέναι κατὰ μέσον ἀλλήλοιν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ σχήματος πεποιήνται δύο, ἡ μὲν ὀρθὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὖσα, ἐγκαρσία δὲ ἡ ἕτερα πρὸς τε ἄρκτον τετραμμένη καὶ ἄνεμον νότον. [12] τοίχοις μὲν ἐκ περιφεροῦς ἀποπεφραγμένοι τὰ ἐξῶθεν, ἐντὸς δὲ περιβαλλόμεναι κίοσιν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω ἐστῶσι· κατὰ δὲ ταῖν δυοῖν εὐθείαιν τὸ ζεύγμα, εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ μέσον αὐταῖν μάλιστα, τοῖς οὐκ ὀργιάζουσιν ἄβατος τετέλεσται χῶρος, ὃνπερ ἱερατεῖον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὀνομάζουσι. [13] καὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πλευραὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐγκαρσίῳ κειμένης εὐθείας p[50]ῖσαι ἀλλήλαις τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, τῆς μέντοι ὀρθῆς ἢ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον ἐς τόσον τῆς ἐτέρας πεποιήται μείζων ὅσον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σχῆμα. [14] τῆς δὲ ὀροφῆς τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἱερατείου καλουμένου καθύπερθεν τῷ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερῷ κατὰ γε τὰ μέσα ἐμφορῇ εἵργασται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐλασσοῦσθαι μεγέθει συμβαίνει. [15] αἱ τε γὰρ ἀντίδες τέσσαρες οὖσαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἠώρηνται τε καὶ συνδέονται ἀλλήλαις τρόπον καὶ τὸ κυκλοτερές ὑπερανεστηκὸς κατὰ τὰς θυρίδας διήρηται, τό τε σφαιροειδὲς ἐπικυρτούμενον ὑπερθεν μετεωρίζεσθαι που δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, καίπερ ἀσφαλείας εὖ ἔχον. [16] τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέσον τῇδε πεποιήται· κατὰ δὲ τὰς πλευρὰς τέσσαρας οὖσας, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτα τῷ μέσῳ τὸ μέγεθος εἵργασται, τούτου δὴ μόνου ἐνδέοντος, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ σφαιρικοῦ ἐνερθεν οὐ διήρηται ἢ οἰκοδομία θυρίσιν. [17] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγίστευμα τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο, καταφανεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι πεποιήνται πᾶσιν ὡς γεγῆθασί τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ καὶ κατακόρως ἐναβρύνονται. [18] σώματα γοῦν τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου ἄδηλά τε καὶ ὅλως κρυφαῖα τὰ πρότερα ὄντα τηνικάδε πᾶσιν ἐνδηλα γέγονεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιούντων, οἶμαι, τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιχωρούντων αὐτῷ διαρρηδὴν ὀρώντι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπτομένῳ τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας τε καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσφαλείας ἀπόνασθαι. ἐγνώσθη δὲ ὧδε.

ρ[52] [19] Κωνστάντιος μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεὼν ἔς τε τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδείματο, τὰς θήκας γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα βασιλεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα τάξας, οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξὶν οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν· ὅπερ καὶ διασώζεται ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον· οὗ δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθετο. [20] ἀποστόλων δὲ σώματα ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ὡς ἡκιστα πη ἐπεσημήνατο, οὐδὲ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐφαίνετο χώρος σώμασιν ἁγίοις ἀνεῖσθαι δοκῶν. [21] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοικοδομουμένου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν λιθουργοὶ τὸ ἔδαφος διώρυσσον ὅλον, τοῦ μή τι ἄκοσμον τῇδε λελεῖσθαι· θήκας δὲ ξυλῖνας ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπημελημένας τεθέανται τρεῖς, γράμμασιν ἐγκειμένοις σφίσι δηλούσας, ὡς Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου τῶν ἀποστόλων σώματα εἶεν· [22] ἅπερ ἀσμενέστατα βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸς καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ξύμπαντες εἶδον, πομπὴν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πανήγυριν ἐπιτετελεκότες, τῇ τε περὶ αὐτοὺς τιμῇ ἐξοσιωσάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ περιστειλάντες τὰς θήκας αὐθις τῇ γῇ ἔκρυσαν, οὐκ ἄσχημον οὐδὲ ἀγείτονα λιπόντες τὸν χώρον, ἀλλὰ σώμασιν ἀποστόλων ἀνειμένον καταστησάμενοι ξὺν εὐσεβείᾳ. [23] εὐδηλον δὲ ὡς ἀμειβόμενοι, ὅπερ μοι εἴρηται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι οἶδε τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς βασιλέως τιμῆς πεφήνασι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τανῦν. [24] βασιλέως γὰρ εὐσεβοῦντος οὐδὲ ἀποφοιτᾷ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τὰ θεῖα πραγμάτων ρ[54] ἀλλ' ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τε καὶ ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλίᾳ φιλεῖ.

[25] Τίς δ' ἂν τὸν Ἀκακίου σιωπῇ νεών; ὅνπερ καταπεπονηκότα περιελὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν θεμελίων ἀνέστησε, μέγεθος περιβεβλημένον θαυμάσιον ἠλίκον· ὃς κίοσι μὲν ἐπῆρται πανταχόθι λευκοῖς ὑπεράγαν, λίθῳ δὲ τὰ ἐδάφη παραπλησίῳ ἡμφίεσται, ὥνπερ ἀπαστράπτει τοσοῦτον ἡ αἴγλη ὥστε καὶ δόξαν παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ χιόσιν ὁ νεὼς ἅπας κατάρρυντός ἐστι. [26] στοαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ προβέβληνται δύο, περίστυλος μὲν ἀτέρα οὕσα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἀγορὰν νενευκυῖα. [27] μικροῦ με τὸ μαρτύριον ἐκεῖνο παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὃ Πλάτωνι ἀνεῖται ἁγίῳ, ἱεροπρεπὲς τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄν καὶ σεμνὸν ἄγαν, οὐ πολλῶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἄποθεν ἡ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὸν Μωκίῳ μάρτυρι ἀνειμένον νεών, οὗπερ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα μεγέθει ἐλάσσω. [28] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ Θύρσου μάρτυρος ἔδος καὶ μὴν τὸ Θεοδώρου ἁγίου τέμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κείμενον ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ῥησίῳ, καὶ τό τε Θέκλης μάρτυρος ἱερὸν, ὃ παρὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως λιμένα ἐστὶν ὅνπερ ἐπώνυμον Ἰουλιανοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Θεοδότης ἁγίας ἐν προαστείῳ καλουμένῳ Ἐβδόμῳ. [29] ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Ἰουστίνου βασιλεύοντος ἐκ θεμελίων ἐδείματο, ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μὲν οὐ ῥάδια λόγῳ, ρ[56] θαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ὅψει κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμήχανα. [30] ἔλκει τὸν λόγον ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγαθονίκου τοῦ ἁγίου νεὼς καὶ βιάζεται οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι ἔχοντα οὐδὲ ὀνόματα ἐφαρμόσαι τοῖς πράγμασι. διόπερ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει· φράσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐτέροις ἀφίεμεν, οἷς ἂν ὁ λόγος ἀκμάζων τε καὶ οὕπῳ πεπονηκῶς παντάπασιν εἴη.

[5] [1] Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τεμένη ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἥπειρον εὗρεν οὐ πρόποντα τῶν τινι ἀνεῖσθαι ἁγίων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον, ὅνπερ Κέρας οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Κεροέσση τῇ Βύζαντος μητρὶ τοῦ τῆς

πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ ἐπωνύμως καλοῦσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιδέδεικται πολυτέλειαν ἐπιτηδείως βασιλεῖ ἔχουσαν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω, ὑπειπὼν πρότερον ὄντινα διακοσμεῖ τρόπον ἢ θάλασσα τὸ Βυζάντιον.

[2] Πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐν καλῷ τίθεται ἄμφ’ αὐτὸ μάλιστα, ἐγκολπουμένη τε καὶ εἰς πορθμοὺς ξυναγομένη καὶ χεομένη ἐς πέλαγος μέγα, ταύτῃ τε τὴν πόλιν εὐπρόσωπόν τε διαφερόντως ἐργαζομένη καὶ σκέπας λιμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις παρεχομένη, τά τε εἰς τὴν δίαιταν εὐπορον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν εὐδαίμονα. [3] πελάγη γὰρ δύο ἄμφ’ αὐτὴν ὄντα, ὃ τε δὴ Αἰγαῖος καὶ ὁ Εὐξείνιος καλούμενος Πόντος, ξυνιᾷσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ξυγκρουόμενα τῇ τοῦ ρόθιου ἐπιμιξία, ταύτῃ τε τὴν ἡπειρον τῇ ἐσβολῇ βιαζόμενα, ρ[58]καλλωπίζουσι κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν. [4] πορθμοὶ τοίνυν αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσι τρεῖς, ἀλλήλοις μὲν ἀπερηρεισμένοι, ἐς κάλλος δὲ αὐτῇ διατεταγμένοι καὶ χρεῖαν, περιπλεῖσθαι μὲν ἥδιστοι ἅπαντες, ἀποσκοπῆσασθαι δὲ ποθεινοί, ἐνορμίσασθαι δὲ λίαν εὐλιμένες. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν μέσος ἐκ Πόντου προῖων τοῦ Εὐξείνου εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως ὡς διακοσμῆσιν αὐτὴν ἵεται, ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἡπεῖρω διακεκλήρωται. [6] ὧν δὴ ταῖς ὄχθαις πεπίεσται, ἐπιφρίττων τε καὶ γαυρουμένῳ ἔοικώς ὅτι δὴ ἐποχούμενος τῇ τε Ἀσία καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ προσβαίνει τῇ πόλει. [7] δόξαις ἂν ποταμὸν τεθεᾶσθαι ἐπίπροσθεν προσηνεῖ τῷ ρείθρῳ ἰόντα. ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ θλίβεται μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ταῖς ἀκταῖς, τά τε ἄλσῃ καὶ λειμώνων κάλλῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρου ἐνδεικνύμενος ὑποκείμενα τῇ τῆς πόλεως ὄψει. [8] εὐρύνεται δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξωθούμενος αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῆς ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀποκομίζων. [9] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς περιβάλλον διαμίνει τὴν πόλιν τὸ ρόθιον ἄχρι ἐς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ δὲ δὴ τρίτος πορθμὸς τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἐχόμενος ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, ἐκ δὲ Σύκων τῶν καλουμένων ἀρχόμενος, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει τῆς πόλεως πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ ἐς κόλπον τελευτῶν παύεται. [10] οὕτω μὲν οὖν στεφανοῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ λειπόμενον ἡ γῆ, μεταξὺ τοσαύτῃ οὕσα, ὅσον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ρ[60]στεφάνῃ ἐνταῦθα ξυνδεῖσθαι. [11] πραῦνεται δὲ διηνεκὲς ὁ κόλπος οὗτος καὶ ἀναθολοῦσθαι οὐδαμῇ πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ ὀρίων τῷ κλύδωνι κειμένων ἐνταῦθα καὶ σάλου τὸ ἐνθένδε παντὸς τῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰργομένου τιμῇ. [12] χειμῶνος δέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἀνέμων σκληρῶν τοῖς τε πελάγεσι καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ ἐπιπεσόντων, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὴν εἴσοδον ἴκωνται τοῦ κόλπου αἱ νέες, ἀκυβέρνητοί τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἴασι καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτως ὀρμίζονται. [13] ἐς σταδίου μὲν γὰρ πλεῖν ἢ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ περίμετρον τοῦ κόλπου διήκει, λιμὴν δὲ ὅλος πανταχῇ ἐστίν· ὥστε ἀμέλει ὀρμιζομένης ἐνταῦθα νηὸς ἢ μὲν πρύμνα τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπῆρται, ἢ δὲ πρῶρα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάθηται, ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στοιχείων ἀμιλλωμένων, ὁπότερον ἂν αὐτοῖν δύναιτο μᾶλλον τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργολαβεῖν ὑπουργίαν.

[6] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κόλπου τοῦδε τοιαῦτά ἐστι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κάλλος ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐξ οἰκοδομίας πεποιημένος ἐπιφανέστερον ἐξεργάσατο. [2] τό τε γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ κόλπου Λαυρεντίου ἀγίου μαρτύριον ἀφεγγές τε τὰ πρότερα ὄν καὶ σκότους ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεων μεθαρμοσάμενος, ὡς διὰ βραχέων

εἰπεῖν, ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον ἀνέθηκε τρόπον. [3] καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις τοιοῦτον δεδημιούργηκεν οἷός μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγεται. [4] ἐπέκεινά τε Πρίσκῳ τε καὶ Νικολάῳ ἁγίοις ἱερὸν ὠκοδομήσατο, καινουργήσας αὐτός, οὗ δὴ οἱ Βυζάντιοι ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον, πῇ μὲν σέβοντές τε καὶ τεθηπότες τοὺς ἁγίους ρ[62]ἐνδήμους σφίσι γινομένους, πῇ δὲ τῆς τοῦ τεμένους ἀπολαύοντες εὐπρεπείας, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ρόθιον βιασάμενος βασιλεὺς ὑπερθέν τε τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνθέμενος τὰ θεμέλια τὸ ἱερὸν κατεστήσατο.

[5] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πέρας ἔν τε τῷ ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ τέμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κοσμᾷ τε καὶ Δαμιανῷ ἁγίοις ἀνεῖται· οὗ δὴ αὐτόν ποτε νενοσηκότα πικρότατα καὶ δόκησιν παρεχόμενον ὅτι δὴ ἀποθάνοι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀπολελειμμένον ἅτε δὴ ἐν νεκροῖς κείμενον, ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἐσώσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ ὀρθὸν ἔστησαν. [6] οὓς δὴ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀμειβόμενος ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ὅλην ἐναλλάξας τε καὶ μετασκευασάμενος τὴν προτέραν οἰκοδομίαν ἄκοσμόν τε καὶ ἄδοξον οὕσαν οὐδὲ ἀξιοχρεῶν τηλίκους ἁγίοις ἀνεῖσθαι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει τὸν νεῶν κατελάμπρυνε καὶ φωτὸς αἴγλη, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ πρότερον ὄντα ἀνέθηκεν. [7] ἐπειδὴν τέ τινες ἄρρωστίμασιν ὁμιλήσαιεν ἱατρῶν κρείττοσιν, οἶδε τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ἀπογνόντες ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην αὐτοῖς ὑπολελειμμένην ἐλπίδα χωροῦσι, καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς βαρέσι πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν. [8] ἀρχόμενοί τε τοῦ εἰσπλου εὐθὺς ὀρῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο ἀποσεμνυνόμενόν τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐγνωμοσύνῃ καὶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν.

ρ[64] [9] Τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐπὶ θάτερα μαρτύριον οἰκοδομησάμενος βασιλεὺς οὐ πρότερον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀνθίμῳ μάρτυρι παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ κόλπου ἡῖονα. [10] καὶ τὰ μὲν κράσπεδα τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραῦνομένη ἐπικλυζόμενα τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροῇ τὸ εὐχαρί ἐπικεικῶς ἔχει. [11] οὐ γὰρ ξὺν θορύβῳ τὸ κλυδώνιον ἐπανεστηκὸς εἶτα εἰς τοὺς ἐκείνη λίθους ἀράσσεται, οὐδὲ μεγάλα τὸ κύμα ἠγῆσαν, οἷά γε τὰ θαλάττια, καὶ σχιζόμενον ἀποκρίνεται εἰς εἶδος ἀφρωδές, ἀλλὰ πρόεισι μὲν προσηνές, σιωπηλὸν δὲ ὃν ἐπιψαύει τῆς γῆς, ἀναστρέφει δὲ μόνον. [12] ἐκδέχεται δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐλὴ ὁμαλὴ τε καὶ λίαν ὑπτία, μαρμάρους μὲν πανταχόθι κεκομψευμένη καὶ κίοσιν, ὅψει δὲ ὠραῖζομένη τῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. [13] στοὰ μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ὁ νεῶς ἐντὸς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐς ὕψος ἐπῆρται λίθων εὐπρεπεία καὶ χρυσῷ κατακεχυμένῳ καλλωπιζόμενος. [14] τοσοῦτον δὲ προέχει μόνον τοῦ εὐρους τὸ μῆκος ἐς ὅσον δὴ χῶρον τὸν ἀβέβηλον, ἐν ᾧ ὄργια τὰ ἄρρητα τελεῖσθαι θέμις, κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἢ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται διήκειν ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδὲ πη ἔχει.

[7] Ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλπου τὸ στόμα Εἰρήνης μάρτυρος νεῶς ἱδρύται. ὃς δὴ οὕτω μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅλος ἐξείργασται ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [2] ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀμφὶ τοῦ κόλπου τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ, ὥσπερ ὄρμῳ περιφέρει ἐγκαλλώπισμα τὰ ἱερὰ

ταῦτα ἐντέθεικεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεῶ ἐπεμνήσθην, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνη ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου τῇδε ρ[66]γεγράφεται. [3] ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο λείψανα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγίων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τεσσαράκοντα· οἱ στρατιῶται μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἐν λεγεῶνι δὲ δυοδεκάτῃ ἐτάττοντο, ἢ ἐν πόλει Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἴδρυτο. [4] ἡνίκα τοίνυν οἱ λιθοδόμοι διώρυσσον οὐπὲρ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, κιβώτιον εὖρον γράμμασι σημαῖνον ὡς λείψανα ἔχοι τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. [5] ὅπερ ἐξήνεγκε λεληθὸς τέως ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ θεός, ἅμα μὲν πιστούμενος ἅπαντας ὡς τὰ βασιλέως ἀσμενέστατα ἐνδέδεκται δῶρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείψασθαι διατεινόμενος χάριτι μεῖζονι. [6] ἐτύγγανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἄγαν τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, ἐπεὶ ρεύματος δεινὸν τι χρῆμα κατὰ τὸ γόνυ ἐπιπεσὼν συντριβῆναι ταῖς ὀδύναϊς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐποίει· οὐπὲρ οἱ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἦν. [7] ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀπάσαις αἶπερ τὴν Πασχαλίαν ἐορτὴν προτερεύουσαι νηστεῖαι καλοῦνται, σκληράν τινα βιοτὴν ἔσχε μὴ ὅτι βασιλεῖ ἀλλόκοτον οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀμηγέπῃ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀπτομένῃ. [8] δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν διεγεγόνει ἐς αἰὲ ἀπόσιτος ὢν, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθρου βαθέος διηνεκὲς ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανίστάμενος καὶ προεγρηγορῶς τῆς πολιτείας, αἰεὶ τε αὐτῆς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ διαχειρίζων τὰ πράγματα, ὀρθριὸς τε καὶ μεσημβρινός, καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἐπινυκτίδιος. [9] πόρρω γὰρ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς κοίτην ἰὼν ἐξανίστατο αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὥσπερ χαλεπῶς τοῖς στρώμασιν ἔχων. [10] καὶ ἡνίκα δὲ πού τροφὴν αἵροίτο, οἶνου μὲν καὶ ρ[68]ἄρτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδωδίων ἐκτὸς ἔμενε, βοτάνας δὲ ἦσθιε μόνον, καὶ ταύτας ἀγρίας ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος τεταριχευμένας ἀλσί τε καὶ ὄζει, ὃ τε πότος αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγένετο μόνον. [11] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτοις κατακορῆς γέγονε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα δαῖτα αἵροίτο, ἀπογευσάμενος τούτων δὴ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐδωδίων, εἴτα μεθίει, οὐπὼ ἐδηδοκῶς τὰ αὐτάρκη. [12] ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπικουρίαν ἐνεκικήκει, καὶ χρόνος τῷ βασιλεῖ πολὺς ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ὀδύναϊς ἐτρίβη. [13] μετὰξὺ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων λειψάνων ἀκούσας, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἀφένμενος τέχνης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγε, τὴν ὑγείαν ἐπισπώμενος τῇ ἐς αὐτὰ πίστει, καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο. [14] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῖς τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτίθεντο γόνυ, ἀφανίζεται δὲ τὸ πάθος εὐθύς, σώμασι δεδουλωμένοις θεῷ βιασθέν. ὅπερ ἀμφίλεκτον ὁ θεὸς οὐ ξυγχωρῶν εἶναι, σημεῖον τῶν πραττομένων ἐνδεδέικται μέγα. [15] ἔλαιον γὰρ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιπρεῦσαν μὲν ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀγίων λειψάνων, ὑπερβλύσαν δὲ τὸ κιβώτιον, τῷ τε πόδε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ βασιλέως κατέκλυσεν ὅλην ἀλουργὸν οὔσαν. [16] διὸ δὴ ὁ χιτῶν οὕτω καταβεβρεγμένος διασώζεται ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, μαρτύριον μὲν τῶν τῆνικάδε γεγεννημένων, σωτήριον δὲ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα πάθεσι περιπεσουμένοις τισὶν ἀνηκέστοις.

[8] Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑπογέγραπται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ Κέρας ὁ κόλπος. καὶ πορθμοῖν δὲ τοῖν ἄλλοις δυοῖν, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οἰκοδομίαϊς τὰς ἡϊόνας ἐς μέγα τι κάλλος ἐξείργασται ρ[70]τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [2] ἱερὰ δύο τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ ἀνειμένα καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοισιν ἐστῶτα τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐκατέρωθι ξυνέβαιναν εἶναι, θάτερον μὲν ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλῳ ἐν

ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῇ· [3] Προόχθους μὲν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἀκτὴν, ὅτι δὴ προβέβληται, οἶμαι, κατὰ πολὺ τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος, νῦν δὲ Βρόχοι ἐπικαλεῖται, διαφθειρούσης τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγνοίας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου. [4] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δύο τεμένη οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς κατερρακωμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου θεώμενοι καὶ περίφοβοι γεγεννημένοι ὥς μὴ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα σφίσιν ἐμπέσοιεν, βασιλέως ἐδέοντο ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἄμφω ἐφ' οὗπερ σχήματος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν. [5] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐκκλησίαν τινὰ ἢ γίνεσθαι πρῶτον, ἢ καταπεπονηκυῖαν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ χρημάτων βασιλικῶν, οὐκ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτίκα τῆς προφάσεως τυχὼν τῆσδε καθεῖλε μὲν ἐκάτερον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὥς μὴ τι αὐτοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθῇ. ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνάπλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [7] πετρῶν ἐμβολὴν τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν εἶσω περιελίξας ἐς σκέπας λιμένους, τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡϊόνα ἐς μεταμόρφωσιν ἀγορᾶς ἤνεγκεν. [8] ἡσύχιος γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐνταῦθα ἢ θάλασσα οὕσα τῇ γῇ ἐπικοινωνοῦται συναλλαγᾷ. [9] ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις οἱ τῶν ἐμπόρων θαλάσσιοι παρὰ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν [72] πετρῶν ὀρμισάμενοι συμβάλλονται τοῖς ἐγγείοις ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων τὰ ἐμπολήματα. [10] αὐλὴ μετὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἀγορὰν τοῦ νεῷ πρόκειται. καὶ μαρμάρους μὲν ὠραίοις τε καὶ χιόσιν ἢ αὐλὴ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιοι. [11] οἱ δὲ τοὺς περιπάτους τῇδε ποιοῦμενοι εὐπρεπεία μὲν ἡδοναὶ λίθων, γεγῆθασιν δὲ θαλάσσης ὄψει, ἐναβρύνονται δὲ κοιναῖς ταῖς αὔραις ἐκ τε τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπεγειρομέναις καὶ λόφων ἐπανεστηκότων τῇ γῇ. [12] στοὰ τὸν νεῶν περιβάλλει ἐγκύκλιος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω διαλιπούσα μόνον. ἐπὶ μέσης τὸ ἱερὸν χρῶμασι μυρίοις πεποίκιλται λίθων. [13] ὄροφος ἐν θόλῳ μετάρσιος ὑπερηώρηται. τί ἂν τις διαριθμησάμενος ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἔργου φράσοι τὰς ἡωρημένας στοάς, τὰς ὑπεσταλμένας οἰκοδομίας, τὸ τῶν μαρμάρων ἐπίχαρι, οἷς δὴ οἱ τε τοῖχοι καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη παντάπασιν περιβέβληνται; [14] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος ἐξάισιον πανταχόσε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καθάπερ αὐτῷ πεφυκὸς περικέχεται. [15] τὸσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τέμενός μοι δεδήλωται, ὅπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐναγχος ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ καλουμένῳ ἀνέθηκεν. [16] ἐμπερεστάτα γὰρ ἄμφω ἀλλήλοιν τὰ τεμένη τυγχάνει ὄντα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθαλάσσιον τὸ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[17] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ καλουμένῳ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ναὸς τῇδε πεπόνηται. [18] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἀκτὴν ὀλίγῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διέχει τις χῶρος, ὁμαλὸς μὲν φύσιν, συνθέσει δὲ λίθων ὑποῦ ἀνέχων. [19] ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δεδημιούργηται [74] τέμενος, εὐπρεπεία μὲν ἐξάισιον, μεγέθει δὲ πρῶτον, πολυτελεία δὲ ἀνακεῖσθαι μὲν τῷ Μιχαὴλ πρέπον, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ. [20] τούτου δὲ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ νεῷ τέμενος ἅγιον τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνενεώσατο τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ καταπεπονηκὸς πολλῷ πρότερον, οὗ δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ διερευνήσασθαι καὶ λόγῳ σημῆναι· ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἡ πάλαι τῆς ἱστορίας προσδοκωμένη μοῖρα.

[9] Ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀξιοθέατα ἐκ παλαιοῦ βασιλεία ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα. ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνατέθεικε τῷ θεῷ ἅπαντα, τὸν ἐνθένδε

τῆς εὐσεβείας καρπὸν τῆς παραυτίκα παραψυχῆς ἀλλαξάμενος τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. [2] ὁμιλος ἦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου γυναιῶν ἐν μαστροπείῳ λελαγνευμένων οὐχ ἐκούσιον, ἀλλὰ βιαίαν τινὰ μισητίαν. [3] τῆς γὰρ πενίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑπὸ πορνοβοσκῷ τρεφομέναις αἰεὶ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀκολασταίνειν ἐπάναγκες ἦν, ἀνδράσι τε ἀγνώσι καὶ παραπεπτωκόσιν ἐξαπινάιως ἐσποδιοῦντο συνδουαζόμεναι. [4] πορνοβοσκῶν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐταιρία πολλή, ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας διαχειριζόντων ἐμπόλημα, ἔν τε τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὥραν ἀποδιδομένων τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ δουλαγωγούντων τὸ σῶφρον. [5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα (τὴν γὰρ εὐσέβειαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνοῦμενοι ἅπαντα ἔπρασσον) ἐπενόουν τάδε. [6] τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν τοῦ τῶν μαστροπείων ἄγους ἐκάθηραν, ἐξέλασαντες τὸ τῶν πορνοβοσκῶν ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν π[76]τὰς πενία ταλαιπωρουμένας πολλῇ ἀκολασίας τῆς δουλοπρεποῦς ἠλευθέρωσαν, βίον μὲν σφίσιν αὐτόνομον, ἐλευθέραν δὲ τὴν σωφροσύνην πεπορισμένοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωκῆσαντο τῇδε. [7] παρὰ ταύτην δὴ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, βασιλεία πρότερον ὄντα μοναστήριον μεγαλοπρεπὲς κατεστήσαντο καταγώγιον ταῖς μεταμελουμέναις γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ βίῳ ἐσόμενον. [8] ἐφ' ᾧ τῇ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀσχολία γεννησομένη περικαθῆραι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας δύναται εἶεν τῆς ἐν μαστροπείῳ διαίτης. [9] διὸ δὴ καὶ Μετάνοιαν τοῦτο δὴ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ διαιτητήριον ὁμωνύμως τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπονομάζουσι. [10] καὶ πολλαῖς μὲν χρημάτων προσόδοις οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι τὸ μοναστήριον δεδώρηται τοῦτο, πολλὰ δὲ οἰκία κάλλει τε καὶ πολυτελείᾳ διαφερόντως ἐξάισια, ταῖς γυναιξὶ παραψυχὴν ἐσόμενα, ὥκοδομήσαντο, ὥς μηδενὶ ἀναγκασθεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιτηδεύματα τρόπῳ ὁτοῦν ἀποκνήσουσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[11] Ἐς δὲ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐνθένδε ἰόντι ἄκρα τις ἀπορρῶς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ προβέβληται ἡϊόνα, ἐφ' ἧς μαρτύριον Παντελεήμονος ἀγίου εἰστήκει, ἀρχὴν τε ἀπημελημένως πεποιημένον καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ πεπονηκὸς ἄγαν. ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τοῦτόν τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ μάλιστα οἰκοδομησάμενος π[78]τὸν ἐκείνη τανῦν ὄντα νεῶν, τῷ τε μάρτυρι διεσώσατο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κάλλος ἐντέθεικεν, ἐκατέρωθι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα πηξάμενος. [12] τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν χώρῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀργυρωνίῳ πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταγώγιον οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβήσατο. [13] ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ διερρωγὸς ἤδη τὰ ἔσχατα προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο, γεννησόμενον τοῖς οὕτω ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνάπαυλαν. ἀκτὴ δὲ τίς ἐστι Μωχάδιον ὄνομα τοῦ χώρου ἐγγὺς ὃ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. [14] ἐνταῦθα νεῶν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἄλλον ἐδείματο ἱεροπρεπῇ τε διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἱερῶν ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐδενὸς ἀξιώματι ἀποδέοντα.

[15] Καὶ Τρύφωνι δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὸν μάρτυρι, πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἐς κάλλος ἀποτετορνευμένον ἀμύθητον ὅλως, ἐν τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγυῖᾳ ἣ τοῦ Πελαργοῦ ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν. [16] ἔτι δὲ Μηνᾶ καὶ Μηναίῳ μάρτυσιν ἕδος ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ ἀνέθηκεν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ εἰσιόντι ἐς τὰς Χρυσᾶς καλουμένας Πύλας Ἱας ἀγίας μαρτύριον εὐρὼν καταπεπτωκός, πολυτελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο.

[17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἱεροῖς εἰργασμένα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν διαπεπονημένα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἕκαστα διαριθμεῖσθαι χαλεπὸν τέ ἐστὶ καὶ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἄπορον. [18] ἀλλ' ἡνίκα ἡμῖν δεήσει πόλεως ἢ χωρίου p_[80] τοῦ πρὸς ὄνομα ἐπιμνησθῆναι, καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἱερὰ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ γεγράφεται.

[10] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν τε Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ τοῖς τῇδε προαστείοις οὕτως Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ· [2] τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων αὐτῷ οἰκοδομημάτων πεπονημένων ἕκαστον μὲν ἐπελθεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον λόγῳ, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ φράσαι, τὰ τε πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα τῆς τε ἄλλης πόλεως καὶ τῶν βασιλείων καταφλεχθέντα τε καὶ καθηρημένα ἐπ' ἔδαφος ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον μετεστήσατο· ἅπερ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λεπτολογεῖσθαι οὐτὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· [3] ἅπαντα γάρ μοι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδηλωταὶ λόγοις. τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται, ὥς τῶν βασιλείων τὰ τε προπύλαια καὶ ἡ καλουμένη Χαλκὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως καλούμενον οἶκον, ἐκ τε τῶν βασιλείων τό τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεῦξιππος αἶ τε μεγάλαι στοαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, τούτου δὴ ἔργα τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα. [4] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τὴν Ὀρμίσδα ἐπώνυμον οἰκίαν, ἄγχιστα οὖσαν τῶν βασιλείων, παραλλάξας τε καὶ ὅλως ἐς τὸ ἐπιφανέστερον μεθαρμοσάμενος, ὥς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπιεικῶς πρέπειν, τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐντέθεικεν, εὐρύτερόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀζιώτερον ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.

[5] Ἔστι δέ τις ἀγορὰ πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων περίστυλος. p_[82] Αὐγουσταῖον καλοῦσι τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ταύτης ἐν λόγοις ἐπεμνήσθην τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ἡνίκα τῆς Σοφίας περιγησάμενος τὸν νεῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ χαλκῇν εἰκόνα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ κίονος ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ λίθοις συνθέτου ἀνατεθεῖσαν δεδήλωκα. [6] ταύτης ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἴδρυται, λόγου μὲν τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ κρεῖττον, Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔργον. [7] ἐνθα δὴ ξυνοῦσα ἔτους ἀρχομένου ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος ἐνιαύσιον ἐορτὴν ἄγει, τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀργιάζουσα ἐς αἰὲ νόμιμα. [8] ἐξ δὲ αὐτοῦ κίονες ἐπίπροσθεν ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν δύο τὸν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τοῖχον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες ὅς πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ὀλίγῳ ἐκτός, τὸ μὲν εἶδος λευκοὶ ἅπαντες, μέγεθος δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν ἐν γῇ, οἶμαι, κίωνων τῇ πάσῃ. [9] στοὰν δὲ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κίονες ὄροφον ἐν θόλῳ ἐλίττουςαν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω τῆς στοᾶς ἅπαντα μαρμάρων μὲν κάλλει διακεκόσμηται τοῖς κίοσι τὸ εἶδος ἴσων, ἀγαλμάτων δὲ πλήθει ὑπεράνω ἐσώτων θαυμασίως ὥς ὑπογέγραπται.

[10] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν τὰ βασιλέως οἰκία ἐστὶ, καὶ νέα μὲν τὰ βασιλεία σχεδόν τι πάντα, Ἰουστινιανῷ δέ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ, φράσαι δὲ αὐτὰ λόγῳ ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσει μὲν τοὺς γεννησομένους εἰδέναι ὅτι δὴ ἅπαντα τούτου δὴ p_[84] ἔργον τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα. [11] ὥσπερ δέ φασι, τὸν λέοντα ἐξ ὄνυχος ἴσμεν, καὶ τούτων δὴ οὕτω τῶν βασιλείων τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος οἱ τάδε ἀναλεγόμενοι εἰσονται. τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ προτεμενισμόν ἐστιν ὃ καλοῦσι

Χαλκῆν. [12] ὄρθιοι τοῖχοι οὐρανομήκεις ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐστᾶσι τέσσαρες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἰσοστάσιοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, μήκει δὲ ἄμφω, ὃ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένος καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τῶν ἐτέρων οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέοντες. [13] προβέβληται δὲ τις ἀμφὶ τὴν γωνίαν αὐτῶν ἐκάστου λίθων εὖ μάλα εἰργασμένων ἀνάστασις, τῷ τοίχῳ ἐς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐξ ἐδάφους συναναβαίνουσα, τετράπλευρος μὲν, ἐνημμένη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μίαν τῷ τοίχῳ πλευράν, οὐ διακόπτουσα τοῦ χώρου τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ κόσμου αὐτῷ ἐντιθεῖσα τῇ τοῦ ἐμφεροῦς ἁρμονίᾳ. [14] ὑπερηώρηνται δὲ αὐτῶν ἀψίδες ὀκτώ, τέσσαρες μὲν ἀνέχουσαι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παντὸς ὄροφον ἐν σφαιροειδεῖ μεταρσίῳ ἐπικυρτούμενον, αἱ δὲ δι' ἄλλαι δύο μὲν πρὸς νότον, δύο δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον τῷ γεινιῶντι ἐναπεριδόμεναι τοίχῳ, τὸ μεταξὺ τέγος ἐν θόλῳ ἠωρήμενον ἐξαίρουσιν. [15] ἐναβρύνεται δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, οὐ τῷ κηρῷ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι ἐνταῦθα παγεῖσα, ἀλλ' ἐναρμοσθεῖσα ψηφίσιν λεπταῖς τε καὶ χρώμασιν ὠραῖσμέναις παντοδαποῖς· αἱ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπομιμῶνται. [16] ὅποια δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ γράμματα ἐστὶν ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ρ[86]έφ' ἐκάτερα μὲν πόλεμός τέ ἐστι καὶ μάχη, καὶ ἀλίσκονται πόλεις παμπληθεῖς, πῇ μὲν Ἰταλίας, πῇ δὲ Λιβύης· καὶ νικᾷ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦντι Βελισαρίῳ, ἐπάνεισι δὲ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ στράτευμα ἔχων ἀκραιφνὲς ὅλον ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ λάφυρα βασιλεῖς τε καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐξαισία. [17] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐστᾶσιν ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα, εὐοκότες ἄμφω γεγηθόσι τε καὶ νικητήρια ἐορτάζουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Βανδύλῳ καὶ Γότθῳ βασιλεῖ, δορυαλώτοις τε καὶ ἀγωγίμοις παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι. [18] περιέστηκε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος, ἐορτασθαὶ πάντες. τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ ψηφίδες δηλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσώποις ἰλαρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπανθοῦσαι. [19] γαυροῦνται οὖν καὶ μειδιῶσι τῷ βασιλεῖ νέμοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἡμφιάσται δὲ μαρμάρων εὐπρεπείᾳ τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς τὰς ὑπεράνω ψηφίδας, οὐχ ὅσα ἐπανεστήκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφεξῆς ὅλον. [20] τῶν δὲ μαρμάρων ἓν μὲν λίθου Σπαρτιάτου ἐκεῖ σμαράγδῳ ἴσα, ἓν μὲν πυρὸς φλόγα μιμοῦνται· λευκὸν δὲ τῶν πλειόνων τὸ εἶδος, οὐ λιτὸν μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὑποκυμαίνει κυαναναγεῖ ὑπογεγραμμένον μεταξὺ χρώματι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[11] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Προποντίδος ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως, βαλανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐστίν. ὅπερ Ἀρκαδιανὰ μὲν ἐπικαλεῖται, Κωνσταντινούπολιν δὲ πηλίκην οὕσαν ἐπικοσμεῖ. [2] αὐλὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ρ[88]έδειματό, τῆς μὲν πόλεως προβεβλημένην, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνη διατριβὴν ἔχουσιν ἐς περιπάτους αἰεὶ ἀνειμένην, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς περιπλέουσιν. [3] ταύτην ἥλιος καταλάμπει μὲν ἀνίσχων τῇ αἴγλῃ, ἐκτρεπόμενος δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ ἐπισκιάζει. ταύτην ἡ θάλασσα περιρρεῖ ἀτρεμὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ περιχεομένη τῷ ρεῖθρῳ, ποταμοῦ τρόπον ἐκ Πόντου ἰοῦσα· ὥστε καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς περιπλέουσιν οἱ τοὺς περιπάτους ποιοῦμενοι. [4] ἡ γὰρ θάλασσα κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἄβυσσον μέχρι ἐς τῆς αὐλῆς τὴν κρηπίδα πλώμιος ἐνταῦθα ταῖς ναυσὶ γίνεται, τῆς δὲ γαλήνης τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοὺς ἐκατέρωθι ὄντας ἐπιμίγνυσιν ἐς τοὺς

διαλόγους ἀλλήλοις. [5] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ γειτόνημα τῇ αὐτῇ τῇδὲ πη ἔχει, καλλωπιζομένη μὲν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν ὄψει, περιπνεομένη δὲ ἀπαλαῖς οὔσαις ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς αὔραις. [6] καὶ κίωνων δὲ καὶ μαρμάρων κάλλει ὑπερφυεῖ τὰ τε αὐτῆς ἐδάφη καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεν καλύπτεται πάντα· ὧν ἡ αἰγλη ὑπεράγαν λευκὴ τίς ἐστι, ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἀπαστρέπτουσα. [7] καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτὴν κοσμοῦσι παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν χαλκαῖ, αἱ δὲ τῷ λίθῳ ἐπιξυσθεῖσαι, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. εἰκάσαις ἂν ἡ Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἢ τοῦ Σικυωνίου Λυσίππου ἔργον ἢ Πραξιτέλους αὐτὰς γεγονέναι. [8] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπὶ κίονος ἔστηκε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνατέθεικεν ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς χαριστήριον. [9] καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰκὼν εὐπρόσωπος, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλίδος τῷ κάλλει ἐλάσσων, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς τὴν εὐπρεπεῖαν λόγῳ τε p[90]φράσαι καὶ ἰνδάλματι ἀπομιμεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι παντάπασιν ἀμήχανα ἦν· ἀλουργὸς δὲ ὁ κίων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκτυπώματος ὅτι δὴ βασιλὶδα φέρει διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος.

[10] Ὅπερ δὲ ὕδατος εὐπορίας πέρι ἐνταῦθα διαπεπόνηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. θέρους ὥρα ἡ βασιλὶς πόλις ὕδατος ὑπεσπάνιζεν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καίπερ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους καιροὺς διαρκὲς ἔχουσα. [11] τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τηνικάδε αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντος ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας αἱ πηγαὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποβλυστάνουσαι καταδεεστέραν παρείχοντο τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν τῇ πόλει. [12] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενόει τοιάδε. κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως στοάν, ἵνα δὴ τὰς δίκας παρασκευάζονται οἱ τε ῥήτορες καὶ εἰσαγωγεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελοῦνται, αὐτὴ τίς ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, περιμήκης μὲν καὶ εὖρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ δὲ περίστυλος οὔσα, οὐκ ἐπὶ γεώδους ἐδάφους τοῖς αὐτὴν δειμαμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πέτρας πεποιημένη. [13] στοαὶ τε τὴν αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσι τέσσαρες, κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην ἐστώσαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τῶν στοῶν μίαν, ἥπερ αὐτῆς τέτραπται πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἐς βάθους μέγα τι χρῆμα κατορύξας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀποβαλλομένοις τῇ περιουσίᾳ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐς θέρος ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ θησαυρὸν ἔθετο. [14] δεχόμενα γὰρ τὰ ἔλυτρα τάδε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὴν ἐπιρροὴν p[92]ὑπερβλύζοντος στενοχωρουμένοις μὲν τοῖς ὕδασι τότε χαρίζεται χώραν, ποθεινῶν δὲ αὐτῶν γινομένων ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχεται πόρον. [15] οὕτω μὲν μὴ προσδεῖν Βυζαντίοις ποτίμων ὑδάτων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διεπράξατο.

[16] Καὶ βασιλεία δὲ ἀλλαχόθι δεδημιούργηκεν αὐτὸς καινουργήσας ἐν τε τῷ Ἡραίῳ, ὃ νῦν Ἰερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ἰουκουνδιάναις ταῖς καλουμέναις· ὧν δὴ οὔτε τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς σὺν τῷ ἐς τέχνην ἡκριβωμένῳ, οὔτε τὸν ὄγκον ἂν σὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ φράσαι ποτὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [17] ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσει ταῦτα εἰπεῖν βασιλείᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ γεγονέναι παρόντος τε καὶ ἐπιτεχνωμένου, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεριόπτου, ὅτι μὴ χρημάτων, καθισταμένου. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστὶ μὴ καὶ λόγου κρατεῖν.

[18] Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ λιμένων σκέπας ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πρότερον ὄν. ἀκτὴν γὰρ εὐρὴν ἐκατέρωθι τοῖς τε ἀνέμοις καὶ παραχῇ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀποκειμένην, σωτήριον εἶναι τοῖς πλέουσι κατεστήσατο ὧδε. [19] τὰς κιβωτοὺς καλουμένας ἀναρίθμους τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις πεποιημένους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν τε αὐτὰς τῆς

ἡϊόνος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγκαρσίας ἀπορριψάμενος, αἰεὶ τε τῶν προτέρων καθύπερθεν ἐτέρων ἐν τάξει ἐπιβολὴν ἐντιθέμενος, τοίχους πλαγίους ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλων ἀνέστησε δύο ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου κρηπίδων μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ᾧ δὴ αἱ νέες ἐναπεριδόμεναι ρ^[94]πλέουσιν. ^[20] πέτρας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποτόμους ταύτῃ ἐμβέβληται. ὧν δὴ πρὸς τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀρασσομένων, ἀποκρουομένων τε τὴν τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ ἀνέμου χειμῶνος ὥρα καταβάντος σκληροῦ, διαμένει τὰ ἐντὸς ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντα τῶν τοίχων, μεταξὺ μιᾶς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσόδου. ^[21] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη πεποιήται, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται, καὶ στοάς τε καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι πάντα· ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλείων ἐλασσοῦσθαι μηδέν. ^[22] καὶ λιμένα δὲ ἄλλον ἐτεκτίνετο ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, ἐν τοῖς Εὐτροπίου ἐπωνύμοις, τοῦ Ἡραίου τοῦδε οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, κατὰ ταῦτα εἰργασμένον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν περ ἐπεμνήσθη ἀρτίως.

^[23] Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν πόλει δεδημιουργημένα τῇ βασιλίδι, ὥς διὰ βραχυτάτων εἰπεῖν, ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ὁ δὲ μόνον ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀπολέλειπται αὐτίκα δηλώσω. ^[24] τῇδε τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχοντος, διὰ μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ πάσης γῆς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων τῇ πόλει παντοδαπὸς ἐπείσέρχεται. ^[25] παραγίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ πράξει τινὶ ποδηγούμενος ἢ ἐλπίδι ἢ τύχῃ, πολλοὶ δὲ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται, βασιλέως δεησόμενοι, τῇ πόλει ἔνδημοι γίνονται διὰ βίαν ρ^[96]τινὰ ἢ πιέζουσιν ἢ ἐγκειμένην ἢ μέλλουσιν. ^[26] οἷσπερ συμβαίνει πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀμηχανία καὶ οἰκίας ὑποσπανίζειν, οὐχ οἷοις τε οὔσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς προσέθαι μίσθωσιν. ^[27] ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσαν. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης ὥς ἀγχοτάτω, ἵνα δὴ Στάδιον ὁ χώρος καλεῖται (ἀγῶσι γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεῖτό τισι) ξενῶνας ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐδείμαντο, τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενησομένους καταλυτήρια.

BOOK II.

[1] [1] Ὅσα μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐκείνη προαστείων ἱερὰ τεμένη βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς νέα ἰδρύσατο, καὶ ὅσα καταπεπονηκότα διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἀνενεώσατο, τὰ τε ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα πεποιήται, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. [2] τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἡμῖν ἰτέον, οἷσπερ τὰς ἐσχατίας περιέβαλε Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τάλαιπωρεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπάναγκες ἂν εἴη καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα διαπνεῖσθαι. [3] οὐ γὰρ τὰς πυραμίδας ἀφηγησόμεθα, τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βεβασιλευκότων τὸ διαθρυλλούμενον ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐς χάριν ἀποκεκριμένον ἀνόνητον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὀχυρώματα σύμπαντα, οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσώσατο, τειχισάμενός τε αὐτὴν p[98]καὶ ἀμήχανον τοῖς βαρβάροις καταστησάμενός τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν. ἐκ δὲ ὀρίων τῶν Μηδικῶν ἄρξασθαι οὐ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

[4] Ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, πόλιν αὐτοῖς Ἄμιδαν ἀποδόμενοι, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀναστάσιος ἀγχιστά πη τῶν Περσικῶν ὄρων κώμην ἄδοξόν τινα τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν, Δάρας ὄνομα, τείχει περιβαλεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχε, πόλιν τε αὐτὴν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐσομένην τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐργάσασθαι. [5] ἐν δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπειρημένον, ὥσπερ ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος ἔθετο πρὸς τὸ Περσῶν γένος, μηδετέρους ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκίῳ ἐν γειτόνων που τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ὀρίοις κειμένῳ ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι, προτεινόμενοι Πέρσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐμπόδιοι τῷ ἔργῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἐγίνοντο, καίπερ Οὐννικοῦ πολέμου πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ. [6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ὀξύτερον τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προτερῆσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες πρὶν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πρὸς Οὐννους ἀγώνισιν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν. [7] ὑποψία οὖν τῇ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων περίφοβοι ὄντες καὶ καταδοκοῦντες αἰεὶ τὰς ἐφόδους, οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐξήγον, τοῦ τάχους αὐτοῖς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς σπουδῆς παραιρουμένου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀσφάλειαν. [8] τῷ γὰρ συντόμῳ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῇ εἶωθε ξυνοικίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τῷ ὅξει τὸ ἀκριβὲς φιλεῖ ἔπесθαι. [9] οὕτω τοίνυν ἐπισπερχῶς ἀπειργάσαντο τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνάστασιν οὐκ p[100]ἀνανταγώνιστον τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποιημένοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτῷ ἀναγκαῖον ὕψος ἐνθέμενοι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐμβεβλημένοι ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τοῖς λίθους, ἢ αὐτῶν ἐν δέοντι εἰργασμένοι τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἢ τῷ τέλματι τῆς τιτάνου κατὰ λόγον ἐναρμοσάμενοι. [10] χρόνου οὖν ὀλίγου (χιόσι τε γὰρ καὶ ἡλίου θερμῇ τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σφαλερῷ ἀντέχειν οἱ πύργοι ὥς ἥκιστα εἶχον) διερρωγέται αὐτῶν τοῖς πλείστοις ξυνέβη. οὕτω μὲν τὰ πρότερα ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὰ τεῖχη ἀνέστη.

[11] Ἐννοια δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὥς οὐ περιόφονται Πέρσαι ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτείχισμα Ῥωμαίοις ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ πανοικεσία μὲν προσβαλοῦσι, τέχνας δὲ κινήσουσι πάσας ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τειχομαχήσειν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁμιλος μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλεφάντων ἔψεται, οἷσους

δὲ ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους, οἷς ὑποκείμενοι ἀντὶ θεμελίων ἐστήξουσιν, καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπώτερον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις περιηγόμενοι καὶ φέροντες τεῖχος γνώμη τῶν κεκτημένων ὅπη παρατύχοι ἐπόμενον· [12] ἐπεμβαίνοντες δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι βαλοῦσι μὲν κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἔνδον Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ ὑπερδεξίων ἐπιθήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους χειροποιήτους ἐπαναστήσουσι, καὶ μηχανὰς τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐπάξονται πάσας. [13] ἦν δὲ τι τῇ πόλει Δάρας ἀξύμφορον ἐπιγένηται, πάσης μὲν προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀντιτεταγμένη δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διαφανῶς, οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν κείσεται ρ[102]τὸ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἡ πολιτεία κατασεισθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον. ἐβούλετό τε διὰ ταῦτα ὀχύρωμα τῷ χωρίῳ περιβαλεῖν ἐπαξίως τῆς χρείας.

[14] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος (κολοβόν τε γὰρ ἦν κομιδῇ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμαχώτατον) ἀπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὅλως τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι. [15] τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπάλξεις πρότερον οὖσας λίθων ἐνθήκη ξυναγαγὼν ἀπέσφιγξεν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ἵχνη αὐταῖς μόνᾳ ἐς θυρίδων ἀπολιπὼν σχῆμα, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν συγκεχωρηκῶς ἀνεωγένοι, ὅσον δὴ καὶ χεῖρα διεῖναι, καὶ τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐνθένδε λελεῖσθαι. [16] ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ὕψος τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπετεχνήσατο ἐς τριάκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, οὐχ ὅλον ἐνθέμενος τὸ πάχος τῷ τείχει, ὥς μὴ τῶν θεμελίων τῇ τῶν ἐγκειμένων περιουσίᾳ βαρυνομένων ἀνήκεστόν τι τῷ ἔργῳ ξυμβαίη, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνη ἀέρα λίθων περιβολῇ περιελίξας, στοάν τε ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ περιβόλου περιδρομον ἐργασάμενος, ὑπὲρ τε τὴν στοάν τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπιβαλὼν, ὥστε διώροφον μὲν πανταχόσε τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τρεῖς γεγονέναι τὰς χώρας τῶν τε ἀμυνομένων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκρουομένων ἐφόδους. [17] κατὰ μέσους γάρ πη τοὺς πύργους σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα ἐνθέμενος αὐθις ἐνταῦθα ἐντέθεικεν ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, τριώροφον ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεργασάμε·

[18] Ἐπειτα δὲ κατανενοηκῶς ὅτι δὴ καὶ τῶν πύργων διεφθάρθαι πολλούς, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ξυνηνέχθη ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ, καθελεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἥκιστα εἶχεν, ἐν γειτόνων ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ καιροφυλακούντων τε καὶ διηνεκὲς ἰχνευόντων εἰ ποτε τοῦ περιβόλου μοίρας ἀτειχίστου τινὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν οἷοί τε ὦσιν· ἐπενόει δὲ τάδε. [19] τούτους μὲν τοὺς πύργους αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ ἐτέραν ἐμπείρως ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐδείματο ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας εὖ ἔχουσιν, ταύτῃ τε τοὺς πεπονηκότας τῶν τοίχων ἐρύματι ἐτέρῳ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐτειχίσατο. [20] ἓνα δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν καλούμενον τῆς Φρουρᾶς ἐπικαιριώτατα καθελὼν ἀνωκοδομήσατο ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀφείλετο δέος. [21] καὶ τῷ προτειχίσματι δὲ κατὰ λόγον διαρκὲς ὕψος ἐπισταμένως ἐντέθεικεν. [22] ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὥρυξεν, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρῳ τε ὀλίγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ· ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[23] Τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπρόσβητα τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ξυμβαίνειν εἶναι, ἅτε οὐκ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ χωρίου ἐστῶτα οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἔχοντος πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν ἐπιτηδείως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἄναντες ἐν τε

σκληρῷ καὶ ὀρθίῳ κειμένον, ἔνθα οὔτε διώρυχα οἷόν τέ ἐστιν οὔτε προσβολὴν γενέσθαι τινά. [24] ἥ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον ἢ πλευρὰ τέτραπται, μαλθακὴ τε οὖσα καὶ γεώδης ἡ χώρα καὶ πρὸς διώρυχας εὐκολος ἄγαν, εὐέφοδον ταύτῃ ποιεῖ τὴν πόλιν. p[108][25] τάφρον οὖν ἐνταῦθα μηχανοειδῆ, εὖρους τε καὶ βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ μακρῷ κατορύξας, ἐκάτερον αὐτῆς τῷ προτειχίσματι τὸ πέρας ἐνήψεν, ὕδατος μὲν αὐτὴν διαρκῶς ἐμπλησάμενος, ἄβατόν τε παντάπασι τοῖς πολέμοις καταστησάμενος, ἐν μοίρᾳ δὲ αὐτῆς τῇ ἐντὸς προτείχισμα θέμενος ἕτερον· ὃ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες ἐν πολιορκίᾳ φρουροῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ τε περιβόλου καὶ προτειχίσματος τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, ὅπερ τοῦ τείχους προβέβληται. [26] ἐτύγγανε δὲ τοῦ τε τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξὺ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αἱ καταντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀμμάδιος χωρίου εἰσί, μέγα τι χρήμα χόματος κείμενον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμοι λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οἰοῖ τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει διώρυχας ἐνερθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ποιοῦμενοι. [27] ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν καὶ περικαθήρας εὖ μάλα τὸν χῶρον, ταύτῃ τοῖς πολέμοις τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλήν ἀνεχαίτισε.

[2] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος αὐτῷ τῇδὲ πη πεποιήται. καὶ ὕδατος δὲ εἰργάσατο ἔλυτρα πῇ μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξὺ, πῇ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ νεῷ ὃς Βαρθολομαίῳ ἀποστόλῳ ἀνεῖται πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον. [2] ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ προαστείου τῆς πόλεως διέχοντος αὐτῆς σημειοῖν δυοῖν, ὃ δὲ Κόρδης ἐπικαλεῖται. [3] ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ σκοπέλω δύο ἀνέχετον ὑπεράγαν σκληρῷ· πρόεισί τε μεταξὺ τῆς ἐκατέρου ὑπωρείας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας φερόμενος p[110] τῶν ὀρῶν, μάλιστά τε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς πολέμοις ἄτρεπτός τε καὶ ἀνεπαφός ὢν· [4] οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι βιάζεσθαι πῇ αὐτὸν ἐν ὑπτίῳ τῆς γῆς. ἐπισπῶνται δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [5] ὀχετὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιήνται μέγαν, ὀβελοῖς δὲ σιδηροῖς τὸ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ στόμα συχνοῖς τε καὶ ὡς παχυτάτοις καταλαβόντες, τοῖς μὲν ὀρθοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἐγκαρσίοις, διεπράξαντο τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. [6] οὕτω τοίνυν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη ἔλυτρα ἐμπλησάμενος, περιηγόμενός τε ὅποι ποτὲ δοκοίῃ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις, εἴτα ἐκβάλλει ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ τῆς πόλεως χώραν, ἐμφεροῦς αὐτῷ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσαγωγῇ πεποιημένης τῆς ἐκβολῆς. [7] περιῶν τε τὰ ταύτῃ πεδία ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐπετῇ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πόλιν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν. [8] ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ παρόντα ἐν βούλῃ ἐποιεῖτο, διασκοπούμενος εἴ τινα τῷ πράγματι ἄκεσιν εὖροι. [9] ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀμχανίαν ἰώμενος, ἀπαντοματίσας τὴν πρᾶξιν μελλήσει τὴν πόλιν οὐδεμίᾳ διεσώσατο. ἐγένετο δὲ δι' ᾧδε.

[10] Τῶν τις ἐκεῖνη στρατευσαμένων, εἴτε τινὰ ὄψιν ὄνειρου ἰδὼν εἴτε αὐτόματος εἰς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, τῶν περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τεχνιτῶν ἐταιρισάμενος πόλιν ὁμίλον, διώρυχα ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γεγενῆσθαι, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ὕδωρ γὰρ πότιμον ἐνταῦθα εὐρήσειν ἐκ μυχῶν ἀποβλύζον τῆς γῆς. [11] κυκλοτερῇ p[112] τὴν διώρυχα ἐς ποδῶν μῆκος πεντεκαίδεκα ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ βάθος κατήγε. [12] τοῦτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τῶν τεχνιτῶν τούτων πεποιήται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ

ἐνταῦθα ξυμβῆσθαι κακὸν ἔμελλεν, ἐς πᾶν ξυμφέρον διὰ τῆς κατώρυχος ἀπεκρίθη Ῥωμαῖοις. [13] ὁμβρων γὰρ μεταξὺ ἐξαισιῶν καταρραγέντων, ὁ ποταμὸς οὐπὲρ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου μορμύρων ἀρθεῖς τε ἐπὶ μέγα κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τηλικόνδε γεγενημένον οὔτε τῶν εἰσόδων οὔτε τοῦ ὄχετοῦ ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα. [14] ξυνίστατο οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ξυνάγων τὸν ῥοῦν, ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ βάθος κατατείνων πολὺ, καὶ πῇ μὲν λιμνάζων, πῇ δὲ κυρτούμενός τε καὶ κυματίας γεγενημένος. [15] τὸ μὲν οὖν προτείχισμα βιασάμενος καθεῖλεν εὐθύς, κατασείσας δὲ καὶ πολλὴν τινα τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας πολὺς τε ῥεύσας τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει σχεδόν τι ὅλην, καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν τε ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τὰς οἰκίας περιπολήσας, ἐπίπλων τε ἐνθένδε καὶ ξυλίνων τευχῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων φορυτὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἐς ταύτην τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐμπεσὼν ἀφανίζεται ὑπόγειος γεγενημένος. [16] ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιτά πη τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὀρίων ἐκδούς, ἐν χώρῳ ἐφάνη σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα διέχοντι μάλιστα Δάρας πόλεως, οἷσπερ ἐπηγάγετο ἐκ τῶν τῇδε οἰκιῶν γνωσθεῖς· διεφάνη γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος. [17] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γινόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, περιπλέους τε τοῦ ὕδατος τοὺς θησαυροὺς π[114]εργασάμενος, φέρεται μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔξω διὰ τῶν ἐξόδων αἵπερ αὐτῷ πεποιήνται ἐξεπίτηδες πρὸς τῶν δειμαμένων τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται. [18] ἀρδεύων δὲ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ποθεινὸς ἅπασι τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς αἰὶ γίνεται. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πολεμίων στρατὸς ὡς πολιορκήσων τὴν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν σιδηρῶν ὀβελῶν ἐξόδους ἐπιβύσαντες τοῖς καταράκταις καλουμένοις, αὐτίκα τε τὸν ποταμὸν μεταπεφυκέναι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν μεταπορεύεσθαι βιασάμενοι ἀνάγκῃ χειροποιήτῳ, ἐπὶ τε τὴν διώρυχα καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε περιάγουσι χάος. [19] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμοι πιεζόμενοι τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ διαλύειν ἀναγκάζονται τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐθύς. Μιρράνης ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καβάδου βασιλεύοντος ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων, τούτοις τε πᾶσιν ἀναγκασθεῖς, ἄπρακτος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεχώρησε. [20] καὶ Χοσρόης αὐτὸς πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγκεχείρηκε τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιβουλῇ. [21] ὕδατός τε ἀπορίας πέρι ἀμηχάνων, καὶ ἀποσκοπούμενος τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ὑπερβολήν, ἄμαχόν τε αὐτὴν διαρκῶς ὑπώπτευν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα μεταγνοὺς, εὐθυωρὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος καταστρατηγηθεῖς προμηθεῖα.

π[116] [3] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν πόλει Δάρας οὕτω δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς κατεστήσατο· ὄντινα δὲ προσεποίησε τρόπον τῇ πόλει μηκέτι αὐτῇ πάθος πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυμβῆναι τοιοῦτον, τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην αὐτῷ ξυνεπιλαμβανομένου τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [2] Χρυσῆς ἦν τις Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, μηχανοποιὸς δεξιός, ὅσπερ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ὑπηρετῶν, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τε ἐν πόλει Δάρας καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ γεγονότα ἐξείργασται. [3] οὗτος ὁ Χρυσῆς ἀπεδήμει μὲν ἡνίκα δὴ ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πάθος ξυνέπεσεν· ἀκηκοὺς δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐς

κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεχώρησεν. ὅψιν δὲ ὄνειρου τοιάνδε εἶδεν· [4] ἐδόκει οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄνειρῳ τις ὑπερφύης τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κρείσσων ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι μηχανὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλειν τε καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἣ ἂν διακωλύειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἰκανὴ εἴη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῆς πόλεως μηκέτι μορμύρειν. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα θεῖον ὑποτοπήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι, τὴν τε μηχανὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄνειρου ὅψιν ἐς βασιλέα γράψας ἀνήνεγκε, σκιαγραφήσας τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνειρου διδασκαλίαν. [6] ἐτύγχανε δὲ οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον ἄγγελος ἦκων ἐς βασιλέα ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυνεχθέντα πάντα ἐσηγγεῖλε. [7] βασιλεὺς δὲ τότε τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι ξυνταραχθεὶς καὶ περιώδυνος γεγονώς, τοὺς τὰ μηχανικὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντας εὐθὺς ^{p[118]}μετεκάλει, Ἀνθέμιόν τε καὶ Ἰσίδωρον, ὧν περ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην. [8] καὶ τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα ἐπικοινωνέμενος ἀνεπνυθάνετο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανὴ γένοιτο, ὥς μὴ τι περαιτέρῳ τῇ πόλει ξυμβαίῃ· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν ἑκάτερος ὑποθήκην τινὰ ἔφραζε τὴν οἱ δοκοῦσαν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχειν· βασιλεὺς δέ, θείας δηλονότι ἐπινοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης τινός, οὕπῳ τὰ Χρυσοῦ ἰδὼν γράμματα, ἐπενόει τε καὶ ἐσκιαγράφει αὐτογνωμονήσας ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ὃ δὴ τοῦ ὄνειρου ἐκτύπωμα ἦν. [9] ἔτι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἡωρημένης καὶ τοῦ πρακτέου σφίσιν ἐν ἀδήλῳ ὄντος, διέλυσαν τὸν διάλογον. [10] ἡμέραις τε τρισὶν ὕστερον ἦκέ τις βασιλεῖ τὴν τε τοῦ Χρυσοῦ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄνειρου μηχανῆς τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐνδείκνυμενος. [11] καὶ ὃς μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μηχανικοὺς αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῇ μνήμῃ ἐκέλευεν ὅσα δὴ σφίσιν ἀμφὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ πρότερον δοκοῦντα εἴη. [12] οἱ δὲ ἀπεστομάτιζον ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅσα τε αὐτοὶ τεχνάζοντες εἶπον καὶ ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἀπαυθαδιασάμενος ἐπήγγελλε γενέσθαι. [13] καὶ τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε πρὸς τοῦ Χρυσοῦ σταλέντα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐπιδείξας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνειρου γεγονυῖαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσομένῳ ὅψιν τε καὶ σκιαγραφίαν, κατεστήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ, ἐν νῷ ποιομένους ὥς ἅπαντα ὁ θεὸς συνδιαπράσσεται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνοίσοντα. [14] ἐκράτει τοίνυν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίταξις, ὑποχωροῦσης μηχανοποιῶν σοφίας καὶ τέχνης. [15] καὶ γίνεται ὁ Χρυσῆς αὐθις ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐπιτεταγμένον οἱ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποτελέσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα ^{p[120]}σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ ὄνειρου ὑποθήκη ἐπήγγελλεν. ἐποίει τε τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[16] Ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως προτειχίσματος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, μεταξὺ σκοπέλου ἑκατέρου, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον ὁ ποταμὸς προῖων φέρεται, ἀντιτειχίσμα ἐτεκτίνετο ὕψους τε καὶ εὗρους ἰκανῶς ἔχον. [17] οὐπὲρ τὰ πέρατα οὕτω δὴ ὄρει ἑκατέρῳ πανταχόθι ἐνήψεν, ὥς τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἦν καὶ σφοδρότατα ἐπιρρεῦσειεν, ἐνταῦθα ἐσιτητὰ μηδαμῇ ἔσεσθαι. [18] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον οἱ περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὶ φράκτην ἢ ἀρίδα καλοῦσιν, ἣ ὃ τί ποτε ἄλλο ἐθέλουσιν. [19] οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας δὲ τὸ ἀντιτειχίσμα πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς τετραμμένον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ κύρτωμα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ κείμενον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντέχειν τῷ ρέϊθρῳ βιαζομένῳ δυνατόν εἴη. [20] θυρίδας δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀντιτειχίσμα ἕς τε τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ἄνω πεποιήται, ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ πλημμυροῦντι ἐξαπιναιῶς, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνίστασθαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπάνανγκες εἴη καὶ μὴ παντὶ τῷ ῥοθίῳ περαιτέρω

χωρεῖν, ἐκροήν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὅπας ἀφιέντι βραχεῖάν τινα τοῦ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντος ὄγκου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολήγειν αἰεὶ, τῷ δὲ τείχει λελυμασμένῳ μηδέποτε εἶναι. [21] ἡ γὰρ ἐκροή ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ξυνισταμένη ὅσπερ ἐς τεσσαράκοντα διήκων πόδας, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, τῆς τε ἀρίδος καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξύ ἐστίν, οὐδαμῇ τὸ παράπαν βιαζομένη, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς ξυνειθισμένας εισόδους κατὰ λόγον χωροῦσα ἐς τὴν ὁχεταγωγίαν ἐνθὲνδε εἰσβάλλει. [22] καὶ τὰς πύλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον p[122]βιασάμενος ἐξαπιναίως ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνεπέτασε, περιελὼν ἐντεῦθεν, λίθοις μὲν παμμεγέθεσι τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐφράξατο χώραν, ἐπεὶ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ κείμεναι τῷ ποταμῷ ὑπερβλύζοντι εὐέφοδοι ἦσαν. [23] ἀγχιστα δὲ πη ἐν χώρῳ ἀνάντει κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες τοῦ περιβόλου αὐτὰς ἔθετο, οὗ δὴ τῷ ποταμῷ βάσιμα ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω διαπεπόνηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.

[24] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν πόλει πολλὴ ὕδατος πέρι ἀμμηχανία τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ ἀναβλυστάνουσιν εἶχον ἐνταῦθα πη κρήνην, οὔτε ὁχετῶ περιανομένην ἐς τὰς ἀγυῖας αἱ τῆδέ εἰσιν, οὔτε τισὶ θησαυριζομένην ἐκείνῃ ἐλύτροις, ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν ἀγχοτάτῳ ὁ ποταμὸς κατὰ τὰς ἀμφοδούς ἐφέρετο, οἶδε ἀταλαιπώρως ἀρρῶμενοι τῷ γειτονήματι ῥᾶστα ἔπινον, οἷς δὲ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκροῆς τὰ οἶκοι ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τούτοις δυοῖν τὸ ἕτερον ἐπάναναγκες ἦν, ἢ τὰ ἔσχατα πονουμένοις πιεῖν, ἢ δίψει ἐχομένοις ἀπολωλέναι. [25] ἀλλ' ὁχετὸν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐτεκτίνατο μέγαν, ᾧ δὴ τὸ τὸ ὕδωρ περιαναγῶν πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῆδε ὠκημένοις διέλυσεν. [26] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ πεποίηται δύο, τὴν τε μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Βαρθολομαίου νεών. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καταλυτήρια ἐδείματο παμπληθῆ, ὅπως δὴ τοὺς τῆδε ὠκημένους μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλοῖεν.

[27] Καὶ Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως τό τε τείχος καὶ τὸ προτειχίσμα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω γενόμενα χρόνοις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑποπτα ὄντα ἐξίτηλα γενήσεσθαι, οὐ p[124]πολλῷ ὕστερον νέα τινὶ καταλαβὼν οἰκοδομία τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο. [28] ὅσα δὲ κὰν τοῖς φρουρίοις αὐτῷ εἵργασται, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τούτων δὴ τυγχάνει τῶν πόλεων ὄντα, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[4] [1] Ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἰόντι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη χώρα τις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστὶν ἀναμάξευτός τε καὶ ἄφιππος ὅλως, κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ μάλιστα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐς χῶρον σιμὸν καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, Ῥάβδιος ὄνομα. [2] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥάβδιος φερούσης ὁδοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὰ Περσῶν ὅρια ἐπὶ μακρότατον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [3] ὅπερ μοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀγαμένῳ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀναπνυθανομένῳ ὄντινα τρόπον Ῥωμαῖοις προσήκουσα ὁδός τε καὶ χώρα γῆν ἐκατέρωθι τὴν πολεμίαν διακεκλήρωται, ἀπήγγελλόν τινες ὡς εἴη μὲν Περσῶν τὸ χωρίον ποτέ, δεομένων δὲ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀμπέλους τινὰ κατακορῇ κώμην ἐπὶ Μαρτυροπόλεως οὔσαν δώσειε, τοῦτο δὴ αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἀνταλλαξάμενος. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν Ῥάβδιος ἐπὶ πετρῶν οἰκεῖται ἀποτόμων τε καὶ ὅλως ἀγρίων αἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπανεστήκασιν θαυμάσιον ὅσον. [5] ἔνερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὅπερ καλοῦσιν Ῥωμαίων ἀγρόν, ἀγασθέντες, οἶμαι, τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι δὴ ἐν μέσῳ χωρίον Περσικῶν κείμενον Ῥωμαῖοις προσήκει. [6] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖον

ἀγρὸς κεῖται μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν ὑπτίῳ, ρ_[126]ἀγαθὼν δέ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ληίοις κομιδῇ εὐπορος. ^[7] τεκμηριώσσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖσδε, ὅτι δὴ πανταχόθεν τὸν χῶρον περιβάλλουσι τὰ Περσῶν ὄρια.

^[8] Πολισμὰ ἐστὶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιφανὲς ἄγαν, ὄνομα Σισαυράνων, ὅπερ ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐξελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὁμίλον πολὺν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἱππέων ξὺν Βλησγάμῃ τῷ σφῶν ἡγεμόνι δορυαλώτους πεπονημένους. ^[9] τοῦτο πόλεως μὲν Δάρας ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν διέχει δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ Ῥάβδιος σημείοις διέστηκε τρισὶ μάλιστα. ^[10] πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἀφύλακτός τε ἦν ὁ χῶρος ὅδε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παντελῶς ἄσημος. οὐκοῦν οὔτε φρουρὰς οὔτε ὀχυρώματος οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἀγαθοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαχε πώποτε. ^[11] Πέρσαις ἀμέλει οἱ τὸν ἀγρὸν γεωργοῦντες, οὔπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι ἀγγαροφοροῦντες, πεντήκοντα ἐπετείους χρυσοὺς ἔφερον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀδεέστερον κεκτήσονται τὰ αὐτῶν ἰδία καὶ καρπῶν δύνωνται τῶν τῇδε φυομένων ὀνίνασθαι. ^[12] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅπαντα αὐτοῖς μεταπεφυκέναι διεσκεύασατο. τειχίσματι γὰρ τὸ Ῥάβδιος περιβαλὼν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν, αἵπερ ἐκείνη ἀνέχουσιν, ἀπρόσοδον αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποιήται τὸ χωρίον, δηλονότι ξυλλαμβανούσης τῆς φύσεως. ^[13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕδατος οἱ τῇδε ὠκημένοι ἐσπάνιζον, ἐν τῇ τῶν σκοπέλων ἀκρωρεία πηγῆς ὡς ἥκιστα οὔσης, ταμιεῖά τε ὑδάτων εἰργάσατο δύο καὶ τὰς ἐκείνη πέτρας πολλαχῇ διορύξας παμπληθεῖς ὑδάτων θησαυροὺς διεπράξατο ρ_[128]εῖναι, ὅπως δὴ ξυρρεόντων ὑετίων ἐνταῦθα ὑδάτων ἀδεέστερον αὐτοῖς οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι δύνωνται χρῆσθαι, ὡς μὴ τοῦ ὕδατος πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀπορίᾳ εὐάλωτοι εἶεν.

^[14] Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ὄρει κείμενα, ἅπερ ἐνθὲνδε τε καὶ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς Ἀμιδαν διήκειν ξυμβαίνει, τό τε Κιφὰς καὶ Σαυρὰς καὶ Μάργιδις τε καὶ Λούρνης τό τε Ἰδριφθὸν καὶ Ἀταχὰς καὶ Σίφριός τε καὶ Ῥιπαλθὰς καὶ Βανασυμέων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Σινὰς καὶ Ῥάσιος, καὶ Δαβανάς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστι, γελοιότατα δῆθεν τῷ σχήματι ἀποτεθριγκωμένα τὸ πρότερον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἕς τε τὸ νῦν φαινόμενον κάλλος τε καὶ ὀχύρωμα μεταθέμενος ἀνάλωτα εἶναι καὶ προβεβλησθαι Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς βεβαιοτάτα κατεστήσατο. ^[15] ἐνταῦθα ὅρος οὐρανόμηκες ἀποκρέμαται, ἀπόκρημνόν τε καὶ προσελθεῖν ἀμήχανον ὅλως. ^[16] ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ ὑπόκειται χώρα γεώδης τε καὶ μαλθακὴ λίαν, ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἀρόσαι, θρέμμασι δὲ ἀτεχνῶς εὖνομος. ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ τῇ πόᾳ χλοάζει. ^[17] παμπληθεῖς δὲ κῶμαι παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας τοῦ ὄρους εἰσὶν. οἰκοῦσί τε αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι τὰ μὲν ἐς κτήσιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐδαίμονες, εὐάλωτοι δέ, εἴ τις προσίοι. ^[18] ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπηνόρθωσεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ δειμάμενος, ἵνα δὴ τὰ σφίσιν ἐναποθέμενοι τιμώτατα, ἐπειδὴν προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀνατρέχοντες διασώζωνται· Βασιλέων δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμασται. ^[19] καὶ μὴν ρ_[130]καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀμιδαν φρούρια, πηλῷ τε περιβεβλημένα καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις βάσιμα παντάπασιν ὄντα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐς τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὸ ἀκριβέστατον μετεστήσατο. ^[20] ἐν οἷς τό τε Ἀπάδνας καὶ τὸ Βιρθὸν πολίχνιον ἐστὶν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι πρὸς ὄνομα οὐκ εὐπετές ἐστι.

[21] συνελόντα δὲ εἶπεῖν ἅπαντα πρότερον τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὑποκείμενα τανῶν ἀνανταγώνιστα πεποίηκεν εἶναι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσοποταμία τῷ Περσῶν γένει ἄβατος διαφανῶς ἐστίν.

[22] Οὐ σιωπητέον δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ Βάρας φρουρίῳ ἐξεῦρεν, οὐπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἄρτίως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐντὸς ἀνδρᾶ τὸ παράπαν ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐν ὅρει δὲ ὑψηλῷ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες τὸ Βάρας τοῦτο πεποιήται. [23] ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἐν τῇ ὑπωρεῖᾳ μετὰ τὸ πρανεὺς κρήνη ἦν, ἥνπερ ἐδόκει ἀξύμφορον εἶναι τῷ τειχίσματι τοῦ φρουρίου περιβαλεῖν, ὡς μή τις αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ἐν ὑπτίῳ κειμένη εὐάλωτος εἴη. ἐπενόει δὲ τάδε· [24] τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου διορῶσσειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς μάλιστα ἴκωνται. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὑπετελέσθη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν, ἐπιρρέον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη. οὕτω τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον δεδημιούργηται ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὕδατος περὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ φαίνεται κείμενον.

[5] [1] Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, τῆς παρὰ p[132]ποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων προβεβλημένης, τὸν περιβόλον, ὃνπερ ὁ χρόνος κατεργάσασθαι μάλιστα ἴσχυσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐδίδου θαρρεῖν, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἅπαντας ἐξέπλησσε, δεδισσόμενος ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσεῖται, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος διακωλύειν τὰς γε κατὰ Μεσοποταμίαν Περσῶν ἐσβολὰς ἱκανῶς ἔσχεν.

[2] Οἷα δὲ καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ ἐπιδέδεικται εἶπεῖν ἄξιον. ἦν μὲν τὰ πρότερα ὁ Κωνσταντίνης περιβόλος τό τε ὕψος κλίμακι ἀλωτὸς τὴν τε ἄλλην κατασκευὴν εὐέφοδος ἄγαν, ὥσπερ τι πάρεργον γεγενημένος τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις. [3] τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ διειστήκεισαν οἱ πύργοι ἀλλήλων ὥστε εἰ προσβαλοῦντές τινες ἐς τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν προσίοιεν, οὐκ εἶχον οἱ κατὰ τοὺς πύργους ἐστῶτες καθ' ὅτι ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀποκρούοιντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χρόνου μήκει πεπονηκὼς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι οὐ μακρὰν που ἐγένετο. [4] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτο τῇ πόλει προτείχισμα ἦν οἷον ἐπιτείχισμα κατ' αὐτῆς γεγονέναι δοκεῖν. οὐ πλέον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς πόδας τρεῖς ἐγεγόνει τὸ πάχος, καὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι πηλῷ σύνθετον, τὰ μὲν κάτω ἐς ὀλίγον ἐκ λίθου μυλῖτου ἀνεστηκός, τὰ δὲ ὕπερθεν ἐκ τοῦ λευκολίθου καλουμένου, σφαλεροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ μαλακοῦ λίαν. ὥστε δὴ ὅλον ἦν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εὐάλωτον. [5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν p[134]πεπονηκότα τοῦ περιβόλου νέᾳ τινὶ ἀνεσώσατο οἰκοδομίᾳ, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα τετραμμένα καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. [6] τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐρύματος πανταχῇ μεταξὺ πύργοιν δυοῖν ἄλλον ἐντέθεικε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πύργοι ἅπαντες ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τοῦ περιβόλου προβέβληνται. [7] ὅλῳ δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πᾶσι πύργοις μέγα τι χρῆμα ὕψους ἐνθέμενος ἄμαχον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀχύρωμα κατεστήσατο. [8] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόδους τοῖς πύργοις κεκαλυμμένας πεποιημένους, τριωρόφους τε αὐτοὺς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς τεκτηνάμενος κυρτώμασι γεγωνυῖαις θόλων, πυργοκάστελλον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. [9] καστέλλους γὰρ τὰ φρούρια τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ὕδασι καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνη τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἔπασχε πρότερον. [10] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτός,

ὅσον ἐκ σημείου ἑνός, πηγαί τε εἰσιποτίμων ὕδατων καὶ ἄλσος ἐνθένδε φύεται ἐπικρῶς μέγα, οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις· τὰ μέντοι ἐντός, ἵνα δὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει τὰς ἀγυιάς συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄνδρός τε ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ δίψη τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ οἱ τῆδε ὤκημένοι ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχοντο. [11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὄχετῳ τὸ ρεῖθρον μεταβιάσας τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, κρῆναις τε τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρῦτοις διακοσμήσας, οἰκιστὴς ἂν αὐτῆς δικαίως καλοῖτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τάσδε τὰς πόλεις ταύτη Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[6] [1] Ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαίων φρούριον παρὰ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν τοῖς Μεσοποταμίας ἐσχάτοις, ἵνα p[136]δὴ Ἀβόρρας ποταμὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμινύμενος τὴν ἐκβολὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. [2] τοῦτο Κιρκήσιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται, βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο. [3] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τανῦν βασιλεὺς χρόνου τε μήκει εὐρὼν συντριβὲς γεγονός, ἀπημελημένον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον ὄν, ἐς ὀχύρωμα βεβαίωτατον μετεστήσατο, πόλιν τε διεπράξατο μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει περιφανῇ εἶναι. [4] Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν γὰρ τηνικάδε τὸ φρούριον πεποιήται τοῦτο οὐχ ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ τείχει περιβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπεξαγαγὼν τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου οἰκοδομίαν καὶ πύργον ἐκατέρωθι ἀπεργασάμενος ἔσχατον, ἀπολιπὼν δὲ τὴν ἐνθένδε τοῦ χωρίου πλευρὰν ἀτείχιστον ὅλως, ἀποκρῆναι, οἶμαι, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ ἐς τὸ τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα τῆδε ἡγούμενος. [5] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τὸν ἔσχατον πύργον, ὃς δὴ ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρόθιον παραξύν ἐνδελεχέστατα κατέσεισεν ὅλον, ἐνδηλὸς τε ἦν ὥς, εἰ μὴ βοηθοῖ τις ὃ τι τάχιστα, καταπεσεῖται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [6] ἐφάνη τοίνυν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ κεκομισμένος ἀξίωμα, πάσης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [7] ὃς δὴ οὐ μόνον τὸν πεπονθότα πύργον ἐσώσατο, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος αὐτὸν μυλῖφ λίθῳ καὶ φύσει σκληρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἀτείχιστον πλευρὰν ξύμπασαν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβέβληκε τείχει, διπλασιάσας αὐτῇ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀσφάλειαν. [8] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ προτείχισμα ἐχυρώτατον προσεποίησεν p[138]αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει, καὶ διαφερόντως οὐ δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἢ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπιμιξία τρίγωνον ἀποτελεῖ σχῆμα, ταύτη τε τὰς ἐνθένδε τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο. [9] καὶ στρατιωτικῶν δὲ καταλόγων ἄρχοντα τῆδε καταστησάμενος, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσι, διηνεκὲς ἐνταῦθα καθιζησόμενον, ἀποχρῶν φυλακτῆριον πεποίηκεν εἶναι τῇ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῇ. [10] καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον δέ, ὅπερ δημοσίᾳ τὴν χρεῖαν τοῖς τῆδε ὤκημένοις παρέχεται, ἀνόνητον ὅλως τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ γεγενημένον ἐνεργεῖν τε τὰ ξυνειθισμένα οὐκέτι ἔχον, ἐς τὸν νῦν ὄντα μετέθηκε κόσμον. [11] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρέματο πρότερον ἐπὶ στερρᾷς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστῶτα κατὰ τὸ τῶν λουτρῶν τῇ χρεΐᾳ συνοῖσον (ὧν δὴ ἔνερθε τὸ πῦρ καίεται, χυτρόποδᾶς τε καλεῖν αὐτὰ νενομίκασι), ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιρροῇ ἀποκείμενα πρόσθεν εὐρὼν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν τῷ βαλανεῖῳ διεφθαρμένην, λίθων μὲν αὐτὸς ἐμπεδώσας ἐπιβολαῖς ὅσα πρότερον ἀπεκρέματο, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐτέραν καθύπερθεν ἀποκρεμάσας οἰκοδομίαν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπρόσοδα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστίν, ἀνεσώσατο τὴν

ἐνθὲνδε εὐπάθειαν τοῖς τῆδε φρουροῖς. τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Κιρκησίου ἐς τόνδε τὸν τρόπον δεδημιούργηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.

[12] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Κιρκήσιον φρούριον ἔστι παλαιόν, Ἀννούκας ὄνομα, οὗπερ ἐρείπιον τὸ τεῖχος εὐρὼν οὕτω δὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀνφοδομήσατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὥς μηδὲ τῶν τινος ἐπιφανεστάτων ^{p[140]}πόλεων ὀχυρώματος περὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τὸ λοιπὸν φέρεσθαι. [13] τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ φρούρια, ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Θεοδοσιούπολιν κεῖται, τὰ μὲν ἀτειχίστα τὸ πρότερον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πληρῶς τε καὶ τῇ ἐνθὲνδε γελωτοποιαίᾳ τετειχισμένα αἵμασιδὲς τρόπον, φοβερὰ τε τοίνυν καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπρόσβατα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εἰργάσατο. [14] τὸ τε Μαγδαλαθὼν σὺν ἑτέροις δυοῖν ἅπερ αὐτοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν τυγχάνει ὄντα, καὶ Θαννούριος δύο, μικρόν τε καὶ μέγα, καὶ Βιμισδεῶν καὶ Θήμερες, ἔτι δὲ Βιδάμας καὶ Δανυσάρων καὶ Θιόλλα, Φιχὰς τε καὶ Ζαμαρθὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα. [15] ἦν δὲ τις χῶρος παρὰ Θαννούριος τὸ μέγα, ᾧ δὴ ἐπιχωριάζειν Σαρακηνοῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις διαβαίνουσι ποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν πολλὴ ἐξουσία ἐγένετο, ἔνθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοις διασκεδάννυσθαι μὲν ἀνά τε τὴν ὕλην δασεῖάν τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ οὕσαν καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, καταθεῖν τε ἀδεέστερον τοὺς ὤκημένους ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία Ῥωμαίους. [16] ἀλλὰ νῦν πύργον κομιδῇ μέγαν ἐκ λίθου σκληροῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ δειμάμενος ἐνταυθὰ τε φρουρὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην καταστησάμενος ἀναστέλλειν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς παντελῶς ἴσχυσε, τοῦτον ἐπιτεχνήσας κατ' αὐτῶν πρόβολον.

[7] [1] Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας τῆδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι ἐνταυθὰ τοῦ λόγου Ἐδέσσης τε καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ Καλλινίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολυχῶν ἀπασῶν ^{p[142]}ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐταὶ τοῖν ποταμοῖν μεταξὺ κεῖνται. [2] τὴν Ἐδεσσαν ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ τὸ ρεῦμα βραχύς, Σκιρτὸς ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐκ χωρίων πολλῶν ξυνάγων τὸ ρεῖθρον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν φέρεται μέσσην. [3] ἐνθὲνδε τε ἐξῴων ἐπίπροσθεν ἵεται, ἐπειδὴν αὐτάρκη παρέχεται τῇ πόλει τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν τε εἰσόδων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκβολῶν δι' ὀχетаγωγίας κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος πεποιημένων τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις. [4] οὗτός ποτε ὁ ποταμός, ὄμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, ὑπερπεφυκώς τε ὑποῦ ἀνεῖχε καὶ ὥς καταλύσων τὴν πόλιν ἐπήει. [5] τοῦ τοίνυν προτειχίσματος καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου καθελὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πολλὴν τινα μοῖραν τὴν πόλιν περιεβάλετο σχεδόν τι ὅλην, ἔργα τε ἀνήκεστα τῆδε εἰργάσατο. τῶν τε γὰρ οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐξίτηλα ἐξαπινάϊως πεποιήται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τριτημόριον διεχρήσατο. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς μὴ ὅτι ἀνεσώσατο τῇ πόλει τὰ καθηρημένα εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, ἐν οἷς ἦ τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀντίφορος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτῇ καὶ αὐτῇς τοιοῦτο ξυμβαίῃ διεπράξατο σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ. [7] πορείαν γὰρ ἑτέραν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῷ ποταμῷ νεοχμοῦν ἴσχυσε, τοιαύδε αὐτὸν περιελθὼν τέχνη. [8] τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑπτιὰ τε καὶ χθαμαλὰ πρότερον ἦν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ὄρος ἀπότομον, οὐκ ἐπιχωροῦν αὐτῷ ἐπικλίνειν που ἢ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ξυνειθισμένης ^{p[144]}ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν διωθούμενον ἀνάγκη τῇ πάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ξυμποδίζον, ἥνικα ἂν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς φέροιτο. [9] τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ὄρος ἀποτεμὼν ὅλον κοῖλα μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν

ἀριστερᾷ καὶ γλαφυρώτερα τῆς αὐτοῦ πορείας κατεσκεύαστο, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῖχον ὑπερμεγέθη ἐκ λίθων ἀμαξιαίων συνέστησεν, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὁ ποταμὸς μέτριος φέρεται, μήποτε ἀποστεροῖτο τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας ἢ πολίς, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τύχη τινὶ ἐς ὕψος ἀρθεῖς ὑπερβλύζοι, μέτρια μὲν τις αὐτοῦ ἐκροῇ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα χωροῖ, τοῦ δὲ ῥοθίου τὸ ἐπιγινόμενον ἐς τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀναγκαστὸν ἴοι, ἐς τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου τὰ ὀπισθεν οὐ μακράν που ὄντος, τέχνη τε ἀνθρωπεῖα καὶ γνώμη προμηθεὶ παρὰ δόξαν νενικημένον. [10] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς πόλεως γινομένῳ ἐντὸς ὀρθὴν τινα πορείας ἀνάγκην ἀπεργασάμενος, ὑπερθὲν τε οἰκοδομίαν ἐκατέρωθι ἐπικρεμάσας, ὥς μὴ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ δύναίτο, καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν τῇ πόλει ἐσώσατο καὶ δέους αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆλλαξεν. [11] ἐτύγγανε δὲ τὸ Ἐδέσσης τεῖχος καὶ προτείχισμα οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ταττόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. [12] διὸ δὴ ἄμφω ἀνοικοδομησάμενος βασιλεὺς, νέα τε αὐτὰ κατεστήσατο καὶ πολλῶ ἐχυρώτερα ἢ πρότερον ἦν. [13] μοῖρα δέ τις τοῦ Ἐδέσσης περιβόλου φρούριον κέκτηται, ἧς δὴ ἔκτοσθὲν τις ἐπανειστήκει λόφος ὥς πλησιαίτατα ὑποκειμένη ἐπικύπτων ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει· [14] ὅνπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταλαβόντες ἐπιτείχισμά τι οἱ ρ[146]ἐπιχώριοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίηνται, ὥς μὴ ἐπίμαχον ποιοίῃ τὴν πόλιν. [15] ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχωτέραν αὐτὴν παρὰ πολὺ ἀπειργάσαντο· διατείχισμα γὰρ ὥς βραχύτατον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ παιδαρίοις τειχομαχίαν ἐμμελετῶσιν ἀλώσιμον ἦν. [16] οὗ δὴ ἐνθένδε καθηρημένου ἕτερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὅρους ὑπερβολῇ τεῖχος ἀνέστη, βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ διαπόνημα, δέος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως καθύπερθε γενησομένης οὐδαμῇ ἔχον, συγκαταβαῖνον δὲ τῇ ὑπωρεῖα μέχρι ἐς τὸ πρानὲς ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐναρμοζόμενον.

[17] Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ Καλλινίκου πόλεως τὰ τε τείχη καὶ τὰ προτειχίσματα καθελὼν, ἅπερ ὁ πολὺς αἰὼν μεταξὺ ἐπιρρεύσας διέφθειρε, τανῦν τε ἀκραιφνῇ ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀμαχώτατα κατεστήσατο. [18] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούριον ὃ ἐν Βάτναις ἦν, ἀτείχιστόν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένον τὰ πρότερα ὄν, τείχεσιν ἐχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον μετήνεγκε κόσμον.

[8] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρὸς, ὅπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ τε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ὀσροηνῆς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεποίηται. [2] ὄντινα δὲ τρὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὅρια τῇδὲ πη ἔχει· [3] γειτονοῦσιν ἐκατέρων ἀλλήλοις χωρία, ὁρμώμενοί τε ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμφοτέροι καὶ διαμάχονται καὶ συμβάλλουσι τὰς συναλλαγάς, οἷά γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ρ[148]όπηνίκα τοῖς τε ἦθεσι καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις διάφοροι ὄντες χώραν τινα ὁμορον ἔχουσιν. [4] ἐν δὲ γε τῇ πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγενῇ χώρα, τανῦν δὲ καλουμένη Εὐφρατησίᾳ, οὐδαμῇ ἀλλήλων ἄγχιστα ὄκηται. χώρα γὰρ ἔρημος καὶ ἄγονος ὅλως διορίζει ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὅρια, περιμάχητόν τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα. [5] ἐκάτεροι μέντοι ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἥπερ ἄγχιστα γῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν οἰκουμένης τυγχάνει οὕσα φρούρια παρέργως ὠκοδομήσαντο ἐκ πλίνθου ὠμῆς· [6] ἅπερ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδεμιᾶς παρὰ τῶν ἐλάς ἔτυχε πάποτε, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως

ἀμφοτέροι τῇδε ᾤκησαντο, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἂν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐφείντο. [7] βασιλεὺς δὲ Διοκλητιανὸς τρία φρούρια τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ ἐδείματο, ὥνπερ ἓν, Μαμβρί ὄνομα, καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνενεώσατο βασιλεὺς.

[8] Τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκ σημείων μάλιστα πέντε ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἰόντι Ζηνοβία ποτὲ Ὀδονάθου γυνὴ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος πόλιν ᾤκισέ που ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐν τοῖς ἅνω χρόνοις βραχεῖαν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει. [9] Ζηνοβίαν γὰρ αὐτήν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἄγαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος ἐρείπιον αὐτῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιούντων, ἔρημόν τε αὐτήν τῶν ἐνοικούντων παντάπασι διειργάσατο. [10] παρῇν οὖν Πέρσαις κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ρ[150]ήνικα ἂν ἦ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, ἐν μέσοις γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀνηκόις ἔτι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου οὖσιν. [11] ἀλλὰ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος σύμπασαν, οἰκητόρων τε κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων καὶ διαρκὲς ἄγαν καταστησάμενος φυλακτήριον, πρόβολον μὲν εἶναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐπιτείχισμα δὲ διεπράξατο Πέρσαις. [12] ὅς γε οὐχ ὅσον τὸ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐχυρωτέραν εἰργάσατο ἢ πρότερον ἦν. σκόπελοι γὰρ αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσιν ὡς ἀγχοτάτω. [13] τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐνθένδε βάλλειν. [14] ὅπερ ἀποκρούεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ τῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ὑπερβολῇ ἐτέραν ἐνήψε κατ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ τῶν σκοπέλων γειτόνημα, προκάλυμμα τοῖς ἐνθένδε μαχομένοις ἀεὶ ἐσομένην. περὰ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν καλοῦσι ταύτην, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ ἀποκρέμασθαι τοῦ τείχους δοκεῖ. [15] ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ζηνοβίας εἰργάσατο φράσαι ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγείτονι οὔσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν κινδύνοις ἀεὶ ἐσομένην, ἐπικουρίας δὲ τυχεῖν Ῥωμαίων πλησιοχώρων οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῇ οὐκ ἂν δυναμένην, βεβαιοτάτης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιμελείας μάλιστα πάντων ἡξίωσεν· ὀλίγα δέ μοι ἄττα τῶν τῇδε πεπραγμένων γεγράφεται.

[16] Παραρρεῖ μὲν τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τοῦ ἥλιον, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ ἐκείνῃ περιβόλου ἰών, ὁρῶν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ρ[152]ύψηλων ἀνεχόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ διασκεδάννυσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τοῦ γειτονήματος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁρῶν, ταῖς τε ὄχθαις σκληραῖς οὔσαις πεπιεσμένος καὶ ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα ξυνάγων τὸ ρεῦμα, ἐπειδὴν αὐτῷ ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων ὑπερβλύζειν ξυνενεχθεῖν, ἐπιχυθεῖς τῷ τείχει, εὐθὺς οὐκ ἀμφοὶ τὰ θεμέλια μόνον, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλλξεις ἐπέκλυζεν. [17] οὗ δὴ τῷ ῥοθίῳ καταβεβρεγμένου ξυνέβαινε τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ξυγχεῖσθαι τῶν λίθων ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τε αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ξυνθήκης ἐστάναι. [18] ἀλλὰ παμμεγέθη ἐκ λίθου μυλίου πρόβολον τῷ περιβόλῳ ἰσομήκη ἀπεργασάμενος ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνοχλεῖν τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλυδώνιον ὑπερβλύζοντος κατηνάγκασεν, ἐλεύθερον δὲ τὸ παράπαν τῆς ἐνθένδε λώβης τὸ τείχος ἀφῆκεν, ἦν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ ποταμὸς κυμαίνων ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρηται μέγα. [19] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸν περίβολον, ὅς δὴ αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, πεπονηκότα παντάπασι χρόνου μήκει εὐρών, παρέλυσεν μὲν σὺν τῷ προτειχίσματι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνφοδομήσατο δὲ οὐχ ἥπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν,

ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα αἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομαὶ στενοχωροῦνται μάλιστα τοὺς ταύτη ὤκημένους ἡνίων. [20] ἀλλὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑπερβὰς τῶν τε θεμελίων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος χώραν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτὴν, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τεῖχος ἐδείματο ἀξιοθέατον τε καὶ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον, ταύτῃ εὐρυτέραν παρὰ πολὺ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν πεποιημένος. [21] ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφος τις ἄγχιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰστήκει πρὸς ρ^[154]δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον· ἐξ οὗ δὴ παρῆν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν αἰεὶ βαρβάροις βάλλειν κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀδεέστερον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐστῶτας. [22] τοῦτω οὖν τῷ λόφῳ τεῖχος ἐνάψας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐντὸς τε αὐτὸν τῆς Ζηνοβίας καταστησάμενος, ἔξυσε μὲν ὅλον ἐνδελεχέστατα, ὥς μὴ τις κακουργήσῃ ἐνθὲν ἀνίοι, τεῖχος δὲ ἄλλο τοῦ λόφου ὑπερθεῖν ἔθετο, ἀπρόσοδόν τε ὅλως τὴν πόλιν οὕτως τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀπειργάσατο. [23] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ λόφου ἐκτὸς κοίλῃν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐς ἄγαν συμβαίνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγγυτέρω ἰέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀδύνατον. [24] ὑπὲρ γῆν δὲ τὴν κοίλῃν εὐθὺς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέχει ἃ πρὸς ἥλιον δύοντα τέτραπται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῇ πόλει τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπρυτάνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀνέθηκε καὶ στρατιωτικῶν σημείων οἰκίας. [25] ἔτι μέντοι λουτρῶνας καὶ στοὰς προσεποίησεν αὐτῇ δημοσίας. ἐς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Ἰσίδωρος τε καὶ Ἰωάννης μηχανοποιοὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχοντο, Βυζάντιος μὲν Ἰωάννης, Ἰσίδωρος δὲ Μιλήσιος γένος, Ἰσιδώρου ἀδελφιδοῦς οὗπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, νεανία μὲν ἄμφω, δύναμιν δὲ φύσεως ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συνακμάσαντες ἔργων.

[9] [1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν τὸ Σούρων πόλισμα, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ κείμενον, οὕτω δὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον τὸ τεῖχος εἶχεν ὥστε Χοσρόην ρ^[156]προσβαλόντα ποτὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἡμῶριον ἀπεκρούσατο, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἐάλω Πέρσαις. [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ Καλλίνικον, Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τὸ πολίχινον ὅλον τείχει τε ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν καὶ προτειχίσματι κρατυνάμενος μηκέτι εἶκειν προσβάλλουσι πολεμίοις διεσκευάσατο.

[3] Ἔστι δὲ τις νεὼς Σεργίῳ ἀνειμένος ἐν τῇ Εὐφρατισίᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ ἀγίῳ, ὃν δὴ σέβοντες τε καὶ τεθηπότες οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Σεργιούπολιν τε ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τεχίσματι βραχυτάτῳ περιβεβλήκεσαν, ὅσον τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Σαρακηνοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι οἶόν τε εἶναι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν. [4] ἀδύνατοι γὰρ τεichoμαχεῖν εἰσι Σαρακηνοὶ φύσει, καὶ τι αὐτῶν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, τεῖχος φαυλότατον καὶ πηλῷ σύνθετον ἐμπόδιον τῇ ὁρμῇ γίνεται. [5] ἀλλ' ὕστερον ὁ νεὼς οὗτος κειμηλίων προσόδῳ δυνατός τε καὶ ἀπόβλεπτος διὰ παντὸς ἦν. [6] ὁ δὲ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα εὐθὺς ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ πεποίηται, τείχει τε ἀξιολογωτάτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περιβέβληκε, καὶ ὑδάτων θησαυρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα πλήθειν αὐτοῖς ἐσκευάσατο. [7] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἰκίας τε καὶ στοὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομίας τῷ χωρίῳ ἐντέθεικεν ἃ δὴ πόλεως ἐγκαλλωπίσματα γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν. [8] ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρὰν τῇδε στρατιωτῶν εἰς καιρὸν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων ἰδρύσατο. [9] Χοσρόης ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ρ^[158]ἐν σπουδῇ πεποιημένους τὴν πόλιν

ἐλεῖν στρατεύμα τε αὐτῇ ἐπὶ πολιορκία πολὺ ἐπιστήσας ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε ὀχυρώτατος ἰσχύϊ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσε.

[10] Καὶ πολίσματα δὲ καὶ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς τῶν Εὐφρατησίας ὁρίων ὄντα τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε, Βαρβαλισσοῦ τε καὶ Νεοκαισαρείας καὶ τοῦ Γαβούλων καλουμένου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Εὐφράτῃ τῷ ποταμῷ Πεντακωμίας καὶ τοῦ Εὐρώπο· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἡμερίου τὰ τεῖχη εὐρὼν πῇ μὲν παρέργως τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας γεγενημένα, πῇ δὲ καὶ μόνῳ περιβεβλημένα πηλῷ, πιεζόμενα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐκαταφρόνητα παντάπασιν ὄντα, καθεῖλε μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς σκληρῶν μάλιστα δειμάμενος εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους μέγα τι χρῆμα τῷ ἔργῳ κατὰ λόγον ἐνθέμενος, καὶ ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα τεκτινάμενος πανταχόσε τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων παμπληθῇ, ταῦτά τε κατακορῇ ὕδασι ὀμβρίοις καταστησάμενος ἅπαντα· ἰδρυσάμενος δὲ καὶ φρουρῶν ὅμιλον, ἐς τὴν νῦν φαινομένην ἀσφάλειαν καρτερώτατα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν μετεβίβασεν. [11] ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἂν τις διασκοπούμενος τάς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαθοεργίας ὑπεριδὼν, τούτου δὴ μόνου φαίη ἂν εἵνεκα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν, τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει διηνεκὲς πρυτανεύοντος.

ρ[160] [12] Πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν, ἥπερ ἀπασῶν πρώτη τῶν τῇδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὔσα, λαβὼν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσι, προμηθεὶ διεσώσατο γνώμη. [13] χώραν τε γὰρ ἔρημον τὰ πρότερα περιβεβλημένην πολλὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν, τῶν μὲν ἀνονήτων αὐτὴν περιόδων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἐπιτομώτερον δὲ σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστησάμενος τὸν περίβολον, ἐς τε τὸ τῆς χρείας ἀναγκαῖον ξυναγαγὼν ἐχυρωτάτην τανῦν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα διεπράξατο τὴν πόλιν εἶναι. [14] οὗ δὲ καὶ τόδε ἀγαθὸν εἵργασται. πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐκ μυχῶν τῆς γῆς ἄνεισιν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει διηνεκῶς, λίμνην τέ τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖαν ποιεῖται. [15] τοῦτο πολεμίων μὲν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, προσεδρευόντων γίνεται τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, ἐν δὲ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἔξωθεν εἰσαγομένων ὑδάτων πολλῶν· [16] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ συμβεβιωκότες οἱ τῇδε ὤκημένοι, ἀνάγκης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐς πείραν ἐλθόντες, ἐν ὀλιγορία τοῦτο πεποιήνται. οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ὑπὲρ τῶν οὕτω παρόντων κακῶν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ βουλεύεσθαι. [17] ρύπου τοίνυν τὴν λίμνην ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἐνεπλήσαντο, νηρόμενοί τε καὶ πλυνοὺς ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦμενοι καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες φορυτοὺς ἅπαντας . . .

[18] Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ Εὐφρατησίᾳ χωρία, Ζεῦγμά τε καὶ Νεοκαισάρεια, ἃ δὲ πολίχνη μὲν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα ἦσαν, τείχεσι ρ[162] δὲ περιεβέβληντο αἵμασιᾶς τρόπον. [19] τῷ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οἰκοδομίας κολοβῷ ἐσβατὰ πόνων οὐδενὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνετο, ἀδεέστερον ἐς αὐτὰ ἐσπηδᾷ ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ στενῷ λίαν ἀφύλακτα, οὐκ ἐχόντων τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρῶν ὅποι ἂν ἐστῶτες ἀμύνοντο. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τείχεσιν ἀληθέσι περιβαλὼν εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ κρατυνάμενος, πόλεις τε διεπράξατο καλεῖσθαι δικαίως

καὶ κρείσσους εἶναι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλῆς.

[10] [1] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πόλεων τὰς Χοσρόη ἀλουσάς (ἡνίκα ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἀλογήσας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ταῖς ἀπεράντοις σπονδαῖς καὶ τὰ διδόμενά οἱ ἐπ' αὐταῖς χρήματα, καὶ βασκανία μὲν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, οἷς δὲ Λιβύης τε καὶ Ἰταλίας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γέγονε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα πίστιν περὶ ἐλάσσοнос τῆς ἐς ταῦτα λύσεως πεποιημένος. καιροφυλακήσας δὲ ἀπολελειμμένον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερία ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν αὐτάγγελος ἐσβέβληκεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, ἀνηκῶν ἐτι Ῥωμαίων ὄντων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου), ἐς τοῦτο δὴ μετεστήσατο βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀσφαλείας καὶ κόσμου, ὥστε ἀπάσας εὐδαιμονεστέρας κατὰ πολὺ τανῦν ἢ πρότερον εἶναι, καὶ μηκέτι περὶ τὰς τῶν κακουργησόντων ρ[164]βαρβάρων ἐφόδους περιδεεῖς εἶναι, μηδέ τινι μηχανῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ὑπόπτως ἔχειν.

[2] Μάλιστα δὲ ἀπασῶν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣ νῦν Θεούπολις ἐπικέκληται, κόσμου τε καὶ ὀχυρώματος ἐνεπλήσατο πολλῷ μείζονος ἢ πρότερον εἶναι ξυνέβαινε. [3] ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ περιβόλος μακρὸς τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ περιόδων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως, πῇ μὲν τὰ πεδία περιβάλλων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πῇ δὲ τὰς τῶν σκοπέλων ὑπερβολάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλείοσιν ἐπιβουλαῖς ὑποκείμενος. [4] συστείλας δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον, οὐ ταῦτα φρουρεῖν ἄπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς πεποίηκε μόνην. [5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ κάτω τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐνθα ἡ πόλις ἐπικινδύνως εὐρύνετο, ἐν μαλακῷ τε πεδίῳ κειμένη καὶ περιουσία τειχίσματος ἀφύλακτος οὔσα, μεταβιβάζει ὡς ἐνδοτάτῳ, ἐπικαιριώτατα στενοχωρήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν πόλιν, περιστελλομένην τῷ πεπιέσθαι. [6] ποταμὸν δὲ Ὀρόντην, ὅσπερ αὐτὴν παρέρρει ἐν περιόδοις τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν, διωθήσατο μεταπορευθέντα τὸ ρεῖθρον τῷ περιβόλῳ γειτονεῖν, [7] αὐθις ὀχетаγωγία τὸν ροῦν ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ περιελίξας, ταύτη τε καὶ τὸ σφαλερὸν τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο. [8] ἐνταῦθα τε νεοχμώσας γεφύρας ἐτέρας ζεύγματα τῷ ποταμῷ νέα ἐντέθεικε, περιαγαγὼν δὲ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς χρεῖας αὐτόν, ρ[166]εῖτα τὴν προτέραν ἀπέδωκε πορείαν τῷ ρεῖθρῳ. [9] τὰ μέντοι ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες αὐτῷ κατὰ τάδε διαπεπόνηται. ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ ἦν περ Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, πέτρα τις τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνταῦθα κειμένη καὶ λίαν ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτὸν τιθεμένη. [10] Χοσρόη ἀμέλει ἐνθένδε ἡ πόλις ἐάλω, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖσις ἐρρήθη. τὰ δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔρημός τε χώρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ δύσοδος ἦν· [11] πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι διακεκλήρωνται τὸν χῶρον ἐκεῖνον, ἀδιεξόδους τὰς ἐνθένδε ποιούμεναι τρίβους, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίου ἐνταῦθα τινος, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. [12] χαίρειν τοίνυν πολλὰ τῇ πέτρᾳ φράσας, ἥπερ ἐν γειτόνων τῷ τείχει οὔσα εὐάλωτον αὐτὸ διαφανῶς ἐσκαιώρητο, ὡς πορρωτάτῳ αὐτῆς περιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω, ἀβουλίας πέρι τῶν πρότερον αὐτὴν δειμαμένων ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς πείρας πεποιημένους τὴν μάθησιν. [13] χώραν τε ὁμαλὴν μάλιστα τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς τὴν τὰ πρότερα κρημνῶδη οὔσαν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀνόδους ταύτη

πεποιήται οὐχ ὅσον ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἱππεῦσι βασίμους, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἀμαξηλάτους τὸ λοιπὸν οὔσας. [14] ἀλλὰ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πεποιήται τούτοις τοῦ τείχους ἐντός. φρέαρ τε ὠρυξεν ἐν πύργῳ ἐκάστω, τὴν πρότερον ἀνυδρίαν ἐνταῦθα οὔσαν ὕδασιν ὑετίοις ἰώμενος.

[15] Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τῷ χειμάρρῳ πεποιήται, ὅς ρ[168] ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀρέων κάτεισιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ὄρη μὲν ἀπότομα δύο τῇ πόλει ἐπῆρται, ἀλλήλοιν ξυνιόντα ὡς ἀγχοτάτω. [16] τούτων θάτερον μὲν Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον Σταυρίν κέκληται. ἀπολήγοντα δὲ πη αὐτὰ νάπη τις ζεύγνυσι καὶ χαράδρα μεταξὺ οὔσα, χειμάρρουν ἀποτελοῦσα, ἐπειδὴν ὕοι, Ὀνοπνίκτην ὄνομα, ὅς δὴ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων κατιῶν ὑπερθέεν τε τοῦ περιβόλου φερόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐξανιστάμενος, διεσκεδάννυτο μὲν ἐς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως στενωπούς, ἀνήκεστα δὲ κακὰ τοὺς ταύτῃ ὤκημένους εἰργάζετο. [17] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου τὴν ἄκρην Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς εὗρατο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὄνπερ ἄγχιστα τῆς χαράδρας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς ὁ χειμάρρους ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἴετο, τοῖχον ἐδείματο ὑπερμεγέθη, ἐκ κοίλης χαράδρας διήκοντα ἐς ἐκάτερον τοῖν ὁροῖν μάλιστα, ὡς μηκέτι περαιτέρω ἰέναι κυματοῦντι τῷ ποταμῷ δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρότερον ξυνιστάμενος ἐνταῦθα λιμνάζει. [18] ἐν δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ θυρίδας ποιησάμενος ἐνθένδε ἀπορρέοντα ὑπολήγειν κατὰ βραχὺ ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτῳ τὸν χειμάρρουν διεσκεύασατο, οὐκέτι λάβρως τῷ παντὶ ρεύματι τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλλοντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερβλύζοντά τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεργαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρῶως τε καὶ προσηγῶς ὑπορρέοντα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἐκροῇ διὰ τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας ἰόντα ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν βουλομένοις ἢ περιάγειν οὕτω μέτριον γεγενημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

ρ[170] [19] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας περιβόλῳ τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἰργασται. καὶ ξύμπασαν δὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καταφλεχθεῖσαν ἀνψκοδομήσατο τὴν πόλιν αὐτός. [20] τετεφρωμένων γὰρ πανταχόσε καὶ καθηρημένων ἀπάντων, λόφων τε μόνον ἐκ πόλεως ἐξηνθακωμένης ἐπανεστηκότων πολλῶν, ἄπορον τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐγένετο τὴν τε χώραν ἐπιγνῶναι τῆς ἐκάστου ἰδίας οἰκίας γενομένης τὰ πρῶτα ἐκφορήσασι τὸ συμπτωθὲν ἅπαν, οἰκίας τε πυρκαϊᾶς περικαθῆραι τὰ λείψανα, ἔτι μέντοι δημοσίων στοῶν ἢ περιστύλων αὐλῶν οὐδαμῇ οὐσῶν, οὐδὲ ἀγορὰς πη καθισταμένης, οὐδὲ τῶν στενωπῶν τὰς ἀγυῖας διαιρούντων τῇ πόλει, οἰκίας τινὸς οἰκοδομίαν ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι. [21] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμία μελλήσει ὡς ἀπωτάτω τῆς πόλεως τὰ καθηρημένα μετενεγκόν, ἐλεύθερόν τε τὸν ταύτῃ ἀέρα ξὺν τοῖς ἔνερθεν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων καταστησάμενος, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἐδάφη πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως λίθοις ἀμαξιαίοις ἐκάλυπεν· [22] ἔπειτα δὲ στοαῖς τε καὶ ἀγοραῖς αὐτὴν διακρίνας, καὶ διελὼν μὲν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἀμφόδους ἀπάσας, ὀχετοὺς δὲ καὶ κρήνας καὶ ὑδροχόας καταστησάμενος, ὅσοις ἡ πόλις κεκόμψευται, θεατρά τε αὐτῇ καὶ βαλανεῖα πεποιημένος, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δημοσίαις οἰκοδομίαις ἀπάσαις κοσμήσας, αἵσπερ εὐδαιμονία διαφαίνεσθαι πόλεως εἴωθε· τεχνιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδημιούργων ρ[172] πλῆθος ἐπαγαγὼν ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι παρέσχετο δεῖμασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἰδίας οἰκίας. [23] οὕτω τε Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιφανεστέραν γεγενέναι τανῦν ἢ πρότερον ἦν

ξυνηνέχθη. [24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα τῇ θεοτόκῳ πεποιήται μέγα, οὗ δὴ τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐπελθεῖν λόγῳ ἀμήχανον· ὁ δὴ καὶ προσόδῳ ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων. [25] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Μιχαὴλ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ νεῶν παμμεγέθη ἐδείματο. προϋνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρρωστήμασι πονουμένων ἐνταῦθα πτωχῶν, οἰκία τε σφίσι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ καταστησάμενος ἅπαντα, χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσι, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξί, καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τοῖς ξένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενομένοις ἐνταῦθα ἐνδήμιος.

[11] [1] Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδος πόλεως τὸν περίβολον, ἐπισφαλῶς τε ἀρχὴν γεγονότα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν κατερρακωμένον, σὺν τῷ προτειχίσματι ἀνανεωσάμενός τε καὶ πολλῷ ἐχυρώτερον καταστησάμενος ἢ πρότερον ἦν, ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον πεποιήται τρόπον.

[2] Ἦν δέ τι ἐπὶ Συρίας κομιδῇ ἀπημελημένον πολίχινον, Κῦρος ὄνομα, ὅπερ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τοῖς ρ[174]ᾶν χρόνοις ἐδείμαντο, δορυάλωτοι μὲν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀποκεκομισμένοι πρὸς τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, παρὰ Κύρου δὲ βασιλέως ἀφειμένοι πολλῷ ὕστερον· διὸ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον τὸ χωρίον ἐκάλεσαν, ταῦτα τῷ εὐεργέτῃ ἐκτίνοντες χαριστήρια. [3] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἡ Κῦρος τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερώφη καὶ ἀτειχιστος ὅλως μεμένηκεν. [4] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅμα μὲν πρόνοιαν τῆς πολιτείας ποιούμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους Κοσμᾶν τε καὶ Δαμιανὸν τὰ μάλιστα σέβων, ὧν δὴ ἄγχιστά πη τὰ σώματα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κεῖται, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ, τείχους τε ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐχυρωτάτου καὶ φρουρῶν πλήθει καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν δημοσίων μεγέθει, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τῷ ἐς ἄγαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖ, πεποιήται Κῦρον. [5] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς ὕδατος ἄπορα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἐκτοσθε δὲ ὑπερφυῆς τις ἐγεγόνει πηγὴ, περιουσίᾳ μὲν πλήθουσα ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀνόνητος δὲ τοῖς τῆδε ὠκημένοις παντάπασιν οὔσα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ὅθεν ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀρύοντο ὕδωρ, ὅτι μὴ πόνῳ τε καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ. [6] περιόδοις τε γὰρ αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίνετο χρῆσθαι, κρημνώδους χωρίου καὶ ὅλως ἀβάτου μεταξὺ ὄντος· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐνεδρεύουσιν ὑποχείριοι ῥᾶστα ἐγίγνοντο. [7] διώρυχα τοίνυν ἐκτοσθε τῆς πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς τὴν κρήνην οὐκ ἀπαρακαλύπτως, ἀλλὰ κεκρυμμένως ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα πεποιημένους, ἄπονόν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος παρέσχετο χρεῖαν.

ρ[176] [8] Καὶ Χαλκίδος δὲ πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ὅλον, ἔς τε τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον ὄντα ἐχυρῷ διαφερόντως ἀνενεώσατο οἰκοδομία, καὶ προτειχίσματι ἐκρατύνετο. [9] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Σύρων πολίσματά τε καὶ φρούρια τὸν αὐτὸν κεκοσμηκῶς τρόπον ζηλωτὰ ἐπιεικῶς κατεστήσατο.

[10] Οὕτω μὲν Συρίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεσώσατο. πόλιν δὲ πού ἐστιν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τῆς παρὰ Λίβανον, Παλμύρα ὄνομα, ἐν χώρῳ μὲν πεποιημένη τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ἀγείτονι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων Σαρακηνῶν διόδου κειμένη. [11] τούτου γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν ἔνεκα καὶ ὠκοδομήσαντο πρότερον, ὥς μὴ λάθοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐξάπινα ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἐμβάλλοντες. [12] ταύτην βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διὰ χρόνου

μῆκος ἔρημον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένην ὀχυρώμασί τε λόγου μείζουσιν ἐπιρρώσας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑδάτων περιουσίας καὶ φυλακτηρίου στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος, τὰς τῶν Σαρακῆνων ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν.

BOOK III.

[1] [1] Χώραν μὲν τὴν ἐφ' αὐτῷ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐκρατύνατο, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἀρξαμένῳ δέ μοι ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσας ὁρίων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς p[178] περιηγεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐρύματα γεγεννημένα, οὐ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀμίδης ἄχρι ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν ἐτέραν προσοικοῦσι Πέρσαις. [2] μέλλοντι δέ μοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι προυργιαίτατον φαίνεται εἶναι ὑπειπεῖν πρότερον ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον σφαλερῶς ἄγαν βιοτεύοντας τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν βεβαιότατα μεθηρμόσατο. [3] οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅσον οἰκοδομίας τούτους τοὺς κατηκόους ἐσώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ προνοίᾳ, ἥπερ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα γεγράφεται. ἀρκτέον δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν.

[4] Βασιλεὺς μὲν ὁμογενὴς πάλοι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις καθίστατο, ἥπερ τοῖς ἀναγραφασμένοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὰ ἀρχαιότατα δεδιήγεται. [5] ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καθεῖλε, Πέρσαι μὲν δεδουλωμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πάρθοι δὲ Μακεδόσιν ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ περιγενόμενοι ἐξήλασάν τε αὐτοὺς ἐνθένδε καὶ τὰ μέχρι ἐς Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἔσχον, ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς ἑτὴ πεντακόσια ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μαμαῖας Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς γέγονε. [6] καὶ ποτέ τις τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλέων τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενίοις βασιλέα κατεστήσατο, Ἀρσάκην ὄνομα, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησί. μὴ γάρ τις Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ἀρσακίδας οἰέσθω εἶναι. [7] εἰρήνῃ γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἑτὴ τὰ πεντακόσια κατὰ τὸ p[180] ξυγγενὲς διαγέγονε. [8] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένη καθῆστο, τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑποχείριος ὢν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον παῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἀρσάκῃ τινὶ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ δύο, Τιγράνης τε καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὀνόματα. [9] ὥσπερ, ἐπεὶ ἔμελλε τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι, διαθήκας τιθεῖς, ἅμφω τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖται διαδόχους αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἰσοστάσιον διορίσας ἑκατέρῳ τὸ κράτος, ἀλλὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τετραπλασίαν ἀπολιπὼν μοῖραν. [10] Ἀρσάκης μὲν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ οὕτω βασιλείαν διοικησάμενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Ἀρσάκης δὲ ὁ παῖς, ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτῷ ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυνέβη ἀγανακτῶν τε καὶ δυσφορούμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγε, τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν βασιλείαν μηχανῇ πάσῃ ἐλπίδα ἔχων καὶ ἄδικον οὖσαν τὴν πατρὸς γνώμην ἀβέβαιον καταστήσεσθαι. [11] Θεοδόσιος δὲ τότε, Ἀρκαδίου υἱὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν κομιδῇ, Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε. τίσιν τε δειμαίνων τὴν ἐκ βασιλέως Τιγράνης Πέρσαις αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρισε, τὴν βασιλείαν παραδιδούς, περὶ πλείονός τε πεποιημένος ἰδιώτης ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὰ δίκαια θέσθαι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν Ἀρμενίων αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. [12] καὶ Ἀρσάκης δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὴν ἐκ Περσῶν τε καὶ τ' ἀδελφοῦ ἐπιβουλήν δείσας ἐξέστη τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τίσιν αἷ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδῆλῳται λόγοις. [13] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα περιμάχηςτος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων

p[182]γεγέννηται χώρα, ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ ξυνέβησαν, Πέρσας μὲν τὴν Τιγράνου μοῖραν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὴν Ἀρσάκου ἔχειν. [14] ἐπὶ τούτοις τε σπονδαὶ ἀμφοτέροις ξυντετελέσθησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἀεὶ καθίστη ὄντιν᾽ ἀποτε καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [15] κομητὰ τε Ἀρμενίας ἐκάλουν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτον.

[16] Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐ παρόντων αὐτῇ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, κατανενοηκῶς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὕτως ἀτάκτως τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀεὶ φερομένην, ταύτη τε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐάλωτον οὔσαν, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε καθεῖλε, στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἐπέστησε, στρατιωτικῶν τε καταλόγων αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο πλῆθος ἀξίόχρεων ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς ἀντιτάξασθαι. [17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ διωκῆσατο ὧδε, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὔσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε, καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκαλοῦντο ταύτας, ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον. [18] σύμβολα μέντοι αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐδέχοντο μόνον. ἄξιον δὲ τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἐς ἀνθρώπου ὄψιν ἀφίξεται. [19] χλαμὺς ἡ ἐξ ἐρίων πεποιημένη, οὐχ οἷα τῶν προβατίων ἐκπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θαλάσσης συνειλεγμένων. [20] πίννους τὰ ζῶα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν ἐρίων ἔκφυσις γίνεται. χρυσῷ δὲ ἡ τῆς πορφύρας p[184]κατηγήλειπτο μοῖρα, ἐφ' ἧς εἴωθεν ἡ τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἐμβολὴ γίνεσθαι. [21] περόνη χρύση τῇ χλαμύδι ἐπέκειτο, λίθον ἐπὶ μέσης περιφράπτουσά τινα ἔντιμον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ὑάκινθοι τρεῖς χρυσαῖς τε καὶ χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἀπεκρέμαντο. [22] χιτῶν ἐκ μετὰξῃς ἐγκαλλωπίσμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχόθεν ὠραῖσμένος ἃ δὴ νενομίκασι πλούμια καλεῖν. [23] ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνυ φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἃ δὴ βασιλέα μόνον Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδεῖσθαι θέμις.

[24] Στρατιώτης δὲ Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε τῷ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ οὔτε σατράπαις ἦμυνε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολέμια κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ διωκοῦντο. [25] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύοντος Ἰλλοῦ τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ τετυρνανηκόσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα διαφανῶς συντάσσεσθαι τινες τῶν σατραπῶν ἔγνωσαν. [26] διὸ δὴ Λεόντιόν τε καὶ Ἰλλοῦν Ζήνων βασιλεὺς ὑποχειρίους πεποιημένους, σατράπην μὲν ἕνα φαυλοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Βελαβιτίνῃ καλουμένῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος εἶασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καθελὼν ἅπαντας οὐκέτι ἐς τοὺς κατὰ γένος σφίσι προσήκοντας ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους ἀεὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι διώρισε ταύτην, οὓς ἂν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἴη, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις διώρισται Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαῖς. [27] στρατιῶται μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς εἶποντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων τινές, p[186]ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα εἶθιστο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμίους προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. [28] ἃ δὴ καταμαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθένδε εὐθύς, δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπέστησε τούτοις. [29] οἷς δὴ ξυνεστήσατο μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους παμπληθεῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ξυμφυλάξουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅρια· ὀχυρώματα δὲ δεδημιούργηκεν αὐτοῖς

κατὰ τάδε.

[2] Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμία χωρίων, ὅπως δὴ ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιηγημένοις προσεχῶς ἄγοιτο. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα, τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ἔθνεσιν ἄρχοντα, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσιν, ἐν πόλει Μαρτυροπόλει καλουμένη ἰδρύσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐν φρουρίῳ ὅπερ Κιθαρίζων καλοῦσιν. [2] ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὰ χωρία τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένη πόλις ἐστὶ που Μαρτυρόπολις ὄνομα παρ' αὐτὸν ποταμὸν Νύμφιον κειμένη καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἀγχοτάτω πρόσοικος οὖσα, ἐπεὶ ὁ Νυμφίος ποταμὸς διορίζει ἐνταῦθα τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ἡθῆ. [3] ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀρξανηνή ἡ χώρα οἰκεῖται Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀπημελημένη Ῥωμαίοις τούτοις δὴ αἰεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέκειτο. [4] ὥστε ἀμέλει Καβάδης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύοντος ἐσέβαλε Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, διὰ Μαρτυροπόλεως τὸ p[188]στράτευμα ἀγών, ἐπεὶ Ἀμίδης ὀλίγῳ πλέον ἡμέρας ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ διειστήκει. [5] ὥσπερ δέ τι πάρεργον ὁδοῦ διαχειρίζων καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου παρενθήκην τινὰ εὐθυωρὸν τὴν πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, οὐ τειχομαχῆσας ἢ προσβολὴν τινὰ ἢ προσεδρεῖαν πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ δηλώσας ὅτι δὴ ἀφίξεται μόνον. [6] εὗ γὰρ εἰδότες οἱ τῆδε ὥκημένοι ὡς οὐδὲ βραχεῖάν τινα χρόνου στιγμὴν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνθέξουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἀγχοῦ τῶν Μήδων στρατὸν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ τηνικάδε Σοφανηνῆς σατραπεύοντι καὶ τῆς σατραπείας ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ τὸ σχῆμα, Καβάδῃ προσῆλθον εὐθύς, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Μαρτυρόπολιν αὐτῷ ἐνδιδόντες, φοροὺς τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες. [7] οἷς δὴ ὁ Καβάδης ἠσθεὶς τῆς μὲν πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας ἀπάσης, ὡς τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ προσηκούσης, ἀπέσχετο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀθῶους ἀφῆκεν, οὔτε τι λυμηνάμενος οὔτε τι τῆς πολιτείας μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ Θεόδωρον αὐτὸν σατράπην αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ αὐτῷ ἄτε οὐ γεγονότι ἀγνώμονι τὰ σύμβολα ἐγκεχειρικῶς τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς τὴν χώραν φυλάζοντι Πέρσαις. [8] οὕτω τε τὸ στράτευμα πρόσω ἀπαγαγὼν πολιορκία τε Ἄμιδαν ἐξελὼν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθῆ ἀπήλυνεν, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων ἐρρήθη. [9] βασιλεὺς τε Ἀναστάσιος ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν Μαρτυρόπολιν ὀχύρωμα οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν ἐκ πολεμίων διασώσασθαι προσβολῆς, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ Θεόδωρόν τε καὶ Σοφανηνοὺς ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας αὐτοῖς τῆς πράξεως ἔχειν ὡμολόγει πολλὰς. p[190][10] ταύτης οὖν τῆς Μαρτυροπόλεως τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτύγχανε τὸ μὲν πάχος διῆκον ἐς πόδας μάλιστα τέσσαρας, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν· ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν οὐ τειχομαχοῦσιν οὐδὲ μηχανὰς προσβάλλουσι μόνον εὐέφοδον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσπηδῆσαι ἱκανῶς πρόχειρον.

[11] Διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε· τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς τὴν γῆν διορύξας, θεμέλιά τε ταύτη ἐνθήμενος τείχισμα ὠκοδομήσατο ἕτερον ἐς ποδῶν πάχος διῆκον τεττάρων, χώραν διαλιπὼν μεταξὺ τεττάρων ἐτέρων τὸ εὖρος, ἐς ὕψος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀναστήσας ποδῶν εἴκοσιν, ἴσον τῷ προτέρῳ παντάπασιν ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι. [12] μετὰ δὲ λίθους τε καὶ τίτανον ἐς χῶρον τὸν μεταξὺ τείχους ἐκατέρου ἐμβεβλημένος ἐς μίαν τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν δυοκαίδεκα τὸ πάχος ποδῶν τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνευται. [13] ὑπερθέν τε κατὰ πάχος τὸ

αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐς ὕψος τοσοῦτον ἐντέθεικεν, ὅσον ξυνέβαινε τὸ πρότερον εἶναι. [14] ἀλλὰ καὶ προτείχισμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα οἷς δὴ πόλεως ὀχύρωμα διασώζεται.

[3] Ἐκ δὲ Μαρτυροπόλεως ἐς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον ἰόντι χωρίον ἐστὶ Φεισὼν ὄνομα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ κείμενον τῇ Σοφανηγῇ καλουμένῃ, Μαρτυροπόλεως δὲ ὀλίγον ἔλασσον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας διέχον. [2] τούτου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπέκεινα, ὅσον ἐκ σημείων ὁκτὼ μάλιστα, ὄρη ἀπότομα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα ξυνιόντα ἐς ἄλληλα στενωπούς ἀπεργάζονται δύο, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλοιν ὄντας οὕπερ νενομίκασι Κλεισούρας καλεῖν. p[192][3] τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Περσαρμενίας ἐπὶ Σοφανηγὴν πορευομένους, εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων εἴτε διὰ τοῦ Κιθαρίζων φρουρίου ἴοιεν, ἀμύχανά ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τούτων δὴ τῶν δύο στενωπῶν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. [4] καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ἰλυρισὸν μὲν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον Σαφχάς. [5] ὅπως μὲν οὖν ἀναστέλλοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸς ἀσφαλείας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἄξια ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν μεμένηκε τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποις. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν τε τῷ Φεισὼν καὶ τοῖς στενωποῖς ὀχυρώματά τε ἀξιοθέατα καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἀνανταγώνιστον καταστησάμενος, ἄβαντον βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ χώρας τῆς Σοφανηγῆς καλουμένης τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[7] Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κιθαρίζων χωρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ Ἀσθιανίνης τῆς καλουμένης ἐστί, φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὢν ἐν χώρῳ λοφώδει ὑπερφυές τε καὶ δαιμονίως ἄμαχον κατεστήσατο. [8] ἐνθα δὴ καὶ διαρκὲς ὕδωρ ἐσαγαγὼν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῇδε ὤκημένοις ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω πεποιημένος, τὸν ἕτερον δοῦκα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ξὺν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρὰ ἱκανωτάτῃ ιδρύσατο. ταύτῃ τε τοῖς τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐθνεσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.

[9] Ἐκ δὲ Κιθαρίζων ἔς τε Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἐτέραν ἰόντι Χορζάνῃ μὲν ἡ χώρα καλεῖται, διήκει δὲ ἐς ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάλιστα οὔτε λίμνης τινὸς ὕδατι οὔτε ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρῳ οὔτε ὄρεσι τὴν δίοδον ἐν στενῷ εἵργουσι διοριζομένη p[194]τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁρίων αὐταῖς ἀναμιξ κειμένων, [10] ὥστε οἱ ταύτῃ ὤκημενοι, Ῥωμαίων ἢ Περσῶν ὄντες κατήκοοι, οὔτε τι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέος ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις πη ἐς ἐπιβουλήν εἰσιν ὑποποιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικηδεύουσι καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν συμβάλλονται καὶ τὰ ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπικοινωνοῦνται. [11] ἦν δέ ποτε οἱ τῶν ἐτέρων ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους στρατῷ ἴωσιν, ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφυλάκτους ἀεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους εὐρίσκουσι. [12] χωρία μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέροις πολυανθρωπότατα ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλων ἐστίν, ἔρυμα δὲ οὐδετέροις πη ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν. [13] παρὴν οὖν ἐνθένδε τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν δίοδον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ποιῆσθαι, ἕως βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διακωλυτῆς αὐτῷ γέγονε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. χωρίον ἦν ἐπὶ μέσῃς τῆς χώρας Ἀρταλέσων ὄνομα. [14] τοῦτο τείχει ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριόν τε ἀμαχώτατον ἐξεργάσατο καὶ στρατιωτικὸς καταλόγους τῇδε ιδρύσατο, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἀεὶ ἐφεστάναι διώρισεν, ὥπερ δοῦκα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. οὕτω τε τὴν ἐκείνην ἐσχατιὰν ἐτειχίσασα ξύμπασαν.

[4] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας διαπεπόνηται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] Σάταλα πόλεις ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλπίδος εἰστήκει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολέμιων ρ[196]τῆς γῆς ὀλίγῳ διέχει, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χθαμαλῷ κεῖται, λόφοις τε πολλοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὴν ἐπανεστηκόσιν ὑπόκειται, περιβόλων τε αὐτῇ διὰ ταῦτα ἔδει τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀμηχάνων ἐλεῖν. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιαύτῃ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οὔση τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος σφαλερώτερα ἦν, φαύλως τε ἀρχὴν τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ παρέργως πεποιημένου καὶ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἤδη τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐκασταχοῦ διερρωγότες. [4] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο περιελὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅλον, περίβολον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα νέον, ὑψηλὸν μὲν ὅσον ὑπερπεφυκέναι τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν λόφους δοκεῖν, εὐρυνόμενον δὲ ὅσον ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπανεστηκέναι τό γε τοῦ ὕψους ὑπέρογκον. [5] καὶ προτείχισμα δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον λόγου πηξάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολέμιους κατέπληξε. καὶ φρούριον δὲ Σατάλων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἐχυρὸν ἄγαν ἐν χώρᾳ Ὀσροηνῶν καλουμένην ὠκοδομήσατο.

[6] Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν ἀκρωνυχίᾳ λόφου κατακρήμνου πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλοι ἀνθρώποις, ὃ δὴ Πομπήιος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐξελὼν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γεγωνὼς ἐκρατύνατό τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ Κολώνειαν ἐπωνόμασε· [7] καὶ τοῦτο οὖν χρόνῳ πεπονηκὸς τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνεσώσατο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [8] καὶ χρήματα μέντοι προέμενος ἀνάριθμα τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις, ἐρύματα ἐκασταχοῦ διεπράξατο ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἀγροῖς ἢ νέα δεῖμασθαι, ἢ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σαθρὰ γεγονότα. [9] ὥστε ἅπαντα σχεδόν τι τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ρ[198]ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ἔργα ὄντα. [10] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ φρούρια ὠκοδομήσατο τό τε Βαιβερδῶν καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἄρεων. καὶ τὸ Λυσίορμον ἀνεενώσατο πεπονηκὸς ἤδη σὺν τῷ Λυταραρίζῳ. [11] ἐν τε χωρίῳ, ὅπερ Γερμανοῦ καλοῦσι Φοσσᾶτον, φρούριον ἐδείματο νέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σεβαστείας καὶ Νικοπόλεως τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις πόλεων τὰ τεῖχη, ἐπεὶ καταπεσεῖσθαι πάντα ἔμελλον, τεταλαιπωρημένα τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος πεποιήται νέα. [12] καὶ ἱερῶν δὲ καὶ μοναστηρίων ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας ἐξείργασται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Θεοδοσιουπόλει νεῶν τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, καὶ μοναστήρια ἐν τε χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Πέτριος, κἀν τῷ Κουκαρίζῳ ἀνεενώσατο. [13] ἐν τε Νικοπόλει τὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καλούμενον μοναστήριον, καὶ ἱερὸν Γεωργίῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζανοῖς ἐδείματο. [14] τῆς τε Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα μοναστήριον ἀνεενώσατο τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων ἐπικαλούμενον.

[15] Ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν μικροῖς καλουμένοις οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ λόχος Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἵδρυτο. [16] Μελιτηνὴ μὲν τὸ χωρίον, λεγῶν δὲ ὁ λόχος ἐπωνομάζετο. ἐνταῦθά πη ἔρυμα ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐπὶ χώρας ὑπτίας ἐδείμαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀποχρώντος ἔς καταλύσεις ἔχον καὶ ὅπως σφίσι τὰ σημεῖα τῇδε ἐναποκεῖσονται. [17] μετὰ δὲ Τραϊανῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι δεδογμένον, ἔς πόλεως τε ἀξίωμα ὁ χῶρος ἀφίεται καὶ μητρόπολις ρ[200]κατέστη τῷ ἔθνει. [18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἢ τῶν

Μελιτηνῶν πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. ἐπεὶ τε ἐρύματος ἐντὸς ἐνοικήσασθαι οὐκέτι εἶχον (ἐς γὰρ ὀλίγον τινὰ ξυνήει χῶρον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται) ἰδρύσαντο ἐν τῷ ταύτης πεδίῳ, ἵνα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποιήται καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄρχων καταγῶγια καὶ τὴν τε ἀγοράν ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐμπολημάτων πωλητήριά ἐστι, τὰς τε τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιᾶς πάσας καὶ στοᾶς καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ θέατρα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλεως μεγάλης ἐς κόσμον διήκει. [19] τῷ τε τρόπῳ τούτῳ Μελιτηνὴν ἀτειχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι. Ἀναστάσιος μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς αὐτὴν ξύμπασαν τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἐγκεχείρηκεν· [20] οὕτω μέντοι τὸ βούλευμα ἀποτελέσας τὸν βίον συνεμετρήσατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν βεβαιότατα κατατειχισάμενος μέγα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ὀχύρωμά τε καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα Μελιτηνὴν ἀπειργάσατο.

[5] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ εἰργάσατο· ὅσα δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πεποιήται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] ἡνίκα Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖον βασιλεὺς τὴν Ἀρσάκου ἐπικράτειαν ἔσχεν, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγεται, φρούριον ἐπὶ τινος τῶν λόφων ὠκοδομήσατο τοῖς προσιούσιν εὐάλωτον, ὃ δὴ Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπωνόμασε. [3] τοῦτο Καβάδης τότε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἡνίκα δὴ Ἀμίδης εὐθὺ ἔετο, παριῶν εἶλεν. [4] Ἀναστάσιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων p[202]αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο, τὸν λόφον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιημένος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ φρούριον τὸ Θεοδοσίου εἰστήκει. [5] καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀφῆκεν, ἐξίτηλον δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσίου ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ πρότερον οἰκιστοῦ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ νεοχμουῖσθαι μὲν τὰ καθωμλημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς αἰὶ πέφυκεν, ὀνομάτων δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν μεθίεσθαι οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχει. [6] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τεῖχος εὐρύνετο μὲν ἱκανώτατα, οὐ κατὰ λόγον δὲ τοῦ εὗρους ἀνείχε. [7] τὸ γὰρ ὕψος αὐτῷ ἐς τριάκοντα ἐξικνεῖτο μάλιστα πόδας· ταύτῃ τε πολεμίοις τειχομαχοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐγεγόνει λίαν εὐάλωτον. [8] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίμαχον, οὔτε γὰρ προτειχισμα οὔτε τάφος αὐτῷ ἦμυνεν. [9] ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶρός τις ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐπεμβαίνων τῇ πόλει τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπανειστήκει. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀντεμηχανήσατο τάδε. πρῶτα μὲν τάφρον ὡς βαθυτάτην ἐν κύκλῳ ὀρύξας, χαράδραις αὐτὴν ὀρῶν ἀποτόμων ἐμφερεστάτην εἰργάσατο. [10] ἔπειτα δὲ χῶρον τὸν ὑπερπεφυκότα κατατεμῶν ἕς τε ἀνεκβάτους κρημνοὺς καὶ σήραγγας ἀδιεξόδους μετεστήσατο τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν· ὅπως δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὑψηλὸν τε εἴη διαφερόντως καὶ ὅλως ἀνανταγώνιστον, εἴ τις προσίοι, προσεπετεχνήσατο ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Δάρας εἰργάσατο. [11] τὰς γὰρ ἐπάλξεις ἀποσφίγξας ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα ὅσον ἐνθένδε βάλλειν τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας δυνατὰ εἶναι, ἐμβολὸν τε αὐταῖς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς ἐν περιδρόμῳ περιελίξας, ἐντέθεικεν ἐμπείρως ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, προτειχίσματί τε αὐτὸ p[204]περιβαλὼν κύκλῳ ἐμφερέστατον τῷ ἐν πόλει Δάρας περιβόλῳ πεποιήται, πύργον ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐχυρὸν τεκτηνάμενος. [12] οὗ δὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις στρατηγὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καταστησάμενος κρείσσους τοὺς Ἀρμενίους διεπράξατο τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι ἢ δεδιέναι τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον.

[13] Ἐς μέντοι τὰ Βιζανὰ οὐδὲν εἰργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ἐξ αἰτίας

τοιᾷσδε. κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τὸ χωρίον, πεδία τε ἅμφ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἱππήλατά ἐστιν, ὕδατος δὲ σηπεδόνες πολλαὶ ξυνισταμένου ἐνταυθα εἰσι. [14] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιμαχώτατον, τοῖς δὲ οἰκήτορσι λοιμωδέστατον αὐτὸ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [15] ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὑπεριδὼν ἐτέρωθι πόλιν ἐδείματο αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον, ἀξιολογωτάτην τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὅλως ἐν χωρίῳ Τζουμινᾶ καλουμένῳ, ὅπερ σημείοις μὲν τρισὶ Βιζανῶν διέχει, ἐν κρημνῳδεὶ δὲ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐεξίας ἀέρων εὖ ἔχει.

[6] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πη ἔχει. τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὰ Τζάνων ἔθνη ἀναγράψασθαι μοι ἐνταυθα τοῦ λόγου οὐ τι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρόσοικοι Ἀρμενίοις εἰσίν. [2] αὐτόνομοι μὲν Τζάνοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἄναρχοι ὄκουν, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτήν ἔχοντες, θεοὺς μὲν τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ ὄρνις καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ζῶα ἡγούμενοί τε καὶ σέβοντες, ἐν ὄρεσι δὲ οὐρανομήκεσί τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσι τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα δίαιταν ἔχοντες, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμῇ γεωργοῦντες, [206] ἀλλὰ ληστεύοντές τε καὶ τοῖς φορίοις ἀεὶ ἀποζῶντες. [3] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἀμελέτητοὶ εἰσιν ἐργάζεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἡ χώρα σφίσιν, ἔνθα δὴ μὴ ὄρη τὰ γε ἀποτομώτατα περιβέβληται, λοφώδης ἐστίν. [4] οὐ γήλοφοι δὲ εἰσι τὰ ἐπανεστηκότα τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ γεώδη οὐδὲ οἷα καρποὺς ἀφεῖναι, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, ἀλλὰ τραχέα τε ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ σκληρὰ ὑπεράγαν καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάντων δεινῶς ἄφορα. [5] καὶ οὔτε ἀρόσαι τὴν γῆν οὔτε ἀμήσασθαι λήιον οὔτε λειμῶνι ἐντυχεῖν ἐνταυθα πη δυνατόν γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δένδροις, οἷσπερ ἡ Τζανικὴ τέθηλεν, ἀκάρποις τε οὖσιν ἄνθει καὶ ὅλως ἀγόνις, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχονται καιροὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ἡ γῆ τῷ τῆς ὥρας ὑγρῷ τε καὶ ψυχρῷ βάλλεται, νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμὴ ὀνίνησιν, ἀλλὰ χειμῶνι τε ἀπεράντῳ ξυνώκισται ἡ χώρα καὶ χιόσιν αἰδίοις κατάρρυτός ἐστι. [6] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτόνομοι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τζάνοι ἐβίουσαν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡττήθησάν τε Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ, Τζίττα στρατηγούοντος Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἀπογνόντες εὐθὺς προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες, πρὸ τῆς ἐπικινδύνου ἐλευθερίας τὴν ἄπονον δουλείαν ἐλόμενοι σφίσι. [7] καὶ τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς αὐτίκα μετέθεντο ἅπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγεννημένοι, τὴν τε δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεθηρμόσαντο, ληστείας μὲν ἀφέμενοι πάσης, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντες ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἀεὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσι. [8] δεῖσας δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μή ποτε Τζάνοι μεταπορευσάμενοι τὴν δίαιταν αὐθις τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγριώτερον μεταστρέψωνται ἐπενόει τοιαῦδε.

[208] [9] Δύσοδος ἦν ἡ Τζανικὴ λίαν καὶ ἄφιππος ὅλως, κρημνοῖς τε πανταχόθεν καὶ χώροις περικεκλεισμένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὕλῳδесιν, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται. [10] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τζάνοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἀμήχανον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνους ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγριωμένοι θηρίων τρόπον τὴν δίαιταν εἶχον. [11] τὰ τοίνυν δένδρα ἐκτεμῶν ἅπαντα, οἷσπερ τὰς ὁδοὺς ξυνέβαινε ξυμποδιζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνη δυσχωρίας μεθαρμοσάμενος, εὐπετεῖς τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἱππασίμους καταστησάμενος, ἐπιμίγνυσθαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ προσχωρεῖν τῇ ὁμίλῃ τῶν πλησιοχῶρων πεποιήκεν. [12] ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίαν ἐν χωρίῳ Σχαμαλινίχων καλουμένῳ δειμάμενος, ἱερᾶσθαι τε διεπράξατο καὶ μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνειν λιταῖς τε

τὸν θεὸν ἰλεοῦσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, συνιέντες ὡς ἄνθρωποι εἶεν. [13] καὶ φρούρια δὲ οἰκοδομησάμενος πανταχόθι τῆς χώρας φρουροὺς τε ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἰδρυσάμενος βεβαιότατα, Τζάνοις ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὰς ἐπιμιξίας ἀκωλύτους πεποίηκεν. [14] ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ Τζανικῆς τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐδείματο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[15] Χώραν ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐς τρίοδον ἀποκεκριμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. Ῥωμαίων τε γὰρ καὶ Περσαρμενίων τὰ ὅρια καὶ Τζάνων αὐτῶν τῇδε ἀρξάμενα ἐνθὲνδε διασκεδάννυται. [16] ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον, οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ὄνομα Ὅρονῶν, ἐξείργασται, κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῆς εἰρήνης πεποιημένος. [17] ἐνθεν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ Τζανικὴ ἐσβατὴ γέγονεν· οὗ δὴ καὶ ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσιν. [18] ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ ὁδῷ p[210] ἡμέραιν δυοῖν Ὅρονῶν διέχοντι, οὗ δὴ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων τὰ ὅρια ἐστίν (ἐπεὶ ἐς ἔθνη πολλὰ διακέκρινται Τζάνοι), ἐνταῦθά τι ὀχύρωμα πεποιημένον ἦν τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ἐρείπιον ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι γεγεννημένον, Χαρτῶν ὄνομα. [19] ὅπερ ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐνοικεῖν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐνταῦθα διεπράξατο μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐκοσμίαν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρεῖν. [20] τῷ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε ἰόντι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον φάραγξ ἐστὶ κρημνώδης, κατατείνουσα μέχρι ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· οὗ δὴ φρούριον, Βαρχῶν ὄνομα, ἐδείματο νέον. [21] ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν ὑπωρείαν ἐπαύλεις εἰσίν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων βόες αὐλίζονται, οὗσπερ ἐκτρέφουσιν οὐ τοῦ ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν ἕνεκα, ἐπεὶ ἀργοί τε τὸ παράπαν οἱ Τζάνοι εἰσὶ καὶ γεωργικῶν ἀλλότριοι πόνων, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ οὔτε ἀρόματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλα τῆς γεωργίας διαπονήματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε γάλα ἐς αἰεὶ βδάλλειν καὶ σιτίζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν κρέασι. [22] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα, οὗ Κενὰ τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνθὲνδε τοι ἰόντι ἐπὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ Σισιλισσῶν ὄνομα φρούριόν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν πεποιημένον, ἔρημον δὲ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος γεγεννημένον ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς διαρκὲς Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. [23] ἐνθεν δὲ ἰόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον χῶρός τις ἐστίν, ὃνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Λογγίνου φоссάτον, ἐπεὶ Λογγίνος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις p[212] Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, Ἰσαυρος γένος, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τζάνους ποτὲ τῇδε πεποίηται τὸ στρατόπεδον. [24] ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὄνομα Βουργουσνῆς δεδημιούργηκεν, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Σισιλισσῶν διέχον. [25] ὅπερ Σισιλισσῶν φρούριόν ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μικρὸν ἐρρήθη ἔμπροσθεν, ἐξειργασμένον βεβαιότατα. [26] ἐντεῦθεν ὅρια τῷ Τζάνων τῶν Κοξυλίνων καλουμένων ἐστίν· οὗ δὴ φρούρια νῦν πεποίηται δύο, τό τε Σχαμαλινίχων καλούμενον καὶ ὅπερ Τζανζάκων ἐπονομάζουσιν· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλον ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

[7] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Τζάνοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ μετ' αὐτοὺς χώρᾳ, ἥ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον οἰκεῖται Πόντον, πόλις ἐστὶ που, Τραπεζοῦς ὄνομα· οὗ δὴ ἀπορίας ὑδάτων οὔσης, ὀχετὸν ἐτεκτῆνατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὃνπερ Εὐγενίου καλοῦσι μάρτυρος, ταύτῃ τε τὴν

ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῆδε ὤκημένοις διέλυσεν. [2] ἐνταῦθα δὲ κὰν τῇ Ἀμασεῖα τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνενεώσατο, χρόνῳ πεπονηκότα πολλῶ. [3] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Τραπεζουντίων ὄρους χωρίον ἐστὶ Ῥιζαῖον ὄνομα, ὃ δὴ καινουργήσας αὐτὸς ὀχύρωμα περιβέβληκε λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον. [4] πόλεων γὰρ τῶν Πέρσαις ὁμόρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦσσαν μεγέθους πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας δεδημιούργηται.

[5] Καὶ φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς Λοσόριον ὄνομα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στενωποὺς ἐτειχίσατο οὕσπερ Κλεισούρας καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ὅπως δὴ ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῆς ἐπὶ Λαζικὴν ῤ[214]είσόδου οἱ πολέμιοι εἶεν. [6] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαζοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀρχαίαν τε οὖσαν καὶ σαθρὰν τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ γεγεννημένην, ἀνενεώσατο. [7] οὕτω καὶ Πέτρᾳ ἐν Λαζοῖς πόλιν ἀξιοθέατον κατεστήσατο, ἥνπερ Λαζοὶ μὲν ἀβουλία τῇ σφετέρᾳ παρέδοσαν Πέρσαις, Χοσρόην ἐνταῦθα στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐπαγαγόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Περσῶν καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὲν κτείναντες τοὺς δὲ δορυαλώτους πεπονημένοι, ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ αὖθις οἱ βάρβαροι κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, ἥπερ μοι ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδηλωταὶ λόγοις. [8] ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι δεδιήγηται, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν ἰόντι λίμνην φρούρια δύο, Σεβαστούπολιν τε καὶ Πιτυοῦντα, καθεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες στράτευμα στέλλειν ἐνταῦθα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχειν τοὺς τε τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα καθεζόντας. [9] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταύτην δὴ τὴν Σεβαστούπολιν ἀνανεώσάμενος ξύμπασαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν περιβόλῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι πεπονημένος ἀνάλωτον, ταῖς δὲ ἀγυαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις διακοσμήσας, τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν τανῦν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα κατεστήσατο.

[10] Καὶ μὴν καὶ Βοσπόρου καὶ Χερσῶνος πόλεων, αἵπερ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνην ἄκτῃ ἐπιθαλασσίδια μετὰ λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τοὺς Ταύρους καὶ Ταυροσκύθας ἐν ἐσχάτῳ οἰκοῦνται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, πεπονηκότα παντάπασιν τὰ ῤ[216]τείχι ἐυρῶν ἐς μέγα τι κάλλους τε καὶ ἀσφαλείας κατεστήσατο χρήμα. [11] ἐνθα δὴ καὶ φρούρια πεποίηται τό τε Ἀλούστου καλούμενον καὶ τὸ ἐν Γορζοβίταις. [12] διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον τῷ ἐρύματι ἐκρατύνατο, ἥνπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βεβαρβαρωμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς Οὐννοῖς κειμένην ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς μετήνεγκε κράτος. [13] ἔστι δὲ τις ἐνταῦθα χώρα κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, Δόρυ ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Γότθοι ὤκηται οἱ Θευδερίχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἰόντι οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐθελοῦσιοι αὐτοῦ μέιναντες, Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἐμέ εἰσιν ἔνσπονδοι· ξυστρατεύουσί τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολέμους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσιν, ἡνίκα ἂν βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [14] ἐξικνῶνται δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ τὰ τε πολέμια ἔργα εἰσὶν ἄριστοι τὰ τε ἐς τὴν γεωργίαν αὐτουργοὶ δεξιοί, καὶ φιλοξενώτατοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [15] αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα τὸ Δόρυ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ κεῖται, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τραχεῖα οὔτε σκληρά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ τε καὶ εὐφορος καρπῶν τῶν ἀρίστων. [16] πόλιν μὲν οὖν ἡ φρούριον οὐδαμῇ τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτης, κατείργεσθαι περιβόλοις τισὶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένων τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἀσμενέστατα ὤκημένων ἀεί. [17] ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ τῶν

ἐκείνη χωρίον βάσιμα εὐπετῶς τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ταύτας δὴ τειχίσμασι μακροῖς τὰς εἰσόδους περιβαλὼν, τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐφόδου φροντίδας ἀνέστειλε Γότθοις, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[18] Πόλιν δέ τινα ἐπιθαλασσίαν οἰκοῦσι Θρᾷκες παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου, Ἀγχιάλον ὄνομα, ἥσπερ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ μνησθείμεν ἄν, p[218]περιηγούμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία. [19] ἐπεὶ δὲ τανῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν διελήλυθεν ὅσα παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου δεδημιούργηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ, οὐδέν τι χεῖρον ἀφηγήσασθαι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὅσα δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ταύτης ἐδείματο. [20] ἐνταῦθα οὖν πηγαὶ θερμῶν φύσει ὑδάτων ἀναβλυστάνουσι, τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀπαντοματίζουσαι βαλανεῖα τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις· [21] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χῶρον ἀτείχιστον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα ὑπερεώρων οἱ προβεβασιευκότες τὰ πρότερα, καίπερ ἐν γειτόνων ὤκεμένων αὐτῷ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθνῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος. [22] ἐπεχωρίαζόν τε αὐτῷ οἱ νενοσηκότες τὰ σώματα, μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παραψυχὴν κομιζόμενοι. [23] τειχίρη τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀκίνδυνον διεπράξατο σφίσι τὴν ἄκεσιν εἶναι. [24] τὰ μὲν οὖν γῆς τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῇ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Τζανικῆς ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. [25] ἡμῖν δὲ ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἰτέον ἅσπερ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ πεποιήται.

BOOK IV.

[1] [1] Πέλαγος μέγα νηὶ διαπλεῦσαι ἀπαρασκεύῳ μοχθηρόν τε ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ κινδύνων μεγάλων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεων. ταῦτό δέ ἐστι τὰς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκοδομίας λόγῳ φανλοτάτῳ διαμετρήσασθαι. [2] ψυχῆς γὰρ μεγέθει ὁ βασιλεὺς π[220]οῦτος τὰ τε ἄλλα, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας οὐδέν τι ἥσσον λόγου διαπέπρακται κρείσσω. [3] ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἐναρμόσασθαι τῷ τῆς χρείας ἀξιώματι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων ἔργα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα οὐδὲ εἰς συγγραφὴν διαπεπότηται πρόχειρα. [4] γεγένηται γὰρ ἐπαξίως τῷ τε γειτονήματι ποταμοῦ Ἰστροῦ καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε διὰ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους τῇ χώρᾳ βαρβάρους ἀνάγκη. [5] ἔθνη γὰρ αὐτῇ γειτονοῦντα διακεκλήρωται Οὐννικά τε καὶ Γοτθικά, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ταύροις καὶ τὰ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀνταίρει, καὶ ὅσα Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄττα, εἴτε Σαυρομάτας Ἀμαξοβίους εἴτε Μετανάστας ταῦτα δὴ ἐκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναγραψάμενοι τὰ ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θηριῶδες ἀνθρώπων γένος ἢ νέμεσθαι, ἢ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει. [6] οἷς δὴ ἀπέραντα πολεμησιεύουσιν ὑπαντιάζειν διατεινομένῳ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πάρεργόν τε οὐδέν ποιουμένῳ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐρύματά τε περιβάλλεσθαι ἀνάρηθμα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀμύθητα φυλακτήρια καταστήσασθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολεμίους ἀνεπικηρυκεύτοις τε καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτοις ἐμπόδια εἶη. [7] οἷς δὴ τοῖς πολεμίους τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξ αἰτίας ἐγειρομένοις ποιεῖσθαι νόμος, οὐδὲ μετὰ πρεσβείαν ἐπενεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ξυνθήκαις διαλῦσαί τισιν, ἢ κατὰ χρόνον ἀνακωχεῦσαι, ἀλλ' π[222]ἐγχειρῆσαι μὲν ἀπροφασίστως, καταλῦσαι δὲ σιδήρῳ μόνῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ λειπόμενα βαδιούμεθα. [8] ἔργου γὰρ ἀρξαμένους τρόπον ὅπως ἐς πέρας ἀφῆχθαι ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτελεύτερον ἀπολιπόντας ὀπίσω ἰέναι. [9] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἂν οὐκ ἔξω κατηγορίας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶη, βασιλέα μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον εἰργᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποκνεῖν λόγους. [10] μέλλοντας δὲ τὰ Εὐρωπαϊὰ τούτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως διαριθμεῖσθαι οἰκοδομήματα, ὀλίγα ἄττα ἀμφὶ τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπεῖπεῖν ἄξιον.

[11] Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλουμένου πελάγους ἐπιρροή τις διωθουμένη τε καὶ ἀποσαλεύουσα τῆς ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναβαίνει, καὶ σχίζουσα τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πλείστον ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἠπειρώτας τε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἔθνη, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Καλαβροὺς ἔχουσα, ἐν τε πορθμῷ ἐπὶ μακρότατον θλιβομένη περιλαμβάνει τὴν ἡπειρον σχεδόν τι πᾶσαν. [12] καθύπερθε δὲ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ θαλάσσῃ φερόμενος ποταμὸς Ἰστρος γῆς τῆς Εὐρώπης νησοειδῆ τὴν γῆν τίθεται. [13] ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομήματα πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πεποίηται. [14] πᾶσαν γὰρ Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τειχισάμενος ἀπρόσβατον κατεστήσατο βαρβάροις εἶναι οἱ δὴ ὑπὲρ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ ῥκηνται.

[15] Ἀλλὰ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρκτέον πατρίδος, ἥ πασῶν μάλιστα τὰ τε πρωτεῖα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦδε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ π[224]λόγου δοτέον. [16] αὐτῇ γὰρ ἂν μόνῃ ὀγκοῦσθαι τε καὶ διαθρύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι πρέποι βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις θρεψαμένη τε καὶ παρασχομένη τοιοῦτον, οὗ δὲ τὰ

ἔργα καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν καὶ γραφῇ παρακαταθέσθαι ἀμήχανον.

[17] Ἐν Δαρδάνοις που τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις, οἱ δὴ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίων ὄρους ὤκηνται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἄγχιστα ὅπερ Βεδερίανα ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον Ταυρίσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἔνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστῆς ὥρμηται. [18] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεῖ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνία ἐκάστη πύργον ἐνθέμενος Τετραπυργίαν εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. [19] παρ' αὐτὸ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔδειματο, ἥνπερ Ἰουστινιανὴν ὠνόμασε Πρίμαν (πρώτη δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναιται) ταῦτα τῇ θρεψαμένη τροφεῖα ἐκτίνων. [20] καίτοι Ῥωμαίους ἐχρῆν ἅπαντας τοῦτο δὴ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνεῖν τὸ ὄφλημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ σωτήρα ἐθρέψατο ἡ χώρα κοινὸν ἅπασιν. [21] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὀχετὸν τεκτηνάμενος ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρῦτοις διεπράξατο ἐπιεικῶς πλήθειν. [22] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῇ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῇ ὑπέρογκά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ διαπεπύνηται ἄξια. [23] θεοῦ μὲν τεμένη διαριθμεῖσθαι οὐ ῥάδια, καταγῶγια δὲ ἀρχόντων φράζεσθαι λόγῳ ἀμήχανα, στοῶν μεγέθη, ἀγορῶν κάλλη, τὰς κρήνας, τὰς ἀγυῖας, τὰ βαλανεῖα, τὰ πωλητήρια. [24] πόλις ἀπλῶς μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα p[226]εὐδαίμων καὶ οἷα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης μητρόπολις εἶναι· εἰς ἀξιώματος γὰρ τοσόνδε ἵκει. [25] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀρχιερέα διακεκλήρωται, τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων αὐτῇ, ἅτε πρώτη τὸ μέγεθος οὔση, ἐξισταμένων. ὥστε καὶ ἀνθυπούργηκε τῷ βασιλεῖ κλέος· [26] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τροφίμῳ ἀποσεμνύνεται βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖται δεδημιουργηκέναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μοι ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει. [27] ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς λεπτολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσηκούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλασσοῦσθαι αὐτῆς ἅπαντα λόγον ἐπάναγκες.

[28] Ἐτι μέντοι καὶ Βεδερίανα τὸ φρούριον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ὅλον πολλῷ ὀχυρώτερον κατεστήσατο. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Δαρδάνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ πόλις ἥπερ Οὐλπιάνα ὠνόμαστο. [29] ταύτης τὸν περίβολον καθελὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον (ἦν γὰρ σφαλερὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀχρεῖος) ἄλλα τε αὐτῇ παμπληθῇ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα ποιησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν νῦν μεταθέμενος εὐκοσμίαν, Σεκοῦνδαν αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὴν ἐπωνόμασε. [30] σεκοῦνδαν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν Λατίνοι λέγουσι. καὶ ἄλλην δὲ αὐτῇ πλησίον ἔδειματο πόλιν οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, ἥνπερ Ἰουστινούπολιν τῷ θεῷ ὁμωνύμως ἐκάλεσεν. [31] ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαρδικῆς τε καὶ Ναῖσουπόλεως, ἔτι μέντοι Γερμαῆς τε καὶ Πανταλείας διερρωγόντα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ τεῖχη εὐρὼν οἰκοδομησάμενός τε ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἅμαχα τοῖς πολεμίοις διεπράξατο εἶναι. [32] καὶ πολίχνια δὲ τούτων δὴ μεταξὺ ἔδειματο p[228]τρία, Κρατίσκαρά τε καὶ Κουιμέδαβα καὶ Ρουμισιάνα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τάσδε τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνέστησε. [33] πρόβολον δὲ ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῶν τε καὶ πάσης Εὐρώπης Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, ἐρύμασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἡῖονα περιβάλλει συχνοῖς, ὥσπερ μοι γεγράφεται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, φυλακτῆριά τε στρατιωτῶν πανταχόθι θεθεῖται τῆς ἀκτῆς, ἀναχαιτίζοντα τὴν διάβασιν βεβαιότατα τοῖς τῇδε βαρβάροις. [34] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐξειργασμένων, ὑπόπτως ἐς τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἐλπίδος τὸ σφαλερὸν ἔχων, λογισάμενός τε ὥς εἰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτῳ δὴ ποτε τρόπῳ διαπορθμεύσασθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἐπιθήσονται ἀφυλάκτοις τὸ παράπαν τοῖς

ἀγροῖς οὖσι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μὲν ἐξανδραποδιοῦσιν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας, χρήματα δὲ ληΐσονται πάντα, οὐκ ἐπὶ κοινῇ αὐτοῖς μόνον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀχυρώμασιν ἀπέλιπεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίαν πεποιήται· [35] οὕτω συνεχῇ τὰ ἐρύματα ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἀπεργασάμενος ὥστε ἀγρὸς ἕκαστος ἢ φρούριον ἀποτετόρνευται, ἢ τῷ τετειχισμένῳ πρόσοικός ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε κὰν τῇ Ἠπειρῷ τῇ τε νέᾳ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ καλουμένη. [36] οὗ δὲ καὶ πόλις αὐτῷ πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανούπολις, ἢ πρότερον Ἀδριανούπολις καλουμένη.

[37] Ἀνενέωσατο δὲ Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Φωτικὴν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὠνομασμένην. αἱ δύο αὐταὶ πολίχναι, ἢ τε Φωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη, ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ τῆς γῆς ἔκειντο, ὕδασι περιρρεόμεναι τῇδε λιμνάζουσι. [38] διὸ δὲ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς εἶναι ἀμήχανα ἐπὶ στερρᾷ θεμελίῳ συνθήκης [230] περιβόλους αὐταῖς ἀναστῆναι, αὐτὰς μὲν ἐπὶ σχήματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φρούρια δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγχοτάτω ἐν τε ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ ἐδείματο. [39] ἦν δὲ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἀρχαία, ὕδασιν ἐπικεικῶς κατακορήσ οὔσα, ὀνόματός τε τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως ἀξίου ἐπιτυχοῦσα· Εὐροία γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν ὠνομάζετο. [40] ταύτης δὲ τῆς Εὐροίας οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν λίμνη κέχυται καὶ νῆσος κατὰ μέσον ἀνέχει καὶ λόφος αὐτῇ ἐπ' ἀνέστηκε. [41] διαλείπει δὲ ἡ λίμνη τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τινὰ ἐν εἰσόδῳ μοίρα τῇ νήσῳ λελεῖσθαι. [42] ἐνθα δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τῆς Εὐροίας μεταβιβάσας οἰκῆτορας, πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην οἰκοδομησάμενος ἐτειχίσατο.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἠπειρον ὅλην Αἰτωλούς τε καὶ Ἀκαρνανὰς παραδραμόντι ὃ τε Κρισαῖος ἐκδέχεται κόλπος καὶ ὃ τε Ἴσθμὸς ἢ τε Κόρινθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία. ἐνθα δὲ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας ἡξίνονται. [2] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὁπόσοις περιβόλοις ἐτειχίσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων προϋνόησε πάντων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀνόδῳ. [3] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ τεῖχη ἐς ὕψος αὐτῷ ἀνέστη μέγα. ἦν γάρ, εἴ τις προσίοι, εὐπετῶς ἁλωτὰ καὶ οὐ τετειχισμένα τὰ ὄρη, ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἀλλ' ἀποτετριγγωμένα ἐδόκει εἶναι. [4] οἷς δὲ καὶ διπλᾶς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐντέθειται πάσας. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ κὰν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐξείργασται, [232] ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν παρέργως οὕτω πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις. [5] διαρκές τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕψος ἐντέθεικε καὶ διπλοῦς τοὺς προμαχῶνας πεποιήται. [6] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ παντάπασιν ὄντι ταμειῖον ὑετίων ὕδατων ἐπετεχνήσατο. [7] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνόδους πολλὰς ἀφυλάκτους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὰ πρότερα οὔσας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές ἐτειχίσατο. [8] θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις εἰκότως τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι δὲ χρόνον ἐνταῦθα κατατρίψας πολὺν, μίαν τινὰ στενὴν ἀτραπὸν εὗρατο, καὶ ταῦτα προδοτῶν Ἑλλήνων τυχόν, ὁδὼν τε ἀτειχίστων ἐκεῖνη πολλῶν καὶ ἀμαξιτῶν σχεδόν τι ὅσων. [9] ἢ τε γὰρ θάλασσα τοὺς πρόποδας ἐπικλύζουσα τῶν ὁρῶν, ἀνεστομωμένης ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι τὰς ἐνθένδε ἀνόδους, καὶ σιράγγων τε καὶ χαραδρῶν ἀδιεξόδων ἐνταῦθα οὐσῶν, ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τειχίσμασιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές περιβαλέσθαι τὰ διηρημένα τῇ φύσει, τῇ τε πρὸς τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων ὀκνήσει ἀταλαίπωρον ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ κατέλιπον, ἐς τὴν ἐσομένην βαρβάρους τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄγνοιαν ἀποθέμενοι τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας. [10] ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἀπολέγοντες αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι, τὰ σφίσιν

αὐτοῖς δυσκολώτατα δόξαντα εἶναι οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶν οἶνται ῥάδια ἔσσεσθαι. [11] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἂν τις ἔτι φιλονεικοῖη μὴ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγένηται, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα προμηθέστατον γεγονέναι καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελέστατον, ὃ γε οὐδὲ θάλασσα χαλεπὴ γέγονε, γειννῶσά τε τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ περιγεομένη καὶ ἐπικλύζουσα, ἐν κλυδωνίῳ p[234]τε καὶ ψάμμῳ ὑγρᾷ τοῖς θεμελίοις στηρίζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις διαφανῶς ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀνθρώπων τε προσχωρεῖν τέχνῃ καὶ βιαζομένοις ὑπέικειν. [12] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰς τε λόχμας καὶ νάπας ἀλλήλαις ἀνάψας, οὐδὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ ὄρει ἐναρμολογούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅλην τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι, κατέπαυσε τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηκόων σπουδὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς ἐτεκτήνατο, ἄξια τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπείας βεβουλευμένος, ἣ βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀκαταγώνιστον γίνεται. [13] ὥστε εἰ τοῖς τείχεσι τούτοις τρόπῳ ὀφιοῦν ἢ χρόνῳ ἀλῶναι ξυμβαίη, ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τὰ φυλακτήρια διασώζοιτο. [14] καὶ μὴν καὶ σιτῶνας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὑδάτων ἔλντρα πανταχόθι πεποιήται, στρατιώτας τε φρουροὺς ἐς δισχιλίους μάλιστα τῆδε ἰδρύσατο· ὁ οὐδέ τις τῶν πρώην βασιλέων πώποτε ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου πεποίηκεν. [15] ἀφύλακτα γὰρ τὸ παράπαν τὰ τεῖχη ταῦτα ἄνωθεν τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, ἀγροίκων τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς τῶν πολεμίων καταθεόντων μεθαρμολογούμενοι τὴν δίαίταν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τε αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες τὰ πολέμια, ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν, ἀλώσιμοί τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπειρία τοῦ ἔργου ῥᾶστα ζῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ ἢ χώρα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀπέκειτο ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις.

[16] Οὕτω μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἐρύματα ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ πόλεων δὲ ἀπασῶν, αἵπερ αὐτῶν ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐξικανουδσιν p[236]οῦσαι, ζῖν ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ τεῖχῃ ὠκοδομήσατο ἰσχυρά, ἐν τε Σάκκῳ καὶ Ὑπάτῃ καὶ Κορακίοις καὶ Οὐννῷ καὶ Βαλέαις καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Λεονταρίῳ. [17] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποιήται τάδε. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα ἰόντι, ὄρη δύο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀλλήλοιν ὥς ἀγγχοτάτω ξυνῆσι, στενωπὸν ἐν βραχεῖ ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν (κλεισοῦρας νενομίκασι τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν)· [18] πηγὴ δὲ κατὰ μέσον κάτεισιν, ἐν μὲν ὥρᾳ θερινῇ πότιμον ἀποβλύζουσα καὶ καθαρὸν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἐς ῥυκά τε ἀποκεκριμένη βραχύν. [19] ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὕοι, χειμάρρους ἐνταῦθα ἐπικυρτοῦται ὑψηλὸς τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐκείνη σκοπέλων ἀπὸ τῶν χαραδρῶν συνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα. [20] ἐνθὲνδε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰσιτητὰ ἐπὶ τε Θερμοπύλας οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ Ἑλλάδα. [21] τοῦ δὲ στενωποῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχυρώματα ἦν, πῇ μὲν Ἡράκλεια πόλις, ἥσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, πῇ δὲ ὁ Μυροπώλης καλούμενος, οὐκ ὀλίγη διεστηκὴς χώρα. [22] ταῦτα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐν ἐρειπίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς καὶ διατειχίσματι τὸν στενωπὸν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, τούτῳ τε συνάψας ὁρος ἐκάτερον τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις τὴν δίοδον ἀνεχαίτισε, τῷ δὲ χειμάρρῳ ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λιμνάζοντι τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, εἴτα ἐφύπερθεν αὐτοῦ φερομένῳ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ἰέναι.

p[238] [23] Καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας αἵπερ ἐντός εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους

ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπαντας. [24] κατερρίπτεσαν γὰρ πολλῶ πρότερον, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν σεισμῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἐξαισίων, Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιᾷσι κὰν τοῖς ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας χωρίοις χρόνου μὲν μήκει πεπονηκότες, ἐπιμελησαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [25] ἐπίμαχον δὲ ἢ ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν εἶασεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προεργηγορότι τῶν κατηκόνων ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι καταθέοντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, τὰ γε ἀμφὶ Θερμοπύλας χωρία, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθωνται οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἔσσεσθαι ὑπερβεβληκόσι τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦτο, τειχίρους πανταχόθι γεγεννημένης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἐθελοκακήσουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὡς πολιορκεῖν σφίσι πόλιν ἐκάστην ἐπάναγκες ἔσται. [26] προσδοκία γὰρ μηκυνομένη ταλαιπωρεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, οὐδὲ ἀναβαλλομένης ὠφελείας ἐφίεται, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδοται τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ὀκνήσεως τὴν μέλλουσαν τύχην.

[27] Ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀτειχίστους ἐμάνθανεν εἶναι, λογισάμενος ὅτι δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ τετρίψεται χρόνος, εἰ κατὰ μιᾶς ἐπιμελοῖτο, τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ὅλον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐτειχίστατο, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ καταπεπτώκει τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη. [28] φρουριά τε ταύτη ἐδείματο καὶ φυλακτήρια κατεστήσατο. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ ἄβαστα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἅπαντα p[240]πεποιήκεν εἶναι τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία, εἰ καὶ τι ἐς τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλας ὀχύρωμα κακουργήσοιεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε κεχώρηκε.

[3] Πόλις δὲ ἦν τις ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας, Διοκλητιανούπολις ὄνομα, εὐδαίμων μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν γεγεννημένη, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου βαρβάρων οἱ ἐπιτεσόντων καταλυθεῖσα καὶ οἰκητόρων ἔρημος γεγυῖα ἐπὶ μακρότατον· λίμνη δὲ τις αὐτῇ ἐν γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἡ Καστορία ὠνόμασται. καὶ νῆσος κατὰ μέσον τῆς λίμνης τοῖς ὕδασι περιβέβληται. [2] μία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν εἴσοδος ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἐν στενῷ λέλειπται, οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα διήκουσα πόδας. [3] ὅρος τε τῇ νήσῳ ἐπανέστηκεν ὑψηλὸν ἄγαν, ἥμισυ μὲν τῇ λίμνῃ καλυπτόμενον, τῷ δὲ λειπομένῳ ἐγκείμενον. [4] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὸν Διοκλητιανουπόλεως ὑπεριδὼν χώρον ἄτε που διαφανῶς εὐέφοδον ὄντα καὶ πεπονθότα πολλῶ πρότερον, ἅπερ ἐρρήθη, πόλιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὀχυρωτάτην ἐδείματο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει. [5] ἐπὶ μέντοι Ἑχιναίου τε καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Φαρσάλου καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ἐν αἷς Δημητριάς τέ ἐστι καὶ Μητρόπολις ὄνομα καὶ Γόμφοι καὶ Τρίκα, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος, ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐκρατύνατο, χρόνῳ τε καταπεπονηκότας μακρῶ, εὐπετῶς τε ἁλωτοὺς ὄντας, εἰ τις προσίοι.

[6] Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίγμεθα, φέρε δὴ, τῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ τε τὸ ὅρος τὸ Πήλιον καὶ p[242]Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν ἴωμεν. [7] ρεῖ μὲν ἐξ ὅρους τοῦ Πηλίου πρᾶν τῷ ρεῖθρῳ ὁ Πηνειός, ὠραῖσται δὲ αὐτῷ περιρρεομένη πόλις ἡ Λάρισσα, τῆς Φθίας ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι οὔσης, τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου τὸ διαπόνημα. [8] φέρεται δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος εὖ μάλα προσηνῶς ἄχρι ἐς θάλασσαν. εὐφορός τε οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα καρπῶν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτίμοις ὕδασι κατακορῆς ἄγαν, ὥνπερ ὀνίνασθαι ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον περίφοβοι ὄντες οἱ τῇδε ὥκημένοι διηνεκὲς καὶ караδοκοῦντες ἀεὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγκείμεσθαι σφίσι· ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ὀχύρωμα ἦν, ὅπη ἂν καταφυγόντες

σωθήσονται. [9] ἀλλὰ καὶ Λάρισσαν καὶ Καισάρειαν, πεπονηκότων σφίσιν ὑπεράγαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων, σχεδὸν τι ἀτειχίστους εἶναι ξυνέβαινε. [10] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄμφω τείχη ἰσχυρότατα ποιησάμενος γνησίᾳ τὴν χώραν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ξυνώκισεν. [11] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ἄποθεν ὄρη ἀνέχει ἀπόκρημνα, οὐρανομήκεσιν ἀμφιλαφεὶ δένδροις· οἰκεῖα δὲ Κενταύροις τὰ ὄρη. [12] καὶ γέγονε Λαπίθαις ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς τὸ Κενταύρων γένος ἡ μάχη, ὥς οἱ μῦθοι ἡμῖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰσχυρίζονται, νεανιευόμενοι γεγονέναι ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ ζῶων φύσιν τινὰ δυοῖν σύμμικτον. [13] ἀφῆκε δὲ τι καὶ τῷ μύθῳ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ μαρτύριον ὁ παλαιὸς χρόνος, φρουρίου ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὅρεσιν ὄντος. Κενταυρόπολις p[244]γὰρ τὸ χωρίον καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται. [14] οὐπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη σὺν Εὐρυμένη τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐνταῦθ' αἴη ὄντι καὶ ταὐτὸ πεπονθότι ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐκρατύνατο. [15] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνενεώσατο, ὧν περ τὰ ὀνόματα σὺν τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τετειχισμένοις ἐν καταλόγῳ γεγράφεται μοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.

[16] Ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπολειφθεῖ μένον ἄρρητον, ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἡμῖν τὴν νῆσον ἰτέον, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηνῶν τε καὶ Μαραθῶνος ἀγχιστα ἔστηκεν. [17] Εὐβοία τοίνυν ἡ νῆσος ἥδε προβέβληται μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλάδος εἰς θάλασσαν, δοκεῖ δὲ πού ἀπενεχθῆναι, μᾶς μὲν οὔσης τῆς γῆς πρότερον, ἀποσχισθείσης δὲ πορθμῷ ὕστερον· [18] ῥήγνυσι γάρ τις τὴν ἡπειρον ἐνταῦθα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἀμφὶ Χαλκίδα πόλιν, ἐν στενῷ τε ξυνοῦσα καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐκατέρωθι σφιγγομένη ἐς ῥύακος εὖρος. [19] καὶ νῆσος μὲν τὸ ἀποτετμημένον τῆς γῆς γέγονεν· Εὐριπος δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἐπωνόμασται. [20] τοιαύτῃ μὲν οὖν τις ἡ Εὐβοία τυγχάνει οὔσα· ζευγμα δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ μία τις ἐγκειμένη ποιεῖται δοκός· ἥ περ ἐπιτιθέντες μὲν, ἥνικα ἂν ἡ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἡπειρώται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ εἰς γῆν τὴν ἀντιπέραν πεζοὶ ἴασιν, ἀφαιρούμενοι δὲ ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις διαπορθεύονται τὸν ἀνάπλου καὶ νησιῶται γίνονται αὐθις, ἐνός τε ξύλου ἐπιβολῇ καὶ ἀφαιρέσει καὶ πεζεῦουσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται· . . . ἐντὸς καθειργμένην καλοῦσι Παλλήνην. [21] τὴν μέντοι εἰσοδὸν p[246]διατειχίσματι τὸ παλαιὸν καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ταύτῃ τε τὴν ἐκατέρωθι συζευξάντες θάλασσαν, πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ποτίδαιαν, τανῦν δὲ Κασανδρίαν ὀνομάζουσιν. [22] οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας ὁ χρόνος διέφθειρε πάσας ὥστε δὴ Οὐννικόν τι ἔθνος οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ὥσπερ τι διαχειρίζοντες οἶόν τι πάρεργον, τό τε ξύναμμα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφοβοι ἐξεῖλον, καί περ ἐξ οὗ γεγονάσιν ἄνθρωποι οὐ τειχομαχῆσαντες πώποτε. [23] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε πρόφασις ἀρετὴν τε καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι. [24] τοῖς γὰρ ξυμπίπτουσι χαλεποῖς ἀντίξουν ποιούμενος αἰὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων τὰ πονηρότατα ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις ἀγαθοεργίαις εὐθὺς μεταβιβάζεται ἐς τύχην ἀμείνω. [25] καὶ Παλλήνης ἀμέλει πόλιν τε τὴν προβεβλημένην τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν διατειχίσμα τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον διεπράξατο διαφανῶς εἶναι. [26] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν πράξεσιν αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν διαπεπόνηται.

[27] Ρεῖ δέ τις ποταμός Θεσσαλονίκης οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν, Ῥήχιος ὄνομα· ὃς δὴ χώραν ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ γεώδη περιερχόμενος τὰς ἐκβολὰς εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἐκείνη ποιεῖται. [28] προσηγνὴς δὲ ὁ ποταμός ἐστι, γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πότιμον, ἢ γῆ χθαμαλή, ἀρώματα πολλά, ἔλος εὖνομον. [29] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν εὐδαιμονίας ἢ χώρα εὖ ἔχει, p[248]βαρβάροις δὲ λίαν εὐέφοδος οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν, οὔτε φρούριον ἐν σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἔρυμα ἔχουσα. [30] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ τε τὰς τοῦ Ῥηχίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνα φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐχυρώτατον, καινουργήσας αὐτός, ὅπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπωνόμασται.

[4] [1] Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇδε τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης πεποιήται μοῖρα εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων τισὶ μακράν τε ὠκημένοις καὶ πολιτείαν ἐτέραν ἔχουσι τὸν κατάλογον ἐποιοῦμεθα τῶν τῇδε φρουρίων ἅπερ Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται, ἵνα δὴ ἔμελλεν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος εἶναι, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μυθολόγος τε ἂν τῶν ἔργων τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως. [2] νῦν δὲ (ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις οὐ μακράν που τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἄγαν οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἡμῖν ἄνθρωποι) φέρε δὴ νεανιευσάμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχέγγυον οὕσαν, ἀπαριθμησώμεθα μηδεμία ὀκνήσει τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰς χώρας τὰς μοι ἔναγχος δεδηλωμένας πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἢ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐρυμάτων ἀνανεούμενος, ἢ νέα τεῖχη ἐπιτεχνώμενος. [3] οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον ὥς ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐπελθεῖν ἅπαντα, ὥς μὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιμιξία ὄχλος τις ἐπιγένηται τῷ λόγῳ πολὺς.

p[250] Φρούρια μὲν οὖν νέα πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἠπείρῳ νέα γεγένηται τάδε·

Βουλπιανσός.

Ἐπίστερβα.

Σκημινίτης.

Ἄονα.

Στεφανιακόν.

Ἄργος.

Αλίουλα.

Δυρράχιν.

Ὁ ἅγιος Σαβιανός.

Γέμενος.

Βακουστή.

Ἄλιστρος.

Πάταπα.

Ἐπιδοῦντα.

Βάκουστα.

Μάρτις.

Εἰρήνη.

Σπερέτιον.

Λοιὼν.

Στρέδην.

Γυναικομίτης.

ρ^[251] Λάβελλος.
Ἐπίλεον.
Πισκιναί.
Δεύφρακος.
Δολέβιν.
Ἡδονία.
Τιτιάνα.
Κιθινάς.
Οὐλίβουλα.
Βρεβατή.
Θησαυρός.
Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·
Τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου.
Κεθρέων.
Ἄπις.
Πήλεον.
Κώμη.
Πακούε.
Σκυδρέων πόλις.
Ἀντίπαγραι.
Τίθυρα.
Βρέβετα.
Βοῦπος.
Ἐνδύνεια.
Διόνυσος.
Τοῦ Πτωχείου.
Τυρκανός.
Κάπαζα.
Πούψαλος.
Γάβραιον.
ρ^[252] Διόνοια.
Κλημεντιανά.
Ἰλλύριν.
Κιλικαί.
Ἀργυάς.
Θέρμα.
Ἀμάντεια.
Παρέτιον.
Ἐν δὲ Ἡπεύρῳ παλαιᾷ, νέα μὲν φρούρια ἐγένοντο τάδε·
Παρμός.
Ὀλβος.
Κιόνιν.
Μαρκιανά.
Ἄλγος.

Κείμενος.
Ξηροπόταμος.
Εὐρώπη.
Χίμαιραι.
Ἥλέγα.
Ὅμόνοια.
Ἰαδανον.
Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

Μουρκίαρα.
Κάστινα.
Γενύσιος.
p[253] Πέρκος.
Μαρμάρата.
Λίστρια.
Πετρωνιανά.
Κάρμυνα.
Τοῦ ἁγίου Σαβίνου.
Καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ Κώμη κινστάρνα.
Μάρτιος.
Πέζιον.
Ὅναλος.

Καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰουστινιανοπόλεως^ο καὶ Φωτικῆς· φρούρια δύο τοῦ ἁγίου
Δονάτου.

Συμφύγιον.
Προνάθιδον.
Ἡδωνες.
Κάστελλος.
Βουλιβάς.
Πάλυρος.
Τράνα.
Ποσειδών.
Κολοφωνία.
Ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας·
Κάνδιδα.
Κολοβώνα.
p[254] Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου.
Μελίχιζα.
Πασκᾶς.
Αὐλών.
Βολβός.
Βριγίζης.
Ὀπτᾶς.
Πλευρόν.
Κάμινος.

Θέρμα.
Βογᾶς.
Νεάπολις.
Κάλαρνος.
Μουσεῖον.
Ἀκρέμβα.
Ἀδριάνιον.
Ἔδανα.
Σίκλαι.
Νύμφιον.
Μέτιζος.
Ἀργικιανόν.
Βάζινος.
Κασσωπᾶς.
Παρθίων.
Γεντιανόν.
p^[255] Πρινίανα.
Θήστεον.
Κύρρου.
Γουρρασών.
Κουμαρκίανα.
Λιμνηδήριον.
Βουρβοώδην.
Βάβας.
Κρυνίανα.
Πέλεκον.
Λάγης.
Κραταιά.
Φασκίαι.
Πλακιδιανά.
Ὑγεά.
Λιμνααί.
Ὅπτιον.
Χάραδρος.
Κάσσωπες.
Ἀνενεώθη καὶ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας φρούρια τάδε·
Ἀλκών.
Λόσσοнос.
Γεροντική.
Πέρβυλα.
Κερκινέου.
Σκιδρεοῦς.
Φράκελλαν.
p^[256] Ἐπὶ Δαρδανίας δὲ πεποιήται τάδε. νέα μὲν·

Λαβέριον.
Κάστιμον.
Ῥαβεστόν.
Καστέλλιον.
Ἀκρένζα.
Τεριάς.
Δροῦλλος.
Βικτωρίας.
Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·
Κεσίανα.
Τεζούλη.
Οὐσιανά.
Βεσίανα.
Μασκᾶς.
Λίστη.
Κελλιριανά.
Ζυσβάες.
Γένζανα.
Πετρίζην.
Εὐτυχιανά.
Μουλατώ.
Βελάς.
Κάτταρος.
Κατταρηκός.
Πέντζα.
Κατταφέτερος.
p^[257] Δάβανος.
Κούβινος.
Γέρματζα.
Βικτωριανά.
Ἄζετα.
Δουρβουλιανά.
Σούρικον.
Κούσινες.
Τουττιανά.
Βαλλεσιανά.
Βήλλα.
Κατρέλατες.
Κασύελλα.
Μανίανα.
Πρισκούπερα.
Μιλετής.
Δαρδάπαρα.
Κέσουνα.

Βερινιανά.
Λάσβαρος.
Καστελλοβρέταρα.
Ἐδετζίω.
Δίνιον.
Κέκωλα.
Ἕμαστος.
Καστελῶνα.
Καπόμαλβα.
Σέρετος.
Πτωχεῖον.
Κουνιώ.
Βέρζανα.
Βεσαῖνα.
p[258] Ἄρσα.
Βλεζώ.
Λάβουτζα.
Κυίντου.
Βερμέζιον.
Κατράσεμα.
Ῥοτοῦν.
Κοβέγκιλες.
Μαρκελλιανά.
Πριμονιανά.
Παμίλιнос.
Ἀρία.
Ἕπὸ πόλιν Σαρδικήν·
Σκούπιον.
Στένες.
Μαρκίπετρα.
Βρίπαρον.
Ῥωμανιανά.
Στρούας.
Πρωτίανα.
Μακκουνιανά.
Σκοπέντζανα.
Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καβετζῷ χώρα, νέον μὲν Βαλβαί ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·
Βυρσία.
Σταμαζώ.
Κλεσβέστιτα.
Δουῖανα.
p[259] Τούρικλα.
Μέδεκα.
Πεπλαβιός.

Κοῦναι.
Βίνεος.
Τρισκίανα.
Παρνοῦστα.
Τζίμες.
Βιδζώ.
Στενεκόρτα.
Δανεδέβαι.
Ἀρδεία.
. . . νέα μέν·
Βουγάραμα.
Βέτζας.
Βρεγεδάβα.
Βόρβρεγα.
Τουροῦς.
Ἀνενεώθη δέ·
Σαλεβρίες.
Ἀρκοῦνες.
Δουρίες.
Βουτερίες.
Βαρβαρίες.
Ἀρβατίας.
Κουτζούσουρα.
Ἑταιρίες.
Ἰταβερίες.
Βόττες.
p[260] Βιτζιμαίας.
Βαδζιάνια.
Βάνες.
Βιμηρός.
Τουσουδεάας.
Σκουάνες.
Σκεντουδίες.
Σκάρες.
Τουγουρίας.
Βεμάστες.
Στραμεντίας.
Λίγνιος.
Ἰταδεβά.
Ὑπὸ πόλιν Γέρμεννε, νέον μὲν Σκαπλιζώ· ἀνενεώθη δέ·
Γερμάς.
Κανδαράς.
Ὅλλιγεράς.
Σκινζερίες.

Ῥιγινοκάστελλον.
Σουεγωγμένεσε.
Ὑπὸ πόλιν Παυτά·
Τάρπωρον.
Σουάβαστας.
Χερδούσκερα.
Βλέβοις.
Ζεαπουρίες.
p[261] Ἐν χώρα Σκασσετάνα·
Ἄλαρον.
Μαγιμιάς.
Λουκουνάντα.
Βάλαυσον.
Βούττις.
Ὑπὸ πόλιν δὲ . . . νέα μέν·
Καλβεντία.
Φαράνορες.
Στρανβάστα.
Ἄλδανες.
Βαραχτέστες.
Σάρματες.
Ἄρσενα.
Βράρκεδον.
Ἐραρία.
Βερκάδιον.
Σαβινίριβες.
Τιμίανα.
Κάνδυλαρ.
Ἄρσαζα.
Βικούλεα.
Καστέλλιον.
Γρόφφες.
Γάρκες.
Πίστες.
Δούσμανες.
Βράτζιστα.
p[262] Ὀλόδορις.
Κασσία.
Γράνδετον.
Οὐρβρίανα.
Νώγετο.
Γούρβικον.
Λαύτζονες.
Δουλίαρες.

Μεδίανα.
Τιούγκωνα.
Καστέλλιον.
Ἀνενεώθη δέ·
Ἔρκουλα.
Μουτζιανικάστελλον.
Βούρδωπες.
Κάλις.
Μιλλάρεκα.
Δέδβερα.
Χεσδούπαρα.
Ἐν χώρᾳ Ῥεμισιανισίᾳ·
Βρίττουρα.
Σούβαρας.
Λαμπωνιάνα.
Στρόγγες.
Δάλματας.
Πριμίανα.
Φρερραρία.
Τόπερα.
p^[263] Τόμες.
Κούας.
Τζερτζενούτζας.
Στένες.
Αἰάδαβα.
Δέστρεβα.
Πρετζουρίες.
Κουμούδεβα.
Δευριάς.
Λούτζολο.
Ῥεπόρδενες.
Σπέλογκα.
Σκοῦμβρο.
Βρίπαρο.
Τουλκόβουργο.
Λογγίανα.
Λουποφαντάνα.
Δαρδάπαρα.
Βουρδόμινα.
Γριγκιάπανα.
Γραῖκος.
Δρασίμαρκα.
Ἐν χώρᾳ Ἀκουενισίῳ, νέον μὲν Τιμαθοχιώμ. τὰ δὲ ἀνανεωθέντα·
Πέτρες.

Σκουλκόβουργο.

Βινδιμίολα.

ρ^[264] Βραίολα.

Αργανόκιλι.

Καστελλόνοβο.

Φλωρεντίανα.

Ῥωμυλίανα.

Σεπτέκασαι.

Αργένταρες.

Αύριλίανα.

Γέμβερο.

Κλέμαδες.

Τουρρίβας.

Γρίβο.

Χάλαρο.

Τζούτρατο.

Μουτζίπαρα.

Στένδας.

Σκαρίπαρα.

ρ^[265] Ὀδρίουζο.

Κιπίπενε.

Τρασίανα.

Πότες.

Ἄμουλο.

Σέτλοτες.

Τιμακίολον.

Μερίδιο.

Μεριοπόντεδε.

Τρεδετετιλίους.

Βραίολα.

Μώτρεςες.

Βικάνοβο.

Κουαρτίανα.

Ἰουλιόβαλλαι.

Πόντζας.

Ζάνες.

[5] Οὕτω μὲν σύμπασαν τὴν μεσόγειον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐτειχίσατο. τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα καὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύμασί τε καὶ φυλακτηρίοις στρατιωτῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [2] οἱ Ῥωμαίων τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτοκράτορες τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ὥκημένοις βαρβάροις τὴν τοῦ Δανουβίου διάβασιν ἀναστέλλοντες ὀχυρώμασί τε κατέλαβον τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν ξύμπασαν, οὐ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαχῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα πολίσματά τε καὶ φρούρια τῆδε δειμάμενοι. [3] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐξειργάσαντο οὐκ

ἀμύχανα προσελθεῖν, p[266]εἰ τις προσίοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον δὴ μὴ ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡίονα λελεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ τειχομαχεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωστο. [4] τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐρυμάτων αὐτοῖς ἀμέλει ἀπεκέκριτο ἐς πύργον ἓνα, μονοπύργιά τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἄνθρωποι τε ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴδρυντο. [5] καὶ τοῦτο τηνικάδε ἀπέχρη τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων δεδίσσεσθαι γένῃ, ὥστε δὴ ἀναδύεσθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιθεσιν. [6] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀττίλας στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσβεβληκῶς, τὰ τε ὀχυρώματα πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε, καὶ γῆν Ῥωμαίων ὑπαντιάζοντός οἱ οὐδενὸς ἐληΐσατο τὴν πολλήν. [7] ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνφοδομήσατό τε τὰ καθηρημένα, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τὸ καρτερώτατον μάλιστα, καὶ πλεῖστα ἔτι ἐπετεχνήσατο καινουργήσας αὐτός. [8] ταύτῃ τε παντάπασιν ἀνεσώσατο ἀπολωλυῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ἅπερ ἅπαντα ὄντινα γεγένηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[9] Κάτεισι μὲν ἐξ ὁρέων τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς ποταμὸς Ἰστρος, οἱ τανῦν Γάλλοι ἐπικαλοῦνται· χώραν δὲ περιβάλλει πολλήν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παντελῶς ἔρημον, ἐνιαχῇ δὲ βαρβάρους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσιν, θηριώδη τέ τινα δίαίταν ἔχοντας καὶ ἀνεπίμικτον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. [10] Δακίας δὲ ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ γεγόμενος, ἐνταῦθα διορίζων φαίνεται πρῶτον τοὺς τε βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ ἔχουσι, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐν δεξιᾷ οὔσαν. [11] διὸ δὴ Ῥιπησίαν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν p[268]ταύτῃ Δακίαν· ῥῖπα γὰρ ἡ ὄχθη τῇ Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ. [12] πόλιν οὖν παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν, ὄνομα Σιγγηδόνον, ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείμαντο πρῶτην. [13] ταύτην δὲ βάρβαροι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐλόντες ἕς τε τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες εὐθύς, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων παντάπασι κατεστήσαντο. [14] τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων κατεστήσαντο τὰ πλεῖστα. [15] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνανεωσάμενος ξύμπασιν καὶ τειχίσματι ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, πόλιν περιφανῇ τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν πεποίηκεν αὐτῇς. [16] φρούριόν τε ἄλλο διαφερόντως ἐχυρὸν ἀνέστησε νέον, πόλεως Σιγγηδόνου ὀκτὼ μάλιστα σημείοις διέχον, ὅπερ Ὀκταβον λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι καλοῦσιν. [17] ἐπίπροσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ πόλις ἦν ἀρχαία τὸ Βιμινάκιον, ἥνπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς (ἐκ θεμελίων γὰρ ἀπωλώλει τῶν ἐσχάτων πολλῷ πρότερον) ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ξύμπασιν ἀπέδειξε νέαν.

[6] Ἐκ δὲ Βιμινακίου προϊόντι ὀχυρώματα τρία πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνι ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Πιγκούς τε καὶ Κούπους καὶ Νοβάς. [2] οἷς δὴ πρότερον ἢ τε οἰκοδομία μία καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ πύργου ἐνὸς ἔκειτο. ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ τε οἰκία καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἕς τε πληθὸς καὶ μέγεθος ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις ἀνενεγκὼν μέγα, πόλεων αὐτοῖς ἀξιώματα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος ἐντέθεικε. [3] Νοβῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡπεῖρω πύργος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀπημελημένος ἐστήκει, ὄνομα Λιτερατά· ὃνπερ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Λεδέρατα ἐκάλουν. [4] ὃν δὴ p[270]ἐς φρούριον μέγα τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἐχυρώτατον ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς μετεστήσατο. [5] μετὰ Νοβάς δὲ φρούρια Κανταβαζά τε καὶ Σμόρνης τε καὶ Κάμψης καὶ Τανάτα καὶ Ζέρνης καὶ Δουκεπράτου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡπεῖρῳ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ φρούρια ἐκ θεμελίων τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐδείματο. [6] μετὰ δὲ Καπούτβοες ὠνόμασαι, τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος

[19] Ἦν δέ τι πολίχιον ἐγγὺς κείμενον, Ἀκυες ὄνομα, οὐπὲρ ὀλίγα ἄττα σαθρὰ γεγονότα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηνώρθωσε. [20] καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο Βουργονόβορε καὶ Λακκόβουργο, καὶ τὸ Δορτικὸν ἐπικαλούμενον φρούριον, ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλον γεγενημένον ἐς ὀχύρωμα νῦν ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο. [21] καὶ πύργον ἓνα, Ἰουδαῖος καλούμενον, φρούριον διεσκευάσατο κεκαλλιστευμένον καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι. [22] καὶ τὸ δὴ Βουργουάλτου ὠνομασμένον, ἔρημόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀοίκητον τὰ πρότερα ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶρον ἕτερον περιβόλῳ ἐτειχίσατο νέφ' ὄνπερ ἐπικαλοῦσι Γόμβες. [23] καὶ τὸ Κρίσπας ἔρυμα καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Λογγινιάνᾳ καὶ Ποντεσέρῳ ἐδείματο, ἔργον διαφερόντως ἐξαίσιον. [24] ἐν δὲ

Βωνονία τε καὶ Νοβῶ προμαχεῶνας διερρηκότες ἀνενέωσαντο. καὶ Ῥατιαρίας πόλεως ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ὀρθὰ ἐστήσατο. [25] καὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον ἢ βραχέα κομιδῇ ὄντα ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρεν, ἢ συνέστευλε τὸ περιττὸν ἀφελόμενος, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῷ ὑπεράγαν βραχεῖ ἢ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ εὐέφοδα εἶη· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει Μωκατίανα μὲν πύργον ἓνα κατὰ μόνας τὰ πρότερα ὄντα φρούριον τανῦν τελεώτερον κατεστήσατο. [26] τὸ δὲ γε Ἀλμοῦ, χώραν p[276]περιβεβλημένον πολλήν, ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγὼν σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄμαχον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰργάσατο. [27] καὶ πολλαχῇ δὲ πύργον ἓνα κατὰ μόνας ἐστῶτα εὐρὼν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὄντα, φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο. [28] ὁ δὲ περὶ τε Τρίκεσαν καὶ Πούτεδιν πεποίηκε. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὀχυρώματα τοῦ ἐν Κεβρῶ τὰ καταπεποννηκότα θαυμασίως ὥς ἐπηνώρθωσε· φρούριόν τε οὐ πρότερον ὃν ἐν Βιγранаῇ δεδημιούργηκε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα ἕτερον ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ πύργος εἰς τὰ πρότερα ὧν εἰστῆκε μόνος, ὄνομα Ὅνος. [29] ἐλέλειπτο δὲ μόνῃ πόλεως ἐδάφη οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν· Αὐγοῦστες ὠνομάζετο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἢ πόλιν. [30] νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὄνομα ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ καὶ ἀκραιφνὴς ὅλη πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως γεγεννημένη, ὁμιλεῖ οἰκητόρων ἐπιεικῶς πλήθει. [31] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ ἐν Ἀεδάβῃ ἐρύματος ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ Βαριάνα πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κειμένην ἀνέστησεν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Βαλεριάναν, ἔρυμα πρότερον οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν, ἐτειχίσατο.

[32] Πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ χωρίων οὐ παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κειμένων τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἀποθεν ὄντων ἐπεμελήσατο, πεσουμένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τειχίσματί τε αὐτὰ περιβέβληκεν ἀμάχοις τισί. [33] Κάστρα Μάρτις τε καὶ Ζητνουκόρτου καὶ Ἰσκὸς τὰ χωρία ἐπικαλεῖται ταῦτα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην φρούριον παλαιόν, Οὔννων ὄνομα, ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ πολλῆς. [34] ἔστι δὲ τις χῶρος p[278]οῦ πολλῶ ἀποθεν τούτου δὴ τοῦ Οὔννων φρουρίου, ἔνθα δὴ ὀχυρώματα δύο Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἦν, ἐν μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς Παλατίολον ὄνομα, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Συκίβιδα. [35] ταῦτα καθηρημένα τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν, ἐπέκεινά τε φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο, παλαιὸν ἔρυμα, ὅπερ Οὔτως ὠνόμασται. [36] ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὀρίων φρούριον ἀνῶκοδομήσατο, Λαπιδαρίας ὄνομα, καὶ πύργον ἓνα ἐστῶτα μόνον, Λουκερναριαβούργου καλούμενον, ἐς φρούριον ἀξιοθέατον μετεστήσατο. [37] ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διαπέπρακται. οὐ μόναις δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις τὴν χώραν ἐτειχίσατο ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι πᾶσιν ἀξιολογωτάτας καταστησάμενος τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο.

[7] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰλλυριῶν ὀχυρώματα παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ἐπὶ Θράκης δὲ νῦν ἰτέον ἡμῖν τὰ ἐρύματα, ὅσα δὴ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἰργασται. [2] οὐ γάρ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἅπασαν πρότερον περιηγησαμένῳ τὴν ταύτῃ ἡῖονα οὕτω δὴ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα. [3] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Μυσοῦς ἐνθένδε ἴωμεν, οὗσπερ ἀγχεμάχους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἰλλυριοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσι. [4] μετὰ τὸν χῶρον οὖν ὅνπερ Λουκερναριαβούργον

καλοῦσι, Σεκούρισκα τὸ φρούριον ᾠκοδομήσατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καινουργήσας αὐτός. [5] ἐπέκεινά ρ_[280]τε τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐν Κυντοδήμου ἀνενεώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐδείματο οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, ἥνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδωρόπολιν ἐπωνόμασεν. [6] ἔτι μέντοι φρουρίων τοῦ τε Ἰατρῶν καλουμένου καὶ Τιγᾶς τὰ πεπονθότα νέα τινὶ διεσώσατο οἰκοδομία, καὶ τοῖς Μαξεντίου πύργον ἐντέθεικεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ προσδεῖν ᾤετο. [7] καὶ τὸ Κυντῶν ἐδείματο φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὄν. μεθ' ὃ δὴ τὸ Τρασμαρίσκας ὀχυρώμα ἐστίν· οὐπὲρ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ Κωνσταντίνος ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φρούριον οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ᾠκοδομήσατο, Δάφνην ὄνομα, οὐκ ἀξύμφορον νενομικῶς εἶναι φυλάσσεσθαι ταύτῃ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκατέρωθεν. [8] ὃ δὴ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου βάρβαροι μὲν ἀφανίζουσι τὸ παράπαν, Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀνᾠκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐκ θεμελίων ἀρξάμενος. [9] μετὰ δὲ Τρασμαρίσκαν ἔρυμά τε τὸ Ἀλτηνῶν, καὶ ὅπερ καλοῦσι Κανδιδιάνα, καθηρημένον πρὸς αὐτῶν πολεμίων πολλῶ πρότερον, ἐπιμελείας ἤξιωσε κατὰ λόγον τῆς χρείας. [10] ἔστι δὲ τρία ἐξῆς ὀχυρώματα παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνα, Σαλτουπύργος τε καὶ Δορόστολος καὶ Συκιδάβα. [11] ὧν δὴ ἐκάστου τὰ πεπονθότα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηνόρθωσε. [12] καὶ Κούηστρις δέ, ὅπερ κεῖται τῆς ἀκτῆς ἔκτοσθεν, ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ὁμοίαν πεποίηται. καὶ Πάλματις ἐν στενῷ κείμενον μεῖζόν τε κατεστήσατο καὶ διαφερόντως εὐρύτερον, καίπερ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄν. [13] οὗ δὴ ἄγχιστα καὶ φρούριον Ἀδινα καινουργήσας ἐδείματο, ἐπεὶ διηνεκὲς διαλανθάνοντες Σκλαβηνοὶ ρ_[282]βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ἐνεδρεύοντές τε κεκρυμμένως αἰεὶ τοὺς τῆδε ἰόντας ἄβατα ἐποιοῦν τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [14] καὶ φρούριον δὲ τὸ Τυλικίων ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κείμενον ἔρυμα.

[15] Οὕτω μὲν καὶ Μυσοῖς τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀκτῆς ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἔσχε καὶ ταύτης πλησίον. [16] ἐπὶ Σκύθας δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν βαδιοῦμαι· ἐνθα δὴ φρούριον πρῶτον Κυρίλλου ἀγίου ἐπώνυμον ἐστίν, οὐπὲρ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνᾠκοδομήσατο οὐκ ἀπημελημένως Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς. [17] ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτοῦ ἦν μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχύρωμα, Οὐλμιτῶν ὄνομα, βαρβάρων δὲ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐκείνη τὰς ἐνέδρας πεποιηκότων, διατριβὴν τε αὐτόθι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐσχηκότων, ἔρημόν τε παντάπασι γέγονε, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι. [18] ὅλον τοῖνυν ἐκ θεμελίων δειμάμενος, ἐλεύθερα τῆς τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπιθέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς κατεστήσατο εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [19] ἔστι δὲ πού μετὰ τοῦτο Ἰβιδὰ πόλις, ἥς δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλὰ ἐπεπόνθει, ἅπερ ἀνανεωσάμενος οὐδεμίᾳ μελλήσει ἐχυρωτάτην διεπράξατο εἶναι. [20] φρούριόν τε δεδημιούργηκε νέον αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ Αἴγισσον ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ φρούριον Σκυθίας ἐν ὑστάτῳ κεῖται, Ἄλμυρις ὄνομα, οὗ δὴ τὰ πολλὰ σαθρὰ γεγονότα διαφανῶς ἀνᾠκοδομησάμενος διεσώσατο. [21] ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης μοίρᾳ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον.

[8] [1] Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τε Δαρδάνοις καὶ Ἠπειρώταις καὶ Μακεδόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυριῶν ρ_[284]ἔθνεσιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οἰκοδομήματα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται, ἥδη μοι

ἐμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται. [2] ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἴωμεν, ἀρίστην πηγνύμενοί τινα τοῦ λόγου κρηπίδα τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου χωρία, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἡ πόλις οὐ τῷ κρατεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρίων προέστηκε φύσει, τῇ μὲν Εὐρώπῃ ὥσπερ τις ἀκρόπολις ἐπεμβαίνουσα, φραττομένη δὲ τῆς διοριζούσης αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας θαλάσσης τὸ πέρασ. [3] ἤδη μὲν οὖν τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς πόλεως κτίσεις, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περιβόλου δεδημιούργηκεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν δεδήλωκα λόγοις. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[4] Φρούριόν ἐστιν ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὅπερ Στρογγύλον ὁμωνύμως τῇ τοῦ ἐρύματος συνθέσει καλοῦσιν. [5] ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον ὁδὸς ἄγουσα, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνώμαλος οὖσα, ὄμβρων, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπιπεσόντων, τελματώδης τε καὶ δυσπάριτος τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν ἐγίνετο. [6] νῦν δὲ λίθοις αὐτὴν καταστρώσας ἀμαξιαίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐπετὴ τε κατεστήσατο καὶ ἄπονον ὅλως. [7] μῆκος μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇδε ἄχρι ἐς Ῥήγιον· εὐρύνεται δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον ἀμάξας οὐ στενοχωρεῖν δύο ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις ἰούσας. [8] τραχεῖς οἱ λίθοι διαφερόντως· εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς μυλίστας εἶναι· εὐμεγέθεις τέ εἰσι μάλιστα. ὥστε δὴ ἕκαστος γῆν μὲν ἐπικαλύπτει πολλήν, ἐς ἅγαν δὲ ὑποῦ ἀνέχει. [9] ἐς δὲ τὸ ὁμαλὲς καὶ p[286]τό γε λεῖον ἐπιεικῶς ἐξειργασμένοι, οὐ ἐνήφθαι τῇ συνθέσει, οὐδέ πη ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μεμυκέναι, ἀλλὰ συμπεφυκέναι δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαυτὰ ἐστί.

[10] Λίμνην δὲ τινα εἶναι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥηγίου καλουμένου ξυμβαίνει ἐς ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσι ποταμοὶ ἐκ χωρίων τῶν ὑπερθεῖν τῇδε φερόμενοι. [11] διακέχεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν· ὥστε μία τις ἀμφοτέραιν ἀκτὴ ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα τυγχάνει οὖσα. [12] ταύτην δὲ ἄμφω ἐπικλύζουσι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀντικυματοῦσαι, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιμυκόμεναι, αἱ τε ἀλλήλαις εὐθὺ ἵενται τὴν ἡϊόνα ἐπικοινωνοῦμεναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὡς πλησιαίτατα ἴκωνται, ἀναχαιτίζουσι τὴν ἐπιρροήν, ἐφ' ἐαυτὰς ἐπιστρέφουσαι, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὄρια σφίσι πηξάμεναι. [13] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλαις οὗ ἀναμίγνυνται, πορθμόν τινα μεταξὺ ἔχουσαι, ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότερα ποτὲ αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ὕδωρ διακεκλήρωται. [14] οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἐς τὴν λίμνην αἰεὶ φέρεται οὔτε διηνεκὲς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ λίμνη ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλ' ὄμβρων μὲν ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, ἐπιπνεύσαντός τε ἀνέμου νότου, ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ὁ πορθμὸς προϊὼν φαίνεται. [15] ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἴοι, ἡ θάλασσα τὴν λίμνην ἐπικλύζειν δοκεῖ. ἐν τούτῳ μέντοι ἡ θάλασσα τῷ χώρῳ ἐς βράχος κατατείνει παμμέγεθες, ὀλίγης τινὸς ἀπολελειμμένης μεταξὺ χώρας ἥπερ διήκει ἐς ἄβυσσον· [16] ἐς τόσον δὲ στενὴ τυγχάνει οὖσα, ὥστε δὴ καὶ Μύρμηξ ὠνόμασται. οὗτος δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς, ὃ τε τὴν p[288]θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν λίμνην ζευγνύων, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, πάλαι μὲν γεφύρα ξυλινὴ διαβατὸς ἦν ἐπὶ κινδύνῳ μάλιστα τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ξύλοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνδιεφθείροντο· [17] νῦν δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς λίθοις λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις ἐς ἀψίδος μετεωρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα, τὴν ἐκείνη διάβασιν ἀκίνδυνον κατεστήσατο.

[18] Τοῦ δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐπέκεινα πόλις ἐστὶ που, Ἀθύρας ὄνομα, ἥσπερ τοὺς οἰκήτορας δίψη δεινотάτη ἐχομένους εὐρὼν τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσε σφίσιν,

ἐλυτρον ἐνταῦθα δειμάμενος, θησαυρίζων μὲν ἐπικαιριώτατα τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν περιουσίαν, πρυτανεύων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖα τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις. ἀνφοδομοήσατο δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ περιβόλου.

[19] Ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀθύραν τις χῶρος, ὅνπερ Ἐπισκοπεῖα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. [20] ὃν δὴ κατανενοηκῶς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς ὑποκείμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον δέ, ὡς οὐδαμῇ ὀχυρώματος ὄντος, ἀφύλακτα παντάπασιν ὄντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, φρούριον ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο· οὗ δὴ τοὺς πύργους πεποιήται οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [21] προὔχει τις ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου οἰκοδομία, στενωπάτη μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς οὔσα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐς εὖρος μέγα· ἐφ' οὗ δὴ ἕκαστος ἐξείργασται πύργος. [22] ταύτη τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ τείχους ἰέναι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν πύργων κατὰ μέσον γινόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ κατὰ κορυφὴν πρὸς τῶν ἐκεῖνη φρουρῶν ῥᾶστα βαλλόμενοι διαφθεύονται. [23] τὰς τε πύλας π[290] ἐνταῦθα οὐ κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα τῶν πύργων μεταξὺ ἔθεντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας κατὰ τὸ ἐν στενῷ προὔχον τοῦ τείχους, οὐχ ὀρωμένας τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν διαλανθανούσας. [24] ἐνταῦθα Θεόδωρος βασιλεῖ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχετο, σιληντάριος τὴν ἀρχήν, συνετὸς μάλιστα. [25] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔρυμα τῆδε πεποιήται. ἐπὶ τείχῃ δὲ τὰ μακρὰ ἐνθένδε ἰόντας ὀλίγα ὑπειπεῖν ἄξιον.

[9] [1] Ἡ θάλασσα ἐς ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Ἰσπανίας γῆν τὴν Εὐρωπαϊάν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ποιούμενη μέχρι μὲν ἐς Θράκην κατὰ ταῦτά χωρεῖ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἐνθεν δὲ σχιζομένη πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῶαν στέλλεται μοῖραν, πῇ δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐγκαρσία γεγεννημένη τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον ἀποτελεῖ πόντον. [2] ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικομένη ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νύσσης τινὸς καμπὴν ποιεῖται ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ τῆς πόλεως, πλάγια τε πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γιγνομένη ἐν πορθμῷ ἵεται, ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θράκης τὰ τε πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἐργαζομένη. [3] οὐχ ὅτι ἐς ἐκροὰς ἐνταῦθα ἡ θάλασσα μερίζεται δύο, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσθμοῖς εἴωθεν, ἀλλὰ περιστρεφομένη τε θαυμασίως ὡς καὶ περιβαλλομένη ἐκατέρωθεν Θράκην τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου προάστεια πάντα. [4] οἰκοδομοῦνται δὲ καὶ περιστέλλουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι τὰ προάστεια οὐχ ὅσον ἐς χρεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὕβριν τε καὶ τρυφὴν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου ἐξουσία ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους π[292]ιοῦσα ποιεῖ. [5] ἐπιπλά τε κατατίθενται ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ καὶ διαπονήματα ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐνδελεχέστατα ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν καταθεῖν τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπιναιῶς ξυνενεχθεῖη, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις προστρίβεσθαι τὴν ζημίαν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ κακοῖς ἅγαν τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις βαρύνεσθαι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία. [6] ὁ δὲ ἀναστέλλειν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων ἐν χώροις οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα τοῦ Βυζαντίου διέχουσι μακρὰ οἰκοδομησάμενος τείχη, ἅμφω τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς ἀκτὰς ἔξευξεν, οὗ δὲ ἀλλήλαιν διεστήκασιν ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν μάλιστα· ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ καθεστάναι τὰ ἐντὸς ὤφετο. [7] ἦν δὲ ἄρα μειζόνων τοῦτο συμφορῶν αἴτιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν οἰκοδομίαν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐξεργάσθαι, ἢ φρουρεῖσθαι ξὺν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ. [8] ἐπειδὴν τε μοῖρα τινὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκήψαιεν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιοῦντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τοῖς τε

ἄλλοις ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀπροσδόκητοι κακὰ οὐκ εὐδιήγητα ἐξεργάζοντο.

[9] Ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς τὰ τε πεπονθότα τούτων δὴ ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ τε σφαλερὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχυρώτατον κρατυνάμενος τῶν φρουρῶν ἕνεκα, προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. [10] τὰς μὲν ἐξόδους, αἵπερ ἐκ πύργου ἐκάστου ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐχομένους ἐξάγουσιν, ἐφράξατο πάσας. [11] ἄνοδον δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἔντοσθεν ἐτεκμήνατο μίαν· ἥνπερ ἐπὶ καιροῦ καθειργνύντες οἱ ταύτη φρουροὶ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφρουνοῦσι τοῦ περιβόλου p[294]ἐντὸς γενομένους· ἐπεὶ πύργος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἕκαστος αὐτὸς κατὰ μόνας τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπόχη. [12] καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς τὰ ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐνδελεχέστατα διεπράξατο, τὰ τε ἄλλα πεποιημένος ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται καὶ πόλεως Σηλυβρίας ἀνανεωσάμενος ὅσα πεπονθότα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτύγχανεν. [13] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[14] Ἡράκλεια δὲ ἡ πόλις ἦδε, ἡ παραλία, ἡ ἐν γειτόνων, ἡ Πέρινθος (ἥ πάλαι μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐδίδοσαν, νῦν δὲ δὴ μετὰ γε Κωνσταντινουπόλιν τὰ δευτερεῖα παρέχονται) διψῶσά τε καὶ λίαν αὐχμῶσα ἔναγχος ἔκειτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἄνυδρος ἦν ἡ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρα, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀπημέλητο ταῦτα τοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ δειμαμένοις τὴν πόλιν (ἐπεὶ καὶ κατάρρυτος Εὐρώπη ταῖς κρήναις, καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ὀχετοὺς ἔμελεν), ἀλλὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα ποιῶν ὁ χρόνος τῇ πόλει τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν ἀνήρηκεν, ἡ καταγεγρακυῖαν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ὑπεριδὼν, ἡ τῷ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν φθορὰν ποδηγούμενος. ὀλίγου τε ἀοίκητος διὰ τοῦτο Ἡράκλεια ἐλέλειπτο εἶναι. [15] ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη βασιλεία ὁ χρόνος ἐποίει ἀξιοθέατα ἐπικεικῶς ὄντα. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶς μάλιστα, τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν, ὕδασι τε αὐτὴν ποτίμοις καὶ p[296]διειδέσιν ἐπέκλυσε, καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὥς ἥκιστα ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα.

[17] Ἡρακλείας δὲ ἄποθεν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν χωρίον ἐπιθαλασσίδιον ἦν, Ῥαιδεστὸς ὄνομα, παράπλου μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καλῶς κείμενον, εὐλίμενον δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχον τοῖς ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ ναυτιλλομένοις καταίρειν τε καὶ ἀποφορτίζεσθαι προσηνῶς μάλιστα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἀνάγεσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐμπλησαμένοις τοῦ γόμου τὰ πλοῖα· βαρβάρους δὲ ἀποκείμενον καταθέουσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐξαπινάιως τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τῷ μῆτε ἀποτετριγχωμένον μῆτε τῇ φύσει δυσπρόσοδον εἶναι. [18] ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις δέει τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπεροφθὲν ἐν ὀλιγορίᾳ ἐγένετο. [19] νῦν δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐχ ὅσον τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐσώσατο πάντας. [20] ἐπὶ Ῥαιδεστοῦ γὰρ ἀνέστησε πόλιν, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνῇ, μεγέθει δὲ διαφερόντως ὑπέρογκον. [21] οὐ δὴ βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἅπαντες εἰς καιρὸν καταφεύγοντες σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζονται.

[10] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ῥαιδεστοῦ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτη πη ἔσχεν. ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ Χερρονήσῳ διαπεπόνηται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] προβέβληται μὲν πάσης ἡ Χερρόνησος τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν Θράκης. ἐπεμβαίνουσα γὰρ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐχομένη τοῦ πρόσω, δόκησιν παρέχεται p[298]ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν

χωρεῖ. [3] ἀκτὴ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἑλαιοῦντα προὔχουσα μία, σχίζει τε εἰς δύο τὴν θάλασσαν μοίρας, καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἀποτεμονομένη τῆς ἄλλης ἡπείρου, καὶ προσιούσῃ ἐπίπροσθεν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑποχωροῦσα, τὸν Μέλανα καλούμενον ποιεῖ κόλπον. [4] νῆσος δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὀλίγου δέοντος γίνεται, ὄνομα τῷ ποιουμένῳ προσήκον κτωμένη. Χερρόνησος γάρ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ὀνομάζεται, ἰσθμῷ διειργομένη βραχεῖ μὴ νῆσος παντάπασιν εἶναι. [5] κατὰ τοῦτον οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἰσθμὸν παρέργως τε καὶ λίαν ἀτημελημένως ἐδείματο διατείχισμα κλίμακι ἀλωτόν. [6] κῆπον γάρ πού τινα εἰκὴ κείμενον αἵμασιᾶ περιβάλλειν οἴομενοι, ἰσχνόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὑπερανεστηκός ἐξειργάσαντο. [7] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκατέρωθι τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ θάλασσαν προβόλους τεκτηνάμενοι βραχεῖς τε καὶ φαύλους, οὔτε περ καλεῖν νενομίκασιν μάλους, τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τοῦ τε ῥοθίου καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφράξαντο, οὐ ταύτη τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσοντας ἀπώσόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους παρακαλέσοντες· οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἐξειργάσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀποπειρασομένοις εὐάλωτον. [8] ἡγούμενοι δὲ τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄμαχον πεποιῆσθαι ὀχύρωμα, τούτου δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα φυλακῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιοῦν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε φρούριον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἔρυμα ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, καίπερ ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐς τριῶν κατατεινούσης ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. [9] ἔναγχος ἀμέλει γοῦν οἱ π[300]ερὶ καταθέοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἐγκεχειρήκασιν μὲν ὥς ἀποπειρασόμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡῖονα εἰσόδου, δεδιξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ταύτῃ φρουροὺς ἐσπεπτηθήκασιν ὥστε περ τι ἄθυρμα παίζοντες, ἐντὸς τε τοῦ περιβόλου γεγέννηται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

[10] Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἀμφὶ τῶν κατηκόων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ διασκοπούμενος Ίουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίει τάδε. [11] πρῶτα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐξίτηλον τὸ παλαιὸν γεγένηται τεῖχος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἵχνους οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι τινός. [12] ἕτερον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἀνέστη, ὅπερ ἐπιεικῶς εὐρυνόμενον ὑψοῦ ἀνέχει. [13] ὑπεράνω τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀνειλημμένη θόλος ἐν στοᾷς τρόπῳ ὄροφον ποιεῖται, καλύπτουσα τοὺς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους. [14] ἄλλοι τε τῇ θόλῳ προμαχῶνες ἐγκείμενοι διπλασιάζουσι τοῖς τῇδε τειχομαχοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον. [15] ἔπειτα δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθι ἐς τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ πέρατα πρὸς αὐταῖς που τῆς θαλάσσης ταῖς ραχίαις μάλιστα, προβόλους πεποιῆται, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν τοῦ ῥοθίου διήκοντας, τῷ δὲ τείχει ξυναπτομένους, ὕψους δὲ περί τῷ ἐρύματι ἐναμίλλους ὄντας. [16] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τοῦ περιβόλου ἔκτοσθεν οὔσαν περικαθάρως τε καὶ κατορύξας ἐνδεδεχέστατα μέγα τι αὐτῇ εὐρους τε καὶ βάθους ἐντέθεται χρῆμα. [17] καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους ἐν τούτοις ἰδρύσατο τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσι πᾶσι βαρβάροις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανοὺς ὄντας, ἦν τι τῆς Χερρονήσου ἀποπειρῶνται. [18] οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας π[302]καταστησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ὀχυρώματα προσεποίησεν· [19] ὥστε εἰ τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσιν (ἀπέστω δὲ τοῦ λόγου) παθεῖν τι ξυμβαίῃ, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν Χερρονησιώτας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι. [20] πόλιν τε γὰρ Αφροδισιάδα ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιεβάλλετο, ἀτειχίστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν, καὶ Κίβεριν πόλιν, ἐπ' ἐδάφους κειμένην, τειχίρῃ πεποιημένος ξυνώκισεν· [21] ἔνθα δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ ξενῶνας ὥκοδομήσατο οἰκία τε παμπληθὴ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πέφυκεν ἐπιφανῇ

ἐνδεικνυσθαι πόλιν. [22] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Καλλιπόλιν καλουμένην βεβαίωτατα ἐτείχισατο, ἐλπίδι τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἀτειχιστον ἀπολελειμμένην τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποις. [23] οὗ δὴ καὶ σιτῶνάς τε καὶ οἰνῶνας ἐδέιματο δαπάνη τῇ πάσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας.

[24] Ἦστι δέ τις Ἀβύδου καταντικρὺ πόλις ἀρχαία, Σηστός ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πρότερα παρέργως κειμένη, ὁχύρωμά τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα. [25] λόφος δὲ αὐτῇ τις ἰσχυρῶς ἀπότομος ἐπανεστήκεν· ἵνα δὴ φρούριον ἐδέιματο ἀπρόσβατον ὅλως, ἐλεῖν τε, εἴ τις ἐγχειροίη, ἀμήχανον. [26] Σηστοῦ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν τὴν Ἐλαιοῦντα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. πέτρα τε τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπορραγεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἀνέχει, ἄκραν οὐρανομήκη ἐξαίρουσα τειχίρη φύσιν. [27] φρούριον οὖν καὶ τῇδε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐδέιματο, δυσπάρितόν τε καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσι παντελῶς ἄμαχον. [28] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν Θεσκῷ φρούριον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους ἰδρύσατο, περιβόλῳ κρατυνόμενος ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα· ταύτη ρ[304]τε τοῖς Χερρονησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πανταχόθεν αὐτὸς προσεποίησε.

[11] [1] Μετὰ δὲ Χερρόνησον Αἶνος οἰκεῖται πόλις, ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας ὠνομασμένη. Αἰνεῖας γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου. [2] ταύτης ὁ περίβολος εὐάλωτός τε ἦν τῷ χθαμαλὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὅσον γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνείχεν ὕψος· [3] καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην τινὰ εἴσοδον κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ γειτόνημα εἶχεν, ἀμηγέπη ἐπιψαύοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοθίου. [4] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνέστησε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς ὕψος, μὴ ὅτι ἀλῶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἀμήχανον. [5] ἐπεξαγαγὼν δὲ καὶ πανταχόσε φραζάμενος ἀνάλωτον Αἶνον παντάπασι κατεστήσατο. [6] καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγγέγονει· ἔμεινε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἡ χώρα καταθεῖν εὐπετής· ἐπεὶ Ῥοδότῃ ὁχυρωμάτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑπεσπάνιζεν. [7] ἦν δέ τις κώμη ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, Βέλλουρος ὄνομα, πλούτου μὲν δυνάμει καὶ πολυανθρωπία ἴσα καὶ πόλις, τῷ μέντοι τειχίρης οὐδαμῇ εἶναι ληϊζομένοις διηνεκὲς ἐπαρκοῦσα βαρβάροις, ἀγροῖς τε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κειμένοις πολλοῖς γε οὗσι ταὐτὸ πάσχουσα. [8] καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πολίξει τε καὶ ἀποτειχίζει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπαξίαν τίθεται εἶναι. [9] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥοδότῃς πόλεων ὅσα δὴ ἐνδεῖν ἢ καταπεπονηκέναι ξυνηνέχθη τῷ χρόνῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνέστησεν. [10] ἐν αἷς Τραϊανούπολις τε καὶ Μαξιμιανούπολις ρ[306]εῖσιν, ὧν περ ἐπηνώρθωσε τὰ ἐν τοῖς προβόλοις σαθρὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται.

[11] Ἀναστασιούπολις δὲ ἡ τῇδε οὖσα τειχίρης μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ κειμένη ἀφύλακτον εἶχε τὴν ταύτη ἥϊονα. τὰ πλοῖα πολλάκις ἀμέλει ἐνταῦθα καταίροντα ὑποχείρια βαρβάροις Οὐννοῖς ἐξαπιναίως γεγένηται· ὥστε καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐνθένδε τὰς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπικειμένας ἠνώχλησαν. [12] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς διατειχίσματι τὴν παραλίαν περιβάλων ὅλην, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ καὶ τοῖς νησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο. [13] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ὁχετὸν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἃ ταύτη ἀνέχει μέχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐς ὑπέρογκον ἀνέστησεν ὕψος. [14] ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Ῥοδότῃ πόλις ἀρχαία, Τόπερος ὄνομα, ἡ ποταμοῦ μὲν ῥεῖθρα περιβάλλεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, λόφον δὲ αὐτῇ ἐπανεστηκότα ὄρθιον εἶχεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν Σκλαβηνοῖς βαρβάροις ἐάλω. [15] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς μέγα τῷ περιβόλῳ ὕψος

ἐντέθεικεν· ὥστε ὑπεραίρει τοσούτῳ τὸν λόφον, ὅσῳ δὴ αὐτοῦ καταδέστερος τὰ πρότερα ἦν. ^[16] καὶ στοὰν μὲν ἐπανεστήσεν ἐν θολωτῷ τείχει, ὅθεν δὴ τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀμυνόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς διαμάχονται, τῶν δὲ πύργων ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν ἐσκεύασατο εἶναι. ^[17] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου μέχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διατειχίσματι περιβαλὼν ἐκρατύνατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιήται.

^[18] Καὶ ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ὀχυρώματα εἵργασται ἀμφί ρ^[308]τε τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην καὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Αἰμίμοντον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ^[19] πρῶτα μὲν Φιλίππουπόλεός τε καὶ Βεροίας, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀδριανουπόλεός τε καὶ Πλωτινουπόλεως τὰ τε ἐνδέοντα καὶ καταπεπονηκότα σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ὤκοδομήσατο· ἐπεὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμαχotáτας ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, καίπερ ἔθνεσι γειτονούσας βαρβάρων πολλοῖς. ^[20] καὶ φρούρια δὲ ἀνάριθμα ἐπὶ Θράκης ἰδρύσατο πάσης, δι' ὧν τὴν χώραν, ἀποκειμένην τὰ πρότερα ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς, παντάπασιν τανῦν ἀδήωτον κατεστήσατο. ἔστι δὲ τὰ φρούρια, ὅσα ἡμᾶς μεμνησθαι αὐτῶν, πρὸς ὄνομα τάδε.

Ἐν Εὐρώπῃ·

Λυδικαί.

Ἐλαῖαι.

Ἐν Ῥοδόπῃ τὰ καινούργια·

Κασεήρα.

Θεοδωρούπολις.

Τὸ τοῦ Θράσου.

Σουδανέλ.

Μούνδεπα.

Θαρσάνδαλα.

ρ^[309] Δένιζος.

Τόπαρον.

Δαλάταρβα.

Βρέ.

Κουσκάβιρι.

Κούσκουλις.

Θράκης·

Βόσπαρα.

Βεσούπαρον.

Καπιστούρια.

Βηρίπαρα.

Ἰσγίπερα.

Ὀζόρμη.

ρ^[310] Βηρηῖαρος.

Ταμονβαρί.

Σκέμνας.

Καράσθυρα.

Πίνζος.

Τουλεοῦς.
Ἄρζον.
Καστράζαρβα.
Ζωσίτερσον.
Βέργισον.
Δίγγιον.
Σάκισσος.
Κουρτουξοῦρα.
Ποταμουκάστελλον.
Εἰσδίκαια.
Τὸ ἐμπόριον Ταυροκεφάλων.
Βηλαϊδίπαρα.
Σκίτακες.
Βέπαρα.
Πουσινόν.
Ὑμαμπάρουβρι.
Σκαριωτασαλούκρα.
Αὐγούστας.
Οὐρδαοὺς.
Τοῦ ἁγίου Τραϊανοῦ.
Δέρταλλος.
Σολβανοῦ.
Βάσκον.
Ζίγκυρο.
p^[311] Αἰμιμόντου.
Ζημάρκου.
Κηριπάρων.
Κασιβόνων.
Τὸ Οὔκου.
Ἀντωῖνον.
Γεσιλαφοσσᾶτον.
Χεροῖνον.
Προβίνου.
Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.
Βουρδέπτω.
Ῥακούλη.
Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.
Τζίταετοῦς.
Νηλαστύρας.
Γετρίνας.
Βρέδας.
Βῆρος.
Θωκύωδης.
Βία.

Ἀναγογκλί.
Σούρας.
Αὐθιπάρου.
Δορδαῖς.
Σαρμαθών.
Κλεισοῦρα.
Ὑλασιάναι.
Θρασαρίχου.
Βαῖκα.
Χρῦσανθος.
p[312] Μαρκέρωτα.
Ζδεβρήν.
Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.
Ἄσγαρζος.
Βουρτούδιζ.
Ταυρόκωμον.
Νίκη.
Καβοτούμβα.
Δεῖζας.
Γητριστάους.
Δέβρη.
Προβίνου.
Κάρβερος.
Τηεσιμόντη.
Ἀσγίζους.
Δαλάταρβα.
Θεοδωρούπολις.
Τζυειδών.
Τζονπολέγων.
Βασίβουνον.
Ἀγχίαλος.
Μαρκιανόν.
Κυρίδανα.
Βεκοῦλι.

Τὰ Θρακῶν λειπόμενα. Παρά τε τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καὶ ποταμὸν
p[313] Ἴστρον, κὰν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, οὕτως·
Μυσίας παρὰ μὲν ποταμὸν Ἴστρον·
Ἐρκούλεντε.
Σκατρίνα.
Ἀππίαρα.
Ἐξεντάπριστα.
Δεονίανα.
Λιμώ.
Ὀδυσσός.

Βίδιγς.
Ἀρῖνα.
Νικόπολις.
Ζικίδεβα.
Σπίβυρος.
Πόλις Κάστελλον.
Κιστίδιζος.
Βαστέρνας.
Μέταλλος.
Βηρίπαρα.
Σπαθιζός.
Μαρκέρωτα.
Βόδας.
Ζισνούδεβα.
Τουρούλης.
Ίουστινιανούπολις.
Θερμά.
p^[314] Γεμελλομοῦντες.
Ἀσίλβα.
Κούσκαυρι.
Κούσκουλι.
Φοσσᾶτον.
Βισδίνα.
Μαρκιανούπολις.
Σκυθιάς.
Γραψώ.
Νονώ.
Τροσμής.
Νεαῖοδουνώ.
Ῥεσιδίνα.
Κωνσταντιανά.
Καλλάτις.
Βασσίδινα.
Βελεδίνα.
Ἄβριττος.
Ῥουβούστα.
Δινισκάρτα.
Μοντερεγῖνε.
Βέκις.
Ἀλτῖνα.
Μανροβάλλε.
Τίγρα.
p^[315] Σκεδεβά.
Νόβας.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογείᾳ·
Κοπούστορος.
Βιργινασώ.
Τύλλιτώ.
Ἀγκυριανά.
Μουριδεβά.
Ἰτζης.
Καστελλόνοβο.
Παδισάρα.
Βισμαφά.
Βαλεντινιάνα.
Ζάλδαπα.
Αἰξίοπα.
Καρσώ.
Γρατίανα.
Πρέϊδης.
Ἀργαμώ.
Παυλίμανδρα.
Τζάσκλις.
Πούλχρα Θεοδώρα.
Τόμις.
Κρέας.
Κατασσοῦ.
Νίσκονις.
Νοβεΐουστινιανά.
Πρεσιδίω.
Ἐργαμία.

BOOK V.

[1] [1] Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ δεδημιουργημένα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἐς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ λειπόμενα ἰτέον ἡμῖν. [2] ὅσα μὲν οὖν πόλεων τε καὶ φρουρίων ἐρύματα, ἐτέρας τε οἰκοδομίας κατὰ τὴν ἐφ' ὧν πεποιήται χώραν, ἐξ ὁρίων τῶν Μηδικῶν ἄχρι που ἐς Παλμύραν πόλιν, ἣ ἐν Φοίνιξι τοῖς ἐπὶ Λιβάνου τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἥδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλωσθαι οἶμαι. [3] ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην αὐτῷ εἵργασται ἢ τειχιζομένῳ ἢ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπανορθοῦντι δυσπάρिता καὶ κινδύνων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα (πῇ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπικειμένων κρημνώδη ὄντα, πῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ γειτονήματι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἀποπνίγοντα), ἢ πόλεων ἰωμένῳ παθήματα πάντα, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι ἀρχόμενος ἐνθὲνδε.

[4] Χῶρόν τινα πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἐν ὀρθίῳ κείμενον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, λοφώδῃ οὐ γεώδῃ οὐδὲ δυνατὸν ἀφεῖναι καρπούς, εἴ τις πειρῶτο, ἀλλὰ σκληρόν τε καὶ τραχὺν ὅλως. [5] ἐνταῦθα νεῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἀνέθηκαν, θεολόγος δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος οὗτος ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἅμφί τῷ θεῷ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου δεδιήγεται φύσιν. [6] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς βραχύν τε ὄντα καὶ καταπεπονηκότα τῷ μήκει τοῦ ρ[318] χρόνου καθελὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς τοσόνδε μεθηρμόσατο μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους, ὥστε δὴ, ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν, ἐμφερέστατος καὶ παντάπασιν ἐνάμιλλος τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐν πόλει τῇ βασιλίδι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀνέθηκε πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται λόγοις.

[7] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐξείργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ σωτήριόν τι πόλει τε τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργαζομένοις πεποιήται, ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν· ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα φέρεται. [8] ἅμφω γὰρ αἱ ἡπειροὶ ἀλλήλαις ὥς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐνταῦθα ἰοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ ποιοῦνται ἀρχὴν ἅμφί Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον, ἐπειδάν τε αἱ νέες ἐνταῦθα ἴκωνται, ὅσαι δὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εὐθὺ ἵενται, τῇδε ὁρμίζονται. [9] ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐνθὲνδε ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ νότου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἀνέμου σφίσιν. [10] ἡνίκα οὖν ὁ σιταγωγὸς στόλος ἐκ πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, εἰ μὲν ἐμπέσοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπιφορον σφίσι, δι' ὀλίγου μὲν οἱ ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν διαχειρίζοντες καταίρουσι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τοὺς Βυζαντίους λιμένας, ἀποφορτιζόμενοι δὲ ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅπαντες ὥρας δευτέρον τε καὶ τρίτον διαπεραιώσονται στόλον. [11] ὅσοις δὲ αὐτῶν βουλομένοις ἦ, καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐμπολημάτων ἐνθὲνδε ἀντιφορτισάμενοι ἀναστρέφουσιν. [12] εἰ μέντοι ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἴοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ σεσηπέναι συνέβαινεν. [13] ἅπερ ἐν προνοίᾳ πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς διαφανῶς ρ[320] ἐπιδέδεικται ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ἂν ἀμήχανον οὐδὲν γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἦν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ἀνταγωνίζοιτο. [14] ἐν Τενέδῳ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ, ἣ τοῦ πορθμοῦ

ἄγχιτά ἐστι, σιτῶνα ἐπετεχνήσατο τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἀποφορτίσασθαι διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, εὖρος μὲν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ ποδῶν ἐνένηκοντα, μήκος δὲ ποδῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων, ἐς ὕψος τε ἄφατον ἐπιεικῶς κατατείνοντα. [15] οὗ δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξειργασμένου, ὁπηνίκα ἂν τοῦ δημοσίου σίτου παραπομποὶ ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀνέμων ἐναντιώμασι συμποδίζονται, οἶδε τὸν φόρτον ἐν τῷ σιτῶνι καταθέμενοι τούτῳ καὶ χαίρειν φράσαντες τῷ τε βορρᾷ καὶ ζεφύρῳ πολλά, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, ἐς πλοῦν ἕτερον συσκευάζονται. [16] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζονται, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὁπηνίκα ἂν τὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπόπλουν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖα γενέσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, πλοίοις ἐτέροις τὸν σῖτον ἐκ Τενέδου διακομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπικείται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη.

[2] [1] Ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς πόλις, Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμος οὕσα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως μητρός. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὠρμησθαί φασι, κώμης οὐκ ἀξιολόγου τὰ πρότερα οὔσης. [2] ἥπερ τὰ τροφεῖα Κωνσταντίνος ἐκτίνων ὀνόματι μὲν καὶ ἀξιώματι πόλεως τὸ χωρίον δεδῶρηται τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδὲ βασιλικὸν οὐδὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῇδε πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας διέμεινε τύχης, κεκόμψευται δὲ μόνῳ τῶν πόλις κεκλησθαι καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τῆς τροφίμου Ἑλένης ἀποσεμνύνεται. [3] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἀπολογούμενος p[322] τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προπάτορος, πρῶτα μὲν ὕδατος ἀπορία πιεζομένην τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν καὶ δίψῃ ἐπιεικῶς δεινῇ ἐχομένην, ὀχετὸν αὐτοσχεδιάζει θαυμάσιον οἶον, ὕδωρ τε αὐτῷ παρέχεται ἀπροσδόκητον ἰδεῖν, τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις οὐ πιεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λούεσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τρυφῶσιν ἄνθρωποι εὐπορίαν κατακόρως ὕδατος ἔχοντες. [4] πρὸς δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποιήται οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ἕτερόν τε ἀνφοκοδομήσατο διεφθαρμένον τε καὶ εἰκὴ κείμενον τῷ τε σπανίζειν, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι καταπεσὸν ἤδη. [5] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ βασιλεία καὶ στοὰς καὶ καταλυτήρια ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐδείματο τῇδε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιδέδεικται αὐτὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα.

[6] Ταύτης δὲ ρεῖ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχιστα ποταμός, ὄνπερ ὁμώνυμος τῷ σχήματι Δράκοντα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. [7] περιστρέφεται γὰρ ἐλισσόμενος ἐφ' ἐκάτερα καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἀντιπεριάγων τὰς δίνας, σκολιῷ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ, πῇ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ, πῇ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ προσίων· ὥστε ἀμέλει διαβαίνειν αὐτὸν πλεῖν ἢ εἰκοσάκις ἐπάναναγκές ἐστι τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι. [8] πολλοῖς τε οὕτω διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβαινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξαπιναιῶς παρὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα πλημμύροντος. [9] πρὸς δὲ καὶ δάσος ἀμφιλαφές καὶ καλάμου τῇδε φυομένου μέγα τι χρῆμα συμποδίζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολὴν χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸν ἐσκευωροῦντο εἶναι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις. [10] χρόνῳ γοῦν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ὄμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, λιμνάζων τε καὶ κυρτούμενος καὶ σκεδαννύμενος p[324] ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς γῆς, ἀνήκεστα κακὰ εἴργασται. [11] χωρία τε γὰρ παμπληθῇ καθεῖλε προρριζίους τε ἀμπέλους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐλαίας τε καὶ δένδρων ἄλλων παντοδαπῶν ἀνάρθιμα πρέμνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αἱ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι, πάθεςί τε ἄλλοις ὑπερμεγέθεσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπέτριπεν. [12] οὗσπερ ἐποικτισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς

ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τὰ μὲν ἄλση περικαθήρας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολὰς, ὥς μηκέτι αὐτῷ διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπάναγκες εἶη· τὰ δὲ ὄρη κατὰ μέσον ἀποτεμὼν ἃ δὴ ἀνέχει ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἀποτόμοις καὶ κρημνώδεσι χώραις ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν ἐξειργάσατο. [13] ταύτη τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὔσι πεποίηκεν εἶναι. καὶ γεφύρας δύο ἐς ἄγαν εὐρείας τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἐντέθεται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀκινδύνως αὐτὸν διαβαίνουσι τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαντες.

[3] [1] Οἷα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Βιθυνοῖς Νίκαιαν ἐξείργασται ἀγαθὰ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. πρῶτα μὲν τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν, παντάπασί τε διεφθαρμένην καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ὥς ἥκιστα παρεχομένην, ἀνανεώσάμενος ἅπασαν, ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν κατακορῇ διεπράξατο εἶναι. [2] ἔπειτα δὲ ἱερά τε καὶ μοναστήρια τὰ μὲν γυναιξὶ τὰ δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐδείματο. [3] καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη βασιλεία, ἐκ μοίρας ἤδη καταπεπτωκότα τινός, ἀνανεώσατο σπουδῇ ἅπαντα, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν τῷ καταλυτηρίῳ τῶν βερεδαρίων καλουμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ διεφθαρμένον. [4] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ὥς p[326]ἀγχοτάτω χειμάρρους ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐπισκῆπτειν φιλεῖ, ἄπορον ὅλως ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ταύτη ὁδόν. [5] καὶ γέφυρα μὲν τις ἐνταῦθα πεποίηται τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ἢ προϊόντος χρόνῳ προσβάλλουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου ἐπιρροὴν (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ διασκευασθεῖσα ἐτύγχανεν) ὑπεχώρησέ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένῳ καὶ ἀπιοῦσα σὺν αὐτοῦ ὄχετο, οὐδὲ ἴχνος αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ἀπολιποῦσα, οὗ πρότερον ἦν. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυραν ἐπήξατο ἐνταῦθα ἑτέραν ἐς τόσον ὕψους τε καὶ εὗρους διήκουσαν, ὥστε δὴ αὐτῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ πολλοστημόριον τὴν προτέραν οὖσαν γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἢ τὸν χειμάρρουν, ἥνικα μορμύρει, κατὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίρουσα ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διασώζεται τοὺς ταύτη ἰόντας.

[7] Ἐν δὲ Νικομηδεῖα τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἀνανεώσατο· μοῖρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη καταπεπτώκει, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου ἀπροσδόκητος ὅτι δὴ ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται γεγεννημένη. [8] ὁ μέγας δὲ ποταμὸς οὗτος, ὃν περ Σάγαριν καλοῦσι νῦν, σφοδρῶ μὲν κατιῶν ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ρείθρῳ, ἐπὶ μέσης δὲ πεφυκὼς ἄβυσσος, εὐρυνόμενος δὲ θαλάσῃ ἴσα, διαγέγονε μὲν τὰ γε εἰς γέφυραν ἀνεπαφὸς πᾶσιν, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀκάτων δὲ συνδέοντες πλῆθος καὶ φορμηδὸν αὐτὰς ἀλλήλαις ἐναρμολογούμενοι, ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύεσθαι τολμῶσι περὶ, ὥσπερ ποτὲ δέει τοῦ Ξέρξου τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ τῶν Μήδων στρατός. [9] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνεπικινδύνως αὐτοῖς γίνεται. πολλάκις γὰρ ὁμοῦ τοῖς δεσμοῖς συλλαβὼν τὰς ἀκάτους ἀπάσας, εἴτα τὴν διάβασιν ἀνεχαίτισε τοῖς τῆδε ἰοῦσι. [10] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυραν p[328]αὐτῷ ἐγκεχείρηκεν ἐποικοδομεῖσθαι τανῦν. ἀρξάμενός τε τοῦ ἔργου ἤδη πολλὴν ἐς αὐτὸ διατριβὴν ἔχει· ὅπερ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὑποτελέσει οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, τεκμηριούμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα συνεπιλαμβάνεται ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα. [11] οὐκοῦν ἀέραντον αὐτῷ ἐνθύμημα οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου, καίτοι ἐπὶ πλείστοις τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἀμυχανοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξεν.

[12] Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὁδὸς ἐς τὰ Φρυγῶν ἥθη ἐνθένδε ἰόντι, ἐνθα δὴ

ἀνθρώποις τε ἀναρίθμοις καὶ ζώοις ἑτέροις χειμῶνος ὥρα διολωλέναι
ξυνέβαινε· [13] γεώδης γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἡ χώρα οὕσα, μὴ ὅτι ὄμβρων ἐξαισίων
καταρραγόντων ἢ χιόνων πολλῶν ἐπικεχυμένων τε καὶ διαλυθεισῶν ἐν
ἐσχάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεκάδων ἐπιτεπτοκυίων, ἃν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς τέλος βαθὺ καὶ
ἀπόρευτον ξυνισταμένη, τάς τε ὁδοὺς τεναγώδεις ἐργαζομένη, τοὺς τῆδε
ιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέπνιγεν. [14] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸς τε
μεγαλοφροσύνη ψυχῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὸν κίνδυνον τοῖς παριοῦσι
διέλυσαν. [15] ἐς ἡμέρας γὰρ ὁδοῦ ἡμισυ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ λίθοις παμμεγέθεσι
σκέπας τῇ λεωφόρῳ ἀπεργασάμενοι ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ παριέναι
διεσκευάσαντο τοὺς τῆδε ιόντας. ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτη
ἐξείργασται.

[16] Πηγαὶ δὲ θερμῶν φύσει ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὑδάτων ἀναβλυστάνουσιν ἐν χώρῳ
ὄνπερ ἐπονομάζουσι Πύθια. [17] ταύτας ἔχουσι παραψυχὴν ἄλλοι τε
p[330]πολλοὶ καὶ διαφερόντως Βυζάντιοι, ἄλλως τε ὅσοις νοσώδεσι συμβαίνει
εἶναι. [18] ἔνθα δὴ πολυτέλειαν ἐπιδέδεικται βασιλεῖ πρέπουσαν· βασιλεία τε
γὰρ ὥκοδομήσατο οὐ πρότερον ὄντα [19] καὶ λουτρῶνα ἐν δημοσίῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ
φυομένων θερμῶν ὑδάτων πεποιήται. πηγὰς τε ποτίμων ὑδάτων ὥς ἐκαστάτῳ
ἀποβλυσζούσας ἐς τόνδε τὸν χώρον ὀχεταγωγία διακομίσας, τὸν πρότερον
ἐνταῦθα ἐπιχωριάζοντα περιεῖλεν αὐχμόν. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τὸ
τέμενος καὶ τὸ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀναπαυστήριον, μείζω τε καὶ κατὰ πολὺ
ἐπιφανέστερα κατεστήσατο.

[4] [1] Ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Γαλάταις, ὄνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Σίβεριν,
τῶν μὲν καλουμένων Συκεῶν ἄγχιστα, πόλεως δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἀπὸ
σημείων μάλιστα δέκα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον. [2] ὃς δὴ πολλάκις
ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀρθείς ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν ἐκεῖνῃ ὁδῷ ιόντων πολλοὺς ἐφθειρεν. [3]
οἷσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαγγελλομένοις συνταραχθεὶς διακωλυτῆς τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ
λοιπὸν γέγονε, τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ οἷῳ
πλημύροντι ποταμῷ μάχεσθαι, ἕτερον δὲ τοῖχον ἐν προβόλου σχήματι τῆς
γεφύρας ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ πεποιημένος· ὃν δὴ πρόμαχον καλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα
σοφοί. [4] καὶ νεῶν δὲ αὐτῆς ὥκοδομήσατο ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τοῖς
παριοῦσι σωτήριον χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐσόμενον. [5] ταύτης δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως τὸν
περίβολον ἠνώχλει τε καὶ κατέσειε p[332]ποταμὸς, ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν
παρarrέων. [6] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ἀντιτείχισμα τῷ
περιβόλῳ ἐπὶ πόδας οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ πεντακοσίους καταστησάμενος. ταύτη τε τὸ
τῆς πόλεως ἔρυμα οὐκέτι ἐπικλυζόμενον διεσώσατο.

[7] Ἐν δὲ Καππαδόκαις ἐποίει τάδε. Καισάρεια μὲν πόλις ἐνταῦθα μεγίστη
τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τυγχάνει οὕσα. τεῖχος δὲ αὐτὴν περιέβαλλε
τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀμετρίας ἐπιμαχώτατόν τε ὃν καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὅλως. [8]
χώρας τε γὰρ οὐ τι ἀναγκαίας τῇ πόλει περιεβάλλετο μέγα τι χρῆμα, καὶ τῇ ἐς
ἄγαν περιουσία τοῖς ἐπιβουλευουσιν εὐέφοδον ἦν. [9] λόφοι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
ἐπανεστήκασιν ὑψηλοί, οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἀποθεν·
οἷσπερ ὁ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου καταλαβεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ
ἔχων, ὥς μὴ ἐπιτείχισμα κατ' αὐτῆς εἶεν, τῷ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὀνόματι τὰ
σφαλερώτατα ἐξεργάσατο. [10] πεδία τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κήπους ἐτείχισατο, καὶ

σκοπέλους τε καὶ θρεμμάτων νομάς. [11] ἔνθα δὴ οὐδὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον οἰκοδομήσασθαι τι οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἦν σχήματος ἔμεινεν. [12] εἰ δέ που καὶ οἰκία τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ταῦτα δὴ ἀγείτονα κατὰ μόνας ὄντα διαγεγόνασιν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. [13] καὶ οὔτε τὰ φυλακτήρια κατὰ λόγον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξικνεῖσθαι φυλακὴν εἶχεν, οὔτε αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοσοῦδε ὄντος ἐν δυνάμει ἐγίνετο τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. ἀτείχιστοί τε δοκοῦντες εἶναι περίφοβοι διηνεκὲς ἦσαν. [14] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν οὐκ ῥ[334]ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ περιβόλου περιελών, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρύματι ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιστείλας, ὀχύρωμα μὲν κατεστήσατο ἀμαχώτατον εἰ τις προσίοι, διαρκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐπέρρωσε. Καισαρεῦσι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐν Καππαδόκαις οὕτω τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διεσώσατο.

[15] Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν Καππαδόκαις Μωκησὸς ὄνομα, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ κείμενον, σαθρὸν δὲ οὕτω γεγεννημένον ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν καταπεπτώκει, τὰ δὲ ἔμελλεν. [16] ὅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καθελὼν τεῖχος ὠκοδομήσατο κομιδῇ μέγα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ πάλαι φρουρίου ἐν χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν ὀρθίῳ καὶ ἀμηχάνῳ προσελθεῖν, εἰ τις προσίοι. [17] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη πολλὰ καὶ ξενῶνας καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐδείματο καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνδείκνυται πόλιν εὐδαίμονα. [18] ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα ἦλθεν· οὕτω γὰρ πόλιν τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔθνους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Καππαδόκαις τοιαῦτα ἐγγέγονει.

[5] [1] Ἐκ πόλεως δὲ Ἀντιοχείας, ἣ νῦν Θεοῦπολις ἐπικέκληται, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἰόντι παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν προάστειόν ἐστι, Πλατανῶν ὄνομα· ταύτης δὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τρίβος τε ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφιγγομένη ἐκ τῶν παρατεταμένων ὁρῶν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ὄμβρων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐπικλυσάντων ἐξίτηλος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγεννημένη μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς διεξόδους παρείχετο ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν. [2] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκοῇ ῥ[336]ἔλαβεν, ἐν βουλῇ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ πεποιημένος, ἄκεσιν εὐθὺς τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρετο. [3] χρήματα γὰρ προέμενος ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα, ὄρη τε τὰ ἐκεῖνη ἀνέχοντα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐκτεμὼν ἅπαντα καὶ νενικηκὼς τὰ ἀμήχανα, ὁδὸν ἀμαξήλατον ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀπόκρημνα ἐν τε τῷ ὑπτίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀνεμίνῳ διεσκευάσατο, διαφανῶς ἐνδείξάμενος ὡς γνώμη προμηθεὶ καὶ χρημάτων ὑπερορώσῃ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄπορον γένοιτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξεργάσθαι.

[4] Πόλις δέ πού ἐστιν ἐν Κίλιξιν ἡ Μοψουεστία, τοῦ μάντεως, ὧς φασίν, ἐκεῖνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον. ταύτην ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ Πύραμος, τῇ μὲν πόλει γινόμενος ἐγκαλλώπισμα, γεφύρα δὲ μόνη διαβατὸς ὢν. [5] χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ ἐπιρρεῦσαντος πεπονηκέναι τῆς γεφύρας τὰ πλεῖστα ξυνέβη. ἐφκει τε πεσομένοις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καὶ τοῖς διαβαίνουσι διὰ τοῦτα ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἦν. [6] πρᾶγμά τε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπινενοημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, τῇ τῶν προεστηκότων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐγίνετο κινδύνου τε πολλοῦ καὶ φόβου αἴτια. [7] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς τὰ διερρηκόντα ἐπανορθώσας σπουδῇ ἅπαντα τῇ τε γεφύρᾳ καὶ τοῖς παριούσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνέσώσατο, τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπέδειξεν αὖθις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀκινδύνως ἀναδουμένην

εὐπρέπειαν.

[8] Ἔστι δέ τις μετ' αὐτὴν Ἄδανα πόλις, ἥς δὴ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ποταμὸς φέρεται ρ^[338]Σάρος ὄνομα, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὄρων κατιών. [9] ναυσίπορος δὲ ὁ Σάρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατός. γέφυρα οὖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῇδε ὑπερφυῆς τε ἀποτετόρνενται καὶ λόγου ἄξια. [10] γεγένηται δὲ τρὸφῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων μὲν εὐμεγέθων οἰκοδομίας πολλαχῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπανεστήκασιν ἐς μέγα τι πάχος διήκουσαι, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὖρος ξυνεξικνούμεναι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος πολλῷ ὑπερβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ ὑπεραίροντι. [11] ὑπερθέν τε δυοῖν κατὰ μέσον ἀψίδες ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ ἐπηρμέναι ἀνέχουσιν ὕψους ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα. ταύτης δὲ τῆς τῶν λίθων ξυνθήκης, ἥ κατὰ τὸ ὕδωρ οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν, ἅτε ῥοθίῳ μαχομένης πολλῷ, ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἀπέραντον ὅσον διεφθάρθαι τὰ πλεῖστα ξυνέβη. [12] οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε ἡ γέφυρα πᾶσα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐμπεσεῖσθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἐγένετό τε αἰεὶ ἐν εὐχῇ τῶν διαβαινόντων ἐκάστῳ ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν διαβάσει τὴν τοῦ χρόνου στιγμήν διαμεῖναι μόνον ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν γέφυραν. [13] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐτέραν τινὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πορείαν ὀρύξας, ἐκεῖσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταπορεύεσθαι διωθήσατο, ὕδατος δὲ χωρὶς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν λαβών, ἥσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πεπονθότα περιελὼν ἀνφοκοδομήσατο οὐδεμίᾳ μελλήσει, τὸν τε ποταμὸν αὖθις ἐς τὴν πρόσθεν ὁδὸν ἐπανήγαγεν, ἣν κοίτην καλοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε.

[14] Κύδνος δὲ ποταμὸς κατὰ πόλιν μέσσην Ταρσὸν φέρεται. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαπεπραγμένος φαίνεται πώποτε, ἅπαξ δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνηνέχθη ποτὲ τὰ ἀνίκεστα διεργάσασθαι ἐξ ρ^[340]αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [15] τοῦ μὲν καιροῦ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς ἐαρινὰς ἦν· νότος δὲ ἄνεμος ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιπνεύσας πολὺς τὰς χιόνας διέλυσε πάσας, αἷς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐπιπνεούσαις τὸ ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἐκεκάλυπτο σχεδόν τι ὅλον. [16] ῥύακες οὖν ὑδάτων πανταχόθεν ξυνέρρεον τῶν ἐκεῖνι σκοπέλων, αἱ τε χαράδραι χειμάρρους ἀφίεσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ κρήναις πολλαῖς αἱ τε ὑπώρειαι καὶ οἱ πρόποδες ὄρων τῶν Ταυρείων κατάρρυτοι ἦσαν. [17] τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύδνος τοῖς ὕδασι κυματίας γεγεννημένος, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν γειτόνων ὄντα ἐπεσέβαλλον, ἅμα δὲ οἱ καὶ ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, τὰ μὲν Ταρσέων προάστεια πάντα, ὅσα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένα ἐτύγχανε, κατακλύσας εὐθὺς ἐξίτηλα τὸ παράπαν ἐποίη· ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ μορμύρων ἦει καὶ τὰς γεφύρας βραχείας οὕσας περιελὼν τὰς τε ἀγορὰς συνεῖχεν ἀπάσας τὰς τε ἀγυῖας ὑπερέβλυζε καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ ὑπερῷοις ἐπιπολάζων ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρει. [18] νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἐν κινδύνῳ διαγέγονε καὶ σάλῳ τοιούτῳ, καὶ μόλις ἐν ὑστάτῳ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπολωφήσας ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι γέγονεν αὖθις. [19] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἐπενόει τοιαύδε. πρῶτα μὲν ἐτέραν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διεσκευάσατο τῷ ποταμῷ κοίτην, ὅπως ἐνταῦθα διασχιζόμενος ἐκατέρωθι τε μερίζων τὸν ῥοῦν κατὰ ἥμισυ γεγωνῶς μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ταρσὸν ἴοι. [20] ἔπειτα δὲ τὰς γεφύρας παρὰ πολὺ εὐρυτέρας πεποιημένους κρείσσους ἀπειργάσατο εἶναι ἢ πλημμύροντι βιασθῆναι ρ^[342]τῷ Κύνῳ. ταύτῃ τε διεπράξατο φόβου καὶ κινδύνου ἐκτὸς ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν.

[6] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Κίλιξιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτη πη ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ᾧπερ ἄλλο εἰκασθῆναι οὐδὲν οἶόν τέ ἐστι. [2] νέαν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ὅπερ δὴ ὁποῖόν ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν, ὡς ἡ πόλις ἦδε λοφώδης μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐ γεώδεις δὲ οἱ λόφοι εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τραχεῖ καὶ ἀποκρήμνῳ ἐπανεστήκασι, τὰς ἀμφοδους ἐν κλίμακος τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρθίου ἐς τὸ πρανὲς κατατείνοντες. [3] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἐνὸς χωρίου συμβαίνειν εἶναι, ἢ ἐπὶ λόφου πεποιημένα, ἢ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον τῆς γῆς, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ ταύτη πη ἔχει. [4] ἐπέστελλε γὰρ αὐτὸ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι γενέσθαι τῶν λόφων, δηλώσας ὁποῖον τὰ τε ἄλλα δεήσει καὶ τὸ εὖρος αὐτῷ καὶ μῆκος εἶναι. [5] οὐκ ἀπέχρησέ τε κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν πρὸς τοῦ ἔργου τὴν χρεῖαν ὁ λόφος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀπελέλειπτο πρὸς τε ἄνεμον νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ ὀργιάζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θέμῃς. [6] διὸ δὴ ἐπενόουν τάδε οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο. ἀπορριψάμενοι τὰ θεμέλια εἰς γῆς τῆς ὑπτίας τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκοδόμημα πεποιήνται συνεπανεστηκὸς τῷ σκοπέλῳ. [7] ἐπειδὴ τε ἄνω κατὰ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν ἐγένοντο, τῶν π[344]τοίχων καθύπερθε θόλους ἐνθέμενοι συνάπτουσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει. [8] ταύτη τε ὁ νεὼς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς ἱδρυται, πῇ δὲ ἠώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεγνησαμένης τῷ λόφῳ. [9] ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας οἱ λίθοι οὐ τοιοῖδε εἰσὶ μέγεθος, ὁποίους ἴσμεν. [10] πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οἱ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε διαμαχόμενοι ὕψος τε ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ σκοπέλῳ διαπονούμενοι, τῶν ξυνειθισμένων ὀλιγορηκότες πάντων ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνώτα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐχώρουν, [11] πέτρας οὖν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑποτεμνόμενοι ἅπερ οὐρανομήκη ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις ἀνέχει, ζύσαντές τε αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως, ἐνταῦθα ἦγον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [12] ἀμάξας μὲν ταῖς πέτραις ἐτεκτίναντο μεγέθει ἴσας, ἓνα δὲ λίθον ἐνετίθεντο ἀμάξῃ ἐκάστη, βόες τε ἀριστίνδην πρὸς βασιλέως ξυνειλεγμένοι κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα σὺν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τὸν λίθον ἐφεῖλκον. [13] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς ταύτας δὴ φέρειν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐκτέμνοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ὄρη ἐσιτητὰ ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις ἀμάξαις ἐποίουν, οὕτως τε περιμήκη ἀπειργάσαντο τὸν νεὼν, ἥπερ βουλομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦν. [14] εὖρός τε αὐτῷ κατὰ λόγον πεποιημένοι, τέγος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον. [15] δρυμοὺς τε οὖν καὶ δάση πάντα περιούντες, καὶ εἴ πού τι χωρίον ἠκούετο οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις, ὕλην τινὰ εὖρον ἀμφιλαφεῖ, κέδρους φέρουσιν ἐς ὕψος ἐξικνουμένας ἀπέραντον ὅσον, αἷς δὴ τὴν ὀροφὴν τῷ νεῷ π[346]ῆθεντο, ὕψος αὐτῷ κατὰ μέτρον πεποιημένοι, ἐς ὅσον τε εὐρύνεται καὶ ἐς τὸ μῆκος ἐξάγεται.

[16] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπεΐα καὶ τέχνῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξεργάσατο. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς ἀμειβομένη αὐτὸν τῇ τιμῇ, καὶ ξυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο. [17] τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἱερῷ πανταχόσε κίωνων ἔδει τό τε εἶδος οὐκ ἀποδεόντων τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος κάλλους καὶ

τοιούτων τὸ μέγεθος οἷοι δὴ ὄντες ἀντέχειν ἐς τὸ ἄχθος τῶν ἐγκειμένων
 σφίσιν ἐμελλόν. [18] ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ κειμένη τῆς θαλάσσης πολλῶ
 ἄποθεν, ὄρεσί τε πανταχόθεν ἀποπεφραγμένη ἀποτόμοις τισίν, ἥπερ μοι
 εἴρηται, ἄπορον τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὸ ἔδαφος ἐποίει κίονας ἐτέρωθεν
 εἰσκομίζεσθαι. [19] ἀλλὰ βασιλέως δυσφορουμένου τῇ τοῦ ἔργου ἀμηχανίᾳ,
 λίθου φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἄγχιστα ὄρεσιν
 ἔδειξεν, ἡ οὐσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἡ νῦν γενομένην. [20] ἐπ’
 ἀμφοτέρα δὲ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. [21] ἡμεῖς
 μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει πάντα σταθμώμενοι πολλὰ ἐς τὸ ἀδύνατον
 ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμεθα, τῷ δὲ θεῷ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὐτ’ ἂν ἄπορον οὐτ’
 ἀμήχανον γένοιτο. [22] κίωνων τοίνυν ἐνθένδε μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπερμεγεθῶν τε
 καὶ ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα, πανταχόθεν
 ὑποστηρίζουσι τὸν νεῶν, οἱ μὲν ἔνερθεν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς στοὰς
 αἱ περιβάλλουσι τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον, πλὴν τῆς πρὸς ἑὼ τετραμμένης πλευρᾶς·
 ὧν περ δύο ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεῶς θύρας ὑπερφυεῖς ἄγαν καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ τῇ
 πάσῃ κίωνων ἴσως οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι. [23] στοὰ p[348] τις ἐκδέχεται ἐντεῦθεν
 ἕτερα ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὠνομασμένη, οἶμαι, τῷ μὴ εὐρύνεσθαι. [24] αὐτὴ μετὰ
 ταύτην κίονα ὁμοίῳ ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνεχομένη· θύραι μέταυλοι
 ἱεροπρεπεῖς οὕτως, ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἔξω ἰοῦσιν ὁποῖα ποτὲ θεάματι
 ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι. προπύλαια τὸ ἐνθένδε θαυμασία οἶα, καὶ τις ἐπὶ κίωνων
 δυοῖν ἐπαιρομένη ἀψὶς ἐς ἄφατον ὕψος. [25] προϊόντι δὲ πρόσω ἡμίκυκλα δύο,
 ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωπα ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁδοῦ ἐστᾶσι· ξενῶνες δὲ
 τῆς ἐτέρας ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα δύο, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον· ἄτερος μὲν ξένοις
 ἐνδημοῦσι καταλυτήριον, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἀναπαυστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς. [26]
 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ προσδόφῳ
 ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ
 πεπραγμένα ταύτη πη ἔσχεν.

[7] [1] Ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, Νεάπολις ὄνομα· ἐφ’ ἧς δὴ ὅρος
 ὑψηλὸν ἀνέχει, Γαριζὶν ὄνομα. [2] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ
 Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοι τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολήν,
 οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν· οὐχ ὅτι νεῶν τινα ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρωρείαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. [3] ἡνίκα
 δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι ὢν τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ὁμίλει,
 p[350] γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς γυναῖκα τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων διάλογος· ταύτη τε ἐπὶ
 τῷ ὄρει πυνθανομένη ὑπέειπεν ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐχ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται
 προσκυνήσουσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν οἱ ἀληθινοὶ
 προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσι, τοὺς Χριστιανούς παραδηλώσας· ἐγένετό τε
 προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἔργον ἢ πρόρρησις. [4] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ οὐχὶ
 ἀψευδεῖν τὸν ὄντα θεόν. [5] ἐγένετο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος
 βασιλευδόντος ἀθρόοι ἐξαπιναιῶς οἱ Σαμαρεῖται γενόμενοι ἐπεισηδῶσιν ἐν
 Νεαπόλει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν καλουμένην
 ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διαχρῶνται, καὶ ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς
 ἐπίσκοπος τότε, Τερεβίνθιος ὄνομα, καταλαβόντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐστῶτα
 τραπέζης, καὶ ἱεουργοῦντα τὰ ἄρρητα ξίφεσι παίοντες, ἄλλως τε

συγκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς τῶν χειρῶν ἀφαιροῦνται δακτύλους, ἕς τε τὰ μυστήρια ὕβρισαν, ὥς δρᾶσαι μὲν Σαμαρείταις προσήκει, σιωπᾶν δὲ ἡμῖν. [6] ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς οὗτος αὐτίκα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενος, τῷ τότε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων, ἐπέδειξέ τε τὸ πάθος καὶ τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα σημάνας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς προρρήσεως ὑπομνήσας, τιμωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἐδεῖτο γενέσθαι. [7] Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι ξυνταραχθεῖς, κόλασιν τε ἀποχρώντως ἐς τοὺς τὰ δεῖνα δεδρακότας πεποιήται οὐδεμίᾳ ὀκνήσει· ἕκ τε ὅρους τοῦ Γαριζίν τοὺς Σαμαρείτας ἐξελάσας, εὐθὺς Χριστιανοῖς τε αὐτὸ παραδίδωσιν, ἐκκλησίαν p[352]τε ἄνω δειμάμενος τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, τειχισάμενος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀποτριγώσας. [8] καὶ φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο κάτω μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐ πλέον ἢ δέκα. [9] οἷς δὴ Σαμαρεῖται ἀχθόμενοι ἡσχαλλον μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δυσφοροῦμενοι ἀπηξίουν τὰ σφίσι παρόντα, δεῖν δὲ τῷ ἐκ βασιλέως δυσωπούμενοι σιωπῇ εἶχοντο. [10] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου, Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, τοιόνδε τι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [11] τινὲς τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν, γυναικὸς ὑποθήκη ἀναπεισθέντες, ἀναβαίνουσι μὲν παρὰ δόξαν κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ὅρους κρημνῶδες, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀνόδου ἢ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐνταῦθα ἄγει ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλασσομένης, ἐνθὲνδε αὐτοῖς ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἀδύνατα ἦν. [12] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξαπιναιῶς γενόμενοι κτείνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς, μετακαλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαμαρείτας φωνῇ ἐξαίσιᾳ. [13] οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δειμαίνοντες συνεπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκεχειρηκόσιν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. [14] οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον ὁ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτροπεύειν (Προκόπιος δὲ ἦν ἐξ Ἑδέσσης πόλεως, ἀνὴρ λόγιος) τοὺς τὰ δεῖνα δεδρακότας συλλαβὼν ἔκτεινε. [15] τοῦ μέντοι ὀχυρώματος οὐδ' ὥς τις λόγος ἢ πρόνοια παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τηρικᾶδε γεγένηται. [16] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καίπερ τοὺς Σαμαρείτας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μεταθέμενος καὶ καταστησάμενος Χριστιανούς εἶναι, τὸ μὲν p[354]παλαιὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ Γαριζίν ἐκκλησίας τεῖχοςμα ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος εἶασεν ἀποτετριγγωμένον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐτέρῳ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔκτοσθεν τείχει περιβαλὼν ἄμαχον διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι. [17] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ πέντε Χριστιανῶν ἀνεενώσατο πρὸς τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν καταφλεχθέντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε εἵργασται.

[8] [1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ πάλαι μὲν Ἀραβίᾳ, νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνῃ τρίτῃ καλουμένῃ, χώρα μὲν ἔρημος ἐπὶ μακρὸν κατατείνει, καρπῶν τε καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἄφορος. καὶ ὅρος ἀπτότομόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἀποκρέματα ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καλουμένης θαλάσσης, Σινὰ ὄνομα. [2] οὐδὲν δέ μοι ἄμφι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἀναγράψασθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντά μοι τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον, Αἰθιοπίας τε τοὺς Αὐξωμίτας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν Σαρακηνῶν γένη ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδηλωται λόγοις· ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι διδιήγηται, ὅντινα τρόπον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν Φοινικῶνα προσεποίησε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα λέγειν ἀφήμι, ὥς μὴ ἀπειροκαλίας ἀνενέγκοιμι δόξαν. [4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Σινᾷ ὅρει μοναχοὶ ὄκνηται, οἷς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος ἡκριβωμένη τις μελέτη θανάτου, ἐρημίας

τῆς σφίσι φιλιότητος ἀδεέστερον ἀπολαύουσι. [5] τοῦτοις δὴ τοῖς μοναχοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς (ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφείντο, ἀλλὰ κρείσσους τῶν ρ[356]ἀνθρωπείων ἀπάντων εἰσίν, οὐδέ τι κεκτηῖσθαι οὐδὲ θεραπεύειν τὰ σώματα, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ὀνίνασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν) ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδομήσατο, ἥνπερ τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐξῆ εὐχομένοις τε καὶ ἱερωμένοις διαβῖναι. [6] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ὅρους ἐδείματο τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ ἔνερθεν· [7] ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρείᾳ διανυκτερεύειν ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ κτύποι τε διηνεκὲς καὶ ἕτερα ἅττα θειότερα νύκτωρ ἀκούσονται, δυνάμιν τε καὶ γνώμην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἐκπλήσσοντα. [8] ἐνταῦθα ποτε τὸν Μωσέα φασὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους παραλαβόντα ἐξενεγκεῖν. [9] ἐς δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ᾠκοδομήσατο, ὡς μὴ ἐνθένδε Σαρακηνοὶ βάρβαροι ἔχοιεν ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐρήμου οὔσης, ἥπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ἐσβάλλειν ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης χωρία.

[10] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται. ὅσα δὲ κἀν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις πεποιήται τοῖς τῇδὲ τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐφάν οὔσιν, αὐτίκα δὴ μοι ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ γεγράφεται.

[9] Μοναστήρια μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνεενώσατο τάδε.

[1] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Θαλελαίου.

[2] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου.

[3] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

[4] Ξένωνα ἐν Ἱεριχῷ.

ρ[358] [5] ἐκκλησίαν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Ἱεριχῷ.

[6] τὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

[7] τὸ τῶν Λαζῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.

[8] τὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Ἑλαιῶν.

[9] τὸ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἑλισσαίου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

[10] τὸ Σιλέθεως.

[11] τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ῥωμανοῦ.

[12] ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεενώσε.

[13] τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου ἐν Βηθλεὲμ.

[14] Φρέατα δὲ ἡ δεξαμενὰς ᾠκοδομήσατο οὕτως·

[15] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμουὴλ φρέαρ καὶ τεῖχος.

[16] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ζαχαρίου φρέαρ.

[17] εἰς τὸ Σωσάννης φρέαρ.

[18] εἰς τὸ Ἀφελίου φρέαρ.

[19] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ φρέαρ.

[20] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν ὄρει καλουμένῳ Κισσερῶν φρέαρ.

[21] τὸ τεῖχος Τιβεριάδος.

[22] τὸ ἐν Βόστρα πτωχεῖον.

[23] Φοινίκης·

τὸν οἶκον τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Πορφυρεῶνι.

[24] μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ ἐν ὄρει.

- [25] τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι.
[26] ἐν Δαμασκῷ οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Λεοντίου.
[27] ἀπὸ Ἀπάμειαν πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ ἀνενέωσατο.
[28] τεῖχος τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρωνος.
p^[360] [29] ὑπὸ Θεοῦπολιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δάφνης ἀνενέωσεν.
[30] ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τὸν ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.
[31] Μεσοποταμίας·
μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.
[32] μοναστήρια Δέλφραξις, Ζηβίνου, Θεοδότου, Ἰωάννου. Σαρμαθῆς,
Κυρήνου, Βεγαδαίου.
[33] μοναστήριον εἰς τὸ Ἀπάδνας ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ.
[34] πόλεως Κουρίκου λουτρὸν καὶ πτωχεῖον ἀνενέωσε.
[35] τὸ πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Κόνωνος.
[36] τὸν ἀγωγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνενέωσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ.
[37] οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ.
[38] πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ ἐν Ἐμπορίῳ ἐπὶ κλινῇ ἐπινείου πόλεως
Πέργης τῆς Παμφυλίας.

BOOK VI.

[1] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιήται. ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐξείργασται τάδε. Νεῖλος ποταμὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἐπιρρεύσας ὃ δὴ Χαιρέου ἐπονομάζεται, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἵεται, ὅρια τὰ γε Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀπολιπών. [2] διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι, ὥς μὴ ἀμοιροῖη τὸ παράπαν ἢ πόλις, διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου κατορύξαντες βαθεῖαν τινα βραχεῖα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκροῇ διεπράξαντο ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. οὗ δὴ καὶ p[362] ἄλλας τινὰς ἐκροὰς ἐκ λίμνης Μαρίας ἐσβάλλειν ξυμβαίνει. [3] ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος μεγάλαις μὲν ναυσὶ πλώϊμα οὐδαμῇ γίνεται, ἐς λέμβους δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον σῖτον ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου μεταβιβάσαντες οὕσπερ καλεῖν διαρῆματα νενομίκασιν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν διακομίζουσιν, ἵνα δὴ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυνατὰ ἐστὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ποταμῷ, καὶ κατατίθενται ἐν χώρῳ ὅνπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καλοῦσι Φιάλην. [4] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἐς στάσιν πολλάκις καθισταμένῳ ἐνταῦθα διολωλέναι τῷ σίτῳ ξυνέβη, βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τειχίσματι τόνδε τὸν χώρον περιβαλὼν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιβουλήν ἀνεχαίτισε. [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτη ἐξείργασται.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίου ἡμᾶς ἤγαγε τῆς Λιβύης ὁμόρου τανῦν ὁ λόγος, φέρε δὴ καὶ ὅποσα διαπέπρακται αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα δηλώσωμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λιβύην ζύμπασαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕτος ὑπὸ βαρβάροις κειμένην εὐρὼν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐνῆψε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.

[6] Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φερόμενος δίχα τέμνει τὴν ἐκείνη γῆν ἄχρι ἐς θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ σχιζομένη τῷ ρεῖθρῳ καὶ ὀνόμασι διακέκρται τὸ ἐνθένδε δυοῖν. [7] τὰ μὲν p[364] γὰρ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀσία ὀνόμασται μέχρι που ἐς Φᾶσιν τὸν Κόλχον, ὅσπερ Ἀσίαν τε διορίζει καὶ γῆν τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἣ μέχρι ἐς πορθμεῖα τὰ Κιμμέρια καὶ ποταμὸν Τανάιν. [8] τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἔνεκα διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα σοφοί, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται περιηγουμένῳ τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον. [9] τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Νεῖλου Λιβύη ἐκλήθη μέχρι ἐς ὠκεανόν, ὅσπερ ἐς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον ἐκατέραν ἡπειρον διορίζει, ἐκροήν τε ἀφίεις τινα καὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε ποιούμενος. [10] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη Λιβύη ζύμπασα ὀνόματα κατὰ χώραν ἐκάστην ἕτερα ἄττα διακεκλήρωται, ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνη ἐπιγενομένων, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικληθεῖσα. [11] ἡ μέντοι ἐκ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ὀρίων ἄχρι ἐς πόλιν Κυρήνην διήκουσα ἐπὶ Πενταπόλεως ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ μόνου τοῦ ὀνόματος Λιβύη καὶ νῦν ἐπικέκληται. [12] ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας διέχουσα, Ταφόσιρις ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ ταφῆναι τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ὅσιριν λέγουσιν. [13] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καταλυτήρια καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐδείματο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς.

[2] [1] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἀπημελημένα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. [2] καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ προεγρηγορῶς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ, ὥς μὴ τι αὐτῇ παθεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πρὸς

Μαυρουσίων τῶν πλησιοχώρων ξυμβαίῃ, ὀχυρώματά τε δύο καὶ φυλακτήρια κατεστήσατο, ὧν θάτερον μὲν Παρατόνιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ρ^[366] Ἀντίπυργον δὲ τὸ ἕτερον ἐπικέκληται, οὐ πόρρῳ Πενταπόλεως κείμενον. [3] διέχει δὲ ἡ Πεντάπολις Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. [4] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Πενταπόλει καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Τεύχειραν τὴν πόλιν ἐρύματι ἐτειχίσατο ἐχυρωτάτῳ. [5] καὶ Βερνίκης τὸν περίβολον ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνφοδομήσατο τῶν ἐσχάτων. [6] οὗ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον πεποιήται, δημοσία παρεχόμενον τῇ πόλει τὴν χρεῖαν. [7] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς Πενταπόλεως ἐσχατιαῖς, αἵπερ εἰσὶ τετραμμέναι πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ὀχυρώματα ἐν δυοῖν μοναστηρίοις ἐξείργασται, οἷσπερ Ἀγριολώδῃ τε καὶ Δινάρθισον ὀνόματα ἐστίν· ἅπερ ἐπιτειχίσματα κεῖται τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, [8] τῷ μὴ καταθέοντος ὡς λαθραϊότατα ἐπισκῆπτειν ἐξαπιναίως ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων.

[9] Ἔστι δὲ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις, Πτολεμαῖς ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν εὐδαίμων τε γεγεννημένη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀποκριθεῖσα. [10] τῶν γὰρ οἰκητόρων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος δίψει ἐχόμενοι πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστάντες ἀπεχώρησαν ὅπῃ ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν. [11] ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρότερον αὐτῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέδωκε σχῆμα. Πενταπόλεως δὲ πόλις ἐσχάτη ἐστὶ πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, Βόρειον ὄνομα. [12] οὗ δὴ τὰ ὄρη συννευκότα τε πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε στενοχωρία ξυμπεφραγμένα, τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν εἰσόδων ἀποκεκλεισθαι τοὺς πολεμίους διασκευάζονται. [13] ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀτειχιστον οὖσαν ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, ρ^[368] ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν βεβαιότατα σὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτὴν χώρᾳ διεπράξατο εἶναι.

[14] Πόλεις δὲ πού εἰσι δύο ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἐνὸς ὀκημένα· [15] Ἀγύλα γὰρ ἐκάτερα ἐκλήθη. αὗται τοῦ Βορείου διέχουσιν ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν μάλιστα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, τετραμμέναι μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἀρχαῖαι δὲ οὖσαι καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀρχαιότροπα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχουσαι· θρησκείαν γὰρ πάντες καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν τῆς πολυθεΐας ἐνόσουν. [16] ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ τε Ἄμμωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι ἀνέκειτο ἔδη. [17] οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐσφαγιάζοντο μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείαν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. [18] ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄμιλος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱεροδούλων καλουμένων πολὺς. νῦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὰ σώματα τοῖς κατηκόοις ἐκποριζόμενος τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διασώσασθαι ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ποιούμενος, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὀκημένων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ πάντα προϋνόησε τρόπον. [19] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα διαφερόντως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίωσε καὶ τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐδίδαξε δόξαν Χριστιανούς πανοικεσία πεπονημένος καὶ μεταπορευόμενος λελυμασμένα σφίσι τὰ πάτρια ἦθῃ. [20] οἷς δὴ καὶ νεῶν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐδείματο, φυλακτήριον ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἀληθείας ἐσόμενον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πῃ ἔσχε.

[21] Βόρειον δὲ ἡ πόλις Μαυρουσίαις γειτνιῶσα βαρβάροις φόρου ὑποτελής οὐ γεγένηται ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου· οὐδέ τινες πώποτε δασμολόγοι ἢ ρ^[370] φορολόγοι ἐς αὐτὴν ἵκοντο, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι. [22] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ὥκνητο ἐκ παλαιοῦ αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα. οὗ δὴ καὶ νεῶς ἦν ἀρχαῖος αὐτοῖς, ὅνπερ

ἐσέβοντό τε καὶ ἐτεθήπесαν μάλιστα, δειμαμένου τοῦτο Σολομώνος, ὥςπερ φασί, βασιλεύοντος Ἑβραίων τοῦ ἔθνους. [23] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μεταγνῶναί τε τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, καὶ Χριστιανοὺς γεγενῆσθαι διαπραξάμενος, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίας μεθρημόσατο σχῆμα.

[3] [1] Μετὰ τούτους αἱ Σύρτιες εἰσὶν αἱ μεγάλαὶ ὠνομασμένα. ἐφ' οὗ δὲ εἰσι σχήματος αὗται, καὶ ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τούτου μεταλαγχάνουσι τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [2] προβέβληται τις ἐνταῦθα ἡϊών· σχιζομένη δὲ αὐτὴ τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροῇ, τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ ἀφανιζομένη, ἀποβαίνειν δοκεῖ, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ὑποχωροῦσα ὀπίσω ἰέναι· ἐς κόλπον δὲ μηνοειδῆ ἐπὶ μακρότατον τέτραπται. [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχομένης πλευρᾶς διάπλους ἐς τετρακοσίους διήκει σταδίους· τοῦ δὲ μηνοειδοῦς τὸ περίμετρον ἐς ἡμερῶν ἑξ ὁδὸν κατατείνει. [4] ταύτης γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα πεπιεσμένη τῆς ἡπείρου ἐντὸς τὸν κόλπον ποιεῖται. [5] ἐπειδάν τε ναὺς ἀνέμῳ ἢ κλύδωνι βιαζομένη τοῦ διάπλου ἐντὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν γένηται, τὸ ἐνθὲνδε αὐτῇ ἐπανιέναι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ συρομένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἔοικε, καὶ διαφανῶς ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ π[372]έλκομένη. [6] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οἶμαι, τὸν χῶρον οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῦ πάθους τῶν νεῶν ἔνεκα Σύρτιες ὠνόμασαν. [7] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διανεῦσαι τοῖς πλοίοις ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα δυνατὰ γεγένηται. πέτραι γὰρ ὕφαλοι διακεκληρωμένοι τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ κόλπου πλώιμα οὐ ξυγχωροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς βράχεσι τὰς ναὺς διαχρῶνται. [8] μόνοις δὲ τοῖς λέμβοις οἱ πλωτῆρες τούτων δὴ τῶν νηῶν οἱοί τ' εἰσι διασώζεσθαι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς διεξόδους ποιοῦμενοι.

[9] Τριπόλεως τῆδε τῆς καλουμένης τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶ, Μαυρούσιοι τε βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσι, Φοινικὸν ἔθνος, οὗ δὴ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶ Κιδαμὴ ὄνομα. [10] ἐνταῦθά τε Μαυρούσιοι ὤκηνται Ῥωμαίων ἔνσπονδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες· οἵπερ ἅπαντες πεισθέντες Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, δόγματι τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἐθελούσιοι προσεχώρησαν. [11] Πακᾶτοι δὲ οὗτοι τανῦν οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ἐπεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αἰεὶ σπονδὰς ἔχουσι· πάκεν γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. [12] Πενταπόλεως δὲ Τρίπολις ἡμερῶν διέχει ὁδῷ εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί.

[4] [1] Πόλις ἐνθὲνδε ἡ Λεπτιμάγνα ἐκδέχεται, μεγάλη μὲν καὶ πολυάνθρωπος τὸ παλαιὸν οὖσα, ἔρημος δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ψάμμου τε πλήθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι καταχωσθεῖσα. [2] καὶ ταύτης δὲ τὸν περίβολον ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς, οὐ τοσοῦτον μέντοι, ὅσος τὸ π[374]ρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἥσσονα, ὥς μὴ τῷ μεγέθει σφαλερὰ καὶ αὐθις ἡ πόλις εἴη, καὶ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄλωτή, ψάμμῳ δὲ πρόχειρος. [3] νῦν δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν καταχωσθὲν ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος εἵασεν οὕτω δὴ ψάμμῳ ἐς λόφους συνειλεγμένη κεκαλυμμένον, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν εἰτειχίσαστο ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα. [4] καὶ ἱερὸν μὲν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ θεοτόκῳ τῆδε ἀνέθηκεν, ἐκκλησίας δὲ τέτταρας ἐδείματο ἄλλας. [5] πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνωκοδομήσατο τὰ τῆδε γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καὶ καταπεπτωκότα βασιλεία, Σεβήρου βασιλέως τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον· ὃς δὴ ἐνθὲνδε ὀρμώμενος μνημεῖα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὰ βασιλεία τάδε ἀπέλιπεν.

[6] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ λόγου τὸ ξυνενεχθὲν ἐπὶ Λεπτιμάγνης ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἤκιστα σιωπήσομαι. ἥδη μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, οὐπω δὲ πόλεμον τὸν Βανδιλικὸν ἀνῆρημένου, Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι, βιασάμενοι τοὺς Λιβύης τότε κυρίους Βανδίλους, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν παντάπασι κατεστήσατο. [7] ἐν χώροις δὲ λοφώδεσι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διατριβὴν τινα ἔχοντες Λεπτιμάγνης οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν, φλόγα πυρὸς ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τεθέανται. [8] πολεμίους τε ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐνδήμους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐβοήθουν πολλῶ. [9] ἀνθρώπων τε οὐδένα εὐρόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μάνεις τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, οἱ δὲ τῷ ξυμβεβηκότι τεκμηριούμενοι τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οἰκισθήσεσθαι προὔλεγον. [10] οὐ πολλῶ τε ὕστερον ἀφικόμενος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸς Λιβύην τε τὴν ρ[376]ἄλλην καὶ Τρίπολιν ἔσχε, Βανδίων τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων καθυπέρτερος τῷ πολέμῳ γεγενημένος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

[11] Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποιήται, τὸν τε περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐκ θεμελίων τῶν ἐσχάτων ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τοῖς τε βαλανείοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐς πόλεως αὐτὴν κατεστήσατο σχῆμα. [12] τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῇ βαρβάρους, οἱ Γαδαβιτανοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται, κατακόρως ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καλουμένην ἀθεΐαν δοξάζοντας, Χριστιανοὺς διεπράξατο γενέσθαι τανῦν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ. [13] ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαβραθὰν εἰτείχισατο πόλιν, οὐ δὲ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείματο.

[14] Πόλεις δὲ δύο εἰσὶ ταύτης ἐν ἐσχάτῳ τῆς χώρας, Τάκαπά τε καὶ Γίργις, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον Σύρτις τὰς μικρὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [15] ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον. ἡ θάλασσα ἐν στενῷ θλιβομένη ἀπεργάζεται μηνοειδῆ κόλπον, ἥπερ γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας Σύρτις ἐρρήθη. [16] ἀναβαίνει δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον πλεον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἀμφὶ τε τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπάνεισιν αὐθις, ἐπιλιποῦσα ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τὴν ἡϊόνα ταύτην κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀκταῖς. [17] οἱ τε ναῦται εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναγόμενοι θάλασσαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ γεγενημένην, τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τὰ εἰωθότα ναυτίλλονται, ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν δὲ πάντως ὀψίαν ὡς ἐν γῇ αὐλισόμενοι συσκευάζονται, κοντοὺς τινας ἐν παρασκευῇ μακροὺς ἔχοντες. [18] ἐπειδὴν τε τάχιστα τοῦ ῥοθίου ρ[378]αῖσθωνται ὑπόπτως ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔχοντος, οἷδε κοντοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ διαχειρίζοντες ἐκπηδῶσιν ὀκνήσει οὐδεμία ἐκ τῆς νεῶς. [19] νηχόμενοι δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐστήκασιν, ἥνικα ἂν σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ οὐχ ὑπεραίροι τὰ πρόσωπα. [20] ἐκ τε τῶν ἄκρων τοὺς κοντοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσουδίσαντες ἐν ξηρῷ ἥδη γεγενημένης ἢ ἐσομένης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὀρθοὺς ἰσθᾶσιν, ὑποκεισομένους τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ μετεωρίσοντας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὡς μὴ ἐπικλινᾶν ἐπὶ θάτερα συντριβὲς γένηται. [21] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὀρθρου βαθέος ἢ μὲν ἡπειρος μεταμφιασμένη τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπικυρτοῦται κυμαίνουσα, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ. [22] οἱ τε ναῦται περιελόντες ἐπικαιριώτατα τοὺς κοντοὺς ναυτίλλονται αὐθις. [23] παρὰλλαξὶν τε οὐδεμίαν τοῦ ἔργου γενέσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἢ τῶν στοιχείων διαδοχὴ ἐπὶγίνεται.

[5] [1] Μετὰ δὲ Τρίπολιν τε καὶ Σύρτεις ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ Λιβύην τὴν ἄλλην ἴωμεν. [2] ἄρκτεόν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐκ Καρχηδόνας, ἥ μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη τῶν τῆδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὕσα, τοσοῦτον πρότερον ὑπειπῶσιν, ὥς ἡνίκα Γιζέριχός τε καὶ Βανδύλοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἐνθύμημα ἐπιέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώλεθρόν τε καὶ πρέπον βαρβάροις. [3] ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐλογίσαντο σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἔξιν ἀτειχίστων ὄντων τῶν τῆδε χωρίων, ὥς μὴ τι καταλαβόντες αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι Βανδίλους κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν. [4] ἅπαντα οὖν τὰ τεῖχη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλον εὐθύς. βάρβαροι γὰρ ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευόμεναι μὲν ὥς ὀξύτατα, ἐπιτελοῦσι δὲ ὥς ταχύτατα ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη. [5] μόνον p[380]δὲ αὐτοῖς τό τε Καρχηδόνας καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦσαν σχήματος ἔμειναν, ὥνπερ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀπαξιούντες, διαφθορεῖν αὐτὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφῆκαν. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς (ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐπαινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεφρικότων τὸ ἔργων ἀπάντων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγουμένου τε καὶ ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ ξυλλαμβάνοντος) Βελισάριον τε καὶ στρατεύμα ἐπὶ Λιβύην πέμψας, Γελίμερά τε καὶ δύναμιν τὴν Βανδύλων καθεῖλε, πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς δορυαλώτους πεποιημένους, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται. [7] καὶ τὰ μὲν καθηρημένα τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ ὀχυρωμάτων ἀνενεώσατο ἅπαντα, ἕτερα δὲ παμπληθῇ ἐπετεχνήσατο νεοχμώσας αὐτός.

[8] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Καρχηδόνας, τῆς νῦν καὶ Ἰουστινιανῆς, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, καλουμένης ἐπεμελήσατο, διερρυηκότα μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα, καὶ τάφρον ἐν περιδρόμῳ διορύξας οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν. [9] ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη, τῇ μὲν θεοτόκῳ, ὅπερ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐστί, καὶ τούτου ἐκτὸς τῶν τινι ἐπιχωρίων ἁγίων ἁγία Πρίμη. [10] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ στοὰς ἐκατέρωθι τῆς Μαριτίμου ἀγορὰς καλουμένης ἐδείματο, καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀξιοθέατον, ὅπερ ἐπωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδωριανᾷ ἐπωνόμασαν. [11] ἐδείματο δὲ καὶ μοναστήριον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἐπιθαλασσιδίου, ἄγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος ὅπερ Μανδράκιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύματί τε αὐτὸ ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἀνανταγώνιστον ἀπειργάσατο.

p[382] [12] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνας τῆς νέας Ἰουστινιανῇ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ χώρα τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτήν, ἥ Προκονσουλαρία ὠνόμασται, πόλις ἀτειχιστος ἦν, Βάγα ὄνομα, μὴ ὅτι βαρβάροις ἐπιούσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τινι παριούσιν ἁλωτῇ οὕσα. [13] ταύτην ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πόλιν τε διεπράξατο εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διασώσασθαι οἷαν τε εἶναι. [14] οἱ δὲ τετυχηκότες τῆς χάριτος ἐς τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος τιμὴν Θεοδωριάδα καλοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. [15] φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ ὃ Τούκκα καλοῦσιν.

[6] [1] Ἐν Βυζακίῳ δὲ πόλις, Ἀδράμυτος ὄνομα, ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ οἰκεῖται, μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὕσα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὄνομά τε καὶ ἀξίωμα κληρωσαμένη ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐπεὶ πρώτην αὐτὴν μεγέθει τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [2] ταύτης Βανδύλοι μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς ἀντιλαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν· Μαυρουσίους τε καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἀπέκειτο. [3] Λίβυες δὲ κατὰ ταύτην οἰκήτορες, ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τῆς σφῶν

σωτηρίας ἐπιμελούμενοι, τὰ διηρημένα τῶν τοίχων ἀποτριγχώσαντες τὰς οἰκίας ἀλλήλαις ἐνήψαν· [4] ἐξ ὧν δὴ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διαμαχόμενοι ἐν τε τῷ σφαλερῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τῷ ἐπικινδύνῳ ἡμύνοντο. [5] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἡ σωτηρία διηνεκὲς καὶ ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους ἐστῶσα, πολεμουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Βανδύλων ἀμελουμένοις. p_[384][6] ἀλλ' ἡνίκα Λιβύης κύριος τῷ πολέμῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς γέγονε, τεῖχος τε τῇ πόλει εὐμέγεθες ἄγαν περιβαλὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καταστησάμενος ἀξιοχρεῶν θαρσεῖν τε ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς τῆδε ὤκημένους πεποιῆται ἀφροντιστήσαί τε πολεμίων ἀπάντων. [7] διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὴν καλοῦσι τανῦν, σῶστρα τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐκτίνοντας, μόνῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ παρενθήκη τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτῳ ἂν καὶ βασιλέως τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείβοντο οὔτε αὐτοὶ εἶχον οὔτε οὗτος ἐβούλετο.

[8] Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βυζακίου παραλίᾳ χωρίον ὅπερ ἐκάλουν Καπούτβαδα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐνταῦθα καταπλεύσας τὰ πρῶτα ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στόλος Λιβύων τῆς γῆς ἐπεβάτευεν, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδύλους ἐστράτευεν. [9] οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον ἐκεῖνο καὶ λόγου κρεῖσσον ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιδέδεικται ὁ θεὸς δῶρημα, ὅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται λόγοις. [10] ἀνύδρου γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος, ὕδατός τε ἀπορία πολλῇ πιεζομένου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἡ γῆ, πρότερον ἐπὶ ξηροῦ βεβαιότατα οὔσα, πηγὴν ἀνήκεν οὗ δὴ τὸ χαράκωμα οἱ στρατιῶται εἰργάζοντο. [11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὥρυσσον, ἡ δὲ ἀνεβλύστανεν. ἡ τε γῆ αὐχμὸν ἀποβαλοῦσα τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ μεθαρμοσαμένη τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ὕδατι ποτίμῳ ὑγρὰ ἐγεγόνει. [12] ταύτῃ τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ στρατοπεδεύσαντές p_[386]τε καὶ αὐλισάμενοι, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὥς ἐς τὴν μάχην συσκευασάμενοι, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ συντέμω, Λιβύην ἔσχον. [13] μαρτυρίῳ τοίνυν διηνεκεῖ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον πιστούμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ δὴ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἀμηχανώτατα εὐκόλα γίνεται, ἐς πόλιν αὐτίκα μεταβιβάσαι τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο βεβούλευται, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνὴν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς πόλεως ὄγκον ὑπογεγραμμένην εὐδαίμονος, καὶ γέγονεν ἔργον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνθύμημα. [14] τεῖχος τε γὰρ ἀποτετόρνενται καὶ πόλεις, καὶ ἀγροῦ τύχῃ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀμείβεται. [15] οἱ τε ἄγροικοι τὴν ἐχέτην ἀπορριψάμενοι πολιτικῶς βιοτεύουσιν, οὐκ ἄγροικον δίαιταν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀστείαν διαχειρίζοντες. [16] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀγοράζουσιν ἐνταῦθα διημερεύοντες, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐκκλησιάζουσι, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλουσι, τᾶλλα τε ἅπαντα πράσσουντες ὅσα δὴ ἐς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἔχει.

[17] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τῷ ἐπιθαλασσίῳ πεποιῆται. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ ἔσχατα, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὴν βάρβαροι προσοικοῦσι Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπιτειχίσματα κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιῆται δυνατώτατα, ἐξ ὧν δὴ οὐκέτι οἰοί τέ εἰσι καταθεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [18] πόλεις τε γὰρ τὰς ἐνταῦθα οὔσας ἐν ἐσχατιᾷ τῆς χώρας ἐκάστην τείχεσιν ἐχυροῖς ἄγαν περιβαλὼν, αἷς αἱ προσηγορίαι Μάμμης τε καὶ Τελεπτή καὶ Κούλουλις, καὶ φρούριον τειχισάμενος, ὅπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Αὐμέτρα, ἐξεγγούους ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

ρ[388] [7] [1] Τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Νουμιδίων τῇ χώρᾳ τειχίσματί τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλακτηρίοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν, ὥνπερ ἕκαστα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ, ὅπερ Αὐράσιον ἐπικέκληται, οἷον δὴ γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐτέρωθι ὡς ἥκιστα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [3] τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος οὐρανόμηκες μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀποτόμῳ ἀνέχει, ἐς περίμετρον δὲ ἡμερῶν μάλιστα διήκει ὁδῷ τριῶν. καὶ προσιόντι μὲν ἀπρόσβατόν ἐστιν, ἀνάβασιν οὐδεμίαν ὅτι μὴ ἐν ἀποκρήμνῳ ἔχον. [4] ἄνω δὲ γενομένῳ γεώδης τε ἡ χώρα καὶ ὁμαλὴ τὰ πεδία καὶ ὁδοὶ προσηνεῖς, λειμῶνες εὐνομοὶ, παράδεισοι κατάφυτοι δένδροις, ἀρώματα πάντα. [5] καὶ πηγαὶ μὲν ἀποβλύζουσαι τῶν τῆδε σκοπέλων, γαληνὰ δὲ τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθει ῥοθίου ἐπικυρτούμενοι, καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων παραδοξότατον, τὰ τε λήϊα καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει διπλάσιον μεγέθους πέρι τὸν καρπὸν φέρουσιν ἢ ἐν Λιβύῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ πέφυκε γίνεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄρους τοῦ Αὐρασίου ταύτη πη ἔχει. [6] Βανδίλοι δὲ αὐτὸ σὺν πάσῃ Λιβύῃ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶχον, οὓς δὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀφελόμενοι τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο. [7] Μαυρουσίους δὲ καὶ Ἰαυδαν, ὅς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἐξελάσας ἐνθένδε Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἄλλῃ προσεποίησε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [8] προνοήσας τε ὡς μὴ καὶ αὐθις οἱ βάρβαροι κακουργοῖεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, πόλεις μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐρήμους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὸ παράπαν εὐρὼν ἐτειχίσατο, Πεντεβαγάνην τε λέγω καὶ Φλωρεντιανὴν καὶ Βάδην τε καὶ Μήλεον καὶ Ταμουγάδην, ρ[390]ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούρια δύο Δάβουσιν τε καὶ Γαιανά, φυλακτήρια δὲ στρατιωτῶν διαρκῇ ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, οὐδεμίαν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπελίπετο. [9] καὶ χώραν δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ Αὐράσιον ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις ὡς ἥκιστα οὖσαν τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἀφείλετο. πόλεις τε ἐνταῦθα ἐτειχίσατο δύο, τὴν τε Φρίκην καὶ Σίτιφιν. [10] ἐν δὲ δὴ πόλεσι ταῖς ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας τῆς ἄλλης κειμέναις ἀνανταγώνιστα ἐρύματα κατεστήσατο. αἷς αἱ προσηγορίαι αἶδε εἰσὶ Λαριβουζουδούων, Παρατουρών, Κιλανά, Σικκαβενερία, Τίγισις, Λαμφουασομβά, Καλαμάα, Μέδαρα, Μέδελα. [11] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούρια δύο, ἡ Σκιλὴ τε καὶ Φώσαλα. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε.

[12] Πόλις δὲ πού ἐστιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Σαρδοῖ, ἣ νῦν Σαρδινία καλεῖται, Τραϊανοῦ Φόρον αὐτὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [13] ταύτην τειχήρη πεποίηται Ἰουστινιανός, οὐ πρότερον οὕσαν, ἀλλὰ Μαυρουσίους τοῖς νησιώταις, οἱ Βαρβαρικῖνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὁπνίκα ἂν ληΐζεσθαι βουλομένοις ἦ, ἐν προχείρῳ κειμένῃν.

[14] Ἐν δὲ Γαδεΐροις, κατὰ θάτερα τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν, ἡ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν φρούριον ἦν ποτε Σέπτον ὄνομα, ὅπερ ἐδείμαντο μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, Βανδίλων δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμελουμένων καθεῖλεν ὁ χρόνος. [15] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνόν, φυλακτηρίῳ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν κατεστήσατο. [16] οὗ δὴ καὶ νεῶν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ ρ[392]θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ἀναψάμενος μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰ τῆς πολιτείας προοίμια, παντὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῷ γένει ταύτη ἄμαχον τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ποιούμενος.

[17] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαυτὰ ἐστίν. ἀμφίλεκτον δὲ οὐδὲν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐνδηλον ἀνθρώποις διαφανῶς πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐφῶν ὀρίων ἄχρι ἐς δύνοντά

που τὸν ἥλιον, ἃ δὴ πέρατά ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἐρύμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλακτηρίοις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκρατύνατο. [18] ὅσα μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ οἰκοδομημάτων μαθεῖν ἴσχυσα ἢ αὐτόπτης γεγενημένος ἢ τῶν θεασαμένων αὐτήκοος, ὅση δύναμις τῷ λόγῳ ἐπῆλθον. [19] ἐξεπίσταμαι δὲ ὡς πολλά με καὶ ἄλλα παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅλῳ λαθόντα ἢ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα μείναντα. [20] ὥστε εἴ τῳ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσται διερευνήσασθαί τε ἅπαντα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεῖναι, προσέσται αὐτῷ τὰ τε δέοντα πεπραχέναι καὶ φιλοκάλου κλέος ἀπενεγκεῖν.

The Dual Texts



Al-Raqqah, a city in Syria located on the north bank of the Euphrates River, about 160 kilometres east of Aleppo, and the site of The Battle of Callinicum. The conflict took place on Easter Saturday, 19 April 531 AD, between the armies of the Byzantine Empire under Belisarius and the Sassanid Persians under Azārethes. Procopius served with Belisarius on the eastern front until the latter was defeated at the Battle of Callinicum and recalled to Constantinople.

DUAL GREEK AND ENGLISH TEXTS



Translated by H. B. Dewing

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Procopius' works, alternating between the original Greek and Dewing's English translations.

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The Wars of Justinian

BOOK I. THE PERSIAN WAR

Προκόπιος Καισαρεὺς τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραψεν οὓς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς πρὸς βαρβάρους διήνεγκε τοὺς τε ἐφούς καὶ ἐσπερίους, ὥς πη αὐτῶν ἐκάστω ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη ὁ μέγας αἰὼν λόγου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ καταπρόηται καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξίτηλα θῆται, ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ὥετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ξυνοῖσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὁμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγκην διάθοιτο. [2] τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμῆσειουσιν καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνιουμένοις ὄνησιν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι οἷα τέ ἐστίν ἡ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἱστορίας ἐπίδειξις, ἀποκαλύπτουσα μὲν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις τὰ τῆς ὁμοίας ἀγωνίας ἐχώρησεν, αἰνισσομένη δὲ ὁποῖαν τινὰ τελευτὴν τοῖς γε ὡς ἄριστα βουλευομένοις τὰ παρόντα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξει. [3] καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ ξυνηπίστατο πάντων μάλιστα δυνατὸς ὢν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβούλῳ ἡρημένῳ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ σχεδὸν τι ἅπασιν παραγενέσθαι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. [4] πρέπειν τε ἡγεῖτο ῥητορικῇ μὲν δεινότητι, ποιητικῇ δὲ μυθοποιῖαν, [5] ξυγγραφῇ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ του τῶν οἱ ἐς ἄγαν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἕκαστα ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλη αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη. [6] Κρεῖσσον δὲ οὐδέν ἢ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκότων τῷ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς τεκμηριουῖσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται. [7] πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὢν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν: θαυμαστὰ οἷα, ἣν μὴ τις τῶν τάδε ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ οἶεσθαι. [8] ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν στρατευομένους ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοξότας, ἀγχεμάχους δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδιώτας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα ὀνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἐθέλουσι νέμειν, ταύτην τε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐς τοῦτον ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ἥκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαιπώρον γε καὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπωτάτῳ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι δόξαν. [9] οὐ γὰρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἔννοια γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τοξεύουσιν, οἷσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὀνομαζομένοις ξυνέβαιεν, οὐχ ἵππος ὑπῆν, οὐ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀσπίς ἤμυνεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυλακτήριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦσαν, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἐταίρου του ἐκλεγομένοις ἀσπίδα ἢ στήλη ἐπὶ τύμβῳ τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, [10] ἐνθα οὔτε τρεπόμενοι διασώζεσθαι οὔτε φεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι οἰοί τε ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τι κλέπτειν ἐδόκουν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ γινομένων. [11] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχρῶντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἴτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίεσαν κωφόν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαύτη μὲν τις οὖσα ἡ τοξεία φαίνεται πρότερον. [12] οἱ δὲ γε τανῦν τοξόται ἴασι μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κνημῖδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ. ἥρτηται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη, [13] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ δόρυ

προσαποκρέμαται καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀσπίς ὀχάνου χωρίς, οἷα τὰ τε ἀμφὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτειν. ^[14] ἵππεύονται δὲ ὡς ἄριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτοῖς ὡς τάχιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐντείνειν οἷοί τε εἰσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα καὶ διώκοντάς τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. ^[15] ἔλκεται δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἡ νευρὰ παρ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὄτων τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλᾷσα τὸ βέλος, ὥστε τὸν ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὔτε ἀσπίδος ἴσως οὔτε θώρακος ἀποκρούεσθαι τι δυναμένου τῆς ρύμης. ^[16] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τούτων ἥκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον. ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κωλύσει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. ^[17] λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ἀρξαμένοις μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηγέχθη καὶ Μήδοις πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ δρᾶσαι.

Procopius of Caesarea has written the history of the wars which Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, waged against the barbarians of the East and of the West, relating separately the events of each one, to the end that the long course of time may not overwhelm deeds of singular importance through lack of a record, and thus abandon them to oblivion and utterly obliterate them. The memory of these events he deemed would be a great thing and most helpful to men of the present time, and to future generations as well, in case time should ever again place men under a similar stress. For men who purpose to enter upon a war or are preparing themselves for any kind of struggle may derive some benefit from a narrative of a similar situation in history, inasmuch as this discloses the final result attained by men of an earlier day in a struggle of the same sort, and foreshadows, at least for those who are most prudent in planning, what outcome present events will probably have. Furthermore he had assurance that he was especially competent to write the history of these events, if for no other reason, because it fell to his lot, when appointed adviser to the general Belisarius, to be an eye-witness of practically all the events to be described. It was his conviction that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to poetry, truth alone is appropriate to history. In accordance with this principle he has not concealed the failures of even his most intimate acquaintances, but has written down with complete accuracy everything which befell those concerned, whether it happened to be done well or ill by them.

It will be evident that no more important or mightier deeds are to be found in history than those which have been enacted in these wars, — provided one wishes to base his judgment on the truth. For in them more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable. There are those, for example, who call the soldiers of the present day “bowmen,” while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as “hand-to-hand fighters,” “shield-men,” and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present, — an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term derived from their art, they were neither carried by horse nor protected by spear or shield. In fact there was no protection at all for their bodies; they entered battle on foot, and were compelled to conceal themselves, either singling out the shield of some comrade, or seeking safety behind a tombstone on a mound, from which

position they could neither save themselves in case of rout, nor fall upon a flying foe. Least of all could they participate in a decisive struggle in the open, but they always seemed to be stealing something which belonged to the men who were engaged in the struggle. And apart from this they were so indifferent in their practice of archery that they drew the bowstring only to the breast, so that the missile sent forth was naturally impotent and harmless to those whom it hit. Such, it is evident, was the archery of the past. But the bowmen of the present time go into battle wearing corselets and fitted out with greaves which extend up to the knee. From the right side hang their arrows, from the other the sword. And there are some who have a spear also attached to them and, at the shoulders, a sort of small shield without a grip, such as to cover the region of the face and neck. They are expert horsemen, and are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight. They draw the bowstring along by the forehead about opposite the right ear, thereby charging the arrow with such an impetus as to kill whoever stands in the way, shield and corselet alike having no power to check its force. Still there are those who take into consideration none of these things, who reverence and worship the ancient times, and give no credit to modern improvements. But no such consideration will prevent the conclusion that most great and notable deeds have been performed in these wars. And the history of them will begin at some distance back, telling of the fortunes in war of the Romans and the Medes, their reverses and their successes.

Ἦνίκα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτᾷ ἤμελλεν ἦν γάρ οἱ παῖς Θεοδόσιος οὐπω τοῦ τιθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς, διηπορεῖτο ἅμφι τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὖ θέσθαι ἅμφω ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων. [2] ἐγένετο γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὡς, ἢν μὲν κοινωνόν τινα Θεοδοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζεται, αὐτὸς ἂν τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχρησάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἴη, πολέμιον αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασιλείῳ περιβεβλημένον ἐπαγαγών, [3] ἢν δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσεται, πολλοὶ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύσουσι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Θεοδόσιον διαφθεύραντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ συγγενῇ εἶχεν ὅστις ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἴη. [4] Ὀνώριον γάρ οἱ τὸν θεῖον ἐπαρκέσειν οὐδαμῇ ἤλπισε, πονηρῶν ἤδη τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ὄντων. [5] οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτὸν συνητάρασε, δεδιότα μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τῆς τοῦ αυτοκράτορος καταθέοντες ἡλικίας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Ῥωμαίους δράσωσιν. [6] ἐς ταύτην Ἀρκάδιος τὴν ἀμυχανίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, καίπερ οὐ γεγινώς εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγχίνους, βουλευέται βουλὴν ἣτις οἱ τὸν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώσασθαι εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσεν, εἴτε κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίων τισίν, οἳοι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖ παρεδρεῦειν εἰώθασιν, ἢ θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης. [7] διαθήκης γὰρ διαθεῖς γράμματα, διάδοχον μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνείπε τὸν παῖδα, ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ᾧ

δὴ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐπέσκηψε Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν σθένει τε καὶ
προνοίᾳ πάσῃ ξυνδιασώσασθαι. [8] Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ
οἰκεῖα διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν: Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ
τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἀπενεχθὲν εἶδεν, ὦν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τρόπου
μεγαλοφροσύνη διαβόητος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο θαύματός τε
πολλοῦ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. [9] τὰς γὰρ Ἀρκαδίου ἐντολὰς ἐν ἀλογίᾳ οὐδεμιᾷ
ποιησάμενος εἰρήνῃ τε ἀφθόνῳ χρώμενος διαγέγονεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πάντα
χρόνον καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεσώσατο. [10] αὐτίκα γοῦν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων
τὴν βουλὴν γράμματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπίτροπός τε οὐκ ἀπαρνούμενος Θεοδοσίου
βασιλέως εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον ἐπανατεινόμενος, ἣν τις αὐτῷ ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν
ἐγχειροίη καθίστασθαι. [11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδόσιος μὲν ἀνὴρ τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ
ἡλικίας πόρρῳ ἀφίκτο, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο,
ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ
μεγάλῳ, ἔδρασε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρόπῳ
τοιῷδε. [12] Ἀνατόλιον τὸν τῆς ἔω στρατηγὸν Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς
πρεσβευτὴν ἐς Πέρσας μόνον αὐτὸν ἐτύγγανε πέμψας: ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα
ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, ἀποθρώσκει μὲν τοῦ ἵππου μόνος, πεζῇ δὲ
βαδίζων ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνῃ ἦει. [13] καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐαραράνης ἰδὼν τῶν παρόντων
ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ προσιὼν εἴη. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι στρατηγὸν
ἔφασαν. [14] καταπλαγεῖς οὖν τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς
στρέψας τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνε, καὶ οἱ ἅπας ὁ τῶν Περσῶν λεῶς εἵπετο.
[15] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκεῖᾳ τὸν τε πρεσβευτὴν ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ
εἶδε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνῃν ξυνεχώρησεν οὕτως ὥσπερ Ἀνατόλιος αὐτοῦ ἐχρηζεν,
ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι μηδέτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκεῖν ἐν γειτόνων τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ὀρίοις
ὄντι ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐργάζονται. οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐξειργασμένου ἐκάτεροι
τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπῃ ἐβούλοντο ἔπρασσον.

II

[408 A.D.] When the Roman Emperor Arcadius was at the point of death in Byzantium, having a malechild, Theodosius, who was still unweaned, he felt grave fears not only for him but for the government as well, not knowing how he should provide wisely for both. For he perceived that, if he provided a partner in government for Theodosius, he would in fact be destroying his own son by bringing forward against him a foe clothed in the regal power; while if he set him alone over the empire, many would try to mount the throne, taking advantage, as they might be expected to do, of the helplessness of the child. These men would rise against the government, and, after destroying Theodosius, would make themselves tyrants without difficulty, since the boy had no kinsman in Byzantium to be his guardian. For Arcadius had no hope that the boy's uncle, Honorius, would succour him, inasmuch as the situation in Italy was already troublesome. And he was equally disturbed by the attitude of the Medes, fearing lest these barbarians should trample down the youthful emperor and do the Romans irreparable harm. When Arcadius was confronted with this difficult situation, though he had not shewn himself sagacious in other matters, he devised a plan which was destined to preserve without trouble both his child and his throne, either as a result of conversation with certain of the learned men, such as are usually found in numbers among the advisers of a sovereign, or from some divine inspiration which came to him. For in drawing up the writings of his will, he designated the child as his successor to the throne, but appointed as guardian over him Isdigerdes, the Persian King, enjoining upon him earnestly in his will to preserve the empire for Theodosius by all his power and foresight. So Arcadius died, having thus arranged his private affairs as well as those of the empire. But Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he saw this writing which was duly delivered to him, being even before a sovereign whose nobility of character had won for him the greatest renown, did then display a virtue at once amazing and remarkable. For, loyally observing the behests of Arcadius, he adopted and continued without interruption a policy of profound peace with the Romans, and thus preserved the empire for Theodosius. Indeed, he straightway dispatched a letter to the Roman senate, not declining the office of guardian of the Emperor Theodosius, and threatening war against any who should attempt to enter into a conspiracy against him.

[441 A.D.] When Theodosius had grown to manhood and was in the prime of life, and Isdigerdes had been taken from the world by disease, Vararanes, the Persian King, invaded the Roman domains with a mighty army; however he did no damage, but returned to his home without accomplishing anything. This came about in the following way. Anatolius, General of the East, had, as it happened, been sent by the Emperor Theodosius as ambassador to the

Persians, alone and unaccompanied; as he approached the Median army, solitary as he was, he leapt down from his horse, and advanced on foot toward Vararanes. And when Vararanes saw him, he enquired from those who were near who this man could be who was coming forward. And they replied that he was the general of the Romans. Thereupon the king was so dumbfounded by this excessive degree of respect that he himself wheeled his horse about and rode away, and the whole Persian host followed him. When he had reached his own territory, he received the envoy with great cordiality, and granted the treaty of peace on the terms which Anatolius desired of him; one condition, however, he added, that neither party should construct any new fortification in his own territory in the neighbourhood of the boundary line between the two countries. When this treaty had been executed, both sovereigns then continued to administer the affairs of their respective countries as seemed best to them.

Χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὐννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὓσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [2] Ἐφθαλίται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὐννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ὄκνηται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ πόλις Γοργῶ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. [3] οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυνται. [4] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποιήνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ξὺν τῷ Μῆδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐννων οὗτοι λευκοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς ὄψεις εἰσίν. [5] οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαίταν ὁμοίotropον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἐνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἐννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ζυμβάλλουσι, [6] Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἐταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἷπερ αὐτοῖς ζυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὔσης. [7] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῷ αὐτοῖς ἐταιρισμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ζυμβαίῃ, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος. [8] Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ζυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτῆς, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηνται, ἦεσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ὄνπερ ὄρη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἄγαν καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. [9] ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν προϊόντι ὥς πορρωτάτῳ ὁδὸς μὲν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεῖα ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὀρῶν ἔλγηγε. [10] Περόζης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντός

ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἔννοῶν τε ὥς ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε. [11] τῶν δὲ Οὐννων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρῳ χωρήσαντες ἐντὸς τε τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν οἷοί τε ὦσιν. [12] ὥνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλευέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι ἣν τίς ποτε μηχανὴ ἐς σωτηρίαν φέρουσα εἴη. [13] ὁ δὲ Περόζῃ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὥς ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιῆας λέοντά ποτε τράγῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ὥς ἀρπάσσοντα, ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῇ ἔχουσαν στενὴν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην ἑξέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἣν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπερθεῖν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. [14] ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιήνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἔχῳρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [15] Οὐννοι δὲ ἤδη ἐπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἷοί τε ὦσι. [16] καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἠσθημένοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. [17] ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμπας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους πέρι ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδώσειν δὲ καὶ ὥς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὐννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἣν γε αὐτόν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον, καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὁμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη μήποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπνυθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἴη. [19] οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ ὅπῃ οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἕτερον σοφία περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. [20] εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη. [21] δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρησαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν συγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον προσκυνεῖν: ταύτῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναιτο. [22] Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἢ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραίφνει δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

III

At a later time the Persian King Perozes became involved in a war concerning boundaries with the nation of the Ephthalitae Huns, who are called White Huns, gathered an imposing army, and marched against them. The Ephthalitae are of the stock of the Huns in fact as well as in name; however they do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us, for they occupy a land neither adjoining nor even very near to them; but their territory lies immediately to the north of Persia; indeed their city, called Gorgo, is located over against the Persian frontier, and is consequently the centre of frequent contests concerning boundary lines between the two peoples. For they are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but for a long period have been established in a goodly land. As a result of this they have never made any incursion into the Roman territory except in company with the Median army. They are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances which are not ugly. It is also true that their manner of living is unlike that of their kinsmen, nor do they live a savage life as they do; but they are ruled by one king, and since they possess a lawful constitution, they observe right and justice in their dealings both with one another and with their neighbours, in no degree less than the Romans and the Persians. Moreover, the wealthy citizens are in the habit of attaching to themselves friends to the number of twenty or more, as the case may be, and these become permanently their banquet-companions, and have a share in all their property, enjoying some kind of a common right in this matter. Then, when the man who has gathered such a company together comes to die, it is the custom that all these men be borne alive into the tomb with him.

Perozes, marching against these Ephthalitae, was accompanied by an ambassador, Eusebius by name, who, as it happened, had been sent to his court by the Emperor Zeno. Now the Ephthalitae made it appear to their enemy that they had turned to flight because they were wholly terrified by their attack, and they retired with all speed to a place which was shut in on every side by precipitous mountains, and abundantly screened by a close forest of wide-spreading trees. Now as one advanced between the mountains to a great distance, a broad way appeared in the valley, extending apparently to an indefinite distance, but at the end it had no outlet at all, but terminated in the very midst of the circle of mountains. So Perozes, with no thought at all of treachery, and forgetting that he was marching in a hostile country, continued the pursuit without the least caution. A small body of the Huns were in flight before him, while the greater part of their force, by concealing themselves in the rough country, got in the rear of the hostile army; but as yet they desired not to be seen by them, in order that they might advance well into the trap and get as far as possible in among the mountains, and thus be no longer able to

turn back. When the Medes began to realize all this (for they now began to have a glimmering of their peril), though they refrained from speaking of the situation themselves through fear of Perozes, yet they earnestly entreated Eusebius to urge upon the king, who was completely ignorant of his own plight, that he should take counsel rather than make an untimely display of daring, and consider well whether there was any way of safety open to them. So he went before Perozes, but by no means revealed the calamity which was upon them; instead he began with a fable, telling how a lion once happened upon a goat bound down and bleating on a mound of no very great height, and how the lion, bent upon making a feast of the goat, rushed forward with intent to seize him, but fell into a trench exceedingly deep, in which was a circular path, narrow and endless (for it had no outlet anywhere), which indeed the owners of the goat had constructed for this very purpose, and they had placed the goat above it to be a bait for the lion. When Perozes heard this, a fear came over him lest perchance the Medes had brought harm upon themselves by their pursuit of the enemy. He therefore advanced no further, but, remaining where he was, began to consider the situation. By this time the Huns were following him without any concealment, and were guarding the entrance of the place in order that their enemy might no longer be able to withdraw to the rear. Then at last the Persians saw clearly in what straits they were, and they felt that the situation was desperate; for they had no hope that they would ever escape from the peril. Then the king of the Ephthalitae sent some of his followers to Perozes; he upbraided him at length for his senseless foolhardiness, by which he had wantonly destroyed both himself and the Persian people, but he announced that even so the Huns would grant them deliverance, if Perozes should consent to prostrate himself before him as having proved himself master, and, taking the oaths traditional among the Persians, should give pledges that they would never again take the field against the nation of the Ephthalitae. When Perozes heard this, he held a consultation with the Magi who were present and enquired of them whether he must comply with the terms dictated by the enemy. The Magi replied that, as to the oath, he should settle the matter according to his own pleasure; as for the rest, however, he should circumvent his enemy by craft. And they reminded him that it was the custom among the Persians to prostrate themselves before the rising sun each day; he should, therefore, watch the time closely and meet the leader of the Ephthalitae at dawn, and then, turning toward the rising sun, make his obeisance. In this way, they explained, he would be able in the future to escape the ignominy of the deed. Perozes accordingly gave the pledges concerning the peace, and prostrated himself before his foe exactly as the Magi had suggested, and so, with the whole Median army intact, gladly retired homeward.

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὐννοὺς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. [2] πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ

ξυμμαχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἦγε, τῶν παίδων ἓνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν ἑτηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἡβηκῶς ἔτυχέ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. [3] Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοι τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. [4] καὶ ὃς αὐτῶν ζὺν γέλῳτι ἐπυνθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἶη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. [5] οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τᾶλλα πάντα ἡρτῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὑπαντιάζειν πάσῃ προθυμία ἡξίου, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐκώλυνεν. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. [7] ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἧ ἔμελλον Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἦθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον εἰργάσατο βαθεῖαν τε καὶ εὖρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, ὀλίγον τινα ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῇ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον ἵππων ὁδῷ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. [8] καλάμους τε τῇ τάφρῳ ὑπερθεῖν ἐπιθείς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους συναμηςάμενος, ταύτῃ ἐπιτολῆς ἔκρυπεν, Οὐννων τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν μέλλῳσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι, φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπίπτουσιν· [9] τοὺς δὲ ἄλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὓς τὸν ὄρκον Περόζης ὤμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὐννων ἐστράτευσεν. [10] ἔως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργῷ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς· τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν ὁρίοις τυγχάνει οὕσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῷ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἀποθεῖν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατῶρυχι ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἀγχιστα ἴκοντο. [11] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέμειγνυντο. [12] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτιῷ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτῶκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὀπισθεν εἶποντο· [13] ἅτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ζὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὥς ἡκιστα ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ ὃ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ζὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπεπτωκότας ἐκείνους τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. [14] ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἦν ζὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασιν. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαι φασὶ τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἦσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὃ οἱ λευκώτατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἐντιμον ἐξ ὧτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίῃ, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὐπὼ πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. [15] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι τό τε οὕς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μάργαρον ὅπη

ποτέ ἀφανισθῆναι. [16] ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἤκιστα ἰσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὐρέσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτας εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι. [17] Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. [18] λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐστί, νήχεσθαι δὲ τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτης ἡιόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν· ἀνεωγένοι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τὰ ὄστρακα, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰκασθῆναι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [19] κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἐπεσθαι κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῷ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθεῖν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδίων, εὐρόντα δὲ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὅτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος αὐθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπίπλασθαι. [20] καὶ ποτε τῶν τινα γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιδεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκνῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόζην ἅπαντα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν. [21] ἃ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπείαις τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπᾶραι. [22] ὃν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότη οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν· Ὡς δέσποτα, ποθεῖνὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ χρήματα, ποθεινότερα δὲ ἢ ψυχῇ, πάντων μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. [23] ὧν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκασθεῖς φύσει ἴσως ἂν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μαργάρου σε κύριον· [24] θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα ἔχω. καὶ ἢ μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὐδῆλον ὥς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι. σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀποχρήσει, καίπερ οὐδέν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότου εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. [25] εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἁλῶναι, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς θανάτου τοῦ πατρώου ἀμείψασθαι. [26] οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀποίση μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὠφελῶν εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῇ εἶσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος γένοιτο μόνη ἢ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα. [27] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεὶς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ κύων αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ἐπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητό τινας, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως ἔρημόν ποτε τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ λάβοι. [28] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐχόντων ἐντετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἁλιεὺς τοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπομένους τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺς τοῦ κτενὸς σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἤει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἡπαιγετο. [29] οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν ὁ σαγηνευτής, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡιόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν

θήραμα ἠκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλούς διεφθάρη οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. [30] ἀνελόμενοι δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμμένοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. [31] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ τῇδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ξυνενεχθῆναι φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [32] Οὕτω μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὸς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. [33] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθεται Πέρσαις μὴ ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐλαύνοντας διώξιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα, ἣν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ξυμβαίη. [34] ὅσοι μέντοι Περόζη οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα περιῆν μόνος. [35] τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατυνάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἤξιον. ἤρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

IV

Not long after this, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he was eager to avenge himself upon the Huns for the insult done him. He therefore straightway gathered together from the whole land all the Persians and their allies, and led them against the Ephthalitae; of all his sons he left behind him only one, Cabades by name, who, as it happened, was just past the age of boyhood; all the others, about thirty in number, he took with him. The Ephthalitae, upon learning of his invasion, were aggrieved at the deception they had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and bitterly reproached their king as having abandoned them to the Medes. He, with a laugh, enquired of them what in the world of theirs he had abandoned, whether their land or their arms or any other part of their possessions. They thereupon retorted that he had abandoned nothing, except, forsooth, the one opportunity on which, as it turned out, everything else depended. Now the Ephthalitae with all zeal demanded that they should go out to meet the invaders, but the king sought to restrain them at any rate for the moment. For he insisted that as yet they had received no definite information as to the invasion, for the Persians were still within their own boundaries. So, remaining where he was, he busied himself as follows. In the plain where the Persians were to make their irruption into the land of the Ephthalitae he marked off a tract of very great extent and made a deep trench of sufficient width; but in the centre he left a small portion of ground intact, enough to serve as a way for ten horses. Over the trench he placed reeds, and upon the reeds he scattered earth, thereby concealing the true surface. He then directed the forces of the Huns that, when the time came to retire inside the trench, they should draw themselves together into a narrow column and pass rather slowly across this neck of land, taking care that they should not fall into the ditch. And he hung from the top of the royal banner the salt over which Perozes had once sworn the oath which he had disregarded in taking the field against the Huns. Now as long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory, he remained at rest; but when he learned from his scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo which lies on the extreme Persian frontier, and that departing thence they were now advancing against his army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops inside the trench, he sent forward a small detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy in the plain, and, when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed to the rear, keeping in mind his command concerning the trench as soon as they drew near to it. They did as directed, and, as they approached the trench, they drew themselves into a narrow column, and all passed over and joined the rest of the army. But the Persians, having no means of perceiving the stratagem, gave chase at full speed across a very level plain, possessed as they were by a spirit of fury against the enemy, and fell into the trench, every man of them, not alone the

first but also those who followed in the rear. For since they entered into the pursuit with great fury, as I have said, they failed to notice the catastrophe which had befallen their leaders, but fell in on top of them with their horses and lances, so that, as was natural, they both destroyed them, and were themselves no less involved in ruin. Among them were Perozes and all his sons. And just as he was about to fall into this pit, they say that he realized the danger, and seized and threw from him the pearl which hung from his right ear, — a gem of wonderful whiteness and greatly prized on account of its extraordinary size — in order, no doubt, that no one might wear it after him; for it was a thing exceedingly beautiful to look upon, such as no king before him had possessed. This story, however, seems to me untrustworthy, because a man who found himself in such peril would have thought of nothing else; but I suppose that his ear was crushed in this disaster, and the pearl disappeared somewhere or other. This pearl the Roman Emperor then made every effort to buy from the Ephthalitae, but was utterly unsuccessful. For the barbarians were not able to find it although they sought it with great labour. However, they say that the Ephthalitae found it later and sold it to Cabades.

The story of this pearl, as told by the Persians, is worth recounting, for perhaps to some it may not seem altogether incredible. For they say that it was lodged in its oyster in the sea which washes the Persian coast, and that the oyster was swimming not far from the shore; both its valves were standing open and the pearl lay between them, a wonderful sight and notable, for no pearl in all history could be compared with it at all, either in size or in beauty. A shark, then, of enormous size and dreadful fierceness, fell in love with this sight and followed close upon it, leaving it neither day nor night; even when he was compelled to take thought for food, he would only look about for something eatable where he was, and when he found some bit, he would snatch it up and eat it hurriedly; then overtaking the oyster immediately, he would sate himself again with the sight he loved. At length a fisherman, they say, noticed what was passing, but in terror of the monster he recoiled from the danger; however, he reported the whole matter to the king, Perozes. Now when Perozes heard his account, they say that a great longing for the pearl came over him, and he urged on this fisherman with many flatteries and hopes of reward. Unable to resist the importunities of the monarch, he is said to have addressed Perozes as follows: "My master, precious to a man is money, more precious still is his life, but most prized of all are his children; and being naturally constrained by his love for them a man might perhaps dare anything. Now I intend to make trial of the monster, and hope to make thee master of the pearl. And if I succeed in this struggle, it is plain that henceforth I shall be ranked among those who are counted blessed. For it is not unlikely that thou, as King of Kings, wilt reward me with all good things; and for me it will be sufficient, even if it so fall out that I gain no reward, to have shewn myself a benefactor of my master. But if it must needs be that I become the prey of this

monster, thy task indeed it will be, O King, to requite my children for their father's death. Thus even after my death I shall still be a wage-earner among those closest to me, and thou wilt win greater fame for thy goodness, — for in helping my children thou wilt confer a boon upon me, who shall have no power to thank thee for the benefit — because generosity is seen to be without alloy only when it is displayed towards the dead.” With these words he departed. And when he came to the place where the oyster was accustomed to swim and the shark to follow, he seated himself there upon a rock, watching for an opportunity of catching the pearl alone without its admirer. As soon as it came about that the shark had happened upon something which would serve him for food, and was delaying over it, the fisherman left upon the beach those who were following him for this service, and made straight for the oyster with all his might; already he had seized it and was hastening with all speed to get out of the water, when the shark noticed him and rushed to the rescue. The fisherman saw him coming, and, when he was about to be overtaken not far from the beach, he hurled his booty with all his force upon the land, and was himself soon afterwards seized and destroyed. But the men who had been left upon the beach picked up the pearl, and, conveying it to the king, reported all that had happened. Such, then, is the story which the Persians relate, just as I have set it down, concerning this pearl. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

[484 A.D.] Thus Perozes was destroyed and the whole Persian army with him. For the few who by chance did not fall into the ditch found themselves at the mercy of the enemy. As a result of this experience a law was established among the Persians that, while marching in hostile territory, they should never engage in any pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been driven back by force. Thereupon those who had not marched with Perozes and had remained in their own land chose as their king Cabades, the youngest son of Perozes, who was then the only one surviving. At that time, then, the Persians became subject and tributary to the Ephthalitae, until Cabades had established his power most securely and no longer deemed it necessary to pay the annual tribute to them. And the time these barbarians ruled over the Persians was two years.

Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναῖξιν μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας· ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δῆσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. [2] καὶ βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσπην τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν εἵλοντο, ἐπειδὴ γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρην Περόζη, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο, Πέρσαις δὲ οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι ἰδιώτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἐξιτήλου παντάπασιν γένους τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντος· [3] Βλάσπης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο· τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτινύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις τοῖς πλείοσιν. [4] ἔνθα δὴ πολλαὶ

μὲν ἐλέχθησαν γινῶμαι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὄνομα μὲν Γουσαναστάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα· εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτό γέ, πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὁμορὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἢ τῶν ὀνύχων τὰ προὔχοντα Πέρσαις εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμενεσθαι, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον δακτύλου ἀνδρός, πάχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον δακτύλου ἔχουσιν· 'Ταύτην ὀράτε,' εἶπε, [5] 'τὴν μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὖσαν· αὕτη μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οἷα τέ ἐστίν, ὅπερ εὖ ἴστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὃ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι, μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, [6] παραδηλῶν ὥς, ἢν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα πράγματα Πέρσαις περιῶν παρέξει. [7] οἱ δὲ κτείνειν ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος οὐδ' ὅλως ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν νενομίκασιν. [8] ἢν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχη, οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θάνατος τῷ ὀνομακώτῃ ἢ ζημία ἐστί· διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν. [9] ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελίσθαι τὴν δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [10] Πόλεμὸς ποτε Πέρσις τε καὶ Ἀρμενίοις ἀκήρυκτος γέγονεν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπὶ Πακουρίου μὲν Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ἀρσάκου Ἀρσακίδου ἀνδρός. τοῦτῳ τε τῷ πολέμῳ μηχανομένῳ κεκακῶσθαι μὲν ἐς ἄγαν ἀμφοτέρους ξυνέβη καὶ διαφερόντως τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. [11] ἀπιστία δὲ πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχόμενοι ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐδέτεροι εἶχον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πέρσας τετύχηκε πόλεμον πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τινὰς οὐ πόρρῳ Ἀρμενίων ὠκημένους διενεγκεῖν. [12] οἱ τε Ἀρμένιοι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἐπιδείξιν ἐς Πέρσας τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσασθαι, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν γῆν ἔγνωσαν, δηλώσαντες τοῦτο πρότερον Πέρσαις. [13] ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοὶ ἐπιπεσόντες σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν. ὃ τε Πακούριος τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπερησθεὶς, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀρσάκην τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς τά τε πιστά οἱ παρασχόμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον μετεπέμψατο. [14] καὶ ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἀφίκετο, τῆς τε ἄλλης αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνης ἡξίωσε καὶ ἅτε ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἔσχε. [15] καὶ τότε μὲν ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην καταλαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ὁμωμοκῶς ἢ μὴν εὖνους τε καὶ ξυμμάχους Πέρσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, αὐτίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ πατρία ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [16] Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διέβαλον τὸν Ἀρσάκην τινὲς ὥς δὴ πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγγχειρεῖν βούλοιο. οἷσπερ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ Πακούριος αὐτῇς αὐτὸν μετεπέμπετο, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τι κοινολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμελὲς εἴη. [17] καὶ ὅς οὐδέν τι μελλήσας ἐς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις μαχιμωτάτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ Βασσίκιον ὅσπερ αὐτῷ στρατηγός τε καὶ ξύμβουλος ἦν· ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφίκετο. [18] εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Πακούριος ἅμφω, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην καὶ Βασσίκιον, πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότε οὕτω δὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἴδοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπηνουντό τε καὶ ἀπώμνουν ἐνδεδεχεστάτα μηδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς βεβουλευσθαι τοιοῦτο. [19] τὰ μὲν οὖν

πρῶτα ὁ Πακούριος αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὃ τί οἱ ποιητέα ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴη. [20] οἱ δὲ μάγοι τῶν μὲν ἀρνούμενων καὶ οὐ διαρρήδην ἐληλεγμένων καταγινώσκειν οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουν, ὑποθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ τινα ἔφραζον, ὅπως ἂν Ἀρσάκης αὐτὸς ἀντικρυς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτο. [21] τὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κόπρῳ καλύπτειν ἐκέλευον, ἥμισυ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, θάτερον δὲ ἥμισυ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [22] τότε δὴ οἱ μάγοι τὴν σκηνὴν ὅλην μαγείαις τισὶ καταλαβόντες ἐκέλευον τὸν βασιλέα ζῆν τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ τοὺς περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιῆσθαι, ἐπικαλοῦντα τοῖς τε ξυγκειμένοις καὶ ὁμοιος μένοις λυμήνασθαι. [23] δεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ διαλόγῳ παραγενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τῶν λόγων μάρτυρες ἀπάντων εἶεν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ Πακούριος τὸν Ἀρσάκην μεταπεμψάμενος διαύλους ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ζῆν αὐτῷ ἐποιεῖτο, παρόντων σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάγων, καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ ὁμοιοσμένα ἡλογηκῶς εἶτα Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους αὐθις τρίβειν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς ἐγχειροῖη. [24] ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο οὗ δὴ ὁ χοῦς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐπέκειτο, ἀπρηνεῖτό τε καὶ ὅρκους τοῖς δεινотάτοις πιστούμενος ἀνδράποδον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι Πακουρίου πιστόν. [25] ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεταξὺ λέγων ἐς τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ μέσον ἀφῆκτο, ἵνα δὴ κόπρου τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς λόγους μὲν τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ θρασύτερον ἐξαπιναιῶς μεταβιβάξει, ἀπειλῶν δὲ τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ καὶ Πέρσαις οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλὰ τίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγέλλετο ὕβρεως τῆσδε ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τάχιστα κύριος γένοιτο. [26] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων τε καὶ νεανιευόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν περίπατον ὅλον, ἕως ἀναστρέψας ἐς κόπρον αὐθις τὴν ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἀφίκετο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πάλιν ὥσπερ τινὰ παλινφδιαν ἄδων ἰκέτης τε ἦν καὶ οἰκτροὺς τινὰς τῷ Πακουρίῳ προὔφερε λόγους. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χοῦν αὐθις τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἦλθεν, ἐς τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀπεχώρησε. καὶ πολλάκις οὕτω μεταβληθεὶς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔκρυσσε τῶν οἱ ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν. [28] τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν μάγοι κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἡδικηκέναι. Πακούριος δὲ Βασιτικίου μὲν τὸ δέρμα ἐκδεΐρας ἀσκόν τε αὐτὸ πεποιημένους καὶ ἀχύρων ἐμπλησάμενος ὅλον ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. [29] τὸν μέντοι Ἀρσάκην ἀποκτείνειν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ὄντα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξε. [30] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ τε Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖων καὶ οἱ ἐπισπομένων ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἰόντι, Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τι ἔθνος ἰοῦσι βαρβαρικὸν ξυνεστράτευσεν. ὃς δὴ ἀνὴρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, ὁρῶντος Πακουρίου τὰ ποιούμενα, γέγονε καὶ τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος Πέρσαις. [31] διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Πακούριος ὃ τι ἂν βούλοιο αἰτεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ἰσχυρισάμενος ὅτι δὴ οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει. [32] ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οἱ οὐδέν γενέσθαι ἡξίου ἢ ὥστε τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ θεραπεῦσαι ἢ βούλοιο. [33] τοῦτο τὸν βασιλέα ἠνίασε μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, εἰ λύειν νόμον οὕτω δὴ παλαιὸν ἀναγκάζοιτο, ὅπως μέντοι παντάπασιν ἀληθίζεται, ξυνεχώρει τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελεῖν γενέσθαι. [34] ἐπεὶ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ, ἡσπάσατο μὲν τὸν Ἀρσάκην, ἄμφω δὲ ἀλλήλοιον περιβαλόντε ἐθρηνησάτην τε ἡδύν τινα

θρῆνον καὶ ἀπολοφραμένω τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην μόλις ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν διαλύειν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας ἐκάτερος ἔσχεν. [35] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὸν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τᾶλλα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ἐκόσμησε, σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ περιθέμενος τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἀνέκλινεν. [36] ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς παρόντας Ἀρσάκης βασιλικῶς εἰστία ἥπερ εἰώθει τὰ πρότερα. [37] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θοίνῃ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ κύλικι λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν οὔτερον τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἱκανῶς ἤρεσκον, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς μέσον ἦλθεν ἅπερ αὐτῷ ἐν ἡδονῇ ἦν: μηκυνομένου τε τοῦ πότου ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλία ὑπερφυῶς ἤσθησαν, μόλις δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀπαλλαγέντες διελύθησαν, [38] καταβεβρεγμένοι τῇ εὐπαθείᾳ. τότε δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἀρσάκην εἰπεῖν ὥς ἡμέραν τὴν ἡδίστην διατελέσας ἐν ταύτῃ τε ξυγγενόμενος τῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι ὑποσταίῃ τὰ φλαῦρα τοῦ βίου, [39] καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντα μαχαίρα ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι ἦνπερ ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ ἐξεπίτηδες κεκλοφῶς ἔτυχεν, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [40] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων συγγραφὴ λέγει ταύτη, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, κειωρηκέναι, καὶ τὸν νόμον τότε ἀμφὶ τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ λελύσθαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἰτέον.

V

But as time went on Cabades became more high-handed in the administration of the government, and introduced innovations into the constitution, among which was a law which he promulgated providing that Persians should have communal intercourse with their women, a measure which by no means pleased the common people. [486 A.D.] Accordingly they rose against him, removed him from the throne, and kept him in prison in chains. They then chose Blases, the brother of Perozes, to be their king, since, as has been said, no male offspring of Perozes was left, and it is not lawful among the Persians for any man by birth a common citizen to be set upon the throne, except in case the royal family be totally extinct. Blases, upon receiving the royal power, gathered together the nobles of the Persians and held a conference concerning Cabades; for it was not the wish of the majority to put the man to death. After the expression of many opinions on both sides there came forward a certain man of repute among the Persians, whose name was Gousanastades, and whose office that of “chanaranges” (which would be the Persian term for general); his official province lay on the very frontier of the Persian territory in a district which adjoins the land of the Ephthalitae. Holding up his knife, the kind with which the Persians were accustomed to trim their nails, of about the length of a man’s finger, but not one-third as wide as a finger, he said: “You see this knife, how extremely small it is; nevertheless it is able at the present time to accomplish a deed, which, be assured, my dear Persians, a little later two myriads of mail-clad men could not bring to pass.” This he said hinting that, if they did not put Cabades to death, he would straightway make trouble for the Persians. But they were altogether unwilling to put to death a man of the royal blood, and decided to confine him in a castle which it is their habit to call the “Prison of Oblivion.” For if anyone is cast into it, the law permits no mention of him to be made thereafter, but death is the penalty for the man who speaks his name; for this reason it has received this title among the Persians. On one occasion, however, the History of the Armenians relates that the operation of the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was suspended by the Persians in the following way.

There was once a truceless war, lasting two and thirty years, between the Persians and the Armenians, when Pacurius was king of the Persians, and of the Armenians, Arsaces, of the line of the Arsacidae. And by the long continuance of this war it came about that both sides suffered beyond measure, and especially the Armenians. But each nation was possessed by such great distrust of the other that neither of them could make overtures of peace to their opponents. In the meantime it happened that the Persians became engaged in a war with certain other barbarians who lived not far from

the Armenians. Accordingly the Armenians, in their eagerness to make a display to the Persians of their goodwill and desire for peace, decided to invade the land of these barbarians, first revealing their plan to the Persians. Then they fell upon them unexpectedly and killed almost the whole population, old and young alike. Thereupon Pacurius, who was overjoyed at the deed, sent certain of his trusted friends to Arsaces, and giving him pledges of security, invited him to his presence. And when Arsaces came to him he shewed him every kindness, and treated him as a brother on an equal footing with himself. Then he bound him by the most solemn oaths, and he himself swore likewise, that in very truth the Persians and Armenians should thenceforth be friends and allies to each other; thereafter he straightway dismissed Arsaces to return to his own country.

Not long after this certain persons slandered Arsaces, saying that he was purposing to undertake some seditious enterprise. Pacurius was persuaded by these men and again summoned him, intimating that he was anxious to confer with him on general matters. And he, without any hesitation at all, came to the king, taking with him several of the most warlike among the Armenians, and among them Bassicius, who was at once his general and counsellor; for he was both brave and sagacious to a remarkable degree. Straightway, then, Pacurius heaped reproach and abuse upon both Arsaces and Bassicius, because, disregarding the sworn compact, they had so speedily turned their thoughts toward secession. They, however, denied the charge, and swore most insistently that no such thing had been considered by them. At first, therefore, Pacurius kept them under guard in disgrace, but after a time he enquired of the Magi what should be done with them. Now the Magi deemed it by no means just to condemn men who denied their guilt and had not been explicitly found guilty, but they suggested to him an artifice by which Arsaces himself might be compelled to become openly his own accuser. They bade him cover the floor of the royal tent with earth, one half from the land of Persia, and the other half from Armenia. This the king did as directed. Then the Magi, after putting the whole tent under a spell by means of some magic rites, bade the king take his walk there in company with Arsaces, reproaching him meanwhile with having violated the sworn agreement. They said, further, that they too must be present at the conversation, for in this way there would be witnesses of all that was said. Accordingly Pacurius straightway summoned Arsaces, and began to walk to and fro with him in the tent in the presence of the Magi; he enquired of the man why he had disregarded his sworn promises, and was setting about to harass the Persians and Armenians once more with grievous troubles. Now as long as the conversation took place on the ground which was covered with the earth from the land of Persia, Arsaces continued to make denial, and, pledging himself with the most fearful oaths, insisted that he was a faithful subject of Pacurius. But when, in the midst of his speaking, he came to the centre of the tent where they stepped upon Armenian earth,

then, compelled by some unknown power, he suddenly changed the tone of his words to one of defiance, and from then on ceased not to threaten Pacurius and the Persians, announcing that he would have vengeance upon them for this insolence as soon as he should become his own master. These words of youthful folly he continued to utter as they walked all the way, until turning back, he came again to the earth from the Persian land. Thereupon, as if chanting a recantation, he was once more a suppliant, offering pitiable explanations to Pacurius. But when he came again to the Armenian earth, he returned to his threats. In this way he changed many times to one side and the other, and concealed none of his secrets. Then at length the Magi passed judgment against him as having violated the treaty and the oaths. Pacurius flayed Bassicius, and, making a bag of his skin, filled it with chaff and suspended it from a lofty tree. As for Arsaces, since Pacurius could by no means bring himself to kill a man of the royal blood, he confined him in the Prison of Oblivion.

After a time, when the Persians were marching against a barbarian nation, they were accompanied by an Armenian who had been especially intimate with Arsaces and had followed him when he went into the Persian land. This man proved himself a capable warrior in this campaign, as Pacurius observed, and was the chief cause of the Persian victory. For this reason Pacurius begged him to make any request he wished, assuring him that he would be refused nothing by him. The Armenian asked for nothing else than that he might for one day pay homage to Arsaces in the way he might desire. Now it annoyed the king exceedingly, that he should be compelled to set aside a law so ancient; however, in order to be wholly true to his word, he permitted that the request be granted. When the man found himself by the king's order in the Prison of Oblivion, he greeted Arsaces, and both men, embracing each other, joined their voices in a sweet lament, and, bewailing the hard fate that was upon them, were able only with difficulty to release each other from the embrace. Then, when they had sated themselves with weeping and ceased from tears, the Armenian bathed Arsaces, and completely adorned his person, neglecting nothing, and, putting on him the royal robe, caused him to recline on a bed of rushes. Then Arsaces entertained those present with a royal banquet just as was formerly his custom. During this feast many speeches were made over the cups which greatly pleased Arsaces, and many incidents occurred which delighted his heart. The drinking was prolonged until nightfall, all feeling the keenest delight in their mutual intercourse; at length they parted from each other with great reluctance, and separated thoroughly imbued with happiness. Then they tell how Arsaces said that after spending the sweetest day of his life, and enjoying the company of the man he had missed most of all, he would no longer willingly endure the miseries of life; and with these words, they say, he dispatched himself with a knife which, as it happened, he had purposely stolen at the banquet, and thus departed from

among men. Such then is the story concerning this Arsaces, related in the Armenian History just as I have told it, and it was on that occasion that the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was set aside. But I must return to the point from which I have strayed.

Καθειρχθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐσιούσά τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζουσα: ἦν δὴ ὁ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν ἤρξατο: ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπῆς. [2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνελθὼν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων ἠράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, [3] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπη ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, καὶ αὐθις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου. ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδῃ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, [4] ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο διατριβὴν εἶχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως αὐτὸν ἐνδοθεν ἐξελέσθαι δυνήσεται. [5] διὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαινεν ὥς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. [6] καὶ ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν γυναῖκα Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι, οὐπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθητο. [7] οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὕτη ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι: ταῦτά τοι οὕτε κωλύειν οὕτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [8] ἅμα τε ἡμέρᾳ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ῥόντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἥ τε δόκησις αὕτη ἐν ἡμέραις συχναῖς ἤκμαζεν, [9] ἕως Καβάδης πόρρω που τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνεγενθόντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς φῶς ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἦλθε, καὶ ὄντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλοις: διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφήμι. [10] Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐς Οὐννους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε στρατεύμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἄτε κηδεστὴ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. [11] τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσασαστάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἶπε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ὥς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων ὑπουργεῖν βούλοιο. [13] εἰπόντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐσθῆι, ὃς δὴ οὐκ ἔῃ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει. [14] ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἴκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενὴς ὢν, τὸν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζεται λυεῖν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζεται. [15] ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ξυνέβη τις τύχη ὥστε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἦκων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, ξυγγενὴς τε ὢν τῷ Γουσασαστάδῃ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [16] ὃς δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος,

ἐδεῖτό τέ οἱ ἄτε δούλῳ ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρησθαι. ^[17] Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε Βλάβην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἐξετύφλωσε, τρόπον δὴ ὅτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἔψοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὔτι μύοντας ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτη τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. ^[18] καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Σεόσην ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνείπε. δύνатаι δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ἅπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. ^[19] ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτός τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις ἔσχεν: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τι γέγονε: τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγχίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἥσσον.

VI

While Cabades was in the prison he was cared for by his wife, who went in to him constantly and carried him supplies of food. Now the keeper of the prison began to make advances to her, for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon. And when Cabades learned this from his wife, he bade her give herself over to the man to treat as he wished. In this way the keeper of the prison came to be familiar with the woman, and he conceived for her an extraordinary love, and as a result permitted her to go in to her husband just as she wished, and to depart from there again without interference from anyone. Now there was a Persian notable, Seoses by name, a devoted friend of Cabades, who was constantly in the neighbourhood of this prison, watching his opportunity, in the hope that he might in some way be able to effect his deliverance. And he sent word to Cabades through his wife that he was keeping horses and men in readiness not far from the prison, and he indicated to him a certain spot. Then one day as night drew near Cabades persuaded his wife to give him her own garment, and, dressing herself in his clothes, to sit instead of him in the prison where he usually sat. In this way, therefore, Cabades made his escape from the prison. For although the guards who were on duty saw him, they supposed that it was the woman, and therefore decided not to hinder or otherwise annoy him. At daybreak they saw in the cell the woman in her husband's clothes, and were so completely deceived as to think that Cabades was there, and this belief prevailed during several days, until Cabades had advanced well on his way. As to the fate which befell the woman after the stratagem had come to light, and the manner in which they punished her, I am unable to speak with accuracy. For the Persian accounts do not agree with each other, and for this reason I omit the narration of them.

Cabades, in company with Seoses, completely escaped detection, and reached the Ephthalitae Huns; there the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and then, since Cabades was now his son-in-law, he put under his command a very formidable army for a campaign against the Persians. This army the Persians were quite unwilling to encounter, and they made haste to flee in every direction. And when Cabades reached the territory where Gousanastades exercised his authority, he stated to some of his friends that he would appoint as chanaranges the first man of the Persians who should on that day come into his presence and offer his services. But even as he said this, he repented his speech, for there came to his mind a law of the Persians which ordains that offices among the Persians shall not be conferred upon others than those to whom each particular honour belongs by right of birth. For he feared lest someone should come to him first who was not a kinsman of the present chanaranges, and that he would be compelled to set aside the law in order to keep his word. Even as he was considering this matter, chance brought it

about that, without dishonouring the law, he could still keep his word. For the first man who came to him happened to be Adergoudounbades, a young man who was a relative of Gousanastades and an especially capable warrior. He addressed Cabades as “Lord,” and was the first to do obeisance to him as king, and besought him to use him as a slave for any service whatever. [488 A.D.] So Cabades made his way into the royal palace without any trouble, and, taking Blases destitute of defenders, he put out his eyes, using the method of blinding commonly employed by the Persians against malefactors, that is, either by heating olive oil and pouring it, while boiling fiercely, into the wide-open eyes, or by heating in the fire an iron needle, and with this pricking the eyeballs. Thereafter Blases was kept in confinement, having ruled over the Persians two years. Gousanastades was put to death and Adergoudounbades was established in his place in the office of chanaranges, while Seoses was immediately proclaimed “adrastadaran salanes,” — a title designating the one set in authority over all magistrates and over the whole army. Seoses was the first and only man who held this office in Persia; for it was conferred on no one before or after that time. And the kingdom was strengthened by Cabades and guarded securely; for in shrewdness and activity he was surpassed by none.

Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὄφειλεν, ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀποτινῆναι οἱ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἦτει ταῦτα οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα: ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἴ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἴη. [2] οἷπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιῆσθαι οὐκ εἶων. ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιότεραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οἰκείοις ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὗς δὴ ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι. [3] διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληισάμενος ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἧς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. [4] Ἀμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μὲν, ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρόντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον. [5] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἥσκητο. οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, πολλοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὐτὸν καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέβειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. [6] καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ περιέβαλον, οὐ ξυνημμένοις μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁρᾶν τε τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι. [7] καὶ στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτῆναντο βραχὺ ὑπερθεν, ὅσον ὄμβρους τε καὶ νιφετοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῆστο, πνίγει μὲν ἢ ψύχει ὥς ἥκιστα εἰκων, σπέρμασι δὲ τισιν ἀποζῶν, οἷσπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ σιτίζεσθαι εἰώθει.

[8] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἰάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐντεινόμενοι βάλλειν ἤθελον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γηγонуῖαι τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [9] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἰδὼν τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ ξὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκε τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. [10] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν: αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσιν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιεσάμενος ὥς οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχῆσει. [11] ὁ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο: περιβόητος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. [12] Καβάδης δὲ Ἀμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν αἰεὶ δοκοῖς τισιν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἕως ταύτη ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. [13] πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβάλων καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ κατασεῖσαι ἤκιστα ἴσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ οἰκοδομία τοῖς δειμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἵργαστο. [14] τούτου δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχῶν, λόφον τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τεύχους τὸ μῆκος, οἱ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατῶρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὗπερ ἐγεγονέει σχήματος ἔμενεν οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρᾶσσομένου. [15] πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διεννοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὀμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπεσῶν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [16] Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπήγγειλε. [17] τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἅτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ξὺν γέλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτόθᾳζον. [18] καὶ τινες ἐταῖραι ἀνεγκύσασαι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδῃ ἄγχιστά που ἐστηκότι ἐδείκνυν ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις. [19] ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκώλουν, ξυμβαλεῖν ἰσχυρίζομενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὥς ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτόμενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δεῖξουσιν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [20] Ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονόμου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιζι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν συχαῖς. [21] νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἦκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδῃ ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὃς τῇ ἐπιγινομένη νυκτὶ κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνηνέχθη τύχῃ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [22] τὸν πύργον, ὃς δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτω

ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον, οὕςπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νενομίσκει. τούτους ἐορτὴν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. [23] ἐπεὶ τε ἡ νύξ ἐπεγένετο, ἅπαντες, ἅτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὁμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὕπνον τινὰ ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὥς ἡκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἠσθάνοντο. [24] Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ' ὀλίγους γενόμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας. [25] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου προσῆγεν. [26] ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἡδὴ. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα. [27] ὥθισμῳ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἤδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν ποῦ ἐγένοντο. [28] ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτὸς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὁρμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς Πέρσας, θάνατός τε ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. [29] διὸ δὴ πλήθει πολλῷ οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων γενόμενοι ἐνίκησάν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἥλω ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡμέρᾳ. [30] φόνος τε Ἀμιδηνῶν πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, ἕως ἐσελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδῃ τῶν τις Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἱερεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν ὥς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεῦν τοὺς ἡλωκότας εἶη. [31] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;' ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτίκα ἔφη, "Ὅτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμετέρα γνώμη, ἀλλὰ σὴ ἄρετῇ παραδίδόναι σοι Ἀμίδαν [32] ἤθελε.' τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἠσθεὶς κτείνειν οὐδένα τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιόντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελεῖσθαι ἅπαντας αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν. [33] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπὼν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Γλώνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ὀλίγους οἰκτρούς, οἱ δὴ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑπηρετήσειν Πέρσαις ἔμελλον, αὐτὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἔχων ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλυνεν. [34] ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπία ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ πρεπούση: χρόνου γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, [35] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, ὃ τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια: φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετεῖους ἐς ἑτὶ ἑπτὰ ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ζυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὕστερῳ ἐγένετο.

VII.

A little later Cabades was owing the king of the Ephthalitae a sum of money which he was not able to pay him, and he therefore requested the Roman emperor Anastasius to lend him this money. Whereupon Anastasius conferred with some of his friends and enquired of them whether this should be done; and they would not permit him to make the loan. For, as they pointed out, it was inexpedient to make more secure by means of their money the friendship between their enemies and the Ephthalitae; indeed it was better for the Romans to disturb their relations as much as possible. It was for this reason, and for no just cause, that Cabades decided to make an expedition against the Romans. [502 A.D.] First he invaded the land of the Armenians, moving with such rapidity as to anticipate the news of his coming, and, after plundering the greater part of it in a rapid campaign, he unexpectedly arrived at the city of Amida, which is situated in Mesopotamia, and, although the season was winter, he invested the town. Now the citizens of Amida had no soldiers at hand, seeing that it was a time of peace and prosperity, and in other respects were utterly unprepared; nevertheless they were quite unwilling to yield to the enemy, and shewed an unexpected fortitude in holding out against dangers and hardships.

Now there was among the Syrians a certain just man, Jacobus by name, who had trained himself with exactitude in matters pertaining to religion. This man had confined himself many years before in a place called Endielon, a day's journey from Amida, in order that he might with more security devote himself to pious contemplation. The men of this place, assisting his purpose, had surrounded him with a kind of fencing, in which the stakes were not continuous, but set at intervals, so that those who approached could see and hold converse with him. And they had constructed for him a small roof over his head, sufficient to keep off the rain and snow. There this man had been sitting for a long time, never yielding either to heat or cold, and sustaining his life with certain seeds, which he was accustomed to eat, not indeed every day, but only at long intervals. Now some of the Ephthalitae who were overrunning the country thereabout saw this Jacobus and with great eagerness drew their bows with intent to shoot at him. But the hands of every one of them became motionless and utterly unable to manage the bow. When this was noised about through the army and came to the ears of Cabades, he desired to see the thing with his own eyes; and when he saw it, both he and the Persians who were with him were seized with great astonishment, and he entreated Jacobus to forgive the barbarians their crime. And he forgave them with a word, and the men were released from their distress. Cabades then bade the man ask for whatever he wished, supposing that he would ask for a great sum of money, and he also added with youthful recklessness that he would be

refused nothing by him. But he requested Cabades to grant to him all the men who during that war should come to him as fugitives. This request Cabades granted, and gave him a written pledge of his personal safety. And great numbers of men, as might be expected, came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there; for the deed became widely known. Thus, then, did these things take place.

Cabades, in besieging Amida, brought against every part of the defences the engines known as rams; but the townspeople constantly broke off the heads of the rams by means of timbers thrown across them. However, Cabades did not slacken his efforts until he realized that the wall could not be successfully assailed in this way. For, though he battered the wall many times, he was quite unable to break down any portion of the defence, or even to shake it; so secure had been the work of the builders who had constructed it long before. Failing in this, Cabades raised an artificial hill to threaten the city, considerably overtopping the wall; but the besieged, starting from the inside of their defences, made a tunnel extending under the hill, and from there stealthily carried out the earth, until they hollowed out a great part of the inside of the hill. However, the outside kept the form which it had at first assumed, and afforded no opportunity to anyone of discovering what was being done. Accordingly many Persians mounted it, thinking it safe, and stationed themselves on the summit with the purpose of shooting down upon the heads of those inside the fortifications. But with the great mass of men crowding upon it with a rush, the hill suddenly fell in and killed almost all of them. Cabades, then, finding no remedy for the situation, decided to raise the siege, and he issued orders to the army to retreat on the morrow. Then indeed the besieged, as though they had no thought of their danger, began laughingly from the fortifications to jeer at the barbarians. Besides this some courtesans shamelessly drew up their clothing and displayed to Cabades, who was standing close by, those parts of a woman's body which it is not proper that men should see uncovered. This was plainly seen by the Magi, and they thereupon came before the king and tried to prevent the retreat, declaring as their interpretation of what had happened that the citizens of Amida would shortly disclose to Cabades all their secret and hidden things. So the Persian army remained there.

Not many days later one of the Persians saw close by one of the towers the mouth of an old underground passage, which was insecurely concealed with some few small stones. In the night he came there alone, and, making trial of the entrance, got inside the circuit-wall; then at daybreak he reported the whole matter to Cabades. The king himself on the following night came to the spot with a few men, bringing ladders which he had made ready. And he was favoured by a piece of good fortune; for the defence of the very tower which happened to be nearest to the passage had fallen by lot to those of the Christians who are most careful in their observances, whom they call monks.

These men, as chance would have it, were keeping some annual religious festival to God on that day. When night came on they all felt great weariness on account of the festival, and, having sated themselves with food and drink beyond their wont, they fell into a sweet and gentle sleep, and were consequently quite unaware of what was going on. So the Persians made their way through the passage inside the fortifications, a few at a time, and, mounting the tower, they found the monks still sleeping and slew them to a man. When Cabades learned this, he brought his ladders up to the wall close by this tower. It was already day. And those of the townsmen who were keeping guard on the adjoining tower became aware of the disaster, and ran thither with all speed to give assistance. Then for a long time both sides struggled to crowd back the other, and already the townsmen were gaining the advantage, killing many of those who had mounted the wall, and throwing back the men on the ladders, and they came very near to averting the danger. But Cabades drew his sword and, terrifying the Persians constantly with it, rushed in person to the ladders and would not let them draw back, and death was the punishment for those who dared turn to leave. As a result of this the Persians by their numbers gained the upper hand and overcame their antagonists in the fight. So the city was captured by storm on the eightieth day after the beginning of the siege. [Jan. 11, 503 A.D.] There followed a great massacre of the townspeople, until one of the citizens — an old man and a priest — approached Cabades as he was riding into the city, and said that it was not a kingly act to slaughter captives. Then Cabades, still moved with passion, replied: “But why did you decide to fight against me?” And the old man answered quickly: “Because God willed to give Amida into thy hand not so much because of our decision as of thy valour.” Cabades was pleased by this speech, and permitted no further slaughter, but he bade the Persians plunder the property and make slaves of the survivors, and he directed them to choose out for himself all the notables among them.

A short time after this he departed, leaving there to garrison the place a thousand men under command of Glonos, a Persian, and some few unfortunates among the citizens of Amida who were destined to minister as servants to the daily wants of the Persians; he himself with all the remainder of the army and the captives marched away homeward. These captives were treated by Cabades with a generosity befitting a king; for after a short time he released all of them to return to their homes, but he pretended that they had escaped from him by stealth; and the Roman Emperor, Anastasius, also shewed them honour worthy of their bravery, for he remitted to the city all the annual taxes for the space of seven years, and presented all of them as a body and each one of them separately with many good things, so that they came fully to forget the misfortunes which had befallen them. But this happened in later years.

Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμιδαν στράτευμα κατὰ

τάχος διαρκές ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδος τε, Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγω πρότερον, [2] τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτοῦ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν· καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ ἡγούμενον Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν· ἐτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιός τε ὁ Φρῦξ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς· οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν. [3] ξυνην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστίνος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί, ὃς ὅπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδιδισκλὸς τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γότθων τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θεουδερῖχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναῖοι τε ὑπερφυῶς ἅμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρων, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἶποντο. [4] στράτευμα γὰρ τοιοῦτό φασι οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις ξυστῆναι. οὗτοι μέντοι ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταῦτο ἀγηγεμένοι οὐδὲ στράτευμα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστος τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους. [5] χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίοις ἐπιφανής τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνείπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσία εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἢ βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι. [6] Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὗτος χρόνῳ τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὔρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἑφοδὸν ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνεχώρησαν ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. [7] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἠθέλε· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομίσασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον· ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολέμιων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [8] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδεύόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν ἄγχιστα γὰρ που ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρια κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπηγνῆσεν. [9] οὐπὼ μὲντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν ὄντο στράτευμα βραχὺ τι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [10] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρζάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ οὐπὼ ἐνταῦθα ἀφῆκε. [11] Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπέναι σφίσι ἐπύθετο, ἀπολιπὼν τὸ στρατοπέδον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἅπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. [12] ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγω ὕστερον οἱ πολέμοι ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον. ἔνθεν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἦσαν. [13] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίους οἱ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦσαν, σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἐκτεῖναν. [14] οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατῷ πεπυσμένοι, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. τὰ γοῦν ὅπλα καταθέμενοι

ἄριστον σφίσιν ἡτοίμαζον. ἤδη γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦγε. [15] ῥύαξ δέ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα καθαίρουν ἤρξαντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον. [16] τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πνίγει καὶ λοῦσθαι ἤξιουν, ταύτη τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ῥυακος ὕδωρ πρόσω ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος ἦει: [17] κατιδὼν τε συγκεχυμένον τὸ τοῦ ῥυακος ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβαλὼν τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπαρασκεύους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐτοῖς ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὗσιν ἐπέστησαν. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ξὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. [19] ὅθεν δὴ οὐδένα σεσῶσθαι φασι, Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐφόδου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὐννων πολέμιων ἐς γῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. [20] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ἦλθε, λόγου μέντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἴσοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὄντες ἀντεστάτουν τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλον. [21] Κέλερ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν Ἀρζανηνὴν ἐποιήσατο. [22] ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὴ ληισάμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐπανήλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. δι' ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

VIII

At that time the Emperor Anastasius, upon learning that Amida was being besieged, dispatched with all speed an army of sufficient strength. But in this army there were general officers in command of every symmory, while the supreme command was divided between the following four generals: Areobindus, at that time General of the East, the son-in-law of Olyvrius, who had been Emperor in the West not long before; Celer, commander of the palace troops (this officer the Romans are accustomed to call “magister”); besides these still, there were the commanders of troops in Byzantium, Patricias, the Phrygian, and Hypatius, the nephew of the emperor; these four, then, were the generals. With them also was associated Justinus, who at a later time became emperor upon the death of Anastasius, and Patriciolus with his son Vitalianus, who raised an armed insurrection against the Emperor Anastasius not long afterwards and made himself tyrant; also Pharesmanes, a native of Colchis, and a man of exceptional ability as a warrior, and the Goths Godidisklus and Bessas, who were among those Goths who had not followed Theoderic when he went from Thrace into Italy, both of them men of the noblest birth and experienced in matters pertaining to warfare; many others, too, who were men of high station, joined this army. For such an army, they say, was never assembled by the Romans against the Persians either before or after that time. However, all these men did not assemble in one body, nor did they form a single army as they marched, but each commander by himself led his own division separately against the enemy. And as manager of the finances of the army Apion, an Aegyptian, was sent, a man of eminence among the patricians and extremely energetic; and the emperor in a written statement declared him partner in the royal power, in order that he might have authority to administer the finances as he wished.

Now this army was mustered with considerable delay, and advanced with little speed. As a result of this they did not find the barbarians in the Roman territory; for the Persians had made their attack suddenly, and had immediately withdrawn with all their booty to their own land. Now no one of the generals desired for the present to undertake the siege of the garrison left in Amida, for they learned that they had carried in a large supply of provisions; but they made haste to invade the land of the enemy. However they did not advance together against the barbarians but they encamped apart from one another as they proceeded. When Cabades learned this (for he happened to be close by), he came with all speed to the Roman frontier and confronted them. But the Romans had not yet learned that Cabades was moving against them with his whole force, and they supposed that some small Persian army was there. Accordingly the forces of Areobindus established their camp in a place called Arzamon, at a distance of two days’ journey from

the city of Constantina, and those of Patricius and Hypatius in a place called Siphrios, which is distant not less than three hundred and fifty stades from the city of Amida. As for Celer, he had not yet arrived.

Areobindus, when he ascertained that Cabades was coming upon them with his whole army, abandoned his camp, and, in company with all his men, turned to flight and retired on the run to Constantina. And the enemy, coming up not long afterwards, captured the camp without a man in it and all the money it contained. From there they advanced swiftly against the other Roman army. Now the troops of Patricius and Hypatius had happened upon eight hundred Ephthalitae who were marching in advance of the Persian army, and they had killed practically all of them. Then, since they had learned nothing of Cabades and the Persian army, supposing that they had won the victory, they began to conduct themselves with less caution. At any rate they had stacked their arms and were preparing themselves a lunch; for already the appropriate time of day was drawing near. Now a small stream flowed in this place and in it the Romans began to wash the pieces of meat which they were about to eat; some, too, distressed by the heat, were bathing themselves in the stream; and in consequence the brook flowed on with a muddy current. But while Cabades, learning what had befallen the Ephthalitae, was advancing against the enemy with all speed, he noticed that the water of the brook was disturbed, and divining what was going on, he came to the conclusion that his opponents were unprepared, and gave orders to charge upon them immediately at full speed. [Aug., 503 A.D.] Straightway, then, they fell upon them feasting and unarmed. And the Romans did not withstand their onset, nor did they once think of resistance, but they began to flee as each one could; and some of them were captured and slain, while others climbed the hill which rises there and threw themselves down the cliff in panic and much confusion. And they say that not a man escaped from there; but Patricius and Hypatius had succeeded in getting away at the beginning of the onset. After this Cabades retired homeward with his whole army, since hostile Huns had made an invasion into his land, and with this people he waged a long war in the northerly portion of his realm. In the meantime the other Roman army also came, but they did nothing worth recounting, because, it seems, no one was made commander-in-chief of the expedition; but all the generals were of equal rank, and consequently they were always opposing one another's opinions and were utterly unable to unite. However Celer, with his contingent, crossed the Nymphius River and made some sort of an invasion into Arzanene. This river is one very close to Martyropolis, about three hundred stades from Amida. So Celer's troops plundered the country thereabout and returned not long after, and the whole invasion was completed in a short time.

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βασιλέα μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἀμίδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βίᾳ μὲν ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ

τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον: πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. [2] ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθομένους ἑώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, τρόπῳ ὧτ' ἡ ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [3] οἱ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιτο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὥς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἴη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ζὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἤθελον. [4] γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδώσουσι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάτεροί τε ἄσμενοι τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιοῦν, τὰ τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Γλῶνους υἱὸς Ἀμίδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλῶνης γὰρ ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [5] Οὐπὼ μὲν στρατοπεδευσασμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὄντων οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιῶν λάθρα ὄρνις τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὥραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλῶνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθὼν Γλῶνην οἱ ἐς χεῖρας παραδώσειν ζὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίους ὑπέσχετο, ἦν τινας ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶη. [6] ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς τὰ τε ἱμάτια δεινῶς διαρρηξὰς καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἑοικῶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε. [7] παρὰ τε τὸν Γλῶνην ἦκων τὰς τε τρίχας τίλλων, 'Ετύγχανον μὲν, ὧ δέσποτα,' εἶπεν, 'ἅπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τὰγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι 'καὶ γὰρ που ἐς τὰ ταύτη χωρία κατ' ὀλίγους περιούντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζονται πληγὰς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ ληστὰς ὥχοντο, οἷς δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι νόμος. [8] ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὧ δέσποτα, σαντῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνης. ἦν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγετήσων ἦς, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἡ τέτταρας οἱ κατάρatoi περιούντες λωποδυτοῦσιν.' ὁ μὲν ταῦτα: [9] εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλῶνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἶται οἱ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [10] ὁ δὲ πεντήκοντα μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη: οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἢ κατὰ πέντε ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ζυμβῆναι οὐδὲν τι χεῖρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι: ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. [11] Γλῶνης μὲν οὖν ἰππέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. [12] ὁ δὲ ἄμεινον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιούντας Ῥωμαίους ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλη, οὕτῳ δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐξοδὸν Πέρσας. εὗ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλῶνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο. [13] παρὰ τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρικίον ἦκων ἅπαντα ἔφραξε: καὶ ὅς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. [14] οὓς δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσιν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπέστελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει.

[15] καὶ τῷ Γλώνῃ ἔτοιμον εἰπὼν τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε διέβησαν τὸν χῶρον οὗ προλοχίζοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκάθηντο, Γλώνην τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν. [16] οὐσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας κατεῖδον Πέρσαι, κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ εἶχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νότου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε πη ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐδύναντο. [17] ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, τῷ τε πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσοῦμενοι ἡσσήθησάν τε καὶ ζῆν τῷ Γλώνῃ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. [18] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλήσας τε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεώνου νεὼν ἔκαυσεν, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Γλώνης κατέλυε. [19] καίτοι ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν οὔτε Γλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπῳ ἐν γε Ἀμίδῃ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [20] Οὕτω μὲν Ἀμίδαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐάλω. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἢ τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγωρία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. [21] σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων τὸν ὅμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἐπτὰ μάλιστα ἡμερῶν ἠῦρισκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελεῖσθαι, καίπερ Γλώνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. [22] Ῥωμαῖοις γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ζῆν αὐτοῖς μείναςιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἱ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀήθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενοι πάντων, [23] εἶτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἦσθοντο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλώνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἐλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἰσχρὸς τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἀμίδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαβον. [24] ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὐννοὺς πολέμου σφίσι μηκυνομένου, ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαῖοις ξυνίασιν, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπὶ οἴκου τε ἀμφοτέρω ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [25] οὕτω μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τόδε ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ξυνεγεχθέντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

IX

After this Areobindus went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, while the other generals reached Amida, and, in spite of the winter season, invested it. And although they made many attempts they were unable to carry the fortress by storm, but they were on the point of accomplishing their object by starvation; for all the provisions of the besieged were exhausted. The generals, however, had ascertained nothing of the straits in which the enemy were; but since they saw that their own troops were distressed by the labour of the siege and the wintry weather, and at the same time suspected that a Persian army would be coming upon them before long, they were eager to quit the place on any terms whatever. The Persians, on their part, not knowing what would become of them in such terrible straits, continued to conceal scrupulously their lack of the necessities of life, and made it appear that they had an abundance of all provisions, wishing to return to their homes with the reputation of honour. So a proposal was discussed between them, according to which the Persians were to deliver over the city to the Romans upon receipt of one thousand pounds of gold. Both parties then gladly executed the terms of the agreement, and the son of Glonos, upon receiving the money, delivered over Amida to the Romans. For Glonos himself had already died in the following manner.

When the Romans had not yet encamped before the city of Amida but were not far from its vicinity, a certain countryman, who was accustomed to enter the city secretly with fowls and loaves and many other delicacies, which he sold to this Glonos at a great price, came before the general Patricius and promised to deliver into his hands Glonos and two hundred Persians, if he should receive from him assurance of some requital. And the general promised that he should have everything he desired, and thus dismissed the fellow. He then tore his garments in a dreadful manner, and, assuming the aspect of one who had been weeping, entered the city. And coming before Glonos, and tearing his hair he said: "O Master, I happened to be bringing in for you all the good things from my village, when some Roman soldiers chanced upon me (for, as you know, they are constantly wandering about the country here in small bands and doing violence to the miserable country-folk), and they inflicted upon me blows not to be endured, and, taking away everything, they departed, — the robbers, whose ancient custom it is to fear the Persians and to beat the farmers. But do you, O Master, take thought to defend yourself and us and the Persians. For if you go hunting into the outskirts of the city, you will find rare game. For the accursed rascals go about by fours or fives to do their robbery." Thus he spoke. And Glonos was persuaded, and enquired of the fellow about how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for him to carry out the enterprise. He said that about fifty

would do, for they would never meet more than five of them going together; however, in order to forestall any unexpected circumstance, it would do no harm to take with him even one hundred men; and if he should double this number it would be still better from every point of view; for no harm could come to a man from the larger number. Glones accordingly picked out two hundred horsemen and bade the fellow lead the way for them. But he insisted that it was better for him to be sent first to spy out the ground, and, if he should bring back word that he had seen Romans still going about in the same districts, that then the Persians should make their sally at the fitting moment. Accordingly, since he seemed to Glones to speak well, he was sent forward by his own order. Then he came before the general Patricius and explained everything; and the general sent with him two of his own body-guard and a thousand soldiers. These he concealed about a village called Thilasamon, forty stades distant from Amida, among valleys and woody places, and instructed them to remain there in this ambush; he himself then proceeded to the city on the run, and telling Glones that the prey was ready, he led him and the two hundred horsemen upon the ambush of the enemy. And when they passed the spot where the Romans were lying in wait, without being observed by Glones or any of the Persians, he roused the Romans from their ambuscade and pointed out to them the enemy. And when the Persians saw the men coming against them, they were astounded at the suddenness of the thing, and were in much distress what to do. For neither could they retire to the rear, since their opponents were behind them, nor were they able to flee anywhere else in a hostile land. But as well as they could under the circumstances, they arrayed themselves for battle and tried to drive back their assailants; but being at a great disadvantage in numbers they were vanquished, and all of them together with Glones were destroyed. Now when the son of Glones learned of this, being deeply grieved and at the same time furious with anger because he had not been able to defend his father, he fired the sanctuary of Symeon, a holy man, where Glones had his lodging. It must be said, however, that with the exception of this one building, neither Glones nor Cabades, nor indeed any other of the Persians, saw fit either to tear down or to destroy in any other way any building in Amida at any rate, or outside this city. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

[504 A.D.] Thus the Romans by giving the money recovered Amida two years after it had been captured by the enemy. And when they got into the city, their own negligence and the hardships under which the Persians had maintained themselves were discovered. For upon reckoning the amount of grain left there and the number of barbarians who had gone out, they found that rations for about seven days were left in the city, although Glones and his son had been for a long time doling out provisions to the Persians more sparingly than they were needed. For to the Romans who had remained with them in the city, as I have stated above, they had decided to dispense nothing at all from the

time when their enemy began the siege; and so these men at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and laid hold on every forbidden thing, and at the last they even tasted each other's blood. So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their lack of self-control, because they had shewn themselves wanting in obedience to them, when it was possible to capture as prisoners of war such a multitude of Persians and the son of Glones and the city itself, while they had in consequence attached to themselves signal disgrace by carrying Roman money to the enemy, and had taken Amida from the Persians by purchasing it with silver. [506 A.D.] After this the Persians, since their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes; both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace. Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the events touching the Caspian Gates.

Τὸ Κιλικῶν ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἰβήρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοα ταύτη ὥκηνται. [2] ἐξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν, προϊόντι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους διήκει. [3] ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβήρων ὄρους ἀτραπὸς τίς ἐστὶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη. [4] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὅλως ἄβατον τελευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἡ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. [5] τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν ἱππῆλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. [6] οὗ δὴ τὰ Οὐννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἴδρυται ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκοντα λίμνην. [7] οὗτοι ἦν μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἥς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. [8] ἐπ' ἄλλας δὲ τινας ἐξόδους ἰόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περιεῖναι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις. [9] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε, πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὐννος μὲν γένος, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ φίλος. [10] οὗτος Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τε γῆρας ἀφίκτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ἤτει, ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐνδώσει Ῥωμαίοις. [11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος ὄρᾱν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἡπίστατο οὔτε εἰώθει λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν

γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ὡμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. [12] Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἔσχεν. [13] Ἀναστάσιός τε βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ πρὸς Καβάδην σπονδαί, πόλιν ἐδείματο ἐν χωρίῳ Δάρας ὀχυρὰν τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν, αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. [14] ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη πόλεως μὲν Νισίβιδος σταδίους ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντας, χώρας δὲ ἡ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα. [15] Πέρσαι δὲ κωλύειν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον ἀσχολία τῇ ἐς πόλεμον τὸν Οὐννικὸν πιεζόμενοι. [16] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτὸν τάχιστα Καβάδης κατέλυσε, πέμψας παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἡτιάτο πόλιν αὐτοὺς οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἄγχιστά που τῶν σφετέρων ὁρίων, ἀπειρημένον τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις συγκειμένοις τὰ πρότερα. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀναστάσιος τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ φιλίαν τε τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενος καὶ χρήμασιν οὐ φαύλοις δωρούμενος, παρακρούεσθαι τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκλύειν ἠθέλε. [18] καὶ πόλιν δὲ ἄλλην ταύτη ὁμοίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐδείματο τῶν Περσαρμενίας ὁρίων, ἡ κώμη μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα, πόλεως δὲ ἀξίωμα μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως λαβοῦσα ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει. [19] ἀλλ' Ἀναστάσιος τείχει αὐτὴν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν πράγματα Πέρσαις οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας παρέσχετο: ἐπιτειχίσματα γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἄμφω.

X

The Taurus mountain range of Cilicia passes first Cappadocia and Armenia and the land of the so-called Persarmenians, then also Albania and Iberia and all the other countries in this region, both independent and subject to Persia. For it extends to a great distance, and as one proceeds along this range, it always spreads out to an extraordinary breadth and rises to an imposing height. And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of old the Caspian Gates. From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides. When this was observed by Alexander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in the aforesaid place and established a fortress there. And this was held by many men in turn as time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Anastasius. Now when this Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian Gates to the Romans. But the Emperor Anastasius was incapable of doing anything without careful investigation, nor was it his custom to act thus: reasoning, therefore, that it was impossible for him to support soldiers in a place which was destitute of all good things, and which had nowhere in the neighbourhood a nation subject to the Romans, he expressed deep gratitude to the man for his good-will toward him, but by no means accepted this proposition. So Ambazouces died of disease not long afterwards, and Cabades overpowered his sons and took possession of the Gates.

The Emperor Anastasius, after concluding the treaty with Cabades, built a city in a place called Daras, exceedingly strong and of real importance, bearing the name of the emperor himself. Now this place is distant from the city of Nisibis one hundred stades lacking two, and from the boundary line which divides the Romans from the Persians about twenty-eight. And the Persians,

though eager to prevent the building, were quite unable to do so, being constrained by the war with the Huns in which they were engaged. But as soon as Cabades brought this to an end, he sent to the Romans and accused them of having built a city hard by the Persian frontier, though this had been forbidden in the agreement previously made between the Medes and the Romans. At that time, therefore, the Emperor Anastasius desired, partly by threats, and partly by emphasizing his friendship with him and by bribing him with no mean sum of money, to deceive him and to remove the accusation. And another city also was built by this emperor, similar to the first, in Armenia, hard by the boundaries of Persarmenia; now in this place there had been a village from of old, but it had taken on the dignity of a city by the favour of the Emperor Theodosius even to the name, for it had come to be named after him. But Anastasius surrounded it with a very substantial wall, and thus gave offence to the Persians no less than by the other city; for both of them are strongholds menacing their country.

Ἀναστασίου δὲ ὀλίγω ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Ἰουστίνου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἀπεληλαμένων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀναστασίου ξυγγενῶν ἀπάντων, καίπερ πολλῶν τε καὶ λίαν ἐπιφανῶν ὄντων. [2] τότε δὴ μέριμνά τις Καβάδῃ ἐγένετο μὴ τι Πέρσαι νεωτερίσωσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλογίας χωρὶς ἐς τῶν παίδων τινὰ παραπέμψαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔμελλε. [3] τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Καόσῃν τῆς μὲν ἡλικίας ἔνεκα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ Καβάδην οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκεν. ἐβιάζετο δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμη. [4] Ζάμην δέ, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐφέρετο, τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκκεκομμένον ἐκώλυεν ὁ νόμος. ἐτερόφθαλμον γὰρ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ λῶβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐ θέμις Πέρσαις βασιλέα καθίστασθαι. [5] Χοσρόην δέ, ὃς αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπεδέδου ἀδελφῆς ἐγεγόνει, ὑπερηγάπα μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ὁρῶν δὲ Πέρσας σχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας τεθηπότας τὴν Ζάμου ἀνδρείαν ἣν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν σέβοντας, ἔδεισε μὴ Χοσρόῃ ἐπαναστάντες ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐργάσωνται. [6] ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἄριστον εἶναι τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας διαλύσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφ' ᾧ Χοσρόης παῖς ἐσποιητὸς Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ γένοιτο: οὕτω γὰρ οἱ μόνως τὸ ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διασώσασθαι. διὸ δὴ πρέσβεις τε ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ γράμματα ἐς Βυζάντιον Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Οὐ δίκαια μὲν πεπονθέναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἐγκλήματα πάντα ἀφείναι παντελῶς ἔγνωκα, ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὥς οὗτοι ἂν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων νικῶεν, οἱ γε, προσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου, εἴτα ἐλασσούμενοι ἐκόντες εἶναι τῶν φίλων ἡσσῶνται. [8] χάριν μέντοι αἰτοῦμαι σε ὑπὲρ τούτων τινά, ἢ ἂν οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκατέρου ὑπήκοον ἅπαν ἔς τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς συνδέουσα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὐνοίαν, ἐς κόρον δὴ πού τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καταστήσασθαι ἱκανὴ εἴη. [9] λέγω δὲ ὅπως ἂν Χοσρόην τὸν ἐμόν, ὃς μοι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχος ἔσται, εἰσποιητὸν παῖδα ποιήσαιο.' [10] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς

εἶδεν, αὐτός τε περιχαρῆς ἐγένετο καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὃς δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [11] καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠπειγέσθην τὴν ἐσποίησιν ἐν γράμμασι θέσθαι ἢ νόμος Ῥωμαίοις, εἰ μὴ Πρόκλος ἐκώλυσεν, ὃς βασιλεῖ τότε παρήδρευε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος. [12] διὸ δὴ οὔτε νόμον τινὰ εὐπετῶς ἔγραφεν οὔτε τι τῶν καθεστώτων κινεῖν ἤθελεν, ὃς καὶ τότε ἀνταίρων ἔλαξε τοιάδε: [13] ‘Νεωτέρους μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν οὔτε εἴωθα καὶ ἄλλως δέδοικα πάντων μάλιστα, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῷ νεωτεροποιῷ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς σὺδαμῶς σώζεται. [14] δοκῶ δέ μοι, εἰ καὶ λίαν τις ἦν περὶ ταῦτα θρασύς, ἀποκνηῆσαι ἂν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν: καὶ κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάλον: [15] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἡμῖν ἐν βουλῇ εἶναι ἢ ὅπως ἂν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις εὐπρεπεῖ παραδοίμεν λόγῳ, οἳ γε οὐκ ἐγκρυφιάζοντες οὐδὲ παραπετάσμασί τισι χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην ὁμολογοῦντες τὸ βούλευμα, οὕτως ἀνέδην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τῷ μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης φανερῷ τὴν ἀφέλειαν προῖσχύμενοι, λόγῳ δὲ ἀναιδεῖ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην προβεβλημένοι. [16] καίτοι χρῆν ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν πείραν παντὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι σθένει: σὲ μὲν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ὅπως δὴ μὴ Ῥωμαίων εἰς βασιλεὺς ὕστατος, σὲ δέ, ὃ στρατηγέ, ὅπως ἂν μὴ σαυτῷ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμποδὼν γένοιτο. [17] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα σοφίσματα λόγου ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον σεμνότητι καλυπτόμενα ἴσως ἂν που καὶ ἐρμηνέως τοῖς πολλοῖς δέοιτο, αὕτη δὲ ἄντικρυς ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθὺς ἢ πρεσβεία τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ Χοσρόην τοῦτον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἐστὶ, κληρονόμον εἰσποιεῖν βούλεται. [18] οὕτωςί γάρ μοι περὶ τούτων διαλογίζεσθε: φύσει τοῖς παισὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων ὀφείλεται, οἳ τε νόμοι τῷ διαλλάσσοντι ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις ξυνίασί τε καὶ ξυνομολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις κυρίους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς κλήρου. ὥστε τὰ πρῶτα ἐλομένους ὑμῖν πάντα λελείγεται τὰ λοιπὰ ξυγχωρεῖν.’ [19] Πρόκλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τὸ πρακτέον ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [20] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Καβάδης γράμματα πρὸς Ἰουστίνον βασιλέα πέμψας, ἄνδρας τε αὐτὸν στείλαι δοκίμους ἡξίου, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται, καὶ γράμμασι τὸν τρόπον σημῆναι καθ’ ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσποίησιν θέσθαι βουλομένῳ εἴη. [21] καὶ τότε δὴ Πρόκλος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν Περσῶν πείραν διέβαλλε, μέλιν τε αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπως δὴ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα προσποιήσωνται. [22] καὶ γνώμην ἀπέφαινε τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα περαίνεισθαι, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπ’ αὐτῇ στέλλεσθαι, οὓς δὴ δεήσει πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Καβάδῃ καθ’ ὃ τι δεῖ τὴν ἐσποίησιν Χοσρόῃ γενέσθαι, διαρρήδην ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι δεῖ ὥς βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ γράμμασιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ’ ὅπλων σκευῇ. [23] οὕτω τοίνυν τοὺς πρέσβεις Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστους ἔψεσθαι σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχύμενος, οἳ τὰ τε ἀμφοῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ὥς ἄριστα διοικήσονται. [24] γράμμασί τε Καβάδην κατὰ ταῦτ’ ἡμείψατο. στέλλονται

τοίνυν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων Ὑπάτιος, Ἀναστασίου τοῦ πρώην βασιλευκότης ἀδελφιδοῦς, πατρίκιός τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑω τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων, καὶ Ρουφίνος ὁ Σιλβανοῦ παῖς, ἔν τε πατρικίοις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ Καβάδης ἐκ πατέρων αὐτῶν γνῶριμος· [25] ἐκ Περσῶν δὲ ἀνὴρ δυνατώτατός τε καὶ ἐξουσία πολλῇ χρώμενος, ὄνομα μὲν Σεόσης, ἀδρασταδάρην σαλάνης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ Μεβόδης, [26] τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἔχων ἀρχήν. οἱ δὴ ἐς χώρόν τινα ξυνιόντες ὅς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει, ἀλλήλοις τε ξυγγινόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὅπως τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ εὖ θήσονται. [27] ἦκε δὲ καὶ Χοσρόης ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὅς δὴ πόλεως Νισίβιδος διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ μάλιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκατέροις δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλοιτο. [28] πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σφίσι διαφορῶν ἐλέγοντο, καὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν Κολχίδα ἢ νῦν Λαζικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται Σεόσης ἔλεγε Περσῶν κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οὖσαν βιασαμένους λόγῳ οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. [29] ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ καὶ Λαζικὴ πρὸς Περσῶν ἀντιλέγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσποίησιν ἔφασκον δεῖν γενέσθαι Χοσρόῃ οὕτως ὥσπερ βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ Πέρσαις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [30] ἐκάτεροι οὖν διαλυθέντες ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ Χοσρόης ἄπρακτος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, περιώδυνός τε ὢν τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐχόμενος τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως τίσασθαι. [31] Μετὰ δὲ Μεβόδης μὲν τὸν Σεόσῃν διέβαλλε Καβάδης, ὡς δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες, οὗ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένον πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότη, τὸν Λαζικῆς λόγον προθεῖναι, τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκκρούων Ὑπάτιῳ τε κοινολογησάμενος πρότερον, ὅς δὴ βασιλεῖ τῷ οἰκίῳ εὐνοϊκῶς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν Χοσρόου ἐσποίησιν ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῇ οὐκ ἐὼν γενέσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατηγοροῦντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὸν Σεόσῃν ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. [32] Περσῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ ξύμπασα φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμῳ ξυνειλεγμένοι ἐδίκαζον. τῇ τε γὰρ ἀρχῇ οὐ ξυνειθισμένη σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἤχοντο καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαλεπῶς εἶχον. [33] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σεόσης χρημάτων μὲν ἀδωρότατος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος, ἀλαζονείας δὲ νόσῳ ἐχόμενος οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ξυμφυῆς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσι τοῦτό γε ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεόσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥντο ὑπερφυῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαι. [34] ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ταῦτά τε ἅπερ μοι προδεδίλωται καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βουλομένῳ εἴη ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεῦναι ἢ περιστέλλειν τὰ Περσῶν νόμιμα. [35] καινὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἔναγχος τὴν γυναῖκα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένον τοῖς Περσῶν νόμοις γῇ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα. [36] οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατέγνωσαν, Καβάδης δὲ ὥσπερ μὲν ξυναλγοῦντι ἅτε φίλῳ τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐφίκει, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλεν. [37] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχει ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλύειν τοὺς Περσῶν νόμους οὐκ ἐβούλετο, καίπερ ζωάγρια τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὀφείλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σεόσης αἰτιώτατος γέγονε βιῶναι τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σεόσης καταγνωσθεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [38] ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἕτερος γάρ τις ἀδρασταδάρην σαλάνης οὐδεὶς γέγονε. καὶ Ρουφίνος δὲ Ὑπάτιον ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλε. [39] διὸ δὴ

αὐτόν τε παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς
πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαβολῇ τὸ παράπαν εὔρε,
κακὸν μέντοι οὐδὲν Ὑπάτιον ἄλλο εἰργάσατο.

XI

[Aug. 1, 518 A.D.] And when a little later Anastasius died, Justinus received the empire, forcing aside all the kinsmen of Anastasius, although they were numerous and also very distinguished. Then indeed a sort of anxiety came over Cabades, lest the Persians should make some attempt to overthrow his house as soon as he should end his life; for it was certain that he would not pass on the kingdom to any one of his sons without opposition. For while the law called to the throne the eldest of his children Caoses by reason of his age, he was by no means pleasing to Cabades; and the father's judgment did violence to the law of nature and of custom as well. And Zames, who was second in age, having had one of his eyes struck out, was prevented by the law. For it is not lawful for a one-eyed man or one having any other deformity to become king over the Persians. But Chosroes, who was born to him by the sister of Aspebedes, the father loved exceedingly; seeing, however, that all the Persians, practically speaking, felt an extravagant admiration for the manliness of Zames (for he was a capable warrior), and worshipped his other virtues, he feared lest they should rise against Chosroes and do irreparable harm to the family and to the kingdom. Therefore it seemed best to him to arrange with the Romans to put an end both to the war and the causes of war, on condition that Chosroes be made an adopted son of the Emperor Justinus; for only in this way could he preserve stability in the government. Accordingly he sent envoys to treat of this matter and a letter to the Emperor Justinus in Byzantium. And the letter was written in this wise: "Unjust indeed has been the treatment which we have received at the hands of the Romans, as even you yourself know, but I have seen fit to abandon entirely all the charges against you, being assured of this, that the most truly victorious of all men would be those who, with justice on their side, are still willingly overcome and vanquished by their friends. However I ask of you a certain favour in return for this, which would bind together in kinship and in the good-will which would naturally spring from this relation not only ourselves but also all our subjects, and which would be calculated to bring us to a satiety of the blessings of peace. My proposal, then, is this, that you should make my son Chosroes, who will be my successor to the throne, your adopted son."

When this message was brought to the Emperor Justinus, he himself was overjoyed and Justinian also, the nephew of the emperor, who indeed was expected to receive from him the empire. And they were making all haste to perform the act of setting down in Writing the adoption, as the law of the Romans prescribes — and would have done so, had they not been prevented by Proclus, who was at that time a counsellor to the emperor, holding the office of quaestor, as it is called, a just man and one whom it was manifestly impossible to bribe; for this reason he neither readily proposed any law, nor

was he willing to disturb in any way the settled order of things; and he at that time also opposed the proposition, speaking as follows: "To venture on novel projects is not my custom, and indeed I dread them more than any others; for where there is innovation security is by no means preserved. And it seems to me that, even if one should be especially bold in this matter, he would feel reluctance to do the thing and would tremble at the storm which would arise from it; for I believe that nothing else is before our consideration at the present time than the question how we may hand over the Roman empire to the Persians on a seemly pretext. For they make no concealment nor do they employ any blinds, but explicitly acknowledging their purpose they claim without more ado to rob us of our empire, seeking to veil the manifestness of their deceit under a shew of simplicity, and hide a shameless intent behind a pretended unconcern. And yet both of you ought to repel this attempt of the barbarians with all your power; thou, O Emperor, in order that thou mayst not be the last Emperor of the Romans, and thou, O General, that thou mayst not prove a stumbling block to thyself as regards coming to the throne. For other crafty devices which are commonly concealed by a pretentious shew of words might perhaps need an interpreter for the many, but this embassy openly and straight from the very first words means to make this Chosroes, whoever he is, the adopted heir of the Roman Emperor. For I would have you reason thus in this matter: by nature the possessions of fathers are due to their sons and while the laws among all men are always in conflict with each other by reason of their varying nature, in this matter both among the Romans and among all barbarians they are in agreement and harmony with each other, in that they declare sons to be masters of their fathers' inheritance. Take this first resolve if you choose: if you do you must agree to all its consequences."

Thus spoke Proclus; and the emperor and his nephew gave ear to his words and deliberated upon what should be done. In the meantime Cabades sent another letter also to the Emperor Justinus, asking him to send men of repute in order to establish peace with him, and to indicate by letter the manner in which it would be his desire to accomplish the adoption of his son. And then, indeed, still more than before Proclus decried the attempt of the Persians, and insisted that their concern was to make over to themselves as securely as possible the Roman power. And he proposed as his opinion that the peace should be concluded with them with all possible speed, and that the noblest men should be sent by the emperor for this purpose; and that these men must answer plainly to Cabades, when he enquired in what manner the adoption of Chosroes should be accomplished, that it must be of the sort befitting a barbarian, and his meaning was that the barbarians adopt sons, not by a document, but by arms and armour. Accordingly the Emperor Justinus dismissed the envoys, promising that men who were the noblest of the Romans would follow them not long afterwards, and that they would arrange a settlement regarding the peace and regarding Chosroes in the best possible

way. He also answered Cabades by letter to the same effect. Accordingly there were sent from the Romans Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius, the late emperor, a patrician who also held the office of General of the East, and Rufinus, the son of Silvanus, a man of note among the patricians and known to Cabades through their fathers; from the Persians came one of great power and high authority, Seoses by name, whose title was *adrastadaran salanes*, and Mebodes, who held the office of magister. These men came together at a certain spot which is on the boundary line between the land of the Romans and the Persians: there they met and negotiated as to how they should do away with their differences and settle effectually the question of the peace. Chosroes also came to the Tigris River, which is distant from the city of Nisibis about two days journey, in order that, when the details of the peace should seem to both parties to be as well arranged as possible, he might betake himself in person to Byzantium. Now many words were spoken on both sides touching the differences between them, and in particular Seoses made mention of the land of Colchis, which is now called Lazica, saying that it had been subject to the Persians from of old and that the Romans had taken it from them by violence and held it on no just grounds. When the Romans heard this, they were indignant to think that even Lazica should be disputed by the Persians. And when they in turn stated that the adoption of Chosroes must take place just as is proper for a barbarian, it seemed to the Persians unbearable. The two parties therefore separated and departed homeward, and Chosroes with nothing accomplished was off to his father, deeply injured at what had taken place and vowing vengeance on the Romans for their insult to him.

After this Mebodes began to slander Seoses to Cabades, saying that he had proposed the discussion of Lazica purposely, although he had not been instructed to do so by his master, thereby frustrating the peace, and also that he had had words previously with Hypatius, who was by no means well-disposed toward his own sovereign and was trying to prevent the conclusion of peace and the adoption of Chosroes; and many other accusations also were brought forward by the enemies of Seoses, and he was summoned to trial. Now the whole Persian council gathered to sit in judgment moved more by envy than by respect for the law. For they were thoroughly hostile to his office, which was unfamiliar to them, and also were embittered by the natural temper of the man. For while Seoses was a man quite impossible to bribe, and a most exact respecter of justice, he was afflicted with a degree of arrogance not to be compared with that of any other. This quality, indeed, seems to be inbred in the Persian officials, but in Seoses even they thought that the malady had developed to an altogether extraordinary degree. So his accusers said all those things which have been indicated above, and added to this that the man was by no means willing to live in the established fashion or to uphold the institutions of the Persians. For he both revered strange divinities, and

lately, when his wife had died, he had buried her, though it was forbidden by the laws of the Persians ever to hide in the earth the bodies of the dead. The judges therefore condemned the man to death, while Cabades, though seeming to be deeply moved with sympathy as a friend of Seoses, was by no means willing to rescue him. He did not, on the other hand, make it known that he was angry with him, but, as he said, he was not willing to undo the laws of the Persians, although he owed the man the price of his life, since Seoses was chiefly responsible both for the fact that he was alive and also that he was king. Thus, then, Seoses was condemned and was removed from among men. And the office which began with him ended also with him. For no other man has been made *adrastadaran salanes*. Rufinus also slandered Hypatius to the emperor. As a result of this the emperor reduced him from his office, and tortured most cruelly certain of his associates only to find out that this slander was absolutely unsound; beyond this, however, he did Hypatius no harm.

Εὐθὺς δὲ Καβάδης, καίπερ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιῆσθαι τὴν γῆν, οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐναντίωμα τοιόνδε ζυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Ἰβηρες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦσι πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Κασπίαις ἴδρυνται πύλαις, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς εἰσι πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἐχομένη πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς Λαζική ἐστιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη. [3] οὗτος ὁ λεὼς Χριστιανοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα τῆς δόξης φυλάσσουσι ταύτης πάντων μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, κατήκοοι μέντοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. [4] τότε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤθελε Καβάδης ἐς τὰ νόμιμα τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης βιάζεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Γουργένῃ ἐπέστελλε τὰ τε ἄλλα ποιεῖν ἢ Πέρσαι νομίζουσι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῇ γῇ ὡς ἥκιστα κρύπτειν, ἀλλ' ὄρνισί τε ρίπτειν καὶ κυσὶν ἅπαντας. [5] διὸ δὴ Γουργένης προσχωρεῖν Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἤθελε τὰ τε πιστὰ ἡξίου λαβεῖν ὡς οὐποτε Ἰβηρας καταπροήσονται Πέρσαις Ῥωμαῖοι. [6] ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐδίδου καὶ Πρόβον τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ξὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ στράτευμα Οὐννων χρήμασιν ἀναπείσας Ἰβηρσι πέμψῃ ἐς ζυμμαχίαν. [7] ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἡ Βόσπορος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον, Χερσῶνος δὲ πόλεως, ἡ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχάτη ἐστίν, ὁδῷ διέχουσα ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν. ὧν δὴ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἅπαντα Οὐννοι ἔχουσιν. [8] οἱ δὲ Βοσπορίται αὐτόνομοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ᾤκουν, Ἰουστίνῳ δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐναγχος προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόβος ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Πέτρον στρατηγὸν σὺν Οὐννοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικὴν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε Γουργένῃ ὅση δύναμις ζυμμαχήσοντα. [10] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καβάδης στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τε Γουργένῃ καὶ Ἰβηρας ἔπεμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, οὐαρίζην μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, Βόην δὲ ὄνομα. [11] ὃ τε Γουργένης ἐλάσσων ὀφθεῖς ἢ φέρειν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ἱκανὰ ἦν, ξὺν Ἰβήρων τοῖς λογίμοις ἅπασιν ἐς Λαζικὴν ἔφυγε, τὴν τε γυναικα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν δὴ Περάνιος ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν. [12] ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λαζικῇς ὁρίοις γενόμενοι

ἔμενον, ταῖς τε δυσχωρίαις φραζάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίσταντο. [13] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπρασσον, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατοῦντος. [14] Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ τε Ἰβηρες ἐς Βυζάντιον παρεγένοντο καὶ Πέτρος ἐς βασιλέα μετὰπεμptos ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς Λαζοῖς οὐ βουλομένοις ξυμφυλάσσειν τὴν χώραν ἡξίου, στρατεύμα τε καὶ Εἰρηναῖον ἄρχοντα πέμψας. [15] ἔστι δὲ φρούρια ἐν Λαζοῖς δύο εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων, ὧν ἡ φυλακὴ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπιμελὴς ἦν, καίπερ ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ ἐχομένοις, ἐπεὶ οὔτε σῖτος ἐνταῦθα οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίνεται. [16] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τι ἐτέρωθεν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, [17] ὅτι μὴ φερόντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐλύμοις μέντοι τισὶν ἐνταῦθα γιγνομένοις εἰθισμένον σφίσιν οἱ Λαζοὶ ἀποζῆν ἴσχουν. [18] τούτους ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθὲνδε βασιλεὺς τοὺς φρουροὺς, στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν φρουρίων καθίστασθαι. [19] οἷς δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπιτήδεια μόλις Λαζοὶ ἔφερον, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀπεῖπον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, οἱ τε Πέρσαι πόνῳ αὐτὰ οὐδενὶ ἔσχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Λαζοῖς γέγονε. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, Σίττα τε καὶ Βελισαρίου ἡγουμένων σφίσιν, ἐς Περσαρμενίαν τὴν Περσῶν κατήκοον ἐσβαλόντες χώραν τε πολλὴν ἐλήρισαντο καὶ Ἀρμενίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν. [21] τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι νεανία μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνῆτα ἦσθην, Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ δορυφόρῳ, ὃς δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ θεῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἐσβολῆς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν γεγεννημένης Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος παρὰ δόξαν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [22] οἱ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους τε αὐτόμολοι ἵκοντο καὶ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσαν, τότε μέντοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξυμβαλόντες τὸ πλεόν ἔσχον. [23] εἰσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν ἄλλη Ῥωμαίων στρατιά, ἣς Λιβελάριος ἐκ Θράκης ἦρχεν. οἱ φεύγοντες εὐθυωρὸν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καίπερ οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιώντος. [24] διὸ δὴ Λιβελάριον μὲν παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεὺς, Βελισάριον δὲ ἄρχοντα καταλόγων τῶν ἐν Δάρας κατεστήσατο. τότε δὴ αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἠρέθη Προκόπιος ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε.

XII

Immediately after this, Cabades, though eager to make some kind of an invasion into the land of the Romans, was utterly unable to do so on account of the following obstacle which happened to arise. The Iberians, who live in Asia, are settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates, which lie to the north of them. Adjoining them on the left towards the west is Lazica, and on the right towards the east are the Persian peoples. This nation is Christian and they guard the rites of this faith more closely than any other men known to us, but they have been subjects of the Persian king, as it happens, from ancient times. And just then Cabades was desirous of forcing them to adopt the rites of his own religion. And he enjoined upon their king, Gourgenes, to do all things as the Persians are accustomed to do them, and in particular not under any circumstances to hide their dead in the earth, but to throw them all to the birds and dogs. For this reason, then, Gourgenes wished to go over to the Emperor Justinus, and he asked that he might receive pledges that the Romans would never abandon the Iberians to the Persians. And the emperor gave him these pledges with great eagerness, and he sent Probus, the nephew of the late emperor Anastasius, a man of patrician rank, with a great sum of money to Bosphorus, that he might win over with money an army of Huns and send them as allies to the Iberians. This Bosphorus is a city by the sea, on the left as one sails into the so-called Euxine Sea, twenty days journey distant from the city of Cherson, which is the limit of the Roman territory. Between these cities everything is held by the Huns. Now in ancient times the people of Bosphorus were autonomous, but lately they had decided to become subject to the Emperor Justinus. Probus, however, departed from there without accomplishing his mission, and the emperor sent Peter as general with some Huns to Lazica to fight with all their strength for Gourgenes. Meanwhile Cabades sent a very considerable army against Gourgenes and the Iberians, and as general a Persian bearing the title of “varizes,” Boes by name. Then it was seen that Gourgenes was too weak to withstand the attack of the Persians, for the help from the Romans was insufficient, and with all the notables of the Iberians he fled to Lazica, taking with him his wife and children and also his brothers, of whom Peranius was the eldest. And when they had reached the boundaries of Lazica, they remained there, and, sheltering themselves by the roughness of the country, they took their stand against the enemy. And the Persians followed after them but did nothing deserving even of mention since the circumstance of the rough country was against them.

Thereafter the Iberians presented themselves at Byzantium and Petrus came to the emperor at his summons; and from then on the emperor demanded that he should assist the Lazi to guard their country, even against their will, and he sent an army and Eirenaeus in command of it. Now there are two fortresses in

Lazica which one comes upon immediately upon entering their country from the boundaries of Iberia, and the defence of them had been from of old in charge of the natives, although they experienced great hardship in this matter; for neither corn nor wine nor any other good thing is produced there. Nor indeed can anything be carried in from elsewhere on account of the narrowness of the paths, unless it be carried by men. However, the Lazi were able to live on a certain kind of millet which grows there, since they were accustomed to it. These garrisons the emperor removed from the place and commanded that Roman soldiers should be stationed there to guard the fortresses. And at first the Lazi with difficulty brought in provisions for these soldiers, but later they gave up the service and the Romans abandoned these forts, whereupon the Persians with no trouble took possession of them. This then happened in Lazica.

And the Romans, under the leadership of Sittas and Belisarius, made an inroad into Persarmenia, a territory subject to the Persians, where they plundered a large tract of country and then withdrew with a great multitude of Armenian captives. These two men were both youths and wearing their first beards, body-guards of the general Justinian, who later shared the empire with his uncle Justinus. But when a second inroad had been made by the Romans into Armenia, Narses and Aratius unexpectedly confronted them and engaged them in battle. These men not long after this came to the Romans as deserters, and made the expedition to Italy with Belisarius; but on the present occasion they joined battle with the forces of Sittas and Belisarius and gained the advantage over them. An invasion was also made near the city of Nisibis by another Roman army under command of Libelarius of Thrace. This army retired abruptly in flight although no one came out against them. And because of this the emperor reduced Libelarius from his office and appointed Belisarius commander of the troops in Daras. It was at that time that Procopius, who wrote this history, was chosen as his adviser. [527 A.D.]

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστίνος βασιλέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν ζὺν αὐτῷ ἀνειπὼν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς μόνον Ἰουστινιανὸν ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν. [2] οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐκέλευε Βελισάριον δείμασθαι φρούριον ἐν χωρίῳ Μίνδουος, ὃ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὁρίοις, [3] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Νίσιβιν ἰόντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν σπουδῇ πολλῇ τὰ βασιλεῖ δόξαντα ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει, τό τε ὀχύρωμα ἐς ὕψος ἤδη πολυανθρωπία τεχνιτῶν ἦρετο. [4] Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπειπὼν μὴ οἰκοδομήσασθαι περαιτέρῳ μηδέν, οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις διακωλυταὶ ἀπειλοῦντες οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι. [5] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν ὅτι γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν Βελισάριος Πέρσας ἐνθένδε τῷ παρόντι στρατῷ ἀποκρούεσθαι, ἄλλην τε στρατιὰν ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτόσε ἰέναι καὶ Κούτζην τε καὶ Βούζην, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἥρχον τότε. τούτῳ δὲ ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἦσθην, νέῳ δὲ ἄμφω καὶ οὐ ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντε. [6] ἐκάτεροι μὲν οὖν ζυλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἀθρόοι ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτὴν παντὶ σθένει

διακωλύσοντας, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς τεκταινομένοις ἐπαμυνοῦντες. [7] μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἡσῶνται Ῥωμαῖοι, φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς γέγονε, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγησαν οἱ πολέμιοι. [8] ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ Κούτζης. οὗς δὴ οἱ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἀπαγαγόντες, δῆσαντές τε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σπηλαίῳ καθεῖρξαν, καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν οἰκοδομίαν οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀμυνομένου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. [9] Ὑστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν τῆς ἑω Βελισάριον καταστησάμενος, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ στρατιὰν λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀγείρας ἐς Δάρας ἦλθε. [10] καὶ οἱ Ἑρμογένης ξυνδιακοσμήσων τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, ὃς Βιταλιανῷ παρήδρευε πρότερον ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμιος ἦν. [11] καὶ Ρουφίνον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὃν δὴ ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνη, ἐκέλευε. λόγοι γὰρ ἤδη πολλοὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγίνοντο. [12] ἄφνω δὲ τις Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμογένει ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐσβάλλειν ἐπίδοξοί εἰσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, πόλιν Δάρας αἰρήσειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [13] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύοντο ὧδε. τῆς πύλης ἡ πόλεως Νισίβιδος καταντικρὺ κεῖται οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον λίθου βολήν, τάφρον βαθεῖαν τινα ὠρυξαν, διεξόδους πολλὰς ἔχουσιν. οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας μέντοι ἡ τάφος ἦδε ὀρώρυκτο, ἀλλὰ τρώπῳ τοιῷδε. [14] κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέσον βραχεῖά τις ἐγεγόνει εὐθεῖα, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτῆς ὀρθαὶ κεραῖαι πεποιήντο δύο, ἕς τε τὰ πέρατα ταῖν ὀρθαῖν κεραῖαιν αὐθις τὰς τάφρους ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐθείας ἐξῆγον. [15] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦλθον, ἐν τῇ Ἀμμώδιος χωρίῳ, πόλεως Δάρας μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντι, [16] ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Πιτυάξης καὶ Βαρεσμανᾶς ἐτερόφθαλμος. στρατηγὸς δὲ εἷς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, μισράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι, Περόξης δὲ ὄνομα. [17] ὃς δὴ αὐτίκα παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι: λοῦσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραία βουλομένῳ εἶναι. [18] διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καρτερώτατα ἐξηρτύοντο, ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ μαχοῦμενοι. [19] Ἄμα τε ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ σφᾶς προϊόντας ὀρῶντες ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. εὐθείας μὲν τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἡ ἔνερθεν ἦν τῆς ὀρθῆς κεραίας μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ὃς ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Βούζης εἶχε ξὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ Φάρας Ἐρουλος ξὺν ὁμογενέσι τριακοσίοις: [20] ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τάφρου ἐκτὸς κατὰ τὴν γωνίαν ἦν ἡ τε ὀρθὴ κεραία καὶ ἡ ἐνθένδε εὐθεῖα ἐποίει, Σουνίκας τε ἦν καὶ Αἰγάν, Μασσαγέται γένος, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις, ὅπως, ἦν οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν τραπεῖεν, αὐτοὶ πλάγιοι κατὰ τάχος ἰόντες κατὰ νότου τε τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἀμύνειν εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τρώπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο: [21] τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐθείας τὰ ἔσχατα ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ εἶχον, ὧν Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Νικήτου ἦρχε καὶ Κύριλλός τε καὶ Μάρκελλος: ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γερμανὸς καὶ Δωρόθεος: ἐς γωνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἱππεῖς ἐτάξαντο ἑξακόσιοι, ὧν Σίμμας τε καὶ Ἀσκάν Μασσαγέται ἦρχον, ἵνα, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τρεπομένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι κατὰ νότου τῶν Περσῶν ἴωσι. [22] πανταχῇ δὲ

τῆς τάφρου οἱ τε τῶν ἱππέων κατάλογοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἴστατο. ὧν δὴ ὀπισθεν οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον καὶ Ἑρμογένην κατὰ μέσους εἰστήκεσαν. [23] ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ δισμυρίους ξυνιόντες ἐτάξαντο, Περσῶν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς μυριάδες μὲν τέσσαρες ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἦσαν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἅπαντες μετωπηδὸν ἴσταντο, ὡς βαθύτατον τῆς φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. [24] χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν μάχης ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσιν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν Πέρσαι ἐφύκεσαν καὶ ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παρῶσιν ἀπορουμένοις. [25] Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν μοῖρά τις τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχον, ἀποσχισθέντες τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βούζην τε καὶ Φάραν ἐπῆλθον. [26] οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἕμενον, κύκλωσιν, οἷμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ δείσαντες. μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν. [27] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνον ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ αὖθις οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐτάξαντο. [28] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Περσῶν ἐπτὰ ἔπεσον, ὧν δὴ τῶν σωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζοντες ἐν τάξει ἐκάτεροι ἕμενον. [29] εἰς δὲ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης νεανίας, ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσας, προῦκαλεῖτο ἅπαντας εἴ τις οἱ βούλοιο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [30] καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς, Ἀνδρέας δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκείοις, οὐ στρατιώτης μὲν οὐδέ τι ἀσκήσας τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πώποτε, παιδοτρίβης δὲ καὶ παλαιστρᾶ τινὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐφεστηκώς. [31] διὸ δὴ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ εἶπετο, ἅτε τοῦ Βούζου σώματος ἐν βαλανείῳ ἐπιμελούμενος, γένος δὲ Βυζάντιος ἦν. οὗτος ἐθάρσθησε μόνος, οὔτε Βούζου οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἐπαγγείλαντος, αὐτόματος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς μονομαχίαν ἐπεξίεναι. φθάσας δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐτι περισκοπούμενον ὅπῃ ὀρμήσεται, παρὰ μαζὸν τὸν δεξιὸν τῷ δόρατι παίει. [32] ὁ δὲ πληγὴν ἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροῦ λίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀνδρέας μαχαίρᾳ τινὶ βραχεῖᾳ ὥσπερ ἱερεῖον ὑπτίως κείμενον ἔθυσσε, κραυγὴ τε ὑπερφυῆς ἐκ τε τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἦρθη. [33] Πέρσαι δὲ τῷ γεγονότι περιαλγῆσαντες ἕτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρᾶξιν ἱππεία καθῆκαν, ἀνδρεῖον μὲν καὶ μεγέθους σώματος πέρι εὖ ἤκοντα, οὐ νεανίαν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν πολὺν ὄντα. [34] ὅς δὴ παρὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἐπιών, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν μᾶστιγα σείων ἤ παιειν τὸν ἵππον εἰώθει, Ῥωμαίων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς μάχην ἐκάλει. [35] οὐδενὸς δὲ οἱ ἐπεξιόντος, Ἀνδρέας αὖθις ἅπαντας λαθὼν ἐς μέσον ἦλθε, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Ἑρμογένους ἀπειρημένον. [36] ἄμφω γοῦν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ὥρμησαν, καὶ τὰ τε δόρατα τοῖς θώραξιν ἐρεισθέντα δεινῶς ἀπεκρούσθη οἱ τε ἵπποι ἐς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλοις συγκρούσαντες ἔπεσόν τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπέβαλον. [37] τῷ δὲ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἄγχιστά: πῃ πεσόντε ἀλλήλοις ἐξανίστασθαι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἄμφω ἠπειγέσθην, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πέρσης τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἅτε οἱ τοῦ μεγέθους ἀντιστατούντος, οὐκ εὐπετῶς εἶχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ προτερήσας 'τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ τὴν παλαιστρὰν μελέτη ἐδίδου τῷ τε γόνати ἐξανιστάμενον αὐτὸν ἔτυψε καὶ αὖθις εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος πεσόντα ἔκτεινε. [38] κραυγὴ τε ἐκ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ

καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦρθη· καὶ οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀμμώδιος τὴν φάλαγγα
διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παιανίσαντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου
ἐγένοντο. ^[39] ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν. οὕτω τε ἀμφοτέρω τῇ νύκτι
ἐκείνην ηὐλίσαντο.

XIII

[Apr. 1, 527] Not long after this Justinus, who had declared his nephew Justinian emperor with him, died, and thus the empire came to Justinian alone. [Aug. 1, 527] This Justinian commanded Belisarius to build a fortress in a place called Mindouos, which is over against the very boundary of Persia, on the left as one goes to Nisibis. He accordingly with great haste began to carry out the decision of the emperor, and the fort was already rising to a considerable height by reason of the great number of artisans. But the Persians forbade them to build any further, threatening that, not with words alone but also with deeds, they would at no distant time obstruct the work. When the emperor heard this, inasmuch as Belisarius was not able to beat off the Persians from the place with the army he had, he ordered another army to go thither, and also Coutzes and Bouzes, who at that time commanded the soldiers in Libanus. These two were brothers from Thrace, both young and inclined to be rash in engaging with the enemy. So both armies were gathered together and came in full force to the scene of the building operations, the Persians in order to hinder the work with all their power, and the Romans to defend the labourers. And a fierce battle took place in which the Romans were defeated, and there was a great slaughter of them, while some also were made captive by the enemy. Among these was Coutzes himself. All these captives the Persians led away to their own country, and, putting them in chains, confined them permanently in a cave; as for the fort, since no one defended it any longer, they razed what had been built to the ground.

After this the Emperor Justinian appointed Belisarius General of the East and bade him make an expedition against the Persians. And he collected a very formidable army and came to Daras. Hermogenes also came to him from the emperor to assist in setting the army in order, holding the office of magister; this man was formerly counsellor to Vitalianus at the time when he was at war with the Emperor Anastasius. The emperor also sent Rufinus as ambassador, commanding him to remain in Hierapolis on the Euphrates River until he himself should give the word. For already much was being said on both sides concerning peace. Suddenly, however, someone reported to Belisarius and Hermogenes that the Persians were expected to invade the land of the Romans, being eager to capture the city of Daras. And when they heard this, they prepared for the battle as follows. [July, 530] Not far from the gate which lies opposite the city of Nisibis, about a stone's throw away, they dug a deep trench with many passages across it. Now this trench was not dug in a straight line, but in the following manner. In the middle there was a rather short portion straight, and at either end of this there were dug two cross trenches at right angles to the first; and starting from the extremities of the two cross trenches, they continued two straight trenches in the original direction to a

very great distance. Not long afterwards the Persians came with a great army, and all of them made camp in a place called Ammodios, at a distance of twenty stades from the city of Daras. Among the leaders of this army were Pityaxes and the one-eyed Baresmanas. But one general held command over them all, a Persian, whose title was "mirranes" (for thus the Persians designate this office), Perozes by name. This Perozes immediately sent to Belisarius bidding him make ready the bath: for he wished to bathe there on the following day. Accordingly the Romans made the most vigorous preparations for the encounter, with the expectation that they would fight on the succeeding day.

At sunrise, seeing the enemy advancing against them, they arrayed themselves as follows. The extremity of the left straight trench which joined the cross trench, as far as the hill which rises here, was held by Bouzes with a large force of horsemen and by Pharas the Erulian with three hundred of his nation. On the right of these, outside the trench, at the angle formed by the cross trench and the straight section which extended from that point, were Sunicas and Aigan, Massagetae by birth, with six hundred horsemen, in order that, if those under Bouzes and Pharas should be driven back, they might, by moving quickly on the flank, and getting in the rear of the enemy, be able easily to support the Romans at that point. On the other wing also they were arrayed in the same manner; for the extremity of the straight trench was held by a large force of horsemen, who were commanded by John, son of Nicetas, and by Cyril and Marcellus; with them also were Germanus and Dorotheus; while at the angle on the right six hundred horsemen took their stand, commanded by Simmas and Ascan, Massagetae, in order that, as has been said, in case the forces of John should by any chance be driven back, they might move out from there and attack the rear of the Persians. Thus all along the trench stood the detachments of cavalry and the infantry. And behind these in the middle stood the forces of Belisarius and Hermogenes. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves, amounting to five-and-twenty thousand; but the Persian army consisted of forty thousand horse and foot, and they all stood close together facing the front, so as to make the front of the phalanx as deep as possible. Then for a long time neither side began battle with the other, but the Persians seemed to be wondering at the good order of the Romans, and appeared at a loss what to do under the circumstances.

In the late afternoon a certain detachment of the horsemen who held the right wing, separating themselves from the rest of the army, came against the forces of Bouzes and Pharas. And the Romans retired a short distance to the rear. The Persians, however, did not pursue them, but remained there, fearing, I suppose, some move to surround them on the part of the enemy. Then the Romans who had turned to flight suddenly rushed upon them. And the Persians did not withstand their onset and rode back to the phalanx, and again the forces of Bouzes and Pharas stationed themselves in their own position. In

this skirmish seven of the Persians fell, and the Romans gained possession of their bodies; thereafter both armies remained quietly in position. But one Persian, a young man, riding up very close to the Roman army, began to challenge all of them, calling for whoever wished to do battle with him. And no one of the whole army dared face the danger, except a certain Andreas, one of the personal attendants of Bouzes, not a soldier nor one who had ever practised at all the business of war, but a trainer of youths in charge of a certain wrestling school in Byzantium. Through this it came about that he was following the army, for he cared for the person of Bouzes in the bath; his birthplace was Byzantium. This man alone had the courage, without being ordered by Bouzes or anyone else, to go out of his own accord to meet the man in single combat. And he caught the barbarian while still considering how he should deliver his attack, and hit him with his spear on the right breast. And the Persian did not bear the blow delivered by a man of such exceptional strength, and fell from his horse to the earth. Then Andreas with a small knife slew him like a sacrificial animal as he lay on his back, and a mighty shout was raised both from the city wall and from the Roman army. But the Persians were deeply vexed at the outcome and sent forth another horseman for the same purpose, a manly fellow and well favoured as to bodily size, but not a youth, for some of the hair on his head already shewed grey. This horseman came up along the hostile army, and, brandishing vehemently the whip with which he was accustomed to strike his horse, he summoned to battle whoever among the Romans was willing. And when no one went out against him, Andreas, without attracting the notice of anyone, once more came forth, although he had been forbidden to do so by Hermogenes. So both rushed madly upon each other with their spears, and the weapons, driven against their corselets, were turned aside with mighty force, and the horses, striking together their heads, fell themselves and threw off their riders. And both the two men, falling very close to each other, made great haste to rise to their feet, but the Persian was not able to do this easily because his size was against him, while Andreas, anticipating him (for his practice in the wrestling school gave him this advantage), smote him as he was rising on his knee, and as he fell again to the ground dispatched him. Then a roar went up from the wall and from the Roman army as great, if not greater, than before; and the Persians broke their phalanx and withdrew to Ammodios, while the Romans, raising the pæan, went inside the fortifications; for already it was growing dark. Thus both armies passed that night.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσαις μὲν στρατιῶται μύριοι ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως μετὰπεμπτοὶ ἦλθον, Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸς Μιρράνην ἔγραψαν τάδε, 'Πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ὁμολόγηται παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἷς τι καὶ κατὰ τὸ [2] βραχὺ λογισμοῦ μέτεστιν. ὥστε ἦν τις διαλυτῆς αὐτῆς γένοιτο, τῶν κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἂν οὐ τοῖς πέλας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμογενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ εἴη. στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ἄριστος οὗτος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ὃς δὴ ἐκ

πολέμου εἰρήνην διατίθεσθαι ἱκανὸς πέφυκε. [3] σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστῶτων Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμον ἐπάγειν ἡμῖν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντα ἔγνωκας, καίπερ ἑκατέρου μὲν βασιλέως εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένου, πρέσβειων δὲ παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἤδη, οἳ δὴ τὰ διάφορα τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίᾳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαλύσουσιν, ἢ μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐφόδου ξυμβαῖνον ταύτην ἡμῖν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἰσχύσει. [4] ἀλλ' ἄπαγε ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, μηδὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἴστασο, μὴ ποτε Πέρσαις, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, εἴης τῶν ξυμβησομένων [5] δεινῶν αἴτιος.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Μιρράνης ἀπενεχθέντα τὰ γράμματα εἶδεν, ἀμείβεται ὧδε, 'Ἐποίησα ἂν τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀναπεισθεῖς, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐτύγγανεν οὕσα, οἷς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι πρόχειρόν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελεῖν χαλεπώτατόν τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ ὄρκοις τισὶ κυρώσητε τὰ ξυγκείμενα. [6] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπειπόντες ἀπάτην, ἐν ὅλοις ἠναγκάσμεθα παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥκειν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὧ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸ λοιπὸν οἴεσθε ἢ πολεμητέα ὑμῖν ἐς Πέρσας εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τεθνάναι ἢ καταγηράσκειν δεήσει, ἕως ἔργῳ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς θήσεσθε.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντέγραψεν. [7] αὐθις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἔγραψαν ὧδε, 'Οὐ πάντα χρή, ὧ βέλτιστε Μιρράνη, τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ χαρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς πέλας ἐπιφέρειν ὄνειδη τὰ μηδαμόθεν προσήκοντα. [8] Ρουφῖνον γὰρ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἦκοντα οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἡμεῖς τε εἵπομεν ξὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἴσει. [9] γλιχομένοις δὲ ὑμῖν πολεμίων ἔργων ἀντιταξόμεθα ξὺν θεῷ, ὃν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ξυλλήψεσθαι ἴσμεν, ἡγμένον μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ τῇ Περσῶν νεμεσήσαντα καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλουμένοις ἡμῖν εἴτα ἀντιτείνειν ἐγνώκατε. [10] ἀντιταξόμεθα δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα παρ' ἑκατέρων ἀπ' ἄκρων σημείων [11] ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀναψάμενοι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Μιρράνης δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἀμείβεται ὧδε, 'Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ θεῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθιστάμεθα, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤξομεν, οὐσπερ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσας ἐς Δάρας ἐσβιβάσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [12] ἀλλὰ μοι τό τε βαλανεῖον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γινέσθω.' ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἀναλεξάμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν. [13] Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ Πέρσας ἅπαντας περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ξυγκαλέσας Μιρράνης ἔλεξε τοιάδε, 'Οὐκ ἄγνωθ' μὲν ὥς οὐ λόγοις τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ τε οἰκείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδοῖ θαρσεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰώθασι Πέρσαι. [14] ὁρῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς διαλογιζομένους τί δήποτε οὐ συνειθισμένον Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον ἄνευ θορύβων τε καὶ ἀταξίας εἰς μάχην ἰέναι, οἳ δὲ ξὺν κόσμῳ τινὶ ἔναγχος οὐδαμόθεν σφίσι προσήκοντι Πέρσας ἐπιόντας ὑπέστησαν, τοῦδε εἵνεκα παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τίνα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔγνωκα, ὅπως μὴ δόξη οὐκ ἀληθεῖ χρωμένοις ὑμῖν σφαλῆναι συμβαίῃ. [15] μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίους ἀμείνους τὰ πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς τι ἢ ἐμπειρίας κεκτῆσθαι πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα ὄντες ἐτύγγανον: οἳ γε οὕτω Πέρσας δεδίασιν ὥστε οὐδὲ τάφρου χωρὶς ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα καθίστασθαι τετολμήκασιν. [16] οὐδὲ ξὺν ταύτῃ μάχῃς τινὸς ἦρξαν,

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς ἤλθομεν, ἄσμενοί τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος τὰ πράγματα σφίσι κεχωρηκέναι οἰόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐχώρησαν. [17] διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ζυντεταράχθαι τετύχηκεν, οὐπω εἰς κίνδυνον πολέμου ἐλθοῦσιν. ἦν δέ γε ἡ μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γένηται, ὀρρωδία τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειρία περιλαβοῦσαι ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τὴν συνήθη, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσουσι. [18] τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν: ὑμᾶς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, τοῦ βασιλέων βασιλέως ἡ κρίσις εἰσίτω. [19] ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἐπαξίως τῆς Περσῶν ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ [20] εὐκλεῆς περιστήσεται.' οὕτω μὲν Μιρράνης παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀγείραντες παρεκελεύσαντο ὧδε, [21] 'Ὡς μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι Πέρσαι οὐδὲ κρεῖσσους ἢ θνήσκειν ἐπίστασθε δὴ που, μάχη τῇ προτέρᾳ σταθμώμενοι: ὥς δὲ τῇ τε ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ σώματος ἰσχυρί περιόντες αὐτῶν, μόνῳ ἡττάσθε τῷ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθέστεροι εἶναι, [22] οὐδεῖς ἂν ἀντείποι. ὅπερ ἐπανορθοῦν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑμῖν πάρεστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα σπουδῇ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, γνώμη δὲ τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ῥαδίως ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ ἱατρὸς γένοιτο: [23] ὥστε ἦν τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατακούειν ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀναδήσεσθε τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἢ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀκόσμῳ θαρσοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκουσι. [24] σφαλέντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος ὁμοίως τῇ προλαβούσῃ ζυμβολῇ ἀπαλλάξουσιν. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ὃ μάλιστα δεδίττονται, [25] ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον. τὸ γὰρ πεζὸν ἅπαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὁμιλός ἐστιν ἀγροίκων οἰκτρῶν, οἱ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἔρχονται ἢ τεῖχος τε διορτυττεῖν καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας σκυλεύειν καὶ τᾶλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπηρετεῖν. [26] διὸ δὴ ὅπλα μὲν οἷς ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνοχλοῖεν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσι, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μέγεθος προβέβληνται μόνον ὅπως αὐτοὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡκιστα βάλλωνται. [27] οὐκοῦν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κινδύνῳ γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μόνον Πέρσας νικήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας κολάσετε, ὥς μήποτε αὐθις εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύσονται.' [28] Ταύτην Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης τὴν παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ Πέρσας ὁδῷ ἰόντας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ τάχος τοὺς στρατιώτας διέταξαν. [29] καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοντες μετωπηδὸν ἔστησαν. οὐχ ἅπαντας μέντοι Πέρσας ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὀπισθεν μένειν εἶασεν. [30] οἱ δὴ τοὺς μαχομένους ἐκδεχόμενοι ἐμελλον ἀκμῆτες ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπως αἰεὶ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες μάχωνται. [31] μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν ἀθανάτων λεγομένων λόχον ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευεν. [32] αὐτὸς τε κατὰ μέσον τοῦ μετώπου ταξάμενος, Πιτυάζην μὲν τοῖς ἐν δεξιᾷ, Βαρεσμανᾶν δὲ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀριστερόν κέρας ἐπέστησεν. οὕτω μὲν ἀμφοτέροι ἐτετάχατο. Φάρας δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμογένῃ παραστὰς εἶπεν, [33] 'Οὐδὲν μοι δοκῶ ἐνταῦθα ζῆν τοῖς Ἑρούλοις μένων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι μέγα: ἦν δὲ κρυπτόμενοι ἐς τὸ κάταντες τοῦτο, εἶτα, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται Πέρσαι, διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ λόφου ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν ἴωμεν ὀπισθεν βάλλοντες, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτούς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,

δράσομεν.’ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἤρεσκε, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [34] Μάχης δὲ ἄχρι ἐς ἡμέραν μέσσην οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἡ μεσημβρία παρώχηκεν, ἔργου οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχοντο, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἐς τοῦτον τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν καιρὸν τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀποθέμενοι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν σιτίοις ἐς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν χρῆσθαι μόνον εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας, ὥστε οὐποτε ὦντο αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἀνθέξειν, ἦν πεινῶσιν ἐπιθῶνται. [35] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοξεύμασιν ἐχρῶντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, καὶ τινὰ τὰ βέλη τῷ πλήθει ἀχλὺν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐποίει, ἔκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον, πολλῶ δὲ συχνότερα τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων βέλη ἐφέρετο. [36] ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀκμητέες ἐμάχοντο, αἰσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχόμενοι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἔλασπον εἶχον. πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐνθὲνδε ἐπίφορον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτεσδὸν οὐ λίαν αὐτῶν τὰ τοξεύματα ἐνεργεῖν εἶα. [37] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκατέρους τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῖς τε δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ χειρὸς ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαίων δὲ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν μάλιστα ἔκαμνε. [38] Καδισηνοὶ γάρ, οἱ ταύτῃ ξὺν τῷ Πιτυάξῃ ἐμάχοντο, πολλοὶ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐτρέψαντό τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐγκείμενοι ἰσχυρότατα συχνοὺς ἔκτεινον. [39] ὁ δὲ κατιδόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σουνίκα τε καὶ Αἰγάν, δρόμῳ πολλῶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦσαν. πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ τριακόσιοι ξὺν τῷ Φάρα Ἑρουλοὶ ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενοι, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Καδισηνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυντο. [40] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σουνίκαν πλαγίους ἤδη ἀνιόντας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [41] τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμπρὰς γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, γέγονε φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς. [42] καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ τρισχίλιοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα μόλις καταφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [43] Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ παρατάξει ἐκάτεροι ἔστησαν ἀντίοι ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [44] Μιρράνης δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους λεγομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μέρος τὸ ἀριστερὸν λάθρα ἐπεμψεν. οὗς δὲ κατιδόντες Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σουνίκαν τε καὶ Αἰγάν ἐξακοσίους ἐς γωνίαν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐκέλευον ἰέναι, οὗ δὲ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σίμμα τε καὶ Ἀσκάν ἴσαντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἔστησαν. [45] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν οἱ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν εἶχον Βαρεσμανᾶ ἡγουμένου σφίσι ξὺν τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἐς τοὺς κατ’ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους δρόμῳ ἐσέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [46] τότε δὲ οἱ τε ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν ἦσαν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας ἦσαν. [47] ἅτε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐγκάρσιοι ἰόντες, διεῖλον αὐτῶν δίχα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐποίησαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Βαρεσμανᾶ τὸ σημεῖον φέροντα ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃν δὲ ὁ Σουνίκας τῷ δόρατι ἐπελθὼν παίει. [48] ἤδη τε Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις διώκοντες, αἰσθόμενοι οὐ ἦσαν κακοῦ, στρέψαντές τε τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὴν δίωξιν καταπαύσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦσαν, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμφίβολοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο. [49] ξυνέντες γὰρ τῶν ποιουμένων οἱ φεύγοντες ἀνέστρεφον αὐθις. οἱ τε γοῦν ἄλλοι Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ

τῶν ἀθανάτων λόχος, κεκλιμένον τε τὸ σημεῖον ἰδόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκείνη Ῥωμαίους ξὺν τῷ Βαρεσμανᾷ ὥρμησαν. [50] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὑπηντίαζον. καὶ πρῶτος Σουνίκας τὸν Βαρεσμανᾶν ἔκτεινέ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔρριψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος μέγα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλκῆς μὲν οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο, ἀκοσμία δὲ πολλῇ ἐχόμενοι ἔφευγον. [51] καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι κύκλωσίν τινα ποιησάμενοι πεντακισχίλιους μάλιστα ἔκτειναν. οὕτω τε τὰ στρατόπεδα παντάπασιν ἐκινήθη ἐκάτερα, Περσῶν μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. [52] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὅσοι δὴ πεζοὶ ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ρίψαντές τε τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ καταλαμβανόμενοι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἔκτεινοντο. Ῥωμαίων μέντοι ἢ δίωξις δι' ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. [53] Βελισάριος γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμογένης περαιτέρω ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶων, δείσαντες μὴ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ Πέρσαι ὑποστραφέντες τρέψωνται αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διώκοντας, ἱκανόν τε αὐτοῖς κατεφαίνετο τὴν νίκην ἀκραιφνῇ διασώσασθαι. [54] μακροῦ γὰρ χρόνου Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡσσήθησαν Πέρσαι. οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι διεκρίθησαν. [55] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι μάχην ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ᾔθελον. ἐγένοντο μέντοι ἀμφοτέροις τινὲς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἔφοδοι, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἔλασπον Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῇδε ἐφέρετο.

XIV

On the following day ten thousand soldiers arrived who had been summoned by the Persians from the city of Nisibis, and Belisarius and Hermogenes wrote to the mirranes as follows: "The first blessing is peace, as is agreed by all men who have even a small share of reason. It follows that if any one should be a destroyer of it, he would be most responsible not only to those near him but also to his whole nation for the troubles which come. The best general, therefore, is that one who is able to bring about peace from war. But you, when affairs were well settled between the Romans and the Persians, have seen fit to bring upon us a war without cause, although the counsels of each king are looking toward peace, and although our envoys are already present in the neighbourhood, who will at no distant time settle all the points of dispute in talking over the situation together, unless some irreparable harm coming from your invasion proves sufficient to frustrate for us this hope. But lead away as soon as possible your army to the land of the Persians, and do not stand in the way of the greatest blessings, lest at some time you be held responsible by the Persians, as is probable, for the disasters which will come to pass." When the mirranes saw this letter brought to him, he replied as follows: "I should have been persuaded by what you write, and should have done what you demand, were the letter not, as it happens, from Romans, for whom the making of promises is easy, but the fulfilment of the promises in deed most difficult and beyond hope, especially if you sanction the agreement by any oaths. We, therefore, despairing in view of your deception, have been compelled to come before you in arms, and as for you, my dear Romans, consider that from now on you will be obliged to do nothing else than make war against the Persians. For here we shall be compelled either to die or grow old until you accord to us justice in deed." Such was the reply which the mirranes wrote back. And again Belisarius and his generals wrote as follows: "O excellent mirranes, it is not fitting in all things to depend upon boasting, nor to lay upon one's neighbours reproaches which are justified on no grounds whatever. For we said with truth that Rufinus had come to act as an envoy and was not far away, and you yourself will know this at no remote time. But since you are eager for deeds of war, we shall array ourselves against you with the help of God, who will, we know, support us in the danger, being moved by the peaceful inclination of the Romans, but rebuking the boastfulness of the Persians and your decision to resist us when we invite you to peace. And we shall array ourselves against you, having prepared for the conflict by fastening the letters written by each of us on the top of our banners." Such was the message of this letter. And the mirranes again answered as follows: "Neither are we entering upon the war without our gods, and with their help we shall come before you, and I expect that on the morrow they will bring the Persians into Daras. But let the bath and lunch be in readiness for me within the

fortifications.” When Belisarius and his generals read this, they prepared themselves for the conflict.

On the succeeding day the mirranes called together all the Persians at about sunrise and spoke as follows: “I am not ignorant that it is not because of words of their leaders, but because of their individual bravery and their shame before each other that the Persians are accustomed to be courageous in the presence of dangers. But seeing you considering why in the world it is that, although the Romans have not been accustomed heretofore to go into battle without confusion and disorder, they recently awaited the advancing Persians with a kind of order which is by no means characteristic of them, for this reason I have decided to speak some words of exhortation to you, so that it may not come about that you be deceived by reason of holding an opinion which is not true. For I would not have you think that the Romans have suddenly become better warriors, or that they have acquired any more valour or experience, but that they have become more cowardly than they were previously; at any rate they fear the Persians so much that they have not even dared to form their phalanx without a trench. And not even with this did they begin any fighting, but when we did not join battle with them at all, joyfully and considering that matters had gone better for them than they had hoped, they withdrew to the wall. For this reason too it happened that they were not thrown into confusion, for they had not yet come into the dangers of battle. But if the fighting comes to close quarters, fear will seize upon them, and this, together with their inexperience, will throw them, in all probability, into their customary disorder. Such, therefore, is the case with regard to the enemy; but do you, O men of Persia, call to mind the judgment of the King of Kings. For if you do not play the part of brave men in the present engagement, in a manner worthy of the valour of the Persians, an inglorious punishment will fall upon you.” With this exhortation the mirranes began to lead his army against the enemy. Likewise Belisarius and Hermogenes gathered all the Romans before the fortifications, and encouraged them with the following words: “You know assuredly that the Persians are not altogether invincible, nor too strong to be killed, having taken their measure in the previous battle; and that, although superior to them in bravery and in strength of body, you were defeated only by reason of being rather heedless of your officers, no one can deny. This thing you now have the opportunity to set right with no trouble. For while the adversities of fortune are by no means such as to be set right by an effort, reason may easily become for a man a physician for the ills caused by himself. If therefore you are willing to give heed to the orders given, you will straightway win for yourselves the superiority in battle. For the Persians come against us basing their confidence on nothing else than our disorder. But this time also they will be disappointed in this hope, and will depart just as in the previous encounter. And as for the great numbers of the enemy, by which more than anything else they inspire fear, it is right for you

to despise them. For their whole infantry is nothing more than a crowd of pitiable peasants who come into battle for no other purpose than to dig through walls and to despoil the slain and in general to serve the soldiers. For this reason they have no weapons at all with which they might trouble their opponents, and they only hold before themselves those enormous shields in order that they may not possibly be hit by the enemy. Therefore if you shew yourselves brave men in this struggle, you will not only conquer the Persians for the present, but you will also punish them for their folly, so that they will never again make an expedition into the Roman territory.”

When Belisarius and Hermogenes had finished this exhortation, since they saw the Persians advancing against them, they hastily drew up the soldiers in the same manner as before. And the barbarians, coming up before them, took their stand facing the Romans. But the mirranes did not array all the Persians against the enemy, but only one half of them, while he allowed the others to remain behind. These were to take the places of the men who were fighting and to fall upon their opponents with their vigour intact, so that all might fight in constant rotation. But the detachment of the so-called Immortals alone he ordered to remain at rest until he himself should give the signal. And he took his own station at the middle of the front, putting Pityaxes in command on the right wing, and Baresmanas on the left. In this manner, then, both armies were drawn up. Then Pharas came before Belisarius and Hermogenes, and said: “It does not seem to me that I shall do the enemy any great harm if I remain here with the Eruli; but if we conceal ourselves on this slope, and then, when the Persians have begun the fight, if we climb up by this hill and suddenly come upon their rear, shooting from behind them, we shall in all probability do them the greatest harm.” Thus he spoke, and, since it pleased Belisarius and his staff, he carried out this plan.

But up to midday neither side began battle. As soon, however, as the noon hour was passed, the barbarians began the fight, having postponed the engagement to this time of the day for the reason that they are accustomed to partake of food only towards late afternoon, while the Romans have their meal before noon; and for this reason they thought that the Romans would never hold out so well, if they assailed them while hungry. At first, then, both sides discharged arrows against each other, and the missiles by their great number made, as it were, a vast cloud; and many men were falling on both sides, but the missiles of the barbarians flew much more thickly. For fresh men were always fighting in turn, affording to their enemy not the slightest opportunity to observe what was being done; but even so the Romans did not have the worst of it. For a steady wind blew from their side against the barbarians, and checked to a considerable degree the force of their arrows. Then, after both sides had exhausted all their missiles, they began to use their spears against each other, and the battle had come still more to close quarters. On the Roman side the left wing was suffering especially. For the Cadiseni,

who with Pityaxes were fighting at this point, rushing up suddenly in great numbers, routed their enemy, and crowding hard upon the fugitives, were killing many of them. When this was observed by the men under Sunicas and Aigan, they charged against them at full speed. But first the three hundred Eruli under Pharas from the high ground got in the rear of the enemy and made a wonderful display of valorous deeds against all of them and especially the Cadiseni. And the Persians, seeing the forces of Sunicas too already coming up against them from the flank, turned to a hasty flight. And the rout became complete, for the Romans here joined forces with each other, and there was a great slaughter of the barbarians. On the Persian right wing not fewer than three thousand perished in this action, while the rest escaped with difficulty to the phalanx and were saved. And the Romans did not continue their pursuit, but both sides took their stand facing each other in line. Such was the course of these events.

But the mirranes stealthily sent to the left a large body of troops and with them all the so-called Immortals. And when these were noticed by Belisarius and Hermogenes, they ordered the six hundred men under Sunicas and Aigan to go to the angle on the right, where the troops of Simmas and Ascan were stationed, and behind them they placed many of Belisarius men. So the Persians who held the left wing under the leadership of Baresmanas, together with the Immortals, charged on the run upon the Romans opposite them, who failed to withstand the attack and beat a hasty retreat. Thereupon the Romans in the angle, and all who were behind them, advanced with great ardour against the pursuers. But inasmuch as they came upon the barbarians from the side, they cut their army into two parts, and the greater portion of them they had on their right, while some also who were left behind were placed on their left. Among these happened to be the standard bearer of Baresmanas, whom Sunicas charged and struck with his spear. And already the Persians who were leading the pursuit perceived in what straits they were, and, wheeling about, they stopped the pursuit and went against their assailants, and thus became exposed to the enemy on both sides. For those in flight before them understood what was happening and turned back again. The Persians, on their part, with the detachment of the Immortals, seeing the standard inclined and lowered to the earth, rushed all together against the Romans at that point with Baresmanas. There the Romans held their ground. And first Sunicas killed Baresmanas and threw him from his horse to the ground. As a result of this the barbarians were seized with great fear and thought no longer of resistance, but fled in utter confusion. And the Romans, having made a circle as it were around them, killed about five thousand. Thus both armies were all set in motion, the Persians in retreat, and the Romans in pursuit. In this part of the conflict all the foot-soldiers who were in the Persian army threw down their shields and were caught and wantonly killed by their enemy. However, the pursuit was not continued by the Romans over a great distance. For Belisarius

and Hermogenes refused absolutely to let them go farther, fearing lest the Persians through some necessity should turn about and rout them while pursuing recklessly, and it seemed to them sufficient to preserve the victory unmarred. For on that day the Persians had been defeated in battle by the Romans, a thing which had not happened for a long time. Thus the two armies separated from each other. And the Persians were no longer willing to fight a pitched battle with the Romans. However, some sudden attacks were made on both sides, in which the Romans were not at a disadvantage. Such, then, was the fortune of the armies in Mesopotamia.

Καβάδης δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐς Ἀρμενίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον ἔπεμψε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα τοῦτο Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Σουνιτῶν ἦσαν, οἳ δὴ Ἀλανοῖς εἰσιν ὅμοροι. Οὕνοι τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Σάβειροι καλούμενοι τρισχίλιοι ξυνῆσαν, μαχिमώτατον ἔθνος. [2] στρατηγὸς δὲ Μερμερόης, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ διεῖχον, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοί τε ἔμενον ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐξηρτῶντο. [3] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὢν, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος. Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ στρατῷ ἐφειστήκει. [4] οἳ δὴ στράτευμα πολεμίων γνόντες ἐν Περσαρμενίῳ ἀγείρεσθαι, δορυφόρους δύο εὐθὺς ἔπεμψαν ἐφ' ᾧ διασκοπήσαντες ἅπασαν σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν ἐσαγγείλωσιν. [5] ἄμφω τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενοι καὶ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοήσαντες ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [6] ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἕξ τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων Οὕνοις πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὑφ' ὧν ἄτερος μὲν, Δάγαρις ὄνομα, δεθεὶς ἐξωγήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἴσχυσε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγειλεν. [7] οἳ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσαντες, τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστησαν. [8] οἳ τε βάρβαροι τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι κτείναντές τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ληισάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλθον. [9] Μερμερόης τε ζύμπασαν ἀγείρας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ Σάταλαν πόλιν. οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ Ὀκτάβῃ ἡσύχαζον, ὅπερ τῆς πόλεως ἕξ τε καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει. [10] Σίττας μὲν οὖν χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενος ὀπισθεν τῶν τινος λόφων ἐκρύπτετο, οἳοι πολλοὶ Σάταλαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην κυκλοῦσι. [11] Δωρόθεον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε μένειν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίστασθαι οἳοί τε εἶναι οὐδαμῇ ὦντο, οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισμυρίους ὄντας, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ ἐξικνούμενοι. [12] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιέσθαι τινα ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. ἄφνω δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας, καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμμετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ἤκιστα ἔχοντες, ἅτε κονιορτοῦ ὥρα θέρους πολλοῦ ἐγκειμένου, πολλῷ τε πλείους ὦντο εἶναι καὶ τῆς κυκλώσεως κατὰ

τάχος ἀφέμενοι ἐς ὀλίγον τινὰ χώρον αὐτοὺς ξυναγαγεῖν ἠπείγοντο. [13] φθάσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διελόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ξυμμορίας δύο ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέθεντο, ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἅπας εἶδεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ξυρρέοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρησαν. [14] μέσους δὲ αὐτοὺς καταστησάμενοι εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. πλήθει μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν πολεμίων οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπεραίροντες ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἥ τε μάχη καρτερὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἦν. [15] ἀγχιστρόφους δὲ τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, ἐπεὶ ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα Φλωρέντιος Θραῦξ, καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων, εἰς μέσους ὁρμήσας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον ἀρπάσας, ἐπικλίνας τε αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα, ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνε. [16] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καταληφθεὶς τε καὶ κρεουργηθεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, τῆς δὲ νίκης Ῥωμαίοις αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἐώρων, ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ ὀρρωδῖαν ἐμπεπτακότες ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡσύχαζον, [17] πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν οὐδενὸς σφίσις ἐπισπομένου, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ βαρβάρους τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐκεῖνα πεπονθέναι ἅπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβεβληκότας ἀπράκτους τε καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἡσσημένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι. [18] Τότε καὶ Περσῶν χωρία ἐν Περσαρμενίοις Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, φρούριόν τε τὸ Βῶλον καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον καλούμενον, ὅθεν δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν Πέρσαι ὀρύσσοντες βασιλεῖ φέρουσιν. [19] ἐτύγγανον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον καταστρεφάμενοι τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οἱ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυντο: ἅπερ αὐτίκα ὄντινα ἐπράχθη τρόπον λελέξεται. [20] Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίας χωρίων ἐς Περσαρμενίαν ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστιν, ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἔθνη διήκων, ὥσπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κατάντης μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ προϊούσα ἡ ὁδὸς γίνεται, καὶ ὄρη ἀποκρέματα λίαν ἀπότομα νεφέλαις τε καὶ χιόσι κεκαλυμμένα τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, [21] ἔνθεν ἐξῶν ποταμὸς Φᾶσις φέρεται ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα. ταύτῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάρβαροι, τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς κατήκοοι ὤκνητο, Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι, ληστείαις μὲν χρώμενοι ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους Ῥωμαίους, δίαιταν δὲ σκληρὰν ὑπερφυῶς ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις ἀεὶ ἀποζῶντες: οὐ γάρ τι ἐς βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἢ γῇ ἔφερε. [22] διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς χρυσίον τακτὸν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐπεμπευ, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μήποτε ληίσονται τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. [23] οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμνύντες καὶ τὰ ὁμομοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενοι ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκακούργουν οὐκ Ἀρμενίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Ῥωμαίους μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε τὴν ἔφοδον πεποιημένοι εὐθύς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀεκομίζοντο. [24] καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἴσως ἐντυχόντες στρατῷ ἡσῶντο μὲν τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλώσιμοι δὲ παντάπασιν οὐκ ἐγίνοντο χωρίων ἰσχύϊ. μάχῃ τοίνυν ὁ Σίττας αὐτοὺς πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νικήσας, ἐπαγωγὰ τε πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν τε καὶ πράξας, [25] προσποιήσασθαι παντελῶς ἴσχυσε. τὴν τε γὰρ δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον

μεταβαλόντες ἐς καταλόγους αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαῖκοὺς ἐσεγράψαντο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξίασι. τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ
εὐσεβέστερον μετέθεντο, ἅπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγενημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ
τοῖς Τζάνοις ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. [26] Ὑπερβάντι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ὅρια φάραγξ ἐστὶ
βαθεῖα τε καὶ λίαν κρημνώδης, μέχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκουσα. ἐνταῦθα
χωρία τε πολυανθρωπότατά ἐστι καὶ ἄμπελός τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ὀπώρα διαρκῶς
φύεται. [27] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ φάραγξ
αὕτη ὑποτελῆς τυγχάνει οὖσα, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ Περσαρμενίων ὄροι
ἐκδέχονται, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μέταλλόν ἐστιν ὅπερ Καβάδου δόντος
ἐπετρόπευε τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Συμεώνης ὄνομα. [28] οὗτος ὁ Συμεώνης, ἐπειδὴ
ἀμφοτέρους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζοντας εἶδε, Καβάδην τῆς τῶν χρημάτων
προσόδου ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. [29] διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις
ἐνδοὺς οὐδετέροις τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μετάλλου χρυσὸν ἀποφέρειν ἤξιον. [30] Ῥωμαῖοι
μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἀποχρῆν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι ἀπολωλέναι τοῖς
πολεμίοις τὴν ἐνθένδε φορὰν, Πέρσαι δὲ οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων
τοὺς ταύτῃ ὤκημένους ἀντιστατοῦσης τῆς δυσχωρίας βιάζεσθαι. [31] Ὑπὸ δὲ
τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος, οἱ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Σίττα ἐν
Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὥσπερ
ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται, ξὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτόμολοι ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἦκον, καὶ
αὐτοὺς Ναρσῆς ὁ βασιλέως ταμίας ἐδέξατο Ὑπερσαρμένιος γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς
γένος ἐτύγγαν' ἐ χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖται μεγάλοις. [32] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ
Ἰσαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφός, ἔμαθε, Ῥωμαίοις λάθρα ἐς λόγους
ἐλθὼν Βῶλον αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πῃ ὄν τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως
ὀρίων, παρέδωκε. [33] στρατιώτας γὰρ ἐγγὺς πῃ ἐπέστελλε κρύπτεσθαι, οὓς δὴ
τῷ φρουρίῳ νύκτωρ ἐδέξατο, μίαν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἀνακλίνας πυλίδα: οὕτω τε
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν.

And Cabades sent another army into the part of Armenia which is subject to the Romans. This army was composed of Persarmenians and Sunitae, whose land adjoins that of the Alani. There were also Huns with them, of the stock called Sabiri, to the number of three thousand, a most warlike race. And Mermeroes, a Persian, had been made general of the whole force. When this army was three days' march from Theodosiopolis, they established their camp and, remaining in the land of the Persarmenians, made their preparations for the invasion. Now the general of Armenia was, as it happened, Dorotheus, a man of discretion and experienced in many wars. And Sittas held the office of general in Byzantium, and had authority over the whole army in Armenia. These two, then, upon learning that an army was being assembled in Persarmenia, straightway sent two body-guards with instructions to spy out the whole force of the enemy and report to them. And both of these men got into the barbarian camp, and after noting everything accurately, they departed. And they were travelling toward some place in that region, when they happened unexpectedly upon hostile Huns. By them one of the two, Dagaris by name, was made captive and bound, while the other succeeded in escaping and reported everything to the generals. They then armed their whole force and made an unexpected assault upon the camp of their enemy; and the barbarians, panic-stricken by the unexpected attack, never thought of resistance, but fled as best each one could. Thereupon the Romans, after killing a large number and plundering the camp, immediately marched back.

Not long after this Mermeroes, having collected the whole army, invaded the Roman territory, and they came upon their enemy near the city of Satala. There they established themselves in camp and remained at rest in a place called Octava, which is fifty-six stades distant from the city. Sittas therefore led out a thousand men and concealed them behind one of the many hills which surround the plain in which the city of Satala lies. Dorotheus with the rest of the army he ordered to stay inside the fortifications, because they thought that they were by no means able to withstand the enemy on level ground, since their number was not fewer than thirty thousand, while their own forces scarcely amounted to half that number. On the following day the barbarians came up close to the fortifications and busily set about closing in the town. But suddenly, seeing the forces of Sittas who by now were coming down upon them from the high ground, and having no means of estimating their number, since owing to the summer season a great cloud of dust hung over them, they thought they were much more numerous than they were, and, hurriedly abandoning their plan of closing in the town, they hastened to mass their force into a small space. But the Romans anticipated the movement and, separating their own force into two detachments, they set upon them as they

were retiring from the fortifications; and when this was seen by the whole Roman army, they took courage, and with a great rush they poured out from the fortifications and advanced against their opponents. They thus put the Persians between their own troops, and turned them to flight. However, since the barbarians were greatly superior to their enemy in numbers, as has been said, they still offered resistance, and the battle had become a fierce fight at close quarters. And both sides kept making advances upon their opponents and retiring quickly, for they were all cavalry. Thereupon Florentius, a Thracian, commanding a detachment of horse, charged into the enemy's centre, and seizing the general's standard, forced it to the ground, and started to ride back. And though he himself was overtaken and fell there, hacked to pieces, he proved to be the chief cause of the victory for the Romans. For when the barbarians no longer saw the standard, they were thrown into great confusion and terror, and retreating, got inside their camp, and remained quiet, having lost many men in the battle; and on the following day they all returned homeward with no one following them up, for it seemed to the Romans a great and very noteworthy thing that such a great multitude of barbarians in their own country had suffered those things which have just been narrated above, and that, after making an invasion into hostile territory, they should retire thus without accomplishing anything and defeated by a smaller force.

At that time the Romans also acquired certain Persian strongholds in Persarmenia, both the fortress of Bolum and the fortress called Pharangium, which is the place where the Persians mine gold, which they take to the king. It happened also that a short time before this they had reduced to subjection the Tzanic nation, who had been settled from of old in Roman territory as an autonomous people; and as to these things, the manner in which they were accomplished will be related here and now.

As one goes from the land of Armenia into Persarmenia the Taurus lies on the right, extending into Iberia and the peoples there, as has been said a little before this, while on the left the road which continues to descend for a great distance is overhung by exceedingly precipitous mountains, concealed forever by clouds and snow, from which the Phasis River issues and flows into the land of Colchis. In this place from the beginning lived barbarians, the Tzanic nation, subject to no one, called Sani in early times; they made plundering expeditions among the Romans who lived round about, maintaining a most difficult existence, and always living upon what they stole; for their land produced for them nothing good to eat. Wherefore also the Roman emperor sent them each year a fixed amount of gold, with the condition that they should never plunder the country thereabout. And the barbarians had sworn to observe this agreement with the oaths peculiar to their nation, and then, disregarding what they had sworn, they had been accustomed for a long time to make unexpected attacks and to injure not only the Armenians, but also the Romans who lived next to them as far as the sea; then, after completing their

inroad in a short space of time, they would immediately betake themselves again to their homes. And whenever it *so* happened that they chanced upon a Roman army, they were always defeated in the battle, but they proved to be absolutely beyond capture owing to the strength of their fastnesses. In this way Sittas had defeated them in battle before this war; and then by many manifestations of kindness in word and in deed he had been able to win them over completely. For they changed their manner of life to one of a more civilized sort, and enrolled themselves among the Roman troops, and from that time they have gone forth against the enemy with the rest of the Roman army. They also abandoned their own religion for a more righteous faith, and all of them became Christians. Such then was the history of the Tzani.

Beyond the borders of this people there is a cañon whose walls are both high and exceedingly steep, extending as far as the Caucasus mountains. In it are populous towns, and grapes and other fruits grow plentifully. And this canon for about the space of a three days' journey is tributary to the Romans, but from there begins the territory of Persarmenia; and here is the gold-mine which, with the permission of Cabades, was worked by one of the natives, Symeon by name. When this Symeon saw that both nations were actively engaged in the war, he decided to deprive Cabades of the revenue. Therefore he gave over both himself and Pharangium to the Romans, but refused to deliver over to either one the gold of the mine. And as for the Romans, they did nothing, thinking it sufficient for them that the enemy had lost the income from there, and the Persians were not able against the will of the Romans to force the inhabitants of the place to terms, because they were baffled by the difficult country.

At about the same time Narses and Aratius who at the beginning of this war, as I have stated above, had an encounter with Sittas and Belisarius in the land of the Persarmenians, came together with their mother as deserters to the Romans; and the emperor's steward, Narses, received them (for he too happened to be a Persarmenian by birth), and he presented them with a large sum of money. When this came to the knowledge of Isaac, their youngest brother, he secretly opened negotiations with the Romans, and delivered over to them the fortress of Bolum, which lies very near the limits of Theodosiopolis. For he directed that soldiers should be concealed somewhere in the vicinity, and he received them into the fort by night, opening stealthily one small gate for them. Thus he too came to Byzantium.

Οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν Δάρας ἡσσημένοι τῇ μάχῃ οὐδ' ὥς ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἕως Ρουφίνος, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Καβάδου ἦλθεν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, “Ἐπεμψέ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐς γῆν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅπλοις ἦλθον. [2] καίτοι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἐς τόσον ξυνέσεως ἦκοντι ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην πρυτανεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἂν πρέποι ἢ τῶν

πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστώτων ταραχὴν οὐ δέον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας προστρίβεσθαι. [3] οἷς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐελπὶς ὢν ἐνθάδε ἀφῆγμαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ εἴη.’ Ρουφῖνος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [4] Καβάδης δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε, ‘Ὡ παῖ Σιλβανοῦ, μηδαμῶς ἀντιστρέφειν τὰς αἰτίας πειρῶ, πάντων ἐξεπιστάμενος μάλιστα ταραχῆς ἀπάσης αἰτιωτάτους γεγονέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς. πύλας γὰρ τὰς Κασπίας ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθῷ, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐκεῖνῃ βαρβάρους, ἐπεὶ Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, παρὸν αὐτὰς χρήμασιν ὠνεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἤθελεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνταῦθα ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων προῖεσθαι ἀναγκάζεται. [5] ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡμεῖς στρατιὰν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐκτρέφοντες δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τό γε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνῃ βαρβάρους μέρος ἀδήϊωτον τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν, ξὺν. πολλῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. [6] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὑμῖν τοῦτο γε, καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην Δάρας ἐπιτείχισμα Πέρσαις πεποίησθε, καίπερ διαρρήδην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπειρημένον ὥσπερ Ἀνατόλιος πρὸς Πέρσας ἔθετο: καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δυοῖν στρατοπέδοιν ἀνάγκη πόνοις τε καὶ δαπάνῃ κεκακῶσθαι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, τὸ μὲν, ὅπως μὴ Μασσαγέται τὴν ἀμφοτέρων γῆν ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἀδεῶς δύνωνται, τὸ δέ, ὅπως ἂν τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐπιδρομὰς ἀναστέλλοιμεν. [7] ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐναγχος μεμφομένων ἡμῶν, δυοῖν τε τὸ ἕτερον ἀξιούντων παρ’ ὑμῶν γίνεσθαι, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἐς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας στρατὸν στέλλεσθαι, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύεσθαι, τῶν μὲν λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν οὐ προσέσθε, κακῷ δὲ μείζονι κρατύνασθαι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιβουλὴν ἔγνωτε, εἴ τι μεμνήμεθα τῆς ἐν Μίνδουος οἰκοδομίας: καὶ νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλετὰ μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, αἰρετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς τιθεμένοις, ἢ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν ἰοῦσιν. [8] οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα καταθήσουσι πρότερον Πέρσαι, πρὶν δὴ αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ τὰς πύλας δικαίως τε καὶ ὀρθῶς ξυμφυλάξουσιν, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσουσι.’ [9] τοσαῦτα Καβάδης εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, παραδηλώσας ὥς οἱ βουλομένῳ εἶη χρήματά τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου καταλύειν αἰτίας. [10] ἅπερ Ρουφῖνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων βασιλεῖ ἡγγειλεν. οὐ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι.

XVI

Thus matters stood with the Romans. But the Persians, though defeated by Belisarius in the battle at Daras, refused even so to retire from there, until Rufinus, coming into the presence of Cabades, spoke as follows: "O King, I have been sent by thy brother, who reproaches thee with a just reproach, because the Persians for no righteous cause have come in arms into his land. But it would be more seemly for a king who is not only mighty, but also wise as thou art, to secure a peaceful conclusion of war, rather than, when affairs have been satisfactorily settled, to inflict upon himself and his people unnecessary confusion. Wherefore also I myself have come here with good hopes, in order that from now on both peoples may enjoy the blessings which come from peace." So spoke Rufinus. And Cabades replied as follows: "O son of Silvanus, by no means try to reverse the causes, understanding as you do best of all men that you Romans have been the chief cause of the whole confusion. For we have taken the Caspian Gates to the advantage of both Persians and Romans, after forcing out the barbarians there, since Anastasius, the Emperor of the Romans, as you yourself doubtless know, when the opportunity was offered him to buy them with money, was not willing to do so, in order that he might not be compelled to squander great sums of money in behalf of both nations by keeping an army there perpetually. And since that time we have stationed that great army there, and have supported it up to the present time, thereby giving you the privilege of inhabiting the land unplundered as far as concerns the barbarians on that side, and of holding your own possessions with complete freedom from trouble. But as if this were not sufficient for you, you have also made a great city, Daras, as a stronghold against the Persians, although this was explicitly forbidden in the treaty which Anatolius arranged with the Persians; and as a result of this it is necessary for the Persian state to be afflicted with the difficulties and the expense of two armies, the one in order that the Massagetae may not be able fearlessly to plunder the land of both of us, and the other in order that we may check your inroads. When lately we made a protest regarding these matters and demanded that one of two things should be done by you, either that the army sent to the Caspian Gates should be sent by both of us, or that the city of Daras should be dismantled, you refused to understand what was said, but saw fit to strengthen your plot against the Persians by a greater injury, if we remember correctly the building of the fort in Mindouos. And even now the Romans may choose peace, or they may elect war, by either doing justice to us or going against our rights. For never will the Persians lay down their arms, until the Romans either help them in guarding the gates, as is just and right, or dismantle the city of Daras." With these words Cabades dismissed the ambassador, dropping the hint that he was willing to take money from the Romans and have done with the causes of the war. This was reported to the emperor by Rufinus when

he came to Byzantium. [531 A.D.] Hermogenes also came thither not long afterwards, and the winter came to a close; thus ended the fourth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατεύμα Περσῶν Ἀζαρέθου ἡγουμένου ἐσέβαλεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι, ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ Σακκίκης ξυνην, ἀμπολὺν τινα ὄμιλον Σαρακηνῶν ἔχων. [2] αὕτη τε Πέρσαις ἡ ἐσβολὴ οὐ καθάπερ εἰώθει ἐγένετο: οὐ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐσέβαλλον ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνὴν, τανῦν δὲ καλουμένην Εὐφρατησίαν, ὅθεν δὴ οὐ πώποτε Πέρσαις πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. [3] ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα Μεσοποταμία τε ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη καὶ οἱ Πέρσαις τῆς ἐς ταύτην ἐφόδου ἀπέσχοντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [4] Ὅρος οὐ λίαν ἀπότομον ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐστί, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως μὲν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίοις διέχον, τετραμμένον δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ πηγαι δύο ἐνθὲνδε ἐξίσαισι, ποταμοὺς δύο ποιοῦσαι αὐτίκα, Εὐφράτην μὲν ἡ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα Τίγρην ὄνομα. [5] τούτοις ἄτερος μὲν, ὁ Τίγρης, οὔτε περιόδοις τισὶ χρώμενος οὔτε ὑδάτων ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπιγινόμενων, [6] εὐθὺς Ἀμίδης πόλεως κάτεισι. καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον προῖων χωρεῖ ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν χώραν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Εὐφράτης φέρεται μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τινα χῶρον ὀλίγον, εὐθὺς δὲ προῖων ἀφανίζεται, οὐχ ὑπόγειος μέντοι γινόμενος, ἀλλὰ τί οἱ ξυμβαῖνον θαυμάσιον οἶον: ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος τέλμα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαθὺ γίνεται, [7] μήκος μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα, εὐρος δὲ εἴκοσι: καὶ καλάμων φύεται πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐν τῷ πληθὺ τούτῳ. [8] ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρὸς τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν ἢ ἡπειρον εἶναι. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει οὐδὲν δεδιότας πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεάς πορεύεσθαι. [9] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄμαξαι παρίασιν ἐνθὲνδε πολλαὶ ἡμέρας ἐκάστη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἰσχύουσι κινεῖν τι ἢ ἐξελέγχειν τοῦ τέλματος. [10] καίουσι δὲ τοὺς καλάμους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ τὰς ὁδοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι, καὶ ποτε πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐξαισίου ἐπιτεσόντος μέχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ῥιζῶν ἔσχατα τὸ πῦρ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τετύχηκε, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι: [11] χρόνου δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὐτῆς οὐ πολλοῦ ξυμφυεῖς ἀπέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. ἐνθὲνδε τε ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν, οὗ δὴ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἦν, ἐνθεν λέγουσι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἰφιγένειαν ζύν τε Ὁρέστη καὶ Πυλάδην φυγεῖν τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα φέρουσιν. [12] ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος νεῶς, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἐστιν ἐν πόλει Κομάνη, οὐχ ὁ ἐν Ταύροις ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐγένετο ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [13] Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Ταύρων Ὁρέστης ζὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀπὼν ὥχετο, ξυνέπεσεν αὐτῷ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖόν φασιν οὐ πρότερον λωφῆσιν αὐτῷ τὸ κακόν, πρὶν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ναὸν δεῖμασθαι ἐν χώρῳ τοιούτῳ οἷον δὴ τὸν ἐν Ταύροις ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνταῦθα τε ἀποκεῖρασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ κόμην καὶ αὐτῇ ὁμωνύμως καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν. [14] διὸ δὴ Ὁρέστην περιόντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν Πόντῳ γενέσθαι, κατιδεῖν τε ὅρος ὃ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀπότομον ἀπεκρέματο, ἔρρει τε ἐνερθεν παρὰ τὰς τοῦ ὄρους ἐσχατίας. ποταμὸς Ἴρις. [15]

ὑποτοπίσαντα οὖν τὸν Ὀρέστην τότε τοῦτόν οἱ τὸν χῶρον δηλοῦν τὸ μαντεῖον, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν δέμασθαι, τὴν τε κόμην ἀποθριζάμενον ὁμωνύμως αὐτῇ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν ἢ δὴ Κόμανα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται. [16] τούτων τε Ὀρέστη ἐξαιργασμένων οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὴν νόσον ἀκμάζειν. αἰσθόμενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως ταῦτα τῷ μαντεῖω ποιοίη, ἅπαντα αὐθις περιόντα διασκοπεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρόν τινα ἐν Καππαδόκαις εὑρεῖν τῷ ἐν Ταύροις τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερέστατον. [17] ὄνπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἰδὼν ἠγάσθην τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ μοι ἐδόκουν ἐν Ταύροις εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ κἀνταῦθα ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Σάρος τῷ ταύτῃ Εὐφράτῃ εἰκάζεται. [18] πόλιν τε οὖν ἀξιοθέατον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα Ὀρέστης καὶ νεῶς δύο, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἵφιγενεῖα, οὓς δὴ Χριστιανοὶ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποιήνται, τῆς οἰκοδομίας οὐδέν τὸ παράπαν μεταβαλόντες. [19] αὕτη καλεῖται καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσοῦ Κόμανα, τῆς Ὀρέστου κόμης ἐπώνυμος οὖσα, ἣν δὴ ἐκείνον ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἀποκειράμενον διαφυγεῖν τὸ ἀρρώστημα. [20] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ νόσον ἢ τὴν μανίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἐπειδὴ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτεινεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [21] Ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ταύροις Ἀρμενίων καὶ χώρας τῆς Κελεσηνῆς ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης ἐν δεξιᾷ ῥέων γῆν τε πολλὴν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ποταμῶν οἱ ἄλλων τε ἀναμιγνυμένων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσίνου ὃς δὴ ἐκ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων πολὺς φέρεται, μέγας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγεννημένος ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Λευκοσύρους, νῦν δὲ Ἀρμενίους μικροὺς καλουμένους χωρεῖ, ὧν δὴ πόλις πρώτη Μελιτηνὴ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξία ἐστί. [22] τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τά τε Σαμόσατα παραρρεῖ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία μέχρι ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν γῆν, οὗ δὴ ἀλλήλοιν ἄμφω τῷ ποταμῷ ἀναμιγνυμένῳ ἐς ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἀποκέκρινται. [23] χώρα γοῦν ἢ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐστί πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνὴ ἐκλήθη, τανῦν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμος. ἢ δὲ τούτου ἐντός, ἢ δὴ αὐτοῦ τε μέση καὶ Τίγρητός ἐστι, Μεσοποταμία, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὀνομάζεται: μοῖρα μέντοι αὐτῆς οὐ τούτῳ μόνον τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπικαλεῖται. [24] ἢ τε γὰρ ἄχρις Ἀμίδης πόλεως Ἀρμενία πρὸς ἐνίων ὀνόμασται, Ἐδεσσά τε ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χωρίοις Ὀσροηνὴ τοῦ Ὀσρόου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνταῦθα βεβασιλευκότος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἠνίκα Πέρσαις οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἔνσπονδοι ἦσαν. [25] Πέρσαι οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων Νίσιβιν τε πόλιν καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα Μεσοποταμίας χωρία ἔλαβον, ἠνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔμελλον, χώραν μὲν τὴν ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ποιούμενοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄνυδρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον οὖσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀγειρόμενοι, ἅτε ἐν χώρα οἰκεῖα τε καὶ πολεμία τῇ οἰκουμένη ἀγχοτάτω οὕσῃ, ἐνθένδε τὰς ἐσβολὰς ἀεὶ ἐποιοῦντο. [26] Ἡνίκα δὲ ἡσσηθεὶς ὁ Μιρράνης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφίκετο, ποινῆς ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Καβάδου πικρᾶς. [27] κόσμον γὰρ ἀφείλετο αὐτὸν ὃν δὴ ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν εἰώθει, ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργάρων πεποιημένον. ἀξίωμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Πέρσαις μέγα μετὰ γε τὴν βασιλέως τιμῇν.

[28] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε δακτυλίῳ χρυσῷ οὔτε ζώνῃ οὔτε περόνῃ χρησθαι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὀφιοῦν θέμις, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἀξιοθέντι. [29] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Καβάδης ἐν βουλῇ εἶχεν ὄντινα τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύει. Μιρράνου γὰρ σφαλέντος οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχε. [30] καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπορουμένῳ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν 'Οὐ πάντα, ὃ δέσποτα, χρεὼν ἐστι πιστεῦειν τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους οἶεσθαι δεῖν κατορθοῦν ἅπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοῦτο γε οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξύμφορος αὕτη μάλιστα τοῖς αὐτῇ ἐχομένοις ἢ ἔννοιά ἐστι. [31] τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐλπίσαντας τὰγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι σφαλέντας ποτέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ἐλπίς οὐ δέον ἡγησαμένη τοῦ προσήκοντος μᾶλλον ἡνίασε. [32] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται, κἂν τῷ παντὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπεραίρειν αὐχῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτη τε καὶ μηχαναῖς τισι περιελθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. [33] οἷς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς νίκης χωρεῖ. νῦν οὖν μήτε οἷς Μιρράνης ἡτύχησεν οὕτω περιώδυνος, ὃ βασιλέων βασιλεῦ, γίνου, μήτε αὐθὺς ἀποπειράσασθαι βούλου τῆς τύχης. [34] Μεσοποταμίας γὰρ καὶ τῆς Ὀσροηνῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἅτε τῶν σῶν ὀρίων ἄγχιστα οὔσης, αἱ τε πόλεις ὀχυρώταται εἰσι πασῶν μάλιστα καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οἷον οὐ πώποτε πρότερον τανῶν ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἡμῖν αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας γενήσεται, ἐν μέντοι τῇ χώρᾳ, ἣ ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τυγχάνει οὔσα, καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἐχομένη Συρία οὔτε πόλεως ὀχύρωμα οὔτε στράτευμα λόγου ἀξίων ἐστι. [35] ταῦτα γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐς ταύτας ἐσταλμένων Σαρακηνῶν ἤκουσα. [36] ἐνθα δὴ καὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἶναι φασι, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ πρῶτην πόλεων ἀпасῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφώις Ῥωμαίοις οὔσαν: ἣ δὴ ἀφύλακτός τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐρημός ἐστιν. [37] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ ταύτης δῆμῳ ὅτι μὴ πανηγύρεόν τε καὶ τρυφῆς μέλει καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτροις ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίας. [38] ὥστε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωμεν, τήν τε πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδὲν ἀπείκός καὶ μηδενὶ ἐντυχόντας πολεμίων στρατῷ εἶτα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, οὐπω πεπυσμένων τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν. [39] ὕδατος δὲ ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίας περὶ μηδὲν σε εἰσίτω: ἐγὼ γὰρ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσομαι ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι.' [40] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Καβάδης οὔτε ἀντιτείνειν οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν εἶχεν. ἦν γὰρ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ξυνετώτατός τε καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας εὖ ἦκων, Πέρσαις τε πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησε πράγματα. [41] ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὀρίων ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ληιζόμενος τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, ἥγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, καίων τε τὰς ἐν ποσὶν οἰκοδομίας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ πολλὰς ἀεὶ μυριάδας ἀνδραποδίζων, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀποκτείνων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων μεγάλων. [42] ἀπῆντα δὲ οἱ τῶν πάντων οὐδεῖς. οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐξαπιναίως τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεύς, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἤδη ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ξὺν τῇ

λεία πάση ἀπιὼν ὦχετο, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ στρατιῶται πυνθάνεσθαι τε τὰ
ξυμπεσόντα καὶ ἀγείρεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤρχοντο. [43] ἦν δέ που αὐτὸν καὶ
καταλαβεῖν τύχη τινὶ ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀπαρασκευοὺς τε οὔσι καὶ οὐ
ξυντεταγμένοις ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἔτρεπέ τε καὶ
διέφθειρεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ ποτε τοὺς διώκοντας στρατιώτας ξὺν τοῖς
ἄρχουσιν ἐζώγρησεν ἅπαντας. [44] Τιμόστρατος δὲ ἦν ὁ Ῥουφίνου ἀδελφὸς καὶ
Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Λουκᾶ παῖς, οὓς δὴ ἀπέδοτο ὕστερον, πλοῦτον αὐτῶν οὐ
φαῦλον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα περιβαλλόμενος. [45] καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν
χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ δεινότατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος πάντων
μάλιστα. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν βασιλέως ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἀπάντων
μόνος τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχε, παντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ οἷός τε ἦν ἀεὶ
τὴν ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς: [46] οὐδεὶς δὲ οὔτε
Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, οὓς δοῦκας καλοῦσιν, οὔτε Σαρακηνῶν τῶν
Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδων ἡγούμενος, οἱ φύλαρχοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ξὺν τοῖς
ἐπομένοις Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανῶς εἶχεν: ἐν χώρᾳ γὰρ ἐκάστη τοῖς
πολεμίοις οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐτετάχατο. [47] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς φυλαῖς
ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέθαν τὸν Γαβαλᾶ παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, ὃς τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίῳ
Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως αὐτῷ περιθέμενος, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο
ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις γεγονὸς πώποτε. [48] Ἀλαμούνδαρος μέντοι οὐδέν τι ἥσσον, εἰ
μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔφθειρεν, Ἀρέθα ἐν πάσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ
ἀγωνίᾳ ἢ ἀτυχοῦντος ὥς μάλιστα ἢ καταπροδιδόντος ὥς τάχιστα. οὐ γάρ πω
σαφές τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἴσμεν. ταύτη τε ξυνέβη Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, οὐδενός οἱ
ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν ἐφάν ληίζεσθαι πᾶσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
μακροβιώτατος ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε.

XVII

At the opening of spring a Persian army under the leadership of Azarethes invaded the Roman territory. They were fifteen thousand strong, all horsemen. With them was Alamoundaras, son of Saccice, with a very large body of Saracens. But this invasion was not made by the Persians in the customary manner; for they did not invade Mesopotamia, as formerly, but the country called Commagene of old, but now Euphratesia, a point from which, as far as we know, the Persians never before conducted a campaign against the Romans. But why the land was called Mesopotamia and why the Persians refrained from making their attack at this point is what I now propose to relate.

There is a mountain in Armenia which is not especially precipitous, two-and-forty stades removed from Theodosiopolis and lying toward the north from it. From this mountain issue two springs, forming immediately two rivers, the one on the right called the Euphrates, and the other the Tigris. One of these, the Tigris, descends, with no deviations and with no tributaries except small ones emptying into it, straight toward the city of Amida. And continuing into the country which lies to the north of this city it enters the land of Assyria. But the Euphrates at its beginning flows for a short distance, and is then immediately lost to sight as it goes on; it does not, however, become subterranean, but a very strange thing happens. For the water is covered by a bog of great depth, extending about fifty stades in length and twenty in breadth; and reeds grow in this mud in great abundance. But the earth there is of such a hard sort that it seems to those who chance upon it to be nothing else than solid ground, so that both pedestrians and horsemen travel over it without any fear. Nay more, even wagons pass over the place in great numbers every day, but they are wholly insufficient to shake the bog or to find a weak spot in it at any point. The natives burn the reeds every year, to prevent the roads being stopped up by them, and once, when an exceedingly violent wind struck the place, it came about that the fire reached the extremities of the roots, and the water appeared at a small opening; but in a short time the ground closed again, and gave the spot the same appearance which it had had before. From there the river proceeds into the land called Celesene, where was the sanctuary of Artemis among the Taurians, from which they say Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, fled with Orestes and Pylades, bearing the statue of Artemis. For the other temple which has existed even to my day in the city of Comana is not the one "Among the Taurians." But I shall explain how this temple came into being.

When Orestes had departed in haste from the Taurians with his sister, it so happened that he contracted some disease. And when he made inquiry about

the disease they say that the oracle responded that his trouble would not abate until he built a temple to Artemis in a spot such as the one among the Taurians, and there cut off his hair and named the city after it. So then Orestes, going about the country there, came to Pontus, and saw a mountain which rose steep and towering, while below along the extremities of the mountain flowed the river Iris. Orestes, therefore, supposing at that time that this was the place indicated to him by the oracle, built there a great city and the temple of Artemis, and, shearing off his hair, named after it the city which even up to the present time has been called Comana. The story goes on that after Orestes had done these things, the disease continued to be as violent as before, if not even more so. Then the man perceived that he was not satisfying the oracle by doing these things, and he again went about looking everywhere and found a certain spot in Cappadocia very closely resembling the one among the Taurians. I myself have often seen this place and admired it exceedingly, and have imagined that I was in the land of the Taurians. For this mountain resembles the other remarkably, since the Taurus is here also and the river Sarus is similar to the Euphrates there. So Orestes built in that place an imposing city and two temples, the one to Artemis and the other to his sister Iphigenia, which the Christians have made sanctuaries for themselves, without changing their structure at all. This is called even now Golden Comana, being named from the hair of Orestes, which they say he cut off there and thus escaped from his affliction. But some say that this disease from which he escaped was nothing else than that of madness which seized him after he had killed his own mother. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

From Tauric Armenia and the land of Celesene the River Euphrates, flowing to the right of the Tigris, flows around an extensive territory, and since many rivers join it and among them the Arsinus, whose copious stream flows down from the land of the so-called Persarmenians, it becomes naturally a great river, and flows into the land of the people anciently called White Syrians but now known as the Lesser Armenians, whose first city, Melitene, is one of great importance. From there it flows past Samosata and Hierapolis and all the towns in that region as far as the land of Assyria, where the two rivers unite with each other into one stream which bears the name of the Tigris. The land which lies outside the River Euphrates, beginning with Samosata, was called in ancient times Commagene, but now it is named after the river. But the land inside the river, that namely which is between it and the Tigris, is appropriately named Mesopotamia; however, a portion of it is called not only by this name, but also by certain others. For the land as far as the city of Amida has come to be called Armenia by some, while Edessa together with the country around it is called Osroene, after Osroes, a man who was king in that place in former times, when the men of this country were in alliance with the Persians. After the time, therefore, when the Persians had taken from the Romans the city of Nisibis and certain other places in Mesopotamia,

whenever they were about to make an expedition against the Romans, they disregarded the land outside the River Euphrates, which was for the most part unwatered and deserted by men, and gathered themselves here with no trouble, since they were in a land which was their own and which lay very close to the inhabited land of their enemy, and from here they always made their invasions.

When the mirranes, defeated in battle and with the greater part of his men lost, came back to the Persian land with the remainder of his army, he received bitter punishment at the hands of King Cabades. For he took away from him a decoration which he was accustomed to bind upon the hair of his head, an ornament wrought of gold and pearls. Now this is a great dignity among the Persians, second only to the kingly honour. For there it is unlawful to wear a gold ring or girdle or brooch or anything else whatsoever, except a man be counted worthy to do so by the king.

Thereafter Cabades began to consider in what manner he himself should make an expedition against the Romans. For after the mirranes had failed in the manner I have told, he felt confidence in no one else. While he was completely at a loss as to what he should do, Alamoundaras, the king of the Saracens, came before him and said: "Not everything, O Master, should be entrusted to fortune, nor should one believe that all wars ought to be successful. For this is not likely and besides it is not in keeping with the course of human events, but this idea is most unfortunate for those who are possessed by it. For when men who expect that all the good things will come to them fail at any time, if it so happen, they are distressed more than is seemly by the very hope which wrongly led them on. Therefore, since men have not always confidence in fortune, they do not enter into the danger of war in a straightforward way, even if they boast that they surpass the enemy in every respect, but by deception and divers devices they exert themselves to circumvent their opponents. For those who assume the risk of an even struggle have no assurance of victory. Now, therefore, O King of Kings, neither be thus distressed by the misfortune which has befallen Mirranes, nor desire again to make trial of fortune. For in Mesopotamia and the land of Osroene, as it is called, since it is very close to thy boundaries, the cities are very strong above all others, and now they contain a multitude of soldiers such as never before, so that if we go there the contest will not prove a safe one; but in the land which lies outside the River Euphrates, and in Syria which adjoins it, there is neither a fortified city nor an army of any importance. For this I have often heard from the Saracens sent as spies to these parts. There too, they say, is the city of Antioch, in wealth and size and population the first of all the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire; and this city is unguarded and destitute of soldiers. For the people of this city care for nothing else than fêtes and luxurious living, and their constant rivalries with each other in the theatres. Accordingly, if we go against them unexpectedly, it is not at all

unlikely that we shall capture the city by a sudden attack, and that we shall return to the land of the Persians without having met any hostile army, and before the troops in Mesopotamia have learned what has happened. As for lack of water or of any kind of provisions, let no such thought occur to thee; for I myself shall lead the army wherever it shall seem best.”

When Cabades heard this he could neither oppose nor distrust the plan. For Alamoundaras was most discreet and well experienced in matters of warfare, thoroughly faithful to the Persians, and unusually energetic, — a man who for a space of fifty years forced the Roman state to bend the knee. For beginning from the boundaries of Aegypt and as far as Mesopotamia he plundered the whole country, pillaging one place after another, burning the buildings in his track and making captives of the population by the tens of thousands on each raid, most of whom he killed without consideration, while he gave up the others for great sums of money. And he was confronted by no one at all. For he never made his inroad without looking about, but so suddenly did he move and so very opportunely for himself, that, as a rule, he was already off with all the plunder when the generals and the soldiers were beginning to learn what had happened and to gather themselves against him. If, indeed, by any chance, they were able to catch him, this barbarian would fall upon his pursuers while still unprepared and not in battle array, and would rout and destroy them with no trouble; and on one occasion he made prisoners of all the soldiers who were pursuing him together with their officers. These officers were Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John, the son of Lucas, whom he gave up indeed later, thereby gaining for himself no mean or trivial wealth. And, in a word, this man proved himself the most difficult and dangerous enemy of all to the Romans. The reason was this, that Alamoundaras, holding the position of king, ruled alone over all the Saracens in Persia, and he was always able to make his inroad with the whole army wherever he wished in the Roman domain; and neither any commander of Roman troops, whom they call “duces,” nor any leader of the Saracens allied with the Romans, who are called “phylarchs,” was strong enough with his men to array himself against Alamoundaras; for the troops stationed in the different districts were not a match in battle for the enemy. [531 A.D.] For this reason the Emperor Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans had never before been done. However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him. In this way it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time, for he lived to a very advanced age.

Τούτου οὖν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἡσθεὶς Καβάδης ἄνδρας

πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἀπολεξάμενος Ἀζαρέθην αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν ἐπέστησε διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ σφίσιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον τῆς πορείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. [2] οἱ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, γῆν τε πορευθέντες τινὰ ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ἄφνω ἐς τῶν Κομμαγηνῶν καλουμένων τὴν χώραν παρὰ δόξαν ἐσέβαλλον. [3] αὕτη τε πρώτη ἐνθένδε Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς ἀκοῇ ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ κατέπληξεν. [4] ἃ δὲ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἔμαθε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διηπορεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἔγνω. φυλακὴν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη καταστησάμενος, ὅπως μὴ Καβάδης τε καὶ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν εὐρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας χωρία, αὐτὸς τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαζεν, Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες σπουδῇ πολλῇ πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [5] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς δισμυρίους μάλιστα πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππέας ξυνῆι, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰσαυροὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ δισχίλιοι ἦσαν. [6] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἱππέων μὲν ἅπαντες ἦσαν οἱ τὰ πρότερα τὴν ἐν Δάρας μάχην πρὸς τε Πέρσας καὶ Μιρράνην διήνεγκαν, πεζῶν δὲ τῶν τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, Πέτρος ὄνομα. [7] τοῖς μέντοι Ἰσαύροις Λογγίνος τε καὶ Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀρέθας αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ Σαρακηνῶν στρατεύματι ἦλθεν. [8] ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν χωρίῳ Γαββουλῶν εἶναι ἐπύθοντο, δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις Χαλκίδος διέχοντι. [9] ὁ δὲ γνόντες Ἀλαμούνδαρός τε καὶ Ἀζαρέθης τὸν τε κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἐχώρουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἴκου αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω ἀπήλυνον καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ὀπισθεν εἶπετο. [10] ἐν τε τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ἠϋλίζοντο, αἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἐπιγινομένη νυκτὶ ἔμενον. [11] Βελισάριος γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁδὸν τινα πλείω πορεύεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα οὐδαμῇ εἶα, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ τοῖς πολεμίους ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποχρῆν ᾧετο σφίσι Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας, εἶτα ἐνθένδε οὕτω δὲ ἀποκεχωρηκότας, [12] ἀπράκτους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζεσθαι. διὸ δὲ ἅπαντες αὐτῷ λάθρα ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, ἐκάκιζε μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐς ὅπιν οὐδεὶς. [13] Τελευτῶντες δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἡϊόνι ἠϋλίσαντο ἢ δὲ πόλεως Καλλινίκου ἀντιπέρας ἐστίν. ἐνθένδε γὰρ διὰ χώρας πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον, οὕτω τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διεννοοῦντο ἰέναι ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ἐχόμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ διανυκτερεύσαντες ἐν πόλει Σούρων ἐνθένδε τε ἐξαναστάντες, καταλαμβάνουσι συσκευαζομένους ἤδη ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡ Πασχαλία ἐπέκειτο ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιγεννησομένη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἣν δὲ σέβονται Χριστιανοὶ πασῶν μάλιστα, ἡμέρᾳ τε τῇ ταύτης προτέρα σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἀπεχόμενοι οὐ διημερεῦειν νενομίκασιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρῳ που νήστευσι τῶν νυκτῶν ἰέναι. [16] τότε οὖν ἅπαντας Βελισάριος ὀργῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρῶν, ταύτης τε ἀποστῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἐγίνωσκεν ἄρτι ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ

ἐκ βασιλέως ἥκων τοὺς παραγενομένους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε
‘Ποῖ φέρεσθε, [17] ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἢ τί πεπονθότες κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον βουλευέσθε; μίαν εἶναι νίκην ἀκίβδηλον οἶονται
ἄνθρωποι τὸ μηδὲν δεινὸν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν, ὅπερ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ
παρόντι δέδωκεν ἢ τε τύχη καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δέος. [18] οὐκοῦν ἢ
ἀπόνασθαι τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἄμεινον ἢ παρελθόντα ταῦτα ζητεῖν.
Πέρσαι γὰρ πολλαῖς μὲν ἐλπίσιν ἡγμένοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν, πάντων
δὲ τανῶν ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηται. [19] ὥστε ἦν οὐχ ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς
μεταβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν γνώμης, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ ἰέναι ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάσωμεν, νενικηκότες μὲν πλεον τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἔξομεν. [20] τί
γὰρ ἂν τις τὸν γε φεύγοντα τρέποι; σφαλέντες δὲ ἴσως τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης
στερησόμεθα νίκης, οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφαιρεθέντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ταύτην
προέμενοι, καὶ τῇ βασιλέως γῇ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίους ἐκκεῖσθαι τῶν ἀμυνομένων
χωρὶς τὸ λοιπὸν δώσομεν. [21] καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὥς
τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐ τῶν αὐθαιρέτων κινδύνων ξυναίρεσθαι ὁ θεὸς ἀεὶ τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ. [22] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἂν ὅπῃ τραπείεν
ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐχ ἐκουσίως ξυμβήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ ἐναντιώματα ἐς
τὴν ξυμβολὴν τετύχηκεν εἶναι: [23] πεζῇ τε γὰρ βαδίζοντες πολλοὶ ἤκουσι καὶ
νήστεις ἅπαντες τυγχάνομεν ὄντες. ἀφίημι γὰρ λέγειν ὥς τινες οὐπω καὶ νῦν
πάρεισι.’ Βελισάριος μὲν τσαῦτα εἶπεν. [24] Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζον οὐ
σιγῇ τινι οὐδὲ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ ἐς ὅψιν ξὺν κραυγῇ ἦκοντες
μαλθακὸν τε καὶ τῆς προθυμίας διαλυτὴν ἐκάλουν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων
τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡμάρτανον, ταύτη τὸ εὐτολμον ἐνδεικνύμενοι. [25]
καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναισχύντῳ καταπλαγεὶς Βελισάριος ἀντιστρέψας τὴν
παραίνεσιν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἦδη ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώκει καὶ διατάσσοντι ἐς
παράταξιν, ἔφασκε τε ὥς οὐκ εἰδείη μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι προθυμίαν
τὰ πρότερα, νῦν δὲ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ ξὺν ἐλπίδι τῇ ἀμείνονι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
ἰέναι. [26] καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα μετωπηδὸν ποιησάμενος διέταξεν ὥδε. ἐς κέρας
μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἔστησεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ
δεξιόν, ἢ δὴ ὁ χῶρος ἀνάντης ἦν, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοὺς
ἅπαντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἵππευσι κατὰ μέσον εἰστήκει. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι
ἐτάξαντο. [27] Ἀζαρέθης δὲ ἐπεὶ ξυνιόντας ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε,
τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο ‘Πέρσας μὲν ὄντας ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν
ἀνταλλάξασθαι, ἦν τις αἴρεσιν ἀμφοῖν διδοίη, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. [28] ἐγὼ δέ
φημι οὐδ’ ἂν βουλομένοις ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι τούτοις ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἷς μὲν
γὰρ ἐξὸν διαφυγοῦσι τὸν κίνδυνον ξὺν τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ βιοῦν, οὐδέν, ἦν γε
βούλοιντο, ἀπεικὸς ἀντὶ τῶν βελτίστων ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἥδιστα, οἷς δὲ τὸ θνήσκειν
ἐπάναγκες, ἢ ξὺν τῇ εὐκλείᾳ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἢ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐς
τὴν κόλασιν αἰσchrῶς ἀγομένοις, πολλὴ ἄνοια μὴ πρὸ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐλέσθαι
τὰ κρεῖσσω. [29] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκειν ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας οἶμαι
μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότην τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας,
οὕτως ἐς μάχην τήνδε καθίστασθαι.’ [30] Τσαῦτα καὶ Ἀζαρέθης
παρακελευσάμενος ἀντίξουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἔστησε, Πέρσας μὲν
τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντας, Σαρακηνοὺς δὲ τὰ εὐώνυμα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς χεῖρας

ἀμφοτέροι ἦλθον. [31] ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ μάλιστα. τὰ τε γὰρ τοξεύματα ἐκατέρωθεν συχνὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαλλόμενα φόνον ἀμφοτέρων πολλὸν ἐποίει, καὶ τινες ἐν μεταίχμιῳ γινόμενοι ἔργα ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπεδείκνυντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, μᾶλλον δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον. [32] τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν βέλη συχνότερα μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἦν, ἐπεὶ Πέρσαι τοξόται τε σχεδὸν τί εἰσιν ἅπαντες καὶ πολλὸν θᾶσσον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βολὰς ἐκδιδάσκονται, [33] ἐκ δὲ τόξων μαλθακῶν τε καὶ οὐ λίαν ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα θώρακι ἴσως ἢ κράνει ἢ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἐντυχόντα Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκαυλίζετο τε καὶ λυπεῖν τὸν προσπίπτοντα οὐδαμῇ εἶχε. [34] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὰ τε τοξεύματα βραδύτερα μὲν ἐς αἰεὶ ἐστίν, ἅτε δὲ ἐκ τόξων σκληρῶν τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ δεινῶς ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα, προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Πέρσαι οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν εὐπετῶς σίνονται, ὅπλου οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν αὐτῶν γινομένου τῇ ρύμῃ. [35] ἤδη μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας αἱ δύο παρωγῆκεσαν μοῖραι, καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι ἀγχώματος ἦν. τότε δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες ὅσοι δὴ ἄριστοι ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ἐσήλαυνον ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, οὗ δὴ Ἀρέθας τε καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐτετάχατο. [36] οἱ δὲ οὕτω τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες δίχα ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ δόξαν ἀπήνεγκαν ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαις τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προῦδοσαν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑποστάντες αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ἅπαντες ὥρμηντο. [37] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι διαρρήξαντες οὕτω τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, κατὰ νότου εὐθὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου ἐγένοντο. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κεκμηκότες ἤδη τῇ τε ὁδῷ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς μάχης νήστες τε ἅπαντες ἐς τὸδε τῆς ἡμέρας ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐνοχλούμενοι, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φεύγοντες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νήσους ἀγχιστά που οὕσας ἐχώρησαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἔργα θαυμαστά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια τοὺς πολεμίους εἰργάσαντο. [38] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἦν, ὃς δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων, κρεουργηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μόλις ἔπεσε, λόγον αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, οἱ τε Ἰσαυροὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμήσαντες. [39] ἀπειρία γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου πολλῇ εἶχοντο, ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστησαν, [40] ἀγνώτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα ὄντα. καίτοι μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοὶ ἔναγχος ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀγνοία πολέμου ὀργῶντες Βελισαρίῳ τότε τὴν δειλίαν ὤνειδίζον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἰσαυροὶ ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ Λυκάονες οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. [41] Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα μείνας, τέως μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀσκὰν ἀντέχοντας ἐώρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνατο: [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυγὼν ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἦλθεν, οἱ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔτι ἐμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτυχον φυγόντες οἱ πλεῖστοι. [43] ἐνθα δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ἵππον ἀφῆκε καὶ πάντας αὐτὸ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκέλευε, πεζοὺς τε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. [44] Περσῶν δὲ ὅσοι τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἶποντο, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπανῆκον, ἔς τε τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥρμηντο. οἱ δὲ τὰ νῶτα ἐς τὸν

ποταμὸν τρέψαντες, ὅπως μὴ τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κύκλωσις γένοιτο, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. [45] αὐθὶς τε ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ γέγονε, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως οὔσα. πεζοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ λίαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ξύμπασαν ἐμάχοντο τὴν Περσῶν ἵππον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι οὔτε τρέπεσθαι οὔτε ἄλλως βιάζεσθαι εἶχον. [46] ἐν χρόνῳ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐς ὀλίγον ἀεὶ ξυναγόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρότατα ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι, ἔβαλλον μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπιτηδείως ἢ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβάλλοντο. [47] πολλάκις τε ἀπειπόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνον, ὡς ξυνταράξοντές τε καὶ διαλύσοντες τὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω αὐθὶς ἀπήλαυνον. [48] οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαιτίζοντό τε καὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ζὺν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καθίσταντο. διαγεγόνασί τε οὕτως ἑκάτεροι ἕως ἐγεγόνει τῆς ἡμέρας ὥσέ. [49] νυκτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἐπιλαβούσης Πέρσαι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Βελισάριος δὲ ὀλκάδος ἐπιτυχῶν ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν νῆσον κατήρεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι νηχόμενοι ἤλθον. [50] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὀλκάδων σφίσιν ἐκ Καλλινίκου πόλεως παραγενομένων πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκομίσθησαν, Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκυλευκότες ἐπ' οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς σφετέρους νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάσσους εὗρον. [51] Ἀζαρέθης δέ, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Πέρσας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὐημερήσας, ἀχαρίστου Καβάδου μάλιστα ἔτυχεν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [52] νόμος ἐστὶ Πέρσαις, ἥνικα ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς στρατεύεσθαι μέλλωσι, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου καθῆσθαι, κοφίνους δὲ οἱ πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθά πη εἶναι, καὶ παρεῖναι μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὃς δὴ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξός ἐστι, παριέναι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ὄψιν κατ' ἄνδρα ἓνα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον βέλος ἐν ἐς τὰς ταρπὰς ῥίπτειν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰς μὲν τῇ βασιλέως σφραγίδι κατασσεσημασμένας φυλάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Πέρσας ἐπανίοι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν ἀρρίχων ἐν ἀναιρεῖσθαι βέλος. [53] ἀριθμοῦντες οὖν τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀνήρηται, οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη, ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκ ἐπανηκόντων στρατιωτῶν, ταύτῃ τε ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτήκασιν ἐνδηλοὶ γίνονται. [54] οὕτω μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ὁ νόμος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἐς ὄψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἤλθεν, ἀνεπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὁ Καβάδης εἴ τι χωρίον παραστησάμενος Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἦκοι, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ὡς Ἀντιόχειαν καταστρεψόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης χωρίον μὲν ἐλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔφασκε, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Βελισάριον μάχῃ νενικηκέναι. [55] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν παριέναι τὸ ζὺν τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ἐκέλευε στράτευμα, ἔκ τε τῶν ταρπῶν βέλος ἕκαστος ἀνηρεῖτο ἥπερ εἰώθει. [56] πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων βελῶν ὠνείδιζε τε τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεῦτα τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ.

XVIII

This man's suggestion at that time therefore pleased Cabades, and he chose out fifteen thousand men, putting in command of them Azarethes, a Persian, who was an exceptionally able warrior, and he bade Alamoundaras lead the expedition. So they crossed the River Euphrates in Assyria, and, after passing over some uninhabited country, they suddenly and unexpectedly threw their forces into the land of the so-called Commagenae. This was the first invasion made by the Persians from this point into Roman soil, as far as we know from tradition or by any other means, and it paralyzed all the Romans with fear by its unexpectedness. And when this news came to the knowledge of Belisarius, at first he was at a loss, but afterwards he decided to go to the rescue with all speed. So he established a sufficient garrison in each city in order that Cabades with another hostile army might not come there and find the towns of Mesopotamia utterly unguarded, and himself with the rest of the army went to meet the invasion; and crossing the River Euphrates they moved forward in great haste. Now the Roman army amounted to about twenty thousand foot and horse, and among them not less than two thousand were Isaurians. The commanders of cavalry were all the same ones who had previously fought the battle at Daras with Mirranes and the Persians, while the infantry were commanded by one of the body-guards of the Emperor Justinian, Peter by name. The Isaurians, however, were under the command of Longinus and Stephanacius. Arethas also came there to join them with the Saracen army. When they reached the city of Chalcis, they encamped and remained there, since they learned that the enemy were in a place called Gabboulon, one hundred and ten stades away from Chalcis. When this became known to Alamoundaras and Azarethes, they were terrified at the danger, and no longer continued their advance, but decided to retire homeward instantly. Accordingly they began to march back, with the River Euphrates on the left, while the Roman army was following in the rear. And in the spot where the Persians bivouacked each night the Romans always tarried on the following night. For Belisarius purposely refused to allow the army to make any longer march because he did not wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, but he considered that it was sufficient for them that the Persians and Alamoundaras, after invading the land of the Romans, should retire from it in such a fashion, betaking themselves to their own land without accomplishing anything. And because of this all secretly mocked him, both officers and soldiers, but not a man reproached him to his face.

Finally the Persians made their bivouac on the bank of the Euphrates just opposite the city of Callinicus. From there they were about to march through a country absolutely uninhabited by man, and thus to quit the land of the Romans; for they purposed no longer to proceed as before, keeping to the

bank of the river. The Romans had passed the night in the city of Sura, and, removing from there, they came upon the enemy just in the act of preparing for the departure. [A, 531] Now the feast of Easter was near and would take place on the following day; this feast is revered by the Christians above all others, and on the day before it they are accustomed to refrain from food and drink not only throughout the day, but for a large part of the night also they continue the fast. Then, therefore, Belisarius, seeing that all his men were passionately eager to go against the enemy, wished to persuade them to give up this idea (for this course had been counselled by Hermogenes also, who had come recently on an embassy from the emperor); he accordingly called together all who were present and spoke as follows: "O Romans, whither are you rushing? and what has happened to you that you are purposing to choose for yourselves a danger which is not necessary? Men believe that there is only one victory which is unalloyed, namely to suffer no harm at the hands of the enemy, and this very thing has been given us in the present instance by fortune and by the fear of us that overpowers our foes. Therefore it is better to enjoy the benefit of our present blessings than to seek them when they have passed. For the Persians, led on by many hopes, undertook an expedition against the Romans, and now, with everything lost, they have beaten a hasty retreat. So that if we compel them against their will to abandon their purpose of withdrawing and to come to battle with us, we shall win no advantage whatsoever if we are victorious, — for why should one rout a fugitive? — while if we are unfortunate, as may happen, we shall both be deprived of the victory which we now have, not robbed of it by the enemy, but flinging it away ourselves, and also we shall abandon the land of the emperor to lie open hereafter to the attacks of the enemy without defenders. Moreover this also is worth your consideration, that God is always accustomed to succour men in dangers which are necessary, not in those which they choose for themselves. And apart from this it will come about that those who have nowhere to turn will play the part of brave men even against their will, while the obstacles which are to be met by us in entering the engagement are many; for a large number of you have come on foot and all of us are fasting. I refrain from mentioning that some even now have not arrived." So spoke Belisarius.

But the army began to insult him, not in silence nor with any concealment, but they came shouting into his presence, and called him weak and a destroyer of their zeal; and even some of the officers joined with the soldiers in this offence, thus displaying the extent of their daring. And Belisarius, in astonishment at their shamelessness, changed his exhortation and now seemed to be urging them on against the enemy and drawing them up for battle, saying that he had not known before their eagerness to fight, but that now he was of good courage and would go against the enemy with a better hope. He then formed the phalanx with a single front, disposing his men as follows: on the left wing by the river he stationed all the infantry, while on the right where

the ground rose sharply he placed Arethas and all his Saracens; he himself with the cavalry took his position in the centre. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves. And when Azarethes saw the enemy gathering in battle line, he exhorted his men with the following words: "Persians as you are, no one would deny that you would not give up your valour in exchange for life, if a choice of the two should be offered. But I say that not even if you should wish, is it within your power to make the choice between the two. For as for men who have the opportunity to escape from danger and live in dishonour it is not at all unnatural that they should, if they wish, choose what is most pleasant instead of what is best; but for men who are bound to die, either gloriously at the hands of the enemy or shamefully led to punishment by your Master, it is extreme folly not to choose what is better instead of what is most shameful. Now, therefore, when things stand thus, I consider that it befits you all to bear in mind not only the enemy but also your own Lord and so enter this battle."

After Azarethes also had uttered these words of exhortation, he stationed the phalanx opposite his opponents, assigning the Persians the right wing and the Saracens the left. Straightway both sides began the fight, and the battle was exceedingly fierce. For the arrows, shot from either side in very great numbers, caused great loss of life in both armies, while some placed themselves in the interval between the armies and made a display of valorous deeds against each other, and especially among the Persians they were falling by the arrows in great numbers. For while their missiles were incomparably more frequent, since the Persians are almost all bowmen and they learn to make their shots much more rapidly than any other men, still the bows which sent the arrows were weak and not very tightly strung, so that their missiles, hitting a corselet, perhaps, or helmet or shield of a Roman warrior, were broken off and had no power to hurt the man who was hit. The Roman bowmen are always slower indeed, but inasmuch as their bows are extremely stiff and very tightly strung, and one might add that they are handled by stronger men, they easily slay much greater numbers of those they hit than do the Persians, for no armour proves an obstacle to the force of their arrows. Now already two-thirds of the day had passed, and the battle was still even. Then by mutual agreement all the best of the Persian army advanced to attack the Roman right wing, where Arethas and the Saracens had been stationed. But they broke their formation and moved apart, so that they got the reputation of having betrayed the Romans to the Persians. For without awaiting the oncoming enemy they all straightway beat a hasty retreat. So the Persians in this way broke through the enemy's line and immediately got in the rear of the Roman cavalry. Thus the Romans, who were already exhausted both by the march and the labour of the battle, — and besides this they were all fasting so far on in the day, — now that they were assailed by the enemy on both sides, held out no longer, but the most of them in full flight made their

way to the islands in the river which were close by, while some also remained there and performed deeds both amazing and remarkable against the enemy. Among these was Ascan who, after killing many of the notables among the Persians, was gradually hacked to pieces and finally fell, leaving to the enemy abundant reason to remember him. And with him eight hundred others perished after shewing themselves brave men in this struggle, and almost all the Isaurians fell with their leaders, without even daring to lift their weapons against the enemy. For they were thoroughly inexperienced in this business, since they had recently left off farming and entered into the perils of warfare, which before that time were unknown to them. And yet just before these very men had been most furious of all for battle because of their ignorance of warfare, and were then reproaching Belisarius with cowardice. They were not in fact all Isaurians but the majority of them were Lycaones.

Belisarius with some few men remained there, and as long as he saw Ascan and his men holding out, he also in company with those who were with him held back the enemy; but when some of Ascan's troops had fallen, and the others had turned to flee wherever they could, then at length he too fled with his men and came to the phalanx of infantry, who with Peter were still fighting, although not many in number now, since the most of them too had fled. There he himself gave up his horse and commanded all his men to do the same thing and on foot with the others to fight off the oncoming enemy. And those of the Persians who were following the fugitives, after pursuing for only a short distance, straightway returned and rushed upon the infantry and Belisarius with all the others. Then the Romans turned their backs to the river so that no movement to surround them might be executed by the enemy, and as best they could under the circumstances were defending themselves against their assailants. And again the battle became fierce, although the two sides were not evenly matched in strength; for foot-soldiers, and a very few of them, were fighting against the whole Persian cavalry. Nevertheless the enemy were not able either to rout them or in any other way to overpower them. For standing shoulder to shoulder they kept themselves constantly massed in a small space, and they formed with their shields a rigid, unyielding barricade, so that they shot at the Persians more conveniently than they were shot at by them. Many a time after giving up, the Persians would advance against them determined to break up and destroy their line, but they always retired again from the assault unsuccessful. For their horses, annoyed by the clashing of the shields, reared up and made confusion for themselves and their riders. Thus both sides continued the struggle until it had become late in the day. And when night had already come on, the Persians withdrew to their camp, and Belisarius accompanied by some few men found a freight-boat and crossed over to the island in the river, while the other Romans reached the same place by swimming. On the following day many freight-boats were brought to the Romans from the city of Callinicus and they were conveyed

thither in them, and the Persians, after despoiling the dead, all departed homeward. However they did not find their own dead less numerous than the enemy's.

When Azarethes reached Persia with his army, although he had prospered in the battle, he found Cabades exceedingly ungrateful, for the following reason. It is a custom among the Persians that, when they are about to march against any of their foes, the king sits on the royal throne, and many baskets are set there before him; and the general also is present who is expected to lead the army against the enemy; then the army passes along before the king, one man at a time, and each of them throws one weapon into the baskets; after this they are sealed with the king's seal and preserved; and when this army returns to Persia, each one of the soldiers takes one weapon out of the baskets. A count is then made by those whose office it is to do so of all the weapons which have not been taken by the men, and they report to the king the number of the soldiers who have not returned, and in this way it becomes evident how many have perished in the war. Thus the law has stood from of old among the Persians. Now when Azarethes came into the presence of the king, Cabades enquired of him whether he came back with any Roman fortress won over to their side, for he had marched forth with Alamoundaras against the Romans, with the purpose of subduing Antioch. And Azarethes said that he had captured no fortress, but that he had conquered the Romans and Belisarius in battle. So Cabades bade the army of Azarethes pass by, and from the baskets each man took out a weapon just as was customary. But since many weapons were left, Cabades rebuked Azarethes for the victory and thereafter ranked him among the most unworthy. So the victory had this conclusion for Azarethes.

Ἐννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἐταιρίσασθαι. ὅπη δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ὥκηνται καὶ καθ' ὃ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν βασιλεὺς ἤλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὅρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. [3] αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλᾶς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτης ἡϊόνι ἐστίν, ἔνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολίγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὄρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἥ τε γῆ αὕτη τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾶ πόλεως σταδίους οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ χιλίους διέχουσιν. [4] ἔνθα Ἑβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὥκηντο, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι Ῥωμαίων γεγέννηται. [5] πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτῃ ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὀρῶσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐώνυμον νυκτὸς αἰεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὁρμίζονται. [6] ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν

ἐμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. [7] ὅρμοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὐ
χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς
πλεύουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ὅπη παρατύχοι ὀρμίζεσθαι. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡϊόνα
εὐθὺς μὲν ὄρους τοὺς Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν, [8] οἱ ἐν τῷ
φοινικῶνι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται. [9] ἔστι δὲ ὁ φοινικῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν
κατατείνων πολλήν, ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φοίνικες φύονται
μόνοι. [10] τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶνι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο,
ὁ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν
Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο. [11] ἀδήϊωτόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις βαρβάροις καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν
τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερὸς τε αἰεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως
δραστήριος. [12] τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶνα βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ
αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν δυνατὰ ἐστὶ. [13] γῇ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων
παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρος ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν
διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου ὅτουοῦν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῇ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὄνομα
δώρου ὃ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωκε μόνον καὶ βασιλεὺς εὖ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν
οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ φοινικῶνι ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. [14] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι
Σαρακηνοὶ ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὴ Μαδδηνοὶ καλοῦνται,
Ὀμηριτῶν κατήκοοι ὄντες. [15] οἱ δὲ Ὀμηρίται οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα
ῶκηνται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνι. ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι
ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρωποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἰδρῦσθαι φασι. [16] μεθ' οὓς δὴ τὰ γένη
τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν περὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πη αὐτῷ
βουλομένῳ ἐστίν. [17] Ὀμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ
ἡπεῖρῳ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Αὐξωμίται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ
βασίλειά ἐστιν ἐν πόλει Αὐξώμιδι. [18] καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν ἀνέμου
μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουν
διήκει. [19] ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχος
ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἐστίν· αὕτη πρὸς ἐνίων ἡ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ
ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ Αἰλὰν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς
ὠνόμασται κόλπος. [20] χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὀρίων
Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν
Πέτραις τῇ πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. [21] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν
ὅρμος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικάς ὀνομάζεται. [22]
διαπλεύσαντες δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν
λιμένα. Ἀδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων διέχει
τοσούτῳ γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὁδῷ
ἡμερῶν δώδεκα. [23] Πλοῖα μέντοι ὅσα ἐν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ
ἐστὶν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ᾧ περ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες πεποίηνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσση οὐδὲ
ἄλλῳ ὁτῶοῦν χρίονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς ἰόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ
σανίδες ζυμπεπήγασιν, ἀλλὰ βρόχοις τισὶ ζυνδέδενται. [24] αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ
οἱ πολλοὶ οἶονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς
ἔλκουσαι ἑκμήριον δέ· ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις ἐς
θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἡρμοσμέναις, οὐποτε τοιοῦτον
ζυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων

Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. [25] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἷοι τέ εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. [26] θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἢ ζημία ἐστὶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσῃ καὶ χώρα ἢ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐστὶ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει. [27] Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἢ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. [28] ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἱδρύται καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γέννη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὥκηνται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγγέγονει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπτὰ ἐτέρων ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν: [29] ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιος ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι· πέτραι γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσαι τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι, στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυτο, ὥνπερ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὅασιν ὥκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς αἰεὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἰδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσιν τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρα πολλῇ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνονι ἥσπερ τὰ πρότερα ὥκηντο. [30] οὕτω γὰρ ὤετο αὐτοὺς τε οὐκέτι τά γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὅασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι δεδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι Βλέμυάς τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους. [31] ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίητο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ξύμπασαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον. [32] τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσωνται. [33] ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς κομιζόμενοι οὐδέν τι ἥσσαν καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν. [34] καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νεῖλῳ ἀγχιστά πῃ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτῃ δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεῶς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσιν οἰόμενος. [35] διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἅμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὕσπερ Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὅσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον. [36] οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασιν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. [37] Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἅτε ἡῆτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθην, τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τά τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγεῖλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε,

τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

XIX

At that time the idea occurred to the Emperor Justinian to ally with himself the Aethiopians and the Homeritae, in order to injure the Persians. I shall now first explain what part of the earth these nations occupy, and then I shall point out in what manner the emperor hoped that they would be of help to the Romans. The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending toward the south; on the other side a country deserted by men extends northward to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than one thousand stades distant from the city of Aelas. On this island Hebrews had lived from of old in autonomy, but in the reign of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans. From there on there comes a great open sea. And those who sail into this part of it no longer see the land on the right, but they always anchor along the left coast when night comes on. For it is impossible to navigate in the darkness on this sea, since it is everywhere full of shoals. But there are harbours there and great numbers of them, not made by the hand of man, but by the natural contour of the land, and for this reason it is not difficult for mariners to find anchorage wherever they happen to be.

This coast immediately beyond the boundaries of Palestine is held by Saracens, who have been settled from of old in the Palm Groves. These groves are in the interior, extending over a great tract of land, and there absolutely nothing else grows except palm trees. The Emperor Justinian had received these palm groves as a present from Abochorabus, the ruler of the Saracens there, and he was appointed by the emperor captain over the Saracens in Palestine. And he guarded the land from plunder constantly, for both to the barbarians over whom he ruled and no less to the enemy, Abochorabus always seemed a man to be feared and an exceptionally energetic fellow. Formally, therefore, the emperor holds the Palm Groves, but for him really to possess himself of any of the country there is utterly impossible. For a land completely destitute of human habitation and extremely dry lies between, extending to the distance of a ten days' journey; moreover the Palm Groves themselves are by no means worth anything, and Abochorabus only gave the form of a gift, and the emperor accepted it with full knowledge of the fact. So much then for the Palm Groves. Adjoining this people there are other Saracens in possession of the coast, who are called Maddeni and who are subjects of the Homeritae. These Homeritae dwell in the land on the farther side of them on the shore of the sea. And beyond them

many other nations are said to be settled as far as the man-eating Saracens. Beyond these are the nations of India. But regarding these matters let each one speak as he may wish.

About opposite the Homeritae on the opposite mainland dwell the Aethiopians who are called Auxomitae, because their king resides in the city of Auxomis. And the expanse of sea which lies between is crossed in a voyage of five days and nights, when a moderately favouring wind blows. For here they are accustomed to navigate by night also, since there are no shoals at all in these parts; this portion of the sea has been called the Red Sea by some. For the sea which one traverses beyond this point as far as the shore and the city of Aelas has received the name of the Arabian Gulf, inasmuch as the country which extends from here to the limits of the city of Gaza used to be called in olden times Arabia, since the king of the Arabs had his palace in early times in the city of Petrae. Now the harbour of the Homeritae from which they are accustomed to put to sea for the voyage to Aethiopia is called Bulicas; and at the end of the sail across the sea they always put in at the harbour of the Adulitae. But the city of Adulis is removed from the harbour a distance of twenty stades (for it lacks only so much of being on the sea), while from the city of Auxomis it is a journey of twelve days.

All the boats which are found in India and on this sea are not made in the same manner as are other ships. For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance, nor indeed are the planks fastened together by iron nails going through and through, but they are bound together with a kind of cording. The reason is not as most persons suppose, that there are certain rocks there which draw the iron to themselves (for witness the fact that when the Roman vessels sail from Aelas into this sea, although they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Aethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea and of the land which lies on either side of it.

From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow (for rocks rise to an exceedingly

great height at no great distance from the Nile and spread over the rest of the country), while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their own habitations, and to settle along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied. For in this way he thought that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least, and that they would possess themselves of the land given them, as being their own, and would probably beat off the Blemyes and the other barbarians. And since this pleased the Nobatae, they made the migration immediately, just as Diocletian directed them, and took possession of all the Roman cities and the land on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. Then it was that this emperor decreed that to them and to the Blemyes a fixed sum of gold should be given every year with the stipulation that they should no longer plunder the land of the Romans. And they receive this gold even up to my time, but none the less they overrun the country there. Thus it seems that with all barbarians there is no means of compelling them to keep faith with the Romans except through the fear of soldiers to hold them in check. And yet this emperor went so far as to select a certain island in the River Nile close to the city of Elephantine and there construct a very strong fortress in which he established certain temples and altars for the Romans and these barbarians in common, and he settled priests of both nations in this fortress, thinking that the friendship between them would be secure by reason of their sharing the things sacred to them. And for this reason he named the place Philae. Now both these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatae, believe in all the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also reverence Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus. But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the sun. These sanctuaries in Philae were kept by these barbarians even up to my time, but the Emperor Justinian decided to tear them down. Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I have mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, being commander of the troops there, tore down the sanctuaries at the emperor's order, and put the priests under guard and sent the statues to Byzantium. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

Ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἑλλησθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς, Χριστιανὸς τε ὢν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὀμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡπείρῳ ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὄντας, πολλοὺς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἦν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐς τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Χριστιανούς χρῆσθαι, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστησάμενος, Ὀμηρίτην μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ

Ἐσιμφαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε. [2] τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιόπων στρατοῦ δοῦλοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν εἶχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμία τῆς Ὀμηριτῶν χώρας· ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. [3] Οὗτος ὁ λεῶς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν Ἐσιμφαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων καθεῖρξαν, ἕτερον δὲ Ὀμηρίταις βασιλέα κατεστήσαντο, [4] Ἀβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραμος οὗτος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει Αἰθιόπων Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. [5] ἃ δὲ Ἑλλησθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαι τε Ἀβραμον ὁμοῦ τοῖς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμφαῖον ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στρατεύμα τε τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ξυγγενῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. [6] οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι ἐθέλοντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Ἀβράμῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐς τε ξυμβολὴν καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνemiγνυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [7] θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαῖος ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ' οἴκου εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. δείσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσεν. [8] Ἑλλησθεαίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Ἀβραμος ὠμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰθιόπων βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο. [9] Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοψι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἐσιμφαίου δὲ ἐν Ὀμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὠνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν· αὕτη δὲ ἐστίν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθιῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἦν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, τανῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὀμηρίται δὲ ὅπως Καῖσὸν τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσωνται καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. [10] ὁ δὲ Καῖσὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δὲ τινα Ἐσιμφαίου ξυγγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν ἔφευγεν ἢ δὲ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων [11] παντάπασιν ἐστίν· ἐκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἴτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὠμολογημένα οὐδέτερος. [12] τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοψι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅρμοις γινόμενοι οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα αἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταΐρουσιν, ἅτε χώραν προσοικούντες τὴν ὁμορον, ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημόν τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὁδὸν κατατείνουσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πολλῷ μαχιωτέρους ἰέναι. [13] ἀλλὰ καὶ

Ἄβραμος ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλλειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὀπίσω εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν ταύτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν.

At about the time of this war Hellestheaeus, the king of the Aethiopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of this faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite mainland were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews, and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day call Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both the king and many of the Homeritae. He then set up in his stead a Christian king, a Homerite by birth, by name Esimiphaeus, and, after ordaining that he should pay a tribute to the Aethiopians every year, he returned to his home. In this Aethiopian army many slaves and all who were readily disposed to crime were quite unwilling to follow the king back, but were left behind and remained there because of their desire for the land of the Homeritae; for it is an extremely goodly land.

These fellows at a time not long after this, in company with certain others, rose against the king Esimiphaeus and put him in confinement in one of the fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abramus by name. Now this Abramus was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Aethiopia. When Hellestheaeus learned this, he was eager to punish Abramus together with those who had revolted with him for their injustice to Esimiphaeus, and he sent against them an army of three thousand men with one of his relatives as commander. This army, once there, was no longer willing to return home, but they wished to remain where they were in a goodly land, and so without the knowledge of their commander they opened negotiations with Abramus; then when they came to an engagement with their opponents, just as the fighting began, they killed their commander and joined the ranks of the enemy, and so remained there. But Hellestheaeus was greatly moved with anger and sent still another army against them; this force engaged with Abramus and his men, and, after suffering a severe defeat in the battle, straightway returned home. Thereafter the king of the Aethiopians became afraid, and sent no further expeditions against Abramus. After the death of Hellestheaeus, Abramus agreed to pay tribute to the king of the Aethiopians who succeeded him, and in this way he strengthened his rule. But this happened at a later time.

At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India

and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name “seric”). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caïsus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. This Caïsus was by birth of the captain’s rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.

Ἑρμογένης δὲ τότε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἢ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, παρὰ Καβάδην ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἦκων, ἐπέραινεν οὐδὲν τῆς εἰρήνης περὶ ἧς ἔνεκα ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν οἰδαίνοντα ἔτι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὗρε· διὸ δὴ ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε. [2] καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετὰπεμπτos ἦλθε περιηρημένος ἦν εἶχεν ἀρχήν, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐπὶ Βανδύλους στρατεύσειε. [3] Σίττας δέ, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδογμένον, ὡς φυλάζων τὴν ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. [4] καὶ Πέρσαι αὖθις στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν, Χαναράγγου τε καὶ Ἀσπεδέδου καὶ Μερμερόου ἡγουμένων σφίσιν, ἐσέβαλον. [5] ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, Μαρτυρόπολιν ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν, οὗ δὴ Βούζης τε καὶ Βέσσας τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἔτυχον. [6] αὕτη δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ, πόλεως Ἀμίδης τεσσαράκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους διέχουσα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστίν, ὃς τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει. [7] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι τῷ περιβόλῳ προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείως ὑφίσταντο, οὐ διὰ πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνθέξιν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. [8] ὃ τε γὰρ περίβολος ἐπιμαχώτατος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ πολιορκία Περσῶν ῥᾶστα ἀλώσιμος, αὐτοὶ τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐ διαρκῶς εἶχον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μηχανὰς οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἀξιώχρεων καθ’ ὃ τι ἀμύνωνται. [9] Σίττας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς χωρίον μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἦλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως ἑκατὸν

σταδίοις διέχον, ἐς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. [10] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὐθις ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοιόνδε τι ξυνηγέθη γενέσθαι. [11] Κατασκόπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Πέρσαις δημοσίᾳ σιτίζεσθαι νόμος, οἱ δὲ λάθρα ἰέναι παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰώθασιν ὅπως περισκοπήσαντες ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα εἶτα ἐπανιόντες τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐσαγγείλωσι. [12] τούτων πολλοὶ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, χρῆσθαι ἐς τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προΐενται τὰ ἀπόρρητα. [13] τότε οὖν ἐκ Περσῶν κατάσκοπός τις ἐς Ῥωμαίους σταλὲς ἐς ὅσιν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἦκων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξεῖπεν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πρᾶσσόμενα καὶ ὥς γένος Μασσαγετῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πονηρῷ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐξίασιν, ἐνθὲνδε τε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἰόντες τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἔτοιμοι εἰσιν ἀναμίνυσθαι. [14] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, πείρᾳν τε ἤδη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀληθείας περὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχων, χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἀδροῖς τισι χαρισάμενος πείθει ἕς τε τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ὃ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ οἱ Μασσαγῆται οὗτοι χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθέντες τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ μέλλουσιν ὅσον οὐπω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤξειν. [15] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, ἕς τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τῷ τε Χαναράγγῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγελλε στράτευμα Οὐννων πολεμίων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίξεσθαι. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι διηποροῦντο. [17] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνέβη πονήρως τῷ Καβάδῃ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ Περσῶν ἓνα τῶν οἱ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδειοτάτων καλέσας, Μεβόδην ὄνομα, ἐκοινολογεῖτο ἀμφὶ τε τῷ Χοσρόῃ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεδιέναι τε Πέρσας ἔφασκε μὴ τι τῶν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἀλογῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξουσιν. [18] ὁ δὲ οἱ τῆς γνώμης τὴν δήλωσιν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἠξίου, θαρσύνοντα ὥς οὐ μὴ ποτε αὐτὴν ὑπεριδεῖν τολμήσῃσι Πέρσαι. [19] Καβάδης μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς διετίθετο βασιλέα Χοσρόην Πέρσαις καθίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης αὐτὸς ἔγραφε, καὶ ὁ Καβάδης αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [20] καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ νόμιμα πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ταφῇ ἐγεγόνει, ὁ μὲν Καόσης τῷ νόμῳ θαρσῶν ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ δὲ Μεβόδης ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐδένα χρῆναι αὐτόματον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ ψήφῳ Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων. [21] καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεπε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γνώσιν, οὐδὲν ἐνθὲνδε ἔσεσθαι οἱ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζων. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες οἱ Περσῶν λογίμοι ἐς τοῦτο ἀγυγερμένοι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν Καβάδου ἀμφὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐδήλου γνώμην, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῆς Καβάδου ἀρετῆς ἅπαντες βασιλέα Πέρσαις αὐτίκα Χοσρόην ἀνείπον. [23] Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν δειμαίνοντες, ἀμύνειν γὰρ κινδυνεύουσι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἔπεμψάν τινες ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύτα [24] Ἀελήθατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε τῷ Περσῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἑκατέρᾳ ἐμποδὼν οὐ δέον γινόμενοι. πρέσβεις γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι τανῦν πάρεισιν, ἐφ' ᾧ παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἰόντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι

καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται· ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα ἐξανιστάμενοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ξυγγωρεῖτε τοῖς πρέσβεσι πράσσειν ἢ ἐκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [25] ἔτοιμοι γάρ ἐσμεν ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμήρους διδόναι ἄνδρας δοκίμους, ὥς δὴ ἔργῳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιτελῇ ἔσται.' Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [26] ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦκων, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευτηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελλε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβάδου βασιλέα καταστῆναι Πέρσαις, [27] ταύτη τε τὰ πράγματα ἠωρῆσθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὴν Οὐννων ἔφοδον δείσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἓνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα· Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρεῖαν εὐθύωρον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. [28] οἱ τε Οὐννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ εὔρον, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

Hermogenes, as soon as the battle on the Euphrates had taken place, came before Cabades to negotiate with him, but he accomplished nothing regarding the peace on account of which he had come, since he found him still swelling with rage against the Romans; for this reason he returned unsuccessful. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, having been removed from the office which he held, in order that he might march against the Vandals; but Sittas, as had been decreed by the Emperor Justinian, went to the East in order to guard that portion of the empire. And the Persians once more invaded Mesopotamia with a great army under command of Chanaranges and Aspebedes and Mermeroës. Since no one dared to engage with them, they made camp and began the siege of Martyropolis, where Bouzes and Bessas had been stationed in command of the garrison. This city lies in the land called Sophanene, two hundred and forty stades distant from the city of Amida toward the north; it is just on the River Nymphius which divides the land of the Romans and the Persians. So the Persians began to assail the fortifications, and, while the besieged at first withstood them manfully, it did not seem likely that they would hold out long. For the circuit-wall was quite easily assailable in most parts, and could be captured very easily by a Persian siege, and besides they did not have a sufficient supply of provisions, nor indeed had they engines of war nor anything else that was of any value for defending themselves. Meanwhile Sittas and the Roman army came to a place called Attachas, one hundred stades distant from Martyropolis, but they did not dare to advance further, but established their camp and remained there. Hermogenes also was with them, coming again as ambassador from Byzantium. At this point the following event took place.

It has been customary from ancient times both among the Romans and the Persians to maintain spies at public expense; these men are accustomed to go secretly among the enemy, in order that they may investigate accurately what is going on, and may then return and report to the rulers. Many of these men, as is natural, exert themselves to act in a spirit of loyalty to their nation, while some also betray their secrets to the enemy. At that time a certain spy who had been sent from the Persians to the Romans came into the presence of the Emperor Justinian and revealed many things which were taking place among the barbarians, and, in particular, that the nation of the Massagetae, in order to injure the Romans, were on the very point of going out into the land of Persia, and that from there they were prepared to march into the territory of the Romans, and unite with the Persian army. When the emperor heard this, having already a proof of the man's truthfulness to him, he presented him with a handsome sum of money and persuaded him to go to the Persian army which was besieging the Martyropolitans, and announce to the barbarians

there that these Massagetae had been won over with money by the Roman emperor, and were about to come against them that very moment. The spy carried out these instructions, and coming to the army of the barbarians he announced to Chanaranges and the others that an army of Huns hostile to them would at no distant time come to the Romans. And when they heard this, they were seized with terror, and were at a loss how to deal with the situation.

At this juncture it came about that Cabades became seriously ill, and he called to him one of the Persians who were in closest intimacy with him, Mebodes by name, and conversed with him concerning Chosroes and the kingdom, and said he feared the Persians would make a serious attempt to disregard some of the things which had been decided upon by him. But Mebodes asked him to leave the declaration of his purpose in writing, and bade him be confident that the Persians would never dare to disregard it. So Cabades set it down plainly that Chosroes should become king over the Persians. The document was written by Mebodes himself, and Cabades immediately passed from among men. [Sept. 13, 531] And when everything had been performed as prescribed by law in the burial of the king, then Caoses, confident by reason of the law, tried to lay claim to the office, but Mebodes stood in his way, asserting that no one ought to assume the royal power by his own initiative but by vote of the Persian notables. So Caoses committed the decision in the matter to the magistrates, supposing that there would be no opposition to him from there. But when all the Persian notables had been gathered together for this purpose and were in session, Mebodes read the document and stated the purpose of Cabades regarding Chosroes, and all, calling to mind the virtue of Cabades, straightway declared Chosroes King of the Persians.

Thus then Chosroes secured the power. But at Martyropolis, Sittas and Hermogenes were in fear concerning the city, since they were utterly unable to defend it in its peril, and they sent certain men to the enemy, who came before the generals and spoke as follows: "It has escaped your own notice that you are becoming wrongfully an obstacle to the king of the Persians and to the blessings of peace and to each state. For ambassadors sent from the emperor are even now present in order that they may go to the king of the Persians and there settle the differences and establish a treaty with him; but do you as quickly as possible remove from the land of the Romans and permit the ambassadors to act in the manner which will be of advantage to both peoples. For we are ready also to give as hostages men of repute concerning these very things, to prove that they will be actually accomplished at no distant date." Such were the words of the ambassadors of the Romans. It happened also that a messenger came to them from the palace, who brought them word that Cabades had died and that Chosroes, son of Cabades, had become king over the Persians, and that in this way the situation had become unsettled. And as a result of this the generals heard the words of the Romans gladly, since they feared also the attack of the Huns. The Romans therefore straightway gave as

hostages Martinus and one of the body-guards of Sittas, Senecius by name; so the Persians broke up the siege and made their departure promptly. And the Huns not long afterward invaded the land of the Romans, but since they did not find the Persian army there, they made their raid a short one, and then all departed homeward.

Αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Ρουφῖνός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὡς ζὺν Ἑρμογένει πρεσβεύοντες ἦλθον, παρὰ τε Περσῶν τὸν βασιλέα πάντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην. [2] καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπειδὴ εἶδε, τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε. τιθασσεύοντες δὲ Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγωγὰ τε πολλὰ ἔλεξαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἥκιστα πρέσβεσι πρέποντα. [3] οἷς δὴ χειροήθης ὁ Χοσρόης γενόμενος τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσαν δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν κεντηναρίων ὠμολόγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ὁ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων μηκέτι ἐν Δάρας τὸ λοιπὸν εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαγένοιτο ἥπερ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἴθιστο: φρούρια δὲ τὰ ἐν Λαζικῇ οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν, καίπερ αὐτὸς τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον δικαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπολαβεῖν. [4] ἔλκει δὲ λίτρας τὸ κεντηνάριον ἑκατὸν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ὠνόμασται. κέντον γὰρ τὰ ἑκατὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [5] τοῦτο δὲ οἱ διδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον ἤξιον, ὡς μήτε πόλιν Δάρας Ῥωμαῖοι καθελεῖν ἀναγκάζονται μήτε φυλακτηρίου τοῦ ἐν πύλαις Κασπίαις μεταλαχεῖν Πέρσαις. [6] οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπῆνουν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐνδιδόναι οὐκ ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἣν μὴ βασιλέως ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς πύθωνται πρότερον. [7] ἔδοξε τοίνυν Ρουφῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανή, μένειν. καὶ χρόνος ἡμερῶν ἑβδομήκοντα Ρουφίνῳ ξυνέκειτο ἐς τὴν ἀφίξιν. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ρουφῖνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος βασιλεῖ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅσα Χοσρόῃ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ δοκοῦντα εἴη, ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα σφίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνίστασθαι. [9] Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ φήμη τις οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἤκουσα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἠγγελλεν ὀργισθέντα Ρουφῖνον κτεῖναι. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς τε καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἥδη ἐχόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἦει. Ρουφῖνος δὲ οἱ μεταξὺ ἐπανήκων ἐνέτυχε πόλεως Νισίβιδος οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. [10] διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο καί, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιοῦν ἔμελλον, τὰ χρήματα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα ἐκόμιζον. [11] ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Λαζικῇ φρούρια ξυγκεχωρηκότε μετέμελεν ἤδη, γράμματά τε ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγοντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔγραφε μηδαμῶς αὐτὰ προΐεσθαι Πέρσαις. [12] διὸ δὴ Χοσρόης τὰς σπονδὰς θέσθαι οὐκέτι ἤξιον, καὶ τότε Ρουφίνῳ ἔννοια τις ἐγένετο ὡς ταχύτερα ἢ ἀσφαλέστερα βουλευσάμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐσκομίσειεν. [13] αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, κείμενός τε πρηνὴς Χοσρόην ἰκέτευε τὰ τε χρήματα σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐθὺς στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐς χρόνον τινὰ ἕτερον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποτίθεσθαι. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευεν ἐξανίστασθαι, ἅπαντά οἱ ταῦτα χαριεῖσθαι ὑποσχόμενος. οἱ τε γοῦν πρέσβεις ζὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς Δάρας ἦλθον, καὶ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ὀπίσω ἀπῆλauen. [15] Καὶ τότε μὲν Ρουφῖνον οἱ ξυμπρεσβευταὶ δι' ὑποψίας τε αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσχον καὶ ἐς

βασιλέα διέβαλλον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ οἱ ἅπαντα ὁ Χοσρόης ὅσα ἐχρηζεν αὐτοῦ ἀναπεισθεὶς ξυνεχώρησεν. [16] ἔδρασε μέντοι αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ῥουφῖνός τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὖθις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐστέλλοντο, ἕς τε τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτίκα ἀλλήλοις ξυνέβησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάτεροι ἀποδώσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἀμφοτέροι χωρία ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἀλλήλους ἀφείλοντο, καὶ μηκέτι στρατιωτῶν τις ἀρχὴ ἐν Δάρας εἴη· τοῖς τε Ἰβηρσιν ἐδέδοκτο ἐν γνώμῃ εἶναι ἢ μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἢ ἐς σφῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιέναι. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ μένοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπανιόντες ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθι. [17] οὕτω τοίνυν τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην ἐσπέισαντο, ἔκτον ἤδη ἔτος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔχοντος. [18] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι Πέρσαις ἔδοσαν, Πέρσαι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια. καὶ Δάγαριν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδοσαν Πέρσαι, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον κεκομισμένοι οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. [19] οὗτος ὁ Δάγαρις χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις Οὐννους ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας μάχαις νικήσας ἐξήλασεν. ἦν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπονδὰς τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρηνέῳ ἀμφοτέροι ἐκρατύναντο.

Straightway Rufinus and Alexander and Thomas came to act as ambassadors with Hermogenes, and they all came before the Persian king at the River Tigris. And when Chosroes saw them, he released the hostages. Then the ambassadors coaxed Chosroes, and spoke many beguiling words most unbecoming to Roman ambassadors. By this treatment Chosroes became tractable, and agreed to establish a peace with them that should be without end for the price of one hundred and ten "centenaria," on condition that the commander of troops in Mesopotamia should be no longer at Daras, but should spend all his time in Constantina, as was customary in former times; but the fortresses in Lazica he refused to give back, although he himself demanded that he should receive back from the Romans both Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum. (Now the "centenarium" weighs one hundred pounds, for which reason it is so called; for the Romans call one hundred "centum"). He demanded that this gold be given him, in order that the Romans might not be compelled either to tear down the city of Daras or to share the garrison at the Caspian Gates with the Persians. However the ambassadors, while approving the rest, said that they were not able to concede the fortresses, unless they should first make enquiry of the emperor concerning them. It was decided, accordingly, that Rufinus should be sent concerning them to Byzantium, and that the others should wait until he should return. And it was arranged with Rufinus that seventy days' time be allowed until he should arrive. When Rufinus reached Byzantium and reported to the emperor what Chosroes' decision was concerning the peace, the emperor commanded that the peace be concluded by them on these terms.

In the meantime, however, a report which was not true reached Persia saying that the Emperor Justinian had become enraged and put Rufinus to death. Chosroes indeed was much perturbed by this, and, already filled with anger, he advanced against the Romans with his whole army. But Rufinus met him on the way as he was returning not far from the city of Nisibis. Therefore they proceeded to this city themselves, and, since they were about to establish the peace, the ambassadors began to convey the money thither. But the Emperor Justinian was already repenting that he had given up the strong holds of Lazica, and he wrote a letter to the ambassadors expressly commanding them by no means to hand them over to the Persians. For this reason Chosroes no longer saw fit to make the treaty; and then it came to the mind of Rufinus that he had counselled more speedily than safely in bringing the money into the land of Persia. Straightway, therefore, he threw himself on the earth, and lying prone he entreated Chosroes to send the money back with them and not march immediately against the Romans, but to put off the war to some other time. And Chosroes bade him rise from the ground, promising that he would grant

all these things. So the ambassadors with the money came to Daras and the Persian army marched back.

Then indeed the fellow-ambassadors of Rufinus began to regard him with extreme suspicion themselves, and they also denounced him to the emperor, basing their judgment on the fact that Chosroes had been persuaded to concede him everything which he asked of him. However, the emperor showed him no disfavour on account of this. At a time not long after this Rufinus himself and Hermogenes were again sent to the court of Chosroes, and they immediately came to agreement with each other concerning the treaty, subject to the condition that both sides should give back all the places which each nation had wrested from the other in that war, and that there should no longer be any military post in Daras; as for the Iberians, it was agreed that the decision rested with them whether they should remain there in Byzantium or return to their own fatherland. And there were many who remained, and many also who returned to their ancestral homes. [532 A.D.] Thus, then, they concluded the so-called “endless peace,” when the Emperor Justinian was already in the sixth year of his reign. And the Romans gave the Persians Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum together with the money, and the Persians gave the Romans the strongholds of Lazica. The Persians also returned Dagaris to the Romans, and received in return for him another man of no mean station. This Dagaris in later times often conquered the Huns in battle when they had invaded the land of the Romans, and drove them out; for he was an exceptionally able warrior. Thus both sides in the manner described made secure the treaty between them.

Εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἑκατέρῳ ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων: ὄντινα μέντοι τρόπον αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἄτακτός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐραστής ἄτοπος. [2] διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε αἰεὶ ἔμπλεως παραχῆς τε καὶ θορύβων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἰτιώτατος. [3] ἀχθόμενοι οὖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ὅσοι ἐν Πέρσαις δραστήριοι ἦσαν, ἕτερον σφίσι βασιλέα καταστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Καβάδου οἰκίας ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον. [4] καὶ ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολὺς τις πόθος τῆς Ζάμου ἀρχῆς ἣν δὴ ὁ νόμος αἰτία τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λώβης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐκώλυε λογισάμενοι ἠϋρισκον σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι Καβάδην μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ τῷ πάπῳ ὁμώνυμον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι, Ζάμην δέ, ἅτε τῷ παιδὶ ἐπίτροπον ὄντα, διοικεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα. [5] γενόμενοί τε παρὰ τὸν Ζάμην τό τε βούλημα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ προθυμία πολλῇ ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνήγον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ βουλὴ ἤρεσκεν, ἐς καιρὸν τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐπιθήσεσθαι διεννοοῦντο. ἔκπυστος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν βασιλέα γεγενημένη τὰ πρassoμένα διεκώλυσε. [6] Ζάμην τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ζάμου ἀδελφοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν γόνῳ παντὶ ἄρσενι ἔκτεινε, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν δοκίμων ὅσους τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἢ ἄρξαι ἢ μεταλαχεῖν τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τετύχηκεν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσπεβέδης ἦν ὁ τῆς Χοσρόου μητρὸς ἀδελφός. [7] Καβάδην μέντοι τὸν Ζάμου υἱὸν αὐτὸς μὲν

κτείνειν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ χαναράγγῃ τῷ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδῃ ἐτρέφετο. αὐτῷ δὲ χαναράγγῃ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὄνπερ ἐθρέψατο ἐπέστελλε διαχρήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἐδικαίου οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἶχεν. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν χαναράγγης, ἐπεὶ τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ἤκουσε, περιαλγίσας τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκοινολογεῖτο τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Καβάδου τίτθῃ ὅσα οἱ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστείλειε. δακρύσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβομένη, ἔχρηξε τέχνη μηδεμιᾶ Καβάδην κτείνειν. [9] βουλευσάμενοι οὖν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσαντο κρυπτόμενον μὲν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὸν παῖδα ἐκτρέφειν, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι ὡς οἱ ὁ Καβάδης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθεῖη. [10] καὶ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσήμαινον τὸν τε Καβάδην οὕτως ἀπέκρυσαν ὥστε τούτου γε παρείχοντο οὐδενὶ αἰσθῆσιν, ὅτι μὴ Οὐαρράμη τε τῷ σφετέρῳ παιδὶ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνί, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς πιστότατος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [11] ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐς ἡλικίαν ὁ Καβάδης ἦλθε, δείσας ὁ χαναράγγης μὴ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐς φῶς ἄγοιτο, χρήματά τε τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐκέλευε διασώζεσθαι ὅπῃ οἱ φεύγοντι δυνατὰ εἴη. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ὁ χαναράγγης ἐλάνθανε. [12] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλλεν, ὡς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράφεται. [13] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τούτου δὴ τοῦ χαναράγγου υἱὸς Οὐαρράμης, ἄλλους τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ ὃς αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὸν Καβάδην ξυνεπιστάμενος ἔτυχεν: ἐνταῦθα τῷ βασιλεῖ Οὐαρράμης τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἅπαντα ἔφραζε, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐφ' ἅπασιν οἱ ὁμολογοῦντα παρείχετο. [14] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔγνω, τῷ τε θυμῷ ἤδη ὑπερφυῶς εἶχετο καὶ δεινὰ ἐποίεῖτο εἰ πρὸς δούλου ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα ἔργα πεπονθῶς εἶη, οὐκ ἔχων τε ὅπως οἱ ὑποχείριον τὸν ἄνδρα ποιοίῃ, ἐπενόει τάδε. [15] ἡνίκα ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀναχωρεῖν ἔμελλε, γράφει τῷ χαναράγγῃ τούτῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἶη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβάλλειν, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μέντοι τῆς χώρας εἰσόδῳ, ἀλλὰ δίχα ποιησαμένῳ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα, ὅπως οἱ ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἔσται. [16] μιᾷ μὲν οὖν τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖρα ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξηγήσεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνδιδόναι τῶν αὐτοῦ δούλων ἴσα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμῇ ἔχειν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ χαναράγγῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα. [17] δεῖν τοίνυν αὐτόν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ κατὰ τάχος οἱ ἐς ὧσιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως αὐτῷ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπιστέλλοι ὅσα ξυνοίσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλοι, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθε κελεύειν ὁδῷ ἰέναι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ χαναράγγης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, περιχαρὴς γεγωνὺς τῇ ἐς αὐτόν τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ μακράν τε ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, αὐτίκα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. [19] ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἀντέχειν τῷ πόνῳ οὐδαμῇ ἔχων ἦν γάρ τις γέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα τὸν τε χαλινὸν μεθεὶς τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπίπτει καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐν τῷ σκέλει ὀστέον ἐρράγη: διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐνταῦθα θεραπευομένῳ ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἔς τε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἤκοντι ἐς ὧσιν ἦλθε. [20] καὶ αὐτῷ Χοσρόης ἔφασκε ξυστρατεύειν σφίσιν οὕτως ἔχοντι τοῦ ποδὸς ἀδύνατα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρῆναι αὐτόν ἐς τι τῶν ἐκεῖνῃ φρουρίων ἰόντα τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπιμελείας

ἐνταῦθα τυχεῖν. [21] οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθεν εἶποντο οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλον, ἄνδρα ἐν Πέρσαις ἀήττητον στρατηγὸν ὄντα τε καὶ λεγόμενον, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔθνη βαρβάρων στρατεύσας ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ βασιλεῖ παρεστήσατο. [22] τοῦ δὲ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Οὐαρράμης ὁ παῖς τὸ τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀξίωμα ἔσχε. [23] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον εἴτε Καβάδης αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ Ζάμου υἱός, εἴτε τις ἄλλος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Καβάδου ὀνόματος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε: Καβάδῃ μέντοι βασιλεῖ τὴν ὄψιν ἐμφερέστατος ἦν. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφιγνοῶν μὲν, ἅτε δὴ Καβάδου βασιλέως υἱὸν, ζὺν φιλοφροσύνη πολλῇ ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Πέρσας τοὺς Χοσρόῃ ἐπαναστάντας ἐγένετο ὧδε. [25] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Μεβόδην ὁ Χοσρόης διεκρήσατο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. τῶν τι σπουδαίων διαχειρίζων, παρόντι τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐπέταττε τὸν Μεβόδην καλεῖν: ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Μεβόδῃ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης διάφορος ὢν: ὃς δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος εὗρισκε μὲν στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους διέποντα, ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς καλοίῃ. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μάλα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διάθηται, ἔψεσθαι ὡμολόγει, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθῃ ἡγμένος ἀπήγγελλε Χοσρόῃ ὡς οὐ βούλοιο Μεβόδης ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤκειν, φάσκων οἱ τινα ἀσχολίαν εἶναι. [27] θυμῷ τοίνυν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος, στείλας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν Μεβόδην ἐκέλευεν ἵεναι. ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [28] τρίπους σιδηροῦς πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων ἔσαι ἔστηκεν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τις τῶν Περσῶν πύθῃται ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι, τοῦτ' οὐτε πῃ ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγεῖν θέμις οὔτε ἀλλαχόσε ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦτον καθημένῳ τὸν τρίποδα τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψῆφον, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντος. [29] ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεβόδης ἐν σχήματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθητο ἡμέρας πολλάς, ἕως τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγείλαντος λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν. ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐς Χοσρόην εὐεργεσίας ἐχώρησεν.

XXIII

Straightway it came about that plots were formed against both rulers by their subjects; and I shall now explain how this happened. Chosroes, the son of Cabades, was a man of an unruly turn of mind and strangely fond of innovations. For this reason he himself was always full of excitement and alarms, and he was an unfailing cause of similar feelings in all others. All, therefore, who were men of action among the Persians, in vexation at his administration, were purposing to establish over themselves another king from the house of Cabades. And since they longed earnestly for the rule of Zames, which was made impossible by the law by reason of the disfigurement of his eye, as has been stated, they found upon consideration that the best course for them was to establish in power his child Cabades, who bore the same name as his grandfather, while Zames, as guardian of the child, should administer the affairs of the Persians as he wished. So they went to Zames and disclosed their plan, and, urging him on with great enthusiasm, they endeavoured to persuade him to undertake the thing. And since the plan pleased him, they were purposing to assail Chosroes at the fitting moment. But the plan was discovered and came to the knowledge of the king, and thus their proceedings were stopped. For Chosroes slew Zames himself and all his own brothers and those of Zames together with all their male offspring, and also all the Persian notables who had either begun or taken part in any way in the plot against him. Among these was Aspebedes, the brother of Chosroes' mother.

Cabades, however, the son of Zames, he was quite unable to kill; for he was still being reared under the chanaranges, Adergoudounbades. But he sent a message to the chanaranges, bidding him himself kill the boy he had reared; for he neither thought it well to shew mistrust, nor yet had he power to compel him. The chanaranges, therefore, upon hearing the commands of Chosroes, was exceedingly grieved and, lamenting the misfortune, he communicated to his wife and Cabades' nurse all that the king had commanded. Then the woman, bursting into tears and seizing the knees of her husband, entreated him by no means to kill Cabades. They therefore consulted together, and planned to bring up the child in the most secure concealment, and to send word in haste to Chosroes that Cabades had been put out of the world for him. And they sent word to the king to this effect, and concealed Cabades in such a way that the affair did not come to the notice of any one, except Varrames, their own child, and one of the servants who seemed to them to be in every way most trustworthy. But when, as time went on, Cabades came of age, the chanaranges began to fear lest what had been done should be brought to light; he therefore gave Cabades money and bade him depart and save himself by flight wherever he could. At that time, then, Chosroes and all the others were in ignorance of the fact that the chanaranges had carried this thing through.

At a later time Chosroes was making an invasion into the land of Colchis with a great army, as will be told in the following narrative. And he was followed by the son of this same chanaranges, Varrames, who took with him a number of his servants, and among them the one who shared with him the knowledge of what had happened to Cabades; while there Varrames told the king everything regarding Cabades, and he brought forward the servant agreeing with him in every particular. When Chosroes learned this he was forthwith exceedingly angry, and he counted it a dreadful thing that he had suffered such things at the hand of a man who was his slave; and since he had no other means of getting the man under his hand he devised the following plan. When he was about to return homeward from the land of Colchis, he wrote to this chanaranges that he had decided to invade the land of the Romans with his whole army, not, however, by a single inroad into the country, but making two divisions of the Persian army, in order that the attack might be made upon the enemy on both sides of the River Euphrates. Now one division of the army he himself, as was natural, would lead into the hostile land, while to no one else of his subjects would he grant the privilege of holding equal honour with the king in this matter, except to the chanaranges himself on account of his valour. It was necessary, therefore, that the chanaranges should come speedily to meet him as he returned, in order that he might confer with him and give him all the directions which would be of advantage to the army, and that he should bid his attendants travel behind him on the road. When the chanaranges received this message, he was overjoyed at the honour shown him by the king, and in complete ignorance of his own evil plight, he immediately carried out the instructions. But in the course of this journey, since he was quite unable to sustain the toil of it (for he was a very old man), he relaxed his hold on the reins and fell off his horse, breaking the bone in his leg. It was therefore necessary for him to remain there quietly and be cared for, and the king came to that place and saw him. And Chosroes said to him that with his leg in such a plight it was not possible that he make the expedition with them, but that he must go to one of the fortresses in that region and receive treatment there from the physicians. Thus then Chosroes sent the man away on the road to death, and behind him followed the very men who were to destroy him in the fortress, — a man who was in fact as well as in name an invincible general among the Persians, who had marched against twelve nations of barbarians and subjected them all to King Cabades. After Adergoudounbades had been removed from the world, Varrames, his son, received the office of chanaranges. Not long after this either Cabades himself, the son of Zames, or someone else who was assuming the name of Cabades came to Byzantium; certainly he resembled very closely in appearance Cabades, the king. And the Emperor Justinian, though in doubt concerning him, received him with great friendliness and honoured him as the grandson of Cabades. So then fared the Persians who rose against Chosroes.

Later on Chosroes destroyed also Mebodes for the following reason. While the king was arranging a certain important matter, he directed Zaberganes who was present to call Mebodes. Now it happened that Zaberganes was on hostile terms with Mebodes. When he came to him, he found him marshalling the soldiers under his command, and he said that the king summoned him to come as quickly as possible. And Mebodes promised that he would follow directly as soon as he should have arranged the matter in hand; but Zaberganes, moved by his hostility to him, reported to Chosroes that Mebodes did not wish to come at present, claiming to have some business or other. Chosroes, therefore, moved with anger, sent one of his attendants commanding Mebodes to go to the tripod. Now as to what this is I shall explain forthwith. An iron tripod stands always before the palace; and whenever anyone of the Persians learns that the king is angry with him, it is not right for such a man to flee for refuge to a sanctuary nor to go elsewhere, but he must seat himself by this tripod and await the verdict of the king, while no one at all dares protect him. There Mebodes sat in pitiable plight for many days, until he was seized and put to death at the command of Chosroes. Such was the final outcome of his good deeds to Chosroes.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐνέπεσεν, ἡ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακὸν μέγα τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [2] οἱ δῆμοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη ἐξ τε Βενέτους ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διήρηντο, οὐ πολλὸς δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τούτων τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν βάθρων ἔνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασι, τὰ τε χρήματα δαπανῶσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς πικροτάτοις προΐενται καὶ θνήσκειν οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ: [3] μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τε ὥς, ἣν καὶ περιέσονται τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λελείπεται αὐτοῖς ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, αἰκίζομένοις δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα εἶτα ἀπολωλέναι. [4] φύεται μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεύτητον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, οὔτε κήδει οὔτε ξυγγενείᾳ οὔτε φιλίας θεσμῷ εἶκον, ἣν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οἱ ἐς τὰ χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶεν. [5] μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε θείων οὔτε ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἣν τέ τι ἀσέβημα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' οὗτου οὖν ἀμαρτάνηται ἣν τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες ἴσως κὰν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποιοῦνται, ἣν γε αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ μέλλῃ: οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς συστασιώτας καλοῦσι. [6] μεταλαγχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἄγους τούτου καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμεναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι, καίπερ οὔτε εἰς τὰ θεάτρα τὸ παράπαν ἰοῦσαι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ αἰτίῳ ἡγμέναι: ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλο τι ἐγῶγε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ψυχῆς νόσημα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἐκάστῳ ὧδέ πῃ ἔχει. [7] Τότε δὲ ἡ ἀρχή, ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφειστήκει ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινὰς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπήγε.

ξυμφορήσαντες δὲ καὶ σπείσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι τοὺς τε ἀγομένους ἀρπάζουσι καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσποτικὸν αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφίσιν ἅπαντας ὅσοι στάσεως ἢ ἑτέρου τοῦ ἀλόντες ἀποπήματος ἐδέδεντο. [8] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετοῦνται, ὅσοι τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἔπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἡπειρον ἔφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐπεφέρετο, ὥς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίοις γεγεννημένη. [9] καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡ Σοφία τὸ τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεῦξιππος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως λεγόμενον οἶκον καθέντα ἐφθάρη, ἐπὶ τούτοις τε ἄμφω αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἡ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. [10] βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἔνιοι καθείρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ξύμβολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκαιον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις ἐκείνη προσαγορεύεται. [11] Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἑπαρχὸς Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ Καππαδόκης, Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ, Πάμφυλος γένος, βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος· κοιαιστώρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [12] τούτοις ἄτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς γράφει· φύσεως δὲ ἰσχυρὴ πάντων γέγονε δυνατώτατος ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [13] γινώσκειν τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώτατος ἦν καὶ λύσιν τοῖς ἀπὸροις εὐρεῖν. πονηρότατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τῇ τῆς φύσεως δυνάμει ἐς τοῦτο ἐχρήτο, καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ λόγος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν αἰδῶς τις ἐσήει, ἀλλὰ βίους τε αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἀπολλύναι κέρδους ἕνεκα καὶ πόλεις ὅλας καθελεῖν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν. [14] χρόνου γούν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινὰ ἐκλελάτικεν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ληιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας, μέθη δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργοις ἀσελγέσιν ἡσχολημένος· [15] κατέχειν δὲ ἑαυτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε βρώματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἑμετον ἡσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς αἰεὶ ἔτοιμος, προῖεσθαι δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἐτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. [16] Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἐχρήτο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς οἷός τε ἦν κέρδους αἰεὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν ἀνῆρει, τοὺς δὲ ἔγραφεν, ἀπεμπολὼν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἑκάτερον. [17] Ἔως μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρώμασιν ὀνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὧν οὗτοι ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφορήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον καὶ περιόντες ἐζήτουν ἐφ' ᾧ κτείνωσι. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐταίριζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ παρέλυσεν. [18] καὶ Φωκᾶν μὲν, ἄνδρα πατρικίον, ἑπαρχὸν τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα· Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαιστώρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἔκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνώριμον ἐν πατρικίοις ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως δόκιμον. [19] οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦσσαν ἢ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἤκμαζε. πέμπτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρᾳ περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ὑπατίῳ τε καὶ

Πομπήϊω τοῖς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῖς οἴκαδε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπέσκηπτεν ἰέναι, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς σῶμα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑποτοπήσας εἴτε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἢ πεπρωμένη ἐς τοῦτο ἦγεν. [20] οἱ δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἔφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἐς τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἦκοντα. [21] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. οὕτω γοῦν οἴκαδε τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐκομιζέσθην καί, τέως μὲν νῦν ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζετην. [22] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ὡς ἀμφοτέρῳ ἀπηλλαγῆτην τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ λεὼς ἅπας, βασιλέα τε Ὑπάτιον ἀνηγόρευον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παραληψόμενον τὰ πράγματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦγον. [23] ἡ δὲ Ὑπατίου γυνὴ Μαρία, ξυनेτή τε οὔσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἶχετο μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ μεθίει, ἐβόα δὲ ὀλολυγῇ τε χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖοις ἅπασιν ἐγκελευομένη, ὡς αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. [24] ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὁμίλου, αὐτὴ τε οὐχ ἐκούσα μεθῆκε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς οὐτὶ ἐκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἦκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλουν, καὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς οὔτε διάδημα οὔτε τι ἄλλο ὧν δὴ βασιλέα περιβάλλεσθαι νόμος' στρεπτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θέμενοι βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπον. [25] ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ξυνιόντων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντες ἐτύγχανον ἐν τῇ βασιλεύῳ αὐλῇ, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐλέγοντο γινῶμαι ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰτέον ἀγωνιουμένοις ἐς παλάτιον. [26] Ὀριγένης δέ, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, παρελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε 'Τὰ μὲν παρόντα ἡμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, πράγματα μὴ οὐχὶ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι οὐχ οἷόν τε. πόλεμος δὲ καὶ βασιλεία τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὠμολόγηται εἶναι. [27] τῶν δὲ δὴ πράξεων αἱ μεγάλαι οὐ βραχύτῃ καιροῦ κατορθοῦσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀλλ' εὐβουλία τε λογισμῶν καὶ πόνοις σωμάτων, ἅπερ ἄνθρωποι ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐνδείκνυνται. [28] ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον ἵοιμεν, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μὲν ἀκμῆς τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν στήσεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἐν βραχεὶ διακινδυνεύσομεν χρόνῳ, τῶν δὲ ἀποβήσεσθαι μελλόντων ἕνεκα τὴν τύχην ἢ προσκυνήσομεν ἢ μεμψόμεθα πάντως. [29] τὰ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀξύτατα ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περίσταται κράτος. ἦν δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ παρόντα διοικησώμεθα, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις παρέσται ἡμῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν παλατίῳ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήσει ὡς τάχιστα ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἣ φυγεῖν. [30] ἀρχὴ γὰρ περιορωμένη καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀποληγούσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. ἔστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν βασιλεία ἕτερα, Πλακιλλιαναὶ τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμα, ὅθεν χρὴ βασιλέα τόνδε ὀρμώμενον τόν τε πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν καὶ [31] τὰ ἄλλα διοικήσασθαι ἢ ἄμεινον ἔξει.' Ὀριγένης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὁμιλος ποιεῖν, ὀξύτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα ῥοντο ζύμφορον εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστά γε Ὑπάτιος 'χρὴν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς' τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἦκειν, βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα. [32] Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ἦσαν, πότερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς φυγὴν τρεπομένοις ἄμεινον ἔσται. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ ἐλέγοντο ἐς ἑκάτερα φέροντες. [33] καὶ Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ

βασιλὶς ἔλεξε τοιάδε· 'Τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐν ἀνδράσι μὴ χρῆναι τολμᾶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνοῦσι νεανιεύεσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἶμαι καιρὸν ἡκιστα ἐφεῖναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ νομιστέον. [34] οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἐς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον ἦκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἄριστον ἢ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὡς ἄριστα θέσθαι. [35] ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν, ἣν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγεται, ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἦκοντι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότῳ τὸ φυγάδι εἶναι οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. [36] μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρὶς, μηδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βιώην, ἐν ἣ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσερούσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαί σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. [37] χρήματα γάρ τε πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, καὶ θάλασσα μὲν ἐκείνη, πλοῖα δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβήσεται σοι ἥδιστα ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γὰρ τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἀρέσκει λόγος, ὡς καλὸν ἐντάφιον [38] ἢ βασιλεία ἐστί.' τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος εἰπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπεγένετο καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἢ ἂν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατοὶ γένοιτο, ἣν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πολεμήσων ἴοι. [39] οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες, οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλὴν ἐτετάχατο, οὔτε τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται. [40] πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μούνδῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τὴν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν δυνατὴν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλῆθος ἐν τε ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένον. [41] Μούνδος δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος, τύχη τινὶ ξυνεκύρησε βαρβάρους Ἑρούλους ἐπαγαγόμενος κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦκειν. [42] Ὑπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὗ δὴ βασιλέα καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθεται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασιλείου θρόνον, ὅθεν αἰεὶ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τὸν τε ἱππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγῶνα. [43] ἐκ δὲ παλατίου Μούνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξήει, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ κοχλίας ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου κυκλοτεροῦς οὔσης ὠνόμασται. [44] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τε Ὑπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαινεν, ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πλησίον οἴκημα ἦλθεν οὗ δὴ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστίν, ἐβόα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγνύναι οἱ τὴν θύραν ὡς τάχιστα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἴοι. [45] δεδογμένον δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἕως αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νικῶν, ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπαῖψιν δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. [46] ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελισάριος ὡς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἰσχυρίζετο σφίσι τὰ πράγματα. [47] νεωτερίζειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίου φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν. ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Χαλκὴν καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προπύλαια ἰέναι. [48] ὁ δὲ δὴ μόλις καὶ οὔτε κινδύνων οὔτε πόνων μεγάλων χωρὶς δι' ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων διεξιὼν ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀναβαίνει. [49] καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὴν Βενέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστίν, ἐβούλευσε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν Ὑπάτιον ἰέναι, βραχείας δὲ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα πυλίδος ἢ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς Ὑπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, κατωρρώδησε μὴ οἱ ἐν στενῷ πονουμένῳ ὁ δῆμος

ξυνεπιθέμενος αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἅπαντας διαφθείραντες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρήσωσι. [50] λογισάμενος οὖν ὥς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἰτέον ἐστίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐστήκεσαν, πλήθει τε ἅμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος ἀράμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ ταῦτά ποιεῖν ἐπαγγεῖλας, δρόμῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [51] ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε δὴ ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἰστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἶδον τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρία καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ παίοντας, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [52] κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, γεγεννημένης, πλησίον που ἐστηκώς Μοῦνδος καὶ βουλόμενος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἦν γάρ τις τολμητῆς καὶ δραστήριος, ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἢ χρήσεται τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτεκμήρατο ὥς Βελισάριος ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἶη, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον διὰ τῆς εἰσόδου ἢ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. [53] τότε δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ Ὑπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος πλησσομένοι διεφθείροντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ φόνος ἦν ἤδη τοῦ δήμου πολὺς, Βοραΐδης τε καὶ Ἰούστος, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοί, χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀνταίρειν τολμῶντος, καθελὼν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου Ὑπάτιον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἅμα Πομπηίῳ παρέδωκαν. [54] θνήσκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου πλέον ἢ τρισμῦριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι. [55] ἐνταῦθα Πομπήιος μὲν ἐδάκρυε τε καὶ ἄξια ἐλέου ἐφθέγγετο: ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ κακῶν τοιούτων ἥκιστα ἐμπειρος: Ὑπάτιος δὲ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολουμένους ὀδύρεσθαι. [56] ἀρχὴν τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἐκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκαν τὰ σώματα. [57] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ τὴν γνώμην ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο. [58] ἔπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς Ὑπατίου καὶ Πομπηίου παισὶ τά τε ἀξιώματα οἷς πρότερον ἐχρῶντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς οὐκ ἔτυχε δωρησάμενος. ἐς τὸδε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις ἐτελεύτα.

[Jan. 1, 532] At this same time an insurrection broke out unexpectedly in Byzantium among the populace, and, contrary to expectation, it proved to be a very serious affair, and ended in great harm to the people and to the senate, as the following account will shew. In every city the population has been divided for a long time past into the Blue and the Green factions; but within comparatively recent times it has come about that, for the sake of these names and the seats which the rival factions occupy in watching the games, they spend their money and abandon their bodies to the most cruel tortures, and even do not think it unworthy to die a most shameful death. And they fight against their opponents knowing not for what end they imperil themselves, but knowing well that, even if they overcome their enemy in the fight, the conclusion of the matter for them will be to be carried off straightway to the prison, and finally, after suffering extreme torture, to be destroyed. So there grows up in them against their fellow men a hostility which has no cause, and at no time does it cease or disappear, for it gives place neither to the ties of marriage nor of relationship nor of friendship, and the case is the same even though those who differ with respect to these colours be brothers or any other kin. They care neither for things divine nor human in comparison with conquering in these struggles; and it matters not whether a sacrilege is committed by anyone at all against God, or whether the laws and the constitution are violated by friend or by foe; nay even when they are perhaps ill supplied with the necessities of life, and when their fatherland is in the most pressing need and suffering unjustly, they pay no heed if only it is likely to go well with their "faction"; for so they name the bands of partisans. And even women join with them in this unholy strife, and they not only follow the men, but even resist them if opportunity offers, although they neither go to the public exhibitions at all, nor are they impelled by any other cause; so that I, for my part, am unable to call this anything except a disease of the soul. This, then, is pretty well how matters stand among the people of each and every city.

But at this time the officers of the city administration in Byzantium were leading away to death some of the rioters. But the members of the two factions, conspiring together and declaring a truce with each other, seized the prisoners and then straightway entered the prison and released all those who were in confinement there, whether they had been condemned on a charge of stirring up sedition, or for any other unlawful act. And all the attendants in the service of the city government were killed indiscriminately; meanwhile, all of the citizens who were sane-minded were fleeing to the opposite mainland, and fire was applied to the city as if it had fallen under the hand of an enemy. The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippus, and the portion of the

imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure. During this time the emperor and his consort with a few members of the senate shut themselves up in the palace and remained quietly there. Now the watch-word which the populace passed around to one another was Nika, and the insurrection has been called by this name up to the present time.

The praetorian prefect at that time was John the Cappadocian, and Tribunianus, a Pamphylian by birth, was counsellor to the emperor; this person the Romans call “quaestor.” One of these two men, John, was entirely without the advantages of a liberal education; for he learned nothing while attending the elementary school except his letters, and these, too, poorly enough; but by his natural ability he became the most powerful man of whom we know. For he was most capable in deciding upon what was needful and in finding a solution for difficulties. But he became the basest of all men and employed his natural power to further his low designs; neither consideration for God nor any shame before man entered into his mind, but to destroy the lives of many men for the sake of gain and to wreck whole cities was his constant concern. So within a short time indeed he had acquired vast sums of money, and he flung himself completely into the sordid life of a drunken scoundrel; for up to the time of lunch each day he would plunder the property of his subjects, and for the rest of the day occupy himself with drinking and with wanton deeds of lust. And he was utterly unable to control himself, for he ate food until he vomited, and he was always ready to steal money and more ready to bring it out and spend it. Such a man then was John. Tribunianus, on the other hand, both possessed natural ability and in educational attainments was inferior to none of his contemporaries; but he was extraordinarily fond of the pursuit of money and always ready to sell justice for gain; therefore every day, as a rule, he was repealing some laws and proposing others, selling off to those who requested it either favour according to their need.

Now as long as the people were waging this war with each other in behalf of the names of the colours, no attention was paid to the offences of these men against the constitution; but when the factions came to a mutual understanding, as has been said, and so began the sedition, then openly throughout the whole city they began to abuse the two and went about seeking them to kill. Accordingly the emperor, wishing to win the people to his side, instantly dismissed both these men from office. And Phocas, a patrician, he appointed praetorian prefect, a man of the greatest discretion and fitted by nature to be a guardian of justice; Basilides he commanded to fill the office of quaestor, a man known among the patricians for his agreeable qualities and a notable besides. However, the insurrection continued no less violently under

them. Now on the fifth day of the insurrection in the late afternoon the Emperor Justinian gave orders to Hypatius and Pompeius, nephews of the late emperor, Anastasius, to go home as quickly as possible, either because he suspected that some plot was being matured by them against his own person, or, it may be, because destiny brought them to this. But they feared that the people would force them to the throne (as in fact fell out), and they said that they would be doing wrong if they should abandon their sovereign when he found himself in such danger. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he inclined still more to his suspicion, and he bade them quit the palace instantly. Thus, then, these two men betook themselves to their homes, and, as long as it was night, they remained there quietly.

But on the following day at sunrise it became known to the people that both men had quit the palace where they had been staying. So the whole population ran to them, and they declared Hypatius emperor and prepared to lead him to the market-place to assume the power. But the wife of Hypatius, Mary, a discreet woman, who had the greatest reputation for prudence, laid hold of her husband and would not let go, but cried out with loud lamentation and with entreaties to all her kinsmen that the people were leading him on the road to death. But since the throng overpowered her, she unwillingly released her husband, and he by no will of his own came to the Forum of Constantine, where they summoned him to the throne; then since they had neither diadem nor anything else with which it is customary for a king to be clothed, they placed a golden necklace upon his head and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans. By this time the members of the senate were assembling, — as many of them as had not been left in the emperor's residence, — and many expressed the opinion that they should go to the palace to fight. But Origenes, a man of the senate, came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow Romans, it is impossible that the situation which is upon us be solved in any way except by war. Now war and royal power are agreed to be the greatest of all things in the world. But when action involves great issues, it refuses to be brought to a successful conclusion by the brief crisis of a moment, but this is accomplished only by wisdom of thought and energy of action, which men display for a length of time. Therefore if we should go out against the enemy, our cause will hang in the balance, and we shall be taking a risk which will decide everything in a brief space of time; and, as regards the consequences of such action, we shall either fall down and worship Fortune or reproach her altogether. For those things whose issue is most quickly decided, fall, as a rule, under the sway of fortune. But if we handle the present situation more deliberately, not even if we wish shall we be able to take Justinian in the palace, but he will very speedily be thankful if he is allowed to flee; for authority which is ignored always loses its power, since its strength ebbs away with each day. Moreover we have other palaces, both Placillianae and the palace named from Helen, which this emperor should make his headquarters

and from there he should carry on the war and attend to the ordering of all other matters in the best possible way.” So spoke Origenes. But the rest, as a crowd is accustomed to do, insisted more excitedly and thought that the present moment was opportune, and not least of all Hypatius (for it was fated that evil should befall him) bade them lead the way to the hippodrome. But some say that he came there purposely, being well-disposed toward the emperor.

Now the emperor and his court were deliberating as to whether it would be better for them if they remained or if they took to flight in the ships. And many opinions were expressed favouring either course. And the Empress Theodora also spoke to the following effect: “As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way. For in the case of those whose interests have come into the greatest danger nothing else seems best except to settle the issue immediately before them in the best possible way. My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not also to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from this purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud.” When the queen had spoken thus, all were filled with boldness, and, turning their thoughts towards resistance, they began to consider how they might be able to defend themselves if any hostile force should come against them. Now the soldiers as a body, including those who were stationed about the emperor’s court, were neither well disposed to the emperor nor willing openly to take an active part in fighting, but were waiting for what the future would bring forth. All the hopes of the emperor were centred upon Belisarius and Mundus, of whom the former, Belisarius, had recently returned from the Persian war bringing with him a following which was both powerful and imposing, and in particular he had a great number of spearmen and guards who had received their training in battles and the perils of warfare. Mundus had been appointed general of the Illyrians, and by mere chance had happened to come under summons to Byzantium on some necessary errand, bringing with him Erulian barbarians.

When Hypatius reached the hippodrome, he went up immediately to where the emperor is accustomed to take his place and seated himself on the royal throne from which the emperor was always accustomed to view the equestrian

and athletic contests. And from the palace Mundus went out through the gate which, from the circling descent, has been given the name of the Snail. Belisarius meanwhile began at first to go straight up toward Hypatius himself and the royal throne, and when he came to the adjoining structure where there has been a guard of soldiers from of old, he cried out to the soldiers commanding them to open the door for him as quickly as possible, in order that he might go against the tyrant. But since the soldiers had decided to support neither side, until one of them should be manifestly victorious, they pretended not to hear at all and thus put him off. So Belisarius returned to the emperor and declared that the day was lost for them, for the soldiers who guarded the palace were rebelling against him. The emperor therefore commanded him to go to the so-called Bronze Gate and the propylaea there. So Belisarius, with difficulty and not without danger and great exertion, made his way over ground covered by ruins and half-burned buildings, and ascended to the stadium. And when he had reached the Blue Colonnade which is on the right of the emperor's throne, he purposed to go against Hypatius himself first; but since there was a small door there which had been closed and was guarded by the soldiers of Hypatius who were inside, he feared lest while he was struggling in the narrow space the populace should fall upon him, and after destroying both himself and all his followers, should proceed with less trouble and difficulty against the emperor. Concluding, therefore, that he must go against the populace who had taken their stand in the hippodrome — a vast multitude crowding each other in great disorder — he drew his sword from its sheath and, commanding the others to do likewise, with a shout he advanced upon them at a run. But the populace, who were standing in a mass and not in order, at the sight of armoured soldiers who had a great reputation for bravery and experience in war, and seeing that they struck out with their swords unsparingly, beat a hasty retreat. Then a great outcry arose, as was natural, and Mundus, who was standing not far away, was eager to join in the fight, — for he was a daring and energetic fellow — but he was at a loss as to what he should do under the circumstances; when, however, he observed that Belisarius was in the struggle, he straightway made a sally into the hippodrome through the entrance which they call the Gate of Death. Then indeed from both sides the partisans of Hypatius were assailed with might and main and destroyed. When the rout had become complete and there had already been great slaughter of the populace, Boraedes and Justus, nephews of the Emperor Justinian, without anyone daring to lift a hand against them, dragged Hypatius down from the throne, and, leading him in, handed him over together with Pompeius to the emperor. And there perished among the populace on that day more than thirty thousand. But the emperor commanded the two prisoners to be kept in severe confinement. Then, while Pompeius was weeping and uttering pitiable words (for the man was wholly inexperienced in such misfortunes), Hypatius reproached him at length and said that those who were about to die unjustly should not lament. For in the

beginning they had been forced by the people against their will, and afterwards they had come to the hippodrome with no thought of harming the emperor. And the soldiers killed both of them on the following day and threw their bodies into the sea. The emperor confiscated all their property for the public treasury, and also that of all the other members of the senate who had sided with them. Later, however, he restored to the children of Hypatius and Pompeius and to all others the titles which they had formerly held, and as much of their property as he had not happened to bestow upon his friends. This was the end of the insurrection in Byzantium.

Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὕτω παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς κατέστησαν ἄμφω. [2] ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιανὸς μὲν ἔτη πολλὰ ἐπιβιὸς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν. ἦν γὰρ αἰμύλος τε καὶ τᾶλλα ἡδὺς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ νόσημα ἐπισκιάσαι ἱκανώτατος τῆς παιδείας περιουσία. [3] Ἰωάννης δὲ ᾧ πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις βαρὺς τε ὁμοίως καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγὰς τε τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληϊζόμενος· δέκατον ἔτος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν παρανομίας ἐξέτισε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [4] Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἤχθετο αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα. καὶ ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκῶς οἷς ἡμάρτανε, θωπεῖα μὲν αὐτὴν ἡ χάριτι μετελθεῖν ὥς ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλλεν, οὔτε τὴν τύχην ἐρυθρίων οὔτε τὴν στοργὴν αἰσχυρόμενος ἦν περ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν ἐξαισίαν οἶαν. [5] αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν ποιουμένων κτεῖναι μὲν διενοεῖτο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μηχανῇ δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποιεῖτο πολύν. [6] γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐς αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐν δείμασι μεγάλοις ἐγίνετο. [7] ἐπειδὴν τε ὥς καθευδήσων ἐς τὸν κοιτῶνα ἴοι, τῶν τινα βαρβάρων ἐπιστήσεσθαι οἱ ὥς ἀπολοῦντα ὑπώπτευν ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην, ὑπερκύπτων τε αἰεὶ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους περισκοπῶν ἄϋπνος ἔμενε, καί περ ἐταιρισάμενος δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάδας πολλὰς, οὐ γεγονὸς ὑπάρχων τινὶ πρότερον τοῦτο γε. [8] ἀλλ' ἐπιλελησμένος ἅμα ἡμέρα θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων δειμάτων ἀπάντων, ὀλεθρος αὐτῆς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνετο. καὶ φαρμακεῦσι μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ὠμίλει, μαντείαις δὲ ἀσεβέσιν ἐς αἰεὶ χρώμενος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ τερατευομέναις ἀρχήν, ἀεροβατῶν τε καταφανὴς ἦν καὶ μετέωρος ἀρθεῖς ταῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίσι. [9] τῆς μέντοι πονηρίας αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν παρανομίας οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐλώφα οὔτε ὑπέληγε. [10] καὶ τις αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγος τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ που εἰς ἱερὸν ὥς εὐξομένους τε καὶ διανυκτερεύσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Χριστιανῶν ἠθεσιν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ τριβῶνιον ἐνδιδυσκόμενος ἱερεῖ πρέπον τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης ἦν νῦν Ἑλληνικὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασι, λόγους οὐχ ὁσίους τινὰς οὕσπερ ἐμεμελετήκει ἀπεστομάτιζεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ὅπως οἱ ἢ τε βασιλέως διάνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑποχειρία εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶν γενοίτο ἀπαθὴς πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [11] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰταλίαν καταστρεφάμενος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ζῶν Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ

μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειε. [12] καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἅλλοις ἅπασιν ἐντιμός τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦν, μόνος δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ πολλῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχετο, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἔχθος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἴλκε, Βελισάριος δὲ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν μάλιστα ἔτυχεν: ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε γενομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδος αὐθις ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσε, τὴν γυναῖκα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀπολιπών. [13] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ ἦν γὰρ ἰκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἀμήχανα χαριεῖσθαι τῇ βασιλίδι βουλευσαμένη ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ θυγάτηρ Εὐφημία, δόξαν μὲν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ πολλὴν ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λίαν εὐάλωτος, ἦν δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μόνῃς αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνηι πατήρ. [14] ταύτην ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τιθασσεύουσα ἐς ἡμέρας συχνὰς προσποιήσασθαι τε ἅτε φίλην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἵσχυσε καὶ τῶν αὐτῇ ἀπορρήτων μεταδιδόναι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [15] καὶ ποτε αὐτῆς οἱ μόνῃς ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παρούσης ὁδύρεσθαι τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐπλάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ Βελισάριος εὐρυτέραν ποιησάμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πλείονι μέτρῳ ἢ πρότερον οὔσα ἐτύγχανε, βασιλεῖς τε δορυαλώτους δύο καὶ πλούτου τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγών, ἀχαρίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτυχε: τὰ τε ἄλλα ὡς οὐ δικαίαν οὔσαν τὴν πολιτείαν διέβαλλε. [16] περιχαρὴς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ γενομένη ἡ Εὐφημία 'δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἀρχῇ ἤχηθ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦδε μέντοι, ὦ φιλάτῃ,' ἔφη, 'ὕμεις αἴτιοι, ὅτι δὴ παρὸν ὑμῖν [17] τῇ δυνάμει οὐ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι.' ὑπολαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα 'Οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τέ ἐσμεν, ὦ θύγατερ,' εἶπεν, 'ἐν στρατοπέδῳ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν, ἦν μὴ τοῦ ἔργου ξυνεπιλάβωνται ἡμῖν τῶν ἔνδον τινές: ἀλλ' εἴπερ ὁ σὸς πατήρ ἤθελε, ῥᾶστα ἂν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν καθιστάμενοι ὅσα ἦν τῷ [18] θεῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπράσσομεν.' ἀκούσασα ταῦτα Εὐφημία προθύμως μὲν ὑπέσχετο ἐπιτελῆ ἔσεσθαι, ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ ἐνθὲνδε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐθὺς ἦνεγκε. [19] καὶ ὃς τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς 'ταύτην γὰρ οἱ ὁδὸν ἔς τε τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπετόπαζε φέρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν' εὐθὺς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὁμολόγησε, πρᾶσσειν τε τὴν παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ὅπως τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς λόγους τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ αὐτὸς ξυμμίξῃ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοίῃ. [20] μαθοῦσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν Ἰωάννου γνώμην καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐννοίας ἐθέλουσα, νῦν μὲν ἔφη οἱ ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, μὴ τις ὑποψία μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένη διακωλῦσαι τὰ πρασσόμενα ἰκανὴ εἴῃ: μέλλειν δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν ἕω παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. [21] ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγεῖσα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ γένηται 'ὃ δὴ Ῥουφινιαναὶ μὲν ὀνομάζεται, Βελισαρίου δὲ ἴδιον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν', ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ προπέμψοντα ἦκειν, καὶ τοὺς τε λόγους περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα εὖ τε τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμέρα τακτὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει διώριστο. [22] ἢ τε βασιλὶς τὸν πάντα λόγον παρὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης ἀκούσασα ἐπῆνει μὲν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἐγκελευομένη δὲ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνήγεν. [23] Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ κυρία παρῆν, ἀσπασαμένη μὲν ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν βασιλίδι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηλλάσσετο, ἐν τε Ῥουφινιαναῖς ἐγένετο, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω ὁδοῦ ἀρξομένη, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελέσων ἐς νύκτα ἦλθεν. [24] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς

διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι
πρασσόμενα, Ναρσῆν τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Μάρκελλον τὸν τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ
φυλάκων ἄρχοντα ἐς Ῥουφινιανὰς ζὺν στρατιώταις πολλοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ
διερευνησάμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἦν τὸν Ἰωάννην πράγμασι νεωτέροις
ἐγχειροῦντα εὐρήσωσι, κτείναντες εὐθὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπανήξουσιν. [25] καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἐστέλλοντο. φασὶ δὲ βασιλέα τῶν ποιουμένων
αἰσθόμενον τῶν τινα Ἰωάννη ἐπιτηδεῖων παρ' αὐτὸν πέμψαι, ἀπεροῦντα αὐτῷ
μηδαμῇ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ἐντυχεῖν λάθρα. [26] Ἰωάννης δὲ ἄχρη γὰρ αὐτῷ
γενέσθαι κακῶς τὴν βασιλέως ὑποθήκην ἐν ἀλογία πεποιημένος, ἀμφὶ νύκτα
μέσσην τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ξυνέμιξεν αἵμασις πού τινος ἄγχιστα, ἥς δὴ ὀπισθεν
καθίσασα ἐτύγχανε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ Μάρκελλον, ὅπως τῶν
λεγομένων ἀκούσειαν. [27] ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης μὲν ἀφυλάκτῳ στόματι τὰ ἐς τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν ὡμολόγει τε καὶ ὅρκους δεινотάτοις ἀπισχυρίζετο, Ναρσῆς δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστησαν. [28] θορύβου δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
γενομένου οἱ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δορυφόροι ἄγχιστα γὰρ πῃ ἐστήκεσαν παρ' αὐτὸν
αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο. [29] καὶ αὐτῶν τις Μάρκελλον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, ξίφει
ἐπληξεν, οὕτω τε Ἰωάννης διαφυγεῖν ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἴσχυσεν ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
τάχος ἀφίκετο. [30] καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλθεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἐθάρσησεν, οἶμαι ἂν,
οὐδὲν ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι: νῦν δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν δέδωκε τῇ
βασιλίδι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι. [31] Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξ
ἐπάρχων ιδιώτης γενόμενος ἐς ἕτερον ἐνθένδε ἀναστὰς ἐκομίσθη, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ
προαστείῳ Κυζίκου πόλεως ἴδρυται, — Ἀρτάκην καλοῦσι Κυζικηνοὶ τὸ
προάστειον. ἐνταῦθα ἱερώς οὗ τι ἐκούσιος περιβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐκ
ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτερον νενομίκασιν. [32] ὁ δὲ
ἱεουργεῖν ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ὡς μή ποτε αὐτῷ ἐμπόδιον εἴη ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐθις
ιέναι: τῶν γὰρ ἐλπίδων μεθίσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐς τὸ
δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα εὐθὺς γέγονεν. [33] ὦν δὴ αὐτῷ μοῖραν βασιλεὺς πολλὴν
ἤφει: [34] ἔτι γὰρ τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν φειδοῖ εἶχετο. ἐνταῦθα παρῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
ἀφροντιστήσαντι μὲν κινδύνων ἀπάντων, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένῳ μεγάλα,
ὅσα τε αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανε κρύψας καὶ ὅσα βασιλέως γνώμῃ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμεινε,
τρυφᾷν τε κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἡγεῖσθαι λογισμῷ σῶφρονι
εὐδαίμονα εἶναι. [35] διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀτεχνῶς
ἤχθοντο, ὅτι δὴ πονηρότατος γεγινὼς δαιμόνων ἀπάντων, βίον παρὰ τὴν
ἀξίαν εὐδαιμονέστερον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. [36] ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, οἶμαι, οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἐς
τοῦτο τὴν τίσιν Ἰωάννῃ ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐπὶ μέγα τε αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν
ἐξηρτύετο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. [37] Ἦν τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐσεβίος ὄνομα,
χαλεπὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Ἰωάννου οὐδὲν τι ἥσσον: τοῦτον
Κυζικηνοὶ βασιλεῖ διαβάλλοντες ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. [38] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦνυον,
δυνάμει αὐτοὺς περιελθόντος Εὐσεβίου πολλῇ, ξυμφρονήσαντες νεανῖαι τινὲς
ἐν τῇ Κυζίκου ἀγορᾷ κτείνουσιν. [39] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης τῷ Εὐσεβίῳ
διάφορος γεγινὼς μάλιστα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποψία ἐς αὐτὸν
ἦλθε. [40] στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες διερευνησόμενοι τὸ μίasma
τοῦτο: οἱ δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην πρῶτα μὲν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξαν, ἔπειτα δὲ
ἄνδρα ἔπαρχον μὲν δυνατὸν οὕτω γενόμενον, ἐς πατρικίους δὲ ἀναγραφέντα

καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον, οὗ μεῖζον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ, ἔστησάν τε γυμνόν, ἅτε ληστήν τινα ἢ λωποδύτην, καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς εἰπεῖν τὰ βεβιωμένα ἠνάγκαζον. [41] καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐσεβίου φόνου αἴτιος Ἰωάννης οὐ λίαν ἐξελήλεγκτο, ἐφκει μέντοι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη ποινὰς αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσπραττομένη. [42] ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελόμενοι γυμνὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασαν, ἱμάτιον ἓν, καὶ τοῦτο τραχὺ κομιδῇ, ἀμπεχόμενον, ὀβολῶν ὠνηθὲν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἳ τε αὐτὸν παραπέμποντες ὅπη ἂν ἡ ναὺς ὀρμισθεῖ ἐκέλευον ἄρτον ἢ ὀβολοὺς ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων αἰτεῖσθαι. [43] οὕτω τε πτωχεύων πανταχόθι τῆς πορείας τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόου κομίζεται. καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ἔτος αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα καθεύξαντες τηροῦσιν. [44] ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἐν τοιούτοις γεγονῶς πάθεσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων τινάς, ἅτε τῷ δημοσίῳ χρυσίον ὀφείλοντας, διαβαλεῖν ἔγνω. Ἰωάννην μὲν οὖν τὸν Καππαδόκην δέκα ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον αὕτη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις.

Tribunianus and John were thus deprived of office, but at a later time they were both restored to the same positions. And Tribunianus lived on in office many years and died of disease, suffering no further harm from anyone. For he was a smooth fellow and agreeable in every way and well able by the excellence of his education to throw into the shade his affliction of avarice. But John was oppressive and severe alike with all men, inflicting blows upon those whom he met and plundering without respect absolutely all their money; consequently in the tenth year of his office he rightly and justly atoned for his lawless conduct in the following manner.

The Empress Theodora hated him above all others. And while he gave offence to the woman by the wrongs he committed, he was not of a mind to win her by flattery or by kindness in any way, but he openly set himself in opposition to her and kept slandering her to the emperor, neither blushing before her high station nor feeling shame because of the extraordinary love which the emperor felt for her. When the queen perceived what was being done, she purposed to slay the man, but in no way could she do this, since the Emperor Justinian set great store by him. And when John learned of the purpose of the queen regarding him, he was greatly terrified. And whenever he went into his chamber to sleep, he expected every night that some one of the barbarians would fall upon him to slay him; and he kept peeping out of the room and looking about the entrances and remained sleepless, although he had attached to himself many thousands of spearmen and guards, a thing which had been granted to no prefect before that time. But at daybreak, forgetting all his fears of things divine and human, he would become again a plague to all the Romans both in public and in private. And he conversed commonly with sorcerers, and constantly listened to profane oracles which portended for him the imperial office, so that he was plainly walking on air and lifted up by his hopes of the royal power. But in his rascality and the lawlessness of his conduct there was no moderation or abatement. And there was in him absolutely no regard for God, and even when he went to a sanctuary to pray and to pass the night, he did not do at all as the Christians are wont to do, but he clothed himself in a coarse garment appropriate to a priest of the old faith which they are now accustomed to call Hellenic, and throughout that whole night mumbled out some unholy words which he had practised, praying that the mind of the emperor might be still more under his control, and that he himself might be free from harm at the hands of all men.

At this time Belisarius, after subjugating Italy, came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor with his wife Antonina, in order to march against the Persians. And while in the eyes of all others he was an honoured and

distinguished person, as was natural, John alone was hostile to him and worked actively against him, for no other reason than that he drew the hatred of all to himself, while Belisarius enjoyed an unequalled popularity. And it was on him that the hope of the Romans centred as he marched once more against the Persians, leaving his wife in Byzantium. Now Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, (for she was the most capable person in the world to contrive the impossible,) purposing to do a favour to the empress, devised the following plan. John had a daughter, Euphemia, who had a great reputation for discretion, but a very young woman and for this reason very susceptible; this girl was exceedingly loved by her father, for she was his only child. By treating this young woman kindly for several days Antonina succeeded most completely in winning her friendship, and she did not refuse to share her secrets with her. And on one occasion when she was present alone with her in her room she pretended to lament the fate which was upon her, saying that although Belisarius had made the Roman empire broader by a goodly measure than it had been before, and though he had brought two captive kings and so great an amount of wealth to Byzantium, he found Justinian ungrateful; and in other respects she slandered the government as not just. Now Euphemia was overjoyed by these words, for she too was hostile to the present administration by reason of her fear of the empress, and she said: "And yet, dearest friend, it is you and Belisarius who are to blame for this, seeing that, though you have opportunity, you are not willing to use your power." And Antonina replied quickly: "It is because we are not able, my daughter, to undertake revolutions in camp, unless some of those here at home join with us in the task. Now if your father were willing, we should most easily organize this project and accomplish whatever God wills." When Euphemia heard this, she promised eagerly that the suggestion would be carried out, and departing from there she immediately brought the matter before her father. And he was pleased by the message (for he inferred that this undertaking offered him a way to the fulfilment of his prophecies and to the royal power), and straightway without any hesitation he assented, and bade his child arrange that on the following day he himself should come to confer with Antonina and give pledges. When Antonina learned the mind of John, she wished to lead him as far as possible astray from the understanding of the truth, so she said that for the present it was inadvisable that he should meet her, for fear lest some suspicion should arise strong enough to prevent proceedings; but she was intending straightway to depart for the East to join Belisarius. When, therefore, she had quit Byzantium and had reached the suburb (the one called Rufinianae which was the private possession of Belisarius), there John should come as if to salute her and to escort her forth on the journey, and they should confer regarding matters of state and give and receive their pledges. In saying this she seemed to John to speak well, and a certain day was appointed to carry out the plan. And the empress, hearing the whole account from Antonina, expressed approval of what she had planned, and by her exhortations raised her

enthusiasm to a much higher pitch still.

When the appointed day was at hand, Antonina bade the empress farewell and departed from the city, and she went to Rufiniana, as if to begin on the following day her journey to the East; hither too came John at night in order to carry out the plan which had been agreed upon. Meanwhile the empress denounced to her husband the things which were being done by John to secure the tyranny, and she sent Narses, the eunuch, and Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards to Rufiniana with numerous soldiers, in order that they might investigate what was going on, and, if they found John setting about a revolution, that they might kill the man forthwith and return. So these departed for this task. But they say that the emperor got information of what was being done and sent one of John's friends to him forbidding him on any condition to meet Antonina secretly. But John (since it was fated that he should fare ill), disregarding the emperor's warning, about midnight met Antonina, close by a certain wall behind which she had stationed Narses and Marcellus with their men that they might hear what was said. There, while John with unguarded tongue was assenting to the plans for the attack and binding himself with the most dread oaths, Narses and Marcellus suddenly set upon him. But in the natural confusion which resulted the body-guards of John (for they stood close by) came immediately to his side. And one of them smote Marcellus with his sword, not knowing who he was, and thus John was enabled to escape with them, and reached the city with all speed. And if he had had the courage to go straightway before the emperor, I believe that he would have suffered no harm at his hand; but as it was, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and gave the empress opportunity to work her will against him at her pleasure.

[May, 541] Thus, then, from being prefect he became a private citizen, and rising from that sanctuary he was conveyed to another, which is situated in the suburb of the city of Cyzicus called by the Cyzicenes Artace. There he donned the garb of a priest, much against his will, not a bishop's gown however, but that of a presbyter, as they are called. But he was quite unwilling to perform the office of a priest lest at some time it should be a hindrance to his entering again into office; for he was by no means ready to relinquish his hopes. All his property was immediately confiscated to the public treasury, but a large proportion of this the emperor remitted to him, for he was still inclined to spare him. There it was possible for John to live, disregarding all dangers and enjoying great wealth, both that which he himself had concealed and that which by the decision of the emperor remained with him, and to indulge in luxury at his pleasure, and, if he had reasoned wisely, to consider his present lot a happy one. For this reason all the Romans were exceedingly vexed with the man, because, forsooth, after proving himself the basest of all demons, contrary to his deserts he was leading a life happier than before. But God, I think, did not suffer John's retribution to end thus, but prepared for him a

greater punishment. And it fell out thus.

There was in Cyzicus a certain bishop named Eusebius, a man harsh to all who came in his way, and no less so than John; this man the Cyzicenes denounced to the emperor and summoned to justice. And since they accomplished nothing inasmuch as Eusebius circumvented them by his great power, certain youths agreed together and killed him in the market-place of Cyzicus. Now it happened that John had become especially hostile to Eusebius, and hence the suspicion of the plot fell upon him. Accordingly men were sent from the senate to investigate this act of pollution. And these men first confined John in a prison, and then this man who had been such a powerful prefect, and had been inscribed among the patricians and had mounted the seat of the consuls, than which nothing seems greater, at least in the Roman state, they made to stand naked like any robber or footpad, and thrashing him with many blows upon his back, compelled him to tell his past life. And while John had not been clearly convicted as guilty of the murder of Eusebius, it seemed that God's justice was exacting from him the penalties of the world. Thereafter they stripped him of all his goods and put him naked on board a ship, being wrapped in a single cloak, and that a very rough one purchased for some few obols; and wherever the ship anchored, those who had him in charge commanded him to ask from those he met bread or obols. Thus begging everywhere along the way he was conveyed to the city of Antinous in Aegypt. And this is now the third year during which they have been guarding him there in confinement. As for John himself, although he has fallen into such troubles, he has not relinquished his hope of royal power, but he made up his mind to denounce certain Alexandrians as owing money to the public treasury. Thus then John the Cappadocian ten years afterward was overtaken by this punishment for his political career.

Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν τε τῆς ἐφῶς αὐθις Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐς Λιβύην πέμψας τὴν χώραν ἔσχεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λελέξεται λόγοις. [2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἔξ τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἦλθε, δεινῶς ἡσχαλλον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοις μετέμελεν ἤδη, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν ἤσθοντο. [3] πέμψας τε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις, ζηγχαίρειν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε, καὶ τὸ μέρος λαβεῖν ξὺν γέλῳτι δῆθεν τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης λαφύρων ἡξίου, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε Βανδύλων τῷ πολέμῳ περιέσεσθαι ἴσχυσεν, [4] εἰ μὴ αὐτῷ Πέρσαι ἐσπέισαντο. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς χρήμασι δωρησάμενος, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο. [5] Ἐν δὲ πόλει Δάρας τοιόνδε τι ξυνέβη γενέσθαι. Ἰωάννης τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος πεζῶν: οὗτος οὐχ ἀπάντων οἱ ξυμφρονούντων στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων τινῶν, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν. [6] ἐν τε παλατίῳ καθήμενος ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκρατύνετο ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. [7] καὶ εἰ μὴ Πέρσας ἔχεσθαι εἰρήνης ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῆνικαῦτα ξυνέβη, ἀνήκεστα ἂν ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐγεγόνει κακά. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσε φθάσασα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἡ ζῦμβασις. [8]

ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τετάρτῃ ξυμφορήσαντες στρατιῶται γνώμη Μάμαντός τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱερέως καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν δοκίμων τινὸς πολιτῶν, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον μεσημβρίας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνέβησαν, κρύψας ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ξιφίδιον. [9] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ θύρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐρόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα ἐσβάντες τοῦ τυράννου ἤπτοντο: τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸ πρῶτους εἰργάσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μελλόντων τε ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ καὶ κατωρρωδηκότων τὸν κίνδυνον, τῶν τινα ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντα ἐσπηδῆσαι τε ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐντυχόντα ἀπροσδοκῆτως παῖσαι. [10] καὶ τὸν οὐ πληγέντα μὲν καιρίαν πληγὴν, ξὺν θορύβῳ δὲ πολλῷ φεύγοντα, ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμπεσεῖν ἄφνω. [11] οὕτω τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοὺς ἀψαμένους πῦρ μὲν αὐτίκα τῷ παλατίῳ ὑφάψαντας καῦσαι, ὥς μὴ τις ἐλπίς ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖη τοῖς τὰ νεώτερα πράγματα πράσσουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγαγόντας δῆσαι. [12] καὶ αὐτῶν τινα δείσαντα μὴ οἱ στρατιῶται περιεῖναι τὸν τύραννον γνόντες πράγματα τῇ πόλει αὐθις παράσχονται, κτεῖναί τε τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ταραχὴν παῦσαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τυραννίδι τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

XXVI

At that time the Emperor again designated Belisarius General of the East, and, sending him to Libya, gained over the country, as will be told later on in my narrative. When this information came to Chosroes and the Persians, they were mightily vexed, and they already repented having made peace with the Romans, because they perceived that their power was extending greatly. And Chosroes sent envoys to Byzantium, and said that he rejoiced with the Emperor Justinian, and he asked with a laugh to receive his share of the spoils from Libya, on the ground that the emperor would never have been able to conquer in the war with the Vandals if the Persians had not been at peace with him. So then Justinian made a present of money to Chosroes, and not long afterwards dismissed the envoys.

In the city of Daras the following event took place. There was a certain John there serving in a detachment of infantry; this man, in conspiracy with some few of the soldiers, but not all, took possession of the city, essaying to make himself tyrant. Then he established himself in a palace as if in a citadel, and was strengthening his tyranny every day. And if it had not happened that the Persians were continuing to keep peace with the Romans, irreparable harm would have come from this affair to the Romans. But as it was, this was prevented by the agreement which had already been reached, as I have said. On the fourth day of the tyranny some soldiers conspired together, and by the advice of Mamas, the priest of the city, and Anastasius, one of the notable citizens, they went up to the palace at high noon, each man hiding a small sword under his garment. And first at the door of the courtyard they found some few of the body-guards, whom they slew immediately. Then they entered the men's apartment and laid hold upon the tyrant; but some say that the soldiers were not the first to do this, but that while they were still hesitating in the courtyard and trembling at the danger, a certain sausage-vendor who was with them rushed in with his cleaver and meeting John smote him unexpectedly. But the blow which had been dealt him was not a fatal one, this account goes on to say, and he fled with a great outcry and suddenly fell among these very soldiers. Thus they laid hands upon the man and immediately set fire to the palace and burned it, in order that there might be left no hope from there for those making revolutions; and John they led away to the prison and bound. And one of them, fearing lest the soldiers, upon learning that the tyrant survived, might again make trouble for the city, killed John, and in this way stopped the confusion. Such, then, was the progress of events touching this tyranny.

BOOK II. THE PERSIAN WAR (Continued)

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν ὡς καὶ Ἰταλίαν Βελισάριος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ προσποιεῖν ἤρξατο, οὐκέτι κατέχειν οἶός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σκήψεις ἐπινοεῖν ἤθελεν ὅπως δὴ λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσειεν. [2] ὑπὲρ ὧν κοινολογησάμενος Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ξυμπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. [3] ὁ δὲ Ἀρέθᾳ ἐπικαλέσας ὅτι αὐτὸν περὶ γῆς ὀρίων βιάζοιτο, ἐς χειράς τε αὐτῷ ἐν σπονδαῖς ἤλθε καὶ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σκῆψει καταθεῖν ἤρξατο. [4] ἔφασκέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς οὐ λύει τὰς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων σπονδὰς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐς ταύτας οὐδέτεροι ἐσεγράψαντο. [5] καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε Σαρακηνῶν λόγος ἐν σπονδαῖς γέγονεν, ἅτε ξυνεχομένων τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι. [6] αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἣ δὴ πρὸς ἐκατέρων τότε Σαρακηνῶν ἀντελέγετο, Στραῖτα μὲν κέκληται, Παλμύρας δὲ πόλεως πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τέτραπται, δένδρον μὲν ἢ τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ληίοις ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῇ φέρουσα ἡλιοκαυστος γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστὶ, προβάτων δὲ τισιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνειμένη νομαῖς. [7] Ἀρέθᾳ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι τὸν χῶρον, τῷ τε ὀνόματι τεκμηριούμενος οὗ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ἄνωθεν ἔτυχε Στραῖτα γὰρ ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς τῇ Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ καὶ μαρτυρίαις παλαιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν χρώμενος. [8] Ἀλαμούνδαρος δὲ φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου, μισθοὺς δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα νομοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔφασκε τοὺς τὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένους διδόναι. [9] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Στρατηγίῳ τε πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν ἄρχοντι, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετῷ καὶ εὐπατρίδῃ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Σούμμῳ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἡγήσαμένῳ, τὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἐπέτρεψε δίαιταν. [10] ὁ δὲ Σοῦμμος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἦν, ὃς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐς Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπρέσβευσε. [11] καὶ αὐτοῖν ἄτερος μὲν, Σοῦμμος, μὴ χρῆναι Ῥωμαίους καταπροΐεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἡξίου, Στρατήγιος δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο μὴ χώρας τινὸς ἕνεκα βραχείας τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἀγόνου τε καὶ ἀκάρπου παντάπασιν οὔσης, Πέρσαις πολεμῆσαι σκῆψεις τοῦ πολέμου χαρίζεσθαι: βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς ταῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ χρόνος πολὺς ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη. [12] Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔφασκε, πολλὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδειξαμένου, οἷς δὴ ἐταιρίζεσθαι Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐνεχείρησε. [13] Σοῦμμος γὰρ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ διαίτῃ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντα ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ προσχωρήσει Ῥωμαίοις, γράμματά τε προΐσχετο ἃ δὴ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. [14] καὶ πρὸς Οὐννων δὲ τινὰς ἰσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι, ἐγκελευομένην αὐτοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δὴ οἱ τοὺς Οὐννους αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν ἐγχειρίσαι ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντας. [15] ταῦτα μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπονδὰς

λύειν διενοεῖτο. εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντί οἱ ἀληθίζεσθαι ξυνέβαινεν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

Not long after this Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius had begun to win Italy also for the Emperor Justinian, was no longer able to restrain his thoughts but he wished to discover pretexts, in order that he might break the treaty on some grounds which would seem plausible. And he conferred with Alamoundaras concerning this matter and commanded him to provide causes for war. So Alamoundaras brought against Arethas, the charge that he, Arethas, was doing him violence in a matter of boundary lines, and he entered into conflict with him in time of peace, and began to overrun the land of the Romans on this pretext. And he declared that, as for him, he was not breaking the treaty between the Persians and Romans, for neither one of them had included him in it. And this was true. For no mention of Saracens was ever made in treaties, on the ground that they were included under the names of Persians and Romans. Now this country which at that time was claimed by both tribes of Saracens is called Strata, and extends to the south of the city of Palmyra; nowhere does it produce a single tree or any of the useful growth of corn-lands, for it is burned exceedingly dry by the sun, but from of old it has been devoted to the pasturage of some few flocks. Now Arethas maintained that the place belonged to the Romans, proving his assertion by the name which has long been applied to it by all (for Strata signifies "a paved road" in the Latin tongue), and he also adduced the testimonies of men of the oldest times. Alamoundaras, however, was by no means inclined to quarrel concerning the name, but he claimed that tribute had been given him from of old for the pasturage there by the owners of the flocks. The Emperor Justinian therefore entrusted the settlement of the disputed points to Strategius; a patrician and administrator of the royal treasures, and besides a man of wisdom and of good ancestry, and with him Summus, who had commanded the troops in Palestine. This Summus was the brother of Julian, who not long before had served as envoy to the Aethiopians and Homeritae. And the one of them, Summus, insisted that the Romans ought not to surrender the country, but Strategius begged of the emperor that he should not do the Persians the favour of providing them with pretexts for the war which they already desired, for the sake of a small bit of land and one of absolutely no account, but altogether unproductive and unsuitable for crops. The Emperor Justinian, therefore, took the matter under consideration, and a long time was spent in the settlement of the question.

But Chosroes, the King of the Persians, claimed that the treaty had been broken by Justinian, who had lately displayed great opposition to his house, in that he had attempted in time of peace to attach Alamoundaras to himself. For, as he said, Summus, who had recently gone to the Saracen ostensibly to arrange matters, had hoodwinked him by promises of large sums of money on

condition that he should join the Romans, and he brought forward a letter which, he alleged, the Emperor Justinian had written to Alamoundaras concerning these things. He also declared that he had sent a letter to some of the Huns, in which he urged them to invade the land of the Persians and to do extensive damage to the country thereabout. This letter he asserted to have been put into his hands by the Huns themselves who had come before him. So then Chosroes, with these charges against the Romans, was purposing to break off the treaty. But as to whether he was speaking the truth in these matters, I am not able to say.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίτιγίς, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος, ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένος, πρέσβεις δύο παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπεμψεν, ἀναπέιποντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεῦσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι συγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Λιγούρους ἱερεῖς, χρήμασιν ἀδροῖς ἐς ταύτην ἡγμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν. [2] ὣν ἄτερος μὲν ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, δόκησιν τε καὶ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου περιβεβλημένος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν εἶπετο. [3] ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἐταιρίζονται τινα ἐνθὲνδε Σύρας τε καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς ἐρμηνέα σφίσιν ἐσόμενον, ἅπαντάς τε Ῥωμαίους λαθόντες ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφίκοντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν σπονδαῖς καθεστῶτες οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταύτη ἐφύλασσον. [4] Χοσρόου τε ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· 'Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πρέσβεις τῶν αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ζυμφόρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ζυμβαίνει ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστασθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ Οὐίτιγίς ὁ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ποιησομένους ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν νόμιζε παρόντα σοι τανῦν φθέγγεσθαι τάδε. [5] εἴ τίς σε, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ζυνελὼν φαίη τὴν τε σὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους Ἰουστινιανῷ προέσθαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἶποι. [6] ὁ μὲν γὰρ νωτεροποιός τε ὢν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἐρῶν, μένειν τε οὐ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι, γῆν μὲν ἅπασαν ζυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἐκάστην δὲ ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν. [7] εἴτα· 'οὐδὲ γὰρ Πέρσαις κατὰ μόνας ἐγχειρεῖν ἴσχυεν οὐδὲ Περσῶν οἱ ἀντιστατούντων οἴος τε ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἰέναι σὲ μὲν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης παραπετάσματι ἐξαπατᾶν ἔγνω, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βιαζόμενος μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ἐταιρίζεσθαι. [8] Βανδύλων μὲν οὖν ἤδη καθελὼν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους καταστρεφάμενος, Γότθων αὐτῷ φιλίας ὀνόματι ἐκποδῶν ἱσταμένων, χρήματά τε μεγάλα καὶ σώματα πολλὰ ἐπαγόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκει. [9] ἐνδηλος δὲ ἐστίν, ἦν καὶ Γότθους παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν δύνηται, ὥς ζῶν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἤδη δεδουλωμένοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεῦσει, οὔτε τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐννοῶν ὄνομα οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμοιοσμένων ἐρυθριῶν. [10] ἕως οὖν ἔτι σοι λείπεται τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ κακὸν περαιτέρω μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸς πάθῃς, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ὅσα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ζυμβήσεται Πέρσαις, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εὖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶεν, δυνάμει δὲ κρείσσους γενόμενοι οὐδὲν μελλήσουσι τὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἔχθος ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [11] ἐν δέοντι τοίνυν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρῆσαι, μὴ παυσαμένην ἐπιζητήσης.

λωφήσασα γὰρ ἡ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκμὴ ἐπανιέναι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκεν. ἄμεινον δὲ προτερήσαντα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι ἢ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερηκότα τὰ πάντων αἰσχροτάτα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν.’ [12] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, εὖ τέ οἱ παραινεῖν Οὐίτιγισ ἔδοξε καὶ λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, λογίζεσθαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δυσμενῶν μάλιστα οἱ λόγοι ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιντο. [13] ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἐς τὸ πεισθῆναι αὐτόμολος ἦλθεν. ὁ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν λόγους ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἔδρασεν ἅπερ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα λελέξεται. [14] καίτοι τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα, ἅπερ ἂν εἰκότως βασιλεῖ γενναίῳ ἐγκώμια εἴη, ὅτι δὴ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μείζω τε ποιῆσαι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι. [15] ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Κύρῳ ἂν τις ἐπενέγκοι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε ξυνοικίζεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διανοεῖτο.

II

At this point Vittigis, the leader of the Goths, already worsted in the war, sent two envoys to him to persuade him to march against the Romans; but the men whom he sent were not Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and so make negotiations useless, but Ligurian priests who were attracted to this enterprise by rich gifts of money. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy assuming the pretended name of bishop which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. And when in the course of the journey they came to the land of Thrace, they attached to themselves a man from there to be an interpreter of the Syriac and the Greek tongues, and without being detected by any of the Romans, they reached the land of Persia. For inasmuch as they were at peace, they were not keeping a strict guard over that region. And coming before Chosroes they spoke as follows: "It is true, O King, that all other envoys undertake their task for the sake of advantages to themselves as a rule, but we have been sent by Vittigis, the king of the Goths and the Italians, in order to speak in behalf of thy kingdom; and consider that he is now present before thee speaking these words. If anyone should say, O King, putting all in a word, that thou hast given up thy kingdom and all men everywhere to Justinian, he would be speaking correctly. For since he is by nature a meddler and a lover of those things which in no way belong to him, and is not able to abide by the settled order of things, he has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state. Accordingly (since he was neither able alone to assail the Persians, nor with the Persians opposing him to proceed against the others), he decided to deceive thee with the pretence of peace, and by forcing the others to subjection to acquire mighty forces against thy state. Therefore, after having already destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subjugated the Moors, while the Goths because of their friendship stood aside for him, he has come against us bringing vast sums of money and many men. Now it is evident that, if he is able also to crush the Goths utterly, he will with us and those already enslaved march against the Persians, neither considering the name of friendship nor blushing before any of his sworn promises. While, therefore, some hope of safety is still left thee, do not do us any further wrong nor suffer it thyself, but see in our misfortunes what will a little later befall the Persians; and consider that the Romans could never be well-disposed to thy kingdom, and that when they become more powerful, they will not hesitate at all to display their enmity toward the Persians. Use, therefore, this good chance while the time fits, lest thou seek for it after it has ceased. For when once the time of opportunity has passed, it is not its nature to return again. And it is better by anticipating to be in security, than by delaying beyond the opportune time to suffer the most miserable fate possible at the hands of the

enemy.”

When Chosroes heard this, it seemed to him that Vittigis advised well, and he was still more eager to break off the treaty. For, moved as he was by envy toward the Emperor Justinian, he neglected completely to consider that the words were spoken to him by men who were bitter enemies of Justinian. But because he wished the thing he willingly consented to be persuaded. And he did the very same thing a little later in the case of the addresses of the Armenians and of the Lazi, which will be spoken of directly. And yet they were bringing as charges against Justinian the very things which would naturally be encomiums for a worthy monarch, namely that he was exerting himself to make his realm larger and much more splendid. For these accusations one might make also against Cyrus, the King of the Persians, and Alexander, the Macedonian. But justice is never accustomed to dwell together with envy. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was purposing to break off the treaty.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι τοιόνδε ξυνέβη. Συμεώνης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδούς, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πείθει, ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, κώμαις αὐτόν τισιν ἀνδρῶν Ἀρμενίων δωρήσασθαι. [2] κύριός τε τῶν χωρίων γενόμενος πρὸς τῶν αὐτὰ πάλαι κεκτημένων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θνήσκει. [3] ἐξειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ τοῦ φόνου αὐτουργοὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη. ἀδελφῶ δὲ ἦσθιν δύο Περόζου παῖδε. βασιλεὺς τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας τὰς τε κώμας Ἀμαζάσπην παραδίδωσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφιδῷ καὶ ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν. [4] τοῦτον τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τις ἐπιτηδείων διέβαλλεν, Ἀκάκιος ὄνομα, κακουργεῖν τε ἐς Ἀρμενίους καὶ βούλεσθαι Πέρσαις ἐνδοῦναι Θεοδοσιούπολιν τε καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πολίσματα. [5] ταῦτα εἰπὼν γνώμη βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν αὐτός. [6] πονηρὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὃ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [7] τὰ τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐληίζετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ φόρου αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὐποτε οὔσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ ἵφerein γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτόν οἰοί τε ἦσαν κτείνουσι τε ξυμφρονήσαντες τὸν Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Φαράγγιον καταφεύγουσι. [8] Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Σίττας διέτριβεν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί. [9] ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐλθὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀκνηρῶς ἦει, τιθασσεύειν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦθη ἀντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπείγετο, πείθειν βασιλέα ὑποσχόμενος ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτόν βασιλεὺς τῆς μελλήσεως πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, ἡγμένος ταῖς Ἀδολίου διαβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκακίου παιδός, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ὁ Σίττας τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. [11] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποσχέσεσι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναπείθειν τε καὶ ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ῥάων τε καὶ ἀπονωτέρα ἢ ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπικράτησις γένοιτο. [12] καὶ οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν καλουμένων γένος, μέγα τε

ὄν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, [13] προσχωρεῖν ἤθελε. πέμπαντές τε παρὰ τὸν Σίτταν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐδέοντο διδόναι τὰ πιστὰ σφίσι, ὅτι δὴ, ἣν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἀπολιπόντες ἥξωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων παράταξιν, κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. [14] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄσμενός τε γράψας ἐν βιβλιδίῳ καθάπερ ἐδέοντο τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ γράμμα κατασημηνάμενος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [15] θαρσῶν τε ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἀμαχητὶ τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσῃ, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς χωρίον Οἰνοχалаκῶν ἦει, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ξυνέβαινε. [16] τύχῃ δέ τινας οἱ τὸ βιβλίον ἔχοντες ἐτέρᾳ ἰόντες ὁδῷ Ἀσπετιανοῖς ἐντυχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν. [17] μοῖρα μέντοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ὡς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο. [18] καὶ αὐτὸς Σίττας ἐν σπηλαίῳ που παῖδάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν, ἣ τὸ γεγονός οὐ ξυνιείς ἢ δι' ὀργῆς Ἀσπετιανούς ἔχων, ὅτι οἱ καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο οὐ προσεχώρουν. [19] Οἱ δὲ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενοι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο. ἅτε δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ κρημνῶδεσιν ἐκάτεροι ὄντες οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ διασκεδαννύμενοι ἐν τε ὑπωρείαις καὶ φάραξι. τετύχηκεν οὖν τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ Σίτταν τῶν ἐπομένων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα ἀλλήλων πῃ ἄγχιστα ἰέναι, φάραγος σφίσι τινὸς μεταξὺ οὔσης. [20] ἱππεῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἐκάτεροι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίττας, ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπισπομένων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν φάραγγα διαβὰς ἤλυνεν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ ὀπίσω ὑποχωρήσαντες ἔστησαν, καὶ ὁ Σίττας οὐκέτι ἐδίωκεν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. [21] ἄφνω δέ τις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, Ἑρουλος γένος, δῶξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιημένος ἐνθὲνδε τε ξὺν θυμῷ ἀπελαύνων, παρὰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σίτταν ἦλθεν. ἐτόγγανε δὲ ὁ Σίττας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ δόρυ ἐρείσας· ὁ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἑρούλου ἵππος ἐπιπεσὼν ξὺν πολλῇ ῥύμῃ κατέαξε. [22] τὸν τε στρατηγὸν τοῦτο ἠνίασεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων ἰδὼν ἔγνω τε καὶ Σίτταν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ξυνέβαινε γάρ οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος οὐκ εἶναι. διὸ δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαθε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦκων. [23] Σίττας μὲν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου λέγοντος ἤκουσε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, οἱ ἀποκαυλισθέντες ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τὴν φάραγγα διαβαίνειν εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησεν. [24] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλυνον, καὶ τις αὐτὸν καταλαβὼν ἐν τῇ φάραγγι ξίφει ἐς ἄκραν κεφαλὴν ἔτυψε πληγῇ ἐγκαρσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν βρέγμα ὅλον ἀφείλετο, [25] τοῦ δὲ ὀστέου ὁ σίδηρος οὐδαμῇ ἦψατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σίττας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πρόσω ἤλυνεν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρσακίδης ὀπισθεν ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παίσας τῷ δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. [26] οὕτω τε ὁ Σίττας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἀναξίως τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους αἰεὶ πεπραγμένων, ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα ἐς ἄγαν καλὸς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, στρατηγὸς τε ἄριστος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [27] τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Σίτταν οὐ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωννα, λίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαχρήσασθαι. [28] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σίττα Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι· ὃς ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστά που ἐγένετο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε καταλλάξαι Ἀρμενίους ὑποσχόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἀξίων τῶν

δοκίμων τινάς. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι οὔτε πιστεύειν τῷ Βούζῃ εἶχον οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἤθελον. ἦν δέ τις αὐτῷ μάλιστα φίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Ἀρταβάνου πατήρ, ὃς δὴ τῷ Βούζῃ τότε ἄτε φίλῳ θαρσήσας ξύν τε Βασσάκῃ τῷ κηδεστῇ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθεν: οἱ δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ αὐλισθέντες ἔνθα τῷ Βούζῃ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντυχεῖν ἔμελλον, ἦσθοντο ἐς κύκλωσιν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἦκοντες. [30] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰωάννην Βασσάκης ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐλιπάρει δρασμοῦ ἔχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πείθειν οὐκ εἶχε, μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταλιπὼν, ξύν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι λαθὼν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁδῶ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀπίσω αὔθις ἀπῆλαινε. [31] Βούζης τε τὸν Ἰωάννην μόνον εὐρὼν ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἀρμένιοι ξυμβάσεως πέρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες οὔτε βασιλέα τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπεραίρειν οἴοι τε ὄντες παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἦλθον, Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, δραστηρίου ἀνδρός. [32] ὧν τότε οἱ πρῶτοι Χοσρόῃ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε· 'Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὧ δέσποτα, ἐκείνου Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονοι ὃς δὴ οὔτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὦν, ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Πάρθοις ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανὴς γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [33] πάρεσμεν δὲ τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες δοῦλοί τε καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγεννημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡναγκασμένοι ὡς μάλιστα, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ὑπὸ σῆς, [34] ὦ βασιλεῦ, γνώμης: εἵπερ ὁ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς ἀδικεῖν βουλομένοις διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἂν φέροιτο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἔργων δικαίως. εἰρήσεται δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅπως δὴ ἅπασι παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυνήσεσθε. [35] Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τά τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται. [36] καὶ διεσωσάμεθα τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἕως ὑμεῖς ταύτας πεποιήσθε τὰς διαβοήτους σπονδάς, ἃς δὴ κοινόν τινα ὄλεθρον καλῶν τις, οἴομεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι. [37] φίλων τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμίων τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφροντιστήσας, ἅπαντα ξυνέχεέ τε καὶ ξυνετάραξε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὁ σὸς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν φίλος, [38] ἔργῳ δὲ δυσμενής. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εἶση, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τοὺς ἐσπερίους οἶός τε ἢ παντάπασι καταστρέψασθαι. τί γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἀπειρημένων οὐκ ἔπραξεν; ἢ τί οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων; [39] οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, καὶ Τζάνους τοὺς ὁμόρους ἡμῖν αὐτονόμους ὄντας δεδούλωται, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν ἀθλίων Λαζῶν ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐπέστησε; πρᾶγμα οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ξυμβαῖνον οὔτε λόγῳ ράδιον ἐρμηνεύεσθαι. [40] οὐ Βοσπορίταις μὲν τοῖς Οὐννων κατηκόις στρατηγούς ἐπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσεποιήσατο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ὁμαιχιμίαν δὲ πεποιήται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἀρχάς, ὧν καὶ ἀνήκοοι τὸ παράπαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγχανον ὄντες; [41] ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀμηρίτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται καὶ τὸν φοινικῶνα προστίθησι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [42] ἀφίεμεν γὰρ λέγειν τὰ Λιβύων τε καὶ Ἰταλῶν πάθη. ἡ γῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα: μικρὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. [43] ὁ δὲ

καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν διερευνᾶται μυχοὺς, ἄλλην αὐτῷ τινα οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος. [44] τί οὖν ἔτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις; τί δὲ τὴν κάκιστα ἀπολουμένην εἰρήνην αἰσχύνη, ὅπως δηλαδὴ σε ὑστάτην ποιήσεται βρῶσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων; [45] εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ σοι βυλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὁποῖός τις ἂν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐς τοὺς αὐτῷ εἰκοντας γένοιτο, ἐγγύθεν σοι τὸ παράδειγμα παρ' ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Λαζῶν: [46] εἰ δέ, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴωθε τοῖς τε ἀγνώσι καὶ οὐδ' ὅτιοι ἡδικηκόσι χρῆσθαι, Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ Μαυρουσίους διαλογίζου. [47] τό τε δὴ κεφάλαιον οὕτω λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἀλαμούνδαρον μὲν ἐν σπονδαῖς τὸν σόν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, δοῦλον ἀπάτη τε περιελθεῖν καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστήσαι τῆς σῆς ἔργον πεποιήται, Οὐννους δὲ τοὺς οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἔναγχος ἐταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε; καίτοι πρᾶξις ἀτοπωτέρα ταύτης οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. [48] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦσθετο, οἶμαι, εἰς πέρας αὐτῷ ὅσον οὕτω ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐσπερίων καταστροφὴν, τοὺς ἐφους ἤδη μετελθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐγκεχείρηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον ἀπολέλειπται αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα τὸ Περσῶν κράτος. [49] ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρήνη τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἤδη σοι λέλυται, καὶ σπονδαῖς αὐτὸς πέρας ταῖς ἀπεράντοις ἐπέθηκε. [50] λύουσι γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐχ οἱ ἂν ἐν ὅπλοις γένοιτο πρῶτοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐν σπονδαῖς τοῖς πέλας ἀλοῖεν. [51] τὸ γὰρ ἐγκλημα τῷ ἐγκεχειρηκότι, κἂν ἀπῇ τὸ κατορθοῦν, πέπρακται. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος χωρήσει παντί που δήλον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ τὰς αἰτίας τῷ πολέμῳ παρασχόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς παρασχομένους αὐτὰς ἀμυνόμενοι, κρατεῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων εἰώθασιν. [52] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀντιτάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πλείστους πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιαῖς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν, οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἄριστοι ἦσαν, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν Σίτταν κτείναντες ἤκομεν, Βελισάριον δὲ οὐποτε Ἰουστινιανὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεται. οὐτε ἐκεῖνος ὀλιγορήσας μεμένηκε πρὸς ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς, [53] αὐτὸς ἔχων τὸ Ἰταλῶν κράτος. ὥστε σοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντι ἀπαντήσῃ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς, ἔξεις δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοία τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ χωρίων ἐμπειρία πολλῇ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγουμένους.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, [54] ἥσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς πάντα ἐξήνεγκεν ἃ τε Οὐίτιγίς ἔγραψε καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφὶ τε τῷ πρακτέῳ βουλὴν προῦθηκεν. [55] ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν μὲν γινώμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, τέλος δὲ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [56] ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπωρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [57] οὐ μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπώπτευν, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύσειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς ᾧοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν ταῦτα ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη.

III

At this same time another event also occurred; it was as follows. That Symeon who had given Pharangium into the hands of the Romans persuaded the Emperor Justinian, while the war was still at its height, to present him with certain villages of Armenia. And becoming master of these places, he was plotted against and murdered by those who had formerly possessed them. After this crime had been committed, the perpetrators of the murder fled into the land of Persia. They were two brothers, sons of Perozes. And when the Emperor heard this, he gave over the villages to Amazaspes, the nephew of Symeon, and appointed him ruler over the Armenians. This Amazaspes, as time went on, was denounced to the Emperor Justinian by one of his friends, Acacius by name, on the ground that he was abusing the Armenians and wished to give over to the Persians Theodosiopolis and certain other fortresses. After telling this, Acacius, by the emperor's will, slew Amazaspes treacherously, and himself secured the command over the Armenians by the gift of the emperor. And being base by nature, he gained the opportunity of displaying his inward character, and he proved to be the most cruel of all men toward his subjects. For he plundered their property without excuse and ordained that they should pay an unheard-of tax of four centenaria. But the Armenians, unable to bear him any longer, conspired together and slew Acacius and fled for refuge to Pharangium.

Therefore the emperor sent Sittas against them from Byzantium. For Sittas had been delaying there since the time when the treaty was made with the Persians. So he came to Armenia, but at first he entered upon the war reluctantly and exerted himself to calm the people and to restore the population to their former habitations, promising to persuade the emperor to remit to them the payment of the new tax. But since the emperor kept assailing him with frequent reproaches for his hesitation, led on by the slanders of Adolius, the son of Acacius, Sittas at last made his preparations for the conflict. First of all he attempted by means of promises of many good things to win over some of the Armenians by persuasion and to attach them to his cause, in order that the task of overpowering the others might be attended with less difficulty and toil. And the tribe called the Aspetiani, great in power and in numbers, was willing to join him. And they went to Sittas and begged him to give them pledges in writing that, if they abandoned their kinsmen in the battle and came to the Roman army, they should remain entirely free from harm, retaining their own possessions. Now Sittas was delighted and wrote to them in tablets, giving them pledges just as they desired of him; he then sealed the writing and sent it to them. Then, confident that by their help he would be victorious in the war without fighting, he went with his whole army to a place called Oenochalakon, where the Armenians had their camp. But by

some chance those who carried the tablets went by another road and did not succeed at all in meeting the Aspetiani. Moreover a portion of the Roman army happened upon some few of them, and not knowing the agreement which had been made, treated them as enemies. And Sittas himself caught some of their women and children in a cave and slew them, either because he did not understand what had happened or because he was angry with the Aspetiani for not joining him as had been agreed.

But they, being now possessed with anger, arrayed themselves for battle with all the rest. But since both armies were on exceedingly difficult ground where precipices abounded, they did not fight in one place, but scattered about among the ridges and ravines. So it happened that some few of the Armenians and Sittas with not many of his followers came close upon each other, with only a ravine lying between them. Both parties were horsemen. Then Sittas with a few men following him crossed the ravine and advanced against the enemy; the Armenians, after withdrawing to the rear, stopped, and Sittas pursued no further but remained where he was. Suddenly someone from the Roman army, an Erulian by birth, who had been pursuing the enemy, returning impetuously from them came up to Sittas and his men. Now as it happened Sittas had planted his spear in the ground; and the Erulian's horse fell upon this with a great rush and shattered it. And the general was exceedingly annoyed by this, and one of the Armenians, seeing him, recognized him and declared to all the others that it was Sittas. For it happened that he had no helmet on his head. Thus it did not escape the enemy that he had come there with only a few men. Sittas, then, upon hearing the Armenian say this, since his spear, as has been said, lay broken in two on the ground, drew his sword and attempted immediately to recross the ravine. But the enemy advanced upon him with great eagerness, and a soldier overtaking him in the ravine struck him a glancing blow with his sword on the top of his head; and he took off the whole scalp, but the steel did not injure the bone at all. And Sittas continued to press forward still more than before, but Artabanus, son of John of the Arsacidae, fell upon him from behind and with a thrust of his spear killed him. Thus Sittas was removed from the world after no notable fashion, in a manner unworthy of his valour and his continual achievements against the enemy, a man who was extremely handsome in appearance and a capable warrior, and a general second to none of his contemporaries. But some say that Sittas did not die at the hand of Artabanus, but that Solomon, a very insignificant man among the Armenians, destroyed him.

After the death of Sittas the emperor commanded Bouzes to go against the Armenians; and he, upon drawing near, sent to them promising to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and all the Armenians, and asking that some of their notables should come to confer with him on these matters. Now the Armenians as a whole were unable to trust Bouzes nor were they willing to receive his proposals. But there was a certain man of the Arsacidae who

was especially friendly with him, John by name, the father of Artabanus, and this man, trusting in Bouzes as his friend came to him with his son-in-law, Bassaces, and a few others; but when these men had reached the spot where they were to meet Bouzes on the following day, and had made their bivouac there, they perceived that they had come into a place surrounded by the Roman army. Bassaces, the son-in-law, therefore earnestly entreated John to fly. And since he was not able to persuade him, he left him there alone, and in company with all the others eluded the Romans, and went back again by the same road. And Bouzes found John alone and slew him; and since after this the Armenians had no hope of ever reaching an agreement with the Romans, and since they were unable to prevail over the emperor in war, they came before the Persian king led by Bassaces, an energetic man. And the leading men among them came at that time into the presence of Chosroes and spoke as follows: "Many of us, O Master, are Arsacidæ, descendants of that Arsaces who was not unrelated to the Parthian kings when the Persian realm lay under the hand of the Parthians, and who proved himself an illustrious king, inferior to none of his time. Now we have come to thee, and all of us have become slaves and fugitives, not, however, of our own will, but under most hard constraint, as it might seem by reason of the Roman power, but in truth, O King, by reason of thy decision, — if, indeed, he who gives the strength to those who wish to do injustice should himself justly bear also the blame of their misdeeds. Now we shall begin our account from a little distance back in order that you may be able to follow the whole course of events. Arsaces, the last king of our ancestors, abdicated his throne willingly in favour of Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, on condition that all who should belong to his family through all time should live unhampered in every respect, and in particular should in no case be subject to taxation. And we have preserved the agreement, until you, the Persians, made this much-vaunted treaty, which, as we think, one would not err in calling a sort of common destruction. For from that time, disregarding friend and foe, he who is in name thy friend, O King, but in fact thy enemy, has turned everything in the world upside down and wrought complete confusion. And this thou thyself shalt know at no distant time, as soon as he is able to subdue completely the people of the West. For what thing which was before forbidden has he not done? or what thing which was well established has he not disturbed? Did he not ordain for us the payment of a tax which did not exist before, and has he not enslaved our neighbours, the Tzani, who were autonomous, and has he not set over the king of the wretched Lazi a Roman magistrate? — an act neither in keeping with the natural order of things nor very easy to explain in words. Has he not sent generals to the men of Bosphorus, the subjects of the Huns, and attached to himself the city which in no way belongs to him, and has he not made a defensive alliance with the Aethiopian kingdoms, of which the Romans had never even heard? More than this he has made the Homeritæ his possession and the Red Sea, and he is adding the Palm Groves to the Roman dominion.

We omit to speak of the fate of the Libyans and of the Italians. The whole earth is not large enough for the man; it is too small a thing for him to conquer all the world together. But he is even looking about the heavens and is searching the retreats beyond the ocean, wishing to gain for himself some other world. Why, therefore, O King, dost thou still delay? Why dost thou respect that most accursed peace, in order forsooth that he may make thee the last morsel of all? If it is thy wish to learn what kind of a man Justinian would shew himself toward those who yield to him, the example is to be sought near at hand from ourselves and from the wretched Lazi; and if thou wishest to see how he is accustomed to treat those who are unknown to him and who have done him not the least wrong, consider the Vandals and the Goths and the Moors. But the chief thing has not yet been spoken. Has he not made efforts in time of peace to win over by deception thy slave, Alamoundaras, O most mighty King, and to detach him from thy kingdom, and has he not striven recently to attach to himself the Huns who are utterly unknown to him, in order to make trouble for thee? And yet an act more strange than this has not been performed in all time. For since he perceived, as I think, that the overthrow of the western world would speedily be accomplished, he has already taken in hand to assail you of the East, since the Persian power alone has been left for him to grapple with. The peace, therefore, as far as concerns him, has already been broken for thee, and he himself has set an end to the endless peace. For they break the peace, not who may be first in arms, but they who may be caught plotting against their neighbours in time of peace. For the crime has been committed by him who attempts it, even though success be lacking. Now as for the course which the war will follow, this is surely clear to everyone. For it is not those who furnish causes for war, but those who defend themselves against those who furnish them, who are accustomed always to conquer their enemies. Nay more, the contest will not be evenly matched for us even in point of strength. For, as it happens, the majority of the Roman soldiers are at the end of the world, and as for the two generals who were the best they had, we come here having slain the one, Sittas, and Belisarius will never again be seen by Justinian. For disregarding his master, he has remained in the West, holding the power of Italy himself. So that when thou goest against the enemy, no one at all will confront thee, and thou wilt have us leading the army with good will, as is natural, and with a thorough knowledge of the country.” When Chosroes heard this he was pleased, and calling together all who were of noble blood among the Persians, he disclosed to all of them what Vittigis had written and what the Armenians had said, and laid before them the question as to what should be done. Then many opinions were expressed inclining to either side, but finally it was decided that they must open hostilities against the Romans at the beginning of spring. [539 A.D.] For it was the late autumn season, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. The Romans, however, did not suspect this, nor did they think that the Persians would ever break the so-called endless

peace, although they heard that Chosroes blamed their emperor for his successes in the West, and that he preferred against him the charges which I have lately mentioned.

Τότε καὶ ὁ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐφάνη, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅσον εὐμήκης ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ μείζων. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πέρας πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἦν, [2] αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὀπισθεν εἵπετο. ὁ μὲν. γὰρ ἐν αἰγοκέρῳ ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότη. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκάλουν ξιφίαν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπιμήκης τε ἦν καὶ λίαν ὀξεῖαν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ πωγωνίαν, ἡμέρας τε πλείους ἢ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφάνη. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σοφοὶ ἀλλήλοις ὥς ἥκιστα ὁμολογοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλα προὔλεγον πρὸς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀστέρος σημαίνεσθαι: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη γράφων δίδωμι ἐκάστῳ τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἢ βούλοιτο. [4] μέγα μὲν εὐθὺς στράτευμα Οὐννικόν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ἐπέσκηψαν, γεγονὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἤδη, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ ἢ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὸν πώποτε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ κόλπου γὰρ τοῦ Ἰονίου οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς ἐλήρισαντο μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια. [5] καὶ φρούρια μὲν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς εἶλον, πόλιν δὲ τὴν Κασσάνδρειαν κατεστρέψαντο βίᾳ ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἐκάλουν, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πρότερον. [6] καὶ τὰ τε χρήματα ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτων τε μυριάδας δυοκαίδεκα ἀπαγόμενοι ἐπὶ οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐναντιώματος ἀπαντήσαντος. [7] χρόνῳ τε τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα γινόμενοι ἀνήκεστα ἐς Ῥωμαίους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. [8] οἱ δὴ καὶ ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τειχομαχήσαντες, βιασάμενοι τε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ῥοθίου τὸν περίβολον ὑπερβάντες ὃς πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ μέλανι καλουμένῳ ἐστίν, οὕτω τε ἐντὸς τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιτεσόντες, ἐκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν σχεδὸν ἅπαντας. [9] ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ τε καὶ Ἀβύδου πορθμόν, ληισάμενοι τε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία καὶ αὐθις ἐς Χερρόνησον ἀναστρέψαντες, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [10] ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τε εἰσβολῇ τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ληισάμενοι, τειχομαχεῖν μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι φρουρῶν καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων διερευνώμενοι τὰς περιόδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὗρον ἢ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. [11] οὕτω τε σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἑλλήνας πλὴν Πελοποννησίων διεργασάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν. [12] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες ἔργα Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐφ’ οὓς εἰργάσαντο ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δηλώσω. [13] Βελισάριος ἐπεὶ τῶν Γόθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλέα Οὐίττιγιν καθελὼν ζῶντα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκεν. ὅπως δὲ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [14] ἥνικα Χοσρόου πολεμῆσειντος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἦσθετο, παραίνεσίν τε ποιεῖσθαι τινα καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἤθελεν. [15] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, Ἀναστάσιος ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει ἔχων, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐν Δάρας ἔναγχος γενομένην τυραννίδα καταλελύκει. [16] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν

Ἀναστάσιον παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔπεμψε γράμματα γράψας: [17] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε ‘Ξυνετῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἱκανῶς ἤσκηται πολέμου φουομένας αἰτίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τὰ μάλιστα φίλους, σθένει παντὶ ἀποτέμεσθαι: ἀξυνέτων δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα ποιουμένων πολέμια μάχης τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἀφορμὰς οὐδαμῇ οὔσας ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι. [18] εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ καταλύσασιν ἐς πόλεμον ἰέναι οὐδὲν πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις εὐκολα τίθεσθαι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων νενόμικε φύσις. [19] πόλεμον δὲ κατὰ γνώμην διαθεμένοις αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χωρεῖν ἀνθρώποις οἶμαι οὐ ῥάδιον εἶναι. [20] καίτοι σὺ μὲν ἡμῖν γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίτηδες γεγραμμένα ἐπικαλεῖς, ταῦτά τε γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ τανῦν ἐρμηνεύειν ἐσπούδακας, οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς διανοηθέντες γεγράφαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἥ σοι τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς παραπετάσματος ἐφιεμένῳ ξυνοίσειν δοκεῖ. [21] ἡμῖν δὲ πάρεστιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον δεικνύναι τὸν σὸν γῆν ἔναγχος καταδραμόντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔργα ἐν σπονδαῖς διαπεπρᾶχθαι ἀνήκεστα, χωρίων ἀλώσεις, χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς, ἀνθρώπων φόνους τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν σε οὐκ αἰτιᾶσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἀπολογεῖσθαι δεήσει. [22] τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡδικηκόντων ἐγκλήματα αἱ πράξεις, οὐχ αἱ διάνοιαι, δηλοῦσι τοῖς πέλας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔχεσθαι καὶ ὥς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγνώκαμεν, σὲ δὲ πολεμῆσειοντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούομεν ἀναπλάττειν αἰτίας οὐδαμόθεν ἡμῖν προσηκούσας. [23] εἰκότως: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ παρόντα περιστέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες καὶ σφόδρα ἐγκειμένας ἀποσεύονται τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους αἰτίας, οὓς δὲ ὁ τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀρέσκει θεσμός, καὶ τὰς οὐκ. οὔσας ἐφίενται πορίζεσθαι σκῆψεις. [24] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεῦσι, πρέπειν ἂν δόξειε. [25] σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀφέμενος σκόπει μὲν τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολουμένων καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη τῶν ξυμπεσουμένων τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος, λογίζου δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους, οὓς δὴ ὁμοσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κομισάμενος, εἴτα ἀτιμάσας οὐ δέον τέχναις τισὶν ἢ σοφίσμασι παραγαγεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναιο: τὸ γὰρ θεῖον κρεῖσσον ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι πέφυκε πρὸς [26] πάντων ἀνθρώπων.’ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἠνάγκαζεν.

IV

[539 A.D.] At that time also the comet appeared, at first about as long as a tall man, but later much larger. And the end of it was toward the west and its beginning toward the east, and it followed behind the sun itself. For the sun was in Capricorn and it was in Sagittarius. And some called it "the swordfish" because it was of goodly length and very sharp at the point, and others called it "the bearded star"; it was seen for more than forty days. Now those who were wise in these matters disagreed utterly with each other, and one announced that one thing, another that another thing was indicated by this star; but I only write what took place and I leave to each one to judge by the outcome as he wishes. Straightway a mighty Hunnic army crossing the Danube River fell as a scourge upon all Europe, a thing which had happened many times before, but which had never brought such a multitude of woes nor such dreadful ones to the people of that land. For from the Ionian Gulf these barbarians plundered everything in order as far as the suburbs of Byzantium. And they captured thirty-two fortresses in Illyricum, and they carried by storm the city of Cassandria (which the ancients called Potidaea, as far as we know), never having fought against walls before. And taking with them the money and leading away one hundred and twenty thousand captives, they all retired homeward without encountering any opposition. In later times too they often came there and brought upon the Romans irreparable calamity. This same people also assailed the wall of the Chersonesus, where they overpowered those who were defending themselves from the wall, and approaching through the surf of the sea, scaled the fortifications on the so-called Black Gulf; thus they got within the long wall, and falling unexpectedly upon the Romans in the Chersonesus they slew many of them and made prisoners of almost all the survivors. Some few of them also crossed the strait between Sestus and Abydus, and after plundering the Asiatic country, they returned again to the Chersonesus, and with the rest of the army and all the booty betook themselves to their homes. In another invasion they plundered Illyricum and Thessaly and attempted to storm the wall at Thermopylae; and since the guards on the walls defended them most valiantly, they sought out the ways around and unexpectedly found the path which leads up the mountain which rises there. In this way they destroyed almost all the Greeks except the Peloponnesians, and then withdrew. And the Persians not long afterwards broke off the treaty and wrought such harm to the Romans of the East as I shall set forth immediately.

Belisarius, after humbling Vittigis, the king of the Goths and Italians, brought him alive to Byzantium. And I shall now proceed to tell how the army of the Persians invaded the land of the Romans. When the Emperor Justinian perceived that Chosroes was eager for war, he wished to offer him some

counsel and to dissuade him from the undertaking. Now it happened that a certain man had come to Byzantium from the city of Daras, Anastasius by name, well known for his sagacity; he it was who had broken the tyranny which had been established recently in Daras. Justinian therefore wrote a letter and sent it by this Anastasius to Chosroes; and the message of the letter was as follows: "It is the part of men of discretion and those by whom divine things are treated with due respect, when causes of war arise, and in particular against men who are in the truest sense friends, to exert all their power to put an end to them; but it belongs to foolish men and those who most lightly bring on themselves the enmity of Heaven to devise occasions for war and insurrection which have no real existence. Now to destroy peace and enter upon war is not a difficult matter, since the nature of things is such as to make the basest activities easy for the most dishonourable men. But when they have brought about war according to their intention, to return again to peace is for men, I think, not easy. And yet thou chargest me with writing letters which were not written with any dark purpose, and thou hast now made haste to interpret these with arbitrary judgment, not in the sense in which we conceived them when we wrote them, but in a way which will be of advantage to thee in thy eagerness to carry out thy plans not without some pretext. But for us it is possible to point out that thy Alamoundaras recently overran our land and performed outrageous deeds in time of peace, to wit, the capture of towns, the seizure of property, the massacre and enslavement of such a multitude of men, concerning which it will be thy duty not to blame us, but to defend thyself. For the crimes of those who have done wrong are made manifest to their neighbours by their acts, not by their thoughts. But even with these things as they are, we have still decided to hold to peace, but we hear that thou in thy eagerness to make war upon the Romans art fabricating accusations which do not belong to us at all. Natural enough, this; for while those who are eager to preserve the present order of things repel even those charges against their friends which are most pressing, those who are not satisfied with established friendships exert themselves to provide even pretexts which do not exist. But this would not seem to be becoming even to ordinary men, much less to kings. But leaving aside these things do thou consider the number of those who will be destroyed on both sides in the course of the war, and consider well who will justly bear the blame for those things which will come to pass, and ponder upon the oaths which thou didst take when thou didst carry away the money, and consider that if, after that, thou wrongly dishonour them by some tricks or sophistries, thou wouldst not be able to pervert them; for Heaven is too mighty to be deceived by any man." When Chosroes saw this message, he neither made any immediate answer nor did he dismiss Anastasius, but he compelled him to remain there.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἤδη ὑπέληγε, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἐς

γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἤρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε, τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυνεν. ἦει δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. [2] ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίων φρούριον ἔσχατον ὃ Κιρκήσιον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐχυρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄν, ἐπεὶ Ἀβόρρας μὲν ποταμὸς μέγας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχων τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμίγνυται, τὸ δὲ φρούριον τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτῇ που τῇ γωνίᾳ κεῖται ἣν δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἡ μίξις ποιεῖται. [3] καὶ τεῖχος δὲ ἄλλο μακρὸν τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκτὸς χώραν τὴν μεταξὺ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρου ἀπολαμβάνον τρίγωνον ἐνταῦθα ἀμφὶ τὸ Κιρκήσιον ἐπιτελεῖ σχῆμα. [4] διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρουρίου ἐθέλων οὕτω δὴ ἐχυροῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σύρους τε καὶ Κίλικας ἰέναι, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδόν τι ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν ὄχθιν ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβία ἐπιτυγχάνει· ἦν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει, [5] ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἔδωκεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδονάθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις μαίοις ἐνσπονδοὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. [6] οὗτος ὁ Ὀδονάθος ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐφ' ἂν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γεγεννημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο. [7] Χοσρόης δὲ τότε ἄγχιστά που τῆς Ζηνοβίας ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον οὔτε ἀξιόλογον ἔμαθεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν χώραν κατενόησεν ἀοίκητόν τε καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν, δέισας μὴ τίς οἱ χρόνος ἐνταῦθα τριβεῖς πράξεισι μεγάλαις ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ ἐμπόδιος εἴη, ἀπεπειράσατο μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ χωρίον εἰλεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν προὔχώρει, πρόσω κατὰ τάχος τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνεν. [8] Ὀδὸν τε αὖθις τοσαύτην ἀνύσας ἀφίκετο ἐς πόλιν Σούρων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, [9] ἧς δὴ ἀγχοτάτω γενόμενος ἔστη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ ἵπῳ ξυνέβη ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκάθητο χρεμετίσαι τε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸ ἔδαφος κρούειν. ὁ δὴ οἱ μάγοι ξυμβалόντες ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ χωρίον ἀπέφαινον. [10] ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς τειχομαχίσων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγεν. [11] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τις ὄνομα μὲν Ἀρσάκης, Ἀρμένιος δὲ γένος, τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, ὃς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀναβιβάσας, ἐνθὲνδε τε μαχόμενος ἰσχυρότατα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κτείνας, τοξεύματι βληθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. [12] καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν τότε ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥσ' ὥς αὖθις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τειχομαχίσοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀπογνόντες, ἅτε τετελευτηκότος σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἰκέται διεννοοῦντο Χοσρόου γενέσθαι. [13] τῇ οὖν ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον δεησόμενόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐξαιτησόμενον ἔπεμψαν, ὃς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινὰς ἐπαγόμενος ὄρνις τε φέροντας καὶ οἶνον καὶ καθαροὺς ἄρτους, παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ δεδακρυμένος ἰκέτευε φεῖδесθαι ἀνθρώπων οἰκτρῶν καὶ πόλεως Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀτιμοτάτης, Πέρσαις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὔτε τὰ πρότερα γεγεννημένης οὔτε ὑστερόν ποτε ἐσομένης· λύτρα τέ οἱ τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς δώσειν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεως ἥσπερ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπαξίως ὑπέσχετο. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ Σουρηνοῖς μὲν χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ πρῶτοι περιπεπωκότες Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων οὔτε τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο ἐθελούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταίρειν οἱ ὅπλα τολμήσαντες πολὺν τινα δοκίμων

Περσῶν ὄμιλον ἔκτειναν. [15] τὴν μέντοι ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀκριβῶς ἔκρυσεν, ὅπως τὴν κόλασιν ἐς Σουρηνοὺς ποιησάμενος φοβερὸν τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἄμαχόν τινα καταστήσεται. οὕτω γάρ οἱ προσχωρήσειν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑπετόπαζε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ γενησομένους. [16] διὸ δὴ ζὺν τε φιλοφροσύνη πολλῇ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξανέστησε, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος παρείχετό τινα δόκησιν ὥς ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σουρηνῶν λύτροις αὐτίκα κοινολογησόμενος Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εὖ τὴν δέησιν διαθήσεται. [17] οὕτω τε ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀπεπέμψατο οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰσθῆσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων τινὰς παραπομποὺς ἐσομένους δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ζυνέπεμψεν. [18] οὗς δὴ λάθρα ἐκέλευε μὲν ἰέναι ζὺν αὐτῷ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρηγοροῦντας καὶ τισιν ἀγαθαῖς ἐπαίροντας ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας χαίροντάς τε καὶ οὐδὲν δεδιότας τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθῆναι. [19] ἐπειδὴν δὲ οἱ φύλακες ἀνακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα τῇ πόλει αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι μέλλωσι, λίθον τινὰ ἢ ξύλον τοῦ τε οὐδοῦ καὶ τῆς θύρας μεταξὺ ρίψαντες οὐ ζυγχωρεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι βουλομένοις χρόνον δὴ τινα ἐμποδῶν ἵστασθαι: οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἔψεσθαι. [20] Ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐντειλάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο, δρόμῳ τε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅταν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ ἐκέλευεν. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀσπασάμενοι ἐκτὸς ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ Σουρηνοὶ περιχαρῇ γεγονότα τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρῶντες ζὺν τιμῇ τε πολλῇ προπεμπόμενον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀφροντιστήσαντες δυσκόλων ἀπάντων τὴν τε πυλίδα ὅλην ἀνέωγον καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις κροτοῦντές τε καὶ πολλὰ εὐφημοῦντες ἐδέξαντο. [22] ἐπεὶ τε ἅπαντες εἴσω ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πυλίδα ὥς ἐπιθήσοντες οἱ φύλακες ὥθουν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι λίθον ὃς αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐρρίπτουν. [23] οἱ τε φύλακες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠθοῦντές τε καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῇ πυλίδι ἐς τὸν οὐδὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον. [24] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνοιγνύναι αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐτόλμων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὴν ἔχεσθαι ἥσθοντο. τινὲς δὲ οὐ λίθον, ἀλλὰ ξύλον Πέρσας ἐς τὴν πυλίδα φασὶν ἐμβεβλήσθαι. [25] οὕπῳ δὲ Σουρηνῶν σχεδὸν τι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἦσθημένων, παρῆν τε τῷ παντὶ ὁ Χοσρόης στρατῷ καὶ τὴν πυλίδα οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἀνεπέτασαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε κατὰ κράτος ἦλθον. [26] εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος τάς τε οἰκίας ἐλήισατο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενος λόγῳ πυρπολήσας τε ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. [27] οὕτω τε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅπῃ. ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἶη. [28] Μετὰ δέ, εἴτε φιλανθρωπία εἴτε φιλοχρηματία ἐχόμενος, ἢ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος ἦν δὴ ἐνθὲνδε δορυάλωτον ἐξελών, Εὐφημίαν ὄνομα, γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἔρωτα ἐξαίσιον αὐτῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἣν γὰρ τὴν ὥσιν εὐπρεπὴς μάλιστα δρᾶν τι ἀγαθὸν ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς ἔγνω. [29] πέμψας οὖν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν, τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον, ἢ Σεργίου ἐπιφανοῦς ἀγίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, πόλεως τῆς ἀλούσης ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσα, κειμένη δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ, Κάνδιδον τὸν ταύτη

ἐπίσκοπον κεντηναρίοιν δυοῖν δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ὄντας ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν. ^[30] ὁ δὲ ἑχρήματα γάρ οἱ οὐκ ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς ἀνεδύετο. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου ἐν βιβλιδίῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀφέντα τοῦ δώσειν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ τὰ χρήματα οὕτω δὴ ὀλίγων χρημάτων πρίασθαι ἀνδράποδα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος. ^[31] Κάνδιδος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ὡμολόγησεν ἐνιαυτοῦ δώσειν, ὄρκους δεινοτάτους ὁμωμοκῶς, ζημίαν δὲ οἱ αὐτῷ διώρισε ταύτην, ἣν μὴ διδοίη χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ τὰ χρήματα, διπλάσια μὲν αὐτὰ δώσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἱερέα μηκέτι εἶναι, ἅτε τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότα. ^[32] ταῦτα Κάνδιδος ἐν γραμματείῳ γράψας τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς ἅπαντας ἔλαβεν. ^[33] ὧν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες διεβίωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀντέχουν τῇ ξυμπεσοῦσιν ταλαιπωρίᾳ οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος Χοσρόης πρόσω ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα.

[540 A.D.] When the winter was already reaching its close, and the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian was ending, Chosroes, son of Cabades, invaded the land of the Romans at the opening of spring with a mighty army, and openly broke the so-called endless peace. But he did not enter by the country between the rivers, but advanced with the Euphrates on his right. On the other side of the river stands the last Roman stronghold which is called Circesium, an exceedingly strong place, since the River Aborras, a large stream, has its mouth at this point and mingles with the Euphrates, and this fortress lies exactly in the angle which is made by the junction of the two rivers. And a long second wall outside the fortress cuts off the land between the two rivers, and completes the form of a triangle around Circesium. Chosroes, therefore, not wishing to make trial of so strong a fortress and not having in mind to cross the River Euphrates, but rather to go against the Syrians and Cilicians, without any hesitation led his army forward, and after advancing for what, to an unencumbered traveller, is about a three-days' journey along the bank of the Euphrates, he came upon the city of Zenobia; this place Zenobia had built in former times, and, as was natural, she gave her name to the city. Now Zenobia was the wife of Odonathus, the ruler of the Saracens of that region, who had been on terms of peace with the Romans from of old. This Odonathus rescued for the Romans the Eastern Empire when it had come under the power of the Medes; but this took place in former times. Chosroes then came near to Zenobia, but upon learning that the place was not important and observing that the land was untenanted and destitute of all good things, he feared lest any time spent by him there would be wasted on an affair of no consequence and would be a hindrance to great undertakings, and he attempted to force the place to surrender. But meeting with no success, he hastened his march forward.

After again accomplishing a journey of equal extent, he reached the city of Sura, which is on the River Euphrates, and stopped very close to it. There it happened that the horse on which Chosroes was riding neighed and stamped the ground with his foot. And the Magi considered the meaning of this incident and announced that the place would be captured. Chosroes then made camp and led his army against the fortifications to assail the wall. Now it happened that a certain Arsaces, an Armenian by birth, was commander of the soldiers in the town; and he made the soldiers mount the parapets, and fighting from there most valiantly slew many of the enemy, but was himself struck by an arrow and died. And then, since it was late in the day, the Persians retired to their camp in order to assail the wall again on the following day; but the Romans were in despair since their leader was dead, and were purposing to make themselves suppliants of Chosroes. On the following day,

therefore, they sent the bishop of the city to plead for them and to beg that the town be spared; so he took with him some of his attendants, who carried fowls and wine and clean loaves, and came before Chosroes; there he threw himself on the ground, and with tears supplicated him to spare a pitiable population and a city altogether without honour in the eyes of the Romans, and one which in past times had never been of any account to the Persians, and which never would be such thereafter; and he promised that the men of Sura would give him ransom worthy of themselves and the city which they inhabited. But Chosroes was angry with the townsmen because, being the first he had met of all the Romans, they had not willingly received him into their city, but even daring to raise their arms against him had slain a large number of Persian notables. However he did not disclose his anger, but carefully concealed it behind a smooth countenance, in order that by carrying out the punishment of the inhabitants of Sura he might make himself in the eyes of the Romans a fearful person and one not to be resisted. For by acting in this way he calculated that those who would from time to time come in his way would yield to him without trouble. Accordingly with great friendliness he caused the bishop to rise, and receiving the gifts, gave the impression, in a way, that he would immediately confer with the notables of the Persians concerning the ransom of the townsmen, and would settle their request favourably. Thus he dismissed the bishop and his following without any suspicion of the plot, and he sent with him certain of the men of note among the Persians, who were to be ostensibly an escort. These men he secretly commanded to go with him as far as the wall, encouraging him and cheering him with fair hopes, so that he and all those with him should be seen by those inside rejoicing and fearing nothing. But when the guards had set the gate open and were about to receive them into the city, they were to throw a stone or block of wood between the threshold and the gate and not allow them to shut it, but should themselves for a time stand in the way of those who wished to close it; for not long afterwards the army would follow them.

After giving these directions to the men Chosroes made ready the army, and commanded them to advance upon the city on the run whenever he should give the signal. So when they came close to the fortifications, the Persians bade farewell to the bishop and remained outside, and the townsmen, seeing that the man was exceedingly happy and that he was being escorted in great honour by the enemy, forgetting all their difficulties opened the gate wide, and received the priest and his following with clapping of hands and much shouting. And when all got inside, the guards began to push the gate in order to close it, but the Persians flung down a stone, which they had provided, between it and the threshold. And the guards pushed and struggled still more, but were quite unable to get the gate back to the threshold. On the other hand they dared not open it again, since they perceived that it was held by the enemy. But some say that it was not a stone but a block of wood which the

Persians threw into the gateway. When the townsmen had as yet scarcely realized the plot, Chosroes was at hand with his whole army, and the barbarians forced back and flung open the gate, which was soon carried by storm. Straightway, then, Chosroes, filled with wrath, plundered the houses and put to death great numbers of the population; all the remainder he reduced to slavery, and setting fire to the whole city razed it to the ground. Then he dismissed Anastasius, bidding him announce to the Emperor Justinian where in the world he had left Chosroes, son of Cabades.

Afterwards either through motives of humanity or of avarice, or as granting a favour to a woman whom he had taken as a captive from the city, Euphemia by name, Chosroes decided to shew some kindness to the inhabitants of Sura; for he had conceived for this woman an extraordinary love (for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon), and had made her his wedded wife. He sent, accordingly, to Sergiopolis, a city subject to the Romans, named from Sergius, a famous saint, distant from the captured city one hundred and twenty-six stades and lying to the south of it in the so-called Barbarian Plain, and bade Candidus, the bishop of the city, purchase the captives, twelve thousand in number, for two centenaria. But the bishop, alleging that he had no money, refused absolutely to undertake the matter. Chosroes therefore requested him to set down in a document the agreement that he would give the money at a later time, and thus to purchase for a small sum such a multitude of slaves. Candidus did as directed, promising to give the money within a year, and swore the most dire oaths, specifying that he should receive the following punishment if he should not give the money at the time agreed upon, that he should pay double the amount and should himself be no longer a priest, as one who had neglected his sworn promise. And after setting down these things in writing, Candidus received all the inhabitants of Sura. And some few among them survived, but the majority, unable to support the misery which had fallen to their lot, succumbed soon afterwards. After the settlement of this affair Chosroes led his army forward.

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔω τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα ὃς ζύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων τῷ Βούζῃ ἐπιτρέψας, ὃν δὴ ἀπάσης ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς ἑώρας ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισάριος ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε. [2] διὸ δὴ ὁ Βούζης ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐπόμενον ἔχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως ἔμμενεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ζυμπεσόντα Σουρηνοῖς ἔμαθε, ζυγκαλέσας τοὺς [3] Ἱεραπολιτῶν πρῶτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε Ὅϊς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος καθίστασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων πολλῶ τῷ διαλλάσσειν καταδεεστέροις ζυμβαίνει εἶναι, μηχαναῖς τισι τοὺς πολεμίους περιελθεῖν μᾶλλον ζυνοῖσει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀντιτασσομένοις ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα προὔπτον ἰέναι. [4] ἡλικὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστίν ὁ Χοσρόου στρατὸς ἀκούετε δήπου. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πολιορκίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἐξελεῖν

βούλῃται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείψειν εἰκός, Πέρσας δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος κομίζεσθαι. [5] ταύτη τε τῆς πολιορκίας μηχανομένης, οὐδὲ ἀρκέσειν τὸν περίβολον ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλαῖς οἶμαι, ὃν δὴ ἐπιμαχώτατον πολλαχόσε τετύχηκεν εἶναι, καὶ τι Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀνηκέστων ξυμβήσεσθαι. [6] ἦν δέ γε μοῖρα μὲν τινι τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξωμεν τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπωρείας καταλάβωσιν, ἐνθὲνδε καταθέοντες πῇ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, πῇ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνεκα στελλομένους, ἀναγκάσουσι Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα λύσαντα τὴν προσεδρείαν, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν δι' ὀλίγου ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε τὰς προσβολὰς ἀδεέστερον ἐπάγειν τῷ περιβόλῳ παντελῶς ἔχοντα οὔτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων στρατῷ τοσοῦτ' ὑπορῖσθαι. [7] τοσαῦτα ὁ Βούζης εἰπὼν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ξύμφορα ἔδοξεν, ἔπραξε δὲ τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν. ἀπολέξας γὰρ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ δόκιμον ἦν, [8] ἀπὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ἐτύγγανεν οὔτε τις τῶν ἐν Ἱερὰπόλει Ῥωμαίων οὔτε ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς μαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πυθόμενος τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, Γερμανὸν μὲν εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τριακοσίους ἐπομένους ἔχοντα ἔπεμψε, στρατὸν δὲ οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑπέσχετο πολὺν ἔψεσθαι. [10] ἔς τε Ἀντιόχειαν ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφικόμενος περιῆλθε τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα κύκλῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐχυρὰ μὲν ὄντα τὰ πολλὰ ἠϋρίσκε 'τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ποταμῷ Ὀρόντης παραρρεῖ ξύμπαντα τοῖς ἐπιουσίῳ ἄπορα ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ἀνεχόμενα ἐσβατὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς ἤκιστα ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος, ἦν δὴ Ὀροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασιν, ἐπιμαχώτατον κατενόησεν ὃν τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν τεῖχος. [11] πέτρα γὰρ τυγχάνει τις ἐνταῦθα πη οὔσα, εὐρους μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ὕψος δὲ ὀλίγῳ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐλασσουμένη. [12] ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἡ τὴν πέτραν ἀποτεμνομένους βαθύν τινα βόθρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴ τις ἐνθὲνδε ἀναβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἴοι, ἢ πύργον μέγαν τινὰ δειμαμένους ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει. [13] ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν οἰκοδομῶν ἀρχιτέκτοσι ποιητέα τούτων ἐδόκει οὐδέτερα εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ ἐπιτελῆ ἔσεσθαι οὕτως ἐγκειμένης τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου, ἀρχόμενοί τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἐς πέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξικνούμενοι οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείζονται ὅπῃ ποτὲ τοῦ τείχους σφίσι πολεμητέα εἴη. [14] Γερμανὸς δὲ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐννοίας σφαιεῖς, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στρατὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου καταδοκῶν ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχεν. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ οὔτε τις ἐκ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφίκετο οὔτε ὅτι ἀφίξεται ἐπίδοξος ἦν, ἐς δέος ἦλθε μὴ ὁ Χοσρόης πυθόμενος βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, προυργιαιότερον ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ποιήσεται Ἀντιόχειαν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀφόμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι. [16] ταῦτα καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι βουλὴν τε ὑπὲρ τούτων πεποιημένοις ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι χρήματα προεμένοις Χοσρόῃ κίνδυνον τὸν παρόντα διαφυγεῖν. [17] Μέγαν τοίνυν, τὸν Βερούας ἐπίσκοπον, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν 'ἐπιχωριάζων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγγανε τότε Χοσρόου δεησόμενον πέμπουσιν, ὃς

δὴ ἐνθὲνδε σταλεῖς καταλαμβάνει τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν Ἱεραπόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν. [18] Χοσρόη τε ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει ἀνθρώπους οἰκτεῖραι οἱ οὔτε τι ἐς αὐτὸν ἥμαρτον οὔτε τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ οἱοί τε ἀντιτείνειν εἰσί. [19] πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ πάντων ἥκιστα τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιτάσσεσθαι ἐπεμβαίνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν δρωμένων βασιλικόν τι οὐδὲ γενναῖον αὐτῷ ἐργασθεῖν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ παρασχόμενος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ βουλῆς τινα χρόνον, ὥστε ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνασθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκατέρῳ δοκοίη, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ συνθήκης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἔλθοι, οὐπω τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως ἐπισταμένου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. [20] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας λόγῳ ξυνετῷ τὸν τρόπον ρυθμίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδαμῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ πρότερον ἦρθη. [21] Σύρους τε οὖν ἠπέιλησε καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Κίλικας πάντας, καὶ οἱ τὸν Μέγαν ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. [22] οὗ δὴ ἀφικόμενός τε καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε περίβολον ὀχυρὸν ὄντα εἶδε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔμαθε φυλακτῆριον διαρκῶς ἔχειν, χρήματα τοὺς Ἱεραπολίτας ἤτει, [23] Παῦλον ἐρμηνέα παρ' αὐτοὺς πέμψας. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὗτος ἐτέθραπτό τε ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς γραμματιστοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐφοίτησεν, ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖος γένος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι. [24] οἱ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὥς ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δειμαίνοντες, χώραν περιβεβλημένῳ πολλὴν μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀδήωτον ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ὠμολόγησαν ἀργύρου σταθμὰ δισχίλια δώσειν. [25] τότε δὴ Μέγας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἀπάντων Χοσρόην ἱκετεύων οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ὠμολόγησε δέκα τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια λήψεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

VI

It had happened a little before this that the emperor had divided into two parts the military command of the East, leaving the portion as far as the River Euphrates under the control of Belisarius who formerly held the command of the whole, while the portion from there as far as the Persian boundary he entrusted to Bouzes, commanding him to take charge of the whole territory of the East until Belisarius should return from Italy. Bouzes therefore at first remained at Hierapolis, keeping his whole army with him; but when he learned what had befallen Sura, he called together the first men of the Hierapolitans and spoke as follows: "Whenever men are confronted with a struggle against an assailant with whom they are evenly matched in strength, it is not at all unreasonable that they should engage in open conflict with the enemy; but for those who are by comparison much inferior to their opponents it will be more advantageous to circumvent their enemy by some kind of tricks than to array themselves openly against them and thus enter into foreseen danger. How great, now, the army of Chosroes is you are assuredly informed. And if, with this army, he wishes to capture us by siege, and if we carry on the fight from the wall, it is probable that, while our supplies will fail us, the Persians will secure all they need from our land, where there will be no one to oppose them. And if the siege is prolonged in this way, I believe too that the fortification wall will not withstand the assaults of the enemy, for in many places it is most susceptible to attack, and thus irreparable harm will come to the Romans. But if with a portion of the army we guard the wall of the city, while the rest of us occupy the heights about the city, we shall make attacks from there at times upon the camp of our antagonists, and at times upon those who are sent out for the sake of provisions, and thus compel Chosroes to abandon the siege immediately and to make his retreat within a short time; for he will not be at all able to direct his attack without fear against the fortifications, nor to provide any of the necessities for so great an army." So spoke Bouzes; and in his words he seemed to set forth the advantageous course of action, but of what was necessary he did nothing. For he chose out all that portion of the Roman army which was of marked excellence and was off. And where in the world he was neither any of the Romans in Hierapolis, nor the hostile army was able to learn. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But the Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, immediately sent his nephew Germanus with three hundred followers in great disorder, promising that after no great time a numerous army would follow. And Germanus, upon reaching Antioch, went around the whole circuit of the wall; and the greater part of it he found secure, for along that portion of it which lies on the level ground the River Orontes flows, making it everywhere

difficult of access, and the portion which is on higher ground rises upon steep hills and is quite inaccessible to the enemy; but when he attained the highest point, which the men of that place are accustomed to call Orocasias, he noticed that the wall at that point was very easy to assail. For there happens to be in that place a rock, which spreads out to a very considerable width, and rises to a height only a little less than the fortifications. He therefore commanded that they should either cut off the rock by making a deep ditch along the wall, lest anyone should essay to mount from there upon the fortifications, or that they should build upon it a great tower and connect its structure with the wall of the city. But to the architects of public buildings it seemed that neither one of these things should be done. For, as they said, the work would not be completed in a short time with the attack of the enemy so imminent, while if they began this work and did not carry it to completion, they would do nothing else than shew to the enemy at what point in the wall they should make their attack. Germanus, though disappointed in this plan, had some hope at first because he expected an army from Byzantium. But when, after considerable time had passed, no army arrived from the emperor nor was expected to arrive, he began to fear lest Chosroes, learning that the emperor's nephew was there, would consider it more important than any other thing to capture Antioch and himself, and for this reason would neglect everything else and come against the city with his whole army. The natives of Antioch also had these things in mind, and they held a council concerning them, at which it seemed most advisable to offer money to Chosroes and thus escape the present danger.

Accordingly they sent Megas, the bishop of Beroea, a man of discretion who at that time happened to be tarrying among them, to beg for mercy from Chosroes; and departing from there he came upon the Median army not far from Hierapolis. And coming into the presence of Chosroes, he entreated him earnestly to have pity upon men who had committed no offence against him and who were not able to hold out against the Persian army. For it was becoming to a king least of all men to trample upon and do violence to those who retreated before him and were quite unwilling to array themselves against him; for not one of the things which he was then doing was a kingly or honourable act, because, without affording any time for consideration to the Roman emperor, so that he might either make the peace secure as might seem well to both sovereigns, or make his preparations for war in accordance with a mutual agreement, as was to be expected, he had thus recklessly advanced in arms against the Romans, while their emperor did not as yet know what had come upon them. When Chosroes heard this, he was utterly unable by reason of his stupidity to order his mind with reason and discretion, but still more than before he was lifted up in spirit. He therefore threatened to destroy all the Syrians and Cilicians, and bidding Megas follow him, he led his army to Hierapolis. When he had come there and established his camp, since he saw

that the fortifications were strong and learned that the city was well garrisoned with soldiers, he demanded money from the Hierapolitans, sending to them Paulus as interpreter. This Paulus had been reared in Roman territory and had gone to an elementary school in Antioch, and besides he was said to be by birth of Roman extraction. But in spite of everything the inhabitants were exceedingly fearful for the fortifications, which embraced a large tract of land as far as the hill which rises there, and besides they wished to preserve their land unplundered; accordingly they agreed to give two thousand pounds of silver. Then indeed Megas entreated Chosroes in behalf of all the inhabitants of the East, and would not cease his entreaty, until Chosroes promised him that he would accept ten centenaria of gold and depart from the whole Roman empire.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὃ τε Μέγας ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγείς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχείας ἤλαυνε καὶ ὁ Χοσρόης τὰ λύτρα λαβὼν ἐς Βέροϊαν ἦει. [2] Βέροια δὲ Ἀντιοχείας μὲν καὶ Ἱεραιπόλεως μεταξὺ κεῖται, δυοῖν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκατέρας διέχει. [3] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέγας ἄτε ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πορευόμενος ὀξύτερον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν στρατὸς μοῖραν αἰετὴν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦνυε. [4] τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Βεροῖας προάστειον ἦλθον. [5] καὶ χρήματα Χοσρόης τοὺς Βεροιαίους τὸν Παῦλον στείλας εὐθὺς ἔπραττεν, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς τῶν Ἱεραιπολιτῶν ἔλαβε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διπλάσια, ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαχότατον ὃν πολλαχῇ εἶδε. [6] Βεροιαῖοι δὲ ἄρρεϊν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον ζὺν προθυμίᾳ μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο ἅπαντα δώσειν, δισχίλια δὲ δόντες ἀργύρου σταθμά, τὰ λειπόμενα διδόναι οὐκ ἔρασαν οἷοι τε εἶναι. [7] ἐγκειμένου τε σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα Χοσρόου, νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἅπαντες ὃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐστὶ κατέφυγον ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. [8] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐστέλλοντο μὲν πρὸς Χοσρόου ἐς τὴν πόλιν τινὲς ἐφ' ὧν τὰ χρήματα λήφονται, οἱ δὲ ἄγχιστα πη τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένας μὲν τὰς πύλας ἀπάσας εὗρον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἔχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐσήγγελλον. [9] καὶ ὃς τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἐπιθέντας ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀνόδου ἐκέλευεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [10] οὐδενὸς τε σφίσι ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰς μὲν πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον, [11] ἐδέχοντο δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν τε στρατὸν ἅπαντα καὶ Χοσρόην αὐτόν. θυμῷ τε πολλῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδη ἐχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐνέπρησε πᾶσαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. [12] ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἔκτεινον, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ εὐτύχημα μέγα τῷ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀζυνέτῳ γενέσθαι ζυνέβη, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ζὺν τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ζώοις τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέφυγον, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ καταστρατηγηθέντες ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθον. [13] μιᾶς γὰρ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα πηγῆς, ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ ζώων ἐτέρων οὐ δέον αὐτὴν ἐκπεπωκότων, ἀποξηρανθῆναι ζυνέβη τὸ ὕδωρ. Βεροιαῖοις μὲν τὰ πράγματα ὧδέ πη εἶχεν. [14] Ὁ δὲ Μέγας εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν

ἀφικόμενος ἀγγείλας τε ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Χοσρόην ξυνέκειτο, ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔπειθεν. [15] ἐτύγγανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Ῥουφίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματεὰ πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην στείλας, ἀσηκρήτις καλοῦσι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι: σήκηριτα γὰρ καλεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα νενομίκασιν. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενοι ἔμενον. Ἰουλιανὸς τε, τῶν πρέσβεων ἄτερος, διαρρήδην ἀπεῖπεν ἅπασιν χρήματα μὴ δίδοναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδὲ τὰς βασιλέως ὠνεῖσθαι πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Γερμανῷ διέβαλλε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐφραΐμιον, ἅτε τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντα. [17] διὸ δὲ Μέγας ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἐφραΐμιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, δέισας τὴν Περσῶν ἑφοδὸν ἐς Κίλικας ἦλθεν. [18] οὗ δὲ καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀφίκετο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ἐάσας. [19] Μέγας δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς Βέροϊαν ἦκων περιώδυνός τε τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος ἡτῆτο Χοσρόην εἰργάσθαι Βεροιαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς στείλειε, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικοτόων τά τε χρήματα ἐληίσατο καὶ ἠνάγκασε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι, οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος οὐ δέον καθεῖλε. [20] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπεκρίνατο ὧδε ‘Τούτων μέντοι, ὃ ἐταῖρε, αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρίψαι: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺν τοῦτου γε ὕστερήσας τανῦν ἀφίξει. [21] τῶν δὲ σῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τί ἂν τις ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὃ βέλτιστε, μακρολογοίῃ; οἱ γε τακτὸν ἡμῖν ὁμολογηκότες ἀργύριον δώσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, οὐπω καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν οἴονται δεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ἀλλ’ ἀνέδην οὕτω χωρίου ἰσχυρὴ θαρσήσαντες περιορῶσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκας μένους ἐς φρουρίου πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὀρθῶς δήπου, καθίστασθαι. [22] οὓς γε δὲ ἔγωγε ξὺν θεοῖς ἐλπίδα ἔχω ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τίσασθαι, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν μοι οὐ δέον πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἀπολωλότων τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπιτελέσειν.’ [23] ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ Μέγας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε ‘Εἰ μὲν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμοτάτοις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖς, σκοπήσειεν ἂν τις, ἀνάγκη μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν: τῇ γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κρατεῖν ἐπεσθαι πέφυκεν: [24] ἣν δὲ τῷ ἐξῆ τᾶλλα ἀποσεισαμένῳ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐλέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοις: ὅπως δὲ ἅπαντα ἀκούσῃ πράως. [25] ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ἅπερ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπήγγελες, δηλώσω ἐστάλην, ἐβδομαῖός σοι ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ‘οὐ τί ἂν γενέσθαι δύναιτο θᾶσσον;’ ταῦτά σοι ἐξεργασμένα ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν εὖρον. [26] οἱ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἤδη τῶν τιμωτάτων ἐκστάντες, εἴτα ἐς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα καθίστανται μόνον, κρείστους, οἶμαι, γεγεννημένοι ἢ σοί τι τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν. [27] τὸ γὰρ ἐκτινύναι τι τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπῳ ἂν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ γένοιτο. [28] πάλα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώριστα τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα: ἐν οἷς καὶ τόδε ἐστίν, ἀγνωμοσύνης κεχωρίσθαι ἀσθένειαν. [29] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τρόπου ἀκολασία ἐς τὸ ἀντιτείνειν χωροῦσα μισεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἶθ’ ἐν, ἡ δὲ τῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας ἀδυνάτῳ ἐς ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκφερομένη ἐλεεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν. [30] ἔασον τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὃ βασιλεῦ, κληρωσαμένους τὰ χεῖριστα τοῦτο γούν

φέρεισθαι παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους γενέσθαι. [31] καὶ χρήματα μὲν σοι ὅσα λαβὼν ἔχεις διαρκεῖν οἴου, μὴ τῷ σῶ ταῦτα σταθμώμενος ἀξιώματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βεροιαίων σκοπῶν δύναμιν. [32] περαιτέρω δὲ ἡμᾶς βιάζου μηδέν, μὴ ποτε δόξης οἷς ἐγκεχείρηκας ἀδύνατος εἶναι: τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀμηχάνῳ τετίμηται: τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐγχειρεῖν κράτιστον. [33] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι ἀπολελογήσθω ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε. ἦν δέ γε τοῖς τालαιπῶροις ξυγγενέσθαι δυνατὸς εἶην, ἔχοιμι ἂν τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν νῦν με λεληθότων [34] εἰπεῖν.’ τοσαῦτα τὸν Μέγαν εἰπόντα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ μαθὼν ἅπαντα, δεδακρυμένος τε παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐθις ἀφίκετο καὶ πρηνὴς κείμενος οὐδὲν μὲν Βεροιαίοις ἰσχυρίζετο ἀπολελεῖσθαι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, μόνον δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰκέτευσεν χαριεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα. [35] ταῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀλοφύρσεσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡγμένος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ διομοσάμενος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. [36] Βεροιαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθόντες, ἀπέλιπόν τε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν καὶ ἀπίοντες ὄχοντο ὥς ἕκαστός πη: [37] ἐβούλετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτοῖς τινες εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοῦσιοι παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τὰς συντάξεις χρόνου μακροῦ σφίσι τὸ δημόσιον ὥφλε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐχώρησαν.

VII

Thus, then, on that day Megas departed thence and went on the way to Antioch, while Chosroes after receiving the ransom was moving toward Beroea. This city lies between Antioch and Hierapolis, at a distance from both of two-days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. Now while Megas, who travelled with a small company, advanced very quickly, the Persian army was accomplishing only one half of the distance which he travelled each day. And so on the fourth day he reached Antioch, while the Persians came to the suburb of Beroea. And Chosroes immediately sent Paulus and demanded money of the Beroeans, not only as much as he had received from the Hierapolitans, but double the amount, since he saw that their wall in many places was very vulnerable. As for the Beroeans, since they could by no means place confidence in their fortifications, they gladly agreed to give all, but after giving two thousand pounds of silver, they said that they were not able to give the remainder. And since Chosroes pressed them on this account, on the following night all of them fled for refuge into the fortress which is on the acropolis together with the soldiers who had been stationed there to guard the place. And on the following day men were sent to the city by Chosroes in order to receive the money; but on coming near the fortifications they found all the gates closed, and being unable to discover any man, they reported the situation to the king. And he commanded them to set ladders against the wall and to make trial of mounting it, and they did as directed. Then since no one opposed them, they got inside the fortifications and opened the gates at their leisure, and received into the city the whole army and Chosroes himself. By this time the king was furious with anger and he fired nearly the whole city. He then mounted the acropolis and decided to storm the fortress. There indeed the Roman soldiers while valiantly defending themselves slew some of the enemy; but Chosroes was greatly favoured by fortune by reason of the folly of the besieged, who had not sought refuge in this fortress by themselves, but along with all their horses and other animals, and by this inconsiderate act they were placed at a great disadvantage and began to be in danger. For since there was only one spring there and the horses and mules and other animals drank from it when they should not have done so, it came about that the water was exhausted. Such, then, was the situation of the Beroeans.

Megas, upon reaching Antioch and announcing the terms arranged by him with Chosroes, failed utterly to persuade them to carry out this agreement. For it happened that the Emperor Justinian had sent John, the son of Rufinus, and Julian, his private secretary, as ambassadors to Chosroes. The person holding this office is styled "a secretis" by the Romans; for secrets they are accustomed to call "secreta." These men had reached Antioch and were remaining there. Now Julian, one of the ambassadors, explicitly forbade

everybody to give money to the enemy, or to purchase the cities of the emperor, and besides he denounced to Germanus the chief priest Ephraemius, as being eager to deliver over the city to Chosroes. For this reason Megas returned unsuccessful. But Ephraemius, the bishop of Antioch, fearing the attack of the Persians, went into Cilicia. There too came Germanus not long afterwards, taking with him some few men but leaving the most of them in Antioch.

Megas then came in haste to Beroea, and in vexation at what had taken place, he charged Chosroes with having treated the Beroeans outrageously; for while, as it seemed, he had sent him to Antioch to arrange the treaty, he had both plundered the property of the citizens, though they had committed no wrong at all, and had compelled them to shut themselves up in that fortress, and had then set fire to the city and razed it to the ground in defiance of right. To this Chosroes replied as follows: "Verily, my friend, you yourself are responsible for these things, in having compelled us to delay here; for as it is, you have arrived, not at the appointed time, but far behind it. And as for the strange conduct of your fellow-citizens, my most excellent sir, why should one make speeches of great length? For after agreeing to give us a fixed amount of silver for their own safety, they even now do not think it necessary to fulfil the agreement, but placing such complete confidence in the strength of their position, they are disregarding us absolutely, while we are compelled to undertake the siege of a fortress, as you surely see. But for my part, I have hope that with the help of the gods I shall have vengeance upon them shortly, and execute upon the guilty the punishment for the Persians whom I have lost wrongfully before this wall." So spoke Chosroes, and Megas replied as follows: "If one should consider that as king thou art making these charges against men who are in pitiable and most dishonoured plight, he would be compelled without a word of protest to agree with what thou hast said; for authority which is unlimited is bound by its very nature to carry with it also supremacy in argument; but if one be permitted to shake off all else and to espouse the truth of the matter, thou wouldst have, O King, nothing with which justly to reproach us; but mayst thou hear all mildly. First, as for me, since the time when I was sent to declare to the men of Antioch the message which thou didst send them, seven days have passed (and what could be done more quickly than this?) and now coming into thy presence I find these things accomplished by thee against my fatherland; but these men, having already lost all that is most valuable, thereafter have only one struggle to engage in — that for life — and have come, I think, so to be masters of the situation that they can no longer be compelled to pay thee any of the money. For to pay a thing which one does not possess could not be made possible for a man by any device. From of old indeed have the names of things been well and suitably distinguished by men; and among these distinctions is this, that want of power is separated from want of consideration. For when the latter by

reason of intemperance of mind proceeds to resistance, it is accustomed to be detested, as is natural, but when the former, because of the impossibility of performing a service, is driven to the same point, it deserves to be pitied. Permit, therefore, O King, that, while we receive as our portion all the direst misfortunes, we may take with us this consolation at least, that we should not seem to have been ourselves responsible for the things which have befallen us. And as for money, consider that what thou hast taken into thy possession is sufficient for thee, not weighing this by thy position, but with regard to the power of the Beroeans. But beyond this do not force us in any way, lest perchance thou shouldst seem unable to accomplish the thing to which thou hast set thy hand; for excess is always punished by meeting obstacles that cannot be overcome, and the best course is not to essay the impossible. Let this, then, be my defence for the moment in behalf of these men. But if I should be able to have converse with the sufferers, I should have something else also to say which has now escaped me.” So spoke Megas, and Chosroes permitted him to go into the acropolis. And when he had gone there and learned all that had happened concerning the spring, weeping he came again before Chosroes, and lying prone on the ground insisted that no money at all was left to the Beroeans, and entreated him to grant him only the lives of the men. Moved by the tearful entreaties of the man Chosroes fulfilled his request, and binding himself by an oath, gave pledges to all on the acropolis. Then the Beroeans, after coming into such great danger, left the acropolis free from harm, and departing went each his own way. Among the soldiers some few followed them, but the majority came as willing deserters to Chosroes, putting forth as their grievance that the government owed them their pay for a long time; and with him they later went into the land of Persia.

Χοσρόης δέ ‘καὶ γάρ οἱ Μέγας χρήματα ἔφασκεν οὐδαμῇ πεπεικέναι Ἀντιοχέας φέρειν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦει. [2] Ἀντιοχέων δέ τινες μὲν ἐνθένθε ζὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξαναστάντες ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο διεννοοῦντο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ζύμπαντες, εἰ μὴ μετὰ ζῦν ἦκοντες οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Θεόκτιστός τε καὶ Μολάτζης, ζὺν ἐξακισχυλίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίσι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιρρώσαντες διεκώλυσαν. [3] οὐ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἦλθεν. ἐνταῦθά τε διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες πρὸς τὸ Ὀρόντη τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [4] Χοσρόης τε Παῦλον παρὰ τὸν περίβολον στείλας τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας χρήματα ἦτει, δέκα χρυσοῦ κεντηναρίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἐνθένδε, ἐνδηλὸς τε ἦν καὶ τούτων ἐλάσσω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ληψόμενος. [5] καὶ τότε μὲν ἦκοντες παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις, εἰπόντες τε ἀμφὶ τῇ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀκούσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. [6] τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος ‘εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένοι, ἀλλὰ γελοίοις τε καὶ ἀταξία ἱκανῶς ἔχονται πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ὕβριζόν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καὶ ζὺν γέλῳτι ἀκόσμῳ ἐτόθασον: [7] καὶ Παῦλον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγὺς ἦκοντα παραινούντ’ αὐτὸν τε χρημάτων ὀλίγων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς

καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι, ὀλίγου ἐδέξαντο τοξεύσαντες κτεῖναι, εἰ μὴ προῖδῶν ἐφυλάξατο. διὸ δὴ ζέων τῷ θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. [8] Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπαγαγὼν ἅπαντας Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλη προσβάλλειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν προσέβαλλε. ταύτῃ γάρ, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ἐπιμαχώτατος ὁ περιβόλος ἦν. [9] ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι ἵστενοτάτῃ γὰρ ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα ἐφ' ἧς ἱστάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλον ἐπενόησαν τάδε. δοκοῦς μακρὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνδέοντες μεταξὺ τῶν πύργων ἐκρέμων, οὕτω τε πολλῶ εὐρυτέρας δὴ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἐποίουν, ὅπως ἔτι πλείους ἐνθένδε ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας οἰοί τε ᾧσιν. [10] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενοι πανταχόθεν τὰ τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἄκρας ὑπερβολήν. [11] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμύνοντο δυνάμει πάσῃ, οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου εὐτολμότατοι νεανῖαι πολλοί. [12] ἐδόκουν δὲ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἐνταῦθα ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τοῖς πολεμίοις καθίστασθαι. ἡ γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρεῖα τις καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὕσα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περιβόλῳ καθάπερ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐποίει. [13] καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἐθάρσησε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἔξω τε γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην προτερήσας καταλαβεῖν ἐνθένδε τε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε, οἶμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἡ πόλις ἦλθεν. [14] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τειχομαχοῖεν οἱ βάρβαροι, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔκ τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι· νῦν δέ 'καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Ἀντιοχέας τούτῳ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἀπολέσθαι οὐδενὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε. [15] τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν, ἅτε Χοσρόου παρόντος σφίσι καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευομένου μεγάλῃ, ὑπὲρ δύναμιν βιαζομένων καὶ οὐδένα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνδιδόντων καιρὸν ὥστε διασκοπεῖσθαι ἢ φυλάσσεσθαι τὰς τοξευμάτων βολάς, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι μᾶλλον πλήθει τε πολλῶ καὶ θορυβῷ ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαι τὸ ἄχθος αἱ σχοῖνοι αἴς αἱ δοκοὶ ξυνδεδέατο, διερράγησαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ξὺν ταῖς δοκοῖς ἅπαντες ὅσοι αὐταῖς ἐφεστήκεσαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξέπεσον πατάγῳ πολλῷ. [16] οὗ δὴ αἰσθόμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐκ πύργων τῶν ἐχομένων ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ξυμβάλλειν μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, διεφθάρθαι δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος οἰόμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [17] τοῦ μὲν οὖν δήμου νεανῖαι πολλοὶ ὅσοι τὰ πρότερα πρὸς γὰρ ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποδρομίοις εἰώθεσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου κατέβησαν, οὐδαμῇ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ξὺν τε Θεοκτίστῳ καὶ Μολάττῃ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες οἱ δὴ ἐνταῦθα πῃ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγχανον, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπήλυνον, Βούζην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθρυλοῦντες ξὺν στρατῷ ἦκειν, ἐθέλειν τε κατὰ τάχος δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι. [18] ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦσαν· εἴτα πρὸς τῶν ἵππων ὠθούμενοι ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔπιπτον. [19] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐν ποσὶν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν φειδόμενοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὑπερθεῖν τῶν κειμένων ἅπαντες ἤλυνον, γέγονε τε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αὐτάς. [20] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, κλίμακας ἐπιθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ

τείχος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀνέβαινον. ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καταβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ διασκοπούμενοις τε καὶ ἀπορουμένοις ἐφύκεσαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, προλοχίζεσθαι τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνέδραις τισὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποτοπάζοντες. [21] τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εὐθὺς κατιόντι λοιπὸν ἀοίκητος χώρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν ἐστι. πέτραι τε λίαν ὑψηλαὶ ἀνέχουσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τόποι κρημνώδεις. [22] ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ Χοσρόου γνώμη γεγονέναι τὴν μέλλησιν Πέρσαις. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε δυσχωρίαν κατενόησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φεύγοντας εἶδεν, ἔδεισε μὴ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναστρέψαντες πράγματα σφίσι παράσχωνται, ἐμπόδιοί τε γένωνται, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πόλιν ἐλεῖν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ πρῶτην Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑω πασῶν πόλεων, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. [24] οὗ δὲ, περὶ ἐλάσσονος τᾶλλα ποιούμενος ἅπαντα, ἤθελε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώταις καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι, ὥστε κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῖς φεύγουσι Πέρσαις σημαίνοντες ἐνεκελεύοντο φεύγειν ὡς τάχιστα. [25] οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ἀπίνοντες ὄχοντο ἅπαντες διὰ πύλης ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνην ἄγει τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον: [26] ταύτης γὰρ μόνης, τῶν ἄλλων κατειλημμένων, ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι: τοῦ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγοι τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις διέφυγον. [27] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτας εἶδον πρόσω χωρήσαντας, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο. [28] ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων νεανῖαι πολλοὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τὰ πρῶτα καθυπέρτεροι ἔδοξαν τῇ ξυμβολῇ εἶναι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τινες μὲν ὀπλίται, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι γυμνοὶ καὶ λίθων βολαῖς χρώμενοι μόναις. [29] ὡσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπαιάνιζόν τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα καλλίνικον, ἅτε νενικηκότας, ἀνέκραγον. [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν καθήμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐθέλων τι εἰπεῖν μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἀρχόντων, ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, οἰόμενος ξυμβάσεως περὶ βούλεσθαι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς λόγους ἰέναι, ἐς ὅψιν τε τῷ [31] βασιλεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἦλθε καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε 'Οὐχὶ ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ δέσποτα, Ῥωμαίοις ἀμφὶ τῇ τούτων σωτηρίᾳ γινώσκειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν καὶ ἡσσημένοι τολμῶσι τε τὰ ἀμύχανα καὶ δρῶσι τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὥσπερ δεδιότες μὴ τις αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοὶ φιланθρωπίας λελεῖψεται λόγος: σὺ δὲ τοὺς τε σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἐλεεῖν βούλει, καὶ φεῖδεσθαι τῶν οὐδαμῇ ἐθελόντων ἐσπούδακας. [32] οἱ δὲ προλοχίσαντες ἐν ἀλούσῃ πόλει τοὺς νενικηκότας ἐνέδραις τισὶ διαφθεῖρουσι, καίπερ ἀπάντων [33] αὐτοῖς πάλαι πεφευγόντων στρατιωτῶν.' ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας, τῶν ἀρίστων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπανήκοντες οὐδὲν ξυμβῆναι φλαῦρον ἀπήγγελλον. [34] ἤδη γὰρ Ἀντιοχέας Πέρσαις βιασάμενοι πλήθει ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ γέγονε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαις οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἐκτεινον. [35] τότε φασὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπιφανῶν δύο γενέσθαι μὲν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου, αἰσθομένας δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενήσονται 'πανταχόσε γὰρ ἤδη περιόντες καθεωρῶντὸ δρόμῳ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ὀρόντην ἐλθεῖν, φοβουμένας δὲ μὴ τι σφᾶς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσωσι

Πέρσαι, ταῖς τε καλύπτραις ἐγκαλυψαμένας τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἐμπεσούσας ἀφανισθῆναι. οὕτω πᾶσα κακοῦ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἰδέα ἔσχεν.

VIII

[June 540 A.D.] Then Chosroes (since Megas said that he had by no means persuaded the inhabitants of Antioch to bring him the money) went with his whole army against them. Some of the population of Antioch thereupon departed from there with their money and fled as each one could. And all the rest likewise were purposing to do the same thing, and would have done so had not the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Theoctistus and Molatzes, who arrived in the meantime with six thousand men, fortified them with hope and thus prevented their departure. Not long after this the Persian army also came. There they all pitched their tents and made camp fronting on the River Orontes and not very far from the stream. Chosroes then sent Paulus up beside the fortifications and demanded money from the men of Antioch, saying that for ten centenaria of gold he would depart from there, and it was obvious that he would accept even less than this for his withdrawal. And on that day their ambassadors went before Chosroes, and after speaking at length concerning the breaking of the peace and hearing much from him, they retired. But on the morrow the populace of Antioch (for they are not seriously disposed, but are always engaged in jesting and disorderly performance) heaped insults upon Chosroes from the battlements and taunted him with unseemly laughter; and when Paulus came near the fortifications and exhorted them to purchase freedom for themselves and the city for a small sum of money, they very nearly killed him with shots from their bows, and would have done so if he had not seen their purpose in time and guarded against it. On account of this Chosroes, boiling with anger, decided to storm the wall.

On the following day, accordingly, he led up all the Persians against the wall and commanded a portion of the army to make assaults at different points along the river, and he himself with the most of the men and best troops directed an attack against the height. For at this place, as has been stated by me above, the wall of fortification was most vulnerable. Thereupon the Romans, since the structure on which they were to stand when fighting was very narrow, devised the following remedy. Binding together long timbers they suspended them between the towers, and in this way they made these spaces much broader, in order that still more men might be able to ward off the assailants from there. So the Persians, pressing on most vigorously from all sides, were sending their arrows thickly everywhere, and especially along the crest of the hill. Meanwhile the Romans were fighting them back with all their strength, not soldiers alone, but also many of the most courageous youths of the populace. But it appeared that those who were attacking the wall there were engaged in a battle on even terms with their enemy. For the rock which was broad and high and, as it were, drawn up against the fortifications caused the conflict to be just as if on level ground. And if anyone of the Roman army

had had the courage to get outside the fortifications with three hundred men and to anticipate the enemy in seizing this rock and to ward off the assailants from there, never, I believe, would the city have come into any danger from the enemy. For the barbarians had no point from which they could have conducted their assault, for they would be exposed to missiles from above both from the rock and from the wall; but as it was (for it was fated that Antioch be destroyed by this army of the Medes), this idea occurred to no one. So then while the Persians were fighting beyond their power, since Chosroes was present with them and urging them on with a mighty cry, giving their opponents not a moment in which to look about or guard against the missiles discharged from their bows, and while the Romans, in great numbers and with much shouting, were defending themselves still more vigorously, the ropes with which the beams had been bound together, failing to support the weight, suddenly broke asunder and the timbers together with all those who had taken their stand on them fell to the ground with a mighty crash. When this was heard by other Romans also, who were fighting from the adjoining towers, being utterly unable to comprehend what had happened, but supposing that the wall at this point had been destroyed, they beat a hasty retreat. Now many young men of the populace who in former times had been accustomed to engage in factional strife with each other in the hippodromes descended into the city from the fortification wall, but they refused to flee and remained where they were, while the soldiers with Theoctistus and Molatzes straightway leaped upon the horses which happened to be ready there and rode away to the gates, telling the others a tale to the effect that Bouzes had come with an army and they wished to receive them quickly into the city, and with them to ward off the enemy. Thereupon many of the men of Antioch and all the women with their children made a great rush toward the gates; but since they were crowded by the horses, being in very narrow quarters, they began to fall down. The soldiers, however, sparing absolutely no one of those before them, all kept riding over the fallen still more fiercely than before, and a great many were killed there, especially about the gates themselves.

But the Persians, with no one opposing them, set ladders against the wall and mounted with no difficulty. And quickly reaching the battlements, for a time they were by no means willing to descend, but they seemed like men looking about them and at a loss what to do, because, as it seems to me, they supposed that the rough ground was beset with some ambuscades of the enemy. For the land inside the fortifications which one traverses immediately upon descending from the height is an uninhabited tract extending for a great distance and there are found there rocks which rise to a very great height, and steep places. But some say that it was by the will of Chosroes that the Persians hesitated. For when he observed the difficulty of the ground and saw the soldiers fleeing, he feared lest by reason of some necessity they should turn back from their retreat and make trouble for the Persians, and thus become an

obstacle, as might well happen, in the way of his capturing a city which was both ancient and of great importance and the first of all the cities which the Romans had throughout the East both in wealth and in size and in population and in beauty and in prosperity of every kind. Hence it was that, considering everything else of less account, he wished to allow the Roman soldiers freely to avail themselves of the chance for flight. For this reason too the Persians also made signs to the fugitives with their hands, urging them to flee as quickly as possible. So the soldiers of the Romans together with their commanders took a hasty departure, all of them, through the gate which leads to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch; for from this gate alone the Persians kept away while the others were seized; and of the populace some few escaped with the soldiers. Then when the Persians saw that all the Roman soldiers had gone on, they descended from the height and got into the middle of the city. There, however, many of the young men of Antioch engaged in battle with them, and at first they seemed to have the upper hand in the conflict. Some of them were in heavy armour, but the majority were unarmed and using only stones as missiles. And pushing back the enemy they raised the paean, and with shouts proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant, as if they had won the victory.

At this point Chosroes, seated on the tower which is on the height, summoned the ambassadors, wishing to say something. And one of his officers, Zaberganes, thinking that he wished to have words with the ambassadors concerning a settlement, came quickly before the king and spoke as follows: "Thou dost not seem to me, O Master, to think in the same way as do the Romans concerning the safety of these men. For they both before fighting offer insults to thy kingdom, and when they are defeated dare the impossible and do the Persians irreparable harm, as if fearing lest some reason for shewing them humanity should be left in thee; but thou art wishing to pity those who do not ask to be saved, and hast shewn zeal to spare those who by no means wish it. Meanwhile these men have set an ambush in a captured city and are destroying the victors by means of snares, although all the soldiers have long since fled from them." When Chosroes heard this, he sent a large number of the best troops against them, and these not long afterwards returned and announced that nothing untoward had come to pass. For already the Persians had forced back the citizens by their numbers and turned them to flight, and a great slaughter took place there. For the Persians did not spare persons of any age and were slaying all whom they met, old and young alike. At that time they say that two women of those who were illustrious in Antioch got outside the fortifications, but perceiving that they would fall into the hands of the enemy (for they were already plainly seen going about everywhere), went running to the River Orontes, and, fearing lest the Persians should do them some insult, they covered their faces with their veils and threw themselves into the river's current and were carried out of sight. Thus

the inhabitants of Antioch were visited with every form of misfortune.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ‘Οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον οἶομαι εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀκραίφνη τὰγαθὰ ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ κεραννύων αὐτὰ τοῖς κακοῖς εἶτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται. [2] καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ τὸ γελᾶν ἄκλαυστον ἔχομεν, παραπέπηγε δέ τις αἰεὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐτυχήμασι συμφορά, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς λύπη, οὐκ ἑῷσαι τινα γνησίας ποτὲ τῆς δεδομένης εὐημερίας ἀπόνασθαι. [3] πόλιν γὰρ τήνδε, ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ οὖσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπονώτατα μὲν ἔλαιν ἴσχυσα, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάσαντος ἡμῖν, ὥς ὁρᾶτε δήπου, τὴν νίκην. [4] φόνον μέντοι ἀνθρώπων ὁρῶντί μοι τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, αἵματί τε πολλῷ βεβαπτισμένον τὸ τρόπαιον, οὐδεμία τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἡδονῆς γέγονεν αἴσθησις. [5] καὶ τῶνδε οἱ ταλαίπωροι Ἀντιοχεῖς αἴτιοι, οἳ γε τειχομαχοῦντας μὲν οὐχ οἰοί τε γεγόνασι Πέρσας ἀπώσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ νενικηκότας ἤδη καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντας θράσει θανατῶντες ἀλογίστῳ ζυγομαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [6] πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Περσῶν δόκιμοι πολλὰ ἐνοχλοῦντες σαγηνεῦσαι τέ με τὴν πόλιν ἡξίουں καὶ ζύμπαντας διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἡλωκότας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον εἰς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁρμᾶν, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα σώζοιντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς ἡλωκόσιν οὐχ [7] ὅσιον.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τερατευόμενός τε καὶ διαθρυπτόμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔλαθε μέντοι αὐτοὺς ὅτου ἔνεκα τὸν καιρὸν φεύγουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοίῃ. [8] Ἦν γὰρ δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν οὐκ ὄντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρύψασθαι, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐξημάρτανε τὰς αἰτίας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐπενεγκεῖν: ἔτι δὲ ὁμολογῆσαι μὲν ἔτοιμος ἅπαντα καὶ ὄρκῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πιστώσασθαι, λίαν δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος αὐτῷ ζυγκειμένων τε καὶ ὁωμοσμένων ἐτοιμότερος ἐς λήθην ἀφίχθαι, καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκεν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄγος καθεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄκνος, τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ σχηματίζεσθαι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν. [9] ὃς καὶ Σουρηνούς, πρότερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδίκηκότας, δόλῳ τε περιελθὼν καὶ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσας τῷ εἰρηνένῳ, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκα κοσμίαν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως εἶδεν ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πρὸς τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλκομένην ξὺν πολλῇ βίᾳ, παιδίον δὲ ὅπερ αὐτῇ ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀφεῖναι μὲν οὐ βουλομένην, ἔλκουσαν δὲ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐμπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐπεὶ οἱ ξυντρέχειν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν τοῦτον δὴ τὸν βίαιον δρόμον, τὸν οἰκεῖον κἀνταῦθα ἐνδέδεικται τρόπον. [10] φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν στενάξαντα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δόκησίν τε ὥς εἶη δεδακρυμένος παρεχόμενον τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ, εὖξασθαι τὸν θεὸν τίσασθαι τὸν τῶν γεγονότων κακῶν αἴτιον. [11] Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα παραδηλοῦν ἠθέλεν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἀπάντων εἶη. [12] τοσαύτη χρώμενος φύσεως ἀτοπία Χοσρόης βασιλεὺς τε Περσῶν γέγονε ‘Ζάμου τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ δαιμονίου πηρώσαντος, ὅσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐφέρετο μετὰ γε τὸν Καόσην, ὃνπερ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐμίσει Καβάδης’ καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπαναστάντων ἐκράτησε, κακὰ τε Ῥωμαίους ὅσα ἐβούλευσεν εὐπετῶς

ἔδρασε. [13] βουλομένη γάρ τινα μέγαν ἀεὶ ποιεῖν ἢ τύχη πράσσει τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ δόξαντα, οὐδενὸς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς βουλήσεως ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασκοπούμενη ἀξίωμα οὔτε ὅπως μὴ γένηται τι τῶν οὐ δεόντων λογιζομένη, οὐδὲ ὅτι βλασφημήσουσιν ἐς αὐτὴν διὰ ταῦτα πολλοί, τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τῆς χάριτος τετυχηκότος χλευάζοντες, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ποιουμένη, ἣν τὸ δόξαν αὐτῇ περαίνοιτο μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον ἐχέτω. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς περιόντας ζωγρεῖν καὶ ἀνδραποδίζειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ληΐζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας κατέβαινεν, ὅπερ ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσιν. [15] ἐνταῦθα κειμήλια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Χοσρόης εὔρεν, ὥστε τῆς λείας ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ κειμήλια ταῦτα λαβὼν πλούτου τι μέγεθος περιβεβλημένος ἀπιὼν ὄχητο. [16] καὶ μάρμαρά τε πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστά ἐνθένδε ἀφελὼν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε κατατίθεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθῃ κομίσωνται. [17] ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσαι Πέρσαις ἐπέστελλε. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέχεσθαι μόνης, ἥς τὰ λύτρα κεκομισμένος διαρκῶς εἴη. [18] ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκεχωρηκὸς τᾶλλα καίειν ἐκέλευε πάντα, ὀλίγους τέ τινας αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσοντας, αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησεν οὗ καὶ πρότερον διεσκηνημένοι ἐτύγχανον.

IX

Then Chosroes spoke to the ambassadors as follows: "Not far from the truth, I think, is the ancient saying that God does not give blessings unmixed, but He mingles them with troubles and then bestows them upon men. And for this reason we do not even have laughter without tears, but there is always attached to our successes some misfortune, and to our pleasures pain, not permitting anyone to enjoy in its purity such good fortune as is granted. For this city, which is of altogether preeminent importance in fact as well as in name in the land of the Romans I have indeed succeeded in capturing with the least exertion, since God has provided the victory all at once for us, as you doubtless see. But when I behold the massacre of such a multitude of men, and the victory thus drenched with blood, there arises in me no sense of the delight that should follow my achievement. And for this the wretched men of Antioch are to blame, for when the Persians were storming the wall they did not prove able to keep them back, and then when they had already triumphed and had captured the city at the first cry these men with unreasoned daring sought to die fighting against them in close combat. So while all the notables of the Persians were harassing me unceasingly with their demand that I should drag the city as with a net and destroy all the captives, I was commanding the fugitives to press on still more in their flight, in order that they might save themselves as quickly as possible. For to trample upon captives is not holy." Such high-sounding and airy words did Chosroes speak to the ambassadors, but nevertheless it did not escape them why he gave time to the Romans in their flight.

For he was the cleverest of all men at saying that which was not, and in concealing the truth, and in attributing the blame for the wrongs which he committed to those who suffered the wrong; besides he was ready to agree to everything and to pledge the agreement with an oath, and much more ready to forget completely the things lately agreed to and sworn to by him, and for the sake of money to debase his soul without reluctance to every act of pollution — a past master at feigning piety in his countenance, and absolving himself in words from the responsibility of the act. This man well displayed his own peculiar character on a certain occasion at Sura; for after he had hoodwinked the inhabitants of the city by a trick and had destroyed them in the manner which I have described, although they had previously done him no wrong at all, he saw, while the city was being captured, a comely woman and one not of lowly station being dragged by her left hand with great violence by one of the barbarians; and the child, which she had only lately weaned, she was unwilling to let go, but was dragging it with her other hand, fallen, as it was, to the ground since it was not able to keep pace with that violent running. And they say that he uttered a pretended groan, and making it appear to all who

were present at that time including Anastasius the ambassador that he was all in tears, he prayed God to exact vengeance from the man who was guilty of the troubles which had come to pass. Now Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, was the one whom he wished to have understood, though he knew well that he himself was most responsible for everything. Endowed with such a singular nature Chosroes both became King of the Persians (for ill fortune had deprived Zames of his eye, he who in point of years had first right to the kingdom, at any rate after Caoses, whom Cabades for no good reason hated), and with no difficulty he conquered those who revolted against him, and all the harm which he purposed to do the Romans he accomplished easily. For every time when Fortune wishes to make a man great, she does at the fitting times those things which she has decided upon, with no one standing against the force of her will; and she neither regards the man's station, nor purposes to prevent the occurrence of things which ought not to be, nor does she give heed that many will blaspheme against her because of these things, mocking scornfully at that which has been done by her contrary to the deserts of the man who receives her favour; nor does she take into consideration anything else at all, if only she accomplish the thing which has been decided upon by her. But as for these matters, let them be as God wishes.

Chosroes commanded the army to capture and enslave the survivors of the population of Antioch, and to plunder all the property, while he himself with the ambassadors descended from the height to the sanctuary which they call a church. There Chosroes found stores of gold and silver so great in amount that, though he took no other part of the booty except these stores, he departed possessed of enormous wealth. And he took down from there many wonderful marbles and ordered them to be deposited outside the fortifications, in order that they might convey these too to the land of Persia. When he had finished these things, he gave orders to the Persians to burn the whole city. And the ambassadors begged him to withhold his hand only from the church, for which he had carried away ransom in abundance. This he granted to the ambassadors, but gave orders to burn everything else; then, leaving there a few men who were to fire the city, he himself with all the rest retired to the camp where they had previously set up their tents.

Τούτου τοῦ πάθους χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον τέρας ὁ θεὸς ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ ὀκνημένοις ἐσήμηνε τὰ ἐσόμενα. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν, οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυνται, τὰ σημεῖα πρότερον ἐστῶτα πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου στραφέντα πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἔστησαν, ἐς τάξιν τε αὖθις ἐπανῆκον τὴν προτέραν οὐδενὸς ἀψαμένου. [2] ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἄγχιστά πη παροῦσι καὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης ἔδειξαν, ἔτι τῶν σημείων κραδαινομένων. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ, Τατιανὸς ὄνομα, ξυνετὸς μάλιστα, ἐκ Μοψουεστίας ὁρμώμενος. [3] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἔγνωσαν οἱ τὸ τέρας τοῦτο ἰδόντες ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐσπερίου ἐπὶ τὸν ἔϋον τὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἀφίξεται κράτος, ὅπως δηλαδὴ διαφυγεῖν μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ δύνωνται

οὕσπερ ἔδει ταῦτα ἅπερ ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν. [4] Ἐγὼ δὲ ἰλιγγίῳ πάθος τοσοῦτον γράφων τε καὶ παραπέμπων ἐς μνήμην τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη πράγματα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἢ χωρίου του ἐπαίρειν εἰς ὕψος, αὐθις δὲ ῥιπτεῖν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης αἰτίας. [5] αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἅπαντα κατὰ λόγον αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι, ὃς δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τότε ὑπέστη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτου καταφερομένην ἰδεῖν, ἧς τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι παντάπασιν ἔσχεν. [6] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλείφθη μόνη, πόνῳ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ Περσῶν οἷς τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκειτο τοῦτο. [7] ἐλείφθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κεραταῖον οἰκίαι πολλάι, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνθρώπων τινός, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔκειντό που πρὸς ἐσχάτοις τῆς πόλεως, ἐτέρας αὐταῖς οὐδεμιᾶς τινος οἰκοδομίας ξυναπτομένης, τὸ πῦρ ἐς αὐτὰς ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. [8] ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅπερ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀνεῖται ἀγίῳ, καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι. [9] τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα καταλῦσαι ξυνέπεσε. τοῦ μέντοι περιβόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι. [10] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἦκοντες αὐθις παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε, 'Εἰ μὴ πρὸς παρόντα σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε φόμεθα Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅλοις ἦκειν, ἀτιμάσαντα μὲν τοὺς διομωμοσμένους σοι ἑναγχος ὄρκους, ὃ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὕστατόν τε καὶ ὀχυρώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐς ἀλλήλους πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, διαλύσαντα δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς, ὧν ἡ ἐλπίς ἀπολέλειπται μόνη τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ κακοπραγίαν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βιοτεύουσιν. [11] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶποι τις ἂν εἶναι ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δίαίταν ἐς τὴν τῶν θηρίων μεταβεβλήσθαι. [12] ἐν γὰρ τῷ μηδαμῇ σπένδεσθαι τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀπέραντα λελεῖψεται πάντως, πόλεμος δὲ ὁ πέρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐξοικίζειν τῆς φύσεως τοὺς αὐτῷ χρωμένους ἐς αἰεὶ πέφυκε. [13] τί δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον γέγραφας ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος; ἢ δήλον ὅτι ὁμολογῶν κακὸν τι παμμέγεθες εἶναι τὴν τῶν σπονδῶν λύσιν; [14] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἡμαρτεν, οὐ δικαίως τανῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦκεις; εἰ δέ τι τοιοῦτόν τ' ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ μέχρι τούτου γε καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω διαπεπράχθω τὸ ἔγκλημα, ὅπως αὐτὸς κρείσσων εἶναι δοκῇ. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλασσούμενος, [15] οὗτος ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι νικῶν δικαίως. καίτοι ἡμεῖς ἐξεπιστάμεθα Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα μηδεπώποτε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαίους κακά, ἐξ ὧν Πέρσαις μὲν ὄνησις οὐδεμία ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τοῦτο κερδανεῖς μόνον, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα τοὺς ἄρτι σοὶ σπεισαμένους οὐ δέον εἰργάσθαι.' οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [16] Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἰσχυρίζετο μὲν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λελύσθαι· καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέσχετο, τὰς μὲν τινὰς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ξυμπεπλασμένας; μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιωτάτας ἡξίου δεικνύναι πρὸς τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον καὶ Οὐννους αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [17] ἀνδρα μέντοι

Ῥωμαῖον ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν ἐσβεβληκέναι ἢ πολέμια ἔργα ἐνδείξασθαι οὕτε λέγειν εἶχεν οὕτε δεικνύναι. [18] οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις πῇ μὲν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνέφερον, ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν ὑπουργηκόντων τινάς, πῇ δὲ ὥς οὐχ οὕτω γεγονότων ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν εἰρημένων. [19] τέλος δὲ χρήματα μὲν οἱ πολλὰ ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου διδόναι Ῥωμαίους, παρήνει δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μόνον παρεχομένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐθέλιν ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κρατύνασθαι. [20] τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινομένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλίσκομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνδαπανᾶσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι. [21] δεῖν τοίνυν Ῥωμαίους τακτόν τι φέρειν ἐπέτειον Πέρσαις. ‘Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς,’ ἔφη, ‘τὴν εἰρήνην Πέρσαι βέβαιον ἔξουσιν, τὰς τε Κασπίας αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες πύλας καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀχθόμενοι διὰ πόλιν Δάρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμμισθοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσονται.’ ‘Οὐκοῦν,’ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν, [22] ‘ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαι βούλονται Ῥωμαίους ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔχειν.’ ‘Οὐκ, [23] ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας οἰκείους,’ ὁ Χοσρόης εἶπεν, ‘ἔξουσιν τὸ λοιπὸν Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοι, μισθὸν τῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦντες ῥητόν: ἐπεὶ καὶ Οὐννων τισὶ καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπέτειον χορηγεῖτε χρυσόν, οὐ φόρου αὐτοῖς ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀδήωτον γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν φυλάξωσιν ἐς τὸν πάντα [24] αἰῶνα.’ τοιαῦτα Χοσρόης τε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, ξυνέβησαν ὕστερον ἐφ' ᾧ Χοσρόην ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα κεντηνάρια πεντήκοντα πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντα, πέντε δὲ ἄλλων φερόμενον ἐπέτειον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα δασμόν, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι περαιτέρω κακόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν μὲν ὁμήρους ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων κεκομισμένον τὴν ἀποπορείαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ποιήσασθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ στελλομένους τὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐν βεβαίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν θέσθαι.

X

A short time before this calamity God displayed a sign to the inhabitants of that city, by which He indicated the things which were to be. For the standards of the soldiers who had been stationed there for a long time had been standing previously toward the west, but of their own accord they turned and stood toward the east, and then returned again to their former position untouched by anyone. This the soldiers shewed to many who were near at hand and among them the manager of finances in the camp, while the standards were still trembling. This man, Tatianus by name, was an especially discreet person, a native of Mopsuestia. But even so those who saw this sign did not recognize that the mastery of the place would pass from the western to the eastern king, in order, evidently, that escape might be utterly impossible for those who were bound to suffer those things which came to pass.

But I become dizzy as I write of such a great calamity and transmit it to future times, and I am unable to understand why indeed it should be the will of God to exalt on high the fortunes of a man or of a place, and then to cast them down and destroy them for no cause which appears to us. For it is wrong to say that with Him all things are not always done with reason, though he then endured to see Antioch brought down to the ground at the hands of a most unholy man, a city whose beauty and grandeur in every respect could not even so be utterly concealed.

So, then, after the city had been destroyed, the church was left solitary, thanks to the activity and foresight of the Persians to whom this work was assigned. And there were also left about the so-called Cerataeum many houses, not because of the foresight of any man, but, since they were situated at the extremity of the city, and not connected with any other building, the fire failed entirely to reach them. The barbarians burned also the parts outside the fortifications, except the sanctuary which is dedicated to St. Julianus and the houses which stand about this sanctuary. For it happened that the ambassadors had taken up their lodgings there. As for the fortifications, the Persians left them wholly untouched.

A little later the ambassadors again came to Chosroes and spoke as follows: "If our words were not addressed to thee in thy presence, O King, we should never believe that Chosroes, the son of Cabades, had come into the land of the Romans in arms, dishonouring the oaths which have recently been sworn by thee — for such pledges are regarded as the last and most firm security of all things among men to guarantee mutual trust and truthfulness — and breaking the treaty, though hope in treaties is the only thing left to those who are living in insecurity because of the evil deeds of war. For one might say of such a state of affairs that it is nothing else than the transformation of the habits of

men into those of beasts. For in a time when no treaties at all are made, there will remain certainly war without end, and war which has no end is always calculated to estrange from their proper nature those who engage in it. With what intent, moreover, didst thou write to thy brother not long ago that he himself was responsible for the breaking of the treaty? Was it not obviously with the admission that the breaking of treaties is an exceedingly great evil? If therefore he has done no wrong, thou art not acting justly now in coming against us; but if it happen that thy brother has done any such thing, yet let thy complaint have its fulfilment thus far, and go no farther, that thou mayst shew thyself superior. For he who submits to be worsted in evil things would in better things justly be victorious. And yet we know well that the Emperor Justinian has never gone contrary to the treaty, and we entreat thee not to do the Romans such harm, from which there will be no advantage to the Persians, and thou wilt gain only this, that thou wilt have wrongfully wrought deeds of irreparable harm upon those who have recently made peace with thee." So spoke the ambassadors.

And Chosroes, upon hearing this, insisted that the treaty had been broken by the Emperor Justinian; and he enumerated the causes of war which the Emperor afforded, some of them of real importance and others idle and fabricated without any reason; most of all he wished to shew that the letters written by him to Alamoundaras and the Huns were the chief cause of the war, just as I have stated above. But as for any Roman who had invaded the land of Persia, or who had made a display of warlike deeds, he was unable either to mention or to point out such a one. The ambassadors, however, referred the charges in part not to Justinian but to certain of those who had served him, while in the case of others they took exception to what he had said on the ground that the things had not taken place as stated. Finally Chosroes made the demand that the Romans give him a large sum of money, but he warned them not to hope to establish peace for all time by giving money at that moment only. For friendship, he said, which is made by men on terms of money is generally spent as fast as the money is used up. It was necessary, therefore, that the Romans should pay some definite annual sum to the Persians. "For thus," he said, "the Persians will keep the peace secure for them, guarding the Caspian Gates themselves and no longer feeling resentment at them on account of the city of Daras, in return for which the Persians themselves will be in their pay forever." "So," said the ambassadors, "the Persians desire to have the Romans subject and tributary to themselves." "No," said Chosroes, "but the Romans will have the Persians as their own soldiers for the future, dispensing to them a fixed payment for their service; for you give an annual payment of gold to some of the Huns and to the Saracens, not as tributary subjects to them, but in order that they may guard your land unplundered for all time." After Chosroes and the ambassadors had spoken thus at length with each other, they at last came to terms, agreeing that

Chosroes should forthwith take from the Romans fifty centenaria, and that, receiving a tribute of five more centenaria annually for all time, he should do them no further harm, but taking with him hostages from the ambassadors to pledge the keeping of the agreement, should make his departure with the whole army to his native land, and that there ambassadors sent from the Emperor Justinian should arrange on a firm basis for the future the compact regarding the peace.

Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσαν ἦλθεν, ἐνταῦθα τε Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα οὔτε εὐρὼν οὔτε λυμηνάμενος ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὕδατι μόνος, θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἷσιν ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο, πολλά τε ἐπιθειάσας ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνεν. [2] ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιθυμίαν οἱ ἔφασκε τίνα εἶναι τὴν Ἀπαμέων πόλιν ἐν γειτόνων οὖσαν οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦ ἔνεκα ἢ ἱστορίας θεάσασθαι. [3] ζυνεχώρουν τε οὐχ ἐκούσιοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι αὐτὸν θεασάμενόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀργύρου χιλίας κομισάμενον ἐνθένδε λίτρας, οὐδέν τι ἄλλο λυμηνάμενον ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω. [4] ἐνδηλος δὲ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς τε πρέσβεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν τοῦδε ἔνεκα στέλλοιτο μόνον, ὅπως δὴ τινος σκήψεως οὐκ ἀξιολόγου λαβόμενος αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνην χώραν λήισηται. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη, τὸ Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. [5] ἔνθα δὴ τό τε ἄλσος ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς· [6] ἅμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἐστί. καὶ θύσας ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπιὼν ὄχετο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν λυμηνάμενος, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τὸ ἱερὸν καύσας ζὺν ἐτέραις τισὶν οἰκίαις ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [7] Πέρσης ἀνὴρ ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ δόκιμος καὶ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ γνῶριμος, ἐς χῶρον κρημνώδη ἀμφὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Τρητὸν ἦλθε ζὺν ἐτέροις τισίν, οὗ δὴ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ νεῶς ἐστίν, Εὐάριδος ἔργον. [8] οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν τίνα Ἀντιοχέων νεανίαν πεζὸν τε καὶ μόνον κρυπτόμενον ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἐδίωκε τῶν ἐτέρων χωρίς. ἦν δὲ κρεοπώλης ὁ νεανίας, [9] Αἰμάχος ὄνομα. ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λίθῳ τὸν διώκοντα βάλλει, ἐπιτυχάνει τε τοῦ μετώπου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τὸ οὖς μὴνιγγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. [10] σκυλεύσας τε αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτύγγανεν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐπὶ τε τὸν ἵππον ἀναθορῶν πρόσω ἦλυνεν. [11] εἴτε δὲ τύχη εἴτε χωρίων ἐμπειρία χρησάμενος, λαθεῖν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφυγεῖν παντελῶς ἴσχυσε. [12] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν καὶ τοῖς ζυμπεσοῦσι περιαλήσας, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς καῦσαι τὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου νεῶν οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην ἐκέλευεν. [13] οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκείνον εἶναι ἡγούμενοι ζὺν ταῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἰκοδομίαις ἐνέπρησαν, ἐπιτελεῖς τε πεποιῆσθαι τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ὄντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχε. [14] Χοσρόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀπάμειαν ἦει. ἐστὶ δὲ ξύλον πηχυαῖον ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ, τοῦ σταυροῦ μέρος ἐν ᾧ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ τὴν κόλασιν οὔτι ἀκούσιον ὑποστῆναι ὁμολογεῖται, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον ἐνταῦθα πρὸς Σύρου

ἀνδρὸς κομισθὲν λάθρα. [15] καὶ αὐτὸ οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι φυλακτήριον μέγα σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πιστεύοντες ἔσσεσθαι θήκην αὐτοῦ ξυλίνην τινὰ πεπονημένοι κατέθεντο, ἣν δὴ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τρισὶ μὲν ἱερεῦσι παρέδωκαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ξὺν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ φυλάξουσιν, ἐξάγοντες δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πανδημεῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ προσκυνοῦσι μιᾷ. [16] τότε οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἀπαμέων λεώς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπύθοντο ἰέναι, ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Χοσρόην δὲ ἀκούοντες ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι καὶ παρὰ Θωμᾶν τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα γενόμενοι ἐδέοντο τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐπιδειῖξαι σφίσιν, ὅπως αὐτὸ ὕστατα προσκυνήσαντες τελευτήσωσιν. [17] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. τότε δὴ θέαμα ξυνηνέχθη λόγου τε καὶ πίστεως κρεῖσσον ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ὁ ἱερεὺς φέρων ἐδείκνυνεν, ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ σέλας πυρὸς ἐπεφέρετο καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέρος φωτὶ πολλῷ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατελάμπετο. [18] βαδίζοντος τε τοῦ ἱερέως πανταχῇ τοῦ νεῶ συμπροῆι τὸ σέλας, φυλάσσον ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀροφῆς χώραν. [19] ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀπαμέων δῆμος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θαύματος ἡδονῆς ἐθαμβεῖτό τε καὶ ἐγεγῆθει καὶ ἔκλαιεν, ἥδη τε ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχον. [20] ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ περιῆλθε τὸν νεῶν ἅπαντα, καταθέμενος ἐν τῇ θήκῃ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ σέλας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέπαυτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστα πού τῆς πόλεως ἦκειν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο. [21] καὶ ὃς ἐπεὶ ἀνεπνυθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως εἰ βουλομένοις τοῖς Ἀπαμεῦσιν εἶη ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ἀπεκρίνατο Θωμᾶς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτο ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦκειν. [22] ‘Οὐκοῦν’ ἔφη ὁ Χοσρόης ‘δέξασθέ με τῇ πόλει ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πάσαις ἀναπεπταμέναις [23] ταῖς πύλαις.’ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν ‘Ἐπ' αὐτὸ γὰρ δὴ παρακαλέσων τοῦτο ἀφίγμαι.’ ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς ἅπας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο διεσκηνημένοι πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου, [24] ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρίστων διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήλασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γέγονεν εἴσω πυλῶν, ἐπελάθετο ἐκὼν γε εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκειμένων, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκέλευε δοῦναι οὐ χίλια μόνον ἀργύρου σταθμὰ οὐδὲ τούτων δεκαπλάσια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κειμήλια ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχε κείμενα, χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξύμπαντα, μεγάλα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα. [25] οἶμαι δ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀνδραποδίσασθαι τε καὶ ληίσασθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀποκνήσαι, εἰ μὴ τι θεῖον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διεκώλυσεν. [26] οὕτως αὐτὸν ἢ τε φιλοχρηματία ἐξέπλησσε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ τῆς δόξης ἐπιθυμία. [27] κλέος γάρ οἱ μέγα τοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ᾤετο εἶναι, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ποιούμενος εἰ σπονδὰς τε καὶ ξυνθήκας ἡλογηκὼς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐργάζεται. [28] ταύτην τε Χοσρόου δηλώσει τὴν γνώμην ἃ τε ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐνεχείρησε τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὰ ξυγκείμενα, καὶ ἃ Καλλινικησίους ὀλίγω ὕστερον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔδρασεν, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθε λελέγεται λόγοις. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, [29] Ἀπάμειαν διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κειμήλια ὁ Χοσρόης ξύμπαντα εἶλε καὶ αὐτὸν μεθύοντα ἥδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ ὁ Θωμᾶς εἶδε, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ξὺν τῇ θήκῃ ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνέφωγέ τε τὴν θήκην καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐνδεικνύμενος ‘ὦ κράτιστε

βασιλεῦ' ἔφη 'ταῦτά μοι ἀπολέλειπται μόνα ἐκ πάντων χρημάτων. [30] θήκην μὲν οὖν τήνδε ἔχρυσῳ τε γὰρ κεκαλλώπιστα καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις' φθόνος οὐδείς λαβόντα σε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔχειν, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ξύλον, σωτήριόν τε ἡμῖν καὶ τίμιόν ἐστι, τουτο, ἱκετεύω σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι.' ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ξυνεχώρει δὲ Χοσρόης καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. [31] Μετὰ δὲ φιλοτιμία πολλῇ χρώμενος τὸν τε δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἡνίοχους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσιν. [32] οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκηκόει πολλῶ πρότερον Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα χρώματος τοῦ Βενέτου, ὃ δὴ κυάνεόν ἐστιν, ἐκτόπως ἑρᾶν, ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ κἀνταῦθα ἰέναι βουλόμενος ἤθελε τῷ πρασίῳ τὴν νίκην ἀρμόσαι. [33] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἡνίοχοι ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο, τύχη δὲ τις τῷ τὰ Βένετα ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ ἐγένετο παρελάσαντι ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι. [34] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀματροχίας ὁ τὸ πράσινον ἀμπεχόμενος χρῶμα. [35] ὅπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ Χοσρόης γεγονέναι οἰόμενος, ἡγανάκτει τε καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀνεβόα τὸν Καίσαρα προτερῆσαι τῶν ἄλλων οὐ δέον, ἐκέλευε τε τοὺς προτέρους ἰόντας ἵππους ἐπέχεσθαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν κατόπισθεν γενόμενοι ἀγωνίζωνται: ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε, νικᾶν οὕτως ὃ τε Χοσρόης καὶ μέρος τὸ πράσινον ἔδοξεν. [36] ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις Ἀπαμέων Χοσρόῃ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἡτῶτο Πέρσην ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντα τὴν παῖδα οὖσαν παρθένον βιάζεσθαι. [37] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἤδη, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέστελλε. [38] γνούς δὲ ὁ δῆμος παντὶ σθένει ἀνέκραγον ἐξαισίον οἶον, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ὀργῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαιτούμενοι. Χοσρόης δὲ ὡμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφήσειν, λάθρα δὲ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε διαπεπραγμένους παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν.

XI

Then Chosroes went to Seleucia, a city on the sea, one hundred and thirty stades distant from Antioch; and there he neither met nor harmed a single Roman, and he bathed himself alone in the sea-water, and after sacrificing to the sun and such other divinities as he wished, and calling upon the gods many times, he went back. And when he came to the camp, he said that he had a desire to see the city of Apamea which was in the vicinity for no other reason than that of his interest in the place. And the ambassadors unwillingly granted this also, but only on condition that after seeing the city and taking away with him from there one thousand pounds of silver, he should, without inflicting any further injury, march back. But it was evident to the ambassadors and to all the others that Chosroes was setting out for Apamea with this sole purpose, that he might lay hold upon some pretext of no importance and plunder both the city and the land thereabout. Accordingly he first went up to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, where he expressed great wonder at the grove and at the fountains of water; for both of these are very well worth seeing. And after sacrificing to the nymphs he departed, doing no further damage than burning the sanctuary of the archangel Michael together with certain other buildings, for the following reason. A Persian gentleman of high repute in the army of the Persians and well known to Chosroes, the king, while riding on horseback came in company with some others to a precipitous place near the so-called Tretum, where is a temple of the archangel Michael, the work of Evaris. This man, seeing one of the young men of Antioch on foot and alone concealing himself there, separated from the others and pursued him. Now the young man was a butcher, Aeimachus by name. When he was about to be overtaken, he turned about unexpectedly and threw a stone at his pursuer which hit him on the forehead and penetrated to the membrane by the ear. And the rider fell immediately to the ground, whereupon the youth drew out his sword and slew him. Then at his leisure he stripped him of his weapons and all his gold and whatever else he had on his person, and leaping upon his horse rode on. And whether by the favour of fortune or by his knowledge of the country, he succeeded completely in eluding the Persians and making good his escape. When Chosroes learned this, he was deeply grieved at what had happened, and commanded some of his followers to burn the sanctuary of the archangel Michael which I have mentioned above. And they, thinking that the sanctuary at Daphne was the one in question, burned it with the buildings about it, and they supposed that the commands of Chosroes had been executed. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Chosroes with his whole army proceeded on the way to Apamea. Now there is a piece of wood one cubit in length in Apamea, a portion of the cross on which the Christ in Jerusalem once endured the punishment not

unwillingly, as is generally agreed, and which in ancient times had been conveyed there secretly by a man of Syria. And the men of olden times, believing that it would be a great protection both for themselves and for the city, made for it a sort of wooden chest and deposited it there; and they adorned this chest with much gold and with precious stones and they entrusted it to three priests who were to guard it in all security; and they bring it forth every year and the whole population worship it during one day. Now at that time the people of Apamea, upon learning that the army of the Medes was coming against them, began to be in great fear. And when they heard that Chosroes was absolutely untruthful, they came to Thomas, the chief priest of the city, and begged him to shew them the wood of the cross, in order that after worshipping it for the last time they might die. And he did as they requested. Then indeed it befell that a sight surpassing both description and belief was there seen. For while the priest was carrying the wood and shewing it, above him followed a flame of fire, and the portion of the roof over him was illuminated with a great and unaccustomed light. And while the priest was moving through every part of the temple, the flame continued to advance with him, keeping constantly the place above him in the roof. So the people of Apamea, under the spell of joy at the miracle, were wondering and rejoicing and weeping, and already all felt confidence concerning their safety. And Thomas, after going about the whole temple, laid the wood of the cross in the chest and covered it, and suddenly the light had ceased. Then upon learning that the army of the enemy had come close to the city, he went in great haste to Chosroes. And when the king enquired of the priest whether it was the will of the citizens of Apamea to marshal themselves on the wall against the army of the Medes, the priest replied that no such thing had entered the minds of the men. "Therefore," said Chosroes, "receive me into the city accompanied by a few men with all the gates opened wide." And the priest said "Yes, for I have come here to invite thee to do this very thing." So the whole army pitched their tents and made camp before the fortifications.

Then Chosroes chose out two hundred of the best of the Persians and entered the city. But when he had got inside the gates, he forgot willingly enough what had been agreed upon between himself and the ambassadors, and he commanded the bishop to give not only one thousand pounds of silver nor even ten times that amount, but whatsoever treasures were stored there, being all of gold and silver and of marvellous great size. And I believe that he would not have shrunk from enslaving and plundering the whole city, unless some divine providence had manifestly prevented him; to such a degree did avarice overpower him and the desire of fame turn his mind. For he thought the enslavement of the cities a great glory for himself, considering it absolutely nothing that disregarding treaties and compacts he was performing such deeds against the Romans. This attitude of Chosroes will be revealed by what he undertook to do concerning the city of Daras during his withdrawal at this

same time, when he treated his agreements with absolute disregard, and also by what he did to the citizens of Callinicus a little later in time of peace, as will be told by me in the following narrative. But God, as has been said, preserved Apamea. Now when Chosroes had seized all the treasures, and Thomas saw that he was already intoxicated with the abundance of the wealth, then bringing out the wood of the cross with the chest, he opened the chest and displaying the wood said: "O most mighty King, these alone are left me out of all the treasures. Now as for this chest (since it is adorned with gold and precious stones), we do not begrudge thy taking it and keeping it with all the rest, but this wood here, it is our salvation and precious to us, this, I beg and entreat thee, give to me." So spoke the priest. And Chosroes yielded and fulfilled the request.

Afterwards, being filled with a desire for popular applause, he commanded that the populace should go up into the hippodrome and that the charioteers should hold their accustomed contests. And he himself went up there also, eager to be a spectator of the performances. And since he had heard long before that the Emperor Justinian was extraordinarily fond of the Venetus colour, which is blue, wishing to go against him there also, he was desirous of bringing about victory for the green. So the charioteers, starting from the barriers, began the contest, and by some chance he who was clad in the blue happened to pass his rival and take the lead. And he was followed in the same tracks by the wearer of the green colour. And Chosroes, thinking that this had been done purposely, was angry, and he cried out with a threat that the Caesar had wrongfully surpassed the others, and he commanded that the horses which were running in front should be held up, in order that from then on they might contend in the rear; and when this had been done just as he commanded, then Chosroes and the green faction were accounted victorious. At that time one of the citizens of Apamea came before Chosroes and accused a Persian of entering his house and violating his maiden daughter. Upon hearing this, Chosroes, boiling with anger, commanded that the man should be brought. And when he came before him, he directed that he should be impaled in the camp. And when the people learned this, they raised a mighty shout as loud as they could, demanding that the man be saved from the king's anger. And Chosroes promised that he would release the man to them, but he secretly impaled him not long afterwards. So after these things had been thus accomplished, he departed and marched back with the whole army.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκετο, Βεροίας πόλεως τέτρασι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις διέχουσιν, αὐτὸς ἐς λήθην τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἦλθε, στρατοπεδευσάμενός τε τοῦ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἔπεμψε Παῦλον ἀπειλήσοντα Χαλκιδεῦσι πολιορκία τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τε σωτηρίαν ὦνιον κτήσονται τὰ λύτρα διδόντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅσους ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ξὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐκδοῖεν σφίσι. [2] Χαλκιδεῖς δὲ ἐς δύος μέγα πρὸς ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐμπεπτωκότες στρατιώτας μὲν ἀπώμοσαν ὥς

ἥκιστα ἐπιδημῆιν σφίσι, καίπερ ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀδόναχον τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντα κρύψαντες ἐν οἰκίσκοις τισίν, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδῆλοι ᾧσι: χρυσοῦ δὲ κεντηνάρια δύο συλλέξαντες μόλις, ἐπεὶ πόλιν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμονα ᾤκουν, τῷ τε Χοσρόῃ ζωάγρια δόντες τήν τε πόλιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεσώσαντο. [3] Ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀποπορείαν ἥπερ ἐληλύθει ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβῆναι καὶ χρήματα ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ληΐζεσθαι. [4] γέφυραν οὖν ζεύξας ἀμφὶ Ὀρβάνης τὸ χωρίον, ὅπερ τοῦ ἐν Βαρβαλισσῶ φρουρίου τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει, αὐτὸς τε διέβη καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαβαίνειν ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπειπὼν μὲν τὴν γέφυραν τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ λύσεσθαι, τάξας δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρὸν. [5] καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἡ κυρία, τινὰς μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολελεῖσθαι μὴ πῶ διαβάντας ξυνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπολογισάμενος ἔπεμψε τοὺς τὴν γέφυραν διαλύσοντας. [6] οἱ τε ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο, εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνέβαινον. Τότε δὴ φιλοτιμία τις Χοσρόην ἐσηλθε πόλιν ἔδεδσαν ἐξελεῖν. [7] ἐνήγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο Χριστιανῶν λόγος καὶ ἔδακνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι δὴ ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [8] Αὐγαρος ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἐδέσσης τοπάρχης· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ ἔθνος βασιλεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ Αὐγαρος οὗτος ξυνετώτατος ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. [9] ἔνσπονδος γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς λόγους ἦκων οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸν τῆς ξυνέσεως τῷ περιόντι ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι Αὐγουστος τῆς ξυνουσίας ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐθὺς διάπυρος ἐραστής, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐντύχοι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ᾔθελε. [10] χρόνος οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ συχνὸς τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐτρίβη. καὶ ποτε ἐς ἦθη πάτρια ἐθέλων ἰέναι πείθειν τε τὸν Αὐγουστον μεθεῖναι αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων, [11] ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐστάλη μὲν ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία: μελέτην γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα κατεσπουδασμένην τινὰ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. περιῶν δὲ χώραν πολλὴν συχνὰ τῶν ἐκείνῃ θηρίων ζῶντα ἐθήρα, καὶ χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ξυναμησάμενος ἔφερεν ἐκ χώρας ἐκάστης: οὕτω τε ἐπανῆκεν εἰς Ῥώμην, τὸν τε χοῦν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἔχων. [12] ὁ μὲν οὖν Αὐγουστος ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἀναβὰς ἐκάθητο ἥπερ εἰώθει, Αὐγαρος δὲ οἱ ἐς ὅπιν ἦκων τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἐπέδειξε, καταλέγων ἐκ ποίας ποτὲ χώρας ἢ τε γῆς ἐκάστη καὶ τῶν θηρίων τίνα ποτὲ εἶη. [13] ἔπειτα τὴν μὲν γῆν ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐκέλευε θέσθαι, πάντα δὲ ἐς ταῦτ' ὅτι τὰ θηρία ξυναγαγόντας εἶτα ἀφεῖναι. [14] οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπηρετοὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. τὰ δὲ θηρία χωρὶς ἀλλήλων γενόμενα ἐς ἐκείνην ἐχώρει τὴν γῆν ἢ δὴ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν εἰληπτο ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα. [15] καὶ ὁ μὲν Αὐγουστος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ποιούμενα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐθαύμαζε γε ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ζῴοις ἢ φύσις ἀδίδακτος οὔσα ποθεινὴν ποιεῖται τὴν πάτριον γῆν. Αὐγαρος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λαβόμενος, [16] Ἐμὲ δέ, εἶπε, τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχειν, ᾧ δέσποτα, οἶει, ᾧ γυνὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ παιδία καὶ βασιλεία βραχεῖα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ; [17] καὶ ὃς τῷ ἀληθεῖ τοῦ λόγου ἡσσηθεὶς τε καὶ βιασθεὶς ἀπιέναι τε ξυνεχώρει οὔτι ἐκούσιος καὶ προσαιτεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὅτου ἂν δέηται. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτου Αὐγαρος ἔτυχεν,

Αὐγοῦστου ἔδειτο ἵπποδρόμιόν οἱ δείμασθαι ἐν πόλει Ἑδέσση. ὁ δὲ ξυνεχώρει καὶ τοῦτο. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπαλλαγείς Αὐγαρος ἐς Ἑδεσσαν ἦλθε. [19] καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολῖται ἀνεπνυθάνοντο εἴ τι φέρων ἀγαθὸν σφίσιν ἐκ βασιλέως Αὐγοῦστου ἦκοι. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος Ἑδεσσηνοῖς ἐνεγκεῖν ἔφη λύπην τε ἀζήμιον καὶ χαρὰν ἀκερδῇ, τὴν τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου παραδηλῶν τύχην. [20] Χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον πόρρω που ἡλικίας Αὐγαρος ἦκων νόσῳ ποδάγρας χαλεπῆς τιнос ὑπερφυῶς ἦλω. ταῖς γοῦν ὁδύναϊς ἀχθόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀκινήσιᾳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγεν, ἐκ πάσης τε γῆς ξυνέλεγε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὺς ἅπαντας. [21] ὧν δὲ ὕστερον οὐ γάρ οἱ ἄκεσιν τινα τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν ἴσχυον ἀπέστη τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπεσὼν τύχας τὰς παρούσας ὠδύρετο. [22] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι ὢν τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώποις ὁμίλει, τῷ τε μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀμαρτεῖν πάποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἐξεργάζεσθαι διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶη: [23] νεκροὺς τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐξανίστη ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ πηροῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τεχθεῖσιν ἀνέωγε, σώματός τε ὅλου λεύκας ἐκάθηρε καὶ ποδῶν πῆρῳσιν ἔλυσε, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἰατροῖς πάθῃ ἀνίατα ὀνομασμένα ἐστί. [24] ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων Αὐγαρος τῶν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐς τὴν Ἑδεσσαν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἀκούσας, ἐθάρσησέ τε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν γράψας ἔδειτο αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγνωμόνων ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμβιοτεύειν. [25] ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγαρον, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀφίξεται ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγων, τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν τῷ γράμματι ὑποσχόμενος. [26] φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπειπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάρους ἀλώσιμος ἔσται. τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἱστορίαν ξυγγράψαντες οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν: οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ πῃ αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν: Ἑδεσσηνοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εὐρέσθαι φασίν, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάγραφτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντ' ἄλλου του φυλακτηρίου ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποιήνται πύλαις. [27] γέγονε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Μήδοις χρόνω τινὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἀλοῦσα μέντοι, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [28] ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αὐγαρος ἔλαβε, κακῶν μὲν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀπαθὴς γέγονε, συχνὸν δὲ τῇ ὑγείᾳ ἐπιβιούς χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν: ὅστις δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ἀνοσιώτατος γεγωνὼς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξήμαρτε καὶ τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων δεδιὼς τίσιν προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσιος Πέρσαις. [29] χρόνω τε πολλῷ Ἑδεσσηνοὶ ὕστερον ἀνελόντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς σφίσιν ἐνδημοῦντας φρουροὺς ἐνέδοσαν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. αὐτῷ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμελὲς ἐστί, τεκμαιρόμενος οἷς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις γέγονεν, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι λόγοις δηλώσω. [30] καὶ μοί ποτε ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἄνθρωποι ἦλθον, φυλάξαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάλωτον ἐθέλει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μήποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινὰ σκῆψιν διδοίη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, αὐτῇ ἐχέτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω. [31] Χοσρόῃ δὲ τότε προὔργου διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν εἶναι Ἑδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βάτην ἀφίκετο, πόλισμα μὲν βραχὺ καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, ἡμέρας δὲ ὁδῷ Ἑδέσσης διέχον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσσατο, ὄρθρου δὲ βαθέος

παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν ἤλαυνε. ^[32] καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη πλάνη περιπεσοῦσι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀυλίζεσθαι χώρον· ^[33] ὅπερ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ δις ξυμβῆναι. μόλις δὲ ἄγχιστα Ἑδέσσης γενομένων Χοσρόη ρεύματός φασιν ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιπεσόντος ἐπῆρθαι τὴν γνάθον. διὸ δὴ τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, Παῦλον δὲ πέμψας χρήματα Ἑδεσσηνοὺς ἤτει. ^[34] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει μὲν δεδιέναι ἥκιστα ἔφασκον, ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῖς χωρίοις λυμήνηται, ὡμολόγησαν δύο χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δώσειν. καὶ ὃς τὰ τε χρήματα ἔλαβε καὶ διεσώσατο τὰ ξυγκείμενα.

XII

And when he came to the city of Chalcis, eighty-four stades distant from the city of Beroea, he again seemed to forget the things which had been agreed upon, and encamping not far from the fortifications he sent Paulus to threaten the inhabitants of Chalcis, saying that he would take the city by siege, unless they should purchase their safety by giving ransom, and should give up to the Persians all the soldiers who were there together with their leader. And the citizens of Chalcis were seized with great fear of both sovereigns, and they swore that, as for soldiers, there were absolutely none of them in the city, although they had hidden Adonachus, the commander of the soldiers, and others as well in some houses, in order that they might not be seen by the enemy; and with difficulty they collected two centenaria of gold, for the city they inhabited was not very prosperous, and they gave them to Chosroes as the price of their lives and thus saved both the city and themselves.

From there on Chosroes did not wish to continue the return journey by the road he had come, but to cross the River Euphrates and gather by plunder as much money as possible from Mesopotamia. He therefore constructed a bridge at the place called Obbane, which is forty stades distant from the fortress in Barbalissum; then he himself went across and gave orders to the whole army to cross as quickly as possible, adding that he would break up the bridge on the third day, and he appointed also the time of the day. And when the appointed day was come, it happened that some of the army were left who had not yet crossed, but without the least consideration for them he sent the men to break up the bridge. And those who were left behind returned to their native land as each one could.

Then a sort of ambition came over Chosroes to capture the city of Edessa. For he was led on to this by a saying of the Christians, and it kept irritating his mind, because they maintained that it could not be taken, for the following reason. There was a certain Augarus in early times, toparch of Edessa (for thus the kings of the different nations were called then). Now this Augarus was the most clever of all men of his time, and as a result of this was an especial friend of the Emperor Augustus. For, desiring to make a treaty with the Romans, he came to Rome; and when he conversed with Augustus, he so astonished him by the abundance of his wisdom that Augustus wished never more to give up his company; for he was an ardent lover of his conversation, and whenever he met him, he was quite unwilling to depart from him. A long time, therefore, was consumed by him in this visit. And one day when he was desirous of returning to his native land and was utterly unable to persuade Augustus to let him go, he devised the following plan. He first went out to hunt in the country about Rome; for it happened that he had taken

considerable interest in the practice of this sport. And going about over a large tract of country, he captured alive many of the animals of that region, and he gathered up and took with him from each part of the country some earth from the land; thus he returned to Rome bringing both the earth and the animals. Then Augustus went up into the hippodrome and seated himself as was his wont, and Augarus came before him and displayed the earth and the animals, telling over from what district each portion of earth was and what animals they were. Then he gave orders to put the earth in different parts of the hippodrome, and to gather all the animals into one place and then to release them. So the attendants did as he directed. And the animals, separating from each other, went each to that portion of earth which was from the district in which it itself had been taken. And Augustus looked upon the performance carefully for a very long time, and he was wondering that nature untaught makes animals miss their native land. Then Augarus, suddenly laying hold upon his knees, said: "But as for me, O Master, what thoughts dost thou think I have, who possess a wife and children and a kingdom, small indeed, but in the land of my fathers?" And the emperor, overcome and compelled by the truth of his saying, granted not at all willingly that he should go away, and bade him ask besides whatever he wished. And when Augarus had secured this, he begged of Augustus to build him a hippodrome in the city of Edessa. And he granted also this. Thus then Augarus departed from Rome and came to Edessa. And the citizens enquired of him whether he had come bringing any good thing for them from the Emperor Augustus. And he answering said he had brought to the inhabitants of Edessa pain without loss and pleasure without gain, hinting at the fortune of the hippodrome.

At a later time when Augarus was well advanced in years, he was seized with an exceedingly violent attack of gout. And being distressed by the pains and his inability to move in consequence of them, he carried the matter to the physicians, and from the whole land he gathered all who were skilled in these matters. But later he abandoned these men (for they did not succeed in discovering any cure for the trouble), and finding himself helpless, he bewailed the fate which was upon him. But about that time Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and moving among the men of Palestine, shewing manifestly by the fact that he never sinned at all, and also by his performing even things impossible, that he was the Son of God in very truth; for he called the dead and raised them up as if from sleep, and opened the eyes of men who had been born blind, and cleansed those whose whole bodies were covered with leprosy, and released those whose feet were maimed, and he cured all the other diseases which are called by the physicians incurable. When these things were reported to Augarus by those who travelled from Palestine to Edessa, he took courage and wrote a letter to Jesus, begging him to depart from Judaea and the senseless people there, and to spend his life with him from that time forward. When the Christ saw this message, he wrote in reply to Augarus,

saying distinctly that he would not come, but promising him health in the letter. And they say that he added this also that never would the city be liable to capture by the barbarians. This final portion of the letter was entirely unknown to those who wrote the history of that time; for they did not even make mention of it anywhere; but the men of Edessa say that they found it with the letter, so that they have even caused the letter to be inscribed in this form on the gates of the city instead of any other defence. The city did in fact come under the Medes a short time afterwards, not by capture however, but in the following manner. A short time after Augarus received the letter of the Christ, he became free from suffering, and after living on in health for a long time, he came to his end. But that one of his sons who succeeded to the kingdom shewed himself the most unholy of all men, and besides committing many other wrongs against his subjects, he voluntarily went over to the Persians, fearing the vengeance which was to come from the Romans. But long after this the citizens of Edessa destroyed the barbarian guards who were dwelling with them, and gave the city into the hands of the Romans. * * * he is eager to attach it to his cause, judging by what has happened in my time, which I shall present in the appropriate place. And the thought once occurred to me that, if the Christ did not write this thing just as I have told it, still, since men have come to believe in it, He wishes to guard the city uncaptured for this reason, that He may never give them any pretext for error. As for these things, then, let them be as God wills, and so let them be told.

For this reason it seemed to Chosroes at that time a matter of moment to capture Edessa. And when he came to Batne, a small stronghold of no importance, one day's journey distant from Edessa, he bivouacked there for that night, but at early dawn he was on the march to Edessa with his whole army. But it fell out that they lost their way and wandered about, and on the following night bivouacked in the same place; and they say that this happened to them a second time also. When with difficulty Chosroes reached the neighbourhood of Edessa, they say that suppuration set in in his face and his jaw became swollen. For this reason he was quite unwilling to make an attempt on the city, but he sent Paulus and demanded money from the citizens. And they said that they had absolutely no fear concerning the city, but in order that he might not damage the country they agreed to give two centenaria of gold. And Chosroes took the money and kept the agreement.

Τότε καὶ γράμματα Χοσρόῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτελέσειν ὁμολογῶν τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ συγκαίμενα. [2] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε καὶ συνεσκευάζετο ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον, τοὺς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδοσθαι ἅπαντας ᾔθελεν. [3] ὅπερ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον, προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς κρείσσω. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐ τὰ λύτρα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ φέρων ὑπὲρ τούτων δὴ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατὰ λόγον τῆς οὐσίας κατέθετο. [4] εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ λόγον ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. αἱ τε γὰρ ἑταῖραι τὸν κόσμον ἀφελοῦσαι, ὅσος

αὐταῖς ἐν τῷ σώματι ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ εἴ τῳ γεωργῷ ἐπίπλων ἢ ἀργυρίου σπανίζοντι ὄνος ἢ προβάτιον ἦν, τοῦτο δὴ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦγεν. [5] ἀθροίζεται μὲν οὖν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἄλλων χρημάτων πάμπολυ πλῆθος, [6] δέδοται δὲ ὑπὲρ λύτρων οὐδέν. Βούζης γὰρ ἐνταῦθα παρὼν ἔτυχε, ὃς διακωλύσαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπέστη, κέρδος οἱ ἔσεσθαι μέγα τι ἐνθένδε караδοκῶν. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος πρόσω ἐχώρει. [7] Καρρηνοὶ δὲ ἀπὴντων χρήματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενοι· ὁ δὲ οὐ προσήκειν ἔφασκεν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι οὐ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ δόξης τῆς παλαιᾶς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. [8] Καὶ μὴν καὶ Κωνσταντινέων χρήματα διδόντων ἐδέξατο, καίπερ φάσκων οἱ ἐκ πατέρων προσήκειν τὴν πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Καβάδης Ἀμίδαν εἶλεν, Ἔδεσσάν τε καὶ Κωνσταντίναν ἐξελεῖν ἤθελεν. [9] ἀλλ' Ἐδέσσης μὲν ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴ οἱ ἀλώσιμος ἡ πόλις ἔσται, δείξας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς. [10] οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔλεγον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῇ χεῖρα προτείνας, οὐχ ἀλώσεως ταύτη οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν χαλεποῦ ξύμβολον, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας διδοίη. [11] καὶ ὃς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐπείθετό τε καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίναν τὸ στρατεύμα. [12] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐπέστελλεν. [13] ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίνης ἱερεὺς τότε Βαράδοτος, ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιο αἰεὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων· οὗ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδὼν ἄν τις εὐθὺς εἶκασεν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδεδεχέστατα κεχαρισμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη. [14] οὗτος ὁ Βαράδοτος τῇνικαῦτα παρὰ τὸν Καβάδην ἔλθων οἶνόν τε ἤνεγκε καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ μέλι καὶ καθαροὺς ἄρτους, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδεῖτο μὴ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πόλεως ἢ οὔτε λόγου ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπημέλῃται λίαν, οὔτε στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχουσα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκήτορας μόνους, ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς. [15] ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε· Καβάδης δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν χαριεῖσθαι ὡμολόγησε καὶ τοῖς σιτίοις ἐδωρήσατο αὐτὸν ἅπασιν ὅσα οἱ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαστο, μεγάλοις ὑπερφυῶς οὖσιν· οὕτω τε ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκ πατέρων οἱ προσήκειν ἡξίου τὴν πόλιν. [16] Ἐς Δάρας τε ἀφικόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐνδοθεν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μαρτίνος ὁ στρατηγός· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὢν ἔτυχέ τὰ ἐς ἀντίστασιν ἐξηρτύνοντο. [17] δύο δὲ ἡ πόλις τείχεσι περιβέβληται, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθέατον ἀτεχνῶς ἐστίν· ἐς ὕψος γὰρ διήκει πύργος μὲν ἕκαστος ποδῶν ἑκατόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τεῖχος ἐξήκοντά, τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς πολλῷ μὲν ἔλασσον συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ ἐχυρόν τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιόν ἐστι. [18] τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ χωρίον εὖρος οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντήκοντα ἔχει ποδῶν· ἐνταῦθα εἰώθασι Δαρηνοὶ τοὺς τε βόας καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων ἐμβάλλεσθαι. [19] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Χοσρόης προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ περιβόλου πλῆθει τε βελῶν βιασάμενος, τὰς πύλας τείχους τοῦ βραχέος ἐνέπρησεν. [20] ἐντὸς μέντοι γενέσθαι οὐδεὶς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐτόλμησεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατάρυχα ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως ἔγνω. ταύτῃ γὰρ μόνον ὀρύσσεσθαι ἡ γῆ οἷα τέ ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπὶ πέτρας τοῖς δειμαμένοις πεποιῆται. [21] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι

ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου ἀρξάμενοι ὤρυσσον. ἥς δὴ βαθείας κοιμίδη οὔσης, οὔτε καθεωρῶντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε αὐτοῖς τινα αἴσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου παρείχοντο. [22] ἤδη μὲν οὖν ὑπέδυσαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ἐκτὸς τείχους, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἐκατέρου περιβόλου γινόμενοι ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἀμείψαντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔδει Πέρσαις ἀλῶναι εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατοπέδου ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου μόνος ἀφίκετο, εἴτε ἄνθρωπος ὢν εἴτε τι ἄλλο ἀνθρώπου κρεῖσσον, δόξαν τε τοῖς ὀρθῶσι παρείχετο ὅτι δὴ τὰ βέλη ξυλλέγοι ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀφήκαν. [23] ταῦτά τε ποιῶν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος ἐρεσχελεῖν τε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ ξὺν γέλῳ τιωθάζειν ἐδόκει. εἴτα φράσας αὐτοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐγρηγορέναι πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [24] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σημήνας ἀπιὼν ὦχeto, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τείχους ἐκατέρου θορύβῳ πολλῷ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐκέλευον σκάπτειν. [25] καὶ Πέρσαι μὲντοι οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἔργου εἶχοντο. [26] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὀρθὴν τινα ἔνερθεν ποιουμένων ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε Θεοδώρου γνώμη, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός, ἐγκαρσίαν τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐργαζομένων καὶ βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσας, ξυνέβη Πέρσας κατὰ μέσον τοῖν περιβόλοιν γεγενημένους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατώρυχα. [27] καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πρώτους Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτειναν, οἱ δὲ ὀπισθεν φυγόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. διώκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν. [28] ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ὁ Χοσρόης ἀποτυχὼν ἐλεῖν τε τὴν πόλιν μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐλπίσας, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, χίλιά τε κεκομισμένος ἀργύρου σταθμὰ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐχώρει. [29] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔμαθεν, οὐκέτι τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσειν ἠθέλεν, ἐπικαλῶν Χοσρόῃ ὅτι δὴ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐξελεῖν ἐνεχείρησε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέβη, καὶ τὸ θέρος μὲν ἐτελεύτα.

XIII

At that time also the Emperor Justinian wrote a letter to Chosroes, promising to carry out the agreement which had been made by him and the ambassadors regarding the peace. When this message was received by Chosroes, he released the hostages and made preparations for his departure, and he wished to sell off all the captives from Antioch. And when the citizens of Edessa learned of this, they displayed an unheard-of zeal. For there was not a person who did not bring ransom for the captives and deposit it in the sanctuary according to the measure of his possessions. And there were some who even exceeded their proportionate amount in so doing. For the harlots took off all the adornment which they wore on their persons, and threw it down there, and any farmer who was in want of plate or of money, but who had an ass or a sheep, brought this to the sanctuary with great zeal. So there was collected an exceedingly great amount of gold and silver and money in other forms, but not a bit of it was given for ransom. For Bouzes happened to be present there, and he took in hand to prevent the transaction, expecting that this would bring him some great gain. Therefore Chosroes moved forward, taking with him all the captives. And the citizens of Carrhae met him holding out to him great sums of money; but he said that it did not belong to him because the most of them are not Christians but are of the old faith.

But when, likewise, the citizens of Constantina offered money, he accepted it, although he asserted that the city belonged to him from his fathers. [503 A.D.] For at the time when Cabades took Amida, he wished also to capture Edessa and Constantina. But when he came near to Edessa he enquired of the Magi whether it would be possible for him to capture the city, pointing out the place to them with his right hand. But they said that the city would not be captured by him by any device, judging by the fact that in stretching out his right hand to it he was not giving thereby the sign of capture or of any other grievous thing, but of salvation. And when Cabades heard this, he was convinced and led his army on to Constantina. And upon arriving there, he issued orders to the whole army to encamp for a siege. Now the priest of Constantina was at that time Baradotus, a just man and especially beloved of God, and his prayers for this reason were always effectual for whatever he wished; and even seeing his face one would have straightway surmised that this man was most completely acceptable to God. This Baradotus came then to Cabades bearing wine and dried figs and honey and unblemished loaves, and entreated him not to make an attempt on a city which was not of any importance and which was very much neglected by the Romans, having neither a garrison of soldiers nor any other defence, but only the inhabitants, who were pitiable folk. Thus spoke the priest; and Cabades promised that he would grant him the city freely, and he presented him with all the food-supplies which had been

prepared by him for the army in anticipation of the siege, an exceedingly great quantity; and thus he departed from the land of the Romans. For this reason it was that Chosroes claimed that the city belonged to him from his fathers.

And when he reached Daras, he began a siege; but within the city the Romans and Martinus, their general (for it happened that he was there), made their preparations for resistance. Now the city is surrounded by two walls, the inner one of which is of great size and a truly wonderful thing to look upon (for each tower reaches to a height of a hundred feet, and the rest of the wall to sixty), while the outer wall is much smaller, but in other respects strong and one to be reckoned with seriously. And the space between has a breadth of not less than fifty feet; in that place the citizens of Daras are accustomed to put their cattle and other animals when an enemy assails them. At first then Chosroes made an assault on the fortifications toward the west, and forcing back his opponents by overwhelming numbers of missiles, he set fire to the gates of the small wall. However no one of the barbarians dared to get inside. Next he decided to make a tunnel secretly at the eastern side of the city. For at this point alone can the earth be dug, since the other parts of the fortifications were set upon rock by the builders. So the Persians began to dig, beginning from their trench. And since this was very deep, they were neither observed by the enemy nor did they afford them any means of discovering what was being done. So they had already gone under the foundations of the outer wall, and were about to reach the space between the two walls and soon after to pass also the great wall and take the city by force; but since it was not fated to be captured by the Persians, someone from the camp of Chosroes came alone about midday close to the fortifications, whether a man or something else greater than man, and he made it appear to those who saw him that he was collecting the weapons which the Romans had a little before discharged from the wall against the barbarians who were assailing them. And while doing this and holding his shield before him, he seemed to be bantering those who were on the parapet and taunting them with laughter. Then he told them of everything and commanded them all to be on the watch and to take all possible care for their safety. After revealing these things he was off, while the Romans with much shouting and confusion were ordering men to dig the ground between the two walls. The Persians, on the other hand, not knowing what was being done, were pushing on the work no less than before. So while the Persians were making a straight way underground to the wall of the city, the Romans by the advice of Theodoras, a man learned in the science called mechanics, were constructing their trench in a cross-wise direction and making it of sufficient depth, so that when the Persians had reached the middle point between the two circuit-walls they suddenly broke into the trench of the Romans. And the first of them the Romans killed, while those in the rear by fleeing at top speed into the camp saved themselves. For the Romans decided by no means to pursue them in the dark. So Chosroes, failing

in this attempt and having no hope that he would take the city by any device thereafter, opened negotiations with the besieged, and carrying away a thousand pounds of silver he retired into the land of Persia. When this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he was no longer willing to carry the agreement into effect, charging Chosroes with having attempted to capture the city of Daras during a truce. Such were the fortunes of the Romans during the first invasion of Chosroes; and the summer drew to its close.

Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης πόλιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις δειμάμενος ἐν χώρῳ Κτησιφῶντος πόλεως διέχοντι ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, Ἀντιόχειάν τε τὴν Χοσρόου αὐτὴν ἐπωνόμασε καὶ Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐνταῦθα ξυνώκισεν ἅπαντας, οἷς δὴ βαλανεῖόν τε καὶ ἵπποδρόμιον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαῖς ἀνείσθαι ἐποίει. [2] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἡνιόχους καὶ τοὺς τῶν μουσικῶν ἔργων τεχνίτας ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦγεν. [3] ἐπὶ μέντοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας τούτους ἐπιμελεστέρωσ ἢ κατὰ αἰχμαλώτους ἐσίτιζεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ βασιλικοὺς καλεῖσθαι ἤξιον, ὥστε τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐδενὶ ὑποχειρίους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ. [4] εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων δραπέτης γεγωνὺς ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Χοσρόου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε, καὶ τις αὐτὸν ξυγγενῇ τῶν ταύτῃ ὀκημένων ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκέτι ἐξῆν τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον τοῦτον ἀπάγειν, οὐδ' ἦν τις τῶν λίαν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξανδραποδίσας τυγχάνοι. [5] Ἀντιοχεῦσι μέντοι τὸ ξυμβὰν ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύοντος τέρας ἐς τοῦτο ἀποβὰν ἐτελεύτησε. τότε γὰρ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ Δάφνη τῷ προαστείῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιπεσόντος, τῶν κυπαρίσσεων αἱ ταύτῃ ὑψηλαὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἦσαν ἐκ ῥιζῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀνατραπεῖσαι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔπεσον, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος ἐκτέμενεσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶα. [6] ὀλίγῳ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον, ἡνίκα Ἰουστίνος Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε, σεισμός τις ἐπιγενόμενος ἐξαίσιος λίαν τὴν τε πόλιν κατέσεισε πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ τε πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε, καὶ λέγονται τότε τριάκοντα μυριάδες Ἀντιοχέων ἀπολωλέναι. [7] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀλώσει ξύμπασα ἢ πόλις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, διέφθαρται. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιοχέων πάθος τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐξ Ἰταλίας μετὰπεμπος ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν διαχειμάσαντα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν ἀρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦκοντας, ὧν δὴ ἓνα Βαλεριανὸν ἠγεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων ἐκέλευε. [9] Μαρτίνος γὰρ ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἐφ' Ἀντιόχειαν σταλὴς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χοσρόης αὐτόν, [10] ὡς προοδεδήλωται, ἐς Δάρας εὔρε. τῶν δὲ Γότθων Οὐίτιγισ μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐπὶ Χοσρόην σὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστράτευσαν. [11] τότε τῶν Οὐιτιγίδος πρέσβων ἄτερος μὲν, ὥσπερ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὀνόματος ἐπεβάτευεν, ἐν τοῖς Περσῶν ἦθεσι θνήσκει, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [12] ὅστις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπετο ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὰ Κωνσταντίνης ὅρια ξυλλαβὼν ἐξ τῆς πόλεως εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἅπαντα ἀναπνυθανομένῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐξήνεγκε. [13] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε.

Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατὰ τάχος ἦει, προτερῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων
πρὶν τινα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐσβολὴν αὐθις ποιήσεται ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν.

XIV

Now Chosroes built a city in Assyria in a place one day's journey distant from the city of Ctesiphon, and he named it the Antioch of Chosroes and settled there all the captives from Antioch, constructing for them a bath and a hippodrome and providing that they should have free enjoyment of their other luxuries besides. For he brought with him charioteers and musicians both from Antioch and from the other Roman cities. Besides this he always provisioned these citizens of Antioch at public expense more carefully than in the fashion of captives, and he required that they be called king's subjects, so as to be subordinate to no one of the magistrates, but to the king alone. And if any one else too who was a Roman in slavery ran away and succeeded in escaping to the Antioch of Chosroes, and if he was called a kinsman by any one of those who lived there, it was no longer possible for the owner of this captive to take him away, not even if he who had enslaved the man happened to be a person of especial note among the Persians.

Thus, then, the portent which had come to the citizens of Antioch in the reign of Anastasius reached this final fulfilment for them. For at that time a violent wind suddenly fell upon the suburb of Daphne, and some of the cypresses which were there of extraordinary height were overturned from the extremities of their roots and fell to the earth — trees which the law forbade absolutely to be cut down. [526 A.D.] Accordingly, a little later, when Justinus was ruling over the Romans, the place was visited by an exceedingly violent earthquake, which shook down the whole city and straightway brought to the ground the most and the finest of the buildings, and it is said that at that time three hundred thousand of the population of Antioch perished. And finally in this capture the whole city, as has been said, was destroyed. Such, then, was the calamity which befell the men of Antioch.

And Belisarius came to Byzantium from Italy, summoned by the emperor; and after he had spent the winter in Byzantium, the emperor sent him as general against Chosroes and the Persians at the opening of spring, together with the officers who had come with him from Italy, one of whom, Valerianus, he commanded to lead the troops in Armenia. [541 A.D.] For Martinus had been sent immediately to the East, and for this reason Chosroes found him at Daras, as has been stated above. And among the Goths, Vittigis remained in Byzantium, but all the rest marched with Belisarius against Chosroes. At that time one of the envoys of Vittigis, he who was assuming the name of bishop, died in the land of Persia, and the other one remained there. And the man who followed them as interpreter withdrew to the land of the Romans, and John, who was commanding the troops in Mesopotamia, arrested him near the boundaries of Constantina, and bringing him into the city confined him in a prison; there the

man in answer to his enquiries related everything which had been done. Such, then, was the course of these events. And Belisarius and his followers went in haste, since he was eager to anticipate Chosroes' making any second invasion into the land of the Romans.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπὶ Κολχίδα τὸν στρατὸν ἤγε, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [2] Λαζοὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ὥκουν, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὄντες, οὐ μέντοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἐπαγγέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπακούοντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτήσῃ, ζύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ διαδεξομένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπεμπε. [3] τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ζὺν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσαν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ Οὐννοὶ πολέμιοι ἐξ ὅρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁμόρου σφίσιν ὄντος, διὰ Λαζικῆς πορευόμενοι ἐσβάλλωσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων. [4] ἐφύλασσαν δὲ οὔτε αὐτοὶ χρήματα ἢ στρατιὰν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δεχόμενοι οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις πη ξυστρατεύοντες, ἐπ' ἐμπορία δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐν πόντῳ ὥκημένους ἐργαζόμενοι. [5] αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἄλας οὔτε σῖτον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσι, δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας καὶ ἀνδράποδα παρεχόμενοι τὰ σφίσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκομίζοντο. [6] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Γουργένει τῷ Ἰβήρων βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ζυνέπεσαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Λαζοῖς ἥρξαντο, οἷς δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἤχθοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Πέτρῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἐπηρεάζουσιν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐπετῶς ἔχοντι. [7] ὁ δὲ Πέτρος οὗτος ὥρμητο μὲν ἐξ Ἀρζανηνῆς, ἣ ἐκτὸς Νυμφίου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ, Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσα, πρὸς Ἰουστίνου δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἠνδραπόδοιστο, ἠνίκα Ἰουστίνος μετὰ τὴν Ἀμίδης ἄλωσιν ζὺν τῷ Κέλερος στρατῷ ἐσέβαλλεν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. φιλανθρωπία δὲ πολλῇ χρωμένου τοῦ κεκτημένου ἐς αὐτὸν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἐφοίτησε. [8] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἰουστίνου γραμματεὺς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀναστασίου τετελευτηκότος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Πέτρος στρατηγὸς γεγωνὺς ἐς τε φιλοχρηματίαν εἶπερ τις ἄλλος ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀβελτερία πολλῇ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐχρήτο. [9] Ὑστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄλλους τε ἐς Λαζικὴν ἄρχοντας ἐπέμψε καὶ Ἰωάννην ὃν Τζιβὸν ἐκάλουν, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀφανῶν μὲν καὶ ἀδόξων ἀρχὴν γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγίαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι πονηρότατός τε ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἀδίκους ἱκανώτατος ἐξευρεῖν. ὃς δὴ ἅπαντα ἔσφηλέ τε καὶ συνετάραξε τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν πράγματα. [10] οὗτος καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πόλιν ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Πέτραν ὄνομα, ἐν Λαζοῖς δεῖμασθαι: ἐνταῦθά τε ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθήμενος ἤγέ τε καὶ ἔφερε τὰ Λαζῶν πράγματα. [11] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἄλας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φορτία Λαζοῖς ἀναγκαῖα ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐξῆν, ἢ ἄλλοθι ἐνθένδε ὠνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέτρᾳ ξυστησάμενος τὸ δὴ καλούμενον μονοπώλιον αὐτὸς κάπηλός τε καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐργασίας ἐπιστάτης ἐγίνετο, ἅπαντα ὠνούμενός τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος Κόλχοις, οὐχ ἥπερ εἶθιστο, ἀλλ' ἥπερ ἐξῆν. [12] ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχθοντο ἐπιχωριάζοντι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰωθὸς πρότερον τῷ Ῥωμαίων

στρατῶ. ἃ δὴ οὐκέτι φέρειν οἰοί τε ὄντες Πέρσαις τε καὶ Χοσρόῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, πρέσβεις τε αὐτίκα τοὺς ταῦτα διαπραξομένους κρύφα Ῥωμαίων παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψαν. [13] οἷς δὴ εἴρητο τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβοῦσιν ὅτι γε οὐποτε Λαζοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκδώσει Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸν ζῆν τῷ Περσῶν στρατῶ ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐπαγαγέσθαι. [14] Ἀφικόμενοι τοίνυν ἐς Πέρσας οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ Χοσρόῃ λάθρα ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε 'Εἴ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀποστάντας ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον, ἀνδράσι δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀγνώσι προσκεχωρηκότας οὐ δέον αὐθις εὖ ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη ὡς μάλιστα ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὶν ἐπανάγαγεν ἐπιτηδείους, τοιούτους δὴ τινας καὶ Λαζοὺς, ὧς μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, [15] νόμιζε εἶναι. Κόλχοι γὰρ Πέρσαις σύμμαχοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες πολλὰ τε εἰργάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον: ὧν δὴ ἐν γράμμασι μνημεῖα πολλὰ ἡμεῖς τε ἔχομεν κὰν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν διασώζεται. [16] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις τετύχηκεν εἴτε παρ' ὑμῶν ἀμεληθεῖσιν εἴτε ἄλλου του ἔνεκα 'οὐ γὰρ ἔχομέν τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτων εἰδέναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδοις γενέσθαι. [17] καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ Λαζικῆς βασιλεὺς διδομεν Πέρσαις ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὅ τι βούλοισθε χρῆσθαι. [18] δεόμεθα δὲ ὑμῶν οὕτως σκοπεῖσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν: εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων πεπονθότες δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἀγνωμοσύνη ἐχόμενοι κεχωρήκαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τήνδε ἡμῶν εὐθύς ἀποσείσασθε τὴν ἱκετείαν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὺς ἔσεσθαι Κόλχους οἰόμενοι 'φιλίας γὰρ διαλελυμένης ὁ τρόπος τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην πρὸς ἐτέρους καθισταμένης ἔλεγχος γίγνεται: [19] εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φίλοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνδράποδα γεγονότες πιστὰ, ἔργα πεπόνθαμεν πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετυραννηκότων ἀνόσια, δέξασθε μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθε ξυμμάχους, κτήσασθε δὲ δούλους οἷς φίλοις ἐχρῆσθε, μισήσατε δὲ τυραννίδα πικρὰν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἐγγεγερμένην, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄξια πράσσοντες ἢ περιστέλλειν ἀεὶ πάτριον Πέρσαις. [20] οὐ γὰρ ὁ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν δίκαιος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀδικουμένους ἔχων ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ῥύεσθαι πέφυκεν. [21] ἔνια δὲ εἰπεῖν ὧν τετολμήκασιν οἱ κατάρτοι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄξιον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ τὸ σχῆμα μόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπόντες, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφήρηνται, καὶ κάθηται βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑπέρετου μοίρα, τὸν ἐπιτάττοντα στρατηγὸν δεδιώς: [22] στρατιᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν πλῆθος, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων φρουρήσουσιν 'οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ τις τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμᾶς πλὴν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἠνώχλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ ἐν δεσποτηρίῳ καθεῖρξαντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων γενήσονται. [23] λογισάμενοι δὲ συντομωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, ὅρα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, [24] ἐς ὅποιαν τινὰ ἔννοιαν ἦλθον: τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἃ μὲν περιττὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τετύχηκεν, ἀναγκάζουσιν οὐχ ἐκόντας ὠνεῖσθαι Λαζοὺς, ὅσα δὲ αὐτοῖς χρησιμώτατα φέρειν Λαζικὴ πέφυκεν, οἶδε ἀξιοῦσι διῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' ἡμῶν πρίασθαι, τιμῆς ἐκατέρωθι γνώμη τῶν κρατούντων ὀριζομένης. [25] οὕτω τε ζῆν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἅπαν ἀφαιροῦνται τὸ χρυσίον ἡμᾶς, ὀνόματι μὲν τῷ τῆς ἐμπορίας εὐπρεπεῖ χρώμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα βιαζόμενοι. ἐφέστηκε τε ἡμῖν ἄρχων κάπηλος, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπορίαν ἐργασίαν τινὰ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ πεποιημένος. [26] ἡ μὲν οὖν τῆς

ἀποστάσεως αἰτία τοιαύτη τις οὖσα τὸ δίκαιον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει· ὅσα δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα ἔσται δεχομένοις τὴν Λαζῶν δέησιν αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. [27] τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ βασιλείαν ἀρχαιοτάτην προσθήσετε, μηκυνόμενόν τε ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔξετε τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, μετεῖναι δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσης ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυμβήσεται χώρας, ἐν ἣ πλοῖά σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ναυπηγούμενα βατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παλάτιον ἔσται. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐναντίωμα οὐδέν ἐστι. [28] προσθεῖη δ' ἂν τις ὥς καὶ ληίζεσθαι τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. [29] ὄρεσι γὰρ τοῖς Καυκασίοις ἐπιτείχισμα μέχρι τοῦδε γεγονέναι τὴν Λαζῶν χώραν πάντως πού καὶ ὑμεῖς ξυνεπίστασθε. [30] ἡγουμένου τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου, προσόντος δὲ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος, τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς λόγους προσέσθαι οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν εὐβουλίας οἰόμεθα εἶναι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. [31] Χοσρόης δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ἡσθεὶς ἀμύνειν τε Λαζοῖς ὡμολόγησε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οἱ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἰέναι δυνατὰ εἴη. [32] πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόντων ἔφασκεν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ πρότερα δύσοδον ἐπικεικῶς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τὴν χώραν εἶναι, κρημνώδη τε ὑπερφυῶς οὖσαν καὶ δένδροις συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον συνεχομένην. [33] οἱ δὲ οἱ ἰσχυρίζοντο παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τὴν ἐκείνη ὁδὸν εὐπετῇ ἔσεσθαι, τέμνουσι μὲν τὰ δένδρα, ἐς δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν τὰς δυσχωρίας αὐτὰ ἐμβαλλομένοις. [34] καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡμολόγουν τῆς τε ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Πέρσαις ἔσεσθαι πρόπονοι. [35] ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπληρμένος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ στρατιάν τε πολλὴν ἡγείρε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξηρτύετο, οὔτε τὸ βούλευμα ἐς Πέρσας ἐξενεγκών, πλὴν γε δὴ οἷς τὰ ἀπόρρητα κοινολογεῖσθαι μόνοις εἰώθει, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐπαγγείλας ὅπως τὰ πراسσόμενα μηδενὶ φράσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλετο, ὥς τὰ τῇδε καταστησόμενος πράγματα· ἔθνος γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐνταυθὰ πη ἐπισκῆψαι τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπεφήμιζεν.

But in the meantime Chosroes was leading his army against Colchis, where the Lazi were calling him in for the following reason. The Lazi at first dwelt in the land of Colchis as subjects of the Romans, but not to the extent of paying them tribute or obeying their commands in any respect, except that, whenever their king died, the Roman emperor would send emblems of the office to him who was about to succeed to the throne. And he, together with his subjects, guarded strictly the boundaries of the land in order that hostile Huns might not proceed from the Caucasus mountains, which adjoin their territory, through Lazica and invade the land of the Romans. And they kept guard without receiving money or troops from the Romans and without ever joining the Roman armies, but they were always engaged in commerce by sea with the Romans who live on the Black Sea. For they themselves have neither salt nor grain nor any other good thing, but by furnishing skins and hides and slaves they secured the supplies which they needed. But when the events came to pass in which Gourgenes, the king of the Iberians, was concerned, as has been told in the preceding narrative, Roman soldiers began to be quartered among the Lazi; and these barbarians were annoyed by the soldiers, and most of all by Peter, the general, a man who was prone to treat insolently those who came into contact with him. This Peter was a native of Arzanene, which is beyond the River Nymphius, a district subject to the Persians from of old, but while still a child he had been captured and enslaved by the Emperor Justinus at the time when Justinus, after the taking of Amida, was invading the land of the Persians with Celer's army. And since his owner showed him great kindness, he attended the school of a grammatist. And at first he became secretary to Justinus, but when, after the death of Anastasius, Justinus took over the Roman empire, Peter was made a general, and he degenerated into a slave of avarice, if anyone ever did, and shewed himself very fatuous in his treatment of all.

And later the Emperor Justinian sent different officers to Lazica, and among them John, whom they called Tzibus, a man of obscure and ignoble descent, but who had climbed to the office of general by virtue of no other thing than that he was the most accomplished villain in the world and most successful in discovering unlawful sources of revenue. This man unsettled and threw into confusion all the relations of the Romans and the Lazi. He also persuaded the Emperor Justinian to build a city on the sea in Lazica, Petra by name; and there he sat as in a citadel and plundered the property of the Lazi. For the salt, and all other cargoes which were considered necessary for the Lazi, it was no longer possible for the merchants to bring into the land of Colchis, nor could they purchase them elsewhere by sending for them, but he set up in Petra the so-called "monopoly" and himself became a retail dealer and overseer of all

the handling of these things, buying everything and selling it to the Colchians, not at the customary rates, but as dearly as possible. At the same time, even apart from this, the barbarians were annoyed by the Roman army quartered upon them, a thing which had not been customary previously. Accordingly, since they were no longer able to endure these things, they decided to attach themselves to the Persians and Chosroes, and immediately they sent to them envoys who were to arrange this without the knowledge of the Romans. These men had been instructed that they should take pledges from Chosroes that he would never give up the Lazi against their will to the Romans, and that with this understanding they should bring him with the Persian army into the land.

Accordingly the envoys went to the Persians, and coming secretly before Chosroes they said: "If any people in all time have revolted from their own friends in any manner whatsoever and attached themselves wrongfully to men utterly unknown to them, and after that by the kindness of fortune have been brought back once more with greatest rejoicing to those who were formerly their own, consider, O Most mighty King, that such as these are the Lazi. For the Colchians in ancient times, as allies of the Persians, rendered them many good services and were themselves treated in like manner; and of these things there are many records in books, some of which we have, while others are preserved in thy palace up to the present time. But at a later time it came about that our ancestors, whether neglected by you or for some other reason (for we are unable to ascertain anything certain about this matter), became allies of the Romans. And now we and the king of Lazica give to the Persians both ourselves and our land to treat in any way you may desire. And we beg of you to think thus concerning us: if, on the one hand, we have suffered nothing outrageous at the hands of the Romans, but have been prompted by foolish motives in coming to you, reject this prayer of ours straightway, considering that with you likewise the Colchians will never be trustworthy (for when a friendship has been dissolved, a second friendship formed with others becomes, owing to its character, a matter of reproach); but if we have been in name friends of the Romans, but in fact their loyal slaves, and have suffered impious treatment at the hands of those who have tyrannized over us, receive us, your former allies, and acquire as slaves those whom you used to treat as friends, and shew your hatred of a cruel tyranny which has risen thus on our borders, by acting worthily of that justice which it has always been the tradition of the Persians to defend. For the man who himself does no wrong is not just, unless he is also accustomed to rescue those who are wronged by others when he has it in his power. But it is worth while to tell a few of the things which the accursed Romans have dared to do against us. In the first place they have left our king only the form of royal power, while they themselves have appropriated the actual authority, and he sits a king in the position of a servant, fearing the general who issues the orders; and they have put upon us a multitude of soldiery, not in order to guard the land against

those who harass us (for not one of our neighbours except, indeed, the Romans has disturbed us), but in order that they may confine us as in a prison and make themselves masters of our possessions. And purposing to make more speedy the robbery of what we have, behold, O King, what sort of a design they have formed; the supplies which are in excess among them they compel the Lazi to buy against their will, while those things which are most useful to them among the products of Lazica these fellows demand to buy, as they put it, from us, the price being determined in both cases by the judgment of the stronger party. And thus they are robbing us of all our gold as well as of the necessities of life, using the fair name of trade, but in fact oppressing us as thoroughly as they possibly can. And there has been set over us as ruler a huckster who has made our destitution a kind of business by virtue of the authority of his office. The cause of our revolt, therefore, being of this sort, has justice on its side; but the advantage which you yourselves will gain if you receive the request of the Lazi we shall forthwith tell. To the realm of Persia you will add a most ancient kingdom, and as a result of this you will have the power of your sway extended, and it will come about that you will have a part in the sea of the Romans through our land, and after thou hast built ships in this sea, O King, it will be possible for thee with no trouble to set foot in the palace in Byzantium. For there is no obstacle between. And one might add that the plundering of the land of the Romans every year by the barbarians along the boundary will be under your control. For surely you also are acquainted with the fact that up till now the land of the Lazi has been a bulwark against the Caucasus mountains. So with justice leading the way, and advantage added thereto, we consider that not to receive our words with favour would be wholly contrary to good judgment.” So spoke the envoys.

And Chosroes, delighted by their words, promised to protect the Lazi, and enquired of the envoys whether it was possible for him to enter the land of Colchis with a large army. For he said that previously he had heard many persons report that the land was exceedingly hard to traverse even for an unimpeded traveller, being extremely rugged and covered very extensively by thick forests of wide-spreading trees. But the envoys stoutly maintained to him that the way through the country would be easy for the whole Persian army, if they cut the trees and threw them into the places which were made difficult by precipices. And they promised that they themselves would be guides of the route, and would take the lead in this work for the Persians. Encouraged by this suggestion, Chosroes gathered a great army and made his preparations for the inroad, not disclosing the plan to the Persians except those alone to whom he was accustomed to communicate his secrets, and commanding the envoys to tell no one what was being done; and he pretended that he was setting out into Iberia, in order to settle matters there; for a Hunnic tribe, he kept saying in explanation, had assailed the Persian domain at that point.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος Βελισάριος ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤγειρε, καὶ τινὰς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμπεν. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαι βουλόμενος, ἦν τινα ἐσβολὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν αὐθις ποιήσονται, διεῖπέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκόσμηι τοὺς στρατιώτας, γυμνοὺς τε καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐπὶ πλείστον ὄντας, καταωρωδηκότας τὸ Περσῶν ὄνομα. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι: πολέμου γὰρ Οὐννικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόη ἐτέρωθι εἶναι. [4] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν ἤθελε. [5] καὶ οἱ Ἀρέθας τε ζὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἦλθε καὶ βασιλεὺς γράμματα γράψας ἐσβάλλειν κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πολεμίων ἐπέστελλε γῆν. [6] ζυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν Δάρας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε ‘Ἄπαντας ὑμᾶς, ὧς ξυνάρχοντες, πολέμων πολλῶν ἐμπίρους οἶδα, ξυνήγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας ἢ παραίνεσιν τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρμήσω· οὐ γὰρ λόγου δεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνάγοντος οἶμαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ξυμβουλὴν τινα ἔν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἐλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ἄν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εἶναι. [7] πόλεμος γὰρ εὐβουλία πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐς βουλὴν καθισταμένους αἰδοῦς τε καὶ φόβου παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γνώμην. [8] ὃ τε γὰρ φόβος, ἅει τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότας ἐκπλήσσω, οὐκ ἔῃ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, ἢ τε αἰδῶς ἐπισκιάζουσα τοῖς δόξασιν εἶναι ἀμείνοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκφέρει τὴν γνώσιν. [9] εἴ τι τοίνυν ἢ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἢ ἐμοὶ βεβουλεύσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων δοκεῖ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦτο εἰσίτω. [10] ὁ μὲν γὰρ μακρὰν πού ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν πρασσομένων, [11] οὐκ ἔχει τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόσαι τὰς πράξεις: ὥστε φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἰόντας τὰ ξυνοίοντα ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. [12] ἐμὲ δὲ ἄνθρωπόν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντα μὴ οὐχὶ διαλαθεῖν τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. [13] ὥστε οὐδὲν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην αἰδεσθέντας ὑμᾶς προσήκει διαρρήδην εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἂν ξυνοίσειν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ μέλλῃ. [14] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνθάδε ἦκομεν, ὧς ξυνάρχοντες, ὡς διακωλύοντες τὸν πολέμιον ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιήσασθαι, νῦν δέ, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν ἄμεινον ἢ κατ’ ἐλπίδας κεχωρηκότων, πάρεστι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλεύεσθαι. [15] ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ξυνειλεγμένους ὑμᾶς δίκαιον, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ὑποστείλαμένους εἰπεῖν ἢ ἄν ἄριστα τε δοκῇ καὶ ξυμφορώτατα ἐκάστω εἶναι.’ [16] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Βούζης ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσοντα ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὴ τῇ γνώμῃ εἶποντο εὐθὺς ὁ ξύλλογος ἅπας. [17] Ῥεκίθαγγος μέντοι καὶ Θεόκτιστος, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, ταῦτά μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν, δεδιέναι δὲ μὴ σφῶν ἐκλελοιπότων τά τε ἐπὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας χωρία, κατ’ ἐξουσίαν μὲν Ἀλαμούνδαρος ταῦτα ληΐζηται, βασιλεὺς δὲ σφᾶς δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοι, ἅτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδῆφτον τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχον, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ συνεισβάλλειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι τούτῳ ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθῆ οἶεσθαι ἔλεγε. τοῦ γὰρ

καιροῦ τροπὰς θερινὰς εἶναι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὥρας δύο μάλιστα μῆνας ἀνάθημα
τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἐς αἰεὶ φέροντας ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπιδρομῇ τινι οὐποτε
χρησθαι ἐς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν. [19] διὸ δὴ ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁμολογήσας ξὺν τοῖς
ἐπομένοις ἄμφω ἀφήσειν, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι.
Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐξηρτύετο.

XVI

At this time Belisarius had arrived in Mesopotamia and was gathering his army from every quarter, and he also kept sending men into the land of Persia to act as spies. And wishing himself to encounter the enemy there, if they should again make an incursion into the land of the Romans, he was organizing on the spot and equipping the soldiers, who were for the most part without either arms or armour, and in terror of the name of the Persians. Now the spies returned and declared that for the present there would be no invasion of the enemy; for Chosroes was occupied elsewhere with a war against the Huns. And Belisarius, upon learning this, wished to invade the land of the enemy immediately with his whole army. Arethas also came to him with a large force of Saracens, and besides the emperor wrote a letter instructing him to invade the enemy's country with all speed. He therefore called together all the officers in Daras and spoke as follows: "I know that all of you, my fellow officers, are experienced in many wars, and I have brought you together at the present time, not in order to stir up your minds against the enemy by addressing to you any reminder or exhortation (for I think that you need no speech that prompts to daring), but in order that we may deliberate together among ourselves, and choose rather the course which may seem fairest and best for the cause of the emperor. For war is wont to succeed by reason of careful planning more than by anything else. Now it is necessary that those who gather for deliberation should make their minds entirely free from modesty and from fear. For fear, by paralyzing those who have fallen into it, does not allow the reason to choose the nobler part, and modesty obscures what has been seen to be the better course and leads investigation the opposite way. If, therefore, it seems to you that any purpose has been formed either by our mighty emperor or by me concerning the present situation, let no thought of this enter your minds. For, as for him, he is altogether ignorant of what is being done, and is therefore unable to adapt his moves to opportune moments; there is therefore no fear but that in going contrary to him we shall do that which will be of advantage to his cause. And as for me, since I am human, and have come here from the West after a long interval, it is impossible that some of the necessary things should not escape me. So it behoves you, without any too modest regard for my opinion, to say outright whatever is going to be of advantage for ourselves and for the emperor. Now in the beginning, fellow officers, we came here in order to prevent the enemy from making any invasion into our land, but at the present time, since things have gone better for us than we had hoped, it is possible for us to make his land the subject of our deliberation. And now that you have been gathered together for this purpose, it is fair, I think, that you should tell without any concealment what seems to each one best and most advantageous." Thus spoke Belisarius.

And Peter and Bouzes urged him to lead the army without any hesitation against the enemy's country. And their opinion was followed immediately by the whole council. Rhecithancus, however, and Theoctistus, the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, said that, while they too had the same wish as the others concerning the invasion, they feared that if they abandoned the country of Phoenicia and Syria, Alamoundaras would plunder it at his leisure, and that the emperor would be angry with them because they had not guarded and kept unplundered the territory under their command, and for this reason they were quite unwilling to join the rest of the army in the invasion. But Belisarius said that the opinion of these two men was not in the least degree true; for it was the season of the vernal equinox, and at this season the Saracens always dedicated about two months to their god, and during this time never undertook any inroad into the land of others. Agreeing, therefore, to release both of them with their followers within sixty days, he commanded them also to follow with the rest of the army. So Belisarius was making his preparation for the invasion with great zeal.

Χοσρόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀμείψαντες ἐν τοῖς τῆς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις, τῶν πρέσβων σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, ἐγένοντο, τὰ δένδρα οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος ἐκτέμνοντες, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα συχνά τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀμφιλαφεῖ τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ὄντα παντάπασιν ἄβατον τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν χώραν ἐποίει, ταῦτά τε ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐρρίπτουν καὶ ὅλως εὐπετὴ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπειργάζοντο. [2] ἀφικομένοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐς μέσσην Κολχίδα ὅθι δὴ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Μήδειαν καὶ Ἰάσονα οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ἔλθων Γουβάζης, ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς, προσεκύνησεν ἅτε δεσπότην Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου, αὐτόν τε οἱ ζῆν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ Λαζικῇ ἐνδιδοὺς ἅπασαν. [3] Ἔστι δὲ Πέτρα πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἐν Κόλχοις, πρὸς τῷ Εὐξείνῳ καλουμένῳ πόντῳ, ἣν δὴ φαῦλόν τι χωρίον τὰ πρότερα οὐσαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐχυράν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανῇ κατεστήσατο. [4] ἐνταῦθα τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα εἶναι ζῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μαθὼν ὁ Χοσρόης στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀνιαβέδην ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξελοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [5] γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε τοῦ περιβόλου τινὰ ἕξω γενέσθαι οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων φανῆναι τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκέλευσεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα πλησίον πού τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησεν, ἐπιστείλας σιγῇ ἔχεσθαι, μήτε ἥχον μήτε φωνὴν ἀφιέντας τινά. [6] οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἄγχιστά πού τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι πολέμιον οὔτε καθεωρᾶτο οὔτ' ἠκούετο, ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν ἐκλελοιπότων, ἐνόμιζον. [7] διὸ δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦλθον, ὡς κλίμακας εὐθύς, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου, [8] ἐπιθήσοντες. πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν οὔτε ὀρῶντες οὔτε ἀκούοντες, πέμψαντες παρὰ Χοσροὴν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐδήλουν. [9] καὶ ὃς τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας πανταχόθεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε, κριῶ τε τῇ μηχανῇ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας χρῆσθαι τῶν τινι ἀρχόντων ἐπέστελλεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόφῳ καθήμενος ὃς δὴ τῇ πολει ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐπικείται, θεατῆς τῶν

πρασσομένων ἐγένετο. [10] αὐτίκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέκλινον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων διέφθειραν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν κριὸν τεταγμένους: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις ζῆν τῷ στρατηγῷ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [11] θυμῷ τε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος Ἀνιαβέδην ἀνεσκολόπισεν, ἅτε καταστρατηγηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καπήλου τε καὶ ἀπολέμου τὸ παράπαν ἀνδρός. [12] τινὲς δὲ οὐκ Ἀνιαβέδην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς δὴ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς τὸν κριὸν ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι φασιν. [13] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἄγχιστά τε τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἀφίκετο καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. [14] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ κύκλῳ περιῶν τὸν περίβολον, ἐπεὶ οὐ λίαν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτὸν ὑπώπτευσεν εἶναι, τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. τὸ τε στράτευμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα ἐπαγαγὼν ἔργου εἶχετο, καὶ τοξεύειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευε. [15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι ταῖς τε μηχαναῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐχρῶντο τοξεύμασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Πέρσαι, καίπερ συχνὰ κομιδῇ βάλλοντες, ὀλίγα τε Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνων, ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλόμενοι, [16] κακὰ ἔπασχον. ἔπειτα δὲ 'καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Πέτραν Χοσρόῃ ἀλῶναι βληθεὶς Ἰωάννης τύχη τινὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον θνήσκει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπάντων κατέστησαν. [17] τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν: ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ζυνεσκόταζε: τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ διώρυχα ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐπενόουν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [18] Πέτρα ἢ πόλις πῇ μὲν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀπρόσοδος ἐστὶ, πῇ δὲ ἐκ πετρῶν ἀποτόμων, αἱ ταύτη πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔλαχε ταύτην. [19] μίαν δὲ εἰσοδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν: κρημνοὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐξαίσιοι ἀποκρέμανται. [20] ἐνταῦθα προορώμενοι τὰ πρότερα οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμάμενοι μὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος ἐπίμαχον εἶη, τεῖχη μακρὰ παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν ἐκάτερον τῆς εἰσόδου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πεποιήνται. [21] τούτων τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐκατέρωθι πύργους ἐτεκτίναντο δύο, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ. [22] κενὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκοδομίας χωρίον οὐδαμῇ εἶασαν, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι ἐς ὕψος μέγα τοὺς πύργους λίθοις παμμεγέθεσιν ἀλλήλων ἐχομένοις εἰργάσαντο, ὅπως δὴ κριῶ ἢ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ ὥς ἥκιστα κατασειοῖντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν Πέτρας τοῦ περιβόλου ταύτη πῇ ἔχει. [23] Πέρσαι δὲ λάθρα ἐς τὴν γῆν κατῶρυχα ποιησάμενοι ἐνερθεν θατέρου τῶν πύργων ἐγένοντο, τῶν τε λίθων ἐνθένδε πολλοὺς ἐκφοροῦντες, ξύλα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐτίθεντο χώραν, ἅπερ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἔκαυσαν. [24] ἢ τε φλοῶς κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη, διέθρυσεν μὲν τὴν τῶν λίθων ἰσχύν, ὅλον δὲ τὸν πύργον κατασεισάσα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν αὐτίκα. [25] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἦσαν τοσοῦτον τῶν ποιουμένων ἥσθοντο πρότερον, ὅσον αὐτῷ μὴ ξυμπεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀλλὰ φυγόντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενέσθαι. [26] παρὴν τε ἥδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τειχομαχοῦσι πόνῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. [27] διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐς λόγους ἤλθον, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία παρέδωκαν. οὕτω μὲν Πέτραν Χοσρόης εἶλε. [28] καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰωάννου χρήματα λίαν ἀδρὰ εὐρὼν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων

οὐδενὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν Περσῶν ἤψατο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο.

XVII

But Chosroes and the Median army, after crossing Iberia, reached the territory of Lazica under the leadership of the envoys; there with no one to withstand them they began to cut down the trees which grow thickly over that very mountainous region, rising to a great height, and spreading out their branches remarkably, so that they made the country absolutely impassable for the army; and these they threw into the rough places, and thus rendered the road altogether easy. And when they arrived in the centre of Colchis (the place where the tales of the poets say that the adventure of Medea and Jason took place), Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, came and did obeisance to Chosroes, the son of Cabades, as Lord, putting himself together with his palace and all Lazica into his hand.

Now there is a coast city named Petra in Colchis, on the sea which is called the Euxine, which in former times had been a place of no importance, but which the Emperor Justinian had rendered strong and otherwise conspicuous by means of the circuit-wall and other buildings which he erected. When Chosroes ascertained that the Roman army was in that place with John, he sent an army and a general, Aniabedes, against them in order to capture the place at the first onset. But John, upon learning of their approach, gave orders that no one should go outside the fortifications nor allow himself to be seen from the parapet by the enemy, and he armed the whole army and stationed them in the vicinity of the gates, commanding them to keep silence and not allow the least sound of any kind to escape from them. So the Persians came close to the fortifications, and since nothing of the enemy was either seen or heard by them they thought that the Romans had abandoned the city and left it destitute of men. For this reason they closed in still more around the fortifications, so as to set up ladders immediately, since no one was defending the wall. And neither seeing nor hearing anything of the enemy, they sent to Chosroes and explained the situation. And he sent the greater part of the army, commanding them to make an attempt upon the fortifications from all sides, and he directed one of the officers to make use of the engine known as a ram around the gate, while he himself, seated on the hill which lies very close to the city, became a spectator of the operations. And straightway the Romans opened the gates all of a sudden, and unexpectedly fell upon and slew great numbers of the enemy, and especially those stationed about the ram; the rest with difficulty made their escape together with the general and were saved. And Chosroes, filled with rage, impaled Aniabedes, since he had been outgeneralled by John, a tradesman and an altogether unwarlike man. But some say that not Aniabedes, but the officer commanding the men who were working the ram was impaled. And he himself broke camp with the whole army, and coming close to the fortifications of Petra, made camp and began a

siege. On the following day he went completely around the fortifications, and since he suspected that they could not support a very strong attack, he decided to storm the wall. And bringing up the whole army there, he opened the action, commanding all to shoot with their bows against the parapet. The Romans, meanwhile, in defending themselves, made use of their engines of war and all their bows. At first, then, the Persians did the Romans little harm, although they were shooting their arrows thick and fast, while at the same time they suffered severely at the hands of the Romans, since they were being shot at from an elevation. But later on (since it was fated that Petra be captured by Chosroes), John by some chance was shot in the neck and died, and as a result of this the other Romans ceased to care for anything. Then indeed the barbarians withdrew to their camp; for it was already growing dark; but on the following day they planned to assail the fortifications by an excavation, as follows.

The city of Petra is on one side inaccessible on account of the sea, and on the other on account of the sheer cliffs which rise there on every hand; indeed it is from this circumstance that the city has received the name it bears. And it has only one approach on the level ground, and that not very broad; for exceedingly high cliffs overhang it on either side. At that point those who formerly built the city provided that that portion of the wall should not be open to attack by making long walls which ran along beside either cliff and guarded the approach for a great distance. And they built two towers, one in each of these walls, not following the customary plan, but as follows. They refused to allow the space in the middle of the structure to be empty, but constructed the entire towers from the ground up to a great height of very large stones which fitted together, in order that they might never be shaken down by a ram or any other engine. Such, then, are the fortifications of Petra. But the Persians secretly made a tunnel into the earth and got under one of the two towers, and from there carried out many of the stones and in their place put wood, which a little later they burned. And the flame, rising little by little, weakened the stones, and all of a sudden shook the whole tower violently and straightway brought it down to the ground. And the Romans who were on the tower perceived what was being done in sufficient time so that they did not fall with it to the ground, but they fled and got inside the city wall. And now it was possible for the enemy to storm the wall from the level, and thus with no trouble to take the city by force. The Romans, therefore, in terror, opened negotiations with the barbarians, and receiving from Chosroes pledges concerning their lives and their property, they surrendered to him both themselves and the city. [541 A.D.] Thus Chosroes captured Petra. And finding the treasures of John, which were extremely rich, he took them himself, but besides this neither he himself nor anyone else of the Persians touched anything, and the Romans, retaining their own possessions, mingled with the Median army.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, οὐδέν τι πεπυσμένοι ὦν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο, κόσμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἐπὶ Νίσιβιν ἦισαν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέσον ἐγένοντο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ στρατεύμα ἤγεν, οὗ δὴ πηγαί τε ὑδάτων διαρκεῖς ἦσαν καὶ πεδῖον ἅπασιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον. [3] ἐνταῦθά τε στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Νισίβιδος πόλεως. [4] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη ἐθέλοι τοῦ περιβόλου στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ὡς ἡκιστα οἱ ἔπεσθαι ἤθελον. [5] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν οὖσιν ἔλεξεν ὧδε Ἑμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἐς ἅπαντας ὅσα γινώσκω ἐξενεγκεῖν. λόγος γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενος οὐκ οἶδε τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρητα, ἐπεὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προῖων μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκφέρεται. [6] ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς τε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἀταξία πολλῇ εἰκοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἕκαστον αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ἐθέλοντα εἶναι, λέξω τανῦν ἐν ὑμῖν ὅσα χρῆν σιωπᾶν, ἐκείνο μέντοι πρότερον ὑπειπὼν, ὡς πολλῶν ἐν στρατιᾷ γνώμῃ αὐτονόμῳ χρωμένων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. [7] οἷμαι τοίνυν Χοσρόην ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἰόντα βαρβάρους ὡς ἡκιστα φυλακῆς τινος αὐτάρκους χωρὶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολιπεῖν γῆν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἥ πρώτη τε τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκείνου γῆς προβεβλημένη. [8] ἐν ἧ στρατιώτας εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τοσοῦτους τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιοῦτους τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεστήσατο ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐφόδοις ἐμποδῶν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ὑμῖν. [9] Ναβέδην γὰρ στρατηγὸν τούτοις ἐπέστησεν, ὃς δὴ μετὰ γε τὸν Χοσρόην αὐτὸν δόξῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ. [10] ὃν ἔγωγε οἷμαι καὶ ἀποπειράσεσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἡμῖν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡσσηθέντα ἐνδώσειν. [11] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως ἢ ξυμβολῇ εἴη, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τε καὶ Πέρσαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. [12] αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐχυροῦ ἐπεξιόντες εὐημερήσαντές τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον θαρρήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἡσσηθέντες εὐπετῶς διαφεύζονται τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιθέσιν. [13] δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ διώξις ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνθὲνδε οὐδέν γενήσεται βλάβος, ἣν τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένων ὁρᾶτε δήπου. [14] ἦν δέ γε τῶν πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα ἡμῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν πολλήν τινα, ᾧ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [15] φεύγουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολὺν τινα δρόμον ἢ ἀναμιχθέντες εἴσω πυλῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ξυνεισπεσούμεθα, ἢ προτερήσαντες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἐτέρας τινὸς ἀναγκάσομεν τετράφθαι τε καὶ διαφυγεῖν χώρας, ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς Νίσιβιν τῶν ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς εὐάλωτον καταστήσομεν.' [16] Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπειθοντό τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. Πέτρος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐταιρισάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ καταλόγων ἄρχων μοῖραν οὐ φαύλην τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶχεν, οὐκ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων δέκα ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. [17] Βελισάριος δὲ τοὺς τε ξὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἰς παράταξιν ἔστησε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπέστελλεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμβολῇ παρατάσσεσθαι μέχρι αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, εὖ τε εἰδέναι ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπιθήσονται σφίσιν, ἐκείνο δηλονότι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ

μὲν τροφῆς ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν μεταλαγχάνειν εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ μεσημβρίαν. [18] Βελισάριος μὲν ταῦτα παρήνει: οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἀμφὶ τε ἡμέραν μέσῃν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἔστι γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς αὐχμῶδες· τὰ τε ὄπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφροντιστήσαντες σικύους ἐνταῦθ' αἱ φουομένους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιούτους κατήσθιον. [19] ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ Ναβέδης δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπῆγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὅτι γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ καθεωρῶντο λαμπρῶς ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ ἰόντες· παρά τε Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, ἀμύνειν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα ἀνελόμενοι, [21] ἀκοσμίᾳ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ὑπηγνιάζον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον, οὐπω παρὰ σφᾶς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀφικομένου γνόντες διὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. [22] ἐπελθόντες τε Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους οὐχ ὑποστάντας τὴν ἔφοδον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ πεντήκοντά τε διέφθειραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου σημεῖον ἀρπάσαντες ἔσχον. [23] ἅπαντάς τε ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διώξει ἔκτειναν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν ὁρῶντας, εἰ μὴ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς καταλαβὼν διεκώλυσε. [24] πρῶτους γὰρ ἀπάντων ξὺν δόρασι μακροῖς τε καὶ συχοῖς Γότθους ἐπιόντας Πέρσαι οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [25] ἐπισπόμενοί τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν Γότθοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔκτειναν. δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [26] τότε μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῇ ἐπιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πύργῳ τινὶ ἔστησαν ἀντὶ τροπαίου τὸ Πέτρου σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἅντας τε αὐτοῦ ἀποκρεμάσαντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ξὺν γέλῳ ἐπετώθιαζον, ἐπεξιέναι μέντοι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλασσον.

XVIII

Meantime Belisarius and the Roman army, having learned nothing of what was being done there, were going in excellent order from the city of Daras toward Nisibis. And when they had reached the middle of their journey, Belisarius led the army to the right where there were abundant springs of water and level ground sufficient for all to camp upon. And there he gave orders to make a camp at about forty-two stades from the city of Nisibis. But all the others marvelled greatly that he did not wish to camp close to the fortifications, and some were quite unwilling to follow him. Belisarius therefore addressed those of the officers who were about him thus: "It was not my wish to disclose to all what I am thinking. For talk carried about through a camp cannot keep secrets, for it advances little by little until it is carried out even to the enemy. But seeing that the majority of you are allowing yourselves to act in a most disorderly manner, and that each one wishes to be himself supreme commander in the war, I shall now say among you things about which one ought to keep silence, mentioning, however, this first, that when many in an army follow independent judgments it is impossible that anything needful be done. Now I think that Chosroes, in going against other barbarians, has by no means left his own land without sufficient protection, and in particular this city which is of the first rank and is set as a defence to his whole land. In this city I know well that he has stationed soldiers in such number and of such valour as to be sufficient to stand in the way of our assaults. And the proof of this you have near at hand. For he put in command of these men the general Nabedes, who, after Chosroes himself at least, seems to be first among the Persians in glory and in every other sort of honour. This man, I believe, will both make trial of our strength and will permit of our passing by on no other condition than that he be defeated by us in battle. If, therefore, the conflict should be close by the city, the struggle will not be even for us and the Persians. For they, coming out from their stronghold against us, in case of success, should it so happen, will feel unlimited confidence in assailing us, and in case of defeat they will easily escape from our attack. For we shall only be able to pursue them a short distance, and from this no harm will come to the city, which you surely see cannot be captured by storming the wall when soldiers are defending it. But if the enemy engage with us here and we conquer them, I have great hopes, fellow officers, of capturing the city. For while our antagonists are fleeing a long way, we shall either mingle with them and rush inside the gates with them, as is probable, or we shall anticipate them and compel them to turn and escape to some other place, and thus render Nisibis without its defenders easy of capture for us."

When Belisarius had said this, all the others except Peter were convinced, and they made camp and remained with him. He, however, associating with

himself John, who commanded the troops in Mesopotamia and had no small part of the army, came up to a position not far removed from the fortifications, about ten stades away, and remained quietly there. But Belisarius marshalled the men who were with him as if for combat, and sent word to Peter and his men also to hold themselves in array for battle, until he himself should give the signal; and he said that he knew well that the barbarians would attack them about midday, remembering, as they surely would, that while they themselves are accustomed to partake of food in the late afternoon, the Romans do so about midday. So Belisarius gave this warning; but Peter and his men disregarded his commands, and about midday, being distressed by the sun (for the place is exceedingly dry and hot), they stacked their arms, and with never a thought of the enemy began to go about in disorderly fashion and eat gourds which grew there. And when this was observed by Nabedes, he led the Persian army running at full speed against them. And the Romans, since they did not fail to observe that the Persians were coming out of the fortifications (for they were seen clearly because moving over a level plain), sent to Belisarius urging him to support them, and they themselves snatched up their arms, and in disorder and confusion confronted their foe. But Belisarius and his men, even before the messenger had reached them, discovered by the dust the attack of the Persians, and went to the rescue on the run. And when the Persians came up, the Romans did not withstand their onset, but were routed without any difficulty, and the Persians, following close upon them, killed fifty men, and seized and kept the standard of Peter. And they would have slain them all in this pursuit, for the Romans had no thought of resistance, if Belisarius and the army with him had not come upon them and prevented it. For as the Goths, first of all, came upon them with long spears in close array, the Persians did not await their attack but beat a hasty retreat. And the Romans together with the Goths followed them up and slew a hundred and fifty men. For the pursuit was only of short duration, and the others quickly got inside the fortifications. Then indeed all the Romans withdrew to the camp of Belisarius, and the Persians on the following day set up on a tower instead of a trophy the standard of Peter, and hanging sausages from it they taunted the enemy with laughter; however, they no longer dared to come out against them, but they guarded the city securely.

Βελισάριός τε Νίσιβιν ὁρῶν ἐχυρὰν ὑπερφυῶς οὔσαν, ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ἀλώσεως πέρι, πρόσω ἰέναι ἠπειγέτο ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυμῆνται. [2] ἄρας τοίνυν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει. ἀνύσαντές τε ἡμέρας ὁδὸν φρουρίῳ ἐνέτυχον ὃ Σισαυράνων καλοῦσι Πέρσαι. [3] ἐνταῦθα πληθὸς τε οἰκητόρων ἦν καὶ ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι Περσῶν ἄριστοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἷς ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Βλησχάμης ὄνομα, ἐφειστήκει. [4] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ φρουρίου στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, προσβολὴν τε τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιησάμενοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, [5] πολλοὺς τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τό τε γὰρ τεῖχος ἐς ἄγαν ἐχυρὸν ἐτύγγανεν ὃν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

καρτερώτατα ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας
ξυγκαλέσας [6] Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε ‘Εμπειρία πολέμων πολλῶν, ἄνδρες
ἄρχοντες, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόροις προορᾶν τε τὰ
ξυμβησόμενα καὶ δυνατοῖς εἶναι πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. [7]
ἐπίστασθε τοίνυν πηλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν στράτευμα ἐς γῆν πολεμίαν, πολλῶν
μὲν ὀχυρωμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ μαχίμων ἐν τούτοις ἀνδρῶν ὀπισθεν
ἀπολελειμμένων, [8] πορεύεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχηκεν.
ἐπίπροσθεν γὰρ ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἐπόμενοι
λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐν χωρίοις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κακουργήσουσιν
ἐπιτηδεῖως αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐνέδραν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχουσιν. [9] ἦν δέ
πη καὶ ἄλλος ἀπαντήσῃ στρατὸς εἰς τε μάχην καθιστῶνται, πρὸς ἐκατέρους
μὲν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη τετάξεσθαι, πάθοιμεν δ’ ἂν οὕτω πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ ἀνήκεστα:
ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πταίσαντες ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπάνοδον ἐς
Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. [10] μὴ τοίνυν ἀλογίστω
σπουδῇ χρώμενοι ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐσκυλευκότες φαινώμεθα, μηδὲ τῷ
φιλονείκῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα βλάψωμεν. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθὴς ἐς
ὄλεθρον φέρει, μέλλησις δὲ σώφρων ἐς τὸ σώζειν αἰετὸς τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους
ικανῶς πέφυκεν. [11] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐξελεῖν πειρώμεθα
τὸ φρούριον τόδε, Ἀρέθας δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας χωρία
στελλέσθω. [12] Σαρακηνοὶ γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν μὲν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι φύσει, ἐς δὲ τὸ
ληίζεσθαι πάντων μάλιστα δεξιοί. [13] συνεισβαλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατιώται
τῶν μαχίμων τινὲς, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε, μηδενὸς μὲν ἐναντιώματος σφίσι φανέντος,
τὰ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς προσπεσόντας ἐργάσωνται, ἦν δέ τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον,
εὐπετῶς ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς ἡμᾶς σώζονται. [14] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξελόντες, ἦν θεὸς
θέλῃ, τὸ φρούριον, οὕτω δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβαίνωμεν,
οὐ δεδιότες μὲν τοὺς ὀπισθεν κακουργήσοντας, εὐ δὲ εἰδότες ὅπη ποτὲ τοῖς
Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει.’ [15] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος εὖ τε λέγειν ἅπασιν
ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ βούλευμα εὐθὺς ἐπετέλει. Ἀρέθαν τε ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπὶ
Ἀσσυρίας ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι καὶ αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας διακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους
ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, δορυφόρους
αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας δύο, Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φαγᾶν καλούμενον,
ἅμφω ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. [16] καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν Ἀρέθα πειθομένοις ἅπαντα
πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν, Ἀρέθαν δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκέλευε τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ληισάμενον
οὕτω τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανήκοντα ἀπαγγέλλειν σφίσιν ὁποῖά ποτε
δυνάμεως πέρι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα εἴη. [17] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν
Ἀρέθαν Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο. [18] οὗ δὴ χώραν τε
ἀγαθὴν εὐρόντες καὶ μακροῦ χρόνου ἀδήωτον, ταύτην τε ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν,
ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πολλὰ ληισάμενοι τῶν ἐκεῖνη χωρίων χρήματα μεγάλα
περιεβάλλοντο. [19] τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τῶν τινος Περσῶν ξυλλαβῶν, ἐνδεῖν
τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παντελῶς ἔμαθεν. [20] οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν
Δάρας τε καὶ Νισίβιδι πόλει, ἐν δημοσίῳ τὰς ἐπετεῖους τροφὰς ἀποτίθεσθαι
νενομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίων στρατοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος
ἐσκομισάμενοί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ ἔφθισαν. [21] ἄφρων δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ
φρούριον καταφυγόντων, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιέζοντο.

[22] ἃ δὴ Βελισάριος γνούς Γεώργιον ἐπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντα, ἀποπειρασόμενον τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, εἴ πως ὁμολογία τινὶ δύναιτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. [23] Γεώργιος δὲ παραίνεσιν τε ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπών, ἔπεισε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντας ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρουρίον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις. [24] οὕτω Βελισάριος τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐλὼν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας ἅπαντας, Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντας, ἀθόφους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας ξὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὸν τοῦ φρουρίου περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε. [25] βασιλεύς τε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τούτους τε τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τὸν Βλησχάμην ἐς Ἰταλίαν Γότθοις πολεμήσοντας ἔπεμψε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Σισαυράνων φρουρίῳ ταύτῃ ἐχώρησεν. [26] Ἀρέθας δέ, δείσας μὴ τὴν λείαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀφαιρεθεῖη, οὐκέτι ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠθέλε. [27] πέμψας οὖν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκέλευε λάθρα ὡς τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντας σημῆναι σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ πολὺς τις πολεμίων στρατὸς ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν εἶη. [28] διὸ δὴ Τραϊανῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ παρήνει ἐτέρα ἰοῦσιν ὁδῷ ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. [29] παρὰ μὲν οὖν Βελισάριον οὐκέτι ἦλθον, ἔχοντες δὲ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ οὕτω δὴ ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἀβόρρᾳ ποταμῷ ἵκοντο. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου πυθόμενοι ἥσχαλλον, ἔς τε δέος καὶ ὑποψίαν οὔτε φορητὴν τινα οὔτε μετρίαν ἐμπίπτοντες. [31] χρόνου τε σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τριβέντος συχνοῦ ξυνέβη πολλοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πυρετῷ δυσκόλῳ ἐνταῦθα ἀλῶναι· αὐχμηρὰ γὰρ Μεσοποταμία ἢ Περσῶν κατήκοος ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. [32] οὐπὲρ ἀήθεις ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ ἐκ Θράκης ὀρμώμενοι, ἐν χωρίῳ ἐκτόπως αὐχμῶδει καὶ καλύβαις τισὶ πνιγγραῖς ὥρα θέρους δίαιταν ἔχοντες, ἐνόσησαν οὕτως ὥστε ἡμιθνήτες τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔκειντο. [33] ἅπας μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἐπανάκειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπάντων οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ καταλόγων ἄρχοντες, Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος, ὀρῶντες ὅτι δὴ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνάθημα παρῶχηκεν ἤδη. [34] Βελισαρίῳ γοῦν συχνὰ προσιόντες ἐδέοντο σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρόμενοι ὡς Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ τὰ τε ἐπὶ Λιβάνου καὶ Συρίας χωρία ἐνδόντες κάθηνται αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [35] Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἅπαντας συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας βουλὴν προῦθηκεν. [36] οὗ δὴ ἀναστὰς πρῶτος. Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου υἱὸς ἔλαξε τοιάδε ᾠρίστε Βελισάριε, στρατηγὸν μὲν οὔτε τὴν τύχην οὔτε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου γεγενῆσθαι τοιοῦτον οἶμαι οἷος αὐτὸς εἶ. [37] δόξα τε αὕτη οὐ Ῥωμαίων κεκράτηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων ἀπάντων. [38] ταύτην μέντοι βεβαιότατα διαφυλάξεις τὴν εὐκλειαν, ἣν γε ζῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν διασώσασθαι δυνατὸς εἴης· ὡς νῦν γε ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται. οὕτωσὶ γάρ μοι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ σκόπει. [39] Σαρακηνοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες, ἡμέραν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόστην ἄνω ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἀφίκοντο ὥστε οὐδὲ ἄγγελον πέμψαι τινὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἴσχυσαν· Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος ἀποπορεύσονται, ὡς ὁρᾷς δήπουθεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν Ἀλαμουνδάρου

στρατὸν ἐν Φοίνιξι μέσοις εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἄγοντά τε καὶ φέροντα ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [40] τῶν δὲ λειπομένων οἱ νοσοῦντές εἰσι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς θεραπεύσοντάς τε καὶ κομιοῦντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἐλάσσους αὐτῶν παρὰ πολὺ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. [41] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἦν τι ξυμβαίη πολέμιον ἢ αὐτοῦ μένουσιν ἢ ὀπίσω ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀπαντῆσαι, οὐδ' ἂν τις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν Δάρας Ῥωμαίοις δύναιτο τὸ ξυμπεσὸν πάθος. [42] τὸ γὰρ ἐπίπροσθὲ πη ἰέναι οὐδὲ λόγῳ οἶμαι δυνατὸν εἶναι. ἕως οὖν ἔτι λείπεται τις ἐλπίς, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ πράσσειν ξυνοίσει. [43] τοῖς γὰρ ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλως τε καὶ τοιοῦτον καθεστηκόσι μὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐς [44] τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβουλήν πολλὴ ἄνοια.' τοσαῦτα Ἰωάννης τε εἶπε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν, ἕς τε θόρυβον καθιστάμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν κατὰ τάχος ποιεῖσθαι ἠξίου. [45] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος πρότερον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνθέμενος, [46] ὑπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπειδὴ τε τάχιστα ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ εἰργασμένα ἔγνω, δίκην μέντοι λαβεῖν οὐδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐς ὄψιν οὐκέτι ἤλθεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. [47] Χοσρόη δὲ Πέτρᾳν ἐλόντι Βελισάριος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἠγγέλλετο καὶ ἡ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν ξυμβολή, φρουρίου τε τοῦ Σισαυράνων ἢ ἄλωσις, καὶ ὅσα Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβὰν τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ στράτευμα ἔπρασσεν. [48] αὐτίκα τε φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καταστησάμενος, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπήλαυνε. [49] ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἐλθὼν διεχέιμαζεν.

XIX

And Belisarius, seeing that Nisibis was exceedingly strong, and having no hope regarding its capture, was eager to go forward, in order that he might do the enemy some damage by a sudden inroad. Accordingly he broke camp and moved forward with the whole army. And after accomplishing a day's journey, they came upon a fortress which the Persians call Sisauranon. There were in that place besides the numerous population eight hundred horsemen, the best of the Persians, who were keeping guard under command of a man of note, Bleschames by name. And the Romans made camp close by the fortress and began a siege, but, upon making an assault upon the fortifications, they were beaten back, losing many men in the fight. For the wall happened to be extremely strong, and the barbarians defended it against their assailants with the greatest vigour. Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and spoke as follows: "Experience in many wars, fellow officers, has made it possible for us in difficult situations to foresee what will come to pass, and has made us capable of avoiding disaster by choosing the better course. You understand, therefore, how great a mistake it is for an army to proceed into a hostile land, when many strongholds and many fighting men in them have been left in the rear. Now exactly this has happened to us in the present case. For if we continue our advance, some of the enemy from this place as well as from the city of Nisibis will follow us secretly and will, in all probability, handle us roughly in places which are for them conveniently adapted for an ambuscade or some other sort of attack. And if, by any chance, a second army confronts us and opens battle, it will be necessary for us to array ourselves against both, and we should thus suffer irreparable harm at their hands. And in saying this I do not mention the fact that if we fail in the engagement, should it so happen, we shall after that have absolutely no way of return left to the land of the Romans. Let us not therefore by reason of most ill-considered haste seem to have been our own despoilers, nor by our eagerness for strife do harm to the cause of the Romans. For stupid daring leads to destruction, but discreet hesitation is well adapted always to save those who adopt such a course. Let us therefore establish ourselves here and endeavour to capture this fortress, and let Arethas with his forces be sent into the country of Assyria. For the Saracens are by nature unable to storm a wall, but the cleverest of all men at plundering. And some of the soldiers who are good fighters will join them in the invasion, so that, if no opposition presents itself to them, they may overwhelm those who fall in their way, and if any hostile force encounters them, they may be saved easily by retiring to us. And after we have captured the fortress, if God wills, then with the whole army let us cross the River Tigris, without having to fear mischief from anyone in our rear, and knowing well how matters stand with the Assyrians."

These words of Belisarius seemed to all well spoken, and he straightway put the plan into execution. Accordingly he commanded Arethas with his troops to advance into Assyria, and with them he sent twelve hundred soldiers, the most of whom were from among his own guard, putting two guardsmen in command of them, Trajan and John who was called the Glutton, both capable warriors. These men he directed to obey Arethas in everything they did, and he commanded Arethas to pillage all that lay before him and then return to the camp and report how matters stood with the Assyrians with regard to military strength. So Arethas and his men crossed the River Tigris and entered Assyria. There they found a goodly land and one which had been free from plunder for a long time, and undefended besides; and moving rapidly they pillaged many of the places there and secured a great amount of rich plunder. And at that time Belisarius captured some of the Persians and learned from them that those who were inside the fortress were altogether out of provisions. For they do not observe the custom which is followed in the cities of Daras and Nisibis, where they put away the annual food-supply in public store-houses, and now that a hostile army had fallen upon them unexpectedly they had not anticipated the event by carrying in any of the necessities of life. And since a great number of persons had taken refuge suddenly in the fortress, they were naturally hard pressed by the want of provisions. When Belisarius learned this, he sent George, a man of the greatest discretion with whom he shared his secrets, to test the men of the place, in the hope that he might be able to arrange some terms of surrender and thus take the place. And George succeeded, after addressing to them many words of exhortation and of kindly invitation, in persuading them to take pledges for their safety and to deliver themselves and the fortress to the Romans. Thus Belisarius captured Sisauranon, and the inhabitants, all of whom were Christians and of Roman origin, he released unscathed, but the Persians he sent with Bleschames to Byzantium, and razed the fortification wall of the fortress to the ground. And the emperor not long afterwards sent these Persians and Bleschames to Italy to fight against the Goths. Such, then, was the course of events which had to do with the fortress of Sisauranon.

But Arethas, fearing lest he should be despoiled of his booty by the Romans, was now unwilling to return to the camp. So he sent some of his followers ostensibly for the purpose of reconnoitring, but secretly commanding them to return as quickly as possible and announce to the army that a large hostile force was at the crossing of the river. For this reason, then, he advised Trajan and John to return by another route to the land of the Romans. So they did not come again to Belisarius, but keeping the River Euphrates on the right they finally arrived at the Theodosiopolis which is near the River Aborrhhas. But Belisarius and the Roman army, hearing nothing concerning this force, were disturbed, and they were filled with fear and an intolerable and exaggerated suspicion. And since much time had been consumed by them in this siege, it

came about that many of the soldiers were taken there with a troublesome fever; for the portion of Mesopotamia which is subject to the Persians is extremely dry and hot. And the Romans were not accustomed to this and especially those who came from Thrace; and since they were living their daily life in a place where the heat was excessive and in stuffy huts in the summer season, they became so ill that the third part of the army were lying half-dead. The whole army, therefore, was eager to depart from there and return as quickly as possible to their own land, and most of all the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Rhecithancus and Theoctistus, who saw that the time which was the sacred season of the Saracens had in fact already passed. They came, indeed, frequently to Belisarius and entreated him to release them immediately, protesting that they had given over to Alamoundaras the country of Lebanon and Syria, and were sitting there for no good reason.

Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and opened a discussion. Then John, the son of Nicetas, rose first and spoke as follows: "Most excellent Belisarius, I consider that in all time there has never been a general such as you are either in fortune or in valour. And this reputation has come to prevail not alone among the Romans, but also among all barbarians. This fair name, however, you will preserve most securely, if you should be able to take us back alive to the land of the Romans; for now indeed the hopes which we may have are not bright. For I would have you look thus at the situation of this army. The Saracens and the most efficient soldiers of the army crossed the River Tigris, and one day, I know not how long since, they found themselves in such a plight that they have not even succeeded in sending a messenger to us, and Rhecithancus and Theoctistus will depart, as you see surely, believing that the army of Alamoundaras is almost at this very moment in the midst of Phoenicia, pillaging the whole country there. And among those who are left the sick are so numerous that those who will care for them and convey them to the land of the Romans are fewer in number than they are by a great deal. Under these circumstances, if it should fall out that any hostile force should come upon us, either while remaining here or while going back, not a man would be able to carry back word to the Romans in Daras of the calamity which had befallen us. For as for going forward, I consider it impossible even to be spoken of. While, therefore, some hope is still left, it will be of advantage both to make plans for the return and to put the plans into action. For when men have come into danger and especially such danger as this, it is downright folly for them to devote their thoughts not to safety, but to opposition to the enemy." So spoke John, and all the others expressed approval, and becoming disorderly, they demanded that the retreat be made with all speed. Accordingly Belisarius laid the sick in the carts and let them lead the way, while he led the army behind them. And as soon as they got into the land of the Romans, he learned everything which had been done by Arethas, but he did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon him, for he

never came into his sight again. So ended the invasion of the Romans.

And after Chosroes had taken Petra, it was announced to him that Belisarius had invaded the Persian territory, and the engagement near the city of Nisibis was reported, as also the capture of the fortress of Sisauranon, and all that the army of Arethas had done after crossing the River Tigris. Straightway, then, he established a garrison in Petra, and with the rest of the army and those of the Romans who had been captured he marched away into the land of Persia. Such, then, were the events which took place in the second invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, and passed the winter there.

Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τρίτον στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. [2] Κάνδιδος δέ, ὁ Σεργιουπόλεως ἱερεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἀγχιστὰ που ἦκειν ἐπύθετο, δείσας περὶ τέ οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ Χοσρόῃ τὰ ὁμολογημένα ὥς ἦκιστα ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ γενόμενος παρηγεῖτο Χοσρόην μὴ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔχειν. [3] χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βεβουλησθαι Σουρηνοὺς ρύεσθαι, βασιλέα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων πολλὰ ἰκετεύσας ἀνόνητος αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. [4] Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πικρότατα αἰκιζόμενος διπλάσια τὰ χρήματα, ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο, πράττειν ἠξίου. [5] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν τινας ἰκέτευε πέμψαι τὰ κειμήλια ξύμπαντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῦ ληψομένους. [6] καὶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐποίει, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰ ὁ Κάνδιδος ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν. [7] οἱ μὲν οὖν Σεργιουπολῖται τοὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντας τῇ πόλει δεξάμενοι τῶν κειμηλίων πολλὰ ἔδοσαν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἀπολελείφθαι ἰσχυρίζόμενοι. [8] Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἀποχρῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἕτερα τούτων πλείω λαβεῖν ἐδικαίου. [9] πέμπει τοίνυν τινὰς τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διερευνησομένους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν καθέξοντας. [10] καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Σεργιούπολιν Πέρσαις ἀλῶναι, τῶν τις Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανὸς μὲν, ταττόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, Ἀμβρος ὄνομα, νύκτωρ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλας, ἐκέλευε Πέρσας τῇ πόλει μηδαμῇ δέξασθαι. [11] οὕτω τε οἱ παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντες ἄπρακτοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήλθον, καὶ ὃς τῷ θυμῷ ζέων τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν διανοεῖτο. [12] στρατεύμα οὖν ἐς ἐξακισχλίους στείλας ἐκέλευεν ἔς τε πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι καὶ προσβολὰς τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. [13] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο, Σεργιουπολῖται δὲ καρτερῶς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἡμύνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπειπόντες τε καὶ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον ἐβουλεύοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι. [14] στρατιώτας γὰρ οὐ πλέον ἢ διακοσίους ἔχοντες ἔτυχον. ἀλλὰ Ἀμβρος, αὗτις παρὰ τὸν περίβολον ἐς νύκτα ἦκων, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν τὴν πολιορκίαν διαλύσειν Πέρσας ἔφασκε, τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντος. [15] διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδαμῇ ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δίψει ἐχόμενοι ἐξάνεστησάν τε καὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκοντο. Κάνδιδον μέντοι Χοσρόης

οὐκέτι ἀφῆκε. [16] χρῆν γάρ, οἶμαι, αὐτὸν τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότα ἱερέα
μηκέτι εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [17] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνὼν
χώραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀφίκετο, ἦν καλοῦσιν Εὐφρατησίαν, ἐς λείαν μὲν ἢ χωρίου
του ἄλωσιν τρέπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μέχρι ἐς Σύρους τὰ μὲν
ἐξελών, τὰ δὲ ἀργυρολογήσας πρότερον ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν
λόγοις δεδήλωται. [18] γνώμην δὲ εἶχεν εὐθὺ Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα,
ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κειμήλια πάντα ληίσηται. χώραν γὰρ
ταύτην ἀγαθὴν τε διαφερόντως καὶ πολυχρύσων οἰκητόρων εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχε.
[19] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἅπαντες, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις
ὕπαντιάζειν ἢ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ διεννοοῦντο, τὰ δὲ
ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες ὡς ἕκαστος ἠδύνατο, ἀποχρῆν ὄντο ταῦτά τε
διαφυλάσσειν καὶ αὐτοὶ σώζεσθαι. [20] Γνοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βελισάριον αὐθις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς
δημοσίοις ὀχούμενος, οὓς δὴ βερέδους καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἅτε οὐ στράτευμα
ξύν αὐτῷ ἔχων, τάχει πολλῷ ἐς Εὐφρατησίαν ἀφίκετο, Ἰούστος δέ, ὁ
βασιλέως ἀνεψιός, ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ξύν τε τῷ Βουζῇ καὶ ἐτέροις τισὶ καταφυγὼν
ἔτυχεν. [21] οἱ δὴ Βελισάριον οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν ἤκειν ἀκούσαντες γράμματα
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγραφον: [22] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε 'Καὶ νῦν ὁ Χοσρόης, ὥσπερ
οἴσθᾳ που καὶ αὐτός, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσε, στρατὸν μὲν πολλῷ πλείονα
ἢ πρότερον ἄγων, ὅπῃ ποτὲ δὲ ἰέναι διανοούμενος οὐπω ἐνδηλος ὢν, πλήν γε
δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγχιστὰ πῃ ἀκούομεν εἶναι, χωρίῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ λυμηνάμενον, ὁδῷ
δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπίπροσθεν ἰόντα. [23] ἀλλ' ἦκε παρ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, εἴπερ οἴός τε εἴ
λαθεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπως δὴ σῶς τε αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ἔσῃ καὶ
Ἱεράπολιν [24] ἡμῖν ξυμφυλάξῃς.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ
οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐς Εὐρωπὸν τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκετο, ὃ πρὸς
Εὐφράτη ποταμῷ ἐστίν. [25] ἐνθὲνδε τε περιπέμπων πανταχόσε τὸν στρατὸν
ἠγείρε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεστήσατο, ἄρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐν
Ἱεραπόλει ἡμεῖβετο τοῖσδε, 'Εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἀνθρώπων τινάς, ἀλλ' οὐ
Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ὁ Χοσρόης χωρεῖ, εὖ τε καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ὑμῖν
βεβούλευται ταῦτα: [26] οἷς γὰρ πάρεστιν ἡσυχῇ μένουσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν,
πολλὴ ἄνοια ἐς κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν τινα ἰέναι: εἰ δὲ νῦν ἐνθὲνδε
ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἐτέρα τινὶ ἐπισκῆπει βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ
χώρᾳ, καὶ ταύτῃ διαφερόντως μὲν ἀγαθῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ οὐδαμῇ στρατιωτῶν
ἐχούσῃ, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὸ ξὺν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ σεσῶσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τῷ
παντὶ ἄμεινον. [27] οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωτηρία τοῦτό γε, ἀλλὰ προδοσία δικαίως
καλοῖτο. ἀλλ' ἦκετε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὸν Εὐρωπὸν, οὗ δὴ συλλέξας τὸ
στράτευμα ὅλον ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ [28] ἐλπίδα ἔχω τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐργάσασθαι.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶδον, ἐθάρρησάν τε καὶ
Ἰούστον μὲν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ ἔλιπον ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν φυλάξουσιν,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Εὐρωπὸν ἦλθον.

[542 A.D.] At the opening of spring Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the third time began an invasion into the land of the Romans with a mighty army, keeping the River Euphrates on the right. And Candidus, the priest of Sergiopolis, upon learning that the Median army had come near there, began to be afraid both for himself and for the city, since he had by no means carried out at the appointed time the agreement which he had made; accordingly he went into the camp of the enemy and entreated Chosroes not to be angry with him because of this. For as for money, he had never had any, and for this reason he had not even wished in the first place to deliver the inhabitants of Sura, and though he had supplicated the Emperor Justinian many times on their behalf, he had failed to receive any help from him. But Chosroes put him under guard, and, torturing him most cruelly, claimed the right to exact from him double the amount of money, just as had been agreed. And Candidus entreated him to send men to Sergiopolis to take all the treasures of the sanctuary there. And when Chosroes followed this suggestion, Candidus sent some of his followers with them. So the inhabitants of Sergiopolis, receiving into the city the men sent by Chosroes, gave them many of the treasures, declaring that nothing else was left them. But Chosroes said that these were by no means sufficient for him, and demanded that he should receive others still more than these. Accordingly he sent men, ostensibly to search out with all diligence the wealth of the city, but in reality to take possession of the city. But since it was fated that Sergiopolis should not be taken by the Persians, one of the Saracens, who, though a Christian, was serving under Alamoundaras, Ambrus by name, came by night along the wall of the city, and reporting to them the whole plan, bade them by no means receive the Persians into the city. Thus those who were sent by Chosroes returned to him unsuccessful, and he, boiling with anger, began to make plans to capture the city. He accordingly sent an army of six thousand, commanding them to begin a siege and to make assaults upon the fortifications. And this army came there and commenced active operations, and the citizens of Sergiopolis at first defended themselves vigorously, but later they gave up, and in terror at the danger, they were purposing to give over the city to the enemy. For, as it happened, they had not more than two hundred soldiers. But Ambrus, again coming along by the fortifications at night, said that within two days the Persians would raise the siege since their water supply had failed them absolutely. For this reason they did not by any means open negotiations with the enemy, and the barbarians, suffering with thirst, removed from there and came to Chosroes. However, Chosroes never released Candidus. For it was necessary, I suppose, that since he had disregarded his sworn agreement, he should be a priest no longer. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But when Chosroes arrived at the land of the Commagenae which they call Euphratesia, he had no desire to turn to plundering or to the capture of any stronghold, since he had previously taken everything before him as far as Syria, partly by capture and partly by exacting money, as has been set forth in the preceding narrative. And his purpose was to lead the army straight for Palestine, in order that he might plunder all their treasures and especially those in Jerusalem. For he had it from hearsay that this was an especially goodly land and peopled by wealthy inhabitants. And all the Romans, both officers and soldiers, were far from entertaining any thought of confronting the enemy or of standing in the way of their passage, but manning their strongholds as each one could, they thought it sufficient to preserve them and save themselves.

The Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, again sent Belisarius against them. And he came with great speed to Euphratesia since he had no army with him, riding on the government post-horses, which they are accustomed to call "veredi," while Justus, the nephew of the emperor, together with Bouzes and certain others, was in Hierapolis where he had fled for refuge. And when these men heard that Belisarius was coming and was not far away, they wrote a letter to him which ran as follows: "Once more Chosroes, as you yourself doubtless know, has taken the field against the Romans, bringing a much greater army than formerly; and where he is purposing to go is not yet evident, except indeed that we hear he is very near, and that he has injured no place, but is always moving ahead. But come to us as quickly as possible, if indeed you are able to escape detection by the army of the enemy, in order that you yourself may be safe for the emperor, and that you may join us in guarding Hierapolis." Such was the message of the letter. But Belisarius, not approving the advice given, came to the place called Europum, which is on the River Euphrates. From there he sent about in all directions and began to gather his army, and there he established his camp; and the officers in Hierapolis he answered with the following words: "If, now, Chosroes is proceeding against any other peoples, and not against subjects of the Romans, this plan of yours is well considered and insures the greatest possible degree of safety; for it is great folly for those who have the opportunity of remaining quiet and being rid of trouble to enter into any unnecessary danger; but if, immediately after departing from here, this barbarian is going to fall upon some other territory of the Emperor Justinian, and that an exceptionally good one, but without any guard of soldiers, be assured that to perish valorously is better in every way than to be saved without a fight. For this would justly be called not salvation but treason. But come as quickly as possible to Europum, where, after collecting the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy as God permits." And when the officers saw this message, they took courage, and leaving there Justus with some few men in order to guard Hierapolis, all the others with the rest of the army came to Europum.

Χοσρόης δὲ μαθὼν Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ἐν Εὐρωπῇ, πρόσω μὲν ἐλαύνειν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, τῶν δὲ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων ἓνα, Ἀβανδάνην ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπεμψε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁποῖός ποτε εἶη κατασκευόμενον, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ μεμψόμενον ὅτι δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς Πέρσας ἤκιστα πέμπειεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πρυτανεύσωσιν. ὅπερ μαθὼν Βελισάριος ἐποίει τοιάδε. [2] αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐμήκεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα καλοὺς μάλιστα, μακράν που ἄποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐστάλη, Διογένην δὲ τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα Ἀρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα ἰσταντιάρχους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπίκειται, τότε δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντας ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις περιεῖναι τὴν ἐκείνην ἡῖονα ἐκέλευε, δόκησιν αἰεὶ παρεχομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς, ἣν ἐθέλωσι τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ὁδῷ ἰέναι, οὐ μῆποτε ἐπιτρέψουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [3] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἄγχιστά πη ἐπέπυστο εἶναι, καλύβην ἐκ παχειῶν τινῶν σινδόνων πιξάμενος, ἣν δὴ παπυλεῶνα καλεῖν νενομίσκασιν, ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, παραδηλῶν ὅτι δὴ οὐδεμιᾷ παρασκευῇ ἐνταῦθα ἦκοι. [4] τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας διέταξεν ὥδε. τῆς μὲν καλύβης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Θυράκας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἦσαν, Γότθοι δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦς, καὶ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ἑρουλοὶ, μεθ' οὓς Βανδίλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι ἦσαν. [5] τοῦ τε πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ χώρας αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ διεσθηκότες τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ περιπάτους ποιοῦμενοι παρέργως τε καὶ ὡς ἤκιστα κατεσπουδασμένως ἐς τὸν Χοσρόου πρεσβευτὴν ἔβλεπον. [6] εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε χλαμύδα οὔτε ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινά, ἀλλὰ χιτῶνας μὲν λινοῦς καὶ ἀναξυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἴτα διεζωσμένοι ἐβάδιζον. [7] εἶχε δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου μάστιγα ἕκαστος, ὅπλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ξίφος ἦν, τῷ δὲ πέλεκυς, τῷ δὲ τόξα γυμνά. [8] δόκησίν τε παρείχοντο ἅπαντες ὅτι δὴ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κυνηγετήσιν ἠπείγοντο. [9] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀβανδάνης Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἔφη, ὅτι δὴ καθὰ ξυνέκειτο πρότερον οὐ πέμπειε παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ Καῖσαρ· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα καλοῦσι Πέρσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Χοσρόης ἠνάγκαστο ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις ἤκειν. [10] Βελισάριος δὲ οὔτε κατορρωδήσας, ἅτε πη ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδευμένων βαρβάρων τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ ἐς ταραχὴν τινα καταστάς, ἀλλὰ γελῶντί τε καὶ ἀναιμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀμείβεται 'Οὐ ταύτη' λέγων 'ἢ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τανῦν εἵργασται νενόμισται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα. [11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, ἣν τι ἀντιλέγοιτο σφίσι τε καὶ τῶν πέλας τισί, πρεσβεύουσι μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς πρότερον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν μετρίων μὴ τύχωσιν, οὕτω δὴ πολέμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴασιν. [12] ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προτείνεται λόγους.' ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο. [13] Ὁ δὲ παρὰ Χοσρόην γενόμενος παρήνει οἱ ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] στρατηγῷ τε γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν ἔφη ἀνδρειοτάτῳ τε καὶ ξυνετωτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ στρατιώταις οἰοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς οὐ πάποτε εἶδεν, ὧν δὴ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν θαυμάσειε μάλιστα

πάντων, εἶναι τε οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τὴν ἀγωνίαν, διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν Καίσαρος νικήσει δοῦλον, ἡσσηθεὶς δέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μέγα τι αἴσχος τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ πορίσεται καὶ τῷ Περσῶν γένει, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν νενικημένοι ῥαδίως ἂν ἔν τε ὀχυρώμασι καὶ γῇ τῇ αὐτῶν διασώζοιντο, αὐτῶν δέ, ἣν γέ τι ἐναντίωμα ξυμβαίῃ, οὐδ' ἂν ἄγγελος διαφύγοι ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν. [15] ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναπεισθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἐβούλετο, ἀμηχανία δὲ πολλῇ εἶχετο. [16] τὴν τε γὰρ διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων φυλάσσεσθαι ὤφειτο καὶ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ, ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν οὔσῃ, ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει ἅπερ τὸ πρότερον ζῶν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλον. [17] τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λογισαμένῳ ξυμφορώτατόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι μάχῃ διακινδυνεύσαντι ἐς γῆν τε τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἥκειν καὶ διὰ χώρας πᾶσιν εὐθινοῦσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ εὖ μὲν ἡπίστατο ὥς οὐδ' ἂν δέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάβασιν Χοσρόῃ ἀναχαιτίζειν ποτὲ ἱκαναὶ εἶεν· ὁ τε γὰρ ποταμὸς πολλαχῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ναυσὶ διαβατὸς ὢν ἐπὶ πλείστον τυγχάνει, καὶ κρεῖσσον ἦν ἄλλως τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἢ πρὸς πολεμίων ὀλίγων τινῶν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι· τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον σὺν τοῖς χιλίοις ἐπέστελλε τὰ πρῶτα περνεῖν τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν, ὅπως δὴ ἐς ταραχὴν ἀφασίᾳ τινὶ τὸν βάρβαρον καταστήσονται. [19] ὄνπερ δεδιζάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἔδεισε μὴ τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἔδεισε μὴ τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα εἴη ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς. [20] λόγου τέ οἱ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἐξελάσαι ἐνθένδε τὸν Χοσρόου στρατόν, οὐδεμιᾷ κινδυνεύσαντι μάχῃ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς ζῶν στρατιώταις λίαν τε ὀλίγοις οὔσι καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπηγῆσιν τὸν Μήδων στρατόν. διὸ δὴ ἐκέλευε Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον ἡσυχῇ μένειν. [21] Ὁ γοῦν Χοσρόης γέφυραν σὺν πολλῷ τάχει πηξάμενος, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέβη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ. [22] Πέρσαις γὰρ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαβατοῖ εἰσι ποταμοὶ ἅπαντες, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἀγκιστροειδῇ σιδήρια ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐστίν, οἷς δὴ ξύλα μακρὰ ἐς ἄλληλα ἐναρμόζοντες γέφυραν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα ὅπῃ ἂν σφίσι βουλομένοις εἴη. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρῳ, πέμψας παρὰ Βελισάριον αὐτὸς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κεχαρίσθαι τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔφασκε, προσδέχσθαι δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὓς σφίσι παρέσεσθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἄξιον εἶναι. [24] Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβὰς παρὰ Χοσρόην εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. [25] οἱ, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, πολλὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐπαινέσαντες, πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἤξουν παρὰ βασιλέως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέσχοντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγκείμενα πρότερον ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται. [26] ἡξιοῦν τε διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅτε φίλων αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπεδέχετο ἐπιτελέσειν, εἴ τινα οἱ δοῖεν τῶν δοκίμων ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πράξουσιν. [27] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπανάκοντες τοὺς Χοσρόου λόγους ἀπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἔδεσσαν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωάννην τὸν Βασιλείου παῖδα, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ

πάντων τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν διαφανέστατον, ὄμηρον τῷ Χοσρόῃ οὐτι ἐκούσιον εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε. [28] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις εἶχον, μᾶλλον τε σφίσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδόκει ἢ ὅτε Γελίμερα δορυάλωτον ἢ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκεν. [29] ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον, πεφοβημένων μὲν κἀν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι κρυπτομένων Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, Χοσρόου δὲ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν μέσῃ γεγονότος Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ δρόμῳ ὀξεῖ ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταξὺ ἦκοντα ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, Χοσρόην δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἢ τὴν τύχην ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δεῖσαντα ἢ καὶ τισιν ἐξαπατηθέντα σοφίσμασιν, ἐπίπροσθεν μηκέτι χωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ φυγεῖν, λόγῳ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίεσθαι. [30] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἀλογήσας τὰ ὠμολογημένα Καλλίνικον πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀμυνομένου εἶλε. ταύτης γὰρ τὸν περίβολον ὀρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι σαθρόν τε καὶ εὐάλωτον παντάπασιν ὄντα, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ καθαιροῦντές τινα, νέᾳ τινὶ ἀνενεοῦντο οἰκοδομίᾳ. [31] τότε γοῦν μέρος τι αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, οὐπω δὲ τὸ λειπόμενον τοῦτο δειμάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, τῶν χρημάτων ὑπεξαγαγόντες τὰ τιμιώτατα, οἱ μὲν εὐδαίμονες αὐτῆς τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐς ἕτερα ἅττα ὀχυρώματα ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιωτῶν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. [32] καὶ γεωργῶν πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλέχθαι συνέβη. οὗς ὁ Χοσρόης ἀνδραποδίσας ἅπαν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. [33] ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον τὸν ὄμηρον Ἰωάννην δεξάμενος, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. [34] Ἀρμένιοι τε οἱ τῷ Χοσρόῃ προσκεχωρηκότες, τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντες, ξὺν τῷ Βασσάκῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος· ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν αὐθις σταλήσεται, πονηρῶν ἤδη παντάπασιν τῶν ἐκεῖνη πραγμάτων Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων.

But Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius with the whole Roman army had encamped at Europum, decided not to continue his advance, but sent one of the royal secretaries, Abandanes by name, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, to Belisarius, in order to find out by inspection what sort of a general he might be, but ostensibly to make a protest because the Emperor Justinian had not sent the ambassadors to the Persians at all in order that they might settle the arrangements for the peace as had been agreed. When Belisarius learned this, he did as follows. He himself picked out six thousand men of goodly stature and especially fine physique, and set out to hunt at a considerable distance from the camp. Then he commanded Diogenes, the guardsman, and Adolius, the son of Acacius, to cross the river with a thousand horsemen and to move about the bank there, always making it appear to the enemy that if they wished to cross the Euphrates and proceed to their own land, they would never permit them to do so. This Adolius was an Armenian by birth, and he always served the emperor while in the palace as privy counsellor (those who enjoy this honour are called by the Romans “*silentiarii*”), but at that time he was commander of some Armenians. And these men did as directed.

Now when Belisarius had ascertained that the envoy was close at hand, he set up a tent of some heavy cloth, of the sort which is commonly called a “pavilion,” and seated himself there as one might in a desolate place, seeking thus to indicate that he had come without any equipment. And he arranged the soldiers as follows. On either side of the tent were Thracians and Illyrians, with Goths beyond them, and next to these Eruli, and finally Vandals and Moors. And their line extended for a great distance over the plain. For they did not remain standing always in the same place, but stood apart from one another and kept walking about, looking carelessly and without the least interest upon the envoy of Chosroes. And not one of them had a cloak or any other outer garment to cover the shoulders, but they were sauntering about clad in linen tunics and trousers, and outside these their girdles. And each one had his horse-whip, but for weapons one had a sword, another an axe, another an uncovered bow. And all gave the impression that they were eager to be off on the hunt with never a thought of anything else. So Abandanes came into the presence of Belisarius and said that the king Chosroes was indignant because the agreement previously made had not been kept, in that the envoys had not been sent to him by Caesar (for thus the Persians call the emperor of the Romans), and as a result of this Chosroes had been compelled to come into the land of the Romans in arms. But Belisarius was not terrified by the thought that such a multitude of barbarians were encamped close by, nor did he experience any confusion because of the words of the man, but with a

laughing, care-free countenance he made answer, saying: "This course which Chosroes has followed on the present occasion is not in keeping with the way men usually act. For other men, in case a dispute should arise between themselves and any of their neighbours, first carry on negotiations with them, and whenever they do not receive reasonable satisfaction, then finally go against them in war. But he first comes into the midst of the Romans, and then begins to offer suggestions concerning peace." With such words as these he dismissed the ambassador.

And when Abandanes came to Chosroes, he advised him to take his departure with all possible speed. For he said he had met a general who in manliness and sagacity surpassed all other men, and soldiers such as he at least had never seen, whose orderly conduct had roused in him the greatest admiration. And he added that the contest was not on an even footing as regards risk for him and for Belisarius, for there was this difference, that if he conquered, he himself would conquer the slave of Caesar, but if he by any chance were defeated, he would bring great disgrace upon his kingdom and upon the race of the Persians; and again the Romans, if conquered, could easily save themselves in strongholds and in their own land, while if the Persians should meet with any reverse, not even a messenger would escape to the land of the Persians. Chosroes was convinced by this admonition and wished to turn back to his own country, but he found himself in a very perplexing situation. For he supposed that the crossing of the river was being guarded by the enemy, and he was unable to march back by the same road, which was entirely destitute of human habitation, since the supplies which they had at the first when they invaded the land of the Romans had already entirely failed them. At last after long consideration it seemed to him most advantageous to risk a battle and get to the opposite side, and to make the journey through a land abounding in all good things. Now Belisarius knew well that not even a hundred thousand men would ever be sufficient to check the crossing of Chosroes. For the river at many places along there can be crossed in boats very easily, and even apart from this the Persian army was too strong to be excluded from the crossing by an enemy numerically insignificant. But he had at first commanded the troops of Diogenes and Adolius, together with the thousand horsemen, to move about the bank at that point in order to confuse the barbarian by a feeling of helplessness. But after frightening this same barbarian, as I have said, Belisarius feared lest there should be some obstacle in the way of his departing from the land of the Romans. For it seemed to him a most significant achievement to have driven away from there the army of Chosroes, without risking any battle against so many myriads of barbarians with soldiers who were very few in number and who were in abject terror of the Median army. For this reason he commanded Diogenes and Adolius to remain quiet.

Chosroes, accordingly, constructed a bridge with great celerity and crossed the River Euphrates suddenly with his whole army. For the Persians are able to

cross all rivers without the slightest difficulty because when they are on the march they have in readiness hook-shaped irons with which they fasten together long timbers, and with the help of these they improvise a bridge on the spur of the moment wherever they may desire. And as soon as he had reached the land on the opposite side, he sent to Belisarius and said that he, for his part, had bestowed a favour upon the Romans in the withdrawal of the Median army, and that he was expecting the envoys from them, who ought to present themselves to him at no distant time. Then Belisarius also with the whole Roman army crossed the River Euphrates and immediately sent to Chosroes. And when the messengers came into his presence, they commended him highly for his withdrawal and promised that envoys would come to him promptly from the emperor, who would arrange with him that the terms which had previously been agreed upon concerning the peace should be put into effect. And they asked of him that he treat the Romans as his friends in his journey through their land. This too he agreed to carry out, if they should give him some one of their notable men as a hostage to make this compact binding, in order that they might carry out their agreement. So the envoys returned to Belisarius and reported the words of Chosroes, and he came to Edessa and chose John, the son of Basilius, the most illustrious of all the inhabitants of Edessa in birth and in wealth, and straightway sent him, much against his will, as a hostage to Chosroes. And the Romans were loud in their praises of Belisarius and he seemed to have achieved greater glory in their eyes by this affair than when he brought Gelimer or Vittigis captive to Byzantium. For in reality it was an achievement of great importance and one deserving great praise, that, at a time when all the Romans were panic-stricken with fear and were hiding themselves in their defences, and Chosroes with a mighty army had come into the midst of the Roman domain, a general with only a few men, coming in hot haste from Byzantium just at that moment, should have set his camp over against that of the Persian king, and that Chosroes unexpectedly, either through fear of fortune or of the valour of the man or even because deceived by some tricks, should no longer continue his advance, but should in reality take to flight, though pretending to be seeking peace.

But in the meantime Chosroes, disregarding the agreement, took the city of Callinicus which was entirely without defenders. For the Romans, seeing that the wall of this city was altogether unsound and easy of capture, were tearing down portions of it in turn and restoring them with new construction. Now just at that time they had torn down one section of it and had not yet built in this interval; when, therefore, they learned that the enemy were close at hand, they carried out the most precious of their treasures, and the wealthy inhabitants withdrew to other strongholds, while the rest without soldiers remained where they were. And it happened that great numbers of farmers had gathered there. These Chosroes enslaved and razed everything to the ground. A little later, upon receiving the hostage, John, he retired to his own

country. And the Armenians who had submitted to Chosroes received pledges from the Romans and came with Bassaces to Byzantium. Such was the fortune of the Romans in the third invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, in order to be sent again to Italy, since the situation there was already full of difficulties for the Romans.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους λοιμὸς γεγονεν, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἅπαντα ὀλίγου ἐδέησε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐξίτηλα εἶναι. ἅπανσι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκῆπτουσιν ἴσως ἂν καὶ λέγοιτό τις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τολμητῶν αἰτίου λόγος, οἷα πολλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ αἰτίας τερατεύεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀνθρώπῳ καταληπτὰς οὔσας, φυσιολογίας τε ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους, ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν ὥς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀποχρῆν δὲ ἡγοῦμενοι σφίσιν, ἦν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τῷ λόγῳ ἐξαπατήσαντες πείσωσι. [2] τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ πρόφασιν τινα ἢ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἢ διανοίᾳ λογίσασθαι μηχανὴ τις οὐδεμία ἐστί, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. [3] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τισὶ γέγονεν οὐδὲ τινα ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσχεν, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ σοφίσματα αἰτίας εὐρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἀλλὰ περιεβάλλετο μὲν τὴν γῆν ζύμπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντας ἐβλαψε, καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τοῦναντίον παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὔτε φύσεώς τινος οὔτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. [4] εἴτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοικῆσει εἴτε νόμῳ διαίτης, ἢ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἢ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωποι διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ μόνη τῇ νόσῳ τὸ διαλλάσσον οὐδὲν ὤνησεν. [5] ἐπέσκηψε δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥρα θέρους, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καιροὺς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὥς πῃ ἕκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο ἡ νόσος ἦδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [6] Ἦρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ὥκηνται ἐν Πηλουσίῳ. γενομένη δὲ δίχα πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρησε, πῇ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὁμόρους ἦλθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τε κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν σύμπασαν, ὁδῷ τε αἰεὶ προϊοῦσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα τοῖς καθήκουσιν. [7] ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ φθόρῳ χρωμένη, σκεδαννυμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατίας, ὥσπερ δεδοικυῖα μὴ τις αὐτὴν τῆς γῆς διαλάθοι μυχός. [8] οὔτε γὰρ νῆσόν τινα ἢ σπῆλαιον ἢ ἀκρώρειαν ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκῆτορας ἔχουσιν: ἦν δὲ πού τινα καὶ παρήλασε χώραν, ἢ μὴ ψαύσασα τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀμωσγέπως αὐτῶν ἀψαμένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐθις ἐνταῦθα ἐπανιοῦσα τῶν μὲν περιοίκων, οἷς δὴ πικρότατα ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἤψατο, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐκείνης οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπέδωκεν, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὥκημένοις χρόνῳ τῷ προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. [9] ἀρξαμένη δὲ αἰεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἡ νόσος ἦδε, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνέβαινε χώραν. δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐς Βυζάντιον μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἥρος ἀφίκετο, [10] ἐνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη. ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοῖς ἐς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν ὥφθη, ὅσοι τε αὐτοῖς παραπίπτειν, παίεσθαι ᾤοντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀνδρός

ὅπη παρατύχοι τοῦ σώματος, ἅμα τε τὸ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτίκα ἡλίσκοντο. [11] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οἱ παραπεπτωκότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπειρῶντο, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων ἀποστοματίζοντες τὰ θειότατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιούμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἥνουν μέντοι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πλείστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθείροντο. [12] ὕστερον δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις καλοῦσιν ἐπακοῦειν ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ καθεῖρξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαΐοιεν προσεποιοῦντο, καίπερ ἀρασσομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν θυρῶν, δειμαίνοντες δηλονότι μὴ δαιμόνων τις ὁ καλῶν εἴη. [13] τισὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ λοιμὸς ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' ὅσιν ὄνειρου ἰδόντες ταῦτο τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιστάντος πάσχειν ἐδόκουν, ἢ λόγου ἀκοῦειν προλέγοντος σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ ἐς τῶν τεθνηξομένων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάγραπτοι εἶεν. [14] τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις οὕτε ὕπαρ οὔτε ὄναρ αἰσθομένοις τοῦ ἐσομένου εἴτα τῇ νόσῳ ξυνέβη ἀλῶναι. [15] ἡλίσκοντο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπύρεσσον ἄφνω, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγνηγερμένοι, οἱ δὲ περιπάτους ποιοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλο ὃ τι δὴ πράσσοντες. [16] καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα οὔτε τι διήλλασσε τῆς προτέρας χροιᾶς οὔτε θερμὸν ἦν, ἅτε πυρετοῦ ἐπιτεσόντος, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φλόγῳσις ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀβληχρὸς τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ ἄχρις ἐσπέρας ὁ πυρετὸς ἦν ὥστε μήτε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μήτε ἰατρῷ ἀπτομένῳ δόκησιν κινδύνου παρέχεσθαι. [17] οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ τις τελευτᾶν τῶν περιπεπτωκότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν. ἡμέρα δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῇ αὐτῇ, τοῖς δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ, ἐτέροις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον βουβῶν ἐπῆρτο, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μόριον, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἥτρου ἔνερθέν ἐστι, βουβῶν κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἐντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὦτα καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔτυχε. [18] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδόν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἀλίσκομένοις ξυνέβαινε: τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐγίνετο, ἢ ὅπη ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἴη τῷ τὴν νόσον ἐπαγαγόντι. [19] ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῶμα βαθύ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη ὀξεῖα, ἐκάτεροί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπασχον: οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῶμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν εἰωθότων σφίσιν ἐς αἰὶ καθεύδειν ἐδόκουν. [20] καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, μεταξὺ ἥσθιον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορία τροφῆς εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον. [21] οἱ μὲντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἀλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνία τε καὶ φαντασία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, καὶ τινας ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ὡς δὴ ἀπολοῦντας, ἐς ταραχὴν τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοῶντες ἐξαισίον οἷον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [22] οἱ τε αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἐχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς αἰὶ ἔπασχον. [23] διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τοὺς πονομένους ὤκτιζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι ὅτε γὰρ ἰατρῷ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦδε τῶν νοσοῦντων ἢ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπτομένῳ ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αἰὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντας ἢ θάπτοντες ἢ θεραπεύοντες ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, πολλοὶ δὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεσοῦσης εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [24] ἕκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκίπτοντας καὶ καλινδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων αὐθις, καὶ ῥιπτεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐφιεμένους ὥθουντές τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιάζοντο. [25] ὕδωρ τε οἷς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἤθελον, οὐ δὴ

οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐπιθυμία ἕς γὰρ θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμηντό, ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἦν μάλιστα ἢ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. [26] πολὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ εὐπετῶς προσίεντο ταύτας. πολλοὶ τε ἀπορία τοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἢ λιμῶ πιεζόμενοι, [27] ἢ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις δὲ οὔτε κῶμα οὔτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τούτοις δὴ ὁ τε βουβῶν ἐσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ὁδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. [28] τεκμηριώσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι κατὰ ταυτὰ ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἦσαν, ξυνεῖναι τῆς ὁδύνης οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰς φρένας παραιρουμένου τὴν αἴσθησιν. [29] Ἀπορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινες ἰατρῶν τῇ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἀγνοίᾳ τό τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμενοι, διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα ἔγνωσαν. καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβῶνων τινάς, ἄνθρακος δεινόν τι χρῆμα ἐμπεφυκὸς εὔρον. [30] Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, τισὶ τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἐξήνθει τὸ σῶμα, οἱ οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπεβίωον ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἅπαντες ἔθνησκον. [31] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τις αὐτόματος αἵματος ἐπιγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο. [32] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἀποφύνασθαι ἔχω, ὡς τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθνήξασθαι προηγόρευον, οἱ δὲ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἱ δὲ διαφθάρησεσθαι ἔμελλον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [33] οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν οὐδεμία ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα: πᾶσι γάρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρά τοὺς μὲν ὤνησε, τοὺς δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον κατέβλαψεν. [34] ἀμελούμενοί τε πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐχώρει: καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξεύρητο, οὔτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ πεπονθέναι οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι αὐτόματον. [35] Καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ὅσαι ἐκύουν προὔπτος ἐγένετο τῇ νόσῳ ἀλικομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλίσκουσαι ἔθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουσαι ζῶν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείροντο. [36] τρεῖς μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παιδῶν σφίσιν ἀπολομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μᾶς ἤδη ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανούσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιεῖναι τῷ παιδίῳ ξυμβῆναι. [37] Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μείζων τε ὁ βουβῶν ἦρετο καὶ ἐς πύον ἀφίκτο, τούτοις δὴ περιεῖναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀκμὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλελωφῆκει τοῦ ἀνθρακος, γνώρισμά τε τῆς ὑγείας τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγένετο: οἷς δὲ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ιδέας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. [38] τισὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπαρθεῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. [39] ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκραίῳ τῇ γλώσσει περιγενέσθαι τετύχηκεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τραυλίζουσιν, ἢ μόλις τε καὶ ἄσημα φθεγγομένοις βιῶναι.

XXII

[542 A.D.] During these times there was a pestilence, by which the whole human race came near to being annihilated. Now in the case of all other scourges sent from Heaven some explanation of a cause might be given by daring men, such as the many theories propounded by those who are clever in these matters; for they love to conjure up causes which are absolutely incomprehensible to man, and to fabricate outlandish theories of natural philosophy, knowing well that they are saying nothing sound, but considering it sufficient for them, if they completely deceive by their argument some of those whom they meet and persuade them to their view. But for this calamity it is quite impossible either to express in words or to conceive in thought any explanation, except indeed to refer it to God. For it did not come in a part of the world nor upon certain men, nor did it confine itself to any season of the year, so that from such circumstances it might be possible to find subtle explanations of a cause, but it embraced the entire world, and blighted the lives of all men, though differing from one another in the most marked degree, respecting neither sex nor age. For much as men differ with regard to places in which they live, or in the law of their daily life, or in natural bent, or in active pursuits, or in whatever else man differs from man, in the case of this disease alone the difference availed naught. And it attacked some in the summer season, others in the winter, and still others at the other times of the year. Now let each one express his own judgment concerning the matter, both sophist and astrologer, but as for me, I shall proceed to tell where this disease originated and the manner in which it destroyed men.

It started from the Aegyptians who dwell in Pelusium. Then it divided and moved in one direction towards Alexandria and the rest of Aegypt, and in the other direction it came to Palestine on the borders of Aegypt; and from there it spread over the whole world, always moving forward and travelling at times favourable to it. For it seemed to move by fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it. For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants; and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior. And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it

happened that I was staying at that time. And it came as follows. Apparitions of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled for refuge they were dying constantly. But later on they were unwilling even to give heed to their friends when they called to them, and they shut themselves up in their rooms and pretended that they did not hear, although their doors were being beaten down, fearing, obviously, that he who was calling was one of those demons. But in the case of some the pestilence did not come on in this way, but they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the creature who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were written down in the number of those who were to die. But with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body shewed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body which is called "boubon," that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the armpit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs.

Up to this point, then, everything went in about the same way with all who had taken the disease. But from then on very marked differences developed; and I am unable to say whether the cause of this diversity of symptoms was to be found in the difference in bodies, or in the fact that it followed the wish of Him who brought the disease into the world. For there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease. For those who were under the spell of the coma forgot all those who were familiar to them and seemed to be sleeping constantly. And if anyone cared for them, they would eat without waking, but some also were neglected, and these would die directly through

lack of sustenance. But those who were seized with delirium suffered from insomnia and were victims of a distorted imagination; for they suspected that men were coming upon them to destroy them, and they would become excited and rush off in flight, crying out at the top of their voices. And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout. For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing. For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they kept patting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them. And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds. They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height. And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

Now some of the physicians who were at a loss because the symptoms were not understood, supposing that the disease centred in the bubonic swellings, decided to investigate the bodies of the dead. And upon opening some of the swellings, they found a strange sort of carbuncle that had grown inside them.

Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death. Moreover I am able to declare this, that the most illustrious physicians predicted that many would die, who unexpectedly escaped entirely from suffering shortly afterwards, and that they declared that many would be saved, who were destined to be carried off almost immediately. So it was that in this disease there was no cause which came within the province of human reasoning; for in all cases the issue tended to be something unaccountable. For example, while some were helped by bathing, others were harmed in no less

degree. And of those who received no care many died, but others, contrary to reason, were saved. And again, methods of treatment shewed different results with different patients. Indeed the whole matter may be stated thus, that no device was discovered by man to save himself, so that either by taking precautions he should not suffer, or that when the malady had assailed him he should get the better of it; but suffering came without warning and recovery was due to no external cause.

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease. For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore. However, they say that three women in confinement survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived.

Now in those cases where the swelling rose to an unusual size and a discharge of pus had set in, it came about that they escaped from the disease and survived, for clearly the acute condition of the carbuncle had found relief in this direction, and this proved to be in general an indication of returning health; but in cases where the swelling preserved its former appearance there ensued those troubles which I have just mentioned. And with some of them it came about that the thigh was withered, in which case, though the swelling was there, it did not develop the least suppuration. With others who survived the tongue did not remain unaffected, and they lived on either lisping or speaking incoherently and with difficulty.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐς τέσσαρας διήλθε μῆνας, ἤκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. [2] καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰωθότων ὀλίγῳ πλείους, εἴτα ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἦρετο, μετὰ δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ἐξικνεῖτο τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐς μυρίους τε καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείους ἦλθε. [3] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίας θήκας ἐρρίπτουν ἢ λανθάνοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι: ἔπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἅπασι ζυνεταράχθη. [4] δοῦλοί τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι, ἄνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λίαν εὐδαίμονες τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἢ νοσοῦντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων ἐστέρηντο, πολλαὶ τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. [5] διὸ δὴ ζυνέβη τισὶ τῶν γνωρίμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀτάφοις εἶναι. Ἐς τε βασιλέα ἢ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια, [6] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἦλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὃς δὴ ἀποκρίσεσι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἱκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐθις ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [7] οἷς μὲν οὖν οὐπὼ παντάπασιν ἐς ἐρημίαν ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν, αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιοῦντο ταφάς. [8] Θεόδωρος δὲ τὰ τε βασιλέως διδούς χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν

ἔθαπτεν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θήκας ἀπάσας αἱ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐμπίπλασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὀρύσσοντες ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία, ἐνταυθα τε τοὺς θνήσκοντας κατατιθέμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τὰς κατώρυχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες, ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον ὃς ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστι· [10] τὰς τε ὀροφὰς περιελόντες ἐνταυθα ἐρρίπτουν τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ξυνήσαντες, ὥς πη ἐκάστω παρέτυχεν, ἐμπλησάμενοί τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας, [11] εἶτα ταῖς ὀροφαῖς αὐθις ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ ἀνεμὸς τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπίφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε. [12] Πάντα τε ὑπερώφη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ἢ νενόμισται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ἢ περ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν ἦν, εἰ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἐξ τε τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἐλθὼν ἔρριπεν, οὗ δὴ ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδὸν ἔμελλον ὅπῃ παρατύχοι κομίζεσθαι. [13] τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὅσοι στασιῶται πρότερον ἦσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὁσίας τῶν τετελευτηκότων κοινῇ ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ φέροντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. [14] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἶδε τὴν ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομίαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἦσκουν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμαθόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐρασταὶ τινες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι· [15] ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσα ἐμπέπηγε φύσει ἢ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλία ῥᾶστα δὴ οὕτω μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ θεοῦ τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ τότε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσι, τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα οἰόμενοι, ἀνάγκη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάσῃ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μετεμάνθανον. [16] ταυτὰ τοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἤδη ὑπετόπασαν, ἅτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὐθις τῆς γνώμης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω πεποιημένοι, μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῇ τε πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανομίᾳ νενικηκότες· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἂν τις οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ εἴποι ὡς ἡ νόσος ἦδε εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἀφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρω ἀποδέδεικται χρόνῳ. [17] Τότε δὲ ἀγοράζοντά τινα οὐκ εὐπετὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν γε Βυζαντίῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἅπαντες ὅσοις ξυνέβαινε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρῶσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐθρήνουν. [18] ἦν δέ τις καὶ προϊόντι τινὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἴσχυσεν, ὅδε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν ἔφερεν. ἐργασία τε ξύμπασα ἤργει, καὶ τὰς τέχνας οἱ τεχνῖται μεθῆκαν ἀπάσας, ἔργα τε ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ ἕκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον. [19] ἐν πόλει γοῦν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθηνούση λιμός τις ἀκριβὴς ἐπεκώμαζεν. ἄρτον ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν διαρκῶς ἔχειν χαλεπὸν τε ἐδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων τισὶν ἄωρον ξυμβῆναι δοκεῖν ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν. [20] καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, γλαμύδα οὐκ ἦν ἐνδιδυσκόμενόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν

ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη· καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβῶνα ἐπῆρθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει βασιλείαν ἐχούση ξυμπάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἱμάτια ἐν ἰδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἅπαντες ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [21] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἐν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ Ῥωμαίων γῇ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτη πη ἔσχεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

XXIII

Now the disease in Byzantium ran a course of four months, and its greatest virulence lasted about three. And at first the deaths were a little more than the normal, then the mortality rose still higher, and afterwards the tale of dead reached five thousand each day, and again it even came to ten thousand and still more than that. Now in the beginning each man attended to the burial of the dead of his own house, and these they threw even into the tombs of others, either escaping detection or using violence; but afterwards confusion and disorder everywhere became complete. For slaves remained destitute of masters, and men who in former times were very prosperous were deprived of the service of their domestics who were either sick or dead, and many houses became completely destitute of human inhabitants. For this reason it came about that some of the notable men of the city because of the universal destitution remained unburied for many days.

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work; this man held the position of announcer of imperial messages, always announcing to the emperor the petitions of his clients, and declaring to them in turn whatever his wish was. In the Latin tongue the Romans designate this office by the term "referendarius." So those who had not as yet fallen into complete destitution in their domestic affairs attended individually to the burial of those connected with them. But Theodorus, by giving out the emperor's money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for. And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed; but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae, and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder; and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

At that time all the customary rites of burial were overlooked. For the dead were not carried out escorted by a procession in the customary manner, nor were the usual chants sung over them, but it was sufficient if one carried on his shoulders the body of one of the dead to the parts of the city which bordered on the sea and flung him down; and there the corpses would be

thrown upon skiffs in a heap, to be conveyed wherever it might chance. At that time, too, those of the population who had formerly been members of the factions laid aside their mutual enmity and in common they attended to the burial rites of the dead, and they carried with their own hands the bodies of those who were no connections of theirs and buried them. Nay, more, those who in times past used to take delight in devoting themselves to pursuits both shameful and base, shook off the unrighteousness of their daily lives and practised the duties of religion with diligence, not so much because they had learned wisdom at last nor because they had become all of a sudden lovers of virtue, as it were — for when qualities have become fixed in men by nature or by the training of a long period of time, it is impossible for them to lay them aside thus lightly, except, indeed, some divine influence for good has breathed upon them — but then all, so to speak, being thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free. But these things were displayed to the world in later times.

During that time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of Byzantium, but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or mourning the dead. And if one did succeed in meeting a man going out, he was carrying one of the dead. And work of every description ceased, and all the trades were abandoned by the artisans, and all other work as well, such as each had in hand. Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot. Certainly it seemed a difficult and very notable thing to have a sufficiency of bread or of anything else; so that with some of the sick it appeared that the end of life came about sooner than it should have come by reason of the lack of the necessities of life. And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys, and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home. Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium. And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

Ἐτύγγανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς χωρίον Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἦκων πρὸς

βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. [2] τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταῦθᾶ ἐστίν, ὃ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα. οὗ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάσσοντες μάγοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ μαντεῖα ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέβοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι. [3] ἐνταῦθα σταλεῖς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγγελλε Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἀφίξεσθαι. [4] ἦσθιν δὲ τῷ ἄνδρι τούτῳ ῥήτορέ τε ἄμφω καὶ ξυνετὼ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, Σέργιος δὲ ἐξ Ἑδέσσης πόλεως, ἡ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τυγχάνει οὕσα. [5] οὗς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ Κωνσταντιανοῦ νοσήσαντος καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαι Πέρσαις ξυνέπεσε. [6] διὸ δὴ Ναβέδης τηνικαῦτα ἐν Περσαρμενίοις τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐν Δούβιος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψεν, αἰτιασόμενόν τε τὴν τῶν πρέσβεων βραδυτῆτα καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ὀρμήσοντα προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ. [7] καὶ ὃς ξὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐς Ἀρμένιους ἦκων, τῷ τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχόν, αὐτὸς τε Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε Χριστιανὸς ἰσχυρίζετο εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν καὶ οἱ βασιλέα Χοσρόην πείθεσθαι αἰεὶ ἐς βουλὴν πᾶσαν: ὥστε ἦν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔλθωσιν, οὐκ ἂν τι αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδισμα εἴη τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπη βούλονται διαθήσεσθαι. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπεν: ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχόν λάθρα Χοσρόην ἐν μεγάλοις εἶναι κακοῖς ἔφασκε: τὸν τε γάρ οἱ παῖδα τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενον ἐπαναστῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλῶναι: διὸ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις τανῦν ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν ἐθέλειν ἰέναι. [9] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤκουσε, τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίξεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν οὕσπερ ἠκηκόει ἀνήνεγκεν. [10] οἷς δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτίκα ἠγμένος αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μαρτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐπέστελλεν. εὗ γὰρ οἶδεν ὡς αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν στήσεται. [11] ἐκέλευε δὲ ξυλλεγέντας ἐς ταῦτό ἅπαντας οὕτω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐπὶ Περσαρμενίους ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γράμματα εἶδον, ἅπαντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ξυνέρρεον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίας χωρία. [12] Ἦδη δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸ Ἀδαρβιγάνων δέει τῷ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἔνθα δὴ οὕπῳ ἐνδεδημήκει τὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ πάθος. Βαλεριανὸς μὲν οὖν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καταλόγοις, καὶ οἱ Ναρσῆς ξυνετάττετο Ἀρμένιους τε καὶ Ἑρούλων τινὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [13] Μαρτίνος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἑω στρατηγὸς ξὺν τε Ἰλδίγερι καὶ Θεοκτίστῳ ἐς Κιθαρίζων τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθᾶ τε πηξάμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε: διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο: ἵνα καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ξὺν τε Ἀδολίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἄρχουσιν ἦλθεν. [14] ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ καταλόγων Ἰσαάκης ὁ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφός. Φιλημουθ δὲ καὶ Βῆρος ξὺν Ἑρούλοις τοῖς σφίσιν

ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Χορζιανηνῆς χωρία ἦλθον, τοῦ Μαρτίνου στρατοπέδου οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [15] Ἰουστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου παῖς ξὺν τε Δομνεντιόλῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Φαγᾷ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῷ Φισῶν καλουμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Μαρτυροπόλεως ὀρίων ἐστίν. [16] οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ξυνήει δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐς τρισμυρίους. [17] οὗτοι ἅπαντες οὔτε ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνελέγησαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. πέμποντες δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν σφίσιν ἐπομένων τινὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ἐπυνθάνοντο. [18] ἄφνω δὲ Πέτρος, οὐδενὶ κοινολογησάμενος, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐς τὴν πολέμιαν ἐσέβαλλεν. ὅπερ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγινομένη γνόντες Φιλημούθ τε καὶ Βῆρος, οἱ τῶν Ἑρούλων ἡγούμενοι, εὐθὺς εἶποντο. [19] ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἔμαθον, τῇ ἐσβολῇ κατὰ τάχος ἐχρῶντο. [20] ἅπαντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀνεμίγνυντο ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, πλήν Ἰούστου τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὴ μακράν τε ἄποθεν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβολὴν γνόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐσέβαλλον ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολέμιαν, ἀναμίγνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς ξυνάρχουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔσχον. [21] οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺς Δούβιος, οὔτε ληιζόμενοι οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι πράσσοντες ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν.

[545 A.D.] Now it happened that Chosroes had come from Assyria to a place toward the north called Adarbiganon, from which he was planning to make an invasion into the Roman domain through Persarmenia. In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians reverence above all other gods. There the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult an oracle on those matters which are of the greatest importance. This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia in ancient times. There someone who had been sent from Byzantium to Chosroes announced that Constantianus and Sergius would come before him directly as envoys to arrange the treaty. Now these two men were both trained speakers and exceedingly clever; Constantianus was an Illyrian by birth, and Sergius was from the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. And Chosroes remained quiet expecting these men. But in the course of the journey thither Constantianus became ill and much time was consumed; in the meantime it came about that the pestilence fell upon the Persians. For this reason Nabedes, who at that time held the office of general in Persarmenia, sent the priest of the Christians in Dubios by direction of the king to Valerianus, the general in Armenia, in order to reproach the envoys for their tardiness and to urge the Romans with all zeal toward peace. And he came with his brother to Armenia, and, meeting Valerianus, declared that he himself, as a Christian, was favourably disposed toward the Romans, and that the king Chosroes always followed his advice in every matter; so that if the ambassadors would come with him to the land of Persia, there would be nothing to prevent them from arranging the peace as they wished. Thus then spoke the priest; but the brother of the priest met Valerianus secretly and said that Chosroes was in great straits: for his son had risen against him in an attempt to set up a tyranny, and he himself together with the whole Persian army had been taken with the plague; and this was the reason why he wished just now to settle the agreement with the Romans. When Valerianus heard this, he straightway dismissed the bishop, promising that the envoys would come to Chosroes at no distant time, but he himself reported the words which he had heard to the Emperor Justinian. This led the emperor immediately to send word to him and to Martinus and the other commanders to invade the enemy's territory as quickly as possible. For he knew well that no one of the enemy would stand in their way. And he commanded them to gather all in one place and so make their invasion into Persarmenia. When the commanders received these letters, all of them together with their followers began to gather into the land of Armenia.

And already Chosroes had abandoned Adarbiganon a little before through fear of the plague and was off with his whole army into Assyria, where the

pestilence had not as yet become epidemic. Valerianus accordingly encamped close by Theodosiopolis with the troops under him; and with him was arrayed Narses, who had with him Armenians and some of the Eruli. And Martinus, the General of the East, together with Ildiger and Theoctistus, reached the fortress of Citharizon, and fixing his camp there, remained on the spot. This fortress is separated from Theodosiopolis by a journey of four days. There too Peter came not long afterwards together with Adolius and some other commanders. Now the troops in this region were commanded by Isaac, the brother of Narses. And Philemouth and Beros with the Eruli who were under them came into the territory of Chorhazene, not far from the camp of Martinus. And Justus, the emperor's nephew, and Peranius and John, the son of Nicetas, together with Domentiolus and John, who was called the Glutton, made camp near the place called Phison, which is close by the boundaries of Martyropolis. Thus then were encamped the Roman commanders with their troops; and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand men. Now all these troops were neither gathered into one place, nor indeed was there any general meeting for conference. But the generals sent to each other some of their followers and began to make enquiries concerning the invasion. Suddenly, however, Peter, without communicating with anyone, and without any careful consideration, invaded the hostile land with his troops. And when on the following day this was found out by Philemouth and Beros, the leaders of the Eruli, they straightway followed. And when this in turn came to the knowledge of Martinus and Valerianus and their men, they quickly joined in the invasion. And all of them a little later united with each other in the enemy's territory, with the exception of Justus and his men, who, as I have said, had encamped far away from the rest of the army, and learned later of their invasion; then, indeed, they also invaded the territory of the enemy as quickly as possible at the point where they were, but failed altogether to unite with the other commanders. As for the others, they proceeded in a body straight for Doubios, neither plundering nor damaging in any other way the land of the Persians.

Ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὑδάτων εὐεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχουσα, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ διέχει.

[2] καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἱππῆλατά ἐστι, κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι ὄκνηται ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι κατ' ἐργασίαν ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. [3] ἔκ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃς ἐθνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομιζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσι. [4] τὸν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα Καθολικὸν καλοῦσι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, ὅτι δὴ ἐφέστηκεν εἰς ὧν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη χωρίοις. [5] Δούβιος δὲ ἀποθεν ὅσον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ἰόντι ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ὅρος ἐστὶ δύσβατόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, καὶ κώμη τις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ στενωτάτῃ κειμένη, Ἀγγλῶν ὄνομα. [6] οὗ δὴ ὁ Ναβέδης, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἔγνω, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀποχωρήσας

χωρίου τε ισχυῖ θαρσύνσας καθεῖρξεν αὐτόν. [7] καὶ ἡ μὲν κόμη ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ ὁμώνυμον ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ ἐστίν. [8] ὁ γοῦν Ναβέδης λίθοις μὲν καὶ ἀμάξαις τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην ἀποφράξας εἰσόδους δυσπρόσοδον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰργάσατο ταύτην. [9] ἐπίπροσθε δὲ τάφρον τινὰ ὀρύξας ἐνταῦθα τὸ στράτευμα ἔστησε, προλοχίσας οἰκίσκους τινὰς παλαιοὺς ἐνέδραις πεζῶν. ἐς τετρακισχιλίους δὲ ἄνδρας ἅπαν ξυνῆει τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [10] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς χῶρον ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ἀγγλῶν διέχοντα, τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἰόντα λαβόντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅπῃ ποτὲ τανῦν ὁ Ναβέδης εἴη. καὶ ὃς ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀγγλῶν παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἔφασκεν. [11] ὁ δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀκούσας δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ξυνάρχουσιν τὴν μέλλῃσιν ὀνειδίζων ἐλοιδορεῖτο. [12] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι ἐποιοῦν, ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑβρίζοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μάχης τε καὶ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες ληίζεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [13] ἄραντες τοίνυν ἀστρατήγητοί τε καὶ ἄτακτοι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦσαν, οὔτε τι ἔχοντες σύμβολον ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγῶσιν εἴθισται, οὔτε πῃ διακεκριμένοι ἐν τάξει. [14] τοῖς γὰρ σκευοφόροις οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναμινγνύμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ὥς ἐπὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἐτοιμοτάτην ἰόντες χρημάτων μεγάλων. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀγγλῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πέμπουσι κατασκόπους, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανιόντες ἀπήγγελλον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν. [16] οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ξὺν στρατῷ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ πλῆθος αἰσχρὸν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον ὅλως ᾤοντο εἶναι, τάξαντες δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἰς τὰ τρία τέλη τὸ στράτευμα εὐθὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρουν. [17] Πέτρος μὲν οὖν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχε, Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον ἐτάσσοντο. γενόμενοι δὲ ἄγχιστα πῃ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσύχαζον, τὴν τάξιν σὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ φυλάσσοντες. [18] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ἡ τε δυσχωρία κρημνώδης ὑπερφυῶς οὕσα καὶ τὸ ἐξ ὑπογούου διαταχθέντας ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίστασθαι. [19] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, περισκοπούμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δύναμιν, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς πρὸς Ναβέδου χειρῶν μὲν ὥς ἥκιστα ἄρχειν, ἦν δὲ πῃ ἐπισκῆψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν σφίσιν ἀμύνασθαι. [20] Πρῶτος δὲ Ναρσῆς ξὺν τε τοῖς Ἑρούλοις καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦλθεν, ὠθισμοῦ τε γενομένου ἐτρέψατο τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν Πέρσας. [21] φεύγοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀνέβαινον δρόμῳ, ἔνθα δὲ ἀλλήλους ἔργα ἀνῆκεστα ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ εἰργάζοντο. [22] καὶ τότε Ναρσῆς τε αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέκειτο, [23] καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ λοιποὶ ἔργου εἶχοντο. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς οἰκίσκων οἱ προλοχίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν τε Ἑρούλων τινὰς κτείνουσιν, ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ Ναρσῆν κατὰ κόρρης αὐτὸν παίουσι. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰσαάκης ὁ ἀδελφὸς καιρίαν τυπέντα ὑπεξήγαγε τῶν μαχομένων. ὃς δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος. [25] ταραχῆς δέ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐνθένδε πολλῆς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐμπεσούσης, ἅπαν ὁ Ναβέδης ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [26] οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἐς πολεμίων πάμπολυ

πλῆθος πολλούς τε ἄλλους εὐπετῶς ἔκτεινον καὶ διαφερόντως Ἑρούλους, οἳ
ξὺν τῷ Ναρσῇ τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιτεσόντες ἀφύλακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον ἐμάχοντο. [27] οὔτε γὰρ κράνος οὔτε θώρακα οὔτε ἄλλο τι
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διεζωσμένοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται. [28] δοῦλοι μέντοι Ἑρουλοι καὶ
ἀσπίδος χωρὶς ἐς μάχην χωροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὶ
γένωνται, οὕτω δὴ ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐφιαῖσιν οἱ δεσπότες προβάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς
ξυμβολαῖς. τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἑρούλων ταύτη πη ἔχει. [29] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες
τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνὰ κράτος ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, οὔτε ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι οὔτε
τινὰ αἰδῶ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες. [30] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποπτεύοντες
οὐκ ἐς φυγὴν ἀναίσχυντον οὕτω τετράφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνέδραις τισὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς
χρησθαι, ἄχρι ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας διώξαντες εἴτα ἀνέστρεφον, οὐ τολμῶντες ἐν
τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διαμάχεσθαι. [31] Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι, καὶ
διαφερόντως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες, δίωξιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς
πολεμίους οἰόμενοι ἔφευγον ἔτι μᾶλλον, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν, θέουσι μὲν
τοῖς ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι μάστιγι καὶ κραυγῇ, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
ὅπλα ῥιπτοῦντες σπουδῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἐς ἔδαφος. [32] οὐ γὰρ ἀντιτάξασθαι
καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐθάρσουν Πέρσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνοις τοῖς τῶν ἵππων
ποσὶ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας εἶχον καί, τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ
φυγὴ ὥστε τῶν ἵππων σχεδόν τι αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς διεβίω, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα τοῦ δρόμου
ἐπαύσαντο, πεσόντες εὐθὺς διεφθάρησαν. [33] καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα Ῥωμαίοις
οἷον οὐποτε πρότερον γέγονε. πολλοὶ τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔθανον καὶ πλείους ἔτι
ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [34] ὅπλα τε αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὑποζύγια
ἔλαβον τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πλουσιώτερα δοκεῖν ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦ
ἔργου τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα. [35] Ἀδόλιος δὲ διὰ φρουρίου ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ
ὑπαγωγῇ παριὼν ἐν Περσαρμένιοις κειμένου λίθῳ τε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τοῦ
τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πληγεὶς αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, οἳ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰοῦστον καὶ
Περάνιον ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταραύνων χωρία καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα ληισάμενοι
εὐθὺς ἐπανῆλθον.

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there. And the priest of the Christians is called "Catholicos" in the Greek tongue, because he presides alone over the whole region. Now at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Doubios on the right as one travels from the land of the Romans, there is a mountain difficult of ascent and moreover precipitous, and a village crowded into very narrow space by the rough country about, Anglon by name. Thither Nabedes withdrew with his whole army as soon as he learned of the inroad of the enemy, and, confident in his strength of position, he shut himself in. Now the village lies at the extremity of the mountain, and there is a strong fortress bearing the same name as this village on the steep mountain side. So Nabedes with stones and carts blocked up the entrances into the village and thus made it still more difficult of access. And in front of it he dug a sort of trench and stationed the army there, having filled some old cabins with ambuscades of infantrymen. Altogether the Persian army amounted to four thousand men.

While these things were being done in this way, the Romans reached a place one day's journey distant from Anglon, and capturing one of the enemy who was going out as a spy they enquired where in the world Nabedes was then. And he asserted that the man had retired from Anglon with the whole Median army. And when Narses heard this, he was indignant, and he heaped reproaches and abuse upon his fellow-commanders for their hesitation. And others, too, began to do the very same thing, casting insults upon one another; and from then on, giving up all thought of battle and danger, they were eager to plunder the country thereabout. The troops broke camp, accordingly, and without the guidance of generals and without observing any definite formation, they moved forward in complete confusion; for neither had they any countersign among themselves, as is customary in such perilous situations, nor were they arranged in their proper divisions. For the soldiers marched forward, mixed in with the baggage train, as if going to the ready plunder of great wealth. But when they came near to Anglon, they sent out spies who returned to them announcing the array of the enemy. And the generals were thunder-struck by the unexpectedness of it, but they considered it altogether disgraceful and unmanly to turn back with an army of such great

size, and so they disposed the army in its three divisions, as well as the circumstances permitted, and advanced straight toward the enemy. Now Peter held the right wing and Valerianus the left, while Martinus and his men arrayed themselves in the centre. And when they came close to their opponents, they halted, preserving their formation, but not without disorder. The cause for this was to be found in the difficulty of the ground, which was very badly broken up, and in the fact that they were entering battle in a formation arranged on the spur of the moment. And up to this time the barbarians, who had gathered themselves into a small space, were remaining quiet, considering the strength of their antagonists, since the order had been given them by Nabedes not under any circumstances to begin the fighting, but if the enemy should assail them, to defend themselves with all their might.

And first Narses with the Eruli and those of the Romans who were under him, engaged with the enemy, and after a hard hand-to-hand struggle, he routed the Persians who were before him. And the barbarians in flight ascended on the run to the fortress, and in so doing they inflicted terrible injury upon one another in the narrow way. And then Narses urged his men forward and pressed still harder upon the enemy, and the rest of the Romans joined in the action. But all of a sudden the men who were in ambush, as has been said, came out from the cabins along the narrow alleys, and killed some of the Eruli, falling unexpectedly upon them, and they struck Narses himself a blow on the temple. And his brother Isaac carried him out from among the fighting men, mortally wounded. And he died shortly afterwards, having proved himself a brave man in this engagement. Then, as was to be expected, great confusion fell upon the Roman army, and Nabedes let out the whole Persian force upon his opponents. And the Persians, shooting into great masses of the enemy in the narrow alleys, killed a large number without difficulty, and particularly of the Eruli who had at the first fallen upon the enemy with Narses and were fighting for the most part without protection. For the Eruli have neither helmet nor corselet nor any other protective armour, except a shield and a thick jacket, which they gird about them before they enter a struggle. And indeed the Erulian slaves go into battle without even a shield, and when they prove themselves brave men in war, then their masters permit them to protect themselves in battle with shields. Such is the custom of the Eruli.

And the Romans did not withstand the enemy and all of them fled as fast as they could, never once thinking of resistance and heedless of shame or of any other worthy motive. But the Persians, suspecting that they had not turned thus to a shameless flight, but that they were making use of some ambuscades against them, pursued them as far as the rough ground extended and then turned back, not daring to fight a decisive battle on level ground, a few against many. The Romans, however, and especially all the generals, supposing that the enemy were continuing the pursuit without pause, kept fleeing still faster,

wasting not a moment; and they were urging on their horses as they ran with whip and voice, and throwing their corselets and other accoutrements in haste and confusion to the ground. For they had not the courage to array themselves against the Persians if they overtook them, but they placed all hope of safety in their horses' feet, and, in short, the flight became such that scarcely any one of their horses survived, but when they stopped running, they straightway fell down and expired. And this proved a disaster for the Romans so great as to exceed anything that had ever befallen them previously. For great numbers of them perished and still more fell into the hands of the enemy. And their weapons and draught animals which were taken by the enemy amounted to such an imposing number that Persia seemed as a result of this affair to have become richer. And Adolius, while passing through a fortified place during this retreat — it was situated in Persarmenia — was struck on the head by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants of the town, and died there. As for the forces of Justus and Peranius, they invaded the country about Taraunon, and after gathering some little plunder, immediately returned.

Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἔτει Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τέταρτον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν τὸ στράτευμα ἄγων. [2] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐσβολὴ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τούτῳ οὐ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πεποίηται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄνπερ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται μόνον. [3] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἐδέσσης ἀποτυχὼν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλή τις ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ τε καὶ μάγοις, ἅτε πρὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἡσσημένοις, κατήφεια. [4] ἦν δὴ παρηγορῶν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Ἐδεσσηνοὺς μὲν ἀνδραποδιεῖν ἠπειλήσεν ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, τὴν δὲ πόλιν μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι. [5] παντὶ γοῦν τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχοῦ Ἐδέσσης γενόμενος, Οὐννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἔπεμψεν ὃς δὴ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καθύπερθεν ἐστίν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν κακουργήσοντας, πρόβατα δὲ ἀρπασομένους ἅπερ οἱ ποιμένες πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά πη παρὰ τὸ τεῖχοςμα στήσαντες ἔτυχον, χωρίου τε ἰσχυρὶ θαρσοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ ἄναπτες ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ οὐποτε τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι οὕτω πη ἄγχιστα τοῦ τεύχους ἰέναι. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν προβάτων ἤπτοντο ἤδη, οἱ δὲ ποιμένες καρτερώτατα ἀμυνόμενοι διεκώλουν. [7] Περσῶν τε τοῖς Οὐννοις ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων πολλῶν, ἀγέλην μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυσαν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπεξεληθόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ ἀγέλη αὐτόματος ἐς τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανῆκεν αὐθις. [8] τῶν τέ τις Οὐννων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μαχόμενος μάλιστα πάντων ἠνώχλει Ῥωμαίους. [9] καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἀγροῖκος ἐς γόνυ τὸ δεξιὸν σφενδόνη ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ πρηνὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὃ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. [10] ἢ τε μάχη πρῶτὴ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ἐκάτεροι τὸ πλεον ἔχειν οἰόμενοι διελύθησαν. [11] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες. [12] Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης εἴτε τινὰ

ὄψιν ὀνείρου εἶδεν ἢ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια γέγονεν, ὥς δις ἐγχειρήσας ἦν μὴ δυνατὸς εἶη Ἑδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν, πολλήν οἱ αἰσχύνην τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [13] διὸ δὴ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ἑδεσσηνοῖς ἔγνω. [14] τῇ γοῦν ἐπιγινομένη ἡμέρᾳ Παῦλος ἐρμηνεύς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων ἔφασκε Ῥωμαίους χρῆναι παρὰ Χοσρόην σταλῆναι τῶν δοκίμων τινάς. [15] οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος τέσσαρας ἀπολεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῶν ἔπεμψαν. [16] οἷς δὴ ἐς τὸ Μήδων ἀφικομένοις στρατόπεδον ἐντυχὼν γνώμῃ βασιλέως ὁ Ζαβεργάνης ἀπειλαῖς τε πολλαῖς δεδιζόμενος ἀνεπυθάνετο αὐτῶν ὁπότερα σφίσιν αἰρετώτερα τυγχάνει ὄντα, πότερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγοντα. [17] τῶν δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλέσθαι ἂν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμολογούντων, ‘Οὐκοῦν,’ ἔφη ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, ‘ὠνεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ταύτην ἀνάγκη χρημάτων πολλῶν.’ [18] οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἔφασαν τοσαῦτα δώσειν ὅσα παρέσχοντο πρότερον, ἥνικα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐξελὼν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. [19] καὶ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης αὐτοὺς ξὺν γέλῳτι ἀπεπέμψατο, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἐνδελεχέστερα βουλευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ οὕτω δὴ αὐθὶς παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἔλθωσιν. [20] ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Χοσρόης, ἐπειδὴ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, κατέλεξε μὲν ὅσα τε πρότερον καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐξηνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων χωρία, ἠπέιλησε δὲ τὰ δεινότερα Ἑδεσσηνοῖς πρὸς Περσῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πάντα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα δοῖεν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν· οὕτω γὰρ μόνως ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν ἔφασκε. [21] ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ὡμολόγουν μὲν παρὰ Χοσρόου τὴν εἰρήνην ὀνήσεσθαι, ἦν γε σφίσι μὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπαγγεῖλαι· τοῦ δὲ κινδύνου τὸ πέρας οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἔφασαν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐνδηλον εἶναι. [22] πόλεμον γὰρ τοῖς αὐτὸν διαφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις οὐ μὴ ποτε εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ξὺν ὀργῇ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευεν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [23] Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ὀγδόῃ λόφον ἐπαναστῆσαι χειροποίητον τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκτεμῶν αὐτοῖς φύλλοις πολλὰ ἐκ χωρίων ἐγγὺς πη ὄντων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐν τετραγώνῳ ξυνέθηκεν, οὗ δὴ βέλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, χοῦν τε πολὺν τινα ἀτεχνῶς ὑπερθεῖν τῶν δένδρων ξυναμυσάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα λίθων ἐπέβαλλεν, οὐκ ἐχόντων εἰς οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδεῖως, ἀλλ’ εἰκῇ τμηθέντων, ἐκείνου μόνου ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως δὴ ὁ λόφος ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐπαίροιτο. [24] καὶ ξύλα μακρὰ τοῦ τε χοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων μεταξὺ ἐς αἰεὶ ἐμβαλλόμενος ἐνδεσμον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔργου, [25] ὅπως μὴ ὑψηλὸν γενόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶη. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἔνταῦθα γὰρ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Περανίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὧν τοὺς ταῦτα ἐργαζομένους ἀναστέλλειν ἐθέλων Οὐννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. [26] οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τις δορυφόρων, Ἀργήκ ὄνομα· [27] μόνος γὰρ ἐπὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔκτεινε. τῶν μέντοι βαρβάρων φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ποιουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπεξίεναι τινὲς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔσχον. [28] ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες ἐντὸς βέλους οἱ τεχνῖται τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐγένοντο, καρτερώτατα ἤδη ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε σφενδόνας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐνήργουν. διὸ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπενόουν τάδε. [29] προκαλύμματα ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν, ἃ δὴ

καλοῦσι Κιλίκια, πάχους τε καὶ μήκους διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, ἀρτήσαντες ἐκ ξύλων μακρῶν ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ τὴν ἄγεσταν ἐργαζομένων ἐτίθεντο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦμενον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι. [30] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε πυρφόροι οἱστοὶ οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἶχον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προκαλυμμάτων ἀποκρουόμενα ζυμπαντα ἔμενε. [31] καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἔπεμπον καὶ Στέφανον σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἔν γε τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἰατροῖς λόγιον, ὃς δὴ Καβάδην τὸν Περόζου νοσοῦντά ποτε ἰασάμενος κύριος χρημάτων μεγάλων πρὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. [32] ὃς δὴ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένετο, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, 'Βασιλέως τὴν φιланθρωπίαν ἀγαθοῦ γνώρισμα πάντες ἐκ παλαιοῦ νενομίκασιν. [33] οὐκοῦν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, φόνους σοι καὶ μάχας ἐργαζομένῳ καὶ πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσως ὀνομάτων παρέσται τυχεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐ μήποτε ἔσται. [34] καίτοι πασῶν γε ἥκιστα χρὴν τῇ Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλει παρὰ σοῦ τι ξυμβῆναι φλαῦρον. [35] ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὥρμημαι, ὅσπερ σε τῶν ἐσομένων οὐδὲν προειδὼς ἐξέθρεψά τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ξύμβουλος γεγονώς, ἐφ' ᾧ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταστήσεται, σοὶ μὲν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας αἰτιώτατος γέγονα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. [36] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ξυμβησομένων προστρίβονται. [37] ἀλλ' εἴ τίς σε τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας εἰσέρχεται μνήμη, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρῳ κακόν, ταύτην διδούς μοι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἐξ ἧς σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ὡμοτάτῳ εἶναι ξυμβήσεται.' Στέφανος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [38] Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ὡμολόγει ἐνθένδε, εἰ μὴ Πέτρον τε καὶ Περάνιον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δὴ οἱ, δοῦλοί γε ὄντες πατρῷοι, τετολμήκασιν ἀντιτάξασθαι. [39] τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μὴ δρᾶν Ῥωμαῖοις ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπάναγκες ἐλέσθαι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πεντακόσια κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ σφίσι διδόναι, ἢ δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινάς, οἱ τὰ χρήματα διερευνησάμενοι ἅπαντα τὸν μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον δὴ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, κομίζοντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἦξουσι, [40] τᾶλλα δὲ τοὺς κυρίους ἑάσουσιν ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπέρριπεν, Ἐδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχων. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἅπαντα γὰρ σφίσιν ἀδύνατα ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλε διαπορούμενοί τε καὶ λίαν ἀσχάλλοντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον. [41] ἐπεὶ τε ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰ παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπήγγελλον, θορύβου τε καὶ θρήνων ἡ πόλις ἔμπλεως ἐγένετο. [42] Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπὶ τε ὕψος ἦρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ δράσουσι, πάλιν τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπέστελλον. [43] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένοντο, περὶ τε τῶν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι ἔφασκον ἦκειν, λόγου μὲν οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν πρὸς Περσῶν ἔτυχον, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρουν. [44] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόφον τεῖχος ἐτέρᾳ ἐνεχειρῶν οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτης τὸ Περσῶν ἔργον πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον ἐγίνετο ἤδη, τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν, Μαρτίνον δὲ πείθουσι τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι. καὶ ὃς ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν

πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῶν τισιν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρχόντων ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν. [45] οἱ δὲ τὸν Μαρτῖνον ἐξαπατῶντες εἰρηναῖα μὲν σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα οἶόν τε εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα πείθειν τῆς πρὸς Χοσρόην φιλονεικίας ἀφέμενον τὴν εἰρήνην ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσεσθαι: [46] ἐπεὶ καὶ Βελισάριον, ὄνπερ τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι πολὺ Μαρτίνου προὔχειν οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποι, πεῖσαι μὲν ἔναγχος τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὄντα δὴ πού ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη, ὑποσχόμενον πρέσβεις τε παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κρατύνασθαι, πρᾶξαι δὲ τῶν ὡμολογημένων οὐδέν, ἀδύνατον γεγονότα τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι γνώμην.

[544 A.D.] And in the following year, Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the fourth time invaded the land of the Romans, leading his army towards Mesopotamia. Now this invasion was made by this Chosroes not against Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, nor indeed against any other man, but only against the God whom the Christians reverence. For when in the first invasion he retired, after failing to capture Edessa, both he and the Magi, since they had been worsted by the God of the Christians, fell into a great dejection. Wherefore Chosroes, seeking to allay it, uttered a threat in the palace that he would make slaves of all the inhabitants of Edessa and bring them to the land of Persia, and would turn the city into a pasture for sheep. Accordingly when he had approached the city of Edessa with his whole army, he sent some of the Huns who were following him against that portion of the fortifications of the city which is above the hippodrome, with the purpose of doing no further injury than seizing the flocks which the shepherds had stationed there along the wall in great numbers: for they were confident in the strength of the place, since it was exceedingly steep, and supposed that the enemy would never dare to come so very close to the wall. So the barbarians were already laying hold of the sheep, and the shepherds were trying most valiantly to prevent them. And when a great number of Persians had come to the assistance of the Huns, the barbarians succeeded in detaching something of a flock from there, but Roman soldiers and some of the populace made a sally upon the enemy and the battle became a hand-to-hand struggle; meanwhile the flock of its own accord returned again to the shepherds. Now one of the Huns who was fighting before the others was making more trouble for the Romans than all the rest. And some rustic made a good shot and hit him on the right knee with a sling, and he immediately fell headlong from his horse to the ground, which thing heartened the Romans still more. And the battle which had begun early in the morning ended at midday, and both sides withdrew from the engagement thinking that they had the advantage. So the Romans went inside the fortifications, while the barbarians pitched their tents and made camp in a body about seven stades from the city.

Then Chosroes either saw some vision or else the thought occurred to him that if, after making two attempts, he should not be able to capture Edessa, he would thereby cover himself with much disgrace. Accordingly he decided to sell his withdrawal to the citizens of Edessa for a great sum of money. On the following day, therefore, Paulus the interpreter came along by the wall and said that some of the Roman notables should be sent to Chosroes. And they with all speed chose out four of their illustrious men and sent them. When these men reached the Median camp, they were met according to the king's order by Zaberganes, who first terrified them with many threats and then

enquired of them which course was the more desirable for them, whether that leading to peace, or that leading to war. And when the envoys agreed that they would choose peace rather than the dangers of war, Zaberganes replied: "Therefore it is necessary for you to purchase this for a great sum of money." And the envoys said that they would give as much as they had provided before, when he came against them after capturing Antioch. And Zaberganes dismissed them with laughter, telling them to deliberate most carefully concerning their safety and then to come again to the Persians. And a little later Chosroes summoned them, and when they came before him, he recounted how many Roman towns he had previously enslaved and in what manner he had accomplished it; then he threatened that the inhabitants of Edessa would receive more direful treatment at the hands of the Persians, unless they should give them all the wealth which they had inside the fortifications; for only on this condition, he said, would the army depart. When the envoys heard this, they agreed that they would purchase peace from Chosroes, if only he would not prescribe impossible conditions for them: but the outcome of a conflict, they said, was plainly seen by no one at all before the struggle. For there was never a war whose outcome might be taken for granted by those who waged it. Thereupon Chosroes in anger commanded the envoys to be gone with all speed.

On the eighth day of the siege he formed the design of erecting an artificial hill against the circuit wall of the city; accordingly he cut down trees in great numbers from the adjacent districts and, without removing the leaves, laid them together in a square before the wall, at a point which no missile from the city could reach; then he heaped an immense amount of earth right upon the trees and above that threw on a great quantity of stones, not such as are suitable for building, but cut at random, and only calculated to raise the hill as quickly as possible to a great height. And he kept laying on long timbers in the midst of the earth and the stones, and made them serve to bind the structure together, in order that as it became high it should not be weak. But Peter, the Roman general (for he happened to be there with Martinus and Peranius), wishing to check the men who were engaged in this work, sent some of the Huns who were under his command against them. And they, by making a sudden attack, killed a great number; and one of the guardsmen, Argek by name, surpassed all others, for he alone killed twenty-seven. From that time on, however, the barbarians kept a careful guard, and there was no further opportunity for anyone to go out against them. But when the artisans engaged in this work, as they moved forward, came within range of missiles, then the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance from the city wall, using both their slings and their bows against them. Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goat's hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those

who were working on the “agesta” (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there. And then the Romans, falling into a great fear, sent the envoys to Chosroes in great trepidation, and with them Stephanus, a physician of marked learning among those of his time at any rate, who also had once cured Cabades, the son of Perozes, when ill, and had been made master of great wealth by him. He, therefore, coming into the presence of Chosroes with the others, spoke as follows: “It has been agreed by all from of old that kindness is the mark of a good king. Therefore, most mighty King, while busying thyself with murders and battles and the enslavement of cities it will perhaps be possible for thee to win the other names, but thou wilt never by any means have the reputation of being ‘good.’ And yet least of all cities should Edessa suffer any adversity at thy hand. For there was I born, who, without any foreknowledge of what was coming to pass, fostered thee from childhood and counselled thy father to appoint thee his successor in the kingdom, so that to thee I have proved the chief cause of the kingship of Persia, but to my fatherland of her present woes. For men, as a general thing, bring down upon their own heads the most of the misfortunes which are going to befall them. But if any remembrance of such benefaction comes to thy mind, do us no further injury, and grant me this requital, by which, O King, thou wilt escape the reputation of being most cruel.” Such were the words of Stephanus. But Chosroes declared that he would not depart from there until the Romans should deliver to him Peter and Peranius, seeing that, being his hereditary slaves, they had dared to array themselves against him. And if it was not their pleasure to do this, the Romans must choose one of two alternatives, either to give the Persians five hundred centenaria of gold, or to receive into the city some of his associates who would search out all the money, both gold and silver, as much as was there, and bring it to him, allowing everything else to remain in the possession of the present owners. Such then were the words which Chosroes hurled forth, being in hopes of capturing Edessa with no trouble. And the ambassadors (since all the conditions which he had announced to them seemed impossible), in despair and great vexation, proceeded to the city. And when they had come inside the city-wall, they reported the message from Chosroes, and the whole city was filled with tumult and lamentation.

Now the artificial hill was rising to a great height and was being pushed forward with much haste. And the Romans, being at a loss what to do, again sent off the envoys to Chosroes. And when they had arrived in the enemy’s camp, and said that they had come to make entreaty concerning the same things, they did not even gain a hearing of any kind from the Persians, but they were insulted and driven out from there with a great tumult, and so returned to the city. At first, then, the Romans tried to over-top the wall

opposite the hill by means of another structure. But since the Persian work was already rising far above even this, they stopped their building and persuaded Martinus to make the arrangements for a settlement in whatever way he wished. He then came up close to the enemy's camp and began to converse with some of the Persian commanders. But they, completely deceiving Martinus, said that their king was desirous of peace, but that he was utterly unable to persuade the Roman Emperor to have done with his strife with Chosroes and to establish peace with him at last. And they mentioned as evidence of this the fact that Belisarius, who in power and dignity was far superior to Martinus, as even he himself would not deny, had recently persuaded the king of the Persians, when he was in the midst of Roman territory, to withdraw from there into Persia, promising that envoys from Byzantium would come to him at no distant time and establish peace securely, but that he had done none of the things agreed upon, since he had found himself unable to overcome the determination of the Emperor Justinian.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποίουν τοιάδε. διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔνερθεν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ χώματος ἐργασάμενοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας μὴ μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, ἕως ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον γένωνται μέσον. ταύτῃ γὰρ καῦσαι τὸ χῶμα τοῦτο διεννοοῦντο. [2] προϊούσης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος κατὰ τὸν λόφον μάλιστα μέσον πάταγός τις ἐς τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ὑπερθεν ἐστῶτας ἦλθεν. [3] αἰσθόμενοι τε τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ μέσου ὥρυσσον, ὅπως λάβοιεν τοὺς ἐκείνη κακουροῦντας Ῥωμαίους. [4] ὁ δὲ γνόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, χοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν κενωθέντα χώρον ἐπιβαλόντες, ἐκ δὲ ἄκρου χώματος κάτωθεν, ὁ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, ξύλα τε καὶ λίθους καὶ χοῦν ἐκφορήσαντες καθάπερ οἰκίσκου σχῆμα εἰργάσαντο, πρέμνα τε δένδρων τῶν ῥᾶστα καιομένων ξηρὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐσέβαλλον, ἐλαίῳ τε καταβεβρεγμένα τῷ ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένῳ καὶ θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πολλῇ. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες Μαρτίνῳ τοιαῦτα μὲν οἶα πέρ μοι εἴρηται διελέχθησαν, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι ὥς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐνδέξονται λόγους. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόφος αὐτοῖς ἐτετέλεστο ἤδη, καὶ πλησιάζων μὲν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὕψει δὲ αὐτὸν πολλῷ ὑπεραίρων ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπῆρτο, Μαρτίνον μὲν ἀπεπέμψαντο διαρρήδην ἀπειπόντες τὴν ξύμβασιν, ἔργου δὲ ἔχεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον. [7] Διὸ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν δένδρων τὰ πρέμνα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαστο. τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ χώματός τινα καύσαντος, οὐπω δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἰσχύσαντος, τὰ ξύλα δεδαπανῆσθαι πάντα ἔτυχεν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ξύλα ἕτερα, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν. [8] ἥδη δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἅπαν ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ χῶμα, καπνός τις ὑπερθεν πανταχῇ τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο νύκτωρ, Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐπω ἐθέλοντες αἰσθῆσιν τοῦ ποιουμένου Πέρσαις παρέχειν ἐπενόουν τάδε. [9] ἀνθρώκων τε καὶ πυρὸς ἀγγεῖα μικρὰ ἐμπλησάμενοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ πυρφόρους οἰστοὺς τοῦ χώματος πανταχόσε συχνὰ ἐπεμπον· ἃ δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι, ὅσοι φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ξὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ περιιόντες ἐσβέννουν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

φύεσθαι τὸν καπνὸν ῥοντο. [10] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ πλήθει μὲν πολλῶ ἐβόηθουν οἱ βάρβαροι, βάλλοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [11] οὗ δὴ καὶ Χοσρόης ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶπετο, ἕς τε τὸν λόφον ἀναβὰς πρῶτος ἔλαβε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴσθησιν. [12] ἔνερθεν γὰρ ἀπεφήνατο τοῦ καπνοῦ τὸ αἷτιον εἶναι, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν ἐσηκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι, βοηθεῖν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον. [13] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν τινες χοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπιβάλλοντες ἧ ὁ καπνὸς διεφαίνετο, περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡλπίζον, ἀνύειν μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [14] ἧ τε γὰρ ὁ χοῦς ἐπιβληθείη, ταύτη μὲν ὁ καπνός, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀνεστέλλετο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεδίδοτο, αὐτὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὅπη δύναίτο ἀναγκάζοντος· τό τε ὕδωρ ἧ μάλιστα ἐπισκήψειε, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν τε ἄσφαλτον καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ὕλην ἀκμάζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω αἰεὶ ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐντὸς οὐδαμῇ τοσοῦτον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τοῦ ὕδατος εἶχεν ὅσον τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασβέσαι τὴν φλόγα οἷόν τε εἶναι. [15] ὁ δὲ καπνὸς ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Καρρηνοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολλῶ ἐπέκεινα ὀκνημένοις ἐνδηλος εἶναι. [16] Περσῶν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν ὑπερθεν ἀναβεβηκότων τοῦ χώματος, μάχης τε καὶ ὠθισμοῦ ἐνταῦθα ξυστάντος, ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι. [17] τότε καὶ ἡ φλόξ λαμπρῶς ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὲρ τὸ χῶμα ἐφαίνετο, Πέρσαι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔργου τούτου ἀπέσχοντο. [18] Ἐκτὴ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρας, ὀρθροῦ βαθέος, μοῖρα τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου λάθρα ἐπέσκηψαν κλίμακας ἔχοντες, οὗ δὴ τὸ φρουρίον ἐπωνόμασται. [19] τῶν δὲ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων πρᾶδόν τινα καθευδόντων ὕπνον, ἅτε τῆς νυκτὸς πρὸς πέρας ἰούσης, ἡσυχῇ τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες ἀνέβαινον ἡδῇ. [20] τῶν δὲ τις ἀγροίκων μόνος ἐργηγορῶς ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν ἔτυχεν, ὃς δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῶ ἅπαντας ἤγειρε. [21] καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἡσσῶνται Πέρσαι, ἕς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, αὐτοῦ λιπόντες τὰς κλίμακας, ὥσπερ κατ' ἐξουσίαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεῖλκον. [22] Χοσρόης δὲ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσῃ πολλήν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην πύλην ὡς τειχομαχῆσοντας ἔπεμψεν. [23] οἷς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπαντίασαντες οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγροῖκοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τινὲς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες παρὰ πολὺ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. [24] ἔτι τε Περσῶν διωκομένων Παῦλος ἐρμηνεὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου ἦκων ἐς μέσους Ῥωμαίους ἀπήγγελλε Ῥεκινάριον ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκειν, οὕτω τε ἀμφοτέρω διελύθησαν. [25] ἡδῇ δὲ τισὶ πρότερον ἡμέραις ὁ Ῥεκινάριος ἐς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφῆκτο. [26] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ἤκιστα ἐξήνεγκαν Πέρσαι, караδοκοῦντες δηλονότι τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλήν, ὅπως, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν δύνωνται, μηδαμῇ ἐς τὰς σπονδὰς παρανομεῖν δόξωσιν, ἡσσηθέντες δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐς τὴν ζύμβασιν, Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων πρὸς αὐτάς, [27] θήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥεκινάριος ἐγένετο εἰσω πυλῶν, Πέρσαι μὲν ἡξιοῦν τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διοικησομένους παρὰ : Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἰέναι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σταλήσεσθαι πρέσβεις ἡμέραις τρισὶν ὕστερον ἔφασαν· τανῦν γὰρ σφίσι κακῶς τοῦ σώματος Μαρτίνον τὸν

στρατηγὸν ἔχειν. [28] Εἶναι τε ὑποτοπάζων οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον Χοσρόης τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ τότε μὲν πλίνθων πάμπολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπέβαλε, δυοῖν δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραιν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τειχομαχῆσων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἦλθεν. [29] ἔν τε πύλῃ ἐκάστη τῶν τινὰς ἀρχόντων καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε τὸ τεῖχος ταύτῃ περιβαλὼν κλίμακάς τε αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγεν. [30] ὀπισθεν δὲ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν τῶν Περσῶν τισιν ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας σαγηνεύσαντες λάβωσι. [31] τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Χοσρόης οὕτω διέταξε. τῆς δὲ μάχης πρῶτῃ ἀρξαμένης κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὰ Περσῶν καθυπέρτερα ἦν. [32] πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λίαν ὀλίγους ἐμάχοντο, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνήκοοί τε τῶν ποιουμένων καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ἦσαν. [33] προιούσης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς θορύβων τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἔμπλεως ἡ πόλις ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξύμπαντες ἦδη αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδαρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβαινον. [34] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις καρτερώτατα τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων πολλοὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείκνυντο. [35] παῖδες δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξὺν τοῖς γεγηρακόσι λίθους τε τοῖς μαχομένοις ξυνέλεγον καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπουργοῦν. [36] τινὲς δὲ καὶ λέβητας ἐλαίου πολλοὺς ἐμπλησάμενοι πυρὶ τε αὐτοὺς πανταχῇ τοῦ τεύχους ἐς διαρκῆ θερμῆσαντες χρόνον καὶ ζέον ὑπεράγαν τὸ ἐλαιον περιπραντηρίοις τισὶν ἐπιχέοντες ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς τῷ περιβόλῳ προσιόντας ἐλύπουν. [37] ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἀπειπόντες οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐρρίπτουν, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἀντέχειν οὐκέτι ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι. [38] θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἐγκελευόμενος ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνήγεν. [39] οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει προσῆγον καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπετίθεντο, ὡς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοβοεῖ ἐξαίρησοντες. [40] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰ τε βαλλόντων καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἀμυνομένων, τρέπονται μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναχωροῦντα δὲ τὸν Χοσρόην ἐτόθαζον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τειχομαχίαν παρακαλοῦντες. [41] μόνος δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Σοῖνας καλουμένας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐμάχετο, οὗ δὴ Τριπυργίαν καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον. [42] Τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὄντων σφίσιν ἀξιωμαχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀπειπόντων, ἤδη τὸ ἐκτὸς τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι προτείχισμα, πολλαχῇ διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρότατα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου περιβόλου ἀμυνομένοις ἐνέκειντο, ἕως αὐτοῖς Περάνιος ξὺν τε στρατιώταις πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν τισιν ἐπεξῆλθε μάχῃ τε νικήσας ἐξήλασε. [43] καὶ ἡ τειχομαχία πρῶτῃ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα εἰς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν, ἀμφοτέροι τε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πέρσαι μὲν περὶ τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι δεδιότες καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λίθους τε ξυλλέγοντες ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ποιοῦμενοι, ὡς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ μαχοῦμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος προσβαλοῦσιν. [44] ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐπιγινομένη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦλθε, τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην μοῖρα μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ Χοσρόου ἐγκελευομένου ταῖς Βαρλαοῦ καλουμέναις πύλαις ἐπέσκηψεν, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἡσσήθησάν τε παρὰ πολὺ τῇ

μάχη καὶ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. [45] καὶ τότε Παῦλος ὁ Περσῶν ἐρμηνεὺς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤκων Μαρτῖνον ἐκάλει, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν διοικῆσθαι. [46] οὕτω τε Μαρτίνου τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσιν ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντος ξυνέβησαν, καὶ πέντε κεντηνάρια πρὸς τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν ὁ Χοσρόης λαβὼν ἐν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μηδὲν Ῥωμαίοις περαιτέρω λυμῆνασθαι, τὰ τε χαρακώματα πάντα ἐμπρήσας ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ.

XXVII

In the meantime the Romans were busying themselves as follows: They made a tunnel from the city underneath the enemy's embankment, commanding the diggers not to leave this work until they should get under the middle of the hill. By this means they were planning to burn the embankment. But as the tunnel advanced to about the middle of the hill, a sound of blows, as it were, came to the ears of those Persians who were standing above. And perceiving what was being done, they too began from above and dug on both sides of the middle, so that they might catch the Romans who were doing the damage there. But the Romans found it out and abandoned this attempt, throwing earth into the place which had been hollowed out, and then began to work on the lower part of the embankment at the end which was next to the wall, and by taking out timbers and stones and earth they made an open space just like a chamber; then they threw in there dry trunks of trees of the kind which burn most easily, and saturated them with oil of cedar and added quantities of sulphur and bitumen. So, then, they were keeping these things in readiness; and meanwhile the Persian commanders in frequent meetings with Martinus were carrying on conversations with him in the same strain as the one I have mentioned, making it appear that they would receive proposals in regard to peace. But when at last their hill had been completed, and had been raised to a great elevation, approaching the circuit-wall of the city and rising far above it in height, then they sent Martinus away, definitely refusing to arrange the treaty, and they intended from then on to devote themselves to active warfare.

Accordingly the Romans straightway set fire to the tree-trunks which had been prepared for this purpose. But when the fire had burned only a certain portion of the embankment, and had not yet been able to penetrate through the whole mass, the wood was already entirely exhausted. But they kept throwing fresh wood into the pit, not slackening their efforts for a moment. And when the fire was already active throughout the whole embankment, some smoke appeared at night rising from every part of the hill, and the Romans, who were not yet willing to let the Persians know what was being done, resorted to the following device: They filled small pots with coals and fire and threw these and also ignited arrows in great numbers to all parts of the embankment. And the Persians who were keeping guard there, began to go about in great haste and extinguish these, and they supposed that the smoke arose from them. But since the trouble increased, the barbarians rushed up to help in great numbers, and the Romans, shooting them from the wall, killed many. And Chosroes too came there about sunrise, followed by the greater part of the army, and, upon mounting the hill, he first perceived what the trouble was. For he disclosed the fact that the cause of the smoke was underneath, not in the missiles which the enemy were hurling, and he ordered the whole army to come to the rescue

with all speed. And the Romans, taking courage, began to insult them, while the barbarians were at work, some throwing on earth, and others water, where the smoke appeared, hoping thus to get the better of the trouble; however, they were absolutely unable to accomplish anything. For where the earth was thrown on, the smoke, as was natural, was checked at that place, but not long afterwards it rose from another place, since the fire compelled it to force its way out wherever it could. And where the water fell most plentifully it only succeeded in making the bitumen and the sulphur much more active, and caused them to exert their full force upon the wood near by; and it constantly drove the fire forward, since the water could not penetrate inside the embankment in a quantity at all sufficient to extinguish the flame by its abundance. And in the late afternoon the smoke became so great in volume that it was visible to the inhabitants of Carrhae and to some others who dwelt far beyond them. And since a great number of Persians and of Romans had gone up on top of the embankment, a fight took place and a hand-to-hand struggle to drive each other off, and the Romans were victorious. Then even the flames rose and appeared clearly above the embankment, and the Persians abandoned this undertaking.

On the sixth day after this, at early dawn, they made an assault secretly upon a certain part of the circuit-wall with ladders, at the point which is called the Fort. And since the Romans who were keeping guard there were sleeping a quiet, peaceful sleep, as the night was drawing to its close, they silently set the ladders against the wall and were already ascending. But one of the rustics alone among the Romans happened to be awake, and he with a shout and a great noise began to rouse them all. And a hard struggle ensued in which the Persians were worsted, and they retired to their camp, leaving the ladders where they were; these the Romans drew up at their leisure. But Chosroes about midday sent a large part of the army against the so-called Great Gate in order to storm the wall. And the Romans went out and confronted them, not only soldiers, but even rustics and some of the populace, and they conquered the barbarians in battle decisively and turned them to flight. And while the Persians were still being pursued, Paulus, the interpreter, came from Chosroes, and going into the midst of the Romans, he reported that Rhecinarius had come from Byzantium to arrange the peace; and thus the two armies separated. Now it was already some days since Rhecinarius had arrived at the camp of the barbarians. But the Persians had by no means disclosed this fact to the Romans, plainly awaiting the outcome of the attempts upon the wall which they had planned, in order that, if they should be able to capture it, they might seem in no way to be violating the treaty, while if defeated, as actually happened, they might draw up the treaty at the invitation of the Romans. And when Rhecinarius had gone inside the gates, the Persians demanded that those who were to arrange the peace should come to Chosroes without any delay, but the Romans said that envoys would be sent three days later; for that just at

the moment their general, Martinus, was unwell.

And Chosroes, suspecting that the reason was not a sound one, prepared for battle. And at that time he only threw a great mass of bricks upon the embankment; but two days later he came against the fortifications of the city with the whole army to storm the wall. And at every gate he stationed some of the commanders and a part of the army, encircling the whole wall in this way, and he brought up ladders and war-engines against it. And in the rear he placed all the Saracens with some of the Persians, not in order to assault the wall, but in order that, when the city was captured, they might gather in the fugitives and catch them as in a drag-net. Such, then, was the purpose of Chosroes in arranging the army in this way. And the fighting began early in the morning, and at first the Persians had the advantage. For they were in great numbers and fighting against a very small force, since the most of the Romans had not heard what was going on and were utterly unprepared. But as the conflict advanced the city became full of confusion and tumult, and the whole population, even women and little children, were going up on to the wall. Now those who were of military age together with the soldiers were repelling the enemy most vigorously, and many of the rustics made a remarkable shew of valorous deeds against the barbarians. Meanwhile the women and children, and the aged also, were gathering stones for the fighters and assisting them in other ways. Some also filled numerous basins with olive-oil, and after heating them over fire a sufficient time everywhere along the wall, they sprinkled the oil, while boiling fiercely, upon the enemy who were assailing the wall, using a sort of whisk for the purpose, and in this way harassed them still more. The Persians, therefore, soon gave up and began to throw down their arms, and coming before the king, said that they were no longer able to hold out in the struggle. But Chosroes, in a passion of anger, drove them all on with threats and urged them forward against the enemy. And the soldiers with much shouting and tumult brought up the towers and the other engines of war to the wall and set the ladders against it, in order to capture the city with one grand rush. But since the Romans were hurling great numbers of missiles and exerting all their strength to drive them off, the barbarians were turned back by force; and as Chosroes withdrew, the Romans taunted him, inviting him to come and storm the wall. Only Azarethes at the so-called Soinian Gate was still fighting with his men, at the place which they call Tripurgia. And since the Romans at this point were not a match for them, but were giving way before their assaults, already the outer wall, which they call an outwork, had been torn down by the barbarians in many places, and they were pressing most vigorously upon those who were defending themselves from the great circuit-wall; but at last Peranius with a large number of soldiers and some of the citizens went out against them and defeated them in battle and drove them off. And the assault which had begun early in the morning ended in the late afternoon, and both sides remained

quiet that night, the Persians fearing for their defences and for themselves, and the Romans gathering stones and taking them to the parapets and putting everything else in complete readiness, so as to fight against the enemy on the morrow when they should attack the wall. Now on the succeeding day not one of the barbarians came against the fortifications; but on the day after that a portion of the army, urged on by Chosroes, made an assault upon the so-called Gate of Barlaus; but the Romans sallied forth and confronted them, and the Persians were decisively beaten in the engagement, and after a short time retired to the camp. And then Paulus, the interpreter of the Persians, came along by the wall and called for Martinus, in order that he might make the arrangements for the truce. Thus Martinus came to conference with the commanders of the Persians, and they concluded an agreement, by which Chosroes received five centenaria from the inhabitants of Edessa, and left them, in writing, the promise not to inflict any further injury upon the Romans; then, after setting fire to all his defences, he returned homeward with his whole army.

Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ῥωμαίων τετελευτήκασι στρατηγοὶ δύο, Ἰουστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος ὁ Ἰβηρ, Ἰουστός μὲν νόσῳ διαφθαρείς, Περανίῳ δὲ συνέβη ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπεπτωκότι διαρραγῆναι. [2] διὸ δὴ ἀντ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτέρους καταστησάμενος ἔπεμψε Μάρκελλον τε, τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, καὶ Κωνσταντιανόν, ὃς δὴ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἅμα Σεργίῳ παρὰ Χοσρόην πρεσβεύων ἐστάλη. [3] ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον ἔπεμψεν. [4] οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, οὗ δὴ πολίσματα δύο Σελεύκειά τε καὶ Κτησιφῶν ἐστί, Μακεδόνων αὐτὰ δειμαμένων οἱ μετὰ τὸν Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρον Περσῶν τε ἦρξαν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν. [5] ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα Τίγρης ποταμὸς διορίζει· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλην χώραν μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν. [6] ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόντες Χοσρόῃ οἱ πρέσβεις ἠξίουσαν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Λαζικῆς χωρία Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδοῦναι, βεβαιότατα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κρατύνασθαι. [7] Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν εἶναι ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, ἣν μὴ τινα ἐκεχειρίαν θέμενοι πρότερον οὕτω τε ἀδεέστερον αἰεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους φοιτῶντες τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν θήσονται. [8] χρῆναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰεὶ ἐκεχειρίας χρήματά τέ οἱ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα δοῦναι καὶ τινα Τριβοῦνον ὄνομα ἱατρὸν πέμψαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ξυνδιατρίψει τακτὸν τινα χρόνον. [9] ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὁ ἱατρὸς οὗτος νόσου τε αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξας χαλεπῆς πρότερον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φίλος τε καὶ ποθεινὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὢν. [10] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, τὸν τε Τριβοῦνον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε ξυνιόντα ἐς κεντηνάρια εἴκοσιν. [11] οὕτω τε αἱ σπονδαὶ γεγόνασιν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐς ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε, δέκατόν τε καὶ ἕνατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [12] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρέθας τε καὶ Αλαμούνδαρος, οἱ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντες, πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μόνας διέφερον, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν ἀμυνόντων σφίσι. [13] καὶ

Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν ἓνα τῶν Ἀρέθα παίδων ἵππους νέμοντα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἑλὼν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐθὺς ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθη οὐ καταπροῖεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις Ἀρέθαν. [14] μετὰ δὲ ξυνίασι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἑκάτεροι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νικῶσι δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἀρέθα, τρεψάμενοί τε τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον Ἀρέθας ἦλθε δύο τῶν Ἀλαμουνδάρου παίδων ζῶντας ἑλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι γε εἴλε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Σαρακηνῶν ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχεν. [15] Χοσρόης δέ, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐνδηλος γέγονε τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν νῶ δολερῶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένος, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναπεπτωκότας λαβὼν ἀνῆκεστόν τι ἐργάσεται. [16] τρίτῳ γὰρ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐνιαυτῷ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε: ἦσθιν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀδελφοὶ δύο, Φάβριζός τε καὶ Ἰσδιγούσνας, ἀρχὰς μὲν περιβεβλημένῳ ἐνταῦθα μεγίστας καὶ ἄλλως λογισμῷ πονηροτάτῳ Περσῶν ἀπάντων καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῇ δεινότητι καὶ κακοτροπίᾳ πολλὴν ἔχοντε. [17] βουλευσάμενος οὖν πόλιν Δάρας καταλαβεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ Λαζικῆς ἐξοικίσαι Κόλχους ἅπαντας, Πέρσας δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας καταστήσασθαι, τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐς ἄμφορ τὰ ἔργα ὑπηρετήσοντας εἴλετο: [18] ἔρμαιον γὰρ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα σφετερισαμένῳ ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς κτήσεως ἔχειν, ξύμφορον λογισαμένῳ τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ κατὰ πολλὰ ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτο γε. [19] τὴν τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐχόντων Ἰβήρων ἐφ' οὐστinas ἀνθρώπων ἀποστάντες σωθήσονται: [20] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τούτων δὴ λογιμώτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ Γουργένη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε λόγοις ἐρρήθη, οὔτε βασιλέα σφίσι καταστήσεσθαι τὸ ἐνθένδε ξυνεχώρουν Πέρσαι οὔτε αὐτογνωμονοῦντες Περσῶν κατήκοοι Ἰβηρες ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑποψία τε καὶ ἀπιστία ἐς ἀλλήλους πολλὴ εἶχοντο. [21] ἐνδηλοὶ τε Ἰβηρες ἦσαν δυσανασχετοῦντές τε ισχυρότατα καὶ νεωτεριοῦντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἢν τινός ποτε καιροῦ λαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [22] καὶ πρὸς Οὐννων τῶν Λαζικῇ προσοίκων ἀδῆωτον μὲν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐς αἰὶ ἔσσεσθαι, ῥᾶον δὲ καὶ ἀπονώτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιτέμψειν, ἥνικα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐν Καυκάσῳ οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἢ ἐπιτείχισμα Λαζικὴν εἶναι. [23] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων κατὰ τοῦτο ξυνοίσειν πρὸς Λαζικῆς ἐπικράτησιν ἠλπιζε Πέρσαις, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι δυνήσονται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καταθέοντες καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου πόντου χωρία Καππαδόκας μὲν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Γαλάτας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς παραστήσεσθαι, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δὲ Βυζαντίους αἰρήσειν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. [24] τούτων μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα προσποιεῖσθαι Χοσρόης Λαζικὴν ᾗθελεν, ἐπὶ Λαζοῖς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν. [25] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, Λαζῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπεικῶς ἤχθετο. μονότροποι γάρ, εἴπερ ἄλλοι τινές, οἱ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαίταν ὑπεράγαν σκληροί. [26] καὶ αὐτοῖς οἳ τε νόμοι δυσπρόσοδοί εἰσι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτά. πρὸς μέντοι Λαζοὺς καὶ διαφερόντως τὸ διαλλάσσειν τῆς τε γνώμης αἰὶ καὶ τῆς διαίτης παρὰ πολὺ διαφαίνεται, ἐπεὶ Λαζοὶ μὲν Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἅπαντα ἔχει. [27] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἄλλες μὲν τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐδαμῇ γίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὔτε σίτος

οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν φύεται. [28] ἐκ δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παραλίῳ
ἅπαντα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπεισέρχεται σφίσι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χρυσίον τοῖς
συμβάλλουσι προεϊμένοις, ἀλλὰ δέρρεις τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πολὺ περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνει. [29] τούτου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσχαλλον. ὣν δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης αἰσθόμενος
προτερῆσαι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, πρὶν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειαν, ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε.
[30] καὶ οἱ βουλευομένῳ ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γουβάξην τὸν Λαζῶν
βασιλέα ἐκποδὼν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιησαμένῳ Λαζοὺς ἐνθένδε πανδημεῖ
ἀναστήσειν, οὕτω τε Πέρσας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἔθνη ξυνοικεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
χώρᾳ. [31] Ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης βεβουλευμένος Ἰσδιγούσαν ὡς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ
δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλει, καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἀριστίνδην
ἀπολεξάμενος πεντακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐπιστείλας σφίσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν
πόλει Δάρας, ἐν οἰκίαις δὲ καταλῦσαι πολλαῖς, ταύτας τε νύκτωρ ἀπάσας
ἐμπρῆσαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ἡσχολημένων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
ἀπάντων ἀνοιγνύναι μὲν τὰς πύλας εὐθύς, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ ἄλλο Περσῶν
στράτευμα δέξασθαι. [32] προεῖρητο γὰρ τῷ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἄρχοντι
στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη ἐγκρυφιάζοντι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ὤετο Χοσρόης οὐδενὶ πόνῳ Ῥωμαίους τε ἅπαντας διαχρήσεσθαι καὶ
τὴν πόλιν Δάρας ἐν βεβαίῳ καταλαβόντας σχήσειν. [33] ἀλλὰ τις εὖ εἰδὼς τὰ
πρασσόμενα, Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ, αὐτόμολος δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς Πέρσας
ἦκων, τὸν πάντα λόγον Γεωργίῳ φράζει, ἐνταῦθα τότε διατριβὴν ἔχοντι, οὐ δὴ
ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθη, ἅτε Περσῶν ἀναπείσαντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ
Σισαυράνων πολιορκουμένους φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις. [34]
Γεώργιος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὁρίοις ἀπαντήσας τῷ
πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ ἔφασκεν οὐ κατὰ πρεσβείαν τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι, καὶ οὐ ποτε
Πέρσας τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν πόλει Ῥωμαίων αὐλίσασθαι. [35] χρῆν γὰρ
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμώδιος ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις
τισὶν ἐς πόλιν Δάρας ἐσιτῆτά εἶναι. [36] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσδιγούσνας ἡγανάκτει τε
καὶ δυσφορουμένῳ ἐφύκει, ἅτε περιυβρισμένος οὐ δέον, καίπερ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ
παρὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα στελλόμενος. [37] Γεώργιος δὲ οἱ οὐ προσέχων τὸν
νοῦν ἡγριωμένῳ διεσώσατο τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίοις. ξὺν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν εἴκοσι
μόνοις τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἰσδιγούσαν ἐδέξατο. [38] Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας
ἀποτυχὼν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ὡς πρεσβεύων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε, τὴν τε
γυναῖκα καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπαγόμενος δύο τούτου γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ παραπέτασμα
τοῦ ξυνεληλυθότος ὁμίλου, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἀμφὶ μὲν τῶν
σπουδαίων τινὶ οὐ μέγα οὐ μικρὸν ἰσχυσεν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μῆνας
δέκα κατατρίψας ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. [39] τὰ μέντοι δῶρα παρὰ Χοσρόου, ἥπερ
εἴθισται, καὶ γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε, δι' ὧν ὁ Χοσρόης Ἰουστινιανὸν
βασιλέα σημῆναι ἡξίου εἴ οἱ τὸ σῶμα ὑγιείας πέρι ὡς ἄριστα ἔχοι. [40] τοῦτον
μέντοι τὸν Ἰσδιγούσαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μάλιστα πρέσβεων ἀπάντων
ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ξὺν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἱκανῶς ἡγάγεν.
[41] ὥστε καὶ ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐσιτῆφῃ, Βραδούκιον, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ ἐρμηνεύς
εἶπετο, ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε, πρᾶγμα πῶποτε οὐ γεγονὸς
πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου. [42] ἐρμηνέα γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τινι

καταδεεστέρων ἀρχόντων, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεῖ ὁμοτράπεζον γεγονότα οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν. [43] ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἢ κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐδέξατό τε καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο, καίπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ τὴν πρεσβείαν, [44] ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, πεποιημένον. ἦν γάρ τις τάς τε δαπάνας διαριθμήσαιτο καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὅσα ἐνθένδε κεκομισμένος Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, πλεον αὐτὰ κατατείνοντα ἢ ἐς χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δέκα εὐρήσει. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐς Δάρας πόλιν ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XXVIII

At about this time two generals of the Romans died, Justus, the nephew of the emperor, and Peranius, the Iberian, of whom the former succumbed to disease, while Peranius fell from his horse in hunting and suffered a fatal rupture. The emperor therefore appointed others in their places, dispatching Marcellus, his own nephew who was just arriving at the age of manhood, and Constantianus, who a little earlier had been sent as an envoy with Sergius to Chosroes. Then the Emperor Justinian sent Constantianus and Sergius a second time to Chosroes to arrange the truce. And they overtook him in Assyria, at the place where there are two towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, built by the Macedonians who after Alexander, the son of Philip, ruled over the Persians and the other nations there. These two towns are separated by the Tigris River only, for they have nothing else between them. There the envoys met Chosroes, and they demanded that he should give back to the Romans the country of Lazica, and establish peace with them on a thoroughly secure basis. But Chosroes said that it was not easy for them to come to terms with each other, unless they should first declare an armistice, and then should continue to go back and forth to each other without so much fear and settle their differences and make a peace which should be on a secure basis for the future. And it was necessary, he said, that in return for this continued armistice the Roman Emperor should give him money and should also send a certain physician, Tribunus by name, in order to spend some specified time with him. For it happened that this physician at a former time had rid him of a severe disease, and as a result of this he was especially beloved and greatly missed by him. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he immediately sent both Tribunus and the money, amounting to twenty centenaria. [545 A.D.] In this way the treaty was made between the Romans and the Persians for five years, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And a little later Arethas and Alamoundaras, the rulers of the Saracens, waged a war against each other by themselves, unaided either by the Romans or the Persians. And Alamoundaras captured one of the sons of Arethas in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and straightway sacrificed him to Aphrodite; and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians. Later they both came together in battle with their whole armies, and the forces of Arethas were overwhelmingly victorious, and turning their enemy to flight, they killed many of them. And Arethas came within a little of capturing alive two of the sons of Alamoundaras; however, he did not actually succeed. Such, then, was the course of events among the Saracens.

But it became clear that Chosroes, the Persian king, had made the truce with

the Romans with treacherous intent, in order that he might find them remiss on account of the peace and inflict upon them some grave injury. For in the third year of the truce he devised the following schemes. There were in Persia two brothers, Phabrizus and Isdigousnas, both holding most important offices there and at the same time reckoned to be the basest of all the Persians, and having a great reputation for their cleverness and evil ways. Accordingly, since Chosroes had formed the purpose of capturing the city of Daras by a sudden stroke, and to move all the Colchians out of Lazica and establish in their place Persian settlers, he selected these two men to assist him in both undertakings. For it seemed to him that it would be a lucky stroke and a really important achievement to win for himself the land of Colchis and to have it in secure possession, reasoning that this would be advantageous to the Persian empire in many ways. In the first place they would have Iberia in security forever afterwards, since the Iberians would not have anyone with whom, if they revolted, they might find safety; for since the most notable men of these barbarians together with their king, Gourgenes, had looked towards revolt, as I have stated in the preceding pages, the Persians from that time on did not permit them to set up a king over themselves, nor were the Iberians single-minded subjects of the Persians, but there was much suspicion and distrust between them. And it was evident that the Iberians were most thoroughly dissatisfied and that they would attempt a revolution shortly if they could only seize upon some favourable opportunity. Furthermore, the Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire. For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them. But most of all he hoped that the subjugation of Lazica would afford this advantage to the Persians, that starting from there they might overrun with no trouble both by land and by sea the countries along the Euxine Sea, as it is called, and thus win over the Cappadocians and the Galatians and Bithynians who adjoin them, and capture Byzantium by a sudden assault with no one opposing them. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was anxious to gain possession of Lazica, but in the Lazi he had not the least confidence. For since the time when the Romans had withdrawn from Lazica, the common people of the country naturally found the Persian rule burdensome. For the Persians are beyond all other men singular in their ways, and they are excessively rigid as regards the routine of daily life. And their laws are difficult of access for all men, and their requirements quite unbearable. But in comparison with the Lazi the difference of their thinking and living shews itself in an altogether exceptional degree, since the Lazi are Christians of the most thorough-going kind, while all the Persian views regarding religion are the exact opposite of theirs. And apart from this, salt is produced nowhere in Lazica, nor indeed does grain grow there nor the vine nor any other good thing. But from the Romans along the coast everything is

brought in to them by ship, and even so they do not pay gold to the traders, but hides and slaves and whatever else happens to be found there in great abundance; and when they were excluded from this trade, they were, as was to be expected, in a state of constant vexation. When, therefore, Chosroes perceived this, he was eager to anticipate with certainty any move on their part to revolt against him. And upon considering the matter, it seemed to him to be the most advantageous course to put Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, out of the way as quickly as possible, and to move the Lazi in a body out of the country, and then to colonize this land with Persians and certain other nations.

When Chosroes had matured these plans, he sent Isdigousnas to Byzantium, ostensibly to act as an envoy, and he picked out five hundred of the most valorous of the Persians and sent them with him, directing them to get inside the city of Daras, and to take their lodgings in many different houses, and at night to set these all on fire, and, while all the Romans were occupied with this fire, as was natural, to open the gates immediately, and receive the rest of the Persian army into the city. For word had been sent previously to the commander of the city of Nisibis to conceal a large force of soldiers near by and hold them in readiness. For in this way Chosroes thought that they would destroy all the Romans with no trouble, and seizing the city of Daras, would hold it securely. But someone who knew well what was being arranged, a Roman who had come to the Persians as a deserter a little earlier, told everything to George, who was staying there at the time; now this was the same man whom I mentioned in the preceding pages as having persuaded the Persians who were besieged in the fortress of Sisauranon to surrender themselves to the Romans. George therefore met this ambassador at the boundary line between Roman and Persian soil and said that this thing he was doing was not after the fashion of an embassy, and that never had so numerous a body of Persians stopped for the night in a city of the Romans. For he ought, he said, to have left behind all the rest in the town of Ammodios, and must himself enter the city of Daras with some few men. Now Isdigousnas was indignant and appeared to take it ill, because he had been insulted wrongfully, in spite of the fact that he was dispatched on an embassy to the Roman emperor. But George, paying no heed to him in his fury, saved the city for the Romans. For he received Isdigousnas into the city with only twenty men.

So having failed in this attempt, the barbarian came to Byzantium as if on an embassy, bringing with him his wife and two daughters (for this was his pretext for the crowd which had been gathered about him); but when he came before the emperor, he was unable to say anything great or small about any serious matter, although he wasted no less than ten months in Roman territory. However, he gave the emperor the gifts from Chosroes, as is customary, and a letter, in which Chosroes requested the Emperor Justinian to send word whether he was enjoying the best possible health. Nevertheless the Emperor Justinian received this Isdigousnas with more friendliness and treated him

with greater honour than any of the other ambassadors of whom we know. So true was this that, whenever he entertained him, he caused Braducius, who followed him as interpreter, to recline with him on the couch, a thing which had never before happened in all time. For no one ever saw an interpreter become a table-companion of even one of the more humble officials, not to speak of a king. But he both received and dismissed this man in a style more splendid than that which befits an ambassador, although he had undertaken the embassy for no serious business, as I have said. For if anyone should count up the money expended and the gifts which Isdigousnas carried with him when he went away, he will find them amounting to more than ten centenaria of gold. So the plot against the city of Daras ended in this way for Chosroes.

Ἐς τε Λαζικὴν πρῶτα μὲν ξύλα παμπληθῇ ἐς νηῶν ποίησιν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχοντα ἔπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ φράσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ αὐτὰ πέμπειεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ μηχανὰς ἐν Πέτραις τῷ περιβόλῳ καταστησόμενος ταῦτα ἔστελλεν. [2] ἔπειτα δὲ Περσῶν μαχίμους τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, Φάβριζόν τε, οὐπὲρ ἀρτίως ἐπεμνήσθην, αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθα στέλλει, ᾧ δὴ ἐπήγγελλε Γουβάζην ὡς λαθραϊότατα διαχρήσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐνθένδε αὐτῷ μελήσειν. [3] τὰ μὲν οὖν ξύλα ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἐς Λαζικὴν ἐκομίσθη, κεραυνόβλητα ἐξαπιναιῶς γενόμενα τετεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη· Φάβριζος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐς Λαζικὴν ἀφικόμενος ἔπρασεν ὅπως δὴ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζῃ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐπηγγελμένα ὑποτελοίῃ. [4] ἐτύγγανε δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Κόλχοις λογίμων, Φαρσάνσης ὄνομα, τῷ Γουβάζῃ προσκεκρουκῶς ἐς μέγα τέ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμπεπτωκῶς ἔχθος καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα θαρσῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκειν. [5] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Φάβριζος ἔγνω, τὸν Φαρσάνσῃν μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκοινολογεῖτό τε καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπῃ οἱ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἴη. [6] ἔδοξε τοίνυν σφίσιν ἐπὶ κοινῇ βουλευσαμένοις Φάβριζον μὲν ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, μεταπέμψασθαι δὲ Γουβάζην ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως οἱ ἀγγέλλοι ὅσα δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ ξυνοίσοντι Λαζοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη. [7] ἀλλ' ὁ Φαρσάνσης κρύφα τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐσήμνηε τὰ πρασσόμενα. διὸ δὴ Γουβάζης παρὰ μὲν Φάβριζον οὐδαμῇ ἦλθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδε. [8] Φάβριζος δὲ Πέρσαις μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξαρτῦεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐπ' οἴκου ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε. [9] Γουβάζης δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίσι τῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα πεπραγμένων Λαζοῖς ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμονα εἶναι, ἀμύναι δὲ σφίσι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἀπαλλαξείουσι τῆς Μήδων ἀρχῆς. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μόνας δυνήσεσθαι Κόλχους ἀποκρούεσθαι τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν. [10] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἄνδρας ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δαγισθαῖον ἄρχοντα καὶ Τζάνους χιλίους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν Λαζοῖς ἔπεμψεν. [11] οἳ δὴ ἐν γῇ τῇ Κολχίδι γενόμενοι ἅμα Λαζοῖς τε καὶ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [12] Περσῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὄντων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων, χρόνον τῇ προσεδρεῖα πολὺν τετρίφθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ

καὶ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν οἱ Πέρσαι διαρκῶς ἔτυχον. [13] τοῦτοις δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Μερμερόην ἐπέστησεν. ὥνπερ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπικοίνα βουλευσάμενος ἐποίει τάδε. [14] Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Τζανικῆς ὁρίων ἐν Ἀρμενίοις οἱ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον ὤκηνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χωρεῖ, βραχὺς τε ἰὼν καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ γινόμενος ἐσβατὸς ἅπασιν ἄχρι ἐς ἡῶρον οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβήρων τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶ, καταντικρὺ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος. [15] ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ Ἀλανοὶ τε καὶ Ἀβασγοὶ ὤκηνται Χριστιανοὶ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες, Ζήχοι τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Οὐννοι, [16] οἱ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἀφίκηται ἵνα δὴ τοῦ τε Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰβηρίας τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγινόμενων οἱ καὶ ἄλλων ὑδάτων μείζων τε παρὰ πολὺ γίνεται καὶ Φάσις ἀντὶ Βόα τὸ ἐνθένδε καλούμενος φέρεται, ναυσίπορος γεγενημένος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον πόντον, οὗ δὴ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Λαζικὴ ἐστὶν. [17] ἀλλ' ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ξύμπασα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖται μέχρι τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων. [18] κῶμαί τε γὰρ αἱ Λαζῶν πᾶσαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ πολίσματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφίσι ταύτῃ πεποίηται, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαιοπόλεις, ἐχυρωτάτῃ οὖσα, Σεβαστόπολιν τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ Πιτιοῦντος φρουρίον ἐστὶ Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανὶς πρὸς τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὁρίοις. πόλεις μέντοι ἀξιολογώταται ἐνταῦθά εἰσι Ῥοδόπολις καὶ Μοχλήρης. [19] τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λαζικῆς μὲν τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ, ἔρημον δὲ ξυμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν εἶναι. ταύτην προσοικοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν χώραν οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται. [20] ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις, ἔνθα δὴ ἄνθρωποι οὐδαμῇ ὤκηντο, Πέτραν Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις ἐδείματο. [21] οὐπερ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Τζίβος ἐπικαλούμενος, τὸ μονοπῶλιον καταστησάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αἴτιος τῆς ἀποστάσεως Λαζοῖς γέγονεν. [22] ἐκ δὲ Πέτρας πόλεως ἰόντι εὐθὺς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, χωρία τε πολυάνθρωπα ἐνταῦθά ἐστὶ, τό τε Ῥιζαῖον καλούμενον καὶ Ἀθῆναι ἄλλα τε ἅττα μέχρι Τραπεζουντίων. [23] ἡνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐπηγάγοντο Χοσρόην Λαζοί, Βόαν ποταμὸν διαβάντες τὸν τε Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες ἐς Πέτραν ἦλθον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προνοήσαντες ὥς μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι ἀναγκάζωνται ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα οἰκία Πέρσαις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [24] καίτοι δύσοδος πανταχόθι Λαζικὴ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος. [25] σκόπελοι γὰρ ὑπερφυεῖς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τῆς χώρας ὄντες στενωποὺς ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦνται: κλεισούρας ἐλλήνιζοντες τὰς τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. [26] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τότε Λαζικὴ ἀφύλακτος ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐν Πέτρα ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι Λαζοῖς ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι. [27] Νῦν δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης μαθὼν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε πέμψαι μὲν τινας οἱ φυλάξουσιν τὸν στενωπὸν ἰσχυρότατα ὅς ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ, τὴν μέντοι προσεδρεῖαν ὥς ἥκιστα λύειν, ἕως τὴν τε Πέτραν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξελεῖν δύνωνται. [28] αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ Κόλχων στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Λαζικῆς ἔσχατα ἦλθεν, ὥς τὸν

ἐνταῦθα στενωπὸν διαφυλάξων δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [29] ἐτύγγανε δὲ πολλῶ πρότερον Ἀλανοὺς τε καὶ Σαβείρους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οἵπερ ὁμολόγησαν κεντηγαρίων τριῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀδήϊωτον Λαζοῖς ξυμφυλάξειν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν οὕτω καταστήσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον ὥς μηδὲ Πέρσαις ἐνθὲνδε τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι. ταῦτά τε σφίσι τὰ χρήματα βασιλέα Γουβάζης ὑπέσχετο δώσειν. [30] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν τὰ ξυγκείμενα τοῖς τε βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἰκέτευε πέμπειν καὶ Λαζοῖς ἄγαν κεκακωμένοις παραγυχὴν προέσθαι τινά. [31] ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ τὸ δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὀφείλειν ἐνιαυτῶν δέκα, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς σιλεντιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενος οὐδὲν κεκομισμένος ἐνθὲνδε εἶη, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἦλθε. [32] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπιτελέσειν μὲν διενοεῖτο τὴν αἴτησιν, ἐπιγενομένης δὲ οἱ ἀσχολίας τινὸς οὐκ ἔπεμψε τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τὰ χρήματα. Γουβάζης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει. [33] Δαγισθαῖος δὲ ἦν γάρ τις νεανίας πόλεμόν τε διενεγκεῖν Μηδικὸν οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόχρεως τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐχρήτο. [34] δέον οὖν ἀμέλει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν στείλαι, τάχα δ' ἂν που καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ παραγενέσθαι, ἐς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ τι πάρεργον διαχειρίζων, ἔπεμψε μόνους· αὐτὸς δὲ Πέτραν πολιορκῶν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν ἦνυσε, καίπερ τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγων ὄντων. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσους ἢ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἦσαν, [35] πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τειχομαχοῦντων βαλλόμενοι τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, θνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ σφίσιν ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσε. [36] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσίν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυχα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ πεποίηνται, ὃ τε ταύτῃ περίβολος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν. [37] ἀλλὰ ξυνέβη τούτου δὴ τοῦ χώρου ἐντὸς οἴκημα εἶναι οὐδὲν τοῦ περιβόλου διεστηκός, ὃ δὴ ἐξικνεῖτο ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἐφεξῆς ὅλον· [38] καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τεύχους πολιορκουμένοις γενόμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν αὐτοὺς καθίστη. [39] ὅπερ Ῥωμαίους ξυνταράξαι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν. εὗ γὰρ εἰδότες ὥς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἐτέρωθι ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ῥᾶστα αἰρήσουσιν, εὐέλπιδες πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. [40] διὸ δὴ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος βασιλεῖ μὲν τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα ἐδήλου, ἄθλα δὲ οἱ τῆς νίκης ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι προὔτειντο, σημήνας ὅσοις δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ χρῆν βασιλέα δωρήσασθαι· Πέρσαν γὰρ αἰρήσειν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. [41] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Τζάνους καρτερώτατα τειχομαχοῦντας παρὰ δόξαν ὑφίσταντο, καίπερ ὀλίγοι ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐς ἄγαν. [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἦνυον, ἐπὶ τὸ διορύσσειν αὐθις ἐτράποντο. ἐς τόσον τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀφίκοντο ὥς μηκέτι ἐπ' ἐδάφους τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κενοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστάναι, πεσοῦμενα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [43] καὶ εἰ μὲν Δαγισθαῖος εὐθὺς ἠθέλε πῦρ τοῖς θεμελίοις ἐνάψαι, οἶμαι εὐθυωρὸν σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι· νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως καταδοκῶν ἐλπίδας μέλλων τε αἰεὶ καὶ τρίβων τὸν χρόνον ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.

His first move against Lazica was as follows. He sent into the country a great amount of lumber suitable for the construction of ships, explaining to no one what his purpose was in so doing, but ostensibly he was sending it in order to set up engines of war on the fortifications of Petra. Next he chose out three hundred able warriors of the Persians, and sent them there under command of Phabrizus, whom I have lately mentioned, ordering him to make away with Goubazes as secretly as possible; as for the rest, he himself would take care. Now when this lumber had been conveyed to Lazica, it happened that it was struck suddenly by lightning and reduced to ashes. And Phabrizus, upon arriving in Lazica with the three hundred, began to contrive so that he might carry out the orders received by him from Chosroes regarding Goubazes. Now it happened that one of the men of note among the Colchians, Pharsanses by name, had quarrelled with Goubazes and in consequence had become exceedingly hostile to him, and now he did not dare at all to go into the presence of the king. When this was learned by Phabrizus, he summoned Pharsanses and in a conference with him disclosed the whole project, and enquired of the man in what way he ought to go about the execution of the deed. And it seemed best to them after deliberating together that Phabrizus should go into the city of Petra, and should summon Goubazes there, in order to announce to him what the king had decided concerning the interests of the Lazi. But Pharsanses secretly revealed to Goubazes what was being prepared. He, accordingly, did not come to Phabrizus at all, but began openly to plan a revolt. Then Phabrizus commanded the other Persians to attend as carefully as they could to the guarding of Petra, and to make everything as secure as possible against a siege, and he himself with the three hundred returned homeward without having accomplished his purpose. And Goubazes reported to the Emperor Justinian the condition in which they were, and begged him to grant forgiveness for what the Lazi had done in the past, and to come to their defence with all his strength, since they desired to be rid of the Median rule. For if left by themselves the Colchians would not be able to repel the power of the Persians.

[549 A.D.] When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he was overjoyed, and sent seven thousand men under the leadership of Dagisthaeus and a thousand Tzani to the assistance of the Lazi. And when this force reached the land of Colchis, they encamped together with Goubazes and the Lazi about the fortifications of Petra and commenced a siege. But since the Persians who were there made a most stalwart defence from the wall, it came about that much time was spent in the siege; for the Persians had put away an ample store of victuals in the town. And Chosroes, being greatly disturbed by these things, dispatched a great army of horse and foot against the besiegers, putting

Mermeroes in command of them. And when Goubazes learned of this, he considered the matter together with Dagisthaeus and acted in the manner which I shall presently set forth.

The river Boas rises close to the territory of the Tzani among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangium. And at first its course inclines to the right for a great distance, and its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the territory of the Iberians lies on the right, and the end of the Caucasus lies directly opposite. In that place many nations have their homes, and among them the Alani and Abasgi, who are Christians and friends of the Romans from of old; also the Zechi, and after them the Huns who bear the name Sabeiri. But when this river reaches the point which marks the termination of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters also are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of Phasis instead of Boas; and it becomes a navigable stream as far as the so-called Euxine Sea into which it empties; and on either side of it lies Lazica. Now on the right of the stream particularly the whole country for a great distance is populated by the people of Lazica as far as the boundary of Iberia. For all the villages of the Lazi are here beyond the river, and towns have been built there from of old, among which are Archaeopolis, a very strong place, and Sebastopolis, and the fortress of Pitius, and Scanda and Sarapanis over against the boundary of Iberia. Moreover there are two cities of the greatest importance in that region, Rhodopolis and Mocheresis. But on the left of the river, while the country belongs to Lazica as far as one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, the land is without human habitation. Adjoining this land is the home of the Romans who are called Pontic. Now it was in the territory of Lazica, in the part which was altogether uninhabited, that the Emperor Justinian founded the city of Petra in my own time. This was the place where John, surnamed Tzibus, established the monopoly, as I have told in the previous narrative, and gave cause to the Lazi to revolt. And as one leaves the city of Petra going southward, the Roman territory commences immediately, and there are populous towns there, and one which bears the name of Rhizaeum, also Athens and certain others as far as Trapezus. Now when the Lazi brought in Chosroes, they crossed the River Boas and came to Petra keeping the Phasis on the right, because, as they said, they would thus provide against being compelled to spend much time and trouble in ferrying the men across the River Phasis, but in reality they did not wish to display their own homes to the Persians. And yet Lazica is everywhere difficult to traverse both to the right and to the left of the River Phasis. For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes "clisurae" when they put their own word into a Greek form.) But since at that time Lazica happened to be unguarded, the Persians had reached Petra very easily with the Lazi who were their guides.

But on this occasion Goubazes, upon learning of the advance of the Persians, directed Dagisthaeus to send some men to guard with all their strength the pass which is below the River Phasis, and he bade him not on any account to abandon the siege until they should be able to capture Petra and the Persians in it. He himself meanwhile with the whole Colchian army came to the frontier of Lazica, in order to devote all his strength to guarding the pass there. Now it happened that long before he had persuaded the Alani and Sabeiri to form an alliance with him, and they had agreed for three centenaria not merely to assist the Lazi in guarding the land from plunder, but also to render Iberia so destitute of men that not even the Persians would be able to come in from there in the future. And Goubazes had promised that the emperor would give them this money. So he reported the agreement to the Emperor Justinian and besought him to send this money for the barbarians and afford the Lazi some consolation in their great distress. He also stated that the treasury owed him his salary for ten years, for though he was assigned a post among the privy counsellors in the palace, he had received no payment from it since the time when Chosroes came into the land of Colchis. And the Emperor Justinian intended to fulfil this request, but some business came up to occupy his attention and he did not send the money at the proper time. So Goubazes was thus engaged.

But Dagisthaeus, being a rather young man and by no means competent to carry on a war against Persia, did not handle the situation properly. For while he ought to have sent certainly the greater part of the army to the pass, and perhaps should have assisted in person in this enterprise, he sent only one hundred men, just as if he were managing a matter of secondary importance. He himself, moreover, though besieging Petra with the whole army, accomplished nothing, although the enemy were few. For while they had been at the beginning not less than fifteen hundred, they had been shot at by Romans and Lazi in their fighting at the wall for a long time, and had made a display of valour such as no others known to us have made, so that many were falling constantly and they were reduced to an exceedingly small number. So while the Persians, plunged in despair and at a loss what to do, were remaining quiet, the Romans made a trench along the wall for a short space, and the circuit-wall at this point fell immediately. But it happened that inside this space there was a building which did not stand back at all from the circuit-wall, and this reached to the whole length of the fallen portion; thus, taking the place of the wall for the besieged, it rendered them secure none the less. But this was not sufficient greatly to disturb the Romans. For knowing well that by doing the same thing elsewhere they would capture the city with the greatest ease, they became still more hopeful than before. For this reason Dagisthaeus sent word to the emperor of what had come to pass, and proposed that prizes of victory should be in readiness for him, indicating what rewards the emperor should bestow upon himself and his brother; for he would capture

Petra after no great time. So the Romans and the Tzani made a most vigorous assault upon the wall, but the Persians unexpectedly withstood them, although only a very few were left. And since the Romans were accomplishing nothing by assaulting the wall, they again turned to digging. And they went so far in this work that the foundations of the circuit-wall were no longer on solid ground, but stood for the most part over empty space, and, in the nature of things, would fall almost immediately. And if Dagisthaeus had been willing immediately to apply fire to the foundations, I think that the city would have been captured by them straightway; but, as it was, he was awaiting encouragement from the emperor, and so, always hesitating and wasting time, he remained inactive. Such, then, was the course of events in the Roman camp.

Μερμερόης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὅρους παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἤμειψε, πρόσω ἐχώρει, ποταμὸν Μήδων στρατῷ ἤμειψε, πρόσω ἐχώρει, ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς χωρίων ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, τοῦ μὴ τί οἱ ταύτη ἐμπόδισμα ὑπαντιάσαι. [2] Πέτρην γὰρ πόλιν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διασώσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, καίτοι καὶ μοῖρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου καταπεπτώκει ἐξαπιναιῶς. [3] ἡώρητο γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται· ἄνδρες τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐθελούσιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενοι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβῶν καλλίνικον. [4] ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν νεανίας τις Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὃνπερ Γούζην ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐκάλουν. [5] οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐδείματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἥρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [6] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης, Περσῶν σφίσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, πληγεὶς αὐτίκα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς οἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἕτερος ἀμύνων ἦλθε· [7] Πέρσης δὲ ἀνὴρ, Μιρράνης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δέισας, Πέρσαις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐπέστελλε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα ἔχεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Δαγισθαῖον σταλεὶς θῶπας τε καὶ ἀπατηλοὺς προὔτεινέτο λόγους, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὁμολογῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐνδῶσειν τὴν πόλιν. ταύτη τε παρακρούσασθαι ἵσχυσεν, ὥς μὴ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. [8] Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Μερμερόην ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλακτήριον ὑπηντίαζον ἐς ἑκατὸν ὄντες, καρτερῶς τε ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρωμένους ἀνέστελλον. [9] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ὑπεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κτεινομένους αἰεὶ ἕτεροι ἐκδεχόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, παντὶ σθένει τὴν εἰσόδον βιαζόμενοι. [10] θνήσκουσι μὲν Πέρσαι πλέον ἢ χίλιοι, κτείνοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεῖπον, τοῦ τε ὁμίλου σφᾶς βιαζομένου ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνῃ ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀναδραμόντες ἐσώθησαν. [11] ταῦτα Δαγισθαῖος μαθὼν αὐτίκα τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσεν, οὐδὲν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστείλας, ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν τε ποταμὸν ἤλαννε· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες εἶποντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπόντες. [12] Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ ποιούμενα κατιδόντες τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέφρον καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἀμφὶ τὰς

καλύβας τῶν πολεμίων ἦλθον, ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξαίρησιντες. [13] Τζάνοι δὲ οὐ γὰρ Δαγισθαῖω ἐπισπόμενοι ἔτυχον ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τρεψάμενοι τε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [14] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, Τζάνοι δὲ ληισάμενοι τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς τοῦ Ῥιζαίου ἐχώρησαν. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐλθόντες διὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [15] Μερμερόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήσων στρατὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν ἐνάτη· οὗ δὴ ἀπολελειμμένους ἐκ τοῦ Περσῶν φυλακτηρίου τραυματίας μὲν καὶ ἀπομάχους γεγεννημένους πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους εὗρον, ἀκραιφνεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους· οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐτεθνήκεσαν. [16] ὥνπερ τὰ σώματα οἱ περιόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς οὐδαμῇ ἔρριψαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὁσμῆς δυσώδει ἀποπνιγόμενοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ὡς μὴ τίνα ἐς τὸ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίῳις, ἅτε τῶν πλείστων ἀπολωλότων σφίσι, παρέχονται. [17] ὁ τε Μερμερόης ἐπιτωθάζων δακρύων τε καὶ θρήνων ἀξίαν Ῥωμαίων τὴν πολιτείαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, οἷς γε δὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἀσθενείας περιεστήκει τὰ πράγματα, ὡς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀτειχίστους Πέρσας μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ ἐξελεῖν δεδυνῆσθαι. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν περιβόλου ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τίτανον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει τάδε. [19] θυλάκους λινοῦς, οἷς δὴ Πέρσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν ἐσεκομίσαντο ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα, ψάμμου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐς τῶν λίθων τὴν χώραν ἐτίθετο, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα βαλλόμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ τοίχου ἐγίνοντο. [20] καὶ τρισχιλίους μὲν τῶν μαχίμων ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, οἷσπερ τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐκ ἐς χρόνον κατέθετο μῆκος, ἐπιστείλας τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλauen. [21] Ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἰόντι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγένετο πόρος, ἅπαντα ἐν Πέτρᾳ λιπόντι ἅπερ ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ὁ στρατὸς ἔτυχεν, ἄλλην τινὰ πορείαν ἰέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν διενοεῖτο, ἵνα δὴ ἀνθρώπους οἰκεῖν ἔμαθεν, [22] ὅπως ληιζόμενοι ἀποζῇν δύνωνται. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Φοῦβελις ὄνομα, Πέρσας αὐλιζομένους ἐνήδρευσεν, Δαγισθαῖον ἅμα Ῥωμαίων δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἵππους νέμοντάς τινας ἔκτειναν, ἵππους τε ληισάμενοι δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Μερμερόης τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐνθένδε ἦει. [23] Ὁ δὲ Γουβάζης, μαθὼν ὅσα δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τε τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ τῷ στενωπῷ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥς ἔδωκεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν στενωπῷ φυλακὴν εἶασεν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος οἰόμενος εἶναι. [24] ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὡς, ἦν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ βιασάμενοι Πέρσαι τὸν στενωπὸν διαβῆναι καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ γενέσθαι δεδύνηνται, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνθένδε Λαζῶν τῇ χώρᾳ προστρίψαιτο βλάβος, Φᾶσιν διαβῆναι οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ νηῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν. [25] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἱκανώτατα ἔχει, εὗρους δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκει. [26] τῆς μέντοι ρύμης αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον περίεστιν ὥστε δὴ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπὶ μακρότατον κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμιγνύμενος. ὕδωρ ἀμέλει πότιμον τοῖς ἐκεῖνῃ ναυτιλλομένοις ὑδρεύεσθαι

πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει. [27] καὶ φυλακῆρια μέντοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς πεποιήνται πανταχόθι Λαζοί, τοῦ μηδὲ ναυσὶ διαπορθμευομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπόβασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν εἶναι. [28] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Σαβεΐρων μὲν τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ξυγκείμενα χρήματα ἔπεμψε, Γουβάζην δὲ καὶ Λαζοὺς χρήμασιν ἄλλοις δεδώρηται. [29] ἐτύγγανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐς Λαζικὴν πέμψας, οἱ οὐπω ἀφικόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχον. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ῥεκίθαγγος ἐκ Θράκης, ἀνὴρ ξυнетὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. [30] Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, Πέτραν ἐνθένδε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμπιπλάναι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἐπαρκέσειν γὰρ τῷ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίῳ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντι τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐδαμῇ ᾧετο ἅπερ εἰσκομισάμενοι ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον. [31] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ σφίσι γινόμενα μόλις ἀπέχρη ἐς τὴν δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισμυρίοις οὖσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Πέτραν οἰοί τε ἦσαν, λογισάμενος εὗρισκε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὸ μὲν πλεόν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς ἐνταῦθα μείναι, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν πολλὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακῆριον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις αὐτοὶ διαρκῶς χρῆσθαι: [32] ἄνδρας οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε τρεῖς καὶ Φάβριζον κατεστήσατο. [33] πλείους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα λείπεσθαι οὐ οἱ ἔδοξεν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ὄντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσαρμενίαν ἐλθὼν ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δούβιος χωρίοις. [34] Οἱ δὲ πεντακισχιλίοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγγυτέρω τῶν Λαζικῆς ἐσχάτων ἦλθον, παρὰ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες, ἔνθεν τε κατ' ὀλίγους περιόντες ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [35] ὣν δὴ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε βοηθεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδῇ: δράσειν γὰρ σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους κακὸν τι μέγα δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι. [36] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, παντὶ τε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ἕως ἐς χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ οἱ Λαζοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθῃ. [37] ἐτύγγανε δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατὸς ὢν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν καὶ Πέρσαι ἀπειρία τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὥς ἤκιστα ὑπετόπαζον, Λαζοὶ μὲντοι ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐνταῦθα διέβησαν ἐξαπιναιῶς καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ: Πέρσαι δὲ ἄνδρας χιλίους τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀπολεξάμενοι ἔπεμψαν, ὥς μὴ τις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ᾖ. [38] ὧν περ δύο ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ προτερήσαντες καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκότες τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐσήγγειλαν. [39] διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπέστησαν, οὐδεὶς τε αὐτῶν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ζωγρήσαντες οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον τό τε μέτρον τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος μαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρόντα ἔχοι. [40] ἄραντες οὖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν, διαριθμούμενοι ὅπως πόρρω που τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιπέσοιεν σφίσι: τετρακισχιλίοι δὲ καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν. [41] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες μακρόν τινα ὕπνον ἐκάθειδον: τὸν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν ἀπόρευτον ᾧοντο εἶναι καὶ τοὺς χιλίους, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ὑπαντιάσαντος, [42] ἐπὶ μακρότατόν πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Λαζοὶ

ὄρθρου βαθέος ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὕπνον αἰρουμένους εὖρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγληγεμένους καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων κειμένους. [43] διὸ δὴ αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώγρησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐν σκοτῷ διαφεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. [44] τό τε στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ αἰροῦσι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα πάντα, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐλήισαντο, καὶ ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων μέγα τι χρήμα. [45] ἐπὶ μακρότατον δὲ τὴν διώξιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας πόρρω ἀφίκοντο. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Περσῶν ἐντυχόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [46] οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι ἀπήλλαξαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαζοὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἄλευρα παμπληθῇ ἐνταῦθα εὐρόντες ἅπαντα ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηγάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Πέτραν ἐσκομίσονται. [47] Λαζῶν τε πολλοὺς ἐλίποντο ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, ὥς μηκέτι Πέρσαις ἐς Πέτραν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι δυνατὰ εἶη, ζύν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ λεία καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνέστρεφον. [48] καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Πέρσας ἐκεχειρίας, τρίτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [49] Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης ἐνιαιυτῷ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦλθε. τῆνικάδε γὰρ Θεοδώρῃ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐπεγένετο ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου. [50] τῶν μέντοι πρόσθεν ἀξιωματῶν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου τιμῆς ἱερεὺς ἔμεινε· καίτοι φάντασμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγεγόνει πολλάκις ὥς εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφίξεται. [51] φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠραῖζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀπὸ μειζόνων τε καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐλπίδων κρεμᾶν οἷς δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερεῶς φύσεως τὴν διάνοιαν ἐστάναι ξυμβαίνει. [52] καὶ τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τερατολόγοι φαντάσεις ἐς αἰεὶ προὔλεγον καὶ ὥς χρῆν αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου ἀμπίσχεσθαι σχῆμα. [53] ἦν δέ τις ἱερεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Αὐγουστος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ τῶν κειμηλίων τοῦ τῆς Σοφίας ἱεροῦ φυλακὴν εἶχεν. [54] ἡνίκα τοίνυν Ἰωάννης ἀποθριζάμενος τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἠξίωτο βίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐσθῆς ἱερῇ πρέπουσα, τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ Αὐγοῦστου, ἐγγὺς πη ὄντος, τὸν τε φαινόλην καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι πρὸς τῶν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐφεστῶτων ἠνάγκαστο, ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη, οἶμαι, ἡ πρόρρησις.

But Mermeroes, after passing the Iberian frontier with the whole Median army, was moving forward with the River Phasis on his right. For he was quite unwilling to go through the country of Lazica, lest any obstacle should confront him there. For he was eager to save the city of Petra and the Persians in it, even though a portion of the circuit-wall had fallen down suddenly. For it had been hanging in the air, as I have said; and volunteers from the Roman army to the number of fifty got inside the city, and raised the shout proclaiming the Emperor Justinian triumphant. These men were led by a young man of Armenian birth, John by name, the son of Thomas whom they used to call by the surname Gouzes. This Thomas had built many of the strongholds about Lazica at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor an intelligent person. Now John, when the Persians joined battle with his men, was wounded and straightway withdrew to the camp with his followers, since no one else of the Roman army came to support him. Meanwhile the Persian Mirranes who commanded the garrison in Petra, fearing for the city, directed all the Persians to keep guard with the greatest diligence, and he himself went to Dagisthaeus, and addressed him with fawning speeches and deceptive words, agreeing readily to surrender the city not long afterwards. In this way he succeeded in deceiving him so that the Roman army did not immediately enter the city.

Now when the army of Mermeroes came to the pass, the Roman garrison, numbering one hundred men, confronted them there and offered a stalwart resistance, and they held in check their opponents who were attempting the entrance. But the Persians by no means withdrew, but those who fell were constantly replaced by others, and they kept advancing, trying with all their strength to force their way in. Among the Persians more than a thousand perished, but at last the Romans were worn out with killing, and, being forced back by the throng, they withdrew, and running up to the heights of the mountain there were saved. Dagisthaeus, upon learning this, straightway abandoned the siege without giving any commands to the army, and proceeded to the River Phasis; and all the Romans followed him, leaving their possessions behind in the camp. And when the Persians observed what was being done, they opened their gates and came forth, and approached the tents of the enemy in order to capture the camp. But the Tzani, who had not followed after Dagisthaeus, as it happened, rushed out to defend the camp, and they routed the enemy without difficulty and killed many. So the Persians fled inside their fortifications, and the Tzani, after plundering the Roman camp proceeded straight for Rhizaëum. And from there they came to Athens and betook themselves to their homes through the territory of the Trapezuntines.

And Mermeroes and the Median army came there on the ninth day after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus; and in the city they found left of the Persian garrison three hundred and fifty men wounded and unfit for fighting, and only one hundred and fifty men unhurt; for all the rest had perished. Now the survivors had in no case thrown the bodies of the fallen outside the fortifications, but though stifled by the evil stench, they held out in a manner beyond belief, in order that they might not afford the enemy any encouragement for the prosecution of the siege, by letting them know that most of their number had perished. And Mermeroes remarked by way of a taunt that the Roman state was worthy of tears and lamentation, because they had come to such a state of weakness that they had been unable by any device to capture one hundred and fifty Persians without a wall. And he was eager to build up the portions of the circuit-wall which had fallen down; but since at the moment he had neither lime nor any of the other necessary materials for the building ready at hand, he devised the following plan. Filling with sand the linen bags in which the Persians had carried their provisions into the land of Colchis, he laid them in the place of the stones, and the bags thus arranged took the place of the wall. And choosing out three thousand of his able fighting men, he left them there, depositing with them victuals for no great length of time, and commanding them to attend to the building of the fortifications; then he himself with all the rest of the army turned back and marched away.

But since, if he went from there by the same road, no means of provisioning his army was available, since he had left everything in Petra which had been brought in by the army from Iberia, he planned to go by another route through the mountains, where he learned that the country was inhabited, in order that by foraging there he might be able to live off the land. In the course of this journey one of the notables among the Lazi, Phoubelis by name, laid an ambush for the Persians while camping for the night, bringing with him Dagisthaeus with two thousand of the Romans; and these men, making a sudden attack, killed some of the Persians who were grazing their horses, and after securing the horses as plunder they shortly withdrew. Thus, then, Mermeroes with the Median army departed from there.

But Goubazes, upon learning what had befallen the Romans both at Petra and at the pass, did not even so become frightened, nor did he give up the guarding of the pass where he was, considering that their hope centred in that place. For he understood that, even if the Persians had been able by forcing back the Romans on the left of the River Phasis to cross over the pass and get into Petra, they could thereby inflict no injury upon the land of the Lazi, since they were utterly unable to cross the Phasis, in particular because no ships were at their disposal. For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a

very great distance, without mingling at all with the sea-water. Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of the sea. Moreover, the Lazi have erected fortresses all along the right bank of the river, in order that, even when the enemy are ferried across in boats, they may not be able to disembark on the land.

The Emperor Justinian at this time sent to the nation of the Sabeiri the money which had been agreed upon, and he rewarded Goubazes and the Lazi with additional sums of money. And it happened that long before this time he had sent another considerable army also to Lazica, which had not yet arrived there. The commander of this army was Rhecithancus, from Thrace, a man of discretion and a capable warrior. Such then was the course of these events.

Now when Mermeroes got into the mountains, as I have said, he was anxious to fill Petra with provisions from there. For he did not by any means think that the victuals which they had brought in with them would suffice for the garrison there, amounting to three thousand men. But since the supplies they found along the way barely sufficed for the provisioning of that army, which numbered no less than thirty thousand, and since on this account they were able to send nothing at all of consequence to Petra, upon consideration he found it better for them that the greater part of the army should depart from the land of Colchis, and that some few should remain there, who were to convey to the garrison in Petra the most of the provisions which they might find, while using the rest to maintain themselves comfortably. He therefore selected five thousand men and left them there, appointing as commanders over them Phabrizus and three others. For it seemed to him unnecessary to leave more men there, since there was no enemy at all. And he himself with the rest of the army came into Persarmenia and remained quietly in the country around Doubios.

Now the five thousand, upon coming nearer to the frontier of Lazica, encamped in a body beside the Phasis River, and from there they went about in small bands and plundered the neighbouring country. Now when Goubazes perceived this, he sent word to Dagisthaeus to hasten there to his assistance: for it would be possible for them to do the enemy some great harm. And he did as directed, moving forward with the whole Roman army with the River Phasis on the left, until he came to the place where the Lazi were encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Now it happened that the Phasis could be forded at this point, a fact which neither the Romans nor the Persians suspected in the least because of their lack of familiarity with these regions; but the Lazi knew it well, and they made the crossing suddenly and joined the Roman army. And the Persians chose out a thousand men of repute among them and sent them forth, that no one might advance against the camp to harm it. And two of this force, who had gone out ahead of their fellows to reconnoitre, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy and informed them

of the whole situation. The Romans, therefore, and the Lazi fell suddenly upon the thousand men, and not one of them succeeded in escaping, but the most of them were slain, while some also were captured; and through these the men of Goubazes and Dagisthaeus succeeded in learning the numbers of the Median army and the length of the journey to them and the condition in which they then were. They therefore broke camp and marched against them with their whole army, calculating so that they would fall upon them well on in the night; their own force amounted to fourteen thousand men. Now the Persians, having no thought of an enemy in their minds, were enjoying a long sleep; for they supposed that the river was impassable, and that the thousand men, with no one to oppose them, were making a long march somewhere. But the Romans and Lazi at early dawn unexpectedly fell upon them, and they found some still buried in slumber and others just roused from sleep and lying defenceless upon their beds. Not one of them, therefore, thought of resistance, and the majority were caught and killed, while some also were captured by the enemy, among whom happened to be one of the commanders; only a few escaped in the darkness and were saved. And the Romans and Lazi captured the camp and all the standards, and they also secured many weapons and a great deal of money as plunder, besides great numbers of horses and mules. And pursuing them for a very great distance they came well into Iberia. There they happened upon certain others of the Persians also and slew a great number. Thus the Persians departed from Lazica; and the Romans and Lazi found there all the supplies, including great quantities of flour, which the barbarians had brought in from Iberia, in order to transport them to Petra, and they burned them all. And they left a large number of Lazi in the pass, so that it might no longer be possible for the Persians to carry in supplies to Petra, and they returned with all the plunder and the captives. [549 A.D.] And the fourth year of the truce between the Romans and Persians came to an end, being the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And John the Cappadocian one year before this came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor. For at that time the Empress Theodora had reached the term of her life. However, he was quite unable to recover any of his former dignities, but he continued to hold the priestly honour against his will; and yet the vision had often come to the man that he would arrive at royalty. For the divine power is accustomed to tempt those whose minds are not solidly grounded by nature, by holding before their vision, on great and lofty hopes, that which is counted splendid among men. At any rate the marvel-mongers were always predicting to this John many such imaginary things, and especially that he was bound to be clothed in the garment of Augustus. Now there was a certain priest in Byzantium, Augustus by name, who guarded the treasures of the temple of Sophia. So when John had been shorn and declared worthy of the priestly dignity by force, inasmuch as he had no garment becoming a priest, he had been compelled by those who were in charge of this

business to put on the cloak and the tunic of this Augustus who was near by, and in this, I suppose, his prophecy reached its fulfilment.

BOOK III. THE VANDALIC WAR

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ'Ο

μὲν οὖν Μηδικὸς πόλεμος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα ἔς τε Βανδίλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους αὐτῷ εἵργασται φράσω ἐρχομαι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ὅθεν ὁ Βανδύλων στρατὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψε χώρα. [2] ἐπειδὴ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγωνὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, διεδεξάσθην αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἅμφω τῶ παίδε, Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μοῖραν, τὴν ἐσπερίαν δὲ Ὀνώριος ὁ νεώτερος. [3] διήρητο δὲ ὧδε τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τε Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ὃς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταθέμενος μείζω τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῶ ἐπιφανεστέραν καταστησάμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε προσαγορευέσθαι. [4] Περιλαμβάνει μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν ὠκεανὸς ἢ ζύμπασαν ἢ τὴν πολλήν· οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἄμφ' αὐτῷ ἴσμεν· σχίζει δὲ αὐτὴν δίχα ἐς ἡπείρους δύο ἐκροή τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέρion εἰσβάλλουσα μοῖραν καὶ ταύτην δὴ ποιούμενη τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀπὸ Γαδεῖρων μὲν ἀρξαμένη, ἐς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκουσα λίμνην. [5] ταύταιν ταῖν ἡπείροιον ἄτερα μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὴν θάλασσαν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν λίμνην Ἀσία κέκληται, ἀπὸ τε Γαδεῖρων καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν. [6] Σέπτον καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνη φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενων ἐνταῦθα· τὸ γὰρ σέπτον ἐπὶ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται. [7] ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ ζύμπασα Εὐρώπῃ ἐκλήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ πορθμὸς τέτταρσι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν διείργει, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν πελάγεσι μεγάλοις ἀλλήλαιν διέχετον μέχρις Ἑλλησπόντου. [8] ταύτῃ γὰρ ξυνίασιν αὐθις ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Καλχηδόνι μέχρι τῶν πάλαι Κυανέων λεγομένων πετρῶν, οὗ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις μέτρῳ δέκα σταδίων τε καὶ τούτου ἐλάσσονι διείργεσθον ἀλλήλαιν. [9] Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν διὰ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἰόντι καὶ οὐ περιερχομένῳ κόλπον τε τὸν Ἴονιον καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε Καλχηδόνης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔκ τε Δρυοῦντος ἐς ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέραν καταίροντι, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίῳ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. [10] τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, ὃς ἐκ Βυζαντίου χωρεῖ εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἅπαντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, βαρβάρων τῶν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσι, Ῥωμαίοις βατὴν ἥκιστα ποιούμενων τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐκ Βυζαντίου μὲν ἐς τὰς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐκβολὰς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὥσπερ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λογιζομένους ἐντιθέσθαι προσήκει. [11] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραν, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνης ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ Κόλχων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πόντον, ἀνύεται τεσσαράκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν. [12] ὥστε ζύμπασα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ γε τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ

τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ξύνεισι μέτρον, ἣν τις, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα διήκοντα σταδίους ἐκ Δρυοῦντος διαπορθμεύηται. [13] ἢ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου πάροδος ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν διήκει οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τεσσάρων. τοσαύτη μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ γε τὸν παλαιὸν ἐγένετο χρόνον. [14] Ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐσπερίας ἔχοντι κράτος Λιβύης τὰ πλεῖστα διήκοντα ἐς ἐνενήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν: τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐκ Γαδεΐρων ἐς τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ Τριπόλεως ἐστίν: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἔλαχε: [15] τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλεους στηλῶν ἐς κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον τυγχάνει οὖσα. προσθείη δὲ ἂν τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περιόδον. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ τῆς ἑω ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁδὸν ἐκληρώσατο ἐκ τῶν Κυρήνης ὁρίων τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ μέχρι Ἐπιδάμνου, ἣ πρὸς αὐτῷ κεῖται τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, Δυρράχιον τανῦν καλουμένη, καὶ ὅση ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστί. [17] μιᾷ δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς ἐς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίους, ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε ἰέναι. οὕτω μὲν ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν οἱ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες διείλοντο σφίσι. [18] τῶν δὲ δὴ νήσων Βρεττανία μὲν, ἢ ἐκτὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων νήσων πασῶν μεγίστη παρὰ πολὺ οὖσα, μετὰ τῆς ἐσπερίας, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάττετο μοίρας: ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἔβουσα, ὥσπερ ἐν Προποντίδι τῇ μετὰ τὴν ὠκεανοῦ ἐσβολὴν ἐν θαλάσῃ κειμένη, ἐς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα διήκουσα, καὶ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕτεραι, Μαῖορικά τε καὶ Μινορικά ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι. [19] τῶν δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν νήσων ἐκάστη θατέρῳ τοῖν βασιλείοιν ἐπέβαλεν, ὡς αὐτῇ ἐντὸς πού τῶν ἐκείνου ὁρίων ξυνέβαινε κεῖσθαι.

I

Such, then, was the final outcome of the Persian War for the Emperor Justinian; and I shall now proceed to set forth all that he did against the Vandals and the Moors. But first shall be told whence came the host of the Vandals when they descended upon the land of the Romans. After Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, had departed from the world, having proved himself one of the most just of men and an able warrior, his kingdom was taken over by his two sons, Arcadius, the elder, receiving the Eastern portion, and Honorius, the younger, the Western. [Jan. 17, 395 A.D.] But the Roman power had been thus divided as far back as the time of Constantine and his sons; for he transferred his government to Byzantium, and making the city larger and much more renowned, allowed it to be named after him.

Now the earth is surrounded by a circle of ocean, either entirely or for the most part (for our knowledge is not as yet at all clear in this matter); and it is split into two continents by a sort of outflow from the ocean, a flow which enters at the western part and forms this Sea which we know, beginning at Gadira and extending all the way to the Maeotic Lake. Of these two continents the one to the right, as one sails into the Sea, as far as the Lake, has received the name of Asia, beginning at Gadira and at the southern of the two Pillars of Heracles. Septem is the name given by the natives to the fort at that point, since seven hills appear there; for "septem" has the force of "seven" in the Latin tongue. And the whole continent opposite this was named Europe. And the strait at that point separates the two continents by about eighty-four stades, but from there on they are kept apart by wide expanses of sea as far as the Hellespont. For at this point they again approach each other at Sestus and Abydos, and once more at Byzantium and Chalcedon as far as the rocks called in ancient times the "Dark Blue Rocks," where even now is the place called Hieron. For at these places the continents are separated from one another by a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.

Now the distance from one of the Pillars of Heracles to the other, if one goes along the shore and does not pass around the Ionian Gulf and the sea called the Euxine but crosses from Chalcedon to Byzantium and from Dryous to the opposite mainland, is a journey of two hundred and eighty-five days for an unencumbered traveller. For as to the land about the Euxine Sea, which extends from Byzantium to the Lake, it would be impossible to tell everything with precision, since the barbarians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, make the shore of that sea quite impossible for the Romans to traverse — except, indeed, that from Byzantium to the mouth of the Ister is a journey of twenty-two days, which should be added to the measure of Europe by one making the computation. And on the Asiatic side, that is from

Chalcedon to the Phasis River, which, flowing from the country of the Colchians, descends into the Pontus, the journey is accomplished in forty days. So that the whole Roman domain, according to the distance along the sea at least, attains the measure of a three hundred and forty-seven days' journey, if, as has been said, one ferries over the Ionian Gulf, which extends about eight hundred stades from Dryous. For the passage across the gulf amounts to a journey of not less than four days. Such, then, was the size of the Roman empire in the ancient times.

And there fell to him who held the power in the West the most of Libya, extending ninety days' journey — for such is the distance from Gadira to the boundaries of Tripolis in Libya; and in Europe he received as his portion territory extending seventy-five days' journey — for such is the distance from the northern of the Pillars of Heracles to the Ionian Gulf. And one might add also the distance around the gulf. And the emperor of the East received territory extending one hundred and twenty days' journey, from the boundaries of Cyrene in Libya as far as Epidamnus, which lies on the Ionian Gulf and is called at the present time Dyrrachium, as well as that portion of the country about the Euxine Sea which, as previously stated, is subject to the Romans. Now one day's journey extends two hundred and ten stades, or as far as from Athens to Megara. Thus, then, the Roman emperors divided either continent between them. And among the islands Britain, which is outside the Pillars of Heracles and by far the largest of all islands, was counted, as is natural, with the West; and inside the Pillars, Ebusa, which lies in the Mediterranean in what we may call the Propontis, just inside the opening where the ocean enters, about seven days' journey from the opening, and two others near it, Majorica and Minorica, as they are called by the natives, were also assigned to the Western empire. And each of the islands in the Sea itself fell to the share of that one of the two emperors within whose boundaries it happened to lie.

Ὁνωρίου δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς ἔχοντος βασιλείαν βάρβαροι τὴν ἐκείνου κατέλαβον χώραν: οἵτινες δὲ καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, λελέξεται. [2] Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρότερόν τε ἦν καὶ τανῦν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάντων μέγιστα τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα Γότθοι τέ εἰσι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Γήπαιδες. πάλαι μέντοι Σαυρομάται καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι ὠνομάζοντο: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ Γετικὰ ἔθνη ταῦτ' ἐκάλουν. [3] οὗτοι ἅπαντες ὀνόμασι μὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἄλλω δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ διαλλάσσουσι. [4] λευκοὶ τε γὰρ ἅπαντες τὰ σώματά εἰσι καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί, εὐμήκεις τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ νόμοις μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται, [5] ὁμοίως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἡσκηται. τῆς γὰρ Ἀρείου δόξης εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, φωνή τε αὐτοῖς ἔστι μία, Γοτθικὴ λεγομένη: καὶ μοι δοκοῦν ἐξ ἐνὸς μὲν εἶναι ἅπαντες τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθνος, ὀνόμασι δὲ ὕστερον τῶν ἐκάστοις ἡγησασμένων διακεκρίσθαι. [6] οὗτος ὁ λεὼς ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾠκουν. ἔπειτα Γήπαιδες μὲν τὰ ἀμφὶ Σιγγιδόνον τε καὶ Σίρμιον χωρία ἔσχον, ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς

ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἴδρυνται. [7] Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐσιγόθοι μὲν ἐνθὲνδε ἀναστάντες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Ἀρκαδίου βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὃν γὰρ οἶδε βαρβάρους ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἢ ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστις, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Ἀλαρίχου, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκατέρου βασιλέως ἐτράποντο, ἐκ Θράκης τε ἀρξάμενοι ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ὡς πολεμία ἐχρήσαντο. [8] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ὀνώριος πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθήστο, οὐδὲν ὅτι καὶ πολέμιον ἐν νῶ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶν, οἶμαι, ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἡσυχάζειν ἐφῆ. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄποθεν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ που ἐν Ταυλαντίοις εἶναι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἡγγέλλοντο, καταλιπὼν τὰ βασιλεία οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν φεύγει, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν ἐς αὐτόν που λήγοντα κειμένην τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον. [10] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπαγαγέσθαι, στάσεως αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων γεγενημένης, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, [11] ὅσα γε τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογίζεσθαι ἦθος. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἀπῆντα πολέμιον, γίνονται ὁμότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. πόλεις τε γάρ, ὅσας εἶλον, οὕτω κατειργάσαντο ὥστε οὐδὲν εἰς ἐμὲ αὐταῖς ἀπολέλειπται γνῶρισμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι πύργον ἓνα ἢ πύλιν μίαν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο αὐταῖς περιεῖναι ξυνέβη: [12] τοὺς τε ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον, ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἐν ποσίν, ὁμοίως μὲν πρεσβύτας, ὁμοίως δὲ νέους, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι. ὅθεν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀλιγάνθρωπον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [13] χρήματα δὲ ἅπαντα ἐλήσαντο ἐκ πάσης Εὐρώπης, καί, τό γε κεφάλαιον, ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τε δημοσίων τῶν τε ἰδίων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπολιπόντες ἐπὶ Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν. τρόπῳ δὲ ὅτῳ Ῥώμην Ἀλάριχος εἶλεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [14] Ἐπειδὴ χρόνος τέ οἱ πολὺς ἐν τῇ προσεδρεία ἐτέτριπτο καὶ οὔτε βία οὔτε τινὶ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ ἴσχυσε τὸ χωρίον εἶναι, ἐπενόει τάδε. [15] τῶν ἐν στρατῷ νεανίων οὕπῳ γενειασκόντων, ἀλλ' ἄρτι ἡβηκότων, τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, οὕσπερ εὖ τε γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι ἠπίστατο, ἔφασκε μὲν αὐτοῖς κρύφα ὡς σφίσι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πατρικίων τινάς, ἅτε δούλοις οὗσι διήθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δωρήσεσθαι μέλλοι. [16] παρήγγελλε δὲ ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων οἰκίαις τάχιστα γένωνται, πράοτητα πολλὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους ἅπαντα προθύμως ὑπηρετεῖν, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν κεκτημένων ἐπικείμενα ἦ: [17] ἔπειτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μάλιστα μέσῃν, ἀπάντων ἤδη τῶν αὐτοὺς ληψομένων ὕπνον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μετὰ τὰ σιτία αἰρουμένων, ἐν πύλῃ ἅπαντας τῇ Σαλαρίᾳ καλουμένῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τε φύλακας οὐδὲν προαισθομένους ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κτείνειν τὰς τε πύλας ἀνοιγνύναι ὡς τάχιστα. [18] ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλας Ἀλάριχος τοῖς νεανίαις, πρέσβεις αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἔπεμψε, δηλῶν ὅτι ἀγασθεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐς τὸν σφῶν βασιλεία εὐνοίας, οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλήσει, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως ἕνεκα, ἧς ἐς ἄγαν μεταποιεῖσθαι εἰσιν ἐνδηλοί, ὅπως τε αὐτοῦ μνημεῖα παρ' ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς σώζοιτο, οἰκέταις τισὶ δωρεῖσθαι βούλοιτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστον. [19] ταῦτα σημήνας καὶ τοὺς νεανίας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στείλας, συσκευάζεσθαι ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκέλευε, τούτου τε αἰσθησιν Ῥωμαίοις παρεῖχεν. [20] οἱ δὲ τούς τε λόγους ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενοι ἐν πολλῇ εὐπαθείᾳ ἐγένοντο, ἕκαστάτῳ τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου

ἐπιβουλῆς ὄντες. [21] οἱ τε γὰρ νέοι τῷ εὐπειθέστεροι τοῖς κεκτημένοις εἶναι τὸ ὑποπτον ἀπεκρούοντο, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἐξανιστάμενοι τε καὶ διαλύοντες τὴν προσεδρείαν ἐφαίνοντο, οἱ δὲ ὅσον οὐπω ταῦτο τοῦτο ποιήσειν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κυρία παρῆν, Ἀλάριχος μὲν ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν ἄγχιστα πύλης τῆς Σαλαρίας· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος τῆς πολιορκίας κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε. [23] ζύμπαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίαί κAIRῶ τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πύλην γενόμενοι τοὺς τε φύλακας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀπέκτειναν, τὰς τε πύλας ἀνακλίναντες κατ' ἐξουσίαν Ἀλάριχόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο. [24] οἱ δὲ τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν αἱ τῆς πύλης ἄγχιστα ἦσαν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος, ἥς δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡμίκαντα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε· τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην ληισάμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [25] τότε λέγουσιν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ Ὀνωρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τινα εὐνούχων δηλονότι ὀρνιθοκόμον ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμη ἀπόλωλε. καὶ τὸν ἀναβοήσαντα φάναι· 'Καίτοι ἔναγχος ἐδήδοκεν ἐκ χειρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν.' εἶναι γὰρ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνα ὑπερμεγέθη, [26] Ῥώμην ὄνομα· καὶ τὸν μὲν εὐνούχον ξυνέντα τοῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν Ῥώμην τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀλάριχου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀνενεγκόντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαβεῖν· 'Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, ὃ ἐταῖρε, Ῥώμην μοι ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ὄρνιν ᾤήτην.' τοσαύτη ἀμαθία τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἔχεσθαι λέγουσι. [27] Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω Ῥώμην Ἀλάριχῳ ἀλῶναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πρόβην γυναικα, πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ ἐπιφανεστάτην μάλιστα οὖσαν, οἰκτεῖραι μὲν λιμῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ διαφθειρομένους Ῥωμαίους, οἱ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤδη ἐγεύοντο· ὁρῶσαν δὲ ὡς πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἐλπίς ἀγαθὴ ἐπιλελοιπεί, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχομένου πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγκελεύσασθαι νύκτωρ ἀνοιγνύναι τὰς πύλας. [28] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλάριχος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐξανίστασθαι ἔμελλεν, Ἄτταλον τῶν τινα εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπε, περιθέμενος αὐτῷ τὸ τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἦκει. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὡς παραλύσων μὲν τῆς βασιλείας Ὀνώριον, παραδώσων δὲ ἅπαν Ἀττάλῳ τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος. [29] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἄτταλός τε καὶ Ἀλάριχος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἄτταλος οὗτος οὔτε αὐτός τι νοεῖν ἰκανὸς οὔτε τῷ εὖ εἰπόντι πεισθῆναι. [30] Ἀλάριχου γοῦν ἦκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος ἐς Λιβύην στρατιᾶς χωρὶς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [31] Βρεττανία δὲ ἡ νῆσος Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη, οἱ τε ἐκείνῃ στρατιῶται βασιλέα σφίσι Κωνσταντῖνον εἵλοντο, οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἄνδρα. ὅς δὴ αὐτίκα στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στρατιὰν λόγου ἀξίαν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν τε καὶ Γαλλίαν ὡς δουλωσόμενος στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλεν. [32] Ὀνώριος δὲ πλοῖα μὲν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, προσεδέχετο δὲ τὰς ἐκ Λιβύης τύχας, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν ἀποκρουσθεῖεν οἱ παρὰ Ἀττάλου σταλέντες, πλέοι τε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ μοῖραν τινα τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχοι, ἦν δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκείνῃ πράγματα ἴοι, ἐς Θεοδοσίον τε ἴκοιτο καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ εἴη. [33] Ἀρκαδίου γὰρ ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τελευτήσαντος, Θεοδοσίος ἐκείνου υἱός, ἔτι παῖς ὢν κομιδῇ, εἶχε τῆς ἔω ἀρχήν. [34] ταῦτα Ὀνωρίῳ παραδοκοῦντι καὶ ἐν τρικυμίαις φερομένῳ τῆς τύχης εὐτυχήματα θαυμάσια

ἡλικία ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [35] φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς οὔτε ἀγχίνοις οὔτε τι οἰκοθεν μηχανᾶσθαι οἷοις τε οὔσιν, ἣν μὴ πονηροὶ εἶεν, ἀπορουμένοις τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπικουρεῖν τε καὶ ξυλλαμβάνεσθαι: ὅποιον δὴ τι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τετύχηκεν. [36] ἔκ τε γὰρ Λιβύης ὡς διαφθαρεῖεν οἱ Ἀττάλου ἄρχοντες ἄφνω ἠγγέλλετο, καὶ νηῶν πλῆθος ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατιώτας ἔχουσαι ὅτι πλείστους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ ἀφικομένους οὐ προσδεχομένῳ παρήσαν, διάφορός τε Ἀττάλῳ γεγωνὺς Ἀλάριχος τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται σχῆμα καὶ ἐν ιδιώτου ἤδη τελούντα μοῖρα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε. [37] μετὰ δὲ Ἀλάριχος μὲν τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν Οὐισιγόθων στρατός, ἡγουμένου σφίσιν Ἀδασύλφου, ἐπὶ Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος μάχῃ ἡσσηθεὶς ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ θνήσκει. [38] Βρεττανίαν μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' οὔσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [39] Γότθοι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου διάβασιν ποιησάμενοι Παννονίαν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔσχον, ἔπειτα δὲ βασιλέως δόντος ὤκησαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία. [40] ἐνταῦθά τε οὐ πολὺν διατρίψαντες χρόνον τῆς ἐσπερίας ἐκράτησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Γόθων εἰρήσεται.

II

Now while Honorius was holding the imperial power in the West, barbarians took possession of his land; and I shall tell who they were and in what manner they did so. [395-423 A.D.] There were many Gothic nations in earlier times, just as also at the present, but the greatest and most important of all are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepaedes. In ancient times, however, they were named Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni; and there were some too who called these nations Getic. All these, while they are distinguished from one another by their names, as has been said, do not differ in anything else at all. For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith, and have one language called Gothic; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group. This people used to dwell above the Ister River from of old. Later on the Gepaedes got possession of the country about Singidunum and Sirmium, on both sides of the Ister River, where they have remained settled even down to my time.

But the Visigoths, separating from the others, removed from there and at first entered into an alliance with the Emperor Arcadius, but at a later time (for faith with the Romans cannot dwell in barbarians), under the leadership of Alaric, they became hostile to both emperors, and, beginning with Thrace, treated all Europe as an enemy's land. Now the Emperor Honorius had before this time been sitting in Rome, with never a thought of war in his mind, but glad, I think, if men allowed him to remain quiet in his palace. But when word was brought that the barbarians with a great army were not far off, but somewhere among the Taulantii, he abandoned the palace and fled in disorderly fashion to Ravenna, a strong city lying just about at the end of the Ionian Gulf, while some say that he brought in the barbarians himself, because an uprising had been started against him among his subjects; but this does not seem to me trustworthy, as far, at least, as one can judge of the character of the man. And the barbarians, finding that they had no hostile force to encounter them, became the most cruel of all men. For they destroyed all the cities which they captured, especially those south of the Ionian Gulf, so completely that nothing has been left to my time to know them by, unless, indeed, it might be one tower or one gate or some such thing which chanced to remain. And they killed all the people, as many as came in their way, both old and young alike, sparing neither women nor children. Wherefore even up to the present time Italy is sparsely populated. They also gathered as plunder all the money out of all Europe, and, most important of all, they left in Rome nothing whatever of public or private wealth when they moved on to Gaul. But I shall now tell how Alaric captured Rome.

After much time had been spent by him in the siege, and he had not been able either by force or by any other device to capture the place, he formed the following plan. Among the youths in the army whose beards had not yet grown, but who had just come of age, he chose out three hundred whom he knew to be of good birth and possessed of valour beyond their years, and told them secretly that he was about to make a present of them to certain of the patricians in Rome, pretending that they were slaves. And he instructed them that, as soon as they got inside the houses of those men, they should display much gentleness and moderation and serve them eagerly in whatever tasks should be laid upon them by their owners; and he further directed them that not long afterwards, on an appointed day at about midday, when all those who were to be their masters would most likely be already asleep after their meal, they should all come to the gate called Salarian and with a sudden rush kill the guards, who would have no previous knowledge of the plot, and open the gates as quickly as possible. After giving these orders to the youths, Alaric straightway sent ambassadors to the members of the senate, stating that he admired them for their loyalty toward their emperor, and that he would trouble them no longer, because of their valour and faithfulness, with which it was plain that they were endowed to a remarkable degree, and in order that tokens of himself might be preserved among men both noble and brave, he wished to present each one of them with some domestics. After making this declaration and sending the youths not long afterwards, he commanded the barbarians to make preparations for the departure, and he let this be known to the Romans. And they heard his words gladly, and receiving the gifts began to be exceedingly happy, since they were completely ignorant of the plot of the barbarian. For the youths, by being unusually obedient to their owners, averted suspicion, and in the camp some were already seen moving from their positions and raising the siege, while it seemed that the others were just on the point of doing the very same thing. But when the appointed day had come, Alaric armed his whole force for the attack and was holding them in readiness close by the Salarian Gate; for it happened that he had encamped there at the beginning of the siege. And all the youths at the time of the day agreed upon came to this gate, and, assailing the guards suddenly, put them to death; then they opened the gates and received Alaric and the army into the city at their leisure. [Aug. 24, 410 A.D.] And they set fire to the houses which were next to the gate, among which was also the house of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stood half-burned up to my time; and after plundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romans, they moved on. At that time they say that the Emperor Honorius in Ravenna received the message from one of the eunuchs, evidently a keeper of the poultry, that Rome had perished. And he cried out and said, "And yet it has just eaten from my hands!" For he had a very large cock, Rome by name; and the eunuch comprehending his words said that it was the city of Rome which had perished at the hands of Alaric, and the

emperor with a sigh of relief answered quickly: "But I, my good fellow, thought that my fowl Rome had perished." So great, they say, was the folly with which this emperor was possessed.

But some say that Rome was not captured in this way by Alaric, but that Proba, a woman of very unusual eminence in wealth and in fame among the Roman senatorial class, felt pity for the Romans who were being destroyed by hunger and the other suffering they endured; for they were already even tasting each other's flesh; and seeing that every good hope had left them, since both the river and the harbour were held by the enemy, she commanded her domestics, they say, to open the gates by night.

Now when Alaric was about to depart from Rome, he declared Attalus, one of their nobles, emperor of the Romans, investing him with the diadem and the purple and whatever else pertains to the imperial dignity. And he did this with the intention of removing Honorius from his throne and of giving over the whole power in the West to Attalus. With such a purpose, then, both Attalus and Alaric were going with a great army against Ravenna. But this Attalus was neither able to think wisely himself, nor to be persuaded by one who had wisdom to offer. So while Alaric did not by any means approve the plan, Attalus sent commanders to Libya without an army. Thus, then, were these things going on.

And the island of Britain revolted from the Romans, and the soldiers there chose as their king Constantinus, a man of no mean station. [407 A.D.] And he straightway gathered a fleet of ships and a formidable army and invaded both Spain and Gaul with a great force, thinking to enslave these countries. But Honorius was holding ships in readiness and waiting to see what would happen in Libya, in order that, if those sent by Attalus were repulsed, he might himself sail for Libya and keep some portion of his own kingdom, while if matters there should go against him, he might reach Theodosius and remain with him. For Arcadius had already died long before, and his son Theodosius, still a very young child, held the power of the East. [408-450 A.D.] But while Honorius was thus anxiously awaiting the outcome of these events and tossed amid the billows of uncertain fortune, it so chanced that some wonderful pieces of good fortune befell him. For God is accustomed to succour those who are neither clever nor able to devise anything of themselves, and to lend them assistance, if they be not wicked, when they are in the last extremity of despair; such a thing, indeed, befell this emperor. For it was suddenly reported from Libya that the commanders of Attalus had been destroyed, and that a host of ships was at hand from Byzantium with a very great number of soldiers who had come to assist him, though he had not expected them, and that Alaric, having quarrelled with Attalus, had stripped him of the emperor's garb and was now keeping him under guard in the position of a private citizen. [411 A.D.] And afterwards Alaric died of disease, and

the army of the Visigoths under the leadership of Adaulphus proceeded into Gaul, and Constantinus, defeated in battle, died with his sons. However the Romans never succeeded in recovering Britain, but it remained from that time on under tyrants. And the Goths, after making the crossing of the Ister, at first occupied Pannonia, but afterwards, since the emperor gave them the right, they inhabited the country of Thrace. And after spending no great time there they conquered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.

Βανδίλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν ὤκημένοι λίμνην, ἐπειδὴ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμανοὺς τε, οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται, καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥήνον ἐχώρουν, [2] Ἀλανοὺς ἐταιρισάμενοι, Γοτθικὸν ἔθνος. εἶτα ἐνθὲνδε, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γωδιγίσκλου, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ἰδρύσαντο, ἣ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ χώρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τότε ξυμβαίνει Γωδιγίσκλῳ Ὀνώριος ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς χώρας ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσονται. [3] νόμου δὲ ὄντος Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν τινες οὐχ ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν καὶ τρίβοιτο χρόνος εἰς τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς ἦκων, τούτοις δὴ οὐκέτι εἶναι κυρίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς βιασαμένους ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐς παραγραφὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρίσθαι τὴν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσοδόν, νόμον ἔγραψεν ὅπως ὁ τῶν Βανδύλων χρόνος, ὃν ἂν ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ διατρίβοιεν, ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν τριακοντοῦτιν παραγραφὴν ἦκιστα φέροιτο. [4] Ὀνώριος μὲν, ἐς τοῦτό οἱ τῆς ἐσπερίας ἐλληλαμένης, ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πρότερον ζῆν τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν Κωνσταντίος ἔχων, τῆς Ἀρκαδίου τε καὶ Ὀνωρίου ἀδελφῆς Πλακιδίας ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἡμέρας τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβίους ὀλίγας, πονήρως τε νοσήσας εἶτα ἀπέθανεν, Ὀνωρίου ζῶντος, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πράξαι ἰσχύσας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκει ὁ χρόνος ὃν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐβίου. [5] τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου παῖς Βαλεντινιανός, ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς, ἐν τοῖς Θεοδοσίου βασιλείοις ἐτρέφετο, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλέως αὐλῆς τῶν τινα ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν, Ἰωάννην ὄνομα, βασιλέα αἰροῦνται. [6] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρῶξος τε καὶ ξυνέσεως εὖ ἦκων καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενος. [7] πέντε γοῦν ἔτη τὴν τυραννίδα ἔχων μετρίως ἐξηγήσατο, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπέσχεεν οὔτε φόνον ἄδικον εἰργάσατο ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὔτε χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ἐπέθετο· ἐς δὲ βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πράξαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου πολέμια ἦν. [8] ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωάννην Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ἀρκαδίου στρατὸν πολὺν πέμψας καὶ στρατηγούς Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον, τὸν Ἀσπαρος υἱόν, αὐτόν τε ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ Βαλεντινιανῷ ἔτι παιδί ὄντι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκε. [9] ζῶντα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς Ἰωάννην λαβὼν ἔν τε τῷ Ἀκυληίας ἵπποδρομίῳ τὴν ἐτέραν ταῖν χεροῖν ἀποκοπέντα εἰσήγεν ἐπόμευσέ τε ὄνῳ ὀχούμενον, καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ἐνταῦθα παθόντα τε καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἔκτεινεν. οὕτω μὲν Βαλεντινιανὸς τὸ τῆς ἐσπερίας παρέλαβε κράτος. [10] Πλακιδία δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ θηλυνομένην παιδείαν τε καὶ τροφὴν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ ἐξεπαίδευσεν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακίας ἔμπλεως ἐκ παιδὸς γέγονε. [11] φαρμακεῦσί τε γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἄστρο περιέργοις ὠμίλει, ἐς τε

ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν ἔρωτας δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς πολλῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία, καίπερ γυναικὶ ξυνοικῶν εὐπρεπεῖ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς ἄγαν οὖσῃ. [12] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τι ἀνεσώσατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὧν ἀφήρητο πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιβύην προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτελευτήσῃ, τῇ τε γυναικὶ ταῖς τε παισὶ δορυαλώτοις γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε. γέγονε δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ πάθος. [14] Στρατηγὼ δύο Ῥωμαίων ἦσθιν, Αἰτίος τε καὶ Βονιφάτιος, καρτερὼ τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπείρῳ τῶν γε κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [15] τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι διαφόρῳ μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγενέσθην, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἡκέτην ὥστε, εἴ τις αὐτοῖν ἐκάτερον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ὕστατον εἴποι, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι· οὕτῳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετὴν ξύμπασαν ἐς τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε. [16] τούτοις τὸν ἕτερον Βονιφάτιον ἢ Πλακιδίαν στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε Λιβύης ἀπάσης. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν Αἰτίῳ, ἀλλ' ἡκιστα γε ὡς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄρεσκει ἐξήνεγκεν. οὐπὼ γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἡ ἐχθρα ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐκατέρῳ ἐκρύπτετο. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βονιφάτιος ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει, διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλακιδίαν ὡς τυραννοῖν, ἀποστερήσας αὐτὴν τε καὶ βασιλείαν Λιβύης ἀπάσης, ῥαδίον τε εἶναι αὐτῇ ἔλεγε τάληθες ἐξευρεῖν· ἦν γὰρ μεταπέμποιτο Βονιφάτιον ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐ μὴ ποτε ἔλθῃ. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνή, εὖ τέ οἱ εἰπεῖν Αἰτίος ἔδοξε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. προτερήσας δὲ Αἰτίος ἔγραψε πρὸς Βονιφάτιον λάθρα ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλέως μήτηρ καὶ βούλοιο αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι. [19] καὶ οἱ τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς προηγόρευεν ἔσεσθαι μέγα· ἐξ αἰτίας γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα μετάπεμπος ἔσται. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. [20] Βονιφάτιος δὲ οὐκ ἀλογήσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρῆσαν οἱ αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλείαν ἐκάλουν, ἀπεῖπε τὸ μὴ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ ἐπακούειν, οὐδενὶ τὴν Αἰτίου ὑποθήκην ἐκφήνας. [21] Πλακιδία μὲν οὖν ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Αἰτίον τε τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ᾤετο εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Βονιφατίου ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε. [22] Βονιφάτιος δὲ «καὶ γὰρ οἱ οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἐδόκει ἀντιτάξασθαι οἷω τε εἶναι ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀπιόντι οὐδεμία σωτηρία ἐφαίνεται· βουλεύεται ὅπως οἱ, ἣν δύνηται, ὁμαιχμία ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἔσται, οἱ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, ὡς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, οὐ πόρρῳ Λιβύης ἰδρύσαντο. [23] ἔνθα δὴ Γωδιγίσκος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, διεδέξαντο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐκείνου παῖδες, Γόνθαρις μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γαμετῆς γεγονώς, Γιζέριχος δὲ νόθος. [24] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτι ἦν παῖς καὶ τὸ δραστήριον οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων, Γιζέριχος δὲ τὰ τε πολέμια ὡς ἄριστα ἐξήσκητο καὶ δεινότατος ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [25] πέμψας οὖν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν Βονιφάτιος τοὺς αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐκάτερον τῶν Γωδιγίσκου παιδῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τὸ Λιβύης τριτημόριον ἔχοντα τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· ἦν δὲ τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινα ἴοι πολεμήσων, [26] κοινῇ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Βανδίλοι τὸν ἐν Γαδεΐροις πορθμὸν διαβάντες ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίκοντο καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ἰδρύσαντο. [27] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἱ Βονιφατίῳ ἐπιτηδεῖοι, τοῦ τε τρόπου ἐνθυμούμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογιζόμενοί τε ἡλικίος ὁ παράλογος ἦν, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ Βονιφάτιος τυραννοῖν, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν

Πλακιδίας ἐπαγγελλούσης ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον. [28] ἔνθα δὴ Βονιφατίῳ συγγενόμενοι τὰ τε Ἀετίου γράμματα εἶδον καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἐς Ῥώμην τε ὡς εἶχον τάχους ἀνέστρεφον καὶ ὅπως αὐτῇ Βονιφάτιος ἔχοι ἀπήγγελλον. [29] καταπλαγεῖσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀέτιον μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι οὐδὲ τι ὠνείδισεν ὧν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οἶκον ἐπέπρακτο, ἐπεὶ αὐτός τε δυνάμει μεγάλη ἐχρῆτο καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα πονηρὰ ἤδη ἦν· τοῖς δὲ Βονιφατίου φίλοις τὴν τε Ἀετίου ὑποθήκην ἔφραζε καὶ πίστεις παρεχομένη καὶ ὄρκια ἔχρηξεν αὐτῶν ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα, ἣν δύνωνται, πείσουσιν ἐπανάκειν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, οὐ περιδόντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροις κειμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [30] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βονιφάτιος ἤκουσε ταῦτα, τῆς τε πράξεως αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁμολογίας μετέμελε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλιπάρει μύρια πάντα ὑποδεχόμενος ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἀνίστασθαι. [31] τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περιυβρίζεσθαι οἰομένων, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἡσσηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἐς Ἴππονερégιον ἀνεχώρησε, πόλιν ὀχυρὰν ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ κειμένην. [32] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι Γιζερίχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου ἐπολιόρκουν· Γόνθαρις γὰρ ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. [33] Βανδίλοι δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Γόνθαρίν φασιν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ πρὸς Γερμανῶν ξυλληφθέντα ἐν μάχῃ ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, καὶ Γιζερίχον ἤδη αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα Βανδίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἡγήσασθαι. [34] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω πρὸς Βανδίλων ἀκήκοα. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε βία οὔτε ὁμολογία τὸ Ἴππονερégιον παραστήσασθαι οἰοί τε ἦσαν καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσαν. [35] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ Βονιφάτιός τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου πολὺς στρατὸς ἦλθε καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἄσπαρ, ἀναμαχέσασθαι τε ἠξίουں καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολεμίων ὅπη ἕκαστος ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [36] καὶ ὁ τε Ἄσπαρ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ Βονιφάτιος ὡς Πλακιδίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν διέλυνεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς αἰτίας ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιτο.

III

Now the Vandals dwelling about the Maeotic Lake, since they were pressed by hunger, moved to the country of the Germans, who are now called Franks, and the river Rhine, associating with themselves the Alani, a Gothic people. Then from there, under the leadership of Godigisclus, they moved and settled in Spain, which is the first land of the Roman empire on the side of the ocean. At that time Honorius made an agreement with Godigisclus that they should settle there on condition that it should not be to the detriment of the country. But there was a law among the Romans, that if any persons should fail to keep their property in their own possession, and if, meanwhile, a time amounting to thirty years should pass, that these persons should thenceforth not be entitled to proceed against those who had forced them out, but they were excluded by demurrer from access to the court; and in view of this he established a law that whatever time should be spent by the Vandals in the Roman domain should not by any means be counted toward this thirty-year demurrer. And Honorius himself, when the West had been driven by him to this pass, died of disease. [Aug. 27, 423 A.D.] Now before this, as it happened, the royal power had been shared by Honorius with Constantius, the husband of Placidia, the sister of Arcadius and Honorius; but he lived to exercise the power only a few days, and then, becoming seriously ill, he died while Honorius was still living, [421 A.D.] having never succeeded in saying or in doing anything worth recounting; for the time was not sufficient during which he lived in possession of the royal power. Now a son of this Constantius, Valentinian, a child just weaned, was being reared in the palace of Theodosius, but the members of the imperial court in Rome chose one of the soldiers there, John by name, as emperor. This man was both gentle and well-endowed with sagacity and thoroughly capable of valorous deeds. At any rate he held the tyranny five years and directed it with moderation, and he neither gave ear to slanderers nor did he do any unjust murder, willingly at least, nor did he set his hand to robbing men of money; but he did not prove able to do anything at all against the barbarians, since his relations with Byzantium were hostile. Against this John, Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, sent a great army and Aspar and Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, as generals, and wrested from him the tyranny and gave over the royal power to Valentinian, who was still a child. And Valentinian took John alive, and he brought him out in the hippodrome of Aquileia with one of his hands cut off and caused him to ride in state on an ass, and then after he had suffered much ill treatment from the stage-performers there, both in word and in deed, he put him to death. [426 A.D.] Thus Valentinian took over the power of the West. But Placidia, his mother, had reared this emperor and educated him in an altogether effeminate manner, and in consequence he was filled with wickedness from childhood. For he associated mostly with sorcerers and those who busy themselves with the

stars, and, being an extraordinarily zealous pursuer of love affairs with other men's wives, he conducted himself in a most indecent manner, although he was married to a woman of exceptional beauty. [455 A.D.] And not only was this true, but he also failed to recover for the empire anything of what had been wrested from it before, and he both lost Libya in addition to the territory previously lost and was himself destroyed. And when he perished, it fell to the lot of his wife and his children to become captives. Now the disaster in Libya came about as follows.

There were two Roman generals, Aetius and Boniface, especially valiant men and in experience of many wars inferior to none of that time at least. These two came to be at variance in regard to matters of state, but they attained to such a degree of highmindedness and excellence in every respect that if one should call either of them "the last of the Romans" he would not err, so true was it that all the excellent qualities of the Romans were summed up in these two men. One of these, Boniface, was appointed by Placidia general of all Libya. Now this was not in accord with the wishes of Aetius, but he by no means disclosed the fact that it did not please him. For their hostility had not as yet come to light, but was concealed behind the countenance of each. But when Boniface had got out of the way, Aetius slandered him to Placidia, saying that he was setting up a tyranny and had robbed her and the emperor of all Libya, and he said that it was very easy for her to find out the truth; for if she should summon Boniface to Rome, he would never come. And when the woman heard this, Aetius seemed to her to speak well and she acted accordingly. But Aetius, anticipating her, wrote to Boniface secretly that the mother of the emperor was plotting against him and wished to put him out of the way. And he predicted to him that there would be convincing proof of the plot; for he would be summoned very shortly for no reason at all. Such was the announcement of the letter. And Boniface did not disregard the message, for as soon as those arrived who were summoning him to the emperor, he refused to give heed to the emperor and his mother, disclosing to no one the warning of Aetius. So when Placidia heard this, she thought that Aetius was exceedingly well-disposed towards the emperor's cause and took under consideration the question of Boniface. But Boniface, since it did not seem to him that he was able to array himself against the emperor, and since if he returned to Rome there was clearly no safety for him, began to lay plans so that, if possible, he might have a defensive alliance with the Vandals, who, as previously stated, had established themselves in Spain not far from Libya. There Godigisclus had died and the royal power had fallen to his sons, Gontharis, who was born to him from his wedded wife, and Gizeric, of illegitimate birth. But the former was still a child and not of very energetic temper, while Gizeric had been excellently trained in warfare, and was the cleverest of all men. Boniface accordingly sent to Spain those who were his own most intimate friends and gained the adherence of each of the sons of

Godigisclus on terms of complete equality, it being agreed that each one of the three, holding a third part of Libya, should rule over his own subjects; but if a foe should come against any one of them to make war, that they should in common ward off the aggressors. On the basis of this agreement the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira and came into Libya, and the Visigoths in later times settled in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Boniface, remembering the character of the man and considering how strange his action was, were greatly astonished to think that Boniface was setting up a tyranny, and some of them at the order of Placidia went to Carthage. There they met Boniface, and saw the letter of Aetius, and after hearing the whole story they returned to Rome as quickly as they could and reported to Placidia how Boniface stood in relation to her. And though the woman was dumbfounded, she did nothing unpleasant to Aetius nor did she upbraid him for what he had done to the emperor's house, for he himself wielded great power and the affairs of the empire were already in an evil plight; but she disclosed to the friends of Boniface the advice Aetius had given, and, offering oaths and pledges of safety, entreated them to persuade the man, if they could, to return to his fatherland and not to permit the empire of the Romans to lie under the hand of barbarians. And when Boniface heard this, he repented of his act and of his agreement with the barbarians, and he besought them incessantly, promising them everything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not receive his words with favour, but considered that they were being insulted, he was compelled to fight with them, and being defeated in the battle, he retired to Hippo Regius, a strong city in the portion of Numidia that is on the sea. There the Vandals made camp under the leadership of Gizeric and began a siege; for Gontharis had already died. And they say that he perished at the hand of his brother. The Vandals, however, do not agree with those who make this statement, but say that Gontharis' was captured in battle by Germans in Spain and impaled, and that Gizeric was already sole ruler when he led the Vandals into Libya. This, indeed, I have heard from the Vandals, stated in this way. But after much time had passed by, since they were unable to secure Hippo Regius either by force or by surrender, and since at the same time they were being pressed by hunger, they raised the siege. And a little later Boniface and the Romans in Libya, since a numerous army had come from both Rome and Byzantium and Aspar with them as general, decided to renew the struggle, and a fierce battle was fought in which they were badly beaten by the enemy, and they made haste to flee as each one could. And Aspar betook himself homeward, and Boniface, coming before Placidia, acquitted himself of the suspicion, showing that it had arisen against him for no true cause.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ Λιβύην οὕτω Βανδίλοι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι ἔσχον. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὓς λάβοιεν ζῶντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενοι μοῖρα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. [2] ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸν ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃς ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Θεοδοσίου τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. [3] τότε μέντοι Γιζέριχος

ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳς αὐλῇ παρῆναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως οἱ εἰδέναι σκοπομένῳ ἐξῇ ὅτῳ ἂν δεσπότῃ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀξίας δουλεύοι. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνελέγησαν αἰθριοι, ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην ὥρα θέρουσ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐκάθηντο. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὅπου δὴ ἀπημελημένως ἐκάθευδε. [5] καὶ τις αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ὑπερίπτατο, τὰ πτερά, ὡς λέγουσι, διαπετάσας, αἰετὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀέρος χώρα μόνον τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐπεσκίαζεν. [6] ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερῶν τὸ ποιούμενον ἰδὼν Γιζέριχος, ἀγγίχους τις ὦν μάλιστα, θεῖόν τε εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπώπτευσεν καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. [7] ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων Ἀσπαρὶ ἔφη κοινωνὸς εἶναι: δομέστικον δὲ τοῦτον τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [8] ταῦτα Γιζερίχῳ ἀκούσαντι καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ μὲν τὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἔργον, τὴν δὲ Ἀσπαρος δύναμιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ὅση ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρήτο, καταφανὲς ἐγένετο ὡς εἰς βασιλείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄγοιτο. [9] κτείνει μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου, ἐκλογιζόμενος ὡς, ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζῃ, εὐδὴλον ἔσται ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ τῷ ὄρνιθι ποιηθὲν εἴη· οὐ γὰρ βασιλέα τῇ σκιᾷ θεραπεύοι, ὅς γε αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπολεισθαι ἐμελλέ, λόγῳ τε αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ κτείνει: ἦν δὲ γε χρῆν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ μήποτε οἱ θανάτῳ καταληπτὸς ἔσται: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς βουλὴν ἤκοντα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ κωλυτὰ εἶναι. [10] ὅρκους δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ὡς, ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσται, οὐποτε πρὸς γε Βανδύλους ἐν ὅπλοις γένηται. οὕτω δὲ Μαρκιανὸς ἀφειμένος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφίκετο καὶ Θεοδοσίου χρόνῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. [11] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ξύμπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐγγόνει ἀγαθός, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Λιβύην ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποίησατο λόγῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο. [12] Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε Ἀσπαρὰ τε καὶ Βονιφάτιον μάχῃ νικήσας πρόνοιάν τε ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀφηγήσεως ἀξίαν, τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὡς μάλιστα ἐκρατύνατο. [13] δεισας γάρ, ἦν καὶ αὐθις ἐκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι, μὴ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὅσιν οἱ Βανδύλοι τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὁμοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τοῖς τε θεοῖς σφάλλεσθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οὐχ οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐπηρμένος, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔδεισε μέτριος γεγονώς, σπονδὰς πρὸς βασιλέα Βαλεντινιανὸν ποιεῖται ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος δασμοὺς ἐκ Λιβύης βασιλεῖ φέρειν, ἕνα τε τῶν παίδων Ὀνώριχον ἐν ὁμήρου μοίρᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδωκε. [14] Γιζέριχος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὴν νίκην ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα διεφύλαξε καὶ Ὀνώριχον τὸν παῖδα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσης ἀπέλαβεν. [15] ἐν δὲ δὴ Ῥώμῃ Πλακιδία μὲν πρότερον ἐτελεύτα, ἔπειτα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς ὁ ταύτης υἱός, ἅπαις ἀρσενογόνου, θυγατέρε μέντοι αὐτῷ δύο ἐξ Εὐδοξίας τῆς Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς ἐγενέσθην. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτα, λέξων ἔρχομαι. [16] Μάξιμός τις ἦν ἐκ γερουσίας ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου Μαξίμου οἰκίας ὃν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Θεοδόσιος τυραννοῦντα καθελὼν ἔκτεινεν: ὑπὲρ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τοῦ Μαξίμου ἥσσης ἐπώνυμον. [17] οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος Μάξιμος γυναικὶ ξυνώκει σῶφρονι τε τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαβοήτῳ ἐς ἅπαν οὔσῃ. διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ τις ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο. [18] καὶ ἐπεὶ βουλομένῳ αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν,

ἐβούλευσέ τε ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτελῇ ταῦτα ἐποίησε. [19] μεταπεμφάμενος γὰρ τὸν Μάξιμον ἐς παλάτιον ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ πεττεῦειν καθίστατο, καὶ χρυσίον ῥήτὸν ἐτέτακτο ἢ ζημία τῷ ἡσσηθέντι· [20] νενικηκὼς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τὸν Μαξίμου δακτύλιον ἐνέχυρον τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ κεκομισμένος ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκίαν ἐμπει, εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν κελεύει Μάξιμος ὡς τάχιστα ἐς παλάτιον ἦκειν τὴν βασιλίδαν Εὐδοξίαν ἀσπασομένην. [21] καὶ ἡ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῷ δακτυλίῳ τεκμηραμένη Μαξίμου εἶναι ἐσβᾶσα εἰς τὸ φορεῖον κομίζεται ἐς τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν. [22] λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν οἷς δὴ αὕτη ἐκ βασιλέως ἡ ὑπουργία ἐπέκειτο, εἰσάγουσιν εἷς τι δωμάτιον τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος μακρὰν ἄποθεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῇ ὁ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐντυχὼν οὕτι ἐκουσίαν βιάζεται. [23] ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθοῦσα δεδακρυμένη τε καὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα περιαλγοῦσα πολλὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ Μαξίμῳ ἀράς, ἅτε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις τὴν αἰτίαν παρασχομένῳ. [24] περιώδυνος τοίνυν ὁ Μάξιμος τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος αὐτίκα μὲν εἰς ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ βασιλέως καθίστατο· ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀέτιον ἑώρα μέγα δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ Ἀττίλαν ἄρτι ἐνενικήκει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Μασσαγετῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐσβαλόντα, ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ὥς οἱ Ἀέτιος ἐς τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα ἐμπόδιος ἔσται. [25] ταῦτά τε διανοομένῳ ἄμεινον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι πρότερον, οὐδὲν ποιησαμένῳ ὅτι ἐς αὐτὸν περιέστηκε πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίς. [26] τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως θεραπείαν εὐνοῦχων εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἐχόντων, ἀνέπεισε ταῖς αὐτῶν μηχαναῖς βασιλέα ὡς νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῖη Ἀέτιος. [27] Βαλεντινιανὸς δὲ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ὅτι μὴ τῇ Ἀετίου δυνάμει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ τεκμηριώσας τὸν λόγον ὑγιᾶ εἶναι κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. [28] ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τις ἔπος εἰπὼν ἠυδοκίμησεν. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέως εἰ οἱ καλῶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀετίου θάνατος ἐργασθεῖη, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν εἰδέναι τοῦτο εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλη αὐτῷ εἴργασται, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὡς ἄριστα ἐξεπίστασθαι, ὅτι αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἀποτεμῶν εἴη. [29] Ἀετίου γοῦν τελευτήσαντος Ἀττίλας, οὐδενὸς οἱ ἀντιπάλου ὄντος, Εὐρώπην τε ξύμπασαν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐληίζετο καὶ βασιλείαν ἐκατέραν ἐπακούουσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσχε. δασμοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπέμποντο ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. [30] τότε τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ πόλιν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκοῦντι μεγάλην τε καὶ ἀτεχνῶς πολυάνθρωπον, παραλίαν μὲν, ἐκτὸς δὲ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου οὔσαν, [31] τοιόνδε φασὶν εὐτύχημα ξυνεγενθῆναι. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε βία οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ οἷός τε ἦν τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν, πρὸς τε τὴν προσεδρείαν ἀπειπεῖν, ἥδη ἐπὶ μακρότατον γεγεννημένην, καὶ ἅπαν κελεύσαι τὸ στράτευμα τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν παρασκευῇ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐνθένδε ἅπαντες ἐξανιστῶνται ἅμα ἢλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. [32] ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ ἐπιγινομένη ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς λύσαντας μὲν τὴν προσεδρείαν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῆς ἀφόδου ἔχεσθαι ἥδη, ἓνα δὲ πελαργὸν ἐπὶ πύργου τινὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καλιάν τε ἔχοντα καὶ νεοττοὺς τρέφοντα ἐνθένδε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ξὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐξαναστῆναι. [33] καὶ τὸν μὲν πατέρα πελαργὸν ἵπτασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πελαργιδεῖς, ἅτε οὐπω ἐκπετησίμους παντάπασιν ὄντας, τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ μετέχειν τῆς πτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου τοῦ πατρὸς φέρεσθαι,

οὕτω τε ἀποπτάντας τῆς πόλεως ἑκαστάτω γενέσθαι. [34] ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλαν κατιδόντα ἦν γὰρ δεινότατος ξυνεῖναι τε καὶ ξυμβαλεῖν ἅπαντὰ κελεῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις ἐν χώρῳ τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐπειπόντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰκῇ ἐνθένδε ἀποπτάντα ξὺν τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν ὄρνιν οἴχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι ἐμαντεύετο φλαῦρον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῷ χωρίῳ ξυμβήσεσθαι. [35] οὕτω μὲν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καταστήναι φασι, τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου μοῖραν τινα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκείνην ἢ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος τούτου καλιὰν εἶχεν, ἀπὸυδεμιάς αἰτίας ἐξαπινάίως καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτη ἐσιτητὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν Ἀκυλῆϊαν κατὰ κράτος ἀλῶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀκυλῆϊα ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. [36] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ βασιλέα οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἔκτεινε Μάξιμος καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ἔσχε, τῇ τε Εὐδοξίᾳ ξυγγέγονε βία. γυνὴ γὰρ ἥπερ αὐτῷ ξυνώκει τετελευτῇκει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. καὶ ποτε αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ προσέφερε λόγον ὥς τοῦ αὐτῆς ἔρωτος εἵνεκα πάντα εἶη διαπεπραγμένος ἂ εἵργαστο. [37] τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἀχθομένην Μαξίμῳ καὶ πρότερον τίσασθαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμοῦσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸν οἰδαίνειν ὁ λόγος ἐποίησεν, ἔς τε τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἔνεκα ξυμβῆναι τὴν συμφορὰν Μαξίμου λέγοντος ἤκουσε. [38] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, πέμπει ἐς Καρχηδόνα δεομένη Γιζερίχου τιμωρεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου διαφθαρέντι, αὐτοῦ τε ἀναξίως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴν ρύεσθαι ἀσχοῦσαν πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου ἀνόσια. [39] ἐπέσκηπτε δὲ ὥς φίλῳ τε καὶ ξυμμάχῳ ὄντι Γιζερίχῳ καὶ τηλικούδε πάθους ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ξυμβάντος τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τιμωρῷ γενέσθαι οὐχ ὁσιόν ἐστιν. ἐκ Βυζαντίου γὰρ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ᾤετο ἔσεσθαι, Θεοδοσίου μὲν ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος.

IV

So the Vandals, having wrested Libya from the Romans in this way, made it their own. And those of the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to slavery and held under guard. Among these happened to be Marcian, who later upon the death of Theodosius assumed the imperial power. At that time, however, Gizeric commanded that the captives be brought into the king's courtyard, in order that it might be possible for him, by looking at them, to know what master each of them might serve without degradation. And when they were gathered under the open sky, about midday, the season being summer, they were distressed by the sun and sat down. And somewhere or other among them Marcian, quite neglected, was sleeping. Then an eagle flew over him spreading out his wings, as they say, and always remaining in the same place in the air he cast a shadow over Marcian alone. And Gizeric, upon seeing from the upper storey what was happening, since he was an exceedingly discerning person, suspected that the thing was a divine manifestation, and summoning the man enquired of him who he might be. And he replied that he was a confidential adviser of Aspar; such a person the Romans call a "domesticus" in their own tongue. And when Gizeric heard this and considered first the meaning of the bird's action, and then remembered how great power Aspar exercised in Byzantium, it became evident to him that the man was being led to royal power. He therefore by no means deemed it right to kill him, reasoning that, if he should remove him from the world, it would be very clear that the thing which the bird had done was nothing (for he would not honour with his shadow a king who was about to die straightway), and he felt, too, that he would be killing him for no good cause; and if, on the other hand, it was fated that in later times the man should become king, it would never be within his power to inflict death upon him; for that which has been decided upon by God could never be prevented by a man's decision. But he bound Marcian by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms against the Vandals at least. [450 A.D.] Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when at a later time Theodosius died he received the empire. And in all other respects he proved himself a good emperor, but he paid no attention at all to affairs in Libya. But this happened in later times.

At that time Gizeric, after conquering Aspar and Boniface in battle, displayed a foresight worth recounting, whereby he made his good fortune most thoroughly secure. For fearing lest, if once again an army should come against him from both Rome and Byzantium, the Vandals might not be able to use the same strength and enjoy the same fortune, (since human affairs are wont to be overturned by Heaven and to fail by reason of the weakness of men's bodies), he was not lifted up by the good fortune he had enjoyed, but rather became

moderate because of what he feared, and so he made a treaty with the Emperor Valentinian providing that each year he should pay to the emperor tribute from Libya, and he delivered over one of his sons, Honoric, as a hostage to make this agreement binding. So Gizeric both showed himself a brave man in the battle and guarded the victory as securely as possible, and, since the friendship between the two peoples increased greatly, he received back his son Honoric. And at Rome Placidia had died before this time, and after her, Valentinian, her son, also died, having no male offspring, but two daughters had been born to him from Eudoxia, the child of Theodosius. And I shall now relate in what manner Valentinian died.

There was a certain Maximus, a Roman senator, of the house of that Maximus who, while usurping the imperial power, was overthrown by the elder Theodosius and put to death, and on whose account also the Romans celebrate the annual festival named from the defeat of Maximus. This younger Maximus was married to a woman discreet in her ways and exceedingly famous for her beauty. For this reason a desire came over Valentinian to have her to wife. And since it was impossible, much as he wished it, to meet her, he plotted an unholy deed and carried it to fulfilment. For he summoned Maximus to the palace and sat down with him to a game of draughts, and a certain sum was set as a penalty for the loser; and the emperor won in this game, and receiving Maximus' ring as a pledge for the agreed amount, he sent it to his house, instructing the messenger to tell the wife of Maximus that her husband bade her come as quickly as possible to the palace to salute the queen Eudoxia. And she, judging by the ring that the message was from Maximus, entered her litter and was conveyed to the emperor's court. And she was received by those who had been assigned this service by the emperor, and led into a certain room far removed from the women's apartments, where Valentinian met her and forced her, much against her will. And she, after the outrage, went to her husband's house weeping and feeling the deepest possible grief because of her misfortune, and she cast many curses upon Maximus as having provided the cause for what had been done. Maximus, accordingly, became exceedingly aggrieved at that which had come to pass, and straightway entered into a conspiracy against the emperor; but when he saw that Aetius was exceedingly powerful, for he had recently conquered Attila, who had invaded the Roman domain with a great army of Massagetae and the other Scythians, the thought occurred to him that Aetius would be in the way of his undertaking. And upon considering this matter, it seemed to him that it was the better course to put Aetius out of the way first, paying no heed to the fact that the whole hope of the Romans centred in him. And since the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the emperor were well-disposed toward him, he persuaded the emperor by their devices that Aetius was setting on foot a revolution. And Valentinian, judging by nothing else than the power and valour of Aetius that the report was true, put the man to death. [Sept. 21, 454

A.D.] Whereupon a certain Roman made himself famous by a saying which he uttered. For when the emperor enquired of him whether he had done well in putting Aetius to death, he replied saying that, as to this matter, he was not able to know whether he had done well or perhaps otherwise, but one thing he understood exceedingly well, that he had cut off his own right hand with the other.

So after the death of Aetius, Attila, since no one was a match for him, plundered all Europe with no trouble and made both emperors subservient and tributary to himself. For tribute money was sent to him every year by the emperors. At that time, while Attila was besieging Aquileia, a city of great size and exceedingly populous situated near the sea and above the Ionian Gulf, they say that the following good fortune befell him. For they tell the story that, when he was able to capture the place neither by force nor by any other means, he gave up the siege in despair, since it had already lasted a long time, and commanded the whole army without any delay to make their preparations for the departure, in order that on the morrow all might move from there at sunrise. And the following day about sunrise, the barbarians had raised the siege and were already beginning the departure, when a single male stork which had a nest on a certain tower of the city wall and was rearing his nestlings there suddenly rose and left the place with his young. And the father stork was flying, but the little storks, since they were not yet quite ready to fly, were at times sharing their father's flight and at times riding upon his back, and thus they flew off and went far away from the city. And when Attila saw this (for he was most clever at comprehending and interpreting all things), he commanded the army, they say, to remain still in the same place, adding that the bird would never have gone flying off at random from there with his nestlings, unless he was prophesying that some evil would come to the place at no distant time. Thus, they say, the army of the barbarians settled down to the siege once more, and not long after that a portion of the wall — the very part which held the nest of that bird — for no apparent reason suddenly fell down, and it became possible for the enemy to enter the city at that point, and thus Aquileia was captured by storm. Such is the story touching Aquileia.

Later on Maximus slew the emperor with no trouble and secured the tyranny, and he married Eudoxia by force. [455 A.D.] For the wife to whom he had been wedded had died not long before. And on one occasion in private he made the statement to Eudoxia that it was all for the sake of her love that he had carried out all that he had done. And since she felt a repulsion for Maximus even before that time, and had been desirous of exacting vengeance from him for the wrong done Valentinian, his words made her swell with rage still more against him, and led her on to carry out her plot, since she had heard Maximus say that on account of her the misfortune had befallen her husband. And as soon as day came, she sent to Carthage entreating Gizeric to avenge Valentinian, who had been destroyed by an unholy man, in a manner

unworthy both of himself and of his imperial station, and to deliver her, since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of the tyrant. And she impressed it upon Gizeric that, since he was a friend and ally and so great a calamity had befallen the imperial house, it was not a holy thing to fail to become an avenger. For from Byzantium she thought no vengeance would come, since Theodosius had already departed from the world and Marcian had taken over the empire. [Mar. 17, 455 A.D.]

Γιζέριχος δὲ δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα μεγάλα ἔσσεσθαι ὑπετόπαζε, στόλῳ πολλῷ ἐς Ἱταλίαν κατέπλευσεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε, τῶν βασιλείων ἐκράτησε. [2] Μάξιμον μὲν οὖν φεύγοντα Ῥωμαῖοι λίθοις βαλόντες διέφθειραν, καὶ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν τῶν τε ἄλλων μελῶν ἕκαστον ἀποτεμόμενοι διείλοντο σφίσι. [3] Γιζέριχος δὲ τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἅμα Εὐδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Πλακιδίᾳ, ταῖς αὐτῆς τε καὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παισίν, αἰχμάλωτον εἶλε, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέως κτημάτων πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐνθήμενος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, οὔτε χαλκοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος. [4] ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου νεῶν καὶ τοῦ τέγους τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀφείλετο μοῖραν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τέγος χαλκοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, χρυσοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπερχυθέντος ἀδροῦ ὡς μάλιστα μεγαλοπρεπὲς τε καὶ θαύματος πολλοῦ ἄξιον διεφαίνετο. [5] τῶν δὲ μετὰ Γιζερίχου νεῶν μίαν μὲν, ἣ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔφερε, φασὶν ἀπολέσθαι, πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐς τὸν Καρχηδόνα λιμένα κατήραν. [6] Εὐδοκίαν μὲν οὖν Γιζέριχος Ὀνωρίχῳ τῷ τῶν παιδῶν πρεσβυτέρῳ ξυνώκισε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἑτέραν ἄνδρὶ γὰρ ξυνώκει Ὀλυβρίῳ, τῶν ἐν βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δοκιμωτάτῳ ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ, ἐξαίτησαμένου βασιλέως, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἤδη δὲ τὸ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν κράτος ἐς Λέοντα περιεστήκει, Ἀσπαρος ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλλακτο. [8] Ὑστερον δὲ Γιζέριχος ἐπενόει τοιαύδε. τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων, πλὴν Καρχηδόνας, τὰ τείχη καθεῖλεν, ὥς ἂν μήτε αὐτοὶ Λίβυες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὀρμαῖσθαι καὶ νεωτερίζειν ἱκανοὶ εἶεν μήτε τοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως στελλομένοις ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔσται ὥς καὶ πόλιν καταλήψονται καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι πράγματα Βανδίλοις παρέξονται. [9] τότε μὲν οὖν εὖ τε ἔδοξε βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν Βανδίλοις ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα διασώσασθαι, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ, ὅτε δὴ ἀτείχιστοι οὔσαι ῥᾶν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον πρὸς Βελισαρίου αἱ πόλεις αὗται ἡλίσκοντο, πολὺν τε γέλωτα ἤδη Γιζέριχος ὦφλε καὶ ἡ τέως δοκοῦσά οἱ εὐβουλία ἐς ἄνοιαν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη. [10] ταῖς γὰρ δὴ τύχαις αἰεὶ τὰς δόξας ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον βεβουλευμένοις ξυμμεταβάλλεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. [11] τῶν δὲ Λιβύων εἴ τι μὲν δόκιμον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν καὶ πλούτῳ ἀκμάζον, αὐτοῖς ἀγροῖς τε καὶ πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μοίρᾳ παρέδωκε τοῖς παισὶν Ὀνωρίχῳ τε καὶ Γένζωνι. Θεόδωρος γὰρ ὁ νεώτατος ἐτελεύτα ἤδη, ἅπαις τὸ παράπαν ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου. [12] Λίβυας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφείλετο μὲν τοὺς ἀγροὺς, οἳ πλεῖστοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων διένειμεν ἔθνος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληροὶ Βανδύλων οἱ ἀγροὶ οὗτοι ἐς τότε καλοῦνται τοῦ χρόνου. [13] τοῖς

δὲ δὴ πάλαι κεκτημένοις τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πένεσθαί τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ξυνέβαινεν: ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ὅποι βούλονται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [14] καὶ τὰ μὲν χωρία ζύμπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βανδίλοις Γιζέριχος παραδεδώκει, οὐδεμιᾷς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆς ὑποτελὴ ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι. [15] τῆς δὲ γῆς ὅση οἱ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἐδοξεν εἶναι, ἀφῆκε τοῖς πρότερον ἔχουσι, τοσαῦτα ἐνθένδε τῷ δημοσίῳ φέρεσθαι τάξας ὥστε οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν περιῆν τοῖς τὰ χωρία τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. [16] ἔφευγον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκτείνοντο. αἰτίαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ τε καὶ χαλεπαὶ προσεφέροντο: [17] πασῶν δὲ μία μεγίστη δὴ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι χρήματά τις οἰκεῖα ἔχων ἀπέκρυπτεν. οὕτω τοὺς Λίβυας πᾶσα ἰδέα ξυμφορᾶς περιέστη. [18] Τοὺς δὲ δὴ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς ἐς λόχους καταστησάμενος, λοχαγοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησεν οὐχ ἥσπον ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα, οὐσπερ χιλιάρχους ἐκάλεσε, δόκησιν παρέχων ἐς ὅκτῳ οἱ μυριάδας συνίεναι τὸν τῶν στρατευομένων λεῶν. [19] καίτοι οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πέντε τὸ τῶν Βανδίων τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν πλῆθος ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. [20] ἔπειτα μέντοι τῇ τε κατὰ σφᾶς παιδοποιίᾳ καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐταιρισάμενοι ἐς μεγάλην τινὰ πολυανθρωπίαν ἐχώρησαν. [21] τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, πλὴν Μαυρουσίων, ἐς τὸ τῶν Βανδίων ἅπαντα ἀπεκρίθη. [22] τότε δὲ Γιζέριχος Μαυρουσίους προσποιησάμενος, ἐπειδὴ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἕξ τε Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἀνδραποδίσας, τὰς δὲ καθελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος, ληισάμενός τε ἅπαντα, ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπων τε ἡ χώρα καὶ χρημάτων ἔρημος ἐγεγόνει, ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἐφ' οὗ βασιλέως ἐσέβαλε κράτος. [23] Ἰλλυριοὺς οὖν ἐληίζετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπικεῖνται. αὐθις δὲ ἕξ τε Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀπέβαινεν, ἥγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντα. [24] καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσβάντα ἐν τῷ Καρχηδόνης λιμένι, ἀνατεινομένων ἤδη τῶν ιστίων, φασὶν ἐρέσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰέναι κελεύοι. [25] καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινάμενον φάναι, δηλονότι ἐφ' οὗς ὁ θεὸς ὄργισται. οὕτως ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐφ' οὗς ἂν τύχοι ἐσέβαλλε.

V

And Gizeric, for no other reason than that he suspected that much money would come to him, set sail for Italy with a great fleet. And going up to Rome, since no one stood in his way, he took possession of the palace. Now while Maximus was trying to flee, the Romans threw stones at him and killed him, and they cut off his head and each of his other members and divided them among themselves. But Gizeric took Eudoxia captive, together with Eudocia and Placidia, the children of herself and Valentinian, and placing an exceedingly great amount of gold and other imperial treasure in his ships sailed to Carthage, having spared neither bronze nor anything else whatsoever in the palace. He plundered also the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and tore off half of the roof. Now this roof was of bronze of the finest quality, and since gold was laid over it exceedingly thick, it shone as a magnificent and wonderful spectacle. But of the ships with Gizeric, one, which was bearing the statues, was lost, they say, but with all the others the Vandals reached port in the harbour of Carthage. Gizeric then married Eudocia to Honoric, the elder of his sons; but the other of the two women, being the wife of Olybrius, a most distinguished man in the Roman senate, he sent to Byzantium together with her mother, Eudoxia, at the request of the emperor. Now the power of the East had by now fallen to Leon, who had been set in this position by Aspar, since Marcian had already passed from the world. [457 A.D.]

Afterwards Gizeric devised the following scheme. He tore down the walls of all the cities in Libya except Carthage, so that neither the Libyans themselves, espousing the cause of the Romans, might have a strong base from which to begin a rebellion, nor those sent by the emperor have any ground for hoping to capture a city and by establishing a garrison in it to make trouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it seemed that he had counselled well and had ensured prosperity for the Vandals in the safest possible manner; but in later times when these cities, being without walls, were captured by Belisarius all the more easily and with less exertion, Gizeric was then condemned to suffer much ridicule, and that which for the time he considered wise counsel turned out for him to be folly. For as fortunes change, men are always accustomed to change with them their judgments regarding what has been planned in the past. And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves, together with their estates and all their money, to his sons Honoric and Genzon. For Theodorus, the youngest son, had died already, being altogether without offspring, either male or female. And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates, which were both very numerous and excellent, and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called "Vandals' estates" up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who

had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to be at the same time free men; and they had the privilege of going away wheresoever they wished. And Gizeric commanded that all the lands which he had given over to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowed to remain in the hands of the former owners, but assessed so large a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the government that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into exile or killed. For charges were brought against them of many sorts, and heavy ones too; but one charge seemed to be the greatest of all, that a man, having money of his own, was hiding it. Thus the Libyans were visited with every form of misfortune.

The Vandals and the Alani he arranged in companies, appointing over them no less than eighty captains, whom he called “chiliarchs,” making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amounted to eighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times, at least, to amount to no more than fifty thousand men. However, after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbarians with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous people. But the names of the Alani and all the other barbarians, except the Moors, were united in the name of Vandals. At that time, after the death of Valentinian, Gizeric gained the support of the Moors, and every year at the beginning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything; and when the land had become destitute of men and of money, he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. And so he plundered Illyricum and the most of the Peloponnesus and of the rest of Greece and all the islands which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy, and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. And one day when he had embarked on his ship in the harbour of Carthage, and the sails were already being spread, the pilot asked him, they say, against what men in the world he bade them go. And he in reply said: “Plainly against those with whom God is angry.” Thus without any cause he kept making invasions wherever chance might lead him.

Τῶνδε εἵνεκα τίσασθαι Βανδίλους βασιλεὺς Λέων βουλόμενος ξυνήγειρεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα: τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος λέγουσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας γενέσθαι. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πρὸς ἑω θαλάσσης ἀθροίσας πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ναύτας, δεδιὼς μὴ τί οἱ ἐκ μικρολογίας ἐμποδῶν γένηται προθυμουμένῳ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν κόλασιν. [2] φασὶ γοῦν αὐτῷ τριακόσια καὶ χίλια κεντηνάρια ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ δεδαπανῆσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Βανδίλους τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖται Βασιλίσκον, Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκτόπως ἐρῶντα, ἦν οἱ ἥλπισεν ἀμαχητὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν Ἀσπαρος προσποιησαμένῳ φιλίαν. [3] αὐτὸς γάρ

Ἄσπαρ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης μεταποιούμενος, ταύτην τε οὐκ ἐννοῶν μετατίθεσθαι, παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, καταστήσασθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἕτερον εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἤδη τε Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσει προσκεκρουκότι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [4] λέγουσιν οὖν Ἄσπαρὰ τότε δεῖσαντα μὴ Βανδύλων ἡσσημένων ὁ Λέων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν βασιλείαν κρατύνηται, πολλὰ Βασιλίσκου ἐπισκήψαντα παρακαταθέσθαι οἱ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γιζέριχον. [5] Λέων δὲ ἤδη πρότερον Ἀνθέμιον, ἄνδρα ἐκ γερουσίας, πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει μέγαν, βασιλέα τῆς ἐσπερίας καταστησάμενος ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν Βανδυλικὸν συλλήψεται πόλεμον. [6] καίτοι Γιζέριχος ἔχρηζε καὶ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει Ὀλυβρίῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν Πλακιδία τῇ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παιδί ξυνοικοῦντι καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὐνοϊκῶς αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἐπειδὴ τε τούτου ἡτύχησεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζετο καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως γῆν ἐλίζετο. [7] ἦν δέ τις ἐν Δαλματία Μαρκελλιανὸς τῶν Ἀετίῳ γνωρίμων, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ Ἀέτιος ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρηνέῳ, βασιλεῖ εἴκειν οὐκέτι ἤξιον, ἀλλὰ νεωτερίσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς εἶχε τὸ Δαλματίας κράτος, οὐδενός οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι τολμήσαντος. [8] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαρκελλιανὸν τότε Λέων βασιλεὺς εὖ μάλα τιθασσεύων προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, Βανδύλων κατήκοον οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν Βανδίλους ἐξελάσας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν. [9] Ἡράκλειος δὲ σταλεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου εἰς Τρίπολιν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ νικήσας τε μάχῃ τοὺς ταύτη Βανδίλους τὰς τε πόλεις ῥαδίως εἴλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπὼν πεζῇ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦγε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πολέμου προοίμια τῇδε ἐφέρετο. [10] Βασιλίσκος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς πόλισμα κατέπλευσε, Καρχηδόνος διέχον οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὀγδοήκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους Ἑρμοῦ δὲ νεῶς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγγανεν ὦν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ Μερκούριον ὁ τόπος ἐκλήθη: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐθελοκακήσας ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ ἐπεχείρησε Καρχηδόνος ἰέναι, αὐτὴν τε ἂν αὐτοβοεῖ εἴλε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν τραπομένους κατεδουλώσατο: [11] οὕτω Γιζέριχος Λέοντα ὡς ἄμαχον βασιλέα κατωρρώδησεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Τρίπολις ἀλοῦσαι ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ τὸν Βασιλίσκου στόλον ἐώρα οἷος οὐδεὶς πῶ ἐλέγετο Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον γεγενῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέλλησις, εἴτε κακότητι εἴτε προδοσίᾳ προσγενομένη. [12] Γιζέριχος δὲ τῆς Βασιλίσκου ὀλιγωρίας ἀπολαύων ἐποίει τάδε. ὀπλίσας ἅπαντας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπλήρου τὰς ναῦς, ἄλλας τε κενὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὡς τάχιστα πλεούσας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [13] πέμψας δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς Βασιλίσκον ἐδεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι χρόνον, ὅπως μεταξὺ βουλευσάμενος ἐκεῖνα ποιοίη ἃ δὴ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [14] λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσίου πολὺ τι χρῆμα κρύφα τῆς Βασιλίσκου στρατιᾶς πέμψαντα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ὠνήσασθαι. [15] ἔπρασε δὲ ταῦτα οἰόμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, πνεῦμα ἐπιφορον ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ γενήσεσθαι. [16] Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἢ Ἄσπαρι καθάπερ ὑπέστη χαριζόμενος ἢ τὸν καιρὸν χρημάτων ἀποδιδόμενος, ἢ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ἐποίει τε τὰ αἰτούμενα καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὴν εὐκαιρίαν προσδεχόμενος τῶν πολεμίων. [17] Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι,

ἐπειδὴ σφίσι τάχιστα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐγεγόνει, ὃ δὴ τέως καταδοκῶντες ἐκάθητο, ἀράμενοι τε τὰ ιστία καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀφέλκοντες ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κενά, ὥσπερ μοι πρότερον εἴρηται, παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [18] ὡς δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πῦρ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, ἃ δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκοντες ἦγον, κεκολπωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ιστίων, ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [19] ἅτε δὲ πλήθους ὄντος ἐνταῦθα νηῶν, ὅπη τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα προσπίπτοιεν, ἑκαίον τε ῥαδίως καὶ αὐτὰ οἷς ἂν συμμίζαιεν ἐτοιμῶς ξυνδιεφθίροντο. [20] οὕτω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπιφερομένου θόρυβός τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἶχε τὸν Ῥωμαίων στόλον καὶ κραυγῆς μέγεθος τῷ τε πνεύματι καὶ τῷ τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντιπαταγούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευομένων καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθουμένων τά τε πυρφόρα πλοῖα καὶ τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων διαφθειρομένας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. [21] ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Βανδίλοι παρῆσαν ἐμβάλλοντές τε καὶ καταδύνοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς διαφεύγοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ληιζόμενοι. [22] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Ἰωάννης, ὑποστράτηγός τε ὢν Βασιλίσκου καὶ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν τῆς ἐκείνου προδοσίας μεταλαχών. [23] περιστάντος γὰρ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐπιστροφάδην ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος πολὺ τι τῶν πολεμίων πληθος, ὡς δὲ ἀλικομένης ἦσθετο τῆς νεώς, ἤλατο ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων εἰς θάλασσαν. [24] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐλιπάρει Γένζων ὁ Γιζερίχου, πιστά τε παρεχόμενος καὶ σωτηρίαν προτεινόμενος, ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσπον ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀποφθεγξάμενος, ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ χερσὶ κυνῶν γένηται. [25] Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος οὕτως ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη: Μαρκελλιανὸς γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν συναρχόντων ἀπώλετο δόλω. [26] Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἱκέτης ἐκάθητο ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Ἰσοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεών, ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα τῷ θεῷ πρέπειν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡγούμενοί, ἐξαίτησαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν Βηρίνης τῆς βασιλίδος τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγεν, ἐς βασιλείαν δὲ τότε παρελθεῖν, ἥς δὴ ἔνεκα πάντα αὐτῷ εἵργαστο, οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. [27] Λέων γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον ἐν παλατίῳ διέφθειρεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ θάνατον ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοὺς ὑπετόπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε.

VI

And the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Vandals because of these things, was gathering an army against them; and they say that this army amounted to about one hundred thousand men. And he collected a fleet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, shewing great generosity to both soldiers and sailors, for he feared lest from a parsimonious policy some obstacle might arise to hinder him in his desire to carry out his punishment of the barbarians. Therefore, they say, thirteen hundred centenaria were expended by him to no purpose. But since it was not fated that the Vandals should be destroyed by this expedition, he made Basiliscus commander-in-chief, the brother of his wife Berine, a man who was extraordinarily desirous of the royal power, which he hoped would come to him without a struggle if he won the friendship of Aspar. For Aspar himself, being an adherent of the Arian faith, and having no intention of changing it for another, was unable to enter upon the imperial office, but he was easily strong enough to establish another in it, and it already seemed likely that he would plot against the Emperor Leon, who had given him offence. So they say that since Aspar was then fearful lest, if the Vandals were defeated, Leon should establish his power most securely, he repeatedly urged upon Basiliscus that he should spare the Vandals and Gizeric.

[467 A.D.] Now before this time Leon had already appointed and sent Anthemius, as Emperor of the West, a man of the senate of great wealth and high birth, in order that he might assist him in the Vandalic war. And yet Gizeric kept asking and earnestly entreating that the imperial power be given to Olybrius, who was married to Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian, and on account of his relationship well-disposed toward him, and when he failed in this he was still more angry and kept plundering the whole land of the emperor. Now there was in Dalmatia a certain Marcellianus, one of the acquaintances of Aetius and a man of repute, who, after Aetius had died in the manner told above, no longer deigned to yield obedience to the emperor, but beginning a revolution and detaching all the others from allegiance, held the power of Dalmatia himself, since no one dared encounter him. But the Emperor Leon at that time won over this Marcellianus by very careful wheedling, and bade him go to the island of Sardinia, which was then subject to the Vandals. And he drove out the Vandals and gained possession of it with no great difficulty. And Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis in Libya, and after conquering the Vandals of that district in battle, he easily captured the cities, and leaving his ships there, led his army on foot toward Carthage. Such, then, was the sequence of events which formed the prelude of the war.

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage no

less than two hundred and eighty stades (now it so happened that a temple of Hermes had been there from of old, from which fact the place was named Mercurium; for the Romans call Hermes “Mercurius”), and if he had not purposely played the coward and hesitated, but had undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the first onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection without their even thinking of resistance; so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor, when the report was brought to him that Sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. But, as it was, the general’s hesitation, whether caused by cowardice or treachery, prevented this success. And Gizeric, profiting by the negligence of Basiliscus, did as follows. Arming all his subjects in the best way he could, he filled his ships, but not all, for some he kept in readiness empty, and they were the ships which sailed most swiftly. And sending envoys to Basiliscus, he begged him to defer the war for the space of five days, in order that in the meantime he might take counsel and do those things which were especially desired by the emperor. They say, too, that he sent also a great amount of gold without the knowledge of the army of Basiliscus and thus purchased this armistice. And he did this, thinking, as actually did happen, that a favouring wind would rise for him during this time. And Basiliscus, either as doing a favour to Aspar in accordance with what he had promised, or selling the moment of opportunity for money, or perhaps thinking it the better course, did as he was requested and remained quietly in the camp, awaiting the moment favourable to the enemy.

But the Vandals, as soon as the wind had arisen for them which they had been expecting during the time they lay at rest, raised their sails and, taking in tow the boats which, as has been stated above, they had made ready with no men in them, they sailed against the enemy. And when they came near, they set fire to the boats which they were towing, when their sails were bellied by the wind, and let them go against the Roman fleet. And since there were a great number of ships there, these boats easily spread fire wherever they struck, and were themselves readily destroyed together with those with which they came in contact. And as the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet was filled with tumult, as was natural, and with a great din that rivalled the noise caused by the wind and the roaring of the flames, as the soldiers together with the sailors shouted orders to one another and pushed off with their poles the fire-boats and their own ships as well, which were being destroyed by one another in complete disorder. And already the Vandals too were at hand ramming and sinking the ships, and making booty of such of the soldiers as attempted to escape, and of their arms as well. But there were also some of the Romans who proved themselves brave men in this struggle, and most of all John, who was a general under Basiliscus and who had no share whatever in his treason. For a great throng having surrounded his ship, he stood on the deck, and

turning from side to side kept killing very great numbers of the enemy from there, and when he perceived that the ship was being captured, he leaped with his whole equipment of arms from the deck into the sea. And though Genzon, the son of Gizeric, entreated him earnestly not to do this, offering pledges and holding out promises of safety, he nevertheless threw himself into the sea, uttering this one word, that John would never come under the hands of dogs.

So this war came to an end, and Heracleius departed for home; for Marcellianus had been destroyed treacherously by one of his fellow-officers. And Basiliscus, coming to Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Christ the Great God (“Sophia” the temple is called by the men of Byzantium who consider that this designation is especially appropriate to God), and although, by the intercession of Berine, the queen, he escaped this danger, he was not able at that time to reach the throne, the thing for the sake of which everything had been done by him. For the Emperor Leon not long afterwards destroyed both Aspar and Ardaburius in the palace, because he suspected that they were plotting against his life. [471 A.D.] Thus, then, did these events take place.

Ἀνθέμιος δὲ ὁ τῶν δυσμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Ῥεκίμερος διαφθαρεῖς ἐτελεύτα, Ὀλύβριός τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξάμενος ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. [2] τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Λέοντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Λέων ὁ Ζήνωνός τε καὶ Ἀριάδνης τῆς Λέοντος θυγατρὸς, ἐς ἡμερῶν ἔτι ὀλίγων που ἡλικίαν ἦκων. [3] αἰρεθέντος δὲ ξυμβασιλέως αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὁ παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. [4] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ Μαῖορίνου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ πρότερον ἔσχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μαῖορίνος, ζῦμπαντας τοὺς πώποτε Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλευκότας ὑπεραίρων ἀρετῇ πάσῃ, τὸ Λιβύης πάθος οὐκ ἤνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλὰ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείρας ἐν Λιγούροις ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι διανοούμενος. [5] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαῖορίνος ἐς τε τοὺς ἄλλους πόνους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἄοκνος κομιδῇ. [6] οὐκ ἀξύμφορον δὲ οἱ ἡγούμενος εἶναι δυνάμιν τε τὴν Βανδύλων καὶ τὸ Γιζερίχου ἦθος διερευνήσασθαι πρότερον καὶ ὅπῃ ποτὲ Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Λίβυες εὐνοίας τε ἢ ἔχθους πέρι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοιεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισι πιστεῦειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔγνω. [7] πρεσβευτῆς οὖν ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως παρὰ τὸν Γιζερίχον ἐστάλη, ἄλλο τι αὐτῷ ὄνομα ξυμπεπλασμένον ἐπενεγκών. δείσας δὲ μὴ καταφανῆς γεγινὼς αὐτός τε κακόν τι λάβῃ καὶ τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύσῃ, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. [8] τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας ἰδιαβόητοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὅτι δὴ οὕτω ξανθαὶ εἶεν ὥστε χρυσῷ ἀκιβδηλῶ εἰκάζεσθαι βαφῇ τινι χρίσας ἐς τοῦτο ἐξεπίτηδες ἐξυρημένη ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ κυάνεον παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ Γιζερίχῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὁ Γιζερίχος αὐτὸν ἐνεχίρει δεδίσσεσθαι καὶ ἅτε φίλον ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἦλθεν οὗ δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ξυνέκειτο πάντα, πολλά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὑπερφυνῶς ὄντα. [10] ἐνταυθὰ φασὶ τὰ ὅπλα κινηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πάταγον οὐ μέτριον οὐδὲ

τὸν τυχόντα ἀφεῖναι, καὶ τότε μὲν τῷ Γιζέριχῳ σεισμόν τινα γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἔξω δὲ γενομένῳ ἀμφὶ τε τῷ σεισμῷ ἀναπυθνανομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὠμολόγει, θαῦμα μὲν ἐπιτεσεῖν μέγα, οὐ μέντοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γεγονὸς οἶψ τε εἶναι. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μαῖορίνος διαπεπραγμένος ἅπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπὶ Λιγυρίας ἀπεκομίσθη, καὶ τῷ στρατῷ πεζῇ βαδίζοντι ἐξηγούμενος ἐπὶ στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους ἦει, διαβαίνειν μὲν διανοούμενος τὸν ἐκείνη πορθμόν, ὁδῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [12] ὥνπερ ὁ Γιζέριχος αἰσθόμενος καὶ ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Μαῖορίνου ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ φενακισθεῖη, ἔς τε ὁρῳδίαν ἐμπέπτωκε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηρτύετο. [13] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τεκμηριούμενοι τῇ Μαῖορίνου ἀρετῇ εὐέλπιδες ἤδη ἐγένοντο Λιβύην τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ νόσῳ δυσεντερίας ἀλούς ὁ Μαῖορίνος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μέτριος γεγονώς, φοβερός δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] καὶ Νέπως δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγας τε ἡμέρας ἐπιβιὸς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, καὶ Γλυκέριος μετ' αὐτὸν ἐς ταύτην δὴ προελθὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τύχην τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀνέπλησε. μεθ' ὃν δὴ Αὐγουστος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε. [16] βασιλεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοι πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ γεγόνασιν, ὥνπερ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι. [17] χρόνον τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ ὀλίγον τινα ἐπιβιῶναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν πεπραχέναι ξυνέπεσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ ἐγένετο. [18] Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Βασιλίσκος ὃν γὰρ ἔτι οἶός τε ἦν τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς βασιλείας βιάζεσθαι τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος ἐκράτησεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, Ζήνωνος ὁμοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν, ἀφ' ἧς δὴ ὠρμάτο, διαφυγόντος. [19] ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τυραννίδα ἐνιαυτόν τε καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὡς εἰπεῖν ζύμπαντες καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐλῆς στρατιῶται διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἤχθοντο. [20] ὧν δὴ Ζήνων αἰσθόμενος στρατιάν τε ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει. Βασιλίσκος δὲ στρατόν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρμάτον ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος Ζήνωνι ἐπεμψεν. [21] ὡς δὲ πλησίον που ἀλλήλοις ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, παραδίδωσιν Ἀρμάτος Ζήνωνι τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα, ἐφ' ᾧ Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, κομιδῇ ὄντα παῖδα νέον, Καίσαρά τε καταστήσεσθαι καὶ τελευτῶντι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπεῖν. [22] Βασιλίσκος δὲ πάντων ἔρημος γεγονώς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφεύγει οὐπὲρ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀκάκιος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεὺς, Ζήνωνι ἐνεχείρισεν, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκὼν καὶ ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν δόγματος ξυνετάραξέ τε καὶ ἐνεόχμωσεν, ἐς τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς αἵρεσιν ἀποκλίνας. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [23] Ζήνων δὲ αὐθις τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἀρμάτον πίστιν ἀφοσιούμενος Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Καίσαρα καταστησάμενος, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον αὐτόν τε ἀφείλετο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρμάτον ἔκτεινε. [24] Βασιλίσκον δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πέμψας ἐς Καππαδοκίαν χειμῶνος ὥρα σιτίων τε καὶ ἱματίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἐρήμους ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι. [25] ἔνθα δὴ ψύχει τε καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καταφεύγουσι καὶ τὰ φύλατα περιβαλόντες σώματα διεφθάρησαν. αὕτη τε Βασιλίσκον τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο. [26] Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε ἀπάτη τε περιελθὼν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελάσας, ὡς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦγέ τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔφερε ζύμπαντα, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων

ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἀφίκετο σπονδαί τε αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντοι ξυνετέθησαν, μήτε Βανδίλους πολέμιόν τι ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίους ἐργάσασθαι μήτε αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνων ξυμβῆναι. ταύτας τε τὰς σπονδὰς Ζήνων τε αὐτὸς διεσώσατο καὶ ὃς μετ' ἐκείνον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν Ἀναστάσιος. [27] διέμειναν δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰουστίνον αὐτοκράτορα. τούτου δὲ Ἰουστίνου ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν Ἰουστινιανὸς διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν: [28] ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ὅδε, τρὶς ὅ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λελέξεται λόγοις. [29] χρόνον δὲ ὀλίγον Γιζέριχος ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτα πόρρω που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἦκων, διαθήκας διαθέμενος ἐν αἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Βανδίλοις ἐπέσκηψε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀεὶ Βανδύλων ἐς τοῦτον ἰέναι ὃς ἂν ἐκ γόνου ἄρρενος αὐτῷ Γιζερίχῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκων πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων τῶν αὐτοῦ ξυγγενῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν τύχοι. [30] Γιζέριχος μὲν οὖν ἄρξας Βανδύλων ἐπειδὴ Καρχηδόνος ἐκράτησεν ἔτη ἑννέα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.

VII

[Aug. 11, 472 A.D.] Now Anthemius, the emperor of the West, died at the hand of his son-in-law Rhecimer, and Olybrius, succeeding to the throne, a short time afterward suffered the same fate. [Oct. 10, 472 A.D.] And when Leon also had died in Byzantium, the imperial office was taken over by the younger Leon, the son of Zeno and Ariadne, the daughter of Leon, while he was still only a few days old. And his father having been chosen as partner in the royal power, the child forthwith passed from the world. [474 A.D.] Majorinus also deserves mention, who had gained the power of the West before this time. For this Majorinus, who surpassed in every virtue all who have ever been emperors of the Romans, did not bear lightly the loss of Libya, but collected a very considerable army against the Vandals and came to Liguria, intending himself to lead the army against the enemy. For Majorinus never showed the least hesitation before any task and least of all before the dangers of war. But thinking it not inexpedient for him to investigate first the strength of the Vandals and the character of Gizeric and to discover how the Moors and Libyans stood with regard to friendship or hostility toward the Romans, he decided to trust no eyes other than his own in such a matter. Accordingly he set out as if an envoy from the emperor to Gizeric, assuming some fictitious name. And fearing lest, by becoming known, he should himself receive some harm and at the same time prevent the success of the enterprise, he devised the following scheme. His hair, which was famous among all men as being so fair as to resemble pure gold, he anointed with some kind of dye, which was especially invented for this purpose, and so succeeded completely in changing it for the time to a dark hue. And when he came before Gizeric, the barbarian attempted in many ways to terrify him, and in particular, while treating him with engaging attention, as if a friend, he brought him into the house where all his weapons were stored, a numerous and exceedingly noteworthy array. Thereupon they say that the weapons shook of their own accord and gave forth a sound of no ordinary or casual sort, and then it seemed to Gizeric that there had been an earthquake, but when he got outside and made enquiries concerning the earthquake, since no one else agreed with him, a great wonder, they say, came over him, but he was not able to comprehend the meaning of what had happened. So Majorinus, having accomplished the very things he wished, returned to Liguria, and leading his army on foot, came to the Pillars of Heracles, purposing to cross over the strait at that point, and then to march by land from there against Carthage. And when Gizeric became aware of this, and perceived that he had been tricked by Majorinus in the matter of the embassy, he became alarmed and made his preparations for war. And the Romans, basing their confidence on the valour of Majorinus, already began to have fair hopes of recovering Libya for the empire. [461 A.D.] But meantime Majorinus was attacked by the disease of dysentery and died, a man who had

shewn himself moderate toward his subjects, and an object of fear to his enemies. [July 24, 474 A.D.] And another emperor, Nepos, upon taking over the empire, and living to enjoy it only a few days, died of disease, and Glycerius after him entered into this office and suffered a similar fate. [474-475 A.D.] And after him Augustus assumed the imperial power. There were, moreover, still other emperors in the West before this time, but though I know their names well, I shall make no mention of them whatever. For it so fell out that they lived only a short time after attaining the office, and as a result of this accomplished nothing worthy of mention. Such was the course of events in the West.

But in Byzantium Basiliscus, being no longer able to master his passion for royal power, made an attempt to usurp the throne, and succeeded without difficulty, since Zeno, together with his wife, sought refuge in Isauria, which was his native home. [471 A.D.] And while he was maintaining his tyranny for a year and eight months he was detested by practically everyone and in particular by the soldiers of the court on account of the greatness of his avarice. And Zeno, perceiving this, collected an army and came against him. And Basiliscus sent an army under the general Harmatus in order to array himself against Zeno. But when they had made camp near one another, Harmatus surrendered his army to Zeno, on the condition that Zeno should appoint as Caesar Harmatus' son Basiliscus, who was a very young child, and leave him as successor to the throne upon his death. And Basiliscus, deserted by all, fled for refuge to the same sanctuary as formerly. And Acacius, the priest of the city, put him into the hands of Zeno, charging him with impiety and with having brought great confusion and many innovations into the Christian doctrine, having inclined toward the heresy of Eutyches. And this was so. And after Zeno had thus taken over the empire a second time, he carried out his pledge to Harmatus formally by appointing his son Basiliscus Caesar, but not long afterwards he both stripped him of the office and put Harmatus to death. And he sent Basiliscus together with his children and his wife into Cappadocia in the winter season, commanding that they should be destitute of food and clothes and every kind of care. And there, being hard pressed by both cold and hunger, they took refuge in one another's arms, and embracing their loved ones, perished. And this punishment overtook Basiliscus for the policy he had pursued. These things, however, happened in later times.

But at that time Gizeric was plundering the whole Roman domain just as much as before, if not more, circumventing his enemy by craft and driving them out of their possessions by force, as has been previously said, and he continued to do so until the emperor Zeno came to an agreement with him and an endless peace was established between them, by which it was provided that the Vandals should never in all time perform any hostile act against the Romans nor suffer such a thing at their hands. And this peace was preserved

by Zeno himself and also by his successor in the empire, Anastasius And it remained in force until the time of the emperor Justinus. But Justinian, who was the nephew of Justinus, succeeded him in the imperial power, and it was in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass, in the manner which will be told in the following narrative. [477 A.D.] Gizeric, after living on a short time, died at an advanced age, having made a will in which he enjoined many things upon the Vandals and in particular that the royal power among them should always fall to that one who should be the first in years among all the male offspring descended from Gizeric himself. So Gizeric, having ruled over the Vandals thirty-nine years from the time when he captured Carthage, died, as I have said.

Ὀνώριχος δέ, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων πρεσβύτατος, διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, Γένζωνος ἥδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἐπὶ τούτου Ὀνωρίχου Βανδύλων ἄρχοντος πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐς Μαυρουσίους, ἐγένετο. [2] δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ Γιζερίχου ἡσυχάζοντες πρὸ τοῦ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐγεγόνει, ἔδρασάν τε πολλὰ τοὺς Βανδύλους κακὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαθον. [3] γέγονε δὲ Ὀνώριχος ἐς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ Χριστιανοὺς ὠμότατός τε καὶ ἀδικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [4] βιαζόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ἀρειανῶν μετατίθεσθαι δόξαν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοι οὐχ ἐτοίμως αὐτῷ εἰκοντας, ἔκαίε τε καὶ ἄλλαις θανάτου ιδέαις διέφθειρε, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας ἀπέτεμεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς φάρυγγος, οἳ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ περιόντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρῶντο ἀκραιφνεῖ τῇ φωνῇ, οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι: ὧν δὴ δύο, ἐπειδὴ γυναιξὶν ἐταίραις πλησιάζειν ἔγνωσαν, [5] οὐκ ἐτί φθέγγεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἴσχυσαν. ἔτη τε ὀκτὼ Βανδύλων ἄρξας ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, Μαυρουσίῳ ἤδη τῶν ἐν τῷ Αὐράσιῳ ὄρει ὀκημένων ἀποστάντων τε ἀπὸ Βανδύλων καὶ αὐτονόμων ὄντων ἔστι δὲ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνας διέχον, τετραμμένον τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, οἳ οὐκ ἐτί ὑπὸ Βανδύλοις ἐγένοντο, οὐ δυναμένων Βανδύλων ἐν ὄρει δυσόδῳ τε καὶ ἀνάντει λίαν πόλεμον πρὸς Μαυρουσίους διενεγκεῖν. [6] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ὀνωρίχου τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων κράτος ἐς Γουνδαμουῖνον ἤλθε τὸν Γένζωνος τοῦ Γιζερίχου. ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἔφερε τὰ πρωτεῖα τοῦ Γιζερίχου γένους. [7] οὗτος ὁ Γουνδαμουῖνος πλείοσι μὲν πρὸς Μαυρουσίους ἐμαχέσατο ξυμβολαῖς, μείζοσι δὲ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπαγαγὼν πάθεσιν ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ἤδη που μεσοῦντος τοῦ δωδεκάτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτους. [8] ἀδελφός τε αὐτοῦ Τρασαμουῖνδος παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, εἰδους τε καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας εὖ ἥκων. [9] τοὺς μέντοι Χριστιανοὺς ἐβιάζετο μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν πατριον δόξαν, οὐκ αἰκίζόμενος τὰ σώματα ὥσπερ οἱ πρότεροι, ἀλλὰ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς μετιῶν καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὁποῖοι ποτε εἶεν, ἥκιστα γε εἰδέναι ποιούμενος. [10] εἰ δέ τινας λάβοι μεγάλοις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐνόχους ἢ γνώμῃ γεγεννημένους, τούτοις δὴ μεταβαλλομένοις τὴν δόξαν μισθὸν προϋτίθει μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην ὧν ἡμαρτον. [11] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἐτελεύτα, οὐ γενομένη μήτηρ οὔτε ἄρσενος οὔτε θήλεος γόνου,

κρατῦναι ὡς ἄριστα τὴν βασιλείαν βουλόμενος, ἐς Θεωδέρικον τὸν Γότθων βασιλέα πέμψας ἤτει οἱ γυναῖκα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδαν διδόναι, ἥς δὴ ἄρτι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐτεθνήκει. [12] ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔπεμψε καὶ Γότθων δοκίμων χιλίους ἐν δορυφόρων λόγῳ, οἷς δὴ ὁμιλος θεραπείας εἶπετο ἐς πέντε μάλιστα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. [13] ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεωδέρικος καὶ τῶν Σικελίας ἀκρωτηρίων τριῶν ὄντων ἐνί, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Λιλύβαιον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ὁ Τρασαμούνδος πάντων δὴ τῶν ἐν Βανδίλοις ἡγήσαμένων κρείσσων τε εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. [14] ἐγένετο δὲ φίλος καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ξυνέπεσε Βανδίλοις πάθος τι παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίῳ οἷον οὕτω πρὸ τοῦ ξυνηνέχθῃ γενέσθαι. [15] Καβάων ἦν τις ἄρχων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τρίπολιν Μαυρουσίῳ, πολέμων τε πολλῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ λίαν ἀγχίνους. οὗτος ὁ Καβάων ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι Βανδίλους ἐπίθετο, ἐποίει τοιάδε. [16] πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπήγγελλεν ἀδικίας τε πάσης καὶ βρώσεως ἐς τρυφὴν ἀγούσης καὶ πάντων μάλιστα γυναικῶν ξυνουσίας ἀπέχεσθαι: χαρακώματά τε δύο πηξάμενος ἐν θατέρῳ μὲν αὐτὸς ξὺν πᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰς γυναῖκας καθεῖρξε, θάνατόν τε τὴν ζημίαν ἡπέιλησεν ἔσεσθαι, ἦν τις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν χαρακώμα ἴοι. [17] μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατασκόπους ἐπέταττε τάδε: ἐπειδὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν βαδίζοντες ἕξ τινα νεῶν ὑβρίσωσιν ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφορᾶν τὰ γινόμενα: ἦν δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸ χωρίον ἀμείψωσιν, ἅπαντα ποιεῖν τὰναντία ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι δράσαντες οἷχονται. [18] ἐπειπεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτό φασιν, ὡς ἀγνοοίῃ μὲν τὸν θεὸν ὃν Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτόν, εἴπερ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν, ὡς λέγεται, τίσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, ἀμῦναι δὲ τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν. [19] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον, τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Βανδίων θεωμενοί: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Τρίπολιν ἦεσαν, σχήματα περιβεβλημένοι ταπεινὰ εἶποντο. [20] οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἠϋλίσαντο, ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοὺς νεῶς τοὺς τε ἵππους τὰ τε ἄλλα ζῶα ἐσαγαγόντες, ὕβρεώς τε οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπελείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς τε ἱερέας, οὓς ἂν λάβοιεν, ἐρράπιζόν τε καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς ὑπηρετεῖν σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ὅσα δὴ ἐπέχειν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις εἰώθεσαν. [21] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνθὲνδε ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἐποιοῦν οἱ τοῦ Καβάωνος κατάσκοποι ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐπετέτακτο: τὰ τε γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐκάθησαν αὐτίκα τὴν τε κόπρον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οὐχ ὁσίως ἐπέκειτο ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ ἀφελόμενοι, τὰ τε λύχνα ἔκαυσαν ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας αἰδοῖ τε πολλῇ προσεκύνησαν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἡσπᾶσαντο: [22] ἀργυρίᾳ τε τοῖς πτωχοῖς δόντες οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐκάθηοντο, οὕτω δὴ τῇ τῶν Βανδίων στρατιᾷ εἶποντο. [23] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ξύμπασαν οἱ τε Βανδίλοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἡμάρτανον καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι ἐθεράπευον. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλον, προτερήσαντες οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Καβάωνι ὅσα Βανδίλοις τε καὶ σφίσιν ἐς τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἱερὰ εἴργαστο καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς που οἱ πολέμοι εἶεν. [25] ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καθίστατο ὧδε. κύκλον ἀπολαβὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἔνθα δὴ τὸ χαρακώμα ποιεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, τὰς καμήλους ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγκαρσίας

ἐν κύκλῳ καθίστη, κατὰ δώδεκα μάλιστα καμήλους ποιησάμενος τὸ τοῦ μετώπου βάθος. [26] παῖδας μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοῖς ἀπόμαχον ἦν ὁμοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς μέσον ἐτίθετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν μαχίμων λεῶν ἐς τῶν ζώων ἐκείνων τοὺς πόδας ἐν μέσῳ φραξαμένους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκέλευεν εἶναι. [27] οὕτω δὲ Μαυρουσίοις ἐχούσης τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον θέσθαι τὸ παρόν: οὔτε γὰρ ἀκοντισταὶ οὔτε τοξόται ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε πεζοὶ ἐς μάχην ἰέναι ἠπίσταντο, ἀλλ' ἵππεῖς τε ἦσαν ἅπαντες, δόρασί τε ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ ξίφεσσι ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποθέν τε οὐδὲν ἐργᾶ ζεσθαι κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰοί τε ἦσαν, ἢ τ' ἵππος αὐτοῖς, ἀχθομένη τῇ τῶν καμήλων ὄψει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκιστα ἤγετο. [28] ἐπειδὴ τ' συχνὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς οἱ πολέμοι τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ αὐτούς, ἅτ' πλῆθος ὄντας, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔκτεινον, ἔφην γόν τ' καὶ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπεξιόντων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐγένοντο, ὀλίγοι τε κομιδῇ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τούτῳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [29] ταῦτα μὲν Τρασαμούνδῳ παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων ξυνέπεσεν ἐτελεύτα δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐπτά τε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Βανδύλων ἄρξας.

VIII

And Honoric, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the throne, Genzon having already departed from the world. During the time when this Honoric ruled the Vandals they had no war against anyone at all, except the Moors. For through fear of Gizeric the Moors had remained quiet before that time, but as soon as he was out of their way they both did much harm to the Vandals and suffered the same themselves. And Honoric shewed himself the most cruel and unjust of all men toward the Christians in Libya. For he forced them to change over to the Arian faith, and as many as he found not readily yielding to him he burned, or destroyed by other forms of death; and he also cut off the tongues of many from the very throat, who even up to my time were going about in Byzantium having their speech uninjured, and perceiving not the least effect from this punishment; but two of these, since they saw fit to go in to harlots, were thenceforth no longer able to speak. And after ruling over the Vandals eight years he died of disease; and by that time the Moors dwelling on Mt. Aurasium had revolted from the Vandals and were independent (this Aurasium is a mountain of Numidia, about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage and fronting the south); and indeed they never came under the Vandals again, since the latter were unable to carry on a war against Moors on a mountain difficult of access and exceedingly steep.

After the death of Honoric the rule of the Vandals fell to Gundamundus, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric. [485 A.D.] For he, in point of years, was the first of the offspring of Gizeric. This Gundamundus fought against the Moors in numerous encounters, and after subjecting the Christians to still greater suffering, he died of disease, being now at about the middle of the twelfth year of his reign. [496 A.D.] And his brother Trasamundus took over the kingdom, a man well-favoured in appearance and especially gifted with discretion and highmindedness. However he continued to force the Christians to change their ancestral faith, not by torturing their bodies as his predecessors had done, but by seeking to win them with honours and offices and presenting them with great sums of money; and in the case of those who would not be persuaded, he pretended he had not the least knowledge of what manner of men they were. And if he caught any guilty of great crimes which they had committed either by accident or deliberate intent, he would offer such men, as a reward for changing their faith, that they should not be punished for their offences. And when his wife died without becoming the mother of either male or female offspring, wishing to establish the kingdom as securely as possible, he sent to Theoderic, the king of the Goths, asking him to give him his sister Amalafrida to wife, for her husband had just died. And Theoderic sent him not only his sister but also a thousand of the notable Goths as a bodyguard, who were followed by a host of attendants amounting to about five thousand fighting

men. And Theoderic also presented his sister with one of the promontories of Sicily, which are three in number, — the one which they call Lilybaeum, — and as a result of this Trasamundus was accounted the strongest and most powerful of all those who had ruled over the Vandals. He became also a very special friend of the emperor Anastasius. It was during the reign of Trasamundus that it came about that the Vandals suffered a disaster at the hands of the Moors such as had never befallen them before that time.

There was a certain Cabaon ruling over the Moors of Tripolis, a man experienced in many wars and exceedingly shrewd. This Cabaon, upon learning that the Vandals were marching against him, did as follows. First of all he issued orders to his subjects to abstain from all injustice and from all foods tending towards luxury and most of all from association with women; and setting up two palisaded enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and in the other he shut the women, and he threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone should go to the women's palisade. And after this he sent spies to Carthage with the following instructions: whenever the Vandals in going forth on the expedition should offer insult to any temple which the Christians reverence, they were to look on and see what took place; and when the Vandals had passed the place, they were to do the opposite of everything which the Vandals had done to the sanctuary before their departure. And they say that he added this also, that he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians worshipped, but it was probable that if He was powerful, as He was said to be, He should wreak vengeance upon those who insulted Him and defend those who honoured Him. So the spies came to Carthage and waited quietly, observing the preparation of the Vandals; but when the army set out on the march to Tripolis, they followed, clothing themselves in humble garb. And the Vandals, upon making camp the first day, led their horses and their other animals into the temples of the Christians, and sparing no insult, they acted with all the unrestrained lawlessness natural to them, beating as many priests as they caught and lashing them with many blows over the back and commanding them to render such service to the Vandals as they were accustomed to assign to the most dishonoured of their domestics. And as soon as they had departed from there, the spies of Cabaon did as they had been directed to do; for they straightway cleansed the sanctuaries and took away with great care the filth and whatever other unholy thing lay in them, and they lighted all the lamps and bowed down before the priests with great reverence and saluted them with all friendliness; and after giving pieces of silver to the poor who sat about these sanctuaries, they then followed after the army of the Vandals. And from then on along the whole route the Vandals continued to commit the same offences and the spies to render the same service. And when they were coming near the Moors, the spies anticipated them and reported to Cabaon what had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the

enemy were somewhere near by. And Cabaon, upon learning this, arranged for the encounter as follows. He marked off a circle in the plain where he was about to make his palisade, and placed his camels turned sideways in a circle as a protection for the camp, making his line fronting the enemy about twelve camels deep. Then he placed the children and the women and all those who were unfit for fighting together with their possessions in the middle, while he commanded the host of fighting men to stand between the feet of those animals, covering themselves with their shields. And since the phalanx of the Moors was of such a sort, the Vandals were at a loss how to handle the situation; for they were neither good with the javelin nor with the bow, nor did they know how to go into battle on foot, but they were all horsemen, and used spears and swords for the most part, so that they were unable to do the enemy any harm at a distance; and their horses, annoyed at the sight of the camels, refused absolutely to be driven against the enemy. And since the Moors, by hurling javelins in great numbers among them from their safe position, kept killing both their horses and men without difficulty, because they were a vast throng, they began to flee, and, when the Moors came out against them, the most of them were destroyed, while some fell into the hands of the enemy; and an exceedingly small number from this army returned home. Such was the fortune which Trasamundus suffered at the hands of the Moors. And he died at a later time, having ruled over the Moors twenty-seven years.

Ἰλδέριχος δὲ Ὀνωρίχου τοῦ Γιζερίχου παῖς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ὃς τὰ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐπρόσδοός τε ἦν καὶ ὅλως πρῶτος, καὶ οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλθακός τε λίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὅτα τὸ πρᾶγμά οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἰέναι. [2] Ὅαμερ γοῦν ἀνεσιός τε ὦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει ἐφ' οὓς ἂν στρατεύοιντο Βανδίλοι· ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Βανδύλων ἐκάλουν. [3] ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰλδερίχου ἡσσηθήσαν τε μάχῃ οἱ Βανδίλοι πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντάλας, καὶ σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη Θευδερίχῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκ τε συμμάχων καὶ φίλων πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. [4] τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀμαλαφρίδαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον καὶ τοὺς Γότθους διέφθειραν ἅπαντας, ἐπενεγκόντες αὐτοῖς νεωτερίζειν ἕς τε Βανδύλους καὶ Ἰλδέριχον. [5] τίσις μέντοι οὐδεμία πρὸς Θευδερίχον ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατος ἐνόμισεν εἶναι στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, Ἰλδέριχος δὲ φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ ξένος ἐγένετο, οὐπω μὲν ἦκοντι ἐς βασιλείαν, διοικουμένῳ δὲ αὐτὴν κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστίνος ὑπέργηρὸς τε ὦν ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. χρήμασί τε μεγάλοις ἀλλήλους ἐδωροῦντο. [6] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Γιζερίχου γένει Γελίμερ ὁ Γειλάριδος τοῦ Γένζωνος τοῦ Γιζερίχου πόρρω που ἡλικίας ἦκων μετὰ γε Ἰλδέριχον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίδοξος ὦν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφίξεσθαι. [7] ὃς τὰ μὲν πολέμια ἐδόκει τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ δεινός τε ἦν καὶ κακοήθης καὶ πράγμασί τε νεωτέροις καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀλλοτριόις ἐξεπιστάμενος. [8] οὗτος ὁ Γελίμερ ἐπεὶ οἱ μέλλουσιν

ἑώρα τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ βασιλέως ἔργα προσποισάμενος ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ἁώρου γε αὐτῷ οὔσης: καὶ Ἰλδερίχου δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἐνδιδόντος κατέχειν οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ Βανδύλῳ ἐταιρಿಸάμενος εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν, ἀναπειθῆαι ἀφελέσθαι μὲν Ἰλδέριχον τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς ἀπόλεμόν τε καὶ ἡσσημένον πρὸς Μαυρουσίῳ, καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ καταπροδιδόντα τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων κράτος, ὡς μὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης οἰκίας ὄντα ἡ βασιλεία ἦκοι: τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ βούλεσθαι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον πρεσβείαν διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδιδόναι τὸ Βανδύλων κράτος. οἱ δὲ ἀναπεισθέντες κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [9] οὕτω δὴ Γελίμερ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἰλδέριχόν τε, ἑβδομον ἔτος Βανδύλων ἄρξαντα, καὶ Ὁάμερα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐαγέην ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν. [10] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἤδη τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην ὡς Γελίμερα πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε: ‘Οὐχ ὅσια ποιεῖς οὐδὲ τῶν Γιζερίχου διαθηκῶν ἄξια, γέροντά τε καὶ ζυγγενὴ καὶ βασιλέα Βανδύλων, εἴ τι τῶν Γιζερίχῳ βεβουλευμένων ὀφελὸς ἐστίν, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχων, καὶ βία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρούμενος, ἐξὼν αὐτὴν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ κατὰ νόμον λαβεῖν. [11] μήτε οὖν ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρῳ κακὸν μήτε τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος ἀνταλλάξῃ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου προσηγορίαν, βραχεῖ προτερεύουσιν χρόνῳ. [12] ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν, ἄνδρα ὅσον οὕπῳ τεθνηζόμενον, ἕα φέρεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εἰκόνα, σὺ δὲ ἅπαντα πρᾶττε ὅσα βασιλέα πράττειν εἰκός: προσδέχου τε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ Γιζερίχου νόμου μόνον λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὄνομα. [13] ταῦτα γὰρ σοι ποιοῦντι τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐμενῇ ἔσται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν φίλια.’ [14] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Γελίμερ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν τε Ὁάμερα ἐξετύφλωσε τὸν τε Ἰλδέριχον καὶ Εὐαγέην ἐν μείζονι φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπικαλέσας φυγὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον μελετᾶν. [15] ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις ἐτέρους πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε ‘Ἡμεῖς μὲν οἰόμενοί σε οὐποτε τῆς ἡμετέρας συμβουλῆς ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἤξουν ἐγράψαμέν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν προτέραν. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρέσκει σοι τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτω κεκτηθῆσαι ὡς νῦν ἔχεις λαβὼν, ἀπόλαβε ὅ τι ἂν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ δαίμων διδῷ. [17] σὺ δὲ Ἰλδέριχόν τε καὶ Ὁάμερα τὸν πηρὸν καὶ τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς πέμπε, παραψυχὴν ἔχοντας ἦν ἔχειν εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ ὅσοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἀφῆρηνται: [18] ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομέν γε, ἦν μὴ ταῦτα ποιῆς. ἐνάγει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπίς ἦν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν ἔσχον. [19] αἶ τε σπονδαὶ ἡμῖν αἶ πρὸς Γιζέριχον ἐκποδῶν στήσονται. τῷ γὰρ ἐκδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν ἐρχόμεθα οὐ πολεμήσοντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ δυνατὰ τιμωρήσοντες.’ [20] Ταῦτα Γελίμερ ἀναλεξάμενος ἡμείβετο τοῖσδε ‘Βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ. οὔτε βία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον οὔτε τί μοι ἀνόσιον ἐς ζυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἵργασται. [21] Ἰλδέριχον γὰρ νεώτερα πράσσοντα ἐς οἶκον τὸν Γιζερίχου καθεῖλε τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων ἔθνος: ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλεσε, κατὰ γε τὸν νόμον τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδούς. [22] τὴν δὲ ὑπάρχουσιν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτόν τινα διοικεῖσθαι καλὸν καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτριᾶς οἰκειοῦσθαι φροντίδας. [23] ὥστε καὶ σοὶ βασιλείαν ἔχοντι τὸ περιέργῳ εἶναι οὐ δίκαιον: λύοντι δὲ σοὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἰόντι ἀπαντήσομεν ὅση δύναμις, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς

Ζήνωνι ὁμωμοσμένους, οὗ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ^[24] ἔχεις.’ ταῦτα λαβὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ γράμματα, ἔχων καὶ πρότερον δι’ ὀργῆς Γελίμερα, ^[25] ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπῆρτο. καὶ οἱ ἔδοξε καταλύσαντι ὡς τάχιστα τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐπινοῆσαί τε ὀξὺς καὶ ἄοκνος τὰ βεβουλευμένα ἐπιτελέσαι παρῆν μὲν αὐτῷ μετάπεμptos ὁ τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐς Λιβύην στρατηγήσειν μέλλοι προειρημένον αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ ὀφειδόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλέλυτο ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς. ^[26] γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτίκα αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

IX

[523 A.D.] And Ilderic, the son of Honoric, the son of Gizeric, next received the kingdom, a ruler who was easily approached by his subjects and altogether gentle, and he shewed himself harsh neither to the Christians nor to anyone else, but in regard to affairs of war he was a weakling and did not wish this thing even to come to his ears. Hoamer, accordingly, his nephew and an able warrior, led the armies against any with whom the Vandals were at war; he it was whom they called the Achilles of the Vandals. During the reign of this Ilderic the Vandals were defeated in Byzacium by the Moors, who were ruled by Antalas, and it so fell out that they became enemies instead of allies and friends to Theoderic and the Goths in Italy. For they put Amalafrida in prison and destroyed all the Goths, charging them with revolutionary designs against the Vandals and Ilderic. However, no revenge came from Theoderic, for he considered himself unable to gather a great fleet and make an expedition into Libya, and Ilderic was a very particular friend and guest-friend of Justinian, who had not yet come to the throne, but was administering the government according to his pleasure; for his uncle Justinus, who was emperor, was very old and not altogether experienced in matters of state. And Ilderic and Justinian made large presents of money to each other.

Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, Gelimer, the son of Geilaris, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric, who was of such age as to be second only to Ilderic, and for this reason he was expected to come into the kingdom very soon. This man was thought to be the best warrior of his time, but for the rest he was a cunning fellow and base at heart and well versed in undertaking revolutionary enterprises and in laying hold upon the money of others. Now this Gelimer, when he saw the power coming to him, was not able to live in his accustomed way, but assumed to himself the tasks of a king and usurped the rule, though it was not yet due him; and since Ilderic in a spirit of friendliness gave in to him, he was no longer able to restrain his thoughts, but allying with himself all the noblest of the Vandals, he persuaded them to wrest the kingdom from Ilderic, as being an unwarlike king who had been defeated by the Moors, and as betraying the power of the Vandals into the hand of the Emperor Justinus, in order that the kingdom might not come to him, because he was of the other branch of the family; for he asserted slanderously that this was the meaning of Ilderic's embassy to Byzantium, and that he was giving over the empire of the Vandals to Justinus. And they, being persuaded, carried out this plan. [530 A.D.] Thus Gelimer seized the supreme power, and imprisoned Ilderic, after he had ruled over the Vandals seven years, and also Hoamer and his brother Euagees.

[527 A.D.] But when Justinian heard these things, having already received the

imperial power, he sent envoys to Gelimer in Libya with the following letter: "You are not acting in a holy manner nor worthily of the will of Gizeric, keeping in prison an old man and a kinsman and the king of the Vandals (if the counsels of Gizeric are to be of effect), and robbing him of his office by violence, though it would be possible for you to receive it after a short time in a lawful manner. Do you therefore do no further wrong and do not exchange the name of king for the title of tyrant, which comes but a short time earlier. But as for this man, whose death may be expected at any moment, allow him to bear in appearance the form of royal power, while you do all the things which it is proper that a king should do; and wait until you can receive from time and the law of Gizeric, and from them alone, the name which belongs to the position. For if you do this, the attitude of the Almighty will be favourable and at the same time our relations with you will be friendly." Such was his message. But Gelimer sent the envoys away with nothing accomplished, and he blinded Hoamer and also kept Ilderich and Euagees in closer confinement, charging them with planning flight to Byzantium. And when this too was heard by the Emperor Justinian, he sent envoys a second time and wrote as follows: "We, indeed, supposed that you would never go contrary to our advice when we wrote you the former letter. But since it pleases you to have secured possession of the royal power in the manner in which you have taken and now hold it, get from it whatever Heaven grants. But do you send to us Ilderich, and Hoamer whom you have blinded, and his brother, to receive what comfort they can who have been robbed of a kingdom or of sight; for we shall not let the matter rest if you do not do this. And I speak thus because we are led by the hope which I had based on our friendship. And the treaty with Gizeric will not stand as an obstacle for us. For it is not to make war upon him who has succeeded to the kingdom of Gizeric that we come, but to avenge Gizeric with all our power."

When Gelimer had read this, he replied as follows: "King Gelimer to the Emperor Justinian. Neither have I taken the office by violence nor has anything unholy been done by me to my kinsmen. For Ilderich, while planning a revolution against the house of Gizeric, was dethroned by the nation of the Vandals; and I was called to the kingdom by my years, which gave me the preference, according to the law at least. Now it is well for one to administer the kingly office which belongs to him and not to make the concerns of others his own. Hence for you also, who have a kingdom, meddling in other's affairs is not just; and if you break the treaty and come against us, we shall oppose you with all our power, calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold." The Emperor Justinian, upon receiving this letter, having been angry with Gelimer even before then, was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya; and since he was quick at forming a plan and prompt in

carrying out his decisions, Belisarius, the General of the East, was summoned and came to him immediately, no announcement having been made to him nor to anyone else that he was about to lead an army against Libya, but it was given out that he had been removed from the office which he held. And straightway the treaty with Persia was made, as has been told in the preceding narrative.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανός, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τε οἶκοι καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε, τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοεῖτο. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξήνεγκεν ὡς στρατιὰν ἀγείροι ἐπὶ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γελίμερα, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη ἐδυσχέραινόν τε καὶ ἐν ξυμφορᾷ ἦσαν, τὸν τε Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως στόλον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βασιλίσκου πάθος ἀνανεοῦμενοί τε καὶ ἀποστοματίζοντες στρατῶτας μὲν ὅσοι ἀπέθανον, χρήματα δὲ ὅσα τὸ δημόσιον ὥφλε. [3] μάλιστα δὲ ἤλγουν τε καὶ περιώδυνον τῇ μερίμνῃ ἐγίνοντο ὃ τε τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος, ὃν δὴ πρᾶιτωρα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ταμείου ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ φόρου ξυλλογὴ δημοσίου ἢ βασιλικοῦ ἐπετέτακτο, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρεῖαν δεήσει ἄμετρα φέρουσιν οὔτε ξυγγνώμης τινὸς οὔτε ἀναβολῆς ἀξίους εἶναι. [4] τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος στρατηγήσειν οἰόμενος κατωρρώδει τε καὶ ἀπάκνει τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ οἱ ἀναγκαῖον εἴη διασωθέντι ἐκ τῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ κακῶν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεῶν ὀρμωμένῳ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς βασιλείαν μεγάλην τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. [5] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἄρτι ἐκ πολέμου μακροῦ τε καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐπᾶνῃκοντες οὐπὼ τε ὅλη γλώσση ἀγαθῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν γευσάμενοι ἐν ἀμυχανίᾳ ἐγίνοντο ἕς τε ναυμαχίαν ἀγόμενοι, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ πρότερον παραλαβόντες ἐτύγχανον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφῶν ὀρίων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου δυσμὰς, ἐφ' ᾧ διακινδυνεύουσιν πρὸς τε Βανδίλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους. [6] οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ἅπερ ἐν ὁμίῳ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἠθελον διὰ κινδύνων ἀλλοτρίων θεαταὶ γενέσθαι. [7] Βασιλεῖ μέντοι εἰπεῖν τι ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδεῖς, ὅτι μὴ ὁ Καππαδόκης Ἰωάννης, ἐτόλμησεν, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος, θρασυτάτος τε ὢν καὶ δεινότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων. [8] οὗτος γάρ Ἰωάννης, τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῇ τὰς παρούσας ὀδυρομένων τύχας, παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλεῖα ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Τὸ πιστόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς σοὺς ὁμιλίας τὴν παρρησίαν ἡμῖν ἀναπετάννυσιν ὃ τι ἂν μέλλοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ σῇ ξυνοίσειν, ἣν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν σοι τὰ λεγόμενά τε καὶ πρᾶσσόμενα ἤ. [9] οὕτω γάρ σοι κεράννυσιν τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἢ σύνεσις, ὥστε οὐ τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα πάντως εὖνουν εἶναι ἢ γῇ τοῖς σαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀντειπόντι χαλεπῶς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς διανοίας ἀκραιφνεῖ πάντα σταθμώμενος ἀκίνδυνον ἡμῖν ἀπέδειξας πολλάκις τὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντιστῆναι βουλευμάσι. [10] τούτοις ἡγμένους, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατέστην εἰς ξυμβουλὴν τήνδε, προσκρούσων μὲν τὸ παραντίκα ἴσως, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον τὴν εὖνοιαν τὴν ἐμὴν καταφανῇ δείξων, ταύτης τέ σε μάρτυρα παρεξόμενος. [11] ἣν γὰρ ἀπειθῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐξοίσεις ἐς Βανδίλους τὸν πόλεμον, μηχανομένης σοι τῆς ἀγωνίας τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι ξυμβήσεται. [12] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατήσεις τῶν

πολεμίων τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχεις, οὐδὲν ἀπεικός σε τὰ τε σώματα προῖεσθαι καὶ χρημάτων δαπανᾶν πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγώνων ὑφίστασθαι πόνους: νίκη γὰρ ἐπιγενομένη πάντα καλύπτει τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πάθη. [13] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ γούνασι κεῖται, παραδείγμασι δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων χρωμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη δεδιέναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, πῶς οὐχὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κινδύνων τὸ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγαπᾶν ἄμεινον; [14] ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα διανοῇ στρατεύειν, εἰς ἣν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντι ὁδὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμερῶν ἐστί, πλέοντι δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ πέλαγος ὅλον ἀμειψαμένῳ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐλθεῖν. ὥστε τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ξυμβησομένων ἐνιαυσίῳ σοι δεήσει τὸν ἄγγελον ἥκειν. [15] προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις ὥς, ἣν μὲν κρατήσης τῶν πολεμίων, Λιβύης μεταποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιο, τῆς τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὑφ' ἐτέροις κειμένης; [16] ἣν δέ τι καὶ πταίσης, ὃ βασιλεῦ, λελυμένων ἤδη σοι τῶν σπονδῶν, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τὸν κίνδυνον ἄξεις: ξυνελόντι τε εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἀπόνασθαι παρέσται σοι τῆς νίκης καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα λυμανεῖται τοῖς εὖ καθεστῶσι. [17] πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ τῆς εὐβουλίας ὄφελός ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπταικόσι τὸ μεταμελεῖσθαι ἀνόνητον, πρὸ δὲ τῶν δεινῶν τὸ μεταμανθάνειν ἀκίνδυνον. οὐκοῦν ξυνοίσει πάντων μάλιστα τὸ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐν δέοντι χρῆσθαι.' [18] Ἰωάννης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον προθυμίαν κατέπαυσε. τῶν δέ τις ἱερέων οὓς δὴ ἐπισκόπους καλοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς ἐφ' ἣκων ἔφη ἐς λόγους τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθαι. [19] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ξυνέμιξεν, ἔλεγεν οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπισκῆψαι ὄναρ γενέσθαι τε ὥς βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι δὴ Χριστιανούς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ρύεσθαι ἐκ τυράννων ὑποδεξάμενος εἶτα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ καταρρώδησε: [20] 'Καίτοι αὐτός,' ἔφη, 'οἱ πολεμοῦντι [21] ξυλλήψομαι Λιβύης τε κύριον θήσομαι.' ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἡγειρεν, ὅπλα τε καὶ σιτία ἡτοίμαζε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπήγγελλεν εἶναι ὥς ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγήσονται αὐτίκα μάλα. [22] Τρίπολιν δὲ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Πουδέντιος ἀπὸ Βανδύλων ἀπέστησε, πέμψας τε ὥς βασιλέα ἐδεῖτό οἱ στρατιὰν στεῖλαι: [23] πόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν οὐδενὶ προσποιήσειν. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντά τε Ταττιμοῦθ καὶ στρατεύμα οὐ πολὺ ἔστειλεν. [24] ὁ δὲ ἑταιρಿಸάμενος Πουδέντιος Βανδύλων οὐ παρόντων τὴν τε χώραν ἔσχε καὶ βασιλεῖ προσεποίησε. τῷ δὲ Γελίμερι τιμωρεῖν βουλομένῳ Πουδέντιον ἐναντίωμα ξυνέπεσε τόδε. [25] Γῶδας τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Γελίμερος δούλοις, Γότθος τὸ γένος, θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ δραστήριος καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ δοκῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ δεσπότης πράγματα ἔχειν. [26] τούτῳ τῷ Γῶδᾳ ὁ Γελίμερ Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπέτρεψε, φυλακῆς τε ἕνεκα καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον ἀποφέρειν. [27] ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης εὐημερίαν οὔτε καταπέψαι οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν οἴος τε ὦν τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἀποφέρειν ἔτι ἠξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐτὸς Βανδύλων ἀποστήσας εἶχε. [28] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πολεμῆσειν ἐπὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ Γελίμερα, ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε: [29] 'Οὔτε ἀγνωμοσύνη εἶκον οὔτε τι ἄχαρι πρὸς δεσπότης παθὼν τοῦ ἐμοῦ εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἀλλὰ τάνδρὸς ἰδὼν τὴν ὠμότητα ἰσχυρὰν οἶαν εἰς τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ ὑπήκοον

μετέχειν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας οὐκ ἂν δόξαιμι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι. [30] ἄμεινον γὰρ βασιλεῖ δικαίῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἢ τυράννῳ τὰ οὐκ ἔννομα ἐπαγγέλλοντι. [31] ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν συλλήψῃ μοι ταῦτα σπουδάζοντι, ὅπως δὲ στρατιώτας πέμποις ὥστε με ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἱκανῶς ἔχειν.' [32] Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ἄσμενος λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εὐλόγιον πρεσβευτὴν ἐπεμψε καὶ γράμματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπαινῶν τὸν Γώδαν τῆς τε ξυνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δικαιοσύνην προθυμίας, ξυμμαχίαν τε ἐπαγγελλόμενος καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγόν, ὃς αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξαι τε τὴν νῆσον οἷός τε εἶη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξυλλήψεσθαι, ὥστε αὐτῷ δύσκολον μηδὲν πρὸς Βανδίων ξυμβῆναι. [33] Εὐλόγιος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Σαρδῶ εὗρισκε Γώδαν ὄνομά τε καὶ σχῆμα βασιλέως περιβαλλόμενον καὶ δορυφόρους προσποιησάμενον. [34] ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, στρατιώτας μὲν ἔφη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἄρχοντος δὲ οὐ πάνυ χρῆζειν. κατὰ ταῦτά τε πρὸς βασιλέα γράψας τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἀπεπέμψατο.

And when the Emperor Justinian considered that the situation was as favourable as possible, both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took under consideration the situation in Libya. But when he disclosed to the magistrates that he was gathering an army against the Vandals and Gelimer, the most of them began immediately to show hostility to the plan, and they lamented it as a misfortune, recalling the expedition of the Emperor Leon and the disaster of Basiliscus, and reciting how many soldiers had perished and how much money the state had lost. But the men who were the most sorrowful of all, and who, by reason of their anxiety, felt the keenest regret, were the pretorian prefect, whom the Romans call "praetor," and the administrator of the treasury, and all to whom had been assigned the collection of either public or imperial taxes, for they reasoned that while it would be necessary for them to produce countless sums for the needs of the war, they would be granted neither pardon in case of failure nor extension of time in which to raise these sums. And every one of the generals, supposing that he himself would command the army, was in terror and dread at the greatness of the danger, if it should be necessary for him, if he were preserved from the perils of the sea, to encamp in the enemy's land, and, using his ships as a base, to engage in a struggle against a kingdom both large and formidable. The soldiers, also, having recently returned from a long, hard war, and having not yet tasted to the full the blessings of home, were in despair, both because they were being led into sea-fighting, — a thing which they had not learned even from tradition before then, — and because they were sent from the eastern frontier to the West, in order to risk their lives against Vandals and Moors. But all the rest, as usually happens in a great throng, wished to be spectators of new adventures while others faced the dangers.

But as for saying anything to the emperor to prevent the expedition, no one dared to do this except John the Cappadocian, the pretorian prefect, a man of the greatest daring and the cleverest of all men of his time. For this John, while all the others were bewailing in silence the fortune which was upon them, came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "O Emperor, the good faith which thou dost shew in dealing with thy subjects enables us to speak frankly regarding anything which will be of advantage to thy government, even though what is said and done may not be agreeable to thee. For thus does thy wisdom temper thy authority with justice, in that thou dost not consider that man only as loyal to thy cause who serves thee under any and all conditions, nor art thou angry with the man who speaks against thee, but by weighing all things by pure reason alone, thou hast often shewn that it involves us in no danger to oppose thy purposes. Led by these considerations, O Emperor, I have come to offer this advice, knowing that, though I shall give

perhaps offence at the moment, if it so chance, yet in the future the loyalty which I bear you will be made clear, and that for this I shall be able to shew thee as a witness. For if, through not hearkening to my words, thou shalt carry out the war against the Vandals, it will come about, if the struggle is prolonged for thee, that my advice will win renown. For if thou hast confidence that thou wilt conquer the enemy, it is not at all unreasonable that thou shouldst sacrifice the lives of men and expend a vast amount of treasure, and undergo the difficulties of the struggle; for victory, coming at the end, covers up all the calamities of war. But if in reality these things lie on the knees of God, and if it behoves us, taking example from what has happened in the past, to fear the outcome of war, on what grounds is it not better to love a state of quiet rather than the dangers of mortal strife? Thou art purposing to make an expedition against Carthage, to which, if one goes by land, the journey is one of a hundred and forty days, and if one goes by water, he is forced to cross the whole open sea and go to its very end. So that he who brings thee news of what will happen in the camp must needs reach thee a year after the event. And one might add that if thou art victorious over thy enemy, thou couldst not take possession of Libya while Sicily and Italy lie in the hands of others; and at the same time, if any reverse befall thee, O Emperor, the treaty having already been broken by thee, thou wilt bring the danger upon our own land. In fact, putting all in a word, it will not be possible for thee to reap the fruits of victory, and at the same time any reversal of fortune will bring harm to what is well established. It is before an enterprise that wise planning is useful. For when men have failed, repentance is of no avail, but before disaster comes there is no danger in altering plans. Therefore it will be of advantage above all else to make fitting use of the decisive moment."

Thus spoke John; and the Emperor Justinian, hearkening to his words, checked his eager desire for the war. But one of the priests whom they call bishops, who had come from the East, said that he wished to have a word with the emperor. And when he met Justinian, he said that God had visited him in a dream, and bidden him go to the emperor and rebuke him, because, after undertaking the task of protecting the Christians in Libya from tyrants, he had for no good reason become afraid. "And yet," He had said, "I will Myself join with him in waging war and make him lord of Libya." When the emperor heard this, he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, and he began to collect the army and the ships, and to make ready supplies of weapons and of food, and he announced to Belisarius that he should be in readiness, because he was very soon to act as general in Libya. Meanwhile Pudentius, one of the natives of Tripolis in Libya, caused this district to revolt from the Vandals, and sending to the emperor he begged that he should despatch an army to him; for, he said, he would with no trouble win the land for the emperor. And Justinian sent him Tattimuth and an army of no very great size. This force

Pudentius joined with his own troops and, the Vandals being absent, he gained possession of the land and made it subject to the emperor. And Gelimer, though wishing to inflict punishment upon Pudentius, found the following obstacle in his way.

There was a certain Godas among the slaves of Gelimer, a Goth by birth, a passionate and energetic fellow possessed of great bodily strength, but appearing to be well-disposed to the cause of his master. To this Godas Gelimer entrusted the island of Sardinia, in order both to guard the island and to pay over the annual tribute. But he neither could digest the prosperity brought by fortune nor had he the spirit to endure it, and so he undertook to establish a tyranny, and he refused to continue the payment of the tribute, and actually detached the island from the Vandals and held it himself. And when he perceived that the Emperor Justinian was eager to make war against Libya and Gelimer, he wrote to him as follows:

“It was neither because I yielded to folly nor because I had suffered anything unpleasant at my master’s hands that I turned my thoughts towards rebellion, but seeing the extreme cruelty of the man both toward his kinsmen and toward his subjects, I could not, willingly at least, be reputed to have a share in his inhumanity. For it is better to serve a just king than a tyrant whose commands are unlawful. But do thou join with me to assist in this my effort and send soldiers so that I may be able to ward off my assailants.”

And the emperor, on receiving this letter, was pleased, and he sent Eulogius as envoy and wrote a letter praising Godas for his wisdom and his zeal for justice, and he promised an alliance and soldiers and a general, who would be able to guard the island with him and to assist him in every other way, so that no trouble should come to him from the Vandals. But Eulogius, upon coming to Sardinia, found that Godas was assuming the name and wearing the dress of a king and that he had attached a body-guard to his person. And when Godas read the emperor’s letter, he said that it was his wish to have soldiers, indeed, come to fight along with him, but as for a commander, he had absolutely no desire for one. And having written to the emperor in this sense, he dismissed Eulogius.

Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὕτω πεπυσμένος τετρακοσίους τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἄρχοντα Κύριλλον ὡς τὴν νῆσον ξυμφυλάζοντας Γώδα ἡτοίμαζεν. [2] ἤδη δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐς Καρχηδόνα στρατείαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, πεζοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας μυρίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἔκ τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ φοιδεράτων συνειλεγμένους. [3] ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δουλοῖ εἶναι, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσημένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφίκοντο· [4] φοῖδερα γὰρ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἅπασι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμῃ ἐστί, τοῦ χρόνου τὰς

προσηγορίας ἐφ' ὧν τέθινται ἥκιστα ἀξιούντος τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ περιφερομένων, ἢ ταῦτα ἄγειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὀνομασμένων ὀλιγοῦντες. [5] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδεράτων μὲν Δωρόθεός τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγός, καὶ Σολόμων, ὃς τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε στρατηγίαν· [6] ὁ δὲ Σολόμων οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐτύγγανεν ἀποτμηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ τύχη ἐν σπαργάνοις ὄντι τοῦτο ἐβράβευσε· καὶ Κυπριανὸς καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτῖνος καὶ Ἀλθίας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μάρκελλος καὶ Κύριλλος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη· [7] στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱπέων μὲν Ρουφίνος τε καὶ Αἰγάν, ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Πάππος, πεζῶν δὲ Θεόδωρος, ὃνπερ Κτεάνον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν, καὶ Τερέντιός τε καὶ Ζαΐδος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Σάραπς. [8] Ἰωάννης δὲ τις ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου ὁρμώμενος, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον καλεῖται, τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμόσιν ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. [9] τούτων ἀπάντων Σολόμων μὲν ἔφως ἐτύγγανεν ὧν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχατιᾶς αὐτῆς, οὗ νῦν πόλις οἰκεῖται Δάρας, Αἰγάν δὲ ἦν Μασσαγέτης γένος, οὓς νῦν Οὐννους καλοῦσιν· [10] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ᾤκουν. [11] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑρουλοὶ τετρακόσιοι, ὧν Φάρας ἦρχε, καὶ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ Μασσαγετῶν ἔθνους, ἱπποτοξόται πάντες· [12] ὧν δὴ ἡγούντο Σιννίων τε καὶ Βάλας, ἀνδρίας τε καὶ καρτερίας ἐς ἄκρον ἤκοντε. [13] ναῦς δὲ ἡ σύμπασα στρατιὰ πεντακοσίας ἦγε, καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πλέον ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε μεδίμων φέρειν οἷα τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔλασσον ἢ κατὰ τρισχιλίους. [14] ναῦται δὲ τρισμῦριοι ἐπέπλεον ἀπάσαις, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Ἰῶνες οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ Κίλικες, ἀρχηγός τε εἷς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις Καλῶνμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο. [15] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖα μακρά, ὥς ἐς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευασμένα, ἐνενήκοντα δύο, μονήρη μέντοι καὶ ὀροφὰς ὑπερθεν ἔχοντα, ὅπως οἱ ταῦτα ἐρέσσοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα βάλλοιντο. [16] δρόμοντας καλοῦσι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι· πλεῖν γὰρ κατὰ τάχος δύνανται μάλιστα. ἐν τούτοις δὴ Βυζάντιοι δισχιλίοι ἐπλεον, αὐτερέται πάντες· περίνεως γὰρ ἦν ἐν τούτοις οὐδεὶς. [17] ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀνὴρ ἐς πατρικίους τελῶν, ἥδη μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχὸς ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς γεγονώς, τότε δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταστάς ἑπαρχος· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεται. [18] στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπασιν Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ὃς τῶν ἐφ' αὐτῷ καταλόγων ἦρχε. [19] καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μὲν δορυφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπασπισταὶ εἶποντο, ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κινδύνων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειροι. [20] γράμματά τε αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραφε, δρᾶν ἕκαστα ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἄριστα ἔχειν, ταῦτά τε κύρια εἶναι ἅτε αὐτοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὰ διαπεπραγμένον. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτῷ ῥοπὴν τὰ γράμματα ἐποίει. [21] ὥρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἡ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε. [22] Γελίμερ δὲ Τριπόλεως τε πρὸς Πουδεντίου καὶ Σαρδοῦς πρὸς Γῶδα ἐστερημένος, Τρίπολιν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι μόλις ἤλπισεν, ἀπωτέρω τε ὤκνημένην καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἥδη τοῖς ἀποστάσι ξυλλαμβανόντων, ἐφ' οὓς δὴ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατεῦειν ἔδοξεν οἱ ἄριστα ἔχειν· ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον προτερήσας

ἡπείγετο, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμμαχίαν ἐκ βασιλέως ἦκειν. [23] ἀπολέξας οὖν Βανδύλων χιλιάδας πέντε καὶ ναῦς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας στρατηγὸν τε ἀποδείξας Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔστελλε. [24] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Γώδαν τε καὶ Σαρδῶ θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ σπουδῇ χρώμενοι ἔπλεον, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτίνον προτέρους ἔστελλεν, ἐφ' ᾧ προσδέξονται τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία. [25] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄμφω ἐγενέσθην, ἐνθύμιον βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο ἐντέλλεσθαι τι αὐτοῖν: ὁ καὶ πρότερον ἐθέλοντα λέγειν ἀσχολία τις λόγων ἐτέρων τὴν διάνοιαν περιλαβοῦσα ἐξέκρουσε. [26] μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐτῷ λέγειν ἔμελλεν ἃ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ ξυμβαλὼν εὗρισκεν ὥς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖν αἴσιον εἴη τὴν πορείαν ἐκκόψαι. [27] ἔπεμπεν οὖν τινας ἀπεροῦντας αὐτοῖν μήτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐς αὐτὸν αὐθις μήτε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαίνειν. [28] οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἐκέλευον ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ μηδαμῶς ἀναστρέφειν, ἔδοξέ τε τοῖς παροῦσιν οἰωνός τε εἶναι οὐκ ἀγαθὸς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐποτε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις τινὰ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήξειν. [29] πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τῷ οἰωνῷ καὶ ἄρὰν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦκειν ἐκ βασιλέως οὔτι ἐκόντος, ὥστε μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ὑπώπτειον. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἄρχοντε τούτῳ, Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτίνον, ξυμβάλλοιτο, οὐκ ἀληθὴ εὐρήσει τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόξαντα. [30] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Μαρτίνου δορυφόροις Στότζας, ὃς δὴ καὶ βασιλεῖ πολέμιος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκιστα ἀναστρέφειν, ἐφ' ὃν δὴ τὴν ἄρὰν ἐκείνην ὑποπτεύσειεν ἂν τις ξυνενεγκεῖν τὸ δαιμόνιον. [31] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτη εἴτε πῃ ἄλλη ἔχει, ἀφήμι ἐκάστῳ ὅπῃ ἂν τις βούληται ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστάλη, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

XI

The emperor, meanwhile, not having yet ascertained these things, was preparing four hundred soldiers with Cyril as commander, who were to assist Godas in guarding the island. And with them he also had in readiness the expedition against Carthage, ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horsemen, gathered from the regular troops and from the "foederati." Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political system, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality. For the Romans call treaties with their enemies "foedera." But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, since time will by no means consent to keep names attached to the things to which they were formerly applied, but conditions are ever changing about according to the desire of men who control them, and men pay little heed to the meaning which they originally attached to a name. And the commanders of the foederati were Dorotheus, the general of the troops in Armenia, and Solomon, who was acting as manager for the general Belisarius; (such a person the Romans call "domesticus." Now this Solomon was a eunuch, but it was not by the devising of man that he had suffered mutilation, but some accident which befell him while in swaddling clothes had imposed this lot upon him); and there were also Cyprian, Valerian, Martinus, Althias, John, Marcellus, and the Cyril whom I have mentioned above; and the commanders of the regular cavalry were Rufinus and Aïgan, who were of the house of Belisarius, and Barbatus and Pappus, while the regular infantry was commanded by Theodorus, who was surnamed Cteanus, and Terentius, Zaïdus, Marcian, and Sarapis. And a certain John, a native of Epidamnus, which is now called Dyrrachium, held supreme command over all the leaders of infantry. Among all these commanders Solomon was from a place in the East, at the very extremity of the Roman domain, where the city called Daras now stands, and Aïgan was by birth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns; and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them also four hundred Eruli, whom Pharas led, and about six hundred barbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetae, all mounted bowmen; these were led by Sinnion and Balas, men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highest degree. And for the whole force five hundred ships were required, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thousand medimni, nor any one less than three thousand. And in all the vessels together there were thirty thousand sailors, Egyptians and Ionians for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed over all the ships, Calonymus of Alexandria. And they had also ships of war prepared as for sea-fighting, to the number of ninety-two, and they were single-banked ships covered by decks, in order that the men rowing them might if possible

not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such boats are called “dromones” by those of the present time; for they are able to attain a great speed. In these sailed two thousand men of Byzantium, who were all rowers as well as fighting men; for there was not a single superfluous man among them. And Archelaus was also sent, a man of patrician standing who had already been pretorian prefect both in Byzantium and in Illyricum, but he then held the position of prefect of the army; for thus the officer charged with the maintenance of the army is designated. But as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius, who was in command of the troops of the East for the second time. And he was followed by many spearmen and many guards as well, men who were capable warriors and thoroughly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the emperor gave him written instructions, bidding him do everything as seemed best to him, and stating that his acts would be final, as if the emperor himself had done them. The writing, in fact, gave him the power of a king. Now Belisarius was a native of Germania, which lies between Thrace and Illyricum. These things, then, took place in this way.

Gelimer, however, being deprived of Tripolis by Pudentius and of Sardinia by Godas, scarcely hoped to regain Tripolis, since it was situated at a great distance and the rebels were already being assisted by the Romans, against whom just at that moment it seemed to him best not to take the field; but he was eager to get to the island before any army sent by the emperor to fight for his enemies should arrive there. He accordingly selected five thousand of the Vandals and one hundred and twenty ships of the fastest kind, and appointing as general his brother Tzazon, he sent them off. And so they were sailing with great enthusiasm and eagerness against Godas and Sardinia. In the meantime the Emperor Justinian was sending off Valerian and Martinus in advance of the others in order to await the rest of the army in the Peloponnesus. And when these two had embarked upon their ships, it came to the emperor’s mind that there was something which he wished to enjoin upon them, — a thing which he had wished to say previously, but he had been so busied with the other matters of which he had to speak that his mind had been occupied with them and this subject had been driven out. He summoned them, accordingly, intending to say what he wished, but upon considering the matter, he saw that it would not be propitious for them to interrupt their journey. He therefore sent men to forbid them either to return to him or to disembark from their ships. And these men, upon coming near the ships, commanded them with much shouting and loud cries by no means to turn back, and it seemed to those present that the thing which had happened was no good omen and that never would one of the men in those ships return from Libya to Byzantium. For besides the omen they suspected that a curse also had come to the men from the emperor, not at all by his own will, so that they would not return. Now if anyone should so interpret the incident with regard to these two commanders,

Valerian and Martinus, he will find the original opinion untrue. But there was a certain man among the body-guards of Martinus, Stotzas by name, who was destined to be an enemy of the emperor, to make an attempt to set up a tyranny, and by no means to return to Byzantium, and one might suppose that curse to have been turned upon him by Heaven. But whether this matter stands thus or otherwise, I leave to each one to reason out as he wishes. But I shall proceed to tell how the general Belisarius and the army departed.

Ἐβδομον ἤδη ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφὶ
θερινὰς τροπὰς τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐκέλευσε ναῦν ὀρμίσασθαι ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἢ
πρὸ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τυγχάνει οὕσα. [2] ἐνταῦθα Ἐπιφάνιος ἀφικόμενος, ὁ
τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς, εὐξάμενός τε ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἄρτι
βεβαπτισμένον τε καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος μεταλαχόντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν
εἰσεβίβασεν. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ Ἀντωνίνα ἡ γυνὴ
ἔπλεον. [3] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, πρότερον μὲν
καὶ μάλα κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον, ὅψιν δὲ ὀνείρου ἰδὼν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτὸν
θαρσῆσαι τε ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατεῦσθαι ὥρμησεν. [4] ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν τῷ
ὀνείρῳ εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ἀγγεῖλαι τῶν οἰκετῶν
ἓνα ὡς ἥκοιεν τινες δῶρα φέροντες: καὶ Βελισάριον διασκοπεῖσθαι κελεύειν
αὐτὸν ὁποῖα ποτε εἴη τὰ δῶρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ γενόμενον ἄνδρας
ἰδεῖν οἱ ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων γῆν αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι. [5] τούτους δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
εἰσαγαγόντα κελεῦσαι καταθεῖναι ἐν τῷ προστώῳ ἦν ἔφερον γῆν: οὗ δὲ
Βελισάριον ἅμα τοῖς δορυφόροις ἤκοντα, αὐτόν τε κατακλίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ γῇ
ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ἐσθίειν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐγκελεύεσθαι,
κατακλινομένοις τε σφίσι καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἡδέϊαν κομιδὴν
τὴν βρῶσιν φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν δὲ τῆς ὥψεως τοῦ ὀνείρου ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. [6] Ὁ
δὲ ξύμπας στόλος τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ εἵπετο, καὶ προσέσχον Περίνθω, ἡ νῦν
Ἡράκλεια ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐνθα δὲ πέντε ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐτρίβη, ἐπεὶ
βασιλεὺς ἵπποις ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνταῦθα ἐδώρειτο ἐκ
τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵποφορβίων, ἃ οἱ νέμονται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία. [7] ὅθεν
δὲ ἀπάραντες Ἀβύδω προσωρμίσαντο, καὶ σφίσι ξυνέπεσε τῇδε διὰ τὴν
νηνεμίαν ἡμέρας διατρίβουσι τέσσαρας πρᾶγμα τοιόνδε ξυνενεχθῆναι. [8]
Μασσαγέται δύο τῶν τινα ἐταίρων ἐν τῇ ἀκρατοποσίᾳ ἐρσεσχελοῦντα σφᾶς,
ἅτε οἰνωμένω, ἀνελέτην. πάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μάλιστά εἰσιν ἀκρατοπόται
οἱ Μασσαγέται. [9] Βελισάριος οὖν αὐτίκα τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ κολωνῷ ὃς
ἄγχι Ἀβύδου ἐστὶν ἀνεσκολόπισε. [10] καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τοῖν
ἀνδροῖν ξυγγενεῖς ἐδυσχέραινον τε καὶ ἔφασκον οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ
ὕπεύθυνον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων νόμοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἤκειν 'τὰ γὰρ δὴ σφῶν νόμιμα
οὐ τοιάσδε τῶν φόνων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τίσεις', ξυνεθρύλλουν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐς
τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰτίαν καὶ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οἷς δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγεγόνει τῶν
ἀμαρτανομένων μὴ εἶναι δίκας, τοὺς τε Μασσαγέτας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα
ξυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [11] 'Εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας νῦν πρῶτον εἰς
πόλεμον καθισταμένους οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, μακροῦ ἂν μοι ἐδέησε χρόνου
λέξαντα πείσαι ὑμᾶς ἡλικόν ἐστὶν ἐφόδιον εἰς τροπαίου κτήσιν τὸ δίκαιον. [12]

οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων τύχας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις οἴονται εἶναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας. [13] ὑμεῖς δέ, οἱ πολλάκις μὲν νενικήκατε πολεμίους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλασσομένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότας, πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγένησθε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, οἶμαι, ὥς μάχονται μὲν ἐξ ἑκατέρας ἀεὶ στρατιᾶς ἄνθρωποι, βραβεύει δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου δίδωσι κράτος. [14] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν περὶ ἐλάσσονος προσήκει τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἠκόντων ποιεῖσθαι. [15] τὸ γὰρ μάλιστα ξυνενεγκεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ἢ εἰκότως πρὸς ἐκείνων τιμῶτο. [16] πρῶτον δ' ἂν τοῦ δικαίου γένοιτο γνῶρισμα ἢ τῶν ἀδίκως ἀνηρηκότων ποινή. εἰ γὰρ τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον κρίνειν τε καὶ ὀνομάζειν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τοὺς πέλας ἀεὶ πρασσομένων ἐπάναγκες, οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔντιμον. [17] εἰ δέ τις βάρβαρος, ὅτι τὸν ξυγγενὴ μεθύων ἀνεῖλεν, ἀξιοῖ συγγνώμονα ἔχειν τὴν δίκην, δι' ὧν ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας φησὶ χεῖρῳ εἰκότως εἶναι ποιεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα. [18] οὔτε γὰρ οὕτω μεθύειν ἄξιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ βαδίζοντα, ὥστε ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς φιλότατους ἐτοιμῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ γε ἡ μέθη, κἂν ὁ φόνος ἤκιστα ἐπιγένηται, ποινῆς ἀξία, τό τε ξυγγενὲς ἀδικοῦμενον περὶ πλείονος ἢ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ἐς τιμωρίαν τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι φαίνοιτο. [19] τὸ μὲν οὖν παράδειγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν πραττομένων ἀπόβασις ὅποια ποτὲ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν. [20] ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει μήτε χειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων μήτε τι φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων: ὥς οὐ περιόνομαί γε οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα συστρατιώτην ἐμὸν ἠγήσομαι εἶναι, κἂν πάνυ φοβερὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκῇ ὅς ἂν μὴ καθαφαῖς ταῖς χερσὶν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους δύνηται χρῆσθαι. [21] τὸ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον οὐκ ἂν νικῶν μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου ταπτόμενον.' Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [22] ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τε λεγόμενα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀνεσκολοπισμένῳ ἀνέβλεψαν, ἐς δέος τι ἀμήχανον ἦλθον καὶ σωφρόνως βιοτεύειν ἐν νῷ ἔλαβον, ὥς οὐκ ἔξω κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐσόμενοι, ἦν τι οὐκ ἔννομον ποιοῦντες ἄλοῖεν.

XII

[533 A.D.] In the seventh year of Justinian's reign, at about the spring equinox, the emperor commanded the general's ship to anchor off the point which is before the royal palace. Thither came also Epiphanius, the chief priest of the city, and after uttering an appropriate prayer, he put on the ships one of the soldiers who had lately been baptized and had taken the Christian name. And after this the general Belisarius and Antonina, his wife, set sail. And there was with them also Procopius, who wrote this history; now previously he had been exceedingly terrified at the danger, but later he had seen a vision in his sleep which caused him to take courage and made him eager to go on the expedition. For it seemed in the dream that he was in the house of Belisarius, and one of the servants entering announced that some men had come bearing gifts; and Belisarius bade him investigate what sort of gifts they were, and he went out into the court and saw men who carried on their shoulders earth with the flowers and all. And he bade him bring these men into the house and deposit the earth they were carrying in the portico; and Belisarius together with his guardsmen came there, and he himself reclined on that earth and ate of the flowers, and urged the others to do likewise; and as they reclined and ate, as if upon a couch, the food seemed to them exceedingly sweet. Such, then, was the vision of the dream.

And the whole fleet followed the general's ship, and they put in at Perinthus, which is now called Heracleia, where five days' time was spent by the army, since at that place the general received as a present from the emperor an exceedingly great number of horses from the royal pastures, which are kept for him in the territory of Thrace. And setting sail from there, they anchored off Abydus, and it came about as they were delaying there four days on account of the lack of wind that the following event took place. Two Massagetae killed one of their comrades who was ridiculing them, in the midst of their intemperate drinking; for they were intoxicated. For of all men the Massagetae are the most intemperate drinkers. Belisarius, accordingly, straightway impaled these two men on the hill which is near Abydus. And since all, and especially the relatives of these two men, were angry and declared that it was not in order to be punished nor to be subject to the laws of the Romans that they had entered into an alliance (for their own laws did not make the punishment for murder such *as* this, they said); and since they were joined in voicing the accusation against the general even by Roman soldiers, who were anxious that there should be no punishment for their offences, Belisarius called together both the Massagetae and the rest of the army and spoke as follows: "If my words were addressed to men now for the first time entering into war, it would require a long time for me to convince you by speech how great a help justice is for gaining the victory. For those who do

not understand the fortunes of such struggles think that the outcome of war lies in strength of arm alone. But you, who have often conquered an enemy not inferior to you in strength of body and well endowed with valour, you who have often tried your strength against your opponents, you, I think, are not ignorant that, while it is men who always do the fighting in either army, it is God who judges the contest as seems best to Him and bestows the victory in battle. Now since this is so, it is fitting to consider good bodily condition and practice in arms and all the other provision for war of less account than justice and those things which pertain to God. For that which may possibly be of greatest advantage to men in need would naturally be honoured by them above all other things. Now the first proof of justice would be the punishment of those who have committed unjust murder. For if it is incumbent upon us to sit in judgment upon the actions which from time to time are committed by men toward their neighbours, and to adjudge and to name the just and the unjust action, we should find that nothing is more precious to a man than his life. And if any barbarian who has slain his kinsman expects to find indulgence in his trial on the ground that he was drunk, in all fairness he makes the charge so much the worse by reason of the very circumstance by which, as he alleges, his guilt is removed. For it is not right for a man under any circumstances, and especially when serving in an army, to be so drunk as readily to kill his dearest friends; nay, the drunkenness itself, even if the murder is not added at all, is worthy of punishment; and when a kinsman is wronged, the crime would clearly be of greater moment as regards punishment than when committed against those who are not kinsmen, at least in the eyes of men of sense. Now the example is before you and you may see what sort of an outcome such actions have. But as for you, it is your duty to avoid laying violent hands upon anyone without provocation, or carrying off the possessions of others; for I shall not overlook it, be assured, and I shall not consider anyone of you a fellow-soldier of mine, no matter how terrible he is reputed to be to the foe, who is not able to use clean hands against the enemy. For bravery cannot be victorious unless it be arrayed along with justice.” So spoke Belisarius. And the whole army, hearing what was said and looking up at the two men impaled, felt an overwhelming fear come over them and took thought to conduct their lives with moderation, for they saw that they would not be free from great danger if they should be caught doing anything unlawful.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε Βελισάριος ὅπως τε ὁ ξύμπας στόλος αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πλέοι καὶ ἐς χωρίον ταῦτὸ προσορμίζοιτο. [2] ἦδει γὰρ ὡς ἐν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἥν τραχεῖς σφίσιν ἄνεμοι ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἐπάναγκες ἀπολείπεσθαι τε τῶν νεῶν πολλὰς καὶ σκεδάννυσθαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ εἰδέναι τε αὐτῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὅποιας ποτὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀναγομένων ἔπεσθαι ἄμεινον. [3] λογισάμενος οὖν ἐποίει τάδε. τριῶν νεῶν, ἐν αἷς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἔπλει, τὰ ἰστία ἐκ γωνίας τῆς ἄνω καὶ ἐς τριτημόριον μάλιστα

ἔχρισε μίλτω, κοντούς τε ὀρθοὺς ἀναστήσας ἐν πρύμνῃ ἐκάστη ἀπεκρέμασεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λύχνα, ὅπως ἐν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ αἱ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ νῆες ἐκδηλοῖ εἶνεν· αἷς δὴ ἔπεσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐκέλευε πάντας. [4] οὕτω τε τῶν νεῶν τῶν τριῶν ἡγουμένων παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τετύχηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπολελεῖσθαι. ὅτε μέντοι ἐκ λιμένος ἀπαίρειν μέλλοιεν, ἐσήμαινον αὐτοῖς αἱ σάλπιγγες τοῦτο. [5] Ἐκ δὲ Ἀβύδου ἀναχθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἄνεμοι σκληροὶ ἐπιτεσόντες ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ Σίγειον. αὐθὶς τε νηνεμίᾳ χρησάμενοι σχολαίτεροι ἐς Μαλέαν ἦλθον, ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ νηνεμία ξυνήνεγκεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [6] ἄτε γὰρ ἐν στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ναυσὶν ὑπερμεγέθεσι, νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, ἡ στενοχωρία ξυνετάραξέ τε ἅπαντα καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἤνεγκεν. [7] ἐνταῦθα οἱ τε κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ναῦται ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθόμενοι, ἐμπείρως τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰς διαστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι, ὥστε εἰ καὶ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἢ καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο, μόλις ἂν οἱ ναυταὶ μοι δοκεῖ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς ναῦς διεσώσαντο. [8] νῦν δὲ οὕτως ὥσπερ εἴρηται διαφυγόντες Ταινάρῳ προσέμιζαν, ἡ νῦν Καινούπολις ἐπικαλεῖται. [9] εἴτα ἐνθένδε ὀρμηθέντες Μεθώνῃ προσέσχον, εὐρόν τε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτίνον αὐτόσε ἀφικομένους. [10] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄνεμοι οὐκ ἐπέπνεον σφίσι, τὰς μὲν ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα ὥρμισε, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασεν ἅπαν, καὶ ἀποβάντας τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας διεκόσμησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας διέτασσε. [11] ταῦτα τε αὐτοῦ διέποντος καὶ ἀνέμων ἥκιστα ἐπιγινομένων, ἐπῆλθε πολλοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν νόσῳ διαφθαρῆναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδης. [12] Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος Ἰωάννης φλαυρὸς τε ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ οὕτω δυνατός εἰς τὸ προσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπινοῆσαι χρήματα ἐπὶ λύμῃ ἀνθρώπων, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔγωγε φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [13] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἡνίκα πρὸς τῆς ἱστορίας ἐς τόδε ἡγόμεν τοῦ λόγου. [14] τὰ δὲ νῦν ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας διεχρήσατο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [15] τὸν ἄρτον ᾧ δὴ μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ στρατιῶται σιτίζεσθαι, δις μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πνιγέα εἰσάγεσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ οὕτως ὀπτάσθαι ὥστε ἐξικνεῖσθαι τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ βραχεῖ διαφθεῖρεσθαι, τὸν τε οὕτως ὀπτώμενον ἄρτον ἀνάγκῃ ἐλάσσω τὸν σταθμὸν ἔλκειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀρτοδαισίαις εἰώθασιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ συνειθισμένου σταθμοῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀποτέμενεσθαι. [16] Ἰωάννης οὖν λογισάμενος ὅπως ἐλάσσω τε τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἀρτοποιοῖς ἥσσονα δοίῃ, καὶ ὅπως οἱ οὐκ ἐνδεῆς ὁ σταθμὸς εἴη, ὥμὸν ἔτι τὸν ἄρτον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον βαλανεῖον ἐσκομίσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, οὗ δὴ ἔνερθεν τὸ πῦρ καίεται, καταθέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. [17] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀμωσγέπως ὀπτάσθαι ἐδόκει, ἐμβαλὼν θυλακίοις ἐνθήμενός τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔστελλε. [18] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ στόλος ἐς Μεθώνην ἀφίκετο, διαρρυέντες οἱ ἄρτοι ἐπανήκον αὐθὶς ἐς ἄλευρα, οὐχ ὑγιᾶ μέντοι, σεσηπότα δὲ καὶ εὐρωτιῶντα καὶ τινα ὀσμὴν ἤδη βαρεῖαν φέροντα. [19] ἐχορήγουν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς μέτρον οἷς προσέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῇ, χοίνιξί τε ἤδη καὶ μεδίμνοις τὴν ἀρτοδαισίαν ποιοῦμενοι. [20] τούτοις δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥρα θέρους ἐν χωρίῳ αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι σιτιζόμενοι ἐνόσησάν τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ πεντακόσιοι· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι ξυμπεσεῖν

ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος διεκώλυσεν, ἄρτους αὐτοῖς ἐπιχωρίους χορηγεῖσθαι κελεύσας. βασιλεῖ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλώσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἠὺδοκίμησεν, οὐ μὴν τινα τότε Ἰωάννη ζημίαν ἤνεγκε. [21] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἐκ δὲ Μεθώνης ὀρμηθέντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν Ζακυνθίων λιμένα, ἔνθα δὴ ὕδωρ τε ἐμβεβλημένοι ὅσον σφίσιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἔμελλε τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ἔπλεον. [22] ἀνέμου δὲ σφίσι μαλακοῦ τε καὶ νωθροῦ κομιδῇ ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἐκκαϊδεκαταῖοι κατέπλευσαν τῆς Σικελίας ἐς χῶρον ἔρημον, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἐγγὺς ἡ Αἵτνη ἀνέχει. [23] ἐν δὲ τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ διατρίψασιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ξυνέπεσεν ἅπασι διαφθαρῆναι τὰ ὕδατα, πλὴν γε δὴ οὗ Βελισαρίος τε αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ξυμπόται ἔπινον. [24] τοῦτο γὰρ διεσώσατο μόνον ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀμφορέας ἐξ ὑάλου πεποιημένους ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη οἰκίσκον τε ἐκ σανίδων ποιήσασα ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ ἔνθα δὴ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐσιέναι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐς ψάμμον τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατέχωσε, ταύτη τε ἀπαθὲς τὸ ὕδωρ διέμεινε. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε.

XIII

After this Belisarius bethought him how his whole fleet should always keep together as it sailed and should anchor in the same place. For he knew that in a large fleet, and especially if rough winds should assail them, it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and scattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So after considering the matter, he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper corner for about one third of their length, and he erected upright poles on the prow of each, and hung lights from them, so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable; then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them.

And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they proceeded more leisurely to Malea, where the calm proved of the greatest advantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exceedingly large ships, as night came on everything was thrown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme peril. At that time both the pilots and the rest of the sailors shewed themselves skilful and efficient, for while shouting at the top of their voices and making a great noise they kept pushing the ships apart with their poles, and cleverly kept the distances between their different vessels; but if a wind had arisen, whether a following or a head wind, it seems to me that the sailors would hardly have preserved themselves and their ships. But as it was, they escaped, as I have said, and put in at Taenarum, which is now called Caenopolis. Then, pressing on from there, they touched at Methone, and found Valerian and Martinus with their men, who had reached the same place a short time before. And since there were no winds blowing, Belisarius anchored the ships there, and disembarked the whole army; and after they were on shore he assigned the commanders their positions and drew up the soldiers. And while he was thus engaged and no wind at all arose, it came about that many of the soldiers were destroyed by disease caused in the following manner.

The pretorian prefect, John, was a man of worthless character, and so skilful at devising ways of bringing money into the public treasury to the detriment of men that I, for my part, should never be competent to describe this trait of his. But this has been said in the preceding pages, when I was brought to this point by my narrative. But I shall tell in the present case in what manner he

destroyed the soldiers. The bread which soldiers are destined to eat in camp must of necessity be put twice into the oven, and be cooked so carefully as to last for a very long period and not spoil in a short time, and loaves cooked in this way necessarily weigh less; and for this reason, when such bread is distributed, the soldiers generally received as their portion one-fourth more than the usual weight. John, therefore, calculating how he might reduce the amount of firewood used and have less to pay to the bakers in wages, and also how he might not lose in the weight of the bread, brought the still uncooked dough to the public baths of Achilles, in the basement of which the fire is kept burning, and bade his men set it down there. And when it seemed to be cooked in some fashion or other, he threw it into bags, put it on the ships, and sent it off. And when the fleet arrived at Methone, the loaves disintegrated and returned again to flour, not wholesome flour, however, but rotten and becoming mouldy and already giving out a sort of oppressive odour. And the loaves were dispensed by measure to the soldiers by those to whom this office was assigned, and they were already making the distribution of the bread by quarts and bushels. And the soldiers, feeding upon this in the summer time in a place where the climate is very hot, became sick, and not less than five hundred of them died; and the same thing was about to happen to more, but Belisarius prevented it by ordering the bread of the country to be furnished them. And reporting the matter to the emperor, he himself gained in favour, but he did not at that time bring any punishment upon John.

These events, then, took place in the manner described. And setting out from Methone they reached the harbour of Zacynthus, where they took in enough water to last them in crossing the Adriatic Sea, and after making all their other preparations, sailed on. But since the wind they had was very gentle and languid, it was only on the sixteenth day that they came to land at a deserted place in Sicily near which Mount Aetna rises. And while they were being delayed in this passage, as has been said, it so happened that the water of the whole fleet was spoiled, except that which Belisarius himself and his table-companions were drinking. For this alone was preserved by the wife of Belisarius in the following manner. She filled with water jars made of glass and constructed a small room with planks in the hold of the ship where it was impossible for the sun to penetrate, and there she sank the jars in sand, and by this means the water remained unaffected. So much, then, for this.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀπέβη, ἀπορούμενός τε ἡσχαλλε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς Βανδύλους ἶοι, ἢ ὁποίους ποτὲ τὰ πολέμια, μηδὲ ὅτω τρόπῳ ἢ ὁπόθεν ποτὲ σφίσιν ὀρμωμένοις πολεμητέα εἴη. [2] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ξυνετάρασσον, κατωρρωδικότες τε τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ προλέγειν ἥκιστα αἰσχυρόμενοι ὥς, ἦν μὲν τις σφᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποβήσκει, πειράσονται ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γίνεσθαι, ἦν δὲ πολέμια πλοῖα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἶοι, ἐς φυγὴν τραπήσονται: οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τέ εἰσι πολεμίοις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ὕδασι διαμάχεσθαι.

[3] τούτοις οὖν ἅπασιν ἀπορούμενος Προκόπιον τὸν αὐτοῦ πάρεδρον ἔστελλεν ἐς Συρακούσας, πεισόμενόν τε ἦν τινες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι εἰσὶ προλοχίζουσαι τὸν διάπλουν ἢ ἐν νήσῳ ἢ ἐν ἡπείρῳ, καὶ ὅπη μὲν τῆς Λιβύης προσορμίσασθαι σφίσιν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη, ὁπόθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοις τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Βανδίλους διενεγκεῖν ξυνοίσει. [4] ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιοίη, ἐπανήκοντά οἱ ἐκέλευεν ἐς Καύκανα τὸ χωρίον ξυμμίξαι, διακοσίοις μάλιστα σταδίοις Συρακουσῶν διέχον, οὗ δὴ αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ ξυμπας στόλος ὀρμίσασθαι ἔμελλε. [5] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τροφὰς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ὠνησόμενον, ἅτε τῶν Γότθων ἀγορὰν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων διδόναι, δόξαν τοῦτο βασιλεῖ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Ἀμαλασούνῃ τῇ Ἀταλάρχου μητρί, ὃς τότε παῖς τε ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλασούνῃ τρεφόμενος εἶχε τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος. [6] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Θεωδέρικος τετελευτήκει καὶ ἐς τὸν θυγατρίδου Ἀταλάρχον, ὀρφανὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη πρότερον γεγονότα, ἡ βασιλεία ἦκε, δειμαίνουσα ἡ Ἀμαλασούνθα περὶ τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φίλον Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐταιρಿಸαμένη τά τε ἄλλα ἐπήκουεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ τότε ἀγορὰν διδόναι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα. [7] Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις Προκόπιος καὶ ἀνδρὸς παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτυχὸν πολίτου μὲν οἱ καὶ φίλου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ παιδός, ἐπὶ ἐργασίᾳ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὤκημένον, ἐπύθετο ὅσων ἔχρηξεν: [8] οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οἰκέτην αὐτῷ ἐπέδειξε, τριταῖόν οἱ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἦκοντα, ὃς δὴ ἔφασκεν ὡς οὐδέ τινα πρὸς Βανδίλων ἐνέδραν τῷ στόλῳ ἔσεσθαι ἄξιον εἶναι ὑφορᾶσθαι. [9] πρὸς οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπων πεπύσθαι στρατεύμα ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατεύσασθαι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ Γόδαν εἴ τι ἐν Βανδίλοις δραστήριον ἦν. [10] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Γελίμερα πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐννοοῦντα, Καρχηδόνος τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὀλιγορηκότα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ χωρίων, ἐν Ἑρμιόνη διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδῷ τῆς ἡϊόνος διέχουσα: ὥστε πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν τε οὐδὲν δειμαίνουσι δύσκολον καὶ προσορμίζεσθαι ἔνθα ἂν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλοίη. [11] ταῦτα Προκόπιος ἀκούσας τῆς τε χειρὸς τοῦ οἰκέτου λαβόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐβάδιζε τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τὸ πλοῖον ὠρμίζετο, πυκνθάνομενός τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συχνὰ καὶ διερευνώμενος ἕκαστα. ἐσβὰς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν ναῦν αἶρεσθαι τε τὰ ἰστία ἐκέλευσε καὶ πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Καύκανα. [12] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ τοῦ οἰκέτου δεσπότης ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος θαυμάζων εἰστήκει ὅτι οἱ οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀναβοήσας Προκόπιος, πλεούσης ἤδη τῆς νεῶς, παρητεῖτο μὴ οἱ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν: [13] χρῆναι γὰρ τὸν οἰκέτην τῷ τε στρατηγῷ συμμίξαι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τῷ στρατῷ καθηγησάμενον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανήκειν, χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενον. [14] Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Καύκανα εὐρίσκουσιν ἅπαντας ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ. Δωρόθεος γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐτετελευτήκει, πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ παντὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [15] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὁ τε οἰκέτης ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθε καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἔφρασε, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ Προκόπιον πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τὸν ἀπόπλουν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν. [16] ἀράμενοί τε κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἰστία, Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νήσοις προσέσχον, αἱ τὸ τε

Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν. ^[17] ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς Εὐρου
πολύ τι πνεῦμα ἐπιπесὸν τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν
ἐς χωρίον, ὃ δὴ Κεφαλὴν Βράχους τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.
Καπούτβαδα γὰρ ὁ τόπος προσαγορεύεται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ
Καρχηδόνοσ διέχων.

XIV

And as soon as Belisarius had disembarked upon the island, he began to feel restless, knowing not how to proceed, and his mind was tormented by the thought that he did not know what sort of men the Vandals were against whom he was going, and how strong they were in war, or in what manner the Romans would have to wage the war, or what place would be their base of operations. But most of all he was disturbed by the soldiers, who were in mortal dread of sea-fighting and had no shame in saying beforehand that, if they should be disembarked on the land, they would try to show themselves brave men in the battle, but if hostile ships assailed them, they would turn to flight; for, they said, they were not able to contend against two enemies at once, both men and water. Being at a loss, therefore, because of all these things, he sent Procopius, his adviser, to Syracuse, to find out whether the enemy had any ships in ambush keeping watch over the passage across the sea, either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya, and from what point as base it would be advantageous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Vandals. And he bade him, when he should have accomplished his commands, return and meet him at the place called Caucana, about two hundred stades distant from Syracuse, where both he and the whole fleet were to anchor. But he let it be understood that he was sending him to buy provisions, since the Goths were willing to give them a market, this having been decided upon by the Emperor Justinian and Amalasountha, the mother of Antalaric, who was at that time a boy being reared under the care of his mother, Amalasountha, and held sway over both the Goths and the Italians. For when Theoderic had died and the kingdom came to his nephew, Antalaric, who had already before this lost his father, Amalasountha was fearful both for her child and for the kingdom and cultivated the friendship of Justinian very carefully, and she gave heed to his commands in all matters and at that time promised to provide a market for his army and did so.

Now when Procopius reached Syracuse, he unexpectedly met a man who had been a fellow-citizen and friend of his from childhood, who had been living in Syracuse for a long time engaged in the shipping business, and he learned from him what he wanted; for this man showed him a domestic who had three days before that very day come from Carthage, and he said that they need not suspect that there would be any ambush set for the fleet by the Vandals. For from no one in the world had they learned that an army was coming against them at that time, but all the active men among the Vandals had actually a little before gone on an expedition against Godas. And for this reason Gelimer, with no thought of an enemy in his mind and regardless of Carthage and all the other places on the sea, was staying in Hermione, which is in

Byzacium, four days' journey distant from the coast; so that it was possible for them to sail without fearing any difficulty and to anchor wherever the wind should call them. When Procopius heard this, he took the hand of the domestic and walked to the harbour of Arethousa where his boat lay at anchor, making many enquiries of the man and searching out every detail. And going on board the ship with him, he gave orders to raise the sails and to make all speed for Caucana. And since the master of the domestic stood on the shore wondering that he did not give him back the man, Procopius shouted out, when the ship was already under way, begging him not to be angry with him; for it was necessary that the domestic should meet the general, and, after leading the army to Libya, would return after no long time to Syracuse with much money in his pocket.

But upon coming to Caucana they found all in deep grief. For Dorotheus, the general of the troops of Armenia, had died there, leaving to the whole army a great sense of loss. But Belisarius, when the domestic had come before him and related his whole story, became exceedingly glad, and after bestowing many praises upon Procopius, he issued orders to give the signal for departure with the trumpets. And setting sail quickly they touched at the islands of Gaulus and Melita, which mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas. There a strong east wind arose for them, and on the following day it carried the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "Shoal's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days' journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, τὰ τε ἰστία κατατίθεσθαι ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀγκύρας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπορριπαμένους ἀνακωχεύειν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας συγκαλέσας ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ζύμπαντας βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποβάσεως προὔθηκεν. [2] ἔνθα δὲ ἄλλοι τε λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐλέχθησαν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέροντες καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Τοῦ μὲν στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγαμαι, ὃς καὶ γνώμη παρὰ πολὺ νικῶν ζύμπαντας καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκων, ἔχων τε τὸ κράτος αὐτός, ἐς μέσον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν προὔθηκε, κελεύει δὲ λέγειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα ἔχειν δοκῇ ἐλέσθαι ἡμῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι, παρὼν αὐτῷ γινῶναι τε μόνῳ τὰ δέοντα καὶ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ βούλοιο. [3] ὑμῶν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἂν εἴποιμι εὐπετῶς, θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀπειπεῖν ἔσπευσε. [4] καίτοι ἐπίσταμαι ὡς τὸ εἰσηγεῖσθαι τι τοῖς ἐς κίνδυνον καθισταμένοις ὄνησιν μὲν τῷ παραινέσαντι οὐδεμίαν ἰδίᾳ φέρει, ἐς αἰτίαν δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. [5] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καλῶς μὲν φερόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην ἢ τύχην ἀναφέρουσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, σφαλέντες δὲ τὸν παραινέσαντα αἰτιῶνται μόνον. [6] εἰρήσεται δὲ ὁμῶς. αἰτίαν γὰρ ὑποστεῖλαισθαι τοὺς περὶ σωτηρίας βουλευομένους οὐχ ὅσιον. [7] βουλεύεσθε ἐς τὴν πολέμιαν ἀποβαίνειν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες: τίνι λιμένι παρακαταθέσθαι τὰς ναῦς ἐννοοῦντες; ἢ τίνος πόλεως τείχει τὸ ἐχυρὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔξοντες; [8] ἢ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε ὡς ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐννέα

ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, λέγω δὲ εἰς Ἰούκην ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, κατατείνειν φασίν, ἀλίμενόν τε παντελῶς οὖσαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὅθεν ἂν ἐπιπνεύσαιεν ἐκκειμένην; [9] τεῖχος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς πᾶσαν Λιβύην ὅτι μὴ τὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀπολέλειπται, [10] τοῦτο Γιζερύχου βουλευσάντος. προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις ὡς καὶ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τὸ παράπαν ἐνδεῖν λέγουσι. φέρε γάρ, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τι τῶν ἐναντίων ὑποθέμενοι τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιησώμεθα. [11] τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένους μηδὲν προσδοκᾶν δύσκολον οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον οὔτε τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἄξιον. [12] ἦν οὖν ἀποβεβηκότων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον χειμῶν ἐπιτέσοι, οὐκ ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ταῖς ναυσὶ ξυμβῆναι, ἢ ὡς ἀπωτάτω διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀπολωλέναι ταύτης; [13] εἴτα τίς ἡμῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων γενήσεται πόρος; μηδεὶς ἐς ἐμὲ βλέπew τὸν τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸν ἔπαρχον. ἀρχὴν γὰρ πᾶσαν τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐστερημένην ἐπάναγκες ἐς ὄνομά τε καὶ πρόσωπον ιδιώτου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [14] ποῦ δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν ὅπλων τὰ περιττὰ καταθεμένοις ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δέχεσθαι δεήσει προσιόντα τὸν βάρβαρον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται. [15] ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος ἰέναι. λιμένα γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἢ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτῆς διέχοντα εἶναι φασιν, ὃν δὴ Στάγνον καλοῦσιν, ἀφύλακτόν τε παντάπασιν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅπαντα στόλον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα. ὅθεν δὴ ὀρμωμένοις ἡμῖν τὸν πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔσται. [16] οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε ὡς Καρχηδόνος τε ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κρατήσειν εἰκός, ἄλλως τε καὶ μακρὰν αὐτῆς ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ κρατήσασιν οὐδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ μοχθηρὸν ἔσσεσθαι. [17] τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια πάντα κατελιμμένων τῶν κεφαλαίων καταρρεῖν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἴωθεν. ὣν δὴ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἐνθυμουμένους τὰ βέλτιστα αἰρεῖσθαι προσήκει. Ἀρχέλαος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ἔλεξεν ὧδε: ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὃ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπιγνώμονος εἶναι τοὺς λόγους οἰέσθω, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστάτῳ εἰρησθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἔπεσθαι, ὅποιοι ποτ’ ἂν ᾖσιν, ἀναγκαῖον ἅπασιν γίνεσθαι. [19] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀκήκοα: προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅσα γινώσκω ἐς μέσον ἐξενεγκόντα οὕτω σὺν ὑμῖν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρεῖσσω. [20] ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται δεδιέναι τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κινδύνους ἄντικρυς ἔλεγον καὶ ὡς ἐς φυγὴν τρέψονται, ἦν ναῦς πολεμία ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἡτοῦμεν γῆν τὴν Λιβύης καὶ τὴν ἐς ταύτην ἀπόβασιν εἰρηναίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξαι. [21] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἄξυνέτων ἀνδρῶν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι εὐχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ βελτίονα, δεδομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποσεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἰέναι. [22] ἦν δὲ καὶ πλέουσιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος στόλος ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιος, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις κατὰ κράτος φεύγουσι τὸ μὴ μεμπτοῖς εἶναι λελείπεται: ἀμάρτημα γὰρ προρρηθὲν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ φέρει: ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ διασωθεῖσιν οὐδεμία συγγνώμη. [23] πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων, ἦν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ μένωνμεν, δυσχερῶν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἱκανῶς, οἶμαι, λελέγεται, ὃ μάλιστα δεδίττεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπανασείοντες. [24] ἦν γὰρ τις ἐπιτέσοι χειμῶν, ἀνάγκη ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥσπερ φασί, δυοῖν ξυμβῆναι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πόρρω που τῆς Λιβύης διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς διαφθαρῆναι ταύτης. [25] τί τοίνυν ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλομένοις ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει; μόνας διεφθάρθαι τὰς

ναῦς, ἥ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντα ἀπολωλέναι τὰ πράγματα; χωρὶς δὲ τούτων νῦν μὲν ἀπαρασκεύοις ἐπιτεσόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ νοῦν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαλλάξομεν: τὰ γὰρ πολέμια τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε: [26] μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγονότων ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. [27] προσθεῖη δὲ ἂν τις ὥς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἴσως ἀγωνιεῖσθαι δεῖσται τῆς ἀποβάσεως, ἐκεῖνά τε ζητεῖν ἂ νῦν παρόντα ἡμῖν ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχεται. [28] ἦν δὲ καὶ χειμῶν τηνικαῦτα ἀγωνιζομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπιγένηται, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐν θαλάσῃ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, πρὸς τε τὰ κύματα καὶ τοὺς Βανδύλους διαμαχόμενοι μεταμαθεῖν τὴν εὐβουλίαν εἰσόμεθα. [29] φημί δὴ ἐγώ γε χρῆναι ἀποβῆναι μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἵππους τε ἀποβιβάζοντας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι οἰόμεθα, τάφρον δὲ κατὰ τάχος ὀρύξαι καὶ χαράκωμα περιβαλεῖν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ὅτου τις ἂν εἴποι τείχους εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡμῖν συντελέσαι δυνάμενον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμωμένους τὸν πόλεμον, [30] ἦν τις ἐπίοι, διενεγκεῖν. ἐπιλείπει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γινομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν. τοῖς γὰρ κρατοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ κυρίοις εἶναι τῶν ἐκείνοις προσηκόντων ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ἡ νίκη πάντα περιβαλομένη τὰ χρήματα, ἔνθα ἂν κλίνη, κατατίθεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὥστε ὑμῖν ἥ τε σωτηρία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν περιουσία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κεῖται.’ [31] Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος ξυνέφασάν τε καὶ ἀπεδέξαντο ἅπας ὁ ξύλλογος, καὶ διαλυθέντες ὥς τάχιστα τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐποίησαντο τρισὶ μάλιστα μηνσὶν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὁ ἀπόπλους ἐγένετο. [32] καὶ δείξας τι χωρίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ ναύταις ἐκέλευε τὴν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. [33] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ἅτε δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου καὶ τοῦ φόβου τὴν προθυμίαν ἐγείροντος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευομένου, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ τε τάφος ὀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ξυντετέλεστο καὶ οἱ σκόλοπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνεπεπήχατο. [34] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τι τοῖς τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι τετύχηκε θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον. ὕδατος πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἢ γῆ ἀνῆκεν, οὐ γεγονὸς τοῦτο ἐν Βυζακίᾳ πρότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀνύδρου ὄντος. [35] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς πᾶσαν χρεῖαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἐπήρκεσε. καὶ συνηδόμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ Προκόπιος ἔλεγεν ὥς οὐ διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ χαίροι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οἱ ξύμβολον εἶναι δοκεῖ νίκης ἀπόνου καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι προλέγειν τὸ θεῖον. [36] ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο. τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἠγλίσαντο, φύλακάς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἥπερ εἰώθει ποιοῦμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τοξότας πέντε ἐν νηὶ ἐκάστη Βελισάριος ἐκέλευσε μείναι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ τοὺς δρόμωνας ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ὁρμίζεσθαι, φυλασσομένους μὴ τις ἐπ’ αὐτὰς κακουργήσων ᾖοι.

And when they came near the shore, the general bade them furl the sails, throw out anchors from the ships, and make a halt; and calling together all the commanders to his own ship, he opened a discussion with regard to the disembarkation. Thereupon many speeches were made inclining to either side, and Archelaus came forward and spoke as follows:

“I admire, indeed, the virtue of our general, who, while surpassing all by far in judgment and possessing the greatest wealth of experience, and at the same time holding the power alone, has proposed an open discussion and bids each one of us speak, so that we shall be able to choose whichever course seems best, though it is possible for him to decide alone on what is needful and at his leisure to put it into execution as he wishes. But as for you, my fellow officers — I do not know how I am to say it easily — one might wonder that each one did not hasten to be the first to oppose the disembarkation. And yet I understand that the making of suggestions to those who are entering upon a perilous course brings no personal advantage to him who offers the advice, but as a general thing results in bringing blame upon him. For when things go well for men, they attribute their success to their own judgment or to fortune, but when they fail, they blame only the one who has advised them. Nevertheless I shall speak out. For it is not right for those who deliberate about safety to shrink from blame. You are purposing to disembark on the enemy’s land, fellow-officers; but in what harbour are you planning to place the ships in safety? Or in what city’s wall will you find security for yourselves? Have you not then heard that this promontory — I mean from Carthage to Iouce — extends, they say, for a journey of nine days, altogether without harbours and lying open to the wind from whatever quarter it may blow? And not a single walled town is left in all Libya except Carthage, thanks to the decision of Gizeric. And one might add that in this place, they say, water is entirely lacking. Come now, if you wish, let us suppose that some adversity befall us, and with this in view make the decision. For that those who enter into contests of arms should expect no difficulty is not in keeping with human experience nor with the nature of things. If, then, after we have disembarked upon the mainland, a storm should fall upon us, will it not be necessary that one of two things befall the ships, either that they flee away as far as possible, or perish upon this promontory? Secondly, what means will there be of supplying us with necessities? Let no one look to me as the officer charged with the maintenance of the army. For every official, when deprived of the means of administering his office, is of necessity reduced to the name and character of a private person. And where shall we deposit our superfluous arms or any other part of our necessities when we are compelled to receive the attack of the barbarians? Nay, as for this, it is not well even to say how it

will turn out. But I think that we ought to make straight for Carthage. For they say that there is a harbour called Stagnum not more than forty stades distant from that city, which is entirely unguarded and large enough for the whole fleet. And if we make this the base of our operations, we shall carry on the war without difficulty. And I, for my part, think it likely that we shall win Carthage by a sudden attack, especially since the enemy are far away from it, and that after we have won it we shall have no further trouble. For it is a way with all men's undertakings that when the chief point has been captured, they collapse after no long time. It behoves us, therefore, to bear in mind all these things and to choose the best course." So spoke Archelaus.

And Belisarius spoke as follows: "Let no one of you, fellow-officers, think that my words are those of censure, nor that they are spoken in the last place to the end that it may become necessary for all to follow them, of whatever sort they may be. For I have heard what seems best to each one of you, and it is becoming that I too should lay before you what I think, and then with you should choose the better course. But it is right to remind you of this fact, that the soldiers said openly a little earlier that they feared the dangers by sea and would turn to flight if a hostile ship should attack them, and we prayed God to shew us the land of Libya and allow us a peaceful disembarkation upon it. And since this is so, I think it the part of foolish men first to pray to receive from God the more favourable fortune, then when this is given them, to reject it and go in the contrary direction. And if we do sail straight for Carthage and a hostile fleet encounters us, the soldiers will remain without blame, if they flee with all their might — for a delinquency announced beforehand carries with it its own defence — but for us, even if we come through safely, there will be no forgiveness. Now while there are many difficulties if we remain in the ships, it will be sufficient, I think, to mention only one thing, — that by which especially they wish to frighten us when they hold over our heads the danger of a storm. For if any storm should fall upon us, one of two things, they say, must necessarily befall the ships, either that they flee far from Libya or be destroyed upon this headland. What then under the present circumstances will be more to our advantage to choose? to have the ships alone destroyed, or to have lost everything, men and all? But apart from this, at the present time we shall fall upon the enemy unprepared, and in all probability shall fare as we desire; for in warfare it is the unexpected which is accustomed to govern the course of events. But a little later, when the enemy have already made their preparation, the struggle we shall have will be one of strength evenly matched. And one might add that it will be necessary perhaps to fight even for the disembarkation, and to seek for that which now we have within our grasp but over which we are deliberating as a thing not necessary. And if at the very time, when we are engaged in conflict, a storm also comes upon us, as often happens on the sea, then while struggling both against the waves and against the Vandals, we shall come to regret our prudence. As for

me, then, I say that we must disembark upon the land with all possible speed, landing horses and arms and whatever else we consider necessary for our use, and that we must dig a trench quickly and throw a stockade around us of a kind which can contribute to our safety no less than any walled town one might mention, and with that as our base must carry on the war from there if anyone should attack us. And if we shew ourselves brave men, we shall lack nothing in the way of provisions. For those who hold the mastery over their enemy are lords also of the enemy's possessions; and it is the way of victory, first to invest herself with all the wealth, and then to set it down again on that side to which she inclines. Therefore, for you both the chance of safety and of having an abundance of good things lies in your own hands."

When Belisarius had said this, the whole assembly agreed and adopted his proposal, and separating from one another, they made the disembarkation as quickly as possible, about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shore the general bade both soldiers and sailors dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And they did as directed. And since a great throng was working and fear was stimulating their enthusiasm and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dug on the same day, but the stockade was also completed and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all around. Then, indeed, while they were digging the trench, something happened which was altogether amazing. A great abundance of water sprang forth from the earth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzantium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water sufficed for all uses of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procopius said that he rejoiced at the abundance of water, not so much because of its usefulness, as because it seemed to him a symbol of an easy victory, and that Heaven was foretelling a victory to them. This, at any rate, actually came to pass. So for that night all the soldiers bivouacked in the camp, setting guards and doing everything else as was customary, except, indeed, that Belisarius commanded five bowmen to remain in each ship for the purpose of a guard, and that the ships-of-war should anchor in a circle about them, taking care that no one should come against them to do them harm.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀναβαίνοντες τῶν ὥραιων ἤπτοντο, αὐτῶν τε τὰ σώματα ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐ παρέργως ἠκίσατο καὶ ζυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλαξε τοιάδε: [2] 'Τὸ μὲν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις σιτίζεσθαι ταύτῃ μόνον ἔν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς μοχθηρὸν πεφυκέναι δοκεῖ, ὅτι τὸ ἄδικον ἐν αὐτῷ φέρεται: νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τῆς δυσκολίας περίεστιν ὥστε, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον περὶ ἐλάσσοнос ποιησαμένους τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κίνδυνον ἡμᾶς ἡλίκος ποτὲ ἐστὶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρή. [3] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχων εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀπεβίβασα ταύτην, ὅτι τοῖς Βανδύλοις οἱ Λίβυες, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες, ἄπιστοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὥμην ὡς οὐτ' ἂν τι τῶν

ἀναγκαίων ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπει οὔτε τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κακὸν ἐργάσσονται ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι. [4] ἀλλὰ νῦν αὕτη ὑμῶν ἡ ἀκράτεια ταῦτα εἰς τοῦναντίον ἡμῖν μεταβέβηκε. τοὺς γὰρ Λίβυας δῆπου κατηλλάσσετε τοῖς Βανδύλοις, εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη τὴν τούτων περιαγαγόντες δυσμένειαν. [5] φύσει γὰρ πρόσσεσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἢ πρὸς τοὺς βιαζομένους ἔχθρα, καὶ περιέστηκεν ὑμῖν τῆς τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας ὀλίγα ἄττα ἀργύρια ἀνταλλάξασθαι, παρὸν ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκόντων ὠνουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν κυρίων μήτε ἀδίκους εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ φίλους ἐκείνοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι. [6] νῦν οὖν πρὸς τε Βανδύλους ὑμῖν καὶ Λίβυας ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται, λέγω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν παρακαλεῖ. [7] ἀλλὰ παύσασθε μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιτηδῶντες, κέρδος δὲ ἀποσεΐσασθε κινδύνων μεστόν. [8] οὗτος γὰρ ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα σωφροσύνη μὲν οἷα τε σώζειν, ἀκοσμία δὲ ἐς θάνατον φέρει. τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελομένοις ὑμῖν ἴλεως μὲν ὁ θεός, εὖνους δὲ ὁ τῶν Λιβύων λεώς, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων γένος εὐέφοδον ἔσται.' [9] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ τὸν ξύλλογον διαλύσας, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Σύλλεκτον πόλιν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διέχουσαν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα φερούσῃ, ἧς τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθηρημένον ἐτύγγανεν, οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ ὥκημένοι τοὺς τῶν οἰκῶν τοίχους πανταχόθεν ἀποφράζαντες διὰ τὰς τῶν Μαυρουσιῶν ἐπιδρομὰς περιβόλου ἐφύλασσαν σχῆμα, τῶν δορυφόρων ἓνα Βοριάδην ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τισιν ἔστελλεν, ἐπαγγείλας αὐτοῖς τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι καί, ἣν ἔλωσι, κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι, ἐπαγγείλασθαι δὲ ἀγαθὰ μυρία, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἤκοιεν, ὥστε εἰσιτητὰ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς αὐτὴν γενέσθαι. [10] οἱ δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι ἐν φάραγγί τε λαθόντες διενυκτέρευσαν. ἔωθεν δὲ ἀγροίκων σὺν ἀμάξαις ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσιόντων ἐπιτυχόντες συνεισηλθόν τε σιωπῇ καὶ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον. [11] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, οὐδενὸς θορύβου ἠγήσαμένου, τὸν τε ἱερέα καὶ εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ξυκαλέσαντες τὰς τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀπήγγελλον, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν εἰσόδων παρ' ἐκόντων λαβόντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἔπεμψαν. [12] Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου ἐπιμελούμενος ἡτομόλησε παραδοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους ξύμπαντας ἵππους. ξυλληφθέντα δὲ καὶ τινα τῶν ἐς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀποκρίσεις αἰεὶ στελλομένων, οὓς δὴ βεριδαρίους καλοῦσι, κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδρασε, χρυσῷ δὲ πολλῷ δωρησάμενος καὶ πιστὰ λαβὼν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισεν ὥσπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς Βανδύλους ἔγραψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς Βανδύλων ἄρχουσι δοῦναι. [13] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Οὗτε Βανδύλοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωμεν οὔτε τὰς Γιζερίχου σπονδὰς λύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον τύραννον καθελεῖν ἐγχειροῦμεν, ὃς τῶν Γιζερίχου διαθηκῶν ὀλιγορήσας τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ὑμῶν καθεῖρξας τηρεῖ, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν οὓς μὲν σφόδρα ἐμίσει κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰς ὅψεις ἀφελόμενος ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, οὐκ ἔων θανάτῳ καταλῦσαι τὰς συμφοράς. [14] συλλάβεσθε τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦτε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὕτω μοχθηρᾶς τυραννίδος, ὅπως ἂν δύνησθε τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπόνασθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ [15] πιστὰ δίδομεν.' τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλου. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ Βελισαρίου

λαβὼν ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, λάθρα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιδείξας οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διεπράξατο.

XVI

But on the following day, when some of the soldiers went out into the fields and laid hands on the fruit, the general inflicted corporal punishment of no casual sort upon them, and he called all the army together and spoke as follows: "This using of violence and the eating of that which belongs to others seems at other times a wicked thing only on this account, that injustice is in the deed itself, as the saying is; but in the present instance so great an element of detriment is added to the wrongdoing that — if it is not too harsh to say so — we must consider the question of justice of less account and calculate the magnitude of the danger that may arise from your act. For I have disembarked you upon this land basing my confidence on this alone, that the Libyans, being Romans from of old, are unfaithful and hostile to the Vandals, and for this reason I thought that no necessities would fail us and, besides, that the enemy would not do us any injury by a sudden attack. But now this your lack of self-control has changed it all and made the opposite true. For you have doubtless reconciled the Libyans to the Vandals, bringing their hostility round upon your own selves. For by nature those who are wronged feel enmity toward those who have done them violence, and it has come round to this that you have exchanged your own safety and a bountiful supply of good things for some few pieces of silver, when it was possible for you, by purchasing provisions from willing owners, not to appear unjust and at the same time to enjoy their friendship to the utmost. Now, therefore, the war will be between you and both Vandals and Libyans, and I, at least, say further that it will be against God himself, whose aid no one who does wrong can invoke. But do you cease trespassing wantonly upon the possessions of others, and reject a gain which is full of dangers. For this is that time in which above all others moderation is able to save, but lawlessness leads to death. For if you give heed to these things, you will find God propitious, the Libyan people well-disposed, and the race of the Vandals open to your attack."

With these words Belisarius dismissed the assembly. And at that time he heard that the city of Syllectus was distant one day's journey from the camp, lying close to the sea on the road leading to Carthage, and that the wall of this city had been torn down for a long time, but the inhabitants of the place had made a barrier on all sides by means of the walls of their houses, on account of the attacks of the Moors, and guarded a kind of fortified enclosure; he, accordingly, sent one of his spearmen, Boriades, together with some of the guards, commanding them to make an attempt on the city, and, if they captured it, to do no harm in it, but to promise a thousand good things and to say that they had come for the sake of the people's freedom, that so the army might be able to enter into it. And they came near the city about dusk and passed the night hidden in a ravine. But at early dawn, meeting country folk

going into the city with waggons, they entered quietly with them and with no trouble took possession of the city. And when day came, no one having begun any disturbance, they called together the priest and all the other notables and announced the commands of the general, and receiving the keys of the entrances from willing hands, they sent them to the general.

On the same day the overseer of the public post deserted, handing over all the government horses. And they captured also one of those who are occasionally sent to bear the royal responses, whom they call “veredarii”; and the general did him no harm but presented him with much gold and, receiving pledges from him, put into his hand the letter which the Emperor Justinian had written to the Vandals, that he might give it to the magistrates of the Vandals. And the writing was as follows: “Neither have we decided to make war upon the Vandals, nor are we breaking the treaty of Gizeric, but we are attempting to dethrone your tyrant, who, making light of the testament of Gizeric, has imprisoned your king and is keeping him in custody, and those of his relatives whom he hated exceedingly he put to death at the first, and the rest, after robbing them of their sight, he keeps under guard, not allowing them to terminate their misfortunes by death. Do you, therefore, join forces with us and help us in freeing yourselves from so wicked a tyranny, in order that you may be able to enjoy both peace and freedom. For we give you pledges in the name of God that these things will come to you by our hand.” Such was the message of the emperor’s letter. But the man who received this from Belisarius did not dare to publish it openly, and though he shewed it secretly to his friends, he accomplished nothing whatever of consequence.

Βελισάριος δὲ ὥς ἐς παράταξιν ὧδε διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐβάδιζε. τῶν δ’ ὑπασπιστῶν τριακοσίους ἀπολέξας, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, Ἰωάννη παρέδωκεν, ὃς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὁπτίωνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [2] ἀνὴρ δὲ ἦν Ἀρμένιος μὲν γένος, ξυνέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον μάλα ἥκων. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευσε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ κατὰ εἴκοσι σταδίους διέχοντα, καὶ ἦν τι πολέμιον ἴδοι, κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐς μάχην καθίστασθαι ἀναγκάζοιντο. [3] τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχους Μασσαγέτας ἐκέλευε τοσούτοις ἢ καὶ πλείοσι σταδίοις ἀπέχοντας αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπισθεν μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐβάδιζεν. [4] ὑπόπτειν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρμιόνης Γελίμερα σφίσιν ἐπόμενον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος οὐδὲν ἦν δέος οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἡϊόνος πορευομένοις. [5] τοῖς δὲ ναύταις ἐπήγγελλε παρακολουθεῖν τε αἰεὶ καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος μὴ πολὺν διεστάναι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιφόρου μὲν γινομένου τοῦ πνεύματος χαλάσαντας τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία τοῖς μικροῖς, ἃ δὴ δόλωναυς καλοῦσιν, ἔπεσθαι, λωφίσαντος δὲ παντελῶς τοῦ ἀνέμου βιάζεσθαι ὅσον οἰοί τε ὧσιν ἐρέσσαντας. [6] Εἰς δὲ Σύλλεκτον ἀφικόμενος Βελισάριος σῶφρονάς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας παρείχετο καὶ οὔτε ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἄρχοντας οὔτε τι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἐργαζομένους, αὐτὸς τε πραότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος

οὕτω τοὺς Λίβυας προσεποιήσατο ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καθάπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, οὔτε ὑποχωρούντων τῶν ταύτῃ ῥηκμένων οὔτε τι ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν παρεχομένων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ βούλονται ὑπηρετούντων. [7] ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἀνύοντες εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα διετελέσαμεν, ἢ κατὰ πόλιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἢ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα αὐλιζόμενοι. [8] οὕτω γοῦν διὰ τε Λέπτης πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμητοῦ ἐς Γράσσην τὸ χωρίον ἀφικόμεθα, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους Καρχηδόνος διέχον. [9] ἔνθα δὴ βασιλείᾳ τε ἦν τοῦ Βανδύλων ἡγουμένου καὶ παράδεισος κάλλιστος ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [10] ταῖς τε γὰρ κρήναις κομιδῇ κατάρρυτός ἐστι καὶ ἄλσους ἔχει πάμπλου χρῆμα. ὁπώρας δὲ τὰ δένδρα μεστά ἐστι ξύμπαντα: ὥστε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν καλύβην ἐν δένδροις ὁπώρας ἐπήξατο καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τηνικάδε ὥραιων ὄντων ἐς κόρον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο πάντες, αἰσθησις δὲ σχεδὸν τι τῆς ὁπώρας ἐλασσουμένης οὐ γέγονε. [11] Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη τὸ πρῶτον παρόντας ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους, γράφει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀμμάταν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἰλδέριχον μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, ὅσους εἶτε κατὰ γένος εἶτε ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἀποκτινύνουσι, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς τε Βανδύλους καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο μάχιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων ἐν στενοῖς γενομένων ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προάστειον, ὃ Δέκιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυνιόντας κυκλώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σαγηνεύσαντας διαφθεῖραι. [12] Ἀμμάτας δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸν τε Ἰλδέριχον, ξυγγενῇ ὄντα, καὶ Εὐαγέην ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ὅσοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδειοι ἦσαν. [13] Ὁάμερ γὰρ ἥδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. τοὺς τε Βανδύλους ἐξοπλίσας, ὡς εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιθυσόμενος, [14] ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποίησατο. Γελίμερ δὲ ὀπισθεν, οὐ παρέχων ἡμῖν αἰσθησιν, εἶπετο, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν Γράσση ἠὲ λισάμεθα, κατάσκοποι ἐκατέρωθεν ἰόντες ξυνέμιξαν, πλῆξαντές τε ἀλλήλους ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἑκάτεροι ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ταύτῃ γέγονεν ἡμῖν φανερόν οὐ πόρρω εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν πορευομένοις τὰς ναῦς ἐσορᾶν ἀδύνατα ἦν. πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαί, πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης διήκουσαι, περίοδον τοῖς πλέουσι πολλῷ μέτρῳ ἐργάζονται, καὶ ἄκρα ἀνέχει, ἥς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πόλισμά ἐστι. [16] Βελισάριος οὖν Ἀρχελάφ τε τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Καλωνύμῳ τῷ ναύαρχῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν μὴ καταίρειν, σταδίους δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους ἀπέχοντας ἄχρι αὐτὸς καλέσῃ μένειν. [17] ἐκ δὲ Γράσσης ἐξαναστάντες τεταρταῖοι ἐς Δέκιμον ἀφικόμεθα, σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα Καρχηδόνος ἀπέχον.

XVII

And Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the march to Carthage. He chose out three hundred of his guards, men who were able warriors, and handed them over to John, who was in charge of the expenditures of the general's household; such a person the Romans call "optio." And he was an Armenian by birth, a man gifted with discretion and courage in the highest degree. This John, then, he commanded to go ahead of the army, at a distance of not less than twenty stades, and if he should see anything of the enemy, to report it with all speed, so that they might not be compelled to enter into battle unprepared. And the allied Massagetæ he commanded to travel constantly on the left of the army, keeping as many stades away or more; and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he suspected that it would not be long before Gelimer, following them from Hermione, would make an attack upon them. And these precautions were sufficient, for on the right side there was no fear, since they were travelling not far from the coast. And he commanded the sailors to follow along with them always and not to separate themselves far from the army, but when the wind was favouring to lower the great sails, and follow with the small sails, which they call "dolones," and when the wind dropped altogether to keep the ships under way as well as they could by rowing.

And when Belisarius reached Syllectus, the soldiers behaved with moderation, and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kindness, won the Libyans to his side so completely that thereafter he made the journey as if in his own land; for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we completed the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, or in a camp made as thoroughly secure as the circumstances permitted. Thus we passed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumentum and reached the place called Grasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the ruler of the Vandals and a park the most beautiful of all we know. For it is excellently watered by springs and has a great wealth of woods. And all the trees are full of fruit; so that each one of the soldiers pitched his tent among fruit-trees, and though all of them ate their fill of the fruit, which was then ripe, there was practically no diminution to be seen in the fruit.

But Gelimer, as soon as he heard in Hermione that the enemy were at hand, wrote to his brother Ammatas in Carthage to kill Ilderic and all the others, connected with him either by birth or otherwise, whom he was keeping under

guard, and commanded him to make ready the Vandals and all others in the city serviceable for war, in order that, when the enemy got inside the narrow passage at the suburb of the city which they call Decimum, they might come together from both sides and surround them and, catching them as in a net, destroy them. And Ammatas carried this out, and killed Ilderic, who was a relative of his, and Euagees, and all the Libyans who were intimate with them. For Hoamer had already departed from the world. And arming the Vandals, he made them ready, intending to make his attack at the opportune moment. But Gelimer was following behind, without letting it be known to us, except, indeed, that, on that night when we bivouacked in Grasse, scouts coming from both armies met each other, and after an exchange of blows they each retired to their own camp, and in this way it became evident to us that the enemy were not far away. As we proceeded from there it was impossible to discern the ships. For high rocks extending well into the sea cause mariners to make a great circuit, and there is a projecting headland, inside of which lies the town of Hermes. Belisarius therefore commanded Archelaus, the prefect, and Calonymus, the admiral, not to put in at Carthage, but to remain about two hundred stades away until he himself should summon them. And departing from Grasse we came on the fourth day to Decimum, seventy stades distant from Carthage.

Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Γιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευεν ἅμα Βανδύλων δισχιλίους φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀμματάς μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης, Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν, Γιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίων εἰς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντες ῥᾶον δὴ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολέμιων ποιήσονται. [2] ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεός, πόρρωθεν ὄρων τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἢ σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἔπταισάν τι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔδρασαν, ἵνα γένηται τῇ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. [3] εἰ μὴ γὰρ Βελισάριος οὕτω διωκίσαστο τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Βανδύλους ἰσχύσαμεν. [4] καὶ τούτων δὲ οὕτω Βελισαρίῳ βεβουλευμένων, εἰ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀμματάς διεφύλαξε καὶ μὴ τοῦτον τεταρτημορίῳ τῆς ἡμέρας μάλιστα ἔφθασεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω Βανδύλοι διεφθάρη τὰ πράγματα. [5] νῦν δὲ Ἀμματάς πρῶτον τερήσας ἀμφὶ μέσην ἡμέραν εἰς Δέκιμον ἦκε, μακρὸν ἂν ἀπολελειμμένων ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Βανδύλου στρατεύματος, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἀμαρτήσας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἀφίκετο χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βανδύλῳ πλῆθος ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολιπὼν, ἀπαγγείλας τε ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὸ Δέκιμον ἦκειν, αὐτὸς ξυῖ ὀλίγοις καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστίνδην ξυνειλεγμένοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. [6] καὶ κτείνε' μὲν τῶν ἀρίστων δώδεκα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶνι νικηζόμενους, πίπτει δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος. [7] καὶ ἡ μὲν τροπὴ ἐπεὶ Ἀμματάς ἔπεσε,

λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, φεύγοντες δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἀνεσόβουν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ἐς Δέκιμον ἰόντας. [8] ἐπὶ ρεύνοντο γὰρ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ὥς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμορίας, καὶ ταύτῃ βραχείας· κατὰ τριάκοντα γὰρ ἢ εἴκοσιν ἦσαν [9] ὀρῶντες δὲ Βανδίλους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμμάταν φεύγοντας, καὶ οἰόμενοι τοὺς διώκοντας παμπλήν θείεις εἶναι, τρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα συνέφευγον. [10] Ἰωάνης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν κτείνοντες ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Καρχηδόνης πύλας ἀφίκοντο. [11] καὶ γέγονε φόνος Βανδίων ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα στήθίοις τοσοῦτος ὥστε εἰκάζειν τοὺς θεωμένους διςμυρίων πολεμίων τὸ ἔργον εἶναι. [12] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Γιβμοῦνδός τε καὶ οἱ δισχιλίοι ἦκον ἐς Πεδίον Ἀλῶν, ὅπερ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχε· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἰόντι, ἀνθρώπων δ' καὶ δένδρων καὶ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἐρημόν ἐστι, τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἄλμης ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα πλὴν τοὺς ἄλας ἐώσης γίνεσθαι· ἐνθα δὴ τοῖς Οὐννοῖς περιπεπωκότες ἀπώλοντο πάντες. [13] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ἀνὴρ, ἀνδρίας μὲν καὶ ἰσχύος εὖ ἦκων, ὀλίγων δὲ ἡγούμενος ἀνδρῶν οὗτος εἶχε γέρας ἐκ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς Οὐννικοῖς στρατεύμασι πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσβάλλειν. [14] οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἀνδρὶ Μασσαγέτῃ προτύψαντι ἐν μάχῃ τῶν τινα πολεμίων λαβεῖν, πρὶν γε δὴ τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν χειρῶν ἄρξαι. [15] οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ἐπεὶ τὰ στρατεύματα οὐ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο, ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ τῶν Βανδίων στρατοπέδου μόνος ὥς ἐγγυτάτω ἔστη. [16] οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐψυχίαν καταπλαγέντες ἢ καὶ τι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐς αὐτοὺς μηχανᾶσθαι, οὔτε κινεῖσθαι οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα βαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [17] οἶμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐπώποτε Μασσαγετῶν μάχην ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχοντας, ἀκούοντας δὲ κομιδῇ μάχιμον τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι, οὕτω δὲ κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον. [18] ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεξεν ὥς ὁ θεὸς σφίσις ἔτοιμον βρῶσιν τοὺς ξένους τούσδε πέμπειεν. [19] οὕτω δὴ ὀρμωμένους αὐτοὺς οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ λύσαντες τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἥκιστα ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδόντες ἅπαντες αἰσχυρῶς διεφθάρησαν.

XVIII

And on that day Gelimer commanded his nephew Gibamundus with two thousand of the Vandals to go ahead of the rest of the army on the left side, in order that Ammatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer himself from the rear, and Gibamundus from the country to the left, might unite and accomplish the task of encircling the enemy with less difficulty and exertion. But as for me, during this struggle I was moved to wonder at the ways of Heaven and of men, noting how God, who sees from afar what will come to pass, traces out the manner in which it seems best to him that things should come to pass, while men, whether they are deceived or counsel aright, know not that they have failed, should that be the issue, or that they have succeeded, God's purpose being that a path shall be made for Fortune, who presses on inevitably toward that which has been foreordained. For if Belisarius had not thus arranged his forces, commanding the men under John to take the lead, and the Massagetae to march on the left of the army, we should never have been able to escape the Vandals. And even with this planned so by Belisarius, if Ammatas had observed the opportune time, and had not anticipated this by about the fourth part of a day, never would the cause of the Vandals have fallen as it did; but as it was, Ammatas came to Decimum about midday, in advance of the time, while both we and the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that he did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Vandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible, while he with a few men and not even the pick of the army came into conflict with John's men. And he killed twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, and he himself fell, having shewn himself a brave man in this engagement. And the rout, after Ammatas fell, became complete, and the Vandals, fleeing at top speed, swept back all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were advancing in no order and not drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that; for they were coming in bands of twenty or thirty. And seeing the Vandals under Ammatas fleeing, and thinking their pursuers were a great multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And John and his men, killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the gates of Carthage. And there was so great a slaughter of Vandals in the course of the seventy stades that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy twenty thousand strong.

At the same time Gibamundus and his two thousand came to Pedion Halon, which is forty stades distant from Decimum on the left as one goes to Carthage, and is destitute of human habitation or trees or anything else, since the salt in the water permits nothing except salt to be produced there; in that place they encountered the Huns and were all destroyed. Now there was a

certain man among the Massagetae, well gifted with courage and strength of body, the leader of a few men; this man had the privilege handed down from his fathers and ancestors to be the first in all the Hunnic armies to attack the enemy. For it was not lawful for a man of the Massagetae to strike first in battle and capture one of the enemy until, indeed, someone from this house began the struggle with the enemy. So when the two armies had come not far from each other, this man rode out and stopped alone close to the army of the Vandals. And the Vandals, either because they were dumbfounded at the courageous spirit of the man or perhaps because they suspected that the enemy were contriving something against them, decided neither to move nor to shoot at the man. And I think that, since they had never had experience of battle with the Massagetae, but heard that the nation was very warlike, they were for this reason terrified at the danger. And the man, returning to his compatriots, said that God had sent them these strangers as a ready feast. Then at length they made their onset and the Vandals did not withstand them, but breaking their ranks and never thinking of resistance, they were all disgracefully destroyed.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν πεπυσμένοι ἐπὶ τὸ Δέκιμον ἤειμεν. Βελισάριος δὲ χῶρον ἰδὼν ἐς στρατόπεδον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα, πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου διέχοντα, χαράκωμά τε αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν εὖ μάλα πεποιημένον καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [2] Ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀγωνίας καιρὸς, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἤδη πάρεστιν: αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ προσιόντας ἡμῖν τοὺς πολεμίους: τὰς δὲ ναῦς ὡς πορρωτάτω ἡμῶν ἢ τοῦ τόπου φύσις ἀπήνεγκε: περιέστηκε δὲ ἡμῖν ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἐν ταῖς χερσίν οὖσα. [3] οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ πόλις φιλία, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα, ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ πιστεύσαντες τὸ θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔξομεν. [4] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα, εἰκὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ περιέσεσθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων: ἦν δέ τι μαλακιζοίμεθα, λελείπεται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις γεγενημένοις αἰσχυρῶς διεφθάρθαι. [5] καίτοι πολλὰ ἡμῖν ἐφόδια πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐστί: τό τε δίκαιον, μεθ' οὗ πρὸς τοὺς δυσμενεῖς ἤκομεν ἅ τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν κομιούμενοι πάρεσμεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων ἐς τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν τύραννον ἔχθος. [6] ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυμμαχία τοῖς τὰ δίκαια προτεινομένοις προσγίνεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ στρατιώτης τῷ κρατοῦντι δύσνους ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταται. [7] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἡμεῖς μὲν Πέρσαις τε καὶ Σκύθαις τὸν ἅπαντα ὠμιλήσαμεν χρόνον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύης ἐκράτησαν, οὐδένα πολέμιον ὅτι μὴ γυμνοὺς Μαυρουσίους θεάνται. [8] τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς ἔργου παντὸς μελέτη μὲν ἐς ἐμπειρίαν, ἀργία δὲ εἰς ἀμαθίαν φέρει; τὸ μὲν οὖν χαράκωμα, ὅθεν ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον διαφέρειν δεήσει, ὡς ἄριστα ἡμῖν πεποιησθαι ξυμβαίνει. [9] πάρεστι δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα φέρειν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐσμέν ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένοις ἰέναι, καὶ ἀναστρέψαντας ἂν ἐνθάδε ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιλίποι. [10] εὐχομαι δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον τῆς τε οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἀναμνησθέντα οὕτω δὴ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς

πολεμίους χωρεῖν.’ [11] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ ἐπευξάμενος τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων ἀπάντων ἐξήλασεν. [12] οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τῇ παρόντι ξύμφορον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι στρατῷ, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι πρῶτον ἀκροβολισαμένῳ καὶ ἀποπειρασαμένῳ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως οὕτω δὴ τῷ ὅλῳ στρατεύματι διαμάχεσθαι. [13] στείλας οὖν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς τῶν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντας, σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς αὐτὸς εἶπετο. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φοιδεράτοι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Δεκίμῳ, ὁρῶσι τοὺς τῶν πεπτωκότων νεκρούς, δώδεκα μὲν ἐταίρους τῶν μετὰ Ἰωάννου, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμμάταν καὶ Βανδύλων τινάς. [15] παρὰ δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἥσχαλλον, ἀπορούμενοι ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς χωρητέα εἴη. ἐτι δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἅπαντα περισκοπούμενων τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, κονιορτός τε ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐφαίνετο καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον Βανδύλων ἰππέων πάμπολυ Χρῆμα. [16] καὶ πέμπουσι μὲν πρὸς πρὸς Βελισάριον, ὡς τάχιστα ἤκειν αἰτοῦντες, ἅτε δὴ σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων ἅ γινώμαι δίχα ἐφέροντο. [17] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡξίουσαν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὁμόσε ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων σφίσιν ἐς τοῦτο ἔφασκον εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν. [18] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφιλονεικοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροί· ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γελίμερος καὶ ὁδῷ χρησαμένου μεταξὺ ἧς τε Βελισάριος εἶχ’ καὶ ἧς οἱ Μασσαγέται ἦκον οἱ Γιβαμούνδῳ ξυμμιζαντες. [19] λοφώδεις δὲ χῶροι ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ὄντες οὔτε τὸ Γιβαμούνδου πάθος ἰδεῖν οὔτε τὸ Βελισαρίου χαράκωμα ξυνεχώρησαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐπορεύοντο. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἀλλήλων γεγόνασιν, ἕρις τῇ στρατῷ ἐκατέρῃ ἐνέπεσεν, ὁπότεροι τοῦ πάντων ὑψηλῷ τάτου τῶν ἐκείνη λόφων κρατήσουσιν. [21] ἐδόκε’ γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐνθένδε ἡροῦντο τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [22] προτερήσαντες δὲ οἱ Βανδύλοι· τὸν τε λόφον καταλαμβάνουσιν ὥθισμῳ χρησάμενοι καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη φοβεροὶ αὐτοῖς γεγονότες. [23] φεύγοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς χωρίον ἀφικνοῦνται σταδίους ἐπτὰ τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχον, ἔνθα δὴ Οὐλίarin τὸν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον ξὺν ὑπασπισταῖς ὀκτακοσίους τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [24] πάντες τε ὦντο ὡς σφᾶς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐλίarin δεξάμενοι στήσονται τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε ἐπὶ τοὺς Βανδύλους χωρήσουσιν· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἅμα ἐγένοντο, παρὰ δόξαν ἤδη ξύμπαντες ἀνὰ κράτος τε ἔφευγον καὶ δρόμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἦσαν. [25] Ἐνθενδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τί ποτε παθὼν Γελίμερ, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, ἐθελούσιος αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθῆκε, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἀναφέρειν δεήσει, ὅς, ἡνίκα τι ἀνθρώπῳ συμβῆναι βουλεύηται φλαῦρον, τῶν λογισμῶν ἀνάμενος πρῶτον οὐκ ἔα τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχεσθαι. [26] εἴτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν εὐθυωρὸν ἐποιήσατο, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι Βελισάριον οἶμαι, ἀλλ’ ἄρδην ἅπαντα ἡμῖν διαφθάρῃναι τὰ πράγματα: [27] τοσοῦτον δὴ τό τε τῶν Βανδύλων πλῆθος τό τε αὐτῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ἐφαίνετο: εἴτε καὶ Καρχηδόνος εὐθὺ ἤλασε, τοὺς τε σὺν Ἰωάννῃ εὐπετῶς ἂν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινεν, οἳ γε κατὰ ἓνα καὶ δύο ἀφροντιστήσαντές τε καὶ περιπάτους ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς

κειμένους ἐσύλων. [28] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασωσάμενος τῶν τε ἡμετέρων νεῶν οὐ πόρρω ἀφικομένων ἐκράτει καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν ἀνέστελλε τοῦ τε ἀπόπλου καὶ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔπραξε τούτων οὐδέτερα. [29] βάδην δὲ κατιῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν εἶδεν, ἕς τε ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράπετο καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμελούμενος οὕτω δὴ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡμβλυνεν, ἧς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἐδύνατο. [30] τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι Βελισάριος ἀπαντήσας στήναι κελεύει, κοσμίως τε ἅπαντας διατάξας καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε Ἀμμάτα τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰωάννου διώξιν ἤκουσε καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπύθετο ὅσα ἐβούλετο, δρόμῳ ἐπὶ Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐχώρει. [31] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἄτακτοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ἤδη γεγονότες ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντες, [32] καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἔφευγον δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐκ ἐς Καρχηδόνα οὐδὲ ἐς Βυζάκιον, ὅθεν περ ἦκον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ Βούλλης πεδῖον καὶ τὴν εἰς Νουμίδας ὁδὸν φέρουσαν. [33] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ οἱ Μασσαγέται περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναστρέψαντες καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα μαθόντες τε καὶ ἀναγγείλαντες σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν Δεκίμῳ διενυκτέρευσαν.

XIX

But we, having learned nothing at all of what had happened, were going on to Decimum. And Belisarius, seeing a place well adapted for a camp, thirty-five stades distant from Decimum, surrounded it with a stockade which was very well made, and placing all the infantry there and calling together the whole army, he spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the decisive moment of the struggle is already at hand; for I perceive that the enemy are advancing upon us; and the ships have been taken far away from us by the nature of the place; and it has come round to this that our hope of safety lies in the strength of our hands. For there is not a friendly city, no, nor any other stronghold, in which we may put our trust and have confidence concerning ourselves. But if we should show ourselves brave men, it is probable that we shall still overcome the enemy in the war; but if we should weaken at all, it will remain for us to fall under the hand of the Vandals and to be destroyed disgracefully. And yet there are many advantages on our side to help us on toward victory; for we have with us both justice, with which we have come against our enemy (for we are here in order to recover what is our own), and the hatred of the Vandals toward their own tyrant. For the alliance of God follows naturally those who put justice forward, and a soldier who is ill-disposed toward his ruler knows not how to play the part of a brave man. And apart from this, we have been engaged with Persians and Scythians all the time, but the Vandals, since the time they conquered Libya, have seen not a single enemy except naked Moors. And who does not know that in every work practice leads to skill, while idleness leads to inefficiency? Now the stockade, from which we shall have to carry on the war, has been made by us in the best possible manner. And we are able to deposit here our weapons and everything else which we are not able to carry when we go forth; and when we return here again, no kind of provisions can fail us. And I pray that each one of you, calling to mind his own valour and those whom he has left at home, may so march with contempt against the enemy."

After speaking these words and uttering a prayer after them, Belisarius left his wife and the barricaded camp to the infantry, and himself set forth with all the horsemen. For it did not seem to him advantageous for the present to risk an engagement with the whole army, but it seemed wise to skirmish first with the horsemen and make trial of the enemy's strength, and finally to fight a decisive battle with the whole army. Sending forward, therefore, the commanders of the *foederati*, he himself followed with the rest of the force and his own spearmen and guards. And when the *foederati* and their leaders reached Decimum, they saw the corpses of the fallen — twelve comrades from the forces of John and near them Ammatas and some of the Vandals. And hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight,

they were vexed, being at a loss as to where they ought to go. But while they were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared from the south and a little later a very large force of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible, since the enemy were bearing down upon them. And the opinions of the commanders were divided. For some thought that they ought to close with their assailants, but the others said that their force was not sufficient for this. And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leadership of Gelimer, who was following a road between the one which Belisarius was travelling and the one by which the Massagetae who had encountered Gibamundus had come. But since the land was hilly on both sides, it did not allow him to see either the disaster of Gibamundus or Belisarius' stockade, nor even the road along which Belisarius' men were advancing. But when they came near each other, a contest arose between the two armies as to which should capture the highest of all the hills there. For it seemed a suitable one to encamp upon, and both sides preferred to engage with the enemy from there. And the Vandals, coming first, took possession of the hill by crowding off their assailants and routed the enemy, having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place seven stades distant from Decimum, where, as it happened, Uliaris, the personal guard of Belisarius, was, with eight hundred guardsmen. And all supposed that Uliaris would receive them and hold his position, and together with them would go against the Vandals; but when they came together, these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius.

From then on I am unable to say what happened to Gelimer that, having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy, unless one ought to refer foolish actions also to God, who, whenever He purposes that some adversity shall befall a man, touches first his reason and does not permit that which will be to his advantage to come to his consideration. For if, on the one hand, he had made the pursuit immediately, I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him, but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fear they inspired in the Romans; or if, on the other hand, he had even ridden straight for Carthage, he would easily have killed all John's men, who, heedless of everything else, were wandering about the plain one by one or by twos and stripping the dead. And he would have preserved the city with its treasures, and captured our ships, which had come rather near, and he would have withdrawn from us all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his brother, he turned to lamentations, and, in caring for his burial, he blunted the edge of his opportunity — an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again.

Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives, bade them stop, and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length; then, after hearing of the death of Ammatas and the pursuit of John, and learning what he wished concerning the place and the enemy, he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians, having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared, did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there, and the battle ended at night. Now the Vandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium, whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading into Numidia. So the men with John and the Massagetae returned to us about dusk, and after learning all that had happened and reporting what they had done, they passed the night with us in Decimum.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πεζῶν ἅμα τῇ Βελισαρίου γυναικὶ παραγενομένων ζύμπαντες τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπορευόμεθα, ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλιν ὀψίαν ἦκοντες ἠὺλισάμεθα, καίτοι ἐκώλυν οὐδεὶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα ἐσελάσαι. οἱ τε γὰρ Καρχηδόνι^ο τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίναντες λύχνα ἔκαιον πανδημῇ καὶ ἡ πόλις κατελάμπετο τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην, καὶ τῶν Βανδύλων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο. [2] ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος διεκώλυσε τοῦ μήτε ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι μήτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄδειαν εἶναι, ἅτε ἐν νυκτὶ λανθάνουσιν, ἐς ἄρπαγὴν τραπέσθαι. [3] ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἱ νῆες^ς εὖρου σφίσιν ἀνέμου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὰς καθεώρων, τὰς σιδηρᾶς ἀλύσεις τοῦ λιμένος, ὃν δὴ Μανδράκιον καλοῦσιν, ἀφελόμενοι, εἰσιτητὰ τῷ στόλῳ ἐποίουν. [4] ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ οἴκημα σκότους ἀνάπλεων, ὃ δὴ Ἀγκῶνα καλοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἔνθα ἐνεβάλλοντο ἅπαντες οἷς ἂν χαλεπαῖνοι ὁ τύραννος. [5] ἐνταῦθα καθειργμένοι ἐτύγγανον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐφῶν ἐμπόρων ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. [6] τούτοις γὰρ δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ἐπικαλῶν ὥς δὴ αὐτοὶ βασιλέα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐναγάγοιεν, ἔμελλόν τε διαφθαρῆναι πάντες, δόξαν τοῦτο Γελίμερι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ Ἀμμάτας ἐν Δεκίμῳ ἀπέθανε: παρὰ τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦλθον. [7] τούτου ὁ φύλαξ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου, ἐπεὶ τά τε ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν στόλον εἶδε τῆς ἄκρας ἐντός, ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ οἶκημα πυνθάνεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐπω τὰγαθὰ πεπυσμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ σκότῳ καθημένων καὶ караδοκούντων τὸν θάνατον, τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένοις ἂν αὐτοῖς εἴη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων προεμένοις σεσῶσθαι. [8] τῶν δὲ ἅπαντα αἵρουμένων διδόναι ἃ βούλοιο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἦται τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, ἡξίου δὲ ἅπαντας ὀμνύναι ὥς, ἣν διαφύγοιεν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν κινδύνους γενησομένῳ ξυλλήψονται ὅση δύναμις. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [9] ὁ δὲ τὸν τε λόγον ἅπαντα ἔφραζε καὶ σανίδα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἀφελὼν μέρους προσιόντα τὸν στόλον ἐπέδειξε, τῆς τε εἰρκτῆς ἀφεις ἅπαντας ζὼν αὐτοῖς ἦει. [10] Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες, οὐπω τι ἀκηκοότες ὧν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἔδρασε, διηποροῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἰστία χαλάσαντες ἔς τε τὸ Μερκούριον πέμψαντες τὰ ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, καὶ περιχαρεῖς γενόμενοι ἔπλεον. [11] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ὄντος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ

ἐκατὸν Καρχηδόνας ἐγένοντο, Ἀρχέλαος μὲν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ὀρμίσασθαι ἐκέλευον, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δεδιότες πρόρρησιν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο. [12] τὴν τε γὰρ ἐκείνη ἄκτὴν ἀλίμενον εἶναι ἔφασκον καὶ χειμῶνα ἐπίσημον αὐτίκα μάλα γενήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξον εἶναι, ὃν δὴ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι. [13] προὔλεγον τε ὥς, εἰ ἐνταῦθα σφίσιν ἐπιγένηται, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν νεῶν μίαν διασώσασθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [14] ἐν βραχεὶ οὖν τὰ τε ἰστία χαλάσαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ μὲν Μανδρακίου πειράσασθαι οὐκ [15] ὄντο χρῆναι ἵτας τε γὰρ Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἐς τὸ Μανδράκιον εἴσοδον ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι ὑπώπτευνον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ τὸν λιμένα ἐκείνον οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ Στάγνον σφίσιν ἐφαίνετο ἐν καλῷ κεῖσθαι ἵμέτρῳ γὰρ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα Καρχηδόνας διέχει ἐμπόδιόν τε οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἱκανῶς πεφυκέναι. [16] ἔνθα δὴ ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ὀρμίσαντο πάντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Καλώνυμος ἅμα τῶν ναυτῶν τισι, τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ ἀφροντιστήσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ἔς τε τὸ Μανδράκιον λάθρα ἀπέβη, οὐδενὸς κωλύσαι τολμήσαντος, καὶ χρήματα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ὀκημένων ἐμπόρων ξένων τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων διήρπασε. [17] Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ Βελισάριος τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὅλον διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὥς ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλυνεν: ἐδεδίει γὰρ μή τις οἱ ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσῃ. [18] ἔνθα δὴ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπέμνησεν, ἡλίκα σφίσιν εὐτυχήματα γένοιτο, ἐπειδὴ σωφροσύνην ἐς Λίβυας ἐπεδείξαντο, πολλὰ δὲ παρήνεσε τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὥς μάλιστα διασώσασθαι. [19] Λίβυας γὰρ ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντας γενέσθαι τε ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις οὐτι ἐθελουσίους καὶ πολλὰ πεπονθέναι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων ἀνόσια. [20] διὸ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα ἐς πόλεμον καταστῆναι Βανδίλοις, εἶναι τε οὐχ ὅσιον ξυμβῆναι τι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄχαρι ἐς ἀνθρώπους ὧν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευσαν. [21] τοσαῦτα παραινέσας ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα εἰσῆλθε καί, ἐπεὶ πολέμιον σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀναβὰς ἐν τῷ Γελίμερος θρόνῳ ἐκάθισεν. [22] ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόντες πολλῇ κραυγῇ Βελισαρίῳ ἐμπόρων ἵ' πλῆθος καὶ ἄλλοι Καρχηδόνιοι ὅσοις ἐπιθαλάσσια τὰ οἰκία τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἡτιῶντο ἀρπαγὴν σφίσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ προλαβούσῃ νυκτὶ πρὸς τῶν ναυτῶν ξυμβῆναι. [23] ὁ δὲ Καλώνυμον ὄρκοις καταλαμβάνει ἢ μὴν ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανεῖ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ φώρια. [24] Καλώνυμος δὲ ὁμόσας ἵ' καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος ἵ' μὲν παραυτίκα τὰ χρήματα ἐλπίσατο, χρόνῳ δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὴν δίκην ἔτισεν ἐς Βυζάντιον [25] νόσῳ γὰρ ἀλοὺς τῇ καλουμένῃ ἀποπληξίᾳ καὶ τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενος τῆς τε γλώσσης ἀπὸ τραγῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ, εἴτα ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἡ μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

But on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius came up and we all proceeded together on the road toward Carthage, which we reached in the late evening; and we passed the night in the open, although no one hindered us from marching into the city at once. For the Carthaginians opened the gates and burned lights everywhere and the city was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who had been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to guard against any ambuscade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from having freedom to turn to plundering, as they might under the concealment of night. On that day, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland, and the Carthaginians, for they already sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium, and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king's palace a room filled with darkness, which the Carthaginians call Ancon, where all were cast with whom the tyrant was angry. In that place, as it happened, many of the eastern merchants had been confined up to that time. For Gelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having urged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed, all of them, this having been decided upon by Gelimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum; to such an extremity of danger did they come. The guard of this prison, upon hearing what had taken place in Decimum and seeing the fleet inside the point, entered the room and enquired of the men, who had not yet learned the good news, but were sitting in the darkness and expecting death, what among their possessions they would be willing to give up and be saved. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures, but required them all to swear that, if they escaped, they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them the whole story, and tearing off a plank from the side toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them.

But the men on the ships, having as yet heard nothing of what the army had done on the land, were completely at a loss, and slackening their sails they sent to the town of Mercurium; there they learned what had taken place at Decimum, and becoming exceedingly joyful sailed on. And when, with a favouring wind blowing, they came to within one hundred and fifty stades of Carthage, Archelaus and the soldiers bade them anchor there, fearing the warning of the general, but the sailors would not obey. For they said that the promontory at that point was without a harbour and also that the indications were that a well-known storm, which the natives call Cypriana, would arise

immediately. And they predicted that, if it came upon them in that place, they would not be able to save even one of the ships. And it was as they said. So they slackened their sails for a short time and deliberated; and they did not think they ought to try for Mandracium (for they shrank from violating the commands of Belisarius, and at the same time they suspected that the entrance to Mandracium was closed by the chains, and besides they feared that this harbour was not sufficient for the whole fleet) but Stagnum seemed to them well situated (for it is forty stades distant from Carthage), and there was nothing in it to hinder them, and also it was large enough for the whole fleet. There they arrived about dusk and all anchored, except, indeed, that Calonymus with some of the sailors, disregarding the general and all the others, went off secretly to Mandracium, no one daring to hinder him, and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians.

On the following day Belisarius commanded those on the ships to disembark, and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation, he marched into Carthage; for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at length of how much good fortune had come to them because they had displayed moderation toward the Libyans, and he exhorted them earnestly to preserve good order with the greatest care in Carthage. For all the Libyans had been Romans in earlier times and had come under the Vandals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hands of these barbarians. For this very reason the emperor had entered into war with the Vandals, and it was not holy that any harm should come from them to the people whose freedom they had made the ground for taking the field against the Vandals. [Sept. 15, 533 A.D.] After such words of exhortation he entered Carthage, and, since no enemy was seen by them, he went up to the palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. There a crowd of merchants and other Carthaginians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus by oaths to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus, taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn, for the moment made the money his plunder, but not long afterwards he paid his just penalty in Byzantium. For being taken with the disease called apoplexy, he became insane and bit off his own tongue and then died. But this happened at a later time.

Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς τοῦτ' ἦγεν, ἄριστον σφίσιν ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι οὗ ὃ Γελίμερ τοὺς τῶν Βανδύλων ἡγουμένους ἐστιᾶν εἰώθει. [2] Δέλφικα τὸν τόπον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλληνίζοντες. ἐν Παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ἔνθα ξυνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰστῆκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἰνοχόοι ἐτίθεντο. [3] Δέλφις δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι

Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ὅπῃ βασιλέως εἶναι στιβάδα ξυμβαίνει Δέλφικα τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ οἶκημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ βασιλέως οἰκία Παλάτιον ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [4] Πάλλαντος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ οἰκήσαντος πρὸ Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως οἰκίαν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐνταῦθα δειμαμένου, Παλάτιον μὲν τὸ οἶκημα τοῦτο ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παραλαβὼν ἀρχὴν Αὐγουστος ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν τὸ πρῶτον ἔγνω, Παλάτιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον οὗ ἂν βασιλεὺς καταλύῃ. [5] ἐν Δέλφικι τοίνυν Βελισάριος τε ἦσθιε καὶ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι δόκιμον ἦν. [6] τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῷ Γελίμερι γερονδὸς ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι. καὶ ταῖς τε βρώσεσιν αὐταῖς εἰστιάθημεν ἢ τε τοῦ Γελίμερος θεραπεία παρτίθεται τε καὶ ὦνοχόει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑποῦργει. [7] παρῆν τε ἰδεῖν ὠραϊζομένην τὴν τύχην καὶ ποιουμένην ἐπίδειξιν ὥς ἅπαντά τε αὐτῆς εἶη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἴδιον γένοιτο. [8] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι ὥς οὔτε τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε τῶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ γεγονότων τετύχηκε. [9] τῶν γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων θορύβου χωρὶς ἐς πόλιν κατήκοον σφίσιν οὐδ' ἂν κατὰ πεντακοσίους εἶεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἰέναι, οὕτῳ δὴ κοσμίους ἅπαντας ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀρχομένους παρέσχετο ὥστε οὐδὲ ὕβριν τινὰ ἢ ἀπειλὴν γενέσθαι, [10] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἐμπόδισμα τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασίᾳ ξυνέβη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀλούσῃ πόλει καὶ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλούσῃ καὶ βασιλείᾳ ἀλλαξαμένη οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ξυνέβη τινὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποκεκλειῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ γραμματεῖς τὰ βιβλίδια γράψαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσήγαγον, αὐτοὶ τε ὦνιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ἄριστον λαβόντες ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἡσύχαζον. [11] Μετὰ δὲ Βελισάριος Βανδύλοις τε τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφυγοῦσι πιστὰ ἐδίδου καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Καρχηδόνος περιβόλος οὕτῳ δὴ ἀπημελημένος ὥστε ἐσβατὸς ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ εὐέφοδος ἐγεγόνει. [12] μοῖρα γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγη αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γελίμερα οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔφασκον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐχ ὑποστῆναι. [13] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οἴεσθαι χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ οἷόν τε εἶναι τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] ἔλεγον δὲ τι καὶ λόγιον παλαιὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πρὸς τῶν παιδίων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις εἰρῆσθαι ὥς τὸ γάμμα διώξει τὸ βῆτα, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ τὸ βῆτα διώξει τὸ γάμμα. [15] καὶ τότε μὲν παίζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς παιδίοις εἰρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἐν αἰνίγματος ἀπορουμένου μοίρα, νῦν δὲ ἅπασιν ἄντικρυς φανερόν εἶναι. [16] πρότερόν τε γὰρ Γιζέριχος Βονιφάτιον ἐξεδίωξε καὶ τανῦν Γελίμερα Βελισάριος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, εἴτε φήμη τις ἦν εἴτε λόγιον, ταύτη ἐχώρησε. [17] Τότε δὲ καὶ ὄναρ πολλοῖς μὲν πολλὰκις ὀφθὲν πρότερον, ἄδηλον δὲ γερονδὸς ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται, ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει. ἐτύγγανε δὲ ὃν τὸ ὄναρ τοιόνδε. Κυπριανόν, ἅγιον ἄνδρα, μάλιστα πάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται. [18] καὶ αὐτῷ νεῶν τινα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυσάμενοι παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡμίονα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ ἄγουσιν ἐορτὴν ἣν δὴ Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χειμῶνα οἱ ναῦται, οὐπὲρ ἐγὼ ἄρτίως ἐμνήσθην, ὁμωνύμως τῇ πανηγύρει προσαγορεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπισκίπτειν φιλεῖ ἐφ' οὗ ταύτην οἱ Λίβυες ἄγειν ἐς αἰὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν

νενομίκασι. [19] τοῦτον οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸν νεῶν ἐπὶ Ὀνωρίχου βασιλεύοντος τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς βιασάμενοι ἔσχον. [20] καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνθένδε ξὺν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς ἱερέας εὐθὺς ἐξελάσαντες αὐτοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὸ λοιπόν, ἅτε προσηκόντων Ἀρειανοῖς, ἐπεμελοῦντο. [21] ἀσχάλλουσιν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διαπορουμένοις τοῖς Λίβυσι πολλάκις φασὶ τὸν Κυπριανὸν ὄναρ ἐπισκήψαντα φάναι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μεριμνᾶν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἥκιστα χρῆναι: αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τιμωρὸν ἔσεσθαι. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἦλθε, καραδοκεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς τίσιν ποτέ τινα τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἔνεκα ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἔχειν μέντοι τεκμηριῶσαι ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὅψις ἐκβήσεται. [23] νῦν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἐς Λιβύην ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἔπανιὼν γὰρ ἤδη ὁ χρόνος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν πανήγυριν ἀγαγεῖν ἔμελλεν, οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς, καίπερ Ἀμμάτα Βανδίλοις ἐς Δέκιμον ἡγήσαμένου, τό τε ἱερὸν ἐκάθηραν ἅπαν καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀναθημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκρέμων, καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι τὰ τε κειμήλια ἐξενεγκόντες ἐκ τῶν ταμείων ἡτοίμαζον ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα, ὥς πῃ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον ἐτύγγανε. [24] τὰ δὲ ἐν Δεκίμῳ οὕτως ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [25] καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς φεύγοντες ὄχοντο, Χριστιανοὶ δὲ οἷς τὰ ἐς τὴν δόξαν ὀρθῶς ἥσκηται, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ τὸν νεῶν, τὰ τε λύχνα ἔκαιον ἅπαντα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο ἥπερ αὐτοῖς τελεῖσθαι ταῦτα νόμος, οὕτω τε ἅπασιν ἃ δὴ προὔλεγεν ἢ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὅψις ἐγνώσθη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

But then, since the hour was appropriate, Belisarius commanded that lunch be prepared for them, in the very place where Gelimer was accustomed to entertain the leaders of the Vandals. This place the Romans call "Delphix," not in their own tongue, but using the Greek word according to the ancient custom. For in the palace at Rome, where the dining couches of the emperor were placed, a tripod had stood from olden times, on which the emperor's cupbearers used to place the cups. Now the Romans call a tripod "Delphix," since they were first made at Delphi, and from this both in Byzantium and wherever there is a king's dining couch they call the room "Delphix"; for the Romans follow the Greek also in calling the emperor's residence "Palatium." For a Greek named Pallas lived in this place before the capture of Troy and built a noteworthy house there, and they called this dwelling "Palatium"; and when Augustus received the imperial power, he decided to take up his first residence in that house, and from this they call the place wherever the emperor resides "Palatium." So Belisarius dined in the Delphix and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for Gelimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domestics of Gelimer served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory and making a display of the fact that all things are hers and that nothing is the private possession of any man. And it fell to the lot of Belisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to enter a subject city without confusion, even if they numbered only five hundred, and especially if they made the entry unexpectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this general showed themselves so orderly that there was not a single act of insolence nor a threat, and indeed nothing happened to hinder the business of the city; but in a captured city, one which had changed its government and shifted its allegiance, it came about that no man's household was excluded from the privileges of the marketplace; on the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings, just as usual, and the soldiers themselves, getting their lunch by purchase from the market, rested as each one wished.

Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuit-wall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and easy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down, and it was for this reason, the Carthaginians said, that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be impossible in a short time to restore such a circuit-wall to a safe condition.

And they said that an old oracle had been uttered by the children in earlier times in Carthage, to the effect that “gamma shall pursue beta, and again beta itself shall pursue gamma.” And at that time it had been spoken by the children in play and had been left as an unexplained riddle, but now it was perfectly clear to all. For formerly Gizeric had driven out Boniface and now Belisarius was doing the same to Gelimer. This, then, whether it was a rumour or an oracle, came out as I have stated.

At that time a dream also came to light, which had been seen often before this by many persons, but without being clear as to how it would turn out. And the dream was as follows. Cyprian, a holy man, is revered above all others by the Carthaginians. And they have founded a very noteworthy temple in his honour before the city on the sea-shore, in which they conduct all other customary services, and also celebrate there a festival which they call the “Cypriana”; and the sailors are accustomed to name after Cyprian the storm, which I mentioned lately, giving it the same name as the festival, since it is wont to come on at the time at which the Libyans have always been accustomed to celebrate the festival. This temple the Vandals took from the Christians by violence in the reign of Honoric. And they straightway drove out their priests from the temple in great dishonour, and themselves thereafter attended to the sacred festival which, they said, now belonged to the Arians. And the Libyans, indeed, were angry on this account and altogether at a loss, but Cyprian, they say, often sent them a dream saying that there was not the least need for the Christians to be concerned about him; for he himself as time went on would be his own avenger. And when the report of this was passed around and came to all the Libyans, they were expecting that some vengeance would come upon the Vandals at some time because of this sacred festival, but were unable to conjecture how in the world the vision would be realized for them. Now, therefore, when the emperor’s expedition had come to Libya, since the time had already come round and would bring the celebration of the festival on the succeeding day, the priests of the Arians, in spite of the fact that Ammatas had led the Vandals to Decimum, cleansed the whole sanctuary and were engaged in hanging up the most beautiful of the votive offerings there, and making ready the lamps and bringing out the treasures from the store-houses and preparing all things with exactness, arranging everything according to its appropriate use. But the events in Decimum turned out in the manner already described. And the priests of the Arians were off in flight, while the Christians who conform to the orthodox faith came to the temple of Cyprian, and they burned all the lamps and attended to the sacred festival just as is customary for them to perform this service, and thus it was known to all what the vision of the dream was foretelling. This, then, came about in this way.

Οἱ δὲ Βανδῖλοι λόγου παλαιοῦ ἀναμνησθέντες ἐθαύμαζον, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνθρώπων γε ὄντι οὐτ’ ἂν ἄπιστός τις ἐλπίς οὔτε κτήσις βέβαιος

γένοιτο. [2] ὅστις δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ ὄντινα ἐρρήθη τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [3] ἡνίκα Βανδίλοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνίστασθαι ἔμελλον, μοῖρά τις αὐτῶν ἀπελείπετο, οἷς δὴ ὀκνήσει ἔχομενοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν Γωδιγίσκῳ ἐπισπένεσθαι οὐκ ἦν. [4] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τοῖς τε μέιναισι τὰ ἐς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὴν ἀφθονίαν εὖ ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Γιζέριχος ζῦν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Λιβύην ἔσχευ. [5] ὅπερ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γωδιγίσκῳ οὐκ ἐπιστόμενοι ἔχαιρον, τῆς χώρας λοιπὸν ἰσχυρότατα σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρκούσης. [6] δέισαντες δὲ μὴ χρόνῳ τινὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοὶ ὅσοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἢ οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι ὄτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ Λιβύης ἐξελαυνόμενον ἐπανήξουσιν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ὃν γὰρ ποτὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτὴν ἐς αἰεὶ περιόψεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν παρ' αὐτοῦς. [7] οἱ, ἐπεὶ Γιζὲ ρίχῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκον, συνήδεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ὁμογενεῖσιν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερήσασιν ἔφασκον, φυλάσσει δὲ περαιτέρω τὴν γῆν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι ἥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὠλιγορηκότες ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἰδρύσαντο. [8] ἐδῆξοντο οὖν, εἰ μὴ γῆς τῆς πατρῴας μεταποιοῦνται κτήματι αὐτοῦς ἀνονήτῳ σφίσι δωρήσασθαι, ὅπῳ δὴ κύριοι τῆς χώρας ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα γεγενῆσθαι, ἦν τις κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι, ὃ ἥκιστα ἀπαξιοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θνήσκειν. [9] Γιζερίχ' μὲν οὖν καὶ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ τε καὶ τ' δίκαια λέγειν ἔδοξαν, καὶ ξυνεχώρουν ἅπαντα ὅς' οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔχρηζον. [10] γέρων δὲ τις ἀν' ἣ ἐν αὐτοῖς δόκιμος καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλῇ τινα ἔχων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶν' βέβαιον μὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντ' οὐδὲν ἀμήχανον. [11] ταῦτα ὁ Γιζέριχος ἀκούσας ἐπήνεσέ τε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπ' ἐμπεσεσθαι ἔγνω. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παραινέσας ἅτε τὰ ἀμήχανα προορώμενοι, πρὸ πάντων Βανδίων γέλῳτα ὄφλον. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἄπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγένετο, μετέμαθόν τε τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων οἱ Βανδίλοι τὴν φύσιν καὶ σοφοῦ τὸ ἔπος εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἔγνωσαν. [13] Τούτων μὲν οὖν Βανδίων οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ, οὔτε μνήμη τις οὔτε ὄνομα ἐς ἐμ' σώζεται. ἅτε γάρ, οἶμαι, ὀλίγοις τισὶν οὖσιν ἢ βεβιάσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων ἢ ἀναμεμίχθαι οὔτι ἀκουσίῳς τετύχηκε, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς αὐτοὺς πη ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [14] οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἡσημένιοις τότε πρὸς Βελισαρίου Βανδίλοις ἔννοια γέγονεν ἐς ἣν τὰ πάτρια ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [15] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ Λιβύης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κομίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτισαν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δίκην ἀπάντων ὧν περ ἐς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσαντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς Ζακυνθίους. [16] Γιζέριχος γάρ, ἐπισκίψας ποτὲ τοῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρίοις, Ταινάρῳ προσβαλεῖν ἐνεχείρησεν. ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀποκρουσθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν ἀνεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. [17] διὸ δὴ τῷ θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος Ζακύνθῳ προσέσχε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐν ποσὶ κτείνας, τῶν δὲ δοκίμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνδραποδίσας δι' ὀλίγου ἀπέπλευσεν. [18] ἐπειδὴ τε γέγονεν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ καλουμένῳ πελάγει, ἐνταῦθα κρεουργήσας τῶν πεντακοσίων τὰ σώματα, πανταχῇ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδὲν ὑπολογισάμενος ἔρριπεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

And the Vandals, recalling an ancient saying, marvelled, understanding clearly thereafter that for a man, at least, no hope could be impossible nor any possession secure. And what this saying was and in what manner it was spoken I shall explain. When the Vandals originally, pressed by hunger, were about to remove from their ancestral abodes, a certain part of them was left behind who were reluctant to go and not desirous of following Godigisclus. And as time went on it seemed to those who had remained that they were well off as regards abundance of provisions, and Gizeric with his followers gained possession of Libya. And when this was heard by those who had not followed Godigisclus, they rejoiced, since thenceforth the country was altogether sufficient for them to live upon. But fearing lest at some time much later either the very ones who had conquered Libya, or their descendants, should in some way or other be driven out of Libya and return to their ancestral homes (for they never supposed that the Romans would let Libya be held for ever), they sent ambassadors to them. And these men, upon coming before Gizeric, said that they rejoiced with their compatriots who had met with such success, but that they were no longer able to guard the land of which he and his men had thought so little that they had settled in Libya. They prayed therefore that, if they laid no claim to their fatherland, they would bestow it as an unprofitable possession upon themselves, so that their title to the land might be made as secure as possible, and if anyone should come to do it harm, they might by no means disdain to die in behalf of it. Gizeric, accordingly, and all the other Vandals thought that they spoke fairly and justly, and they were in the act of granting everything which the envoys desired of them. But a certain old man who was esteemed among them and had a great reputation for discretion said that he would by no means permit such a thing. "For in human affairs," he said, "not one thing stands secure; nay, nothing which now exists is stable for all time for men, while as regards that which does not yet exist, there is nothing which may not come to pass." When Gizeric heard this, he expressed approval and decided to send the envoys away with nothing accomplished. Now at that time both he himself and the man who had given the advice were judged worthy of ridicule by all the Vandals, as foreseeing the impossible. But when these things which have been told took place, the Vandals learned to take a different view of the nature of human affairs and realized that the saying was that of a wise man.

Now as for those Vandals who remained in their native land, neither remembrance nor any name of them has been preserved to my time. For since, I suppose, they were a small number, they were either overpowered by the neighbouring barbarians or they were mingled with them not at all unwillingly and their name gave way to that of their conquerors. Indeed, when the Vandals

were conquered at that time by Belisarius, no thought occurred to them to go from there to their ancestral homes. For they were not able to convey themselves suddenly from Libya to Europe, especially as they had no ships at hand, but paid the penalty there for all the wrongs they had done the Romans and especially the Zacynthians. For at one time Gizeric, falling suddenly upon the towns in the Peloponnesus, undertook to assault Taenarum. And being repulsed from there and losing many of his followers he retired in complete disorder. And while he was still filled with anger on account of this, he touched at Zacynthus, and having killed many of those he met and enslaved five hundred of the notables, he sailed away soon afterwards. And when he reached the middle of the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, he cut into small pieces the bodies of the five hundred and threw them all about the sea without the least concern. But this happened in earlier times.

Γελίμερ δὲ τότε χρήματά τε πολλὰ Λιβύων τοῖς γεωργοῖς προϊέμενος καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρώμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἴσχυσεν. [2] οὗς δὴ ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐς τὰ χωρία περὶόντας κτείνειν, χρυσίον τακτὸν ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἐκάστω τῷ ἀπολοῦντι ἐπικηρύξας. [3] οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔκτεινον, οὐ στρατιώτας μέντοι, ἀλλὰ δούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρέτας, οἳ δὴ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία ἐς τὰς κόμας ἀναβαίνοντες λάθρα ἠλίσκοντο. [4] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ γεωργοὶ παρὰ Γελίμερα φέροντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔμμισθοι γενόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτας ἀνηρηκέναι πολεμίους ὑπώπτευνεν. [5] Ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρόνου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος, ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια. σταλεις γὰρ ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐγένετο ἐν χωρίῳ δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Καρχηδόνος διέχοντι. [6] τοὺτους δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὃν γὰρ οἳοί τε ἦσαν οἱ τοῦ χωρίου γεωργοὶ κτείνειν ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Γελίμερι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [7] καὶ ὃς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος Βανδύλων ἱππέας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔστελλε, ζῶντας ἅπαντας ἐπισκήψας παρ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. [8] λόγου γὰρ πολλοῦ ἄξιόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον ζῆν ὑπασπισταῖς δύο καὶ εἴκοσι δορυαλώτους ποιήσασθαι. [9] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Διογένην ἐς οἰκίαν ἐσεληλυθότες τινὰ ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῷ ὑπερφῶ, πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, οἳ γε μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐτύθοντο. [10] οἱ δὲ Βανδύλοι ὀρθρου βαθέος ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες διαφθεῖραι μὲν τὰς ἐκείνη θύρας ἢ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθεῖν νύκτωρ ἀζύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι, δέισαντες μὴ ἐς νυκτομαχίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες αὐτοὶ μὲν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διαφθεῖρῳσιν, ἔξοδον δὲ πλείστοις τῶν πολεμίων ἐν σκότῳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, παρέξωσιν. [11] ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δειλίας αὐτοῖς ἐκπλησσοῦσης τὸν νοῦν, παρὸν σφίσιν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ φέρουσι τε πυρὰ καὶ τούτων χωρὶς οὐχ ὅσον ἀνόπλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνοὺς παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων λαβεῖν. [12] νῦν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅπασαν κύκλῳ καὶ διαφερόντως τὰς θύρας φάλαγγα ποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν ἅπαντες. [13] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐνὶ ἑξ ὕπνου ἀναστῆναι ξυνέβη, ὅσπερ τοῦ θορύβου αἰσθόμενος ὢν δὴ οἱ Βανδύλοι φθεγγόμενοι τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐποιοῦν καὶ ζῆν τοῖς ὅπλοις κινούμενοι, ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ ποιοῦμενον ἴσχυσε, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀνεγείρας

σιωπῇ ἕκαστον τὰ πρασσόμενα φράζει. [14] οἱ δὲ Διογένους γνώμη τά τε ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀνελόμενοι κάτω ἐχώρουν. [15] οὗ δὴ τοῖς ἵπποις τοὺς χαλινούς ἐπιθέμενοι ἀναθρόσκουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενοι. παρὰ τε τὴν αὐλεῖον χρόνον τινὰ στάντες ἀνακλίνουσι μὲν ἐξαπινάϊως τὰς ταύτη θύρας, ἐξίασι δὲ εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. [16] οἱ μὲν οὖν Βανδίλοι ἔργου ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτούς εἶχοντο, ἦνυτον δὲ οὐδέν. οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τε ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι καὶ τοῖς δορατίοις ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας σπουδῇ ἤλαυνον. [17] οὕτω τε Διογένης τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγε, δύο μὲν τῶν ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώσας. [18] πληγὰς μέντοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τρεῖς, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ παρ' ὀλίγον ἀποθανεῖν ἤλθε, κατὰ δὲ χειρὸς τῆς λαιᾶς μίαν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι τῶν δακτύλων τὸν σμικρότατον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδε γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τεχνίταις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὁμίλῳ χρήματα μεγάλα προτεινόμενος τάφρον τε λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥρυξε κύκλῳ, καὶ σκόλοπας αὐτῇ ἐνθέμενος συχνούς εὖ μάλα περιεσταύρωσε. [20] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ τείχους ἐν βραχὲ ἀνφοδομήσατο χρόνῳ, θαύματος ἄξιον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ Γελίμερι γεγονὸς ὕστερον. [21] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δορυάλωτος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦκεν, ἠγάσθη τε ἰδὼν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὴν ὀλιγορίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πάντων οἱ ἔφη γεγενῆσθαι τῶν παρόντων αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν Βελισαρίῳ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὄντι κατείργαστο ὧδε.

But at that time Gelimer, by distributing much money to the farmers among the Libyans and shewing great friendliness toward them, succeeded in winning many to his side. These he commanded to kill the Romans who went out into the country, proclaiming a fixed sum of gold for each man killed, to be paid to him who did the deed. And they killed many from the Roman army, not soldiers, however, but slaves and servants, who because of a desire for money went up into the villages stealthily and were caught. And the farmers brought their heads before Gelimer and departed receiving their pay, while he supposed that they had slain soldiers of the enemy.

At that time Diogenes, the aide of Belisarius, made a display of valorous deeds. For having been sent, together with twenty-two of the body-guards, to spy upon their opponents, he came to a place two days' journey distant from Carthage. And the farmers of the place, being unable to kill these men, reported to Gelimer that they were there. And he chose out and sent against them three hundred horsemen of the Vandals, enjoining upon them to bring all the men alive before him. For it seemed to him a most remarkable achievement to make captive a personal aide of Belisarius with twenty-two body-guards. Now Diogenes and his party had entered a certain house and were sleeping in the upper storey, having no thought of the enemy in mind, since, indeed, they had learned that their opponents were far away. But the Vandals, coming there at early dawn, thought it would not be to their advantage to destroy the doors of the house or to enter it in the dark, fearing lest, being involved in a night encounter, they might themselves destroy one another, and at the same time, if that should happen, provide a way of escape for a large number of the enemy in the darkness. But they did this because cowardice had paralyzed their minds, though it would have been possible for them with no trouble, by carrying torches or even without these, to catch their enemies in their beds not only without weapons, but absolutely naked besides. But as it was, they made a phalanx in a circle about the whole house and especially at the doors, and all took their stand there. But in the meantime it so happened that one of the Roman soldiers was roused from sleep, and he, noticing the noise which the Vandals made as they talked stealthily among themselves and moved with their weapons, was able to comprehend what was being done, and rousing each one of his comrades silently, he told them what was going on. And they, following the opinion of Diogenes, all put on their clothes quietly and taking up their weapons went below. There they put the bridles on their horses and leaped upon them unperceived by anyone. And after standing for a time by the court-yard entrance, they suddenly opened the door there, and straightway all came out. And then the Vandals immediately closed with them, but they accomplished nothing. For the Romans rode hard,

covering themselves with their shields and warding off their assailants with their spears. And in this way Diogenes escaped the enemy, losing two of his followers, but saving the rest. He himself, however, received three blows in this encounter on the neck and the face, from which indeed he came within a little of dying, and one blow also on the left hand, as a result of which he was thereafter unable to move his little finger. This, then, took place in this way.

And Belisarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engaged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admiration about the circuit-wall, and setting stakes close together along it he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this, but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians, but also to Gelimer himself at a later time. For when he came as a captive to Carthage, he marvelled when he saw the wall and said that his own negligence had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This, then, was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage.

Τζάζων δέ, ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, τῷ στόλῳ ᾧ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὸν Καρανάλεως λιμένα ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοβοεῖ εἴλε τὸν τε τύραννον Γώδαν ἔκτεινε καὶ εἰ τ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάχιμον ἦν. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν Λιβύης τὸν βασιλέως στόλον ἤκουσεν εἶναι, οὕτω τι πεπυσμένος ὢν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο, γράφει πρὸς Γελίμερα τάδε: [3] 'Γώδαν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν τύραννον ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις γεγνονότα χερσί, καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐθις ὑπὸ τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εἶναι, ᾧ Βανδύλων τ' καὶ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦ, ἴσθι καὶ τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἑορτὴν ἄγε. [4] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ ἐτόλμησαν ἔξ τῇ ἡμετέραν στρατεύεσθαι, ἔλπιζε τὴν πείραν ἔξ τοῦτο ἀφίξεσθαι τύχης, ἐς ὃ καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦς προγόνους τοῦς ἡμετέρους στρατευσά [5] μένοις ἐχώρησε.' ταῦτα οἱ λαβόντες τὰ γράμματα, οὐδὲν πολέμιον ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες, κατέπλευσά ἐς τὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λιμένα. [6] καὶ πρὸς τῷ φυλάκων παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες τὰ τ' γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ περὶ ὧν τὰς πύστει ἐποιεῖτο ἐσῆγγελλον, οἷς τε ἐθεῶντο καταπεπληγμένοι καὶ τεθηπότες τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἔπαθον μέντοι πρὸς Βελισαρίου οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. [7] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ἕτερον ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. Γελίμερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ἔξ Ἰσπανίαν ἄλλους τε καὶ Γοτθαῖον καὶ Φουσκίαν ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Θεῦδιν, τὸν τῶν Οὐσιγιότῳ ἄρχοντα πείσουσιν ὁμαιχμίαν πρὸς Βανδύλους θέσθαι. [8] ὃς ἐπεὶ ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, τὸν ἐν Γαδεῖροι πορθμὸν διαβάντες, εὐρίσκουσι Θεῦδιν ἐν χωρὶ μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης κειμένῳ. [9] ἀναβάντας δ' παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ Θεῦδης φιλοφροσύνη τε ἠξίωσε καὶ προθύμως εἰστία, ἐν τε τῇ θοίῳ ἐπυνθάνετο δῆθεν ὅπῃ ποτὲ Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδύλοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχοι. [10] τούτων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων σχολαίτερον ἐς αὐτὸν ἰόντων ἔτυχεν ἀκηκοὺς ἅπαντα ὅσα Βανδύλοις ξυνέπεσεν. [11] ὁλκάς γάρ μία ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ πλέουσα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰσήλασεν, ἐνθένδε ἀναγομένη καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχοῦσα, [12] ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἦλθεν. ὅθεν

δὴ ὁ Θεῦδις μαθὼν ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἀπεῖπε τοῖς ἐμπόροις μηδενὶ φράζειν, ὥς μὴ ταῦτα ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γοτθαῖον ἅπαντα σφίσιν ὥς ἄριστα ἔχειν, ἡρώτα ὅτου ποτὲ ἔνεκα ἦκοιεν. [14] τῶν δὲ τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν προτεινομένων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεῦδις εἰς τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι: ‘Ἐνθένδε γάρ,’ ἔφη, [15] ‘τὰ οἴκοι πράγματα ἀσφαλῶς εἴσεσθε.’ οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι, ἅτε οἰνωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἐν σιωπῇ ἔσχον. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυγγενόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ῥήματι αὐθις τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ Θεῦδις ἐχρήτο, οὕτω δὴ ξυνέντες νεώτερα σφίσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυμπεσεῖν πράγματα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἀμφὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπλεον. [17] ἀγχοῦ τε αὐτῆς καταπλεύσαντες καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατιώταις περιτυχόντες ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι. [18] ὅθεν ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλαντες ἔπαθον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου κακόν. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Κύριλλος δέ, Σαρδοῦς τε ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ τῷ Γώδᾳ ξυμπεσόντα ἀκούσας, ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, ἔνθα τό τε Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα καὶ Βελισάριον εὐρὼν νενικηκότας ἡσύχαζε: καὶ Σολόμων παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅπως ἀγγείλῃ τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐστέλλετο.

But Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, reached Sardinia with the expedition which has been mentioned above and disembarked at the harbour of Caranalis; and at the first onset he captured the city and killed the tyrant Godas and all the fighting men about him. And when he heard that the emperor's expedition was in the land of Libya, having as yet learned nothing of what had been done there, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "Know, O King of the Vandals and Alani, that the tyrant Godas has perished, having fallen into our hands, and that the island is again under thy kingdom, and celebrate the festival of triumph. And as for the enemy who have had the daring to march against our land, expect that their attempt will come to the same fate as that experienced by those who in former times marched against our ancestors." And those who took this letter sailed into the harbour of Carthage with no thought of the enemy in mind. And being brought by the guards before the general, they put the letter into his hands and gave him information on the matters about which he enquired, being thunderstruck at what they beheld and awed at the suddenness of the change; however, they suffered nothing unpleasant at the hand of Belisarius.

At this same time another event also occurred as follows. A short time before the emperor's expedition reached Libya, Gelimer had sent envoys into Spain, among whom were Gothaeus and Fuscias, in order to persuade Theudis, the ruler of the Visigoths, to establish an alliance with the Vandals. And these envoys, upon disembarking on the mainland after crossing the strait at Gadira, found Theudis in a place situated far from the sea. And when they had come up to the place where he was, Theudis received them with friendliness and entertained them heartily, and during the feast he pretended to enquire how matters stood with Gelimer and the Vandals. Now since these envoys had travelled to him rather slowly, it happened that he had heard from others everything which had befallen the Vandals. For one merchant ship sailing for trade had put out from Carthage on the very same day as the army marched into the city, and finding a favouring wind, had come to Spain. From those on this ship Theudis learned all that had happened in Libya, but he forbade the merchants to reveal it to anyone, in order that this might not become generally known. And when Gothaeus and his followers replied that everything was as well as possible for them, he asked them for what purpose, then, they had come. And when they proposed the alliance, Theudis bade them go to the sea-coast; "For from there," he said, "you will learn of the affairs at home with certainty." And the envoys, supposing that the man was in his cups and his words were not sane, remained silent. But when on the following day they met him and made mention of the alliance, and Theudis used the same words a second time, then at length they understood that some change of fortune had

befallen them in Libya, but never once thinking of Carthage they sailed for the city. And upon coming to land close by it and happening upon Roman soldiers, they put themselves in their hands to do with them as they wished. And from there they were led away to the general, and reporting the whole story, they suffered no harm at his hand. These things, then, happened thus. And Cyril, upon coming near to Sardinia and learning what had happened to Godas, sailed to Carthage, and there, finding the Roman army and Belisarius victorious, he remained at rest; and Solomon was sent to the emperor in order to announce what had been accomplished.

Γελίμερ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βούλλης ἐγγόνει, ὅπερ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχει, οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τῶν Νουμιδίας ὀρίων, ἐνταῦθα Βανδίλους τε ξύμπαντας ἤγειρε καὶ εἴ τί οἱ φίλιον ἐν Μαυρουσίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὄν. [2] ὀλίγοι μέντοι Μαυρούσιοι αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ξυμμαχίαν, [3] καὶ οὗτοι παντάπασιν ἄναρχοι. ὅσοι γὰρ ἔν τε Μαυριτανίᾳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ καὶ Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίῳ ἦρχον, πρέσβεις ὡς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες δοῦλοί τε βασιλέως ἔφασκον εἶναι καὶ ξυμμαχήσειν ὑπέσχοντο. [4] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων παρείχοντο λόγῳ, τὰ τε ξύμβολα σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ στέλλεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐδέοντο. [5] νόμος γὰρ ἦν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχειν μηδένα, κἂν Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος ᾗ, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς δοίη. [6] ἅπερ ἤδη πρὸς Βανδύλων λαβόντες οὐκ ὦντο ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. [7] ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξύμβολα ταῦτα ῥάβδος τε ἀργυρᾷ κατακεχυρωμένη καὶ πῖλος ἀργυροῦς οὐχ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ στεφάνη τελαμῶσιν ἀργυροῖς πανταχόθεν ἀνεχόμενος, καὶ τριβώνιον τι λευκὸν ἐς χρυσοῦν περόνην κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἐν χλαμύδος σχήματι Θετταλῆς ξυνίον, χιτῶν τε λευκὸς ποικίλματα ἔχων, καὶ ἀρβύλη ἐπίχρυσος. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐδωρήσατο. [9] οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀφίκοντο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Βανδύλοις ἐπαμύνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἀμφοτέροις στάντες ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπη ποτὲ ἢ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη ἐκβήσεται. ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. [10] Γελίμερ δὲ τῶν τινα Βανδύλων ἐς Σαρδῶ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔχοντα. ὃς ἐς τὴν παραλίαν κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὀλκάδος τε ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν, ἐς Καρανάλεως τὸν λιμένα κατέπλευσε καὶ Τζάζωνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: [11] 'Οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, Γώδας ὁ τὴν νῆσον ἡμῶν ἀποστήσας, ἀλλὰ τις ἄτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐς Βανδύλους ἐπιτεσεύσα. [12] σέ τε γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Βανδύλων τοὺς δοκίμους ἀφελομένη ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἐκ τοῦ Γιζερίχου οἴκου τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἤρπασεν. [13] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν νῆσον ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρας, ἀλλ' ὅπως Λιβύης Ἰουστινιανὸς κύριος ἔσται. τὰ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ δόξαντα πρότερον πάρεστι τανῦν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβάντων εἰδέναι. [14] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦκει: ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ ἐκ Βανδύλων ἀπιοῦσα εὐθὺς ὥχeto, μεθ' ἑαυτῆς λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην. [15] Ἀμμάτας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γιβαμοῦνδος πεπτώκασι, μαλθακιζομένων Βανδύλων, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ νεώρια καὶ ξύμπας" Λιβύη καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτὴ Καρχηδὼν ἔχοντ'· ἤδη πρὸς

τῶν πολέμιων. [16] οἱ δὲ κάθηνται, τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνταλλαζάμενοι καὶ πάντων χρημάτων, ἡμῖν τε ἀπολέλειπται μόνον τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὐπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίς καθίσασα εἶργει. [17] ἀλλὰ σὺ τυραννίδα τε καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ τὰς περὶ ταῦτα φροντίδας ἐάσας ὅτι τάχιστα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκε. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ κίνδυνος, τᾶλλα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον. [18] κοινῇ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τύχην τὴν προτέραν ἀνασώσόμεθα, ἢ κερδανοῦμεν τὸ μὴ ἀλλήλων χωρὶς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐνεγκεῖν δύσκολα.’ [19] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τζάζων εἶδε τε ἀπενεχθέντα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἐξήνεγκεν, ἔς τε οἰωγᾶς καὶ ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράποντο, οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγκρυφιάζοντές τε καὶ τοὺς νησιώτας λανθάνοντες σιωπῇ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὠδύροντο. [20] καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν τὰ ἐν ποσίν, ὥς πη ἔτυχε, διαθέμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. [21] ἄραντες δὲ ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τριταῖοι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἢ Νουμίδας τε καὶ Μαυριτανοὺς διορίζει. [22] καὶ πεζῇ βαδίζοντες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὗ δὴ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ. ἐνταῦθα συχνὰ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια Βανδίλοις ξυνέβη, ἅπερ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. [23] οἶμαι γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτῶν πολέμιων ἀνδρὶ θεατῇ γενέσθαι τετύχηκε, τάχα ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς Βανδίλους τε τότε καὶ τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ὦκτίσατο. [24] ὃ τε γὰρ Γελίμερ καὶ ὁ Τζάζων ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοιν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιβαλέσθην, μεθίεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφθέγγοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ χεῖρε σφίγγοντες ἔκλαιον, καὶ Βανδίων τῶν ξὺν Γελίμερι ἕκαστος τῶν τινα ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἦκοντα περιβαλὼν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [25] χρόνον τε συχνὸν ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπεφυκότες, ἡδονῆς τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπώναντο, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἀμφὶ Γελίμερα περὶ τοῦ Γῶδα ἔπει αὐτοὺς ἢ παροῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήξασα τὰ πρόσθεν σφίσι σπουδαιότατα δόξαντα εἶναι τοῖς ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν ἀπημελημένοις ξυνέτασσεν’ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἦκοντες ἐρωτᾶν τι ἡξίου ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν γε Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθεῖσιν. ἱκανὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χῶρος τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐγένετο. [26] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ γυναικῶν ἢ παίδων ἰδίων λόγον ἐποιούντό τινα, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὥς, ἦν τις αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εἶη, δῆλον ὅτι ἢ ἐτελεύτα ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχηεν.

But Gelimer, upon reaching the plain of Boulla, which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller, not far from the boundaries of Numidia, began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors, however, joined his alliance, and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and requested that the symbols of office be sent them from him according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already received them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Now these symbols are a staff of silver covered with gold, and a silver cap, — not covering the whole head, but like a crown and held in place on all sides by bands of silver, — a kind of white cloak gathered by a golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a Thessalian cape, and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them, and presented each one of them with much money. However, they did not come to fight along with him, nor, on the other hand, did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants, they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. Thus, then, matters stood with the Romans.

But Gelimer sent one of the Vandals to Sardinia with a letter to his brother Tzazon. And he went quickly to the coast, and finding by chance a merchant-ship putting out to sea, he sailed into the harbour of Caranalis and put the letter into the hands of Tzazon. Now the message of the letter was as follows:

“It was not, I venture to think, Godas who caused the island to revolt from us, but some curse of madness sent from Heaven which fell upon the Vandals. For by depriving us of you and the notables of the Vandals, it has seized and carried off from the house of Gizeric absolutely all the blessings which we enjoyed. For it was not to recover the island for us that you sailed from here, but in order that Justinian might be master of Libya. For that which Fortune had decided upon previously it is now possible to know from the outcome. Belisarius, then, has come against us with a small army, but valour straightway departed and fled from the Vandals, taking good fortune with her. For Ammatas and Gibamundus have fallen, because the Vandals lost their courage, and the horses and shipyards and all Libya and, not least of all, Carthage itself, are held already by the enemy. And the Vandals are sitting

here, having paid with their children and wives and all their possessions for their failure to play the part of brave men in battle, and to us is left only the plain of Boulla, where our hope in you has set us down and still keeps us. But do you have done with such matters as rebel tyrants and Sardinia and the cares concerning these things, and come to us with your whole force as quickly as possible. For when men find the very heart and centre of all in danger, it is not advisable for them to consider minutely other matters. And struggling hereafter in common against the enemy, we shall either recover our previous fortune, or gain the advantage of not bearing apart from each other the hard fate sent by Heaven.”

When this letter had been brought to Tzazon, and he had disclosed its contents to the Vandals, they turned to wailing and lamentation, not openly, however, but concealing their feelings as much as possible and avoiding the notice of the islanders, silently among themselves they bewailed the fate which was upon them. And straightway setting in order matters in hand just as chance directed, they manned the ships. And sailing from there with the whole fleet, on the third day they came to land at the point of Libya which marks the boundary between the Numidians and Mauretanians. And they reached the plain of Boulla travelling on foot, and there joined with the rest of the army. And in that place there were many most pitiable scenes among the Vandals, which I, at least, could never relate as they deserve. For I think that even if one of the enemy themselves had happened to be a spectator at that time, he would probably have felt pity, in spite of himself, for the Vandals and for human fortune. For Gelimer and Tzazon threw their arms about each other's necks, and could not let go, but they spoke not a word to each other, but kept wringing their hands and weeping, and each one of the Vandals with Gelimer embraced one of those who had come from Sardinia, and did the same thing. And they stood for a long time as if grown together and found such comfort as they could in this, and neither did the men of Gelimer think fit to ask about Godas (for their present fortune had prostrated them and caused them to reckon such things as had previously seemed to them most important with those which were now utterly negligible), nor could those who came from Sardinia bring themselves to ask about what had happened in Libya. For the place was sufficient to permit them to judge of what had come to pass. And indeed they did not make any mention even of their own wives and children, knowing well that whoever of theirs was not there had either died or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus, then, did these things happen.

BOOK IV. THE VANDALIC WAR (Continued)

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ

Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ Βανδίλους ἅπαντας ἐς ταὐτὸ εἶδεν ἀγνηγεμένους, ἐπῆγεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τὴν στρατεύμα. [2] γενόμενοί τε αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα τὸν τὴν ὀχετὸν ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα διεῖλον, ὃς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐπεξῆει τῶν πολεμίων. [3] περιόντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τῶν τε ὁδοῦς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ Καρχηδόνι πολιορκεῖν ταύτην ὄντο, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐλπίζοντι οὐδὲν οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν, ἀλλ' ὥς οἰκείας μετ' ἐποιοῦντο. [4] ἅμα δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ ἐσσεσθᾶν σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον Καρχηδονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσοις ἢ τοῦ Ἀρείῳ δόξα ἦσκητο. [5] πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Οὐννων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ πολλὰ ἐσσεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν πρὸς Βανδίων ὑποσχόμενοι, ἐδέοντο φίλους τὴν καὶ ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι σφίσιν. [6] οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ἄλλοτερον εὐνοϊκῶς ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματ' ἔχοντες ἅτε οὐδὲ ξύμμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἐκούσιοι ἦκοντες ἔφασκον γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν Πέτρον ὁμωμοκότα τε καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότες οὕτω δὴ σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον, λόγους τε τοὺς Βανδίων ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ ὠμολόγουν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων γένωνται, ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα τρέψεσθαι. [7] ταῦτα δὲ ἅπαντα Βελισάριος ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων ἠκηκόει γὰρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ περίβολος οὐπω ἐτετέλεστο ἅπας ἐξιτητὰ μὲν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ παρόντι οὐκ ὤφειτο εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ὥς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο. [8] καὶ Καρχηδόνιον μὲν τινὰ, ὄνομα Λαῦρον, ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τε ἡλωκότα καὶ πρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου γραμματέως ἐληλεγμένον ἀνεσκόλοπισεν ἐν λόφῳ τινὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος τι ἄμαχον οἱ ἄλλοι καταστάντες τῆς ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. [9] τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας δώροις τε καὶ τραπέξῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θωπείᾳ μετιῶν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπεισεν ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὁ Γελίμερ ὑποσχόμενος εἶη, [10] ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ κακοὶ γένωνται. ἔφασκον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσι προθυμίαν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι: δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ Βανδίων ἡσσημένων οὐκ ἀποπέμψονται Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν Λιβύῃ γηράσκοντες θνήσκειν: καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῇ λείᾳ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν αὐτήν, ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι. [11] τότε δὴ οὖν αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος πιστὰ ἔδωκεν ὥς, ἣν κατὰ κράτος Βανδίλοι ἡσσηθεῖεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν πᾶσι λαφύροις σταλήσονται, οὕτω τε αὐτοὺς ὅρκους καταλαμβάνει ἢ μὴν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ξυνδιενεγκεῖν σφίσι τὸν πόλεμον. [12] Ἐπειδὴ τε ἅπαντὰ οἱ ὥς ἄριστα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ ὁ περίβολος ἤδη ἀπείργαστο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαν τὸ στρατεύμα ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: [13] 'Παραίνεσιν μὲν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἳ γε οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐναγχος νενικήκατε ὥστε Καρχηδὼν τε ἦδε καὶ Λιβύῃ ξύμπασα κτῆμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστί, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ξυμβουλῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ὑμῖν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὁρμῶσης δεήσει. τῶν γὰρ νενικηκότων ἥκιστα ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυνῶμαι. [14] ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὐκ

ἀπὸ καιροῦ οἶομαι εἶναι, ὥς, ἣν ὁμοίως ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸ πέρας ἔξει τοῖς μὲν Βανδύλοις τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὑμῖν δὲ ἡ μάχη. [15] ὥστε ὑμᾶς ὡς προθυμότατα εἰκὸς ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. ἡδὺς γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπολήγων τε καὶ εἰς καταστροφὴν βαδίζων ὁ πόνος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Βανδύλων ὅμιλον ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδεῖς. [16] οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει οὐδὲ σωματῶν μέτρῳ, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῇ φιλεῖ ὁ πόλεμος διακρίνεσθαι. εἰσὶτω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ πάντων ἰσχυρότατον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρassoμένοις αἰδώς. [17] αἰσχὺνη γὰρ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡσθᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἐλάσσους ὀφθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὀρρωδία τε καὶ κακῶν μνήμη περιλαβοῦσαι ἀναγκάζουσι κακίους γενέσθαι, ἡ μὲν τοῖς φθάσαι δεδιττομένη, ἡ δὲ ἀνασοβοῦσα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσιν ἐλπίδα. [18] τύχη γὰρ εὐθὺς μοχθηρὰ ὀφθεῖσα δουλοῖ τῶν αὐτῇ περιπεπωκότων τὸ φρόνημα. ὥς δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [19] ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν οὐκ εὖ προϊόντων ἐν τῷ μὴ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λαβεῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν, νῦν δέ, ἣν μὴ τῶν ἀγόνων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποβαλοῦμεν. [20] ὅσῳ τοίνυν τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐστερηθῆσαι κουφότερον, τοσούτῳ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὁ φόβος. [21] καίτοι πρότερον τῶν πεζῶν ἡμῖν ἀπολελειμμένων τὴν νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τετύχηκε, νῦν δὲ ἴλεψέ τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καθιστάμενος κρατήσιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [22] πρόχειρον οὖν ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας μὴ τινὶ ὀλιγωρία ἐς ἄλλον αὐτὸ ἀπόθησθε χρόνον, μὴ παραδραμόντα τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀναγκάζησθε. [23] ἀναβαλλομένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς καθεστῶσι χωρεῖν πέφυκεν, ἄλλως τε ἣν καὶ γνώμη τῶν αὐτὸν διαφερόντων μηκύνεται. [24] τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐημερίαν προῖεμένοις τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰεὶ νεμεσᾶν εἴωθεν. εἰ δέ τις ἐννοεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὀρῶντας χερσί, τολμήσειν μὲν παρὰ γνώμην, κινδυνεύσειν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεται. [25] θυμὸς γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμιωτάτων φυόμενος τὴν τε οὖσαν ἰσχὺν καθαιρεῖν εἴωθε καὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ ἐξ χρησθαι: ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι προσήκει.

Gelimer, seeing all the Vandals gathered together, led his army against Carthage. And when they came close to it, they tore down a portion of the aqueduct, — a structure well worth seeing — which conducted water into the city, and after encamping for a time they withdrew, since no one of the enemy came out against them. And going about the country there they kept the roads under guard and thought that in this way they were besieging Carthage; however, they did not gather any booty, nor plunder the land, but took possession of it as their own. And at the same time they kept hoping that there would be some treason on the part of the Carthaginians themselves and such of the Roman soldiers as followed the doctrine of Arius. They also sent to the leaders of the Huns, and promising that they would have many good things from the Vandals, entreated them to become their friends and allies. Now the Huns even before this had not been well-disposed toward the cause of the Romans, since they had not indeed come to them willingly as allies (for they asserted that the Roman general Peter had given an oath and then, disregarding what had been sworn, had thus brought them to Byzantium), and accordingly they received the words of the Vandals, and promised that when they should come to real fighting they would turn with them against the Roman army. But Belisarius had a suspicion of all this (for he had heard it from the deserters), and also the circuit-wall had not as yet been completed entirely, and for these reasons he did not think it possible for his men to go out against the enemy for the present, but he was making his preparations within as well as possible. And one of the Carthaginians, Laurus by name, having been condemned on a charge of treason and proved guilty by his own secretary, was impaled by Belisarius on a hill before the city, and as a result of this the others came to feel a sort of irresistible fear and refrained from attempts at treason. And he courted the Massagetæ with gifts and banquets and every other manner of flattering attention every day, and thus persuaded them to disclose to him what Gelimer had promised them on condition of their turning traitors in the battle. And these barbarians said that they had no enthusiasm for fighting, for they feared that, if the Vandals were vanquished, the Romans would not send them back to their native land, but they would be compelled to grow old and die right there in Libya; and besides they were also concerned, they said, about the booty, lest they be robbed of it. Then indeed Belisarius gave them pledges that, if the Vandals should be conquered decisively, they would be sent without the least delay to their homes with all their booty, and thus he bound them by oaths in very truth to assist the Romans with all zeal in carrying through the war.

And when all things had been prepared by him in the best way possible, and the circuit-wall had been already completed, he called together the whole

army and spoke as follows: "As for exhortation, fellow Romans, I do not know that it is necessary to make any to you, — men who have recently conquered the enemy so completely that Carthage here and the whole of Libya is a possession of your valour, and for this reason you will have no need of admonition that prompts to daring. For the spirits of those who have conquered are by no means wont to be overcome. But I think it not untimely to remind you of this one thing, that, if you on the present occasion but prove equal to your own selves in valour, straightway there will be an end for the Vandals of their hopes, and for you of the battle. Hence there is every reason why you should enter into this engagement with the greatest eagerness. For ever sweet to men is toil coming to an end and reaching its close. Now as for the host of the Vandals, let no one of you consider them. For not by numbers of men nor by measure of body, but by valour of soul, is war wont to be decided. And let the strongest motive which actuates men come to your minds, namely, pride in past achievement. For it is a shame, for those at least who have reason, to fall short of one's own self and to be found inferior to one's own standard of valour. For I know well that terror and the memory of misfortunes have laid hold upon the enemy and compel them to become less brave, for the one fills them with fear because of what has already happened, and the other brushes aside their hope of success. For Fortune, once seen to be bad, straightway enslaves the spirit of those who have fallen in her way. And I shall explain how the struggle involves for you at the present time a greater stake than formerly. For in the former battle the danger was, if things did not go well for us, that we should not take the land of others; but now, if we do not win the struggle, we shall lose the land which is our own. In proportion, then, as it is easier to possess nothing than to be deprived of what one has, just so now our fear touches our most vital concerns more than before. And yet formerly we had the fortune to win the victory with the infantry absent, but now, entering the battle with God propitious and with our whole army, I have hopes of capturing the camp of the enemy, men and all. Thus, then, having the end of the war ready at hand, do not by reason of any negligence put it off to another time, lest you be compelled to seek for the opportune moment after it has run past us. For when the fortune of war is postponed, its nature is not to proceed in the same manner as before, especially if the war be prolonged by the will of those who are carrying it on. For Heaven is accustomed to bring retribution always upon those who abandon the good fortune which is present. But if anyone considers that the enemy, seeing their children and wives and most precious possessions in our hands, will be daring beyond reason and will incur risks beyond the strength which they have, he does not think rightly. For an overpowering passion springing up in the heart in behalf of what is most precious is wont to diminish men's actual strength and does not allow them to make full use of their present opportunities. Considering, then, all these things, it behooves you to go with great contempt against the enemy."

Τοσαῦτα Βελισάριος παρακελεύσάμενος ἰππέᾱ μὲν ἅπαντας, πλήν πεντακοσίων, ἡμέρα τῇ αὐτῇ ἔστειλε, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὃ δὲ βάνδον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰωάννη ἐπιτρέψας τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ ἀκροβολίσασθαι ἐπιστείλας, ἣ καὶ αἰὶρὸς γένηται. [2] αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξὺν τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἰππεύσῃ εἵπετο. [3] τοῖς δὲ Μασσαγέταις, βουλευσαμένῳ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔδοξεν, ὅπως δὴ εὐσυνθετῇ πρὸς τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βελισάριον δόξωσι, μὴτ' μάχης ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἄρξαι μήτε πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐς Βανδύλους ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὅποτερας στρᾷ τιὰς τὰ πράγματα πονηρὰ εἴη, τῆνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς νικῶσι τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσωμένου ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς βαρβάρῳ ἔδεδόκτο τῇδε. [4] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς κατέλαβ' τοὺς Βανδύλους ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους Καρχηὶ δόνος ἀπέχοντι. [5] ἔνθα δὴ μακράν που ἀπ' ἀλλήλῃ λων ἠύλισαντο ἑκάτεροι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πόρρω ἦ τῶν νυκτῶν, τέρας ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγεγόνει τοιόνδε. [6] τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρ' πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμὲ καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλείστον σφίσιν ἔδόκουν. τοῦτο ὃ πολλοῖς μὲν φανερόν γεγονεν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοῦ θεασαμένου κατέπληξεν, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅτι ἐκβ' σεται. [7] ξυνέπεσε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο καὶ αὖθι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ὅτε δὴ αὐτ' καὶ νίκης ζύμβολον ἄτε πείρα εἰδότες ἐπίστευ' εἶναι. τότε δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐγὲ γόνει, κατεπλάγησάν τε καὶ ξὺν δέει πολλ' ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [8] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Γελίμερ Βανδύλους ἐκέλευ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἕξ μέσῳ καταθέσθαι τῷ χαρακώματι, καίπερ ὁχρῷ ῤωμα οὐδὲν ἔχοντι, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξ' τοιάδε: [9] 'Οὐχ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Βανδύλῳ οὐδὲ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μόνον ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ὥστ' κἂν ἐθελοκακήσασι καὶ ταῦτα προεμένοις δυνατῷ εἶναι βιοῦν, οἴκοι τε καθημένοι καὶ τὰ ἡμετέρ' αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν: [10] ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε δῆπουθεν ὥς ἐς τοῦτ' ἡμῖν περιέστηκε τύχης τὰ πράγματα ὥστε, ἢν μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν, τελευτῶντες μὲ κυρίους αὐτοὺς καταλείψομεν παίδων τῶνδε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ χώρας καὶ πάντων χρημάτων περιούσι δὲ ἡμῖν προσέσται τὸ δούλοις τε εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ἅπαντα: [11] ἢν δέ γε περιεσώμεθ' τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ ζῶντες ἐν πασὶν ἀγαθοῖς βιοτεύσομεν καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τῷ βίου καταστροφὴν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναῖξιν τὰ τῇ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολελείψεται, τῷ δὲ τῶν Βανδύλῳ ὀνόματι τὸ περιεῖναι τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασφ' σασθαι. [12] εἰ γάρ τισι καὶ ἄλλοις πώποτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων τετύχηκεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν μάλιστα πάντων γινώσκομεν ὥς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἐλπίδας ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φέροντες ἐς τῇ παράταξιν καθιστάμεθα. [13] οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοίνυν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁ φόβος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ θνήσκειν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' ὥστε μὴ τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσησθαι. τῆς γὰρ νίκης ἀπολελειμμένοις τῷ τεθνάναι ξυνοίσει. [14] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχ' μαλακίζεσθω Βανδύλων μηδεὶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν φρονήματι προῖέσθω τὸ σῶμα, αἰσχύνῃ δὲ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν κακῶν ζηλούτῳ τὴν τοῦ βίῳ καταστροφὴν. [15] τῷ γὰρ τὰ αἰσχροὶ αἰσχυνομένῳ πάρεστιν αἰεὶ τὸ μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν κίνδυνον. μάχῃ δὲ τῆς πρότερον γεγεννημένης μηδεμία ὑμᾶς εἰσιτ' μνήμη. [16] οὐ γὰρ κακία ἡμετέρα ἡσσηθήμεν, ἀλλ' τύχης ἐναντιώμασι προσεπταικότες ἐσφάλημεν ταύτης δὲ τὸ ρεῦμα οὐκ αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα φέρεσθ' πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ὥς τὰ πολλὰ μεταπίπτειν φιλεῖ. [17] τῷ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ τοὺς πολέ

μίους ὑπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν καὶ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· [18] μέτρῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιεῖναι οὐ ἥσσον ἢ δεκαπλασίῳ οἴομεθα. καὶ τί προσθήῃ;” πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα εἶναι τὰ νῦν μάλιστα ἡμῶν ἐς ἀρετὴν ὁρμῶντα, τὴν τε τῶν προγόνων δόξα καὶ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἀρχὴν [19] ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν τῷ ἀνομοίῳ τοῦ συγγενοῦ ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἢ δὲ ὡς ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς ἀποφυγεῖ ἰσχυρίζεται. [20] καὶ σιωπῶ τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων τὰ δάκρυα, οἷς νῦν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, περιαλγήσας μηκύναι τὸν λόγον οὐ δύναμαι. [21] ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μόνον εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὡς ἐπάνοδος ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ φίλτατα ταῦτα οὐκ ἔσται μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσασιν. [22] ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ γίγνεσθε καὶ μὴ καταισχύνητε τὴν Γιζερίχου δόξαν.’ [23] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Γελίμερ Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε Βανδίλοις τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἤκουσι παραΐνεσιν ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. [24] ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ξυναγείρας μικρὸν ἄποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: ‘Βανδίλοις μὲν ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν ὧν δὴ ἀρτίως λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἠκούσατε, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [25] νενικήκατε γὰρ ἔναγχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκτήσασθε τῇ Βανδίλων ἀρχῇ: ὑμᾶς οὖν μείζω ποιεῖσθαι εἰκὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν. [26] οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ὁ κίνδυνος, μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν προθυμίαν ἀνάγκη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἡσσηθέντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλησαν: [27] οἷς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἡ μάχη, πάντως ὁ βίος πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ρυθμίζεται πέρας. ἄλλως τε, ἦν μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι γένησθε, βεβαιούτε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῆς ἔργον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου Γῶδα γεγονέναι καθαίρεσιν: μαλακισθέντες δὲ νῦν καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις εὐδοξίας ὡς οὐδὲν προσηκούσης στερήσεσθε. [28] καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως ὑμᾶς γε εἰκὸς τῶν λοιπῶν Βανδίλων ἐν ταύτῃ πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μάχῃ. [29] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σφαλέντας ἡ προλαβοῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήσσει, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπταικότες μετ’ ἀκραιφνοῦς τοῦ θάρσους ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται. [30] κακὲν δὲ οἶμαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται, ὡς ἦν τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν, τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νίκης ὑμεῖς ἀναδήσεσθε μέρος, σωτηρὰς τε ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες τοῦ τῶν Βανδίλων καλέσουσιν ἔθνους. [31] οἱ γὰρ σὺν τοῖς πρότερον ἡτυχηκόσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντες εἰκότως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀμείνω σφετερίζονται τύχην. [32] ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς φημι χρῆναι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπολοφυρομένους κελεύειν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλεῖν, καὶ θυμῷ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι τοῖς δὲ ὁμοφύλοις ἐς ταύτην ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην.’

II

After such words of exhortation, Belisarius sent out all the horsemen on the same day, except five hundred, and also the guardsmen and the standard, which the Romans call "bandum," entrusting them to John the Armenian, and directing him to skirmish only, if opportunity should arise. And he himself on the following day followed with the infantry forces and the five hundred horsemen. And the Massagetae, deliberating among themselves, decided, in order to seem in friendly agreement with both Gelimer and Belisarius, neither to begin fighting for the Romans nor to go over to the Vandals before the encounter, but whenever the situation of one or the other army should be bad, then to join the victors in their pursuit of the vanquished. Thus, then, had this matter been decided upon by the barbarians. And the Roman army came upon the Vandals encamped in Tricamarum, one hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. So they both bivouacked there at a considerable distance from one another. And when it was well on in the night, a prodigy came to pass in the Roman camp as follows. The tips of their spears were lighted with a bright fire and the points of them seemed to be burning most vigorously. This was not seen by many, but it filled with consternation the few who did see it, not knowing how it would come out. And this happened to the Romans in Italy again at a much later time. And at that time, since they knew by experience, they believed it to be a sign of victory. But now, as I have said, since this was the first time it had happened, they were filled with consternation and passed the night in great fear.

And on the following day Gelimer commanded the Vandals to place the women and children and all their possessions in the middle of the stockade, although it had not the character of a fort, and calling all together, he spoke as follows: "It is not to gain glory, or to retrieve the loss of empire alone, O fellow Vandals, that we are about to fight, so that even if we wilfully played the coward and sacrificed these our belongings we might possibly live, sitting at home and keeping our own possessions; but you see, surely, that our fortunes have come round to such a pass that, if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy, we shall, if we perish, leave them as masters of these our children and our wives and our land and all our possessions, while if we survive, there will be added our own enslavement and to behold all these enslaved; but if, indeed, we overcome our foes in the war, we shall, if we live, pass our lives among all good things, or, after the glorious ending of our lives, there will be left to our wives and children the blessings of prosperity, while the name of the Vandals will survive and their empire be preserved. For if it has ever happened to any men to be engaged in a struggle for their all, we now more than all others realize that we are entering the battle-line with our hopes for all we have resting wholly upon ourselves. Not for our bodies, then,

is our fear, nor in death is our danger, but in being defeated by the enemy. For if we lose the victory, death will be to our advantage. Since, therefore, the case stands so, let no one of the Vandals weaken, but let him proudly expose his body, and from shame at the evils that follow defeat let him court the end of life. For when a man is ashamed of that which is shameful, there is always present with him a dauntless courage in the face of danger. And let no recollection of the earlier battle come into your minds. For it was not by cowardice on our part that we were defeated, but we tripped upon obstacles interposed by fortune and were overthrown. Now it is not the way of the tide of fortune to flow always in the same direction, but every day, as a rule, it is wont to change about. In manliness it is our boast that we surpass the enemy, and that in numbers we are much superior; for we believe that we surpass them no less than tenfold. And why shall I add that many and great are the incentives which, now especially, urge us on to valour, naming the glory of our ancestors and the empire which has been handed down to us by them? For in our case that glory is obscured by our unlikeness to our kindred, while the empire is bent upon fleeing from us as unworthy. And I pass over in silence the wails of these poor women and the tears of our children, by which, as you see, I am now so deeply moved that I am unable to prolong my discourse. But having said this one thing, I shall stop, — that there will be for us no returning to these most precious possessions if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy. Remembering these things, shew yourselves brave men and do not bring shame upon the fame of Gizeric.”

After speaking such words, Gelimer commanded his brother Tzazon to deliver an exhortation separately to the Vandals who had come with him from Sardinia. And he gathered them together a little apart from the camp and spoke as follows: “For all the Vandals, fellow soldiers, the struggle is in behalf of those things which you have just heard the king recount, but for you, in addition to all the other considerations, it so happens that you are vying with yourselves. For you have recently been victorious in a struggle for the maintenance of our rule, and you have recovered the island for the empire of the Vandals; there is every reason, therefore, for you to make still greater display of your valour. For those whose hazard involves the greatest things must needs display the greatest zeal for warfare also. Indeed, when men who struggle for the maintenance of their rule are defeated, should it so happen, they have not failed in the most vital part; but when men are engaged in battle for their all, surely their very lives are influenced by the outcome of the struggle. And for the rest, if you shew yourselves brave men at the present time, you will thereby prove with certainty that the destruction of the tyrant Godas was an achievement of valour on your part; but if you weaken now, you will be deprived of even the renown of those deeds, as of something which does not belong to you at all. And yet, even apart from this, it is reasonable to think that you will have an advantage over the rest of the

Vandals in this battle. For those who have failed are dismayed by their previous fortune, while those who have encountered no reverse enter the struggle with their courage unimpaired. And this too, I think, will not be spoken out of season, that if we conquer the enemy, it will be you who will win the credit for the greatest part of the victory, and all will call you saviours of the nation of the Vandals. For men who achieve renown in company with those who have previously met with misfortune naturally claim the better fortune as their own. Considering all these things, therefore, I say that you should bid the women and children who are lamenting their fate to take courage even now, should summon God to fight with us, should go with enthusiasm against the enemy, and lead the way for our compatriots into this battle.”

Τοσαῦτα Γελίμερ τε καὶ Τζάζων παραινέσαντες ἐξῆγον τοὺς Βανδίλους, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν, οὐ προσδεχομένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ’ ἄριστον σφίσι παρασκευαζόντων, παρήσαν καὶ παρὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο. [2] ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ ταύτη ῥέων ἀένναος μὲν, οὕτω δὲ τὸ ῥεῦμα βραχὺς ὥστε οὐδὲ ὀνόματος ἰδίου πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεταλαγχάνει, ἀλλ’ ἐν ῥύακος μοίρᾳ ὠνόμασαι. [3] τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ὄχθην ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρασκευασάμενοι ἦκον καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. [4] κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν Μαρτίνος τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Κυπριανὸς τε καὶ Αλθίας καὶ Μάρκελλος εἶχον καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸν Πάππος τε καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Αἰγὰν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχον. [5] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον Ἰωάννης ἐτάσσετο, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ δορυφόρους Βελισαρίου καὶ σημεῖον τὸ στρατηγικὸν ἐπαγόμενος. [6] οὗ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριος εἰς καιρὸν ζὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκετο, τοὺς πεζοὺς ὀπισθεν βάδην προσιόντας ἀπολιπών [7] οἱ γὰρ Οὐννοὶ ἅπαντες ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐτάξαντο χώρα εἰθισμένον μὲν σφίσι καὶ πρότερον ἦκιστα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐν νῷ ἃ προεδέλχεται ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοι ζὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τάσσεσθαι. Ῥωμαίοις μὲ οὖν τὰ τῆς τάξεως ὧδέ πη εἶχε. [8] Βανδίλων δ’ κέρας μὲν ἑκάτερον οἱ χιλιάρχοι εἶχον, ἕκαστός τ’ ἠγεῖτο τοῦ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν λόχου, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τ’ μέσον Τζάζων ἦν ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, ὀπισθεν δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐτετάχατο. [9] αὐτὸς μέντοι, “Γελίμερ πανταχόσε περιῶν ἐνεκελεύετό τε καὶ ἐξ’ εὐτολμίαν ἐνήγε. προεῖρητο δὲ Βανδίλοις ἅπας” μῆτε δορατῖ μῆτε ἄλλῳ ὄπῳ ὄργανῳ ἐς ζυμὴν βολὴν τήνδε, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ξίφεσι, χρῆσθαι. [10] Χρόνου δὲ τριβέντος συχνοῦ καὶ μάχης οὐδενῶς ἄρχοντος Ἰωάννης τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ὀλίγοι ἀπολέξας Βελισαρίου γνώμῃ τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ ἐς τοὺς μέσους ἐσέβαλεν, ἔνθα δὴ “Τζάζων ὠθισμῷ χρησάμενος ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν στρᾶ τόπεδον ἦκον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι διώκοντες ἄχρι.” τὸν ποταμὸν ἦλθον, οὐ μέντοι διέβησαν. [12] αὐτῷ δὲ Ἰωάννης πλείους τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τζάζωνα ἐσεπήδησεν” καὶ αὐθις ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαῖόν στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησε. [13] τὸ δὲ δὴ τρίτον ζῶν πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς Βελισαρίου τε δορυφόροις καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τὸ

στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον λαβών· τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ζὺν βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῃ πολλῇ. [14] τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀνδρείως τε αὐτοῦ ὑφισταμένων καὶ μόνοις χρωμένων τοῖς ξίφεσι γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ ἢ μάχη, πίπτουσι δ' Βανδύλων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Τζάζων αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός. [15] τότε δὴ ἅπαν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκινήθη καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν, ἣ τ' τροπὴ ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει· τοὺς γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντ' ἕκαστοι. [16] ἃ δὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ Μασσαγῆται κατὰ τὰ σφίσι συγκείμενα ζὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὴν διώξιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλὸ μέντοι ἢ διώξις ἦδε ἐγεγόνει. [17] οἱ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον κατὰ τάχος εἰσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἐν τῷ χαρακώματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμάχεσθαι οἰοί τε εἶναι, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὅσοι ἐχρυσοφόρου ἀπέδυσαν καὶ ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν [18] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦσους ἢ πεντήκοντα, Βανδύλων δὲ ὀκτακόσι' ἡμίση. [19] Βελισάριος δέ, τῶν πεζῶν οἱ ἀφικομένων ἀμφ' δεῖλιν ὀψίαν, ἄρας ὥς εἶχε τάχους παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἦι ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων στρατόπεδον. [20] Γελίμερ δὲ γνοὺς Βελισάριον ζὺν τε τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἰέναι, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε ἐντειλάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναθρόσκει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νουμίδας φέρουσιν ἔφευγε. [21] καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ τε συγγενεῖς καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὀλίγοι τινὲς εἶποντο καταπεπληγμένοι τε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιγῇ ἔχοντες. [22] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἔλαθε Βανδύλους ἀποδρὰς Γελίμερ, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τε πεφευγέναι ἤσθοντο ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤδη καθεωρῶντο, τότε δὴ οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἐθορύβουν καὶ τὰ παῖδιά ἀνέκραγε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκώκουν. [23] καὶ οὔτε χρημάτων παρόντων μετεποιοῦντο οὔτε τῶν φιλότατων ὀδυρομένων σφίσιν ἔμελεν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἔφευγεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ὅπῃ ἐδύνατο. [24] ἐπελθόντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τό τε στρατόπεδον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον αὐτοῖς χρήμασιν αἰροῦσι καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἄνδρας μὲν ὅσοις ἐντύχοιεν ἔκτεινον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐποιοῦντο ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. [25] χρήματα δὲ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εὔρον ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ἐν γε χωρίῳ ἐνὶ τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [26] οἱ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ληισάμενοι συχνὰ χρήματα ἐς Λιβύην μετήνεγκαν καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῆς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οὔσης καρποῖς τε τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐς ἄγαν εὐθινοῦσης, τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ζυνέβη, αἱ γε ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνῃ γινομένων ἀγαθῶν ἡγείροντο, οὐκ ἐς ἑτέραν τινα δαπανᾶσθαι χώραν ἐμπορίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἄει οἱ τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοι προσεποιοῦντο ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη, ἐς οἷς δὴ Λιβύης ὁ Βανδίλοι ἦρξαν. [27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς πάμπολ' ἔτη ὁ πλοῦτος χωρήσας ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανήκεν αὐθις. [28] ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη καὶ διώξις ἦδε καὶ τοῦ Βανδύλου στρατοπέδου ἡ ἄλωσις τρισὶ μηνσὶ ὕστερ' ἔγενονεν ἢ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Καρχηδόν' ἦλθε, μεσοῦντος μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μηνός, ὃ Δεκέμβριον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.

III

After both Gelimer and Tzazon had spoken such exhortations, they led out the Vandals, and at about the time of lunch, when the Romans were not expecting them, but were preparing their meal, they were at hand and arrayed themselves for battle along the bank of the stream. Now the stream at that place is an ever-flowing one, to be sure, but its volume is so small that it is not even given a special name by the inhabitants of the place, but it is designated simply as a brook. So the Romans came to the other bank of this river, after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances, and arrayed themselves as follows. The left wing was held by Martinus and Valerian, John, Cyprian, Althias, and Marcellus, and as many others as were commanders of the *foederati*; and the right was held by Pappas, Barbatus, and Aïgan, and the others who commanded the forces of cavalry. And in the centre John took his position, leading the guards and spearmen of Belisarius and carrying the general's standard. And Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen, leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could avoid so doing, and at that time especially, since they had in mind the purpose which has previously been explained, it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of the army. Such, then, was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals, either wing was held by the chiliarchs, and each one led the division under him, while in the centre was Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But Gelimer himself was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had been previously given to all the Vandals to use neither spear nor any other weapon in this engagement except their swords.

After a considerable time had passed and no one began the battle, John chose out a few of those under him by the advice of Belisarius and crossing the river made an attack on the centre, where Tzazon crowded them back and gave chase. And the Romans in flight came into their own camp, while the Vandals in pursuit came as far as the stream, but did not cross it. And once more John, leading out more of the guardsmen of Belisarius, made a dash against the forces of Tzazon, and again being repulsed from there, withdrew to the Roman camp. And a third time with almost all the guards and spearmen of Belisarius he took the general's standard and made his attack with much shouting and a great noise. But since the barbarians manfully withstood them and used only their swords, the battle became fierce, and many of the noblest of the Vandals fell, and among them Tzazon himself, the brother of Gelimer. Then at last the whole Roman army was set in motion, and crossing the river

they advanced upon the enemy, and the rout, beginning at the centre, became complete; for each of the Roman divisions turned to flight those before them with no trouble. And the Massagetae, seeing this, according to their agreement among themselves joined the Roman army in making the pursuit, but this pursuit was not continued for a great distance. For the Vandals entered their own camp quickly and remained quiet, while the Romans, thinking that they would not be able to fight it out with them inside the stockade, stripped such of the corpses as had gold upon them and retired to their own camp. And there perished in this battle, of the Romans less than fifty, but of the Vandals about eight hundred.

But Belisarius, when the infantry came up in the late afternoon, moved as quickly as he could with the whole army and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer, realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his army was coming against him straightway, without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence what was taking place. And for some time it escaped the notice of the Vandals that Gelimer had run away, but when they all perceived that he had fled, and the enemy were already plainly seen, then indeed the men began to shout and the children cried out and the women wailed. And they neither took with them the money they had nor did they heed the laments of those dearest to them, but every man fled in complete disorder just as he could. And the Romans, coming up, captured the camp, money and all, with not a man in it; and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night, killing all the men upon whom they happened, and making slaves of the women and children. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been found, at least in one place. For the Vandals had plundered the Roman domain for a long time and had transferred great amounts of money to Libya, and since their land was an especially good one, nourishing abundantly with the most useful crops, it came about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply, but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety-five years during which the Vandals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth, amounting to an extraordinary sum, returned once more on that day into the hands of the Romans. So this battle and the pursuit and the capture of the Vandals' camp happened three months after the Roman army came to Carthage, at about the middle of the last month, which the Romans call "December." [533 A.D.]

Τότε δὲ κατιδὼν Βελισάριος τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρῶ τευμα πλημμελῶς τε καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ ἄκοσμητῇ φερόμενον ἥσχαλλε, δειμαίνων τὴν νύκτα ὅλην μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι, ξυμφορνήσαντές τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνιστάμενοι, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτοῦς δράσωσιν [2] ὅπερ εἰ γενέσθαι τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ τηνικαυτὶ ξυνέπεσεν, οἶμαι ἂν

Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα διαφυγόντ' ταύτης δὴ τῆς λείας ἀπόνασθαι. [3] οἱ γὰρ στρά-
τιῶται πένητες ἄνθρωποι κομιδῇ ὄντες καὶ χρηΐ μάτων μὲν ἐς ἄγαν μεγάλων,
σωμάτων δὲ ὠραίῳ τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς εὐπρεπῶν κύριοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
γεγεννημένοι κατέχρην τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο οὐδὲ κόρον τινὰ τῶν
σφίσι παρόντων εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμέθυον, καταβεβρεγμένοι τοῖς
ὑπάρχουσιν εὐτυχήμασιν, ὥστε αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἅπαντα ἄγων ἐς Καρχηδόνα
ἀναστρέφειν ἐβούλοντο. [4] καὶ περιήρχοντο οὐ κατὰ συμμορίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
ἓνα ἢ δύο, ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐλπίς ἄγοι, ἅπαντα κύκλῳ διερευνώμενοι ἐν τε
νάπαις καὶ δυσχωρίαις καὶ εἴ που σπήλαιον παρατύχοι ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἐς
κίνδυνον ἢ ἐνέδραν ἄγον. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολέμιων φόβος οὐδὲ ἡ
Βελισαρίου αἰδῶς ἐσῆι οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, ὅτι μὴ ἡ τῶν λαφύρων
ἐπιθυμία, ταύτης τε ὑπερβιαζομένης ἐς ὀλιγορίαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
ἐτράποντο. [6] ἃ δὴ ἅπαντα ἐν νῶ ποιοῦμενος Βελισάριος ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ἢ τὸ
παρὸν θέσθαι. [7] ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀγχοῦ εἰστήκει, τὴν
τε οὐκέτι οὔσαν εὐκοσμίαν ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ πολλὰ πᾶσι στρατιώταις τε
ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄρχουσι λοιδορούμενος. [8] τότε δὴ ὅσοις τετύχηκε πλησίον που
εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα σφίσι
χρήματά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα ξὺν τοῖς ὁμοσκήνοισι τε καὶ ὁμοτραπέζοις ἐς
Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἰόντες τῶν σφίσι
παραγγελλομένων κατήκουον. [9] Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννην μὲν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ξὺν
διακοσίοις ἐκέλευε Γελίμερι ἔπεσθαι, καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήτε ἡμέραν ἀνιέντας
διώκειν, ἕως αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν λάβοιεν. [10] ἐς δὲ Καρχηδόνα τοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐπέστελλε, Βανδίλοις, ὅσοι ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία ἐν ἱεροῖς
ικέται ἐκάθηντο, πιστὰ διδοῦσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσιν,
ἀφελομένοις ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγοῦσιν ἔχειν, [11] ἄχρι αὐτὸς ἔλθοι. ξὺν δὲ
τοῖς λειπομένοις πανταχόσε περιὼν τοὺς τε στρατιώτας σπουδῇ ἡγείρει καὶ
Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐν ποσὶ πίστεις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἐδίδου. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν
Βανδύλων οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτην λαβεῖν. [12] ὧν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα
ἀφαιρούμενος, ξὺν στρατιώταις φυλάσσουσιν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔστελλεν, οὐ
διδούς καιρὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυνίστασθαι. [13] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἅπαντά οἱ ὡς
ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τάχος
ἦει. [14] ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐς πέντε ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας τὴν διώξιν ποιησάμενος
οὐ πόρρῳ ἀπὸ Γελίμερος ἤδη ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλὰ οἱ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐμελλεν ἐς χεῖρας
ιέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδει Γελίμερα Ἰωάννη ἀλῶναι, τύχης ἐναντίωμα ξυνηνέχθη
τοιόνδε. [15] ἐν τοῖς ξὺν Ἰωάννῃ διώκουσιν Οὐλίारιν τὸν Βελισαρίου
δορυφόρον τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [16] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ πρὸς
ἀλκὴν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς, οὐ λίαν δὲ κατεσπουδασμένος,
ἀλλ' οἶνω τε καὶ γελοίοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χαίρων. [17] οὗτος Οὐλίारιν ἡμέρα τῆς
διώξεως ἕκτη οἶνωμένος ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου
καθήμενον εἶδε, καὶ τὸ τόξον κατὰ τάχος ἐντείνας κατὰ τοῦ ὀρνίθου ἠφίει τὸ
βέλος. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὀρνίθου ἀποτυγχάνει, Ἰωάννην δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐς τὸν
αὐχένα οὗτι ἐκουσίως βάλλει. [19] ὁ δὲ καιρίαν τυπεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων χρόνον
ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἠφανίσθη, πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον βασιλεῖ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ
Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολιπών. [20]

ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὖ ἦκων, πρᾶόν τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι παρείχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιεικέστατον οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν τὴν πεπωμένην οὕτως ἀνέπλησεν. [21] Οὐλίαρις δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ἐς κώμην τινὰ πλησίον που οὐσαν καταφυγὼν ἐν τῷ κατὰ ταύτην ἱερῷ ἰκέτης ἐκάθητο. [22] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Γελίμερα διώκειν οὐκέτι ὥρμηντο, ἀλλ' Ἰωάννην μὲν ἕως περιῆν ἐθεράπευον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτησε, τὰ τε νομιζόμενα ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁσίαν ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [23] ὅς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἤκουσεν, ἐς τε τὸν Ἰωάννου τάφον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖνου πάθος ἀπέκλαιεν. [24] ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγῆσας τῇ πάσῃ συμφορᾷ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ τὸν Ἰωάννου τάφον ἐτίμησε. [25] δεινὸν μέντοι Οὐλίαριν οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατιῶται Ἰωάννην σφίσιν ἐπισκῆψαι ὅρκους ἔφασκον δεινοτάτοις μηδεμίαν ἐς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τίσιν ἅτε οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τὸ μίasma ἐργασάμενον. [26] Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν Γελίμερ διαφεύγει τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐδίωκεν, ἐς πόλιν τε Νουμιδῶν ἐχυράν, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ κειμένην, ἀφικόμενος, δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνας διέχουσας, ἣν δὴ Ἴππονερέγιον καλοῦσιν, ἔμαθε Γελίμερα ἐς Παπούαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναβάντα οὐκέτι ἀλώσιμον Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι. [27] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Νουμιδίας ἐσχάτοις ἀπότομόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον· πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν, κατῴκηται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἱ τῷ Γελίμερι φίλοι τε καὶ ἐπικούροι ἦσαν, καὶ πόλις ἀρχαία Μηδεὸς ὄνομα παρὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. [28] ἐνταῦθα Γελίμερ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἡσύχαζε. Βελισάριος δὲ· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος ὥρα οἶός τε ἦν, ἔτι τέ οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠωρημένων Καρχηδόνας ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἀξυμφορον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι στρατιώτας τε ἀπολεξάμενος καὶ ἄρχοντα Φάραν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους προσεδρεῖα κατέστησεν. [29] ἦν δὲ ὁ Φάρας οὗτος δραστήριός τε καὶ λίαν κατεσπουδασμένος καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ ἦκων, καίπερ Ἑρουλος ὢν γένος. [30] ἄνδρα δὲ Ἑρουλον μὴ ἐς ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ μέθην ἀνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι, χαλεπὸν τε καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [31] Φάρας δὲ οὐ μόνος τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἀντεῖχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑρουλῶν ὅσοι αὐτῷ εἶποντο. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Φάραν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα Βελισάριος καθῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐκέλευε καὶ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ ἔχειν, ὥς μήτε τὸ ὄρος ἀπολιπεῖν Γελίμερι δυνατὰ εἴη μήτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [32] καὶ Φάρας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Βελισάριος δὲ Βανδύλους ὅσοι ἐς Ἴππονερέγιον πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο, πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἀνέστησέ τε πιστὰ λαβόντας καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ξὺν φυλακῇ ἐπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τι τοιόνδε ξυμπεσεῖν ἔτυχεν. [33] Ἐν τῇ Γελίμερος οἰκίᾳ γραμματεὺς ἦν τις Βονιφάτιος Λίβυς, ἐκ Βυζακίου ὀρμώμενος, πιστὸς τῷ Γελίμερι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [34] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Βονιφάτιον Γελίμερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς ναὺν ἐμβιβάσας ἄριστα πλέουσας, ἐν ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνθέμενος ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἴππονερέγιου λιμένα ὀρμίζεσθαι, καὶ ἦν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν οὐκ εὖ καθιστάμενα ἴδοι, τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Ἰσπανίαν, παρὰ Θεοδῖν τε ἀφικέσθαι τὸν τῶν Οὐμισιγόθων ἡγούμενον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς

διασώζεσθαι ἐκαπαδόκει, πονηρᾷς γινομένης Βανδίλοις τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης. [35] Βονιφάτιος δέ, ἕως μὲν τὰ Βανδίων ἐλπίδα εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ἢ ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ μάχῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγεγόνει, ἄρας τὰ ἰστία ἔπλει καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Γελίμερ. [36] ἀλλὰ πνεύματος αὐτὸν ἐναντίωμα εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ἰππονερεγίου λιμένα οὔτι ἐκούσιον αὐθις ἦνεγκεν. ὥς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγχοῦ ἤδη που ἠκηκόει εἶναι, τοὺς ναύτας πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος ἐλπίζει εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡπειρον ἢ νῆσον βιασαμένους ἰέναι. [37] οἱ δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο χειμῶνος σφίσι χαλεποῦ λίαν ἐπιπεσόντος καὶ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ρόθιον ἄτε ἐν Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐγείροντος, τότε δὴ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Βονιφάτιος ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθον ὥς ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τὰ χρήματα Ῥωμαίοις διδόναι ἐθέλων τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐφῆ ἀνάγεσθαι. [38] μόλις μέντοι τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω γενόμενοι ξὺν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ τὴν ναῦν ἀνεκώχευον. [39] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο Βελισάριος εἰς τὸ Ἰππονερέγιον, πέμπει τινὰς παρ' αὐτὸν Βονιφάτιος. οὓς δὴ ἐν ἱερῷ καθῆσθαι ἐκέλευεν, ἐροῦντας μὲν ὥς πρὸς Βονιφατίου σταλεῖν τοῦ τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα ἔχοντος, ἀποκρυβομένους δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ εἴη, πρὶν γε δὴ τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιεν ὥς τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν ἀπαθής, ἔχων ὅσα αὐτοῦ οἰκεῖα εἴη. [40] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον, Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ καὶ ὁμεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [41] στείλας τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς τὸν τε Γελίμερος πλοῦτον ἔλαβε καὶ Βονιφάτιον ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε, πάμπολύ τι χρήμα τοῦ Γελίμερος συλήσαντα πλούτου.

IV

Then Belisarius, seeing the Roman army rushing about in confusion and great disorder, was disturbed, being fearful throughout the whole night lest the enemy, uniting by mutual agreement against him, should do him irreparable harm. And if this thing had happened at that time in any way at all, I believe that, not one of the Romans would have escaped and enjoyed this booty. For the soldiers, being extremely poor men, upon becoming all of a sudden masters of very great wealth and of women both young and extremely comely, were no longer able to restrain their minds or to find any satiety in the things they had, but were so intoxicated, drenched as they were by their present good fortunes, that each one wished to take everything with him back to Carthage. And they were going about, not in companies but alone or by twos, wherever hope led them, searching out everything roundabout among the valleys and the rough country and wherever there chanced to be a cave or anything such as might bring them into danger or ambush. For neither did fear of the enemy nor their respect for Belisarius occur to them, nor indeed anything else at all except the desire for spoils, and being overmastered by this they came to think lightly of everything else. And Belisarius, taking note of all this, was at a loss as to how he should handle the situation. But at daybreak he took his stand upon a certain hill near the road, appealing to the discipline which no longer existed and heaping reproaches upon all, soldiers and officers alike. Then indeed, those who chanced to be near, and especially those who were of the household of Belisarius, sent the money and slaves which they had to Carthage with their tentmates and messmates, and themselves came up beside the general and gave heed to the orders given them.

And he commanded John, the Armenian, with two hundred men to follow Gelimer, and without slackening their speed either night or day to pursue him, until they should take him living or dead. And he sent word to his associates in Carthage to lead into the city all the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in sanctuaries in the places about the city, giving them pledges and taking away their weapons, that they might not begin an uprising, and to keep them there until he himself should come. And with those who were left he went about everywhere and gathered the soldiers hastily, and to all the Vandals he came upon he gave pledges for their safety. For it was no longer possible to catch anyone of the Vandals except as a suppliant in the sanctuaries. And from these he took away their weapons and sent them, with soldiers to guard them, to Carthage, not giving them time to unite against the Romans. And when everything was as well settled as possible, he himself with the greater part of the army moved against Gelimer with all speed. But John, after continuing the pursuit five days and nights, had already come not far from Gelimer, and in fact he was about to engage with him on the following day. But since it was

not fated that Gelimer should be captured by John, the following obstacle was contrived by fortune. Among those pursuing with John it happened that there was Uliaris, the aide of Belisarius. Now this man was a passionate fellow and well favoured in strength of heart and body, but not a very serious man, but one who generally took delight in wine and buffoonery. This Uliaris on the sixth day of the pursuit, being drunk, saw a bird sitting in a tree at about sunrise, and he quickly stretched his bow and despatched a missile at the bird. And he missed the bird, but John, who was behind it, he hit in the neck by no will of his own. And since the wound was mortal, John passed away a short time afterwards, leaving great sorrow at his loss to the Emperor Justinian and Belisarius, the general, and to all the Romans and Carthaginians. For in manliness and every sort of virtue he was well endowed, and he shewed himself, to those who associated with him, gentle and equitable to a degree quite unsurpassed. Thus, then, John fulfilled his destiny. As for Uliaris, when he came to himself, he fled to a certain village which was near by and sat as a suppliant in the sanctuary there. And the soldiers no longer pressed the pursuit of Gelimer, but they cared for John as long as he survived, and when he had died they carried out all the customary rites in his burial, and reporting the whole matter to Belisarius they remained where they were. And as soon as he heard of it, he came to John's burial, and bewailed his fate. And after weeping over him and grieving bitterly at the whole occurrence, he honoured the tomb of John with many gifts and especially by providing for it a regular income. However, he did nothing severe to Uliaris, since the soldiers said that John had enjoined upon them by the most dread oaths that no vengeance should come to him, since he had not performed the unholy deed with deliberate intent.

Thus, then, Gelimer escaped falling into the hands of the enemy on that day. And from that time on Belisarius pursued him, but upon reaching a strong city of Numidia situated on the sea, ten days distant from Carthage, which they call Hippo Regius, he learned that Gelimer had ascended the mountain Papua and could no longer be captured by the Romans. Now this mountain is situated at the extremity of Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer, and an ancient city named Medeus lies on the outskirts of the mountain. There Gelimer rested with his followers. But as for Belisarius, he was not able to make any attempt at all on the mountain, much less in the winter season, and since his affairs were still in an uncertain state, he did not think it advisable to be away from Carthage; and so he chose out soldiers, with Pharas as their leader, and set them to maintain the siege of the mountain. Now this Pharas was energetic and thoroughly serious and upright in every way, although he was an Erulian by birth. And for an Erulian not to give himself over to treachery and drunkenness, but to strive after uprightness, is

no easy matter and merits abundant praise. But not only was it Pharas who maintained orderly conduct, but also all the Erulians who followed him. This Pharas, then, Belisarius commanded to establish himself at the foot of the mountain during the winter season and to keep close guard, so that it would neither be possible for Gelimer to leave the mountain nor for any supplies to be brought in to him. And Pharas acted accordingly. Then Belisarius turned to the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries in Hippo Regius, — and there were many of them and of the nobility — and he caused them all to accept pledges and arise, and then he sent them to Carthage with a guard. And there it came about that the following event happened to him.

In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface, a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceedingly faithful to Gelimer. At the beginning of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and placing all the royal treasure in it commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius, and if he should see that the situation was not favourable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adverse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Hippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a very severe storm had fallen upon them and the waves of the sea were rising to a great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan sea, and then it occurred to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got outside the harbour, they encountered great danger in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon giving Gelimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ Καρχηδόνα ἀνέστρεφε, Βανδύλους τε ἅπαντας ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμψειε, καὶ στράτευμα

ἔστελλεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνασώσονται Ῥωμαίοις ἅπαντα ὧν Βανδίλοι ἦρχον. [2] Κύριλλον μὲν οὖν ξὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς Σαρδῶ ἐπεμψε, τὴν Τζάζωνος κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ἐβούλοντο, δεδιότες τε τοὺς Βανδίλους καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἀληθῆ εἶναι ὅσα σφίσι ξυνενεχθῆναι ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ ἐλέγετο. [3] τοῦτῳ δὲ τῷ Κυρίλλῳ ἐπήγγελλε μοῖραν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Κουρσικὴν πέμπαντα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν νῆσον ἀνακτήσασθαι, Βανδίων κατήκοον τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν, ἣ Κύρνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλεῖτο, οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐστίν. [4] ὁ δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀφικόμενος τὴν τε Τζάζωνος κεφαλὴν τοῖς ταύτῃ ὤκημένοις ἐπέδειξε καὶ ἄμφω τὰ νήσω τῇ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἀνεσώσατο. [5] ἐς δὲ Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Μαυριτανίῳ Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν λόχῳ πεζικῷ οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ἐπεμψεν, ἣ ὁδῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνοιο διέχει, ἐς Γάδειρά τε καὶ τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἰόντι· κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα. [6] Ἰωάννην δὲ ἄλλον, τῶν οἰκείων ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα, ἐς τὸν ἐν Γαδείροις πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν ἐπεμψε, τὸ ἐκείνῃ φρούριον, ὃ Σέπτον καλοῦσι, καθέζοντα. [7] ἐς δὲ τὰς νήσους αἵπερ ἀγχοῦ εἰσι τῆς ὠκεανοῦ ἐσβολῆς, Ἐβουσά τε καὶ Μαϊορίκα καὶ Μινορίκα ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι, Ἀπολλινάριον ἔστειλεν, ὃς ἐξ Ἰταλίας μὲν ὥρμητο, μεράκιον δὲ ὧν ἔτι ἐς Λιβύην ἀφῖκτο. [8] καὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι πρὸς Ἰλδερίχου τότε Βανδίων ἡγουμένου δεδορημένος, ἐπεὶ παρελέλυτο τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἰλδερίχος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, εἶχeto, ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ξὺν Λίβυσι τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ τὰ Ἰλδερίχου ἔπρασσον, ἰκετεύσων ἦλθε. [9] στρατεύσας τε ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδίλους, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου Βελισάριος τὰς νήσους οἱ τάσδε ἐπέτρεψε. [10] μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς Τρίπολιν Πουδεντίῳ τε καὶ Ταττιμουθὶ πρὸς τῷ ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίῳ πιεζομένοις στράτευμα πέμψας τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ταύτῃ ἐπέρρωσε. [11] Στείλας δὲ καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν τινάς, ἐφ' ᾧ τ' ἐν Λιβυαίᾳ φρούριον ἄτε τῇ Βανδίων ἀρχῇ προσήκον ἐξουσιν, ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθὲνδε, Γότθῳ ἥκιστα ἀξιούντων Σικελίας τινὰ συγχωρεῖν μὴ ῥαν, ὥς οὐδὲν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο Βανδίλοι προσήκον. [12] ὁ δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ταύτῃ ἦσαν ἔγραψε τάδε: 'Λιβύβαιο τὸ Βανδίων φρούριον τῶν βασιλέως δούλῳ ἀποστερεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντες οὐδὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα, καὶ ἄρχοντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ οὗτι ἐκόντι καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένῳ τῶν πρᾶσς' μένων ἐκπολεμῶσαι βούλεσθε βασιλέα τὸν μεγάλῳ οὗ τὴν εὐνοίαν πόνῳ πολλῷ κτησάμενος ἔχῃ. [13] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπῳ ποιεῖν δόξαите, εἰ Γελίμερα μὲν ἐναγχος ἔχει ξυνεχωρεῖτε τὸ φρούριον, βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τῷ Γελίμερος κύριον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τοῦ δούλῳ κτήματα ἔγνωτε; [14] μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὧ βέλτιστοι. ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὥς φιλία μὲν αἰτίας πολλὰς καλῶ πτεῖν πέφυκεν, ἔχθρα δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σμικροτάτῳ ἀδικημάτων ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ διερευνᾶται μὲ ἅπαντα ἄνωθεν, οὐ περιορᾷ δὲ πλουτοῦντας τοῖ γε οὐδὲν προσήκουσι τοὺς πολεμίους. [15] εἴτ' μάχεται ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ἠδικήσθαι φησὶ καὶ ἦν μὲν σφαλῇ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ, ἀπώλεσε τὸ ὑπαρχόντων

οὐδέν, εὐημερήσασα δὲ μεταμανθάνε ποιεῖ τοὺς ἡσσημένους τὸ σύγγνωμον. [16] ὑμεῖς ὃ μήτε δράσητε ἡμᾶς μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακὸν μῆ αὐτοὶ πάθητε, μήτε πολέμιον κατεργάσησθε τῷ Γότθων γένει βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, ὃν ὑμῖν ἴλεω εἶναι ἐν εὐχῇ ἐστίν. [17] εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς τοῦδε μετ' ποιουμένοις ὑμῖν τοῦ φρουρίου ὁ πόλεμος ἐν πῶς εἶσται οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν οὐδὲν προσῆκον ὑμῖν εἶτα ἀντέχεσθε.' [18] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Γότθοι ἀνήνεγκάν τε ταῦτα ἐς τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου τῷ μητέρα καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιτεταγμέν' σφίσιν ἀπεκρίναντο ὥδε: [19] 'Τὰ γράμματα γέγραφας, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, παραίνεσιν μὲν ἀληθὴ φέρει, ἐς ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπων τινάς, ὃ εἰς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμᾶς ἤκουσαν. [20] ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐδ' τῶν βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ λαβόντες ἔχομε μὴ ποτε οὕτω μανείημεν: Σικελίαν δὲ ξύμπας" προσποιούμεθα ἡμετέραν οὔσαν, ἣς δὴ ἄκρα μῦ τὸ ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριόν ἐστίν. [21] εἰ δὲ Θεωδέρχ' τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Βανδίλων βασιλεῖ ξυνοικοῦς" τῶν τινι Σικελίας ἐμπορίων ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. [22] οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο δικαίωματος ὑμῖν ὁτουοῦν ἀξίωσιν φέροι. σὺ μέντοι, στρατηγέ, πράττοις ἂν τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἣ γε τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀντιλεγόμενων τὴν διάλυσιν οὐ ὡς πολέμιος, ἀλλ' ἅτε φίλος ποιεῖσθαι θέλοις διαφέρει δέ, [23] ὅτι οἱ μὲν φίλοι τὰ διάφορα ἐν τῷ διαίτη, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διακρίνειν πεφασκασιν. [24] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πε τούτων διαιτῶν ἐπιτρέψομεν, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοξάσῃ νόμιμά τε εἶναι καὶ δίκαια. βουλόμεθα δέ σε βέλτιστα βουλευσάσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς ταχύτατ' καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ βασιλέως προσδέχεσθ' γνῶσιν.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν Γότθων γραφὴ ἐδήλου. [25] Βελισάριος δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἅπαντα βασιλέα ἡσύχαζεν, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστέλλ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένη εἴη.

V

And when he returned to Carthage, he put all the Vandals in readiness, so that at the opening of spring he might send them to Byzantium; and he sent out an army to recover for the Romans everything which the Vandals ruled. And first he sent Cyril to Sardinia with a great force, having the head of Tzazon, since these islanders were not at all willing to yield to the Romans, fearing the Vandals and thinking that what had been told them as having happened in Tricamarum could not be true. And he ordered this Cyril to send a portion of the army to Corsica, and to recover for the Roman empire the island, which had been previously subject to the Vandals; this island was called Cynus in early times, and is not far from Sardinia. So he came to Sardinia and displayed the head of Tzazon to the inhabitants of the place, and he won back both the islands and made them tributary to the Roman domain. And to Caesarea in Mauretania Belisarius sent John with an infantry company which he usually commanded himself; this place is distant from Carthage a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller, as one goes towards Gadir and the west; and it is situated upon the sea, having been a great and populous city from ancient times. Another John, one of his own guardsmen, he sent to Gadir on the strait and by one of the Pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call "Septem." And to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in, called Ebusa and Majorica and Minorica by the natives, he sent Apollinarius, who was a native of Italy, but had come while still a lad to Libya. And he had been rewarded with great sums of money by Ilderich, who was then leader of the Vandals, and after Ilderich had been removed from the office and was in confinement, as has been told in the previous narrative, he came to the Emperor Justinian with the other Libyans who were working in the interest of Ilderich, in order to entreat his favour as a suppliant. And he joined the Roman expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals, and proved himself a brave man in this war and most of all at Tricamarum. And as a result of his deeds there Belisarius entrusted to him these islands. And later Belisarius sent an army also into Tripolis to Pudentius and Tattimuth, who were being pressed by the Moors there, and thus strengthened the Roman power in that quarter.

He also sent some men to Sicily in order to take the fortress in Lilybaeum, as belonging to the Vandals' kingdom, but he was repulsed from there, since the Goths by no means saw fit to yield any part of Sicily, on the ground that this fortress did not belong to the Vandals at all. And when Belisarius heard this, he wrote to the commanders who were there as follows: "You are depriving us of Lilybaeum, the fortress of the Vandals who are the slaves of the emperor, and are not acting justly nor in a way to benefit yourselves, and you wish to bring upon your ruler, though he does not so will it and is far distant from the

scene of these actions, the hostility of the great emperor, whose good-will he has, having won it with great labour. And yet how could you but seem to be acting contrary to the ways of men, if you recently allowed Gelimer to hold the fortress, but have decided to wrest from the emperor, Gelimer's master, the possessions of the slave? You, at least, should not act thus, most excellent sirs. But reflect that, while it is the nature of friendship to cover over many faults, hostility does not brook even the smallest misdeeds, but searches the past for every offence, and allows not its enemy to grow rich on what does not in the least belong to them. Moreover, the enemy fights to avenge the wrongs which it says have been done to its ancestors; and whereas, if friendship thus turned to hostility fails in the struggle, it suffers no loss of its own possessions, yet if it succeeds, it teaches the vanquished to take a new view of the indulgence which has been shewn them in the past. See to it, then, that you neither do us further harm nor suffer harm yourselves, and do not make the great emperor an enemy to the Gothic nation, when it is your prayer that he be propitious toward you. For be well assured that, if you lay claim to this fortress, war will confront you immediately, and not for Lilybaeum alone, but for all the possessions you claim as yours, though not one of them belongs to you."

Such was the message of the letter. And the Goths reported these things to the mother of Antalaric, and at her direction made the following reply: "The letter which you have written, most excellent Belisarius, carries sound admonition, but pertinent to some other men, not to us the Goths. For there is nothing of the Emperor Justinian's which we have taken and hold; may we never be so mad as to do such a thing! The whole of Sicily we claim because it is our own, and the fortress of Lilybaeum is one of its promontories. And if Theoderic gave his sister, who was the consort of the king of the Vandals, one of the trading-ports of Sicily for her use, this is nothing. For this fact could not afford a basis for any claim on your part. But you, O General, would be acting justly toward us, if you should be willing to make the settlement of the matters in dispute between us, not as an enemy, but as a friend. And there is this difference, that friends are accustomed to settle their disagreements by arbitration, but enemies by battle. We, therefore, shall commit this matter to the Emperor Justinian, to arbitrate in whatever manner seems to him lawful and just. And we desire that the decisions you make shall be as wise as possible, rather than as hasty as possible, and that you, therefore, await the decision of your emperor." Such was the message of the letter of the Goths. And Belisarius, reporting all to the emperor, remained quiet until the emperor should send him word what his wish was.

Φάραξ δὲ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ ἤδη ἄλλως τε καὶ χεῖμωνος ὥρα ἀχθόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἱ μενος οἴους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίῳ ἐμποδῶν σφίσι στήσεσθαι, τῇ ἕς Παπούαν ἀν' βάσει ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. ἅπαντί μὲν οὖν εὖ μάλα ἐξοπλίσας τοὺς ἐπομένους ἂν βαινε. [2] βεβοηθηκότων δὲ τῶν

Μαυρουσίων ἄτε· ὡς ἂν ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν δυσβάτῳ, ἢ κωλύμῃ εὐπετῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἐγίνετο. [3] καρτερῶς, τοῦ Φάρα βιαζομένου τὴν ἄνοδον, δέκα μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπ' ἁντον, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπιλοίοις ἀποκρουσθε ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποπειράσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἀνόδου, ἀντιστατοῦντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἐτόλμα, φυλακὴν δὲ κατεσπουδᾶς μένην, ἐνὶ μάλιστα, κατεστήσατο, ὅπως οἱ πιεζόμενοι τῷ λιμῷ οἱ ἐν Παπούᾳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγγχειρῖσαι καὶ οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου οὔτε τῶν ἐξωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. [4] ἔνθα δὲ τῷ Γελίμερι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀδελφιδοῖς τε καὶ ἀνεψιαδοῖς οὗσι καὶ ἄλλοις εὖ γεγονόσι ζυνέπες· κακοπαθεῖα χρῆσθαι ἦν, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴποι τις, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τοῖς πράγμασι φράζοι. [5] ἐθνῶν γὰρ ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν Βανδύλων, τάλαιπωρότατον δὲ τὸ Μαυρουσίων τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [6] οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύην ἔσχον, βαλανείοις τε οἱ ζύμπαντες ἐπεχρῶντο ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ τραπέζῃ ἅπασιν εὐθηνούσῃ ὅσα δὲ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἥδιστα τε καὶ ἄριστα φέρει. [7] ἐχρυσόφορον δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἦν νῦν Σηρικὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀμπεχόμενοι, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομίῳις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐπαθείᾳ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα κυνηγεσίῳις τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο. [8] καὶ σφίσιν ὀρχησται καὶ μῆμοι ἀκούσματά τε συχνὰ καὶ θεάματα ἦν, ὅσα μουσικὰ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιοθέατα ζυμβαίνε· ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. [9] καὶ ὥκνητο μὲν αὐτῶν ὅ· πολλοὶ ἐν παραδείσοις, ὑδάτων καὶ δένδρων εὖ ἔχουσι· ζυμπόσια δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἔργα τὰ ἀφροδίσια πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐν μελέτῃ πολλῇ ἥσκητο. [10] Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν πνιγηραῖς καλύβαις, χειμῶνι τε καὶ θέρους ὥρα καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ ζύμπαντι χρόνῳ, οὔτε χιόσιν οὔτε ἡλίου θερμῇ ἐνθένδε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῶν ἀναγκαίῳι κακῷ ἐξιστάμενοι. [11] καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κώδιον οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὑποστρωννύντες. [12] ἱμάτια δὲ σφίσιν οὐ ζυμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ὥραις νόμος, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον τε ἀδρὸν καὶ χιτῶνα τραχὺν ἐς καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐνδιδύσκονται. [13] ἔχουσι δὲ οὔτε ἄρτον οὔτε οἶνον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν σῖτον, ἢ τὰς ὀλύρας τε καὶ κριθάς, οὔτε ἔψοντες οὔτε ἐς ἄλευρα ἢ ἄλφιτα ἀλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ἐσθίουσι. [14] τοιούτοις δὲ οὗσι τοῖς Μαυρουσίῳις οἱ ἀμφοῖν τῷ Γελίμερα συχνὸν ζυνοικήσαντες χρόνον τὴν τε ζυνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς διαίταν ἐς τοῦτο τάλαιπωρίας μεταβαλόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὰ σφᾶς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτοῖς ἥδιστον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν ἥκιστα αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίζετο. [15] Ὡς δὲ Φάρας αἰσθόμενος γράφει πρὸς Γελίμερα τάδε· ‘Εἰμὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς βάρβαρος καὶ γραμμάτων τε καὶ λόγων οὔτε ἐθᾶς οὔτε ἄλλως ἔμπειρος γέγονα. [16] ὅσα δὲ με ἀνθρώπων ὄντι εἰδέναι ἀνάγκη, ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἐκμαθὼν ἔγραψα. [17] τί ποτε ἄρα πεπονθώς, ὃ φίλῃ Γελίμερ, οὐ σαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζύμπαν τὸν σὸν γένος ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληκας ὅπως δηλαδὴ μὴ γένοιτο δοῦλος; [18] πάντως γάρ ζῷ καὶ νεανιεῦεσθαι τοῦτο οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίᾳ προῖσχεσθαι, ὡς δὲ ἅπαντα ταύτης τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι ἄξιον. [19] εἴτα νῦν Μαυρουσίῳι τοῖς γε ἀτυχεστάτοις οὐκ οἶει δουλεύειν, ὅς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ σώζεσθαι, ἦν τὰ κράτιστα φέρη, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχεις; [20] καίτοι πῶς ἂν οὐχὶ τῷ παντ ἄμεινον εἴη δουλεύειν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις πτωχεύοντα;’ τυραννεῖν

ἐν Παπούα τε καὶ Μαυρουσίῳ; [21] πᾶν τῷ δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ξυνδούλῳ Βελισαρίῳ εἶνα ὑπερβολὴ τις ὑβρεως φαίνεται. [22] ἄπαγε, ὦ βέλ τιστε Γελίμερ. ἢ οὐ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν γεγονότες βασιλεῖ νῦν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐχοῦμεν; κα μὴν λέγουσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἶναι ἐξ τε βουλὴν ἀνάγραφτόν σε ποιήσασθαι τιμῆς μεταλαχόντα τῆς ἀνωτάτω, ἣν δὴ πατρικίων καλοῦσι, καὶ χώρα πολλῇ τε καὶ ἀγαθῇ κα χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρήσασθαι, Βελισάριόν τ' ἐθέλῃ ἀναδέχεσθαι πάντα ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι σὺ πίστεις διδόντα. [23] σὺ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ἡ τύχη μοχθηρὴ ἤνεγκε, φέρειν γενναίως οἷός τε εἶ πάντα τ' ἐνθένδε ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι οἰόμενῳ; [24] ἣν δέ τι ἀγαθὴν τὰ δυσχερῇ ταῦτα ξυγκερᾶν νύειν βεβούλευται, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸς ἐθελούσῃ δέξασθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀξιοίης; ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς φιλῶσι τοῖς ἀναγκαῖα γε ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθὰ λογιστέον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τῷ σφόδρα ἀνοήτοις δοκεῖ. [25] σοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν βεβαπτῇ μένῳ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς, ἀζυνέτῳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, σὺ βαίνειν εἶναι: [26] ἀθυμία γὰρ ἐκπλήξασα εἰς ἀβουλίῃ τρέπεσθαι πέφυκεν: ἣν δὲ φέρειν τὴν διάνοι τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναιο καὶ μὴ πρὸς τύχην μεταβαλὼν λομένην ἀγανακτεῖν, παρέσται σοι αὐτίκα: ὅ μάλ' αὖτά τε ξύμφορα ἐλέσθαι ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἐπικειμένων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν.' [27] Ταῦτα Γελίμερ τὰ γράμματα ἀναλεξάμενος ἀποκλαύσας τε δεινῶς ἀντέγραψεν ὧδε: 'Καὶ τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἣν μοι ἐποιήσω πολλὴν ἔχω σοι χάριν καὶ πολεμῶ ἀδικοῦντι δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν οἶμαι, παρ' οὗ ἂν δίκην εὐξαίμην λαβεῖν, εἰ μοι ὁ θεὸς ὕλεως εἴη, ὅς γε οὐδὲν πώποτε ἄχαρι πρὸς ἐμοῦ οὔτε ἔργῳ παθὼν οὔτε λόγῳ ἀκούσας πολέμῳ μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντι παρέσχετο σκῆψιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς τοῦτο μετήνεγκε τύχης, Βελισάριον οὐκ οἶδα ὅθεν ἐπενεγκών. [28] καίτοι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γ' ὄντι, καὶ βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ξυμβήσεσθαι τὸ ὄν οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτο. [29] ἐγὼ μέντοι περαιτέρω τὸ γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀφείλετο γὰρ με τὴν ἔννοιαν ἡ παρούσα τύχη. [30] ἀλλὰ χαῖρέ μοι, ὅ φίλε Φάρα, καὶ μοι κιθάραν τε καὶ ἄρτον [31] ἓνα καὶ σπώγγον δεομένῳ πέμπε.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα ὁ Φάρας ἔγνω, χρόνον δὴ τινα διηπορεῖτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον συμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἕως οἱ ὁ ταύτην κομίσας ἔφρασεν ὡς ἄρτου μὲν ἐνὸς δέοιτο Γελίμερ, ἐπιθυμῶν ἐς θεὸν τε αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ βρῶσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐς Παπούαν ἀναβέβηκεν, οὐδένα που ἄρτον ὠπτημένον εἶδε. [32] σπώγγος δὲ οἱ ἀναγκαῖος εἴη τοῖν γάρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοῖν ἄτερος, τραχυνόμενος τὸ ἀλουσία, ἐς ἄγαν ἐπῆρται. [33] κιθαριστῇ δὲ ἀγαθῷ ὄντι ὧδή τις αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμφορὰν τὴν παρούσαν πεποιήται, ἣν δὴ πρὸς κιθάραν θρηνῆσαι τε καὶ ἀποκλαῦσαι ἐπέιγεται. [34] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Φάρ' ἀπεπαύσας τε καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπολοφύραμενος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐποίει καὶ πάντα ἐπεμπεν ὅσων αὐτοῦ ἔχρηζε Γελίμερ. τῆς μέντοι προσεδρείας οὐδὲν μεθίεις ἐφύλασσε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

VI

But Pharas, having by this time become weary of the siege for many reasons, and especially because of the winter season, and at the same time thinking that the Moors there would not be able to stand in his way, undertook the ascent of Papua with great zeal. Accordingly he armed all his followers very carefully and began the ascent. But the Moors rushed to the defence, and since they were on ground which was steep and very hard to traverse, their efforts to hinder those making the ascent were easily accomplished. But Pharas fought hard to force the ascent, and one hundred and ten of his men perished in this struggle, and he himself with the remainder was beaten back and retired; and as a result of this he did not dare to attempt the ascent again, since the situation was against him, but he established as careful a guard as possible, in order that those on Papua, being pressed by hunger, might surrender themselves; and he neither permitted them to run away nor anything to be brought in to them from outside. Then, indeed, it came about that Gelimer and those about him, who were nephews and cousins of his and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery which no one could describe, however eloquent he might be, in a way which would equal the facts. For of all the nations which we know that of the Vandals is the most luxurious, and that of the Moors the most hardy. For the Vandals, since the time when they gained possession of Libya, used to indulge in baths, all of them, every day, and enjoyed a table abounding in all things, the sweetest and best that the earth and sea produce. And they wore gold very generally, and clothed themselves in the Medic garments, which now they call "seric," and passed their time, thus dressed, in theatres and hippodromes and in other pleasureable pursuits, and above all else in hunting. And they had dancers and mimes and all other things to hear and see which are of a musical nature or otherwise merit attention among men. And the most of them dwelt in parks, which were well supplied with water and trees; and they had great numbers of banquets, and all manner of sexual pleasures were in great vogue among them. But the Moors live in stuffy huts both in winter and in summer and at every other time, never removing from them either because of snow or the heat of the sun or any other discomfort whatever due to nature. And they sleep on the ground, the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a fleece under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change their clothing with the seasons, but they wear a thick cloak and a rough shirt at all times. And they have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it to flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not a whit different from that of animals. Since the Moors, then, were of a such a sort, the followers of Gelimer, after living with them for a long time and changing their accustomed manner of life to such a miserable existence, when at last even the necessities

of life had failed, held out no longer, but death was thought by them most sweet and slavery by no means disgraceful.

Now when this was learned by Pharas, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "I too am a barbarian and not accustomed to writing and speaking, nor am I skilful in these matters. But that which I am forced as a man to know, having learned from the nature of things, this I am writing you. What in the world has happened to you, my dear Gelimer, that you have cast, not yourself alone, but your whole family besides, into this pit? Is it, forsooth, that you may avoid becoming a slave? But this is assuredly nothing but youthful folly, and making of 'liberty' a mere shibboleth, as though liberty were worth possessing at the price of all this misery! And, after all, do you not consider that you are, even now, a slave to the most wretched of the Moors, since your only hope of being saved, if the best happens, is in them? And yet why would it not be better in every way to be a slave among the Romans and beggared, than to be monarch on Mount Papua with Moors as your subjects? But of course it seems to you the very height of disgrace even to be a fellow slave with Belisarius! Away with the thought, most excellent Gelimer. Are not we, who also are born of noble families, proud that we are now in the service of an emperor? And indeed they say that it is the wish of the Emperor Justinian to have you enrolled in the senate, thus sharing in the highest honour and being a patrician, as we term that rank, and to present you with lands both spacious and good and with great sums of money, and that Belisarius is willing to make himself responsible for your having all these things, and to give you pledges. Now as for all the miseries which fortune has brought you, you are able to bear with fortitude whatever comes from her, knowing that you are but a man and that these things are inevitable; but if fortune has purposed to temper these adversities with some admixture of good, would you of yourself refuse to accept this gladly? Or should we consider that the good gifts of fortune are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? Yet such is not the opinion of even the utterly senseless; but you, it would seem, have now lost your good judgment, steeped as you are in misfortunes. Indeed, discouragement is wont to confound the mind and to be transformed to folly. If, however, you can bear your own thoughts and refrain from rebelling against fortune when she changes, it will be possible at this very moment for you to choose that which will be wholly to your advantage, and to escape from the evils which hang over you."

When Gelimer had read this letter and wept bitterly over it, he wrote in reply as follows: "I am both deeply grateful to you for the advice which you have given me and I also think it unbearable to be a slave to an enemy who wrongs me, from whom I should pray God to exact justice, if He should be propitious to me, — an enemy who, though he had never experienced any harm from me either in deeds which he suffered or in words which he heard, provided a pretext for a war which was unprovoked, and reduced me to this state of

misfortune, bringing Belisarius against me from I know not where. And yet it is not at all unlikely that he also, since he is but a man, though he be emperor too, may have something befall him which he would not choose. But as for me, I am not able to write further. For my present misfortune has robbed me of my thoughts. Farewell, then, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre and one loaf of bread and a sponge, I pray you.” When this reply was read by Pharas, he was at a loss for some time, being unable to understand the final words of the letter, until he who had brought the letter explained that Gelimer desired one loaf because he was eager to enjoy the sight of it and to eat it, since from the time when he went up upon Papua he had not seen a single baked loaf. A sponge also was necessary for him; for one of his eyes, becoming irritated by lack of washing, was greatly swollen. And being a skilful harpist he had composed an ode relating to his present misfortune, which he was eager to chant to the accompaniment of a lyre while he wept out his soul. When Pharas heard this, he was deeply moved, and lamenting the fortune of men, he did as was written and sent all the things which Gelimer desired of him. However he relaxed the siege not a whit, but kept watch more closely than before.

Ἦδη δὲ τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρεῖα ἐτρίβη καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ὁ Γελίμερ ἐδεδίει, τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναβήσασθαι ὑποτοπάζων· καὶ τῶν οἱ συγγενῶν παιδιῶν τὰ πλεῖστα σώματα σκώληκας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τάλαιπωρία ἤφει. [2] καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν περιώδυνος ἦν, ἐς ἅπαντα δέ, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ θνήσκειν, δυσάρεστος, τῇ μέντοι κακοπαθείᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχεν, ἕως οἱ θέαμα ἰδεῖν ζυγνέχθη τοιόνδε. [3] γυνὴ τις Μαυρουσία σῖτον ὀλίγον ἀμωσγέπως ζυγοψαμένη, μᾶζαν δὲ ἐνθένδε βραχεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησαμένη ἐς ζέουσιν τὴν σποδιὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ ἐνέβαλεν. οὕτω γὰρ νόμος ἐν Μαυρουσίῳ τοὺς ἄρτους ὀπτᾶσθαι. [4] παρὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐσχάραν δύο παῖδες καθήμενοι καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπεράγαν βιαζόμενοι, ἄτερος μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπου υἱὸς ἢ τὴν μᾶζαν ἐμβεβλημένη ἐτύγχανεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Γελίμερος ἀδελφιδὸς ὢν, ἐβουλέσθη ταύτην δὴ τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσασθαι, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς τάχιστα ὀπτῆσθαι δοκῇ. [5] τοῦτοιν τοῖν παιδῶν ὁ μὲν Βανδύλος προτερήσας ἔφθασέ τε τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσας καὶ ζέουσιν ἔτι ὥς μάλιστα σποδιᾶς τε ἀνάπλεων οὔσαν, ὑπερβιαζόμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλόμενος ἤσθιεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν ἐπάταξέ τε κατὰ κόρρης καὶ αὐτὸς ῥαπίσας ἠνάγκασε τὴν μᾶζαν ζῆν βίᾳ πολλῇ ἀποβαλεῖν ἤδη ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι οὔσαν. [6] τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν Γελίμερ ἠπαρηκολούθει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπασιν ἐθελύνθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς Φάραν ὥς τάχιστα ἔγραψε τάδε· [7] Ἐἴ τι καὶ ἄλλω τετύχηκε πώποτε τὰ δεινὰ καρτερήσαντι ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἰέναι τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων, τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα καὶ ἐμὲ νόμιζε εἶναι, ὃ βέλτιστε Φάρα. [8] εἰσῆλθε γάρ με ἢ σὴ συμβουλὴ, ἣν δὴ ἀλογῆσαι ἥκιστα βούλομαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀντιτείνωμι περαιτέρω τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν πεπωμένην ζυγομαχοίην, ἀλλ’ ἐψομαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ ἐξηγεῖσθαι δοκῇ· ὅπως μέντοι τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιμι, ἀναδέχεσθαι Βελισάριον

βασιλέα ποιήσῃν ἅπαντα ὅσα μοι ἔναγχος ὑπεδέξω. [9] ἐγὼ γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τὴν πίστιν δοίητε, ἐμαυτὸν τε ὑμῖν ἐγχειριῶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τούσδε καὶ Βανδύλους ὅσοι ζῶν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθ' αἰσι.' [10] Τοσαῦτα μὲν τῷ Γελίμερι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῇδε ἐγγράπτο. Φάρας δὲ ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ καὶ τὰ πρότερον γεγραμμένα σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους σημήνας ἐδεῖτο ὡς τάχιστα οἱ δηλῶσαι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ 'καὶ γάρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ ἦν ζῶντα Γελίμερα βασιλεῖ ἀγαγεῖν', ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ γράμματα ἀνελέξατο, περιχαρὴς τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Κυπριανὸν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντα ἐς Παπούαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι ζῶν ἄλλοις τισίν, ὄρκους τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλε περὶ σωτηρίας Γελίμερός τε καὶ τῶν ζῶν αὐτῷ διδόναι, καὶ ὡς ἐπίτιμός τε παρὰ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς εἴη. [12] οἵπερ ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν Φάραν ἀφίκοντο, ἤλθον ζῶν αὐτῷ ἕξ τι χωρίον παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα, ἔνθα σφίσι Γελίμερ μετ'άπεμπος ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἥπερ ἐβούλετο ἐς Καρχηδόνα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἦκεν. [13] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος διατριβὴν τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ποιούμενος, [14] ὅπερ Ἀκλας καλοῦσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσηλθε, γελῶν γέλωτα οὔτε φαῦλον οὔτε κρύπτεσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα, τῶν τε αὐτὸν θεωμένων ἔνιοι μὲν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῇ ἀπάντων τε αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπώπτευνον καὶ παραπαίοντα ἤδη λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν γέλωτα ἔχειν. [15] οἱ μέντοι φίλοι ἀγχνίουν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐβούλοντο εἶναι καὶ ἅτε οἰκίας μὲν βασιλικῆς γεγονότα, εἰς βασιλείαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα, καὶ δυνάμιν τε ἰσχυρὰν χρήματά τε μεγάλα ἐκ παιδὸς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς γῆρας περιβαλλόμενον, εἴτα εἰς φυγὴν τε καὶ δέος πολὺ ἐμπεσόντα καὶ κακοπάθειαν τὴν ἐν Παπούᾳ ὑποστάντα, καὶ νῦν ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ἦκοντα, πάντων τε ταύτῃ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φλαύρων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα, ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἄξια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἢ γέλωτος πολλοῦ οἶεσθαι εἶναι. [16] περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γέλωτος ὃν Γελίμερ ἐγέλα, λεγέτω ὡς πῃ ἕκαστος γινώσκει, [17] καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος. Βελισάριος δὲ ἐς βασιλέα ὡς Γελίμερ δορυάλωτος εἴη ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀνενεγκὼν ἦται ζῶν αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικέσθαι. ἅμα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ Βανδύλους ἅπαντας οὐκ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσε καὶ τὸν στόλον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [18] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι ἤδη τε κρείσσω ἐλπίδος ἐς πείραν ἦλθε καὶ αἰεὶ ἤξει, ἕως ἂν αἱ αὐταὶ τύχαι ἀνθρώπων ὦσι: [19] τὰ τε γὰρ λόγῳ ἀδύνατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ τέως ἀδύνατα φανέντα πολλάκις, [20] εἴτα ἀποβάντα θαύματος ἄξια ἔδοξεν εἶναι: εἰ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἔργα πώποτε γεγενῆσθαι τετύχηκεν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, τὸν Γιζερίχου τέταρτον ἀπόγονον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν δυνάμει ἀκμάζουσιν πρὸς πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύδων τε καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὅποι ὁρμίζοιντο ἐν χρόνῳ οὕτῳ βραχεῖ καταλελύσθαι. [21] τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπισπομένων, οἱ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα πρὸς Βανδύλους διήνεγκαν. τοῦτο γὰρ εἴτε τύχῃ εἴτε τινὶ ἀρετῇ γέγονε, δικαίως ἂν τις αὐτὸ ἀγασθῇ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

VII

And already a space of three months had been spent in this siege and the winter was coming to an end. And Gelimer was afraid, suspecting that his besiegers would come up against him after no great time; and the bodies of most of the children who were related to him were discharging worms in this time of misery. And though in everything he was deeply distressed, and looked upon everything, — except, indeed, death, — with dissatisfaction, he nevertheless endured the suffering beyond all expectation, until it happened that he beheld a sight such as the following. A certain Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little corn, and making of it a very tiny cake, threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth. For thus it is the custom among the Moors to bake their loaves. And beside this hearth two children were sitting, in exceedingly great distress by reason of their hunger, the one being the son of the very woman who had thrown in the cake, and the other a nephew of Gelimer; and they were eager to seize the cake as soon as it should seem to them to be cooked. And of the two children the Vandal got ahead of the other and snatched the cake first, and, though it was still exceedingly hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him, and he threw it into his mouth and was eating it, when the other seized him by the hair of the head and struck him over the temple and beat him again and thus compelled him with great violence to cast out the cake which was already in his throat. This sad experience Gelimer could not endure (for he had followed all from the beginning), and his spirit was weakened and he wrote as quickly as possible to Pharas as follows: “If it has ever happened to any man, after manfully enduring terrible misfortunes, to take a course contrary to that which he had previously determined upon, consider me to be such a one, O most excellent Pharas. For there has come to my mind your advice, which I am far from wishing to disregard. For I cannot resist fortune further nor rebel against fate, but I shall follow straightway wherever it seems to her best to lead; but let me receive the pledges, that Belisarius guarantees that the emperor will do everything which you recently promised me. For I, indeed, as soon as you give the pledges, shall put both myself into your hands and these kinsmen of mine and the Vandals, as many as are here with us.”

Such were the words written by Gelimer in this letter. And Pharas, having signified this to Belisarius, as well as what they had previously written to each other, begged him to declare as quickly as possible what his wish was. And Belisarius (since he was greatly desirous of leading Gelimer alive to the emperor), as soon as he had read the letter, became overjoyed and commanded Cyprian, a leader of foederati, to go to Papua with certain others, and directed them to give an oath concerning the safety of Gelimer and of those with him, and to swear that he would be honoured before the emperor and would lack

nothing. And when these men had come to Pharas, they went with him to a certain place by the foot of the mountain, where Gelimer came at their summons, and after receiving the pledges just as he wished he came with them to Carthage. And it happened that Belisarius was staying for a time in the suburb of the city which they call Aclas. Accordingly Gelimer came before him in that place, laughing with such laughter as was neither moderate nor the kind one could conceal, and some of those who were looking at him suspected that by reason of the extremity of his affliction he had changed entirely from his natural state and that, already beside himself, he was laughing for no reason. But his friends would have it that the man was in his sound mind, and that because he had been born in a royal family, and had ascended the throne, and had been clothed with great power and immense wealth from childhood even to old age, and then being driven to flight and plunged into great fear had undergone the sufferings on Papua, and now had come as a captive, having in this way had experience of all the gifts of fortune, both good and evil, for this reason, they believed, he thought that man's lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter. Now concerning this laughter of Gelimer's, let each one speak according to his judgment, both enemy and friend. But Belisarius, reporting to the emperor that Gelimer was a captive in Carthage, asked permission to bring him to Byzantium with him. At the same time he guarded both him and all the Vandals in no dishonour and proceeded to put the fleet in readiness.

Now many other things too great to be hoped for have before now been experienced in the long course of time, and they will continue as long as the fortunes of men are the same as they now are; for those things which seem to reason impossible are actually accomplished, and many times those things which previously appeared impossible, when they have befallen, have seemed to be worthy of wonder; but whether such events as these ever took place before I am not able to say, wherein the fourth descendant of Gizeric, and his kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength, were completely undone in so short a time by five thousand men coming in as invaders and having not a place to cast anchor. For such was the number of the horsemen who followed Belisarius, and carried through the whole war against the Vandals. For whether this happened by chance or because of some kind of valour, one would justly marvel at it. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βανδυλικὸς πόλεμος ἐτελεύτα ᾧδε. ὁ δὲ φθόνος, οἷα ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ᾧδαιεν ἤδη ἐς Βελισάριον, καίπερ αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν παρέχοντα σκῆψιν. [2] τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόντων τινὲς διέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐς βασιλέα, τυραννίδα αὐτῷ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπικαλοῦντες. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἢ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιησάμενος, ἢ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη. [4] Σολόμωνα δὲ πέμψας αἵρεσιν Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο ἐλέσθαι ὅποτέραν ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, πότερα ζῦν

Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδύλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκειν, ἥ αὐτοῦ μένοντ' ἐκείνους στείλαι. [5] ὁ δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτὸν ὃ ἄρχοντες τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενεγκόντες' ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικέσθαι ἠπείγετο, ὅπως δὴ τὴν τε αἰτίᾳ ἐκλύσεται καὶ τοὺς διαβαλόντας μετελθεῖν δύνηται. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ τὴν τῶν κατηγορῶν πείραν ἔμαθεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [6] ὅτε δὴ τὴν διαβολὴν τήνδε ποιεῖσθαι οἱ διαβαλόντες ἤθελον, δείσαντες μὴ σφίσιν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μέλλων κομιεῖν βασιλεῖ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἀφανισθεῖς τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα διακωλύσῃ, ἐν δύο γραμματεῖσι τὴν τυραννίδα γράψαντες, ἀγγέλους δύο ὡς βασιλέα ἐν ναυῷ δύο στέλλειν διεννοοῦντο. [7] τούτοις ἄτερος μὲν λαθὼν. ἔπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐξ ὑποψίας δὴ τις ἐν Μανδρακίῳ ἦλθον, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσας ἐκπυστα ἐποίει τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα [8] ταύτῃ τε μαθὼν Βελισάριος ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν βασιλέως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἠπείγετο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Μαυρούσιοι δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τε Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδία ὤκητο, ἐς ἀπόστασιν τε ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς εἶδον καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διαλύσαντες χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν ἐξαπιναιῶς Ῥωμαίοις ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῦ οἰκείου σφίσιν ἐπράσσετο [10] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις οὔτε θεοῦ φόβος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αἰδώς. μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε ὁμήρων, ἦν καὶ παῖδες ἢ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἡγουμένων τύχῳσιν ὄντες. [11] οὐδὲ ἄλλω οὐδενὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πολεμίων τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν δέει κρατύνεται. ὅτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς αἶ τε πρὸς Βελισάριον σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅτῳ διελύθησαν τρόπῳ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [12] ἥνικα ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἐπίδοξος ἐγεγονέι ὡς ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίξεται, δείσαντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μὴ τι ἐνθένδε κακὸν λάβωσι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν μαντείαις ἐχρῶντο. [13] ἄνδρα γὰρ μαντεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ οὐ θέμις, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες σφίσι κάτοχοι ἐκ δὴ τις ἱερουργίας γινόμεναι προλέγουσι τὰ ἐσόμενα, τῶν πάλαι χρηστηρίων οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. [14] τότε οὖν πυνθανομένοις αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείλον, στρατὸν ἐξ ὑδάτων, Βανδύλων κατάλυσιν, Μαυρουσίων φθοράν τε καὶ ἤτταν, [15] ὅτε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀγένειος ἔλθοι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα εἶδον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἦκον, ἐν δέει τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ ξυμμαχεῖν Βανδύλοις ἥκιστα ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνῃν, ὡς πρόσθεν δεδῆλωται, κρατυνάμενοι ἡσύχαζόν τε καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται ἐκαραδόκουν. [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ Βανδύλων τὰ πράγματα ἤδη ἐς πέρας ἀφίκτο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα, διερευνώμενοι εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀγένειός ἐστιν. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντας πώγωνος ἐώρων ἐμπιπλάμενους, οὐ χρόνον τὸν παρόντα τὸ μαντεῖον σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὦντο, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον, ταύτῃ τὸ λόγιον ἐρμηνεύοντες, ἥ αὐτοὶ ἤθελον. [18] αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν ὥρμητο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ Βελισαρίου δέος αὐτοὺς διεκώλυεν. [19] οὐ γὰρ ποτε πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίων περιέσεσθαι, παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον. [20] ὡς δὲ τὴν ἀφοδὸν αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόροις ποιεῖσθαι ἤκουσαν, ἤδη τε τὰς ναῦς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε καὶ Βανδύλων πληροῦσθαι ἐπύθοντο, τὰ ὅπλα ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀράμενοι ἅπασαν κακοῦ ιδέαν ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας ἐπεδείξαντο. [21] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι τε ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐσχατιᾷ χώρα καὶ ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι ὄντες, καταθέουσιν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον πανταχόσε τοῖς βαρβάροις

ἀντίστασθαι, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς συχνὰς τε καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς γινομένας διακωλύσειν. [22] ἀλλ' ἄνδρες μὲν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐκτείνοντο, γυναῖκες δὲ σὺν παισὶν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ πάσης ἐσχατιᾶς ἤγετο καὶ φυγῆς ἢ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑπεπίμπλατο. ταῦτα Βελισαρίῳ ἤδη πού ἀναγομένῳ ἠγγέλλετο. [23] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχε, Σολόμωνι δὲ διέπειν τὸ Λιβύης κράτος παρείχετο, ἀπολέξας καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, ὥστε Σολόμωνι ἐπομένους Μαυρουσίῳ ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τίσασθαι. [24] καὶ βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατιὰν ἄλλην Σολόμωνι ἔπεμψε, ζὺν Θεοδώρῳ τε τῷ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Ἰλδίγερι: ὃς δὴ Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρὸς τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἦν. [25] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Λιβύης χωρίων τοὺς φόρους οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν γραμματείοις τεταγμένους εὔρεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπεγράψαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, ἅτε Γιζερίχου ἀναχαίτισαντός τε καὶ διαφθείραντος κατ' ἀρχὰς ἅπαντα, Τρύφων τε καὶ Εὐστράτιος πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς τάξουσι κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστῳ. οἱ δὲ οὐ μέτριοι Λίβυσιν οὐδὲ φορητοὶ ἔδοξαν εἶναι.

VIII

So the Vandalic war ended thus. But envy, as is wont to happen in cases of great good fortune, was already swelling against Belisarius, although he provided no pretext for it. For some of the officers slandered him to the emperor, charging him, without any grounds whatever, with seeking to set up a kingdom for himself, a statement for which there was no basis whatever. But the emperor did not disclose these things to the world, either because he paid no heed to the slander, or because this course seemed better to him. But he sent Solomon and gave Belisarius the opportunity to choose whichever of two things he desired, either to come to Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, or to remain there and send them. And Belisarius, since it did not escape him that the officers were bringing against him the charge of seeking supreme power, was eager to get to Byzantium, in order that he might clear himself of the charge and be able to proceed against his slanderers. Now as to the manner in which he learned of the attempt of his accusers, I shall explain. When those who denounced him wished to present this slander, fearing lest the man who was to carry their letter to the emperor should be lost at sea and thus put a stop to their proceedings, they wrote the aforesaid accusation on two tablets, purposing to send two messengers to the emperor in two ships. And one of these two sailed away without being detected, but the second, on account of some suspicion or other, was captured in Mandracium, and putting the writing into the hands of his captors, he made known what was being done. So Belisarius, having learned in this way, was eager to come before the emperor, as has been said. Such, then, was the course of these events at Carthage.

But the Moors who dwelt in Byzacium and in Numidia turned to revolt for no good reason, and they decided to break the treaty and to rise suddenly against the Romans. And this was not out of keeping with their peculiar character. For there is among the Moors neither fear of God nor respect for men. For they care not either for oaths or for hostages, even though the hostages chance to be the children or brothers of their leaders. Nor is peace maintained among the Moors by any other means than by fear of the enemies opposing them. Now I shall set forth in what manner the treaty was made by them with Belisarius and how it was broken. When it came to be expected that the emperor's expedition would arrive in Libya, the Moors, fearing lest they should receive some harm from it, consulted the oracles of their women. For it is not lawful in this nation for a man to utter oracles, but the women among them as a result of some sacred rites become possessed and foretell the future, no less than any of the ancient oracles. So on that occasion, when they made enquiry, as has been said, the women gave the response: "There shall be a host from the waters, the overthrow of the Vandals, destruction and defeat of the Moors, when the general of the Romans shall come unbearded." When the Moors

heard this, since they saw that the emperor's army had come from the sea, they began to be in great fear and were quite unwilling to fight in alliance with the Vandals, but they sent to Belisarius and established peace, as has been stated previously, and then remained quiet and waited for the future, to see how it would fall out. And when the power of the Vandals had now come to an end, they sent to the Roman army, investigating whether there was anyone unbearded among them holding an office. And when they saw all wearing full beards, they thought that the oracle did not indicate the present time to them, but one many generations later, interpreting the saying in that way which they themselves wished. Immediately, therefore, they were eager to break the treaty, but their fear of Belisarius prevented them. For they had no hope that they would ever overcome the Romans in war, at least with him present. But when they heard that he was making his departure together with his guards and spearmen, and that the ships were already being filled with them and the Vandals, they suddenly rose in arms and displayed every manner of outrage upon the Libyans. For the soldiers were both few in each place on the frontier and still unprepared, so that they would not have been able to stand against the barbarians as they made inroads at every point, nor to prevent their incursions, which took place frequently and not in an open manner. But men were being killed indiscriminately and women with their children were being made slaves, and the wealth was being plundered from every part of the frontier and the whole country was being filled with fugitives. These things were reported to Belisarius when he was just about setting sail. And since it was now too late for him to return himself, he entrusted Solomon with the administration of Libya and he also chose out the greatest part of his own guards and spearmen, instructing them to follow Solomon and as quickly as possible to punish with all zeal those of the Moors who had risen in revolt and to exact vengeance for the injury done the Romans. And the emperor sent another army also to Solomon with Theodoras, the Cappadocian, and Ildiger, who was the son-in-law of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius. And since it was no longer possible to find the revenues of the districts of Libya set down in order in documents, as the Romans had recorded them in former times, inasmuch as Gizeric had upset and destroyed everything in the beginning, Tryphon and Eustratius were sent by the emperor, in order to assess the taxes for the Libyans each according to his proportion. But these men seemed to the Libyans neither moderate nor endurable.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἅμα Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδίλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος γερῶν ἡξιώθη ἃ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς τοῖς νίκας τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίας ἀναδησαμένοις διετετάχατο. [2] χρόνος δὲ ἀμφὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐξακοσίους παρῳχῇκει ἤδη ἐξ ὅτου ἐς ταῦτα τὰ γέρα οὐδεὶς ἐλλήθη, ὅτι μὴ Τίτος τε καὶ Τραϊανός, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγήσαντες ἐπὶ τι βαρβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐνίκησαν. [3] τὰ τε γὰρ λάφυρα

ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐπόμπευσεν, ὃν δὴ θριάμβον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομον κἀνταῦθα ἐκ βαλβίδων αὐθις ἕως εἰς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο οὗ δὴ ὁ θρόνος ὁ βασιλείος ἐστίν.

[4] ἦν δὲ λάφυρα μὲν ὅσα δὴ ὑπουργία τῇ βασιλείῳς ἀνεῖσθαι εἰώθει, θρόνοι τε χρυσοὶ καὶ ὀχήματα οἷς δὴ τὴν βασιλείῳς γυναῖκα ὀχεῖσθαι νόμος, καὶ κόσμος πολὺς ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων ξυγκείμενος, ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ, καὶ τᾶλλα ζύμπαντα ὅσα ἐς τὴν βασιλείῳς θοίνην χρήσιμα. [5] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἔλκων μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλὰς καὶ πάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων πάμπολύ τι χρήμα ἅτε Γιζερίχου τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σεσυληκότος Παλάτιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια ἦν, ἅπερ ὁ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τίτος μετὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἦνεγκε. [6] καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν τις Ἰουδαίων ἰδὼν καὶ παραστὰς τῶν βασιλέως γνωρίμων τινὶ ‘Ταῦτα,’ ἔφη, ‘τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Παλάτιον ἐσκομίζεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἶομαι εἶναι. [7] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε αὐτὰ ἐτέρωθι εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ Σολομὼν αὐτὰ πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔθετο. [8] διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Γιζερίχος τὰ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία εἴλε καὶ νῦν τὰ Βανδύλων ὁ Ῥωμαίων [9] στρατός.’ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀνενεχθέντα βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ζύμπαντα κατὰ τάχος ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὰ ἔπεμψεν. [10] ἀνδράποδα δὲ ἦν τοῦ θριάμβου Γελίμερ τε αὐτός, ἐσθῆτά πού τινα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀμπεχόμενος πορφυρᾶν, καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἅπαν, Βανδύλων τε ὅσοι εὐμήκεις τε ἄγαν καὶ καλοὶ τὰ σώματα ἦσαν. [11] ὥς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ Γελίμερ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν τε βασιλέα ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον τόν τε δῆμον ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ἐστῶτα εἶδε καὶ αὐτὸν οὗ ἦν κακοῦ περισκοπῶν ἔγνω, οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσεν οὔτε ἀνώμωξεν, ἐπιλέγων δὲ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γραφὴν ‘Ματαιιότης ματαιιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιιότης.’ [12] ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ βασιλέως βῆμα τὴν πορφυρίδα περιελόντες, πρηνῇ πεσόντ’ προσκυνεῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα κατηνάγκασαν τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ἐποίει ἅτε ἰκέτης βασιλέως σὺν αὐτῷ γεγονώς. [13] βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τοὺς Ἰλδερίχου παῖδας τε καὶ ἐγγόνους πάντας τε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαλεντινιανοῦ βασιλείῳς ξυγγενείας χρήμασιν ἱκανοῖς ἐδωρήσαντο, καὶ Γελίμερι χωρία οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητα ἐν Γαλατία δόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς ξυγγενέσιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν συνεχώρησαν. [14] ἔ’ πατρικίους μέντοι ἀνάγραφτος Γελίμερ ἥκιστ’ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὐ μετατίθεσθαι τῆς Ἀρείου δόξῃ ἤθελεν. [15] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ καὶ ὁ θριάμβος κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ξυνετελέσθη. ἔ’ ὑπάτους γὰρ προελθόντι οἱ ξυνέπεσε φέρεσθᾶ τε πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ ὀχου μένῳ τῷ δῆμῳ ῥίπτειν αὐτὰ δὴ ἐκεῖνα τῷ Βανδύλων πολέμου τὰ λάφυρα. [16] τά τε γὰρ ἄργυρώματα καὶ ζώνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἄλλ’ πλούτου Βανδυλικοῦ πολὺ τι χρήμα ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου ὑπατείας ὁ δῆμος ἥρπασε, καί τ’ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ χρόνῳ ἔδοξε ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔσχε.

IX

Belisarius, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honours, except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For he displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers until he reached the place where the imperial throne is. And there was booty, — first of all, whatever articles are wont to be set apart for the royal service, — thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consort to ride, and much jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and all the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric had despoiled the Palatium in Rome, as has been said in the preceding narrative), and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. And one of the Jews, seeing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them to be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romans, and that now the Roman army has captured that the Vandals." When this had been brought to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christians in Jerusalem. And there were slaves in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himself, wearing some sort of a purple garment upon his shoulders, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of body. And when Gelimer reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofty seat and the people standing on either side and realized as he looked about in what an evil plight he was, he neither wept nor cried out, but ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew scripture: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." And when he came before the emperor's seat, they stripped off the purple garment, and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian. This also Belisarius did, as being a suppliant of the emperor along with him. And the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic and his offspring and all those of the family of the Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money, and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised in Galatia and

permitted him to live there together with his family. However, Gelimer was by no means enrolled among the patricians, since he was unwilling to change from the faith of Arius.

[Jan. 1, 535 A.D.] A little later the triumph was celebrated by, Belisarius in the ancient manner also. For he had the fortune to be advanced to the office of consul, and therefore was borne aloft by the captives, and as he was thus carried in his curule chair, he threw to the populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war. For the people carried off the silver plate and golden girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals' wealth of other sorts as a result of Belisarius' consulship, and it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old custom was being revived. These things, then, took place in Byzantium in the manner described.

Σολόμων δὲ τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ παραλαβὼν στράτευμα, ἐπηρμένων μὲν, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῷ Μαυρουσίῳ, ἠωρημένων δὲ τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ἢ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι. [2] τοὺς ἄλλους γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐν Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ ὁ βάρβαροι ἀνηρηκέναι καὶ πάντα ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν τὰ ἐκείνη ἠγγέλλοντο. [3] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Καρχηδὼνα πᾶσαν συνετάραξε τὰ ἑκατέρωθεν τε τὸν Μασσαγέτην καὶ Ρουφίνον τὸν Θράκα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ξυνερχθέντα. [4] ἄμφω γὰρ λογίμω ἐς ἄγαν ἔν τε τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ ἦσθιν καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματι, ἄτερος μὲν αὐτοῖς Ἀιγὰν ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις ταπτόμενος ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἅτε ἀπάντων εὐψυχότατος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν εἰσθὼς φέρειν, ὃν δὴ βανδοφόρον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [5] τότε γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἡγουμένῳ ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους εἶδον τὰ τε ἐν ποσὶ ληιζομένους καὶ Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιησαμένους, τηρήσαντες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς σφίσιν ἐπομένους τοὺς τὴν λείαν παραπέμποντας, αὐτοὺς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφαιροῦνται πάντας. [6] ὡς δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦκε, Κουτζίναν τε καὶ Ἑσδιλάσαν καὶ Ίουρφούθην καὶ Μεδισινίσσαν, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης δὴ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἀπέχοντας, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περὶ δεῖλην ὀψίαν. [7] Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, κομιδῇ τε ὀλίγοι ὄντες καὶ ἐν χώρῳ στενῇ ἐς μέσον μυριάδων πολλῶν ἀπειλημμένῳ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν. ἐνθ' ἂν τραπείην, αἰεὶ κατὰ νότου ἐβάλλοντό. [8] τότε δὲ Ρουφίνος τε καὶ Αἰγὰν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ ἐς πέτρην ἐγγὺς που οὗσαν ἀναδραμόντες ἐνθένδ' τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύνοντο. [9] ἕως μὲν οὖν τῶ τούτοις ἐχρῶντο, οὐκ ἐτόλμων σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλὰ τὰ αἰχμὰς ἐσηκόντιζον: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ βέλη ἅπαντ' σφῶς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι αὐτῶ ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκ τῶ παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. [10] τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζομένου, Αἰγὰν μὲν κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσε, Ρουφίνον δὲ ὁ πολέμοι ἀρπάσαντες ἤγον. [11] αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς Μεδισινίσσας, δείσας μὴ διαφυγῶν πράγματα σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχοι, τῆς τε κεφαλῇ αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ταύτην ἐς τὰ οἰκεία λαβὼν ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε, μεγέθους τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τριχῶν πλήθει ἀξιοθέατον οὖσαν [12]

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος ἐνταῦθ' ἤγαγεν, ἐπάναγκες εἰπεῖν ἄνωθεν ὅθεν τε ἔ' Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἐς Λιβύην ἦλθον καὶ ὅπως ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησαντο. [13] Ἐπειδὴ Ἑβραῖοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνεχώρησα καὶ ἄγχι τῶν Παλαιστίνης ὁρίων ἐγένοντο Μωσῆς μὲν σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς αὐτοῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγήσατο. θνήσκει, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ παῖς, ὃς ἐς τὴν Παλῆστίνην τὸν λεῶν τοῦτον εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔ' τῷ πολέμῳ κρείττω ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν χώραν ἔσχε. [14] καὶ τὰ ἔθν' ἅπαντα καταστρεφάμενος τὰς πόλεις εὐπετῶ παρεστήσατο, ἀνίκητός τε παντάπασιν ἔδοξε εἶναι. [15] τότε δὲ ἡ ἐπιθαλασσία χώρα ἐκ Σιδῶνος μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων Φοινίκη ξύμπας ὠνομάζετο. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ εἷς τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ ἐφειστήκει, ὥσπερ ἅπασιν ὁμολογεῖται οἱ Φοινίκων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα ἀνεγράψαντο. [17] ἐνταῦθ' ᾤκηοντο ἔθνη πολυανθρωπώτατα, Γεργεσαῖοι ἔ' καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖοι καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ὀνόματα ἔχοντα οἷς δὴ αὐτὰ ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἱστορία καλεῖ. [18] οὗτο ὁ λεὼς ἐπεὶ ἄμαχόν τι χρῆμα τὸν ἐπηλύτην στρατηγὸν εἶδον, ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξανα στάντες ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁμόρου οὔσης ἐχώρησαν [19] ἔνθα χῶρον οὐδένα ἱκανὸν σφίσιν ἐνοικήσασθα εὐρόντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυανθρωπία ἔ' παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἐς Λιβύην ἐστάλησαν. [20] πόλεις ἔ' οἰκήσαντες πολλὰς ξύμπασαν Λιβύην μέχρι τῆς λῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἔσχον, ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὴ τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ χρώμενοι ᾤκηνται. [21] ἐδείμαντ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ, οὗ νῦν πόλις Τίγισι ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται. [22] ἔνθα στήλαι δύο ἔ' λίθων λευκῶν πεποιημέναι ἄγχι κρήνης εἰσὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ, γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολλημένα ἔχουσαι τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ λέγοντα ὧδε 'Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ [23] τοῦ ληστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ.' ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἔθνη ἐν Λιβύῃ πρότερον ᾤκημένα, οἱ διὰ τὸ ἔ' παλαιοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσθαι αὐτόχθονες εἶνα ἐλέγοντο. [24] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀνταῖον, τὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα, ὃς ἐν Κλιπέᾳ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπάλαισε, τῇ γῆς υἱὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι. [25] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Διδούς ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνέστησαν ἅτε πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ᾤκημένους ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δὴ αὐτοῖς Καρχηδὸνα κτίσαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἐθελούσιοι ξυνεχώρησαν. [26] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἢ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμις μεγάλη ἐγένετο καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. [27] μάχης τε σφίς ἔ' γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, οἱ πρότεροι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ νῦν Μαυρούσιοι καλοῦνται, ἐκράτησάν τε αὐτῶν ὃ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω οἰκεῖν Καρχηδόνος ἠνάγκασαν. [28] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντων καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι Μαυρουσίους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ οἰκουμένης χώρας ἰδρῦσαντο, Καρχηδονίους δὲ καὶ Λίβυας τοὺς ἄλλους κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐποίησαντο. [29] ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι πολλὰς κατὰ Βανδύλων νίκας ἀνελόμενοι Μαυριτανίαν τε τὴν νῦν καλουμένην ἐκ Γαδεῖρων μέχρι τῶν Καισαρείας ὁρίων τείνουσαν καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἄλλης τὰ πλεῖστα ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς Μαυρουσίῳ ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνοικήσεως ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

X

And Solomon took over the army in Libya; but in view of the fact that the Moors had risen against him, as has been told previously, and that everything was in suspense, he was at a loss how to treat the situation. For it was reported that the barbarians had destroyed the soldiers in Byzacium and Numidia and that they were pillaging and plundering everything there. But what disturbed most of all both him and all Carthage was the fate which befell Aïgan, the Massagete, and Rufinus, the Thracian, in Byzacium. For both were men of great repute both in the household of Belisarius and in the Roman army, one of them, Aïgan, being among the spearmen of Belisarius, while the other, as the most courageous of all, was accustomed to carry the standard of the general in battle; such an officer the Romans call "bandifer." Now at the time referred to these two men were commanding detachments of cavalry in Byzacium, and when they saw the Moors plundering everything before them and making all the Libyans captives, they watched in a narrow pass with their followers for those who were escorting the booty, and killed them and took away all the captives. And when a report of this came to the commanders of the barbarians, Coutzinas and Esdilasas and Iourphouthes and Medisinissas, who were not far away from this pass, they moved against them with their whole army in the late afternoon. And the Romans, being a very few men and shut off in a narrow place in the midst of many thousands, were not able to ward off their assailants. For wherever they might turn, they were always shot at from the rear. Then, indeed, Rufinus and Aïgan with some few men ran to the top of a rock which was near by and from there defended themselves against the barbarians. Now as long as they were using their bows, the enemy did not dare come directly to a hand-to-hand struggle with them, but they kept hurling their javelins among them; but when all the arrows of the Romans were now exhausted, the Moors closed with them, and they defended themselves with their swords as well as the circumstances permitted. But since they were overpowered by the multitude of the barbarians, Aïgan fell there with his whole body hacked to pieces, and Rufinus was seized by the enemy and led away. But straightway one of the commanders, Medisinissas, fearing lest he should escape and again make trouble for them, cut off his head and taking it to his home shewed it to his wives, for it was a remarkable sight on account of the extraordinary size of the head and the abundance of hair. And now, since the narration of the history has brought me to this point, it is necessary to tell from the beginning whence the nations of the Moors came to Libya and how they settled there.

When the Hebrews had withdrawn from Egypt and had come near the boundaries of Palestine, Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the journey, died, and the leadership was passed on to Joshua, the son of Nun,

who led this people into Palestine, and, by displaying a valour in war greater than that natural to a man, gained possession of the land. And after overthrowing all the nations he easily won the cities, and he seemed to be altogether invincible. Now at that time the whole country along the sea from Sidon as far as the boundaries of Egypt was called Phoenicia. And one king in ancient times held sway over it, as is agreed by all who have written the earliest accounts of the Phoenicians. In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, the Gergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews. Now when these nations saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, they emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to Egypt, which adjoined their country. And finding there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since there has been a great population in Aegypt from ancient times, they proceeded to Libya. And they established numerous cities and took possession of the whole of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles, and there they have lived even up to my time, using the Phoenician tongue. They also built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phoenician tongue: “We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.” There were also other nations settled in Libya before the Moors, who on account of having been established there from of old were said to be children of the soil. And because of this they said that Antaeus, their king, who wrestled with Heracles in Clipea, was a son of the earth. And in later times those who removed from Phoenicia with Dido came to the inhabitants of Libya as to kinsmen. And they willingly allowed them to found and hold Carthage. But as time went on Carthage became a powerful and populous city. And a battle took place between them and their neighbours, who, as has been said, had come from Palestine before them and are called Moors at the present time, and the Carthaginians defeated them and compelled them to live a very great distance away from Carthage. Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in war, and settled the Moors at the extremity of the inhabited land of Libya, and made the Carthaginians and the other Libyans subject and tributary to themselves. And after this the Moors won many victories over the Vandals and gained possession of the land now called Mauretania, extending from Gadira as far as the boundaries of Caesarea, as well as the most of Libya which remained. Such, then, is the story of the settlement of the Moors in Libya.

Σολόμων δὲ τὰ ἐς Ῥουφῖνον καὶ Αἰγὰν ξυνενεχθέντα ἀκούσας τόν τε πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντας ἔγραψε τάδε: [2] “Ἦδη μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων τισὶν ἀπονεοῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀπολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, οἳ οὐδενὶ πρότερον τεκμηριῶσαι ἔσχον ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ἐκβήσεται. [3] ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῶν συνοίκων ὑμῖν Βανδύλων ἐστί, τί ποτε ἄρα παθόντες χεῖράς τε ἀνταίρειν ἔγνωτε βασιλεῖ

τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν προέσθαι, [4] καὶ ταῦτα ὄρκους τε τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐν γράμμασι δόντες καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἐνέχυρα παρασχόμενοι; [5] ἢ ἐπιδειξίν τινα ἐγνώκατε ποιεῖσθαι, ὥς ὑμῖν οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε πίστεως οὔτε τῆς ξυγγενείας αὐτῆς οὔτε τῆς σωτηρίας οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἐστὶ τις λόγος; [6] καίτοι, εἰ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν οὕτως ἤσκηται, τίνι ξυμμάχῳ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα χωρεῖτε; [7] εἰ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπολοῦντες στρατεύεσθε, τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύειν βεβούλησθε; [8] ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἤδη τις εἰσηλθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν φθασάντων μετάμελος, γράψατε ὅπως ὑμῖν εὖ τὰ πεπραγμένα θησόμεθα: εἰ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑμῖν οὐπω λελώφηκε, δέξασθε Ῥωμαϊκὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ὄρκων οἷς ἐλωβήσασθε καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικίας ὑμῖν προσιόντα.' [9] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Σολόμων ἔγραψεν. οἱ δὲ Μαυρουῖοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὧδε: 'Βελισάριος μὲν ἐπαγγελίας μεγάλαις ἡμᾶς περιελθὼν ἔπεισε βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατηκόους εἶναι: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν οὐδενὸς μεταδόντες λιμῷ πιεζομένους ἡξίουں φίλους τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ξυμμάχους ἔχειν. [10] ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ Μαυρουσίοις τὸ μὴ πιστοῖς καλεῖσθαι προσήκει. [11] λύουσι γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐχ ὅσοι ἀδικούμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τῶν πέλας κατηγοροῦντες ἀφίστανται, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ὑποσπόνδους ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντές τινας εἶτα βιάζονται. [12] καὶ τὸν θεὸν πολέμιον σφίσι ποιοῦνται οὐχ οἱ ἂν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν κομιοῦμενοι ἐφ' ἑτέρους χωροῖεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιβατεύοντες ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται. [13] παίδων μέντοι ἔνεκεν ὑμῖν μελήσει, οἷς μίαν ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα ἀνάγκη: ἡμᾶς γάρ, οἷς καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, συνοικοῦσι γυναῖκες, παίδων οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιλίποι γονή.' [14] Ταῦτα ἀναλεξαμένην Σολόμωνι τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐπάγειν ἔδοξε. διαθέμενός τε τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πράγματα, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Βυζᾶκιον ἦει. [15] γενόμενος δὲ ἐς Μάμμης τὸ χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τέτταρες τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, χαράκῳμα ἐποιήσατο. [16] ὄρη δὲ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλὰ καὶ χωρίον ὁμαλὲς περὶ τὸν πρόποδα τῶν ὄρων, ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι παρασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν παράταξιν ὧδε. [17] κύκλον ἐκ τῶν καμήλων ταξάμενοι, ὅπερ καὶ τὸν Καβάωνα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰργάσθαι ἐρρήθη, κατὰ δυοκαίδεκα μάλιστα τοῦ μετώπου βάθος ἐποιοῦν. [18] καὶ γυναῖκας μὲν ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ κατέθεντο τοῦ κύκλου ἐντός: 'τοῖς γὰρ Μαυρουσίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ὀλίγας ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἐς παράταξιν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμος, αἶπερ αὐτοῖς χαρακώματά τε καὶ καλύβας ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἵπποκομοῦσιν ἐμπείρως, καὶ τῶν τε καμήλων τῆς τε τροφῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται: [19] καὶ θήγουσαι τὰ τῶν ὄπλων σιδήρια πολλοὺς σφίσι παραιροῦνται τῶν ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι πόνων:' αὐτοὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐς μέσους τῶν καμήλων τοὺς πόδας ἴσταντο, ἀσπίδας τε καὶ ξίφη ἔχοντες καὶ δοράτια, οἷς ἀκοντίζειν εἰώθασι. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡσύχαζον. [20] Σολόμων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ Μαυρουσίων κύκλου ὃ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐτύγγανεν ὃν ἀφῆκεν, οὐδένα ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος. [21] ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ κατιόντες τε οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει πολέμιοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἀμφιβόλους ἐν τῇ παρατάξει τοὺς ἐκείνη ταττομένους ποιήσωνται. [22] ἐς δὲ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ λειπόμενον ὅλον ἀντιτάξας

τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶδε πεφοβημένους τε καὶ ἀθαρσοῦντας, διὰ τὰ ἐς Αἰγάν τε καὶ Ῥουφῖνον ξυνενεχθέντα, βουλόμενος ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἔλεξε τάδε: [23] Ἄνδρες οἱ Βελισαρίῳ ξυστρατευσάμενοι, μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε φόβος εἰσὶτω, μηδέ, εἰ Μαυρούσιοι κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε συνειλεγμένοι Ῥωμαίων ἤδη πεντακοσίων ἐκράτησαν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐν παραδείγματος μοίρᾳ γινέσθω. [24] ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς Βανδῖλοι μὲν Μαυρουσίων ἐκράτουν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Βανδύλων ἀκονιτὶ κύριοι τῷ πολέμῳ γεγένησθε, καὶ ὡς τοὺς τῶν μειζόνων κεκρατηκότας περὶ τῶν καταδεεστέρων πεφοβῆσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. [25] καίτοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς ἀγῶνα πολέμου φαυλότατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ Μαυρουσίων ἔθνος. [26] γυμνοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοί εἰσι καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀσπίδας ἔχουσι, βραχείας τε ταύτας καὶ οὐκ εὖ πεποιημένας οὐδὲ ἀπωθεῖσθαι τὰ προσιόντα δυναμένας προβέβληνται. [27] καὶ τὰ δύο ταῦτα δοράτια ἀπορρίψαντες, ἦν μὴ τι δράσωσιν, [28] αὐτόματοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ὥστε πάρεστιν ὑμῖν τὴν πρώτην φυλαξαμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν ἀνελέσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. [29] τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας ὀπλίσεως ἡλίκον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐστὶν ὁρᾶτε δήπου. [30] καὶ τούτων ἔξω, ψυχῶν μὲν ἀρετὴ καὶ σωματῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἤδη νενικηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑμῖν πρόσεστιν: οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι τούτων ἀπάντων ἐστερημένοι μόνῳ τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὁμίλῳ πιστεύουσι. [31] ῥῶον δὲ ὀλίγοι ὡς ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένοι πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια νικῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡσθῶνται. [32] τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ στρατιώτῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ πάρεστι, τῷ δὲ ἀνάνδρῳ τὸ τῶν συντεταγμένων πλῆθος ἐς ἐπισφαλῇ στενοχωρίαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. [33] καὶ μὴν καὶ καμῆλων τῶνδε ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον, αἱ οὔτε ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολεμίῳις οἰαί τέ εἰσι καὶ πληγεῖσαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μεζόνος ταραχῆς τε καὶ ἀταξίας αἷται τούτοις γενήσονται. [34] καὶ τὸ προπετὲς ὃ διὰ τὸ πρότερον εὐημερῆσαι οἱ πολέμοι κέκτινται, ὑμῖν συναγωνιῆσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [35] τόλμα γὰρ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει ξυμμετρομένη τάχα τι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους ὀνήσει, [36] ὑπεραίρουσα δὲ ταύτην ἐς κίνδυνον ἄγει. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονοῦντες σιγὴν τε καὶ κόσμον ἀσκεῖτε: τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελούμενοι ῥῶον τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκοσμίας κρατήσομεν.' ταῦτα μὲν Σολόμων εἶπεν. [37] Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν εἶδον, βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν αὐθις ἀντικαθιστάναι τοιαύδε παρεκελεύσαντο: [38] Ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπεια Ῥωμαῖοι σώματα ἔχουσι καὶ οἷα σιδήρῳ πλησόμεν' εἴκειν μεμαθήκαμεν, ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, οἷς αὐτῶν ἔναγχος τοὺς πάντων ἀρίστους πῇ μὲν καταχωσθέντας τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐκτεínaμεν, πῇ δὲ ἀρπάσαντες δορυαλῶτους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πεποιήμεθα. [39] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ προέχειν αὐχοῦμεν ὅρᾳ πάρεστι. [40] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἢ Λιβύης πάσης κυρίοις εἶναι, [41] ἢ τοῖς ἀλαζόσι τοῖσδε δουλεύειν. ὥστε ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ὡς μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνος, μὴ οὐχὶ εὐψυχοτάτοις

εἶναι ἀξύμφορον. [42] τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀπλίσεως ὑπερφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς προσήκει. ἦν τε γὰρ πεζῇ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴωσιν, οὐκ εὐσταλεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἡσηθησονται τοῦ Μαυρουσίων τάχους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ἢ τε τῶν καμήλων ὅσιν ἐκπλήξασα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τοῦ πολέμου θόρυβον ἢ τούτων κραυγὴ ὑπερηχοῦσα εἰς ἀταξίαν, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσεται. [43] καὶ τὴν ἐς Βανδίλους νίκην εἴ τις ἐκλογιζόμενος μὴ ἀνταγωνίστους αὐτοὺς οἶεται εἶναι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει. [44] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἀρετῇ ἢ τύχῃ κρίνεσθαι πέφυκε· Βελισάριον δέ, ὃς τῆς Βανδύλων ἐπικρατήσεως αἴτιος γέγονεν, ἐκποδὼν νῦν ἡμῖν ἐστηκέναι πεποίηκε τὸ δαιμόνιον. [45] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡμεῖς Βανδύλους πολλάκις νενικηκότες περιελόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἐτοιμότερόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον Ῥωμαῖοις τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήμεθα κράτος. [46] καὶ νῦν δὲ πολεμίων τῶνδε κρατήσιν, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνδραγαθίζῃσθε, ἐλπίδα ἔχομεν.' [47] Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες παρακελευσάμενοι τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἤρχον. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολλὴ ἀκοσμία ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐγεγόνει. [48] οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε κραυγῇ καὶ τῇ ὄνει τῶν καμήλων ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαιτίζοντο τε καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔφευγον. [49] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιούμενοι οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια ὅσα σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἦν ἀκοντίζοντες, θορύβου τε αὐτῶν ἐμπίπλασθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐποίουν καὶ οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἐν τάξει μένοντας ἔπλησσαν. [50] ὕστερον δὲ Σολόμων, κατιδὼν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ἀποθρόσκει πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει. [51] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέβησαν, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐνετέλλετο ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβαλλομένοις δεχομένοις τε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πεμπόμενα ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν· αὐτὸς δὲ στρατιώτας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν τοῦ κύκλου ἐπέσκηψε μοῖραν. [52] οὗς δὴ τὰ ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἐκέλευε τὰς καμήλους αἱ ταύτη εἰστήκεσαν κτείνειν. [53] τότε Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὅσοι ἐκείνη ἐτετάχατο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ Σολόμῳ κτείνουσι καμήλους ἀμφὶ διακοσίας, αὐτίκα τε ὁ κύκλος, ἐπεὶ αἱ κάμηλοι ἔπεσον, [54] ἐσβατὸς Ῥωμαῖοις ἐγένετο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου μέσον ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα αἱ Μαυρουσίων γυναῖκες ἐκάθηντο· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπεληγμένοι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ἦν ἀποχωροῦσι, φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν πάσῃ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐπισπόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτεινον. [55] καὶ λέγονται Μαυρουσίων μύριοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀποθανεῖν· γυναῖκές τε πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγένοντο. [56] καὶ καμήλους οἱ στρατιῶται πάσας, ὅσας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, ἐλήϊσαντο. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦσαν, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐορτὴν ἄζοντες.

XI

Now when Solomon heard what had befallen Rufinus and Aïgan, he made ready for war and wrote as follows to the commanders of the Moors: "Other men than you have even before this had the ill fortune to lose their senses and to be destroyed, men who had no means of judging beforehand how their folly would turn out. But as for you, who have the example near at hand in your neighbours, the Vandals, what in the world has happened to you that you have decided to raise your hands against the great emperor and throw away your own security, and that too when you have given the most dread oaths in writing and have handed over your children as pledges to the agreement? Is it that you have determined to make a kind of display of the fact that you have no consideration either for God or for good faith or for kinship itself or for safety or for any other thing at all? And yet, if such is your practice in matters which concern the divine, in what ally do you put your trust in marching against the emperor of the Romans? And if you are taking the field to the destruction of your children, what in the world is it in behalf of which you have decided to endanger yourselves? But if any repentance has by now entered your hearts for what has already taken place, write to us, that we may satisfactorily arrange with you touching what has already been done; but if your madness has not yet abated, expect a Roman war, which will come upon you together with the oaths which you have violated and the wrong which you are doing to your own children."

Such was the letter which Solomon wrote. And the Moors replied as follows: "Belisarius deluded us with great promises and by this means persuaded us to become subjects of the Emperor Justinian; but the Romans, while giving us no share in any good thing, expected to have us, though pinched with hunger, as their friends and allies. Therefore it is more fitting that you should be called faithless than that the Moors should be. For the men who break treaties are not those who, when manifestly wronged, bring accusation against their neighbours and turn away from them, but those who expect to keep others in faithful alliance with them and then do them violence. And men make God their enemy, not when they march against others in order to recover their own possessions, but when they get themselves into danger of war by encroaching upon the possessions of others. And as for children, that will be your concern, who are not permitted to marry more than one wife; but with us, who have, it may be, fifty wives living with each of us, offspring of children can never fail."

When Solomon had read this letter, he decided to lead his whole army against the Moors. So after arranging matters in Carthage, he proceeded with all his troops to Byzacium. And when he reached the place which is called Mammes,

where the four Moorish commanders, whom I have mentioned a little before, were encamped, he made a stockade for himself. Now there are lofty mountains there, and a level space near the foothills of the mountains, where the barbarians had made preparations for the battle and arranged their fighting order as follows. They formed a circle of their camels, just as, in the previous narrative, I have said Cabaon did, making the front about twelve deep. And they placed the women with the children within the circle; (for among the Moors it is customary to take also a few women, with their children, to battle, and these make the stockades and huts for them and tend the horses skilfully, and have charge of the camels and the food; they also sharpen the iron weapons and take upon themselves many of the tasks in connection with the preparation for battle); and the men themselves took their stand on foot in between the legs of the camels, having shields and swords and small spears which they are accustomed to hurl like javelins. And some of them with their horses remained quietly among the mountains. But Solomon disregarded one half of the circle of the Moors, which was towards the mountain, placing no one there. For he feared lest the enemy on the mountain should come down and those in the circle should turn about and thus make the men drawn up there exposed to attack on both sides in the battle. But against the remainder of the circle he drew up his whole army, and since he saw the most of them frightened and without courage, on account of what had befallen Aïgan and Rufinus, and wishing to admonish them to be of good cheer, he spoke as follows: "Men who have campaigned with Belisarius, let no fear of these men enter your minds, and, if Moors gathered to the number of fifty thousand have already defeated five hundred Romans, let not this stand for you as an example. But call to mind your own valour, and consider that while the Vandals defeated the Moors, you have become masters of the Vandals in war without any effort, and that it is not right that those who have conquered the greater should be terrified before those who are inferior. And indeed of all men the Moorish nation seems to be the most poorly equipped for war's struggle. For the most of them have no armour at all, and those who have shields to hold before themselves have only small ones which are not well made and are not able to turn aside what strikes against them. And after they have thrown those two small spears, if they do not accomplish anything, they turn of their own accord to flight. So that it is possible for you, after guarding against the first attack of the barbarians, to win the victory with no trouble at all. But as to your equipment of arms, you see, of course, how great is the difference between it and that of your opponents. And apart from this, both valour of heart and strength of body and experience in war and confidence because you have already conquered all your enemies, — all these advantages you have; but the Moors, being deprived of all these things, put their trust only in their own great throng. And it is easier for a few who are most excellently prepared to conquer a multitude of men not good at warfare than it is for the multitude to defeat them. For while the good soldier has his

confidence in himself, the cowardly man generally finds that the very number of those arrayed with him produces a want of room that is full of peril. Furthermore, you are warranted in despising these camels, which cannot fight for the enemy, and when struck by our missiles will, in all probability, become the cause of considerable confusion and disorder among them. And the eagerness for battle which the enemy have acquired on account of their former success will be your ally in the fight. For daring, when it is kept commensurate with one's power, will perhaps be of some benefit even to those who make use of it, but when it exceeds one's power it lends into danger. Bearing these things in mind and despising the enemy, observe silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour." Thus spoke Solomon.

And the commanders of the Moors also, seeing the barbarians terrified at the orderly array of the Romans, and wishing to recall their host to confidence again, exhorted them in this wise: "That the Romans have human bodies, the kind that yield when struck with iron, we have been taught, O fellow-soldiers, by those of them whom we have recently met, the best of them all, some of whom we have overwhelmed with our spears and killed, and the others we have seized and made our prisoners of war. And not only is this so, but it is now possible to see also that we boast great superiority over them in numbers. And, furthermore, the struggle for us involves the very greatest things, either to be masters of all Libya or to be slaves to these braggarts. It is therefore necessary for us to be in the highest degree brave men at the present time. For it is not expedient that those whose all is at stake should be other than exceedingly courageous. And it behoves us to despise the equipment of arms which the enemy have. For if they come on foot against us, they will not be able to move rapidly, but will be worsted by the agility of the Moors, and their cavalry will be terrified both by the sight of the camels, and by the noise they make, which, rising above the general tumult of battle, will, in all likelihood, throw them into disorder. And if anyone by taking into consideration the victory of the Romans over the Vandals thinks them not to be withstood, he is mistaken in his judgment. For the scales of war are, in the nature of the case, turned by the valour of the commander or by fortune; and Belisarius, who was responsible for their gaining the mastery over the Vandals, has now, thanks to Heaven, been removed out of our way. And, besides, we too have many times conquered the Vandals and stripped them of their power, and have thus made the victory over them a more feasible and an easier task for the Romans. And now we have reason to hope to conquer this enemy also if you shew yourselves brave men in the struggle."

After the officers of the Moors had delivered this exhortation, they began the engagement. And at first there arose great disorder in the Roman army. For their horses were offended by the noise made by the camels and by the sight

of them, and reared up and threw off their riders and the most of them fled in complete disorder. And in the meantime the Moors were making sallies and hurling all the small spears which they had in their hands, thus causing the Roman army to be filled with tumult, and they were hitting them with their missiles while they were unable either to defend themselves or to remain in position. But after this, Solomon, observing what was happening, leaped down from his horse himself first and caused all the others to do the same. And when they had dismounted, he commanded the others to stand still, and, holding their shields before them and receiving the missiles sent by the enemy, to remain in their position; but he himself, leading forward not less than five hundred men, made an attack upon the other portion of the circle. These men he commanded to draw their swords and kill the camels which stood at that point. Then the Moors who were stationed there beat a hasty retreat, and the men under Solomon killed about two hundred camels, and straightway, when the camels fell, the circle became accessible to the Romans. And they advanced on the run into the middle of the circle where the women of the Moors were sitting; meanwhile the barbarians in consternation withdrew to the mountain which was close by, and as they fled in complete disorder the Romans followed behind and killed them. And it is said that ten thousand of the Moors perished in this encounter, while all the women together with the children were made slaves. And the soldiers secured as booty all the camels which they had not killed. Thus the Romans with all their plunder went to Carthage to celebrate the festival of triumph.

οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρώμενοι θυμῷ πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους αἰθῆς, οὐδένα σφῶν ἀπολιπόντες, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ καταθεῖν τὰ ἐν Βυζακίῳ χωρία ἤρξαντο, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας τῶν σφίσι παραπιπτόντων φειδόμενοι. [2] ἄρτι τε Σολόμωνι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐληλακότι βάρβαροι πλήθει μεγάλῳ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἐληλυθέναι καὶ ληΐζεσθαι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη ἠγγέλλοντο. ἄρας οὖν κατὰ τάχος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [3] γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Βουργάωνι, ἔνθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἡμέρας μὲν τινὰς ἀντεκάθητο, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γένωνται οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἄρχοι. [4] ὥς δὲ ἐκείνοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔμενον, διεῖπέ τε ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ διεκόσμη τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον ἦκιστα Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς μάχην ἰέναι διανοοῦντο ἥδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἁμαχόν τι δέος ἐσῆεί, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἠλιζον ῥᾶον αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. [5] ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄρος ὃ Βουργάων ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν ἀπτόμον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον δεινῶς ἄβατον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν εὐεφοδόν τε καὶ ὑπτίως ἔχον. [6] καὶ σκοπέλῳ ὑψηλῷ δύο ἀνέχετον νάπην τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν ἐργαζομένῳ, στενὴν μὲν κοιμίδι, ἐς βάθος δὲ τι ἄφατον κατατείνουσιν. [7] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους ἀπέλιπον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, οὐδὲν ἐνθένδε πολέμιον οἰόμενοι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀμφὶ τὸν πρόποδα χώρον ἔλιπον οὗ δὴ εὐπρόσοδος ὃ Βουργάων ἦν. [8] κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ὅπως, ἦν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀνιόντες μάχης ἄρξωσιν, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ὑπερθεὶν ἐκείνων γενόμενοι κατὰ κορυφὴν

βάλλωσιν. [9] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἵπποι πολλοὶ ἢ ἐς φυγὴν παρεσκευασμένοι, ἢ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἣν τῆς μάχης κρατήσῃσι. [10] Σολόμων δέ, ἐπεὶ εἶδε τοὺς Μαυρουσίους οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐθέλοντας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα τῇ προσεδρεῖα τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ἤχθετο, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν Βουργάωνι ἡπείγετο. [11] ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας καταπεπληγμένους τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμίλῳ πολυπλασίῳ ἢ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ γεγεννημένῳ, ξυγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [12] ‘Τὸ μὲν δέος ᾧ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι χρῶνται, οὐχ ἑτέρου του κατηγόρου δεῖται, ἀλλ’ αὐτεπάγγελτον ἐξελήλεγκται τὴν οἰκοθεν ἐπαγόμενον μαρτυρίαν [13] ὁρᾶτε γὰρ δὴ πού τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς τόσας μὲν καὶ τόσας μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, οὐ τολμῶντας δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντας ξυμβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ πιστεῦειν ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου δυσκολίαν καταφυγόντας. [14] ὥστε ὑμῖν οὐδέ τι ἐγκελεύεσθαι ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐπάνανγκες. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἀσθένεια τὸ θαρσεῖν δίδωσιν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφελείας προσδεῖ. [15] τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς δεήσῃ ὥς, ἣν μετὰ εὐψυχίας καὶ τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκωμεν, λελείπεται ἡμῖν, Βανδύλων τε νενικημένων καὶ Μαυρουσίων εἰς ταῦτο τύχης ἐληλακότων, τῶν Λιβύης ἀγαθῶν ἀπόνασθαι πάντων, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πολέμιον ἐννοεῖν ἔχουσιν [16] ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλωσι, μηδέ τι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἡμῖν γίνοιτο βλάβος, ἐγὼ προνοήσω.’ [17] Τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος Σολόμων, Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευεν, ὃς τῶν ἐξκουβιτῶρων ἡγεῖτ’· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς φύλακας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, πεζοὺς χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενον ἀμφὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν ἔχοντά τε καὶ τῶν σημείων τινὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τοῦ Βουργάωνος λάθρα ἀναβῆναι, οὗ μάλιστα δύσοδόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀπόρευτον ἦν, ἐπιστείλας ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν ἄγχι ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους κολωνὸν ἴκωνται, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζοντας τὸ λοιπὸν διανυκτερεύειν, ἅμα τε ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι καθύπερθεν φαινομένους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐνδεικνυμένους βάλλειν. [18] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπεὶ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἐγγὺς τοῦ σκοπέλου ἀφικόμενοι μὴ ὅτι Μαυρουσίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔλαθον: [19] ἐς προφυλακὴν γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσῃσι. ὀρθροῦ δὲ βαθέος Σολόμων παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τοῦ Βουργάωνος τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἀνέβαινε. [20] καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτ’ ἐγεγόνει ἐγγὺς τε οἱ πολέμιοι καθεωρῶντο, οὐκέτι γυμνὴν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολὴν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ σημεῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐνδεικνυμένων ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ὑπέφαινε τι ἡμέρας’ διηποροῦντο. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἦρχον, οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ στράτευμα οἰκεῖον εἶναι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολεμίων γεγενῆσθαι ἡσθάνοντο, βαλλόμενοι δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ οὐ παρὸν σφίσι τοὺς πολέμιους ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, ἐς φυγὴν δὲ αὐτίκα ξύμπαντες ὥρμηντο. [22] οὔτε δὲ ἐς τοῦ Βουργάωνος τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ἔχοντες, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κατεχομένην, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς διὰ τοῦ πρόποδός πη ἰέναι, ἐνθένδε σφίσιν ἐπικειμένων τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔς τε τὴν νάπην καὶ ἐς τῶν σκοπέλων τὸν ἕτερον δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῖς

ἵπποις, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ. [23] ἄτε δὲ ὄμιλος πολὺς ἐν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ φεύγοντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ ἐς τὴν νάπην βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ οὕσαν ἐσπίπτοντες ἀεὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔθνησκον, τοῖς μέντοι ὀπισθεν ἰοῦσιν οὐ παρείχοντο τοῦ κακοῦ αἰσθησιν. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἵπων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡ νάπη ἔμπλεως γενομένη διάβασιν ἐκ τοῦ Βουργάωνος ἐς ὄρος ἐποίει τὸ ἕτερον, ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὑπολειπόμενοι, διὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενοι. [25] ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ Μαυρουσίων μὲν μυριάδες πέντε, ὡς αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίζοντο οἱ περιόντες, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πληγὴν τινα ἔλαβεν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης τινός, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνεῖς πάντες τῆς νίκης ἀπώναντο ταύτης. [26] διέφυγον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγούμενοι πάντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Ἑσδιλάσας πίστεις λαβὼν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρισε. [27] γυναικῶν μέντοι καὶ παίδων λείαν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος Ῥωμαῖοι εἶλον ὥστε προβάτου τιμῆς παῖδα Μαυρουσίον τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ἀπέδοντο. [28] καὶ τότε Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων τὸ λόγιον ἐσῆει, ὡς ἄρα τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγενείου ὀλεῖται. [29] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα ξὺν τε τῇ λείᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἑσδιλάσᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαυνον τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοις μὴ ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, ἐν Βυζακίῳ μὲν ἰδρῦσθαι ἀδύνατα ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς Λιβύων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων βιάζωνται, ξὺν δὲ ἄρχουσι τοῖς σφετέροις εἰς Νουμιδίαν ἀφικόμενοι ἰκέται γίνονται Ἰαύδα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχε. [30] μόνοι δὲ Μαυρουσίων ἐν Βυζακίῳ διέμειναν ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀντάλας, ὃς δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάξας κακῶν ἀπαθῆς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

XII

But the barbarians, being moved with anger, once more took the field in a body against the Romans, leaving behind not one of their number, and they began to overrun the country in Byzacium, sparing none of any age of those who fell in their way. And when Solomon had just marched into Carthage it was reported that the barbarians with a great host had come into Byzacium and were plundering everything there. He therefore departed quickly with his whole army and marched against them. And when he reached Bourgaon, where the enemy were encamped, he remained some days in camp over against them, in order that, as soon as the Moors should get on level ground, he might begin the battle. But since they remained on the mountain, he marshalled his army and arrayed it for battle; the Moors, however, had no intention of ever again engaging in battle with the Romans in level country (for already an irresistible fear had come over them), but on the mountain they hoped to overcome them more easily. Now Mt. Bourgaon is for the most part precipitous and on the side toward the east extremely difficult to ascend, but on the west it is easily accessible and rises in an even slope. And there are two lofty peaks which rise up, forming between them a sort of vale, very narrow, but of incredible depth. Now the barbarians left the peak of the mountain unoccupied, thinking that on this side no hostile movement would be made against them; and they left equally unprotected the space about the foot of the mountain where Bourgaon was easy of access. But at the middle of the ascent they made their camp and remained there, in order that, if the enemy should ascend and begin battle with them, they might at the outset, being on higher ground, shoot down upon their heads. They also had on the mountain many horses, prepared either for flight or for the pursuit, if they should win the battle.

Now when Solomon saw that the Moors were unwilling to fight another battle on the level ground, and also that the Roman army was opposed to making a siege in a desert place, he was eager to come to an encounter with the enemy on Bourgaon. But inasmuch as he saw that the soldiers were stricken with terror because of the multitude of their opponents, which was many times greater than it had been in the previous battle, he called together the army and spoke as follows: "The fear which the enemy feel toward you needs no other arraignment, but voluntarily pleads guilty, bringing forward, as it does, the testimony of its own witnesses. For you see, surely, our opponents gathered in so many tens and tens of thousands, but not daring to come down to the plain and engage with us, unable to feel confidence even in their own selves, but taking refuge in the difficulty of this place. It is therefore not even necessary to address any exhortation to you, at the present time at least. For those to whom both the circumstances and the weakness of the enemy give courage,

need not, I think, the additional assistance of words. But of this one thing it will be needful to remind you, that if we fight out this engagement also with brave hearts, it will remain for us, having defeated the Vandals and reduced the Moors to the same fortune, to enjoy all the good things of Libya, having no thought whatever of an enemy in our minds. But as to preventing the enemy from shooting down upon our heads, and providing that no harm come to us from the nature of the place, I myself shall make provision.”

After making this exhortation Solomon commanded Theodorus, who led the “excubitores” (for thus the Romans call their guards), to take with him a thousand infantrymen toward the end of the afternoon and with some of the standards to go up secretly on the east side of Bourgaon, where the mountain is most difficult of ascent and, one might say, impracticable, commanding him that, when they arrived near the crest of the mountain, they should remain quietly there and pass the rest of the night, and that at sunrise they should appear above the enemy and displaying the standards commence to shoot. And Theodorus did as directed. And when it was well on in the night, they climbed up the precipitous slope and reached a point near the peak without being noticed either by the Moors or even by any of the Romans; for they were being sent out, it was said, as an advance guard, to prevent anyone from coming to the camp from the outside to do mischief. And at early dawn Solomon with the whole army went up against the enemy to the outskirts of Bourgaon. And when morning had come and the enemy were seen near at hand, the soldiers were completely at a loss, seeing the summit of the mountain no longer unoccupied, as formerly, but covered with men who were displaying Roman standards; for already some daylight was beginning to shew. But when those on the peak began their attack, the Romans perceived that the army was their own and the barbarians that they had been placed between their enemy’s forces, and being shot at from both sides and having no opportunity to ward off the enemy, they thought no more of resistance but turned, all of them, to a hasty flight. And since they could neither run up to the top of Bourgaon, which was held by the enemy, nor go to the plain anywhere over the lower slopes of the mountain, since their opponents were pressing upon them from that side, they went with a great rush to the vale and the unoccupied peak, some even with their horses, others on foot. But since they were a numerous throng fleeing in great fear and confusion, they kept killing each other, and as they rushed into the vale, which was exceedingly deep, those who were first were being killed constantly, but their plight could not be perceived by those who were coming up behind. And when the vale became full of dead horses and men, and the bodies made a passage from Bourgaon to the other mountain, then the remainder were saved by making the crossing over the bodies. And there perished in this struggle, among the Moors fifty thousand, as was declared by those of them who survived, but among the Romans no one at all, nor indeed did anyone receive even a

wound, either at the hand of the enemy or by any accident happening to him, but they all enjoyed this victory unscathed. All of the leaders of the barbarians also made their escape, except Esdilasas, who received pledges and surrendered himself to the Romans. So great, however, was the multitude of women and children whom the Romans seized as booty, that they would sell a Moorish boy for the price of a sheep to any who wished to buy. And then the remainder of the Moors recalled the saying of their women, to the effect that their nation would be destroyed by a beardless man.

So the Roman army, together with its booty and with Esdilasas, marched into Carthage; and those of the barbarians who had not perished decided that it was impossible to settle in Byzacium, lest they, being few, should be treated with violence by the Libyans who were their neighbours, and with their leaders they went into Numidia and made themselves suppliants of Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium. And the only Moors who remained in Byzacium were those led by Antalas, who during this time had kept faith with the Romans and together with his subjects had remained unharmed.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰαυδάς ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχε, πλεον ἢ τρισμυρίους ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐπαγόμενος ἐλίζετο τὰ ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας χωρία, ἡνδραποδίζε τε τῶν Λιβύων πολλούς. [2] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀλθίας ἐν Κεντουρίαις τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων φυλακὴν ἔχων· ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ζὺν Οὐννοῖς τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐπομένοις, ἐβδομήκοντα μάλιστα οὖσιν, ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένετο. [3] λογισάμενός τε ὡς οὐχ οἷός τέ ἐστι πλήθει Μαυρουσίων τοσοῦτ' ἔξιν ἀνδράσιν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν τινα ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἂν δι' αὐτῆς ὁδῷ ἰόντων τῶν πολεμίων τῶν τινας αἰχμαλώτων ἀναρπάσαι δυνατός εἴη. [4] καὶ 'οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοιαύτη τις ἐνταῦθα ὁδός, ἐπεὶ πεδία ὑπὲρ πανταχῇ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐστὶν ἐπενόει τάδε. [5] Πόλις ἐστὶ που πλησίον Τίγισις ὄνομα, τότε μὲν ἀτείχιστος οὖσα, κρήνην δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔχουσα. [6] ταύτην Ἀλθίας τὴν κρήνην καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, λογισάμενος ὡς δίψῃ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα πάντως ἀφίξονται οἱ πολέμοι· ἄλλο γὰρ ὕδωρ ἄγχιστά πη ὡς ἥκιστα ἐστὶ. [7] πᾶσι μὲν οὖν τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐκλογιζομένοις παράλογον ἔδοξε μανιώδης αὐτοῦ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι. [8] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πνίγει μεγάλῳ θέρους ὥρᾳ ὠμилήκοτες, δίψῃ τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστη ἐχόμενοι, παρὰ τὴν κρήνην δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἦλθον, οὐδὲν ἐναντίωμα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. [9] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόμενον εὗρον, ἀπορούμενοι ζύμπαντες ἔστησαν, τοῦ πλείστου τῆς ἰσχύος ἤδη δαπανηθέντος σφίσι τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [10] διὸ δὴ Ἰαυδάς τῷ Ἀλθίᾳ εἰς λόγους ἦκων τὸ τρίτημόριόν οἱ δώσειν ὠμολόγει τῆς λείας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Μαυρούσιοι πῶσιν ἅπαντες. [11] ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἐνδέχεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, μονομαχεῖν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἤξιον. [12] τοῦ δὲ Ἰαυδά ταύτην δὴ δεξαμένου τὴν πρόκλησιν, ζυνέκειτο ἡσσηθέντος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, τοῦ Ἀλθία Μαυρουσίου πιεῖν. [13] ἔχαιρέ τε ἅπας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατός, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες, ἐπεὶ Ἀλθίας μὲν ἰσχνός τε ἦν καὶ οὐ μέγας τὸ σῶμα, Ἰαυδάς

δὲ κάλλιστός τε ἦν καὶ μαχημώτατος Μαυρουσίων ἀπάντων. [14] ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς ἐτύγγανον ὄντες. ὁ δὲ Ἰαύδας τὸ δοράτιον ἠκόντισε πρῶτος, οὐπερ Ἀλθίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντος χειρὶ λαβέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ δόξαν ἰσχύσας Ἰαύδαν τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε. [15] τῇ δὲ λαίᾳ χειρὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ ἀμφιδέξιός ἦν, τὸν Ἰαύδα ἵππον βαλὼν ἔκτεινε. [16] πεσόντος τε αὐτοῦ ἵππον ἕτερον τῷ ἄρχοντι Μαυρούσιοι ἦγον, ἐφ' ὃν ἀναθορῶν Ἰαύδας εὐθὺς ἔφυγε· καὶ οἱ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς εἶπετο. [17] ὃ τε Ἀλθίας τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφελόμενος ζύμπασαν ὄνομα μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Λιβύην ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [18] Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὀλίγον τινὰ διατρίψας χρόνον, ἐπὶ τε ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ Ἰαύδαν ἐπήγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπενεγκὼν αὐτῷ ὅτι, ἥνικα ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς τὴν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἀσχολίαν εἶχε, πολλὰ ἐληίσατο τῶν ἐν Νουμιδία χωρίων. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [19] ὥρμων δὲ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰαύδαν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἕτεροι, Μασσωνᾶς τε καὶ Ὀρταΐας, τῆς σφετέρας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα· Μασσωνᾶς μὲν, ὅτι οἱ τὸν πατέρα Μεφανίαν κηδεστής ὢν Ἰαύδας δόλῳ ἔκτεινεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ὅτι ζὺν τῷ Μαστίνα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μαυριτανίᾳ Βαρβάρων ἠγεῖτο, ἐξελάσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους ὧν ἤρχεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐβούλευσεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκηντο. [20] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Σολόμωνος, καὶ Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐς ζυμμαχίαν ἦλθον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐς ποταμὸν Ἀβίγαν, ὃς τὸ Αὐράσιον παραρρέων ἀρδεύει τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [21] τῷ δὲ Ἰαύδα ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδῖον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν Αὐρασίῳ ἐξηρτύετο ὅπη οἱ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὡς δυσκολώτατα ἔσεσθαι. [22] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἡμερῶν μὲν ὁδῷ δέκα καὶ τριῶν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνος διέχει, μέγιστον δὲ ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [23] ἡμερῶν γὰρ τριῶν ἐνταῦθα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ περίοδος ἐστί. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ ἰέναι βουλομένῳ δύσοδόν τέ ἐστί καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον, ἄνω δὲ ἦκοντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γενομένῳ πεδία τε φαίνεται καὶ κρῆναι πολλαὶ ποταμούς τε ποιῶσαι καὶ παραδείσων πολὺ τι χρῆμα θαυμάσιον οἶον. [24] καὶ ὃ τε σῖτος ὃς ἐνταῦθα φύεται ἢ τε ὀπώρα ἐκάστη διπλασία τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν ἢ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀπάσῃ Λιβύῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. [25] ἔστι δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἐνταῦθα πῇ ἀπημελημένα, τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾤκημένοις εἶναι. [26] ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ τὸ Αὐράσιον Μαυρούσιοι Βανδύλους ἀφείλοντο, οὐδεὶς πῶ ἐς αὐτὸ πολέμιος ἦλθεν οὐδὲ ἐς δέος τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν Ταμούγαδιν, ἣ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον πολυάνθρωπος οὔσα ᾤκητο, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ποιησάμενοι ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὅπως μὴ ἐνταῦθα ἢ δυνατὰ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἰέναι. [27] εἶχον δὲ οἱ ταύτῃ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Αὐρασίου χώραν, [28] πολλήν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὔσαν. καὶ τούτων ἐπέκεινα Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἕτερα ᾤκηντο, ὧν ἤρχεν Ὀρταΐας, ὃς Σολόμωνί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, [29] ὡς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ζύμμαχος ἦλθε. τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ λέγοντος ἤκουσα ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν χώραν ἣς αὐτὸς ἄρχοι, οὐδένες ἀνθρώπων οἰκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ γῆ ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει, ταύτης τε ἐπέκεινα ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσιν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μελανόχροι, ἀλλὰ λευκοὶ τε λίαν

τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔχει. [30] Σολόμων δὲ Μαυρουσίων τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους δωρησάμενος χρήμασι μεγάλοις καὶ πολλὰ παρακελευσάμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς ὅρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ὡς ἐς μάχην διατεταγμένοι ἀνέβαινον, οἰόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν ἡ βουλομένη τῇ τύχῃ. [31] οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τροφάς, ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγας, σφίσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις τοῖς σφετέροις οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπήγοντο. [32] πορευθέντες δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ πολλῇ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους ἠύλισαντο. [33] τοσαύτην τε ὁδὸν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνύοντες ἐβδομαῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς χῶρον ἔνθα φρούριόν τε παλαιὸν ἦν καὶ ποταμός τις ἀένναος. Ὅρος Ἀσπίδος τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει καλοῦσι Λατίνοι τὸν χῶρον. [34] ἐνταῦθα σφίσι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην παρασκευασάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἡμερῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα τριῶν χρόνος ἐτίβη. [35] ὡς δὲ οἱ τε πολέμιοι τὸ παράπαν σφίσιν ἐκποδὼν ἴσταντο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, ἐνθῦμιον Σολόμωνι τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἄρα τις πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς γίνοιτο: [36] οἱ γε, καίπερ οὐκ ἀμελετήτως τῆς ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πορείας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστάμενοί τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὅσα τοῖς πολεμίοις βεβουλευμένα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς ἐκάστην μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν λάθρα ἐπαιγόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἐς αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων σταλέντες, οὐδὲν ἀγγεῖλαι ὑγῆς ἔγνωσαν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ προμαθόντες τροφάς τε σφίσιν ἐς χρόνον πλείω ἔχοντες ἐς ὅρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ἀναβαίνουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευάσαιντο ὅπῃ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. [37] ὅλως δὲ ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ξυμμάχων γεγενῆσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐς δέος ἦλθον, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἄπιστοι λέγονται εἶναι Μαυρούσιοι φύσει, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους στρατεύονται. [38] ὦν δὴ ἐνθυμηθέντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, ἐνθὲνδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωροῦσιν ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφικόμενοι χαράκῳ ἐποίησαντο. [39] Μετὰ δὲ Σολόμων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν τινα φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ καταστησάμενος ἡμερῶν γὰρ ἤδη ἦν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦει. [40] ἐνθα δὴ ἕκαστα διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμη, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ πλείονι παρασκευῇ καί, ἣν δύνηται, ξυμμάχων Μαυρουσίων ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον αὐθις στρατεύοι. [41] ἅμα δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς τε καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐξηρτύετο οἱ ἐν Σαρδοὶ τῇ νήσῳ ἴδρυνται: [42] αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νῆσος μεγάλη μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως εὐδαίμων, ἐς τὰς δύο μάλιστα τῆς Σικελίας κατατείνουσα μοίρας ἡμερῶν γὰρ ὁδὸν εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τὸ τῆς γῆς περίμετρον ἔχει, Ῥώμης τε καὶ Καρχηδόνης ἐν μέσῳ κειμένη πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πιέζεται. [43] Βανδῖλοι γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐς τούτους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀργῇ χρώμενοι ὀλίγους δὴ τινες σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐς Σαρδῶ πέμψαντες ἐνταῦθα εἴρξαν. [44] χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος τὰ ὄρη καταλαμβάνουσιν ἡ Καρανάλεως ἐγγὺς ποῦ ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληστείας ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ποιούμενοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἥσσαν ἐγένοντο ἢ τρισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐς τοῦμφανὲς καταθέοντες, λανθάνειν τε ἥκιστα ἀξιοῦντες ἅπαντα ἐλίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρίᾳ, Βαρβαρικῖνοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων

καλούμενοι. [45] ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ὁ Σολόμων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
χειμῶνι τὸν στόλον ἡτοίμαζε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XIII

But during the time when these things were happening in Byzacium, Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium, bringing more than thirty thousand fighting men, was plundering the country of Numidia and enslaving many of the Libyans. Now it so happened that Althias in Centuria was keeping guard over the forts there; and he, being eager to take from the enemy some of their captives, went outside the fort with the Huns who were under his command, to the number of about seventy. And reasoning that he was not able to cope with such a great multitude of Moors with only seventy men, he wished to occupy some narrow pass, so that, while the enemy were marching through it, he might be able to snatch up some of the captives. And since there are no such roads there, because flat plains extend in every direction, he devised the following plan.

There is a city not far distant, named Tigisis, then an unwall'd place, but having a great spring at a place which was very closely shut in. Althias therefore decided to take possession of this spring, reasoning that the enemy, compelled by thirst, would surely come there; for there is no other water at all close by. Now it seemed to all upon considering the disparity of the armies that his plan was insane. But the Moors came up feeling very much wearied and greatly oppressed by the heat in the summer weather, and naturally almost overcome by an intense thirst, and they made for the spring with a great rush, having no thought of meeting any obstacle. But when they found the water held by the enemy, they all halted, at a loss what to do, the greatest part of their strength having been already expended because of their desire for water. Iaudas therefore had a parley with Althias and agreed to give him the third part of the booty, on condition that the Moors should all drink. But Althias was by no means willing to accept the proposal, but demanded that he fight with him in single combat for the booty. And this challenge being accepted by Iaudas, it was agreed that if it so fell out that Althias was overcome, the Moors should drink. And the whole Moorish army was rejoiced, being in good hope, since Althias was lean and not tall of body, while Iaudas was the finest and most warlike of all the Moors. Now both of them were, as it happened, mounted. And Iaudas hurled his spear first, but as it was coming toward him Althias succeeded with amazing skill in catching it with his right hand, thus filling Iaudas and the enemy with consternation. And with his left hand he drew his bow instantly, for he was ambidextrous, and hit and killed the horse of Iaudas. And as he fell, the Moors brought another horse for their commander, upon which Iaudas leaped and straightway fled; and the Moorish army followed him in complete disorder. And Althias, by thus taking from them the captives and the whole of the booty, won a great name in consequence of this deed throughout all Libya. Such, then, was the course of

these events.

And Solomon, after delaying a short time in Carthage, led his army toward Mt. Aurasium and Iaudas, alleging against him that, while the Roman army was occupied in Byzacium, he had plundered many of the places in Numidia. And this was true. Solomon was also urged on against Iaudas by the other commanders of the Moors, Massonas and Ortaías, because of their personal enmity; Massonas, because his father Mephanias, who was the father-in-law of Iaudas, had been treacherously slain by him, and Ortaías, because Iaudas, together with Mastinas, who ruled over the barbarians in Mauretania, had purposed to drive him and all the Moors whom he ruled from the land where they had dwelt from of old. So the Roman army, under the leadership of Solomon, and those of the Moors who came into alliance with them, made their camp on the river Abigas, which flows along by Aurasium and waters the land there. But to Iaudas it seemed inexpedient to array himself against the enemy in the plain, but he made his preparations on Aurasium in such a way as seemed to him would offer most difficulty to his assailants. This mountain is about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage, and the largest of all known to us. For its circuit is a three days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And for one wishing to go upon it the mountain is difficult of access and extremely wild, but as one ascends and reaches the level ground, plains are seen and many springs which form rivers and a great number of altogether wonderful parks. And the grain which grows here, and every kind of fruit, is double the size of that produced in all the rest of Libya. And there are fortresses also on this mountain, which are neglected, by reason of the fact that they do not seem necessary to the inhabitants. For since the time when the Moors wrested Aurasium from the Vandals, not a single enemy had until now ever come there or so much as caused the barbarians to be afraid that they would come, but even the populous city of Tamougadis, situated against the mountain on the east at the beginning of the plain, was emptied of its population by the Moors and razed to the ground, in order that the enemy should not only not be able to encamp there, but should not even have the city as an excuse for coming near the mountain. And the Moors of that place held also the land to the west of Aurasium, a tract both extensive and fertile. And beyond these dwelt other nations of the Moors, who were ruled by Ortaías, who had come, as was stated above, as an ally to Solomon and the Romans. And I have heard this man say that beyond the country which he ruled there was no habitation of men, but desert land extending to a great distance, and that beyond that there are men, not black-skinned like the Moors, but very white in body and fair-haired. So much, then, for these things.

And Solomon, after bribing the Moorish allies with great sums of money and earnestly exhorting them, began the ascent of Mt. Aurasium with the whole army arrayed as for battle, thinking that on that day he would do battle with the enemy and just as he was have the matter out with them according as

fortune should wish. Accordingly the soldiers did not even take with them any food, except a little, for themselves and their horses. And after proceeding over very rough ground for about fifty stades, they made a bivouac. And covering a similar distance each day they came on the seventh day to a place where there was an ancient fortress and an ever-flowing stream. The place is called "Shield Mountain" by the Romans in their own tongue. Now it was reported to them that the enemy were encamped there, and when they reached this place and encountered no enemy, they made camp and, preparing themselves for battle, remained there; and three days' time was spent by them in that place. And since the enemy kept altogether out of their way, and their provisions had failed, the thought came to Solomon and to the whole army that there had been some plot against them on the part of the Moors who were their allies; for these Moors were not unacquainted with the conditions of travel on Aurasium, and understood, probably, what had been decided upon by the enemy; they were stealthily going out to meet them each day, it was said, and had also frequently been sent to their country by the Romans to reconnoitre, and had decided to make nothing but false reports, in order, no doubt, that the Romans, with no prior knowledge of conditions, might make the ascent of Mt. Aurasium without supplies for a longer time or without preparing themselves otherwise in the way which would be best. And, all things considered, the Romans were suspicious that an ambush had been set for them by men who were their allies and began to be afraid, reasoning that the Moors are said to be by nature untrustworthy at all times and especially whenever they march as allies with the Romans or any others against Moors. So, remembering these things, and at the same time being pinched by hunger, they withdrew from there with all speed without accomplishing anything, and, upon reaching the plain, constructed a stockade.

After this Solomon established a part of the army in Numidia to serve as a guard and with the remainder went to Carthage, since it was already winter. There he arranged and set everything in order, so that at the beginning of spring he might again march against Aurasium with a larger equipment and, if possible, without Moors as allies. At the same time he prepared generals and another army and a fleet of ships for an expedition against the Moors who dwell in the island of Sardinia; for this island is a large one and flourishing besides, being about two thirds as large as Sicily (for the perimeter of the island makes a journey of twenty days for an unencumbered traveller); and lying, as it does, between Rome and Carthage, it was oppressed by the Moors who dwelt there. For the Vandals in ancient times, being enraged against these barbarians, sent some few of them with their wives to Sardinia and confined them there. But as time went on they seized the mountains which are near Caranalis, at first making plundering expeditions secretly upon those who dwelt round about, but when they became no less than three thousand, they even made their raids openly, and with no desire for concealment plundered

all the country there, being called Barbaricini by the natives. It was against these barbarians, therefore, that Solomon was preparing the fleet during that winter. Such, then, was the course of events in Libya.

Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλία κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τάδε γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Βελισάριος ἐπὶ Θεωδᾶτόν τε καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστέλλετο, καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ταύτην δὴ τὴν νῆσον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔσχευεν. [2] ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθέν μοι λόγοις λελέξεται, ὅτε με ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄγει. [3] νῦν γάρ μοι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι ξυμπαντα ἀναγραφάμενον τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθέντα οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀμφὶ Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἰέναι. [4] Τὸν μὲν οὖν χειμῶνα τοῦτον Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις, Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι διέτριψε. [5] καὶ τέρας ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔτει ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι δεινότατον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀκτίνων χωρὶς τὴν αἴγλην, ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη, ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαντα ἠφίει, ἐκλείποντί τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐώκει, τὴν ἀμαρυγὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ καθαρὰν οὐδὲ ἥπερ εἰώθει ποιούμενος. [6] ἐξ οὗ τε ξυμβῆναι τοῦτο τετύχηκεν, οὔτε πόλεμος οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐς θάνατον φέρον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέλιπε. χρόνος δὲ ἦν ὅτε δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχεν. [7] Ἄμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, ὅτε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ εορτὴν ἦγον ἣν δὴ Πασχαλίαν καλοῦσι, στρατιώταις στάσις ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνέπεσεν. ἡ ὅπως τε ἐφύη καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [8] Ἐπειδὴ Βανδύλοι ἡσσήθησαν τῇ μάχῃ, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται τὰς αὐτῶν παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν γαμετῶν ἐποίησαντο λόγῳ. [9] ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνήγε τῶν χωρίων τῆς κτήσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι ὣν αὐτὴ πρότερον κυρία ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα, οὐχ ὅσιον λέγουσα εἶναι, εἰ Βανδύλοις μὲν ξυνοικοῦσαι τούτων ἀπάναντο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς νενικηκόσιν ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ τῶν σφίσιν ὑπαρχόντων στερήσονται. [10] ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες Σολόμωνι εἴκειν οὐκ ᾔφροντο χρῆναι τὰ Βανδύλων χωρία ἐς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οἶκον ἐθέλοντι ἀναγράψασθαι, φάσκοντί τε ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς λάφυρα ἰέναι οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶναι, γῆν μὲντοι αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκειν, ἥπερ αὐτοῦ ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ στρατιώτας καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι πεποίηκεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ χωρία κεκτήσονται ὅσα ἂν βαρβάρους ἐπὶ βατεύοντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἀφέλονται· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα ἰέναι, ὅθεν σφίς τε ξυμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τὰς σιτήσῃ κομίζεσθαι. [11] αὕτη μὲν τῆς στάσεως αἰτία ξυνέπεσε μία. καὶ ἑτέραν δὲ τινα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε, ἣ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἅπαντα ξυνταράξαι τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματ' ἰσχυσεν. [12] ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ τῇ Ἀρείου δόξης οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ χιλίους στρατιώτ' εἶναι ξυνέπεσεν: ὧν δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ βάρβαροι ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους. [13] τούτῳ δὴ οἱ τῶν Βανδύλων ἱερεῖς ἐς τὴν στάσιν τὸ μάλιστα ὥρμων. οὐ γὰρ σφίσιν ἦν δυνατὰ ἢ θεῶ ἐξοσιοῦσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκέκλειντ' καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀπάντων. [14] οὐ γὰρ εἴ' βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄνδρα Χριστιανὸν ὃ μεταλαχόντα δόξης ὀρθῆς ἢ βαπτίσματι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ χρῆσθαι. [15] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς: Πασχαλία

ἐορτῇ ξυνετάραξε, καθ' ἣν οὐχ οἷο' τε ἐγίνοντο τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν παιδία τῷ θεῷ βαπτίζειν λουτρῷ, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἔξ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγον. [16] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὰ ταῦτα τῷ δαιμονίῳ διαφθεῖραι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντι, ξυνέπεσέ τι καὶ ἄλλο τοῖς τὴν στάσιν μελετῶσιν ἐφόδιον. [17] τοῦ γὰρ Βανδίλου, οὗς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκε, κατεστήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐς καταλόγους ἱππικούς πέντε, ὅπως ἐν πόλεσι ταῖς ἐφάις τὸν ἅπαντα ἰδρῦσονται χρόνον: οὗς καὶ Ἰουστινιανούς Βανδίλους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε ξὺν ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν ἔω κομίζεσθαι. [18] τούτων δὴ τῶν Βανδύλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς τὴν ἔω ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοὺς καταλόγους πληροῦντες ἐς οὗς διατετάχатаι. ἄχρι τοῦδε ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύονται: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λέσβῳ ἐγένοντο, κεκολπόμενων σφίσι τῶν ἰστίων τοὺς ναύτας βιασάμενοι Πελοποννήσῳ προσέσχον. [19] ἐνθένδε τε ἀπάραντες ἐς Λιβύην κατέπλευσαν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, οὗ δὴ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν ἀνέβησαν. [20] οἷς δὴ ἐπηρμένοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελεία ἢ στάσις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ξυνίσταντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. [21] καὶ λόγοι τε πολλοὶ περὶ τούτου καὶ ὄρκοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. ἐπειδὴ τε τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγειν ἔμελλον, ἀχθόμενοι τῇ κωλύμῃ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ σφόδρα ἐνέκειντο. [22] Ἔδοξέ τε αὐτῶν τοῖς κορυφαίοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μεγάλην καλοῦσι, [23] Σολόμωνα κτείνειν. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οὐδενὸς τοῦτο δὴ ἐξενεγκόντος τὸ βούλευμα. ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν τὰ δεινὰ βουλευομένων ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς δυσμενῆ οὐδένα ἐξέπιπτε, ταύτῃ τε λανθάνειν ἐξίσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολόμωνος οἱ πολλοὶ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισται καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν στάσιν ξυνετετάχатаο τῇ τῶν χωρίων ἐπιθυμίᾳ. [24] ἡμέρας δὲ ἤδη τῆς κυρίας παρουσίας Σολόμων μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκάθητο, μακρὰν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος κακῶν. [25] ἐσελθόντες δὲ οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον κτείνειν ἐδέδοκτο, νεύμασί τε ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευσάμενοι, τῶν ξιφῶν ἤπτοντο, ἔδρασαν μέντ' οὐδέν, ἢ τὰ τελούμενα τῆνικαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αἰσχυρόμενοι, ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δόξαν ἐρυθριῶντες, ἢ καὶ τι θεῖον αὐτοὺς διεκώλυσεν. [26] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥσκητο ἤδη καὶ οἰκαδε ἐκομίζοντο ἕκαστοι, ἀλλήλους ἠτιῶντο οἱ στασιῶται ἅτε μαλθακοὺς οὐκ ἐν δέοντι γεγενημένους, καὶ αὐθις ἀπετίθεντο ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τὸ βούλευμα. [27] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ διαγεγονότες ἄπρακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνεχώρησαν ἕς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδοροῦντο, αὐτὸς τε ἕκαστος μαλθακὸν τε τὸν πέλας καὶ τῆς ἐταιρίας διαλυτὴν ἀποκαλῶν τὴν ἐς Σολόμωνα αἰδῶ ὀνειδίζειν οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [28] διὸ δὴ οὐκέτι ἀκίνδυνον σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβὴν ἅτε ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐξενεγκόντες τὸ βούλευμα. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι τὰ τε χωρία ἐληγίζοντο καὶ Λίβυσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμείναντες οὐ παρεῖχον αἴσθησιν ἧς εἶχον αὐτοὶ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἀγνοεῖν τὰ βεβουλευμένα προσεποιοῦντο. [30] Σολόμων δὲ ἀκούσας ὅσα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐς θόρυβόν τε πολὺν ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκελεύόμενος οὐκ ἀνίξεν εὖνοίαν τὴν βασιλέως παρακαλῶν. [31] οἱ

δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἐδόκουν, ἡμέρ' δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας ἐν βεβαίῳ τυραννεῖν ἤκουσαν, ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ξυλλεγόντες ἕς τε Σολόμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἀνέδην ὕβριζον. [32] ἔνθα δὴ πρὸς Σολόμωνος σταλεῖς Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ τι θασσεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρει, οὐδέν τι ἐπαίοντας τῶν λεγομένων. [33] ἦν δὲ τις Θεοδώρῳ τούτῳ δυσμένειά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποψία ἐς Σολόμωνα. [34] διὸ δὴ οἱ στασιῶται στρατηγόν τε αὐτὸν σφίσιν αὐτίκα τῇ βοῇ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ σιδηροφοροῦντες καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον κατὰ τάχος ἦκον. [35] ἔνθα δὴ Θεόδωρον μὲν ἕτερον, ὃς τῶν φυλάκων ἡγεῖτο, κτείνουσιν, ἄνδρα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἦκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φόνου τούτου ἐγεύσαντο, ἅπαντα ἤδη τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἔκτεινον, εἴτε Λίβυν εἴτε Ῥωμαῖον, Σολόμωνι γνῶριμον εἴτε χρήματα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι ἀπεχώρησαν, ἀναβαίνοντες δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔνθα δὴ μὴ στρατιῶται ἡμύνοντο, ἅπαντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ἥρπαζον, ἄχρι νύξ τε ἐπιγενομένη καὶ μέθη τὸν πόνον διαδεξαμένη κατέπαυσε. [37] Σολόμων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐστι μέγα ἐν Παλατίῳ, καταφυγὼν ἔλαθεν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Μαρτῖνος αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἤλθεν. [38] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται πάντες ἐκάθευδον, ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐς τὴν Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας οἰκίαν ἤλθον, ὃς αὐτοὺς δειπνήσαι τε οὐ τι προθυμουμένους ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν λιμένα διακομίσας ἐς λέμβον νεῶς δὴ τινος ἐσεκόμισεν, ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα Μαρτίνῳ παρεσκευασμένος ἐτύγγανεν. [39] εἶποντο δὲ Προκόπιός τε, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος οἰκίας ἄνδρες πέντε μάλιστα. [40] σταδίους τε τριακοσίους ἀνύσαντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μισοῦαν τὸ Καρχηδονίαν ἐπίνειον, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, αὐτίκα Σολόμων ἐκέλευε Μαρτῖνον ἐς Νουμιδίαν παρὰ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ τῶν ξυναρχόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἰέναι, πειρᾶσθαι τε, εἴ πως δύναται αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τῶν τινας γνωρίμων στρατιωτῶν ἢ χρήμασιν ἢ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ τῷ ὑπελθὼν ἐς εὐνοίαν τὴν βασιλέως μεταγαγεῖν. [41] καὶ πρὸς Θεόδωρον γράμματα ἔπεμπε, Καρχηδόνας τε ἐπιστέλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διέπειν ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ δυνατὰ εἶναι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν Προκοπίῳ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐς Συρακούσας ἀφίκετο. [42] ἅπαντά τε αὐτῷ ἀγγείλας ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐδεῖτο κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀμῦναι πάσχοντι πρὸς στρατιωτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀνόσια. καὶ Σολόμων μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

XIV

And in Italy during these same times the following events took place. Belisarius was sent against Theodatus and the Gothic nation by the Emperor Justinian, and sailing to Sicily he secured this island with no trouble. And the manner in which this was done will be told in the following pages, when the history leads me to the narration of the events in Italy. For it has not seemed to me out of order first to record all the events which happened in Libya and after that to turn to the portion of the history touching Italy and the Goths.

During this winter Belisarius remained in Syracuse and Solomon in Carthage. And it came about during this year that a most dread portent took place. For the sun gave forth its light without brightness, like the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed exceedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it shed were not clear nor such as it is accustomed to shed. And from the time when this thing happened men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor any other thing leading to death. And it was the time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his reign. [536-537 A.D.]

[536 A.D.] At the opening of spring, when the Christians were celebrating the feast which they call Easter, there arose a mutiny among the soldiers in Libya. I shall now tell how it arose and to what end it came.

After the Vandals had been defeated in the battle, as I have told previously, the Roman soldiers took their daughters and wives and made them their own by lawful marriage. And each one of these women kept urging her husband to lay claim to the possession of the lands which she had owned previously, saying that it was not right or fitting if, while living with the Vandals, they had enjoyed these lands, but after entering into marriage with the conquerors of the Vandals they were then to be deprived of their possessions. And having these things in mind, the soldiers did not think that they were bound to yield the lands of the Vandals to Solomon, who wished to register them as belonging to the commonwealth and to the emperor's house and said that while it was not unreasonable that the slaves and all other things of value should go as booty to the soldiers, the land itself belonged to the emperor and the empire of the Romans, which had nourished them and caused them to be called soldiers and to be such, not in order to win for themselves such land as they should wrest from the barbarians who were trespassing on the Roman empire, but that this land might come to the commonwealth, from which both they and all others secured their maintenance. This was one cause of the mutiny. And there was a second, concurrent, cause also, which was no less, perhaps even more, effective in throwing all Libya into confusion. It was as follows: In the Roman army there were, as it happened, not less than one thousand soldiers of the Arian faith; and the most of these were barbarians,

some of these being of the Erulian nation. Now these men were urged on to the mutiny by the priests of the Vandals with the greatest zeal. For it was not possible for them to worship God in their accustomed way, but they were excluded both from all sacraments and from all sacred rites. For the Emperor Justinian did not allow any Christian who did not espouse the orthodox faith to receive baptism or any other sacrament. But most of all they were agitated by the feast of Easter, during which they found themselves unable to baptize their own children with the sacred water, or do anything else pertaining to this feast. And as if these things were not sufficient for Heaven, in its eagerness to ruin the fortunes of the Romans, it so fell out that still another thing provided an occasion for those who were planning the mutiny. For the Vandals whom Belisarius took to Byzantium were placed by the emperor in five cavalry squadrons, in order that they might be settled permanently in the cities of the East; he also called them the "Vandals of Justinian," and ordered them to betake themselves in ships to the East. Now the majority of these Vandal soldiers reached the East, and, filling up the squadrons to which they had been assigned, they have been fighting against the Persians up to the present time; but the remainder, about four hundred in number, after reaching Lesbos, waiting until the sails were bellied with the wind, forced the sailors to submission and sailed on till they reached the Peloponnesus. And setting sail from there, they came to land in Libya at a desert place, where they abandoned the ships, and, after equipping themselves, went up to Mt. Aurasium and Mauretania. Elated by their accession, the soldiers who were planning the mutiny formed a still closer conspiracy among themselves. And there was much talk about this in the camp and oaths were already being taken. And when the rest were about to celebrate the Easter festival, the Arians, being vexed by their exclusion from the sacred rites, purposed to attack them vigorously.

And it seemed best to their leading men to kill Solomon in the sanctuary on the first day of the feast, which they call the great day. [March 23, 536 A.D.] And they were fortunate enough not to be found out, since no one disclosed this plan. For though there were many who shared in the horrible plot, no word of it was divulged to any hostile person as the orders were passed around, and thus they succeeded completely in escaping detection, for even the spearmen and guards of Solomon for the most part and the majority of his domestics had become associated with this mutiny because of their desire for the lands. And when the appointed day had now come, Solomon was sitting in the sanctuary, utterly ignorant of his own misfortune. And those who had decided to kill the man went in, and, urging one another with nods, they put their hands to their swords, but they did nothing nevertheless, either because they were filled with awe of the rites then being performed in the sanctuary, or because the fame of the general caused them to be ashamed, or perhaps also some divine power prevented them.

And when the rites on that day had been completely performed and all were betaking themselves homeward, the conspirators began to blame one another with having turned soft-hearted at no fitting time, and they postponed the plot for a second attempt on the following day. And on the next day they acted in the same manner and departed from the sanctuary without doing anything, and entering the market place, they reviled each other openly, and every single man of them called the next one soft-hearted and a demoralizer of the band, not hesitating to censure strongly the respect felt for Solomon. For this reason, indeed, they thought that they could no longer without danger remain in Carthage, inasmuch as they had disclosed their plot to the whole city. The most of them, accordingly, went out of the city quickly and began to plunder the lands and to treat as enemies all the Libyans whom they met; but the rest remained in the city, giving no indication of what their own intentions were but pretending ignorance of the plot which had been formed.

But Solomon, upon hearing what was being done by the soldiers in the country, became greatly disturbed, and ceased not exhorting those in the city and urging them to loyalty toward the emperor. And they at first seemed to receive his words with favour, but on the fifth day, when they heard that those who had gone out were secure in their power, they gathered in the hippodrome and insulted Solomon and the other commanders without restraint. And Theodorus, the Cappadocian, being sent there by Solomon, attempted to dissuade them and win them by kind words, but they listened to nothing of what was said. Now this Theodorus had a certain hostility against Solomon and was suspected of plotting against him. For this reason the mutineers straightway elected him general over them by acclamation, and with him they went with all speed to the palace carrying weapons and raising a great tumult. There they killed another Theodorus, who was commander of the guards, a man of the greatest excellence in every respect and an especially capable warrior. And when they had tasted this blood, they began immediately to kill everyone they met, whether Libyan or Roman, if he were known to Solomon or had money in his hands; and then they turned to plundering, going up into the houses which had no soldiers to defend them and seizing all the most valuable things, until the coming of night, and drunkenness following their toil, made them cease.

And Solomon succeeded in escaping unnoticed into the great sanctuary which is in the palace, and Martinus joined him there in the late afternoon. And when all the mutineers were sleeping, they went out from the sanctuary and entered the house of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, who compelled them to dine although they had no desire to do so, and conveyed them to the harbour and put them on the skiff of a certain ship, which happened to have been made ready there by Martinus. And Procopius also, who wrote this history, was with them, and about five men of the house of Solomon. And after accomplishing three hundred stades they reached Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, and,

since they had reached safety, Solomon straightway commanded Martinus to go into Numidia to Valerian and the others who shared his command, and endeavour to bring it about that each one of them, if it were in any way possible, should appeal to some of the soldiers known to him, either with money or by other means, and bring them back to loyalty toward the emperor. And he sent a letter to Theodorus, charging him to take care of Carthage and to handle the other matters as should seem possible to him, and he himself with Procopius went to Belisarius at Syracuse. And after reporting everything to him which had taken place in Libya, he begged him to come with all speed to Carthage and defend the emperor, who was suffering unholy treatment at the hands of his own soldiers, Solomon, then, was thus engaged.

Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἅπαντα ληισάμενοι ἔς τε τὸ Βούλλης
ξυλλεγέντες πεδίον Στότζαν, τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων ἓνα, τύραννον
σφίσιν εἶλοντο, ἄνδρα θυμοειδῆ καὶ δραστήριον, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς βασιλέως
ἄρχοντας ἐξελάσαντες Λιβύης πάσης κρατήσουσιν. [2] ὁ δὲ ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ
στράτευμα, ἔς ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα ξυνίον, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπῆγεν, ὡς τὴν
πόλιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παραστησόμενος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [3] ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς
Βανδίλους τοὺς τε ἐκ Βυζαντίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποδράντας καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ
εἶποντο Βελισαρίῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἢ διαλαθόντες, ἢ ὅτι οἱ Βανδίλους τηνικαῦτα
παραπέμποντες ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσαντο. [4] ἦσαν δὲ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ
χίλιοι, οἱ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Στότζᾳ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ζῶν προθυμία ἦλθον.
ἀφίκετο δὲ οἱ καὶ δούλων πολὺς τις ὄμιλος. [5] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο
Καρχηδόνος ἐγγὺς, ἔπεμψεν ὁ Στότζας, κελεύων οἱ ὡς τάχιστα παραδοῦναι
τὴν πόλιν, [6] ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ
Θεόδωρος, πρὸς ταῦτα ἄντικρυς ἀπειπόντες, βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγουν Καρχηδόνα
φυλάσσειν. [7] πέμψαντές τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰωσήφιον, τῶν τε βασιλέως φυλάκων
γραμματέα οὐκ ἀφανῆ γεγονότα καὶ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντα, κατὰ χρεῖαν
δέ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔναγχος ἐσταλμένον, ἠξίου μὴ σφᾶς
περαιτέρω βιάζεσθαι. [8] Στότζας δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Ἰωσήφιόν τε αὐτίκα
ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. κατορρωδῆσαντές τε οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν
κίνδυνον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Καρχηδόνα Στότζᾳ ἐγχειρίσαι ὁμολογία
διενοοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν Λιβύης στρατόπεδον ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [9] Βελισάριος δέ,
ἄνδρας ἀπολέξας τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
Σολόμωνα ἐπαγόμενος, μιᾷ νηὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέπλευσε περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς,
ἠνίκα τὴν πόλιν οἱ πολιορκοῦντες σφίσιν ἐγχειριεῖσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἐκαπαδόκουν. ἐν ἐλπίδι τε ταῦτα ἔχοντες τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠύλισαντο. [10]
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Βελισάριον παρεῖναι ἔμαθον, λύσαντες ὡς
τάχιστα τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰσχυρῶς τε καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [11]
Βελισάριος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν
τὴν βασιλέως λόγοις τε ὀρμήσας καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δίωξιν
ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐποιήσατο. [12] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς Μέμβρησαν πόλιν
καταλαμβάνει, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις σταδίοις Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν.
[13] ἔνθα δὴ ἑκάτεροι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο, οἱ μὲν

ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐς ποταμὸν Βαγράδαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ τε καὶ
δυσκόλῳ τὸ χαράκωμα ποιησάμενοι. [14] ἐς γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οὐδέτεροι εἰσελθεῖν
ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ ἀτείχιστος οὕσα ἐτύγγανε. [15] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία καθίσταντο ἐς τὴν
ξυμβολήν, οἱ μὲν στασιῶται πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ πιστεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
Βελισάριον ἅτε ἀφρόνων τε καὶ ἀστρατηγῆτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες τῶν
πολεμίων. [16] ἃ δὲ Βελισάριος ταῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διανοίαις ἐναποθέσθαι
βουλόμενος βεβαίως ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τάδε: ‘Ἐλπίδος μὲν καὶ εὐχῆς
ἦσσαν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει. [17]
ἐς ξυμβολήν γὰρ τανῦν ἤκομεν ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲ τὸ νικᾶν ἄκλαυστον ἔξομεν, ἐπὶ
ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ ξυντρόφους στρατεύοντες. [18] ἔχομεν δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ
παραψυχὴν τήνδε, οἷς γε οὐ τῆς μάχης ἄρχοντες αὐτοί, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνόμενοι ἐς τὸν
κίνδυνον καθιστάμεθα. [19] ὁ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς φιλάτους τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς διαλύσας οἷς ἔδρασεν, οὐ πρὸς τῶν φίλων, ἦν
ἀπόληται, θνήσκει, ἀλλ’ ἐν πολέμιου γεγονὼς μοῖρα τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐκτίνει
τὴν δίκην. [20] πολέμιους δὲ καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ ὃ τι ἂν τις εἴποι δεινότερον
εἶναι δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐ Λιβύῃ μόνον ὑπὸ ταῖς τούτων χερσὶν ἐς
λείαν ἐλθοῦσα, οὐδὲ οἱ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες οὐ δέον παρ’ ἐκείνων ἀνηρημένοι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οὗς οἱ δυσμενεῖς οὗτοι κτείνειν
ἐτόλμησαν, μίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπικαλέσαντες εὖνοιαν.
[21] οἷς νῦν τιμωροῦντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤκομεν, δυσμενεῖς εἰκότως τοῖς πάλαι
φιλάτοις γενόμενοι. [22] φύσει μὲν γὰρ οὐδένες τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων
οἰκείως ἂν ἢ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἔχοιεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις ἐκάστων ἢ τῷ ὁμοτρόπῳ
ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ξυνάπτουσαι ἢ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης ἐς τὸ δυσμενὲς
διακρίνουσαι φίλους, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ πολέμιους ἀλλήλοις ποιοῦσιν. [23] ὥς
μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους τε καὶ πολέμιους στρατεύομεν, ἱκανῶς ἔχετε:
ὥς δὲ καταφρονεῖσθαι εἰσι παρ’ ἡμῶν ἄξιοι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [24] ὁμιλος γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων οὐ νόμῳ συνιόντων ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου ξυνειλεγμένων ἀνδραγαθί.
ζεσθαι ἤκιστα πέφυκεν, οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ παρανόμῳ ξυνοικίζεσθαι
δυναμένης, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων ἀφισταμένης. [25] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν
εὐκοσμίαν φυλάξουσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Στότζο παραγγελλομένων ἀκούσουσι.
[26] τυραννίδα γὰρ ἄρτι καθισταμένην καὶ οὕπῳ τὴν τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἐξουσίαν
λαβοῦσαν ὑπερορᾶσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀνάγκη. [27] οὔτε γὰρ εὐνοία
τετίμηται, ἐπεὶ μισεῖσθαι ἢ τυραννὶς πέφυκεν, οὔτε φόβῳ ἄγξ’ τοὺς ὑπηκόους:
ἀφείλετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ δεδιέναι. [28] ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμίας
ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολέμιων ἡσᾶσθαι πρόχειρον. πολλῷ τοίνυν, ὅπερ
εἶπον, τῷ κατα φρονήματι ἐπὶ τούσδε ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολέμιους ἰένα προσήκει. [29]
οὐ γὰρ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαχομένων ἀλλὰ τάξει τε καὶ ἀνδρία φιλεῖ
διαμετρεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος.’ [30] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.
Στότζας δ’ παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε: ‘Ἄνδρες οἱ ξὺν ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους
δουλείας ἔξω γεγέννησθε, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαξιούτω
θνήσκειν, ἥς ἀνδρία τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ τετυχήκατε. [31] οὐ γὰρ οὕτω δεινὸν
τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ξυγγηράσκοντα τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὥς μετὰ τὴν τῶν
δυσκόλων ἐλευθερίαν αὐθις ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανήκειν. [32] ὁ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ χρόνος τῆς
ἀπαλλαγῆς γεύσας χαλεπωτέραν, ὧς γὰρ τὸ εἶκος, τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπεργάζεται.

[33] τούτῳ δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἐπάναγκες ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν ὡς Βανδίλους τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους νενικηκότες αὐτοὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπάνασθε πόνων, κύριοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν λαφύρων γεγέννηται πάντων. [34] ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς στρατιώταις οὖσιν ὑμῖν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνους ἀνάγκη, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, ἣν γε αὖθις ἐκείνῳ δουλεύητε, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἣν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διασώζητε ταύτην. [35] ὁπότερον δὲ ἀμφοῖν αἰρετώτερον, τοῦτο ἐλέσθαι ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ἢ μαλθακιζομένοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι βουλομένοις. [36] ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο εἰσιέναι ὑμᾶς προσήκει, ὡς ὅπλα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀράμενοι, ἣν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε, οὐ μετρίων οὐδὲ συγγνωμόνων δεσποτῶν πειραθήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ πείσεσθε μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, προσέσται δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ μὴ ἀδίκως ἀπολωλέναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν θάνατος ὅτῳ ἂν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀφίξεται ταύτῃ, δηλονότι εὐκλεῆς ἔσται: [37] βίος δὲ κρατήσασι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόνομός τε καὶ τᾶλλα εὐδαίμων, ἡσσημένοις δὲ πικρὸν μὲν ἄλλο οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν ἐλπίδα δὲ ζῦμπασαν εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔχων. [38] ἡ δὲ ζυμβολὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσται. [39] τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσῶνται ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα προθυμούμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴασιν, οὓς οἶμαι καὶ τῆσδε ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεταλαχεῖν.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Στότζας εἶπεν. [40] Ἰόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ζυμβολὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων πνεῦμα σκληρόν τε καὶ δεινῶς λυπηρὸν κατ' ὅσιν ἐς τοὺς Στότζα στασιώτας ἐνέπεσε. [41] διὸ δὴ ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι τὴν μάχην αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι, δεδιότες μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερβιαζόμενον τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων βέλη ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰθύνοι, βελῶν δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἢ ῥύμη ὡς μάλιστα ἀναστέλλοιτο. [42] ἄραντες οὖν ἐγκάρσιοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἦν καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, μεταβάλλοιντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ὀπισθεν ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐνοχλοῖντο, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα ἔσται. [43] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδε τὴν τάξιν λιπόντας καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιόντας, αὐτίκα δὴ ἐκέλευε τῶν χειρῶν ἄρχειν. [44] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἐς ταραχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου καταστάντες ζὺν ἀταξία πολλῇ, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, ἐς Νουμιδιάν τε ἀφικόμενοι συνελέγοντο αὖθις. [45] ὀλίγοι μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Βανδίλοι ἦσαν. [46] δῖωξιν γὰρ Βελισάριος ἥκιστα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ, λίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος βραχέος ὄντος, ἱκανὸν κατεφαίνετο, εἰ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι νενικημένοι ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. [47] τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐδίδου τὸ χαράκωμα τῶν ἐναντίων διαρπάσασθαι, αἰρουσὶ τε αὐτὸ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα εὗρηνται πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλὰ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ὁδε. ταῦτα Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀπήλαυνε. [48] καὶ οἱ τις ἐκ Σικελίας ἦκων ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς στάσις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιτεσοῦσα τὰ πράγματα ἀνασοβεῖν μέλλοι, ἣν μὴ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος σφίσιν ἐπανάγκων τὴν κωλύμην ποιήσεται. [49] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ὅπῃ ἐδύνατο διαθέμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα Ἰλδύγερὶ τε καὶ Θεοδῶρῳ παραδοὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει. [50] Οἱ δὲ ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἦκειν τε καὶ ξυλλέγεσθαι ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσαν, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς παράταξιν, ἦσαν δὲ ἡγεμόνες φοιδεράτων μὲν Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Κύριλλος, καταλόγου δὲ ἱππικοῦ μὲν Βαρβᾶτος, [51] πεζῶν δὲ Τερέντιος

τε καὶ Σάραπισ. Μαρκέλλω μέντοι ἐπήκουον ἅπαντες ἅτε Νουμιδίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι. [52] ὃς ἐπεὶ ἐν χωρίῳ Γαζοφύλοις, δυοῖν μάλιστα ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Κωνσταντίνης ἀπέχοντι, Στότζαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἤκουσεν εἶναι, προτερῆσαι πρὶν τοὺς στασιώτας ἅπαντας ξυλλεγῆναι βουλόμενος, κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε τὸ στρατεύμα. [53] ὥς δὲ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐγγὺς ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔμελλεν ἐν χερσὶν ἔσσεσθαι, μόνος ὁ Στότζας ἐς μέσους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤκων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [54] Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε ἐπὶ ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ συντρόφους στρατεύοντες, ἐπὶ ἄνδρας τε ὅπλα αἰρόμενοι οἱ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικήμασιν ἀχθόμενῳ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [55] ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὥς ἐστέρησθε μὲν τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν ὀφειλομένων συντάξεων, ἀφήρησθε δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὰ λάφυρα, ἃ τῶν ἐν μάχαις κινδύνων ἅθλα ὁ τοῦ πολέμου τέθεικε νόμος; [56] καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῆς νίκης ἀγαθοῖς ἕτεροι τρυφᾷ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡξίουں, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν οἰκετῶν ἔπεσθε μοίρα; [57] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, πάρεστιν ὑμῖν ἐς τόδε μὲν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους διαφυγεῖν μίasma: εἰ δέ μοι αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχετε, ὥρα ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [58] ἀνελέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα.’ ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας τοσαῦτα εἶπεν: οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἠσπάζοντο. [59] κατιδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γινόμενα σιγῇ τε ὑπεχώρουν καὶ ἐς ἱερὸν ὃ ἐν Γαζοφύλοις ἦν καταφεύγουσι. Στότζας δὲ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς ἓν ξυλλαβὼν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἦει. καταλαβὼν τε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε.

But the mutineers, after plundering everything in Carthage, gathered in the plain of Boulla, and chose Stotzas, one of the guards of Martinus, and a passionate and energetic man, as tyrant over them, with the purpose of driving the emperor's commanders out of all Libya and thus gaining control over it. And he armed the whole force, amounting to about eight thousand men, and led them on to Carthage, thinking to win over the city instantly with no trouble. He sent also to the Vandals who had run away from Byzantium with the ships and those who had not gone there with Belisarius in the beginning, either because they had escaped notice, or because those who were taking off the Vandals at that time took no account of them. Now they were not fewer than a thousand, and after no great time they joined Stotzas and the army with enthusiasm. And a great throng of slaves also came to him. And when they drew near Carthage, Stotzas sent orders that the people should surrender the city to him as quickly as possible, on condition of their remaining free from harm. But those in Carthage and Theodorus, in reply to this, refused flatly to obey, and announced that they were guarding Carthage for the emperor. And they sent to Stotzas Joseph, the secretary of the emperor's guards, a man of no humble birth and one of the household of Belisarius, who had recently been sent to Carthage on some mission to them, and they demanded that Stotzas should go no further in his violence. But Stotzas, upon hearing this, straightway killed Joseph and commenced a siege. And those in the city, becoming terrified at the danger, were purposing to surrender themselves and Carthage to Stotzas under an agreement. Such was the course of events in the army in Libya.

But Belisarius selected one hundred men from his own spearmen and guards, and taking Solomon with him, sailed into Carthage with one ship at about dusk, at the time when the besiegers were expecting that the city would be surrendered to them on the following day. And since they were expecting this, they bivouacked that night. But when day had come and they learned that Belisarius was present, they broke up camp as quickly as possible and disgracefully and in complete disorder beat a hasty retreat. And Belisarius gathered about two thousand of the army and, after urging them with words to be loyal to the emperor and encouraging them with large gifts of money, he began the pursuit of the fugitives. And he overtook them at the city of Membresa, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. There both armies made camp and prepared themselves for battle, the forces of Belisarius making their entrenchment at the River Bagradas, and the others in a high and difficult position. For neither of them saw fit to enter the city, since it was without walls. And on the day following they joined battle, the mutineers trusting in their numbers, and the troops of Belisarius despising their enemy

as both without sense and without generals. And Belisarius, wishing that these thoughts should be firmly lodged in the minds of his soldiers, called them all together and spoke as follows: —

“The situation, fellow-soldiers, both for the emperor and for the Romans, falls far short of our hopes and of our prayers. For we have now come to a combat in which even the winning of the victory will not be without tears for us, since we are fighting against kinsmen and men who have been reared with us. But we have this comfort in our misfortune, that we are not ourselves beginning the battle, but have been brought into the conflict in our own defence. For he who has framed the plot against his dearest friends and by his own act has dissolved the ties of kinship, dies not, if he perishes, by the hands of his friends, but having become an enemy is but making atonement to those who have suffered wrong. And that our opponents are public enemies and barbarians and whatever worse name one might call them, is shewn not alone by Libya, which has become plunder under their hands, nor by the inhabitants of this land, who have been wrongfully slain, but also by the multitude of Roman soldiers whom these enemies have dared to kill, though they have had but one fault to charge them with — loyalty to their government. And it is to avenge these their victims that we have now come against them, having with good reason become enemies to those who were once most dear. For nature has made no men in the world either friends or opponents to one another, but it is the actions of men in every case which, either by the similarity of the motives which actuate them unite them in alliance, or by the difference set them in hostility to each other, making them friends or enemies as the case may be. That, therefore, we are fighting against men who are outlaws and enemies of the state, you must now be convinced; and now I shall make it plain that they deserve to be despised by us. For a throng of men united by no law, but brought together by motives of injustice, is utterly unable by nature to play the part of brave men, since valour is unable to dwell with lawlessness, but always shuns those who are unholy. Nor, indeed, will they preserve discipline or give heed to the commands given by Stotzas. For when a tyranny is newly organized and has not yet won that authority which self-confidence gives, it is, of necessity, looked upon by its subjects with contempt. Nor is it honoured through any sentiment of loyalty, for a tyranny is, in the nature of the case, hated; nor does it lead its subjects by fear, for timidity deprives it of the power to speak out openly. And when the enemy is handicapped in point of valour and of discipline, their defeat is ready at hand. With great contempt, therefore, as I said, we should go against this enemy of ours. For it is not by the numbers of the combatants, but by their orderly array and their bravery, that prowess in war is wont to be measured.”

So spoke Belisarius. And Stotzas exhorted his troops as follows: “Men who with me have escaped our servitude to the Romans, let no one of you count it unworthy to die on behalf of the freedom which you have won by your

courage and your other qualities. For it is not so terrible a thing to grow old and die in the midst of ills, as to return again to it after having gained freedom from oppressive conditions. For the interval which has given one a taste of deliverance makes the misfortune, naturally enough, harder to bear. And this being so, it is necessary for you to call to mind that after conquering the Vandals and the Moors you yourselves have enjoyed the labours of war, while others have become masters of all the spoils. And consider that, as soldiers, you will be compelled all your lives to be acquainted with the dangers of war, either in behalf of the emperor's cause, if, indeed, you are again his slaves, or in behalf of your own selves, if you preserve this present liberty. And whichever of the two is preferable, this it is in your power to choose, either by becoming faint-hearted at this time, or by preferring to play the part of brave men. Furthermore, this thought also should come to your minds, — that if, having taken up arms against the Romans, you come under their power, you will have experience of no moderate or indulgent masters, but you will suffer the extreme of punishment, and, what is more, your death will not have been unmerited. To whomsoever of you, therefore, death comes in this battle, it is plain that it will be a glorious death; and life, if you conquer the enemy, will be independent and in all other respects happy; but if you are defeated, — I need mention no other bitterness than this, that all your hope will depend upon the mercy of those men yonder. And the conflict will not be evenly matched in regard to strength. For not only are the enemy greatly surpassed by us in numbers, but they will come against us without the least enthusiasm, for I think that they are praying for a share of this our freedom." Such was the speech of Stotzas.

As the armies entered the combat, a wind both violent and exceedingly troublesome began to blow in the faces of the mutineers of Stotzas. For this reason they thought it disadvantageous for them to fight the battle where they were, fearing lest the wind by its overpowering force should carry the missiles of the enemy against them, while the impetus of their own missiles would be very seriously checked. They therefore left their position and moved toward the flank, reasoning that if the enemy also should change front, as they probably would, in order that they might not be assailed from the rear, the wind would then be in their faces. But Belisarius, upon seeing that they had left their position and in complete disorder were moving to his flank, gave orders immediately to open the attack. And the troops of Stotzas were thrown into confusion by the unexpected move, and in great disorder, as each one could, they fled precipitately, and only when they reached Numidia did they collect themselves again. Few of them, however, perished in this action, and most of them were Vandals. For Belisarius did not pursue them at all, for the reason that it seemed to him sufficient, since his army was very small, if the enemy, having been defeated for the present, should get out of his way. And he gave the soldiers the enemy's stockade to plunder, and they took it with not

a man inside. But much money was found there and many women, the very women because of whom this war took place. After accomplishing this, Belisarius marched back to Carthage. And someone coming from Sicily reported to him that a mutiny had broken out in the army and was about to throw everything into confusion, unless he himself should return to them with all speed and take measures to prevent it. He there therefore arranged matters in Libya as well as he could and, entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, went to Sicily.

And the Roman commanders in Numidia, hearing that the troops of Stotzas had come and were gathering there, prepared for battle. Now the commanders were as follows: of foederati, Marcellus and Cyril, of the cavalry forces, Barbatus, and of infantry Terentius and Sarapis. All, however, took their commands from Marcellus, as holding the authority in Numidia. He, therefore, upon hearing that Stotzas with some few men was in a place called Gazophyla, about two days' journey distant from Constantina, wished to anticipate the gathering of all the mutineers, and led his army swiftly against them. And when the two armies were near together and the battle was about to commence, Stotzas came alone into the midst of his opponents and spoke as follows:

“Fellow-soldiers, you are not acting justly in taking the field against kinsmen and those who have been reared with you, and in raising arms against men who in vexation at your misfortunes and the wrongs you have suffered have decided to make war upon the emperor and the Romans. Or do you not remember that you have been deprived of the pay which has been owing you for a long time back, and that you have been robbed of the enemy's spoil, which the law of war has set as prizes for the dangers of battle? And that the others have claimed the right to live sumptuously all their lives upon the good things of victory, while you have followed as if their servants? If, now, you are angry with me, it is within your power to vent your wrath upon this body, and to escape the pollution of killing the others; but if you have no charge to bring against me, it is time for you to take up your weapons in your own behalf.” So spoke Stotzas; and the soldiers listened to his words and greeted him with great favour. And when the commanders saw what was happening, they withdrew in silence and took refuge in a sanctuary which was in Gazophyla. And Stotzas combined both armies into one and then went to the commanders. And finding them in the sanctuary, he gave pledges and then killed them all.

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε, Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐς Λιβύην ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψε. [2] καὶ Σύμμαχος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Δόμνικος, ἄνδρες ἐκ βουλῆς, εἶποντο, ἄτερος μὲν ἑπαρχός τε καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς δαπάνης ἐσόμενος, Δόμνικος δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστατήσων. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἐτελεύτα ἤδη νοσήσας, ὃ δὲ ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῇ. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα

κατέπλευσαν, τοὺς τε παρόντας σφίσι στρατιώτας ὁ Γερμανὸς ἡρίθμει καὶ τῶν γραμματέων ἀναλεγόμενος τὰ βιβλία οὗ πάντα ἀναγράφεται τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, εὗρισκε τὸ μὲν τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐν τε Καρχηδόνι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἄν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας τῷ τυράννῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυντεταγμένους. [4] μάχης μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἦρχε, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς μάλιστα. λογισάμενός τε ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ξυγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοσκήνους τοὺς ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολελειμμένους ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ πᾶσιν ἐφθέγγετο καὶ σταλῆναι πρὸς βασιλέως ἐς Λιβύην αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδικομένοις μὲν στρατιώταις ἀμυνεῖ, κολάσει δὲ τοὺς ἀδικίας τινὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἄρξαντας. [5] ἅπερ οἱ στασιῶται πυνθανόμενοι κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτῷ προσχωρεῖν ἤρχοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Γερμανὸς τῇ τε πόλει ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐδέχετο καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, τάς τε συντάξεις αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου ἐδίδου καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἤλθ'· κατὰ πολλοὺς ἤδη τοῦ τυράννου ἀποτασσόμεν' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαινον. [7] καὶ τότε δὴ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσεσθαι οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν μάχην ἐλπίσας τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. [8] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Στότζας τοῦ μὲν κακοῦ ἤδη αἰσθόμενος, δεδιὼς δὲ μή οἱ καὶ πλειόνων στρατιωτῶν τῇ ἀποστάσει ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ στράτευμα ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυμβαίη, διακινδυνεύειν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἡπείγετο καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. [9] καὶ ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατιωτῶν ἐλπίς ἀποστάσεως πέρι, ᾧ τε αὐτοῦ, ἦν πρὸ σφίσιν ἄγχιστα γένηται, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ αὐτομολήσιν, ἐς πάντας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐξενεγκών· ταύτη τε αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [10] γενόμενός τε αὐτῆς ἅπο σταδίων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, καὶ Γερμανὸς ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐξῆγε. [11] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξω ἐγένοντο, ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁ Στότζας εἶχε, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [12] ‘Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν δικαίως, ᾧ ξυστρατιῶται, βασιλεῖ μέμψεσθε οὐδέ τι αἰτιάσεσθε τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, οὐδεῖς ἂν, οἶμαι, τῶν πάντων ἀντείποι· [13] ὅς γε ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἄγροῦ ἦκοντας ξὺν τε τῇ πῆρᾳ καὶ χιτωνίσκῳ ἐνὶ ξυναγᾶν ἐς Βυζάντιον τηλικούσδε εἶναι πεποίηκεν ὥστε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῖν κεῖσθαι. [14] ὡς δὲ οὐ περιυβρίσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων δεινότατα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι τετύχηκε, [15] ξυνεπίστασθε καὶ ὑμεῖς δήπουθεν. ὣν δὴ τὴν μνήμην ὑμῖν ἐς ἀεὶ βουλόμενος διασώζεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας ἀφῆκεν, ὄφλημα τοῦτό γε αὐτῷ μόνον ὀφείλεσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξιῶν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνην. [16] ταύτη τοίνυν ἡγμένους ὑμᾶς μεταμανθάνειν τε τὴν πίστιν εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπανορθοῦν. [17] μετάμελος γὰρ ἐν δέοντι τοῖς ἐπταϊκόσιν ἐπιγινόμενος συγγνώμονας αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἡδικομένους ποιεῖν εἴωθεν, ὑπουργία τε εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα τὸ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὄνομα μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ.’ [18] ‘Εὖ δὲ ὑμᾶς δεήσει κάκεῖνο εἰδέναι, ὡς, ἦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὖνοι μάλιστα βασιλεῖ γένησθε, οὐδεμία τοῖς προλαβοῦσι λελείπεται μνήμη. [19] πᾶσα γὰρ πρᾶξις ἐφέφυκεν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς καταστροφῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι· ἀμάρτημά τε γεγονὸς ἅπαξ

ἀποίητον μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παντὶ γένοιτο, ἐπανορθωθὲν δὲ πράξεισι τῶν αὐτὸ εἰργασμένων ἀμείνοσιν εὐπρεποῦς τε τῆς σιωπῆς ἐπιτυχάνει καὶ ἐς λήθην ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. [20] καίτοι, ἣν μὲν ὀλιγοῖα τινὶ ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς καταράτους τὰ νῦν χρήσῃθε, ὕστερον δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων πολλάκις ἀναδήσῃθε κράτος, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὁμοίως ἀνθυπουργηκέναι βασιλεῖ δόξαίτε. [21] οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἡμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐς αἰεὶ φέρονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς βασιλέα ταύτη πη λογιζέσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος. [22] ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ἀδικίας τινὸς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄρξας, ἐνδειζόμενός τε πάσῃ δυνάμει τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὖνοιαν, καὶ τὰ νῦν καθιστάμενος ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε, τοσοῦτον αἰτεῖσθαι ἅπαντας ἔγνωκα: μηδεὶς ξὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ γνώμην χωρεῖτω. [23] ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνοις ἤδη βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ ξυντάττεσθαι, μηδὲν μελλήσας ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ἵτω, τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῖν χαριζόμενος, ὅτι οὐ λάθρα ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀδικεῖν ἔγνω. [24] τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ἀλλ' ἐν μεταίχμῳ γενόμενος τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ὅπως ἂν μηδενὶ αὐτομολεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθέλοντι ἐμπόδιος εἶην, παρὸν ἅπασι κινδύνου ἐκτὸς τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι [25] γνώμην.' Γερμανὸς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ταραχὴ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἡξίου αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εὖνοιάν τε τὴν ἐς βασιλέα τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμείσθαι.

XVI

When the emperor learned this, he sent his nephew Germanus, a man of patrician rank, with some few men to Libya. And Symmachus also and Domnicus, men of the senate, followed him, the former to be prefect and charged with the maintenance of the army, while Domnicus was to command the infantry forces. For John, who had held the office of prefect, had already died of disease. And when they had sailed into Carthage, Germanus counted the soldiers whom they had, and upon looking over the books of the scribes where the names of all the soldiers were registered, he found that the third part of the army was in Carthage and the other cities, while all the rest were arrayed with the tyrant against the Romans. He did not, therefore, begin any fighting, but bestowed the greatest care upon his army. And considering that those left in Carthage were the kinsmen or tentmates of the enemy, he kept addressing many winning words to all, and in particular said that he had himself been sent by the emperor to Libya in order to defend the soldiers who had been wronged and to punish those who had unprovoked done them any injury. And when this was found out by the mutineers, they began to come over to him a few at a time. And Germanus both received them into the city in a friendly manner and, giving pledges, held them in honour, and he gave them their pay for the time during which they had been in arms against the Romans. And when the report of these acts was circulated and came to all, they began now to detach themselves in large numbers from the tyrant and to march to Carthage. Then at last Germanus, hoping that in the battle he would be evenly matched in strength with his opponents, began to make preparations for the conflict.

But in the meantime Stotzas, already perceiving the trouble, and fearing lest by the defection of still others of his soldiers the army should be reduced still more, was pressing for a decisive encounter immediately and trying to take hold of the war with more vigour. And since he had some hope regarding the soldiers in Carthage, that they would come over to him, and thought that they would readily desert if he came near them, he held out the hope to all his men; and after encouraging them exceedingly in this way, he advanced swiftly with his whole army against Carthage. And when he had come within thirty-five stades of the city, he made camp not far from the sea, and Germanus, after arming his whole army and arraying them for battle, marched forth. And when they were all outside the city, since he had heard what Stotzas was hoping for, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows:

“That there is nothing, fellow-soldiers, with which you can justly reproach the emperor, and no fault which you can find with what he has done to you, this, I think, no one of you all could deny; for it was he who took you as you came

from the fields with your wallets and one small frock apiece and brought you together in Byzantium, and has caused you to be so powerful that the Roman state now depends upon you. And that he has not only been treated with wanton insult, but has also suffered the most dreadful of all things at your hands, you yourselves, doubtless, know full well. And desiring that you should preserve the memory of these things for ever, he has dismissed the accusations brought against you for your crimes, asking that this debt alone be due to him from you — shame for what you have done. It is reasonable, therefore, that you, being thus regarded by him, should learn anew the lesson of good faith and correct your former folly. For when repentance comes at the fitting time upon those who have done wrong, it is accustomed to make those who have been injured indulgent; and service which comes in season is wont to bring another name to those who have been called ungrateful.

“And it will be needful for you to know well this also, that if at the present time you shew yourselves completely loyal to the emperor, no remembrance will remain of what has gone before. For in the nature of things every course of action is characterized by men in accordance with its final outcome; and while a wrong which has once been committed can never be undone in all time, still, when it has been corrected by better deeds on the part of those who committed it, it receives the fitting reward of silence and generally comes to be forgotten. Moreover, if you act with any disregard of duty toward these accursed rascals at the present time, even though afterwards you fight through many wars in behalf of the Romans and often win the victory over the enemy, you will never again be regarded as having requited the emperor as you can requite him to-day. For those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain for themselves a fairer apology. As regards the emperor, then, let each one of you reason in some such way. But as for me, I have not voluntarily done you any injustice, and I have displayed my goodwill to you by all possible means, and now, facing this danger, I have decided to ask this much of you all: let no man advance with us against the enemy contrary to his judgement. But if anyone of you is already desirous of arraying himself with them, without delay let him go with his weapons to the enemy’s camp, granting us this one favour, that it be not stealthily, but openly, that he has decided to do us wrong. Indeed, it is for this reason that I am making my speech, not in Carthage, but after coming on the battle-field, in order that I might not be an obstacle to anyone who desires to desert to our opponents, since it is possible for all without danger to shew their disposition toward the state.” Thus spoke Germanus. And a great uproar ensued in the Roman army, for each one demanded the right to be the first to display to the general his loyalty to the emperor and to swear the most dread oaths in confirmation.

Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθήμενοι ἔμενον. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται οὐδὲν σφίσι προχωροῦν ἐνορῶντες ὥν προὔλεγε Στότζας, ἔδεισαν τε ἅτε τῆς ἐλπίδος παρὰ δόξαν ψευσθέντες, καὶ τὴν τάξιν διαλύσαντες

ἀνεχώρησαν, ἕς τε Νουμίδας ἀπήλαυνον, οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς αἱ τε γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ τῆς λείας χρήματα ἦσαν. [2] ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἔς μακρὰν ἦλθε, τὰ τε ἄλλα παρεσκευασμένος ὡς ἄριστα καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαγαγόμενος. [3] καταλαβὼν τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν χωρίῳ ὃ δὴ Σκάλας Βέτερες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [4] τὰς ἀμάξας μετωπηδὸν στήσας τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας κατ' αὐτάς ἔταξεν, ὧν Δόμνικος ἦρχεν, ὅπως τὰ νῶτα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχοντες θαρσῆσωσι μᾶλλον. [5] τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ἄνδρας τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦκοντας αὐτὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν πεζῶν εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐ ζυντεταγμένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους τρεῖς μάλιστα ἔστησε. [6] καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ μὲν ἐνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ἐτέρου δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης, τοῦ δὲ λειπομένου, μείζονος ὄντος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Πάππου ἀδελφός, τέταρτος αὐτός. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο. [7] Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἀντίζοοι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔστησαν, οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ μέντοι ταξάμενοι, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικώτερον ἐσκεδασμένοι. [8] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν Μαυρουσίων μυριάδες πολλάι, ὧν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰαύδας καὶ Ὀρταῖας ἦρχον. [9] οὐ μέντοι ἅπαντες πιστοὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ παρὰ Γερμανὸν πέμποντες πρότερον ὠμολόγουν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ζὺν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τετάξεσθαι. [10] οὐ μὴν αὐτοῖς πιστεῦειν παντάπασιν ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ ἄπιστον φύσει τὸ Μαυρουσίων γένος ἐστὶν ἔς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [11] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ζὺν τοῖς στασιώταις ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἔμενον, παραδοκῶντες τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὅπως ζὺν τοῖς νικῆσουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσημένους ποιήσωνται. [12] Μαυρούσιοι μὲν τοιαύτη γνῶμη οὐκ ἀναμειγνύμενοι τοῖς στασιώταις ὀπισθεν εἶποντο. [13] Στότζας δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον τὸ Γερμανοῦ εἶδε, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει. [14] Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ ὅσοι στασιῶται ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι ἐτύγχανον, οὐδὲ εἶποντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἐκώλυον, φάσκοντες οὐκ εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Γερμανοῦ δύναμιν, ὅποια ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐξεπίστασθαι μέντοι ὡς οὐδαμῇ σφίσιν ἀνθέξουσιν ὅσοι ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτάξαντο. [15] ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους χωρήσαιεν, αὐτοὶ τε οὐχ ὑποστάντες ἐς φυγὴν τρέπονται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, συνταράζουσιν· ἦν δέ γε σφᾶς ἀπωσάμενος Γερμανὸς τρέψηται, ἅπαντα σφίσι διαφθαρῆσεται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα. [16] τούτοις ὁ Στότζας ἀναπεισθεὶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γερμανὸν μάχεσθαι εἶασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους ἦει. [17] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. οἱ τε στασιῶται πάντα μὲν τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον, φεύγοντας δὲ ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίωκον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἤλαυνον, [18] ἤδη τε τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείπειν οἱ πεζοὶ ἤρξαντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γερμανὸς αὐτὸς τε τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ταύτη στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ὀρμήσας, πόνῳ τε πολλῷ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν στασιώτας ἐτρέψατο καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐχώρησε. [19] τούτου δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἰλδίγερὰ τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ζυναραμένων, οὕτως ἀλλήλοις ἐκάτεροι ἀνεμίνγνυντο, ὥστε διώκοντες οἱ στασιῶται τῶν τινας πολεμίων ὑφ' ἐτέρων καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον. [20] τῆς τε ζυγχύσεως ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσης

οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γερμανόν, ὅπισθεν ἰόντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο, οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἐς πολὺν δέος ἐμπεπτωκότες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον. [21] ἔνδηλοι μέντοι οὐδέτεροι οὔτε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐγίνοντο. μιᾷ τε γὰρ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ οἱ πάντες ἐχρῶντο, οὔτε μορφῇ τινι οὔτε σχήματι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῶν διαλλάσσοντες. [22] διὸ δὴ Γερμανοῦ γνώμη οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται, ὅτου ἂν λάβοιντο, ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη· ἔπειτα, ἦν τις Γερμανοῦ στρατιώτης φήσειεν εἶναι, οὐκοῦν τὸ Γερμανοῦ ξύμβολον ἐκέλευον λέγειν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον. [23] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ τὸν Γερμανοῦ ἵππον τῶν τις πολεμίων λαθὼν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος οἱ δορυφόροι ἐσώσαντο, φραζάμενοί τε ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐφ’ ἕτερον ἵππον. [24] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἵσχυσε. Γερμανὸς δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος εὐθὺς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου ἐχώρησεν. [25] ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν στασιωτῶν ὑπηντίαζον ὅσοι τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. [26] μάχης τε ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ εἴσοδον καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρ’ ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ στασιῶται ἦλθον τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀπώσασθαι, πέμψας δὲ ὁ Γερμανὸς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς κατ’ ἄλλην ἀποπειρᾶσθαι χώραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκέλευεν. [27] οἱ δὴ οὐδενὸς ταύτῃ ἀμυνομένου ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ξὺν βραχεῖ πόνῳ ἐγένοντο. [28] οἱ τε στασιῶται κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, καὶ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐσεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [29] ἐνταῦθα τὰ χρήματα οἱ στρατιῶται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀρπάζοντες οὔτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντό τινι οὔτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευομένου ἔτι κατήκουον, παρόντων χρημάτων διὸ δὴ ὁ Γερμανός, [30] δείσας μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντες ὃ πολέμιοι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν εἴσοδον ἔστη, πολλὰ τε ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπαῖοντας ἐς εὐκοσμίαν παρακαλῶν. [31] τῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων πολλοὶ τῆς τροπῆς οὕτω γεγεννημένης τοὺς τε στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἤδη καὶ ξὺν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξαντες ἐλίζοντο τὸ τῶν ἡσσημένων στρατόπεδον. [32] Στότζας δέ, κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαυρουσίῳ στρατῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχων, ὥς ἀναμαχοῦμενος παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἦλαινε. [33] αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων, ξὺν ἑκατὸν ἀνδράσι διαφυγεῖν μόλις ἵσχυσεν. [34] αὐθις δὲ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ ξυλλεγέντες ἐνεχείρισαν μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀποκρουσθέντες δὲ οὐδὲν τι ἥσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Γερμανῷ ἅπαντες προσεχώρησαν. [35] μόνος δὲ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν Βανδύλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παῖδα τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων γυναῖκα λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἡ μὲν στάσις αὕτη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XVII

Now for some time the two armies remained in position opposite each other. But when the mutineers saw that nothing of what Stotzas had foretold was coming to pass, they began to be afraid as having been unexpectedly cheated of their hope, and they broke their ranks and withdrew, and marched off to Numidia, where were their women and the money from their booty. And Germanus too came there with the whole army not long afterwards, having made all preparations in the best way possible and also bringing along many wagons for the army. And overtaking his opponents in a place which the Romans call *Scalae Veteres*, he made his preparations for battle in the following manner. Placing the wagons in line facing the front, he arrayed all the infantry along them under the leadership of Domnicus, so that by reason of having their rear in security they might fight with the greater courage. And the best of the horsemen and those who had come with him from Byzantium he himself had on the left of the infantry, while all the others he placed on the right wing, not marshalled in one body but in three divisions. And Ildiger led one of them, Theodoras the Cappadocian another, while the remaining one, which was larger, was commanded by John, the brother of Pappus, with three others. Thus did the Romans array themselves.

And the mutineers took their stand opposite them, not in order, however, but scattered, more in the manner of barbarians. And at no great distance many thousands of Moors followed them, who were commanded by a number of leaders, and especially by Iaudas and Ortañas. But not all of them, as it happened, were faithful to Stotzas and his men, for many had sent previously to Germanus and agreed that, when they came into the fight, they would array themselves with the emperor's army against the enemy. However, Germanus could not trust them altogether, for the Moorish nation is by nature faithless to all men. It was for this reason also that they did not array themselves with the mutineers, but remained behind, waiting for what would come to pass, in order that with those who should be victorious they might join in the pursuit of the vanquished. Such was the purpose, then, of the Moors, in following behind and not mingling with the mutineers.

And when Stotzas came close to the enemy and saw the standard of Germanus, he exhorted his men and began to charge against him. But the mutinous Eruli who were arrayed about him did not follow and even tried with all their might to prevent him, saying that they did not know the character of the forces of Germanus, but that they did know that those arrayed on the enemy's right would by no means withstand them. If, therefore, they should advance against these, they would not only give way themselves and turn to flight, but would also, in all probability, throw the rest of the Roman

army into confusion; but if they should attack Germanus and be driven back and put to rout, their whole cause would be ruined on the spot. And Stotzas was persuaded by these words, and permitted the others to fight with the men of Germanus, while he himself with the best men went against John and those arrayed with him. And they failed to withstand the attack and hastened to flee in complete disorder. And the mutineers took all their standards immediately, and pursued them as they fled at top speed, while some too charged upon the infantry, who had already begun to abandon their ranks. But at this juncture Germanus himself, drawing his sword and urging the whole of that part of the army to do the same, with great difficulty routed the mutineers opposed to him and advanced on the run against Stotzas. And then, since he was joined in this effort by the men of Ildiger and Theodorus, the two armies mingled with each other in such a way that, while the mutineers were pursuing some of their enemy, they were being overtaken and killed by others. And as the confusion became greater and greater, the troops of Germanus, who were in the rear, pressed on still more, and the mutineers, falling into great fear, thought no longer of resistance. But neither side could be distinguished either by their own comrades or by their opponents. For all used one language and the same equipment of arms, and they differed neither in figure nor in dress nor in any other thing whatever. For this reason the soldiers of the emperor by the advice of Germanus, whenever they captured anyone, asked who he was; and then, if he said that he was a soldier of Germanus, they bade him give the watchword of Germanus, and if he was not at all able to give this, they killed him instantly. In this struggle one of the enemy got by unnoticed and killed the horse of Germanus, and Germanus himself fell to the ground and came into danger, and would have been lost had not his guards quickly saved him by forming an enclosure around him and mounting him on another horse.

As for Stotzas, he succeeded in this tumult in escaping with a few men. But Germanus, urging on his men, went straight for the enemy's camp. There he was encountered by those of the mutineers who had been stationed to guard the stockade. A stubborn fight took place around its entrance, and the mutineers came within a little of forcing back their opponents, but Germanus sent some of his followers and bade them make trial of the camp at another point. These men, since no one was defending the camp at this place, got inside the stockade with little trouble. And the mutineers, upon seeing them, rushed off in flight, and Germanus with all the rest of the army dashed into the enemy's camp. There the soldiers, finding it easy to plunder the goods of the camp, neither took any account of the enemy nor paid any further heed to the exhortations of their general, since booty was at hand. For this reason Germanus, fearing lest the enemy should get together and come upon them, himself with some few men took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, uttering many laments and urging his unheeding men to return to good order. And many of the Moors, when the rout had taken place in this way, were now

pursuing the mutineers, and, arraying themselves with the emperor's troops, were plundering the camp of the vanquished. But Stotzas, at first having confidence in the Moorish army, rode to them in order to renew the battle. But perceiving what was being done, he fled with a hundred men, and succeeded with difficulty in making his escape. And once more many gathered about him and attempted to engage with the enemy, but being repulsed no less decisively than before, if not even more so, they all came over to Germanus. And Stotzas alone with some few Vandals withdrew to Mauretania, and taking to wife the daughter of one of the rulers, remained there. And this was the conclusion of that mutiny.

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Καππαδόκου δορυφόροις, Μαξιμῖνος ὄνομα, πονηρὸς μάλιστα. [2] οὗτος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος, τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείστους διομοσαμένους ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, [3] τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διανοεῖτο. ἔτι τε πλείους ἐταιρίζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἄλλοις τε τὸ βούλευμα φράζει καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, ὥρμημένῳ μὲν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης, εὖ δὲ γεγονότι καὶ πρώτῳ τῶν Θεοδώρου ἐπιτηδείων. [4] ὁ γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδης Θεοδώρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον εὐθὺς Γερμανῷ εἰσαγγέλλει. [5] καὶ ὅς, οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔτι οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠωρημένων ἐτέρας τινὸς ταραχῆς ἄρξαι, θωπεῖα μᾶλλον τινι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τιμωρία περιελθεῖν ἔγνω καὶ ὅρκους αὐτὸν καταλαβεῖν τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας. [6] ὃν τοίνυν εἰθισμένον ἅπασιν Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ μηδένα δορυφόρον τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων καθίστασθαι, ἦν μὴ δεινотάτους πρότερον ὅρκους παρεχόμενος τὰ πιστὰ δοίῃ τῆς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Μαξιμῖνον τῆς τε εὐτολμίας αὐτὸν ἐπήνει καὶ δορυφορεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐπέτελλεν. [7] ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γεγονὼς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς, ταύτῃ τε ῥᾶον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προχωρήσειν ὑποτοπάζων, τὸν τε ὅρκον ὑπέστη καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς Γερμανοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὰ τε ὁμωμοσμένα εὐθὺς ἀλογεῖν ἡξίου καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τυραννίδα πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον κρατύνασθαι. [8] Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐορτὴν τινα πανδημεῖ ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Μαξιμῖνου στασιωτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ἐς Παλάτιον κατὰ τὰ σφίσι ξυγκείμενα ἦκον, οὗ δὴ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰστία, παρεστήκει δὲ τῇ θοίνῃ ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δορυφόροις ὁ Μαξιμῖνος. [9] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, εἰσελθὼν τις Γερμανῷ ἀπαγγέλλει στρατιώτας πολλοὺς κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας ἐστῶτας αἰτιάσθαι συντάξεις χρόνου πολλοῦ τὸ δημόσιον σφίσιν ὀφείλειν. [10] καὶ ὅς τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκέλευσε λάθρα τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, αἰσθησὶν αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ ποιουμένου ὥς ἡκιστα παρεχομένους. [11] οἱ μὲν οὖν στασιῶται ζὺν τε ἀπειλῇ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν οἱ τε τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῖς μετασχόντες κατὰ βραχὺ ἀγειρόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐνταῦθα ξυνέρρεον. [12] καὶ εἰ μὲν ξυλληγῆναι ἅπαντας ἐς ταῦτο ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἂν τις, οἶμαι, [13] καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν εὐπετῶς ἔσχε: νῦν δὲ Γερμανὸς προτερήσας ἔτι ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πλείστου ὁμίλου ἅπαντας αὐτίκα τοὺς αὐτῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [14] οἱ δὴ οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς στασιώταις εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον. οἱ δὲ οὔτε Μαξιμῖνον

σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες, ὅνπερ σφίσιν ἐξηγήσεσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκαραδόκουν, οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς, ἥπερ ὄντο, ξυλλεγέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαχομένους παρὰ δόξαν σφίσι τοὺς ξυστρατιώτας θεώμενοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐλθόντες ἡσσήθησάν τε ῥαδίως τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [15] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐναντίοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ παρὰ Γερμανὸν ζωγρήσαντες ἤγον. [16] ὅσοι μέντοι οὐκ ἔφθισαν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἦκοντες, οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τῆς ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνῳ παρέσχοντο γνώμης. [17] Γερμανὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν διερευνᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἤξιου, ἀνεπυνθάνετο δὲ εἰ Μαξιμίνῳ ἐπειδὴ ὠμωμόκει, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἥσκητο. [18] ἐληλεγμένον τε ὥς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ποιοίη, ἄγχιστά πη αὐτὸν τοῦ Καρχηδόνοιο περιβόλου ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὕτω τε τὴν στάσιν παντάπασιν καταλύειν ἔσχε. Μαξιμίνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιβουλή ἐτελεύτησεν ὧδε.

XVIII

Now there was among the body-guards of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, a certain Maximinus, an exceedingly base man. This Maximinus had first got a very large number of the soldiers to join with him in a conspiracy against the government, and was now purposing to attempt a tyranny. And being eager to associate with himself still more men, he explained the project to others and especially to Asclepiades, a native of Palestine, who was a man of good birth and the first of the personal friends of Theodorus. Now Asclepiades, after conversing with Theodorus, straightway reported the whole matter to Germanus. And he, not wishing as yet, while affairs were still unsettled, to begin any other disturbance, decided to get the best of the man by cajoling and flattering him rather than by punishment, and to bind him by oaths to loyalty toward the government. Accordingly, since it was an old custom among all Romans that no one should become a body-guard of one of the commanders, unless he had previously taken the most dread oaths and given pledges of his loyalty both toward his own commander and toward the Roman emperor, he summoned Maximinus, and praising him for his daring, directed him to be one of his body-guards from that time forth. And he, being overjoyed at the extraordinary honour, and conjecturing that his project would in this way get on more easily, took the oath, and though from that time forth he was counted among the body-guards of Germanus, he did not hesitate to disregard his oaths immediately and to strengthen much more than ever his plans to achieve the tyranny.

Now the whole city was celebrating some general festival, and many of the conspirators of Maximinus at about the time of lunch came according to their agreement to the palace, where Germanus was entertaining his friends at a feast, and Maximinus took his stand beside the couches with the other body-guards. And as the drinking proceeded, someone entered and announced to Germanus that many soldiers were standing in great disorder before the door of the court, putting forward the charge that the government owed them their pay for a long period. And he commanded the most trusty of the guards secretly to keep close watch over Maximinus, allowing him in no way to perceive what was being done. Then the conspirators with threats and tumult proceeded on the run to the hippodrome, and those who shared their plan with them gathered gradually from the houses and were assembling there. And if it had so chanced that all of them had come together, no one, I think, would have been able easily to destroy their power; but, as it was, Germanus anticipated this, and, before the greater part had yet arrived, he straightway sent against them all who were well-disposed to himself and to the emperor. And they attacked the conspirators before they expected them. And then, since Maximinus, for whom they were waiting to begin the battle for them,

was not with them, and they did not see the crowd gathered to help them, as they had thought it would be, but instead even beheld their fellow-soldiers unexpectedly fighting against them, they consequently lost heart and were easily overcome in the struggle and rushed off in flight and in complete disorder. And their opponents slew many of them, and they also captured many alive and brought them to Germanus. Those, however, who had not already come to the hippodrome gave no indication of their sentiment toward Maximinus. And Germanus did not see fit to go on and seek them out, but he enquired whether Maximinus, since he had sworn the oath, had taken part in the plot. And since it was proved that, though numbered among his own bodyguards he had carried on his designs still more than before, Germanus impaled him close by the fortifications of Carthage, and in this way succeeded completely in putting down the sedition. As for Maximinus, then, such was the end of his plot.

Γερμανὸν δὲ ζῶν τε Συμμάχῳ καὶ Δομνίκῳ μεταπεμψάμενος βασιλεὺς Σολόμωνι αὐθις ἅπαντα Λιβύης τὰ πράγματα ἐνεχείρισε, τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχων ἀρχήν· στρατεύμα τε αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε καὶ Ῥουφῖνον καὶ Λεόντιον, τοὺς Ζαῦνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου υἱόν. [2] Μαρτῖνος γὰρ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤδη πρότερον ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον. [3] Σολόμων δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ τῆς Στότζα στάσεως ἀπαλλαγείς μετρίως τε ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ Λιβύην ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασσε, διακοσμῶν τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἴ τι μὲν ὕποπτον ἐν αὐτῷ εὗρισκεν, ἔς τε Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμπων, νέους δὲ στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἀριθμὸν καταλέγων καὶ Βανδύλων τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε αὐτῶν γυναικας ἀπάσας ὅλης ἐξοικίζων Λιβύης. πόλιν τε ἐκάστην περιέβαλε τείχει καὶ τοὺς νόμους ζῶν ἀκριβεῖα φυλάξας πολλῇ τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς μάλιστα διεσώσατο. [4] καὶ ἐγένετο Λιβύῃ ἐπ' ἐκείνου χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ δυνατῇ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαίμων. [5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντ' αἱ ὡς ἄριστα διετέτακτο, ἐπὶ τε Ἰαῦδαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους αὐθις ἐστράτεψε. [6] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Γόνθαριν, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, ζῶν στρατεύματι ἐπεμψεν. [7] ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀβίγαν ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀμφὶ Βάγαϊν, πόλιν ἔρημον. [8] ἐνταῦθά τε τοῖς πολεμίῳις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ ἡσσηθείς ἔς τε τὸ χαράκωμα ἀποχωρήσας τῇ Μαυρουσίῳ προσεδρεῖα ἐπιέζετο ἤδη. [9] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἀφικόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα· τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπεῖχεν οὗ Γόνθαρις ἡγεῖτο, χαράκωμά τε ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γόνθαριν ἅπαντα ἀκούσας μοῖράν τε αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπεμψε καὶ θαρσοῦντας ἐκέλευε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίῳις. [10] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι καθυπέρτεροι ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, [11] ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, γενόμενοι ἐποιοῦν τάδε. Ἀβίγας ὁ ποταμὸς ρεῖ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αὐρασίου, κατιῶν δὲ ἐς πεδῖον ἀρδεύει τὴν γῆν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν βουλομένοις ἢ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. [12] περιάγουσι γὰρ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅποι ποτὲ σφίσιν ἐς τὸ παραντίκα ξυνοίσειν οἶονται, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷδε

τῷ πεδίῳ ἀπώρυγες συχναὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, ἐς αἷς δὴ ὁ Ἀβίγας σχιζόμενός τε καὶ ἐς πάσας ἰὼν ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται καὶ αὐθις ὑπὲρ γῆν διαφαίνεται, [13] ξυνάγων τὸ ῥέυμα. τοῦτό τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου ξυμβαίνειν ἐν ἐξουσία τοῖς ταύτῃ ὥκημένοις τίθεται εἶναι, ἐπιβύσασι χώματι τοὺς ῥωχοὺς ἢ αὐθις αὐτοὺς ἀποκαλύψασι τοῖς ὕδασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦδε ὃ τι βούλονται χρῆσθαι. [14] τότε οὖν ἀπάσας οἱ Μαυρούσιοι τὰς ἐκείνῃ ἀπώρυγας ἀποφράξαντες ἀφίᾳσι τὸ ῥέυμα ὅλον φέρεσθαι ἀμφὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [15] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τέλμα βαθὺ γεγονὸς καὶ ἀπόρευτον ἐξέπληξέ τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν κατέστησε. [16] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Σολόμων κατὰ τάχος ἦει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δέισαντες ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὸν πρόποδα. καὶ ἐν χώρῳ ὃν Βάβωσιν καλοῦσι, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἄρας τε Σολόμων τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἤκε. [17] καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κρατήσας τε παρὰ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. [18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μάχην μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ἠλπίζον· ἐς δὲ τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἀπολέγοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Ῥωμαίους χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ἐνθένδε ἐξανίστασθαι ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον. [19] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἐς τε Μαυριτανοὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ Αὐρασίου βαρβάρους ᾤχοντο, Ἰαύδας δὲ ξὺν Μαυρουσίων δισφυρίοις ἐνταῦθα ἔμενον. ἐτόγγανε δὲ φρούριον οἰκοδομησάμενος ἐν Αὐρασίῳ, Ζερβούλην ὄνομα. οὗ δὴ ἐσελθὼν σὺν πᾶσι Μαυρουσίοις ἠσύχαζε. [20] Σολόμων δὲ χρόνον μὲν τρίβεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἤκιστα ἤθελε, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταμουγάδην πεδία σίτου ἀκμάζοντος ἔμπλεα εἶναι ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἐδήλου τὴν γῆν. πυρπολήσας τε ἅπαντα ἐς Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον αὐθις ἀνέστρεψεν. [21] Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδήλουν τὴν γῆν, Ἰαύδας καταλιπὼν Μαυρουσίων τινάς, οὓς μάλιστα ᾔετο ἐς τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρασίου ὑπερβολὴν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέβη, ὅπως μὴ πολιορκουμένους ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφᾶς ἐπιλίποι. [22] χῶρόν τε εὐρὼν κρημοῖς τε πάντοθεν ἀνεχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἀποτόμων πετρῶν καλυπτόμενον, [23] Τοῦμαρ ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα ἠσύχαζε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον ἐς τρεῖς ἐπολιόρκουν ἡμέρας. καὶ τόξοις χρώμενοι, ἅτε οὐχ ὑψηλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι βαρβάρων ἔβαλλον. [24] τύχῃ δέ τινι ξυνέπεσεν ἅπαντας Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τούτοις δὴ ἐντυχόντας τοῖς βέλεσι θνήσκειν. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβη καὶ νύξ ἐπέλαβε, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι τῶν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις ἡγεμόνων πυθόμενοι διαλύειν ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν προσεδρεῖαν. [26] ἄμεινον γὰρ Σολόμω^ν ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ τε Ἰαύδαν καὶ Μαυρουσίων τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι, οἰομένῳ, ἣν ἐκείνους πολιορκία ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοὺς ἐν Ζερβούλῃ βαρβάρους προσχωρήσειν σφίσιν. [27] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἀντέχειν τῇ προσεδρεῖᾳ οἰόμενοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες ἤδη οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἀνήρηντο, φεύγειν τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπολιπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [28] αὐτίκα γοῦν ἅπαντες σιγῇ τε καὶ οὐδεμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθήσιν παρεχόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο. [29] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τείχει

οὐδεῖς, καίπερ πολεμίων ἀναχωρούντων, ἐφαίνετο, ἐθαύμαζόν τε καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διηποροῦντο. [30] ξὺν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ τὸ φρούριον περιόντες ἀνακεκλιμένην τὴν πυλίδα εὕρισκουσιν ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ὄχοντο φεύγοντες. [31] ἔς τε τὸ φρούριον ἐσελθόντες ἐν ἀρπαγῇ ἅπαντα ἐποιήσαντο, διώκειν μέντοι ἤκιστα τοὺς πολεμίους διανοοῦντο, ἄνδρας κούφως τε ἐσταλμένους μένους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐμπείρους. [32] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντα ἐληίσαντο, φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου καταστησάμενοι πεζῇ ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω.

XI

[539-540 A.D.] And the emperor summoned Germanus together with Symmachus and Domnicus and again entrusted all Libya to Solomon, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and he provided him with an army and officers, among whom were Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanas, and John, the son of Sisiniolus. For Martinus and Valerianus had already before this gone under summons to Byzantium. And Solomon sailed to Carthage, and having rid himself of the sedition of Stotzas, he ruled with moderation and guarded Libya securely, setting the army in order, and sending to Byzantium and to Belisarius whatever suspicious elements he found in it, and enrolling new soldiers to equal their number, and removing those of the Vandals who were left and especially all their women from the whole of Libya. And he surrounded each city with a wall, and guarding the laws with great strictness, he restored the government completely. And Libya became under his rule powerful as to its revenues and prosperous in other respects.

And when everything had been arranged by him in the best way possible, he again made an expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Aurasium. And first he sent forward Gontharis, one of his own body-guards and an able warrior, with an army. Now Gontharis came to the Abigas River and made camp near Bagaïs, a deserted city. And there he engaged with the enemy, but was defeated in battle, and retiring to his stockade was already being hard pressed by the siege of the Moors. But afterwards Solomon himself arrived with his whole army, and when he was sixty stades away from the camp which Gontharis was commanding, he made a stockade and remained there; and hearing all that had befallen the force of Gontharis, he sent them a part of his army and bade them keep up the fight against the enemy with courage. But the Moors, having gained the upper hand in the engagement, as I have said, did as follows. The Abigas River flows from Aurasium, and descending into a plain, waters the land just as the men there desire. For the natives conduct this stream to whatever place they think it will best serve them at the moment, for in this plain there are many channels, into which the Abigas is divided, and entering all of them, it passes underground, and reappears again above the ground and gathers its stream together. This takes place over the greatest part of the plain and makes it possible for the inhabitants of the region, by stopping up the waterways with earth, or by again opening them, to make use of the waters of this river as they wish. So at that time the Moors shut off all the channels there and thus allowed the whole stream to flow about the camp of the Romans. As a result of this, a deep, muddy marsh formed there through which it was impossible to go; this terrified them exceedingly and reduced them to a state of helplessness. When this was heard by Solomon, he came quickly. But the barbarians, becoming afraid, withdrew to the foot of

Aurasium. And in a place which they call Babosis they made camp and remained there. So Solomon moved with his whole army and came to that place. And upon engaging with the enemy, he defeated them decisively and turned them to flight. Now after this the Moors did not think it advisable for them to fight a pitched battle with the Romans; for they did not hope to overcome them in this kind of contest; but they did have hope, based on the difficult character of the country around Aurasium, that the Romans would in a short time give up by reason of the sufferings they would have to endure and would withdraw from there, just as they formerly had done. The most of them, therefore, went off to Mauretania and the barbarians to the south of Aurasium, but Iaudas with twenty thousand of the Moors remained there. And it happened that he had built a fortress on Aurasium, Zerboule by name. Into this he entered with all the Moors and remained quiet. But Solomon was by no means willing that time should be wasted in the siege, and learning that the plains about the city of Tamougade were full of grain just becoming ripe, he led his army into them, and settling himself there, began to plunder the land. Then, after firing everything, he returned again to the fortress of Zerboule.

But during this time, while the Romans were plundering the land, Iaudas, leaving behind some of the Moors, about as many as he thought would be sufficient for the defence of the fortress, himself ascended to the summit of Aurasium with the rest of the army, not wishing to stand siege in the fort and have provisions fail his forces. And finding a high place with cliff's on all sides of it and concealed by perpendicular rocks, Toumar by name, he remained quietly there. And the Romans besieged the fortress of Zerboule for three days. And using their bows, since the wall was not high, they hit many of the barbarians upon the parapets. And by some chance it happened that all the leaders of the Moors were hit by these missiles and died. And when the three days' time had passed and night came on, the Romans, having learned nothing of the death of the leaders among the Moors, were planning to break up the siege. For it seemed better to Solomon to go against Iaudas and the multitude of the Moors, thinking that, if he should be able to capture that force by siege, the barbarians in Zerboule would with less trouble and difficulty yield to the Romans. But the barbarians, thinking that they could no longer hold out against the siege, since all their leaders had now been destroyed, decided to flee with all speed and abandon the fortress. Accordingly they fled immediately in silence and without allowing the enemy in any way to perceive it, and the Romans also at daybreak began to prepare for departure. And since no one appeared on the wall, although the besieging army was withdrawing, they began to wonder and fell into the greatest perplexity among themselves. And in this state of uncertainty they went around the fortress and found the gate open from which the Moors had departed in flight. And entering the fortress they treated everything as plunder, but they had no thought of pursuing the enemy, for they had set out with light equipment and

were familiar with the country round about. And when they had plundered everything, they set guards over the fortress, and all moved forward on foot.

Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς Τοῦμαρ τὸν γῶρον, οὗ δὴ καθείρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡσύχαζον οἱ πολέμοι, ἄγχι που ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ, ἔνθα οὔτε ὕδατος ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγου οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐν εὐπορίᾳ εἶσθαι ἔμελλον. [2] χρόνου δὲ τριβομένου συχνοῦ τῶν τε βαρβάρων οὐδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντων, αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τι ἤσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ πιεζόμενοι ἡσχαλλον. [3] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ ἤχθοντο, ὃ δὴ αὐτὸς Σολόμων ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδου, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι κύλικά μίαν ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστω. [4] ὥς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶδε δυσανασχετοῦντάς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ τὰ παρόντα δυσχερῇ φέρειν οὐκέτι οἴους τε ὄντας, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τε τοῦ χωρίου, καίπερ δυσπροσόδου ὄντος, διενεοῖτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε: [5] ‘Ἐπειδὴ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους πολιορκεῖν, πρᾶγμα πρότερόν τε κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος καὶ νῦν τοῖς γε οὐχ ὀρῶσι τὰ δρώμενα παντελῶς ἄπιστον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἄνωθεν ὑπουργοῦντας ἐπικουρίᾳ ταύτην δὴ μὴ καταπροδιδόναί τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’ ὑφισταμένους σὺν προθυμίᾳ τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώσκειν εὐτυχημάτων ἐφίεσθαι. [6] ὥς πᾶσα μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ῥοπή ἐς τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν περιίσταται: ἦν δέ τις ἐθελοκακήσας προδιδοίῃ τὴν τύχην, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν αἰτιῶτο δικαίως, αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν πεποιημένος. [7] Μαυρουσίων μὲν τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὁρᾶτε δήπου καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ δὴ πάντων ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς τηροῦσιν. [8] ὑμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ μηδαμῶς ἀχθομένους τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμολογίαν προσδέχεσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην ὀλιγωροῦντας τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κινδύνου προσίεσθαι νίκην. [9] μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τούσδε ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκίνδυνον ἔσται, οὓς δὴ τῷ λιμῷ μαχομένους ἤδη οὐποτε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς χειρὰς ἀφίξεσθαι οἶμαι. ἅπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑμᾶς ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας ἅπαντα προσήκει προθύμως τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκτελεῖν.’ [10] Τοσαῦτα Σολόμων παρακελευσάμενος διεσκοπεῖτο ὅθεν ἂν σφίσι τοῦ χωρίου πειράσασθαι ἄμεινον εἴη, ἀπορουμένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφώκει. [11] λίαν γάρ οἱ ἄμαχος τις ἢ δυσχωρία ἐφαίνετο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ Σολόμων ταῦτα ἐν νῷ ἐποιεῖτο, ἢ τύχῃ ὁδὸν τινα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπορίσατο τήνδε. [12] Γέζων ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις πεζός, τοῦ καταλόγου ὀπτίων εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέγραπτο: οὕτω γὰρ τὸν τῶν συντάξεων χορηγὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [13] οὗτος ὁ Γέζων, εἴτε παίζων εἴτε θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἢ καὶ τι αὐτὸν θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι δοκῶν ἀνέβαινε μόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν τινες ξυστρατιωτῶν ἦσαν, ἐν θαύματι πολλῷ ποιούμενοι τὰ γινόμενα. [14] ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ Μαυρουσίων τρεῖς οἱ ἐς τὸ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἰσόδον ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπήντων δρόμῳ. [15] ἅτε δὲ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐ ξυντεταγμένοι ἐβάδιζον, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἕκαστος ἦει. [16] παίσας δὲ τὸν πρῶτόν οἱ ἐντυχόντα ὁ Γέζων ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάτερον διειργάσατο. [17] ὃ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ὀπισθεν ἰόντες πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ

ταραχή ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν. [18] ὥς δὲ τὰ δρώμενα ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, οὔτε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναμείναντες τῆς πορείας σφίσιν ἠγήσασθαι οὔτε τὰς σάλπιγγας τὴν ξυμβολὴν σημῆναι, καθάπερ εἶθιστο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν φυλάσσοντες, ἀλλὰ πατάγω τε πολλῶ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευόμενοι ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολέμιων στρατόπεδον. [19] ἐνταῦθα Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Λεόντιος, οἱ Ζαῦνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [20] οἷς δὴ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καταπεπληγμένοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας σφῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι ἔμαθον, αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὅπη ἕκαστος ἐδύνато ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον. [21] Ἰαύδας τε αὐτὸς ἀκοντίῳ πληγείς τὸν μηρὸν ὁμῶς διέφυγέ τε καὶ ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀπεχώρησε. [22] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ διαρπάσαντες τὸ τῶν πολέμιων στρατόπεδον οὐκέτι τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐκλείπειν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνος ἐνταῦθα φρούρια οἰκοδομησαμένου φυλάσσειν, ὅπως μὴ αὐθις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὄρος Μαυρουσίοις ἐσβατὸν ἔσται. [23] Ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πέτρα ἀπότομος κρημνῶν ἐς μέσον ἀνέχουσα: πέτραν αὐτὴν Γεμινιανοῦ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: οὗ δὴ πύργον οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι βραχὺν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενοι καταφυγὴν τινα ἰσχυράν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης ἐδείμαντο. [24] ἐνταῦθα ἐτόγχανεν Ἰαύδας τὰ τε χρήματα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμέραις πρότερον ὀλίγαις ἐναποθέμενος, ἕνα τε γέροντα Μαυρούσιον φύλακα τῶν χρημάτων καταστησάμενος. [25] οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὑπετόπασεν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τόνδε τὸν χώρον ἀφίξεσθαι οὔτ' ἂν βία ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα τὸν πύργον ἐλεῖν. [26] ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τότε τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὰς δυσχωρίας διερευνώμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἦκον, καὶ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν πύργον ξὺν γέλῳτι ἐνεχείρησεν: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐτόθαζον, ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἀμήχανων ἐφιεμένου καταγελῶσαι: [27] τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου διακύψας ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος στρατιώτης ἐπειδὴ χερσὶ τε καὶ ποσὶν ἀναβαίνων ἐγγὺς που ἐγεγόνει, σπασάμενος ἡσυχὴ τὸ ξίφος ἐξήλατό τε ὥς εἶχε τάχους καὶ τοῦ γέροντος εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν παίει, τεμεῖν τε αὐτὸν διαμπαξὶ ἴσχυσεν. [28] ἢ τε κεφαλὴ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται θαρσοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας τὰ τε χρήματα, μεγάλα κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐνθένδε ἐξεῖλον. [29] ἀφ' ὧν δὴ Σολόμων πολλὰς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων περιέβαλε τείχεσι. [30] Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Νουμιδίας νικηθέντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, Ζάβην τε τὴν χώραν, ἣ ὑπὲρ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιόν ἐστι Μαυριτανία τε ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται μητρόπολιν Σίτιφιν ἔχουσα, τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν προσεποίησε: [31] Μαυριτανίας γὰρ τῆς ἐτέρας πρώτης Καισάρειας τυγχάνει οὔσα, οὗ δὴ ὁ Μαστίγας ξὺν Μαυρουσίοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἴδρυτο, ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία κατήκοά τε καὶ φόρου ὑποτελὴ πλὴν γε δὴ πόλεως Καισαρείας ἔχων. [32] ταύτην γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοις Βελισάριος τὸ πρότερον ἀνεσώσατο, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθέν μοι δεδῆλωται λόγοις: ἐς ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι ναυσὶ μὲν εἰς ἀεὶ στέλλονται, πεζῇ δὲ ἰέναι οὐκ εἰσὶ δυνατόι Μαυρουσίων ἐν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων τῇ χώρᾳ. [33] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λίβυες ἅπαντες, οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ἦσαν, εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοὺς τυχόντες καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος ἀρχῆς σῶφρονός τε καὶ λίαν μετρίας, ἔς τε τὸ λοιπὸν πολέμιον ἐν νῶ οὐδὲν

ἔχοντες, ἔδοξαν εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων πάντων.

And coming to the place Toumar, where the enemy had shut themselves in and were remaining quiet, they encamped near by in a bad position, where there would be no supply of water, except a little, nor any other necessary thing. And after much time had been spent and the barbarians did not come out against them at all, they themselves, no less than the enemy, if not even more, were hard pressed by the siege and began to be impatient. And more than anything else, they were distressed by the lack of water; this Solomon himself guarded, giving each day no more than a single cupful to each man. And since he saw that they were openly discontented and no longer able to bear their present hardships, he planned to make trial of the place, although it was difficult of access, and called all together and exhorted them as follows: "Since God has granted to the Romans to besiege the Moors on Aurasium, a thing which hitherto has been beyond hope and now, to such as do not see what is actually being done, is altogether incredible, it is necessary that we too should lend our aid to the help that has come from above, and not prove false to this favour, but undergoing the danger with enthusiasm, should reach after the good fortune which is to come from success. For in every case the turning of the scales of human affairs depends upon the moment of opportunity; but if a man, by wilful cowardice, is traitor to his fortune, he cannot justly blame it, having by his own action brought the guilt upon himself. Now as for the Moors, you see their weakness surely and the place in which they have shut themselves up and are keeping guard, deprived of all the necessities of life. And as for you, one of two things is necessary, either without feeling any vexation at the siege to await the surrender of the enemy, or, if you shrink from this, to accept the victory which goes with the danger. And fighting against these barbarians will be the more free from danger for us, inasmuch as they are already fighting with hunger and I think they will never even come to an engagement with us. Having these things in mind at the present time, it behooves you to execute all your orders with eagerness."

After Solomon had made this exhortation, he looked about to see from what point it would be best for his men to make an attempt on the place, and for a long time he seemed to be in perplexity. For the difficult nature of the ground seemed to him quite too much to contend with. But while Solomon was considering this, chance provided a way for the enterprise as follows. There was a certain Gezon in the army, a foot-soldier, "optio" of the detachment to which Solomon belonged; for thus the Romans call the paymaster. This Gezon, either in play or in anger, or perhaps even moved by some divine impulse, began to make the ascent alone, apparently going against the enemy, and not far from him went some of his fellow-soldiers, marvelling greatly at what he was doing. And three of the Moors, who had been stationed to guard

the approach, suspecting that the man was coming against them, went on the run to confront him. But since they were in a narrow way, they did not proceed in orderly array, but each one went separately. And Gezon struck the first one who came upon him and killed him, and in this way he despatched each of the others. And when those in the rear perceived this, they advanced with much shouting and tumult against the enemy. And when the whole Roman army both heard and saw what was being done, without waiting either for the general to lead the way for them or for the trumpets to give the signal for battle, as was customary, nor indeed even keeping their order, but making a great uproar and urging one another on, they ran against the enemy's camp. There Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanes, made a splendid display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And by this the Moors were terror-stricken, and when they learned that their guards also had been destroyed, they straightway turned to flight where each one could, and the most of them were overtaken in the difficult ground and killed. And Iaudas himself, though struck by a javelin in the thigh, still made his escape and withdrew to Mauretania. But the Romans, after plundering the enemy's camp, decided not to abandon Aurasium again, but to guard fortresses which Solomon was to build there, so that this mountain might not be again accessible to the Moors.

Now there is on Aurasium a perpendicular rock which rises in the midst of precipices; the natives call it the Rock of Geminianus; there the men of ancient times had built a tower, making it very small as a place of refuge, strong and unassailable, since the nature of the position assisted them. Here, as it happened, Iaudas had a few days previously deposited his money and his women, setting one old Moor in charge as guardian of the money. For he could never have suspected that the enemy would either reach this place, or that they could in all time capture the tower by force. But the Romans at that time, searching through the rough country of Aurasium, came there, and one of them, with a laugh, attempted to climb up to the tower; but the women began to taunt him, ridiculing him as attempting the impossible; and the old man, peering out from the tower, did the same thing. But when the Roman soldier, climbing with both hands and feet, had come near them, he drew his sword quietly and leaped forward as quickly as he could, and struck the old man a fair blow on the neck, and succeeded in cutting it through. And the head fell down to the ground, and the soldiers, now emboldened and holding to one another, ascended to the tower, and took out from there both the women and the money, of which there was an exceedingly great quantity. And by means of it Solomon surrounded many of the cities in Libya with walls.

And after the Moors had retired from Numidia, defeated in the manner described, the land of Zabe, which is beyond Mt. Aurasium and is called "First Mauretania," whose metropolis is Sitiphis, was added to the Roman empire by Solomon as a tributary province; for of the other Mauretania

Caesarea is the first city, where was settled Mastigas with his Moors, having the whole country there subject and tributary to him, except, indeed, the city of Caesarea. For this city Belisarius had previously recovered for the Romans, as has been set forth in the previous narrative; and the Romans always journey to this city in ships, but they are not able to go by land, since Moors dwell in that country. And as a result of this all the Libyans who were subjects of the Romans, coming to enjoy secure peace and finding the rule of Solomon wise and very moderate, and having no longer any thought of hostility in their minds, seemed the most fortunate of all men.

Τετάρτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ ἐς τοὺναντίον γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. ἔτος γὰρ ἑβδομὸν τε καὶ δέκατον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, Κῦρος τε καὶ Σέργιος, οἱ Βάκχου τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες, πόλεων τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸς βασιλέως ἄρχειν ἔλαχον, Πενταπόλεως μὲν Κῦρος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, [2] Τριπόλεως δὲ Σέργιος. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λεπτίμαγναν πόλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, ἐπιθρυλλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τοῦτου ἕνεκα ἦκοιεν, ὅπως ὁ Σέργιος δῶρά τε καὶ ξύμβολα σφίσι τὰ νομιζόμενα δοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνηται. [3] Σέργιος δὲ Πουδεντίῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς, Τριπολίτῃ ἀνδρί, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ Βανδιλικοῦ πολέμου Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ὑπηρετήσαντος, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς μάλιστα δοκίμους τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο, ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν ὑποσχόμενος τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ μένειν ἐκέλευσε. [4] τοῦτοις δὴ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα πίστει ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ παρασχόμενος, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θοίνῃν ἐκάλεσε. τούτους δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους νῦν δολερῶ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, ὅπως Σέργιον ἐνεδρεύσαντες κτείνωσιν. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἄλλα τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ λήια σφίσιν οὐ δέον δηϊῶσαι. [6] ἅπερ ὁ Σέργιος ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου ἐξαναστὰς ἐφ' οὐπὲρ καθῆστο, ἐβούλετο ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [7] καὶ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ἐπωμίδος λαβόμενος ἐνεχέρι οἱ ἐμπόδιος εἶναι. [8] ἔς τε θόρυβον ἐνθένδε καταστάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη ξυνέρρεον. [9] τῶν δὲ τις Σεργίου δορυφόρων τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαυρούσιον διεχρήσατο. [10] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταραχῆς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ μεγάλης, οἱ Σεργίου δορυφόροι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. [11] καὶ αὐτῶν εἷς, ἐπειδὴ κτεινομένου τοὺς ἄλλους εἶδε, τοῦ τε οἰκήματος ἵνα δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο ἐκπεπήδηκε, λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔς τ' τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἀφικόμενος τὰ σφίσι ξυμπεσόντ' ἐδήλου. [12] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔς τε τὸ οἰκεῖν στρατόπεδον κομίζονται δρόμῳ καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένοντο [13] οἷς δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Λεπτίμαγναν ἀφικομένῳ Σέργίῳ τε καὶ Πουδέντιῳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαζον. [14] τῆς τε μάχης ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένη τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ληισάμενοι τῶν τε χρημάτων ἐκράτησαν καὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων ἐξηνδραπόδισαν μέγα τ' χρῆμα. [15] ὕστερον δὲ Πουδέντιος θράσει ἀπερισκέπτῳ ἐχόμενος θνήσκει. Σέργιος δὲ σὺν τ'

Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ συνεσκόταζεν, ἔ' Λεπτίμαγναν ἐσήλασε. [16] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι μείζον παρασκευῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. Σέργιο δὲ παρὰ Σολόμωνα τὸν θεῖον ἐστάλη, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μείζονι στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴοι· ὃ' δὴ καὶ Κῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὗρεν. [17] οἳ τε βάρβαρο ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι πλεῖστα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῇ ἐλθίσαντο τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων· Ἀντάλας δ'· 'οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτ' Ῥωμαίοις πιστοῦ διαμεμενηκότος καὶ δι' αὐτ' ἰμόνου ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίῳ ἀρχοντος' ἤδη Σολόμωνι ἐκπεπολεμωμένος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτι τε τᾶ' σιτήσεις αἷς αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμῇκει Σολόμων ἀφείλετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε ταραχὴν τινα αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζακηνοὺς γινομένην ἔπενεγκών. [18] τότε οὖν τούτους Ἀντάλας τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄσμενός τε εἶδε καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ Σολόμωνά τε καὶ Καρχηδόνά σφίσι ἠγήσατο. [19] Σολόμων δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, παντὶ τ' στρατῷ ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει, καὶ καταλαβὼ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τεβέστην, ἐξ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνῳ διέχουσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Βάκχου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες Κῦρός τε καὶ Σέργιο καὶ Σολόμων ὁ νεώτατος. [20] δεῖσας τε τὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πληθὸς ἐπεμψε παρὰ τῶν Λευαθῶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας, μεμφόμενος μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἐνσπονδῷ Ῥωμαίων ὄντες εἴτα ἐν ὅπλοις γενόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἀξιῶν ἐν σφίσι" κρατύνασθαι, ὅρκους τε ὁμῆσθαι τοὺς δεινοτάτου ὑπέσχετο, ἢ μὴν ἀμνηστία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔ' αὐτοὺς χρήσεσθαι. [21] χλευάζοντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημέν' οἱ βάρβαροι πάντως αὐτὸν ὁμῆσθαι τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἔφασαν, ἅπερ καλεῖν εὐαγγέλι' νενόμικασιν. [22] οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ Σέργιος ταῦτα ὁμόσα εἴτα τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἔκτεινε, βουλομένοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶη ἐς μάχην ἰοῦσι τούτων δὴ τῷ λογίῳ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, ὅποιαν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιόρκους δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς βεβαίῳ τατα πιστεύσαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ξυνθήκᾳ καθιστῶνται. ταῦτα Σολόμων ἀκούσας τὰ ἔ' τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. [23] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μοῖρᾳ τινὶ τῶν πολεμίῳν λείξ' ὅτι πλείστην ἀγούσῃ ξυμβάλων καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας ἀφελὼν τε τὴν λείαν ἐφύλασσε πᾶσαν. [24] δυσανασχετοῦσι δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δεινὰ ποιουμένοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδου τὰ λάφυρα, ἔφασκεν ἀναμένειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ὅπως δὴ ἅπαντα τῆνικαῦτα διανεῖμονται, καθάπερ ἂν ἐς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω φαίνηται. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐθις οἱ βάρβαροι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς ξυμβολὴν ὥρμητο, ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων τέ τινες ἀπελείποντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἦσαν. [26] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἀγχώματος ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχῃ, ὕστερον δὲ πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπερβαλλομένων τῶν Μαυρουσίῳ, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὃ πολλοὶ ἔφευγον, Σολόμων δὲ καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινες χρόνον μὲν τινα βαλλόμενοι ἀντειχόν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπερβιαζομένων τῶν πολεμίῳν σπουδῇ ἔφευγον ἐς τε ῥύακος ἐκείνῃ ῥέοντος χαράδραν ἀφίκοντο [27] ἔνθα δὴ ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου Σολόμων ἐκπίπτει ἐς ἔδαφος, καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ταῖς χερσὶν οἱ δορυφόροι ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καθίζουσι. [28] περιώδυνον δὲ γεγονότα καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔτι τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἔχεσθαι καταλαβόντες οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτόν τε κτείνουσι καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων πολλούς. αὕτη τε τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ Σολόμων' ἐγένετο.

But in the fourth year after this it came about that all their blessings were turned to the opposite. [543-544 A.D.] For in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian, Cyrus and Sergius, the sons of Bacchus, Solomon's brother, were assigned by the emperor to rule over the cities in Libya, Cyrus, the elder, to have Pentapolis, and Sergius Tripolis. And the Moors who are called Leuathae came to Sergius with a great army at the city of Leptimagna, spreading the report that the reason they had come was this, that Sergius might give them the gifts and insignia of office which were customary and so make the peace secure. But Sergius, persuaded by Pudentius, a man of Tripolis, of whom I made mention in the preceding narrative as having served the Emperor Justinian against the Vandals at the beginning of the Vandalic War, received eighty of the barbarians, their most notable men, into the city, promising to fulfil all their demands; but he commanded the rest to remain in the suburb. Then after giving these eighty men pledges concerning the peace, he invited them to a banquet. But they say that these barbarians had come into the city with treacherous intent, that they might lay a trap for Sergius and kill him. And when they came into conference with him, they called up many charges against the Romans, and in particular said that their crops had been plundered wrongfully. And Sergius, paying no heed to these things, rose from the seat on which he was sitting, with intent to go away. And one of the barbarians, laying hold upon his shoulder, attempted to prevent him from going. Then the others began to shout in confusion, and were already rushing together about him. But one of the body-guards of Sergius, drawing his sword, despatched that Moor. And as a result of this a great tumult, as was natural, arose in the room, and the guards of Sergius killed all the barbarians. But one of them, upon seeing the others being slain, rushed out of the house where these things were taking place, unnoticed by anyone, and coming to his tribemates, revealed what had befallen their fellows. And when they heard this, they betook themselves on the run to their own camp and together with all the others arrayed themselves in arms against the Romans. Now when they came near the city of Leptimagna, Sergius and Pudentius confronted them with their whole army. And the battle becoming a hand-to-hand fight, at first the Romans were victorious and slew many of the enemy, and, plundering their camp, secured their goods and enslaved an exceedingly great number of women and children. But afterwards Pudentius, being possessed by a spirit of reckless daring, was killed; and Sergius with the Roman army, since it was already growing dark, marched into Leptimagna.

At a later time the barbarians took the field against the Romans with a greater array. And Sergius went to join his uncle Solomon, in order that he too might go to meet the enemy with a larger army; and he found there his brother Cyrus

also. And the barbarians, coming into Byzacium, made raids and plundered a great part of the country there; and Antalas (whom I mentioned in the preceding narrative as having remained faithful to the Romans and as being for this reason sole ruler of the Moors in Byzacium) had by now, as it happened, become hostile to Solomon, because Solomon had deprived him of the maintenance with which the emperor had honoured him and had killed his brother, charging him with responsibility for an uprising against the people of Byzacium. So at that time Antalas was pleased to see these barbarians, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with them, led them against Solomon and Carthage.

And Solomon, as soon as he heard about this, put his whole army in motion and marched against them, and coming upon them at the city of Tebesta, distant six days' journey from Carthage, he established his camp in company with the sons of his brother Bacchus, Cyrus and Sergius and Solomon the younger. And fearing the multitude of the barbarians, he sent to the leaders of the Leuathae, reproaching them because, while at peace with the Romans, they had taken up arms and come against them, and demanding that they should confirm the peace existing between the two peoples, and he promised to swear the most dread oaths, that he would hold no remembrance of what they had done. But the barbarians, mocking his words, said that he would of course swear by the sacred writings of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call Gospels. Now since Sergius had once taken these oaths and then had slain those who trusted in them, it was their desire to go into battle and make a test of these same sacred writings, to see what sort of power they had against the perjurers, in order that they might first have absolute confidence in them before they finally entered into the agreement. When Solomon heard this, he made his preparations for the combat.

And on the following day he engaged with a portion of the enemy as they were bringing in a very large booty, conquered them in battle, seized all their booty and kept it under guard. And when the soldiers were dissatisfied and counted it an outrage that he did not give them the plunder, he said that he was awaiting the outcome of the war, in order that they might distribute everything then, according to the share that should seem to suit the merit of each. But when the barbarians advanced a second time, with their whole army, to give battle, this time some of the Romans stayed behind and the others entered the encounter with no enthusiasm. At first, then, the battle was evenly contested, but later, since the Moors were vastly superior by reason of their great numbers, the most of the Romans fled, and though Solomon and a few men about him held out for a time against the missiles of the barbarians, afterwards they were overpowered by the enemy, and fleeing in haste, reached a ravine made by a brook which flowed in that region. And there Solomon's horse stumbled and threw him to the ground, and his body-guards lifted him quickly in their arms and set him upon his horse. But overcome by great pain and

unable to hold the reins longer, he was overtaken and killed by the barbarians, and many of his guards besides. Such was the end of Solomon's life.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σολόμωνος, Σέργιος αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὦν, δόντος βασιλέως παρέλαβε τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. [2] ὃς δὴ φθορᾷ πολλῆς αἰτιώτατος τῷ Λιβύων γένει ἐγένετο ἅπαντές τε αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο, ἄρχοντες μὲν, ὅτι ἀσύνητος ὦν κοιμῆ καὶ νέος τὸν τε τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλαζονικώτατος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, ὕβριζέ τε λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερεώρα, πλούτου τε δυνάμει καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ ἐπιχρῶμενος· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ὅτι δὴ ἄνανδρός τε καὶ μαλθακὸς παντάπασιν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι γυναικῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἀλλοτρίων ἄτοπός τις ἐραστῆς ἐγγένοι. [3] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάννης ὁ Σισινιόλου τῇ Σεργίου δυνάμει χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὦν τὰ πολέμια καὶ διαφερόντως εὐδόκιμος, ἀχαρίστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀτεχνῶς ἔτυχε. [4] διὸ δὴ οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε ἄλλος τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς ὄπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολέμοις ἠβούλετο. [5] τῷ δὲ Ἀντάλα οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντες εἶποντο καὶ Στότζας ἐκ Μαυριτανίας μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. [6] ἐπεὶ τε οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐπέξῃει τῶν πολέμων, ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ληιζόμενοι ἀδεῶς ἅπαντα. τότε Ἀντάλας Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γράμματα ἔγραψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· ‘Δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀρνηθῇην, Μαυρούσιοι δὲ πρὸς Σολόμωνος ἐν σπονδαῖς πεπονθότες ἀνόσια ἔργα, ἐν ὅλοις ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ σοὶ ταῦτα ἀνταίροντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἐγώ. [8] οὐ γὰρ μόνον με τῶν σιτήσεων ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω ὥσπερ μοι πολλῶ πρότερον χρόνῳ Βελισάριός τε διώρισε καὶ σὺ δέδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἔκτεινεν, οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχων. [9] τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην παρὰ τοῦ ἡδικηκότος ἡμᾶς λαβόντες ἔχομεν. εἰ δέ σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ δουλεύειν τε Μαυρουσίους τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν ἥπερ εἰώθασι, Σέργιον μὲν τὸν τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐπανήκειν παρὰ σέ κέλευε, ἄλλον δὲ στρατηγὸν εἰς Λιβύην πέμπε. [10] οὐ γὰρ σε ἐπιλείψουσιν ἄνδρες ζυνετοὶ τε καὶ Σεργίῳ τῷ παντὶ ἀξιώτεροι· ἔως γὰρ οὗτος τῷ σῷ ἐξηγεῖται στρατῷ, εἰρήνην ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Μαυρουσίους ζυνίστασθαι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν.’ Ἀντάλας μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ [11] ταῦτα ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ μαθὼν τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐς Σέργιον ἔχθος, οὐδ’ ὥς παραλύειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤθελε, Σολόμωνος τὴν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰσχνόνμενος, ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [12] Σολόμων δέ, ὁ Σεργίου ἀδελφός, δόξας ζῆν τῷ θεῷ Σολόμωνι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμελήθη· οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτὸν περιόντα ἔγνω. [13] ἐτύγχανον δὲ ζωγρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἅτε νέον κοιμῆ ὄντα Μαυρούσιοι, [14] καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεπνυθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. ὁ δὲ Βανδίλος μὲν γένος, Σολόμωνος δὲ δοῦλος ἔφασκεν εἶναι. φίλον μέντοι τῶν τινα ἱατρῶν, Πηγάσιον ὄνομα, εἶναι οἱ ἐν πόλει Λαρίβῳ, πλησίον που οὔσῃ, ὃς αὐτὸν ὠνήσαιτο τὰ λύτρα διδοῦς. [15] οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαυρούσιοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενοι ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Πηγάσιον καὶ οἱ Σολόμωνα ἐπεδείκνουν, ἡρώτων τε εἰ οἱ

τοῦτον ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἐστι. ^[16] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὠμολόγει ὠνήσεσθαι, πεντήκοντά οἱ χρυσῶν ἀπέδοντο τὸν Σολόμωνα. ^[17] ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος Σολόμων τοὺς Μαυρουσίους, ἅτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεираκίου ὄντος ἐξηπατημένους, ἐτώθασεν: αὐτὸς γὰρ Σολόμων ἔφασκεν, ὁ Βάκχου μὲν παῖς, ^[18] Σολόμωνος δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς εἶναι. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλοῦντες καὶ δεινὰ ποιοῦμενοι, ὅτι δὴ Σεργίου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐνέχυρον κρατερὸν ἔχοντες εἶτα οὕτω παρέργως ἀφῆκαν, ἐς Λάριβόν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ὅπως τὸν Σολόμωνα ξὺν τῇ πόλει αἰρήσουσιν. ^[19] οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν προσεδρεΐαν κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομισάμενοι ἔτυχον, τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενοι τὴν προσεδρεΐαν εὐθὺς διαλύσωσιν. ^[20] οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐλεῖν βία τὴν πόλιν οἰόμενοι, ἐπεὶ Μαυρουσίοις τειχομαχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἥσκηται, σπανίζειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἥκιστα ἔγνωσαν, τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τρισχιλίους κεκομισμένοι χρυσοῦς τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, καὶ οἱ Λευάθαι ἐπ' οἴκου ξύμπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

After the death of Solomon, Sergius, who, as has been said, was his nephew, took over the government of Libya by gift of the emperor. And this man became the chief cause of great ruin to the people of Libya, and all were dissatisfied with his rule — the officers because, being exceedingly stupid and young both in character and in years, he proved to be the greatest braggart of all men, and he insulted them for no just cause and disregarded them, always using the power of his wealth and the authority of his office to this end; and the soldiers disliked him because he was altogether unmanly and weak; and the Libyans, not only for these reasons, but also because he had shown himself strangely fond of the wives and the possessions of others. But most of all John, the son of Sisiniolus, was hostile to the power of Sergius; for, though he was an able warrior and was a man of unusually fair repute, he found Sergius absolutely ungrateful. For this reason neither he nor anyone else at all was willing to take up arms against the enemy. But almost all the Moors were following Antalas, and Stotzas came at his summons from Mauretania. And since not one of the enemy came out against them, they began to sack the country, making plunder of everything without fear. At that time Antalas sent to the Emperor Justinian a letter, which set forth the following:

“That I am a slave of thy empire not even I myself would deny, but the Moors, having suffered unholy treatment at the hands of Solomon in time of peace, have taken up arms under the most severe constraint, not lifting them against thee, but warding off our personal enemy; and this is especially true of me. For he not only decided to deprive me of the maintenance, which Belisarius long before specified and thou didst grant, but he also killed my own brother, although he had no wrongdoing to charge against him. We have therefore taken vengeance upon him who wronged us. And if it is thy will that the Moors be in subjection to thy empire and serve it in all things as they are accustomed to do, command Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, to depart from here and return to thee, and send another general to Libya. For thou wilt not be lacking in men of discretion and more worthy than Sergius in every way; for as long as this man commands thy army, it is impossible for peace to be established between the Romans and the Moors.”

Such was the letter written by Antalas. But the emperor, even after reading these things and learning the common enmity of all toward Sergius, was still unwilling to remove him from his office, out of respect for the virtues of Solomon and especially the manner of his death. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Solomon, the brother of Sergius, who was supposed to have disappeared from the world together with his uncle Solomon, was forgotten by his brother

and by the rest as well; for no one had learned that he was alive. But the Moors, as it happened, had taken him alive, since he was very young; and they enquired of him who he was. And he said that he was a Vandal by birth, and a slave of Solomon. He said, moreover, that he had a friend, a physician, Pegasius by name, in the city of Laribus near by, who would purchase him by giving ransom. So the Moors came up close to the fortifications of the city and called Pegasius and displayed Solomon to him, and asked whether it was his pleasure to purchase the man. And since he agreed to purchase him, they sold Solomon to him for fifty pieces of gold. But upon getting inside the fortifications, Solomon taunted the Moors as having been deceived by him, a mere lad; for he said that he was no other than Solomon, the son of Bacchus and nephew of Solomon. And the Moors, being deeply stung by what had happened, and counting it a terrible thing that, while having a strong security for the conduct of Sergius and the Romans, they had relinquished it so carelessly, came to Laribus and laid siege to the place, in order to capture Solomon with the city. And the besieged, in terror at being shut in by the barbarians, for they had not even carried in provisions, as it happened, opened negotiations with the Moors, proposing that upon receiving a great sum of money they should straightway abandon the siege. Whereupon the barbarians, thinking that they could never take the city by force — for the Moors are not at all practised in the storming of walls — and at the same time not knowing that provisions were scarce for the besieged, welcomed their words, and when they had received three thousand pieces of gold, they abandoned the siege, and all the Leuathae retired homeward.

Ἀνάλας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς ξυνελέγοντο αὐθις ἐν Βυζακίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς Στότζας ξυνῆν, στρατιώτας τε ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ Βανδύλους ἔχων. [2] Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Σισινιόλου, πολλὰ λιπαρούντων Λιβύων, στρατεύμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθεν. [3] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἱμέριος Θραξ τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἄρχων, ὃν δὴ τότε Ἰωάννης ἐκέλευε πάντας ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς ταύτη καταλόγους ξὺν τοῖς ἐκάστῳ ἡγουμένοις ἐλθόντα ἐς χωρίον Μενεφέσση, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ, [4] σφίσι ξυμμίξαι. ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας ἐνταῦθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, Ἱμερίῳ ἔγραφε τὰ τε ξυμπεσόντα δηλῶν καὶ σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλων ἐτέρωθι ἀναμίνυσθαι, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἅπαντες ὑπαντιάσωσι τοῖς πολεμίῳις. [5] τύχη δὲ τινι οἱ ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἔχοντες ὁδῷ ἐτέρα χρησάμενοι τὸν Ἱμέριον εὐρεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐμπεπτωκὸς ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον γέγονεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσίν. [6] ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ νεανίας Σεβηριανός, Ἀσιατικοῦ παῖς, Φοῖνιξ, Ἑμεσηνὸς γένος, καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων. [7] ὃς δὴ μόνος ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις, πενήκοντα οὖσι, τοῖς πολεμίῳις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. [8] καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντειχόν τινα, ἔπειτα δὲ πλήθει πολλῶν βιαζόμενοι ἐς λόφον ἀνέδραμον ἐνταῦθά πη ὄντα, οὗ δὴ καὶ φρούριον οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν. [9] διὸ δὴ ὁμολογία σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐναντίῳις ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκόσι παρέδωκαν. [10] οἱ δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε τῶν

στρατιωτῶν τινα ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ ζωγρήσαντες ἅπαντας, Ἱμέριον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον, τῷ δὲ Στότζα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέδωκαν, ὁμολογοῦντας σφίσι ξὺν προθυμίᾳ. πολλῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσεσθαι: τὸν μὲντοι Ἱμέριον, ἣν μὴ τὰ ἐπαγγελλλόμενα ποιῇ, κτείνειν ἠπειλουν. [11] ἐπήγγελλον δὲ πόλιν Ἀδραμητὸν ἐπιθαλασσίαν μηχανῇ τινι σφίσιν ἐνδοῦναι. καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἰσχυρίζετο βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἀδραμητὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν. [12] τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι Ἱμέριον μὲν ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ξὺν στρατιώταις τῶν Στότζα ἐπομένων τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, Μαυρουσίους δεδωμένους δῆθεν ἐφέλκοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀπισθεν εἶποντο. [13] καὶ τῷ Ἱμερίῳ εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πύλαις ἐπέστελλον, ὥς νικῶν μὲν κατὰ κράτος ὁ βασιλέως στρατός, ἥξει δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, πλῆθος Μαυρουσίων δορυαλῶτων ἄγων ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσον: οὕτω τε τῶν πυλῶν σφίσιν ἀνοιγνυμένων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ξὺν τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ ἰοῦσι γενέσθαι. [14] καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀδραμητηνοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθέντες ὅτι γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ πάντων ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν Βυζακίᾳ στρατιωτῶν εἶχον τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέχοντο. [15] τότε δὴ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἱμερίῳ ἐσβάντες σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη τὰς πύλας ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοὺς ταύτη φύλακας οὐκέτι εἶον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ πόλει αὐτίκα ἐδέξαντο τὸν τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατόν. [16] ληισάμενοί τε αὐτὴν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φύλακας καταστησάμενοι ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀπηλλάσσοντο. [17] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν ζωγρηθέντων τινὲς μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον, ἐν οἷς Σεβηριανός τε καὶ Ἱμέριος ἦν. ἐκ Μαυρουσίων γὰρ τοῖς φεύγειν ἐθέλουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξὺν τῷ Στότζα οὐτὶ ἄκοντες ἔμειναν. [18] Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῶν τις ἱερέων, Παῦλος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐφεστήκει τῇ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἐπιμελείᾳ, κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίμων τισίν, ‘Αὐτὸς μὲν,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐς Καρχηδόνα σταλήσομαι καὶ κατὰ τάχος ξὺν στρατῷ ἐπανήξειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, ὑμῖν δὲ μελήσει τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως [19] στράτευμα δέξασθαι.’ οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν βρόχοις τισὶν ἀνάψαντες νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καθῆκαν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἡϊόνα γενόμενος, ὀλκάδος τε ἀλιέων ἐπιτυχὼν ἐνταυθά πη οὔσης χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας τοὺς ταύτης κυρίους ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει. [20] οὗ δὴ καταπλεύσας καὶ Σεργίῳ ἐς ὅπιν ἐλθὼν τὸν τε λόγον ἅπαντα ἔφρασε καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ὥς Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσομένῳ δίδοναι ἠξίου. [21] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα Σέργιον ἥκιστα ἠρεσκεν, ἅτε τοῦ ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατοῦ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὃδε ὀλίγους οἱ στρατιώτας τινὰς δίδοναι ἐδεῖτο, λαβὼν τε ἄνδρας οὐ πλέον ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔπνεοι τοιαύδε. [22] νηῶν τε ἄθροισιν καὶ ἀκάτων συγχῶν ποιησάμενος ναύτας τε πολλοὺς ἐνταυθα ἐσεβίβασε καὶ Λίβυας ἄλλους, ἱμάτια περιβεβλημένους ἃ δὴ Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατιῶται εἰώθασιν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι. [23] ἄρας τε τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ εὐθὺς Ἀδραμητοῦ κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγγόνει, πέμψας τινὰς λάθρα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως δοκίμοις ἐσήμαιεν ὥς Γερμανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔναγχος ἦκων Ἀδραμητηνοῖς λόγοι πολλοῦ ἄξιον στράτευμα πέμψειεν. [24] οἷς δὴ θαρσοῦντας ἐκέλευε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἀνακλινῶσθαι σφίσι πυλῖδα μίαν. [25] οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε ὁ Παῦλος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε καὶ βασιλεῖ Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνεσώσατο: ἥ τε ἀμφὶ Γερμανῷ

φήμη ἐνθένδε ἀρξαμένη ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐχώρησεν. [26] οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐς τὰς Λιβύης ἐσχατίας φεύγοντες ὥχοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ γνόντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἔ' αὐτοὶ Ἀδραμητηνῶν φεισάμενοι πάντων τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνων πεπόνθασι. [27] διὸ δὴ πανταχῇ ἐπισκήψαντες ἀνόσια Λίβυας ἔργα εἰργάσαντο, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φεισάμενοι, γέγονέ τε τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα. [28] Λιβύων γὰρ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς πόλεις διέφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ νήσους τὰς ἄλλας. [29] οἱ μέντοι λόγιμοι σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντες ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Παῦλος ἦν, ὁ τὴν Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσάμενος βασιλεῖ. [30] οἱ τε Μαυρούσιοι ἀδεέστερον, ἅτε οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος, ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ Στότζας ἐν δυνάμει ὦν ἤδη. [31] Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ εἵποντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτόμολοι ἦκοντες, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγενημένοι, [32] ἐθελούσιοι δὲ αὐτοῦ μείναντες. Ἰωάννης δέ, οὗ δὴ λόγος τις ἦν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, Σεργίῳ προσκεκρουκῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν.

But Antalas and the army of the Moors were gathering again in Byzacium and Stotzas was with them, having some few soldiers and Vandals. And John, the son of Sisiniolus, being earnestly entreated by the Libyans, gathered an army and marched against them. Now Himerius, the Thracian, was commander of the troops in Byzacium, and at that time he was ordered by John to bring with him all the troops there, together with the commanders of each detachment, and come to a place called Menephesse, which is in Byzacium, and join his force there. But later, upon hearing that the enemy were encamped there, John wrote to Himerius telling what had happened and directing him to unite with his forces at another place, that they might not go separately, but all together, to encounter the enemy. But by some chance those who had this letter, making use of another road, were quite unable to find Himerius, and he together with his army, coming upon the camp of the enemy, fell into their hands. Now there was in this Roman army a certain youth, Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoenician and a native of Emesa, commanding a detachment of horse. This man alone, together with the soldiers under him, fifty in number, engaged with the enemy. And for some time they held out, but later, being overpowered by the great multitude, they ran to the top of a hill in the neighbourhood on which there was also a fort, but one which offered no security. For this reason they surrendered themselves to their opponents when they ascended the hill to attack them. And the Moors killed neither him nor any of the soldiers, but they made prisoners of the whole force; and Himerius they kept under guard, and handed over his soldiers to Stotzas, since they agreed with great readiness to march with the rebels against the Romans; Himerius, however, they threatened with death, if he should not carry out their commands. And they commanded him to put into their hands by some device the city of Hadrumentum on the sea. And since he declared that he was willing, they went with him against Hadrumentum. And upon coming near the city, they sent Himerius a little in advance with some of the soldiers of Stotzas, dragging along, as it seemed, some Moors in chains, and they themselves followed behind. And they directed Himerius to say to those in command of the gates of the city that the emperor's army had won a decisive victory, and that John would come very soon, bringing an innumerable multitude of Moorish captives; and when in this manner the gates had been opened to them, he was to get inside the fortifications together with those who went with him. And he carried out these instructions. And the citizens of Hadrumentum, being deceived in this way (for they could not distrust the commander of all the troops in Byzacium), opened wide the gates and received the enemy. Then, indeed, those who had entered with Himerius drew their swords and would not allow the guards there to shut the gates again, but straightway received the whole army of the Moors into the city. And the barbarians, after plundering it

and establishing there some few guards, departed. And of the Romans who had been captured some few escaped and came to Carthage, among whom were Severianus and Himerius. For it was not difficult for those who wished it to make their escape from Moors. And many also, not at all unwillingly, remained with Stotzas.

Not long after this one of the priests, Paulus by name, who had been appointed to take charge of the sick, in conferring with some of the nobles, said: "I myself shall journey to Carthage and I am hopeful that I shall return quickly with an army, and it will be your care to receive the emperor's forces into the city." So they attached some ropes to him and let him down by night from the fortifications, and he, coming to the sea-shore and happening upon a fishing-vessel which was thereabouts, won over the masters of this boat by great sums of money and sailed off to Carthage. And when he had landed there and come into the presence of Sergius, he told the whole story and asked him to give him a considerable army in order to recover Hadrumentum. And since this by no means pleased Sergius, inasmuch as the army in Carthage was not great, the priest begged him to give him some few soldiers, and receiving not more than eighty men, he formed the following plan. He collected a large number of boats and skiffs and embarked on them many sailors and Libyans also, clad in the garments which the Roman soldiers are accustomed to wear. And setting off with the whole fleet, he sailed at full speed straight for Hadrumentum. And when he had come close to it, he sent some men stealthily and declared to the notables of the city that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had recently come to Carthage, and had sent a very considerable army to the citizens of Hadrumentum. And he bade them take courage at this and open for them one small gate that night. And they carried out his orders. Thus Paulus with his followers got inside the fortifications, and he slew all the enemy and recovered Hadrumentum for the emperor; and the rumour about Germanus, beginning there, went even to Carthage. And the Moors, as well as Stotzas and his followers, upon hearing this, at first became terrified and went off in flight to the extremities of Libya, but later, upon learning the truth, they counted it a terrible thing that they, after sparing all the citizens of Hadrumentum, had suffered such things at their hands. For this reason they made raids everywhere and wrought unholy deeds upon the Libyans, sparing no one whatever his age, and the land became at that time for the most part depopulated. For of the Libyans who had been left some fled into the cities and some to Sicily and the other islands. But almost all the notables came to Byzantium, among whom was Paulus also, who had recovered Hadrumentum for the emperor. And the Moors with still less fear, since no one came out against them, were plundering everything, and with them Stotzas, who was now powerful. For many Roman soldiers were following him, some who had come as deserters, and others who had been in the beginning captives but now remained with him of their own free will. And John, who was indeed a man of

some reputation among the Moors, was remaining quiet because of the extreme hostility he had conceived against Sergius.

Ἐν τούτοις δὲ βασιλεὺς ἄλλον ἐς Λιβύην στρατηγὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ξὺν στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς μὲν καὶ εὖ γεγονότα, [2] ἔργων δὲ πολέμιων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρον. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἀθανάσιον ἑπαρχὸν ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦγοντα ἔστελλε καὶ Ἀρμενίους ὀλίγους τινάς, ὧν Ἀρταβάνης τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, Ἰωάννου παῖδες, Ἀρσακίδαι μὲν γένος, ἑναγχοὶ δὲ ἀπολιπόντες τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα, ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους αὐθις ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόμολοι ἦκοντες. [3] συνῆν δὲ τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἢ τε ἀδελφῇ καὶ Πρεῖεκτα ἡ γυνή, Βιγλεντίας θυγάτηρ τῆς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀδελφῆς. [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Σέργιον μετεπέμπετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον Λιβύης στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν εἶναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους διελομένους. [5] ἐπέβαλε δὲ Σεργίῳ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νουμιδία βαρβάρους, Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίοις αἰεὶ διαμάχεσθαι. [6] καταπλεύσαντός τε τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Σέργιος μὲν ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας ξὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ὥχeto, Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Στότζαν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι μαθὼν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σικκαβενερίαν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσας, Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν: [7] τῷ τε Σεργίῳ ἔγραφε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ κοινῇ ἅπαντες ὁμόσε τοῖς πολέμοις χωρήσουσι. [8] Σέργιος μὲν οὖν τῶν τε γεγραμμένων καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὀλιγωρεῖν ἔγνω, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ ἀμυθῆτῳ ἠνάγκαστο πολέμιον πληθεῖ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [9] ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Στότζα μέγα τι αἰεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος, ἐκάτερός τε αὐτοῖν ἠύχeto φονεὺς θατέρου γενόμενος οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [10] τότε γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γίνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἅμφω ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλαύνοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦλθον. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον ἔτι προσιόντα τὸν Στότζαν κατὰ βουβῶνα τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ καιρίαν πληγὴν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν, οὕτω μὲν τεθνεώς, χρόνον δὲ τινα ὀλίγον ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπιβιωσόμενος τῇ πληγῇ. [12] ἐπελθόντες δὲ πάντες αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ εἶποντο καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατός, Στότζαν μὲν ὀλιγοψυχοῦντα ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς ἔθεντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους χωρήσαντες τὸν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, ἅτε πληθεῖ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντες, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο. [13] τότε δὴ φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἡδὺν τινα θάνατον θνήσκει, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀμφὶ τῷ Στότζα ἐς πέρας ἀφίκται. χώρος δὲ τις ἦν κατάντης ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀποβάλλει ὀκλάσας ὁ ἵππος. [14] ἐφ' ὃν αὐθις αὐτὸν ἀναθρόσκειν πειρώμενον καταλαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κτείνουσιν, ἄνδρα γενόμενον δόξῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγαν. ὅπερ ὁ Στότζας μαθὼν ἐτελεύτησε, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὡς ἥδιστα τὸ λοιπὸν θνήσκει. [15] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταβάνου ἀδελφὸς θνήσκει, ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [16] βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας περιώδυνός τε τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀρετῇ γεγονώς μάλιστα, ἀξύμφορόν τε νομίσας εἶναι τοῖν δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν

διέπειν, τὸν μὲν Σέργιον εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ξὺν στρατῷ
ἔπεμψεν, Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ Λιβύης παρέδωκε κράτος.

At this time the emperor sent to Libya, with some few soldiers, another general, Areobindus, a man of the senate and of good birth, but not at all skilled in matters of warfare. And he sent with him Athanasius, a prefect, who had come recently from Italy, and some few Armenians led by Artabanes and John, sons of John, of the line of the Arsacidae, who had recently left the Persian army and as deserters had come back to the Romans, together with the other Armenians. And with Areobindus was his sister and Prejecta, his wife, who was the daughter of Vigilantia, the sister of the Emperor Justinian. The emperor, however, did not recall Sergius, but commanded both him and Areobindus to be generals of Libya, dividing the country and the detachments of soldiers between them. And he enjoined upon Sergius to carry on the war against the barbarians in Numidia, and upon Areobindus to direct his operations constantly against the Moors in Byzacium. And when this expedition lauded at Carthage, Sergius departed forthwith for Numidia with his own army, and Areobindus, upon learning that Antalas and Stotzas were encamped near the city of Siccaveneria, which is three days' journey distant from Carthage, commanded John, the son of Sisiniolus, to go against them, choosing out whatever was best of the army; and he wrote to Sergius to unite with the forces of John, in order that they might all with one common force engage with the enemy. Now Sergius decided to pay no heed to the message and have nothing to do with this affair, and John with a small army was compelled to engage with an innumerable host of the enemy. And there had always been great enmity between him and Stotzas, and each one used to pray that he might become the slayer of the other before departing from the world. At that time, accordingly, as soon as the fighting was about to come to close quarters, both rode out from their armies and came against each other. And John drew his bow, and, as Stotzas was still advancing, made a successful shot and hit him in the right groin, and Stotzas, mortally wounded, fell there, not yet dead, but destined to survive this wound only a little time. And all came up immediately, both the Moorish army and those who followed Stotzas, and placing Stotzas with little life in him against a tree, they advanced upon their enemy with great fury; and since they were far superior in numbers, they routed John and all the Romans with no difficulty. Then, indeed, they say, John remarked that death had now a certain sweetness for him, since his prayer regarding Stotzas had reached fulfilment. And there was a steep place near by, where his horse stumbled and threw him off. And as he was trying to leap upon the horse again, the enemy caught and killed him, a man who had shown himself great both in reputation and in valour. And Stotzas learned this and then died, remarking only that now it was most sweet to die. In this battle John, the Armenian, brother of Artabanes, also died, after making a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And the emperor, upon hearing this, was

very deeply grieved because of the valour of John; and thinking it inexpedient for the two generals to administer the province, he immediately recalled Sergius and sent him to Italy with an army, and gave over the whole power of Libya to Areobindus.

Γόνθαρς δὲ δυοῖν μηνσὶν ὕστερον ἢ Σέργιος ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν ὥχeto, τυραννίδι ἐπέθετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐτύγχανε μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν Νουμίδαις καταλόγων ἡγούμενος διατριβὴν τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων, ἔπρασσε δὲ λάθρα ἐς Μαυρουσίους ὅπως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα χωρήσωσιν. [2] αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἔκ τε Νουμιδίας καὶ Βυζακίου πολεμίων στρατὸς ἐς ταῦτ' ἀγηγερμένος ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦσαν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Νουμιδῶν μὲν Κουτζίνας τε καὶ Ἰαῦδας, Βυζακηνῶν δὲ Ἀντάλας. [3] ζυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τύραννος ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ὃν δὴ οἱ στασιῶται, Στότζα τετελευτηκότος, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο. [4] γνοὺς δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὴν ἔφοδον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἀρχόντων ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ Γόνθαριν μετεπέμπετο. παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ ζὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀρταβάνης. [5] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρεόβινδος Γόνθαριν ἐξηγεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. [6] ὁ δὲ προθύμως οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπηρετήσῃν ὑποσχόμενος ἐποίει τάδε. τῶν οἰκετῶν ἓνα, Μαυρούσιον μὲν γένος, τέχνην δὲ μάγειρον, ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι, καὶ δόκησιν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ τὸν δεσπότην ἀποδράς ὥχeto, λάθρα δὲ τῷ Ἀντάλᾳ εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτῷ Γόνθαρς κοινωνεῖν βούλοιτο τῆς Λιβύων ἀρχῆς. [7] ὁ μὲν οὖν μάγειρος κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντάλας τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀσμένως ἤκουσε, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς αἱ γενναῖαι τῶν πράξεων οὐ διὰ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πεφύκασι. [8] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Γόνθαρς ἤκουσε, τῶν δορυφόρων ἓνα, Οὐλίθεον ὄνομα, ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο, παρὰ τὸν Ἀντάλαν εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ Καρχηδόνος αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν ἰέναι. [9] οὕτω γάρ οἱ τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ἐπηγγέλλετο. [10] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων Ἀντάλᾳ ξυμβαίνει, ἐφ' ᾧ Βυζακίου μὲν Ἀντάλας ἄρχοι, τό τε ἡμῖς τῶν Ἀρεόβινδου χρημάτων ἔχων καὶ πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίους σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόμενος, Γόνθαρς δὲ τὸ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα λάβοι, Καρχηδόνος τε τὸ κράτος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἄλλης ἔχων. [11] ταῦτά τε διαπεπραγμένος ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἅπαν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιήντο, ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ φυλακτήρια πύλης ἐκάστης νειμάμενοι. [12] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον εὐθὺς Καρχηδόνος σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦσαν, ἔν τε χωρίῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ καλουμένῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἐνθένδε τε ἄραντες τῇ ὕστεραιᾳ πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [13] τινὲς δὲ ὑπαντιάσαντες τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐς χειρὰς τε αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἦλθον καὶ Μαυρουσίους οὐ συχνοὺς ἔκτειναν. [14] οὗς δὴ ὁ Γόνθαρς εὐθὺς ἀνεκάλει κακίζων ἅτε ἀνεπισκέπτως τε θρασυνομένους καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐθέλοντας ἐς προὔπτον τινα ἐμβαλεῖν κίνδυνον. [15] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Κουτζίναν λάθρα ἔπρασσε προδοσίας πέρι. καὶ οἱ ὁ Κουτζίνας ὡμολόγησεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ἐπὶ τε Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ τραπέσθαι. [16]

Μαυρούσιοι γὰρ οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ πιστὸν ἔχουσι. ταῦτα ἐς Γόνθαριν Ἀρεόβινδος ἐξήνεγκεν. [17] ὁ δὲ παρακρούεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐθέλων παρήνει τῷ Ἀρεόβινδῳ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς Κουτζίναν ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι. [18] Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν οὖν καὶ Κουτζίνας λάθρα παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ πέμποντες ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐς Ἀντάλαν ἐπιβουλῇ διατριβὴν εἶχον. [19] Γόνθαρὶς δὲ αὖθις τὸν Οὐλίθεον στείλας ἔκπυστα τῷ Ἀντάλα ἐποίησε τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα. [20] καὶ ὅς οὔτε τι τῷ Κουτζίνα ἐπικαλεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε ὅτι ἐπέπυστο τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνδηλος αὐτῷ ἐγγίνει, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τι ἐξήνεγκε τῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γονθάριδι ξυγκειμένων. [21] ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἄμφω πολέμοιό τε καὶ δυσμενεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες νῶ τε πονηρῷ ξυνετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ τε τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑκάτερος φίλον ἀλλήλοις ξυστρατεύοντες ἦσαν. [22] τοιαυτὴ μὲν γνώμη Κουτζίνας τε καὶ Ἀντάλας ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα τὸν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸν ἐπῆγον. Γόνθαρὶς δὲ κτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον διανοεῖτο, τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν τυραννίδος ἐπιβατεῦειν, ἐν παρατάξει λάθρα τοῦτο δρᾶν ἠθέλεν, ὅπως πρὸς ἐτέρων μὲν ἢ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν γεγενῆσθαι δόξειεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναγκασθεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἀνελέσθαι τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. [23] ἀπάτῃ τοίνυν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον περιελθὼν πείθει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξελθόντα ὁμόσε ἰέναι, ἥδη που Καρχηδόνος ἄγχιστα ἤκουσιν. [24] ἐδόκει γοῦν αὐτῷ τῇ ὑστεραία παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. [25] ἀλλ' Ἀρεόβινδος ἀπείρως τε λίαν ἐς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχων μελλήσει ἐχρήτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [26] μελετῶν τε γὰρ ὅπως ἐνδύσαιοι τὴν τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξαρτυόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον τὸν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάλωσε χρόνον. [27] διὸ δὴ τὴν παράταξιν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀποθέμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. [28] Γόνθαρὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες τὴν μέλλῃσιν πεποιῆσθαι ὑποτοπῆσας ἄτε τῶν πρᾶσσομένων αἰσθανόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τόν τε φόνον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἔγνω.

And two months after Sergius had departed from there, Gontharis essayed to set up a tyranny in the following manner. He himself, as it happened, was commanding the troops in Numidia and spending his time there for that reason, but he was secretly treating with the Moors that they might march against Carthage. Forthwith, therefore, an army of the enemy, having been gathered into one place from Numidia and Byzacium, went with great zeal against Carthage. And the Numidians were commanded by Coutzinas and Iaudas, and the men of Byzacium by Antalas. And with him was also John, the tyrant, and his followers; for the mutineers, after the death of Stotzas, had set him up as ruler over themselves. And when Areobindus learned of their attack, he summoned to Carthage a number of the officers with their men, and among them Gontharis. And he was joined also by Artabanes and the Armenians. Areobindus, accordingly, bade Gontharis lead the whole army against the enemy. And Gontharis, though he had promised to serve him zealously in the war, proceeded to act as follows. One of his servants, a Moor by birth and a cook by trade, he commanded to go to the enemy's camp, and to make it appear to all others that he had run away from his master, but to tell Antalas secretly that Gontharis wished to share with him the rule of Libya. So the cook carried out these directions, and Antalas heard the word gladly, but made no further reply than to say that worthy enterprises are not properly brought to pass among men by cooks. When this was heard by Gontharis, he immediately sent to Antalas one of his body-guards, Ulitheus by name, whom he had found especially trustworthy in his service, inviting him to come as close as possible to Carthage. For, if this were done, he promised him to put Areobindus out of the way. So Ulitheus without the knowledge of the rest of the barbarians made an agreement with Antalas that he, Antalas, should rule Byzacium, having half the possessions of Areobindus and taking with him fifteen hundred Roman soldiers, while Gontharis should assume the dignity of king, holding the power over Carthage and the rest of Libya. And after settling these matters he returned to the Roman camp, which they had made entirely in front of the circuit-wall, distributing among themselves the guarding of each gate. And the barbarians not long afterwards proceeded straight for Carthage in great haste, and they made camp and remained in the place called Decimum. And departing from there on the following day, they were moving forward. But some of the Roman army encountered them, and engaging with them unexpectedly, slew a small number of the Moors. But these were straightway called back by Gontharis, who rebuked them for acting with reckless daring and for being willing to give the Romans foreknowledge of the danger into which they were thrown.

But in the meantime Areobindus sent to Coutzinas secretly and began to treat

with him with regard to turning traitor. And Coutzinas promised him that, as soon as they should begin the action, he would turn against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacium. For the Moors keep faith neither with any other men nor with each other. This Areobindus reported to Gontharis. And he, wishing to frustrate the enterprise by having it postponed, advised Areobindus by no means to have faith in Coutzinas, unless he should receive from him his children as hostages. So Areobindus and Coutzinas, constantly sending secret messages to each other, were busying themselves with the plot against Antalas. And Gontharis sent Ulitheus once more and made known to Antalas what was being done. And he decided not to make any charges against Coutzinas nor did he allow him to know that he had discovered the plot, nor indeed did he disclose anything of what had been agreed upon by himself and Gontharis. But though enemies and hostile at heart to one another, they were arrayed together with treacherous intent, and each of them was marching with the other against his own particular friend. With such purposes Coutzinas and Antalas were leading the Moorish army against Carthage. And Gontharis was intending to kill Areobindus, but, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at sole power, he wished to do this secretly in battle, in order that it might seem that the plot had been made by others against the general, and that he had been compelled by the Roman army to assume command over Libya. Accordingly he circumvented Areobindus by deceit, and persuaded him to go out against the enemy and engage with them, now that they had already come close to Carthage. He decided, therefore, that on the following day he would lead the whole army against the enemy at sunrise. But Areobindus, being very inexperienced in this matter and reluctant besides, kept holding back for no good reason. For while considering how he should put on his equipment of arms and armour, and making the other preparations for the sally, he wasted the greatest part of the day. He accordingly put off the engagement to the following day and remained quiet. But Gontharis, suspecting that he had hesitated purposely, as being aware of what was being done, decided openly to accomplish the murder of the general and make his attempt at the tyranny.

Ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἐποίει τάδε. τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς φυλακὴν εἶχε, λίθους μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς ἔνερθεν ἔθηκεν, ὥς μή τις αὐτὰς ἐπιτιθέναι εὐπετῶς δύναιτο, ἄνδρας τε τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις πολλοὺς ἔστησεν, αὐτὸς τε τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς εἰστήκει ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πύλαις. [2] ἐπενόει δὲ ταῦτα οὐ Μαυρουσίων ἔνεκα, ὅπως τῇ πόλει αὐτοὺς δέξηται ἄβέβαιοι γὰρ Μαυρούσιοι παντάπασιν ὄντες ὑπόπτως ἔχουσιν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [3] τοῦτο τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος γενέσθαι ξυμβαίνει: ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἄπιστος ἐς τοὺς πέλας καθέστηκε φύσει, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πιστεύειν ὅτι οὐδὲν δύναται, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως ἔχειν ἀναγκάζεται ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης τὸν τοῦ πέλας σταθμώμενος τρόπον. [4] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Μαυρουσίους ἤλπιζε Γόνθαρης πιστεύσαντάς οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως Ἀρεόβινδος ἐμπεσὼν ἐς μέγα τι δέος ἐς

φυγὴν τε εὐθὺς ὀρμηθεὶ καὶ κατὰ τάχος Καρχηδόνα ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζοιτο. [5] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας, εἰ μὴ χειμῶν μεταξὺ ἐπιγενόμενος διεκώλυσε. [6] μαθὼν δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὰ ποιούμενα, τὸν τε Ἀθανάσιον καὶ τῶν δοκίμων τινὰς μετεπέμπετο. [7] παρὴν δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρίτος αὐτός, τῷ τε Ἀρεοβίνδῳ παρήνει μῆτε ἀναπεπτωκέναι μῆτε τόλμῃ τῇ Γονθάριδος ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις ἰόντα ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, πρὶν τι περαιτέρω γεγενῆσθαι κακόν. [8] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδος παρὰ Γόνθαριν τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τινά, Φρέδαν ὄνομα, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειραῖσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Φρέδας ἐπανήκων οὐδαμῇ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι Γόνθαριν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐσηγγέλλεν, ἥδη ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥς ἐς μάχην ἰέναι διανοεῖτο. [10] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γόνθαρὶς Ἀρεόβινδον εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας διέβαλεν, ὥς ἄνανδρός τε εἶη καὶ ἅμα μὲν δέει ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενος, ἅμα δὲ τὰς συντάξεις σφίσιν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων διδόναι, δρασμόν τε ξὺν Ἀθανασίῳ βουλεύεται καὶ αὐτίκα ἐκ Μανδρακίου ἀποπλεῖν μέλλουσιν, ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται λιμῷ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίῳις μαχόμενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐπυνθάνετό τε εἶπερ αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἶη ἅμφω ξυλλαβοῦσιν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. [11] οὕτω γὰρ ἤλπιζεν Ἀρεόβινδον ἢ τοῦ θορύβου ἡσθημένον φυγῇ χρῆσεσθαι, ἢ καταληφθέντα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφθορῆσεσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [12] χρήματα μέντοι αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ὠμολόγει τοῖς στρατιώταις προῖεσθαι ὅσαπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ δημόσιον ὄφλε. [13] καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε λόγους ἐπῆνουν καὶ θυμῷ ἐς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον πολλῷ εἶχοντο, μεταξὺ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ξὺν τε Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκεται. [14] καὶ γίνεται μάχῃ ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ κάτω ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας οὗ Γόνθαρὶς εἰστήκει, ἐν ἣ οὐδέτεροι τὸ ἔλασσον ἔσχον. [15] ἐμελλόν τε ξυλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὅσοι βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, τοὺς στασιώτας κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντας ὁ Γόνθαρὶς πῶ ἐξηπατήκει, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀκραιφνεῖς ἔμενον. [16] Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ τότε πρῶτον ἄνδρας κτεινομένους ἰδὼν 'οὐ γάρ πῶ ἐθὰς τοῦ θεάματος τούτου ἐτύγχανεν ὧν κατεπλάγη τε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσας οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τε τὰ ὀρώμενα φεύγει. [17] Ἔστι δὲ τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Καρχηδόνης περιβόλου νεὼς πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτῇ, οὗ δὴ ἄνδρες οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἡσκηται: μοναχοὺς καλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀεὶ νενομίκαμεν: τοῦτον Σολόμων δειμᾶμενος τὸν νεῶν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον τειχίσματί τε περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο. [18] ἐνταῦθα καταφυγὼν Ἀρεόβινδος ἐσεπῆδησεν, ἐνθα τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. [19] τότε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἀπὼν ὤχετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐνθένδε ἀνεχώρουν ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο. [20] Γόνθαρὶς δὲ κατὰ κράτος νενικηκὼς ξὺν τοῖς στασιώταις τὸ Παλάτιον ἔσχε, καὶ τὰς τε πύλας τὸν τε λιμένα ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἤδη ἐφύλαττε. [21] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀθανάσιον μετεπέμπετο, καὶ ὃς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἦλθε, [22] θωπεῖα τε πολλῇ χρώμενος δόκησιν παρείχετο ὥς αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα ἢ πρᾶξις ἀρέσκοι. [23] ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἱερέα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδον ἐκέλευε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντα ἐς Παλάτιον ἦκειν, ἀπειλήσας πολιορκήσῃν τε ἀπειθήσαντα καὶ μηκέτι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐξελὼν κτείνειν. [24] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς Ῥεπάρατος

ισχυρίζετο Γονθάριδος γνώμη τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ὁμείσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄχαρι πρὸς ἐκείνου ζυμβήσεσθαι, φράσας καὶ ὅσα μὴ πειθομένῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἠπειλήσε. [25] δείσας δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ὡμολόγησεν αὐτίκα τῷ ἱερεῖ ἔψεσθαι, ἦν τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν ἱερουργήσας, ἥπερ εἴθισται, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπομοσάμενος ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη. [26] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ οὐδέν τι μελλήσας αὐτῷ εἶπετο, ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος οὔτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἄλλῳ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ ἢ ἰδιώτῃ παντάπασι πρέπον: κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [27] ἐπειδὴ τε ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Παλατίου ἐγένοντο, τὰ θεῖα ἐν χερσὶ λόγια παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λαβὼν τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς ὄψιν ἤλθε. [28] πρηνὴς τε πεσὼν χρόνον πολὺν αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ τε θεῖα λόγια προτεινόμενος καὶ τὸ παιδίον ὅπερ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώθην λουτροῦ ἔτυχεν, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τὴν πίστιν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, παρέσχετο. [29] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξανέστησεν ὁ Γόνθαρις μόλις, πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων ἀνεπυθάνετο τοῦ Γονθάριδος, εἰ οἱ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται. [30] καὶ ὃς θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότατα ἤδη ἐκέλευεν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης οἰχήσεσθαι. [31] εἶτα τὸν ἱερέα Ῥεπάρaton ἀποπεμψάμενος, Ἀρεόβινδὸν τε καὶ Ἀθανάσιον δειπνεῖν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκέλευε. [32] καὶ δειπνοῦντα μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐτίμα: πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε: δειπνήσαντα δὲ οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδειν ἐν κοιτῶνι μόνον ἠνάγκαζεν: οὗ δὴ τὸν Οὐλίθεον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. [33] οἵπερ αὐτὸν κωκύοντά τε καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς συχναῖς χρώμενον πολλὰ τε πρὸς ἔλεον ἐπαγωγὰ φθεγγόμενον ἐς αὐτοὺς κτείνουσιν. Ἀθανασίου μέντοι ἐφείσαντο, τὸ γήρας, οἶμαι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπεριδόντες.

And on the succeeding day he proceeded to act as follows. Opening wide the gates where he himself kept guard, he placed huge rocks under them, that no one might be able easily to shut them, and he placed armoured men with bows in their hands about the parapet in great numbers, and he himself, having put on his breastplate, took his stand between the gates. And his purpose in doing this was not that he might receive the Moors into the city; for the Moors, being altogether fickle, are suspicious of all men. And it is not unnatural that they are so; for whoever is by nature treacherous toward his neighbours is himself unable to trust anyone at all, but he is compelled to be suspicious of all men, since he estimates the character of his neighbour by his own mind. For this reason, then, Gontharis did not hope that even the Moors would trust him and come inside the circuit-wall, but he made this move in order that Areobindus, falling into great fear, might straightway rush off in flight, and, abandoning Carthage as quickly as he could, might betake himself to Byzantium. And he would have been right in his expectation had not winter come on just then and frustrated his plan. [544-545 A.D.] And Areobindus, learning what was being done, summoned Athanasius and some of the notables. And Artabanes also came to him from the camp with two others and he urged Areobindus neither to lose heart nor to give way to the daring of Gontharis, but to go against him instantly with all his men and engage him in battle, before any further trouble arose. At first, then, Areobindus sent to Gontharis one of his friends, Phredas by name, and commanded him to test the other's purpose. And when Phredas returned and reported that Gontharis by no means denied his intention of seizing the supreme power, he purposed immediately to go against him arrayed for battle.

But in the meantime Gontharis slandered Areobindus to the soldiers, saying that he was a coward and not only possessed with fear of the enemy, but at the same time quite unwilling to give them, his soldiers, their pay, and that he was planning to run away with Anastasius and that they were about to sail very soon from Mandracium, in order that the soldiers, fighting both with hunger and with the Moors, might be destroyed; and he enquired whether it was their wish to arrest both and keep them under guard. For thus he hoped either that Areobindus, perceiving the tumult, would turn to flight, or that he would be captured by the soldiers and ruthlessly put to death. Moreover he promised that he himself would advance to the soldiers money of his own, as much as the government owed them. And they were approving his words and were possessed with great wrath against Areobindus, but while this was going on Areobindus together with Artabanes and his followers came there. And a battle took place on the parapet and below about the gate where Gontharis had taken his stand, and neither side was worsted. And all were about to gather

from the camps, as many as were well disposed to the emperor, and capture the mutineers by force. For Gontharis had not as yet deceived all, but the majority remained still uncorrupted in mind. But Areobindus, seeing then for the first time the killing of men (for he had not yet, as it happened, become acquainted with this sight), was terror-stricken and, turning coward, fled, unable to endure what he saw.

Now there is a temple inside the fortifications of Carthage hard by the sea-shore, the abode of men who are very exact in their practice of religion, whom we have always been accustomed to call "monks"; this temple had been built by Solomon not long before, and he had surrounded it with a wall and rendered it a very strong fortress. And Areobindus, fleeing for refuge, rushed into the monastery, where he had already sent his wife and sister. Then Artabanes too ran away, and all the rest withdrew from Carthage as each one could. And Gontharis, having taken the city by assault, with the mutineers took possession of the palace, and was already guarding both the gates and the harbour most carefully. First, then, he summoned Athanasius, who came to him without delay, and by using much flattery Athanasius made it appear that what had been done pleased him exceedingly. And after this Gontharis sent the priest of the city and commanded Areobindus, after receiving pledges, to come to the palace, threatening that he would besiege him if he disobeyed and would not again give him pledges of safety, but would use every means to capture and put him to death. So the priest, Reparatus, stoutly declared to Areobindus that in accordance with the decision of Gontharis he would swear that no harm would come to him from Gontharis, telling also what he had threatened in case he did not obey. But Areobindus became afraid and agreed that he would follow the priest immediately, if the priest, after performing the rite of the sacred bath in the usual manner, should swear to him by that rite and then give him pledges for his safety. So the priest did according to this. And Areobindus without delay followed him, clad in a garment which was suitable neither for a general nor for any one else in military service, but altogether appropriate to a slave or one of private station; this garment the Romans call "casula" in the Latin tongue. And when they came near the palace, he took in his hands the holy scriptures from the priest, and so went before Gontharis. And falling prone he lay there a long time, holding out to him the suppliant olive-branch and the holy scriptures, and with him was the child which had been counted worthy of the sacred bath by which the priest had given him the pledge, as has been told. And when, with difficulty, Gontharis had raised him to his feet, he enquired of Gontharis in the name of all things holy whether his safety was secure. And Gontharis now bade him most positively to be of good cheer, for he would suffer no harm at his hands, but on the following day would be gone from Carthage with his wife and his possessions. Then he dismissed the priest Reparatus, and bade Areobindus and Athanasius dine with him in the palace. And during the dinner he

honoured Areobindus, inviting him to take his place first on the couch; but after the dinner he did not let him go, but compelled him to sleep in a chamber alone; and he sent there Ulitheus with certain others to assail him. And while he was wailing and crying aloud again and again and speaking many entreating words to them to move them to pity, they slew him. Athanasius, however, they spared, passing him by, I suppose, on account of his advanced age.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μὲν Ἀρεοβίνδου κεφαλὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ὁ Γόνθαρης ἔπεμψε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. [2] Ἀντάλας τοίνυν, ὅτι τέ οἱ τῶν ζυγκειμένων οὐδὲν ἐπετέλει, δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τὰ τε ὁμωοσμένα τὰ τε εἰργασμένα τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς τὸν Ἀρεοβίνδον ἐννοῶν ἥσχαλλεν. [3] οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐδόκει ὁ τοιοῦτους ὄρκους ἡδικηκῶς οὔτε αὐτῷ ποτε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὀφιοῦν πιστὸς ἔσσεσθαι. [4] πολλὰ γοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ προσχωρεῖν ἤθελε· διὸ δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινε. [5] γνοὺς τε Μαρκέντιον, ὃς τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἦρχεν, ἐς νησὶν τινα τῶν ταύτῃ ἐπικειμένων καταφυγεῖν, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν φράσας τε τὸν πάντα λόγον καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δούς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπηγάγετο. [6] καὶ Μαρκέντιος μὲν ἔμενε ζὺν τῷ Ἀντάλᾳ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, στρατιῶται δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Βυζακίῳ διατριβὴν εἶχον, εὐνοικῶς βασιλεῖ ἔχοντες, Ἀδραμητὸν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. [7] οἱ δὲ τοῦ Στότζα στρατιῶται, οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ χίλιοι ὄντες, αἰσθόμενοι τῶν ποιουμένων, Ἰωάννου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ· [8] καὶ ὃς αὐτοὺς ἀσμένως τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο. ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Οὐννοὶ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Βανδίλοι ἅπαντες. [9] καὶ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἐς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ζὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἀνέβη καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ ὑπηρετήσῃ ἐπιτάσσοντι ὡμολόγησε. [10] λάθρα δὲ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐβουλεύετο, Γρηγορίῳ τε τῷ ἀνεψίῳ καὶ Ἀρτασίρῃ τῷ δορυφόρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο. [11] Γρηγόριος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνάγων ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἀρταβάνη, νῦν σοι πάρεστι μόνῳ τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀναδήσασθαι κλέος, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι ὑπερβαλέσθαι. [12] ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ βασιλέως λαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ἦκεν, ἄρχοντας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους καὶ συμβούλους πολλοὺς, στόλον δὲ νηῶν οἷον οὐπὼ ἡμεῖς ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, ἵππον τε πολλὴν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἐπαξίως οἱ παρεσκευασμένα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [13] οὕτω τε πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀνεσώσατο Λιβύην Ῥωμαίους. [14] ἅπερ ἅπαντα οὕτως ἀπόλωλεν ὥστε, εἰ μὴδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνει, ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι· πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀποκέκριται Ῥωμαίοις τανῦν ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου νίκης τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξημιῶσθαι, καὶ πρὸς γε τὸ μὴδὲ φυλάξαι τάγαθὰ δυνατοῖς γεγονέναι. [15] τὸ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀνασώσασθαι τανῦν βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ σῇ μόνη ψυχῇ τε καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ δεξιᾷ κεῖται. [16] οὐκοῦν ἐκλογίζου μὲν ὥς εἰ Ἀρσακίδης ἀνέκαθεν γένος, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὥς τοῖς εὖ γεγονόσιν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι αἰεὶ τε καὶ πανταχῇ πρέπει. [17] πολλὰ γοῦν σοι ἔργα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας θαυμαστὰ πέπρακται. Ἀκάκιον γάρ, νέος ὢν ἔτι, τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σίτταν τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν

ἔκτεινας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ γνώριμος γεγωνῶς ζῆν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσας. [18] ἐπεὶ δὲ τηλικόσδε εἶ, ὥς σὸν εἶναι μὴ περιορᾶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ κυνὶ μεθύοντι κεῖσθαι, ἐνδείκνυσο τανῦν ὡς εὐγενεῖα τε καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα, ὧ γὰρ, τὰ πρόσθεν εἰργάσω: ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ καὶ Ἀρτασίρης ὁδε ἅπαντα ἐπιτάττοντι ὅση δύναμις ὑπουργήσομεν.' [19] Γρηγόριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν: Ἀρταβάνου δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὥρμησεν. [20] ὁ δὲ Γόνθαρς Ἀρεοβίνδου μὲν τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τινος οἰκίας ἠνάγκασε μένειν, οὔτε τι ὑβρίσας λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὁτωοῦν ἐς αὐτάς οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐχούσας οὔτε τι ἄλλο βιασθείσας εἰπεῖν ἢ πράξαι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι γράψαι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον ἢ Πρεῖέκτα ἠνάγκαστο ὡς Γόνθαρς μὲν αὐτάς τε τιμῇ ἐς ἄγαν καὶ καθαρὸς εἴη παντάπασι τοῦ τάνδρὸς φόνου, Οὐλίθεῳ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐργασθεῖν, Γονθάριδος οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος. [21] ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γόνθαρς Πασιφίλῳ ἀναπεισθεῖς, ἀνδρὶ γεγονότι μὲν τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στασιωτῶν πρώτῳ, ξυναραμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν. [22] ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ ὁ Πασίφιλος, ἦν ταῦτα ποιοίη, ξυνοικεῖν τε αὐτῷ βασιλέα τὴν κόρην καὶ προῖκα κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπιδώσειν χρημάτων μεγάλων. [23] Ἀρταβάνην τε τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐκέλευε. [24] Κουτζίνας γάρ, ἅτε τῷ Ἀντάλα προσκεκρουκῶς, ἀπέστη τε αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ Γονθάριδι προσεχώρησεν: ὧ δὴ τὸν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέσχετο. [25] τὸ μὲν οὖν στράτευμα ἡγουμένου Ἀρταβάνου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ἐχώρει. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἄρχων, καὶ Οὐλίθεος ὁ δορυφόρος: εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Μαυρούσιοι, [26] ὧν Κουτζίνας ἦρχε. πόλιν τε Ἀδραμητὸν διαμείψαντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνταῦθα πη ὄντας, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὀλίγῳ ἄποθεν τῶν πολεμίων ἠύλισαντο. [27] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Οὐλίθεος, μοῖρὰν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχοντες, αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ καὶ Κουτζίνας ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ στράτευμα. [28] οὗς δὴ οὐ ξυνενεγκόντες οἱ ζῆν τῷ Ἀντάλα Μαυρούσιοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [29] ἀλλ' ἐθελοκακήσας Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου στρέψας τε τὸ σημεῖον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. [30] διὸ δὴ Οὐλίθεος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦκοντα κτείνειν διανοεῖτο. [31] παραιτούμενος δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἔφασκε δεῖσαι μὴ Μαρκέντιος ἐξ Ἀδραμητοῦ πόλεως ἐπιβοηθήσας τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπῃ ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, ἀνήμεστα σφᾶς ἔργα ἐργάσῃται: [32] ἀλλὰ Γόνθαριν χρῆναι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι. [33] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐβουλευέτο ἐς Ἀδραμητὸν ἰὼν ζῆν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τῷ βασιλέῳ στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι. [34] ἄμεινον δὲ οἱ πολλὰ διαλογισαμένῳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γόνθαριν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαντι βασιλέα τε καὶ Λιβύην πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάξαι δυσκόλων. [35] ἀναστρέψας οὖν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι δὴ στρατεύματος αὐτῷ πλείονος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεήσει. [36] ὁ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα μὲν ἐξοπλίσαι τὸν στρατὸν ἠθέλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ φυλακὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καταστησάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσασθαι. [37] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνῆρει ἐς οὗς ὑποψία τινὶ καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐχρήτο. [38] τῷ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ

ἐπέστελλεν, ὃν δὴ καταστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος φυλακῇ ἔμελλε, τοὺς
Γραικοὺς ἅπαντας οὐδὲν ὑπολογισαμένῳ κτεῖναι.

XXVII

And on the following day Gontharis sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but decided to deprive him of the money and of the soldiers. Antalas, therefore, was outraged, because he was not carrying out anything of what had been agreed with him, and at the same time, upon considering what Gontharis had sworn and what he had done to Areobindus, he was incensed. For it did not seem to him that one who had disregarded such oaths would ever be faithful either to him or to anyone else at all. So after considering the matter long with himself, he was desirous of submitting to the Emperor Justinian; for this reason, then, he marched back. And learning that Marcentius, who commanded the troops in Byzacium, had fled to one of the islands which lie off the coast, he sent to him, and telling him the whole story and giving pledges, persuaded him by kind words to come to him. And Marcentius remained with Antalas in the camp, while the soldiers who were on duty in Byzacium, being well disposed to the emperor, were guarding the city of Hadrumetum. But the soldiers of Stotzas, being not less than a thousand, perceiving what was being done, went in great haste, with John leading them, to Gontharis; and he gladly received them into the city. Now there were five hundred Romans and about eighty Huns, while all the rest were Vandals. And Artabanes, upon receiving pledges, went up to the palace with his Armenians, and promised to serve the tyrant according to his orders. But secretly he was purposing to destroy Gontharis, having previously communicated this purpose to Gregorius, his nephew, and to Artasires, his body-guard. And Gregorius, urging him on to the undertaking, spoke as follows:

“Artabanes, the opportunity is now at hand for you, and you alone, to win the glory of Belisarius — nay more, even to surpass that glory by far. For he came here, having received from the emperor a most formidable army and great sums of money, having officers accompanying him and advisers in great numbers, and a fleet of ships whose like we have never before heard tell of, and numerous cavalry, and arms, and everything else, to put it in a word, prepared for him in a manner worthy of the Roman empire. And thus equipped he won back Libya for the Romans with much toil. But all these achievements have so completely come to naught, that they are, at this moment, as if they had never been — except indeed, that there is at present left to the Romans from the victory of Belisarius the losses they have suffered in lives and in money, and, in addition, that they are no longer able even to guard the good things they won. But the winning back of all these things for the emperor now depends upon the courage and judgment and right hand of you alone. Therefore consider that you are of the house of the Arsacidae by ancient descent, and remember that it is seemly for men of noble birth to play the part of brave men always and in all places. Now many remarkable deeds

have been performed by you in behalf of freedom. For when you were still young, you slew Acacius, the ruler of the Armenians, and Sittas, the general of the Romans, and as a result of this becoming known to the king Chosroes, you campaigned with him against the Romans. And since you have reached so great a station that it devolves upon you not to allow the Roman power to lie subject to a drunken dog, show at this time that it was by reason of noble birth and a valorous heart that at the former time, good sir, you performed those deeds; and I as well as Artasires here will assist you in everything, so far as we have the power, in accordance with your commands.”

So spoke Gregorius; and he excited the mind of Artabanes still more against the tyrant. But Gontharis, bringing out the wife and the sister of Areobindus from the fortress, compelled them to remain at a certain house, showing them no insult by any word or deed whatsoever, nor did they have provisions in any less measure than they needed, nor were they compelled to say or to do anything except, indeed, that Prejecta was forced to write to her uncle that Gontharis was honouring them exceedingly and that he was altogether guiltless of the murder of her husband, and that the base deed had been done by Ulitheus, Gontharis by no means approving. And Gontharis was persuaded to do this by Pasiphilus, a man who had been foremost among the mutineers in Byzacium, and had assisted Gontharis very greatly in his effort to establish the tyranny. For Pasiphilus maintained that, if he should do this, the emperor would marry the young woman to him, and in view of his kinship with her would give also a dowry of a large sum of money. And Gontharis commanded Artabanes to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium. For Coutzinas, having quarrelled with Antalas, had separated from him openly and allied himself with Gontharis; and he gave Gontharis his son and his mother as hostages. So the army, under the leadership of Artabanes, proceeded immediately against Antalas. And with Artabanes was John also, the commander of the mutineers of Stotzas, and Ulitheus, the body-guard of Gontharis; and there were Moors also following him, led by Coutzinas. And after passing by the city of Hadrumetum, they came upon their opponents somewhere near there, and making a camp a little apart from the enemy, they passed the night. And on the day after that John and Ulitheus, with a detachment of the army, remained there, while Artabanes and Coutzinas led their army against their opponents. And the Moors under Antalas did not withstand their attack and rushed off in flight. But Artabanes of a sudden wilfully played the coward, and turning his standard about marched off towards the rear. For this reason Ulitheus was purposing to kill him when he came into the camp. But Artabanes, by way of excusing himself, said he feared lest Marcentius, coming to assist the enemy from the city of Hadrumetum, where he then happened to be, would do his forces irreparable harm; but Gontharis, he said, ought to march against the enemy with the whole army. And at first he considered going to Hadrumetum with his

followers and uniting with the emperor's forces. But after long deliberation it seemed to him better to put Gontharis out of the world and thus free both the emperor and Libya from a difficult situation. Returning, accordingly, to Carthage, he reported to the tyrant that he would need a larger army to meet the enemy. And Gontharis, after conferring with Pasiphilus, consented, indeed, to equip his whole army, but purposed to place a guard in Carthage, and in person to lead the army against the enemy. Each day, therefore, he was destroying many men toward whom he felt any suspicion, even though groundless. And he gave orders to Pasiphilus, whom he was intending to appoint in charge of the garrison of Carthage, to kill all the Greeks without any consideration.

Τά τε ἄλλα διοικησάμενος ὅπη οἱ ἐδόκει ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐστιᾶν ἔγνω, ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ποιησόμενος. [2] ἔν τε οἰκίῳ οὗ δὴ στιβάδες ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρεῖς, τὴν θοίνην ἐποίει. [3] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατεκλίνετο, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῆς πρώτης, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀθανάσιός τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἦσαν, τῶν τε Γονθάριδι γνωρίμων τινές, καὶ Πέτρος Θραῦξ μὲν γένος, δορυφόρος δὲ Σολόμωνος γενόμενος πρότερον. [4] ἐν ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις στιβάσι Βανδύλων οἱ πρῶτοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. [5] Ἰωάννην μέντοι, ὃς τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἦρχε, Πασίφιλος ἰδίᾳ εἰστία, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ὅπη ἐκάστω τῶν Γονθάριδι ἐπιτηδεῖον φίλον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [6] Ἀρταβάνης τοῖνυν ἡνίκα ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν θοίνην ἐκαλεῖτο, τοῦτόν οἱ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν ἐς τὸν τοῦ τυράννου φόνον οἰόμενος, τὸ βούλευμα ἐπιτελεῖν διενοεῖτο. [7] ἐς Γρηγόριον οὖν καὶ Ἀρτασίρην καὶ δορυφόρους ἑτέρους τρεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξενεγκὼν τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους ζῦν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκέλευσεν εἶσω γενέσθαι: ἄρχόντων γὰρ ἐστιωμένων ὀπισθεν ἐστάναι τοὺς δορυφόρους νόμος· εἶσω δὲ γενομένους ἐγχειρεῖν ἄφνω, ἡνίκα ἂν σφίσι δοκῇ ὁ καιρὸς ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχειν, πρῶτόν τε τὸν Ἀρτασίρην ἔργου ἔχεσθαι. [8] τῷ δὲ Γρηγορίῳ ἐπέστελλε τῶν Ἀρμενίων πολλοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτους ἀπολεξαμένῳ ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐπαγαγέσθαι, τὰ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας: ἄλλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐν πόλει ἐπομένους ὀπλίζεσθαι θέμις· τοὺς τε ἐν τῷ προστώφ ἀπολιπόντι εἶσω ζῦν τοῖς δορυφόροις γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν βούλευμα μηδενὶ ἐξεπείν, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰπεῖν μόνον, ὡς ἐς τὸν Γόνθαριν ὑπόπτως ἔχοι, ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ἀρταβάνους ἐς τὴν θοίνην αὐτὸν κεκληκέναι. [9] βούλεσθαι τοῖνυν ἐστάναι μὲν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς Γονθάριδος φύλακας οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο, τοῦ δὲ παίζειν δόκησιν τινα παρεχομένους τῶν μὲν ἀσπίδων ἄσπερ ἐκεῖνοι φέρουσιν ἄπτεσθαι, πάλλοντας δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ ἄλλως κινούντας ἄνω κάτω ἐς αἰὲν στρέφειν: θορύβου δὲ ἢ κραυγῆς ἐντὸς γενομένης ἀραμένους τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτὰς βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ. [10] Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν, ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. ὃ τε Ἀρτασίρης ἐπενόει τάδε: τῶν βελῶν τινα διελὼν δίχα τῷ καρπῷ τῆς εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἐπέθετο κατὰ τὰς τομὰς μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα. ἱμάσι τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφίγγας ὑπερθε τὸ ταύτῃ τοῦ χιτωνίσκου μέρος ἐπέβαλλεν. [11] ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἦν τις αὐτῷ

τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενος ἐγγχειρῇ παίειν, μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεινὸν πεπονθέναι
ξυμβαίη, προβεβλημένῳ μὲν τὴν λαϊάν χειρα, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρου
ἀποκαυλιζομένου ἐν τῇ ἐς τὸ ξύλον ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἄψασθαι
οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος. Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἀρτασίρης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐποίει.
[12] τῷ δὲ Ἀρταβάνῃ ἐλεξεν ὧδε: ‘Εγὼ τὸ μὲν ἐγγχείρημα ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ
ὑποστήσεσθαι καὶ ξίφει τῷδε τοῦ Γονθάριδος σώματος ψάυσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω,
τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πότερα ὁ θεὸς τῷ τυράννῳ χαλεπῶς ἔχων
ξυγκατεργάσεται μοι τὸ τόλμημα τοῦτο, ἢ τινα ἐμὴν ἁμαρτάδα τινύμενος
ἐνταυθα τε ἀπαντήσας ἐμπόδιος εἴη. [13] ἦν τοίνυν οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ πληγέντα τὸν
τύραννον ἴδης, σὺ δὴ με τῷ ξίφει τῷ ἐμῷ μηδὲν τι μελλήσας ἀπόκτεινον, ὅπως
μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ αἰκίζόμενος γνώμη τε τῇ σῇ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὠρμηκέναι εἰπὼν
αἰσχιστά τε αὐτὸς διαφθαρεῖν καὶ σε προσπολεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖν ἀκούσιος.’
[14] τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀρτασίρης εἰπὼν ζύν τε Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐνὶ
παρὰ τὰς στιβάδας ἐλθὼν ὀπισθεν Ἀρταβάνου ἐστήκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παρὰ
τοὺς φύλακας μένοντες τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίουν. [15] Ὁ μὲν οὖν
Ἀρτασίρης, ἀρξαμένης πού τῆς θοίνης, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι διανοεῖτο, ἤδη τε τῆς
τοῦ ἀκινάκου λαβῆς ἤπτετο. [16] ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Γρηγόριος διεκώλυσε ἐτι τὸν
Γόνθαριν ὅλον εἰπὼν τῇ Ἀρμενίων φωνῇ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι, οὐπω ἐκπεπωκότα
τοῦ οἴνου τι μέγα. [17] ἀνοιμώξας τοίνυν Ἀρτασίρης, ‘ὦ ἄνθρωπε,’ εἶπεν, ‘ὡς
καλὴν ἔχοντά με ψυχὴν οὐ δέον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεκώλυκας.’ [18] προϊόντος δὲ
τοῦ πότου, ἤδη πού καταβεβρεγμένος ὁ Γόνθαρις τοῖς δορυφόροις τῶν
βρώσεων ἐδίδου, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ χρώμενος. [19] οἱ δὲ ταύτας λαβόντες ἐσθίειν
ἤδη τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμελλον, μόνων ἀπολελειμμένων παρὰ τὸν
Γόνθαριν δορυφόρων τριῶν, ὥνπερ Οὐλίθεος εἰς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν. [20] ἐξῆι δὲ
καὶ Ἀρτασίρης, ὡς τῶν βρώσεων ζύν τοῖς ἐτέροις γευσόμενος. [21] ἐνταυθα τις
αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἔννοια μὴ τί οἱ σπάσασθαι βουλομένῳ τὸν ἀκινάκην ἐμπόδιον
εἴη. [22] ἔξω τοίνυν γενόμενος ἔρριψε μὲν λάθρα τοῦ ξίφους τὴν θήκην, γυμνὸν
τε αὐτὸ ὑπὸ μάλης λαβὼν πρὸς τῆς ἐπωμίδος κεκαλυμμένον παρὰ τὸν
Γόνθαριν ἐσεπήδησεν, ὡς κρύφα τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐρῶν. [23] ὅπερ Ἀρταβάνης
ιδὼν τῷ τε θυμῷ ζέων καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀγωνίας ὑπερβολῇ ἐς βαθείαν τινα ἐμπεσὼν
μέριμναν, κινεῖν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἤρξατο καὶ πολλὰς ἀμείβειν τοῦ προσώπου
χρῶας, ἐνθους τέ τις τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πράξεως γεγενῆσθαι παντελῶς ἔδοξεν. [24]
ὅπερ ὁ Πέτρος ιδὼν ζυνήκε τὸ ποιούμενον, οὐ μέντοι ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τῶν
ἄλλων τινά, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα λίαν ἥρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα.
[25] τὸν δὲ Ἀρτασίρην, ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ τυράννου ἐλθόντα, τῶν τις οἰκετῶν
ὧσε, μικρὸν τε ὀπισθεν ἀποκεχωρηκότος κατενόησε τὸ ξίφος γυμνὸν
ἀνέκραγέ τε, ‘Τί τοῦτο, βέλτιστε;’ [26] λέγων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γόνθαρις παρὰ τῶν
ὧτων τὸ δεξιὸν τὴν χειρὰ ἐπιβαλὼν στρέψας τε τὸ πρόσωπον ἐς αὐτὸν
ἔβλεπεν. [27] Ἀρτασίρης δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ ξίφει μεταξὺ ἔπαισε καὶ τοῦ βρέγματος
μοῖραν τινα ζύν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἀπέκοψε. [28] Πέτρος δὲ ἀναβοήσας
ἐνεκελεύετο τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸν ἀνοσιώτατον κτείνειν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [29]
ἀναθρώσκοντα δὲ Γόνθαριν Ἀρταβάνης ιδὼν ‘ἐγγύθι γὰρ κατεκλίνεται
μάχαιραν ἀμφήκη σπασάμενος, ἢ οἱ παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν ἀπεκρέματο μεγάλη τις
οὔσα, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ τυράννου πλευρὰν ἄχρι ἐς τὴν λαβὴν ζύμπασαν

ὥσας ἐνταῦθα μεθῆκε. [30] καὶ ὃς οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἀναθορεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἅτε δὲ καιρίαν λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἔπесεν. [31] ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸ ξίφος ὡς κατὰ κόρρης κατὰζων ἐπήνεγκεν· ὁ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς χεῖρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν προβαλλόμενος τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο. [32] τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀποθεμένου ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν βελῶν ἐκτομαῖς, αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς γεγωνὼς ἔκτεινε τὸν Οὐλίθεον οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [33] Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης, ὁ μὲν τὸ Γονθάριδος ξίφος, ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Οὐλίθεου πεπτωκότος ἀρπάσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς λειπομένους αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν. [34] γέγονε τοῖνυν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κραυγῆς τε καὶ ταραχῆς μέγα τι χρῆμα. αἰσθόμενοί τε ταύτης ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρμενίων παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ τυράννου φύλακας ἴσταντο, τὰς ἀσπίδας εὐθὺς ἀνελόμενοι κατὰ τὰ σφίσι ξυγκείμενα ἐπὶ τὰς στιβάδας ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε Βανδύλους ζύμπαντας τοὺς τε Γονθάριδι ἐπιτηδεῖους ἀνεῖλον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. [35] Τότε Ἀρταβάνης τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐμαρτύρατο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ χρημάτων· ὅσα γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἐλέλειπτο ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φύλακες τὴν Γονθάριδος τελευτὴν ἔμαθον, ξυνετάσσοντο τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις αὐτίκα πολλοί· τῆς γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδου οἰκίας οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. ξυμφρονήσαντες τοῖνυν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβόων καλλίνικον. [37] ἥ τε φωνὴ προῖοῦσα μὲν ἐκ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαισία δὲ ὑπερφυῶς οὖσα ἐς πόλιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν πολλὴν ἴσχυσεν. [38] ἐνθὲνδε οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐς τῶν στασιωτῶν τὰς οἰκίας τοὺς μὲν ὕπνον αἰρουμένους, τοὺς δὲ σιτία, ἐνίους δὲ θαμβήσαντάς τε τῷ δέει καὶ ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ ἐχομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [39] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Πασίφιλος ἦν. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ξὺν Βανδύλων τισὶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφεύγει. [40] οἷς δὴ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ παρασχόμενος ἐνθεν τε ἐξαναστήσας ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν βασιλεῖ ἀνασωσάμενος διεφύλαξε. [41] γέγονε δὲ ὁ τοῦ τυράννου φόνος ἕκτη καὶ τριακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρᾳ, ἑνατον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [42] Ἀρταβάνης τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου κλέος περιεβάλετο μέγα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [43] καὶ Πρεῖεκτα μὲν εὐθὺς ἡ Ἀρεοβίνδου γυνὴ μεγάλῳς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο χρήμασι, βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο Λιβύης ἀπάσης. [44] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ἔχρηζε βασιλέως ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο, [45] βασιλεὺς δὲ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην μεταπεψάμενος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Πάππου ἀδελφὸν Λιβύης στρατηγὸν μόνον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο. [46] οὗτος Ἰωάννης ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο, Ἀντάλα τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοῖς ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τῶν τε πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ σημεῖα πάντα τὰ Σολόμωνος τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενος βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ ληισάμενοι ἔτυχον ἡνίκα Σολόμων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ ἐξήλασε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [47] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Λευάθαι αὐθις στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Τριπόλεως χωρίων ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ξυνέμιξαν. [48] οἷσπερ Ἰωάννης ὑπαντιάσας ἡσσηθείς τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀποβαλὼν ἐς Λαρίβους φεύγει. [49] καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι μέχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ζύμπαντα καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ

χωρία ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Λίβυας τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας εἰργάσαντο. [50] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς περιγενομένους ἀγείρας καὶ Μαυρουσίους ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κουτζίναν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ἐτρέψατο. [51] Ρωμαῖοί τε αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπισπόμενοι μοῖραν μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τῆς Λιβύης τὰς ἐσχατίας διέφυγον. [52] οὕτω τε Λιβύων τοῖς περιγενομένοις, ὀλίγοις τε καὶ λίαν πτωχοῖς οὗσιν, ὅψε καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τινὰ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

XXVIII

And after arranging everything else in the very best way, as it seemed to him, Gontharis decided to entertain his friends at a banquet, with the intention of making his departure on the following day. And in a room where there were in readiness three couches which had been there from ancient times, he made the banquet. So he himself reclined, as was natural, upon the first couch, where were also Athanasius and Artabanes, and some of those known to Gontharis, and Peter, a Thracian by birth, who had previously been a body-guard of Solomon. And on both the other couches were the first and noblest of the Vandals. John, however, who commanded the mutineers of Stotzas; was entertained by Pasiphilus in his own house, and each of the other leaders wherever it suited the several friends of Gontharis to entertain them. Artabanes, accordingly, when he was bidden to this banquet, thinking that this occasion furnished him a suitable opportunity for the murder of the tyrant, was planning to carry out his purpose. He therefore disclosed the matter to Gregorius and to Artasires and three other body-guards, bidding the body-guards get inside the hall with their swords (for when commanders are entertained at a banquet it is customary for their body-guards to stand behind them), and after getting inside to make an attack suddenly, at whatever moment should seem to them most suitable; and Artasires was to strike the first blow. At the same time he directed Gregorius to pick out a large number of the most daring of the Armenians and bring them to the palace, carrying only their swords in their hands (for it is not lawful for the escort of officers in a city to be armed with anything else), and leaving these men in the vestibule, to come inside with the body-guards; and he was to tell the plan to no one of them, but to make only this explanation, that he was suspicious of Gontharis, fearing that he had called Artabanes to this banquet to do him harm, and therefore wished that they should stand beside the soldiers of Gontharis who had been stationed there on guard, and giving the appearance of indulging in some play, they were to take hold of the shields which these guards carried, and waving them about and otherwise moving them keep constantly turning them up and down; and if any tumult or shouting took place within, they were to take up these very shields and come to the rescue on the run. Such were the orders which Artabanes gave, and Gregorius proceeded to put them into execution. And Artasires devised the following plan: he cut some arrows into two parts and placed them on the wrist of his left arm, the sections reaching to his elbow. And after binding them very carefully with straps, he laid over them the sleeve of his tunic. And he did this in order that, if anyone should raise his sword over him and attempt to strike him, he might avoid the chance of suffering serious injury; for he had only to thrust his left arm in front of him, and the steel would break off as it crashed upon the wood, and thus his body could not be reached at any point.

With such purpose, then, Artasires did as I have said. And to Artabanes he spoke as follows: "As for me, I have hopes that I shall prove equal to the undertaking and shall not hesitate, and also that I shall touch the body of Gontharis with this sword; but as for what will follow, I am unable to say whether God in His anger against the tyrant will co-operate with me in this daring deed, or whether, avenging some sin of mine, He will stand against me there and be an obstacle in my way. If, therefore, you see that the tyrant is not wounded in a vital spot, do you kill me with my sword without the least hesitation, so that I may not be tortured by him into saying that it was by your will that I rushed into the undertaking, and thus not only perish myself most shamefully, but also be compelled against my will to destroy you as well." And after Artasires had spoken such words he too, together with Gregorius and one of the body-guards, entered the room where the couches were and took his stand behind Artabanes. And the rest, remaining by the guards, did as they had been commanded.

So Artasires, when the banquet had only just begun, was purposing to set to work, and he was already touching the hilt of his sword. But Gregorius prevented him by saying in the Armenian tongue that Gontharis was still wholly himself, not having as yet drunk any great quantity of wine. Then Artasires groaned and said: "My good fellow, how fine a heart I have for the deed, and now you have for the moment wrongfully hindered me!" And as the drinking went on, Gontharis, who by now was thoroughly saturated with wine, began to give portions of the food to the body-guards, yielding to a generous mood. And they, upon receiving these portions, went outside the building immediately and were about to eat them, leaving beside Gontharis only three body-guards, one of whom happened to be Ulitheus. And Artasires also started to go out in order to taste the morsels with the rest. But just then a kind of fear came over him lest, when he should wish to draw his sword, something might prevent him. Accordingly, as soon as he got outside, he secretly threw away the sheath of the sword, and taking it naked under his arm, hidden by his cloak, he rushed in to Gontharis, as if to say something without the knowledge of the others. And Artabanes, seeing this, was in a fever of excitement, and became exceedingly anxious by reason of the surpassing magnitude of the issue at stake; he began to move his head, the colour of his countenance changed repeatedly, and he seemed to have become altogether like one inspired, on account of the greatness of the undertaking. And Peter, upon seeing this, understood what was being done, but he did not disclose it to any of the others, because, being well disposed to the emperor, he was exceedingly pleased by what was going on. And Artasires, having come close to the tyrant, was pushed by one of the servants, and as he retreated a little to the rear, the servant observed that his sword was bared and cried out saying: "What is this, my excellent fellow?" And Gontharis, putting his hand to his right ear, and turning his face, looked at him. And Artasires

struck him with his sword as he did so, and cut off a piece of his scalp together with his fingers. And Peter cried out and exhorted Artasires to kill the most unholy of all men. And Artabanes, seeing Gontharis leaping to his feet (for he reclined close to him), drew a two-edged dagger which hung by his thigh — a rather large one — and thrusting it into the tyrant's left side clean up to the hilt, left it there. And the tyrant none the less tried to leap up, but having received a mortal wound, he fell where he was. Ulitheus then brought his sword down upon Artasires as if to strike him over the head; but he held his left arm above his head, and thus profited by his own idea in the moment of greatest need. For since Ulitheus' sword had its edge turned when it struck the sections of arrows on his arm, he himself was unscathed, and he killed Ulitheus with no difficulty. And Peter and Artabanes, the one seizing the sword of Gontharis and the other that of Ulitheus who had fallen, killed on the spot those of the body-guards who remained. Thus there arose, as was natural, an exceedingly great tumult and confusion. And when this was perceived by those of the Armenians who were standing by the tyrant's guards, they immediately picked up the shields according to the plan which had been arranged with them, and went on the run to the banquet-room. And they slew all the Vandals and the friends of Gontharis, no one resisting.

Then Artabanes enjoined upon Athanasius to take charge of the money in the palace: for all that had been left by Areobindus was there. And when the guards learned of the death of Gontharis, straightway many arrayed themselves with the Armenians; for the most of them were of the household of Areobindus. With one accord, therefore, they proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant. And the cry, coming forth from a multitude of men, and being, therefore, an exceedingly mighty sound, was strong enough to reach the greater part of the city. Wherefore those who were well-disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and straightway killed them, some while enjoying sleep, others while taking food, and still others while they were awe-struck with fear and in terrible perplexity. And among these was Pasiphilus, but not John, for he with some of the Vandals fled to the sanctuary. To these Artabanes gave pledges, and making them rise from there, sent them to Byzantium, and having thus recovered the city for the emperor, he continued to guard it. And the murder of the tyrant took place on the thirty-sixth day of the tyranny, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. [545-546 A.D.]

And Artabanes won great fame for himself from this deed among all men. And straightway Prejecta, the wife of Areobindus, rewarded him with great sums of money, and the emperor appointed him general of all Libya. But not long after this Artabanes entreated the emperor to summon him to Byzantium, and the emperor fulfilled his request. And having summoned Artabanes, he appointed John, the brother of Pappus, sole general of Libya. And this John, immediately upon arriving in Libya, had an engagement with Antalas and the

Moors in Byzacium, and conquering them in battle, slew many; and he wrested from these barbarians all the standards of Solomon, and sent them to the emperor — standards which they had previously secured as plunder, when Solomon had been taken from the world. And the rest of the Moors he drove as far as possible from the Roman territory. But at a later time the Leuathae came again with a great army from the country about Tripolis to Byzacium, and united with the forces of Antalas. And when John went to meet this army, he was defeated in the engagement, and losing many of his men, fled to Laribus. And then indeed the enemy, overrunning the whole country there as far as Carthage, treated in a terrible manner those Libyans who fell in their way. But not long afterward John collected those of the soldiers who had survived, and drawing into alliance with him many Moors and especially those under Coutzinas, came to battle with the enemy and unexpectedly routed them. And the Romans, following them up as they fled in complete disorder, slew a great part of them, while the rest escaped to the confines of Libya. Thus it came to pass that those of the Libyans who survived, few as they were in number and exceedingly poor, at last and after great toil found some peace.

BOOK V. THE GOTHIC WAR

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΣ

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα τῇδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον τὸν Γοθικὸν εἶμι, ἐπειπὼν πρότερον ὅσα Γόθοις τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [2] Ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βασιλεύοντος Αὐγουστος εἶχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος, ὃν καὶ Αὐγούστουλον ὑποκορίζοντες ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δὴ μεράκιον ὢν ἔτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἣν οἱ Ὀρέστης ὁ πατὴρ διώκειτο ξυνετώτατος ὢν. [3] ἐτύγγανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον Σκίρους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα Γοθικὰ ἔθνη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι: ἐξ οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τε Ἀλαρίχου καὶ Ἀττίλα συνηνέχθη παθεῖν ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [4] ὅσῳ τε τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἤκμαζε, τοσούτῳ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἀξίωμα ἤδη ὑπέληγε, καὶ τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιηλύδων τυραννούμενοι ἐβιάζοντο: ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀνέδην ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ τι ἐκουσίους ἠνάγκαζον καὶ τελευτῶντες ξύμπαντας πρὸς αὐτοὺς νείμασθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγροὺς ἠξιοῦν. [5] ὢν δὴ τὸ τριτημόριον σφίσι διδόναι τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐκέλευον, ταῦτά τε ποιήσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ὁμολογοῦντα εὐθὺς ἐκτεῖναι. [6] ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ὀδοάκρος ὄνομα, ἐς τοὺς βασιλέως δορυφόρους τελῶν: ὃς αὐτοῖς τότε ποιήσιν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ὡμολόγησεν, ἥνπερ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσονται. [7] οὕτω τε τὴν τυραννίδα παραλαβὼν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸν βασιλέα κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἐν ιδιώτῳ δὲ λόγῳ βιοτεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασε. [8] καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ τριτημόριον τῶν ἀγρῶν παρασχόμενος τούτῳ τε τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτοὺς βεβαιότατα ἐταιρισάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἔτη ἐκρατύνετο δέκα. [9] Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ Γόθοι, οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης δόντος βασιλέως κατώκηντο, ὅπλα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, Θεωδερίχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, ἀντήραν, ἀνδρὸς πατρικίου τε καὶ ἐς τὸν ὑπάτων δίφρον ἀναβεβηκότος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. [10] Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεὺς, τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος, Θεωδερίχῳ παρήνει ἐς Ἰταλίαν πορεύεσθαι καὶ Ὀδοάκρῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντι τὴν ἐσπερίαν ἐπικράτησιν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γόθοις πορίζεσθαι. [11] ἄμεινον γάρ οἱ εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἥκοντι, τύραννον βιασαμένῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ἄρχειν ἀπάντων ἢ βασιλεῖ διαμαχομένῳ ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἰέναι. [12] Θεωδέρικος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦει, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γόθων λεῶς εἶπετο, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα ὅσα φέρειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε κόλπου ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐγένοντο, διαπορθμεύεσθαι, νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν, ἥκιστα εἶχον: περιόντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον πρόσω ἐχώρουν διὰ τε Ταυλαντίων καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν. [14] τούτοις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδοάκρον ὑπαντίασαντες μάχαις τε ἡσηθηέντες πολλαῖς ἔν τε Ῥαβέννῃ σὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἵρξαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων ἰσχυροῖς οὖσι. [15] καθεστηκότες δὲ εἰς πολιορκίαν οἱ Γόθοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα

χωρία ζύμπαντα τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν εἶλον, Καισῆναν δὲ τὸ φρούριον, ὅπερ σταδίοις τριακοσίοις Ῥαβέννης διέχει, Ῥάβενναν τε αὐτήν, ἔνθα καὶ Ὀδόακρον συμπέπτωκεν εἶναι, οὔτε ὁμολογία οὔτε βία ἐλεῖν ἴσχυον.

[16] Ῥάβεννα γὰρ αὕτη ἐν πεδίῳ μὲν κεῖται ὑπὲρ ἐς τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου τὰ ἔσχατα, δυοῖν σταδίοις διειργομένη μέτρῳ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, οὐκ εὐέφοδος δὲ οὔτε ναυσὶν οὔτε πεζῶν στρατῷ φαίνεται οὔσα. [17] αἶ τε γὰρ νῆες καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἥκιστα ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα ἐμπόδιός ἐστι βράχος ποιουμένη οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ κατὰ σταδίους τριάκοντα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡϊόνα ταύτην, καίπερ τοῖς πλέουσιν ἄγχιστα ὀρωμένην, τῇ τοῦ βράχους περιουσίᾳ ἐκαστάτῳ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [18] καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐσβατὴ οὐδαμῇ γίνεταί· Πάδος τε γὰρ ὁ ποταμός, ὃν καὶ Ἡριδανὸν καλοῦσιν, ἐξ ὁρίων τῶν Κελτικῶν ταύτῃ φερόμενος καὶ ποταμοὶ ἄλλοι ναυσίποροι ξὺν λίμναις τισὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν περιβάλλοντες ἀμφίρρυτον ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν. [19] ἐνταῦθα γίνεταί τι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον οἶον. ἡ θάλασσα πρῶτ' ἐκαστὴν ποιουμένη σχῆμα ποταμοῦ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς γῆν ἀναβαίνει καὶ πλόϊμον αὐτὴν παρεχομένη ἐν μέσῃ ἡπεύῳ, αὐθις ἀναλύουσα τὸν πορθμὸν ἀναστρέφει ἀμφὶ δεξιὴν ὀψίαν, καὶ ἐφ' αὐτὴν ξυνάγει τὸ ῥεῦμα. [20] ὅσοι οὖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομίζεον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ἐνθένδε ἐκφέρειν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἢ κατ' ἄλλην ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν, τὰ φορτία ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, κατασπᾶσαντές τε αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ οὗ δὴ ὁ πορθμὸς γίνεσθαι εἶωθε, προσδέχονται τὴν ἐπιρροήν. [21] καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὕτη ἀφίκηται, τά τε πλοῖα κατὰ βραχὺ ἐκ γῆς ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ ναῦται ἔργου ἐχόμενοι ναυτίλλονται ἤδη. [22] καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἐς αἰὲ γίνεταί, ἄχρι ἐς Ἀκυλῆϊαν πόλιν. [23] οὐ μέντοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα μὲν βραχὺ φαίνεται τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς, οὐδὲ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος ἰσχυρὰ γίνεταί, μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην διχότομον ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν καρτερὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιρροὴ γίνεσθαι ἐφύκε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔχει. [24] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θευδερίχῳ Ῥάβενναν πολιορκοῦσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἤδη, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀδόακρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὑπὸ διαλλακτῇ τῷ Ῥαβέννης ἱερεὶ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θευδερίχός τε καὶ Ὀδόακρος ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ δίαίταν ἐξουσι. [25] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θευδερίχος Ὀδόακρον λαβὼν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον, νῷ τε δολερῷ καλέσας ἐπὶ θοίνῃν, ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βαρβάρων τῶν πολεμίων προσποιησάμενος ὅσους περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσεν αὐτὸς ἔσχε τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος. [26] καὶ βασιλέως μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ σχήματος οὔτε τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιβατεῦσαι ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆς διεβίου καλούμενος ὁ αὐτῷ γὰρ σφῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καλεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι νενομίκασι, τῶν μὲντοι κατηκόνων τῶν αὐτοῦ προὔστη ζύμπαντα περιβαλλόμενος ὅσα τῷ φύσει βασιλεῖ ἤρμοστοι. [27] δικαιοσύνης τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπεμελήσατο καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διεσώσατο, ἐκ τε βαρβάρων τῶν περιοίκων τὴν χώραν ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξε, ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς ἄκρον ἐληλύθει ὥς μάλιστα. [28] καὶ ἀδίκημα σχεδὸν τι οὐδὲν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εἰργάζετο οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τὰ

τοιαῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκότι ἐπέτρεπε, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῶν χωρίων τὴν μοῖραν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς Γότθοι ἐνείμαντο ἥνπερ Ὀδόακρος τοῖς στασιώταις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν. [29] ἦν τε ὁ Θευδέριχος λόγῳ μὲν τύραννος, ἔργῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀληθῆς τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τιμῇ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ηὔδοκιμηκότων οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, ἔρως τε αὐτοῦ ἐν τε Γότθοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις πολὺς ἤκμασε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου. [30] ἐτέρων γὰρ ἕτερα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἰεὶ αἰρουμένων τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν ξυμβαίνει ἀρέσκειν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα οἷς ἂν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ πρασσόμενα ᾗ, λυπεῖν δὲ ὧν τῆς γνώμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρήσειεν. [31] ἔτη δὲ ἐπιβιούς ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτελεύτησε, φοβερὸς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγωνῶς ἅπασι, πόθον δὲ αὐτοῦ πολὺν τινα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀπολιπών. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [32] Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦσθιν, πρῶτῳ δὲ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπάτῳ ἐγενέσθην ἄμφω. [33] φιλοσοφίαν δὲ ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελησαμένῳ οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν, πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένῳ καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθόνον τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐπηγαγέτην. [34] οἷς δὴ συκοφαντοῦσι Θευδέριχος ἀναπεισθεὶς ἅτε νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντε τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο. [35] δειπνοῦντι δὲ οἱ ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἰχθύος μεγάλου κεφαλὴν οἱ θεράποντες παρετίθεσαν. αὕτη Θευδερίχῳ ἔδοξεν ἡ κεφαλὴ Συμμάχου νεοσφαγοῦς εἶναι. [36] καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὁδοῦσιν ἐς χεῖλος τὸ κάτω ἐμπεπηγόσι, τοῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς βλοσυρόν τι ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ μανικὸν ὀρώσιν, ἀπειλοῦντί οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφίκει. [37] περιδεὴς δὲ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοῦ τέρατος γεγωνῶς καὶ ῥιγώσας ἐκτόπως ἐς κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεχώρησε δρόμῳ, τριβώνιά τε πολλὰ οἱ ἐπιθεῖναι κελεύσας ἡσύχαζε. [38] μετὰ δὲ ἅπαντα εἰς Ἑλπίδιον τὸν ἱατρὸν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐξενεγκὼν τὴν ἐς Σύμμαχόν τε καὶ Βοέτιον ἀμαρτάδα ἔκλαιεν. [39] ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγῆσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀδίκημα τοῦτο πρῶτόν τε καὶ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς αὐτοῦ δράσας, ὅτι δὴ οὐ διερευνησάμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὴν περὶ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν γνῶσιν ἤνεγκε.

I

Such, then, were the fortunes of the Romans in Libya. I shall now proceed to the Gothic War, first telling all that befell the Goths and Italians before this war.

During the reign of Zeno[A] in Byzantium the power in the West was held by Augustus, whom the Romans used to call by the diminutive name Augustulus because he took over the empire while still a lad,[B] his father Orestes, a man of the greatest discretion, administering it as regent for him. Now it happened that the Romans a short time before had induced the Sciri and Alani and certain other Gothic nations to form an alliance with them; and from that time on it was their fortune to suffer at the hand of Alaric and Attila those things which have been told in the previous narrative. And in proportion as the barbarian element among them became strong, just so did the prestige of the Roman soldiers forthwith decline, and under the fair name of alliance they were more and more tyrannized over by the intruders and oppressed by them; so that the barbarians ruthlessly forced many other measures upon the Romans much against their will and finally demanded that they should divide with them the entire land of Italy. And indeed they commanded Orestes to give them the third part of this, and when he would by no means agree to do so, they killed him immediately.[C] Now there was a certain man among the Romans named Odoacer, one of the bodyguards of the emperor, and he at that time agreed to carry out their commands, on condition that they should set him upon the throne. And when he had received the supreme power in this way, [D] he did the emperor no further harm, but allowed him to live thenceforth as a private citizen. And by giving the third part of the land to the barbarians, and in this way gaining their allegiance most firmly, he held the supreme power securely for ten years.

DATES:

[A]474-491 A.D.

[B]July 31, 475 A.D.

[C]July 28, 476 A.D.

[D]July 28, 476 A.D.

It was at about this same time that the Goths also, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, took up arms against the Romans under the leadership of Theoderic, a man who was of patrician rank and had attained the consular office in Byzantium. But the Emperor Zeno, who understood how to settle to his advantage any situation in which he found himself, advised Theoderic to proceed to Italy, attack Odoacer, and win for himself and the Goths the western dominion. For it was better for him, he said, especially as he had attained the senatorial dignity, to force out a usurper

and be ruler over all the Romans and Italians than to incur the great risk of a decisive struggle with the emperor.

Now Theoderic was pleased with the suggestion and went to Italy, and he was followed by the Gothic host, who placed in their waggons the women and children and such of their chattels as they were able to take with them. And when they came near the Ionian Gulf, they were quite unable to cross over it, since they had no ships at hand; and so they made the journey around the gulf, advancing through the land of the Taulantii and the other nations of that region. Here the forces of Odoacer encountered them, but after being defeated in many battles, they shut themselves up with their leader in Ravenna and such other towns as were especially strong. [E] And the Goths laid siege to these places and captured them all, in one way or another, as it chanced in each case, except that they were unable to capture, either by surrender or by storm, the fortress of Caesena, which is three hundred stades distant from Ravenna, and Ravenna itself, where Odoacer happened to be. For this city of Ravenna lies in a level plain at the extremity of the Ionian Gulf, lacking two stades of being on the sea, and it is so situated as not to be easily approached either by ships or by a land army. Ships cannot possibly put in to shore there because the sea itself prevents them by forming shoals for not less than thirty stades; consequently the beach at Ravenna, although to the eye of mariners it is very near at hand, is in reality very far away by reason of the great extent of the shoal-water. And a land army cannot approach it at all; for the river Po, also called the Eridanus, which flows past Ravenna, coming from the boundaries of Celtica, and other navigable rivers together with some marshes, encircle it on all sides and so cause the city to be surrounded by water. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place every day. For early in the morning the sea forms a kind of river and comes up over the land for the distance of a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and becomes navigable in the midst of the mainland, and then in the late afternoon it turns back again, causing the inlet to disappear, and gathers the stream to itself. All those, therefore, who have to convey provisions into the city or carry them out from there for trade or for any other reason, place their cargoes in boats, and drawing them down to the place where the inlet is regularly formed, they await the inflow of the water. And when this comes, the boats are lifted little by little from the ground and float, and the sailors on them set to work and from that time on are seafaring men. And this is not the only place where this happens, but it is the regular occurrence along the whole coast in this region as far as the city of Aquileia. However, it does not always take place in the same way at every time, but when the light of the moon is faint, the advance of the sea is not strong either, but from the first half-moon until the second the inflow has a tendency to be greater. So much for this matter.

DATES:

[E] 489 A.D.

But when the third year had already been spent by the Goths and Theoderic in their siege of Ravenna, the Goths, who were weary of the siege, and the followers of Odoacer, who were hard pressed by the lack of provisions, came to an agreement with each other through the mediation of the priest of Ravenna, the understanding being that both Theoderic and Odoacer should reside in Ravenna on terms of complete equality. And for some time they observed the agreement; but afterward Theoderic caught Odoacer, as they say, plotting against him, and bidding him to a feast with treacherous intent slew him, and in this way, after gaining the adherence of such of the hostile barbarians as chanced to survive, he himself secured the supremacy over both Goths and Italians. And though he did not claim the right to assume either the garb or the name of emperor of the Romans, but was called “rex” to the end of his life (for thus the barbarians are accustomed to call their leaders), still, in governing his own subjects, he invested himself with all the qualities which appropriately belong to one who is by birth an emperor. For he was exceedingly careful to observe justice, he preserved the laws on a sure basis, he protected the land and kept it safe from the barbarians dwelling round about, and attained the highest possible degree of wisdom and manliness. And he himself committed scarcely a single act of injustice against his subjects, nor would he brook such conduct on the part of anyone else who attempted it, except, indeed, that the Goths distributed among themselves the portion of the lands which Odoacer had given to his own partisans. And although in name Theoderic was a usurper, yet in fact he was as truly an emperor as any who have distinguished themselves in this office from the beginning; and love for him among both Goths and Italians grew to be great, and that too contrary to the ordinary habits of men. For in all states men’s preferences are divergent, with the result that the government in power pleases for the moment only those with whom its acts find favour, but offends those whose judgment it violates. But Theoderic reigned for thirty-seven years, and when he died, he had not only made himself an object of terror to all his enemies, but he also left to his subjects a keen sense of bereavement at his loss. And he died in the following manner.[F]

DATE:

[F] 526 A.D.

Symmachus and his son-in-law Boetius were men of noble and ancient lineage, and both had been leading men in the Roman senate and had been consuls. But because they practised philosophy and were mindful of justice in a manner surpassed by no other men, relieving the destitution of both citizens and strangers by generous gifts of money, they attained great fame and thus led men of the basest sort to envy them. Now such persons slandered them to Theoderic, and he, believing their slanders, put these two men to death, on the ground that they were setting about a revolution, and made their property confiscate to the public treasury. And a few days later, while he was dining,

the servants set before him the head of a great fish. This seemed to Theoderic to be the head of Symmachus newly slain. Indeed, with its teeth set in its lower lip and its eyes looking at him with a grim and insane stare, it did resemble exceedingly a person threatening him. And becoming greatly frightened at the extraordinary prodigy and shivering excessively, he retired running to his own chamber, and bidding them place many covers upon him, remained quiet. But afterwards he disclosed to his physician Elpidius all that had happened and wept for the wrong he had done Symmachus and Boetius. Then, having lamented and grieved exceedingly over the unfortunate occurrence, he died not long afterward. This was the first and last act of injustice which he committed toward his subjects, and the cause of it was that he had not made a thorough investigation, as he was accustomed to do, before passing judgment on the two men.

Τελευτήσαντός τε αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀταλάριχος, ὁ Θεωδερίχου θυγατρίδους, ὁκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη τρεφόμενος. [2] ὁ γάρ οἱ πατήρ ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. χρόνῳ τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. [3] Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δέ, ἅτε τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπίτροπος οὖσα, τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο, ξυνέσεως μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἐς ἄγαν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη. [4] ὅσον τε χρόνον τῆς πολιτείας προὔστη, οὐδένα τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐκόλασεν ἢ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσεν. [5] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Γότθοις ξυνεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἐς ἐκείνους ἀδικίαν ὀργῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Συμμάχῳ τε καὶ Βοετίῳ παισὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπέδωκεν. [6] ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὸν παῖδα ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσι τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαίταν ὁμότροπον καταστήσασθαι καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἤδη ἠνάγκαζε. [7] τρεῖς τε ἀπολεξαμένη τῶν ἐν Γότθοις γερόντων οὕσπερ ἠπίστατο μᾶλλον ἀπάντων ξυνेतούς τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς εἶναι, ξυνδαιτᾶσθαι Ἀταλάριχῳ ἐκέλευε. [8] Γότθοις δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε. τῆς γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμία βαρβαρικώτερον πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ἤθελον. [9] καὶ ποτε ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἀμαρτάνοντά τι ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι τὸν παῖδα λαβοῦσα ἐρράπισε· καὶ ὃς δεδακρυμένος ἐς τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆλθε. [10] Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη λοιδοροῦμενοι ἰσχυρίζοντο βούλεσθαι αὐτὴν τὸν παῖδα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅπως αὐτὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθοῦσα Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρχοι. [11] ξυλλεγόντες τε, ὅσοι δὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγιμοι ἦσαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐλθόντες ἡτιῶντο οὐκ ὀρθῶς σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἧ ἑυμφέρει τὸν βασιλέα παιδεῦσθαι. [12] γράμματα τε γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι ἀνδρίας, καὶ διδασκαλίας γερόντων ἀνθρώπων ἔς τε τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ταπεινὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. [13] δεῖν τοίνυν τὸν ἑν τινὶ ἔργῳ τολμητὴν τε καὶ δόξῃ μέγαν ἐσόμενον, φόβου τοῦ ἐκ διδασκάλων ἀπαλλαγέντα, τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μελέτας ποιεῖσθαι. [14] ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς οὐδὲ Θεωδερίχός ποτε Γότθων τινὰς τοὺς παῖδας ἐς γραμματιστοῦ πέμπειν ἐφῆ· [15] λέγειν γὰρ ἅπασιν ὥς, ἥνπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύτους ἐπιγένηται δέος, οὐ μήποτε ξίφους ἢ δορατίου

ὑπερφρονεῖν ἀξιώσουσιν. [16] ἐννοεῖν τε αὐτὴν ἐδικαίουν ὥς ἄρα οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Θεοδέρικος χώρας τε τοσαύτης κύριος γεγονὼς καὶ βασιλείαν οὐδαμῶθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν περιβαλλόμενος τελευτήσῃ, καίπερ γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχων. [17] ‘Οὐκοῦν, ὦ δέσποινα,’ ἔφασαν, ‘παιδαγωγοὺς μὲν τούτους χαίρειν τανῦν ἔα, σὺ δὲ Ἀταλαρίχῳ ὁμοδαίτους ἡλικίας τινὰς δίδου, οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡλικίαν ξυνακμάζοντες ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν κατὰ γε τὸν βάρβαρον νόμον ὀρμήσουσι.’ [18] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, οὐκ ἐπήνεσε μὲν, δέισασα δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλὴν, δόκησιν τε παρείχετο ὥς πρὸς ἡδονῆς αὐτῇ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ξυνεχώρει ἅπαντα ὅσων οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτῆς ἔχρηζον. [19] τῶν τε γερόντων Ἀταλάρικον ἐκλελοιπότων παῖδες αὐτῷ τινες ξυνῆσαν κοινωνοὶ τῆς διαίτης ἐσόμενοι, οὕτω μὲν ἡβηκότες, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ προτερεύοντες, οἵπερ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἡβὴν ἦλθεν, ἔς τε μέθην καὶ γυναικῶν μίξεις παρακαλοῦντες, κακοήθη τε διαφερόντως εἶναι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας ἀπειθέστερον κατεστήσαντο. [20] ὥστε οὐδὲ μεταποιεῖσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ παράπαν ἤξιον, καίπερ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἤδη ξυνισταμένων, οἳ γε καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀναχωρεῖν τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀνέδην ἐκέλευον. [21] Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ οὔτε κατωρρώδησε τὴν τῶν Γότθων ἐπιβουλὴν οὔτε οἷα γυνὴ ἐμολθακίσθη, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐνδεικνυμένη, τρεῖς ἀπολέξασα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογιμωτάτους τε καὶ αὐτῇ αἰτιωτάτους τῆς στάσεως, ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας ἵεναι, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ὥς πορρωτάτω ἀλλήλων: τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο ἐφ’ ᾧ τὴν χώραν φυλάξουσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου. [22] ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι διὰ τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ‘ξυνῆσαν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες’ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξηρτῶντο. Ἄπερ οὐκέτι φέρειν ἢ γυνὴ οἷα τε οὕσα ἐπενόει τοιάδε. [23] πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεπνυθάνετο εἴπερ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν τὴν Θεοδερικοῦ παρ’ αὐτόν ἦκειν: βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα. [24] βασιλεὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς ἐλθεῖν τε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκέλευε καὶ τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου οἴκων τὸν κάλλιστον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλε γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, καταλύοι τε αὐτόσε καὶ χρόνον διατρίψασα ὅσον ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, οὕτω δὴ κομίζηται ἐς Βυζάντιον. [25] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἔγνω, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξασα Γότθους, δραστηρίους τε καὶ αὐτῇ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἔστελλεν ἐφ’ ᾧ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη, ἅτε τῆς στάσεως αἰτιωτάτους αὐτῇ γενομένους. [26] αὐτὴ δὲ ἄλλα τε χρήματα καὶ τετρακόσια Χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν νηὶ μιᾷ ἐνθεμένη, ἐς ταύτην τε ἐμβιβάσασα τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων τινάς, πλεῖν μὲν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἀφικομένους δὲ ὀρμίζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ ταύτης λιμένι, τῶν δὲ φορτίων, ἕως αὐτῇ ἐπιστέλλοι, [27] μὴδ’ ὅτιοῦν ἐκφορεῖν τῆς νεώς. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς τρεῖς πύθηται, μένοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ναῦν μεταπέμποιτο, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχουσα πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν δέος: ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν τινα περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνειν, οὐδεμιᾶς οἱ ἀγαθῆς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος, πλείοι τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζοιτο. [28] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ

ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸν Ἐπιδαμνίων λιμένα, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐποίουν. [29] ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον Ἀμαλασοῦνθα, τῶν φόνων οἱ ἐξειργασμένων ἥπερ ἐβούλετο, τήν τε ναῦν μετεπέμπετο καὶ μένουσα ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐκρατόνατο.

II

After his death[G] the kingdom was taken over by Atalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter; he had reached the age of eight years and was being reared under the care of his mother Amalasuntha. For his father had already departed from among men. And not long afterward Justinian succeeded to the imperial power in Byzantium. [H]Now Amalasuntha, as guardian of her child, administered the government, and she proved to be endowed with wisdom and regard for justice in the highest degree, displaying to a great extent the masculine temper. As long as she stood at the head of the government she inflicted punishment upon no Roman in any case either by touching his person or by imposing a fine. Furthermore, she did not give way to the Goths in their mad desire to wrong them, but she even restored to the children of Symmachus and Boetius their fathers' estates. Now Amalasuntha wished to make her son resemble the Roman princes in his manner of life, and was already compelling him to attend the school of a teacher of letters. And she chose out three among the old men of the Goths whom she knew to be prudent and refined above all the others, and bade them live with Atalaric. But the Goths were by no means pleased with this. For because of their eagerness to wrong their subjects they wished to be ruled by him more after the barbarian fashion. On one occasion the mother, finding the boy doing some wrong in his chamber, chastised him; and he in tears went off thence to the men's apartments. And some Goths who met him made a great to-do about this, and reviling Amalasuntha insisted that she wished to put the boy out of the world as quickly as possible, in order that she might marry a second husband and with him rule over the Goths and Italians. And all the notable men among them gathered together, and coming before Amalasuntha made the charge that their king was not being educated correctly from their point of view nor to his own advantage. For letters, they said, are far removed from manliness, and the teaching of old men results for the most part in a cowardly and submissive spirit. Therefore the man who is to shew daring in any work and be great in renown ought to be freed from the timidity which teachers inspire and to take his training in arms. They added that even Theoderic would never allow any of the Goths to send their children to school; for he used to say to them all that, if the fear of the strap once came over them, they would never have the resolution to despise sword or spear. And they asked her to reflect that her father Theoderic before he died had become master of all this territory and had invested himself with a kingdom which was his by no sort of right, although he had not so much as heard of letters. "Therefore, O Queen," they said, "have done with these tutors now, and do you give to Atalaric some men of his own age to be his companions, who will pass through the period of youth with him and thus give him an impulse toward that excellence which is in keeping with the custom of barbarians."

DATES:

[G]526 A.D.

[H]527 A.D.

When Amalasuntha heard this, although she did not approve, yet because she feared the plotting of these men, she made it appear that their words found favour with her, and granted everything the barbarians desired of her. And when the old men had left Atalaric, he was given the company of some boys who were to share his daily life, — lads who had not yet come of age but were only a little in advance of him in years; and these boys, as soon as he came of age, by enticing him to drunkenness and to intercourse with women, made him an exceptionally depraved youth, and of such stupid folly that he was disinclined to follow his mother's advice. Consequently he utterly refused to champion her cause, although the barbarians were by now openly leaguings together against her; for they were boldly commanding the woman to withdraw from the palace. But Amalasuntha neither became frightened at the plotting of the Goths nor did she, womanlike, weakly give way, but still displaying the dignity befitting a queen, she chose out three men who were the most notable among the barbarians and at the same time the most responsible for the sedition against her, and bade them go to the limits of Italy, not together, however, but as far apart as possible from one another; but it was made to appear that they were being sent in order to guard the land against the enemy's attack. But nevertheless these men by the help of their friends and relations, who were all still in communication with them, even travelling a long journey for the purpose, continued to make ready the details of their plot against Amalasuntha.

And the woman, being unable to endure these things any longer, devised the following plan. Sending to Byzantium she enquired of the Emperor Justinian whether it was his wish that Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theoderic, should come to him; for she wished to depart from Italy as quickly as possible. And the emperor, being pleased by the suggestion, bade her come and sent orders that the finest of the houses in Epidamnus should be put in readiness, in order that when Amalasuntha should come there, she might lodge in it and after spending such time there as she wished might then betake herself to Byzantium. When Amalasuntha learned this, she chose out certain Goths who were energetic men and especially devoted to her and sent them to kill the three whom I have just mentioned, as having been chiefly responsible for the sedition against her. And she herself placed all her possessions, including four hundred centenaria of gold, in a single ship and embarked on it some of those most faithful to her and bade them sail to Epidamnus, and, upon arriving there, to anchor in its harbour, but to discharge from the ship nothing whatever of its cargo until she herself should send orders. And she did this in order that, if she should learn that the three men had been destroyed, she might remain there and summon the ship back, having no further fear from

her enemies; but if it should chance that any one of them was left alive, no good hope being left her, she purposed to sail with all speed and find safety for herself and her possessions in the emperor's land. Such was the purpose with which Amalasuntha was sending the ship to Epidamnus; and when it arrived at the harbour of that city, those who had the money carried out her orders. But a little later, when the murders had been accomplished as she wished, Amalasuntha summoned the ship back and remaining at Ravenna strengthened her rule and made it as secure as might be.

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Γότθοις Θευδάτος ὄνομα, τῆς Θευδερίχου ἀδελφῆς Ἀμαλαφρίδης υἱός, πόρρω που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἦκων, λόγων μὲν Λατίνων μεταλαχὼν καὶ δογμάτων Πλατωνικῶν, πολέμων δὲ ἀμελετήτως παντάπασιν ἔχων, μακράν τε ἀπολελειμμένος τοῦ δραστηρίου, ἐς μέντοι φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς. [2] οὗτος ὁ Θευδάτος πλείστον μὲν τῶν ἐν Τούσκοις χωρίων κύριος ἐγεγόνει, βιαζόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ λειπόμενα τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. γείτονα γὰρ ἔχειν συμφορὰ τις Θευδάτῳ ἐδόκει εἶναι. [3] ταύτην αὐτῷ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τὴν προθυμίαν ἀναστέλλειν ἠπειγέτο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἠχθετό τε αὐτῇ ἐς αἰεὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. [4] ἐβουλεύετο οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Τουσκιὰν ἐνδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ βουλῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀξίωμα κομισάμενος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν διατρίβοι. [5] ταῦτα Θευδάτου βεβουλευμένου πρέσβεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ τὸν Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα ἦκον, ὃ τε τῆς Ἐφέσου ἱερεὺς Ὑπάτιος καὶ Δημήτριος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Μακεδόσι Φιλίππων, δόξης ἕνεκεν ἦν Χριστιανοὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν ἀμφιγνοοῦντες. [6] τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα ἐγὼ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι: ἀπονοίας γὰρ μανιώδους τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι διερευνᾶσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν, ὅποια ποτέ ἐστιν. [7] ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἶμαι καταληπτὰ, μή τί γε δὴ τὰ εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν ἦκοντα. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκινδύνως σεσιωπῆσθω μόνῳ τῷ μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὰ τετιμημένα. [8] ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ ὀτιοῦν εἶποιμι ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς τε παντάπασιν εἷη καὶ ζῦμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔχει. [9] λεγέτω δὲ ὥς πῃ ἕκαστος γινώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἶεται, καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης. Θευδάτος δὲ ζυγγεγνόμενος λάθρα τοῖς πρέσβεσι τούτοις ἀγγέλλειν ἐπέστελλεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἅπερ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἶη, ἐξειπὼν ὅσα μοι ἄρτι δεδήλωται. [10] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀταλάρχος ἐς κραιπάλῃν ἐμπεπτωκὸς ὄρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν νοσήματι μαρασμοῦ ἦλω. [11] διὸ δὴ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα διηπορεῖτο: οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς γνώμῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐληλακότης, ἦν τε αὐτὸς Ἀταλάρχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζεται, οὐκ ᾔετο αὐτῇ τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι, Γότθων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις προσκεκρουκυῖα. [12] διὸ δὴ τὸ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος ἐνδιδόναι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως αὐτῇ σώζοιτο, ἠθέλεν. [13] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, σὺν τε Δημητρίῳ καὶ Ὑπατίῳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων. [14] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Ἐπιδάμνῳ λιμένι ὁρμίζεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, αὐτὴν δὲ μέλλειν ἔτι, καίπερ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, ἔπεμψε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐφ' ᾧ κατασκεψάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ ἀγγεῖλαι: [15] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ

πρεσβευτήν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε, τοῖς τε ἀμφὶ τῷ Λιλυβαίῳ
ξυνταραχθεῖς ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται καὶ ὅτι Οὐννοὶ
δέκα ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατοπέδου, δρασμοὺ ἐχόμενοι, ἐς Καμπανίαν
ἀφίκοντο, Οὐλίαρίς τε αὐτούς, ὃς Νεάπολιν ἐφύλασσε, Ἀμαλασοῦνθης οὐτι
ἀκουσίῳ ὑπεδέξατο, Γότθοι τε Γήπαισι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον πολεμοῦντες,
πόλει Γρατιανῇ, ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐσχατιᾷ κειμένη, ὡς πολεμία ἐχρήσαντο. [16]
ἅπερ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ἐπικαλὼν γράμματά τε γράψας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμψεν.
Ὅς ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ εἶασε πράσσοντας ὧν
ἕνεκα ἦλθον, ἐς δὲ Ῥάβενναν αὐτὸς κομισθεὶς καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ἐς ὅψιν
ἦκων, τοὺς τε βασιλέως λόγους ἀπήγγειλε λάθρα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὸ
ἐμφανὲς ἐνεχείρισεν. [17] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Τὸ ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριον,
ἡμέτερον ὄν, βία λαβοῦσα ἔχεις, καὶ βαρβάρους δραπέτας ἐμοὺς
γεγεννημένους δεξαμένη ἀποδοῦναι οὐπὼ καὶ νῦν ἔγνωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Γρατιανὴν τὴν ἐμὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, [18] οὐδὲν σοι προσῆκον, εἰργάσω. ὅθεν ὥρα
σοι ἐκλογίζεσθαι ποία ποτὲ τούτοις τελευτὴ γένοιτο.’ [19] ταῦτα ὡς
ἀπενεχθέντα ἡ γυνὴ τὰ γράμματα ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε: ‘Βασιλέα
μέγαν τε καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον, ὀρφανῷ παιδί καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν
πρασσομένων ἐπαισθανομένῳ μᾶλλον ξυλλαβέσθαι εἰκὸς ἢ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς
αἰτίας διάφορον εἶναι. [20] ἀγὼν γάρ, ἢν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ξυσταίῃ, οὐδὲ
τὴν νίκην εὐπρεπῇ φέρει. [21] σὺ δὲ τὸ Λιλύβαιον Ἀταλαρίχῳ ἐπανασείεις καὶ
φυγάδας δέκα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμιους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντων
ἀμαρτάδα ξυμπεσοῦσαν ἀγνοίᾳ τινὶ ἐς πόλιν φιλίαν. [22] μὴ δῆτα, μὴ σύ γε, ὦ
βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐνθυμοῦ μὲν ὡς, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Βανδύλους ἐστράτευες, οὐχ ὅσον σοι
ἐμποδὼν ἔστημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν
ἀναγκαιοτάτων σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἔδομεν, ἄλλων τε καὶ ἵππων τοσούτων
τὸ πλῆθος, ἀφ’ ὧν σοι ἡ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικράτησις μάλιστα γέγονε. [23] καίτοι
ξύμμαχος ἂν καὶ φίλος δικαίως καλοῖτο οὐχ ὃς ἂν τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν ἐς τοὺς
πέλας προΐσχοιτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν τῷ ἐς πόλεμον ἑκαστον ὅτου ἂν
δέοιτο ὑπουργῶν φαίνοιτο. [24] ἐκλογίζου δὲ ὡς τηνικαῦτα ὁ στόλος ὁ σὸς οὔτε
ἀλλαχῇ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἶχεν ὅτι μὴ Σικελία προσχεῖν οὔτε τῶν ἐνθένδε
ὠνηθέντων χωρὶς εἰς Λιβύην ἰέναι. [25] ὥστε σοι τὸ τῆς νίκης κεφάλαιον ἐξ
ἡμῶν ἐστιν: ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἀπόροις τὴν λύσιν διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπόβασιν
φέρεισθαι δίκαιος. [26] τί δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἥδιον ἂν ἐχθρῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, ὦ
βασιλεῦ, γένοιτο; καὶ μὴν ἐλασσοῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἡμῖν ξυμβαίνει, οἳ γε
οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου νόμον τὸ τῶν λαφύρων νεμόμεθα μέρος. [27] νῦν δὲ
καὶ τὸ Σικελίας Λιλύβαιον, ἄνωθεν Γότθοις προσῆκον, ἀξιοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
ἡμᾶς, πέτραν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μίαν ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀργυρίου ἀξίαν, ἣν ἀνθυπουργεῖν
σε Ἀταλαρίχῳ εἰκὸς γε ἦν, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ξυναραμένῳ, εἴπερ ἄνωθεν
τῆς [28] σῆς βασιλείας οὕσα ἐτύγχανε.’ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς
Ἀμαλασοῦνθα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε: λάθρα δὲ αὐτῷ ξύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν ἐγχειριεῖν
ὡμολόγησεν. [29] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήκοντες ἅπαντα
Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἠγγειλαν: Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἅπερ τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθῃ
δοκοῦντα εἶη, Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὅσα Θεωδάτου λέγοντος ἤκουσαν,
καὶ ὡς δυνάμει μεγάλῃ ἐν Τούσκοις ὁ Θεωδάτος χρώμενος, χώρας τε ἐνταῦθα

τῆς πολλῆς κύριος γεγονώς, πόνῳ ἂν οὐδενὶ τὰ ὁμολογημένα ἐπιτελεῖν οἷός τε εἴη. [30] οἷς δὴ περιχαρὲς γεγονὼς βασιλεὺς Πέτρον, Ἰλλυριὸν γένος, ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ὁρμώμενον, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς ἔστελλεν, ἓνα μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥητόρων, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετόν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ἐς τὸ πείθειν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα.

III

There was among the Goths one Theodatus by name, son of Amalafrida, the sister of Theoderic, a man already of mature years, versed in the Latin literature and the teachings of Plato, but without any experience whatever in war and taking no part in active life, and yet extraordinarily devoted to the pursuit of money. This Theodatus had gained possession of most of the lands in Tuscany, and he was eager by violent methods to wrest the remainder from their owners. For to have a neighbour seemed to Theodatus a kind of misfortune. Now Amalasuntha was exerting herself to curb this desire of his, and consequently he was always vexed with her and resentful. He formed the plan, therefore, of handing over Tuscany to the Emperor Justinian, in order that, upon receiving from him a great sum of money and the senatorial dignity, he might pass the rest of his life in Byzantium. After Theodatus had formed this plan, there came from Byzantium to the chief priest of Rome two envoys, Hypatius, the priest of Ephesus, and Demetrius, from Philippi in Macedonia, to confer about a tenet of faith, which is a subject of disagreement and controversy among the Christians. As for the points in dispute, although I know them well, I shall by no means make mention of them; for I consider it a sort of insane folly to investigate the nature of God, enquiring of what sort it is. For man cannot, I think, apprehend even human affairs with accuracy, much less those things which pertain to the nature of God. As for me, therefore, I shall maintain a discreet silence concerning these matters, with the sole object that old and venerable beliefs may not be discredited. For I, for my part, will say nothing whatever about God save that He is altogether good and has all things in His power. But let each one say whatever he thinks he knows about these matters, both priest and layman. As for Theodatus, he met these envoys secretly and directed them to report to the Emperor Justinian what he had planned, explaining what has just been set forth by me.

But at this juncture Atalaric, having plunged into a drunken revel which passed all bounds, was seized with a wasting disease. Wherefore Amalasuntha was in great perplexity; for, on the one hand, she had no confidence in the loyalty of her son, now that he had gone so far in his depravity, and, on the other, she thought that if Atalaric also should be removed from among men, her life would not be safe thereafter, since she had given offence to the most notable of the Goths. For this reason she was desirous of handing over the power of the Goths and Italians to the Emperor Justinian, in order that she herself might be saved. And it happened that Alexander, a man of the senate, together with Demetrius and Hypatius, had come to Ravenna. For when the emperor had heard that Amalasuntha's boat was anchored in the harbour of Epidamnus, but that she herself was still tarrying, although much time had passed, he had sent Alexander to investigate and report to him the whole

situation with regard to Amalasuntha; but it was given out that the emperor had sent Alexander as an envoy to her because he was greatly disturbed by the events at Lilybaeum which have been set forth by me in the preceding narrative, and because ten Huns from the army in Libya had taken flight and reached Campania, and Uliaris, who was guarding Naples, had received them not at all against the will of Amalasuntha, and also because the Goths, in making war on the Gepaedes about Sirmium, had treated the city of Gratiana, situated at the extremity of Illyricum, as a hostile town. So by way of protesting to Amalasuntha with regard to these things, he wrote a letter and sent Alexander.

And when Alexander arrived in Rome, he left there the priests busied with the matters for which they had come, and he himself, journeying on to Ravenna and coming before Amalasuntha, reported the emperor's message secretly, and openly delivered the letter to her. And the purport of the writing was as follows: "The fortress of Lilybaeum, which is ours, you have taken by force and are now holding, and barbarians, slaves of mine who have run away, you have received and have not even yet decided to restore them to me, and besides all this you have treated outrageously my city of Gratiana, though it belongs to you in no way whatever. Wherefore it is time for you to consider what the end of these things will some day be." And when this letter had been delivered to her and she had read it, she replied in the following words: "One may reasonably expect an emperor who is great and lays claim to virtue to assist an orphan child who does not in the least comprehend what is being done, rather than for no cause at all to quarrel with him. For unless a struggle be waged on even terms, even the victory it gains brings no honour. But thou dost threaten Atalaric on account of Lilybaeum, and ten runaways, and a mistake, made by soldiers in going against their enemies, which through some misapprehension chanced to affect a friendly city. Nay! do not thus; do not thou thus, O Emperor, but call to mind that when them wast making war upon the Vandals, we not only refrained from hindering thee, but quite zealously even gave thee free passage against the enemy and provided a market in which to buy the indispensable supplies, furnishing especially the multitude of horses to which thy final mastery over the enemy was chiefly due. And yet it is not merely the man who offers an alliance of arms to his neighbours that would in justice be called their ally and friend, but also the man who actually is found assisting another in war in regard to his every need. And consider that at that time thy fleet had no other place at which to put in from the sea except Sicily, and that without the supplies bought there it could not go on to Libya. Therefore thou art indebted to us for the chief cause of thy victory; for the one who provides a solution for a difficult situation is justly entitled also to the credit for the results which flow from his help. And what could be sweeter for a man, O Emperor, than gaining the mastery over his enemies? And yet in our case the outcome is that we suffer no slight disadvantage, in

that we do not, in accordance with the custom of war, enjoy our share of the spoils. And now thou art also claiming the right to despoil us of Lilybaeum in Sicily, which has belonged to the Goths from ancient times, a lone rock, O Emperor, worth not so much as a piece of silver, which, had it happened to belong to thy kingdom from ancient times, thou mightest in equity at least have granted to Atalaric as a reward for his services, since he lent thee assistance in the times of thy most pressing necessity.” Such was the message which Amalasuntha wrote openly to the emperor; but secretly she agreed to put the whole of Italy into his hands. And the envoys, returning to Byzantium, reported everything to the Emperor Justinian, Alexander telling him the course which had been decided upon by Amalasuntha, and Demetrius and Hypatius all that they had heard Theodatus say, adding that Theodatus enjoyed great power in Tuscany, where he had become owner of the most of the land and consequently would be able with no trouble at all to carry his agreement into effect. And the emperor, overjoyed at this situation, immediately sent to Italy Peter, an Illyrian by birth, but a citizen of Thessalonica, a man who was one of the trained speakers in Byzantium, a discreet and gentle person withal and fitted by nature to persuade men.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Θεοδᾶτον Τοῦσκοι πολλοὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη διέβαλον βιάσασθαι ἅπαντας τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀφελέσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὴν βασιλείον οἰκίαν αὐτήν, ἣν δὴ πατριμόνιον Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν νενομίκασι. [2] διὸ δὴ ἐς τὰς εὐθύνας καλέσασσα Θεοδᾶτον ἡ γυνὴ διαρρήδην τε πρὸς τῶν διαβαλόντων ἐλληλεγμένον ἀποτινύναι πάντα ἠνάγκασεν ἅπερ οὐ δέον ἀφείλετο, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. [3] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσκεκρουκῖα διάφορος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγεγόνει ἀνιωμένῳ ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας ὥς μάλιστα, ὅτι διαμαρτάνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι ἀδύνατος ἦν. [4] Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀταλάριχος μὲν τῇ νόσῳ καταμαρανθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὁκτῶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβίους ἔτη. Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἔχρην γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φύσιν τὴν Θεοδᾶτου ποιησαμένη καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸν ἔναγχος δράσειεν, οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπετόπησεν, ἦν τι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσεται μείζον. [5] μεταπεμψαμένη τοίνυν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ ἦκε, τιθασσεύουσα ἔφασκε χρόνου ἐξεπίστασθαι ὥς οἱ ὁ παῖς ἐπίδοξος εἴη ὅτι δὴ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσσει: τῶν τε γὰρ ἰατρῶν πάντων ταῦτ’ ἀγνωσκόντων ἀκηκοέναι καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἀταλάριχου σώματος ἀεὶ μαραινομένου ἡσθῆσθαι. [6] ἐπεὶ τε ἀμφὶ αὐτῷ Θεοδᾶτῳ ἑώρα Γότθους τε καὶ Ἰταλιώτας δόξαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τινα ἔχοντας, ἐς ὃν περιεστήκει τὸ Θεοδερίχου γένος, τούτου δὴ αὐτὸν διακαθᾶραι τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ὀνόματος ἐν σπουδῇ οἱ γενέσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτῷ καλουμένῳ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμπόδιον εἴη. [7] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὴν ζυνταράζει, εἴ γε περισταίῃ τοῖς ἡδικῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡδὴ αἰτιωμένοις οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν ὅτῳ τὰ ζυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀγγεῖλωσι, δεσπότην δὲ τὸν δυσμενῆ ἔχειν. [8] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτόν, οὕτω καθαρὸν γεγεννημένον, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παρακαλεῖν: δεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὄρκοις δεινотάτοις καταληφθῆναι ὥς ἐς Θεοδᾶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς

ὄνομα ἄγοιτο, αὐτὴ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. [9] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θευδάτος ἤκουσεν, ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένη Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ὁμωμοκῶς, ἐπὶ λόγῳ τῷ πονηρῷ ὁμολόγησεν, ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων ὅσα δὴ ἐκείνη πρότερον ἐς αὐτὸν εἰργασμένη ἐτύγχανεν. [10] οὕτω μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθα πρὸς τε γνώμης τῆς οἰκείας καὶ τῶν Θευδάτῳ ὁμωμοσμένων ἀπατηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο. [11] πρέσβεις τε πέμψασα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἄνδρας Γότθους Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐδήλου. [12] Θευδάτος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, πάντα οἱ τάναντία ὧν ἐκείνη τε ἤλπισε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο ἔπρασσε. [13] καὶ Γότθων τῶν πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀνηρημένων τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς ἐπαγαγόμενος, πολλοὺς τε καὶ λίαν λογίμους ἐν Γότθοις ὄντας, τῶν τε Ἀμαλασοῦνθη προσηκόντων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τινὰς ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, οὐπὼ τῶν πρέσβων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένων. [14] ἔστι δὲ τις λίμνη ἐν Τούσκοις, Βουλσίνη καλουμένη, ἥς δὴ ἐντὸς νῆσος ἀνέχει, βραχεῖα μὲν κομιδῇ οὕσα, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν ἔχουσα. [15] ἐνταῦθα Θευδάτος τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν καθείρξας ἐτήρει. δέισας δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ προσκεκρουκῶς εἴη, ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς Λιβέριόν τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα στείλας σὺν ἐτέροις τισί, παραιτεῖσθαι πάσῃ δυνάμει βασιλεῖα ἐπιγγέλλεν, ἰσχυριζομένους μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι τῇ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυμβῆναι, καίπερ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστα δεινὰ εἰργασμένη τὰ πρότερα. [16] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸς τε βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε καὶ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν οὐτι ἐκουσίαν ἠνάγκασε γράψαι. [17] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. Πέτρος δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐστέλλετο προειρημένον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντυχεῖν μὲν κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων Θευδάτῳ καὶ ὄρκῳ τὰ πιστὰ παρεχομένῳ ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν πρassoμένων ἐκπυστον γένοιτο, οὕτω τε τὰ ἀμφὶ Τουσκιαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν θέσθαι, [18] καὶ Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυγγενόμενον λάθρα ξυμπάσης περὶ Ἰταλίας διοικήσασθαι, ὅπῃ ἐκατέρῳ ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [19] ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐμφανὲς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ Λιλυβαίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἑναγχος ἐμνήσθη πρεσβεύσων ἦει. οὐπὼ γάρ τι περὶ τῆς Ἀταλαρίχου τελευτῆς ἢ τῆς Θευδάτου ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυμπεπτακῶτων βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει. [20] Πέτρος δὲ ὁδῷ πορευόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθης πρέσβεσι ξυγγενόμενος τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ Θευδάτου ἀρχῇ ἔμαθε· [21] γενόμενος δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐν πόλει Αὐλῶνι, ἢ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κεῖται, ἐνταῦθά τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριόν τε καὶ Ὀπιλίωνα ἐντυχὼν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξύμπαντα ἔγνω, ἔς τε βασιλεῖα ταῦτα ἀνενεγκὼν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. [22] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε, Γότθους τε καὶ Θευδάτον ξυνταράξαι διανοούμενος, πρὸς μὲν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν γράμματα ἔγραφε, δηλοῦντα ὅτι αὐτῆς ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα μεταποιεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι· τῷ δὲ Πέτρῳ ἐπέστελλε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τε Θευδάτῳ φανερὰ καὶ Γότθοις ἅπασι καταστήσασθαι. [23] πρέσβων δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκομίσθησαν, τὸν πάντα λόγον βασιλεῖ ἠγγειλαν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Λιβέριος· [24] ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς διαφερόντως, λόγου τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενος· [25] Ὀπιλίῳ δὲ μόνος ἐνδελεχέστατα ἰσχυρίζετο μηδὲν ἐς Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἀμαρτεῖν Θευδάτον. Πέτρου δὲ ἀφικομένου ἐς Ἰταλίαν Ἀμαλασοῦνθη ξυνέβη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. [26] Γότθων γὰρ συγγενεῖς τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης

ἀνηρημένων Θευδάτω προσελθόντες οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε σφίσι τὸν βίον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, ἣν γε μὴ αὐτοῖς Ἀμαλασοῦνθα ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν γένηται. [27] ξυγχωροῦντός τε αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [28] ὅπερ Ἰταλιώτας τε ὑπερφυῶς ἅπαντας καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνίασεν. [29] ἀρετῆς γὰρ πάσης ἢ γυνὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο, [30] ὅπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θευδάτω ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ Γόθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου ἐξειργασμένου ἄσπονδος βασιλεῖ τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται. [31] Θευδάτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας τοὺς Ἀμαλασοῦνθης φονεῖς ἐν τιμῇ τε καὶ σπουδῇ ἔχων, Πέτρον τε καὶ βασιλέα πείθειν ἤθελεν ὥς αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὥς μάλιστα ἀκουσίου, Γόθοις ἐργασθεῖν τὸ μίasma τοῦτο.

IV

But while these things were going on as I have explained, Theodatus was denounced before Amalasuntha by many Tuscans, who stated that he had done violence to all the people of Tuscany and had without cause seized their estates, taking not only all private estates but especially those belonging to the royal household, which the Romans are accustomed to call "patrimonium." For this reason the woman called Theodatus to an investigation, and when, being confronted by his denouncers, he had been proved guilty without any question, she compelled him to pay back everything which he had wrongfully seized and then dismissed him. And since in this way she had given the greatest offence to the man, from that time she was on hostile terms with him, exceedingly vexed as he was by reason of his fondness for money, because he was unable to continue his unlawful and violent practices.

At about this same time[I] Atalaric, being quite wasted away by the disease, came to his end, having lived eight years in office. As for Amalasuntha, since it was fated that she should fare ill, she took no account of the nature of Theodatus and of what she had recently done to him, and supposed that she would suffer no unpleasant treatment at his hands if she should do the man some rather unusual favour. She accordingly summoned him, and when he came, set out to cajole him, saying that for some time she had known well that it was to be expected that her son would soon die; for she had heard the opinion of all the physicians, who agreed in their judgment, and had herself perceived that the body of Atalaric continued to waste away. And since she saw that both Goths and Italians had an unfavourable opinion regarding Theodatus, who had now come to represent the race of Theoderic, she had conceived the desire to clear him of this evil name, in order that it might not stand in his way if he were called to the throne. But at the same time, she explained, the question of justice disturbed her, at the thought that those who claimed to have been wronged by him already should find that they had no one to whom they might report what had befallen them, but that they now had their enemy as their master. For these reasons, then, although she invited him to the throne after his name should have been cleared in this way, yet it was necessary, she said, that he should be bound by the most solemn oaths that while the title of the office should be conferred upon Theodatus, she herself should in fact hold the power no less than before. When Theodatus heard this, although he swore to all the conditions which Amalasuntha wished, he entered into the agreement with treacherous intent, remembering all that she had previously done to him. Thus Amalasuntha, being deceived by her own judgment and the oaths of Theodatus, established him in the office. And sending some Goths as envoys to Byzantium, she made this known to the Emperor Justinian.

DATE:

[I]Oct. 10, 534 A.D.

But Theodatus, upon receiving the supreme power, began to act in all things contrary to the hopes she had entertained and to the promises he had made. And after winning the adherence of the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her — and they were both numerous and men of very high standing among the Goths — he suddenly put to death some of the connections of Amalasuntha and imprisoned her, the envoys not having as yet reached Byzantium. Now there is a certain lake in Tuscany called Vulsina, within which rises an island, exceedingly small but having a strong fortress upon it. There Theodatus confined Amalasuntha and kept her under guard.[J] But fearing that by this act he had given offence to the emperor, as actually proved to be the case, he sent some men of the Roman senate, Liberius and Opilio and certain others, directing them to excuse his conduct to the emperor with all their power by assuring him that Amalasuntha had met with no harsh treatment at his hands, although she had perpetrated irreparable outrages upon him before. And he himself wrote in this sense to the emperor, and also compelled Amalasuntha, much against her will, to write the same thing.

DATE:

[J]Apr. 30, 535 A.D.

Such was the course of these events. But Peter had already been despatched by the emperor on an embassy to Italy with instructions to meet Theodatus without the knowledge of any others, and after Theodatus had given pledges by an oath that none of their dealings should be divulged, he was then to make a secure settlement with him regarding Tuscany; and meeting Amalasuntha stealthily he was to make such an arrangement with her regarding the whole of Italy as would be to the profit of either party. But openly his mission was to negotiate with regard to Lilybaeum and the other matters which I have lately mentioned. For as yet the emperor had heard nothing about the death of Atalaric or the succession of Theodatus to the throne, or the fate which had befallen Amalasuntha. And Peter was already on his way when he met the envoys of Amalasuntha and learned, in the first place, that Theodatus had come to the throne; and a little later, upon reaching the city of Aulon, which lies on the Ionian Gulf, he met there the company of Liberius and Opilio, and learned everything which had taken place, and reporting this to the emperor he remained there.

And when the Emperor Justinian heard these things, he formed the purpose of throwing the Goths and Theodatus into confusion; accordingly he wrote a letter to Amalasuntha, stating that he was eager to give her every possible support, and at the same time he directed Peter by no means to conceal this message, but to make it known to Theodatus himself and to all the Goths. And

when the envoys from Italy arrived in Byzantium, they all, with a single exception, reported the whole matter to the emperor, and especially Liberius; for he was a man unusually upright and honourable, and one who knew well how to shew regard for the truth; but Opilio alone declared with the greatest persistence that Theodatus had committed no offence against Amalasuntha. Now when Peter arrived in Italy, it so happened that Amalasuntha had been removed from among men. For the relatives of the Goths who had been slain by her came before Theodatus declaring that neither his life nor theirs was secure unless Amalasuntha should be put out of their way as quickly as possible. And as soon as he gave in to them, they went to the island and killed Amalasuntha, — an act which grieved exceedingly all the Italians and the Goths as well. For the woman had the strictest regard for every kind of virtue, as has been stated by me a little earlier. Now Peter protested openly to Theodatus and the other Goths that because this base deed had been committed by them, there would be war without truce between the emperor and themselves. But Theodatus, such was his stupid folly, while still holding the slayers of Amalasuntha in honour and favour kept trying to persuade Peter and the emperor that this unholy deed had been committed by the Goths by no means with his approval, but decidedly against his will.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριον ἡϋδοκιμηκέαι κατὰ Γελίμερός τε καὶ Βανδύλων τετύχηκε. βασιλεὺς δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀμαλασούνθη ξυνενεχθέντα μαθὼν εὐθύς καθίστατο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἔνατον ἔτος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων. [2] καὶ Μοῦνδον μὲν τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸν ἔς τε Δαλματίαν ἰέναι, τὴν Γότθων κατήκοον, καὶ Σαλῶνων ἀποπειράσασθαι ἐκέλευεν ἣν δὲ ὁ Μοῦνδος γένος μὲν βάρβαρος, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῖς τε βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὖνους καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμιά, Βελισάριον δὲ ναυσὶν ἔστελλε, στρατιώτας ἐκ μὲν καταλόγων καὶ φοιδεράτων τετρακισχιλίου, ἐκ δὲ Ἰσαύρων τρισχιλίου μάλιστα ἔχοντα. [3] ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν λόγιμοι μὲν Κωνσταντῖνός τε καὶ Βέσσας, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, Περάνιος δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἄγχιστα Μήδων, γενόμενος μὲν τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἰβήρων, αὐτόμολος δὲ πρότερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν ἥκων, καταλόγων δὲ ἱππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος, πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Οὐρσικῖνος, ἀρχηγὸς δὲ Ἰσαύρων Ἐννης. [4] εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Οὐννοι ξύμμαχοι διακόσιοι καὶ Μαυρούσιοι τριακόσιοι. στρατηγὸς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασι Βελισάριος ἦν, δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς πολλοὺς τε καὶ δοκίμους ἔχων. [5] εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φώτιος, ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνης υἱὸς ἐκ γάμων προτέρων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, ξυνετώτατος δὲ καὶ φύσεως ἰσχὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν δηλώσας. [6] βασιλεὺς τε Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ στέλλεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀφίκωνται, ὥς δὴ κατὰ χρεῖαν τινὰ ἐνταῦθα ἀποβάντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς νήσου. [7] καὶ ἦν μὲν δυνατὰ ἢ ὑποχειρίαν αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι, κατέχειν τε καὶ αὐτῆς μηκέτι μεθίσθαι: ἦν δέ τι ἐμπόδιον ὑπαντιάσῃ, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Λιβύης, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν τῆς βουλῆσεως παρεχομένους. [8] Πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ

Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔγραψε τάδε: ‘ Γότθοι Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βία ἐλόντες οὐχ ὅσον αὐτὴν ἀποδιδόναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς οὔτε φορητὰ οὔτε μέτρια. [9] διόπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν στρατεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάσμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς ξυνδιαφέρειν ἡμῖν πόλεμον τόνδε, ὃν ἡμῖν κοινὸν εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὀρθή, ἀποσειομένη τὴν Ἀρειανῶν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ ἐς Γότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος.’ [10] τοσαῦτα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε: καὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, πλείονα δώσειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ὡμολόγησεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ξυμμαχήσιν ὑπέσχοντο. [11] Μοῦνδος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ὑπαντίασασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες, νικήσαντές τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ, Σάλωνα ἐσχον. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Σικελίαν Κατάνην ἔλαβεν. ἔνθεν τε ὁρμώμενος Συρακούσας τε ὁμολογία καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἄλλας παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Πανόρμῳ φυλακὴν εἶχον, θαρσοῦντες τῷ περιβόλῳ ἦν γὰρ ἐχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον προσχωρεῖν τε Βελισαρίῳ ἥκιστα ἠθέλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπάγειν τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον. [13] Βελισάριος δὲ λογισάμενος ἀμήχανον εἶναι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν ἐσπλεῖν τὸν στόλον ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐκέλευεν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος διήκοντα. [14] ἦν γὰρ τοῦ τε περιβόλου ἐκτὸς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημος. οὗ δὴ τῶν νηῶν ὁρμισαμένων τοὺς ἰστούς ξυνέβαινε τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπερτέρους εἶναι. [15] αὐτίκα οὖν τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἅπαντας τοξοτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος ἀπεκρέμασεν ἄκρων ἰστών. [16] ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν βαλλόμενοι οἱ πολέμοι ἐς δέος τι ἄμαχον ἦλθον καὶ Πάνορμον εὐθὺς ὁμολογία Βελισαρίῳ παρέδωκαν. [17] βασιλεὺς τε ἐκ τοῦδε Σικελίαν ὅλην ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν κατήκοον εἶχε. τῷ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τότε κρεῖσσον λόγου εὐτύχημα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [18] τῆς γὰρ ὑπατείας λαβὼν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐπὶ τῷ Βανδύλους νενικηκέναι, ταύτης ἔτι ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεστήσατο Σικελίαν ὅλην, τῇ τῆς ὑπατείας ὑστάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας εἰσῆλασε, πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ Σικελιωτῶν κροτούμενος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ νόμισμα χρυσοῦ ρίπτων ἅπασιν. [19] οὐκ ἐξεπίτηδες μέντοι αὐτῷ πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ξυνέβη τύχη πᾶσαν ἀνασώσαμένῳ τὴν νῆσον Ῥωμαίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐσεληλακέναι, τὴν τε τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχήν, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰσθαι ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίου βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένῳ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενέσθαι. Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερῆσαι ξυνέτυχεν.

Meanwhile it happened that Belisarius had distinguished himself by the defeat of Gelimer and the Vandals. And the emperor, upon learning what had befallen Amalasuntha, immediately entered upon the war, being in the ninth year of his reign. And he first commanded Mundus, the general of Illyricum, to go to Dalmatia, which was subject to the Goths, and make trial of Salones. Now Mundus was by birth a barbarian, but exceedingly loyal to the cause of the emperor and an able warrior. Then he sent Belisarius by sea with four thousand soldiers from the regular troops and the *foederati*, and about three thousand of the Isaurians. And the commanders were men of note: Constantinus and Bessas from the land of Thrace, and Peranius from Iberia which is hard by Media, a man who was by birth a member of the royal family of the Iberians, but had before this time come as a deserter to the Romans through enmity toward the Persians; and the levies of cavalry were commanded by Valentinus, Magnus, and Innocentius, and the infantry by Herodian, Paulus, Demetrius, and Ursicinus, while the leader of the Isaurians was Ennes. And there were also two hundred Huns as allies and three hundred Moors. But the general in supreme command over all was Belisarius, and he had with him many notable men as spearmen and guards. And he was accompanied also by Photius, the son of his wife Antonina by a previous marriage; he was still a young man wearing his first beard, but possessed the greatest discretion and shewed a strength of character beyond his years. And the emperor instructed Belisarius to give out that his destination was Carthage, but as soon as they should arrive at Sicily, they were to disembark there as it obliged for some reason to do so, and make trial of the island. And if it should be possible to reduce it to subjection without any trouble, they were to take possession and not let it go again; but if they should meet with any obstacle, they were to sail with all speed to Libya, giving no one an opportunity to perceive what their intention was.

And he also sent a letter to the leaders of the Franks as follows: "The Goths, having seized by violence Italy, which was ours, have not only refused absolutely to give it back, but have committed further acts of injustice against us which are unendurable and pass beyond all bounds. For this reason we have been compelled to take the field against them, and it is proper that you should join with us in waging this war, which is rendered yours as well as ours not only by the orthodox faith, which rejects the opinion of the Arians, but also by the enmity we both feel toward the Goths." Such was the emperor's letter; and making a gift of money to them, he agreed to give more as soon as they should take an active part. And they with all zeal promised to fight in alliance with him.

Now Mundus and the army under his command entered Dalmatia, and engaging with the Goths who encountered them there, defeated them in the battle and took possession of Salones. As for Belisarius, he put in at Sicily and took Catana. And making that place his base of operations, he took over Syracuse and the other cities by surrender without any trouble; except, indeed, that the Goths who were keeping guard in Panormus, having confidence in the fortifications of the place, which was a strong one, were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius and ordered him to lead his army away from there with all speed. But Belisarius, considering that it was impossible to capture the place from the landward side, ordered the fleet to sail into the harbour, which extended right up to the wall. For it was outside the circuit-wall and entirely without defenders. Now when the ships had anchored there, it was seen that the masts were higher than the parapet. Straightway, therefore, he filled all the small boats of the ships with bowmen and hoisted them to the tops of the masts. And when from these boats the enemy were shot at from above, they fell into such an irresistible fear that they immediately delivered Panormus to Belisarius by surrender. As a result of this the emperor held all Sicily subject and tributary to himself. And at that time it so happened that there fell to Belisarius a piece of good fortune beyond the power of words to describe. For, having received the dignity of the consulship because of his victory over the Vandals, while he was still holding this honour, and after he had won the whole of Sicily, on the last day of his consulship,[K] he marched into Syracuse, loudly applauded by the army and by the Sicilians and throwing golden coins to all. This coincidence, however, was not intentionally arranged by him, but it was a happy chance which befell the man, that after having recovered the whole of the island for the Romans he marched into Syracuse on that particular day; and so it was not in the senate house in Byzantium, as was customary, but there that he laid down the office of the consuls and so became an ex-consul. Thus, then, did good fortune attend Belisarius.

DATE:

[K]Dec. 31, 535 A.D.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Πέτρος ἔμαθεν, ἐγκείμενος πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ δεδισσόμενος Θευδάτον οὐκέτι ἀνίει. [2] καὶ ὃς ἀποδειλιάσας τε καὶ ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ εἰ δορυάλωτος ξὺν τῷ Γελίμερι αὐτὸς ἐγεγόνει, ἐς λόγους τῷ Πέτρῳ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἦλθεν, ἔς τε ξύμβασιν ἐν σφίσιν ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θευδάτος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ Σικελίας ἐκστήσεται πάσης, πέμψει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ τριακοσίας ἔλκοντα λίτρας, Γότθους τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐς τρισχιλίους, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, Θευδάτῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν οὐδαμῇ ἔσσεσθαι τῶν τινα ἱερέων ἢ βουλευτῶν ἀποκτινύναι, ἢ ἀνάγραπτον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ὅτι μὴ βασιλέως ποιεῖσθαι γνώμη· [3] ἦν δέ γε τῶν ὑπηκόων τινὰς ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἢ ἄλλο βουλῆς ἀξίωμα Θευδάτος ἀγαγεῖν βούληται, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν δώσειν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα αἰτήσιν διδόναι· [4] εὐφημοῦντα δὲ

Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον ἀναβοήσῃν αἰὲ βασιλέα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα Θευδάτον, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις καὶ εἴ που ἄλλη τὸ τοιοῦτον δεήσῃ γενέσθαι. [5] εἰκόνα τε χαλκῇν ἢ ὕλης ἐτέρας μὴ ποτε Θευδάτῳ μόνῳ καθίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι μὲν αἰὲ ἀμφοτέροις, στήσεσθαι δὲ οὕτως: ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τὴν Θευδάτου. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ξυμβάσει γράψας τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ὁ Θευδάτος ἀπεπέμψατο. [6] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ψυχῆς ὀρρωδία περιλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς δειμάτα τε ἀπῆγεν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντα καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, δεδισσομένη τῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὀνόματι, καὶ ὥς, εἴ γε βασιλέα οὐδαμῇ ἀρέσκει τά τε αὐτῷ καὶ Πέτρῳ συγκείμενα, ὁ πόλεμος εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσῃ. [7] αὐθις οὖν Πέτρον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς ἡδη γενόμενον ἅτε κοινολογούμενος λάθρα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο, εἰ τὴν ξύμβασιν βασιλεῖ πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἔσεσθαι οἶεται. [8] καὶ ὃς οὕτω δὴ ὑποτοπάζειν ἔφη. “Ἦν δέ γε ταῦτα μηδαμῇ ἀρέσκει τὸν ἄνδρα, τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γενήσεται;” [9] εἶπεν. ἀπεκρίνατο Πέτρος ‘Πολεμητέα σοι τὸ λοιπόν, ὦ γενναῖε.’ ‘Τί δέ; δίκαια ταῦτα, ὦ φίλτατε πρεσβευτά;’ ἔφη. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἔφη ὑπολαβὼν ‘Καὶ πῶς οὐ δίκαιον, ὦ ἀγαθέ,’ εἶπε, ‘τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκάστου φυλάσσεσθαι;’ ‘Τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν;’ ὁ Θευδάτος ἡρώτα. [10] “Ὅτι σοὶ μὲν σπουδὴ πολλὴ φιλοσοφεῖν,” ἔφη, “Ἰουστινιανῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων γενναίῳ εἶναι. διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι τῷ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντι θάνατον ἀνθρώποις πορίζεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοσοῦτοις τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ μήποτε εὐπρεπὲς εἶη, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἧς δηλονότι μετασχόντι σοι μὴ οὐχὶ φόνου παντὸς ἐλευθέρῳ εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον: ἐκεῖνον δὲ χώρας μεταποιήσασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἄνωθεν [11] τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀρχῇ.” ταύτῃ ὁ Θευδάτος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκστήσεσθαι. [12] καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ὤμοσε: τὸν τε Πέτρον ὅρκους κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐ πρότερον ἐκπυστα ταῦτα ποιήσεται, πρὶν ἂν βασιλέα οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον τὴν προτέραν ξύμβασιν ἴδοι. [13] καὶ Ῥουστικὸν τῶν τινα ἱερέων καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ζῶν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ καὶ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε. [14] Πέτρος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ῥουστικὸς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενοι τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα βασιλεῖ ἡγγειλαν, καθάπερ Θευδάτος σφίσιν ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι βασιλεὺς ἥκιστα ἤθελε, [15] τὰ ἐν ὕστερῳ γεγραμμένα ἐπέδειξεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Οὐ γέγονα μὲν βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐπηλύτης, τετύχηκε γάρ μοι τετέχθαι τε ἐν βασιλέως θεοῦ καὶ τεθράφθαι τοῦ γένους ἀξίως, πολέμων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις θορύβων εἰμὶ οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. [16] περὶ λόγων γὰρ ἀκοὴν ἄνωθεν ἐρωτικῶς ἐσχηκότι μοι καὶ διατριβὴν ἐς τοῦτο αἰὲ πεπονημένῳ ξυμβαίνει τῆς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταραχῆς ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς τότε εἶναι. [17] ὥστε ἥκιστα με εἰκὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ζηλοῦντα τιμὰς τὸν μετὰ κινδύνων διώκειν βίον, ἐξὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐκποδῶν ἵστασθαι. [18] τούτοις γάρ μοι οὐδέτερον ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστί: τὸ μὲν, ὅτι κόρῳ τετίμηται, πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἡδέων ἀπάντων, τὸ δέ, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἐθισθῆναι ἐς ταραχὴν φέρει. [19] ἐγὼ δέ, εἴ μοι χωρία γένηται οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ δώδεκα κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον φέροντα πρόσοδον, περὶ ἐλάσσονος ἂν αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ποιήσαιμι, καὶ σοὶ τὸ Γόθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐγχειριῶ κράτος. [20] ὥς ἔγωγε ἥδιον ἂν ζῶν τῇ

ἀπραγμοσύνη γεωργὸς εἶην ἢ ἐν μερίμναις βασιλικαῖς βιῶν, κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων παραπεμπούσαις. [21] ἀλλὰ πέμπε ἄνδρα ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτῳ με Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα παραδοῦναι προσήκει.’ [22] Θευδάτου μὲν ἡ γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἡσθεὶς ἀμείβεται ὧδε: ‘Πάλαι μὲν σε ξυνετὸν εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχον, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ μεμαθηκὼς οἶδα οἷς οὐκ ἔγνωκας τὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταδοκεῖν πέρας. [23] ὅπερ ἤδη πεπονθότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐσφάλησαν. καὶ σοι οὐ ποτε μεταμελήσει φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ πολεμίων ποιησαμένῳ. [24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἅπερ αἰτεῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἔξεις, καὶ προσέσται σοι ἐν ταῖς πρώταις Ῥωμαίων τιμαῖς ἀναγράπτῳ εἶναι. [25] νῦν μὲν οὖν Ἀθανάσιόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀπέσταλκα, ὅπως ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ ἐκατέρῳ τὸ βέβαιον ἔσται. ἥξει δὲ ὅσον οὐπὼ καὶ Βελισάριος παρὰ σέ, πέρας ἅπασι [26] ἐπιθήσων ὅσα ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν ξυγκείμενα ἦ.’ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς γράψας Ἀθανάσιόν τε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφόν, ὃς πρώην ἐς Ἀταλάριχον, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ Πέτρον αὐθις τὸν ῥήτορα ἔπεμψεν, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ μὲν χωρία τῆς βασιλέως οἰκίας, ἣν πατριμῶνιον καλοῦσι, Θευδάτῳ νεῖμαι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ ὅρκους ὀχύρωμα ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ποιησαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἐκ Σικελίας Βελισάριον μεταπέμψασθαι, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ Ἰταλίαν παραλαβὼν ξύμπασαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοι. [27] καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐπέστειλεν ὥστε αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὰν μεταπέμψωνται, κατὰ τάχος ἥκειν.

VI

And when Peter learned of the conquest of Sicily, he was still more insistent in his efforts to frighten Theodatus and would not let him go. But he, turning coward and reduced to speechlessness no less than if he himself had become a captive with Gelimer, entered into negotiations with Peter without the knowledge of any others, and between them they formed an agreement, providing that Theodatus should retire from all Sicily in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and should send him also a golden crown every year weighing three hundred litrae, and Gothic warriors to the number of three thousand whenever he should wish; and that Theodatus himself should have no authority to kill any priest or senator, or to confiscate his property for the public treasury except by the decision of the emperor; and that if Theodatus wished to advance any of his subjects to the patrician or some other senatorial rank this honour should not be bestowed by him, but he should ask the emperor to bestow it; and that the Roman populace, in acclaiming their sovereign, should always shout the name of the emperor first, and afterward that of Theodatus, both in the theatres and in the hippodromes and wherever else it should be necessary for such a thing to be done; furthermore, that no statue of bronze nor of any other material should ever be set up to Theodatus alone, but statues must always be made for both, and they must stand thus: on the right that of the emperor, and on the other side that of Theodatus. And after Theodatus had written in confirmation of this agreement he dismissed the ambassador.

But, a little later, terror laid hold upon the man's soul and brought him into fears which knew no bound and tortured his mind, filling him with dread at the name of war, and reminding him that if the agreement drawn up by Peter and himself did not please the emperor at all, war would straightway come upon him. Once more, therefore, he summoned Peter, who had already reached Albani, for a secret conference, and enquired of the man whether he thought that the agreement would be pleasing to the emperor. And he replied that he supposed it would. "But if," said Theodatus, "these things do not please the man at all, what will happen then?" And Peter replied "After that you will have to wage war, most noble Sir." "But what is this," he said; "is it just, my dear ambassador?" And Peter, immediately taking him up, said "And how is it not just, my good Sir, that the pursuits appropriate to each man's nature should be preserved?" "What, pray, may this mean?" asked Theodatus. "It means," was the reply, "that your great interest is to philosophize, while Justinian's is to be a worthy emperor of the Romans. And there is this difference, that for one who has practised philosophy it would never be seemly to bring about the death of men, especially in such great numbers, and it should be added that this view accords with the teachings of Plato, which

you have evidently espoused, and hence it is unholy for you not to be free from all bloodshed; but for him it is not at all inappropriate to seek to acquire a land which has belonged from of old to the realm which is his own.” Thereupon Theodatus, being convinced by this advice, agreed to retire from the kingship in favour of the Emperor Justinian, and both he and his wife took an oath to this effect. He then bound Peter by oaths that he would not divulge this agreement until he should see that the emperor would not accept the former convention. And he sent with him Rusticus, a priest who was especially devoted to him and a Roman citizen, to negotiate on the basis of this agreement. And he also entrusted a letter to these men.

So Peter and Rusticus, upon reaching Byzantium, reported the first decision to the emperor, just as Theodatus had directed them to do. But when the emperor was quite unwilling to accept the proposal, they revealed the plan which had been committed to writing afterwards. This was to the following effect: “I am no stranger to royal courts, but it was my fortune to have been born in the house of my uncle while he was king and to have been reared in a manner worthy of my race; and yet I have had little experience of wars and of the turmoils which wars entail. For since from my earliest years I have been passionately addicted to scholarly disputations and have always devoted my time to this sort of thing, I have consequently been up to the present time very far removed from the confusion of battles. Therefore it is utterly absurd that I should aspire to the honours which royalty confers and thus lead a life fraught with danger, when it is possible for me to avoid them both. For neither one of these is a pleasure to me; the first, because it is liable to satiety, for it is a surfeit of all sweet things, and the second, because lack of familiarity with such a life throws one into confusion. But as for me, if estates should be provided me which yielded an annual income of no less than twelve centenaria, I should regard the kingdom as of less account than them, and I shall hand over to thee forthwith the power of the Goths and Italians. For I should find more pleasure in being a farmer free from all cares than in passing my life amid a king’s anxieties, attended as they are by danger after danger. Pray send a man as quickly as possible into whose hands I may fittingly deliver Italy and the affairs of the kingdom.”

Such was the purport of the letter of Theodatus. And the emperor, being exceedingly pleased, replied as follows: “From of old have I heard by report that you were a man of discretion, but now, taught by experience, I know it by the decision you have reached not to await the issue of the war. For certain men who in the past have followed such a course have been completely undone. And you will never repent having made us friends instead of enemies. But you will not only have this that you ask at our hands, but you will also have the distinction of being enrolled in the highest honours of the Romans. Now for the present I have sent Athanasius and Peter, so that each party may have surety by some agreement. And almost immediately Belisarius also will

visit you to complete all the arrangements which have been agreed upon between us.” After writing this the emperor sent Athanasius, the brother of Alexander, who had previously gone on an embassy to Atalaric, as has been said, and for the second time Peter the orator, whom I have mentioned above, enjoining upon them to assign to Theodatus the estates of the royal household, which they call “patrimonium”; and not until after they had drawn up a written document and had secured oaths to fortify the agreement were they to summon Belisarius from Sicily, in order that he might take over the palace and all Italy and hold them under guard. And he wrote to Belisarius that as soon as they should summon him he should go thither with all speed.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτά τε βασιλεὺς ἔπρασσε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ Γότθοι, ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἀσιναρίου καὶ Γρίπα σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἦκον. [2] ἐπειδὴ τε Σαλώνων ἀγχιστα ἴκοντο, Μαυρίκιος σφίσιν, ὁ Μούνδου υἱός, οὐκ ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἦκον ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ὑπηντίαζε. [3] καρτερὰς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς Γότθων μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ Μαυρίκιος ὁ στρατηγός. [4] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Μούνδος περιώδυνός τε γενόμενος τῇ ξυμφορᾷ καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει. [5] τῆς τε μάχης κρατερὰς γεγενημένης τὴν Καδμεῖαν νίκην Ῥωμαίοις νικῆσαι ξυνέπεσε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα οἱ πλείστοι ἔπεσον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, Μούνδος δὲ κτείνων τε καὶ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ἐπόμενος καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ξυμφορᾷ ὥς ἥκιστα ἔχων ὑφ’ ὅτου δὴ τῶν φευγόντων πληγεῖς ἔπεσε, καὶ ἡ τε δίωξις ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα διελέλυτο. [6] τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεμνήσθησαν τοῦ Σιβύλλης ἔπους, ὅπερ ἀδόμενον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ τέρας αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἔλεγε γὰρ τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο ὥς, ἥνικα ἂν Ἀφρικὴ ἐξηται, ὁ κόσμος ζὺν τῷ γόνῳ ὀλεῖται. [7] τὸ μέντοι χρηστήριον οὐ τοῦτο ἐδήλου, ἀλλ’ ὑπειπὸν ὅτι δὴ αὖθις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Λιβυὴ ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν, ὅτι τότε ζὺν τῷ παιδί ἀπολεῖται Μούνδος. λέγει γὰρ ὧδε: Αφριζα ξαπτα μυνδus ξυμ νατο περιβιτ. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ κόσμον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ Μούνδος δύναται, ὧντο ἀμφὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ λόγιον εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. ἐς δὲ Σάλωνα εἰσῆλθεν οὐδεῖς. [9] οἱ τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐπεὶ ἄναρχοι τὸ παράπαν ἐλείποντο, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι τῶν ἀρίστων οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένου ἐς δέος ἐλθόντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη φρούρια ἔσχον: [10] οὐδὲ γὰρ Σαλώνων τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπίστευον, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων οἱ ταύτῃ ὤκνητο. [11] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Θεودάτος ἤκουσε, τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤδη παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκοντας ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ. ἐς γὰρ ἀπιστίαν ἱκανῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ βέβαιον τὴν διάνοιαν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ αὐτὸν ἡ παροῦσα τύχη ἀλόγως τε καὶ τῶν καθεστώτων οὐκ ἐπαξίως ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἀπῆγε μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν καὶ αὖθις ἐς ἄφατόν τι ἀντικαθίστη θράσος. [12] καὶ τότε γοῦν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι Μούνδου τε ἀκούσας καὶ Μαυρικίου ἐπήρθη τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤδη παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκοντας ἐρεσχελεῖν ἤξιον. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ Πέτρος ποτὲ ἄτε

ὑπερβάντι τὰ βασιλεῖ ὡμολογημένα ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἄμφω Θεοδᾶτος δημοσίᾳ καλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [14] ‘Σεμνὸν μὲν τὸ χρῆμα τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἄλλως ἐντιμον καθέστηκεν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γέρας ἐς τόδε οἱ πρέσβεις ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διασώζουσιν, ἐς ὃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐπιεικείᾳ φυλάξωσι τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀξίωμα. [15] κτεῖναι γὰρ ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν ἐνδίκως νενομίκασιν ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν ἢ ἐς βασιλέα ὑβρίσας φαίνεται, ἢ γυναικὸς ἄλλῳ ξυνοικούσης ἐς [16] εὐνὴν ἔλθοι.’ Θεοδᾶτος μὲν ταῦτα ἐς Πέτρον ἀπέρριπεν, οὐχ ὅτι γυναικὶ ἐπλησίασεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἰσχυρίσῃται ἐγκλήματα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γίνεσθαι ἐς πρεσβευτοῦ θάνατον ἄγοντα. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀμείβονται τοῖσδε: [17] ‘Οὐτε ταῦτα, ὦ Γότθων ἀρχηγέ, ταύτῃ ἥπερ εἴρηκας ἔχει, οὐτ’ ἂν σὺ παραπετάσῃσιν οὐχ ὑγιέσιν ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις ἐνδείξαιο. [18] μοιχῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ βουλομένῳ πρεσβευτῇ πάρεστι γίνεσθαι, ὃ γε οὐδὲ ὕδατος μεταλαγχάνειν ὅτι μὴ γνώμη τῶν φυλασσόντων ῥάδιόν ἐστι. [19] λόγους δέ, ὅσους ἂν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος ἀκηκοὺς εἴπῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐντεῦθεν αἰτίαν, ἣν γε οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ τύχουσιν ὄντες, εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κελεύσας φέροιτο ἂν δικαίως τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ πρεσβευτῇ τὸ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἐκτελέσαι περίεστι μόνον. [20] ὥστε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἅπαντα ἐροῦμεν ὅσα ἀκούσαντες πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλημεν, σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἀκούσῃ πρῶτος: ταραττομένῳ γάρ σοι ἀδικεῖν ἀνθρώπους πρέσβεις λελείπεται. [21] οὐκοῦν ὥρα σοι ἐκόντι ἐπιτελεῖν ὅσα βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγησας. ἐπὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς ἤκομεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν σοι ἔγραψεν ἤδη λαβὼν ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἃ τοῖς Γότθων πρῶτοις ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ [22] αὐτοῖς δώσομεν.’ ταῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων ἐπεὶ παρόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες ἤκουσαν, Θεοδᾶτ’ ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα σφίσιν ἐπέστελλον. [23] εἶχε δὲ ὧδε: ‘Ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐς πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὥπερ ὑμᾶς ἡσθῆναι εἰκός. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀξιώτεροι ἔσεσθε, ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦξετε. [24] ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἐς ἥθη ξένα ἢ ἀλλόγνωτα Γότθους καλοῦμεν, ἀλλ’ ὧν ἡθάσι γενομένοις ὑμῖν εἴτα ἐπὶ καιροῦ διεστάναι τετύχηκε. διὰ ταῦτα νῦν Ἀθανασίος τε καὶ Πέτρος ἐστάλησαν αὐτόσε, [25] οἷς ὑμᾶς ἐς ἅπαντα ξυλλαβέσθαι χρεών.’ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Θεοδᾶτος δὲ ἅπαντα ἀναλεξάμενος οὔτε τι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελεῖν ὧν βασιλεῖ ὑπέσχετο ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐν φυλακῇ οὐ μετρία εἶχε. [26] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεὶ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαλματίᾳ ξυνενεχθέντα ἠκηκόει, Κωνσταντιανὸν μὲν, ὃς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱποκόμων ἦρχεν, εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἔπεμψε, στρατιάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιστείλας ἐνθένδε ἀγεῖραι καὶ Σαλόνων ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὰ εἴῃ: Βελισάριον δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι καὶ Γότθοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι. [27] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν ἐς Ἐπίδαμνόν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ χρόνον τινὰ διατρίψας ἐνταῦθα στρατιὰν ἤγειρεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθοι, Γρίπα σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐς Δαλματίαν ἀφικόμενοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον: [28] Κωνσταντιανὸς τε, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἄρας ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ὀρμίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον: ἐνθα δὴ ἄνδρας οὓς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ Γρίπας ἔπεμψε τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [29] καὶ αὐτοῖς τάς τε ναῦς ἐπισκοποῦσι καὶ τὸ Κωνσταντιανοῦ στρατόπεδον ἔδοξε θάλασσά τε καὶ ἡ γῆ ξύμπασα

στρατιωτῶν ἔμπλεως εἶναι, παρά τε τὸν Γρίπαν ἐπανήκοντες μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγας Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐπάγεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [30] ὁ δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα τι ἐμπεσὼν ὑπαντιάζειν τε τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἀξύμφορον ᾤετο εἶναι καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ, οὕτω δὲ θαλασσοκρατοῦντος, ἥκιστα ἤθελε· [31] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασεν ὃ τε Σαλῶνων περίβολος, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη καταπεπτώκει, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ᾤκημένων τὸ ἐς Γότθους κομιδῇ ὑποπτον. [32] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στρατοπεδεύεται ὁ μετὰ Σαλῶνων τε καὶ Σκάρδωνος πόλεως ἐστὶ. Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις πλέων ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου, Λυσίνῃ προσέσχεν, ἥ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κεῖται. [33] ἐνθένδε τε τῶν ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Γρίπα διερευνώμενοι ὅποιά ποτε ἦ ἐσαγγείλωσιν. ἀφ' ὧν δὲ τὸν πάντα λόγον πυθόμενος εὐθὺς Σαλῶνων κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει. [34] καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγγέγονει, ἀποβιβάσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἡσύχαζε, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολέξας Σιφίλαν τε αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐκέλευε τὴν στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν ἣν δὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ἐπύθετο εἶναι. καὶ Σιφίλας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. [35] Κωνσταντιανὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς Σάλωνας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσελάσαντες τῷ πεζῷ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ προσωρμίσαντο. [36] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Σαλῶνων τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀνοικοδομούμενος σπουδῇ ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτόκει· Γρίπας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Γόθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαῖοι Σάλωνας ἔσχον, ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἀπεκομίσθησαν, οὕτω τε Κωνσταντιανὸς Δαλματίαν τε καὶ Λιβουρνίαν ζύμπασαν ἔσχε, Γότθους προσαγαγόμενος ἅπαντας οἱ ταύτῃ ἴδρυντο. [37] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Δαλματίαν ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος συνέγραψε.

VII

But meantime, while the emperor was engaged in these negotiations and these envoys were travelling to Italy, the Goths, under command of Asinarius and Gripas and some others, had come with a great army into Dalmatia. And when they had reached the neighbourhood of Salones, Mauricius, the son of Mundus, who was not marching out for battle but, with a few men, was on a scouting expedition, encountered them. A violent engagement ensued in which the Goths lost their foremost and noblest men, but the Romans almost their whole company, including their general Mauricius. And when Mundus heard of this, being overcome with grief at the misfortune and by this time dominated by a mighty fury, he went against the enemy without the least delay and regardless of order. The battle which took place was stubbornly contested, and the result was a Cadmean victory for the Romans. For although the most of the enemy fell there and their rout had been decisive, Mundus, who went on killing and following up the enemy wherever he chanced to find them and was quite unable to restrain his mind because of the misfortune of his son, was wounded by some fugitive or other and fell. Thereupon the pursuit ended and the two armies separated. And at that time the Romans recalled the verse of the Sibyl, which had been pronounced in earlier times and seemed to them a portent. For the words of the saying were that when Africa should be held, the "world" would perish together with its offspring. This, however, was not the real meaning of the oracle, but after intimating that Libya would be once more subject to the Romans, it added this statement also, that when that time came Mundus would perish together with his son. For it runs as follows: "Africa capta Mundus cum nato peribit." But since "mundus" in the Latin tongue has the force of "world," they thought that the saying had reference to the world. So much, then, for this. As for Salones, it was not entered by anyone. For the Romans went back home, since they were left altogether without a commander, and the Goths, seeing that not one of their nobles was left them, fell into fear and took possession of the strongholds in the neighbourhood; for they had no confidence in the defences of Salones, and, besides, the Romans who lived there were not very well disposed towards them.

When Theodatus heard this, he took no account of the envoys who by now had come to him. For he was by nature much given to distrust, and he by no means kept his mind steadfast, but the present fortune always reduced him now to a state of terror which knew no measure, and this contrary to reason and the proper understanding of the situation, and again brought him to the opposite extreme of unspeakable boldness. And so at that time, when he heard of the death of Mundus and Mauricius, he was lifted up exceedingly and in a manner altogether unjustified by what had happened, and he saw fit to taunt

the envoys when they at length appeared before him. And when Peter on one occasion remonstrated with him because he had transgressed his agreement with the emperor, Theodatus called both of them publicly and spoke as follows: "The position of envoys is a proud one and in general has come to be held in honour among all men; but envoys preserve for themselves these their prerogatives only so long as they guard the dignity of their embassy by the propriety of their own conduct. For men have sanctioned as just the killing of an envoy whenever he is either found to have insulted a sovereign or has had knowledge of a woman who is the wife of another." Such were the words with which Theodatus inveighed against Peter, not because he had approached a woman, but, apparently, in order to make good his claim that there were charges which might lead to the death of an ambassador. But the envoys replied as follows: "The facts are not, O Ruler of the Goths, as thou hast stated them, nor canst thou, under cover of flimsy pretexts, wantonly perpetrate unholy deeds upon men who are envoys. For it is not possible for an ambassador, even if he wishes it, to become an adulterer, since it is not easy for him even to partake of water except by the will of those who guard him. And as for the proposals which he has received from the lips of him who has sent him and then delivers, he himself cannot reasonably incur the blame which arises from them, in case they be not good, but he who has given the command would justly bear this charge, while the sole responsibility of the ambassador is to have discharged his mission. We, therefore, shall say all that we were instructed by the emperor to say when we were sent, and do thou hear us quietly; for if thou art stirred to excitement, all thou canst do will be to wrong men who are ambassadors. It is time, therefore, for thee of thine own free will to perform all that thou didst promise the emperor. This, indeed, is the purpose for which we have come. And the letter which he wrote to thee thou hast already received, but as for the writing which he sent to the foremost of the Goths, to no others shall we give it than to them." When the leading men of the barbarians, who were present, heard this speech of the envoys, they bade them give to Theodatus what had been written to them. And it ran as follows: "It has been the object of our care to receive you back into our state, whereat you may well be pleased. For you will come to us, not in order to be made of less consequence, but that you may be more honoured. And, besides, we are not bidding the Goths enter into strange or alien customs, but into those of a people with whom you were once familiar, though you have by chance been separated from them for a season. For these reasons Athanasius and Peter have been sent to you, and you ought to assist them in all things." Such was the purport of this letter. But after Theodatus had read everything, he not only decided not to perform in deed the promises he had made to the emperor, but also put the envoys under a strict guard.

But when the Emperor Justinian heard these things and what had taken place in Dalmatia, he sent Constantianus, who commanded the royal grooms, into

Illyricum, bidding him gather an army from there and make an attempt on Salones, in whatever manner he might be able; and he commanded Belisarius to enter Italy with all speed and to treat the Goths as enemies. So Constantianus came to Epidamnus and spent some time there gathering an army. But in the meantime the Goths, under the leadership of Gripas, came with another army into Dalmatia and took possession of Salones; and Constantianus, when all his preparations were as complete as possible, departed from Epidamnus with his whole force and cast anchor at Epidaurus which is on the right as one sails into the Ionian Gulf. Now it so happened that some men were there whom Gripas had sent out as spies. And when they took note of the ships and the army of Constantianus it seemed to them that both the sea and the whole land were full of soldiers, and returning to Gripas they declared that Constantianus was bringing against them an army of men numbering many tens of thousands. And he, being plunged into great fear, thought it inexpedient to meet their attack, and at the same time he was quite unwilling to be besieged by the emperor's army, since it so completely commanded the sea; but he was disturbed most of all by the fortifications of Salones (since the greater part of them had already fallen down), and by the exceedingly suspicious attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the place toward the Goths. And for this reason he departed thence with his whole army as quickly as possible and made camp in the plain which is between Salones and the city of Scardon. And Constantianus, sailing with all his ships from Epidaurus, put in at Lysina, which is an island in the gulf. Thence he sent forward some of his men, in order that they might make enquiry concerning the plans of Gripas and report them to him. Then, after learning from them the whole situation, he sailed straight for Salones with all speed. And when he had put in at a place close to the city, he disembarked his army on the mainland and himself remained quiet there; but he selected five hundred from the army, and setting over them as commander Siphilas, one of his own bodyguards, he commanded them to seize the narrow pass which, as he had been informed, was in the outskirts of the city. And this Siphilas did. And Constantianus and his whole land army entered Salones on the following day, and the fleet anchored close by. Then Constantianus proceeded to look after the fortifications of the city, building up in haste all such parts of them as had fallen down; and Gripas, with the Gothic army, on the seventh day after the Romans had taken possession of Salones, departed from there and betook themselves to Ravenna; and thus Constantianus gained possession of all Dalmatia and Liburnia, bringing over to his side all the Goths who were settled there. Such were the events in Dalmatia. And the winter drew to a close, and thus ended the first year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

Βελισάριος δὲ φύλακας ἔν τε Συρακούσῃ καὶ Πανόρμῳ ἀπολιπὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας διέβη ἐς Ῥήγιον ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν τε Σκύλλαν

γεγονέναι μυθοποιούσι καὶ Χάρυβδιν, καὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν ὅσημέραι οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι. [2] τῶν τε γὰρ χωρίων ἀτειχίστων σφίσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντων, φυλακὴν αὐτῶν οὐδαμῇ εἶχον καὶ κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Γότθων μάλιστα τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἄρχῃ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἤχθοντο. [3] ἐκ δὲ Γότθων αὐτόμολος παρὰ Βελισάριον Ἐβρίμους ζὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἦλθεν, ὁ Θευδάτου γαμβρός, ὃς τῇ ἐκείνου θυγατρὶ Θευδενάνθῃ ξυνώκει. αὐτίκα τε παρὰ βασιλέα σταλείς, γερῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχε καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα ἦλθε. [4] τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐκ Ῥηγίου περὶ διὰ Βριττίων τε καὶ Λευκανῶν ἦει, παρηκολούθει τε ἄγχιστα τῆς ἡπείρου ὁ τῶν νηῶν στόλος. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκοντο, πόλει ἐνέτυχον ἐπιθαλασσίᾳ, Νεαπόλει ὄνομα, χωρίου τε φύσει ἐχυρᾷ καὶ Γότθων πολλῶν φρουρὰν ἐχούσῃ. [6] καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἔξω βελῶν ὄντι ὀρμίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγὺς στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φρούριον ὃ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶν ὁμολογία εἶλεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει δεομένοις ἐπέτρεπε τῶν τινας λογίμων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέμψαι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπέπωσιν τε ὅσα αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀκούσαντες τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἀγγείλωσιν. [7] αὐτίκα οὖν οἱ Νεαπολίται Στέφανον πέμπουσιν. ὃς ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦκεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖς, ᾧ στρατηγέ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας στρατεύων, οἱ πόλιν τε μικρὰν οἰκοῦμεν καὶ βαρβάρων δεσποτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχομεν, ὥστε οὐδ' ἀντιπρᾶξαι, [8] ἣν ἐθέλωμεν, ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροῖς τοῖσδε ξυμβαίνει παῖδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς Θευδάτου χερσὶν ἀπολιποῦσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φυλακῇ ἥκειν. [9] οὐκοῦν, ἣν τι ἐς ὑμᾶς πράξωσιν, οὐ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπροδιδόντες φανήσονται. [10] εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμφορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκετε. Ῥώμην μὲν γὰρ ἐλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ Νεάπολιν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑποχειρία ἔσται, ἐκείνης δέ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδὲ ταύτην ἀσφαλῶς ἔχετε. [11] ὥστε τηνάλλως ὁ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ τετρίνυται ταύτῃ.' Τοσαῦτα μὲν Στέφανος εἶπε. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: [12] 'Τὸ μὲν εὖ ἢ ἄλλως ἡμᾶς βουλευσαμένους ἐνθάδε ἥκειν οὐ Νεαπολίταις σκοπεῖν δώσομεν. ἃ δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλῆς ἄξια, βουλόμεθα σκοπομένους ὑμᾶς οὕτω δὴ πράσσειν ὅσα ἂν ξυνοίσειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλῃ. [13] δέξασθε τοίνυν τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἥκοντα, καὶ μὴ τὰ πάντων ἀνιάρωτα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔλῃσθε. [14] ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ δουλείαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀναδύομενοι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἐς πόλεμον χωροῦσιν, οὗτοι δὴ ἐν γε τῷ ἀγῶνι εὐημεροῦντες εὐτυχήματα διπλᾶ ἔχουσι, ζὺν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν κτησάμενοι, καὶ ἡσώμενοι φέρονται τι αὐτοῖς παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ ἐκόντες τῇ χεীরωνι ἔπεσθαι τύχῃ. [15] οἷς δὲ παρὸν ἀμαχητὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὅπως τὴν δουλείαν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν ἐς ἀγῶνα καθιστῶνται, οὗτοι δὴ καὶ νενικηκότες, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐλασσόνως ἢ ἐβούλοντο ἀπαλλάξαντες ζὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης ξυμφορὰν ἔξουσι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν Νεαπολίτας ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. [16] Γότθοις δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσιν αἵρεσιν δίδομεν, ἢ ζὺν ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ τετάχθαι, ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν τὸ παράπαν

οἶκαδε ἰέναι. [17] ὥς, ἦν τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀμελήσαντες ὅπλα ἡμῖν ἀνταίρειν τολμήσητε, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ, τῷ προστυχόντι ὡς πολεμῶ χρήσθαι. [18] εἰ μέντοι βουλομένοις ἡ Νεαπολίταις τὰ τε βασιλέως ἐλέσθαι καὶ δουλείας οὕτω χαλεπῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἀναδέχομαι τὰ πιστὰ διδοῦς ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν ᾧ Σικελιωταὶ πρόην ἐλπίσαντες ψευδορκίους ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔσχον εἰπεῖν. [19] Ταῦτα μὲν Στέφανον Βελισάριος ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ μεγάλα ὑπέσχετο ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, Νεαπολίτας ἐς εὖνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως ὀρμήσονται. [20] Στέφανος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦκων τοὺς τε Βελισαρίου λόγους ἀπήγγελλε καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸς ἀπεφαίνετο βασιλεῖ μάχεσθαι ἀξίυμορον εἶναι. [21] καὶ οἱ ξυνέπρασσεν Ἀντίοχος, Σύρος μὲν ἀνὴρ, ἐκ παλαιοῦ δὲ ὤκημένος ἐν Νεαπόλει ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ξυνέσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνταῦθα ἔχων. [22] Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ῥήτορε μὲν ἦσθιν καὶ λίαν ἐν γε Νεαπολίταις λογίμω, Γότθοις δὲ φίλῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἥκιστα βουλομένῳ μεταβάλλεσθαι. [23] τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρῳ βουλευσαμένῳ ὅπως τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐν κωλύμῃ ἔσται, πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα τὸ πλῆθος ἐνηγέτην προῖσχεσθαι καὶ Βελισάριον ὅρκους καταλαμβάνειν ὅτι δὴ τούτων αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεύζονται. [24] ἐν βιβλιδίῳ δὲ ἅπαντα γράψαντε ὅσα Βελισάριον οὐκ ἂν τις ἐνδέξασθαι ὑπετόπησε Στεφάνῳ ἔδοσαν. [25] ὅς, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸ βασιλέως στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἀφίκετο, τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξας τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οἱ πάντα τε ἐπιτελέσαι ὅσα Νεαπολίται προτείνονται καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁμείσθαι βουλομένῳ εἶη. ὁ δὲ αὐτόν, ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐπιτελῇ ἔσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεπέμψατο. [26] ταῦτα Νεαπολίται ἀκούσαντες τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα δέχεσθαι. [27] ἀπαντήσιν γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, εἴ τῳ ἱκανοὶ Σικελιωταὶ τεκμηριῶσαι, οἷς δὴ τετύχηκεν ἔναγχος βαρβάρων τυράννων τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείαν ἀλλαξαμένοις, ἐλευθέροις τε εἶναι καὶ ἀπαθέσι δυσκόλων ἀπάντων. [28] καὶ πολλῶν θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὡς δὴ αὐτὰς ἀνακλινοῦντες ἦσαν. Γότθοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ πρασσόμενα, κωλύειν μέντοι οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἐκποδῶν ἴσαντο. [29] Πάστωρ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ Γότθους ἅπαντας ἐς ἓνα συγκαλέσαντες χῶρον ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε: ‘Πόλεως μὲν πλῆθος ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν προῖεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν δοκίμων κοινώσαντες εἶτα αὐτόνομον τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσονται γνῶσιν. [30] ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀνάγκη ξὺν ὑμῖν ὅσον οὐπὼ ἀπολουμένους ὕστατον ἔρανον τῇ: πατρίδι τήνδε παρέχεσθαι τὴν παραίνεσιν. [31] ὀρῶμεν τοῖνυν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες πολῖται, καταπροδιδόνα Βελισαρίῳ ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειγομένους, πολλὰ τε ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ὅρκους δεινотάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμείσθαι. [32] εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀναδέχεσθαι οἷός τέ ἐστιν ὡς ἐς αὐτόν ἥξει τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ξύμφορα εἶναι. [33] τῷ γὰρ κυρίῳ γενησομένῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα χαρίζεσθαι πολλὴ ἄνοια. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν ἀδήλῳ κεῖται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀξιώχρεως ἐστι τὴν τῆς τύχης ἀναδέχεσθαι γνώμην, σκέψασθε ὑπὲρ οἷων ὑμῖν συμφορῶν ἡ σπουδὴ γίνεται. [34] ἦν γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι τῶν δυσμενῶν περιέσσονται,

ὥς πολεμίους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ δεινότατα σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰργασμένους κολάσουσιν. [35] οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη βιαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ γνώμη ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν καθίστασθε. ὥστε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ κρατήσαντι τῶν πολεμίῳ ἴσως ἄπιστοί τε φανόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων προδόται, καὶ ἅτε δραπέται γεγεννημένοι, ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα φρουρὰν πρὸς βασιλέως κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἔξομεν. [36] ὁ γὰρ του προδότου τετυχηκῶς τῇ μὲν χάριτι ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νικήσας ἦσθη, ὑποψία δὲ ὕστερον τῇ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων μισεῖ καὶ φοβεῖται τὸν εὐεργέτην, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας γνωρίσματα ἔχων. [37] ἦν μέντοι πιστοὶ Γότθοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενώμεθα, γενναίως ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον, αὐτοὶ τε τῶν πολεμίῳ κρατήσαντες μεγάλα ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ δράσουσι καὶ Βελισάριος ἡμῖν νενικηκῶς, [38] ἂν οὕτω τύχη, συγγνώμων ἔσται. εὐνοια γὰρ ἀποτυχοῦσα πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ ἀξυνέτου κολάζεται. [39] τί δὲ καὶ παθόντες κατωρρωδήκατε τῶν πολεμίῳ τὴν προσεδρεΐαν, οἱ οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδείῳ σπανίζοντες οὔτε του ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίῳ κάθησθε οἴκοι, τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ φρουροῖς τοῖσδε τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες; οἰόμεθα δὲ οὐδ' ἂν Βελισάριον ἐς τήνδε ξυμβῆναι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἡμῖν, εἴ τινα βία τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν ἐλπίδα εἶχε. [40] καίτοι εἰ τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνοίσοντα ποιεῖν ἤθελεν, οὐ Νεαπολίτας αὐτὸν δεδίσσεσθαι ἐχρῆν οὐδὲ τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐς Γότθους ἀδικία τὴν οἰκείαν βεβαιοῦν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ Θευδάτῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὅπως κινδύνου τε καὶ προδοσίας ἡμετέρας χωρὶς ἡ πόλις ἐς τὸ τῶν νικῶντων χωρήσει κράτος.' [41] Τοσαῦτα Πάστῳρ τε καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἰπόντες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους παρῆγον ἰσχυριζομένους τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀναγκαίῳ οὐδενὸς ἐνδεᾶ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ Γότθοι δὲ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλῶς τὸν περίβολον ἰσχυρίζοντο. [42] οἷς δὴ Νεαπολίται ἡγμένοι ἐκέλευον Βελισάριον ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [43] ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. πολλάκις τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἀπεκρούσθη, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέσας πολλοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς δὴ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε. [44] τὸ γὰρ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος τὰ μὲν θαλάσση, τὰ δὲ δυσχωρίαις τισὶν ἀπρόσοδόν τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄναντες εἶναι οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατόν. [45] καὶ τὸν ὀχετὸν μέντοι, ὃς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆγε τὸ ὕδωρ, διελὼν Βελισάριος, οὐ σφόδρα Νεαπολίτας ἐτάραξεν, ἐπεὶ φρέατα ἐντός τε ὄντα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν χρεΐαν παρεχόμενα αἰσθησιν τούτου σφίσις οὐ λίαν ἐδίδου.

VIII

And Belisarius, leaving guards in Syracuse and Panormus, crossed with the rest of the army from Messana to Rhegium (where the myths of the poets say Scylla and Charybdis were), and every day the people of that region kept coming over to him. For since their towns had from of old been without walls, they had no means at all of guarding them, and because of their hostility toward the Goths they were, as was natural, greatly dissatisfied with their present government. And Ebrimous came over to Belisarius as a deserter from the Goths, together with all his followers; this man was the son-in-law of Theodatus, being married to Theodenanthe, his daughter. And he was straightway sent to the emperor and received many gifts of honour and in particular attained the patrician dignity. And the army of Belisarius marched from Rhegium through Bruttium and Lucania, and the fleet of ships accompanied it, sailing close to the mainland. But when they reached Campania, they came upon a city on the sea, Naples by name, which was strong not only because of the nature of its site, but also because it contained a numerous garrison of Goths. And Belisarius commanded the ships to anchor in the harbour, which was beyond the range of missiles, while he himself made his camp near the city. He then first took possession by surrender of the fort which is in the suburb, and afterwards permitted the inhabitants of the city at their own request to send some of their notables into his camp, in order that they might tell what their wish was and, after receiving his reply, report to the populace. Straightway, therefore, the Neapolitans sent Stephanus. And he, upon coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

“You are not acting justly, O general, in taking the field against men who are Romans and have done no wrong, who inhabit but a small city and have over us a guard of barbarians as masters, so that it does not even lie in our power, if we desire to do so, to oppose them. But it so happens that even these guards had to leave their wives and children, and their most precious possessions in the hands of Theodatus before they came to keep guard over us. Therefore, if they treat with you at all, they will plainly be betraying, not the city, but themselves. And if one must speak the truth with no concealment, you have not counselled to your advantage, either, in coming against us. For if you capture Rome, Naples will be subject to you without any further trouble, whereas if you are repulsed from there, it is probable that you will not be able to hold even this city securely. Consequently the time you spend on this siege will be spent to no purpose.”

So spoke Stephanus. And Belisarius replied as follows:

“Whether we have acted wisely or foolishly in coming here is not a question which we propose to submit to the Neapolitans. But we desire that you first

weigh carefully such matters as are appropriate to your deliberations and then act solely in accordance with your own interests. Receive into your city, therefore, the emperor's army, which has come to secure your freedom and that of the other Italians, and do not choose the course which will bring upon you the most grievous misfortunes. For those who, in order to rid themselves of slavery or any other shameful thing, go into war, such men, if they fare well in the struggle, have double good fortune, because along with their victory they have also acquired freedom from their troubles, and if defeated they gain some consolation for themselves, in that, they have not of their own free will chosen to follow the worse fortune. But as for those who have the opportunity to be free without fighting, but yet enter into a struggle in order to make their condition of slavery permanent, such men, even if it so happens that they conquer, have failed in the most vital point, and if in the battle they fare less happily than they wished, they will have, along with their general ill-fortune, also the calamity of defeat. As for the Neapolitans, then, let these words suffice. But as for these Goths who are present, we give them the choice, either to array themselves hereafter on our side under the great emperor, or to go to their homes altogether immune from harm. Because, if both you and they, disregarding all these considerations, dare to raise arms against us, it will be necessary for us also, if God so wills, to treat whomever we meet as an enemy. If, however, it is the will of the Neapolitans to choose the cause of the emperor and thus to be rid of so cruel a slavery, I take it upon myself, giving you pledges, to promise that you will receive at our hands those benefits which the Sicilians lately hoped for, and with regard to which they were unable to say that we had sworn falsely."

Such was the message which Belisarius bade Stephanus take back to the people. But privately he promised him large rewards if he should inspire the Neapolitans with good-will toward the emperor. And Stephanus, upon coming into the city, reported the words of Belisarius and expressed his own opinion that it was inexpedient to fight against the emperor. And he was assisted in his efforts by Antiochus, a man of Syria, but long resident in Naples for the purpose of carrying on a shipping business, who had a great reputation there for wisdom and justice. But there were two men, Pastor and Asclepiodotus, trained speakers and very notable men among the Neapolitans, who were exceedingly friendly toward the Goths, and quite unwilling to have any change made in the present state of affairs. These two men, planning how they might block the negotiations, induced the multitude to demand many serious concessions, and to try to force Belisarius to promise on oath that they should forthwith obtain what they asked for. And after writing down in a document such demands as nobody would have supposed that Belisarius would accept, they gave it to Stephanus. And he, returning to the emperor's army, shewed the writing to the general, and enquired of him whether he was willing to carry out all the proposals which the Neapolitans made and to take an oath

concerning them. And Belisarius promised that they should all be fulfilled for them and so sent him back. Now when the Neapolitans heard this, they were in favour of accepting the general's assurances at once and began to urge that the emperor's army be received into the city with all speed. For he declared that nothing unpleasant would befall them, if the case of the Sicilians was sufficient evidence for anyone to judge by, since, as he pointed out, it had only recently been their lot, after they had exchanged their barbarian tyrants for the sovereignty of Justinian, to be, not only free men, but also immune from all difficulties. And swayed by great excitement they were about to go to the gates with the purpose of throwing them open. And though the Goths were not pleased with what they were doing, still, since they were unable to prevent it, they stood out of the way.

But Pastor and Asclepiodotus called together the people and all the Goths in one place, and spoke as follows: "It is not at all unnatural that the populace of a city should abandon themselves and their own safety, especially if, without consulting any of their notables, they make an independent decision regarding their all. But it is necessary for us, who are on the very point of perishing together with you, to offer as a last contribution to the fatherland this advice. We see, then, fellow citizens, that you are intent upon betraying both yourselves and the city to Belisarius, who promises to confer many benefits upon you and to swear the most solemn oaths in confirmation of his promises. Now if he is able to promise you this also, that to him will come the victory in the war, no one could deny that the course you are taking is to your advantage. For it is great folly not to gratify every whim of him who is to become master. But if this outcome lies in uncertainty, and no man in the world is competent to guarantee the decision of fortune, consider what sort of misfortunes your haste is seeking to attain. For if the Goths overcome their adversaries in the war, they will punish you as enemies and as having done them the foulest wrong. For you are resorting to this act of treason, not under constraint of necessity, but out of deliberate cowardice. So that even to Belisarius, if he wins the victory over his enemies, we shall perhaps appear faithless and betrayers of our rulers, and having proved ourselves deserters, we shall in all probability have a guard set over us permanently by the emperor. For though he who has found a traitor is pleased at the moment of victory by the service rendered, yet afterwards, moved by suspicion based upon the traitor's past, he hates and fears his benefactor, since he himself has in his own possession the evidences of the other's faithlessness. If, however, we shew ourselves faithful to the Goths at the present time, manfully submitting to the danger, they will give us great rewards in case they win the mastery over the enemy, and Belisarius, if it should so happen that he is the victor, will be prone to forgive. For loyalty which fails is punished by no man unless he be lacking in understanding. But what has happened to you that you are in terror of being besieged by the enemy, you who have no lack of provisions, have not been

deprived by blockade of any of the necessities of life, and hence may sit at home, confident in the fortifications and in your garrison here? And in our opinion even Belisarius would not have consented to this agreement with us if he had any hope of capturing the city by force. And yet if what he desired were that which is just and that which will be to our advantage, he ought not to be trying to frighten the Neapolitans or to establish his own power by means of an act of injustice on our part toward the Goths; but he should do battle with Theodatus and the Goths, so that without danger to us or treason on our part the city might come into the power of the victors.”

When they had finished speaking, Pastor and Asclepiodotus brought forward the Jews, who promised that the city should be in want of none of the necessities, and the Goths on their part promised that they would guard the circuit-wall safely. And the Neapolitans, moved by these arguments, bade Belisarius depart thence with all speed. He, however, began the siege. And he made many attempts upon the circuit-wall, but was always repulsed, losing many of his soldiers, and especially those who laid some claim to valour. For the wall of Naples was inaccessible, on one side by reason of the sea, and on the other because of some difficult country, and those who planned to attack it could gain entrance at no point, not only because of its general situation, but also because the ground sloped steeply. However, Belisarius cut the aqueduct which brought water into the city; but he did not in this way seriously disturb the Neapolitans, since there were wells inside the circuit-wall which sufficed for their needs and kept them from feeling too keenly the loss of the aqueduct.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορκούμενοι λανθάνοντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Θευδάτον βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι. Θευδάτος δὲ πολέμου παρασκευὴν τινα ἥκιστα ἐποιοεῖτο, ὦν μὲν καὶ φύσει ἄνανδρος, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [2] λέγουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ξυμβῆναι, ὃ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξε τε καὶ ἐς ὀρρωδίαν μείζω ἀπήνεγκεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες: [3] καὶ ὥς δὲ εἰρήσεται. Θευδάτος καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἀμελέτητος ἦν τῶν τι προλέγειν ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς πύστεις ποιεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς μαντείας ὀρμᾶν εἴωθε, τῶν τινος Ἑβραίων, δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὴν ἔχοντας, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁποῖόν ποτε τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε τὸ πέρας ἔσται. [4] ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπήγγελλε χοίρων δεκάδας τρεῖς καθεύριζαντι ἐν οἰκίσκοις τρισὶ καὶ ὄνομα ποιησαμένῳ δεκάδι ἐκάστη, Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν, ἡμέρας ῥητὰς ἡσυχῇ μένειν. [5] Θευδάτος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὴν ἡ κυρία, ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσκοις ἄμφω γενόμενοι ἐθεῶντο τοὺς χοίρους, εὗρόν τε αὐτῶν οἷς μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἐπὶν ὄνομα δυοῖν ἀπολελειμμένοι νεκροὺς ἅπαντας, ζῶντας δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἅπαντας ἐς οὓς τὸ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ὄνομα ἦλθεν: ὅσοι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, τούτοις δὲ ξυνέβη ἀπορρυῆναι μὲν τὰς τρίχας ἅπασι, περιεῖναι δὲ ἐς ἥμισυ μάλιστα. [6] ταῦτα Θευδάτῳ θεασαμένῳ καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἀπόβασιν δέος φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν μέγα, εὖ εἰδοτὶ ὥς Ῥωμαῖοις μὲν ξυμπεσεῖται πάντως

τεθνήξεσθαι τε κατὰ ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων στερήσεσθαι, Γότθοις δὲ ἡσσωμένοις τὸ γένος ἐς ὀλίγους ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐς βασιλέα δέ, ὀλίγων οἱ στρατιωτῶν ἀπολουμένων, [7] τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἀφίξεσθαι κράτος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Θεοδάτω λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν ὁρμὴν ἐπιπεσεῖν ἐς ἀγῶνα Βελισαρίῳ καθίστασθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πη ἐς αὐτὰ πίστεως τε καὶ ἀπιστίας ἔχει. [8] Βελισάριος δὲ Νεαπολίτας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν πολιορκῶν ἡσχαλλεν. οὐ γάρ οἱ οὐδὲ προσχωρήσειν ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ᾤετο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλώσεσθαι ἠλπίζεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν δυσκολίαν ἀντιστατοῦσαν ὥς μάλιστα εἶχε. [9] καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν τριβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡνία, λογιζόμενον ὅπως μὴ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐπὶ Θεοδάτον τε ἀναγκάζηται καὶ Ῥώμην ἰέναι. [10] ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι, μέλλων ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορουμένῳ εὐτυχία τοιαύτη ξυνηνέχθη χρῆσθαι. [11] τῶν τινὰ Ἰσαύρων ἐπιθυμία ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ ὄχετος οἰκοδομίαν θεάσασθαι, καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον τῇ πόλει τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος χρεῖαν παρείχετο. [12] ἐσβάς τε τῆς πόλεως ἄποθεν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν διέρρηξε Βελισάριος, ἐβάδιξε πόνῳ οὐδενί, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτὸν ἅτε διερρωγότα ἐπελελοιπεί. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, πέτρα μεγάλη ἐνέτυχεν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων χερσὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς φύσεως τοῦ χωρίου ἀποτεθείση. [14] ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἱ τὸν ὄχετον δειμάμενοι πάλοι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαντες διώρυχα ἐνθένδε ἐποίουν, οὐκ ἐς δίοδον μέντοι ἀνθρώπου ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, [15] ἀλλ' ὅσον τῷ ὕδατι τὴν πορείαν παρέχεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξυνέβαινεν οὐκ εὖρος τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχόσε τοῦ ὄχετος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στενοχωρία ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ὑψηλῆς, ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τεθωρακισμένῳ ἢ ἀσπίδα φέροντι, ἀπόρευτος οὖσα. [16] ταῦτα τῷ Ἰσαύρῳ κατανοήσαντι οὐκ ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰέναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ μέτρῳ τὴν ἐκείνῃ διώρυχα εὐρυτέραν ποιήσονται. [17] ἅτε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀφανὴς τε ὢν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἐς λόγους ἦκων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς Παύκαριν ἤνεγκεν, ἄνδρα Ἰσαυρον, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου ὑπασπισταῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Παύκαρις τὸν πάντα λόγον αὐτίκα τῷ στρατηγῷ ἡγγείλε. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἡδονῇ ἀναπνεύσας καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦγε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν Ἰσαύρων τινὰς ἐταιρισάμενον ἐκτομὴν ὡς τάχιστα τῆς πέτρας ποιῆσθαι, φυλασσόμενον ὅπως τοῦ ἔργου μηδενὶ αἰσθησὶν δώσουσι. [19] Παύκαρις δέ, Ἰσαύρους ἀπολεξάμενος πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτηδείως πάντῃ ἔχοντας, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὄχετος σὺν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐγένετο. [20] ἔς τε τὸν χῶρον ἐλθόντες ἵνα δὴ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ἡ πέτρα ἐποίει, ἔργου εἶχοντο, οὐκ ἀξίναις τὴν πέτραν οὐδὲ πελέκεσι τέμνοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἐνδηλα τῷ κτύπῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ποιήσωσι τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, ἀλλὰ σιδηρίοις τισὶν ὀξέσιν αὐτὴν ἐνδεδεχέστατα ξέοντες. [21] καὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ κατείργαστο, ὥστε ἀνθρώπων δυνατὰ εἶναι θώρακά τε ἀμπεχομένῳ καὶ ἀσπίδα φέροντι ταύτῃ ἰέναι. [22] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαντα ἤδη ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἔννοια Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὡς, ἣν πολέμῳ ἐς Νεάπολιν τῷ στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶη, τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβήσεται καὶ τᾶλλα ξυμπεσεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅσα πόλει πρὸς πολεμίων ἀλούση γίνεσθαι εἶωθε. [23] Στέφανόν τε εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἔλαξε τοιαύδε: ‘Πολλάκις εἶδον πόλεις ἀλούσας καὶ τῶν τῆνικαῦτα γινομένων εἰμὶ ἔμπειρος.

[24] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀναιροῦσιν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας, γυναῖκας δὲ θνήσκειν αἰτουμένας οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὕβριν ἀγόμεναι πάσχουσιν ἀνήκεστά τε καὶ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια. [25] παῖδας δὲ οὔτε τροφῆς οὔτε παιδείας οὔτω μεταλαχόντας δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πάντων ἐχθίστοις, ὧν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων αἷμα τεθέανται. [26] ἐὼ γάρ, ὃ φίλε Στέφανε, λέγειν τὸ πῦρ, ᾧ τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζεται κάλλος. ταῦτα Νεάπολιν τήνδε ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ταῖς πρότερον ἀλούσαις πόλεσιν ὁρῶν πάσχουσαν, αὐτῆς τε καὶ ὑμῶν ἐς οἶκτον ἤκω. [27] μηχαναὶ γάρ μοι πεποίηνται νῦν ἐς αὐτήν, ἣν μὴ οὐχὶ ἁλῶναι ἀδύνατον. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαίαν καὶ οἰκήτορας Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἄνωθεν ἔχουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τύχης οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦντος, ἐλθεῖν, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ μοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ στρατοπέδῳ εἰσὶν, ἀδελφοὺς ἢ συγγενεῖς πρὸ τοῦδε ἀπολωλεκότες τοῦ τείχους: ὧν δὴ κατέχειν τὸν θυμὸν, ἣν πολέμῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔλωσιν, οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην. [28] οὐκοῦν ἔως ἔτι τὸ τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πράσσειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι, βουλευσασθε μὲν τὰ βελτίω, φύγετε δὲ ξυμφοράν: ἥς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ξυμπιπτούσης ὑμῖν οὐ τὴν τύχην δικαίως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰτιάσεσθε γνώμην.' [29] τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος Στέφανον ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς ἐς Νεαπολιτῶν τὸν δῆμον παρῆλθε δεδακρυμένος τε καὶ πάντα ξὺν οἰμωγῇ ἀγγέλλων ὅσα Βελισαρίου λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. [30] οἱ δὲ 'οὐδὲ γὰρ χρῆν Νεαπολίτας ἀθῶους βασιλεῖ κατηκούς γενέσθαι οὔτε ἔδεισάν τι οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

IX

So the besieged, without the knowledge of the enemy, sent to Theodatus in Rome begging him to come to their help with all speed. But Theodatus was not making the least preparation for war, being by nature unmanly, as has been said before. And they say that something else happened to him, which terrified him exceedingly and reduced him to still greater anxiety. I, for my part, do not credit this report, but even so it shall be told. Theodatus even before this time had been prone to make enquiries of those who professed to foretell the future, and on the present occasion he was at a loss what to do in the situation which confronted him — a state which more than anything else is accustomed to drive men to seek prophecies; so he enquired of one of the Hebrews, who had a great reputation for prophecy, what sort of an outcome the present war would have. The Hebrew commanded him to confine three groups of ten swine each in three huts, and after giving them respectively the names of Goths, Romans, and the soldiers of the emperor, to wait quietly for a certain number of days. And Theodatus did as he was told. And when the appointed day had come, they both went into the huts and looked at the swine; and they found that of those which had been given the name of Goths all save two were dead, whereas all except a few were living of those which had received the name of the emperor's soldiers; and as for those which had been called Romans, it so happened that, although the hair of all of them had fallen out, yet about half of them survived. When Theodatus beheld this and divined the outcome of the war, a great fear, they say, came upon him, since he knew well that it would certainly be the fate of the Romans to die to half their number and be deprived of their possessions, but that the Goths would be defeated and their race reduced to a few, and that to the emperor would come, with the loss of but a few of his soldiers, the victory in the war. And for this reason, they say, Theodatus felt no impulse to enter into a struggle with Belisarius. As for this story, then, let each one express his views according to the belief or disbelief which he feels regarding it.

But Belisarius, as he besieged the Neapolitans both by land and by sea, was beginning to be vexed. For he was coming to think that they would never yield to him, and, furthermore, he could not hope that the city would be captured, since he was finding that the difficulty of its position was proving to be a very serious obstacle. And the loss of the time which was being spent there distressed him, for he was making his calculations so as to avoid being compelled to go against Theodatus and Rome in the winter season. Indeed he had already even given orders to the army to pack up, his intention being to depart from there as quickly as possible. But while he was in the greatest perplexity, it came to pass that he met with the following good fortune. One of the Isaurians was seized with the desire to observe the construction of the

aqueduct, and to discover in what manner it provided the supply of water to the city. So he entered it at a place far distant from the city, where Belisarius had broken it open, and proceeded to walk along it, finding no difficulty, since the water had stopped running because the aqueduct had been broken open. But when he reached a point near the circuit-wall, he came upon a large rock, not placed there by the hand of man, but a part of the natural formation of the place. And those who had built the aqueduct many years before, after they had attached the masonry to this rock, proceeded to make a tunnel from that point on, not sufficiently large, however, for a man to pass through, but large enough to furnish a passage for the water. And for this reason it came about that the channel of the aqueduct was not everywhere of the same breadth, but one was confronted by a narrow place at that rock, impassable for a man, especially if he wore armour or carried a shield. And when the Isaurian observed this, it seemed to him not impossible for the army to penetrate into the city, if they should make the tunnel at that point broader by a little. But since he himself was a humble person, and never had come into conversation with any of the commanders, he brought the matter before Paucaris, an Isaurian, who had distinguished himself among the guards of Belisarius. So Paucaris immediately reported the whole matter to the general. And Belisarius, being pleased by the report, took new courage, and by promising to reward the man with great sums of money induced him to attempt the undertaking, and commanded him to associate with himself some of the Isaurians and cut out a passage in the rock as quickly as possible, taking care to allow no one to become aware of what they were doing. Paucaris then selected some Isaurians who were thoroughly suitable for the work, and secretly got inside the aqueduct with them. And coming to the place where the rock caused the passage to be narrow, they began their work, not cutting the rock with picks or mattocks, lest by their blows they should reveal to the enemy what they were doing, but scraping it very persistently with sharp instruments of iron. And in a short time the work was done, so that a man wearing a corselet and carrying a shield was able to go through at that point.

But when all his arrangements were at length in complete readiness, the thought occurred to Belisarius that if he should by act of war make his entry into Naples with the army, the result would be that lives would be lost and that all the other things would happen which usually attend the capture of a city by an enemy. And straightway summoning Stephanus, he spoke as follows: "Many times have I witnessed the capture of cities and I am well acquainted with what takes place at such a time. For they slay all the men of every age, and as for the women, though they beg to die, they are not granted the boon of death, but are carried off for outrage and are made to suffer treatment that is abominable and most pitiable. And the children, who are thus deprived of their proper maintenance and education, are forced to be slaves, and that, too, of the men who are the most odious of all — those on whose hands they see

the blood of their fathers. And this is not all, my dear Stephanus, for I make no mention of the conflagration which destroys all the property and blots out the beauty of the city. When I see, as in the mirror of the cities which have been captured in times past, this city of Naples falling victim to such a fate, I am moved to pity both it and you its inhabitants. For such means have now been perfected by me against the city that its capture is inevitable. But I pray that an ancient city, which has for ages been inhabited by both Christians and Romans, may not meet with such a fortune, especially at my hands as commander of Roman troops, not least because in my army are a multitude of barbarians, who have lost brothers or relatives before the wall of this town; for the fury of these men I should be unable to control, if they should capture the city by act of war. While, therefore, it is still within your power to choose and to put into effect that which will be to your advantage, adopt the better course and escape misfortune; for when it falls upon you, as it probably will, you will not justly blame fortune but your own judgment.” With these words Belisarius dismissed Stephanus. And he went before the people of Naples weeping and reporting with bitter lamentations all that he had heard Belisarius say. But they, since it was not fated that the Neapolitans should become subjects of the emperor without chastisement, neither became afraid nor did they decide to yield to Belisarius.

Τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐς τὴν εἴσοδον κατεστήσατο ὧδε. ἄνδρας ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς καὶ ἄρχοντε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Μάγνον τε, ὃς ἰππικοῦ καταλόγου ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἀρχηγὸν Ἐννης, θωρακίσασθαι τε ἅπαντας καὶ τὰς τε ἀσπίδας τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἡσυχάζειν, ἄχρι αὐτὸς σημήνη, ἐκέλευε. [2] καὶ Βέσσαν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπήγγειλε· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ζῆν αὐτῷ βουλὴν τινα περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ποιήσασθαι· [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ Ἐννῇ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιδείξας οὗ πρότερον διελὼν τὸν ὄχετον ἔτυχε, τοῖς τετρακοσίοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐξηγήσασθαι, [4] λύχνα ἀνελομένους, ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἄνδρας δύο ταῖς σάλπιγξε χρῆσθαι ἐπισταμένους ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένωνται, τὴν τε πόλιν ξυνταράξαι καὶ τὰ πρασσόμενα σημήναι σφίσιν οἷοι τε ᾧσιν. [5] αὐτὸς δὲ κλίμακας ὅτι πλείστας πρότερον πεποιημένας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ὄχετον ὑποδύντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον, αὐτὸς δὲ ζῆν τῷ Βέσσᾳ καὶ Φωτίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε καὶ ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα ἔπρασσε. [6] πέμψας δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐγρηγορέναι τε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν ἐπέταττε. καὶ πολλοὺς μέντοι ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὓς δὴ εὐτολμοτάτους ᾤετο εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰόντων οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς καταρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον ὀπίσω ἀπεκομίζοντο. [7] οὓς ἐπεὶ Μάγνος ἔπεσθαι οἱ, καίπερ πολλὰ παραινέσας, οὐκ ἔπειθε, παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆκε. [8] τούτους δὲ Βελισάριος κακίσας καὶ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀπολέξας διακοσίους σὺν Μάγνῳ ἰέναι ἐκέλευεν. ὧν δὴ καὶ Φώτιος ἡγεῖσθαι θέλων, ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἐσεπήδησεν· ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν. [9] αἰσχυνθέντες δὲ τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ

Φωτίου τὴν λοιδορίαν καὶ ὅσοι τὸν κίνδυνον ἔφευγον, αὖθις αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι
τολμήσαντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἶποντο. [10] Βελισάριος δὲ δεῖσας μὴ τῶν πολεμίων
τισὶ τῶν πρᾶσσομένων αἰσθησις γένηται, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν πύργον φυλακὴν εἶχον
ὃς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἄγχιστα ἐτύγγανεν ὦν, ἐνταῦθα τε ἦλθε καὶ Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε τῇ
Γότθων φωνῇ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐκ
τῶν ὅπλων πάταγος ἔναυλος εἴη. [11] καὶ Βέσσας μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναβοήσας μέγα
προσχωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ παρήνει, πολλὰ σφίσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ
ἔσσεσθαι. [12] οἱ δὲ ἐτόθαζον, πολλὰ ἐς Βελισαρίον τε καὶ βασιλέα ὑβρίζοντες.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Βέσσαι ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [13] Ὁ δὲ Νεαπόλεως
ὀχετὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καλύπτεται μόνον, ἀλλ' οὕτω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον διήκει, κύρτωμα ἐκ πλίνθου ὠπτημένης ὑψηλὸν ἔχων, ὥστε
γενόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ ἀμφὶ Μάγνον τε καὶ Ἑννην ἅπαντες οὐδὲ
ὅπου ποτὲ γῆς εἰσι ξυμβάλλεσθαι ἐδύναντο. [14] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ πῃ ἀποβαίνειν
ἐνθένδε εἶχον, ἕως οἱ πρῶτοι ἐς χῶρον ἵκοντο οὗ τὸν ὀχετὸν ἀνώροφον
ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι καὶ οἶκημα ἦν κοιμίδῃ ἀπημελημένον. [15] ἐνταῦθα ἔσω γυνή
τις ᾧκει, μόνῃ τε οὖσα καὶ πενία πολλῇ ξυνοικοῦσα, καὶ δένδρον ἐλαίας
καθύπερθεν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπεφύκει. [16] οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἶδον καὶ ἐν
μέσῃ πόλει ἦσθοντο εἶναι, ἐκβαίνειν μὲν διανοοῦντο, μηχανὴν μέντοι
οὐδεμίαν εἶχον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
ὑψηλὴ γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτυχεν οὖσα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνάβασιν τινα
ἔχουσα. [17] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἐς στενοχωρίαν
πολλὴν ξυνιόντων ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὀπισθεν ιόντων πολὺς τις ξυνέρρει
ὄμιλος, ἐγένετο αὐτῶν τινι ἔννοια τῆς ἀνόδου ἀποπειράσασθαι. [18]
καταθέμενος οὖν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα, ταῖς τε χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν
βιασάμενος, ἐς τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οἶκημα ἦλθε. [19] καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν, ἦν
μὴ σιωπῇ, κτείνειν ἠπειλήσεν. ἡ δὲ καταπλαγεῖσα ἄφωνος ἔμεινε. καὶ ὃς ἐκ
τοῦ πρέμνου τῆς ἐλαίας ἱμάντα τινὰ ἰσχυρὸν ἀναψάμενος τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ
ἱμάντος ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν ἔρριπεν. οὗ δὲ λαβόμενος τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἕκαστος ἀνέβαινε μόλις. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἅπαντες τῆς τε νυκτὸς τὸ
τεταρτημόριον ἔτι ἐλείπετο, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος: καὶ πύργων δύο τοὺς
φύλακας, οὐδέν τι αἰσθανομένους τοῦ κακοῦ, κτείνουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς
βορρᾶν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα Βελισάριος ξὺν τῷ Βέσσᾳ καὶ Φωτίῳ εἰστήκει,
καρᾶδοκῶν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα. [21] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ταῖς
σάλπιγξιν ἐκάλουν, Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τὰς κλίμακας ἐρείσας τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε. [22] τῶν δὲ κλιμάκων οὐδεμίαν
διήκειν ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξυνέβαινεν. ἅτε γὰρ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς
οἱ τεχνῖται ποιοῦμενοι μέτρου τοῦ καθήκοντος οὐχ οἰοί τε ἐξικνεῖσθαι
ἐγένοντο. [23] διόπερ δύο ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἀναβαίνοντες
οὕτω δὴ τῶν ἐπάλξεων καθυπέρτεροι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐγένοντο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
Βελισαρίῳ ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [24] Ἐς δὲ τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα
οὐχ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαῖοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὔτε ταῖς κλίμαξιν χρῆσθαι
οὔτε ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ στρατιῶται ἐδύναντο. [25] οἱ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἥδη προσκεκρουκότες, ἐμπόδιοί τε γεγεννημένοι ὅπως μὴ τὴν πόλιν
ἀμαχητὶ ἔλωσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖς ὥσιν ἔχοντες,

καρτερῶς τε, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἤδη ἀλούσης, ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων προσβολῇ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχον. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπισθεν βαλλόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ κατὰ κράτος Νεάπολις ἦλω. καὶ τῶν πολῶν ἤδη ἀνακεκλιμένων ἅπας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰσῆει. [27] ὅσοι δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐτετάχατο τὰς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τετραμμένας, ἐπεὶ κλίμακες σφίσι παροῦσαι οὐδαμῇ ἔτυχον, ταύτας δὴ τὰς πύλας ἀφυλάκτους παντάπασιν οὔσας ἔκαυσαν. [28] ἔρημον γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἐκείνη τεῖχος, ἅτε τῶν φυλάκων δρασμῶ χρησαμένων, [29] ἐγένετο. φόνος τε ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἐγγέγονει. θυμῷ γὰρ ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσοις ἀδελφόν τινα ἢ ξυγγενὴ ἀποθανεῖν τειχομαχοῦντα τετύχηκε, τὸν ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι, ἔκτεινον, ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας ἐσβάλλοντες παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐλήισαντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ Μασσαγέται, οἱ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεχόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἐς αὐτὰ φυγόντων ἀνέϊλον, ἕως Βελισάριος πανταχόσε περιῶν διεκώλυσέ τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιαύδε: [30] ‘Ἐπειδὴ νενικηκέναι τε ἡμῖν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐδοξίας ἀφίχθαι, πόλιν ἀνάλωτον πρότερον οὔσαν ὑποχειρίαν ἡμῖν ποιησάμενος, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ ἀναξίους εἶναι τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἡσσημένους φιланθρωπία τὸ δικαίως κεκρατηκέναι τούτων ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [31] μὴ τοίνυν ἀέραντα Νεαπολίτας μισήσητε, μηδὲ ὑπερόριον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχθος ποιήσητε. τοὺς γὰρ ἡσσημένους οὐδεὶς τῶν νενικηκότων ἔτι μισεῖ. [32] κτείνοντές τε αὐτοὺς οὐ πολεμίων ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθε τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ ζημιωθήσεσθε τῶν ὑπηκόων. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπους τούσδε μηδὲν ἐργάσησθε περαιτέρω κακόν, μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ πάντα χαρίζεσθε. [33] αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θυμοῦ ἥσσους φαίνεσθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ χρήματα μὲν τὰ ἄλλα γινέσθω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα, γυναῖκες δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἀποδιδόσθω. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ οἱ νενικημένοι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡλικίων ἐξ ἀβουλίας ἐστέρηνται φίλων.’ [34] Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα Νεαπολίταις πάντα ἀφῆκεν, ὕβρεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντα, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας διήλλαξεν. [35] οὕτω τε Νεαπολίταις ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἰχμαλώτοις τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνασώσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα ἀνακτήσασθαι. [36] ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι χρυσὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τιμίων ἔχοντες ἔτυχον, οὗτοι δὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες ἀπεκρύψαντο, καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς πολεμίους λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολαβόντες. ἢ τε πολιορκία ἐς ἡμέρας μάλιστα εἴκοσι κατατείνασα ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. [37] Γότθους δὲ τοὺς τῇδε ἀλόντας οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς Βελισάριος παντάπασι διαφυλάξας, οὐκ ἐλασσόνως ἢ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε. [38] Πάστωρ δέ, ὃς ἐς ἀπόνειαν, ὥς πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, τὸν δῆμον ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλικομένην εἶδεν, ἐς ἀποπληξίαν ἐξέπεσε καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἀπέθανεν, οὔτε νοσήσας πρότερον οὔτε ἄλλο τι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθὼν ἄχαρι. [39] Ἀσκληπιόδοτος δέ, ὃς ξὺν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἔπρασσε, ξὺν τῶν λογίμων τοῖς περιοῦσι παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦλθε. [40] καὶ αὐτῷ Στέφανος ἐπιτωθάζων ἐλοιδореῖτο ὧδε: “Ὁρα, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων

ἀπάντων, οἷα κακὰ τὴν πατρίδα εἰργάσω, τῆς ἐς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποδόμενος σωτηρίαν. [41] εἶτα εἰ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις εὖ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πράγματα, ἠξίωσας ἂν ἔμμισθός τε αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι καὶ ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τῶν τὰ βελτίω βεβουλευμένων τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προδοσίας ὑπαγαγεῖν. [42] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν βασιλεὺς εἴλε, σεσώσμεθα δὲ τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ, οὕτω δὲ εἰσελθεῖν παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐτόλμησας ἄτε οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὔτε Νεαπολίτας οὔτε τὸ βασιλέως διαπεπραγμένος στρατόπεδον, ἀξίας τίσεις δίκας.’ [43] Στέφανος μὲν τῇ ξυμφορᾷ περιώδυνος ὢν ἐς Ἀσκληπιόδοτον ταῦτα ἀπέρριπεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε: ‘Λέληθας σαντὸν ἐγκωμιάζων ἡμᾶς, ὦ γενναῖε, οἷς δὴ εὐνοίαν τὴν ἐς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζεις. [44] εὐνους γάρ τις δεσπότης κινδυνεύουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ βεβαίου τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴη. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν οἱ κρατοῦντες τοιοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας φύλακα ἔξουσιν οἷον ἀρτίως πολέμιον εὔρον, ἐπεὶ ὁ τῇ φύσει τὸ πιστὸν ἔχων οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν γνώμην. [45] σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς φερομένων ἐτοίμως ἂν τοὺς τῶν ἐπιόντων ἐνδέξαιο λόγους. ὁ γὰρ τὸ τῆς διανοίας νοσῶν ἄστατον ἅμα τε ἔδεισε καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φιλάτους ἡρνήσατο πίστιν.’ [46] τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος εἶπε. Νεαπολιτῶν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀναχωροῦντα εἶδον, ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι, ἅπαντα αὐτῷ ἐπεκάλουν τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν δὴ ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ βραχὺ διεσπᾶσαντο. [47] οὕτω τε ἐν τῇ Πάστῳρῳ οἰκία γενόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐζήτουν. τοῖς τε οἰκέταις τεθνάναι Πάστῳρα ἰσχυριζομένοις ἥκιστα πιστεύειν ἠξίουں, ἕως αὐτοῖς τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν ἔδειξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν Νεαπολίται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἀνεσκολόπισαν. [48] οὕτω τε Βελισάριον παρητήσαντο ἐφ’ οἷς δικαίᾳ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενοι ἔδρασαν, τυχόντες τε αὐτοῦ συγγνώμονος διελύθησαν. οὕτω μὲν Νεαπολίται ἀπῆλλαξαν.

Then at length Belisarius, on his part, made his preparations to enter the city as follows. Selecting at nightfall about four hundred men and appointing as commander over them Magnus, who led a detachment of cavalry, and Ennes, the leader of the Isaurians, he commanded them all to put on their corselets, take in hand their shields and swords, and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal. And he summoned Bessas and gave him orders to stay with him, for he wished to consult with him concerning a certain matter pertaining to the army. And when it was well on in the night, he explained to Magnus and Ennes the task before them, pointed out the place where he had previously broken open the aqueduct, and ordered them to lead the four hundred men into the city, taking lights with them. And he sent with them two men skilled in the use of the trumpet, so that as soon as they should get inside the circuit-wall, they might be able both to throw the city into confusion and to notify their own men what they were doing. And he himself was holding in readiness a very great number of ladders which had been constructed previously.

So these men entered the aqueduct and were proceeding toward the city, while he with Bessas and Photius remained at his post and with their help was attending to all details. And he also sent to the camp, commanding the men to remain awake and to keep their arms in their hands. At the same time he kept near him a large force — men whom he considered most courageous. Now of the men who were on their way to the city above half became terrified at the danger and turned back. And since Magnus could not persuade them to follow him, although he urged them again and again, he returned with them to the general. And Belisarius, after reviling these men, selected two hundred of the troops at hand, and ordered them to go with Magnus. And Photius also, wishing to lead them, leaped into the channel of the aqueduct, but Belisarius prevented him. Then those who were fleeing from the danger, put to shame by the railings of the general and of Photius, took heart to face it once more and followed with the others. And Belisarius, fearing lest their operations should be perceived by some of the enemy, who were maintaining a guard on the tower which happened to be nearest to the aqueduct, went to that place and commanded Bessas to carry on a conversation in the Gothic tongue with the barbarians there, his purpose being to prevent any clanging of the weapons from being audible to them. And so Bessas shouted to them in a loud voice, urging the Goths to yield to Belisarius and promising that they should have many rewards. But they jeered at him, indulging in many insults directed at both Belisarius and the emperor. Belisarius and Bessas, then, were thus occupied.

Now the aqueduct of Naples is not only covered until it reaches the wall, but

remains covered as it extends to a great distance inside the city, being carried on a high arch of baked brick. Consequently, when the men under the command of Magnus and Ennes had got inside the fortifications, they were one and all unable even to conjecture where in the world they were. Furthermore, they could not leave the aqueduct at any point until the foremost of them came to a place where the aqueduct chanced to be without a roof and where stood a building which had entirely fallen into neglect. Inside this building a certain woman had her dwelling, living alone with utter poverty as her only companion; and an olive tree had grown out over the aqueduct. So when these men saw the sky and perceived that they were in the midst of the city, they began to plan how they might get out, but they had no means of leaving the aqueduct either with or without their arms. For the structure happened to be very high at that point and, besides, offered no means of climbing to the top. But as the soldiers were in a state of great perplexity and were beginning to crowd each other greatly as they collected there (for already, as the men in the rear kept coming up, a great throng was beginning to gather), the thought occurred to one of them to make trial of the ascent. He immediately therefore laid down his arms, and forcing his way up with hands and feet, reached the woman's house. And seeing her there, he threatened to kill her unless she should remain silent. And she was terror-stricken and remained speechless. He then fastened to the trunk of the olive tree a strong strap, and threw the other end of it into the aqueduct. So the soldiers, laying hold of it one at a time, managed with difficulty to make the ascent. And after all had come up and a fourth part of the night still remained, they proceeded toward the wall; and they slew the garrison of two of the towers before the men in them had an inkling of the trouble. These towers were on the northern portion of the circuit-wall, where Belisarius was stationed with Bessas and Photius, anxiously awaiting the progress of events. So while the trumpeters were summoning the army to the wall, Belisarius was placing the ladders against the fortifications and commanding the soldiers to mount them. But it so happened that not one of the ladders reached as far as the parapet. For since the workmen had not made them in sight of the wall, they had not been able to arrive at the proper measure. For this reason they bound two together, and it was only by using both of them for the ascent that the soldiers got above the level of the parapet. Such was the progress of these events where Belisarius was engaged.

But on the side of the circuit-wall which faces the sea, where the forces on guard were not barbarians, but Jews, the soldiers were unable either to use the ladders or to scale the wall. For the Jews had already given offence to their enemy by having opposed their efforts to capture the city without a fight, and for this reason they had no hope if they should fall into their hands; so they kept fighting stubbornly, although they could see that the city had already been captured, and held out beyond all expectation against the assaults of their

opponents. But when day came and some of those who had mounted the wall marched against them, then at last they also, now that they were being shot at from behind, took to flight, and Naples was captured by storm. By this time the gates were thrown open and the whole Roman army came in. [L] But those who were stationed about the gates which fronted the east, since, as it happened, they had no ladders at hand, set fire to these gates, which were altogether unguarded; for that part of the wall had been deserted, the guards having taken to flight. And then a great slaughter took place; for all of them were possessed with fury, especially those who had chanced to have a brother or other relative slain in the fighting at the wall. And they kept killing all whom they encountered, sparing neither old nor young, and dashing into the houses they made slaves of the women and children and secured the valuables as plunder; and in this the Massagetae outdid all the rest, for they did not even withhold their hand from the sanctuaries, but slew many of those who had taken refuge in them, until Belisarius, visiting every part of the city, put a stop to this, and calling all together, spoke as follows:

DATE:

[L] 536 A.D.

“Inasmuch as God has given us the victory and has permitted us to attain the greatest height of glory, by putting under our hand a city which has never been captured before, it behooves us on our part to shew ourselves not unworthy of His grace, but by our humane treatment of the vanquished, to make it plain that we have conquered these men justly. Do not, therefore, hate the Neapolitans with a boundless hatred, and do not allow your hostility toward them to continue beyond the limits of the war. For when men have been vanquished, their victors never hate them any longer. And by killing them you will not be ridding yourselves of enemies for the future, but you will be suffering a loss through the death of your subjects. Therefore, do these men no further harm, nor continue to give way wholly to anger. For it is a disgrace to prevail over the enemy and then to shew yourselves vanquished by passion. So let all the possessions of these men suffice for you as the rewards of your valour, but let their wives, together with the children, be given back to the men. And let the conquered learn by experience what kind of friends they have forfeited by reason of foolish counsel.”

After speaking thus, Belisarius released to the Neapolitans their women and children and the slaves, one and all, no insult having been experienced by them, and he reconciled the soldiers to the citizens. And thus it came to pass for the Neapolitans that on that day they both became captives and regained their liberty, and that they recovered the most precious of their possessions. For those of them who happened to have gold or anything else of value had previously concealed it by burying it in the earth, and in this way they succeeded in hiding from the enemy the fact that in getting back their houses

they were recovering their money also. And the siege, which had lasted about twenty days, ended thus. As for the Goths who were captured in the city, not less than eight hundred in number, Belisarius put them under guard and kept them from all harm, holding them in no less honour than his own soldiers.

And Pastor, who had been leading the people upon a course of folly, as has been previously set forth by me, upon seeing the city captured, fell into a fit of apoplexy and died suddenly, though he had neither been ill before nor suffered any harm from anyone. But Asclepiodotus, who was engaged in this intrigue with him, came before Belisarius with those of the notables who survived. And Stephanus mocked and reviled him with these words: "See, O basest of all men, what evils you have brought to your fatherland, by selling the safety of the citizens for loyalty to the Goths. And furthermore, if things had gone well for the barbarians, you would have claimed the right to be yourself a hireling in their service and to bring to court on the charge of trying to betray the city to the Romans each one of us who have given the better counsel. But now that the emperor has captured the city, and we have been saved by the uprightness of this man, and you even so have had the hardihood recklessly to come into the presence of the general as if you had done no harm to the Neapolitans or to the emperor's army, you will meet with the punishment you deserve." Such were the words which Stephanus, who was deeply grieved by the misfortune of the city, hurled against Asclepiodotus. And Asclepiodotus replied to him as follows: "Quite unwittingly, noble Sir, you have been heaping praise upon us, when you reproach us for our loyalty to the Goths. For no one could ever be loyal to his masters when they are in danger, except it be by firm conviction. As for me, then, the victors will have in me as true a guardian of the state as they lately found in me an enemy, since he whom nature has endowed with the quality of fidelity does not change his conviction when he changes his fortune. But you, should their fortunes not continue to prosper as before, would readily listen to the overtures of their assailants. For he who has the disease of inconstancy of mind no sooner takes fright than he denies his pledge to those most dear." Such were the words of Asclepiodotus. But the populace of the Neapolitans, when they saw him returning from Belisarius, gathered in a body and began to charge him with responsibility for all that had befallen them. And they did not leave him until they had killed him and torn his body into small pieces. After that they came to the house of Pastor, seeking for the man. And when the servants insisted that Pastor was dead, they were quite unwilling to believe them until they were shown the man's body. And the Neapolitans impaled him in the outskirts of the town. Then they begged Belisarius to pardon them for what they had done while moved with just anger, and receiving his forgiveness, they dispersed. Such was the fate of the Neapolitans.

Γότθοι δὲ ὅσοις ἀμφὶ τε Ῥώμην καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, καὶ πρότερον τὴν Θεωδᾶτου ἡσυχίαν ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιοῦμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν

γειτόνων οὗσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ βούλοιο διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, ἐν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενοι, ὥς δὴ τὰ Γόθων πράγματα προδιδόι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐθελουσίως, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐπιμελὲς εἶη, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἡσυχῇ βιοτεύοι, ὥς πλεῖστα περιβαλλόμενος χρήματα, ἐπειδὴ ἁλῶναι Νεάπολιν ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντά οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἤδη ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐς χωρίον ξυνελέγησαν Ῥώμης ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους διέχον, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Ῥεγάτα: ἐνταῦθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι σφίσιν ἔδοξεν ἄριστον εἶναι: πεδία γὰρ πολλὰ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστιν ἱππόβοτα. [2] ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμός, ὃν Δεκεννόβιον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐννεακαίδεκα περυῶν σημεῖα, ὅπερ ξύνεισιν ἐς τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκβάλλει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρακίνην, ἧς ἄγχιστα ὄρος τὸ Κίρκαιόν ἐστιν, οὗ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τῇ Κίρκῃ ξυγγενέσθαι φασίν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν νήσῳ Ὅμηρος τὰ τῆς Κίρκης οἰκία ἰσχυρίζεται εἶναι. [3] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὥς τὸ Κίρκαιον τοῦτο, ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆκον, νήσῳ ἐμφορὲς ἐστί, καὶ τοῖς τε πλεούσιν ἄγχιστα τοῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἡῖονα βαδίζουσι νῆσος δοκεῖ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τις ἐν αὐτῷ γένηται, τότε δὴ μεταμανθάνει ψευσθῆναι τῆς δόξης τὰ πρότερα. [4] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος ἴσως νῆσον τὸ χωρίον ὠνόμασεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἄνειμι. [5] Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Ῥεγάτα ξυνελέγησαν, βασιλέα σφίσι τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις Οὐίτιγιν εἵλοντο, ἄνδρα οἰκίας μὲν οὐκ ἐπιφανοῦς ὄντα, ἐν μάχαις δὲ ταῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον λίαν εὐδοκιμηκότα τὸ πρότερον, ἥνικα τὸν πρὸς Γήπαιδας πόλεμον Θευδέριχος διέφερε. [6] Θευδάτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐς φυγὴν τε ὥρμητο καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἤλυνεν. Οὐίτιγίς δὲ κατὰ τάχος Ὀπταριν ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα Γότθον, ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀγαγεῖν Θευδάτον. [7] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Θευδάτῳ οὗτος ὁ Ὀπταρις χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. κόρην τινὰ Ὀπταρις ἐπὶ κληρόν τε καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῇ οὖσαν ἐμνηστεύετο. [8] ταύτην Θευδάτος ἀφελόμενος τὸν μνηστῆρα τοῦτον, χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθεὶς, ἐτέρῳ ἠγγύησε. διὸ δὴ τῷ τε θυμῷ καὶ Οὐιτιγίδι χαριζόμενος, πολλῇ Θευδάτον σπουδῇ τε καὶ προθυμίᾳ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνείς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἐδίωκε. [9] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ὁδῷ ἔτι πορευόμενον καταλαμβάνει, ἐς ἑδαφὸς τε ὑπτιον ἀνακλίνας ὥσπερ ἱερεῖόν τι ἔθυσεν. αὕτη τε Θευδάτῳ καταστροφή τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, τρίτον ἐχούσης ἔτος, ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ ἅμα Γότθοις τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσῆλauen. γνούς τε τὰ Θευδάτῳ ξυνεγεγῆντα, ἥσθη τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα Θευδέγισκλον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησατο. [11] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Γόθων πράγματα ἥκιστα οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, βέλτιον ἐνόμισεν ἐς Ῥάβενναν πρῶτον ἰέναι, ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε πάντα ἐξαρτυσαμένῳ ὥς ἄριστα οὕτω δὴ καθίστασθαι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ξυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [12] 'Αἰ μέγιστα τῶν πράξεων, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐ καιρῶν ὀξύτητι, ἀλλ' εὐβουλία φιλοῦσιν ὀρθοῦσθαι. [13] πολλάκις γὰρ μέλλησίν τε εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα μᾶλλον ὥνησε καὶ σπουδὴ οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἐπιδειχθεῖσα πολλοῖς ἀνεχαίτισε τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσεσιν ἐλπίδα. [14] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀπαράσκευοι μὲν, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μαχόμενοι, ἡσσῶνται ἢ ὅσοι τὴν ἐλάσσῃ ἰσχὴν ὥς ἄριστα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν.

[15] μὴ τοίνυν τῷ παραυτίκα φιλοτίμῳ ἐπαιρόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐργασώμεθα: κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεὶ αἰσχυνομένους τὴν εὐκλειαν ἀπέραντον διασώσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα φυγόντας ὕβριν ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. [16] καίτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς δὴ πού ἐπίστασθε ὡς τό τε Γότθων πλῆθος καὶ ζύμπασαν σχεδόν τι τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν σκευὴν ἐν τε Γαλλίαις καὶ Βενετίαις καὶ χώραις ταῖς ἐκαστάτω ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. [17] καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ Φράγγων ἔθνη οὐχ ἥσσω τοῦδε πόλεμον διαφέρομεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ εὖ διαθεμένους ἐφ' ἕτερον χωρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀμφίβολόν τι καθισταμένους καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἓνα πολέμιον ὀρῶντας τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσᾶσθαι εἰκός. [18] ἐγὼ δέ φημι χρῆναι νῦν μὲν εὐθὺ Παβέννης ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ πρὸς Φράγγους πόλεμον διαλύσαντας τᾶλλα τε διωκημένους ὡς ἄριστα οὕτω δὴ Βελισαρίῳ παντὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ διαμάχεσθαι. [19] καὶ μοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τήνδε ὑμῶν ὑποστελλέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδὲ φυγὴν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν ὀκνεῖτω. [20] δειλίας μὲν γὰρ προσηγορία ἐπιτηδείως προσπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς ὠρθωσεν, ἀνδρείας δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐν τῷ καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τισὶν ἐγγενόμενον, εἴτα ἐς ἥτταν ἐχώρησεν. [21] οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ζυμφῶρῳ τῶν ἔργων ἔπεσθαι ἄξιον. ἀνδρός τε γὰρ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀρχόμεναι δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τελευτᾶσαι μηνύουσι. [22] φεύγουσι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐχ οἱ ἂν μετὰ μείζονος τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοιεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σώματα ἐς αἰεὶ διασώζειν βουλόμενοι ἐκποδῶν ἴστανται. πόλεώς τε τῆσδε ἀλώσεως περὶ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν γινέσθω τι δέος. [23] ἦν τε γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμῖν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχωσι, τὴν πόλιν ἐν βεβαίῳ Γότθοις φυλάξουσιν, ἀνάγκης τε πείραν οὐδεμιᾶς ἔξουσιν, [24] ἐπεὶ ἐν βραχεὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξομεν χρόνῳ. καὶ ἦν τι ὑποπτον αὐτοῖς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐστίν, ἐλάσσω βλάβουσι τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι: ἄμεινον γὰρ πρὸς δυσμενεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι. [25] ὅπως μέντοι μηδὲν τι ζυμβήσεται τοιοῦτον, ἐγὼ προνοήσω. ἄνδρας τε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντα ξυνετώτατον ἀπολείψομεν, οἱ Ῥώμην φυλάξαι ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν καλῷ κείσεται καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῆσδε ἡμῶν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γένοιτο βλάβος.' [26] Οὐίτιγισ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ Γότθοι ἅπαντες παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν πορείαν. μετὰ δὲ Σιλβερῖο τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τε ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ παραινέσας Οὐίτιγισ, καὶ τῆς Θευδερίχου ἀρχῆς ὑπομνήσας, ἐνεκελεύετο ἅπασιν ἐς Γότθων τὸ ἔθνος εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινοτάτοις ὑπὲρ τούτων καταλαβόν, ἄνδρας τε ἀπολέξας οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας Λεύδεριν, ἡλικίας τε πόρρω ἦκοντα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐφ' ᾧ Ῥώμην φυλάξουσι σφίσιν: οὕτω δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Παβένναν ἦει, τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς πλείστους ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [27] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο, Ματασοῦνθαν τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης θυγατέρα, παρθένον τε καὶ ὥραϊαν ἥδη οὔσαν, γυναικα γαμετὴν οὕτι ἐθελούσιον ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως δὴ βεβαιωτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξει τῇ ἐς γένος τὸ Θευδερίχου ἐπιμυξία. [28] ἔπειτα δὲ ἅπαντας Γότθους πανταχόθεν ἀγείρας διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμη, ὅπλα τε καὶ ἵππους διανέμων κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστω, μόνους δὲ Γότθους οἱ ἐν Γαλλίαις φυλακὴν εἶχον, δέει τῶν Φράγγων οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν μεταπέμπεσθαι. [29] οἱ δὲ Φράγγοι οὗτοι Γερμανοὶ μὲν τὸ

παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο. ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὅπη ψυχημένοι
Γαλλίας τε ἐπεβάτευσαν καὶ διάφοροι Γότθοις γεγένηνται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

XI

But the Goths who were at Rome and in the country round about had even before this regarded with great amazement the inactivity of Theodatus, because, though the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he was unwilling to engage them in battle, and they felt among themselves much suspicion toward him, believing that he was betraying the cause of the Goths to the Emperor Justinian of his own free will, and cared for nothing else than that he himself might live in quiet, possessed of as much money as possible. Accordingly, when they heard that Naples had been captured, they began immediately to make all these charges against him openly and gathered at a place two hundred and eighty stades distant from Rome, which the Romans call Regata. And it seemed best to them to make camp in that place; for there are extensive plains there which furnish pasture for horses. And a river also flows by the place, which the inhabitants call Decennovium in the Latin tongue, because it flows past nineteen milestones, a distance which amounts to one hundred and thirteen stades, before it empties into the sea near the city of Taracina; and very near that place is Mt. Circaeum, where they say Odysseus met Circe, though the story seems to me untrustworthy, for Homer declares that the habitation of Circe was on an island. This, however, I am able to say, that this Mt. Circaeum, extending as it does far into the sea, resembles an island, so that both to those who sail close to it and to those who walk to the shore in the neighbourhood it has every appearance of being an island. And only when a man gets on it does he realize that he was deceived in his former opinion. And for this reason Homer perhaps called the place an island. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Goths, after gathering at Regata, chose as king over them and the Italians Vittigis, a man who, though not of a conspicuous house, had previously won great renown in the battles about Sirmium, when Theoderic was carrying on the war against the Gepaedes. Theodatus, therefore, upon hearing this, rushed off in flight and took the road to Ravenna. But Vittigis quickly sent Optaris, a Goth, instructing him to bring Theodatus alive or dead. Now it happened that this Optaris was hostile to Theodatus for the following cause. Optaris was wooing a certain young woman who was an heiress and also exceedingly beautiful to look upon. But Theodatus, being bribed to do so, took the woman he was wooing from him, and betrothed her to another. And so, since he was not only satisfying his own rage, but rendering a service to Vittigis as well, he pursued Theodatus with great eagerness and enthusiasm, stopping neither day nor night. And he overtook him while still on his way, laid him on his back on the ground, and slew him like a victim for sacrifice. Such was the end of Theodatus' life and of his rule, which had reached the third year.[M]

DATE:
[M]Dec. 536 A.D.

And Vittigis, together with the Goths who were with him, marched to Rome. And when he learned what had befallen Theodatus, he was pleased and put Theodatus' son Theodegisclus under guard. But it seemed to him that the preparations of the Goths were by no means complete, and for this reason he thought it better first to go to Ravenna, and after making everything ready there in the best possible way, then at length to enter upon the war. He therefore called all the Goths together and spoke as follows:

“The success of the greatest enterprises, fellow-soldiers, generally depends, not upon hasty action at critical moments, but upon careful planning. For many a time a policy of delay adopted at the opportune moment has brought more benefit than the opposite course, and haste displayed at an unseasonable time has upset for many men their hope of success. For in most cases those who are unprepared, though they fight on equal terms so far as their forces are concerned, are more easily conquered than those who, with less strength, enter the struggle with the best possible preparation. Let us not, therefore, be so lifted up by the desire to win momentary honour as to do ourselves irreparable harm; for it is better to suffer shame for a short time and by so doing gain an undying glory, than to escape insult for the moment and thereby, as would probably be the case, be left in obscurity for all after time. And yet you doubtless know as well as I that the great body of the Goths and practically our whole equipment of arms is in Gaul and Venetia and the most distant lands. Furthermore, we are carrying on against the nations of the Franks a war which is no less important than this one, and it is great folly for us to proceed to another war without first settling that one satisfactorily. For it is natural that those who become exposed to attack on two sides and do not confine their attention to a single enemy should be worsted by their opponents. But I say that we must now go straight from here to Ravenna, and after bringing the war against the Franks to an end and settling all our other affairs as well as possible, then with the whole army of the Goths we must fight it out with Belisarius. And let no one of you, I say, try to dissemble regarding this withdrawal, nor hesitate to call it flight. For the title of coward, fittingly applied, has saved many, while the reputation for bravery which some men have gained at the wrong time, has afterward led them to defeat. For it is not the names of things, but the advantage which comes from what is done, that is worth seeking after. For a man's worth is revealed by his deeds, not at their commencement, but at their end. And those do not flee before the enemy who, when they have increased their preparation, forthwith go against them, but those who are so anxious to save their own lives for ever that they deliberately stand aside. And regarding the capture of this city, let no fear come to any one of you. For if, on the one hand, the Romans are loyal to us, they will guard the city in security for the Goths, and they will not experience any hardship, for

we shall return to them in a short time. And if, on the other hand, they harbour any suspicions toward us, they will harm us less by receiving the enemy into the city; for it is better to fight in the open against one's enemies. None the less I shall take care that nothing of this sort shall happen. For we shall leave behind many men and a most discreet leader, and they will be sufficient to guard Rome so effectively that not only will the situation here be favourable for us, but also that no harm may possibly come from this withdrawal of ours."

Thus spoke Vittigis. And all the Goths expressed approval and prepared for the journey. After this Vittigis exhorted at length Silverius, the priest of the city, and the senate and people of the Romans, reminding them of the rule of Theoderic, and he urged upon all to be loyal to the nation of the Goths, binding them by the most solemn oaths to do so; and he chose out no fewer than four thousand men, and set in command over them Leuderis, a man of mature years who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, that they might guard Rome for the Goths. Then he set out for Ravenna with the rest of the army, keeping the most of the senators with him as hostages. And when he had reached that place, he made Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, who was a maiden now of marriageable age, his wedded wife, much against her will, in order that he might make his rule more secure by marrying into the family of Theoderic. After this he began to gather all the Goths from every side and to organize and equip them, duly distributing arms and horses to each one; and only the Goths who were engaged in garrison duty in Gaul he was unable to summon, through fear of the Franks. These Franks were called "Germani" in ancient times. And the manner in which they first got a foothold in Gaul, and where they had lived before that, and how they became hostile to the Goths, I shall now proceed to relate.

Τὴν θάλασσαν ἔκ τε ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδεΐρων ἐσπλέοντι χώρα μὲν ἡ ἐν ἄριστερᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, Εὐρώπη ὠνόμασται, ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ Λιβύη ἐκλήθη, ἣν δὴ προϊόντες Ἀσίαν καλοῦσι. [2] Λιβύης μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐπέκεινα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: ἔρημος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Νεῖλου ἑκροή σὺδαμῃ ἔγνωσται, ὃν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐνθένδε φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. [3] Εὐρώπη δὲ εὐθὺς ἀρχομένη Πελοποννήσῳ βεβαιοτάτα ἐμφερὴς ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσσην ἑκατέρωθι κεῖται. καὶ χώρα μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἀμφὶ τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ δύνοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν Ἰσπανία ὠνόμασται, ἄχρι ἐς Ἀλπεῖς τὰς ἐν ὄρει τῷ Πυρηναίῳ οὔσας. [4] Ἀλπεῖς δὲ καλεῖν τὴν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ δίοδον οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασι. τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Λιγυρίας ὁρίων Γαλλία ἐκλήθη. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλπεῖς ἕτεραι Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσι. [5] Γαλλία μέντοι Ἰσπανίας πολλῷ εὐρυτέρα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ἐκ στενοῦ ἀρχομένη Εὐρώπη ἐς ἄφατόν τι εὖρος ἀεὶ προϊόντι κατὰ λόγον χωρεῖ. [6] χώρα δὲ αὕτη ἑκατέρα τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον πρὸς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ περιβάλλεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον θάλασσαν τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν καλουμένην ἔχει. [7] ἐν Γάλλοις δὲ ἄλλοι τε

ποταμοὶ καὶ Ῥοδανὸς τε καὶ Ῥήνος ῥέουσι. τοῦτοιν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀλλήλοιν ἰόντοιν ἄτερος μὲν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, Ῥήνος δὲ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. [8] λίμναι τε ἐνταῦθα πολλαί, οὗ δὴ Γερμανοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκνητο, βάρβαρον ἔθνος, οὐ πολλοῦ λόγου τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄξιον, οἳ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται. [9] τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ἀρβόρουχοι ὤκουν, οἳ ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ Γαλλίᾳ καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσπανίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. [10] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Θορίγγοι βάρβαροι, δόντος Αὐγούστου πρώτου βασιλέως, ἰδρύσαντο. [11] καὶ αὐτῶν Βουργουζῖωνες οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένοι ὤκουν, Σουάβοι τε ὑπὲρ Θορίγγων καὶ Ἀλαμανοί, ἰσχυρὰ ἔθνη. οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι ἅπαντες ταύτῃ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἴδρυντο. [12] Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου Οὐισίγοτθοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν βιασάμενοι Ἰσπανίαν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ κατήκοα σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. [13] ἐτύγχανον δὲ Ἀρβόρουχοι τότε Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγενημένοι. οὗς δὴ Γερμανοὶ κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐθέλοντες, ἅτε ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ πολιτείαν ἦν πάλαι εἶχον μεταβαλόντας, ποιήσασθαι, ἐληίζοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ πολεμῆσιόντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. [14] Ἀρβόρουχοι δὲ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπεὶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς Γερμανοὶ οὐχ οἷοι τε ἦσαν, ἐταιρίζεσθαι τε ἠξίουσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις κηδεσθαι γίνεσθαι. [15] ἃ δὴ Ἀρβόρουχοι οὕτι ἀκούσιοι ἐνεδέχοντο: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, οὕτω τε ἐς ἓνα λεὼν ξυνελθόντες δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν. [16] Καὶ στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι ἐς Γάλλων τὰς ἐσχατίας φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐτετάχато. [17] οἳ δὴ οὔτε ἐς Ῥώμην ὅπως ἐπανήξουσιν ἔχοντες οὐ μὴν οὔτε προσχωρεῖν Ἀρειανοῖς οὔσι τοῖς πολεμίοις βουλόμενοι, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ χώραν ἦν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐφύλασσαν Ἀρβόρουχοις τε καὶ Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν, ἔς τε ἀπογόνους τοὺς σφετέρους ξύμπαντα παραπέμπαντες διεσώσαντο τὰ πάτρια ἥθη, ἃ δὴ σεβόμενοι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τηρεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. [18] ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν καταλόγων ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου δηλοῦνται ἐς οὗς τὸ παλαιὸν τασσόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ σημεία τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαγόμενοι οὕτω δὴ ἐς μάχην καθίστανται, νόμοις τε τοῖς πατρίοις ἐς αἰεὶ χρῶνται. [19] καὶ σχῆμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν κὰν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι διασώζουσιν. [20] Ἔως μὲν οὖν πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἢ αὐτὴ ἔμενε, Γαλλίας τὰ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Ὀδοάκρος ἐς τυραννίδα μετέβαλε, τότε δὴ, τοῦ τυράννου σφίσιν ἐνδιδόντος, ξύμπασαν Γαλλίαν Οὐισίγοτθοι ἔσχον μέχρι Ἀλπεων αἰ τὰ Γάλλων τε ὅρια καὶ Λιγούρων διορίζουσι. [21] πεσόντος δὲ Ὀδοάκρου Θορίγγοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι τὴν Γερμανῶν δύναμιν ἤδη αὐξομένην δειμαίνοντες ἰσχυρότατα ἐγγέγονε καὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐν ποσὶν ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐβιάζετό Γότθων δὴ καὶ Θεουδερίχου τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. οὗς δὴ ἐταιρίσασθαι Θεουδέριχος ἐθέλων ἐς κῆδος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. [22] τῷ μὲν οὖν τῆνικαῦτα Οὐισίγοτθων ἡγουμένῳ Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Θεουδιχοῦσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἡγγύησεν, Ἑρμενεφρίδῳ δὲ τῷ Θορίγγων ἄρχοντι Ἀμαλαβέργαν τὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδης τῆς ἀδελφῆς παῖδα. [23] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Φράγγοι

τῆς μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς βίας δέει τῷ Θευδερίχου ἀπέσχοντο, [24] ἐπὶ Βουργουζίωνα
δὲ πολέμῳ ἦεσαν. ὕστερον δὲ Φράγγοις τε καὶ Γότθοις ξυμμαχίαι τε καὶ
ξυνθῆκαι ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ Βουργουζίωνων ἐγένοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι μὲν στρατιάν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πέμψωσιν: [25] ἦν δὲ ὁποτέρων ἀπολελειμμένων, οἱ ἕτεροι
στρατεύσαντες τὸ Βουργουζίωνων καταστρέφονται γένος καὶ χώραν ἦν
ἔχουσι παραστήσωται, ποινὴν οἱ νενικηκότες παρὰ τῶν οὐ ξυστρατευσάντων
ῥήτὸν τι χρυσίον κομίζονται, κοινὴν δὲ καὶ οὕτω χώραν τὴν δορυάλωτον
ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι. [26] οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ πολλῶν στρατῶ ἐπὶ Βουργουζίωνα
κατὰ τὰ σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις ξυγκείμενα ἦκον, Θευδέριχος δὲ παρεσκευάζετο
μὲν δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐξεπίτηδες δὲ αἰεὶ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν
ἐξοδὸν ἀπετίθετο, караδοκῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα. [27] μόλις δὲ πέμψας ἐπέστελλε τοῖς
τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι σχολαίτερον τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν
Φράγγους νενικηκέναι ἀκούσωσι τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι, ἦν δέ τι
ξύμβαμα ξυμπεπτωκέναι αὐτοῖς πύθονται, μηκέτι περαιτέρω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ'
αὐτοῦ μένειν. [28] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίουν ὅσα Θευδέριχος σφίσιν ἐπήγγελλε,
Γερμανοὶ δὲ κατὰ μόνας Βουργουζίωσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθον. [29] μάχης τε
καρτερᾶς γενομένης φόνος μὲν ἑκατέρων πολὺς γίνεται: ἦν γὰρ ἀγχώματος
ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ ξυμβολή: [30] ἔπειτα δὲ Φράγγοι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς
τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας ἧς τότε ᾤκουν ἐξήλασαν, ἔνθα σφίσι πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα ἦν,
[31] αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ξύμπασαν ἔσχον. ἅπερ Γότθοι ἀκούσαντες κατὰ τάχος
παρῆσαν. κακίζόμενοι τε πρὸς τῶν ξυμμάχων τὸ τῆς χώρας δύσοδον ἡτιῶντο,
καὶ τὴν ποινὴν καταθέμενοι τὴν χώραν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο, ξὺν τοῖς
νενικηκόσιν ἐνείμαντο. [32] οὕτω τε Θευδερίχου ἡ πρόνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐγνώσθη, ὅς γε οὐδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀποβαλὼν ὀλίγῳ χρυσῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν
τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτήσατο χώραν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Γότθοι τε καὶ
Γερμανοὶ μοῖραν τινα Γαλλίας ἔσχον. [33] Μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τῆς δυνάμεως
σφίσιν ἐπὶπροσθεν ἰούσης ἐν ὀλιγοῖα ποιησάμενοι Θευδέριχόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ δέος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλάριχον καὶ Οὐισιγόθους ἐστράτευσαν. [34] ἃ δὴ Ἀλάριχος
μαθὼν Θευδέριχον ὅτι τάχιστα μετεπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν
στρατῶ πολλῷ ἦει. [35] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐισίγοτθοι, ἐπεὶ Γερμανοὺς ἀμφὶ πόλιν
Καρκασιανὴν στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπύθοντο, ὑπηντίαζόν τε καὶ στρατόπεδον
ποιησάμενοι ἠρέμουν. [36] χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεῖα
τριβομένου συγνοῦ ἡσχαλλόν τε καί, ἅτε τῆς χώρας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων
ληιζομένης, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο. [37] καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐς Ἀλάριχον πολλὰ ὕβριζον,
αὐτόν τε διὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δέος κακίζοντες καὶ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὴν μέλλησιν
ὀνειδίζοντες. [38] ἀξιώμαχοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι καὶ ῥᾶον κατὰ μόνας
περιέσεσθαι Γερμανῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. [39] διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθων σφίσιν οὐπω
παρόντων Ἀλάριχος ἠνάγκαστο τοῖς πολεμίους διὰ μάχης ἰέναι. [40]
καθυπέρτεροι δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενοι τῶν τε
Οὐισιγόθων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ Ἀλάριχον τὸν ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι. [41] καὶ
Γαλλίας μὲν καταλαβόντες τὰ πολλὰ ἔσχον, Καρκασιανὴν δὲ πολλῇ σπουδῇ
ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ὃν δὴ ἐν
τοῖς ἅνω χρόνοις Ἀλάριχος ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ῥώμην ἐλὼν ἐλήισατο. [42] ἐν τοῖς
ἦν καὶ τὰ Σολόμωνος τοῦ Ἑβραίων βασιλέως κειμήλια, ἀξιοθέατα ἐς ἄγαν

ὄντα. πρᾶσις γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλλώπιζεν, ἅπερ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν εἶλον. [43] Οὐσιγιόθων δὲ οἱ περιόντες Γισέλιχον, νόθον Ἀλαρίχου υἱόν, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν ἀνεῖπον, Ἀμαλαρίχου τοῦ τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παιδὸς ἔτι κομιδῇ ὄντος. [44] ἔπειτα δὲ Θευδερίχου ζῆν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἦκοντος δείσαντες Γερμανοὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. [45] ἔνθεν τε ἀναχωρήσαντες Γαλλίας τὰ ἐκτὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα ἔσχον. ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι Θευδέριχος οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ταῦτα μὲν σφᾶς ξυνεχώρει ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Γαλλίας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνέσώσατο. [46] Γισελίχου τε ἐκποδὼν γενομένου ἐς τὸν θυγατρίδοῦν Ἀμαλάριχον τὴν Οὐσιγιόθων ἀρχὴν ἤνεγκεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπετρόπευε παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. [47] χρήματά τε λαβὼν ζύμπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Καρκασιανῇ ἔκειτο ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀπῆλυνεν, ἄρχοντάς τε αἰεὶ καὶ στρατιὰν Θευδέριχος ἔς τε Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἰσπανίαν πέμπων αὐτὸς εἶχε τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος προνοήσας τε ὅπως βέβαιον αὐτὸ ἐς αἰεὶ ἔξει φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἑταξέν οἱ αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν τοὺς ταύτῃ ἄρχοντας. [48] δεχόμενός τε αὐτὴν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν, τῷ Γότθων τε καὶ Οὐσιγιόθων στρατῷ δῶρον ἐπέτειον ἔπεμπε. [49] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐσιγιότθοι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἄτε ἀρχόμενοι τε πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἐνὸς καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες παῖδας τοὺς σφετέρους ἀλλήλοις ἐγγυῶντες ἐς ξυγγένειαν ἐπεμύγνυντο. [50] Μετὰ δὲ Θεῦδις, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὅνπερ Θευδέριχος τῷ στρατῷ ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψε, γυναῖκα ἐξ Ἰσπανίας γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο, οὗ γένους μέντοι Οὐσιγιόθων, ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκίας τῶν τινος ἐπιχωρίων εὐδαίμονος, ἄλλα τε περιβεβλημένην μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ χώρας πολλῆς ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ κυρίαν οὔσαν. [51] ὅθεν στρατιώτας ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους ἀγείρας δορυφόρων τε περιβαλλόμενος δύναμιν, Γότθων μὲν Θευδερίχου δόντος τῷ λόγῳ ἦρχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τύραννος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν. [52] δείσας δὲ Θευδέριχος ἅτε ξυνέσεως ἐς ἄκρον καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἦκων, μὴ οἱ πόλεμον πρὸς δοῦλον τὸν αὐτοῦ διαφέροντι οἱ Φράγγοι, ὥς τὸ εἰκόσ, ἀπαντήσουσιν ἢ καὶ τι νεώτερον Οὐσιγιότθοι ἐς αὐτὸν δράσουσιν, οὔτε παρέλκε τῆς ἀρχῆς Θεῦδιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αἰεὶ ἐς πόλεμον ἰόντι ἐκέλευε. [53] γράφειν μέντοι αὐτῷ Γότθων τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπήγγειλεν ὡς δίκαιά τε ποιίῃ καὶ ξυνέσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξια, ἣν Θευδέριχον ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦκων ἀσπάζοιτο. [54] Θεῦδις δὲ ἃ μὲν Θευδέριχος ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντα ἐπετέλει, καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον οὔποτε ἀποφέρων ἀνίει, ἐς Ῥάβενναν δὲ ἰέναι οὔτε ἤθελεν οὔτε τοῖς γράφουσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο.

XII

As one sails from the ocean into the Mediterranean at Gadira, the land on the left, as was stated in the preceding narrative, is named Europe, while the land opposite to this is called Libya, and, farther on, Asia. Now as to the region beyond Libya I am unable to speak with accuracy; for it is almost wholly destitute of men, and for this reason the first source of the Nile, which they say flows from that land toward Egypt, is quite unknown. But Europe at its very beginning is exceedingly like the Peloponnesus, and fronts the sea on either side. And the land which is first toward the ocean and the west is named Spain, extending as far as the alps of the Pyrenees range. For the men of this country are accustomed to call a narrow, shut-in pass "alps." And the land from there on as far as the boundaries of Liguria is called Gaul. And in that place other alps separate the Gauls and the Ligurians. Gaul, however, is much broader than Spain, and naturally so, because Europe, beginning with a narrow peninsula, gradually widens as one advances until it attains an extraordinary breadth. And this land is bounded by water on either side, being washed on the north by the ocean, and having on the south the sea called the Tuscan Sea. And in Gaul there flow numerous rivers, among which are the Rhone and the Rhine. But the course of these two being in opposite directions, the one empties into the Tuscan Sea, while the Rhine empties into the ocean. And there are many lakes in that region, and this is where the Germans lived of old, a barbarous nation, not of much consequence in the beginning, who are now called Franks. Next to these lived the Arborychi, who, together with all the rest of Gaul, and, indeed, Spain also, were subjects of the Romans from of old. And beyond them toward the east were settled the Thuringian barbarians, Augustus, the first emperor, having given them this country. And the Burgundians lived not far from them toward the south, and the Suevi also lived beyond the Thuringians, and the Alamani, powerful nations. All these were settled there as independent peoples in earlier times.

But as time went on, the Visigoths forced their way into the Roman empire and seized all Spain and the portion of Gaul lying beyond the Rhone River and made them subject and tributary to themselves. By that time it so happened that the Arborychi had become soldiers of the Romans. And the Germans, wishing to make this people subject to themselves, since their territory adjoined their own and they had changed the government under which they had lived from of old, began to plunder their land and, being eager to make war, marched against them with their whole people. But the Arborychi proved their valour and loyalty to the Romans and shewed themselves brave men in this war, and since the Germans were not able to overcome them by force, they wished to win them over and make the two peoples kin by intermarriage. This suggestion the Arborychi received not at

all unwillingly; for both, as it happened, were Christians. And in this way they were united into one people, and came to have great power.

Now other Roman soldiers, also, had been stationed at the frontiers of Gaul to serve as guards. And these soldiers, having no means of returning to Rome, and at the same time being unwilling to yield to their enemy who were Arians, gave themselves, together with their military standards and the land which they had long been guarding for the Romans, to the Arborychi and Germans; and they handed down to their offspring all the customs of their fathers, which were thus preserved, and this people has held them in sufficient reverence to guard them even up to my time. For even at the present day they are clearly recognized as belonging to the legions to which they were assigned when they served in ancient times, and they always carry their own standards when they enter battle, and always follow the customs of their fathers. And they preserve the dress of the Romans in every particular, even as regards their shoes.

Now as long as the Roman polity remained unchanged, the emperor held all Gaul as far as the Rhone River; but when Odoacer changed the government into a tyranny, [N] then, since the tyrant yielded to them, the Visigoths took possession of all Gaul as far as the alps which mark the boundary between Gaul and Liguria. [O]But after the fall of Odoacer, the Thuringians and the Visigoths began to fear the power of the Germans, which was now growing greater (for their country had become exceedingly populous and they were forcing into subjection without any concealment those who from time to time came in their way), and so they were eager to win the alliance of the Goths and Theoderic. And since Theoderic wished to attach these peoples to himself, he did not refuse to intermarry with them. Accordingly he betrothed to Alaric the younger, who was then leader of the Visigoths, his own unmarried daughter Theodichusa, and to Hermenefridus, the ruler of the Thuringians, Amalaberga, the daughter of his sister Amalafrida. As a result of this the Franks refrained from violence against these peoples through fear of Theoderic, but they began a war against the Burgundians. But later on the Franks and the Goths entered into an offensive alliance against the Burgundians, agreeing that each of the two should send an army against them; and it was further agreed that if either army should be absent when the other took the field against the nation of the Burgundians and overthrew them and gained the land which they had, then the victors should receive as a penalty from those who had not joined in the expedition a fixed sum of gold, and that only on these terms should the conquered land belong to both peoples in common. So the Germans went against the Burgundians with a great army according to the agreement between themselves and the Goths; but Theoderic was still engaged with his preparations, as he said, and purposely kept putting off the departure of the army to the following day, and waiting for what would come to pass. Finally, however, he sent the army, but commanded the generals to march in a leisurely fashion, and if they should hear that the Franks had

been victorious, they were thenceforth to go quickly, but if they should learn that any adversity had befallen them, they were to proceed no farther, but remain where they were. So they proceeded to carry out the commands of Theoderic, but meanwhile the Germans joined battle alone with the Burgundians.[P] The battle was stubbornly contested and a great slaughter took place on both sides, for the struggle was very evenly matched; but finally the Franks routed their enemy and drove them to the borders of the land which they inhabited at that time, where they had many strongholds, while the Franks took possession of all the rest. And the Goths, upon hearing this, were quickly at hand. And when they were bitterly reproached by their allies, they blamed the difficulty of the country, and laying down the amount of the penalty, they divided the land with the victors according to the agreement made. And thus the foresight of Theoderic was revealed more clearly than ever, because, without losing a single one of his subjects, he had with a little gold acquired half of the land of his enemy. Thus it was that the Goths and Germans in the beginning got possession of a certain part of Gaul.

DATES:

[N]476 A.D.

[O]493 A.D.

[P]534 A.D.

But later on, when the power of the Germans was growing greater, they began to think slightly of Theoderic and the fear he inspired, and took the field against Alaric and the Visigoths. And when Alaric learned this, he summoned Theoderic as quickly as possible. And he set out to his assistance with a great army. In the meantime, the Visigoths, upon learning that the Germans were in camp near the city of Carcasiana, went to meet them, and making a camp remained quiet. But since much time was being spent by them in blocking the enemy in this way, they began to be vexed, and seeing that their land was being plundered by the enemy, they became indignant. And at length they began to heap many insults upon Alaric, reviling him on account of his fear of the enemy and taunting him with the delay of his father-in-law. For they declared that they by themselves were a match for the enemy in battle and that even though unaided they would easily overcome the Germans in the war. For this reason Alaric was compelled to do battle with the enemy before the Goths had as yet arrived. And the Germans, gaining the upper hand in this engagement, killed the most of the Visigoths and their ruler Alaric. [Q] Then they took possession of the greater part of Gaul and held it; and they laid siege to Carcasiana with great enthusiasm, because they had learned that the royal treasure was there, which Alaric the elder in earlier times had taken as booty when he captured Rome. Among these were also the treasures of Solomon, the king of the Hebrews, a most noteworthy sight. [R]For the most of them were adorned with emeralds; and they had been taken from Jerusalem by the Romans in ancient times. Then the survivors of the Visigoths declared Giselic,

an illegitimate son of Alaric, ruler over them, Amalaric, the son of Theoderic's daughter, being still a very young child. And afterwards, when Theoderic had come with the army of the Goths, the Germans became afraid and broke up the siege. So they retired from there and took possession of the part of Gaul beyond the Rhone River as far as the ocean. And Theoderic, being unable to drive them out from there, allowed them to hold this territory, but he himself recovered the rest of Gaul. Then, after Giselic had been put out of the way, he conferred the rule of the Visigoths upon his grandson Amalaric, for whom, since he was still a child, he himself acted as regent. And taking all the money which lay in the city of Carcasiana, he marched quickly back to Ravenna; furthermore, he continued to send commanders and armies into Gaul and Spain, thus holding the real power of the government himself, and by way of providing that he should hold it securely and permanently, he ordained that the rulers of those countries should bring tribute to him. And though he received this every year, in order not to give the appearance of being greedy for money he sent it as an annual gift to the army of the Goths and Visigoths. And as a result of this, the Goths and Visigoths, as time went on, ruled as they were by one man and holding the same land, betrothed their children to one another and thus joined the two races in kinship.

DATES:

[Q]507 A.D.

[R]410 A.D.

But afterwards, Theudis, a Goth, whom Theoderic had sent as commander of the army, took to wife a woman from Spain; she was not, however, of the race of the Visigoths, but belonged to the house of one of the wealthy inhabitants of that land, and not only possessed great wealth but also owned a large estate in Spain. From this estate he gathered about two thousand soldiers and surrounded himself with a force of bodyguards, and while in name he was a ruler over the Goths by the gift of Theoderic, he was in fact an out and out tyrant. And Theoderic, who was wise and experienced in the highest degree, was afraid to carry on a war against his own slave, lest the Franks meanwhile should take the field against him, as they naturally would, or the Visigoths on their part should begin a revolution against him; accordingly he did not remove Theudis from his office, but even continued to command him, whenever the army went to war, to lead it forth. However, he directed the first men of the Goths to write to Theudis that he would be acting justly and in a manner worthy of his wisdom, if he should come to Ravenna and salute Theoderic. Theudis, however, although he carried out all the commands of Theoderic and never failed to send in the annual tribute, would not consent to go to Ravenna, nor would he promise those who had written to him that he would do so.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεωδέριχος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Φράγγοι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἔτι

ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ Θορίγγους ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ Ἑρμενέφριδόν τε τὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα κτείνουσι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενοι ἔσχον. [2] ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμενεφρίδου γυνὴ ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ λαθοῦσα παρὰ Θευδάτον τὸν ἀδελφόν, Γότθων τηνικαῦτα ἄρχοντα, [3] ἦλθε. μετὰ δὲ Γερμανοὶ Βουργουζίωνων τε τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα ἐς τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων καθείρξαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, αὐτοὺς δὲ κατηκόους ποιησάμενοι ξυστρατεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄτε δορυαλώτους ἠνάγκαζον, καὶ τὴν χώραν ζύμπασαν ἦν Βουργουζίωνες τὰ πρότερα ὥκουν, ὑποχειρίαν ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ἐκτήσαντο. [4] Ἀμαλάριχός τε, ὃς ἦρχεν Οὐισιγόθων, ἐπεὶ ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν ἦλθε, δύναμιν τὴν Γερμανῶν κατορρωδήσας τὴν Θευδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντος ἐν γαμετῇ ἐποίησατο λόγῳ, καὶ Γαλλίαν πρὸς τε Γότθους καὶ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Ἀταλάριχον ἐνείματο. [5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐντὸς Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ Γότθοι ἔλαχον, τὰ δὲ τούτου ἐκτὸς ἐς τὸ Οὐισιγόθων περιέστη κράτος. [6] ξυνέκειτο δὲ φόρον ὃν Θευδέριχος ἔταξε μηκέτι ἐς Γότθους κομίζεσθαι, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐκ Καρκασιανῆς πόλεως λαβὼν ἔτυχεν, Ἀταλάριχος Ἀμαλάριχῳ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπέδωκεν. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἀλλήλοις ξυνελθόντα ἔτυχε, τὴν αἵρεσιν ἔδοσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ, τὴν ἐγγύην ἐς θάτερον ἔθνος πεποιημένῳ, πότερον γυναικὶ ἔπεσθαι βούλοιτο, ἢ ἐκείνην ἐς γένος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἄγεσθαι. [8] ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας ὅπῃ ἐβούλοντο ἄγοντες καὶ οἱ πρὸς γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἀγόμενοι. [9] ὕστερον δὲ Ἀμαλάριχος, προσκεκρουκῶς τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ, κακὸν μέγα ἔλαβε. [10] δόξης γὰρ ὀρθῇ τὴν γυναῖκα οὔσαν, αἵρεσιν αὐτὸς τὴν Ἀρείου ἔχων, οὐκ εἶα νομίμοις τοῖς εἰωθόσι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πάτρια τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσχωρεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἡθεσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ εἶχεν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ γυνὴ φέρειν, ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξήνεγκεν ἅπαντα. [11] διὸ δὴ ἐς πόλεμον Γερμανοὶ τε καὶ Οὐισιγότθοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέστησαν. καὶ λίαν μὲν ἰσχυρὰ ἐγγέγονε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ μάχῃ, τέλος δὲ ἡσσηθεὶς Ἀμαλάριχος τῶν τε οἰκείων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. [12] Θευδιβέρτος δὲ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ξὺν πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἔλαβε καὶ Γαλλίας ὅπόσον Οὐισιγότθοι λαχόντες εἶχον. [13] τῶν δὲ ἡσσημένων οἱ περιόντες ἐκ Γαλλίας ξὺν γυναιξὶ τε καὶ παισὶν ἀναστάντες παρὰ Θεῶδιν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τυραννοῦντα ἐχώρησαν. οὕτω μὲν Γότθοι τε καὶ Γερμανοὶ Γαλλίας ἔσχον. [14] Χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Θευδάτος, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἀρχηγός, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον εἰς Σικελίαν ἤκειν ἐπύθετο, ξυνθήκας πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ποιεῖται, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔχοντάς τε αὐτοὺς τὴν Γότθοις ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐν Γάλλοις μοῖραν καὶ χρυσίου κεντηνάρια λαβόντας εἴκοσι πόλεμον τόνδε σφίσι ξυνάρασθαι. [15] οὕτω τε τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἔργῳ ἐπιτελέσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. διὸ δὴ Γότθων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὧν Μαρκίας ἡγεῖτο, [16] φυλακὴν εἶχον. οὓς Οὐίτιγίς ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστῆσαι οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Φράγγοις ἀντιτάξασθαι αὐτοὺς ὤτετο ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, Γαλλίαν τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καταθέουσιν, ἦν αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐλάσῃ. [17] ζυγκαλέσας οὖν εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις καθαρὸν ἦν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐχ ἡδεῖαν μὲν, ἄνδρες ζυγγενεῖς, ἀναγκαίαν δὲ

ὕμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι συνήγαγον· ὅπως δὲ ἀκούσησθε μὲν πρῶως, βουλευθήσεσθε δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐπαξίως. [18] οἷς γὰρ αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦσι, τὸ μὴ πειθομένους τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ τύχῃ οὕτω τὰ παρόντα διοικεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἡμῖν ὥς ἄριστα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς ἔχει. [19] Φράγγοι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἴστανται, οἷς ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολεμίους οὔσι, τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι δαπανώμενοι, ἀντέχειν ἐς τόδε ὁμως ἰσχύσαμεν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἀπὴντα πολέμιον. [20] ἐφ' ἐτέρους δὲ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους ἰέναι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον καταλύειν δεήσει, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι, ἦν δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν διαμείνωσι, μετὰ Βελισαρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τετάζονται πάντως. [21] τοὺς γὰρ ἐχθρὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐς εὐνοίαν τε καὶ ξυμμαχίαν συνάπτεσθαι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσηγεῖται φύσις. [22] ἔπειτα, ἦν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάτερον στρατόπεδον χωρὶς τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, λελείπεται ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρων ἡσσησθαι. [23] ἄμεινον οὖν ὀλίγῳ ἡμᾶς ἐλασσουμένους τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς διασώσασθαι, ἢ πάντα ἔχειν ἐφιεμένους ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δυνάμει πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλέναι. [24] οἶμαι τοίνυν ὥς, ἦν Γαλλίας τὰς σφίσιν ὁμόρους Γερμανοῖς δῶμεν, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ξὺν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ Θευδάτος αὐτοῖς ὠμολόγησε δώσειν, οὐχ ὅσον ἀποτρέψονται τὸ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεμον ἡμῖν ξυλλήψονται τόνδε. [25] ὅπως δὲ αὐθις, εὖ φερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν, Γαλλίας ἀνακτησώμεθα, ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδεῖς. ἐμὲ γάρ τις παλαιὸς εἰσέρχεται λόγος, τὸ παρὸν εὖ τιθέναι κελεύων.' [26] Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι, ξύμφορά τε οἰόμενοι αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἐπιτελῇ γενέσθαι ἤθελον. στέλλονται τοίνυν πρέσβεις αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ Γερμανῶν ἔθνος, ἐφ' ᾧ Γαλλίας τε αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ χρυσῷ δώσουσι καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιήσονται. [27] Φράγγων δὲ τότε ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν Ἰλδίβερτός τε καὶ Θευδίβερτος καὶ Κλοαδάριος, οἱ Γαλλίας τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραλαβόντες διενείμαντο μὲν κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐκάστου ἀρχῆς, φίλοι δὲ ὠμολόγησαν Γότθοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ λάθρα αὐτοῖς ἐπικούρους πέμψειν, οὐ Φράγγους μέντοι, [28] ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σφίσι κατηκόων ἐθνῶν. ὁμαιχμίαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων κακῷ ποιήσασθαι οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ξυλλήψεσθαι ὠμολόγησαν. [29] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐστάλησαν διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπανῆκον ἐς Ῥάβενναν. τότε δὲ καὶ Μαρκίαν σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Οὐίττιγισ μετεπέμπετο.

XIII

After Theoderic had departed from the world,[S] the Franks, now that there was no longer anyone to oppose them, took the field against the Thuringians, and not only killed their leader Hermenefridus but also reduced to subjection the entire people. But the wife of Hermenefridus took her children and secretly made her escape, coming to Theodatus, her brother, who was at that time ruling over the Goths. After this the Germans made an attack upon the Burgundians who had survived the former war, and defeating them in battle confined their leader in one of the fortresses of the country and kept him under guard, while they reduced the people to subjection and compelled them, as prisoners of war, to march with them from that time forth against their enemies, and the whole land which the Burgundians had previously inhabited they made subject and tributary to themselves. And Amalaric, who was ruling over the Visigoths, upon coming to man's estate, became thoroughly frightened at the power of the Germans and so took to wife the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Germans, and divided Gaul with the Goths and his cousin Atalaric. The Goths, namely, received as their portion the land to the east of the Rhone River, while that to the west fell under the control of the Visigoths. And it was agreed that the tribute which Theoderic had imposed should no longer be paid to the Goths, and Atalaric honestly and justly restored to Amalaric all the money which he had taken from the city of Carcasiana. Then, since these two nations had united with one another by intermarriage, they allowed each man who had espoused a wife of the other people to choose whether he wished to follow his wife, or bring her among his own people. And there were many who led their wives to the people they preferred and many also who were led by their wives. But later on Amalaric, having given offence to his wife's brother, suffered a great calamity. For while his wife was of the orthodox faith, he himself followed the heresy of Arius, and he would not allow her to hold to her customary beliefs or to perform the rites of religion according to the tradition of her fathers, and, furthermore, because she was unwilling to conform to his customs, he held her in great dishonour. And since the woman was unable to bear this, she disclosed the whole matter to her brother. For this reason, then, the Germans and Visigoths entered into war with each other. [T]And the battle which took place was for a long time very stoutly contested, but finally Amalaric was defeated, losing many of his men, and was himself slain. And Theudibert took his sister with all the money, and as much of Gaul as the Visigoths held as their portion. And the survivors of the vanquished emigrated from Gaul with their wives and children and went to Theudis in Spain, who was already acting the tyrant openly. Thus did the Goths and Germans gain possession of Gaul.

DATES:

[S]526 A.D.

[T]531 A.D.

But at a later time Theodatus, the ruler of the Goths, upon learning that Belisarius had come to Sicily, made a compact with the Germans, in which it was agreed that the Germans should have that portion of Gaul which fell to the Goths, and should receive twenty centenaria of gold, and that in return they should assist the Goths in this war. But before he had as yet carried out the agreement he fulfilled his destiny.[U] It was for this reason, then, that many of the noblest of the Goths, with Marcias as their leader, were keeping guard in Gaul. It was these men whom Vittigis was unable to recall from Gaul, and indeed he did not think them numerous enough even to oppose the Franks, who would, in all probability, overrun both Gaul and Italy, if he should march with his whole army against Rome. He therefore called together all who were loyal among the Goths and spoke as follows:

DATE:

[U]526 A.D.

“The advice which I have wished to give you, fellow-countrymen, in bringing you together here at the present time, is not pleasant, but it is necessary; and do you hear me kindly, and deliberate in a manner befitting the situation which is upon us. For when affairs do not go as men wish, it is inexpedient for them to go on with their present arrangements in disregard of necessity or fortune. Now in all other respects our preparations for war are in the best possible state. But the Franks are an obstacle to us; against them, our ancient enemies, we have indeed been spending both our lives and our money, but nevertheless we have succeeded in holding our own up to the present time, since no other hostile force has confronted us. But now that we are compelled to go against another foe, it will be necessary to put an end to the war against them, in the first place because, if they remain hostile to us, they will certainly array themselves with Belisarius against us; for those who have the same enemy are by the very nature of things induced to enter into friendship and alliance with each other. In the second place, even if we carry on the war separately against each army, we shall in the end be defeated by both of them. It is better, therefore, for us to accept a little loss and thus preserve the greatest part of our kingdom, than in our eagerness to hold everything to be destroyed by the enemy and lose at the same time the whole power of our supremacy. So my opinion is that if we give the Germans the provinces of Gaul which adjoin them, and together with this land all the money which Theodatus agreed to give them, they will not only be turned from their enmity against us, but will even lend us assistance in this war. But as to how at a later time, when matters are going well for us, we may regain possession of Gaul, let no one of you consider this question. For an ancient saying comes to my mind, which bids us ‘settle well the affairs of the present.’”

Upon hearing this speech the notables of the Goths, considering the plan advantageous, wished it to be put into effect. Accordingly envoys were immediately sent to the nation of the Germans, in order to give them the lands of Gaul together with the gold, and to make an offensive and defensive alliance. Now at that time the rulers of the Franks were Ildibert, Theudibert, and Cloadarius, and they received Gaul and the money, and divided the land among them according to the territory ruled by each one, and they agreed to be exceedingly friendly to the Goths, and secretly to send them auxiliary troops, not Franks, however, but soldiers drawn from the nations subject to them. For they were unable to make an alliance with them openly against the Romans, because they had a little before agreed to assist the emperor in this war. So the envoys, having accomplished the mission on which they had been sent, returned to Ravenna. At that time also Vittigis summoned Marcias with his followers.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίτιγισ ἐπρασσεν, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι παρεσκευάζετο. ἀπολέξας οὖν ἄνδρας ἐκ καταλόγου πεζικοῦ τριακοσίου καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῇ Νεαπόλεως φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο. [2] ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Κύμην φρουρούς, ὅσους ᾤετο τῇ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φρουρίου φυλακῇ ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἄλλο γάρ τι ὀχύρωμα ἐν Καμπανίᾳ, ὅτι μὴ ἐν Κύμῃ τε καὶ ἐν Νεαπόλει, οὐκ ἦν. [3] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Κύμῃ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὸ Σιβύλλης δεικνύουσι σπήλαιον ἐνθα δὴ αὐτῆς τὸ μαντεῖον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν· ἐπιθαλασσία δὲ ἡ Κύμη ἐστὶ, Νεαπόλεως ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους διέχουσα. [4] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν διεκόσμηε τὸ στράτευμα, Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, δείσαντες μὴ σφίσι ξυμβαίῃ ὅσα Νεαπολίταις ξυμπέπτωκε, λογισάμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἄμεινον εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν δέξασθαι. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς Σιλβέριος ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγγεν, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς. [5] Φιδελίον τε πέμψαντες, ἄνδρα ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ὁρμώμενον, ἡ ἐν Λιγούροις κεῖται, ὃς δὴ Ἀταλαρίῳ παρήδρευε πρότερον· κοιαίστῳα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκάλουν, ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν παραδῶσιν ὑποσχόμενοι. [6] ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν Ἀππίαν ὁδὸν ἀφείξεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἣν Ἀππίος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατοὺς ἐννακοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖς πρότερον ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχεν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ· ἐκ Ῥώμης γὰρ αὕτη ἐς Καπύην διήκει. [7] εὖρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἀμάξας δύο ἀντίας ἰέναι ἀλλήλαις, καὶ ἔστιν ἀξιοθέατος πάντων μάλιστα. [8] τὸν γὰρ λίθον ἅπαντα, μυλὴν τε ὄντα καὶ φύσει σκληρόν, ἐκ χώρας ἄλλης μακρὰν οὔσης τεμὼν Ἀππίος ἐνταῦθα ἐκόμισε· [9] ταύτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς γῆς οὐδαμῇ πέφυκε. λείους δὲ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ὁμαλοὺς ἐργασάμενος, ἐγγωνίους τε τῇ ἐντομῇ πεποιημένος, ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνέδησεν, οὔτε χάλिका ἐντὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐμβεβλημένος. [10] οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις οὕτω τε ἀσφαλῶς συνδέδενται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡρμοσμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐμπεφύκασιν ἀλλήλοις, δόξαν τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχονται· [11] καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ δὴ οὕτως ἀμάξαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ζῳαῖς ἅπασι διαβατοὶ γινόμενοι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην οὔτε τῆς ἀρμονίας παντάπασιν διακέκρινται οὔτε τινὶ αὐτῶν διαφθορῆναι ἢ

μείονι γίνεσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀμαρυγῆς τι ἀποβαλέσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ. [12] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν εἶχον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι ἐπύθοντο καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γνώμης ἦσθοντο, ἡσχαλλον τότε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ἠπόρουν· [13] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίων σφίσι ἐνδιδόντων ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησαν ἅπαντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Λεῦδερὶς ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, αἰδεσθεὶς, οἶμαι, τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [14] ξυνέπεσέ τε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Βελισάριον μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσέναι διὰ πύλης ἦν καλοῦσιν Ἀσινარიάν, Γότθους δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐνθένδε διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ἢ Φλαμινία ἐπικαλεῖται, Ῥώμῃ τε αὖθις ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν, ἐνάτῃ τοῦ τελευταίου, πρὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορευομένου Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς ἐνδέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [15] Λεῦδερὶν μὲν οὖν τὸν Γότθων ἄρχοντα καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλαχῇ διερρηκτότος ἐπεμελεῖτο· ἔπαλξιν δὲ ἐκάστην ἐγγώνιον ἐποίει, οἰκοδομίαν δὴ τινα ἐτέραν ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ εὐωνύμου τιθέμενος, ὅπως οἱ ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἐπιούσι μαχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφίσι τειχομαχούντων ἥκιστα βάλλωνται, καὶ τάφρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος βαθεῖάν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ ὥρυσσε. [16] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως τὴν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀποδεδειγμένην ἐμπειρίαν ἐπῆνουν, ἐν θαύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἡσχαλλον, εἴ τινα ὡς πολιορκηθήσεται ἔννοιαν ἔχων ᾤκηται ἐσιτητά οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην εἶναι, ἢ οὔτε πολιορκίαν οἷα τέ ἐστὶ φέρειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι, καὶ τεῖχους περιβαλλομένη τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη ἐς ἄγαν ὑπὲρ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εὐέφοδος, [17] ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔστιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούων τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἅπαντα ἐξηρτύετο, καὶ τὸν σῆτον ὃν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔχων ἐκ Σικελίας ἀφίκετο, ἐν οἰκήμασι καταθέμενος δημοσίοις ἐφύλασσε, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, καίπερ δεινὰ ποιουμένους, ἠνάγκαζεν ἅπαντα σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

XIV

But while Vittigis was carrying on these negotiations, Belisarius was preparing to go to Rome. He accordingly selected three hundred men from the infantry forces with Herodian as their leader, and assigned them the duty of guarding Naples. And he also sent to Cumae as large a garrison as he thought would be sufficient to guard the fortress there. For there was no stronghold in Campania except those at Cumae and at Naples. It is in this city of Cumae that the inhabitants point out the cave of the Sibyl, where they say her oracular shrine was; and Cumae is on the sea, one hundred and twenty-eight stades distant from Naples. Belisarius, then, was thus engaged in putting his army in order; but the inhabitants of Rome, fearing lest all the calamities should befall them which had befallen the Neapolitans, decided after considering the matter that it was better to receive the emperor's army into the city. And more than any other Silverius, the chief priest of the city, urged them to adopt this course. So they sent Fidelius, a native of Milan, which is situated in Liguria, a man who had been previously an adviser of Atalaric (such an official is called "quaestor" by the Romans), and invited Belisarius to come to Rome, promising to put the city into his hands without a battle. So Belisarius led his army from Naples by the Latin Way, leaving on the left the Appian Way, which Appius, the consul of the Romans, had made nine hundred years before and to which he had given his name.

Now the Appian Way is in length a journey of five days for an unencumbered traveller; for it extends from Rome to Capua. And the breadth of this road is such that two waggons going in opposite directions can pass one another, and it is one of the noteworthy sights of the world. For all the stone, which is mill-stone and hard by nature, Appius quarried in another place far away and brought there; for it is not found anywhere in this district. And after working these stones until they were smooth and flat, and cutting them to a polygonal shape, he fastened them together without putting concrete or anything else between them. And they were fastened together so securely and the joints were so firmly closed, that they give the appearance, when one looks at them, not of being fitted together, but of having grown together. And after the passage of so long a time, and after being traversed by many waggons and all kinds of animals every day, they have neither separated at all at the joints, nor has any one of the stones been worn out or reduced in thickness, — nay, they have not even lost any of their polish. Such, then, is the Appian Way.

But as for the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, it was not until they learned that the enemy were very near and became aware of the decision of the Romans, that they began to be concerned for the city, and, being unable to meet the attacking army in battle, they were at a loss; but later, with the

permission of the Romans, they all departed thence and proceeded to Ravenna, except that Leuderis, who commanded them, being ashamed, I suppose, because of the situation in which he found himself, remained there. And it so happened on that day that at the very same time when Belisarius and the emperor's army were entering Rome through the gate which they call the Asinarian Gate, the Goths were withdrawing from the city through another gate which bears the name Flaminian; and Rome became subject to the Romans again after a space of sixty years, on the ninth day of the last month, which is called "December" by the Romans, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. [V] Now Belisarius sent Leuderis, the commander of the Goths, and the keys of the gates to the emperor, but he himself turned his attention to the circuit-wall, which had fallen into ruin in many places; and he constructed each merlon of the battlement with a wing, adding a sort of flanking wall on the left side, in order that those fighting from the battlement against their assailants might never be hit by missiles thrown by those storming the wall on their left; and he also dug a moat about the wall of sufficient depth to form a very important part of the defences. And the Romans applauded the forethought of the general and especially the experience displayed in the matter of the battlement; but they marvelled greatly and were vexed that he should have thought it possible for him to enter Rome if he had any idea that he would be besieged, for it cannot possibly endure a siege because it cannot be supplied with provisions, since it is not on the sea, is enclosed by a wall of so huge a circumference, and, above all, lying as it does in a very level plain, is naturally exceedingly easy of access for its assailants. But although Belisarius heard all these criticisms, he nevertheless continued to make all his preparations for a siege, and the grain which he had in his ships when he came from Sicily he stored in public granaries and kept under guard, and he compelled all the Romans, indignant though they were, to bring all their provisions in from the country.

DATE:

[V]536 A.D.

Τότε δὴ καὶ Πίτζας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ἐκ Σαμνίου ἦκων, αὐτόν τε καὶ Γότθους οἱ ἐκείνη ξὺν αὐτῷ ᾤκηντο, καὶ Σαμνίου τοῦ ἐπιθαλασσίου μοῖραν τὴν ἡμίσειαν Βελισαρίῳ ἐνεχείρισεν, ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς τῆς χώρας μεταξὺ φέρεται. [2] Γότθοι γὰρ ὅσοι ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἴδρυντο, οὔτε τῷ Πίτζα ἐπεσθαι οὔτε βασιλεῖ κατήκοοι εἶναι ἠθέλον. στρατιώτας τέ οἱ Βελισάριος οὐ πολλοὺς ἔδωκεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [3] πρότερον δὲ Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Ἀπούλιοι, Γότθων σφίσι τῇ χώρᾳ οὐ παρόντων, Βελισαρίῳ ἐθελούσιοι προσεχώρησαν οἱ τε παράλιοι καὶ οἱ τὰ μεσόγεια ἔχοντες. [4] Ἐν τοῖς καὶ Βενεβεντός ἐστιν, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Μαλεβεντὸν ὠνόμασαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ταῦν δὲ Βενεβεντὸν καλοῦσι, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου ὀνόματος διαφεύγοντες βλασφημίαν: βέντος γὰρ ἄνεμον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται. [5] ἐν Δαλματία γάρ, ἥ ταύτης καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ κεῖται, ἀνέμου τι πνεῦμα

σκληρόν τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἄγριον ἐπισκίηπτειν φιλεῖ, ὅπερ ἐπειδὰν ἐπιπνεῖν ἄρξηται, ὁδῶ ἰόντα ἔτι ἄνθρωπον ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανή ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι ἅπαντες καθείρξαντες ἑαυτοὺς τηροῦσι. [6] τοιαύτη γάρ τις ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ῥύμη τυγχάνει οὕσα ὥστε ἄνδρα ἱππέα ζὺν τῷ ἵπῳ ἀρπάσασα μετέωρον φέρει, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τε περιαγαγούσα τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος χώρας εἴτα ὅπη παρατύχη ἀπορρίπτουσα κτείνει. [7] Βενεβεντόν δὲ ἅτε καταντικρὺ Δαλματίας οὖσαν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐπὶ τε ὑψηλοῦ τινος χώρου κειμένην μοῖραν τινα φέρεσθαι τῆς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνέμου δυσκολίας συμβαίνει. [8] ταύτην Διομήδης ποτὲ ὁ Τυδέως ἐδείματο, μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργούς ἀποκρουσθεῖς. καὶ γνώρισμα τῇ πόλει τοὺς ὁδόντας συὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου ἐλείπετο, οὓς οἱ θεοὶ Μελέαγρος ἄθλα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου λαβὼν ἔτυχεν, οἱ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνταῦθά εἰσι, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἰδεῖν ἄξιον, περίμετρον οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τρισπίθαμον ἐν μνηοειδεῖ σχήματι ἔχοντες. [9] ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι τὸν Διομήδην Αἰνεία τῷ Ἀγχίσου ἦκοντι ἐξ Ἰλίου φασὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τὸ τῆς Ἀθήνης ἄγαλμα δοῦναι ὃ ζὺν τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἀποσυλήσας ἔτυχεν, ὅτε κατασκόπῳ ἐς τὴν Ἰλίον ἠλθέτην ἄμφω πρότερον ἢ τήνδε ἀλώσιμον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. [10] λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῷ νοσήσαντί τε ὕστερον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖον οὐ ποτὲ οἱ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἀνδρὶ Τρωὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο δidoίη. [11] καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν ὅπου γῆς ἐστίν, οὐ φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἰδέναι, εἰκόνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τινὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένην δεικνύουσι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης ἱερῷ, οὗ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματος κεῖται, ὅπερ αἶθριον ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τοῦ νεῶ ἴδρυται. [12] αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ λίθῳ εἰκὼν πολεμούση τε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἀνατεινούση ἅτε ἐς ξυμβολὴν ἔοικε: ποδήρη δὲ καὶ ὥς τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχει. [13] τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀγάλμασι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμφορές ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷα παντάπασιν τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐποιοῦν. [14] Βυζάντιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο Κωνσταντῖνον βασιλέα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμός ἐστι κατορύξαντα θέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. [15] Ἰταλίαν δὲ οὕτω ξύμπασαν ἢ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐστίν, ἄχρι ἐς τε Ῥώμην καὶ Σάμνιον Βελισάριος παρεστήσατο, τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς ἄχρι ἐς Λιβουρνίαν Κωνσταντιανός, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, [16] ἔσχεν. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ἐρῶν ἐρχομαι. ἐλάγος τὸ Ἀδριατικόν, ἐκροήν τινα πόρρω που τῆς ἡπείρου ἐκβάλλον, ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις ἔνθα δὴ τελευτῶσα τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀνάβασιν ἰσθμὸν ποιεῖται. [17] ὃ τε γὰρ Κρισαῖος καλούμενος κόλπος, ἀπολήγων ἐς τὸ Λέχαιον, ἵνα δὴ Κορινθίων ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, ἐν μέτρῳ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα, ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτης ἰσθμόν: [18] καὶ ὁ ἀφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κόλπος, ὃν Μέλανα καλοῦσιν, οὐ πλεόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ ἰσθμόν. [19] ἐκ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως, οὗ δὴ τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἰόνιος κόλπος, ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ὀκτὼ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐστίν. [20] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι προϊούσα ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροή ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς αἰὲ φέρεται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς πόλισμα πρῶτον ὁ Δρυοὺς οἰκεῖται, ὅπερ τανῶν Ὑδροῦς καλεῖται. [21] τούτου ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Καλαβροὶ τε καὶ Απουλῖοι καὶ Σαμνῖταί εἰσι, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Πικηνοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν ὤκνηται. [22] ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Καλαβρῶν τε

μοῖρα ἢ λειπομένη ἐστὶ καὶ Βρίττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοί, μεθ' οὓς Καμπανοὶ ἄχρι ἐς Ταρακίνην πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ οἱ Ῥώμης ὄροι ἐκδέχονται. [23] ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκατέρας τε θαλάσσης τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη μεσόγεα ζύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. αὕτη τέ ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς καλουμένη τὰ πρότερα. ἐν Βριττίοις γὰρ Λοκροὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι καὶ Κροτωνιάται καὶ Θούριοι. [24] τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐκτὸς πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλληνές εἰσιν, Ἡπειρώται καλούμενοι, ἄχρι Ἐπιδάμνου πόλεως, ἥπερ ἐπιθαλασσία οἰκεῖται. [25] καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἐχομένη Πρέκαλις ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ, μεθ' ἣν Δαλματία ἐπικαλεῖται, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐσπερίας λελόγισται κράτει. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Λιβουρνία τε καὶ Ἰστρία καὶ Βενετίων ἡ χώρα ἐστὶ μέχρι ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν διήκουσα. [26] οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ταύτη ὥκηνται. ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν Σίσκιοί τε καὶ Σούαβοι ὅχι οἱ Φράγγων κατήκοοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἕτεροὶ χώραν τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι. [27] καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους Καρνίοι τε καὶ Νωρικοὶ ἴδρυνται. τούτων δὲ Δᾶκαί τε καὶ Παννόνες ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Σιγγιδόνον καὶ Σίρμιον ἔχουσιν, ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διήκοντες. [28] τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν Γότθοι κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἐκτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἦρχον, ὑπὲρ δὲ Ῥαβέννης πόλεως Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λιγούριοι ὥκηνται. [29] καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀλβανοὶ ἐν χώρα ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαθῇ Λαγγούβιλλα καλουμένη οἰκοῦσι, τούτων τε ὑπερθεν ἔθνη τὰ Φράγγοις κατήκοά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γάλλοι τε καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Ἴσπανοὶ ἔχουσι. [30] τοῦ δὲ Πάδου ἐν δεξιᾷ Αἰμιλία τέ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ Τούσκων ἔθνη, ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥώμης ὄρους διήκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

At that time Pitzas, a Goth, coming from Samnium, also put himself and all the Goths who were living there with him into the hands of Belisarius, as well as the half of that part of Samnium which lies on the sea, as far as the river which flows through the middle of that district. For the Goths who were settled on the other side of the river were neither willing to follow Pitzas nor to be subjects of the emperor. And Belisarius gave him a small number of soldiers to help him guard that territory. And before this the Calabrians and Apulians, since no Goths were present in their land, had willingly submitted themselves to Belisarius, both those on the coast and those who held the interior.

Among the interior towns is Beneventus, which in ancient times the Romans had named "Maleventus," but now they call it Beneventus, avoiding the evil omen of the former name, "ventus" having the meaning "wind" in the Latin tongue. For in Dalmatia, which lies across from this city on the opposite mainland, a wind of great violence and exceedingly wild is wont to fall upon the country, and when this begins to blow, it is impossible to find a man there who continues to travel on the road, but all shut themselves up at home and wait. Such, indeed, is the force of the wind that it seizes a man on horseback together with his horse and carries him through the air, and then, after whirling him about in the air to a great distance, it throws him down wherever he may chance to be and kills him. And it so happens that Beneventus, being opposite to Dalmatia, as I have said, and situated on rather high ground, gets some of the disadvantage of this same wind. This city was built of old by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, when after the capture of Troy he was repulsed from Argos. And he left to the city as a token the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which his uncle Meleager had received as a prize of the hunt, and they are there even up to my time, a noteworthy sight and well worth seeing, measuring not less than three spans around and having the form of a crescent. There, too, they say that Diomedes met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was coming from Ilium, and in obedience to the oracle gave him the statue of Athena which he had seized as plunder in company with Odysseus, when the two went into Troy as spies before the city was captured by the Greeks. For they tell the story that when he fell sick at a later time, and made enquiry concerning the disease, the oracle responded that he would never be freed from his malady unless he should give this statue to a man of Troy. And as to where in the world the statue itself is, the Romans say they do not know, but even up to my time they shew a copy of it chiselled on a certain stone in the temple of Fortune, where it lies before the bronze statue of Athena, which is set up under the open sky in the eastern part of the temple. And this copy on the stone represents a female figure in the pose of a warrior and extending her

spear as if for combat; but in spite of this she has a chiton reaching to the feet. But the face does not resemble the Greek statues of Athena, but is altogether like the work of the ancient Aegyptians. The Byzantines, however, say that the Emperor Constantine dug up this statue in the forum which bears his name and set it there. So much, then, for this.

In this way Belisarius won over the whole of that part of Italy which is south of the Ionian Gulf, as far as Rome and Samnium, and the territory north of the gulf, as far as Liburnia, had been gained by Constantianus, as has been said. But I shall now explain how Italy is divided among the inhabitants of the land. The Adriatic Sea sends out a kind of outlet far into the continent and thus forms the Ionian Gulf, but it does not, as in other places where the sea enters the mainland, form an isthmus at its end. For example, the so-called Crisaean Gulf, ending at Lechaem, where the city of Corinth is, forms the isthmus of that city, about forty stades in breadth; and the gulf off the Hellespont, which they call the Black Gulf, makes the isthmus at the Chersonese no broader than the Corinthian, but of about the same size. But from the city of Ravenna, where the Ionian Gulf ends, to the Tuscan Sea is not less than eight days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And the reason is that the arm of the sea, as it advances, always inclines very far to the right. And below this gulf the first town is Dryus, which is now called Hydrus. And on the right of this are the Calabrians, Apulians, and Samnites, and next to them dwell the Piceni, whose territory extends as far as the city of Ravenna. And on the other side are the remainder of the Calabrians, the Bruttii, and the Lucani, beyond whom dwell the Campani as far as the city of Taracina, and their territory is adjoined by that of Rome. These peoples hold the shores of the two seas, and all the interior of that part of Italy. And this is the country called Magna Graecia in former times. For among the Bruttii are the Epizephyrian Locrians and the inhabitants of Croton and Thurii. But north of the gulf the first inhabitants are Greeks, called Epirotes, as far as the city of Epidamnus, which is situated on the sea. And adjoining this is the land of Precalis, beyond which is the territory called Dalmatia, all of which is counted as part of the western empire. And beyond that point is Liburnia, and Istria, and the land of the Veneti extending to the city of Ravenna. These countries are situated on the sea in that region. But above them are the Siscii and Suevi (not those who are subjects of the Franks, but another group), who inhabit the interior. And beyond these are settled the Carnii and Norici. On the right of these dwell the Dacians and Pannonians, who hold a number of towns, including Singidunum and Sirmium, and extend as far as the Ister River. Now these peoples north of the Ionian Gulf were ruled by the Goths at the beginning of this war, but beyond the city of Ravenna on the left of the river Po the country was inhabited by the Ligurians. And to the north of them live the Albani in an exceedingly good land called Langovilla, and beyond these are the nations subject to the Franks, while the country to the west is held by the Gauls and

after them the Spaniards. On the right of the Po are Aemilia and the Tuscan peoples, which extend as far as the boundaries of Rome. So much, then, for this.

Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ Ῥώμης ὄρια κύκλῳ ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν καταλαβὼν ἐκρατύνετο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἅπαντα ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε, πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάσπιστῶν ξὺν δορυφόροις ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ζαρτῆρι καὶ Χορσομάνῳ καὶ Αἰσχμάνῳ τοῖς Μασσαγέταις καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην Κωνσταντίνῳ ἔδωκεν, ἐς τε Τουσκίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ἐφ' ᾧ παραστήσεται τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. [2] καὶ Βέσσαν ἐπήγγελλε καταλαβεῖν Ναρνίαν, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν μάλιστα ἐν Τούσκοις οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσας οὗτος Γότθος μὲν ἦν γένος τῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν Θράκῃ ὠκημένων, Θευδερίχῳ τε οὐκ ἐπισπομένων, ἥνικα ἐνθὲνδε ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπῆγε τὸν Γότθων λεών, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [3] στρατηγὸς τε γὰρ ἦν ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξιός. καὶ Βέσσας μὲν οὔτι ἀκουσίων τῶν οἰκητόρων Ναρνίαν ἔσχε, Κωνσταντίνος δὲ Σπολίτιόν τε καὶ Περυσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα πολίσματα παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [4] ἐθελούσιοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς πόλεσι Τοῦσκοι ἐδέχοντο. φρουρὰν οὖν ἐν Σπολίτῳ καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐν Περυσίᾳ τῇ Τούσκων πρώτη ἡσύχαζεν. [5] Οὐίτιγισ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας στρατιὰν τε καὶ ἄρχοντας Οὐνίλαν τε καὶ Πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμπευ. [6] οἷς Κωνσταντίνος ὑπαντίσας ἐν τῷ Περυσίας προαστείῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. πλήθει δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπεραιρόντων ἀγχώματος μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφῶν ἀρετῇ καθυπέρτεροι γεγενημένοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, φεύγοντάς τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. [7] καὶ ζῶντας ἐλόντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρχοντας παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμψαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Οὐίτιγισ ἤκουσεν, ἡσυχάζειν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης οὐκέτι ἠθέλεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῷ Μαρκίας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ οὐπῶ ἐκ Γαλλίων ἦγοντες ἐμπόδιοι ἦσαν. [8] ἐς μὲν οὖν Δαλματίαν στρατιὰν τε πολλὴν καὶ ἄρχοντας Ἀσινάριον τε καὶ Οὐλιγίσalon ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ Δαλματίαν τῇ Γότθων ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσονται. [9] καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλεν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ Σουαβίαν χωρίων στράτευμα ἐταιρισσάμενους τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων οὕτω δὴ εὐθὺς Δαλματίας τε καὶ Σαλῶνων ἰέναι. [10] ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ μακρὰ πλοῖα πολλὰ ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν πολιορκεῖν οἷοί τε ᾧσιν. [11] αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἰέναι ἠπέιγετο, ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπαγόμενος, καὶ αὐτῶν θεθωρακισμένοι ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. [12] Ἀσινάριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὴν Σουαβίαν γενόμενος τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στράτευμα ἤγειρε, μόνος δὲ Οὐλιγίσalos Γότθοις ἐς Λιβουρνίαν ἡγήσατο. [13] καὶ σφίσι Ῥωμαίων ἐν χωρίῳ Σκάρδωνι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Βοῦρνον πόλιν: ἐνταυθὰ τε τὸν συνάρχοντα ἀνέμεινεν Οὐλιγίσalos. [14] Κωνσταντιανὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ τὴν Ἀσιναρίου παρασκευὴν ἤκουσε, δείσας περὶ Σάλωσι, τοὺς στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο οἱ ζῦμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη φρούρια εἶχον. [15] καὶ τάφρον τε ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα ὥρυσσε κύκλῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ὡς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο. Ἀσινάριος δὲ πάμπολύ τι στράτευμα βαρβάρων ἀγείρας ἐς Βοῦρνον πόλιν ἀφίκετο. [16] ἐνθα δὴ Οὐλιγίσalos τε καὶ

τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ ξυμμίξας ἐς Σάλωνας ἦλθε. καὶ χαράκωμα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐποίησαντο, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐπιθαλάσσιον μέρος ἐφρούρουν· οὕτω τε Σάλωνας κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπολιόρκουν. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ναυσὶν ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιθέμενοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπουσι καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καταδύουσι, πολλὰς δὲ ἀνδρῶν κενὰς εἶλον. [18] οὐ μέντοι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν Γότθοι διέλυσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίους κατὰ κράτος πολιορκοῦντες εἵρξαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γότθων ἐν Δαλματίας ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [19] Οὐιτιγίδι δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκ Ῥώμης ἡκόντων ἀκούσαντι τὸ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ στράτευμα βραχύτατον εἶναι, Ῥώμης τε ὑποκεχωρηκῶτι μετέμελε καὶ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἦει. [20] καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἱερέων ἐκ Ῥώμης ἦκων ἐνέτυχεν. οὗ δὴ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ πυθέσθαι φασὶν Οὐίτιγιν εἰ Βελισάριος ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ εἴη, ἅτε δείσαντα μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνειν οἷός τε ἦ, ἀλλὰ φθάσῃ ἀποδρᾶς ἐνθένδε. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἥκιστα οἱ χρῆναι τοῦτο ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι· [21] καὶ αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ ἀναδέχεσθαι μήποτε Βελισάριον δρασμῷ χρήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν. καὶ τὸν ἔτι ἐπείγεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, εὐξάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τὸ Ῥώμης θεάσασθαι τεῖχος πρότερον ἢ Βελισάριον ἐνθένδε ἀποδρᾶναι.

XVI

So Belisarius took possession of all the territory of Rome as far as the river Tiber, and strengthened it. And when all had been settled by him in the best possible manner, he gave to Constantinus a large number of his own guards together with many spearmen, including the Massagetæ Zarter, Chorsomanus, and Aeschmanus, and an army besides, commanding him to go into Tuscany, in order to win over the towns of that region. And he gave orders to Bessas to take possession of Narnia, a very strong city in Tuscany. Now this Bessas was a Goth by birth, one of those who had dwelt in Thrace from of old and had not followed Theoderic when he led the Gothic nation thence into Italy, and he was an energetic man and a capable warrior. For he was both a general of the first rank, and a skilful man in action. And Bessas took Narnia not at all against the will of the inhabitants, and Constantinus won over Spolitium and Perusia and certain other towns without any trouble. For the Tuscans received him into their cities willingly. So after establishing a garrison in Spolitium, he himself remained quietly with his army in Perusia, the first city in Tuscany.

Now when Vittigis heard this, he sent against them an army with Unilas and Pissas as its commanders. And Constantinus confronted these troops in the outskirts of Perusia and engaged with them. The battle was at first evenly disputed, since the barbarians were superior in numbers, but afterwards the Romans by their valour gained the upper hand and routed the enemy, and while they were fleeing in complete disorder the Romans killed almost all of them; and they captured alive the commanders of the enemy and sent them to Belisarius. Now when Vittigis heard this, he was no longer willing to remain quietly in Ravenna, where he was embarrassed by the absence of Marcias and his men, who had not yet come from Gaul. So he sent to Dalmatia a great army with Asinarius and Uligisalus as its commanders, in order to recover Dalmatia for the Gothic rule. And he directed them to add to their own troops an army from the land of the Suevi, composed of the barbarians there, and then to proceed directly to Dalmatia and Salones. And he also sent with them many ships of war, in order that they might be able to besiege Salones both by land and by sea. But he himself was hastening to go with his whole army against Belisarius and Rome, leading against him horsemen and infantry to the number of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, and the most of them as well as their horses were clad in armour.

So Asinarius, upon reaching the country of the Suevi, began to gather the army of the barbarians, while Uligisalus alone led the Goths into Liburnia. And when the Romans engaged with them at a place called Scardon, they were defeated in the battle and retired to the city of Burnus; and there Uligisalus awaited his colleague. But Constantianus, upon hearing of the

preparations of Asinarius, became afraid for Salones, and summoned the soldiers who were holding all the fortresses in that region. He then dug a moat around the whole circuit-wall and made all the other preparations for the siege in the best manner possible. And Asinarius, after gathering an exceedingly large army of barbarians, came to the city of Burnus. There he joined Uligisalus and the Gothic army and proceeded to Salones. And they made a stockade about the circuit-wall, and also, filling their ships with soldiers, kept guard over the side of the fortifications which faced the sea. In this manner they proceeded to besiege Salones both by land and by sea; but the Romans suddenly made an attack upon the ships of the enemy and turned them to flight, and many of them they sunk, men and all, and also captured many without their crews. However, the Goths did not raise the siege, but maintained it vigorously and kept the Romans still more closely confined to the city than before. Such, then, were the fortunes of the Roman and Gothic armies in Dalmatia.

But Vittigis, upon hearing from the natives who came from Rome that the army which Belisarius had was very small, began to repent of his withdrawal from Rome, and was no longer able to endure the situation, but was now so carried away by fury that he advanced against them. And on his way thither he fell in with a priest who was coming from Rome. Whereupon they say that Vittigis in great excitement enquired of this man whether Belisarius was still in Rome, shewing that he was afraid he would not be able to catch him, but that Belisarius would forestall him by running away. But the priest, they say, replied that he need not be at all concerned about that; for he, the priest, was able to guarantee that Belisarius would never resort to flight, but was remaining where he was. But Vittigis, they say, kept hastening still more than before, praying that he might see with his own eyes the walls of Rome before Belisarius made his escape from the city.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Γότθους πανδημεὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσε, διηπορεῖτο. οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κωνσταντῖνόν τε καὶ Βέσσαν ἀπολείπεσθαι ἤθελεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὀλίγης οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς παντάπασιν οὔσης, καὶ τὰ ἐν Τούσκοις ἐκλιπεῖν ὀχυρώματα ἐδόκει οἱ ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις Γότθοι ἐπιτειχίσματα ἔχοιεν. [2] λογισάμενος οὖν Κωνσταντῖνον τε καὶ Βέσσα ἐπέστειλε φρουρὰν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῶν ἐκεῖνη ἀπολιπεῖν χωρίων, ὅση δὴ φυλάσσειν αὐτὰ ἱκανὴ εἴη, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. [3] καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἔν τε γὰρ Περυσίᾳ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆλυνε. [4] Βέσσα δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ ἐν Ναρνίᾳ καθισταμένου ξυνέπεσε τὴν δίοδον ἐνθὲνδε ποιουμένων τῶν πολεμίων ἔμπλεα Γότθων τὰ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ πεδία εἶναι. [5] πρόδρομοι δὲ οὗτοι πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἦσαν: οἷς δὴ Βέσσας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν τοὺς τε κατ' αὐτὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐβιάζετο, ἐς Ναρνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν. [6] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε φρουροὺς ἀπολιπὼν, καθάπερ οἱ

ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ τάχος ἦι παρέσεσθαι τε ὅσον οὐπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπήγγελλε. Ῥώμης γὰρ Ναρνία πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίοις διέχει. [7] Οὐίτιγיס δὲ Περυσίας μὲν καὶ Σπολιτίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἥκιστα ἐνεχείρει· τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐχυρὰ ὡς μάλιστά ἐστι, καὶ τρίβεσθαι οἱ τὸν χρόνον ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἠθελε· [8] μόνον γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐγένετο Βελισάριον οὐπω ἀποδράντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐρέσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ναρνίαν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων μαθὼν οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα κινεῖν ἠθελε, δυσπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἄναντες ὃν τὸ χωρίον εἰδώς· κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ ὄρει. [9] ποταμὸς δὲ Νάρνος τὸν τοῦ ὄρους παραρρεῖ πρόποδα, ὃς καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει παρέσχε· ἄνοδοί τε δύο ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄγουσιν, ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δύοντα. [10] ταῦταιν ἀτέρα μὲν στενοχωρίαν τινὰ δύσκολον ἐξ ἀποτόμων πετρῶν ἔλαχεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἰέναι ἢ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπικαλύπτουσα διάβασιν ταύτη ἐργάζεται. [11] ταύτην δὲ τὴν γέφυραν Καῖσαρ Αὐγουστος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον· τῶν γὰρ κυρτωμάτων πάντων ὑψηλότερόν ἐστιν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. [12] Οὐίτιγισ οὖν οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὸν χρόνον σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τρίβεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦι, διὰ Σαβίνων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. [13] καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ῥώμης ἀγγχοῦ ἐγένετο, σταδίοις τε αὐτῆς οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα διεῖχε, Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρα ἐνέτυχεν. [14] ἔνθα δὴ Βελισάριος ὀλίγω πρότερον πύργον τε δειμάμενος καὶ πύλας αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενος στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς πολέμοις ταύτῃ μόνον ὁ Τίβερης διαβατὸς ἦν ἡνέες τε γὰρ καὶ γέφυραι πολλαχόσε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τυγχάνουσιν οὐσαί, ἀλλ' ὅτι πλείονα χρόνον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τρίβεσθαι ἠθελε, στρατεύμα τε ἄλλο ἐκ βασιλέως καραδοκῶν, καὶ ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλλον Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. [15] ἦν τε γὰρ ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι διαβαίνειν ἐγχειρήσωσιν ἐπὶ γεφύρας ἐτέρωθί πη οὔσης, οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ εἰκοσιν ἡμέρας δαπανᾶσθαι σφίσιν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ πλοῖα βουλομένοις ἐς Τίβεριν κατασπάσαι τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πλείω αὐτοῖς, [16] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τετρίψεσθαι χρόνον. ἃ δὲ ἐν νῶ ἔχων τὴν τῆδε φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο· ἔνθα οἱ Γότθοι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠϋλίσαντο, ἀπορούμενοί τε καὶ πολεμητέα ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐς τὸν πύργον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἰόμενοι· [17] ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτόμολοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, βάρβαροι μὲν γένος, στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ οὐπὲρ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχεν. [18] ἔννοια δὲ τότε Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφὶ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ τε διαβάσει τῶν πολέμιων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμπόδιοι γένωνται καὶ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου ἐπίδειξιν τινα ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιήσωνται. [19] στρατιῶται μέντοι ὅσοι φρουρὰν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ εἶχον, καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν Γότθων ὄμιλον καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου κατωρρωδικότες τὸ μέγεθος, νύκτωρ τὸν πύργον ἐκλιπόντες ὄνπερ ἐφύλασσον, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [20] ἐς Ῥώμην δὲ σφίσιν οὐκ οἰόμενοι εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι ἐπὶ Καμπανίας λάθρα ἐχώρησαν, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κόλασιν δεῖσαντες, ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐρυθριῶντες.

XVII

But Belisarius, when he heard that the Goths were marching against him with their whole force, was in a dilemma. For he was unwilling, on the one hand, to dispense with the troops of Constantinus and Bessas, especially since his army was exceedingly small, and, on the other, it seemed to him inexpedient to abandon the strongholds in Tuscany, lest the Goths should hold these as fortresses against the Romans. So after considering the matter he sent word to Constantinus and Bessas to leave garrisons in the positions which absolutely required them, large enough to guard them, while they themselves with the rest of the army should come to Rome with all speed. And Constantinus acted accordingly. For he established garrisons in Perusia and Spolitium, and with all the rest of his troops marched off to Rome. But while Bessas, in a more leisurely manner, was making his dispositions in Narnia, it so happened that, since the enemy were passing that way, the plains in the outskirts of the city were filled with Goths. These were an advance guard preceding the rest of the army; and Bessas engaged with them and unexpectedly routed those whom he encountered and killed many; but then, since he was overpowered by their superior numbers, he retired into Narnia. And leaving a garrison there according to the instructions of Belisarius, he went with all speed to Rome, and reported that the enemy would be at hand almost instantly. For Narnia is only three hundred and fifty stades distant from Rome. But Vittigis made no attempt at all to capture Perusia and Spolitium; for these places are exceedingly strong and he was quite unwilling that his time should be wasted there, his one desire having come to be to find Belisarius not yet fled from Rome. Moreover, even when he learned that Narnia also was held by the enemy, he was unwilling to attempt anything there, knowing that the place was difficult of access and on steep ground besides; for it is situated on a lofty hill. And the river Arnus flows by the foot of the hill, and it is this which has given the city its name. There are two roads leading up to the city, the one on the east, and the other on the west. One of these is very narrow and difficult by reason of precipitous rocks, while the other cannot be reached except by way of the bridge which spans the river and provides a passage over it at that point. This bridge was built by Caesar Augustus in early times, and is a very noteworthy sight; for its arches are the highest of any known to us.

So Vittigis, not enduring to have his time wasted there, departed thence with all speed and went with the whole army against Rome, making the journey through Sabine territory. [W]And when he drew near to Rome, and was not more than fourteen stades away from it, he came upon a bridge over the Tiber River. There a little while before Belisarius had built a tower, furnished it with gates, and stationed in it a guard of soldiers, not because this is the only point at which the Tiber could be crossed by the enemy (for there are both boats and

bridges at many places along the river), but because he wished the enemy to have to spend more time in the journey, since he was expecting another army from the emperor, and also in order that the Romans might bring in still more provisions. For if the barbarians, repulsed at that point, should try to cross on a bridge somewhere else, he thought that not less than twenty days would be consumed by them, and if they wished to launch boats in the Tiber to the necessary number, a still longer time would probably be wasted by them. These, then, were the considerations which led him to establish the garrison at that point; and the Goths bivouacked there that day, being at a loss and supposing that they would be obliged to storm the tower on the following day; but twenty-two deserters came to them, men who were barbarians by race but Roman soldiers, from the cavalry troop commanded by Innocentius. Just at that time it occurred to Belisarius to establish a camp near the Tiber River, in order that they might hinder still more the crossing of the enemy and make some kind of a display of their own daring to their opponents. But all the soldiers who, as has been stated, were keeping guard at the bridge, being overcome with terror at the throng of Goths and quailing at the magnitude of their danger, abandoned by night the tower they were guarding and rushed off in flight. But thinking that they could not enter Rome, they stealthily marched off toward Campania, either because they were afraid of the punishment the general would inflict or because they were ashamed to appear before their comrades.

DATE:

[W]Feb. 21, 537 A.D.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι τὰς τοῦ πύργου πύλας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείραντες τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν ἵσταμένου. [2] Βελισάριος δὲ οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ξυμπεσόντων ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἦει, τὸν χῶρον ἐπισκεπτόμενος οὐπὲρ ἂν σφίσιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἄμεινον εἴη. [3] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγυτέρῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐντυγχάνουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν διαβᾶσιν, ἐς χειρὰς τε αὐτῶν τισιν οὐτὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἦλθον. ἐξ ἱππέων δὲ ξυνίστατο ἡ ξυμβολὴ ἐκατέρωθεν. [4] τότε Βελισάριος, καίπερ ἀσφαλῆς τὰ πρότερά ὢν, οὐκέτι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσε, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἅτε στρατιώτης ἐμάχετο: [5] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ξυνέβη ἐς κίνδυνον πολὺν ἐκπεπτωκέναι, ἐπεὶ ζύμπασα ἡ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔκειτο. [6] ἔτυχε δὲ ἵπῳ τηνικαῦτα ὀχούμενος, πολέμων τε λίαν ἐμπείρῳ καὶ διασώσασθαι τὸν ἐπιβάτην ἐπισταμένῳ, ὃς δὴ ὅλον μὲν τὸ σῶμα φαιὸς ἦν, τὸ μέτωπον δὲ ἅπαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ἐς ῥίνας λευκὸς μάλιστα. τοῦτον Ἕλληνες μὲν φαλὶόν, βάρβαροι δὲ βάλαν καλοῦσι. καὶ ξυνέπεσε Γότθων τοὺς πλείστους βάλλειν ἐπ' αὐτόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον τὰ τε ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [7] αὐτόμολοι ὅσοι τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐς Γότθους ἦκον, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις μαχόμενον Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαφθαρήσεται Ῥωμαῖοις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα, κραυγῇ ἐχρῶντο, [8]

βάλλειν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς ἵππον τὸν βάλαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Γότθων στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν οὗτος δὴ περιφερόμενος ὁ λόγος ἦλθε, ζήτησιν μέντοι αὐτοῦ ἅτε ἐν θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ ἦκιστα ἐποιήσαντο, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἐς Βελισάριον ἔφερε σαφῶς ἔγνωσαν. [9] ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκῇ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὡς πάντας ἰέναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέμενοι πάντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ Βελισάριον ἔβαλλον. [10] ἤδη δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοτιμία μεγάλη ἐχόμενοι ὅσοι ἀρετῆς τι μετεποιοῦντο, ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ παραγενόμενοι, ἅπτεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ ἐνεχέειν καὶ τοῖς δόρασι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ἔπαιον. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτός τε ἐπιστροφάδην τοὺς αἰεὶ ὑπαντιάζοντας ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ὡς μάλιστα δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κινδύνῳ ἀπήλυσεν. [12] γενόμενοι γὰρ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο οἷαν πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν δεδηλωσθαι οἶμαι· [13] τὰς γὰρ ἀσπίδας τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἵππου προβεβλημένοι, τὰ τε βέλη πάντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐπιόντας ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο. οὕτω τε ἡ ξυμβολὴ πᾶσα ἐς σῶμα ἐνὸς ἀπεκρίθη ἀνδρός. [14] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτουσι μὲν Γότθοι οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ χίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐμάχοντο, θνήσκουσι δὲ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Μαξέντιος ὁ δορυφόρος, ἔργα μεγάλα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος. [15] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τις τύχη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μήτε τετρωσθαι μήτε βεβλησθαι, καίπερ ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ γενομένης τῆς μάχης. [16] Τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἔφευγέ τε πάμπολύ τι βαρβάρων πλῆθος, ἕως ἐς στρατόπεδον τὸ αὐτῶν ἵκοντο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ Γότθων πεζοὶ ἅτε ἀκμήτες ὄντες ὑπέστησάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπέωσαντο. [17] βεβοηθηκότων τε αὐθις ἰππέων ἐτέρων κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι ἔφυγον, ἕως ἀναβάντες ἕς τι γεώλοφον ἔστησαν. καταλαβόντων τε σφᾶς βαρβάρων ἰππέων, αὐθις ἵππομαχία ἐγένετο. [18] ἔνθα δὴ Βαλεντίνος, ὁ Φωτίου τοῦ Ἀντωνίνης παιδὸς ἵπποκόμος, ἀρετῆς δῆλωσιν ὡς μάλιστα ἐποιήσατο. μόνος γὰρ ἐσπηδήσας ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸν ὄμιλον ἐμπόδιός τε τῇ Γότθων ὀρμῇ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ διεσώσατο. [19] οὕτω τε διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον· ἦλθον, διώκοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐνέκειντο ἀμφὶ τὴν πύλην ἣ Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται. [20] δέισαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τοῖς φεύγουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ξυνεισβαλόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένωνται, ἀνακλίνειν τὰς πύλας ἦκιστα ἠθέλον, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλά τε σφίσιν ἐγκελευομένου καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀναβοῶντος. [21] οὔτε γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πύργου διακύπτοντες ἐπιγινώσκειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ τό τε πρόσωπον καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ ξύμπασα λύθρῳ τε καὶ κονιορτῷ ἐκαλύπτετο, ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ καθορᾶν τις ἀκριβῶς εἶχεν· ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δύσιν. [22] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ περιεῖναι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ᾤοντο· ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρότερον γενομένη τροπῇ φεύγοντες ἦκον, τεθνάναι Βελισάριον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀριστεύοντα ἠγγέλλον. [23] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄμιλος τῶν πολεμίων ῥεύσας τε πολὺς καὶ θυμῷ μεγάλῳ ἐχόμενος, τὴν τε τάφρον εὐθὺς διαβῆναι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθέσθαι διανοοῦντο, [24] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀθρόοι τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς γεγεννημένοι ἐν χρῶ τε ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς ὀλίγον συνήγοντο. [25] οἱ μέντοι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἅτε ἀστρατήγητοί τε καὶ

ἀπαράσκεινοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ περὶ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πεφοβημένοι, ἀμύνειν τοῖς σφετέροις, καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσιν, οὐδαμῇ εἶχον. [26] Τότε Βελισάριον ἔννοιά τε καὶ τόλμα εἰσήλθεν, ἥ Ῥωμαῖοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου τὰ πράγματα διεσώσατο. ἐγκελευσάμενος γὰρ τοῖς ξὺν αὐτῷ πᾶσιν ἐξαπιναιῶς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέπεσεν. [27] οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἀκοσμία πολλῇ ἄτε ἐν σκότῳ καὶ διώξει χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἐπιόντας παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς φεύγοντας εἶδον, ὑποτοπήσαντες καὶ ἄλλο βεβοηθηκέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως στράτευμα, ἐς φόβον τε πολὺν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταστάντες κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. [28] Βελισάριος δὲ ἥκιστα ἐκπεσὼν ἐς τὴν διώξιν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέστρεψεν. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσήσαντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν ἅπαντας τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο. [29] παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν κινδύνου Βελισάριός τε καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἤλθεν: ἥ τε μάχη πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἠρίστευσαν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν Βελισάριος, Γότθων δὲ Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος, ὅς, ἠνίκα ἡ μάχη ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπέπεσεν, οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τρισκαίδεκα πληγὰς λαβὼν τῷ σώματι ἔπεσε. [30] δόξας δὲ αὐτίκα τεθνάναι, ἡμελήθη τε πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, καίπερ νενικηκότων, καὶ ξὺν τοῖς νεκροῖς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο. [31] τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπειδὴ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι ἔπεμψάν τινας ἐφ' ᾧ νεκροὺς τε τοὺς σφετέρους θάψουσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπὶ ὅσι' αὖ τῇ ἐκείνων ποιήσονται, οἱ τὰ σώματα τῶν κειμένων διερευνῶμενοι Οὐίσανδον Βανδαλάριον ἔτι ἔμπνουν εὐρίσκουσι, καὶ αὐτόν τῶν τις ἐταίρων φωνὴν τινὰ οἱ ἀφεῖναι ἠξίου. [32] ὁ δέ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδύνατο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐντὸς τῷ τε λιμῷ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης κακοπαθείας αὐχμῷ λιάν ἐκάετο, ὕδωρ οἱ ἔνευεν ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβάλλεσθαι. πίνοντα τε αὐτόν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότα ἀράμενοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤνεγκαν. [33] μέγα τε ὄνομα Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐν Γότθοις ἔσχε, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῶν πάμπολόν τινα ἐπέβίω χρόνον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ γεγενῆσθαι ξυνέπεσε. [34] Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀγείρας, πυρὰ τε πολλὰ καίειν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐργηγορέναι ἐκέλευε. καὶ τὸν περίβολον περιῶν κύκλῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα διεῖπε καὶ πύλην ἐκάστη τῶν τινὰ ἀρχόντων ἐπέστησε. [35] Βέσσας δέ, ὅς ἐν πύλῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πραίνεστίνῃ φυλακὴν ἔσχεν, ἄγγελον παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας ἐκέλευε λέγειν ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν, δι' ἄλλης πύλης ἐμβεβληκότων ἢ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐστὶ Παγκρατίου ἀνδρὸς ἀγίου ἐπώνυμος οὕσα. [36] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅσοι ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἦσαν, σῶζεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας παρήνουν. αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε κατωρρώδησεν, οὔτε τὸν λόγον ὑγιᾶ ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. [37] ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν κατὰ τάχος, οἱ τὰ ἐκεῖν' ἐπισκευάμενοι οὐδὲν πολέμιον τῇ πόλει ἐνταῦθα ξυμβῆναι ἀπήγγελλον. [38] πέμψας οὖν εὐθύς ἐς πύλην ἐκάστην ἄρχουσι τοῖς πανταχῇ οὖσιν ἐπέστελλεν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούσωσι κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσβεβληκέναι μοῖραν, μήτε ἀμύνειν μήτε φυλακὴν τὴν σφετέραν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μένειν: αὐτῷ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων μελήσειν. [39] ἔπρασε δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως μὴ ἐκ φήμης οὐκ

ἀληθοῦς ἐς ταραχὴν αὖθις καθιστῶνται. Οὐίτιγίς δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἔτι ἐν θορύβῳ πολλῷ καθεστῶτων, ἐς πύλην Σαλαρίαν τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων, Οὔακιν ὄνομα, ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. [40] ὃς ἐνταῦθα ἐλθὼν καὶ Ῥωμαίους τῆς ἐς Γότθους ἀπιστίας κακίσας τὴν προδοσίαν ὠνείδιζεν ἣν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τε τῇ πατρίδι πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγεν, οἱ τῆς Γότθων δυνάμεως Γραικοὺς τοὺς σφίσιν οὐχ οἷους τε ἀμύνειν ὄντας ἠλλάξαντο, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρότερα οὐδένα ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγωδοῦς τε καὶ μίμους καὶ ναύτας λωποδύτας. [41] ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Οὔακίς εἰπὼν, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο, [42] ἐς Γότθους τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιν ἀνεχώρησε. Βελισάριος δὲ γέλωτα πολὺν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὥφλεν, ἐπεὶ μόλις τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγῶν θαρσεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ περιφρονεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκέλευεν: εὗ γὰρ εἰδέναι ὡς κατὰ κράτος αὐτοὺς νικήσει. ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ἔγνω ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται. [43] ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρῳ ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, νῆστιν ἔτι Βελισάριον ὄντα ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἄρτου βραχέος κομιδὴν γεύσασθαι μόλις ἠνάγκασαν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐκάτεροι διενυκτέρευσαν.

XVIII

On the following day the Goths destroyed the gates of the tower with no trouble and made the crossing, since no one tried to oppose them. But Belisarius, who had not as yet learned what had happened to the garrison, was bringing up a thousand horsemen to the bridge over the river, in order to look over the ground and decide where it would be best for his forces to make camp. But when they had come rather close, they met the enemy already across the river, and not at all willingly they engaged with some of them. And the battle was carried on by horsemen on both sides. Then Belisarius, though he was safe before, would no longer keep the general's post, but began to fight in the front ranks like a soldier; and consequently the cause of the Romans was thrown into great danger, for the whole decision of the war rested with him. But it happened that the horse he was riding at that time was unusually experienced in warfare and knew well how to save his rider; and his whole body was dark grey, except that his face from the top of his head to the nostrils was the purest white. Such a horse the Greeks call "phalius" and the barbarians "balan." And it so happened that the most of the Goths threw their javelins and other missiles at him and at Belisarius for the following reason. Those deserters who on the previous day had come to the Goths, when they saw Belisarius fighting in the front ranks, knowing well that, if he should fall, the cause of the Romans would be ruined instantly, cried aloud urging them to "shoot at the white-faced horse." Consequently this saying was passed around and reached the whole Gothic army, and they did not question it at all, since they were in a great tumult of fighting, nor did they know clearly that it referred to Belisarius. But conjecturing that it was not by mere accident that the saying had gained such currency as to reach all, the most of them, neglecting all others, began to shoot at Belisarius. And every man among them who laid any claim to valour was immediately possessed with a great eagerness to win honour, and getting as close as possible they kept trying to lay hold of him and in a great fury kept striking with their spears and swords. But Belisarius himself, turning from side to side, kept killing as they came those who encountered him, and he also profited very greatly by the loyalty of his own spearmen and guards in this moment of danger. For they all surrounded him and made a display of valour such, I imagine, as has never been shewn by any man in the world to this day; for, holding out their shields in defence of both the general and his horse, they not only received all the missiles, but also forced back and beat off those who from time to time assailed him. And thus the whole engagement was centred about the body of one man. In this struggle there fell among the Goths no fewer than a thousand, and they were men who fought in the front ranks; and of the household of Belisarius many of the noblest were slain, and Maxentius, the spearman, after making a display of great exploits against the enemy. But by some chance

Belisarius was neither wounded nor hit by a missile on that day, although the battle was waged around him alone.

Finally by their valour the Romans turned the enemy to flight, and an exceedingly great multitude of barbarians fled until they reached their main army. For there the Gothic infantry, being entirely fresh, withstood their enemy and forced them back without any trouble. And when another body of cavalry in turn reinforced the Goths, the Romans fled at top speed until they reached a certain hill, which they climbed, and there held their position. But the enemy's horsemen were upon them directly, and a second cavalry battle took place. There Valentinus, the groom of Photius, the son of Antonina, made a remarkable exhibition of valour. For by leaping alone into the throng of the enemy he opposed himself to the onrush of the Goths and thus saved his companions. In this way the Romans escaped, and arrived at the fortifications of Rome, and the barbarians in pursuit pressed upon them as far as the wall by the gate which has been named the Salarian Gate. But the people of Rome, fearing lest the enemy should rush in together with the fugitives and thus get inside the fortifications, were quite unwilling to open the gates, although Belisarius urged them again and again and called upon them with threats to do so. For, on the one hand, those who peered out of the tower were unable to recognise the man, for his face and his whole head were covered with gore and dust, and at the same time no one was able to see very clearly, either; for it was late in the day, about sunset. Moreover, the Romans had no reason to suppose that the general survived; for those who had come in flight from the rout which had taken place earlier reported that Belisarius had died fighting bravely in the front ranks. So the throng of the enemy, which had rushed up in strength and possessed with great fury, were purposing to cross the moat straightway and attack the fugitives there; and the Romans, finding themselves massed along the wall, after they had come inside the moat, and so close together that they touched one another, were being crowded into a small space. Those inside the fortifications, however, since they were without a general and altogether unprepared, and being in a panic of fear for themselves and for the city, were quite unable to defend their own men, although these were now in so perilous a situation.

Then a daring thought came to Belisarius, which unexpectedly saved the day for the Romans. For urging on all his men he suddenly fell upon the enemy. And they, even before this, had been in great disorder because of the darkness and the fact that they were making a pursuit, and now when, much to their surprise, they saw the fugitives attacking them, they supposed that another army also had come to their assistance from the city, and so were thrown into a great panic and all fled immediately at top speed. But Belisarius by no means rushed out to pursue them, but returned straightway to the wall. And at this the Romans took courage and received him and all his men into the city. So narrowly did Belisarius and the emperor's cause escape peril; and the

battle which had begun early in the morning did not end until night. And those who distinguished themselves above all others by their valour in this battle were, among the Romans, Belisarius, and among the Goths, Visandus Vandalarius, who had fallen upon Belisarius at the first when the battle took place about him, and did not desist until he had received thirteen wounds on his body and fell. And since he was supposed to have died immediately, he was not cared for by his companions, although they were victorious, and he lay there with the dead. But on the third day, when the barbarians had made camp hard by the circuit-wall of Rome and had sent some men in order to bury their dead and to perform the customary rites of burial, those who were searching out the bodies of the fallen found Visandus Vandalarius with life still in him, and one of his companions entreated him to speak some word to him. But he could not do even this, for the inside of his body was on fire because of the lack of food and the thirst caused by his suffering, and so he nodded to him to put water into his mouth. Then when he had drunk and become himself again, they lifted and carried him to the camp. And Visandus Vandalarius won a great name for this deed among the Goths, and he lived on a very considerable time, enjoying the greatest renown. This, then, took place on the third day after the battle.

But at that time Belisarius, after reaching safety with his followers, gathered the soldiers and almost the whole Roman populace to the wall, and commanded them to burn many fires and keep watch throughout the whole night. And going about the circuit of the fortifications, he set everything in order and put one of his commanders in charge of each gate. But Bessas, who took command of the guard at the gate called the Praenestine, sent a messenger to Belisarius with orders to say that the city was held by the enemy, who had broken in through another gate which is across the Tiber River and bears the name of Pancratius, a holy man. And all those who were in the company of Belisarius, upon hearing this, urged him to save himself as quickly as possible through some other gate. He, however, neither became panic-stricken, nor did he hesitate to declare that the report was false. And he also sent some of his horsemen across the Tiber with all speed, and they, after looking over the ground there, brought back word that no hostile attack had been made on the city in that quarter. He therefore sent immediately to each gate and instructed the commanders everywhere that, whenever they heard that the enemy had broken in at any other part of the fortifications, they should not try to assist in the defence nor abandon their post, but should remain quiet; for he himself would take care of such matters. And he did this in order that they might not be thrown into disorder a second time by a rumour which was not true.

But Vittigis, while the Romans were still in great confusion, sent to the Salarian Gate one of his commanders, Vacis by name, a man of no mean station. And when he had arrived there, he began to reproach the Romans for

their faithlessness to the Goths and upbraided them for the treason which he said they had committed against both their fatherland and themselves, for they had exchanged the power of the Goths for Greeks who were not able to defend them, although they had never before seen any men of the Greek race come to Italy except actors of tragedy and mimes and thieving sailors. Such words and many like them were spoken by Vacis, but since no one replied to him, he returned to the Goths and Vittigis. As for Belisarius, he brought upon himself much ridicule on the part of the Romans, for though he had barely escaped from the enemy, he bade them take courage thenceforth and look with contempt upon the barbarians; for he knew well, he said, that he would conquer them decisively. Now the manner in which he had come to know this with certainty will be told in the following narrative. At length, when it was well on in the night, Belisarius, who had been fasting up to this time, was with difficulty compelled by his wife and those of his friends who were present to taste a very little bread. Thus, then, the two armies passed this night.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥώμην πολιορκία ἐλεῖν διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οὐδενὶ πόνῳ οἰόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἀμυνόμενοι ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. ἔχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὁ περίβολος δις ἑπτὰ πύλας καὶ πυλίδας τινάς. [2] Γότθοι δὲ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ὅλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸ τεῖχος περιλαβέσθαι κύκλῳ, ἐξ ποιησάμενοι χαρακώματα πέντε πυλῶν χάρον ἠνώχλουν, ἐκ τῆς Φλαμινίας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν καλουμένην Πραίνεστίναν· ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς τὰ χαρακώματα ζύμπαντα ἐντὸς Τιβέριδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπεποίητο. [3] δέισαντες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ τὴν γέφυραν διαφθείραντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἄβατα σφίσι ποιήσωνται ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐκτὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ διήκοντα μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν πολιορκία κακῶν ἥκιστα ἔχοιεν, χαρακῶμα ἑβδομον Τιβέριδος ἐκτὸς ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίοις ἐπήξαντο, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡ γέφυρα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν μέσῳ εἴη. [4] διὸ δὴ ἄλλας δύο τῆς πόλεως πύλας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ξυνέβαινε, τὴν τε Αὐρηλίαν ἣ νῦν Πέτρου τοῦ τῶν Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου ἄτε πού πλησίον κειμένου ἐπώνυμός ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν. [5] οὕτω τε Γότθοι τῷ μὲν στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα περιβάλλοντο τοῦ τεῖχους μοῖραν, ἄτε δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ οὐδαμῇ τὸ παράπαν εἰργόμενοι, ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν περίβολον κύκλῳ, ἠνίκα ἐβούλοντο, τῷ πολέμῳ ἦσαν. [6] Ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἐδείμαντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. πάλαι μὲν ὁ Τίβερης παραρρέων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [7] ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ περίβολος κατὰ τὸν ῥοὺν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέχει, ὑπτιός τε καὶ λίαν εὐεφοδός ἐστι. [8] τούτου τε ἀντικρὺ τοῦ χώρου, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Τιβέριδος, λόφον τινὰ μέγαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μύλωνες ἐκ παλαιοῦ πάντες πεποιοῦνται, ἄτε ὕδατος ἐνταῦθα πολλοῦ διὰ μὲν ὄχετοῦ ἀγομένου ἐς τὴν τοῦ λόφου ὑπερβολήν, ἐς τὸ κάταντες δὲ ξὺν ῥύμῃ μεγάλῃ ἐνθένδε ἰόντος. [9] διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τε λόφον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ὥς μήποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δυνατὰ εἴη τοὺς τε μύλῳνας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβᾶσιν εὐπετῶς τῷ τῆς πόλεως

περιβόλῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν. [10] ζευζάντες οὖν ταύτη τὸν ποταμὸν γεφύρα, ξυνάπτειν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἔδοξαν καὶ οἰκίας συχνὰς ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἀντιπέρασ δειμάμενοι μέσον τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος πεποιήνται ῥεῦμα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. [11] Γότθοι δὲ τάφρους τε βαθείας ἀμφὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ξύμπαντα ὥρυξαν, καὶ τὸν χοῦν ὃν ἐνθένδε ἀφείλοντο ξυννήσαντες ὑπὲρ τοίχου τοῦ ἔνδον, ὑψηλὸν τε αὐτὸν ὡς μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι καὶ σκολόπων ὀξέων καθύπερθεν πάμπολὺ τι χρήμα πηξάμενοι, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστερον τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ὀχυρωμάτων τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα εἰργάσαντο. [12] καὶ χαρακώματος μὲν τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ Μαρκίας ἦρχεν ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ Γαλλίων ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀφίκτο, ξὺν οἷς ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπέδευσέ, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐίτιγις ἡγεῖτο ἕκτος αὐτός· ἄρχων γὰρ ἦν εἰς κατὰ χαρακώμα ἕκαστον. [13] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταξάμενοι διεῖλον τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἅπαντας, ὅπως δὴ ὕδωρ ὡς ἡκιστα ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσίοι. Ῥώμης δὲ ὀχετοὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν τὸ πληθὸς εἰσιν, ἐκ πλίνθου δὲ ὠπτημένης τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις πεποιήνται, ἐς τοσοῦτον εὖρους καὶ βάθους διήκοντες ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ ἵπῳ ὀχομένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἵππεύειν δυνατὰ εἶναι. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως διεκόσμει ὧδε. πυλίδι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν Πιγκιανὴν καὶ πύλιν τὴν ταύτης ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχεν, [15] ἡ Σαλαρία ὠνόμασται. κατὰ ταύτας γὰρ ἐπίμαχος ἦν ὁ περίβολος, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξιτητὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντα ἐτύγγανε. Πραίνεστίαν δὲ Βέσσα ἔδωκε. [16] καὶ τῇ Φλαμινίᾳ, ἡ Πιγκιανῆς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἔστι, Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπέστησε, τὰς τε πύλας ἐπιθείς πρότερον, καὶ λίθων μεγάλων οἰκοδομίᾳ ἔνδοθεν αὐτὰς ἀποφράξας ὡς μάλιστα, ὅπως δὴ αὐτὰς μηδενὶ ἀνακλίνειν δυνατὰ εἶη. [17] τῶν γὰρ χαρακωμάτων ἐνὸς ἀγχοτάτω ὄντος ἔδεισε μὴ τις ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνταῦθα ἔσται. [18] τὰς δὲ λειπομένας τῶν πεζικῶν καταλόγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφυλάσσειν ἐκέλευε. τῶν τε ὀχετῶν ἕκαστον ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον κατέλαβε, μὴ τις ἔξωθεν κακουργήσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι. [19] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀχετῶν, καθάπερ μοι εἴρηται, διαιρεθέντων οὐκέτι τὰς μύλας τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνήργει, ζώοις τέ τισιν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὰς οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τροφῆς ἀπάσης ἅτε ἐν πολιορκίᾳ σπανίζοντες; οἱ γε καὶ ἵππων μόλις τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐδύναντο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Βελισάριος ἔξευρε τόδε. [20] ἔμπροσθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἥς ἄρτι πρὸς τῷ περιβόλῳ οὕσης ἐμνήσθην, σχοίνους ἀρτήσας ἐξ ἑκατέρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ὡς ἄριστα ἐντεταμένας, ταύταις τε λέμβους δύο παρ' ἀλλήλους ξυνδήσας, πόδας δύο ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχοντας, ἧ μάλιστα ἢ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροὴ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς γεφύρας κυρτώματος ἀκμάζουσα κατῆι, μύλας τε δύο ἐν λέμβῳ ἑκατέρῳ ἐνθήμενος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκρέμασεν ἢ τὰς μύλας στρέφειν εἰώθει. [21] ἐπέκεινα δὲ ἄλλας τε ἀκάτους ἐχομένας τῶν αἰὲ ὀπισθεν κατὰ λόγον ἐδέσμευε, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνέβαλε. [22] προϊούσης οὖν τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ρύμης αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπασαι ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς καλινδούμεναι ἐνήργουν τε τὰς κατ' αὐτὰς μύλας καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ αὐτάρκη ἤλουν. ἃ δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων γνόντες ἀφανίζουσι τὰς μηχανὰς τρὸς τῷ τοῖῳ. [23] δένδρα μεγάλα καὶ σώματα Ῥωμαίων νεοσφαγῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν συμφοροῦντες ἐρρίπτουν. [24] τούτων τε τὰ πλεῖστα ξὺν τῷ ῥεύματι ἐς μέσα τὰ σκάφη φερόμενα τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπεκαύλιζε.

Βελισάριος δὲ κατιδὼν τὰ ποιούμενα προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. [25] ἀλύσεις μακρὰς σιδηρᾶς πρὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἤρτησεν, ἐξικνουμένας ἐς Τίβεριν ὅλον. αἷς δὴ προσπίπτοντα ξύμπαντα ὅσα ὁ ποταμὸς ἔφερε, ξυνίστατό τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἐχώρει. [26] ταῦτά τε ἀνέλκοντες αἰεὶ οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔφερον. ταῦτα δὲ Βελισάριος ἐποίει οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν μυλῶν ἕνεκα ὅσον ὅτι ἐνθένδε ἐς δέος τε καὶ ἔννοιαν ἦλθε μὴ λάθωσιν ἀκάτοις πολλαῖς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐντὸς τῆς γεφύρας καὶ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γενόμενοι. [27] οὕτω τε οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς πείρας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι ταύτῃ προὔχῳρει, ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Ῥωμαῖοι τούτοις μὲν τοῖς μύλῳσιν ἐχρῶντο, τῶν δὲ βαλανείων τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ παντάπασιν ἀπεκέκλειντο. [28] ὕδωρ μέντοι ὅσον πιεῖν διαρκὲς εἶχον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκοῦσι παρὴν ἐκ φρεάτων ὑδρεύεσθαι. [29] ἐς δὲ τοὺς ὑπονόμους, οἵπερ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴ τι οὐ καθαρὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν ἔξω, ἀσφάλειαν ἐπινοεῖν οὐδεμίαν ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεμίαν οἶόν τε τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι.

XIX

But on the following day they arrayed themselves for the struggle, the Goths thinking to capture Rome by siege without any trouble on account of the great size of the city, and the Romans defending it. Now the wall of the city has fourteen large gates and several smaller ones. And the Goths, being unable with their entire army to envelop the wall on every side, made six fortified camps from which they harassed the portion of the wall containing five gates, from the Flaminian as far as the one called the Praenestine Gate; and all these camps were made by them on the left bank of the Tiber River. Wherefore the barbarians feared lest their enemy, by destroying the bridge which bears the name of Mulvius, should render inaccessible to them all the land on the right bank of the river as far as the sea, and in this way have not the slightest experience of the evils of a siege, and so they fixed a seventh camp across the Tiber in the Plain of Nero, in order that the bridge might be between their two armies. So in this way two other gates came to be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the Aurelian (which is now named after Peter, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, since he lies not far from there) and the Transtiburtine Gate. Thus the Goths surrounded only about one-half of the wall with their army, but since they were in no direction wholly shut off from the wall by the river, they made attacks upon it throughout its whole extent whenever they wished.

Now the way the Romans came to build the city-wall on both sides of the river I shall now proceed to tell. In ancient times the Tiber used to flow alongside the circuit-wall for a considerable distance, even at the place where it is now enclosed. But this ground, on which the wall rises along the stream of the river, is flat and very accessible. And opposite this flat ground, across the Tiber, it happens that there is a great hill where all the mills of the city have been built from of old, because much water is brought by an aqueduct to the crest of the hill, and rushes thence down the incline with great force. For this reason the ancient Romans determined to surround the hill and the river bank near it with a wall, so that it might never be possible for an enemy to destroy the mills, and crossing the river, to carry on operations with ease against the circuit-wall of the city. So they decided to span the river at this point with a bridge, and to attach it to the wall; and by building many houses in the district across the river they caused the stream of the Tiber to be in the middle of the city. So much then for this.

And the Goths dug deep trenches about all their camps, and heaped up the earth, which they took out from them, on the inner side of the trenches, making this bank exceedingly high, and they planted great numbers of sharp stakes on the top, thus making all their camps in no way inferior to fortified

strongholds. And the camp in the Plain of Nero was commanded by Marcias (for he had by now arrived from Gaul with his followers, with whom he was encamped there), and the rest of the camps were commanded by Vittigis with five others; for there was one commander for each camp. So the Goths, having taken their positions in this way, tore open all the aqueducts, so that no water at all might enter the city from them. Now the aqueducts of Rome are fourteen in number, and were made of baked brick by the men of old, being of such breadth and height that it is possible for a man on horseback to ride in them. And Belisarius arranged for the defence of the city in the following manner. He himself held the small Pincian Gate and the gate next to this on the right, which is named the Salarian. For at these gates the circuit-wall was assailable, and at the same time it was possible for the Romans to go out from them against the enemy. The Praenestine Gate he gave to Bessas. And at the Flaminian, which is on the other side of the Pincian, he put Constantinus in command, having previously closed the gates and blocked them up most securely by building a wall of great stones on the inside, so that it might be impossible for anyone to open them. For since one of the camps was very near, he feared least some secret plot against the city should be made there by the enemy. And the remaining gates he ordered the commanders of the infantry forces to keep under guard. And he closed each of the aqueducts as securely as possible by filling their channels with masonry for a considerable distance, to prevent anyone from entering through them from the outside to do mischief.

But after the aqueducts had been broken open, as I have stated, the water no longer worked the mills, and the Romans were quite unable to operate them with any kind of animals owing to the scarcity of all food in time of siege; indeed they were scarcely able to provide for the horses which were indispensable to them. And so Belisarius hit upon the following device. Just below the bridge which I lately mentioned as being connected with the circuit-wall, he fastened ropes from the two banks of the river and stretched them as tight as he could, and then attached to them two boats side by side and two feet apart, where the flow of the water comes down from the arch of the bridge with the greatest force, and placing two mills on either boat, he hung between them the mechanism by which mills are customarily turned. And below these he fastened other boats, each attached to the one next behind in order, and he set the water-wheels between them in the same manner for a great distance. So by the force of the flowing water all the wheels, one after the other, were made to revolve independently, and thus they worked the mills with which they were connected and ground sufficient flour for the city. Now when the enemy learned this from the deserters, they destroyed the wheels in the following manner. They gathered large trees and bodies of Romans newly slain and kept throwing them into the river; and the most of these were carried with the current between the boats and broke off the mill-wheels. But

Belisarius, observing what was being done, contrived the following device against it. He fastened above the bridge long iron chains, which reached completely across the Tiber. All the objects which the river brought down struck upon these chains, and gathered there and went no farther. And those to whom this work was assigned kept pulling out these objects as they came and bore them to the land. And Belisarius did this, not so much on account of the mills, as because he began to think with alarm that the enemy might get inside the bridge at this point with many boats and be in the middle of the city before their presence became known. Thus the barbarians abandoned the attempt, since they met with no success in it. And thereafter the Romans continued to use these mills; but they were entirely excluded from the baths because of the scarcity of water. However, they had sufficient water to drink, since even for those who lived very far from the river it was possible to draw water from wells. But as for the sewers, which carry out from the city whatever is unclean, Belisarius was not forced to devise any plan of safety, for they all discharge into the Tiber River, and therefore it was impossible for any plot to be made against the city by the enemy in connection with them.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν τῆδε Βελισάριος διωκῆσατο. Σαμνιτῶν δὲ παῖδες πολλοί, πρόβατα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ποιμαίνοντες, δύο τοῦ σώματος ἐν σφίσιν εὗ ἦκοντας ἀπολέξαντες, καὶ αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Βελισαρίου ὀνόματος, Οὐίτιγιν δὲ τὸν ἕτερον ὀνομάσαντες, [2] παλαίειν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὴ ἰσχυρότατα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθισταμένων, τὸν Οὐίτιγιν δῆθεν ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν παιδῶν ὁμιλος παίζοντες ἐπὶ δένδρου ἐκρήμνων. [3] λύκου δὲ τύχῃ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα φανέντος οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔφυγον ἅπαντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου ἡρτημένος Οὐίτιγίς χρόνον οἱ τριβέντος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ θνήσκει. [4] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐς Σαμνίτας ἔκπυστα ἐγεγόνει, οὔτε κόλασιν τινα ἐς τὰ παιδιά ταῦτα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ξυμβalόντες νικήσειν κατὰ κράτος Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. [5] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὁ δῆμος, τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τε καὶ πολιορκίᾳ κακῶν ἀήθεις παντάπασιν ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ τῇ μὲν ἀλουσίᾳ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, φυλάσσειν τε ἄϋπνοι τὸν περίβολον ἠναγκάζοντο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐώρων τούς τε ἀγροὺς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ληιζομένους, ἥσχαλλόν τε καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότες πολιορκοῖντό τε καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου μέγεθος ἦκοιεν. [6] ἐν σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ὅς γε οὐκ ἀξιοχρεῶν πρὸς βασιλέως δύναμιν λαβὼν ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεῦσθαι. [7] ταῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ βουλῆς ἦν σύγκλητον καλοῦσι Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παραβύστῳ ὠνείδιζον. ἅπερ Οὐίτιγίς πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας συγκρούειν τε αὐτοὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθέλων καὶ ἐς πολλὴν ταραχὴν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ταύτῃ οἰόμενος, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀλβιν ἐπεμψεν. [8] οἳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ὅσιν τὴν Βελισαρίου ἀφίκοντο, παρόντων Ῥωμαίων τε τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: ‘Πάλαι, ὦ στρατηγέ, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώριστα τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα: ἐν οἷς ἐν τόδῃ ἐστί, θράσος κεχώριστα ἀνδρείας. [9] τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἷς ἂν προσγένειτο, ξὺν ἀτιμία ἐς κίνδυνον ἄγει, τὸ δὲ δόξαν ἀρετῆς ἱκανῶς φέρεται. [10] τοῦτων θάτερόν σε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπότερον μέντοι, αὐτίκα δηλώσεις. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρεία πιστεύων ἐπὶ Γόθους ἐστράτευσας, ὁρᾷς γὰρ δήπου ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον καὶ σοὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ὃ γενναῖε, διαρκῶς πάρεστιν: εἰ δὲ γε θράσει ἐχόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμησαι, πάντως σοὶ καὶ μεταμέλει τῶν εἰκῇ πεπραγμένων. [11] τῶν γὰρ ἀπονενοημένων αἱ γνώμαι, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι γίνωνται, μετανοεῖν φιλοῦσι. νῦν οὖν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις τοῖσδε περαιτέρω τὴν τालαιπωρίαν μηκύνεσθαι ποίει, οὗς δὴ Θευδέριχος ἐν βίῳ τρυφερῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐλευθέρῳ ἐξέθρεψε, μήτε τῷ Γόθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν δεσπότη ἔμποδὼν ἴστασο. [12] πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, σὲ μὲν οὕτω καθειργμένον τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατεπτηχότα ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ταύτης βασιλέα ἐν χαρακώματι διατρίβοντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ κατηκόους ἐργάζεσθαι; [13] ἡμεῖς δὲ σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ποιεῖσθαι ἤδη τὴν ἄφοδον κατ' ἐξουσίαν παρέξομεν, ἅπαντα τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς τὸ σῶφρον μεταματοῦσιν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτε ἄξιον τρόπου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἶναι νομίζομεν. [14] ἡδέως δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔτι ἐροίμεθα τοῖσδε, τί ποτε ἄρα Γόθοις ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες ἡμᾶς τε αὖ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς προῦδοσαν, οἳ γε τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας ἐπικεικίας ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀπήλαυσαν, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπικουρίας εἰσὶν ἔμπειροι.' [15] Τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: 'Ὁ μὲν τῆς συμβουλῆς καιρὸς οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. γνώμη γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα εἰώθασι πολεμεῖν ἀνθρωποι, ἀλλ' αὐτόν τινα τὰ οἰκεῖα διατίθεσθαι νόμος, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. [16] φημί δὲ ὑμῖν ἀφίξεσθαι χρόνον ἡνίκα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀκάνθαις βουλόμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς κρύπτεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔξετε. [17] Ῥώμην μέντοι ἐλόντες ἡμεῖς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲν ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ταύτης τὰ πρότερα ἐπιβατεύσαντες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκον, νῦν οὐχ ἐκόντες τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις ἀπέδοτε. [18] ὅστις δὲ ὑμῶν Ῥώμης ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀμαχητὶ ἐπιβήσεσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει. ζῶντα γὰρ Βελισάριον μεθήσεσθαι ταύτης ἀδύνατον.' τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ Βελισάριος εἶπε. [19] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀντιλέγειν ἐτόλμων, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐς Γόθους προδοσίᾳ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν κακιζόμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Φιδέλιος αὐτοὺς ἐρεσχελεῖν ἔγνω. [20] ὃς τότε τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπαρχος καταστάς πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντων μάλιστα ἔδοξε βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν.

Thus, then, did Belisarius make his arrangements for the siege. And among the Samnites a large company of children, who were pasturing flocks in their own country, chose out two among them who were well favoured in strength of body, and calling one of them by the name of Belisarius, and naming the other Vittigis, bade them wrestle. And they entered into the struggle with the greatest vehemence and it so fell out that the one who impersonated Vittigis was thrown. Then the crowd of boys in play hung him to a tree. But a wolf by some chance appeared there, whereupon the boys all fled, and the one called Vittigis, who was suspended from the tree, remained for some time suffering this punishment and then died. And when this became known to the Samnites, they did not inflict any punishment upon these children, but divining the meaning of the incident declared that Belisarius would conquer decisively. So much for this.

But the populace of Rome were entirely unacquainted with the evils of war and siege. When, therefore, they began to be distressed by their inability to bathe and the scarcity of provisions, and found themselves obliged to forgo sleep in guarding the circuit-wall, and suspected that the city would be captured at no distant date; and when, at the same time, they saw the enemy plundering their fields and other possessions, they began to be dissatisfied and indignant that they, who had done no wrong, should suffer siege and be brought into peril of such magnitude. And gathering in groups by themselves, they railed openly against Belisarius, on the ground that he had dared to take the field against the Goths before he had received an adequate force from the emperor. And these reproaches against Belisarius were secretly indulged in also by the members of the council which they call the senate. And Vittigis, hearing all this from the deserters and desiring to embroil them with one another still more, and thinking that in this way the affairs of the Romans would be thrown into great confusion, sent to Belisarius some envoys, among whom was Albis. And when these men came before Belisarius, they spoke as follows in the presence of the Roman senators and all the commanders of the army:

“From of old, general, mankind has made true and proper distinctions in the names they give to things; and one of these distinctions is this — rashness is different from bravery. For rashness, when it takes possession of a man, brings him into danger with discredit, but bravery bestows upon him an adequate prize in reputation for valour. Now one of these two has brought you against us, but which it is you will straightway make clear. For if, on the one hand, you placed your confidence in bravery when you took the field against the Goths, there is ample opportunity, noble sir, for you to do the deeds of a brave

man, since you have only to look down from your wall to see the army of the enemy; but if, on the other hand, it was because you were possessed by rashness that you came to attack us, certainly you now repent you of the reckless undertaking. For the opinions of those who have made a desperate venture are wont to undergo a change whenever they find themselves in serious straits. Now, therefore, do not cause the sufferings of these Romans to be prolonged any further, men whom Theoderic fostered in a life not only of soft luxury but also of freedom, and cease your resistance to him who is the master both of the Goths and of the Italians. Is it not monstrous that you should sit in Rome hemmed in as you are and in abject terror of the enemy, while the king of this city passes his time in a fortified camp and inflicts the evils of war upon his own subjects? But we shall give both you and your followers an opportunity to take your departure forthwith in security, retaining all your possessions. For to trample upon those who have learned to take a new view of prudence we consider neither holy nor worthy of the ways of men. And, further, we should gladly ask these Romans what complaints they could have had against the Goths that they betrayed both us and themselves, seeing that up to this time they have enjoyed our kindness, and now are acquainted by experience with the assistance to be expected from you.”

Thus spoke the envoys. And Belisarius replied as follows: “It is not to rest with you to choose the moment for conference. For men are by no means wont to wage war according to the judgment of their enemies, but it is customary for each one to arrange his own affairs for himself, in whatever manner seems to him best. But I say to you that there will come a time when you will want to hide your heads under the thistles but will find no shelter anywhere. As for Rome, moreover, which we have captured, in holding it we hold nothing which belongs to others, but it was you who trespassed upon this city in former times, though it did not belong to you at all, and now you have given it back, however unwillingly, to its ancient possessors. And whoever of you has hopes of setting foot in Rome without a fight is mistaken in his judgment. For as long as Belisarius lives, it is impossible for him to relinquish this city.” Such were the words of Belisarius. But the Romans, being overcome by a great fear, sat in silence, and, even though they were abused by the envoys at length for their treason to the Goths, dared make no reply to them, except, indeed, that Fidelius saw fit to taunt them. This man was then praetorian prefect, having been appointed to the office by Belisarius, and for this reason he seemed above all others to be well disposed toward the emperor.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκομίζοντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν Οὐίτιγις ἐπυνθάνετο ὁποῖός τε ἀνὴρ Βελισάριος εἴη καὶ γνώμης ὅπως ποτὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσει ἔχει, ἀπεκρίναντο ὡς οὐκ εἰκότα Γότθοι ἐλπίζουσι, δεδίζεσθαι Βελισάριον ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ οἴομενοι. [2] Οὐίτιγις δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τειχομαχεῖν τε πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ

περιβόλου ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξηρτύετο ὧδε. [3] πύργους ξυλίνους ἐποίησατο ἴσους τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου πολλάκις ξυμμετρησάμενος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς. [4] τούτοις δὲ τοῖς πύργοις τροχοὶ ἐς τὴν βάσιν ἐμβεβλημένοι πρὸς γωνία ἐκάστη ὑπέκιντο, οἱ δὴ αὐτοὺς κυλινδούμενοι ῥᾶστα περιάξουν ἔμελλον ὅπῃ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀεὶ βούλιντο, καὶ βόες τοὺς πύργους ξυνδεδεμένοι εἰλκον. [5] ἔπειτα δὲ κλίμακας πολλὰς τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας ἡτοίμαζε καὶ μηχανὰς τέσσαρας αἱ κριοὶ καλοῦνται. [6] ἔστι δὲ ἡ μηχανὴ τοιαύτη. κίονες ὀρθοὶ ξύλινοι τέσσαρες ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις ἐστᾶσι. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς κίοσι δοκοὺς ὀκτὼ ἐγκαρσίας ἐνείροντες τέσσαρας μὲν ἄνω, τοσαύτας δὲ πρὸς ταῖς βάσεσιν ἐναρμόζουσιν. [7] οἰκίσκου τε σχῆμα τετραγώνου ἐργαζόμενοι προκάλυμμα πανταχόθεν ἀντὶ τοίχων τε καὶ τείχους διφθέρας αὐτῷ περιβάλλουσιν, ὅπως ἢ τε μηχανὴ τοῖς ἔλκουσιν ἐλαφρὰ εἴη καὶ οἱ ἔνδον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ὦσιν, ὥς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἤκιστα βάλλεσθαι. [8] ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῆς δοκὸν ἐτέραν ἄνωθεν ἐγκαρσίαν ἀρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι κατὰ μέσσην μάλιστα τὴν μηχανὴν ἔχουσιν. ἥς δὴ ὀξεῖαν ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἄκραν, σιδήρῳ πολλῷ καθάπερ ἀκίδα καλύπτουσι βέλους, ἢ καὶ τετράγωνον, ὥσπερ ἄκμονα, τὸν σίδηρον ποιοῦσι. [9] καὶ τροχοῖς μὲν ἡ μηχανὴ τέσσαρσι πρὸς κίονι ἐκάστῳ κειμένοις ἐπῆρται, ἄνδρες δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ πεντήκοντα κινουσιν ἔνδοθεν. [10] οἱ ἐπειδὴν αὐτὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσι, τὴν δοκὸν ἥς δὴ ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη μηχανῇ τινι στρέφοντες ὀπίσω ἀνέλκουσιν, αὐθὺς τε αὐτὴν ξὺν ῥύμῃ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφίανται. [11] ἡ δὲ συχνὰ ἐμβαλλομένη κατασεῖσαι τε ὅπῃ προσπίπτει καὶ διελεῖν ῥᾶστα οἷα τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἡ μηχανὴ ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἡ ἐμβολὴ προὔχουσα πλήσσειν ὅπου παρατύχοι, καθάπερ τῶν προβάτων τὰ ἄρρενα, [12] εἶωθε. τῶν μὲν οὖν τειχομαχοῦντων οἱ κριοὶ τοιοῦδε εἰσὶ. [13] Γότθοι δὲ πάμπολύ τι φακέλλων χρῆμα ἔκ τε ξύλων καὶ καλάμων ποιησάμενοι ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, ὅπως δὴ ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβαλόντες ὁμαλὸν τε τὸν χῶρον ἐργάζωνται καὶ ταύτῃ διαβαίνειν αἱ μηχαναὶ ἤκιστα εἴργωνται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γότθοι παρασκευασάμενοι τειχομαχεῖν ὥρμητο. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ μηχανὰς μὲν ἐς τοὺς πύργους ἐτίθετο ἅς καλοῦσι βαλλίστρας. τόξου δὲ σχῆμα ἔχουσιν αἱ μηχαναὶ αὗται, ἔνερθεν τε αὐτοῦ κοίλῃ τις ξυλινὴ κεραία προὔχει, αὕτη μὲν χαλαρὰ ἡρτημένη, σιδηρᾷ δὲ εὐθείᾳ τινὶ ἐπικειμένη. [15] ἐπειδὴν οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθένδε βάλλειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι, βρόχου βραχέος ἐνέρσει τὰ ξύλα ἐς ἄλληλα νεύειν ποιοῦσιν ἃ δὴ τοῦ τόξου ἄκρα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, τὸν τε ἄτρακτον ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ κεραίᾳ τίθενται, τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν, ἅπερ ἐκ τῶν τόξων ἀφίανται, μῆκος μὲν ἔχοντα ἡμισυ μάλιστα, εὖρος δὲ κατὰ τετραπλάσιον. [16] πτεροῖς μέντοι οὐ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἐνέχεται, ἀλλὰ ξύλα λεπτὰ ἐς τῶν πτερῶν τὴν χώραν ἐνείροντες ὅλον ἀπομιμοῦνται τοῦ βέλους τὸ σχῆμα, μεγάλην αὐτῷ λίαν καὶ τοῦ πάχους κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἀκίδα ἐμβάλλοντες. [17] σφίγγουσί τε σθένει πολλῷ οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μηχαναῖς τισι, καὶ τότε ἡ κοίλῃ κεραία προῖοῦσα ἐκπίπτει μὲν, ξὺν ῥύμῃ δὲ τοσαύτῃ ἐκπίπτει τὸ βέλος ὥστε ἐξικνεῖται μὲν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ δύο τῆς τοξείας βολάς, δένδρου δὲ ἢ λίθου ἐπιτυχὸν τέμνει ῥαδίως. [18] τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ μηχανὴ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος

τούτου, ὅτι δὴ βάλλει ὡς μάλιστα, ἐπικληθεῖσα. ἐτέρας δὲ μηχανὰς ἐπήξαντο ἐν ταῖς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπάλξεσιν ἐς λίθων βολὰς ἐπιτηδείας. [19] σφενδόνη δὲ αὗται εἰσιν ἐμφερεῖς καὶ ὄναγροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις λύκους ἔξω ἐπετίθεντο, οὓς δὴ ποιοῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [20] δοκοὺς δύο ἰστᾶσιν ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐξικνουμένας, ξύλα τε εἰργασμένα ἐπὶ ἄλληλα θέμενοι τὰ μὲν ὀρθά, τὰ δὲ ἐγκάρσια ἐναρμόζουσιν, ὡς τῶν ἐνέρσεων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς ἄλληλα τρυπήματα φαίνεσθαι. [21] ἐκάστης δὲ ἀρμονίας ἐμβολή τις προὔχει, κέντρῳ παχεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερῆς οὖσα. καὶ τῶν ξύλων τὰ ἐγκάρσια ἐς δοκὸν ἑκατέραν πηξάμενοι, ἄνωθεν ἄχρι ἐς μοῖραν διήκοντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ὑπτίας τὰς δοκοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνακλίνουσι. [22] καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτῶν ἐγγυτέρῳ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἴκωνται, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἄκρων δοκῶν ἀψάμενοι ὠθοῦσιν, αὗται δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἐμβολῶν, ὅσους ἂν λάβοιεν, εὐπετῶς κτείνουσι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

The envoys then betook themselves to their own army. And when Vittigis enquired of them what manner of man Belisarius was and how his purpose stood with regard to the question of withdrawing from Rome, they replied that the Goths were hoping for vain things if they supposed that they would frighten Belisarius in any way whatsoever. And when Vittigis heard this, he began in great earnest to plan an assault upon the wall, and the preparations he made for the attempt upon the fortifications were as follows. He constructed wooden towers equal in height to the enemy's wall, and he discovered its true measure by making many calculations based upon the courses of stone. And wheels were attached to the floor of these towers under each corner, which were intended, as they turned, to move the towers to any point the attacking army might wish at a given time, and the towers were drawn by oxen yoked together. After this he made ready a great number of ladders, that would reach as far as the parapet, and four engines which are called rams. Now this engine is of the following sort. Four upright wooden beams, equal in length, are set up opposite one another. To these beams they fit eight horizontal timbers, four above and an equal number at the base, thus binding them together. After they have thus made the frame of a four-sided building, they surround it on all sides, not with walls of wood or stone, but with a covering of hides, in order that the engine may be light for those who draw it and that those within may still be in the least possible danger of being shot by their opponents. And on the inside they hang another horizontal beam from the top by means of chains which swing free, and they keep it at about the middle of the interior. They then sharpen the end of this beam and cover it with a large iron head, precisely as they cover the round point of a missile, or they sometimes make the iron head square like an anvil. And the whole structure is raised upon four wheels, one being attached to each upright beam, and men to the number of no fewer than fifty to each ram move it from the inside. Then when they apply it to the wall, they draw back the beam which I have just mentioned by turning a certain mechanism, and then they let it swing forward with great force against the wall. And this beam by frequent blows is able quite easily to batter down and tear open a wall wherever it strikes, and it is for this reason that the engine has the name it bears, because the striking end of the beam, projecting as it does, is accustomed to butt against whatever it may encounter, precisely as do the males among sheep. Such, then, are the rams used by the assailants of a wall. And the Goths were holding in readiness an exceedingly great number of bundles of faggots, which they had made of pieces of wood and reeds, in order that by throwing them into the moat they might make the ground level, and that their engines might not be prevented from crossing it. Now after the Goths had made their preparations in this manner, they were eager to make an assault upon the wall.

But Belisarius placed upon the towers engines which they call “ballistae.” Now these engines have the form of a bow, but on the under side of them a grooved wooden shaft projects; this shaft is so fitted to the bow that it is free to move, and rests upon a straight iron bed. So when men wish to shoot at the enemy with this, they make the parts of the bow which form the ends bend toward one another by means of a short rope fastened to them, and they place in the grooved shaft the arrow, which is about one half the length of the ordinary missiles which they shoot from bows, but about four times as wide. However, it does not have feathers of the usual sort attached to it, but by inserting thin pieces of wood in place of feathers, they give it in all respects the form of an arrow, making the point which they put on very large and in keeping with its thickness. And the men who stand on either side wind it up tight by means of certain appliances, and then the grooved shaft shoots forward and stops, but the missile is discharged from the shaft, and with such force that it attains the distance of not less than two bow-shots, and that, when it hits a tree or a rock, it pierces it easily. Such is the engine which bears this name, being so called because it shoots with very great force. And they fixed other engines along the parapet of the wall adapted for throwing stones. Now these resemble slings and are called “wild asses.” And outside the gates they placed “wolves,” which they make in the following manner. They set up two timbers which reach from the ground to the battlements; then they fit together beams which have been mortised to one another, placing some upright and others crosswise, so that the spaces between the intersections appear as a succession of holes. And from every joint there projects a kind of beak, which resembles very closely a thick goad. Then they fasten the cross-beams to the two upright timbers, beginning at the top and letting them extend half way down, and then lean the timbers back against the gates. And whenever the enemy come up near them, those above lay hold of the ends of the timbers and push, and these, falling suddenly upon the assailants, easily kill with the projecting beaks as many as they may catch. So Belisarius was thus engaged.

Γότθοι δὲ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ἡμέρᾳ, Οὐιτιτίγιδος σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς ὡς τειχομαχῆσοντες ἐπὶ τὸν περιβόλον ἦσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προῖοῦσα ἢ τῶν πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν ὅσις παντάπασί τε ἀθήης οὔσα ἐξέπλησσε. [2] Βελισάριος δὲ βαδίζουσιν ξὺν ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁρῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν, ἐγέλα τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν μηδαμῶς ἄρχειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα γελῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα ἤκιστα ἐδήλου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐγνώσθη. [3] Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι αὐτὸν εἰρωνεύεσθαι ὑποτοπᾶσαντες ἐκάκιστον τε καὶ ἀναιδῆ ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἰόντας οὐκ ἀναστέλλοι τοὺς ἐναντίους, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι τῆς τάφρου ἐγγυτέρω ἵκοντο, πρῶτος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας, τῶν τινα τεθωρακισμένων τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγουμένων εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔπεσεν ὕπιος, Ῥωμαῖον δὲ ὁ λεῶς ἅπας ἀνέκραγον ἐξαισίον τε καὶ ἀκοῆς

κρεῖσσον, ἄριστον οἰωνὸν ξυνενεχθῆναι σφίσιν οἰόμενοι. [6] δις δὲ Βελισαρίου τὸ βέλος ἀφέντος, ταῦτὸ τοῦτο καὶ αὐθις ξυνέβη, καὶ ἡ τε κραυγὴ μείζων ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἦρθη καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡσσησθαι ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ᾤοντο. [7] καὶ τότε μὲν Βελισάριος τῇ μὲν στρατιᾷ πάσῃ κινεῖν τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἐσήμαινε, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας ἐς μόνους τοὺς βόας ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. [8] πάντων τε τῶν βοῶν αὐτίκα πεσόντων, οὔτε τοὺς πύργους περαιτέρω κινεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι εἶχον οὔτε τι ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι ἀπορούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ οἶοί τε ἦσαν. [9] οὕτω δὲ Βελισαρίου τε ἡ πρόνοια ἐγνώσθη τοῦ μὴ ἐκαστάτω ὄντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναστέλλειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅτι γελῶς τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων εὐήθειαν, οἱ δὲ βόας περιάξιν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ τεῖχος οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐλπίδα εἶχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ Σαλαρίαν πύλην ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίττιγίς δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποκρουσθεῖς, Γότθων μὲν στρατιὰν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φάλαγγα δὲ αὐτῶν βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιστεῖλας προσβολὴν μὲν μηδαμῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ποιεῖσθαι, μένοντας δὲ ἐν τάξει βάλλειν τε συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα Βελισαρίῳ καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐτέρωσε τοῦ τεύχους ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς προσβάλλειν μέλλῃ στρατῷ πλείονι, οὕτω δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλην Πραϊνεστίναν ἐπὶ μοῖραν τοῦ περιβόλου ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιβάριον καλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ τὸ τεῖχος ἦν ἐπιμαχώτατον μάλιστα, [11] πολλῶν στρατῶν ἦι. ἐτύγγανον δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ μηχαναὶ ἄλλαι πύργων τε καὶ κριῶν καὶ κλίμακες πολλαὶ ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι. [12] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθων προσβολῇ ἐτέρα ἐς πύλην Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτορος τάφος ἔξω πύλης Αὐρηλίας ἐστίν, ἀπέχων τοῦ περιβόλου ὅσον λίθου βολήν, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [13] πεποιήται γὰρ ἐκ λίθου Παρίου καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις μεμύκασιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐντὸς ἔχοντες. πλευραὶ τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις, εὖρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἐκάστη ἔχουσα, μήκος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς πόλεως τεύχος. [14] ἀγάλματά τε ἄνω ἐκ λίθου εἰσὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων θαυμάσια οἷα. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τάφον οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇ πόλει ἐπιτείχισμα εἶναι τειχίσμασι δύο ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου διήκουσι περιβάλλουσι καὶ μέρος εἶναι τοῦ τεύχους πεποιήναι. [15] ἔοικε γοῦν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ πύλης τῆς ἐκείνῃ προβεβλημένῳ. ἦν μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐνταῦθα ὀχύρωμα ἰκανώτατον. τούτου δὲ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπιστήσας Βελισάριος ἔτυχεν. [16] ὃ δὲ ἐπέστειλε καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τεύχους τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, φαύλην τινὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἔχοντος. ἥκιστα γὰρ ταύτῃ ἐπιμάχου ὄντος τοῦ περιβόλου, ἅτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραρρέοντος, οὐδεμίαν αὐτόθι προσβολὴν ἔσσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσας, οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τὸ πλῆθος ἐνειμεν. [17] ἐς πεντακισχιλίους γὰρ μάλιστα τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆςδε τῆς πολιορκίας ξυνήει. [18] Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ 'καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν ἀποπειρώμενοι διαβάσεως' δείσας περὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τειχίσματι αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἐκείσε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐβοήθει, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσι τῆς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τε καὶ τῷ τάφῳ φρουρᾶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρήγγελλεν. [19] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι πύλῃ τῇ Αὐρηλίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἀδριανοῦ πύργῳ προσέβαλλον, μηχανὴν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, κλιμάκων δὲ πάμπολύ τι ἐπαγόμενοι χρήμα καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει

ῥᾶον ἔς τε ἀπορίαν καταστήσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι καὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου κρατήσιν δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [20] θύρας δὲ προβεβλημένοι ἐβάδιζον, οὐδὲν ἐλασσουμένας τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃς θυρεῶν, καὶ ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀγχοτάτω αὐτῶν ἦκοντες. [21] ὑπὸ γὰρ τῇ στοᾷ κρυπτόμενοι ἦλθον ἢ ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν διήκει. ἐνθὲνδε φανέντες ἐξαπιναιῶς ἔργου εἶχοντο, ὥς μήτε τῇ καλουμένῃ βαλλίστρᾳ χρῆσθαι τοὺς φύλακας οἷους τε εἶναι ὅτι γὰρ πέμπουσιν ὅτι μὴ ἐξ ἐναντίας αἱ μηχαναὶ αὐταὶ τὰ βέλῃ οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς τοξεύμασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς θύρας ἀντιστατοῦντος. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ καρτερῶς τε οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο, βάλλοντες συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἤδη προσθήσιν τῷ τειχίσματι ἔμελλον, κυκλώσαντες σχεδόν τι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀμυνομένους, αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ χωρήσειαν, κατὰ νότου ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἐγίνοντο, χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐκπληξίς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο οὐκ ἔχουσι καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι, μετὰ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, μεγάλα λίαν ὄντα, διέφθειρον, αἶροντές τε λίθους περιπληθεῖς ἐνθὲνδε χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ βαλλόμενοι ἐνεδίδοσαν. [23] κατὰ βραχὺ τε αὐτῶν ὑποχωρούντων, τὸ πλεόν ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ ξὺν βοῇ μείζονι τόξοις τε καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας ἡμύνοντο. [24] καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν ἀψάμενοι ἐς δέος μέγα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦγον, ἢ τε προσβολὴ αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. [25] παρὴν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος δεδιζάμενός τε τοὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀποπειρασαμένους καὶ ῥαδίως ὠσάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀφύλακτον, ὥσπερ ᾤοντο, τὸ ἐκείνη τείχισμα εὗρον. οὕτω τε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ ἀμφὶ πύλιν Αὐρηλίαν ἐγένετο.

On the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege the Goths moved against the fortifications at about sunrise under the leadership of Vittigis in order to assault the wall, and all the Romans were struck with consternation at the sight of the advancing towers and rams, with which they were altogether unfamiliar. But Belisarius, seeing the ranks of the enemy as they advanced with the engines, began to laugh, and commanded the soldiers to remain quiet and under no circumstances to begin fighting until he himself should give the signal. Now the reason why he laughed he did not reveal at the moment, but later it became known. The Romans, however, supposing him to be hiding his real feelings by a jest, abused him and called him shameless, and were indignant that he did not try to check the enemy as they came forward. But when the Goths came near the moat, the general first of all stretched his bow and with a lucky aim hit in the neck and killed one of the men in armour who were leading the army on. And he fell on his back mortally wounded, while the whole Roman army raised an extraordinary shout such as was never heard before, thinking that they had received an excellent omen. And twice did Belisarius send forth his bolt, and the very same thing happened again a second time, and the shouting rose still louder from the circuit-wall, and the Romans thought that the enemy were conquered already. Then Belisarius gave the signal for the whole army to put their bows into action, but those near himself he commanded to shoot only at the oxen. And all the oxen fell immediately, so that the enemy could neither move the towers further nor in their perplexity do anything to meet the emergency while the fighting was in progress. In this way the forethought of Belisarius in not trying to check the enemy while still at a great distance came to be understood, as well as the reason why he had laughed at the simplicity of the barbarians, who had been so thoughtless as to hope to bring oxen up to the enemy's wall. Now all this took place at the Salarian Gate. But Vittigis, repulsed at this point, left there a large force of Goths, making of them a very deep phalanx and instructing the commanders on no condition to make an assault upon the fortifications, but remaining in position to shoot rapidly at the parapet, and give Belisarius no opportunity whatever to take reinforcements to any other part of the wall which he himself might propose to attack with a superior force; he then went to the Praenestine Gate with a great force, to a part of the fortifications which the Romans call the "Vivarium," where the wall was most assailable. Now it so happened that engines of war were already there, including towers and rams and a great number of ladders.

But in the meantime another Gothic assault was being made at the Aurelian Gate in the following manner. The tomb of the Roman Emperor Hadrian stands outside the Aurelian Gate, removed about a stone's throw from the

fortifications, a very noteworthy sight. For it is made of Parian marble, and the stones fit closely one upon the other, having nothing at all between them. And it has four sides which are all equal, each being about a stone's throw in length, while their height exceeds that of the city wall; and above there are statues of the same marble, representing men and horses, of wonderful workmanship. But since this tomb seemed to the men of ancient times a fortress threatening the city, they enclosed it by two walls, which extend to it from the circuit-wall, and thus made it a part of the wall. And, indeed, it gives the appearance of a high tower built as a bulwark before the gate there. So the fortifications at that point were most adequate. Now Constantinus, as it happened, had been appointed by Belisarius to have charge of the garrison at this tomb. And he had instructed him also to attend to the guarding of the adjoining wall, which had a small and inconsiderable garrison. For, since that part of the circuit-wall was the least assailable of all, because the river flows along it, he supposed that no assault would be made there, and so stationed an insignificant garrison at that place, and, since the soldiers he had were few, he assigned the great majority to the positions where there was most need of them. For the emperor's army gathered in Rome at the beginning of this siege amounted at most to only five thousand men. But since it was reported to Constantinus that the enemy were attempting the crossing of the Tiber, he became fearful for that part of the fortifications and went thither himself with all speed, accompanied by some few men to lend assistance, commanding the greater part of his men to attend to the guarding of the gate and the tomb. But meanwhile the Goths began an assault upon the Aurelian Gate and the Tower of Hadrian, and though they had no engines of war, they brought up a great quantity of ladders, and thought that by shooting a vast number of arrows they would very easily reduce the enemy to a state of helplessness and overpower the garrison there without any trouble on account of its small numbers. And as they advanced, they held before them shields no smaller than the long shields used by the Persians, and they succeeded in getting very close to their opponents without being perceived by them. For they came hidden under the colonnade which extends to the church of the Apostle Peter. From that shelter they suddenly appeared and began the attack, so that the guards were neither able to use the engine called the ballista (for these engines do not send their missiles except straight out), nor, indeed, could they ward off their assailants with their arrows, since the situation was against them on account of the large shields. But the Goths kept pressing vigorously upon them, shooting many missiles at the battlements, and they were already about to set their ladders against the wall, having practically surrounded those who were fighting from the tomb; for whenever the Goths advanced they always got in the rear of the Romans on both flanks; and for a short time consternation fell upon the Romans, who knew not what means of defence they should employ to save themselves, but afterwards by common agreement they broke in pieces the most of the statues, which were very large, and taking up great numbers of

stones thus secured, threw them with both hands down upon the heads of the enemy, who gave way before this shower of missiles. And as they retreated a little way, the Romans, having by now the advantage, plucked up courage, and with a mighty shout began to drive back their assailants by using their bows and hurling stones at them. And putting their hands to the engines, they reduced their opponents to great fear, and their assault was quickly ended. And by this time Constantinus also was present, having frightened back those who had tried the river and easily driven them off, because they did not find the wall there entirely unguarded, as they had supposed they would. And thus safety was restored at the Aurelian Gate.

Ἐς μέντοι πύλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν, ἣ Παγκρατιανὴ καλεῖται, δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων ἐλθοῦσα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου ἔδρασε, χωρίου ἰσχύϊ: ἀνάντης τε γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ εὐπετὴς ταύτη ὁ τῆς πόλεως περίβολός ἐστι. [2] Παῦλος ἐνταῦθα φυλακὴν εἶχε, ζὺν καταλόγῳ πεζικῶ οὐ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πύλης Φλαμινίας ἀπειρεράσαντο, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει κειμένη οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν εὐπρόσοδος. [3] οἱ Ῥῆγες ἐνταῦθα, πεζικὸν τέλος, ἐφύλασσον καὶ Οὐρσικίνο, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε. ταύτης δὲ μετὰ τῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχομένης πυλίδος, ἣ Πιγκιανὴ ὀνομάζεται, μοῖρά τις τοῦ περιβόλου δίχα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διαιρεθεῖσα, οὐκ ἐξ ἐδάφους μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ μήκους τοῦ ἡμίσεος, οὐκ ἔπεσε μὲν οὐδὲ ἄλλως διεφθάρη, ἐκλίθη δὲ οὕτως ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς φαίνεσθαι. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Περίβολον Διερρωγότα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσει ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι τὸν χάρον. [5] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος καθελεῖν τε καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι Βελισάριον κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγχειροῦντα ἐκώλυον Ῥωμαῖοι, Πέτρον σφίσι τὸν ἀπόστολον ὑποσχέσθαι ἰσχυρίζομενοι αὐτῷ μελήσειν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἀπόστολον σέβοντα Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τεθήπασιν πάντων μάλιστα. [6] ἀπέβη τε αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα ἐν τῷδε τῷ χωρίῳ ἣ διενοοῦντο καὶ προσεδόκων. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καθ' ὃν Γότθοι Ῥώμην ἐπολιόρκουν, οὔτε πολεμίων τις δύναμις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκετο οὔτε τινὰ ταραχὴν γενέσθαι ζυνέβη. [7] καὶ ἐθαυμάζομεν γε ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐς μνήμην ἡμετέραν ἢ τῶν πολεμίων αὕτη τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ μοῖρα παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἦλθεν, οὔτε τειχομαχοῦντων οὔτε νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευόντων τῷ τείχει, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνεχείρησαν. [8] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ὕστερόν τις ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τοῦτο ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν τήνδε οὕτω τὸ ἐκείνῃ διήρηται τείχος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔσχεν. [9] Ἐν δὲ Σαλαρία πύλῃ Γότθος ἀνὴρ εὐμήκης τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια θώρακά τε ἐνδιδυσκόμενος καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, ὦν τε οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἐν τῷ Γότθων ἔθνει, οὐκ ἐν τάξει ζὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δένδρου ἰστάμενος ἔβαλλε συχνὰ ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις. [10] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανῇ ἐν πύργῳ κατὰ μέρος τὸ λαῖον οὔσα τύχη τινὶ ἔβαλε. [11] διαβὰν δὲ τὸν τε θώρακα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸ βέλος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ δένδρον ἔδω, ἐνέρσει τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα ζυνδήσαν νεκρὸν ἤρτησεν. [12] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι κατείδον, κατορρωδήσαντες καὶ βελῶν ἔξω γενόμενοι ἔμενον μὲν ἔτι ἐν τάξει, τοὺς δὲ

ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐκέτι ἐλύπουν. [13] Βέσσας δὲ καὶ Περάνιος, Οὐιτιγίδος ἐν Βιβαρίῳ ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενου σφίσι, Βελισάριον μετεπέμποντο. ὁ δὲ δεῖσας περὶ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τείχει ἥν γὰρ ταύτη ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὥσπερ εἰρηταὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθει αὐτός, τῶν τινα ἐπιτηδεῖων λιπὼν ἐν Σαλαρίᾳ. [14] καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἐν Βιβαρίῳ τὴν προσβολὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πεφοβημένους, μεγάλην τε οὖσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὑπερφρονεῖν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐκέλευε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη. [15] ἦν δὲ ὁ ταύτη χῶρος ὁμαλὸς κομιδῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐφόδοις τῶν προσιόντων ἐκκείμενος. τύχη τέ τινα τὸ ἐκείνῃ τείχος οὕτως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διερρυήκει ὡς τῶν πλίνθων μὴ λίαν τὴν ξυνθήκην ξυνίστασθαι. [16] τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο βραχὺ περιέβαλλον ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἔνεκα ὅου γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ πύργων ὀχύρωμα εἶχεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπάλξεις τινὲς ἐνταῦθα πεποιήντο οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ὅθεν ἂν καὶ ἀπώσασθαι οἶόν τε ἦν τὴν ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τρυφῆς τινος οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς χάριν, ὅπως δὴ λέοντάς τε καὶ τᾶλλα θηρία καθεῖρξαντες ἐνταῦθα τηροῖεν. [17] διὸ δὴ καὶ Βιβάριον τοῦτο ὠνόμασται: οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον οὗ ἂν τῶν ζώων τὰ μὴ χειροῖθι τρέφεσθαι εἴωθεν. Οὐίτιγίς μὲν οὖν μηχανὰς τε ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους ἡτοίμαζε καὶ ὀρύσσειν τὸ ἔξω τείχισμα τοὺς Γότθους ἐκέλευεν, οἰόμενος, ἦν τούτου ἐντὸς γένωνται, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοῦ τείχους κρατήσειν, ὅπερ οὐδαμῇ ἐχυρὸν ξυνηπίστατο εἶναι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους τό τε Βιβάριον διορύσσοντας καὶ πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου προσβάλλοντας, οὔτε ἀμύνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι μένειν, ὅτι μὴ λίαν ὀλίγους, εἶα, καίπερ ἅπαν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λόγιμον ἦν. [19] κάτω δὲ ἅπαντας ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε θεωρακισμένους τε καὶ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Γότθοι, διελόντες τὸν τοῖχον, ἐντὸς Βιβαρίου ἐγένοντο, Κυπριανὸν ξὺν ἄλλοις τισὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσβιβάσας ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχεσθαι. [20] καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐσπεπτωκότας ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους καὶ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαφθειρομένους ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον στενοχωρίᾳ. [21] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τῷ ἀπροσδοκίῳ καταπλαγέντων καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει συντεταγμένων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλου ἄλλῃ φερομένου, τοῦ περιβόλου τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίνας ἐξαπιναίως ἅπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤφειε τὸ στράτευμα. [22] καὶ οἱ μὲν Γότθοι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἥκιστα ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν, ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν, ὥρμηντο: ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς αἰὲ ἐν ποσὶ ῥᾶστα ἔκτεινον, ἥ τε δίωξις πολλὴ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σφετέρων χαρακωμάτων τῇδε ἐτειχομάχουν. [23] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μηχανὰς καίειν ἐκέλευεν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τε ἡ φλόξ αἰρομένη μεῖζονα τὴν ἔκπληξιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐποίει. [24] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ πύλην Σαλαρίαν ξυμπεσεῖν τὴν ὁμοίαν τύχην ξυνέβη. τὰς τε γὰρ πύλας ἐξαπιναίως ἀνέωγον καὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐνέπιπτον, τούτους τε οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, ἀλλὰ τὰ νῶτα στρέψαντας ἔκτεινον, [25] καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς μηχανήματα ἔκαιον. καὶ ἡ τε φλόξ πολλαχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη ἥ τε τῶν Γόθων ὑπαγωγὴ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ τείχει τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγκελευομένων, τῶν δὲ ἐν

τοῖς χαρακώμασι τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν ὀδυρομένων. [26] ἀπέθανον δὲ Γότθων ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τρισμύριοι, ὥς αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἰσχυρίζοντο, καὶ τραυματαῖαι πλείους ἐγένοντο: ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει πολλῶ οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τὰ πλεῖστα ἐτύγχανον εἰς αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιοῦμενοι πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα καταπεπληγμένων τε καὶ φευγόντων ἀνθρώπων διέφθειρον. [27] ἢ τε τειχομαχία πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἠϋλίσαντο ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ παιανίζοντες καὶ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σκυλεύματα ἔχοντες, Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς τε τραυματίας σφῶν θεραπεύοντες καὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ὀδυρόμενοι.

But at the gate beyond the Tiber River, which is called the Pancratian Gate, a force of the enemy came, but accomplished nothing worth mentioning because of the strength of the place; for the fortifications of the city at this point are on a steep elevation and are not favourably situated for assaults. Paulus was keeping guard there with an infantry detachment which he commanded in person. In like manner they made no attempt on the Flaminian Gate, because it is situated on a precipitous slope and is not very easy of access. The "Reges," an infantry detachment, were keeping guard there with Ursicinus, who commanded them. And between this gate and the small gate next on the right, which is called the Pincian, a certain portion of the wall had split open of its own accord in ancient times, not clear to the ground, however, but about half way down, but still it had not fallen or been otherwise destroyed, though it leaned so to either side that one part of it appeared outside the rest of the wall and the other inside. And from this circumstance the Romans from ancient times have called the place "Broken Wall" in their own tongue. But when Belisarius in the beginning undertook to tear down this portion and rebuild it, the Romans prevented him, declaring that the Apostle Peter had promised them that he would care for the guarding of the wall there. This Apostle is revered by the Romans and held in awe above all others. And the outcome of events at this place was in all respects what the Romans contemplated and expected. For neither on that day nor throughout the whole time during which the Goths were besieging Rome did any hostile force come to that place, nor did any disturbance occur there. And we marvelled indeed that it never occurred to us nor to the enemy to remember this portion of the fortifications during the whole time, either while they were making their assaults or carrying out their designs against the wall by night; and yet many such attempts were made. It was for this reason, in fact, that at a later time also no one ventured to rebuild this part of the defences, but up to the present day the wall there is split open in this way. So much, then, for this.

And at the Salarian Gate a Goth of goodly stature and a capable warrior, wearing a corselet and having a helmet on his head, a man who was of no mean station in the Gothic nation, refused to remain in the ranks with his comrades, but stood by a tree and kept shooting many missiles at the parapet. But this man by some chance was hit by a missile from an engine which was on a tower at his left. And passing through the corselet and the body of the man, the missile sank more than half its length into the tree, and pinning him to the spot where it entered the tree, it suspended him there a corpse. And when this was seen by the Goths they fell into great fear, and getting outside the range of missiles, they still remained in line, but no longer harassed those on the wall.

But Bessas and Peranius summoned Belisarius, since Vittigis was pressing most vigorously upon them at the Vivarium. And he was fearful concerning the wall there (for it was most assailable at that point, as has been said), and so came to the rescue himself with all speed, leaving one of his friends at the Salarian Gate. And finding that the soldiers in the Vivarium dreaded the attack of the enemy, which was being pressed with great vigour and by very large numbers, he bade them look with contempt upon the enemy and thus restored their confidence. Now the ground there was very level, and consequently the place lay open to the attacks of any assailant. And for some reason the wall at that point had crumbled a great deal, and to such an extent that the binding of the bricks did not hold together very well. Consequently the ancient Romans had built another wall of short length outside of it and encircling it, not for the sake of safety (for it was neither strengthened with towers, nor indeed was there any battlement built upon it, nor any other means by which it would have been possible to repulse an enemy's assault upon the fortifications), but in order to provide for an unseemly kind of luxury, namely, that they might confine and keep there lions and other wild animals. And it is for this reason that this place has been named the Vivarium; for thus the Romans call a place where untamed animals are regularly cared for. So Vittigis began to make ready various engines at different places along the wall and commanded the Goths to mine the outside wall, thinking that, if they should get inside that, they would have no trouble in capturing the main wall, which he knew to be by no means strong. But Belisarius, seeing that the enemy was undermining the Vivarium and assaulting the fortifications at many places, neither allowed the soldiers to defend the wall nor to remain at the battlement, except a very few, although he had with him whatever men of distinction the army contained. But he held them all in readiness below about the gates, with their corselets on and carrying only swords in their hands. And when the Goths, after making a breach in the wall, got inside the Vivarium, he quickly sent Cyprian with some others into the enclosure against them, commanding them to set to work. And they slew all who had broken in, for these made no defence and at the same time were being destroyed by one another in the cramped space about the exit. And since the enemy were thrown into dismay by the sudden turn of events and were not drawn up in order, but were rushing one in one direction and one in another, Belisarius suddenly opened the gates of the circuit-wall and sent out his entire army against his opponents. And the Goths had not the least thought of resistance, but rushed off in flight in any and every direction, while the Romans, following them up, found no difficulty in killing all whom they fell in with, and the pursuit proved a long one, since the Goths, in assaulting the wall at that place, were far away from their own camps. Then Belisarius gave the order to burn the enemy's engines, and the flames, rising to a great height, naturally increased the consternation of the fugitives.

Meanwhile it chanced that the same thing happened at the Salarian Gate also. For the Romans suddenly opened the gates and fell unexpectedly upon the barbarians, and, as these made no resistance but turned their backs, slew them; and they burned the engines of war which were within their reach. And the flames at many parts of the wall rose to a great height, and the Goths were already being forced to retire from the whole circuit-wall; and the shouting on both sides was exceedingly loud, as the men on the wall urged on the pursuers, and those in the camps bewailed the overwhelming calamity they had suffered. Among the Goths there perished on that day thirty thousand, as their leaders declared, and a larger number were wounded; for since they were massed in great numbers, those fighting from the battlement generally hit somebody when they shot at them, and at the same time those who made the sallies destroyed an extraordinary number of terrified and fleeing men. And the fighting at the wall, which had commenced early in the morning, did not end until late in the afternoon. During that night, then, both armies bivouacked where they were, the Romans singing the song of victory on the fortifications and lauding Belisarius to the skies, having with them the spoils stripped from the fallen, while the Goths cared for their wounded and bewailed their dead.

Βελισάριός τε γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν: ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευες, χώραν τε αὐτῆς περιβεβλημένοι πολλὴν καὶ Ῥώμην κατελάβομεν, ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ταύτη βαρβάρους, ὥνπερ ἑναγχοῦς τὸν ἄρχοντα Λεῦδεριν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα. [2] συμβέβηκε δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἓν τε Σικελία καὶ Ἰταλία ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων καταστησάμενοις ὥνπερ δυνατοὶ κατακεκρατηκέναι γεγόναμεν, τὸ στράτευμα ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολελειφθαι. [3] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἤκουσιν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐς μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα συνειλεγμένοι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένοις παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμόν, ἡναγκασμένοις τε παρὰ γνῶμην αὐτοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, μικροῦ κατακεχῶσθαι δοράτων συμβέβηκε πλήθει. [4] ἔπειτα δὲ τειχομαχίσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηχαναῖς τισι προσβαλόντες πανταχόσε τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοβοεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἀνῆρπασε τύχη. [5] τὰ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων νικῶντα τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ κρεῖσσον, ἀναφέρεσθαι πρέπει. [6] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν πεπραγμένα, εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε ἀρετῇ, ὥς ἄριστα ἔχει: τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε βουλοίμην ἂν ἀμείνω τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς σοῖς ἔσεσθαι. [7] ὅσα μέντοι προσήκει ἐμέ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς πρᾶξαι, οὐ μήποτε ἀποκρύψομαι, ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὥς πρόεισι μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὅπῃ ἂν βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἀπάντων προστάται ἐκ τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων τὰς αἰτίας ἢ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐς αἰὲν φέρονται. [8] οὐκοῦν ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιῶται στελλέσθων ἐς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡμᾶς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε καθίστασθαι. [9] οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντα χρεὼν πιστεῦειν τῇ τύχῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἀλλὰ σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ,

ἐκεῖνο εἰσὶτω, ὥς ἦν νῦν ἡμῶν οἱ βάρβαροι περιέσσονται, Ἰταλίας τε τῆς σῆς ἐκπεσοῦμεθα καὶ προσασποβαλοῦμεν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ προσέσται ἡμῖν τοσαύτη τις οὔσα ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνῃ. [10] ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀπολεῖν δόξαιμεν, οἳ γε περὶ ἐλάσσοнос τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ἐς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν πεποιήνται πίστεως. [11] ὥστε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἄχρι τοῦδε γενομένην εὐημερίαν εἰς συμφορῶν ὑπόθεσιν τετελευτηκέναι ξυμβήσεται. [12] εἰ γὰρ Ῥώμης ἡμῖν καὶ Καμπανίας καὶ πολλῶ πρότερον Σικελίας ἀποκεκροῦσθαι τετύχηκε, τὸ πάντων ἂν ἡμᾶς κουφότατον τῶν κακῶν ἔδακνε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις δεδυνῆσθαι πλουτεῖν. [13] καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὥς Ῥώμην πώποτε πλείω τινὰ χρόνον οὐδὲ μυριάσι πολλαῖς διαφυλάξαι δυνατὸν γέγονε, χώραν τε περιβεβλημένην πολλὴν καὶ τῷ μὴ ἐπιθαλασσίαν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποκεκλεισμένην ἀπάντων. [14] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νῦν μὲν εὐνοϊκῶς ἡμῖν ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ κακῶν αὐτοῖς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, μηχανομένων, οὐδὲν μελλήσουσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρεῖσσω. [15] οἳ γὰρ ἐξ ὑπογούου τισὶν ἐς εὐνοίαν καθιστάμενοι, οὐ κακοτυχοῦντες, ἀλλ' εὖ πάσχοντες, τὸ πιστὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διασώζειν εἰώθασιν. [16] ἄλλως τε καὶ λιμῶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναγκασθήσονται πολλὰ ὧν οὐκ ἂν βούλοιντο πρᾶξαι. [17] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδα θάνατον ὀφείλων τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζῶντά με οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐνθένδε ἐξελᾶν δύναιτο: σκόπει δὲ ὁποῖαν ποτέ σοι δόξαν ἢ τοιαύτη Βελισαρίου τελευτὴ φέρει.' [18] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ λίαν ξυνταραχθεὶς στράτευμά τε καὶ ναὺς σπουδῇ ἤγειρε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον ἐπέστελλε κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. [19] σταλέντες γὰρ ξὺν στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς ἔτυχον, ἐφ' ᾧ πλεύσουσιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. [20] οἳ δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπεραιτέρῳ γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν διεχέιμαζον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰτωλίας τε καὶ Ἀκαρνανίας χωρία. [21] ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτόν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπέρρωσεν. [22] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Νεαπόλει τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Θεωδερῖχου τοῦ Γότθων ἄρχοντος εἰκὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐκ ψηφίδων τινῶν ξυγκειμένη, μικρῶν μὲν ἐς ἄγαν, χροιαῖς δὲ βεβαμμένων σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσαις. [23] ταύτης τῆς εἰκόνος ποτὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διαρρυῆναι ζῶντος Θεωδερῖχου ξυμβέβηκε, τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ξυνταραχθείσης, καὶ Θεωδερῖχῳ ξυνηνέχθη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [24] ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ ὀκτὼ ὕστερον αἱ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος γαστέρα ποιοῦσαι ψηφίδες διερρύησαν ἐξαπιναιῶς, καὶ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θεωδερῖχου θυγατριδοῦς εὐθὺς ἐτελεύτα. [25] χρόνου τε τριβέντος ὀλίγου πίπτουσι μὲν ἐς γῆν αἱ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ψηφίδες, Ἀμαλασοῦνθα δὲ ἡ Θεωδερῖχου παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [26] Γότθων δὲ Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθισταμένων τὰ ἐκ τῶν τῆς εἰκόνος μηρῶν ἄχρι ἐς ἄκρους πόδας διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκε, [27] ταύτη τε ἅπασα ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ἐξίτηλος ἢ εἰκὼν γέγονεν: οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο ξυμβалόντες περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ ἰσχυρίζοντο τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατόν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι τοὺς Θεωδερῖχου πόδας ἢ τὸν Γότθων λεῶν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἦρχεν οἰόμενοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐέλπιδες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. [28] Ἐν μέντοι Ῥώμῃ τῶν τινες πατρικίων τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια προῦφερον,

ἰσχυρίζομενοι τὸν κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα γεγενῆσθαι μόνον. [29] χρῆναι γὰρ τότε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις καταστῆναί τινα, ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν οὐδὲν Ῥώμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν δεῖσειε: [30] Γετικὸν γὰρ φασιν ἔθνος τοῦς Γότθους εἶναι. εἶχε δὲ τὸ λόγιον ὧδε: θυντίλι μενσε ρεγε νηιλ γετιζυμ ιαμ. [31] πέμπτον δὲ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Μαρτίου ἱσταμένου ἡ πολιορκία κατ' ἀρχὰς γέγονεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πέμπτον Ἰούλιον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι Μάρτιον πρῶτον πρὸ τῆς Νουμᾶ βασιλείας ἐνόμιζον μῆνα, ὅτε δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς δέκα μῆνας ὁ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνος ξυνήει, Ἰούλιός τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κυντίλιος ὠνομάζετο. ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα τούτων οὐδὲν ὑγιές. [32] οὔτε γὰρ βασιλεὺς τότε Ῥωμαίοις κατέστη, καὶ ἡ πολιορκία ἐνιαυτῷ ὕστερον διαλυθήσεσθαι ἐμελλε, καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ Τουτίλα Γότθων ἄρχοντος ἐς τοὺς ὁμοίους Ῥώμῃ κινδύνους ἰέναι, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθε λελέξεται λόγοις. [33] δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐ ταύτην δὴ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφοδον τὸ μαντεῖον δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ ἢ ἥδη ξυμβᾶσαν ἢ ὕστερόν ποτε ἐσομένην. [34] τῶν γὰρ Σιβύλλης λογίων τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξευρεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ οἶμαι ἀδύνατον εἶναι. [35] αἴτιον δὲ ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω ἐκεῖνα ἀναλεξάμενος ἅπαντα. ἡ Σίβυλλα οὐχ ἅπαντα ἐξῆς τὰ πράγματα λέγει οὐδὲ ἀρμονίαν τινὰ ποιουμένη τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἔπος εἰποῦσα ὅ τι δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Λιβύης κακοῖς ἀπεπῆδησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη, [36] ἐνθένδε τε Ῥωμαίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθοῦσα μεταβιβάζει ἐς τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὸν λόγον. καὶ ἄλιν ἀμφὶ Ῥωμαίοις μαντευομένη προλέγει τὰ Βρεττανῶν πάθη. [37] ταύτῃ τε ἀδύνατά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁτῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν Σιβύλλης λογίων ξυνεῖναι, ἦν μὴ ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸς ἐκβάντος ἤδη τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντος ἀκριβῆς τοῦ ἔπους ἐρμηνεὺς γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λογιζέσθω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ αὐτῷ φίλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

And Belisarius wrote a letter to the emperor of the following purport: "We have arrived in Italy, as thou didst command, and we have made ourselves masters of much territory in it and have taken possession of Rome also, after driving out the barbarians who were here, whose leader, Leuderis, I have recently sent to you. But since we have stationed a great number of soldiers both in Sicily and in Italy to guard the strongholds which we have proved able to capture, our army has in consequence been reduced to only five thousand men. But the enemy have come against us, gathered together to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand. And first of all, when we went out to spy upon their forces along the Tiber River and were compelled, contrary to our intention, to engage with them, we lacked only a little of being buried under a multitude of spears. And after this, when the barbarians attacked the wall with their whole army and assaulted the fortifications at every point with sundry engines of war, they came within a little of capturing both us and the city at the first onset, and they would have succeeded had not some chance snatched us from ruin. For achievements which transcend the nature of things may not properly and fittingly be ascribed to man's valour, but to a stronger power. Now all that has been achieved by us hitherto, whether it has been due to some kind fortune or to valour, is for the best; but as to our prospects from now on, I could wish better things for thy cause. However, I shall never hide from you anything that it is my duty to say and yours to do, knowing that while human affairs follow whatever course may be in accordance with God's will, yet those who are in charge of any enterprise always win praise or blame according to their own deeds. Therefore let both arms and soldiers be sent to us in such numbers that from now on we may engage with the enemy in this war with an equality of strength. For one ought not to trust everything to fortune, since fortune, on its part, is not given to following the same course forever. But do thou, O Emperor, take this thought to heart, that if at this time the barbarians win the victory over us, we shall be cast out of Italy which is thine and shall lose the army in addition, and besides all this we shall have to bear the shame, however great it may be, that attaches to our conduct. For I refrain from saying that we should also be regarded as having ruined the Romans, men who have held their safety more lightly than their loyalty to thy kingdom. Consequently, if this should happen, the result for us will be that the successes we have won thus far will in the end prove to have been but a prelude to calamities. For if it had so happened that we had been repulsed from Rome and Campania and, at a much earlier time, from Sicily, we should only be feeling the sting of the lightest of all misfortunes, that of having found ourselves unable to grow wealthy on the possessions of others. And again, this too is worthy of consideration by you, that it has never been possible even for many times ten thousand men to guard Rome for any considerable length of

time, since the city embraces a large territory, and, because it is not on the sea, is shut off from all supplies. And although at the present time the Romans are well disposed toward us, yet when their troubles are prolonged, they will probably not hesitate to choose the course which is better for their own interests. For when men have entered into friendship with others on the spur of the moment, it is not while they are in evil fortune, but while they prosper, that they are accustomed to keep faith with them. Furthermore, the Romans will be compelled by hunger to do many things they would prefer not to do. Now as for me, I know I am bound even to die for thy kingdom, and for this reason no man will ever be able to remove me from this city while I live; but I beg thee to consider what kind of a fame such an end of Belisarius would bring thee."

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. And the emperor, greatly distressed, began in haste to gather an army and ships, and sent orders to the troops of Valerian and Martinus to proceed with all speed. For they had been sent, as it happened, with another army at about the winter solstice, with instructions to sail to Italy. But they had sailed as far as Greece, and since they were unable to force their way any farther, they were passing the winter in the land of Aetolia and Acarnania. And the Emperor Justinian sent word of all this to Belisarius, and thus filled him and all the Romans with still greater courage and confirmed their zeal.

At this time it so happened that the following event took place in Naples. There was in the market-place a picture of Theoderic, the ruler of the Goths, made by means of sundry stones which were exceedingly small and tinted with nearly every colour. At one time during the life of Theoderic it had come to pass that the head of this picture fell apart, the stones as they had been set having become disarranged without having been touched by anyone, and by a coincidence Theoderic finished his life forthwith. And eight years later the stones which formed the body of the picture fell apart suddenly, and Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, immediately died. And after the passage of a short time, the stones about the groin fell to the ground, and Amalasuntha, the child of Theoderic, passed from the world. Now these things had already happened as described. But when the Goths began the siege of Rome, as chance would have it, the portion of the picture from the thighs to the tips of the feet fell into ruin, and thus the whole picture disappeared from the wall. And the Romans, divining the meaning of the incident, maintained that the emperor's army would be victorious in the war, thinking that the feet of Theoderic were nothing else than the Gothic people whom he ruled, and, in consequence, they became still more hopeful.

In Rome, moreover, some of the patricians brought out the Sibylline oracles, declaring that the danger which had come to the city would continue only up till the month of July. For it was fated that at that time someone should be

appointed king over the Romans, and thenceforth Rome should have no longer any Getic peril to fear; for they say that the Goths are of the Getic race. And the oracle was as follows: “In the fifth (Quintilis) month . . . under . . . as king nothing Getic longer. . . .” And they declared that the “fifth month” was July, some because the siege began on the first day of March, from which July is the fifth month, others because March was considered the first month until the reign of Numa, the full year before that time containing ten months and our July for this reason having its name Quintilis. But after all, none of these predictions came true. For neither was a king appointed over the Romans at that time, nor was the siege destined to be broken up until a year later, and Rome was again to come into similar perils in the reign of Totila, ruler of the Goths, as will be told by me in the subsequent narrative. For it seems to me that the oracle does not indicate this present attack of the barbarians, but some other attack which has either happened already or will come at some later time. Indeed, in my opinion, it is impossible for a mortal man to discover the meaning of the Sibyl’s oracles before the actual event. The reason for this I shall now set forth, having read all the oracles in question. The Sibyl does not invariably mention events in their order, much less construct a well-arranged narrative, but after uttering some verse or other concerning the troubles in Libya she leaps straightway to the land of Persia, thence proceeds to mention the Romans, and then transfers the narrative to the Assyrians. And again, while uttering prophecies about the Romans, she foretells the misfortunes of the Britons. For this reason it is impossible for any man soever to comprehend the oracles of the Sibyl before the event, and it is only time itself, after the event has already come to pass and the words can be tested by experience, that can shew itself an accurate interpreter of her sayings. But as for these things, let each one reason as he desires. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

Ἐπειδὴ Γότθοι ἀπεκρούσθησαν τειχομαχοῦντες, ἠὺλίσαντο τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη ἐκάτεροι. [2] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία Βελισάριος πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἐκέλευε παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐς Νεάπολιν ὑπεκκομίζειν, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅσους μὴ ἀναγκαίους σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ τείχους τὴν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι ῥοντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐς ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καθιστῶνται. [3] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπήγγελλεν, εἴ τιτι οἰκέτης ἢ θεράπεινα ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οἷός τε εἶναι τὰς σιτήσεις αὐτοῖς ἔφασκεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα παρέχεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ. [4] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ αὐτίκα ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦει. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοίων ἐπιτυχόντες ἅπερ ἐν τῷ Ῥώμῃς λιμένι ὠρμίζετο, οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὁδῷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Ἀππία ἰόντες. [5] κίνδυνός τε οὐδεὶς ἢ δέος ἐκ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἐγένετο οὔτε τοῖς ταύτῃ βαδίζουσιν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἰοῦσιν. [6] οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι οὔτε Ῥώμην ξύμπασαν τοῖς χαρακώμασι περιβαλέσθαι διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως οἶοι τε ἦσαν οὔτε κατ’ ὀλίγους ἐτόλμων

μακρὰν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρατοπέδων, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς τῶν ἐναντίων. [7] καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ πολλὴ ἐξουσία ἐγένετο τῆς τε πόλεως ἀπανίστασθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῶθεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [8] μάλιστα δὲ νύκτωρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς δέος τε αἰεὶ μέγα καθίσταντο καὶ φυλακὰς ποιοῦμενοι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἡσύχαζον. [9] ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι συχνοὶ ἐξιόντες, ὅπη τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ καθεύδοντας ἢ ὁδῶ ἰόντας κατ' ὀλίγους εὐρήσειαν ὅσα πολλὰ ἐν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ γίνεσθαι εἶωθεν, ἄλλων τε ἀναγκαίων χρεῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ βόσκειν ἵππους τε καὶ ἡμιόνους καὶ ζῶα ὅσα ἐς βρῶσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἦν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐσκυλευκότες, πλείονων σφίσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πολεμίων ἐπεισπεσόντων ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, ἄνδρες φύσει τε ποδώκεις καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τῇ φυγῇ προλαμβάνοντες. [10] οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑποχωρεῖν ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἴσχυον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καμπανίᾳς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ὅπη ῥᾶόν τε σφίσιν ἐνομήσθη καὶ βέλτιον εἶναι. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ ὁρῶν τὸν τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἥκιστα ἐς τὴν τοῦ τείχους περίοδον ἐξικνούμενον, ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ φυλάσσειν οἱ αὐτοὶ αὔπνοι ἴσχυον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὕπνον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἤροῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐτετάχατο, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος πενία τε πιεζομένους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντας, ἅτε γὰρ βαναύσοις ἀνθρώποις ἐφήμερά τε ἅπαντα ἔχουσι καὶ ἀργεῖν διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἠναγκασμένοις πόρος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἰδιώτας ξυνέμιξε καὶ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἔνειμε, ῥητόν τινα μισθὸν ἰδιώτῃ ἀνδρὶ τάξας ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. [12] ὧν δὴ ἐγίνοντο μὲν ξυμμορίαι ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαι, νύκτα δὲ τακτὴν ἢ φυλακὴ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέκειτο ξυμμορία ἐκάστη, ἐφύλασσόν τε αὐτῶν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες. καὶ ταύτῃ Βελισάριος ἐκατέρων τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυεν. [13] Ὑποψίας δὲ ἐς Σιλβέριον τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα γεγεννημένης, ὡς δὴ προδοσίαν ἐς Γότθους πράσσοι, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεμψεν αὐτίκα, ἕτερον δὲ ἀρχιερέα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, Βιγίλιον ὄνομα, κατεστήσατο. [14] τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐπ' αἰτία τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἐξελάσας, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πολιορκίαν οἱ πολέμιοι διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα κατήγαγεν αὐθις. [15] ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὗ δὴ ὁ προπάτωρ Μάξιμος τὸ ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν βασιλεῖα πάθος εἵργαστο. δείσας δὲ μή τις πρὸς φυλάκων τῶν κατὰ πύλας ἐπιβουλὴ γένηται, καὶ τις ἐξῶθεν χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς κακουργήσων ἴοι, δις ἐκάστου μηνὸς τὰς τε κλεῖς ἀπάσας ἀφανίζων ἀνενεοῦτο αἰεὶ ἐς ἕτερον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐς φυλακτήριον ἄλλο μακρὰν ποῦ ἀποθεν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντικαθίστη, τοῖς τε ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ἐτέρους ἐφίστη. [16] οἷς δὴ ἐπέκειτο μέτρον τι τοῦ τείχους περιουσίαν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀναγράφεσθαι τὰ τῶν φυλάκων ὀνόματα, καὶ ἦν τις ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθεῖη, ἕτερον μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσασθαι ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα, ἀναφέρειν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ ἀπολειφθεὶς εἶη, ὅπως δὴ κόλασις ἢ προσήκουσα ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιτο. [17] καὶ μουσικοῖς μὲν ὀργάνοις χρήσασθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ νύκτωρ ἐκέλευε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινὰς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐξῶ ἐπεμπεν, οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον διανυκτερεύουσιν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς

κύνας ἠφίει, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲ ἀποθέν τις ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἰὼν διαλάθοι. [18] Τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεῶ τὰς θύρας τῶν τινες Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειράσαντο. [19] ὁ δὲ Ἰανὸς οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσση τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πένατες ἐκάλουν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ Τρία Φᾶτα· [20] οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοίρας νενομίκασι καλεῖν. ὁ τε νεῶς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. [21] ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφορὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. [22] θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἐκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέφγον. [23] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. [24] ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἶμαι, δόξαν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασι μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύναι λάθρα, οὐ μέντοι παντάπασιν ἴσχυσαν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, [25] μεμυκέναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οἱ τοῦτο δρᾶν ἐγκεχειρηκότες· ζήτησις δὲ τοῦ ἔργου οὐδεμία ἄτε ἐν μεγάλῳ θορύβῳ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὕτε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐγνώσθη, οὕτε ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ, ἦλθεν.

When the Goths had been repulsed in the fight at the wall, each army bivouacked that night in the manner already described. But on the following day Belisarius commanded all the Romans to remove their women and children to Naples, and also such of their domestics as they thought would not be needed by them for the guarding of the wall, his purpose being, naturally, to forestall a scarcity of provisions. And he issued orders to the soldiers to do the same thing, in case anyone had a male or female attendant. For, he went on to say, he was no longer able while besieged to provide them with food to the customary amount, but they would have to accept one half their daily ration in actual supplies, taking the remainder in silver. So they proceeded to carry out his instructions. And immediately a great throng set out for Campania. Now some, who had the good fortune to secure such boats as were lying at anchor in the harbour of Rome, secured passage, but the rest went on foot by the road which is called the Appian Way. And no danger or fear, as far as the besiegers were concerned, arose to disturb either those who travelled this way on foot or those who set out from the harbour. For, on the one hand, the enemy were unable to surround the whole of Rome with their camps on account of the great size of the city, and, on the other, they did not dare to be found far from the camps in small companies, fearing the sallies of their opponents. And on this account abundant opportunity was afforded for some time to the besieged both to move out of the city and to bring provisions into it from outside. And especially at night the barbarians were always in great fear, and so they merely posted guards and remained quietly in their camps. For parties were continually issuing from the city, and especially Moors in great numbers, and whenever they found their enemies either asleep or walking about in small companies (as is accustomed to happen often in a large army, the men going out not only to attend to the needs of nature, but also to pasture horses and mules and such animals as are suitable for food), they would kill them and speedily strip them, and if perchance a larger number of the enemy should fall upon them, they would retire on the run, being men swift of foot by nature and lightly equipped, and always distancing their pursuers in the flight. Consequently, the great majority were able to withdraw from Rome, and some went to Campania, some to Sicily, and others wherever they thought it was easier or better to go. But Belisarius saw that the number of soldiers at his command was by no means sufficient for the whole circuit of the wall, for they were few, as I have previously stated, and the same men could not keep guard constantly without sleeping, but some would naturally be taking their sleep while others were stationed on guard. At the same time he saw that the greatest part of the populace were hard pressed by poverty and in want of the necessities of life; for since they were men who worked with their hands, and all they had was what they got from day to day, and since

they had been compelled to be idle on account of the siege, they had no means of procuring provisions. For these reasons Belisarius mingled soldiers and citizens together and distributed them to each post, appointing a certain fixed wage for an unenlisted man for each day. In this way companies were made up which were sufficient for the guarding of the wall, and the duty of keeping guard on the fortifications during a stated night was assigned to each company, and the members of the companies all took turns in standing guard. In this manner, then, Belisarius did away with the distress of both soldiers and citizens.

But a suspicion arose against Silverius, the chief priest of the city, that he was engaged in treasonable negotiations with the Goths, and Belisarius sent him immediately to Greece, and a little later appointed another man, Vigilius by name, to the office of chief priest. And he banished from Rome on the same charge some of the senators, but later, when the enemy had abandoned the siege and retired, he restored them again to their homes. Among these was Maximus, whose ancestor Maximus had committed the crime against the Emperor Valentinian. And fearing lest the guards at the gates should become involved in a plot, and lest someone should gain access from the outside with intent to corrupt them with money, twice in each month he destroyed all the keys and had new ones made, each time of a different design, and he also changed the guards to other posts which were far removed from those they had formerly occupied, and every night he set different men in charge of those who were doing guard-duty on the fortifications. And it was the duty of these officers to make the rounds of a section of the wall, taking turns in this work, and to write down the names of the guards, and if anyone was missing from that section, they put another man on duty in his stead for the moment, and on the morrow reported the missing man to Belisarius himself, whoever he might be, in order that the fitting punishment might be given him. And he ordered musicians to play their instruments on the fortifications at night, and he continually sent detachments of soldiers, especially Moors, outside the walls, whose duty it was always to pass the night about the moat, and he sent dogs with them in order that no one might approach the fortifications, even at a distance, without being detected.

At that time some of the Romans attempted secretly to force open the doors of the temple of Janus. This Janus was the first of the ancient gods whom the Romans call in their own tongue "Penates." And he has his temple in that part of the forum in front of the senate-house which lies a little above the "Tria Fata"; for thus the Romans are accustomed to call the Moirai. And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square, but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue, is of bronze, and not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces, one of which is turned toward the east and the other toward the west. And there are brazen doors fronting each face, which the

Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and prosperity, but when they had war they opened them. But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly. And those who had attempted to do this escaped detection; and no investigation of the act was made, as was natural in a time of great confusion, since it did not become known to the commanders, nor did it reach the ears of the multitude, except of a very few.

Οὐίτιγίς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θυμῷ τε καὶ ἀπορία ἐχόμενος τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς ἐς Ῥάβενναν πέμψας, Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἅπαντας οὕπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐνταῦθα ἤγαγε κτείνειν ἐκέλευε. [2] καὶ αὐτῶν τινες μὲν προμαθόντες φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἐν οἷς Βηργεντίνος τε ἦν καὶ Ῥεπάρατος, Βιγιλίου ἀδελφός, τοῦ Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέως, οἵπερ ἄμφω ἐς Λιγούρους κομισθέντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. [3] μετὰ δὲ Οὐίτιγίς πολλὴν ἄδειαν ὄρων τοῖς πολεμίοις οὖσαν ἐκφορεῖν τε εἴ τι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως βούλονται, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τὸν λιμένα, ὃν δὴ Πόρτον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω. [4] Ὅς δὴ ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους· μέτρῳ γὰρ τοσοῦτ' ὅ το μὴ ἐπιθαλασσία εἶναι διείργεται Ῥώμη· [5] ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὁ ποταμὸς Τίβερης τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχει, ὃς δὴ ἐκ Ῥώμης φερόμενος, ἐπειδὰν τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγυτέρῳ γένηται ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα, δίχα σχιζόμενος τὴν ἱερὰν νῆσον καλουμένην ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ. [6] προϊόντος τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐρυτέρα ἡ νῆσος γίνεται, ὥς τῷ μήκει τὸ τοῦ εὗρους μέτρον κατὰ λόγον εἶναι, σταδίους γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα ῥεῦμα ἐκάτερον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχει· [7] ναυσίπορος τε ὁ Τίβερης ἀμφοτέρῳθι μένει. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ὧν ἐκτὸς πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐδείμαντο, τεῖχος περιβεβλημένην ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα, Πόρτον τε αὐτὴν τῷ λιμένι ὁμωνύμως καλοῦσιν. [8] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολῇ πόλιν Ὀστία κεῖται, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡϊόνος ἐκτὸς, λόγου μὲν πολλοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξία, νῦν δὲ ἀτειχιστος παντάπασιν οὖσα. [9] ὁδὸν τοίνυν, ἡ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου φέρει, ὁμαλήν τε καὶ ἐμπόδιον οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαῖοι πεποιήναι. [10] βάρεις τε ἀεὶ πολλὰ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμίζονται, καὶ βόες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἀγχοτάτω ἐστᾶσιν. [11] ἐπειδὰν οὖν οἱ ἔμποροι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἀφίκωνται, ἄραντες τὰ φορτία ἐνθένδε καὶ ταῦτα ἐνθέμενοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι, πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ιστίοις μὲν ἢ κώπαις ἥκιστα χρώμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἀνέμῳ τινὶ ἐνταῦθα οἷά τέ ἐστι τὰ πλοῖα ὠθεῖσθαι συχνά τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλισσομένου καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἰόντος, οὐδέ τι ἐνεργεῖν αἱ κώπαι δύνανται, τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ῥύμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐταῖς ἀεὶ φερομένης. [12] βρόχους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βάρεων ἐς τῶν βοῶν τοὺς αὐχένας ἀρτήσαντες ἔλκουσιν

αὐτὰς ὥσπερ ἀμάξας ἄχρι ἐς Ῥώμην. ^[13] ἐτέρωθι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ πόλεως Ὀστίας ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ὑλώδης τε ἡ ὁδός ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως ἀπημελημένη καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡϊόνος ἐγγύς, ἅτε τῆς τῶν βάρεων ἀνολκῆς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οὔσης. ^[14] Ἀφύλακτον οὖν τὴν πρὸς τῷ λιμένι πόλιν εὐρόντες οἱ Γότθοι αὐτὴν τε αὐτοβοεῖ εἶλον καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, ^[15] καὶ τὸν λιμένα ξὺν αὐτῇ ἔσχον. χιλίους τε σφῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς καταστησάμενοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν. ^[16] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὰ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐσκομίζεσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς Ὀστίας πόνῳ τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ. ^[17] οὐδὲ γὰρ καταίρειν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων νῆες τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ ὠρμίζοντο, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ τῆς Ὀστίας ἀπέχοντι. ^[18] ἐνθὲνδε τε τὰ φορτία αἰρόμενοι ἐκόμιζον μόλις· αἴτιον δὲ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐγίνετο. Βελισάριος γὰρ περὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃς περιβόλῳ δεῖσας τὸν λιμένα κρατύνασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ φυλακῇ ἴσχυσεν. ^[19] οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν εἰ καὶ τριακόσιοι ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσον, οὐ ποτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ χωρίου, ἐχυροῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος.

XXVI

Now Vittigis, in his anger and perplexity, first sent some of his bodyguards to Ravenna with orders to kill all the Roman senators whom he had taken there at the beginning of this war. And some of them, learning of this beforehand, succeeded in making their escape, among them being Vergentinus and Reparatus, the brother of Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, both of whom betook themselves into Liguria and remained there; but all the rest were destroyed. After this Vittigis, seeing that the enemy were enjoying a large degree of freedom, not only in taking out of the city whatever they wished, but also in bringing in provisions both by land and by sea, decided to seize the harbour, which the Romans call "Portus."

This harbour is distant from the city one hundred and twenty-six stades; for Rome lacks only so much of being on the sea; and it is situated where the Tiber River has its mouth. Now as the Tiber flows down from Rome, and reaches a point rather near the sea, about fifteen stades from it, the stream divides into two parts and makes there the Sacred Island, as it is called. As the river flows on the island becomes wider, so that the measure of its breadth corresponds to its length, for the two streams have between them a distance of fifteen stades; and the Tiber remains navigable on both sides. Now the portion of the river on the right empties into the harbour, and beyond the mouth the Romans in ancient times built on the shore a city, which is surrounded by an exceedingly strong wall; and it is called, like the harbour, "Portus." But on the left at the point where the other part of the Tiber empties into the sea is situated the city of Ostia, lying beyond the place where the river-bank ends, a place of great consequence in olden times, but now entirely without walls. Moreover, the Romans at the very beginning made a road leading from Portus to Rome, which was smooth and presented no difficulty of any kind. And many barges are always anchored in the harbour ready for service, and no small number of oxen stand in readiness close by. Now when the merchants reach the harbour with their ships, they unload their cargoes and place them in the barges, and sail by way of the Tiber to Rome; but they do not use sails or oars at all, for the boats cannot be propelled in the stream by any wind since the river winds about exceedingly and does not follow a straight course, nor can oars be employed, either, since the force of the current is always against them. Instead of using such means, therefore, they fasten ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen, and so draw them just like waggons up to Rome. But on the other side of the river, as one goes from the city of Ostia to Rome, the road is shut in by woods and in general lies neglected, and is not even near the bank of the Tiber, since there is no towing of barges on that road.

So the Goths, finding the city at the harbour unguarded, captured it at the first

onset and slew many of the Romans who lived there, and so took possession of the harbour as well as the city. And they established a thousand of their number there as guards, while the remainder returned to the camps. In consequence of this move it was impossible for the besieged to bring in the goods which came by sea, except by way of Ostia, a route which naturally involved great labour and danger besides. For the Roman ships were not even able to put in there any longer, but they anchored at Anthium, a day's journey distant from Ostia. And they found great difficulty in carrying the cargoes thence to Rome, the reason for this being the scarcity of men. For Belisarius, fearing for the fortifications of Rome, had been unable to strengthen the harbour with any garrison at all, though I think that if even three hundred men had been on guard there, the barbarians would never have made an attempt on the place, which is exceedingly strong.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Γότθοι ἔδρασαν. ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον εἴκοσιν ἢ ὁ Πόρτος ἢ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ λιμὴν ἑάλω, Μαρτίνος τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἦκον, ἐξακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας ἱππεῖς ἐπαγομένω. [2] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Οὐννοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται, οἱ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκεῖνῃ ὄχθης ἴδρυνται. [3] Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθη τε αὐτῶν τῇ παρουσίᾳ καὶ πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤετο. [4] τῇ γοῦν ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, θυμοειδῆ τε καὶ δραστήριον, Τραϊανὸν ὄνομα, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν διακοσίους ἱππέας λαβόντα, ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐγγυτέρω ἴκωνται, ἀναβάντας ἐπὶ λόφου ὑψηλοῦ ἡσυχάζειν, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. [5] ἦν δὲ οἱ πολέμοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τὴν μάχην οὐκ εἶαν γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ξίφους ἢ δορατίου τινὸς ἄπτεσθαι, χρῆσθαι δὲ μόνοις τοξεύμασιν, ἡνίκα τέ οἱ τὴν φαρέτραν οὐδὲν ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν ἴδῃ, φεύγειν τε κατὰ κράτος οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντα καὶ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀναχωρεῖν δρόμῳ. [6] ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας, τῶν τε τοξευμάτων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ ταύταις τεχνίτας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. Τραϊανὸς δὲ ζὺν τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐκ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἦει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [7] καὶ οἱ μὲν καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων, ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐσκευάσθαι τετύχηκεν. [8] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τραϊανὸν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ὄνπερ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ἔδειξεν, ἐνθένδε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες. [9] καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀτράκτους ἅτε ἐς πολὺν ἐμπίπτοντας ὁμιλον ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἵπου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιτυγχάνειν ζυνέβαινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἶδε κατὰ τάχος ὀπίσω ἀπῆλαινον, διώκοντές τε οἱ Γότθοι ἐνέκειντο. [10] ὥς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγυτέρω ἴκοντο, τὰ τε ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν τοξεύματα οἱ τεχνῖται ἐνήργουν, καὶ τῆς διώξεως οἱ βάρβαροι κατωρρωδηκότες ἀπέσχοντο. [11] λέγονται δὲ Γότθοι οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ χίλιοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. ἡμέραις δὲ ὀλίγαις ὕστερον Βελισάριος Μουνδίλαν τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, καὶ Διογένην, διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, ζὺν ὑπασπισταῖς τριακοσίοις στείλας, ταῦτο ποιεῖν τοῖς προτέροις ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [12]

ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ξυνηνέχθη αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσους, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλείους, ἢ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔργῳ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολωλέναι. [13] πέμψας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ξὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις Οὔλαν τὸν δορυφόρον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ὅμοια τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσσονται, ταῦτα ἔδρασε. [14] τρεῖς τε, καθάπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιησάμενος τῶν ἐναντίων ἀμφὶ τετρακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν. [15] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσῆι τοὺς διαλλάσσον ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τῆς τε ὀπλίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἔργα μελέτης· ῥᾶστα καὶ αὐτὸς ᾤετο τὰ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι, ἦν γε στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔφοδον ποιοίη. [16] ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἱππεῖς πεντακοσίους, ἄγχιστα τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἰέναι κελεύσας, καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ὀλίγων πολλακίς πολεμίων πεπόνθασι, ταῦτα δὴ ἐς ζύμπασαν τὴν ἐκείνων στρατιὰν ἐπιδείξασθαι. [17] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ γενόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἕξω βελῶν, ἴσταντο. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ἄνδρας τε ἀπολέξας χιλίους καὶ Βέσσας αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας ὁμοσε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέστελλεν. [19] οἱ δὲ κύκλωσιν τε τῶν βαρβάρων ποιησάμενοι καὶ κατὰ νότου αἰεὶ βάλλοντες κτείνουσι τε συχνούς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βιασάμενοι κατελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἠνάγκασαν. [20] ἔνθα δὴ τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης, τῶν Γότθων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες εἰς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν. [21] οὗς δὴ ὁ Οὐίτιγίς ἄτε τῷ ἀνάνδρῳ ἡσσημένους ἐκάκιζε, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐτέροις τισὶν ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἡσύχαζε, τρισὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκ πάντων τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἄνδρας ἀπολεξάμενος πεντακοσίους ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [22] οὗς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριος ἐγγυτέρῳ ἦκοντας εἶδε, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους καὶ ἄρχοντας Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν. [23] ἵππομαχίας τε ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως γεγεννημένης, τῷ πληθεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες τῶν πολεμίων, τρέπουσι τε αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας διαφθείρουσι. [24] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινὸν τε καὶ τύχης ἐναντίωμα παντάπασιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, εἰ πολλοὶ τε ὄντες πρὸς ὀλίγων πολεμίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ἡσσῶνται καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους αὐθις ἰόντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς διαφθείρονται. [25] Βελισάριον δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τῆς ξυνέσεως Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπῆνουν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτήν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡρώτων οἱ ἐπιτήδαιοι ὅτῳ ποτὲ τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους οὕτως ἡσσημένους διέφυγεν, εὐέλπιδες ἐγεγόνει τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι. [26] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὥς αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κατενόησεν ὅτι ποτὲ τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ στρατιᾷ εἴη, ὥστε ἦν κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ξυμβολὰς ποιοίη, οὐδὲν ἂν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ὀλιγανθρωπία τὸ τῶν πολεμίων λυμήνασθαι πληθός. [27] διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ζύμμαχοι Οὐννοι ἱπποτοξόται εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί, Γότθων δὲ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ ἥσκηται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς μόνοις δορατίοις τε καὶ ξίφεσιν εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοξόται πεζοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἐς μάχην καθίστανται. [28] οἱ τε οὖν ἱππεῖς, ἦν μὴ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ ξυμβολῇ εἴη, οὐκ ἔχοντες καθ' ὃ τι ἀμυνοῦνται πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων τοξεύμασι χρωμένων, εὐπετῶς ἂν βαλλόμενοι διαφθείρονται, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ κατ'

ἀνδρῶν ἱππέων ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἱκανοὶ εἶεν. [29] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἰσχυρίζετο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσῆσθαι. Γότθοι δὲ τῶν σφίσι ξυμβεβηκότων τὸ παράλογον ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες οὔτε κατ' ὀλίγους τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον ἐχώρουν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐδίωκον, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἀπώσασθαι.

XXVII

This exploit, then, was accomplished by the Goths on the third day after they were repulsed in the assault on the wall. But twenty days after the city and harbour of Portus were captured, Martinus and Valerian arrived, bringing with them sixteen hundred horsemen, the most of whom were Huns and Sclaveni and Antae, who are settled above the Ister River not far from its banks. And Belisarius was pleased by their coming and thought that thenceforth his army ought to carry the war against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, he commanded one of his own bodyguards, Trajan by name, an impetuous and active fighter, to take two hundred horsemen of the guards and go straight towards the enemy, and as soon as they came near the camps to go up on a high hill (which he pointed out to him) and remain quietly there. And if the enemy should come against them, he was not to allow the battle to come to close quarters, nor to touch sword or spear in any case, but to use bows only, and as soon as he should find that his quiver had no more arrows in it, he was to flee as hard as he could with no thought of shame and retire to the fortifications on the run. Having given these instructions, he held in readiness both the engines for shooting arrows and the men skilled in their use. Then Trajan with the two hundred men went out from the Salarian Gate against the camp of the enemy. And they, being filled with amazement at the suddenness of the thing, rushed out from the camps, each man equipping himself as well as he could. But the men under Trajan galloped to the top of the hill which Belisarius had shewn them, and from there began to ward off the barbarians with missiles. And since their shafts fell among a dense throng, they were for the most part successful in hitting a man or a horse. But when all their missiles had at last failed them, they rode off to the rear with all speed, and the Goths kept pressing upon them in pursuit. But when they came near the fortifications, the operators of the engines began to shoot arrows from them, and the barbarians became terrified and abandoned the pursuit. And it is said that not less than one thousand Goths perished in this action. A few days later Belisarius sent Mundilas, another of his own bodyguard, and Diogenes, both exceptionally capable warriors, with three hundred guardsmen, commanding them to do the same thing as the others had done before. And they acted according to his instructions. Then, when the enemy confronted them, the result of the encounter was that no fewer than in the former action, perhaps even more, perished in the same way. And sending even a third time the guardsman Oilas with three hundred horsemen, with instructions to handle the enemy in the same way, he accomplished the same result. So in making these three sallies, in the manner told by me, Belisarius destroyed about four thousand of his antagonists.

But Vittigis, failing to take into account the difference between the two armies

in point of equipment of arms and of practice in warlike deeds, thought that he too would most easily inflict grave losses upon the enemy, if only he should make his attack upon them with a small force. He therefore sent five hundred horsemen, commanding them to go close to the fortifications, and to make a demonstration against the whole army of the enemy of the very same tactics as had time and again been used against them, to their sorrow, by small bands of the foe. And so, when they came to a high place not far from the city, but just beyond the range of missiles, they took their stand there. But Belisarius selected a thousand men, putting Bessas in command, and ordered them to engage with the enemy. And this force, by forming a circle around the enemy and always shooting at them from behind, killed a large number, and by pressing hard upon the rest compelled them to descend into the plain. There a hand-to-hand battle took place between forces not evenly matched in strength, and most of the Goths were destroyed, though some few with difficulty made their escape and returned to their own camp. And Vittigis reviled these men, insisting that cowardice had been the cause of their defeat, and undertaking to find another set of men to retrieve the loss after no long time, he remained quiet for the present; but three days later he selected men from all the camps, five hundred in number, and bade them make a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. Now as soon as Belisarius saw that these men had come rather near, he sent out against them fifteen hundred men under the commanders Martinus and Valerian. And a cavalry battle taking place immediately, the Romans, being greatly superior to the enemy in numbers, routed them without any trouble and destroyed practically all of them.

And to the enemy it seemed in every way a dreadful thing and a proof that fortune stood against them, if, when they were many and the enemy who came against them were few, they were defeated, and when, on the other hand, they in turn went in small numbers against their enemy, they were likewise destroyed. Belisarius, however, received a public vote of praise from the Romans for his wisdom, at which they not unnaturally marvelled greatly, but in private his friends asked him on what he had based his judgment on that day when he had escaped from the enemy after being so completely defeated, and why he had been confident that he would overcome them decisively in the war. And he said that in engaging with them at the first with only a few men he had noticed just what the difference was between the two armies, so that if he should fight his battles with them with a force which was in strength proportionate to theirs, the multitudes of the enemy could inflict no injury upon the Romans by reason of the smallness of their numbers. And the difference was this, that practically all the Romans and their allies, the Huns, are good mounted bowmen, but not a man among the Goths has had practice in this branch, for their horsemen are accustomed to use only spears and swords, while their bowmen enter battle on foot and under cover of the heavy-armed men. So the horsemen, unless the engagement is at close quarters, have

no means of defending themselves against opponents who use the bow, and therefore can easily be reached by the arrows and destroyed; and as for the foot-soldiers, they can never be strong enough to make sallies against men on horseback. It was for these reasons, Belisarius declared, that the barbarians had been defeated by the Romans in these last engagements. And the Goths, remembering the unexpected outcome of their own experiences, desisted thereafter from assaulting the fortifications of Rome in small numbers and also from pursuing the enemy when harassed by them, except only so far as to drive them back from their own camps.

Ὑστερον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἅπαντες, ἐπαρθέντες τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐτυχήμασι, παντί τε τῷ Γότθων στρατεύματι ὤρων διὰ μάχης ἰέναι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς σφίσιν ᾤοντο. [2] Βελισάριος δέ, πάμπολυ ἔτι εἶναι τὸ διαφέρον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις οἰόμενος, ὥκνει τε ἀεὶ τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεύειν στρατεύματι καὶ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐσπούδαζέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπενόει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τε τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεῖπε, παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ μάχεσθαι ἤθελε, τὴν δὲ ξυμβολὴν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδέν τι ἤσσαν ποιήσασθαι. [4] πολλάκις τε ἀπεκρούσθη ἐς τοῦτο ὀρμήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀποθέσθαι ἠνάγκαστο, ἐπεὶ προγνόντας τὰ ἐσόμενα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ παρὰ δόξαν εὔρε. [5] διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμαχήσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἤθελε, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄσμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίσταντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ὥς ἄριστα ἤσκητο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἀγείρας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον τοιαύδε παρεκελεύσατο: [6] Ὅυ μαλακίαν τινὰ καταγνοὺς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων κατορρωδήσας τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμβολὴν ὥκνουν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς διαφέρουσιν εὖ καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, διασώσασθαι ὥμην δεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τὴν τῆς εὐπραξίας αἰτίαν. [7] οἷς γὰρ κατὰ νοῦν τὰ παρόντα χωρεῖ, ἐφ' ἑτερον μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἶμαι. ὀρῶν μέντοι ἐς τόνδε ὑμᾶς προθυμουμένους τὸν κίνδυνον, εὐελπίς τέ εἰμι καὶ οὐποτε ὑμῶν τῇ ὀρμῇ ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι. [8] οἶδα γὰρ ὡς τὸ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥοπῆς ἢ τῶν μαχομένων κεκλήρωται γνώμη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ τούτων προθυμίᾳ κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. [9] ὡς μὲν οὖν ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τεταγμένοι πλήθους περιεῖναι οἰοί τέ εἰσι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐξεπίσταται ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἀκοῇ λαβὼν, ἀλλ' ἐς πείραν ἀγῶνος τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἤκων. [10] ὅπως δὲ μὴ καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν προτέραν τῶν ἐμῶν στρατηγημάτων δόξαν μήτε τὴν ἐκ τῆσδε ὑμῶν τῆς προθυμίας ἐλπίδα, ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. [11] πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πεπρᾶχθαι ξυμβαίνει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν κρίνεσθαι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας ἀνάγκη. [12] ὀρῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἡμῖν ξυλλαμβάνοντα, ὃς ἡμῖν δεδολωμένου τοῖς φθάσασιν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων φρονήματος ῥάδιον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπικράτησιν θήσεται. [13] τῶν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡτυχηκότων ἥκιστα ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γνώμαι. ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ὅπλου ὑμῶν φειδέσθω μηδεῖς. [14] ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ παρ᾽ οὐκ ἔτερα τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην διαφθειρομένων

ἀνθυπουργῆσω.’ [15] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος ἐξῆγε τὸ
στράτευμα διὰ τε πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς καὶ Σαλαρίας πύλης, ὀλίγους δὲ τινες διὰ
πύλης Αὐρηλίας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [16] οἷς δὴ Βαλεντῖνον
ἐπέστησε καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχοντα, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέστελλε μάχης μὲν
μηδεμιᾶς ἄρχειν, μηδὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγγυτέρω ἰέναι,
δόκησιν δὲ παρέχειν αἰεὶ τοῦ αὐτίκα προσβάλλειν, ὅπως μὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα
πολεμίων τινὲς τὴν ἐκείνη γέφυραν διαβαίνοντες ἐπιβοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν
ἄλλων χαρακωμάτων οἰοί τε ᾧσι. [17] πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ὥσπερ μοι
προδεδήλωται, τῶν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ στρατοπεδευομένων βαρβάρων ἱκανόν
οἱ ἐφαίνετο τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας οὐ μεταλαχόντας τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἄλλου στρατοῦ κεχωρίσθαι. [18] καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ δήμου ἐθελούσιοί
τινες ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι εἶποντο, ἐς μὲν τὴν ξυμβολὴν αὐτοὺς ξυντετάχθαι
σφίσιν οὐκ εἶασε, δείσας μὴ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι γενόμενοι κατορρωδῆσώσι τε τὸν
κίνδυνον καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσιν ὅλον, βάναισοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ
πολέμου ἀμελέτητοι παντάπασιν ὄντες. [19] ἐκτὸς δὲ πυλῶν Παγκρατιανῶν, αἱ
ὑπὲρ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν εἰσι, φάλαγγα ποιησαμένους ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως
αὐτὸς σημήνη, λογισάμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὥς, εἴπερ αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ
Βαλεντῖνον ἴδωσιν οἱ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ πολέμιοι, οὐ ποτε θαρσήσουσι τὸ
σφέτερον ἀπολιπόντες χαράκωμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς μάχην
ἰέναι. [20] ἔρμαιον δὲ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι ἄνδρας τοσοῦτους τὸ
πλῆθος τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [21] Οὕτως μὲν οὖν
ἱππομαχίαν μόνον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι ἠθέλεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεζῶν
οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, ἵππους τε τῶν
πολεμίων ληϊσάμενοι καὶ τοῦ ἱππεύειν οὐκ ἀμελέτητοι γεγεννημένοι, [22]
ἱππῶται ἦσαν. τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ οὔτε φάλαγγα ἔχοντας
λόγου ἀξίαν ποιήσασθαι οὔτε τοῖς βαρβάροις θαρσήσαντάς πω ἐς χεῖρας
ἰέναι, ἀλλ’ ἐς φυγὴν αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ καθισταμένους, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ἀποθελαι τοῦ περιβόλου παρατάσσεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα τῆς
τάφρου ἐν τάξει μένειν, ὅπως, εἴ γε σφῶν τοὺς ἱππέας τρέπεσθαι ξυμβαίνειν,
δέχεσθαι τε οἰοί τε ᾧσι τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἅτε ἀκμηῆτες τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἀμύνεσθαι. [23] Πριγκίπιος δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις, ἀνὴρ
δόκιμος, Πισίδης γένος, καὶ Ταρμούτος Ἰσαυρος, Ἐννου τοῦ Ἰσαύρων
ἀρχηγοῦ ἀδελφός, Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: [24] ‘Στρατηγῶν
ἄριστε, μήτε τὸ στράτευμά σοι, ὀλίγον τε ὄν καὶ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων
πολλὰς μαχησόμενον, ἀποτέμνεσθαι ἀξίου τῇ πεζῶν φάλαγγος, μήτε χρῆναι
τὸ Ῥωμαίων πεζικὸν ὑβρίζεσθαι οἴου, δι’ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς πάλοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐς
τόδε μεγέθους κεχωρηκέναί ἀκούομεν. [25] εἰ γάρ τι οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῖς ἐν
τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κακίας
τεκμήριον τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντες τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι,
ἵπποις μὲν ἐν τῇ παρατάξει μόνοι ὀχοῦμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ
ἀξιοῦντες τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην, ἀλλὰ φυγὴ αὐτῶν μόνος ἕκαστος καὶ πρὸ
τῆς ἀγωνίας τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι. [26] σὺ δὲ πάντας μὲν τοὺς πεζῶν ἄρχοντας,
ἱππέας γὰρ ὀρθῶς γεγεννημένους ἥκιστα τε ξυντάττεσθαι τοῖς σφῶν ὑπηκόοις
ἐθέλοντας, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἱππέων στρατεύματι ἔχων ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε

καθίστασο, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἡγεῖσθαι ξυγχώρει. [27] πεζοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ξὺν αὐτοῖς οἴσομεν, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι.’ [28] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐ ξυνεχώρησεν: αὐτὸν γὰρ ἄνδρε μαχίμῳ ἐς ἄγαν ὄντε ὑπερηγάπα καὶ πεζοὺς ὀλίγους διακινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἤθελε. [29] τέλος δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ βιαζόμενος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐς τε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἄνω ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ξὺν Ῥωμαίων τῷ δήμῳ ἀμφὶ τὰς μηχανὰς εἶασε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Πριγκίπιόν τε καὶ Ταρμουῖτον ἐπιστήσας ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς ἵστασθαι ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε μὴ τὸν κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυνταράξωσι, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἦν τίς ποτε μοῖρα τρέποιτο, μὴ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ χωρήσαιεν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφεύγοντες τοὺς διώκοντας οἶοί τε ὧσι ξὺν ἐκείνοις ἀμύνεσθαι.

XXVIII

But later on the Romans, elated by the good fortune they had already enjoyed, were with one accord eager to do battle with the whole Gothic army and thought that they should make war in the open field. Belisarius, however, considering that the difference in size of the two armies was still very great, continued to be reluctant to risk a decisive battle with his whole army; and so he busied himself still more with his sallies and kept planning them against the enemy. But when at last he yielded his point because of the abuse heaped upon him by the army and the Romans in general, though he was willing to fight with the whole army, yet nevertheless he wished to open the engagement by a sudden sally. And many times he was frustrated when he was on the point of doing this, and was compelled to put off the attack to the following day, because he found to his surprise that the enemy had been previously informed by deserters as to what was to be done and were unexpectedly ready for him. For this reason, then, he was now willing to fight a decisive battle even in the open field, and the barbarians gladly came forth for the encounter. And when both sides had been made ready for the conflict as well as might be, Belisarius gathered his whole army and exhorted them as follows:

“It is not because I detected any cowardice on your part, fellow-soldiers, nor because I was terrified at the strength of the enemy, that I have shrunk from the engagement with them, but I saw that while we were carrying on the war by making sudden sallies matters stood well with us, and consequently I thought that we ought to adhere permanently to the tactics which were responsible for our success. For I think that when one’s present affairs are going to one’s satisfaction, it is inexpedient to change to another course of action. But since I see that you are eager for this danger, I am filled with confidence and shall never oppose your ardour. For I know that the greatest factor in the decision of war is always the attitude of the fighting men, and it is generally by their enthusiasm that successes are won. Now, therefore, the fact that a few men drawn up for battle with valour on their side are able to overcome a multitude of the enemy, is well known by every man of you, not by hearsay, but by daily experience of fighting. And it will rest with you not to bring shame upon the former glories of my career as general, nor upon the hope which this enthusiasm of yours inspires. For the whole of what has already been accomplished by us in this war must of necessity be judged in accordance with the issue of the present day. And I see that the present moment is also in our favour, for it will, in all probability, make it easier for us to gain the mastery over the enemy, because their spirit has been enslaved by what has gone before. For when men have often met with misfortune, their hearts are no longer wont to thrill even slightly with manly valour. And let no one of you spare horse or bow or any weapon. For I will immediately provide

you with others in place of all that are destroyed in the battle.”

After speaking these words of exhortation, Belisarius led out his army through the small Pincian Gate and the Salarian Gate, and commanded some few men to go through the Aurelian Gate into the Plain of Nero. These he put under the command of Valentinus, a commander of a cavalry detachment, and he directed him not to begin any fighting, or to go too close to the camp of the enemy, but constantly to give the appearance of being about to attack immediately, so that none of the enemy in that quarter might be able to cross the neighbouring bridge and come to the assistance of the soldiers from the other camps. For since, as I have previously stated, the barbarians encamped in the Plain of Nero were many, it seemed to him sufficient if these should all be prevented from taking part in the engagement and be kept separated from the rest of the army. And when some of the Roman populace took up arms and followed as volunteers, he would not allow them to be drawn up for battle along with the regular troops, fearing lest, when they came to actual fighting, they should become terrified at the danger and throw the entire army into confusion, since they were labouring men and altogether unpractised in war. But outside the Pancratian Gate, which is beyond the Tiber River, he ordered them to form a phalanx and remain quiet until he himself should give the signal, reasoning, as actually proved to be the case, that if the enemy in the Plain of Nero should see both them and the men under Valentinus, they would never dare leave their camp and enter battle with the rest of the Gothic army against his own forces. And he considered it a stroke of good luck and a very important advantage that such a large number of men should be kept apart from the army of his opponents.

Such being the situation, he wished on that day to engage in a cavalry battle only; and indeed most of the regular infantry were now unwilling to remain in their accustomed condition, but, since they had captured horses as booty from the enemy and had become not unpractised in horsemanship, they were now mounted. And since the infantry were few in number and unable even to make a phalanx of any consequence, and had never had the courage to engage with the barbarians, but always turned to flight at the first onset, he considered it unsafe to draw them up at a distance from the fortifications, but thought it best that they should remain in position where they were, close by the moat, his purpose being that, if it should so happen that the Roman horsemen were routed, they should be able to receive the fugitives and, as a fresh body of men, help them to ward off the enemy.

But there were two men among his bodyguards, a certain Principius, who was a man of note and a Pisidian by birth, and Tarmutus, an Isaurian, brother of Ennes who was commander of the Isaurians. These men came before Belisarius and spoke as follows: “Most excellent of generals, we beg you neither to decide that your army, small as it is and about to fight with many

tens of thousands of barbarians, be cut off from the phalanx of the infantry, nor to think that one ought to treat with contumely the infantry of the Romans, by means of which, as we hear, the power of the ancient Romans was brought to its present greatness. For if it so happens that they have done nothing of consequence in this war, this is no evidence of the cowardice of the soldiers, but it is the commanders of the infantry who would justly bear the blame, for they alone ride on horseback in the battle-line and are not willing to consider the fortunes of war as shared by all, but as a general thing each one of them by himself takes to flight before the struggle begins. But do you keep all the commanders of infantry, since you see that they have become cavalry and that they are quite unwilling to take their stand beside their subordinates, and include them with the rest of the cavalry and so enter this battle, but permit us to lead the infantry into the combat. For since we also are unmounted, as are these troops, we shall do our part in helping them to support the attack of the multitude of barbarians, full of hope that we shall inflict upon the enemy whatever chastisement God shall permit.”

When Belisarius heard this request, at first he did not assent to it; for he was exceedingly fond of these two men, who were fighters of marked excellence, and he was unwilling to have a small body of infantry take such a risk. But finally, overborne by the eagerness of the men, he consented to leave only a small number of their soldiers, in company with the Roman populace, to man the gates and the battlement along the top of the wall where the engines of war were, and to put the rest under command of Principius and Tarmutus, ordering them to take position in the rear in regular formation. His purpose in this was, in the first place, to keep these troops from throwing the rest of the army into confusion if they themselves should become panic-stricken at the danger, and, in the second place, in case any division of the cavalry should be routed at any time, to prevent the retreat from extending to an indefinite distance, but to allow the cavalry simply to fall back upon the infantry and make it possible for them, with the infantry's help, to ward off the pursuers.

Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ζυμβολὴν παρεσκεύαστο ὧδε. Οὐίτιγίς δὲ Γότθους ἐξώπλισεν ἅπαντας, οὐδένᾳ ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀπομάχους, ἀπολιπὼν. [2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Μαρκίαν ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ μένειν ἐκέλευε, φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐν γεφύρᾳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ζυγκαλέσας ἔλαξε τοιάδε: [3] “Ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν τισὶ περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δεδιέναι δοκοῖην καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἄλλην ἐς ὑμᾶς φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ τανῶν ὑπὲρ εὐτολμίας ὑμῖν ἐπαγωγὰ φθέγγεσθαι. [4] καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου λογίζονται. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι, ὧν μὲν ἂν δέοιντο, πράττειν ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, κἂν πολλῶ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεέστεροι τύχωσιν ὄντες, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δυσπρόσοδοι εἶναι, ὧν τῆς ὑπουργίας οὐ χρῆζουσιν. [5] ἔμοι μέντοι οὔτε βίου καταστροφῆς οὔτε ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μέλει. εὐξαίμην γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν πορφυρίδα ταύτην ἀποδύσασθαι τήμερον, εἰ Γότθος ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν

ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι μέλλοι. [6] καὶ τὸ Θευδάτου πέρας ὀλβιον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγενῆσθαι νενόμικα, ᾧ γε ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων χερσὶ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἅμα τετύχηκε. [7] συμφορὰ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ προσπίπτουσα μὴ συμφθειρομένου τοῦ γένους τοῖς γε οὐκ ἀνοήτοις παραψυχῆς οὐκ ἐστέρηται. [8] ἐννοοῦντά με δὲ τὸ τε Βανδύλων πάθος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γελίμερος τέλος οὐδὲν εἰσέρχεται μέτριον, ἀλλὰ Γότθους μὲν ὁρᾶν μοι δοκῶ ζῶν τοῖς παισὶ δεδουλωμένους, γυναῖκας δὲ ὑμετέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐχθίστοις τὰ πάντων αἰσχιστα ὑπηρετούσας, ἑμαυτὸν δὲ ἀγόμενον καὶ τὴν τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὅπῃ ποτὲ τοὺς νῦν πολεμίους ἀρέσκει: ταῦτα βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὅπως μὴ προσπέσωσι δείσαντας ἐς μάχην τήνδε καθίστασθαι. [9] οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐν τῷ τῆς ξυμβολῆς χωρίῳ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν περὶ πλείονος τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν σωτηρίας ποιήσαισθε. ἐνὶ γὰρ μόνῳ κακοτυχεῖν ἄνδρες γενναῖοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι νομίζουσι. [10] θάνατος δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ταχὺς ἦκων, εὐδαίμονας ἀεὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντας ἐργάζεται. [11] εὐδὴλόν τε ὥς, ἢν μετὰ τούτων ὑμεῖς τῶν λογισμῶν τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκητε, ῥᾶστα μὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους νικήσετε, ὀλίγους τε ὄντας καὶ Γραικοὺς, κολάσετε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τῆς τε ἀδικίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἥς ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν. [12] ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν, οἱ δὲ θρασύνονται καθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ μόνον ἐφόδιον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀλιγορίαν. βόσκει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὐτύχημα. [13] Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐίτιγיס παρακελευσάμενος διεκόσμηι τὸ στράτευμα ἐς παράταξιν, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς μέσον καταστησάμενος, τοὺς ἵππεας δὲ ἐς ἄμφω τὰ κέρατα. [14] οὐκ ἄποθεν μέντοι τῶν χαρακωμάτων τὴν φάλαγγα διέτασσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ τροπὴ γένηται, εὐπετῶς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλαμβανόμενοι διαφθείρωνται, ἐν χώρῳ πολλῷ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοῖς γινομένης. [15] ἥλπιζε γάρ, ἢν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἡ μάχη συσταδὸν γένηται, αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἀνθέξειν, τεκμαιρόμενος πολλῷ γε ὄντι τῷ παραλόγῳ ὅτι οὐκ ἀντίπαλον τῷ σφετέρῳ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα εἴη. [16] Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται πρῶτ' ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου ἐκατέρωθεν εἶχοντο: Οὐίτιγισ δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ὀπισθεν ἐγκελευόμενοι ἀμφοτέρους ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὥρων. [17] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καθυπέρτερα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ τε βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων συγχοὶ ἔπιπτον, διώξις μὲντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεμία ἐγένετο. [18] ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πλήθει μεγάλῳ οἱ Γότθοι καθεστῶτες ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐς τῶν διαφθειρομένων τὴν χώραν ἔτεροι ἴσταντο, αἰσθησὶν τε οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀπολλυμένων παρείχοντο. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανὸν ἐφαίνετο λίαν ὀλίγοις οὖσιν ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [19] τὴν τε μάχην ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδα διενεγκοῦσιν ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη διαφθείρασι τῶν πολεμίων βουλομένοις ἢν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανέναι, ἢν τις αὐτοῖς γένηται σκῆψις. [20] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐγένοντο τρεῖς, Αθηνόδωρος τε, ἀνὴρ Ἰσαυρος, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, καὶ Θεοδωρίσκος τε καὶ Γεώργιος, [21] Μαρτίνου δορυφόροι, Καππαδόκαι γένος. ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐξιόντες μετώπου δόρασι διειργάζοντο τῶν βαρβάρων πολλούς. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [22] Ἐν

δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ χρόνον μὲν συχνὸν ἀντεκάθητο ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐπεκδρομάς τε αἰεὶ ποιοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐσακοντίζοντες τοὺς Γότθους ἐλύπουν. [23] ἐπεξίεναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα ἤθελον, δεδιότες τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄντας, οὓς δὴ στρατιώτας τε ᾤοντο εἶναι καὶ τινα ἐνέδραν ἐς σφᾶς ποιουμένους ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως κατὰ νότου ἰόντες ἀμφιβόλους τε ποιησάμενοι διαφθείρωσιν. [24] ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας μεσοῦσης ὁρμᾷ μὲν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τρέπονται δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οἱ Γότθοι τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες. [25] καὶ οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς ἐκεῖνη λόφους ἀναβάντες ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, οὐ στρατιῶται δὲ πάντες, [26] ἀλλ' οἱ πλείστοι γυμνὸς ὁμιλος. ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐτέρωθι ὄντος πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ναῦται καὶ οἰκέται τοῦ πολέμου μεταλαχεῖν ἐφίεμενοι ἀνემίγνυντο τῷ ταύτῃ στρατῷ. [27] καὶ πλήθει μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκπλήξαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἀκοσμία δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔσφηλαν. [28] ἐπιμιξία γὰρ τῇ ἐκεῖνων ἐς ἀταξίαν πολλὴν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐμπεπτωκότες, καίπερ σφίσι Βαλεντίνου πολλὰ ἐγκελευομένου, τῶν παραγγελλομένων ἥκιστα ἤκουον. [29] διόπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπιστόμενοί τινα ἔκτεινον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἡσυχάζοντας ἀδεῶς τὰ ποιούμενα θεᾶσθαι ξυνεχώρησαν. [30] οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκεῖνη διελεῖν γέφυραν ἐν νῷ ἐποιήσαντο, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ πόλις μὴ ἐκατέρωθεν πολιορκοῖτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων. [31] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν γέφυραν διαβάντες κατὰ νότου τῶν ἐναντίων ἐγένοντο οἱ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ταύτῃ ἐμάχοντο. ὅπερ εἰ ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι, οἶμαι, οἱ Γότθοι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐτράποντο, ὥς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο. [32] νῦν δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα ἐς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐτράποντο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀργυρώματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρήματα ἔφερον. [33] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρόνον μὲν τινα θεώμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἡσύχαζόν τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, τέλος δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ κραυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρησαν. [34] εὐρόντες δὲ ἀνθρώπους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὰ σφέτερα ληϊζομένους ἔκτεινάν τε συχνούς καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς κατὰ τάχος ἐξήλασαν. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐγκαταληφθέντες αὐτῶν οὐ διεφθάρησαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων τὰ χρήματα ρίψαντες ἄσμενοι ἔφευγον. [35] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἄλλος τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἄγχιστα τῶν σφετέρων στρατοπέδων ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους καρτερῶς ἡμύναντο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ πολλῷ πλείους διέφθειρον. [36] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν τραυματαῖα γεγεννημένοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἵππων σφίσι διαφθαρέντων ἐξέλιπον τὴν παράταξιν, ἐν ὀλίγῃ καὶ πρότερον τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔσῃ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ὀλιγανθρωπία διαφανῆς ἦν, πολὺ τε τὸ διαλλάσσον τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὁμίλου ἐφάνη. [37] ἅπερ ἐν νῷ λαβόντες οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ. ὧν δὴ τὰ δόρατα οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο καὶ ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤκον. [38] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὑφίσταντο, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἔφευγον. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ὑπεχώρει, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν

πολεμίων, καὶ ἡ τροπὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐγένετο. [39] Πριγκίπιος δὲ καὶ Ταρμούτος
ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς πεζῶν ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐς
αὐτούς. [40] μαχομένους τε γὰρ καὶ τρέπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκιστα
ἀξιοῦντας τῶν Γόθων οἱ πλείστοι ἐν θαύματι τοῦτο μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι
ἔστησαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πεζοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ πλείστοι
ἀδεέστερον διεσώθησαν. [41] Πριγκίπιος μὲν οὖν, κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον,
αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, καὶ πεζοὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο. [42] Ταρμούτος δὲ
δύο ἀκόντια Ἰσαυρικὰ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, νύττων τε ἀεὶ τοὺς
ἐπιόντας ἐπιστροφάδην, ἐπειδὴ κοπτόμενος τὸ σῶμα ἀπεῖπεν, Ἐννου
τάδελφου ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν τισιν ἐπιβεβοηθηκότος, ἀνέπνευσέ τε καὶ δρόμῳ ὅξει
λύθρου τε καὶ πληγῶν ἔμπλεως ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον οὐδέτερον τῶν ἀκοντίων
ἀποβαλὼν ἦει. [43] ποδώκης δὲ ὢν φύσει διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε, καίπερ οὕτω τοῦ
σώματος ἔχων, παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς Πιγκιανὰς πύλας ἐλθὼν ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτὸν
τετελευτηκέναι δόξαντα ὑπὲρ ἀσπίδος ἄραντες τῶν τινες ἐταίρων ἐκόμισαν.
[44] ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο ἐπιβίους ἐτελεύτησε, λόγον αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἐν τε Ἰσαύροις
καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [45] Πεφοβημένοι τε ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι
φρουρᾶς τῆς ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐπιθέντες ξὺν θορύβῳ
πολλῷ τῇ πόλει τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, δεδιότες μὴ ξυνεισβάλλωσιν
αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι. [46] καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς
γεγεννημένοι, τὴν τάφρον διαβάντες καὶ τῷ τείχει τὰ νῶτα ἐρείσαντες, ἔτρεμόν
τε καὶ πάσης ἀλκῆς ἐπιλελησμένοι εἰστήκεισαν, ἀμύνεσθαί τε τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἥκιστα ἴσχυον, καίπερ ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον ὑπερβῆναι
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας. [47] αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τὰ δόρατα ἐν τε τῇ
ξυμβολῇ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ κατεαγόντα ἐτύγχανε, τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν στενοχωρία τῇ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν. [48] ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι
καθεωρῶντο, οἱ Γόθοι ἐνέκειντο, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες τοὺς τε ἀποκεκλεισμένους
ἅπαντας διαφθεῖραι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ βιάσασθαι. [49] ἐπεὶ δὲ
στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἀμυνομένων πολὺ τι χρήμα ἐς τὰς
ἐπάλξεις εἶδον, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπογόντες ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινον, πολλὰ τοὺς
ἐναντίους κακίσαντες. [50] ἥ τε μάχη ἐν τοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων χαρακώμασιν
ἀρξαμένη ἐν τε τῇ τάφρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐτελεύτησε τείχει.

In this fashion the Romans had made their preparations for the encounter. As for Vittigis, he had armed all the Goths, leaving not a man behind in the camps, except those unfit for fighting. And he commanded the men under Marcias to remain in the Plain of Nero, and to attend to the guarding of the bridge, that the enemy might not attack his men from that direction. He himself then called together the rest of the army and spoke as follows:

“It may perhaps seem to some of you that I am fearful about my sovereignty, and that this is the motive which has led me, in the past, to shew a friendly spirit toward you and, on the present occasion, to address you with seductive words in order to inspire you with courage. And such reasoning is not out of accord with the ways of men. For unenlightened men are accustomed to shew gentleness toward those whom they want to make use of, even though these happen to be in a much humbler station than they, but to be difficult of access to others whose assistance they do not desire. As for me, however, I care neither for the end of life nor for the loss of power. Nay, I should even pray that I might put off this purple to-day, if a Goth were to put it on. And I have always regarded the end of Theodatus as one of the most fortunate, in that he was privileged to lose both his sovereignty and his life at the hands of men of his own nation. For a calamity which falls upon an individual without involving his nation also in destruction does not lack an element of consolation, in the view, at least, of men who are not wanting in wisdom. But when I reflect upon the fate of the Vandals and the end of Gelimer, the thoughts which come to my mind are of no ordinary kind; nay, I seem to see the Goths and their children reduced to slavery, your wives ministering in the most shameful of all ways to the most hateful of men, and myself and the granddaughter of Theoderic led wherever it suits the pleasure of those who are now our enemies; and I would have you also enter this battle fearing lest this fate befall us. For if you do this, on the field of battle you will count the end of life as more to be desired than safety after defeat. For noble men consider that there is only one misfortune — to survive defeat at the hands of their enemy. But as for death, and especially death which comes quickly, it always brings happiness to those who were before not blest by fortune. It is very clear that if you keep these thoughts in mind as you go through the present engagement, you will not only conquer your opponents most easily, few as they are and Greeks, but will also punish them forthwith for the injustice and insolence with which they, without provocation, have treated us. For although we boast that we are their superiors in valour, in numbers, and in every other respect, the boldness which they feel in confronting us is due merely to elation at our misfortunes; and the only asset they have is the indifference we have shewn. For their self-confidence is fed by their undeserved good fortune.”

With these words of exhortation Vittigis proceeded to array his army for battle, stationing the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the two wings. He did not, however, draw up his phalanx far from the camps, but very near them, in order that, as soon as the rout should take place, the enemy might easily be overtaken and killed, there being abundance of room for the pursuit. For he expected that if the struggle should become a pitched battle in the plain, they would not withstand him even a short time; since he judged by the great disparity of numbers that the army of the enemy was no match for his own.

So the soldiers on both sides, beginning in the early morning, opened battle; and Vittigis and Belisarius were in the rear urging on both armies and inciting them to fortitude. And at first the Roman arms prevailed, and the barbarians kept falling in great numbers before their archery, but no pursuit of them was made. For since the Gothic cavalry stood in dense masses, other men very easily stepped into the places of those who were killed, and so the loss of those who fell among them was in no way apparent. And the Romans evidently were satisfied, in view of their very small number, that the struggle should have such a result for them. So after they had by midday carried the battle as far as the camps of their opponents, and had already slain many of the enemy, they were anxious to return to the city if any pretext should present itself to them. In this part of the action three among the Romans proved themselves brave men above all others, Athenodorus, an Isaurian, a man of fair fame among the guards of Belisarius, and Theodoriscus and George, spearmen of Martinus and Cappadocians by birth. For they constantly kept going out beyond the front of the phalanx, and there despatched many of the barbarians with their spears. Such was the course of events here.

But in the Plain of Nero the two armies remained for a long time facing one another, and the Moors, by making constant sallies and hurling their javelins among the enemy, kept harrying the Goths. For the Goths were quite unwilling to go out against them through fear of the forces of the Roman populace which were not far away, thinking, of course, that they were soldiers and were remaining quiet because they had in mind some sort of an ambush against themselves with the object of getting in their rear, exposing them to attack on both sides, and thus destroying them. But when it was now the middle of the day, the Roman army suddenly made a rush against the enemy, and the Goths were unexpectedly routed, being paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. And they did not succeed even in fleeing to their camp, but climbed the hills near by and remained quiet. Now the Romans, though many in number, were not all soldiers, but were for the most part a throng of men without defensive armour. For inasmuch as the general was elsewhere, many sailors and servants in the Roman camp, in their eagerness to have a share in the war, mingled with that part of the army. And although by their mere numbers they did fill the barbarians with consternation and turn them to flight,

as has been said, yet by reason of their lack of order they lost the day for the Romans. For the intermixture of the above-mentioned men caused the soldiers to be thrown into great disorder, and although Valentinus kept constantly shouting orders to them, they could not hear his commands at all. For this reason they did not even follow up the fugitives or kill a man, but allowed them to stand at rest on the hills and in security to view what was going on. Nor did they take thought to destroy the bridge there, and thus prevent the city from being afterwards besieged on both sides; for, had they done so, the barbarians would have been unable to encamp any longer on the farther side of the Tiber River. Furthermore, they did not even cross the bridge and get in the rear of their opponents who were fighting there with the troops of Belisarius. And if this had been done, the Goths, I think, would no longer have thought of resistance, but they would have turned instantly to flight, each man as he could. But as it was, they took possession of the enemy's camp and turned to plundering his goods, and they set to work carrying thence many vessels of silver and many other valuables. Meanwhile the barbarians for some time remained quietly where they were and observed what was going on, but finally by common consent they advanced against their opponents with great fury and shouting. And finding men in complete disorder engaged in plundering their property, they slew many and quickly drove out the rest. For all who were caught inside the camp and escaped slaughter were glad to cast their plunder from their shoulders and take to flight.

While these things were taking place in the Plain of Nero, meantime the rest of the barbarian army stayed very near their camps and, protecting themselves with their shields, vigorously warded off their opponents, destroying many men and a much larger number of horses. But on the Roman side, when those who had been wounded and those whose horses had been killed left the ranks, then, in an army which had been small even before, the smallness of their numbers was still more evident, and the difference between them and the Gothic host was manifestly great. Finally the horsemen of the barbarians who were on the right wing, taking note of this, advanced at a gallop against the enemy opposite them. And the Romans there, unable to withstand their spears, rushed off in flight and came to the infantry phalanx. However, the infantry also were unable to hold their ground against the oncoming horsemen, and most of them began to join the cavalry in flight. And immediately the rest of the Roman army also began to retire, the enemy pressing upon their heels, and the rout became decisive. But Principius and Tarmutus with some few of the infantry of their command made a display of valorous deeds against the Goths. For as they continued to fight and disdained to turn to flight with the others, most of the Goths were so amazed that they halted. And consequently the rest of the infantry and most of the horsemen made their escape in greater security. Now Principius fell where he stood, his whole body hacked to pieces, and around him fell forty-two foot-soldiers. But Tarmutus, holding two

Isaurian javelins, one in each hand, continued to thrust them into his assailants as he turned from side to side, until, finally, he desisted because his body was covered with wounds; but when his brother Ennes came to the rescue with a detachment of cavalry, he revived, and running swiftly, covered as he was with gore and wounds, he made for the fortifications without throwing down either of his javelins. And being fleet of foot by nature, he succeeded in making his escape, in spite of the plight of his body, and did not fall until he had just reached the Pincian Gate. And some of his comrades, supposing him to be dead, lifted him on a shield and carried him. But he lived on two days before he died, leaving a high reputation both among the Isaurians and in the rest of the army.

The Romans, meanwhile, being by now thoroughly frightened, attended to the guarding of the wall, and shutting the gates they refused, in their great excitement, to receive the fugitives into the city, fearing that the enemy would rush in with them. And such of the fugitives as had not already got inside the fortifications, crossed the moat, and standing with their backs braced against the wall were trembling with fear, and stood there forgetful of all valour and utterly unable to ward off the barbarians, although they were pressing upon them and were about to cross the moat to attack them. And the reason was that most of them had lost their spears, which had been broken in the engagement and during the flight, and they were not able to use their bows because they were huddled so closely together. Now so long as not many defenders were seen at the battlement, the Goths kept pressing on, having hopes of destroying all those who had been shut out and of overpowering the men who held the circuit-wall. But when they saw a very great number both of soldiers and of the Roman populace at the battlements defending the wall, they immediately abandoned their purpose and rode off thence to the rear, heaping much abuse upon their opponents. And the battle, having begun at the camps of the barbarians, ended at the moat and the wall of the city.

BOOK VI. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

Μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διακινδυνεύειν οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων· ἱππομαχίας δὲ ποιούμενοι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων. [2] ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἐς φάλαγγα ζυνταγαμένοι, [3] ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπόμενοι. καὶ ποτε Βέσσας ἐν πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ζὺν τῷ δόρατι ἐσπηδήσας τρεῖς τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων ἔκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψεν. [4] αὐθις δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος τοὺς Οὐννους ἐπαγόμενος ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερβιαζομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶδεν, [5] ἐποίει τοιάδε. στάδιον μέγα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ οἱ τῆς πόλεως μονομάχοι τὰ πρότερα ἡγωνίζοντο, πολλὰ τε ἄλλα οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἀμφὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦτο ἐδείμαντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ στενωπούς, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, πανταχόθι τοῦ χωρίου ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. [6] τότε οὖν Κωνσταντῖνος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε περιέσεσθαι τοῦ τῶν Γότθων ὁμίλου εἶχεν οὔτε κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐκτὸς φεύγειν οἷός τε ἦν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἅπαντας τοὺς Οὐννους ἀποβιβάσας πεζὸς ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκεῖνι στενωπῶν ἔστη. [7] ὅθεν δὴ βάλλοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τοὺς πολεμίους συχνοὺς ἔκτεινον. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα οἱ Γότθοι βαλλόμενοι ἀντείχον. [8] ἤλπιζον γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τῶν Οὐννων τὰς φαρέτρας ἐπιλείπει τὰ βέλη, κύκλωσίν τε αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ποιήσασθαι καὶ δήσαντες ἐς στρατόπεδον αὐτοὺς τὸ σφέτερον ἄξειν. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται, τοξόται μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, ἐς πολὺν δὲ ὅμιλον βάλλοντες, τοξεύματι σχεδόν τι ἐκάστω πολεμίῳ ἀνδρὸς ἐπετύγγανον, ἦσθοντο μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ ἀπολωλότες, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς δυσμὰς ἰόντος ἡλίου οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [10] ἔνθα δὴ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἔπεσον· ἐπισπόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπεὶ τοξεύειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πολλῶν χρώμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπίστανται, οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐς νῶτα βάλλοντες ἔκτεινον. οὕτω τε ἐς Ῥώμην Κωνσταντῖνος ζὺν τοῖς Οὐννοις ἐς νύκτα ἦκε. [11] Περανίου δὲ ἡμέραις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ῥωμαίων τισὶ διὰ πύλης Σαλαρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγησαμένου ἐφευγον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Γότθοι, παλινδιώξεως δὲ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένης, τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων πεζὸς ἐς μέγαν καταστάς θόρυβον ἐς βαθεῖαν τινα κατώρυχα ἐμπίπτει, οἷαι πολλαὶ τοῖς πάλοι ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σίτου παρακαταθήκην ἐνταῦθα, [12] οἷμαι, πεποίηνται. οὔτε δὲ κραυγῇ χρῆσθαι τολμήσας, ἅτε που ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευομένων τῶν πολεμίῳ, οὔτε τοῦ βόθρου τρόπῳ ὀφιοῦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι οἷός τε ὦν, ἐπεὶ ἀνάβασιν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ διανυκτερεύειν ἠνάγκαστο. [13] τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ, τροπῆς αὐθις τῶν βαρβάρων γεγενημένης, τῶν τις Γότθων ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν κατώρυχα ἐμπίπτει. [14] ἔνθα δὴ ἄμφω ἐς τε φιλοφροσύνην καὶ εὖνοίαν ζυνηλθέτην ἀλλήλοις, ξυναγοῦσης αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀνάγκης, τὰ τε πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, ἥ μὴν κατεσπονδασμένην ἐκατέρῳ τὴν θατέρου σωτηρίαν εἶναι, καὶ τότε δὴ μέγα καὶ ἐξαισίον ἄμφω ἐβόων. [15] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῇ τε φωνῇ ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατώρυχος διακύψαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ βοῶν εἴη. [16] οὕτω δὲ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν δεδογμένον, σιωπὴν μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἶχεν, ἄτερος δὲ τῇ

πατρίῳ γλώσση ἑναγχος ἔφασκεν ἐν τῇ γενομένῃ τροπῇ ἐμπεπτωκέναι, βρόχον τε αὐτούς, ὅπως ἀναβαίνειν, ἡξίου καθεῖναι. [17] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς τάχιστα τῶν κάλων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπορρίψαντες τοῦ Γότθου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνολικὴν ᾤοντο, λαβόμενος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῶν βρόχων εἵλκετο ἄνω, τοιοῦτον εἰπὼν, ὡς, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνειν πρῶτος, οὐποτε τοῦ ἐταίρου ἀμελήσειν τοὺς Γότθους, ἣν δέ γε τὸν πολέμιον πύθωνται μόνον ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, οὐδένα ἂν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖντο λόγον. [18] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνέβη. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθοι εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζον τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, πάντα τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἐν δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀνεῖλκον, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι καὶ τὰ δεδομένα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων πιστὰ ἔφρασε. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ζὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαῖον κακῶν ἀπαθὴ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. [20] ἔπειτα δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν πολλὰκις ἐκατέρωθεν οὐ πολλοὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ὠπλίζοντο, ἐς μονομαχίαν δὲ αἰεὶ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας αὐτοῖς ἐτελεύτα καὶ πάσαις Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνίκων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ᾧδὲ πη ἔσχεν. [21] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ξυμβολῆς ἐν Νέρωνος γινομένης πεδίῳ, διώξεις τε ἄλλων ἄλλῃ κατ' ὀλίγους ἱππεῖς ποιουμένων, Χορσάμαντις, ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος, Μασσαγέτης γένος, ζὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἄνδρας ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐδίωκεν. [22] ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦ πεδίου πόρρῳ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινον, Χορσάμαντις δὲ μόνος ἔτι ἐδίωκεν. ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ Γότθοι στρέψαντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν. [23] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς μέσους χωρήσας, ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων δόρατι κτείνας, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦει, οἱ δὲ αὖθις τραπόμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. [24] αἰσχυρόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν καθορᾶσθαι ὑπώπτευν ἄλλιν ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠθέλον. [25] ταῦτ' οὖν παθόντες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἕνα τε τῶν ἀρίστων ἀποβαλόντες, ἐς φυγὴν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐτράποντο, μέχρι τε τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν διώξιν ὁ Χορσάμαντις ποιησάμενος ἀνέστρεψε μόνος. [26] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐν μάχῃ ἐτέρᾳ κνήμην τὴν ἀριστερὰν βληθέντι τούτῳ ἐνομήσθη εἶναι ἄκρου ὁστέου τὸ βέλος ἀψάμενον. [27] ἀτόμαχος μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅσας δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γεγονὼς τῇ πληγῇ ἅτε ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος οὐκ ἦνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλ' ἠπειλῆσε τῆς ἐς τὸ σκέλος ὕβρεως τοὺς Γότθους ὅτι τάχιστα τίσασθαι. [28] ῥαῖσας οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔν τε ἀρίστῳ οἰνωμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, μόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐβούλευσεν ἰέναι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν πόδα ὕβρεως τίσασθαι, ἐν τε Πιγκιανῇ γενόμενος πηλιδί, στέλλεσθαι πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἔφασκεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδον. [29] οἱ δὲ ταύτῃ φρουροὶ 'οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδρὶ τῶν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων ἀρίστῳ εἶχόν τας τε πύλας ἀνέφξαν καὶ ὅπῃ βούλοιο ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. [30] κατιδόντες τε αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αὐτόμολον σφίσι τινὰ προσχωρεῖν ᾤοντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῦ τόξου εἶχετο, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσιν. [31] οὗς δὴ εὐπετῶς ἀπωσάμενος ἀπήλαινε βάδην, πλειόνων τε Γότθων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντων οὐκ ἔφυγεν. [32] ὡς δὲ πλήθους πολλοῦ ἐπιρρέοντος ἀμύνεσθαι ἡξίου, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν πύργων θεώμενοι μαίνεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπώπτευν, ὡς δὲ Χορσάμαντις εἴη οὐπω ἠπίσταντο. [33] ἔργα μὲν ἐπιδειξάμενος μεγάλα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἔς τε κύκλωσιν ἐμπεπτωκῶς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατεύματος, [34] ποινὰς ἀλόγου θράσους ἐξέτισεν. ἅπερ ἐπειδὴ Βελισαρίου

τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἔμαθον, ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι, ὅτε τῆς πάντων ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διαφθοαρέισης, ὠδύροντο.

After this the Romans no longer dared risk a battle with their whole army; but they engaged in cavalry battles, making sudden sallies in the same manner as before, and were generally victorious over the barbarians. Foot-soldiers also went out from both sides, not, however, arrayed in a phalanx, but accompanying the horsemen. And once Bessas in the first rush dashed in among the enemy carrying his spear and killed three of their best horsemen and turned the rest to flight. And another time, when Constantinus had led out the Huns in the Plain of Nero in the late afternoon, and saw that they were being overpowered by the superior numbers of their opponents, he took the following measures. There has been in that place from of old a great stadium where the gladiators of the city used to fight in former times, and the men of old built many other buildings round about this stadium; consequently there are, as one would expect, narrow passages all about this place. Now on the occasion in question, since Constantinus could neither overcome the throng of the Goths nor flee without great danger, he caused all the Huns to dismount from their horses, and on foot, in company with them, took his stand in one of the narrow passages there. Then by shooting from that safe position they slew large numbers of the enemy. And for some time the Goths withstood their missiles. For they hoped, as soon as the supply of missiles in the quivers of the Huns should be exhausted, to be able to surround them without any trouble, take them prisoners, and lead them back to their camp. But since the Massagetae, who were not only good bowmen but also had a dense throng to shoot into, hit an enemy with practically every shot, the Goths perceived that above half their number had perished, and since the sun was about to set, they knew not what to do and so rushed off in flight. Then indeed many of them fell; for the Massagetae followed them up, and since they know how to shoot the bow with the greatest accuracy even when running at great speed, they continued to discharge their arrows no less than before, shooting at their backs, and kept up the slaughter. And thus Constantinus with his Huns came back to Rome at night.

And when Peranius, not many days later, led some of the Romans through the Salarian Gate against the enemy, the Goths, indeed, fled as hard as they could, but about sunset a counter-pursuit was made suddenly, and a Roman foot-soldier, becoming greatly confused, fell into a deep hole, many of which were made there by the men of old, for the storage of grain, I suppose. And he did not dare to cry out, supposing that the enemy were encamped near by, and was not able in any way whatever to get out of the pit, for it afforded no means of climbing up; he was therefore compelled to pass the night there. Now on the next day, when the barbarians had again been put to flight, one of the Goths fell into the same hole. And there the two men were reconciled to mutual

friendship and good-will, brought together as they were by their necessity, and they exchanged solemn pledges, each that he would work earnestly for the salvation of the other; and then both of them began shouting with loud and frantic cries. Now the Goths, following the sound, came and peered over the edge of the hole, and enquired who it was who shouted. At this, the Roman, in accordance with the plan decided upon by the two men, kept silence, and the Goth in his native tongue said that he had just recently fallen in there during the rout which had taken place, and asked them to let down a rope that he might come up. And they as quickly as possible threw down the ends of ropes, and, as they thought, were pulling up the Goth, but the Roman laid hold of the ropes and was pulled up, saying only that if he should go up first the Goths would never abandon their comrade, but if they should learn that merely one of the enemy was there they would take no account of him. So saying, he went up. And when the Goths saw him, they wondered and were in great perplexity, but upon hearing the whole story from him they drew up his comrade next, and he told them of the agreement they had made and of the pledges both had given. So he went off with his companions, and the Roman was released unharmed and permitted to return to the city. After this horsemen in no great numbers armed themselves many times for battle, but the struggles always ended in single combats, and the Romans were victorious in all of them. Such, then, was the course of these events.

A little after this an engagement took place in the Plain of Nero, wherein various small groups of horsemen were engaged in pursuing their opponents in various directions; in one group was Chorsamantis, a man of note among the guards of Belisarius, by birth a Massagete, who with some others was pursuing seventy of the enemy. And when he had got well out in the plain the other Romans rode back, but Chorsamantis went on with the pursuit alone. As soon as the Goths perceived this, they turned their horses about and came against him. And he advanced into their midst, killed one of the best of them with his spear, and then went after the others, but they again turned and rushed off in flight. But they were ashamed before their comrades in the camp, who, they suspected, could already see them, and wished to attack him again. They had, however, precisely the same experience as before and lost one of their best men, and so turned to flight in spite of their shame, and after Chorsamantis had pursued them as far as their stockade he returned alone. And a little later, in another battle, this man was wounded in the left shin, and it was his opinion that the weapon had merely grazed the bone. However, he was rendered unfit for fighting for a certain number of days by reason of this wound, and since he was a barbarian he did not endure this patiently, but threatened that he would right speedily have vengeance upon the Goths for this insult to his leg. So when not long afterwards he had recovered and was drunk at lunch time, as was his custom, he purposed to go alone against the enemy and avenge the insult to his leg; and when he had come to the small

Pincian Gate he stated that he was sent by Belisarius to the enemy's camp. And the guards at the gate, who could not doubt the word of a man who was the best of the guards of Belisarius, opened the gates and allowed him to go wherever he would. And when the enemy spied him, they thought at first that some deserter was coming over to them, but when he came near and put his hand to his bow, twenty men, not knowing who he might be, went out against him. These he easily drove off, and then began to ride back at a walk, and when more Goths came against him he did not flee. But when a great throng gathered about him and he still insisted upon fighting them, the Romans, watching the sight from the towers, suspected that the man was crazy, but they did not yet know that it was Chorsamantis. At length, after making a display of great and very noteworthy deeds, he found himself surrounded by the army of the enemy, and paid the penalty for his unreasonable daring. And when Belisarius and the Roman army learned this, they mourned greatly, lamenting that the hope which all placed in the man had come to naught.

Εὐθάλιος δέ τις ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐς Ταρακίαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκε, χρήματα ἔχων ἅπερ τοῖς στρατιώταις βασιλεὺς ὥφλε. [2] δείσας τε μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυχόντες πολέμιοι τὰ χρήματά τε ἀφέλωνται καὶ αὐτὸν κτείνωσι, γράφει πρὸς Βελισάριον ἀσφαλῆ οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. [3] ὁ δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν ἑκατὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν δοκίμους ἀπολεξάμενος ζὺν δορυφόροις δύο πέμπει ἐς Ταρακίαν οἵπερ αὐτῷ τὰ χρήματα ξυγκομίσαιεν. [4] δόκησιν δὲ ἀεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρείχeto ὥς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μαχεσόμενος, ὅπως μὴ ἐνθένδε τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἢ τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἕνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἴωσιν. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Εὐθάλιον ἔγνω παρέσεσθαι, διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει ὥς ἐς μάχην τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν. [6] ὅλην μὲν οὖν δεῖλην πρωίαν κατεῖχεν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἦδει γὰρ Εὐθάλιόν τε καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς νύκτα ἀφίξεσθαι. [7] ἐς δὲ ἡμέραν μέσσην ἄριστον ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ταῦτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίουν, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐτὸν οἴομενοι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι. [8] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Μαρτῖνον μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Νέρωνος πεδῖον Βελισάριος ἔπεμψε, ξυνταράσσειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιστείλας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [9] ἐκ δὲ πυλίδος Πιγκιανῆς ἰππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ χαρακώματα ἔστελλεν· [10] οἷς δὴ τρεῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων ἐέστησεν, Ἀρτασίρην τε ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ Βώχαν Μασσαγέτην γένος καὶ Κουτίλαν Θραῦκα. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπῆντησαν. [11] χρόνον δὲ πολὺν ἡ μάχῃ ἐν χερσὶν οὐκ ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐπιούσι τε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς διώξεις ἐκάτεροι ἀγχιστρόφους ποιούμενοι ἐφώκεισαν βουλομένοις ἐς τοῦτο σφίσι δαπανᾶσθαι τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνον. [12] προϊόντες μέντοι ὀργῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους εἶχοντο ἥδη· καρτερὰς τε γεγενημένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς, ἐκατέρων μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι ἔπεσον, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπίκουροι ἤλθον. [13] ὧν δὴ ἀναμιγνυμένων τοῖς μαχομένοις ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ πόνος ἐπὶ μέγα ἦρετο. καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα περιλαβοῦσα τοὺς μαχομένους

ἐξέπλησσε. [14] τέλος δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀρετῇ ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Κουτίλας μέσσην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀκοντίῳ πληγείς καὶ ταύτη τὸ δοράτιον ἐμπεπηγὸς ἔχων ἐδίωκε. [15] τῆς τε τροπῆς γενομένης ἅμα τοῖς περιούσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δύσιν ἐσήλασε, κραδαινομένου οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀκοντίου, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. [16] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἄρξην, τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα, τῶν τις Γότθων τοξότης μεταξὺ τῆς τε ῥινὸς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ βάλλει. [17] καὶ τοῦ μὲν τοξεύματος ἡ ἀκὴς ἄχρι ἐς τὸν αὐχένα ὀπίσω διήλθεν, οὐ μέντοι διεφάνη, τοῦ δὲ ἀτράκτου τὸ λειπόμενον ἐπὶν τε τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ἰπνευομένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσεῖετο. [18] ὃν δὴ ζὺν τῷ Κουτίλᾳ θεώμενοι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτι δὴ ἰπνεύοντο, οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἔχοντες. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [19] Ἐν δὲ Νέρωνος πεδίῳ τὰ βαρβάρων πράγματα καθυπέρτερα ἦν. οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ Μαρτίνον, πλήθει πολλῷ πολεμίων μαχόμενοι, καρτερῶς μὲν ὑφίσταντο, ἔπασχον δὲ τὰ δεινότερα, καὶ κινδύνου ἐς μέγα τι ἀφίκοντο χρήμα. [20] καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βώχαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἀκραϊφνέσι σώμασί τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἐπανάγοντας ἐς Νέρωνος πεδίον ἰέναι. [21] ἥδη δὲ ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψέ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις τῶν ἀμφὶ Βώχαν ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τροπῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίνετο, ἐς ἣν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον Βώχας ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν δυοκαίδεκα πολεμίων δόρατα φερόντων ἀφίκετο. [22] καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπαισαν μὲν ὁμοῦ τοῖς δόρασιν ἅπαντες. τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ὑφισταμένου αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πληγαὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐλύπουν, εἷς δὲ τῶν Γότθων ἐξόπισθεν ὑπὲρ μασχάλην τὴν δεξιὰν γυμνοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἄγχιστα τοῦ ὤμου ἐπιτυχὼν ἔπληξε τὸν νεανίαν, οὐ καιρίαν μέντοι, οὐδὲ ἐς θανάτου κίνδυνον ἄγουσαν. [23] ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ἄλλος μηρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν εὐώνυμον νύξας τὸν ταύτῃ μυῶνα οὐκ εὐθείᾳ τινί, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσίᾳ πληγῇ ἔτεμε. [24] Βαλεριανὸς δὲ καὶ Μαρτίνος τὰ ποιούμενα κατεῖδόν τε καὶ οἱ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ὡς τάχιστα ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ Βώχα ἵππου ἄμφω λαβομένῳ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο. νύξ τε ἐπεγένετο καὶ ζὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Εὐθάλιος ἦλθεν. [25] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένοντο, τῶν τραυμάτων ἐπεμελοῦντο. Ἄρξου μὲν οὖν τὸ βέλος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἀφέλκεσθαι βουλόμενοι οἱ ἱατροὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἡσχαλλόν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἔνεκεν, ὃν δὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε σωθήσεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ὑμένων τε καὶ νεύρων τρήσειςιν, οἷα πολλὰ ἐνταυθὰ ἐστίν, ἄνδρα τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ἄριστον διαφθείρωσιν. [26] ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν τις ἱατρῶν, Θεόκτιστος ὄνομα, ὀπισθεν ἐς τὸν αὐχένα ἐρείσας ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ λίαν ἀλγοίῃ. [27] τοῦ δὲ ἀλγεῖν φήσαντος, 'Οὐκοῦν αὐτός τε σωθήσῃ,' εἶπε, 'καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἂν βλαβήσῃ.' ταῦτα δὲ ἰσχυρίσατο τεκμηράμενος ὅτι τοῦ βέλους ἡ ἀκὴς τοῦ δέρματος οὐ πόρρῳ διήκει. [28] τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἀτράκτου ὅσον ἔξω ἐφαίνετο ἐκτεμὼν ἔρριψε, διελὼν δὲ τῶν ἰνίων τὸ δέρμα οὗ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ πολυώδυνος ἦν, ἐντεῦθεν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἀκίδα ἐφεῖλκυσε, τρισὶ τε προῦχουσιν ὀπίσω ὀξείαις καὶ μοῖραν τοῦ βέλους τὴν λειπομένην ζὺν αὐτῇ φέρουσαν. [29] οὕτῳ τε Ἄρξης κακῶν τε παντάπασιν ἀπαθὴς ἔμεινε καὶ οὐδὲ ἵχνος αὐτοῦ τῆς πληγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπελείπετο. [30] Κουτίλας δὲ βιαιότερον τοῦ δορατίου ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεθέντος ἔπεπῃγει γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς λειποθυμίαν ἐξέπεσεν.

[31] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φλεγμαίνειν αἱ τῇδε μήνιγγες ἤρξαντο, φρενίτιδι νόσῳ ἀλοῦς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησε. [32] Βώχαν μέντοι αὐτίκα αἵματός τε ρύσις ἄφατος ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ ἔσχε καὶ τεθνηξομένῳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐφάκει. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου εἶναι ἰατροὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας, ἀλλ' ἐγκαρσία ἐντομῇ τὸν μυῶνα ἢ πληγῇ ἔκοψεν. [33] ἡμέραις γοῦν ἀπέθανε τρισὶν ὕστερον. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο: Γότθων δὲ θρήνοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ κωκυτοὶ μεγάλοι ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἠκούοντο. [34] καὶ ἐθαύμαζόν γε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πάθος ξυμβῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λόγου ἄξιον τῇ προτεραίᾳ, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς διεφθάρησαν. [35] ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ λίαν γε αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν ἐτάραξεν. [36] ἐγνώσθη μέντοι τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ὡς ἄνδρας δοκίμους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐν Νέρωνος πεδίῳ στρατοπέδου Γότθοι ἐθρήνουν, οὓς δὴ ὁ Βώχας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἔκτεινεν. [37] Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ἀξιόλογοι ξυμβολαί, ὥσπερ μοι ξυγγράψαι οὔτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. πάσας μέντοι ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, καὶ δύο δὴ ἄλλας ὑστάτας, αἱ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσονται. [38] τότε δὲ ὁ τε χειμὼν ἔληγε καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

II

Now a certain Euthalius, at about the spring equinox, came to Taracina from Byzantium with the money which the emperor owed the soldiers. And fearing lest the enemy should come upon him on the road and both rob him of the money and kill him, he wrote to Belisarius requesting him to make the journey to Rome safe for him. Belisarius accordingly selected one hundred men of note from among his own bodyguards and sent them with two spearmen to Taracina to assist him in bringing the money. And at the same time he kept trying to make the barbarians believe that he was about to fight with his whole army, his purpose being to prevent any of the enemy from leaving the vicinity, either to bring in provisions or for any other purpose. But when he found out that Euthalius and his men would arrive on the morrow, he arrayed his army and set it in order for battle, and the barbarians were in readiness. Now throughout the whole forenoon he merely held his soldiers near the gates; for he knew that Euthalius and those who accompanied him would arrive at night. Then, at midday, he commanded the army to take their lunch, and the Goths did the same thing, supposing that he was putting off the engagement to the following day. A little later, however, Belisarius sent Martinus and Valerian to the Plain of Nero with the troops under their command, directing them to throw the enemy's camp into the greatest possible confusion. And from the small Pincian Gate he sent out six hundred horsemen against the camps of the barbarians, placing them under command of three of his own spearmen, Artasires, a Persian, and Bochas, of the race of the Massagetae, and Cutilas, a Thracian. And many of the enemy came out to meet them. For a long time, however, the battle did not come to close quarters, but each side kept retreating when the other advanced and making pursuits in which they quickly turned back, until it looked as if they intended to spend the rest of the day at this sort of thing. But as they continued, they began at last to be filled with rage against each other. The battle then settled down to a fierce struggle in which many of the best men on both sides fell, and support came up for each of the two armies, both from the city and from the camps. And when these fresh troops were mingled with the fighters the struggle became still greater. And the shouting which filled the city and the camps terrified the combatants. But finally the Romans by their valour forced back the enemy and routed them.

In this action Cutilas was struck in the middle of the head by a javelin, and he kept on pursuing with the javelin still embedded in his head. And after the rout had taken place, he rode into the city at about sunset together with the other survivors, the javelin in his head waving about, a most extraordinary sight. During the same encounter Arzes, one of the guards of Belisarius, was hit by one of the Gothic archers between the nose and the right eye. And the

point of the arrow penetrated as far as the neck behind, but it did not shew through, and the rest of the shaft projected from his face and shook as the man rode. And when the Romans saw him and Cutilas they marvelled greatly that both men continued to ride, paying no heed to their hurt. Such, then, was the course of events in that quarter.

But in the Plain of Nero the barbarians had the upper hand. For the men of Valerian and Martinus, fighting with a great multitude of the enemy, withstood them stoutly, to be sure, but suffered most terribly, and came into exceedingly great danger. And then Belisarius commanded Bochas to take his troops, which had returned from the engagement unwearied, men as well as horses, and go to the Plain of Nero. Now it was already late in the day. And when the men under Bochas had come to the assistance of the Romans, suddenly the barbarians were turned to flight, and Bochas, who had impetuously followed the pursuit to a great distance, came to be surrounded by twelve of the enemy, who carried spears. And they all struck him at once with their spears. But his corselet withstood the other blows, which therefore did not hurt him much; but one of the Goths succeeded in hitting him from behind, at a place where his body was uncovered, above the right armpit, very close to the shoulder, and smote the youth, though not with a mortal stroke, nor even one which brought him into danger of death. But another Goth struck him in front and pierced his left thigh, and cut the muscles there; it was not a straight blow, however, but only a slanting cut. But Valerian and Martinus saw what was happening, and coming to his rescue as quickly as possible, they routed the enemy, and both took hold of the bridle of Bochas' horse, and so came into the city. Then night came on and Euthalius entered the city with the money.

And when all had returned to the city, they attended to the wounded men. Now in the case of Arzes, though the physicians wished to draw the weapon from his face, they were for some time reluctant to do so, not so much on account of the eye, which they supposed could not possibly be saved, but for fear lest, by the cutting of membranes and tissues such as are very numerous in that region, they should cause the death of a man who was one of the best of the household of Belisarius. But afterwards one of the physicians, Theoctistus by name, pressed on the back of his neck and asked whether he felt much pain. And when the man said that he did feel pain, he said, "Then both you yourself will be saved and your sight will not be injured." And he made this declaration because he inferred that the barb of the weapon had penetrated to a point not far from the skin. Accordingly he cut off that part of the shaft which shewed outside and threw it away, and cutting open the skin at the back of the head, at the place where the man felt the most pain, he easily drew toward him the barb, which with its three sharp points now stuck out behind and brought with it the remaining portion of the weapon. Thus Arzes remained entirely free from serious harm, and not even a trace of his wound

was left on his face. But as for Cutilas, when the javelin was drawn rather violently from his head (for it was very deeply embedded), he fell into a swoon. And since the membranes about the wound began to be inflamed, he fell a victim to phrenitis and died not long afterwards. Bochas, however, immediately had a very severe hemorrhage in the thigh, and seemed like one who was presently to die. And the reason for the hemorrhage, according to what the physicians said, was that the blow had severed the muscle, not directly from the front, but by a slanting cut. In any event he died three days later. Because of these things, then, the Romans spent that whole night in deep grief; while from the Gothic camps were heard many sounds of wailing and loud lamentation. And the Romans indeed wondered, because they thought that no calamity of any consequence had befallen the enemy on the previous day, except, to be sure, that no small number of them had perished in the encounters. This had happened to them before in no less degree, perhaps even to a greater degree, but it had not greatly distressed them, so great were their numbers. However, it was learned on the following day that men of the greatest note from the camp in the Plain of Nero were being bewailed by the Goths, men whom Bochas had killed in his first charge.

And other encounters also, though of no great importance, took place, which it has seemed to me unnecessary to chronicle. This, however, I will state, that altogether sixty-seven encounters occurred during this siege, besides two final ones which will be described in the following narrative. And at that time the winter drew to its close, and thus ended the second year of this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

Ἦδη δὲ τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς ἀρξαμένης λιμός τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸς τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπέπεσε. καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις σῖτος μὲν ἔτι ἐλείπετο, ἄλλο δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὃ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει καὶ ὁ λιμός ἀκριβῶς ξὺν τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπίεζεν. [2] ὧν δὴ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι μάχῃ μὲν διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐφύλασσον δὲ ὅπως αὐτοῖς μηδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζοιτο. [3] ἐστὸν δὲ ὕδατος ὀχετῶ δύο μεταξὺ Λατίνης τε καὶ Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ, ὑψηλῶ ἐς ἄγαν, κυρτώμασί τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνεχομένῳ. [4] τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀχετῷ ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι Ῥώμης σταδίους πεντήκοντα ξυμβάλλετον τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν δι' ὀλίγου τρέπεσθον. [5] ὁ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν χώραν λαχὼν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆνικαῦτα χωρεῖ φερόμενος τὰ εὐώνυμα. [6] πάλιν δὲ ξυνιόντε καὶ χώραν τὴν προτέραν ἀπολαβόντε τὸ λοιπὸν διακέκρισθον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χώρον τὸν μεταξὺ ὀχύρωμα ξυμβαίνει τῷ ἐκ τῶν ὀχετῶν περιβάλλεσθαι. [7] τούτων δὲ τὰ κάτω κυρτώματα οἱ βάρβαροι λίθοις τε καὶ πηλῷ φράξαντες φρουρίου σχῆμα πεποιήνται κἀναυθὰ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι φυλακὴν εἶχον τοῦ μηκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [8] Τότε δὴ Ῥωμαίους πᾶσα μὲν ἐλπίς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπελελοίπει, πᾶσα δὲ ἰδέα κακοῦ περιεστῆκει. τέως μὲν οὖν ὁ σῖτος ἤκμαζε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ εὐτολμότατοι ἐναγούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίας

τοῖς ἵπποις τε ὀχοῦμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ἐφέλκοντες ἐν τοῖς ληϊοῖς ἐγίνοντο νύκτωρ τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. [9] τέμνοντές τε τοὺς ἀστάχους καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις οὓς αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκον ἐνθέμενοι, ἐς τὴν πόλιν λανθάνοντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκόμιζον χρημάτων τε μεγάλων Ῥωμαίων τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν ἀπεδίδοντο. [10] οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι βοτάναις τισὶν ἀπέζων, οἷα πολλὰ ἀμφὶ τε τὰ προάστεια καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γίνονται. βοτάνῃ γὰρ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε χειμῶνος ὥρα οὔτε ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπιλείπει καιρόν, ἀλλ' ἀνθεὶ τε ἀεὶ καὶ τέθηλεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον. [11] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἵποφορβεῖν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τετύχηκε. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμιόνων τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θνησκόντων ἀλλὰντας ποιοῦμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο λάθρα. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ σίτον τὰ λήϊα οὐκέτι εἶχε καὶ ἐς μέγα κακὸν ἅπαντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀφίκοντο, Βελισάριον τε περίσταντο καὶ μάχῃ μιᾷ διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠνάγκαζον, Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἀπολείψεσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπορουμένῳ τε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ λίαν ἀχθομένῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐλεξάν τινες τοιάδε: [13] 'Οὐ προσδεχομένους ἡμᾶς ἡ παροῦσα, ᾧ στρατηγέ, κατέλαβε τύχη, ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶν ἡμῖν τοῦναντίον τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐκβέβηκε. [14] τετυχηκότες γὰρ ὧν πρότερον ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ κατέστημεν, τανῦν ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν ξυμφορὰν ἤκομεν, καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡμῶν ἡ προλαβοῦσα δόξα τὸ καλῶς τῆς βασιλείας προμηθείας ἐφίεσθαι, νῦν ἄνοιά τε οὕσα καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόθεσις. [15] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς τόδε ἀνάγκης ἀφίγμεθα ὥστε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐτι βιάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀπλίζεσθαι τετολμήκαμεν. [16] καὶ συγγνώμῃ μὲν εἰ πρὸς Βελισάριον θρασυνόμεθα, γαστήρ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἀποροῦσα τῶν ἀναγκαίων αἰσχύνεσθαι, [17] ἀπολελογήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς προπετείας ἡ τύχη. πάντων γὰρ εἰκότως ἀνιαρότατος εἶναι δοκεῖ μηχανόμενος τοῖς οὐκ εὖ φερομένοις ὁ βίος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ξυμπεσόντα ἡμῖν ὀρθῶς δήπουθεν. [18] ἀγροὶ μὲν οὗτοι καὶ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑποπέπτωκε ταῖς τῶν πολεμιῶν χερσίν: ἡ πόλις δὲ αὕτη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποκέκλεισται πάντων οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐξ ὅτου δὴ χρόνου. [19] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἤδη κεῖνται, τὸ μὴδὲ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι κληρωσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ περιόντες, ὥς ἂν συλλήβδην εἴπωμεν ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ, ξυντετάχθαι τοῖς οὕτω κειμένοις εὐχόμεθα. [20] πάντα γὰρ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὁ λιμὸς τὰ κακὰ φορητὰ δείκνυσιν, ἐνθα τε ἂν φαίνεται, μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέρχεται λήθης καὶ θανάτους ἅπαντας, πλὴν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ προσιόντος πρὸς ἡδονῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται. [21] ἕως τοίνυν ἐτι μὴ κεκράτηκεν ἡμῶν τὸ κακόν, δὸς ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελέσθαι τὴν ἀγωνίαν, ἐξ ἧς ἡμῖν ἢ περιεῖναι τῶν πολεμιῶν ἢ τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι ξυμβήσεται. [22] οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἡ μέλλησις φέρει, πολλὴ ἄνοια ἂν εἴη προτερήσασιν ἐς κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων καθίστασθαι, οἷς δὲ τῇ βραδυτῇτι δυσκολώτερος ὁ ἀγὼν γίνεται, τὸ καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναβάλλεσθαι χρόνον τῆς παραυτίκα προπετείας μεμπτότερον.' [23] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε: 'Ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ λίαν προσδεχομένῳ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν γεγένηται πάντα, ἐκβέβηκε δὲ παρὰ δόξαν οὐδέν. [24] ἐγὼ γὰρ πάλοι οἶδα δῆμον ὅτι πρᾶγμα ἀβουλότατόν ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε τὰ παρόντα φέρειν πέφυκεν οὔτε τὰ μέλλοντα προβουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν εὐπετῶς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμυχήνοισι, διαφθεῖρεσθαι δὲ ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπίσταται μόνον. [25] ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐκ ἂν ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν

ὀλιγωρίαν οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἀπολέσαιμι ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὔτε ὑμῖν τὰ βασιλέως συνδιαφθείραιμι πράγματα. [26] πόλεμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλογίστου σπουδῆς κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, ἀλλ' εὐβουλία τε καὶ προμηθεῖα τὴν τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ σταθμώμενος ῥοπήν. [27] ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν πεττεύειν οἰόμενοι τὸν ἓνα βούλεσθε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀναρρίπτειν κύβον, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ σύνηθες αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ξυμφόρου τὸ σύντομον. [28] εἴτα σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε τοῖς πολέμοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, πότε τὰς μελέτας τοῦ πολέμου πεποιημένοι; ἢ ποῖος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκμαθὼν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐ χωρεῖ ἄχρι τῆς διαπείρας ἡ μάχη; οὐδὲ αὐτός οἱ ἐμμελετᾷ ὁ πολέμιος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρέχεται. [29] νῦν μὲν τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἄγαμαι καὶ συγγνώμων εἰμὶ ταραχῆς τῆσδε: [30] ὥς δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς καιρὸν γέγονε καὶ ἡμεῖς μελλήσει προμηθεῖ χρώμεθα ἐγὼ δηλώσω. στράτευμα ἡμῖν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσον ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἀθροίσας βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε καὶ στόλος ὅσος οὐ πώποτε Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέστη τὴν τε Καμπανίας ἀκτὴν καὶ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου τὰ πλεῖστα καλύπτει. [31] ὀλίγων τε ἡμερῶν ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν παρ' ἡμᾶς ἦξουσιν, τὴν τε ἀπορίαν ἡμῖν διαλύσοντες καὶ πλήθει βελῶν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδα καταχώσοντες. [32] ἐλογισάμην οὖν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων παρουσίαν τὸν τῆς ξυμβολῆς μᾶλλον ἀποθέσθαι καιρὸν καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πορίζεσθαι κράτος, ἢ σπουδῇ ἀλογίστω θρασυνόμενος τὴν τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν προῖεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἦξουσιν καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω μελλήσουσιν, ἐγὼ προνοήσω.'

III

But at the beginning of the spring equinox famine and pestilence together fell upon the inhabitants of the city. There was still, it is true, some grain for the soldiers, though no other kind of provisions, but the grain-supply of the rest of the Romans had been exhausted, and actual famine as well as pestilence was pressing hard upon them. And the Goths, perceiving this, no longer cared to risk a decisive battle with their enemy, but they kept guard that nothing in future should be brought in to them. Now there are two aqueducts between the Latin and the Appian Ways, exceedingly high and carried on arches for a great distance. These two aqueducts meet at a place fifty stades distant from Rome and cross each other, so that for a little space they reverse their relative position. For the one which previously lay to the right from then on continues on the left side. And again coming together, they resume their former places, and thereafter remain apart. Consequently the space between them, enclosed, as it is, by the aqueducts, comes to be a fortress. And the barbarians walled up the lower arches of the aqueducts here with stones and mud and in this way gave it the form of a fort, and encamping there to the number of no fewer than seven thousand men, they kept guard that no provisions should thereafter be brought into the city by the enemy.

Then indeed every hope of better things abandoned the Romans, and every form of evil encompassed them round about. As long as there was ripe grain, however, the most daring of the soldiers, led on by lust of money, went by night to the grain-fields not far from the city mounted on horses and leading other horses after them. Then they cut off the heads of grain, and putting them on the horses which they led, would carry them into the city without being seen by the enemy and sell them at a great price to such of the Romans as were wealthy. But the other inhabitants lived on various herbs such as grow in abundance not only in the outskirts but also inside the fortifications. For the land of the Romans is never lacking in herbs either in winter or at any other season, but they always flourish and grow luxuriantly at all times. Wherefore the besieged also pastured their horses in those places. And some too made sausages of the mules that died in Rome and secretly sold them. But when the corn-lands had no more grain and all the Romans had come into an exceedingly evil plight, they surrounded Belisarius and tried to compel him to stake everything on a single battle with the enemy, promising that not one of the Romans would be absent from the engagement. And when he was at a loss what to do in that situation and greatly distressed, some of the populace spoke to him as follows:

“General, we were not prepared for the fortune which has overtaken us at the present time; on the contrary, what has happened has been altogether the

opposite of our expectations. For after achieving what we had formerly set our hearts upon, we have now come into the present misfortune, and we realize at length that our previous opinion that we did well to crave the emperor's watchful care was but folly and the beginning of the greatest evils. Indeed, this course has brought us to such straits that at the present time we have taken courage to use force once more and to arm ourselves against the barbarians. And while we may claim forgiveness if we boldly come into the presence of Belisarius — for the belly knows not shame when it lacks its necessities — our plight must be the apology for our rashness; for it will be readily agreed that there is no plight more intolerable for men than a life prolonged amid the adversities of fortune. And as to the fortune which has fallen upon us, you cannot fail to see our distress. These fields and the whole country have fallen under the hand of the enemy; and this city has been shut off from all good things for we know not how long a time. And as for the Romans, some already lie in death, and it has not been their portion to be hidden in the earth, and we who survive, to put all our terrible misfortunes in a word, only pray to be placed beside those who lie thus. For starvation shews to those upon whom it comes that all other evils can be endured, and wherever it appears it is attended by oblivion of all other sufferings, and causes all other forms of death, except that which proceeds from itself, to seem pleasant to men. Now, therefore, before the evil has yet mastered us, grant us leave on our own behalf to take up the struggle, which will result either in our overcoming the enemy or in deliverance from our troubles. For when delay brings men hope of safety, it would be great folly for them prematurely to enter into a danger which involves their all, but when tarrying makes the struggle more difficult, to put off action even for a little time is more reprehensible than immediate and precipitate haste."

So spoke the Romans. And Belisarius replied as follows: "Well, as for me, I have been quite prepared for your conduct in every respect, and nothing that has happened has been contrary to my expectation. For long have I known that a populace is a most unreasoning thing, and that by its very nature it cannot endure the present or provide for the future, but only knows how rashly in every case to attempt the impossible and recklessly to destroy itself. But as for me, I shall never, willingly at least, be led by your carelessness either to destroy you or to involve the emperor's cause in ruin with you. For war is wont to be brought to a successful issue, not by unreasoning haste, but by the use of good counsel and forethought in estimating the turn of the scale at decisive moments. You, however, act as though you were playing at dice, and want to risk all on a single cast; but it is not my custom to choose the short course in preference to the advantageous one. In the second place, you promise that you will help us do battle against the enemy; but when have you ever taken training in war? Or who that has learned such things by the use of arms does not know that battle affords no room for experiment? Nor does the

enemy, on his part, give opportunity, while the struggle is on, to practise on him. This time, indeed, I admire your zeal and forgive you for making this disturbance; but that you have taken this action at an unseasonable time and that the policy of waiting which we are following is prudent, I shall now make clear. The emperor has gathered for us from the whole earth and despatched an army too great to number, and a fleet such as was never brought together by the Romans now covers the shore of Campania and the greater part of the Ionian Gulf. And within a few days these reinforcements will come to us and bring with them all kinds of provisions, to put an end to our destitution and to bury the camps of the barbarians under a multitude of missiles. I have therefore reasoned that it was better to put off the time of conflict until they are present, and thus gain the victory in the war with safety, than to make a show of daring in unreasoning haste and thus throw away the salvation of our whole cause. To secure their immediate arrival and to prevent their loitering longer shall be my concern.”

Τούτοις μὲν Ῥωμαίων τὸν δῆμον παραθρασύνας Βελισάριος ἀπεπέμψατο, Προκόπιον δέ, ὃς τὰδε ξυνέγραψεν, αὐτίκα ἐς Νεάπολιν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. φήμη γάρ τις περιήγγελλεν ὡς στρατεύμα ἐνταῦθα βασιλεὺς πέμψειε. [2] καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε ναῦς τε ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλήσασθαι καὶ στρατιώτας ἀγειρὰι ἅπαντας ὅσους ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐκ Βυζατίου ἦκειν τετύχηκεν, ἢ ἵππων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουσιν ἐνταῦθα λελεῖσθαι, οἷους δὴ πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ χωρία ἠκηκόει ἰέναι, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύτη φρουρῶν ἀφελέσθαι, ἥξειν τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον παρακομίζοντι ἐς Ὀστίαν, ὅθι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον. [3] καὶ ὁ μὲν ξὺν τῷ Μουνδίλᾳ τῷ δορυφόρῳ καὶ ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι διὰ πύλης ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, νύκτωρ διηλθε, λαθὼν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ὁδοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ἐφύλασσεν. [4] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ ἀμφὶ Μουνδίλαν ἐπανήκοντες ἀφίχθαι ἤδη Προκόπιον ἐς Καμπανίαν οὐδενὶ ἐντυχόντα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήγγελλον, νύκτωρ γὰρ οὐποτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἔξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πορεύεσθαι, εὐέλπιδες μὲν γεγένηνται πάντες, Βελισάριος δὲ θαρσήσας ἤδη ἐπενόει τὰδε. [5] τῶν ἱππέων πολλοὺς ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐξέπεμπεν ὀχυρώματα, ἐπιστείλας, ἣν τινες τῶν πολεμίων ταύτῃ ἴωσιν, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐσκομίσονται, ἔνθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπεκδρομάς τε καὶ ἐνέδρας πανταχόθι τῶν τῇδε χωρίων ἀεὶ ποιουμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ σθένει ἀπείργειν, ὅπως ἢ τε πόλις ἐλασσόνως ἢ πρότερον τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζοιτο καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πολιορκεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτοὶ πολιορκεῖν Ῥωμαίους δόξειαν. [6] Μαρτῖνον μὲν οὖν καὶ Τραϊανὸν ξὺν χιλίοις ἐς Ταρακίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι. οἷς δὴ καὶ Ἀντωνίναν τὴν γυναῖκα ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος ἔς τε Νεάπολιν αὐτὴν στέλλεσθαι ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ καὶ τύχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τὴν σφίσι ξυμβησομένην караδοκεῖν. [7] Μάγνον δὲ καὶ Σινθούην τὸν δορυφόρον πεντακοσίους μάλιστα ἐπαγομένους ἐς Τίβουριν τὸ φρούριον ἐπεμψε, σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν Ῥώμης διέχον. [8] ἐς μέντοι τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα, σταδίους μὲν τοσούτους ἀπέχον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ ὁδῷ κείμενον, πρότερον ἤδη Γόνθαριν ξὺν

Ἐρουλοῖς τισὶ πέμπας ἔτυχεν, οὓς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι βιασάμενοι ἐξήλασαν ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. [9] Ἔστι δέ τις νεὼς Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, Ῥώμης τοῦ περιβόλου τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπέχων, ὃ τε ποταμὸς αὐτὸν παραρρεῖ Τίβερις. ἐνταῦθα ὀχύρωμα μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐστὶ, στοὰ δέ τις ἄχρι ἐς τὸν νεὼν διήκουσα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ οἰκοδομαὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὔσαι οὐκ εὐέφοδον ποιοῦσι τὸν χώρον. [10] ἔστι δέ τις καὶ αἰδὼς πρὸς ταῦτα διὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς Γότθοις. ἐς οὐδέτερον γοῦν τοῖν ἀποστόλοις νεὼν παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ἄχαρι τι πρὸς αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆδε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἥπερ εἴωθει, ἐξοσιοῦσθαι ξυμβέβηκεν. [11] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ Βαλεριανόν, τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπαγαγόντα, χαράκωμα παρὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν ὄχθην ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς τε ἀδεέστερον οἱ ἵπποι τρέφοιντο καὶ οἱ Γότθοι μᾶλλον ἔτι ἀναστέλλοιντο τοῦ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τῶν σφετέρων ἰέναι. [12] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Οὐννοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οὐπὲρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐνετέλλετο, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλυνε. [13] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἡσύχαζε, μάχης μὲν οὐκ ἄρχων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἀμύνεσθαι προθυμούμενος, ἦν τις ἐξῶθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ κακουργήσων ἴοι. [14] καὶ σῖτον μέντοι τισὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου παρείχετο. Μαρτίνος δὲ καὶ Τραϊανὸς διελθόντες νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ταρακίῃ ἐγένοντο, Ἀντωνίαν μὲν ἐς Καμπανίαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ταύτῃ ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες, ἔνθεν τε ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ποιοῦμενοι, τῶν Γότθων τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία περιόντας ἀνέστελλον. [15] Μάγνος δὲ καὶ Σινθούης τοῦ τε φρουρίου ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ἐν βραχεῖ ἀνφοδομήσαντο χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἐλύπουν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅτε αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄν συχνά τε καταθέοντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήσσοντες αἰεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραπέμποντας, ἕως Σινθούης ἐν μάχῃ διὰ τινὶ δόρατι πληγεὶς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τῶν τε νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων ἀτόμαχος τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε. [16] καὶ Οὐννοὶ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν γειτόνων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, πεποιημένοι οὐκ ἐλάσσω κακὰ τοὺς Γότθους ἐποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἤδη, οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἀδεΐας οὔσης τὰς τροφὰς ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [17] καὶ λοιμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεισπεσὼν πολλοὺς ἔφθειρε, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἀππίας ὁδοῦ ὕστατον, [18] ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, γεγονὸς ἔτυχε. καὶ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι ἐνθένδε ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν ἐς τᾶλλα χαρακώματα ὑπεχώρησαν. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ Οὐννοὶ παθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσῆλθον. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῆδε. Προκόπιος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένετο, στρατιώτας τε οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐνταῦθα ἤγειρε, καὶ νεῶν πολὺ τι χρήμα σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [20] παρὴν δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀντωνίνα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καὶ τοῦ στόλου ἤδη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεμελεῖτο. [21] Τότε καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βέβιος ἐμυκήσατο μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἠρεύξατο, καίτοι γε καὶ λίαν ἐπίδοξος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ὅτι ἐρεύξεται. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ξυνέβη ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκέναι. [22] τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο Νεαπόλεως μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίοις διέχει, τετραμμένον αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἀπότομον δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ἐστὶ, τὰ κάτω μὲν ἀμφιλαφεὲς κύκλῳ, τὰ

δὲ ὑπερθεν κρημνῶδές τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον. [23] ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ Βεβίου ὑπερβολῇ σπῆλαιον κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα βαθὺ φαίνεται, ὥστε εἰκάζειν αὐτὸ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ὄρους διήκειν. [24] καὶ πῦρ ἐνταῦθα ὄραν πάρεστιν, ἣν τις ὑπερκύπτειν τολμήσειε, καὶ χρόνῳ μὲν τῷ ἄλλῳ ἢ φλοῖξ ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν στρέφεται, πράγματα οὐδενὶ παρεχομένη τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κτύπον τινὰ μυκηθμῷ ἐμφερῇ τὸ ὄρος ἀφῇ, κόνεως μέγα τι χρῆμα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνίησι. [25] καὶ ἦν μὲν τινα ὁδῷ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο βαδίζοντα λάβῃ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμία μηχανὴ βιώσεσθαι ἐστίν, ἦν δὲ οἰκίαις τισὶν ἐπιπέσῃ, πίπτουσι καὶ αὐταὶ τῷ τῆς κόνεως πλήθει ἀχθόμεναι. [26] ἀνέμου δὲ σκληροῦ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἀνιέναι μὲν αὐτὴν ξυμβαίνει ἐς ὕψος μέγα, ὥς μηκέτι ἀνθρώπῳ ὁρατὴν εἶναι, φέρεσθαι δὲ ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἴοι, ἐμπίπτειν τε ἐς γῆν ἢ ὡς ἐκαστάτω τυγχάνει οὕσα. [27] καὶ ποτε μὲν φασιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιπεσοῦσαν οὕτως ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους ὥστε πανδημεὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου λιταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἐς Τρίπολιν δὲ τῆς Λιβύης χρόνῳ ἑτέρῳ ἐμπεπτωκέναι. [28] καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν ἑκατὸν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων τὸν μυκηθμὸν τοῦτόν φασι γενέσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι θᾶσσον ξυμβῆναι. [29] τοῦτο μέντοι ἀπισχυρισάμενοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπειδὴν τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτην ἐρεῦξασθαι τὴν κόνιν ξυμβαίῃ, εὐθηνεῖν ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐκείνην χώραν καρποῖς ἅπασιν. [30] ἀῆρ δὲ λεπτότατός ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ὑγίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκὼς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ πάντων μάλιστα. ἐς τοῦτο ἀμέλει τοὺς φθόη ἀλόντας ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν χρόνων ἱατροὶ πέμπουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Βεβίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.

IV

With these words Belisarius encouraged the Roman populace and then dismissed them; and Procopius, who wrote this history, he immediately commanded to go to Naples. For a rumour was going about that the emperor had sent an army there. And he commissioned him to load as many ships as possible with grain, to gather all the soldiers who at the moment had arrived from Byzantium, or had been left about Naples in charge of horses or for any other purpose whatever — for he had heard that many such were coming to the various places in Campania — and to withdraw some of the men from the garrisons there, and then to come back with them, convoying the grain to Ostia, where the harbour of the Romans was. And Procopius, accompanied by Mundilas the guardsman and a few horsemen, passed out by night through the gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul, eluding the enemy's camp which had been established very close to the Appian Way to keep guard over it. And when Mundilas and his men, returning to Rome, announced that Procopius had already arrived in Campania without meeting any of the barbarians, — for at night, they said, the enemy never went outside their camp, — everybody became hopeful, and Belisarius, now emboldened, devised the following plan. He sent out many of his horsemen to the neighbouring strongholds, directing them, in case any of the enemy should come that way in order to bring provisions into their camps, that they should constantly make sallies upon them from their positions and lay ambushes everywhere about this region, and thus keep them from succeeding; on the contrary, they should with all their might hedge them in, so that the city might be in less distress than formerly through lack of provisions, and also that the barbarians might seem to be besieged rather than to be themselves besieging the Romans. So he commanded Martinus and Trajan with a thousand men to go to Taracina. And with them he sent also his wife Antonina, commanding that she be sent with a few men to Naples, there to await in safety the fortune which would befall the Romans. And he sent Magnus and Sinthues the guardsman, who took with them about five hundred men, to the fortress of Tibur, one hundred and forty stades distant from Rome. But to the town of Albani, which was situated on the Appian Way at the same distance from the city, he had already, as it happened, sent Gontharis with a number of Eruli, and these the Goths had driven out from there by force not long afterward.

Now there is a certain church of the Apostle Paul, fourteen stades distant from the fortifications of Rome, and the Tiber River flows beside it. In that place there is no fortification, but a colonnade extends all the way from the city to the church, and many other buildings which are round about it render the place not easy of access. But the Goths shew a certain degree of actual respect for sanctuaries such as this. And indeed during the whole time of the war no

harm came to either church of the two Apostles at their hands, but all the rites were performed in them by the priests in the usual manner. At this spot, then, Belisarius commanded Valerian to take all the Huns and make a stockade by the bank of the Tiber, in order that their horses might be kept in greater security and that the Goths might be still further checked from going at their pleasure to great distances from their camps. And Valerian acted accordingly. Then, after the Huns had made their camp in the place where the general directed, he rode back to the city.

So Belisarius, having accomplished this, remained quiet, not offering battle, but eager to carry on the defence from the wall, if anyone should advance against it from outside with evil intent. And he also furnished grain to some of the Roman populace. But Martinus and Trajan passed by night between the camps of the enemy, and after reaching Taracina sent Antonina with a few men into Campania; and they themselves took possession of the fortified places in that district, and using them as their bases of operations and making thence their sudden attacks, they checked such of the Goths as were moving about in that region. As for Magnus and Sinthues, in a short time they rebuilt such parts of the fortress as had fallen into ruin, and as soon as they had put themselves in safety, they began immediately to make more trouble for the enemy, whose fortress was not far away, not only by making frequent raids upon them, but also by keeping such of the barbarians as were escorting provision-trains in a constant state of terror by the unexpectedness of their movements; but finally Sinthues was wounded in his right hand by a spear in a certain battle, and since the sinews were severed, he became thereafter unfit for fighting. And the Huns likewise, after they had made their camp near by, as I have said, were on their part causing the Goths no less trouble, so that these as well as the Romans were now feeling the pressure of famine, since they no longer had freedom to bring in their food-supplies as formerly. And pestilence too fell upon them and was destroying many, and especially in the camp which they had last made, close by the Appian Way, as I have previously stated. And the few of their number who had not perished withdrew from that camp to the other camps. The Huns also suffered in the same way, and so returned to Rome. Such was the course of events here. But as for Procopius, when he reached Campania, he collected not fewer than five hundred soldiers there, loaded a great number of ships with grain, and held them in readiness. And he was joined not long afterwards by Antonina, who immediately assisted him in making arrangements for the fleet.

At that time the mountain of Vesuvius rumbled, and though it did not break forth in eruption, still because of the rumbling it led people to expect with great certainty that there would be an eruption. And for this reason it came to pass that the inhabitants fell into great terror. Now this mountain is seventy stades distant from Naples and lies to the north of it — an exceedingly steep mountain, whose lower parts spread out wide on all sides, while its upper

portion is precipitous and exceedingly difficult of ascent. But on the summit of Vesuvius and at about the centre of it appears a cavern of such depth that one would judge that it extends all the way to the bottom of the mountain. And it is possible to see fire there, if one should dare to peer over the edge, and although the flames as a rule merely twist and turn upon one another, occasioning no trouble to the inhabitants of that region, yet, when the mountain gives forth a rumbling sound which resembles bellowing, it generally sends up not long afterward a great quantity of ashes. And if anyone travelling on the road is caught by this terrible shower, he cannot possibly survive, and if it falls upon houses, they too fall under the weight of the great quantity of ashes. But whenever it so happens that a strong wind comes on, the ashes rise to a great height, so that they are no longer visible to the eye, and are borne wherever the wind which drives them goes, falling on lands exceedingly far away. And once, they say, they fell in Byzantium and so terrified the people there, that from that time up to the present the whole city has seen fit to propitiate God with prayers every year; and at another time they fell on Tripolis in Libya. Formerly this rumbling took place, they say, once in a hundred years or even more, but in later times it has happened much more frequently. This, however, they declare emphatically, that whenever Vesuvius belches forth these ashes, the country round about is bound to flourish with an abundance of all crops. Furthermore, the air on this mountain is very light and by its nature the most favourable to health in the world. And indeed those who are attacked by consumption have been sent to this place by physicians from remote times. So much, then, may be said regarding Vesuvius.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου κατέπλευσεν, Ἰσαύρων μὲν ἐς τὸν Νεαπόλεως λιμένα τρισχίλιοι, ὧν Παῦλος καὶ Κόνων ἡγούντο, ἐς Δρυοῦντα δὲ Θρᾶκες ἰππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι, ὧν Ἰωάννης ἦρχεν ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ τοῦ πρώην τετυραννηκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι στρατιῶται ἐκ καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ χίλιοι: ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μαρκέντιος ἦρχον. [2] ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ζήνων ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἰππεῦσιν ἐς Ῥώμην διὰ τε Σαμνίου καὶ Λατίνης ὁδοῦ ἀφικόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἦλθεν, ἀμάξας πολλὰς ἐκ Καλαβρῶν ἔχων, ἀνεμίγνυντο αὐτοῖς πεντακόσιοι ἠθροισμένοι ἐκ Καμπανίας, [3] ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται. οὗτοι μὲν ὁδὸν τὴν παραλίαν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἦσαν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες, ἦν τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον σφίσι, κύκλον τέ τινα καὶ χαρακώματος σχῆμα τὰς ἀμάξας ποιησάμενοι ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Κόνωνα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευον, καὶ σφίσιν ἐς Ὀστίαν συμμῖξαι τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίνειον, σῖτον μὲν ἱκανὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι, ναῦς δὲ ἀπάσας οὐ σίτου μόνον ἐμπλησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπάντων. [4] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνόν τε καὶ Τραιανὸν ᾤοντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταρακίνης χωρία εὐρήσειν καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ἰέναι: γεγονότες δὲ ἄγχιστα ἔμαθον ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς Ῥώμην μετάπεμπτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [5] Βελισάριος δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσιέναι μαθὼν καὶ δέσας μὴ σφᾶς οἱ

πολέμιοι πλήθει πολλῶ ἀπαντήσαντες διαφθείρωσιν ἐποίει τάδε. [6] πύλην τὴν Φλαμινίαν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε, λίθων οἰκοδομίαις αὐτὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀπέφραξεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἐνθένδε οἱ πολέμιοι εὐπετῶς ἔχωσιν ἢ βιάζεσθαι ἢ τινα ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι. [7] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυμβολὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, οὐδ' ἂν τι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσσεσθαι σφίσι πολέμιον ἐνθένδε ὑπώπτευον. [8] ταύτης τῆς πύλης νύκτωρ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν περιελών, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἡτοίμαζεν. [9] ἅμα τε ἡμέρα διὰ πύλης Πιγκιανῆς Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Διογένην ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις ἔπεμψεν, οὓς δὴ ἐν τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι βάλλειν ἐκέλευσε καί, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, φεύγειν τε ἥκιστα αἰδουμένους καὶ μέχρι ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἀπελαύνειν δρόμῳ. [10] τινὰς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἐντὸς τῆς πυλίδος ἔστησεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Τραϊανόν, καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡρέθιζον, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Γότθοι ἐκ πάντων ἀγειρόμενοι τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἡμύνοντο. [11] ἀμφοτέροί τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν ὅτι φεύγουσι δόξαν παρέχοντες, οἱ δὲ διώκειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἴομενοι. [12] Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς τὴν δίωξιν καθισταμένους εἶδε, πύλην τε τὴν Φλαμινίαν ἀνοίγνυσι καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐ προσδεχομένους ἀφήσιν. [13] ἐν δὲ τῶν Γότθων στρατόπεδον παρὰ τὴν ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦν στενοχωρία κρημνώδης τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατος. [14] ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις βαρβάρων τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ σώματος ἐς ἄγαν εὗ ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε προϊόντας τοὺς πολεμίους, προτερήσας εἰστήκει καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐκάλει τε καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν ξυμφυλάσσειν ἠξίου. [15] Μουνδύλας δὲ φθάσας αὐτόν τε ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων οὐδένα ἐς τοῦτον διελθεῖν τὸν στενωπὸν ξυνεχώρησε. [16] διελθόντες οὖν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατούντος, ἔς τε τὸ πλησίον χαράκωμα ἵκοντο καὶ αὐτοῦ τινες δι' ὀλίγου ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐκ ἔσχον ἐλεῖν ἰσχύϊ τοῦ χαρακώματος, καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαταλελειμμένων βαρβάρων. [17] ἢ τε γὰρ τάφρος ἐς μέγα τι βάθους ὠρώρυκτο χρῆμα καὶ χοῦς ὃς ἐνθένδε ἀφήρητο, ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς αἰὲν ἐντιθέμενος μοῖραν ἐς ὕψος τε ἦρετο καὶ ἀντὶ τείχους ἐγίνετο, τοῖς τε σκόλοπι περιεσταύρωτο ὑπερφυῶς, ὃξέσι τε λίαν καὶ συχνοῖς οὖσιν. [18] οἷς δὴ θαρσοῦντες οἱ βάρβαροι καρτερῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο. εἷς δὲ τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν, Ἀκυλῖνος ὄνομα, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, λώρου λαβόμενος ἵππου, ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῷ ἵππῳ ἐς μέσον τὸ χαράκωμα ἤλατο, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε. [19] περιστάντων δὲ αὐτὸν συχνά τε ἀκοντιζόντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ μὲν ἵππος πληγεὶς ἔπεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ δόξαν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων διέφυγε. [20] πεζὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐπὶ πύλας Πιγκιανὰς ἦει. ἔτι τε διώκοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους καταλαβόντες καὶ κατὰ νότου βάλλοντες ἔκτειναν. [21] Ὅπερ δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Τραϊανόν κατιδόντες, ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων σφίσι καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ καθεστώτων ἱπέων, ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν. [22] τότε δὴ οἱ Γότθοι καταστρατηγηθέντες τε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ἀπειλημένοι, οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινοντο. [23] πολὺς τε αὐτῶν

γέγονε φόνος καὶ ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα διέφυγον μόλις, οἳ τε λοιποὶ περὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαρακώμασι δείσαντες αὐτοῦ φραζάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμενον, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπιέναι σφίσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι. [24] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν τις βαρβάρων Τραϊανὸν βάλλει ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον, ὀφθαλμοῦ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἄνωθεν, [25] ὀλίγῳ δὲ τῆς ῥινὸς ἄποθεν. καὶ σίδηρος μὲν ἅπας ἐντός τε ἐπάγῃ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀφανὴς γέγονε, καίπερ μεγάλην τε τὴν ἀκίδα ἔχων καὶ μακρὰν κομιδῇ. τοῦ δὲ βέλους τὸ λειπόμενον ἐς τὴν γῆν οὐδενὸς βιασαμένου εὐθὺς ἔπεσε: δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐδὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ σίδηρός πη ἐρηρεῖσθαι. [26] Τραϊανῷ μέντοι αἴσθησις τούτου οὐδεμία ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους διέμεινε. πέμπτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ αὐτόματον ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ προὔχον τὸ τοῦ σιδήρου ἄκρον ἐφάνη. [27] τρίτον τε τοῦτο ἔτος ἐξ οὗ κατὰ βραχὺ πρόεισιν ἔξω ἀεί. ἐπίδοξος οὗν ἐστὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἔξω γενήσεσθαι ἢ ἀκὺς ξύμπασα. ἐμπόδιος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδαμῇ γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχευ.

At this time another army also arrived by sea from Byzantium, three thousand Isaurians who put in at the harbour of Naples, led by Paulus and Conon, and eight hundred Thracian horsemen who landed at Dryus, led by John, the nephew of the Vitalian who had formerly been tyrant, and with them a thousand other soldiers of the regular cavalry, under various commanders, among whom were Alexander and Marcentius. And it happened that Zeno with three hundred horsemen had already reached Rome by way of Samnium and the Latin Way. And when John with all the others came to Campania, provided with many waggons by the inhabitants of Calabria, his troops were joined by five hundred men who, as I have said, had been collected in Campania. These set out by the coast road with the waggons, having in mind, if any hostile force should confront them, to make a circle of the waggons in the form of a stockade and thus to ward off the enemy; and they commanded the men under Paulus and Conon to sail with all speed and join them at Ostia, the harbour of Rome; and they put sufficient grain in the waggons and loaded all the ships, not only with grain, but also with wine and all kinds of provisions. And they, indeed, expected to find the forces of Martinus and Trajan in the neighbourhood of Taracina and to have their company from that point on, but when they approached Taracina, they learned that these forces had recently been recalled and had retired to Rome.

But Belisarius, learning that the forces of John were approaching and fearing that the enemy might confront them in greatly superior numbers and destroy them, took the following measures. It so happened that the enemy had encamped very close to the Flaminian Gate; this gate Belisarius himself had blocked up at the beginning of this war by a structure of stone, as has been told by me in the previous narrative, his purpose of course being to make it difficult for the enemy either to force their way in or to make any attempt upon the city at that point. Consequently no engagement had taken place at this gate, and the barbarians had no suspicion that there would be any attack upon them from there. Now Belisarius tore down by night the masonry which blocked this gate, without giving notice to anyone at all, and made ready the greatest part of the army there. And at daybreak he sent Trajan and Diogenes with a thousand horsemen through the Pincian Gate, commanding them to shoot missiles into the camps, and as soon as their opponents came against them, to flee without the least shame and to ride up to the fortifications at full speed. And he also stationed some men inside this gate. So the men under Trajan began to harass the barbarians, as Belisarius had directed them to do, and the Goths, gathering from all the camps, began to defend themselves. And both armies began to move as fast as they could toward the fortifications of the city, the one giving the appearance of fleeing, and the other supposing that

they were pursuing the enemy.

But as soon as Belisarius saw the enemy take up the pursuit, he opened the Flaminian Gate and sent his army out against the barbarians, who were thus taken unawares. Now it so happened that one of the Gothic camps was on the road near this gate, and in front of it there was a narrow passage between steep banks which was exceedingly difficult of access. And one of the barbarians, a man of splendid physique and clad in a corselet, when he saw the enemy advancing, reached this place before them and took his stand there, at the same time calling his comrades and urging them to help in guarding the narrow passage. But before any move could be made Mundilas slew him and thereafter allowed none of the barbarians to go into this passage. The Romans therefore passed through it without encountering opposition, and some of them, arriving at the Gothic camp near by, for a short time tried to take it, but were unable to do so because of the strength of the stockade, although not many barbarians had been left behind in it. For the trench had been dug to an extraordinary depth, and since the earth taken from it had invariably been placed along its inner side, this reached a great height and so served as a wall; and it was abundantly supplied with stakes, which were very sharp and close together, thus making a palisade. These defences so emboldened the barbarians that they began to repel the enemy vigorously. But one of the guards of Belisarius, Aquilinus by name, an exceedingly active man, seized a horse by the bridle and, bestriding it, leaped from the trench into the middle of the camp, where he slew some of the enemy. And when his opponents gathered about him and hurled great numbers of missiles, the horse was wounded and fell, but he himself unexpectedly made his escape through the midst of the enemy. So he went on foot with his companions toward the Pincian Gate. And overtaking the barbarians, who were still engaged in pursuing Roman horsemen, they began to shoot at them from behind and killed some of them.

Now when Trajan and his men perceived this, since they had meanwhile been reinforced by the horsemen who had been standing near by in readiness, they charged at full speed against their pursuers. Then at length the Goths, being now outgeneraled and unexpectedly caught between the forces of their enemy, began to be killed indiscriminately. And there was great slaughter of them, and very few escaped to their camps, and that with difficulty; meanwhile the others, fearing for the safety of all their strongholds, shut themselves in and remained in them thereafter, thinking that the Romans would come against them without the least delay. In this action one of the barbarians shot Trajan in the face, above the right eye and not far from the nose. And the whole of the iron point, penetrated the head and disappeared entirely, although the barb on it was large and exceedingly long, but the remainder of the arrow immediately fell to the ground without the application of force by anyone, in my opinion because the iron point had never been securely fastened to the shaft. Trajan,

however, paid no heed to this at all, but continued none the less killing and pursuing the enemy. But in the fifth year afterward the tip of the iron of its own accord began to project visibly from his face. And this is now the third year since it has been slowly but steadily coming out. It is to be expected, therefore, that the whole barb will eventually come out, though not for a long time. But it has not been an impediment to the man in any way. So much then for these matters.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπεγίνωσκόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅπως ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωρήσωσιν ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πρὸς τε τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διεφθαρμένοι, ἐς ὀλίγους τε ἤδη ἐκ μυριάδων περιεστηκότες πολλῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πολιορκοῦντες, ἔργῳ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πάντων ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ στρατεύμα ἕτερον ἔλθειν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπύθοντο, οὐχ ὅσον ἐτύγγανεν ὄν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡ τῆς φήμης ἐξουσία ποιεῖν ἴσχυε, κατωρρωδικότες τὸν κίνδυνον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [3] ἐπεμψαν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην, Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμον τρίτον αὐτόν, ὃς παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔλθων ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [4] ‘Ὡς μὲν οὐδετέροις ἡμῶν ἐς τὸ ζυμφέρον τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεχώρηκεν ἐξεπίσταται ἡμῶν ἕκαστος ἐς αὐτὴν ἦκον τῶν ἐνθὲνδε δυσκόλων τὴν πείραν. [5] τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἐκατέρων ἀρνηθεῖ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὧν γε οὐδετέροις ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κείσθαι συμπέπτωκεν; [6] ὥς δὲ ἀζυνέτων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπέραντά τε ταλαιπωρεῖν βούλεσθαι, φιλονεικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα, καὶ λύσιν τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων μηδεμίαν εὐρεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἂν, οἶμαι, τῶν γε οὐκ ὄντων ἀνοήτων ἀντείποι. [7] ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχῃ, τοὺς ἐκατέρων ἡγουμένους προσήκει μὴ δόξης τῆς οἰκείας τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαν προΐεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ζυμφορα οὐ σφίσις αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σφῶν ἐναντίοις ἐλέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν παρόντων ποιεῖσθαι δυσκόλων. [8] τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετρίων ἐφίεσθαι πᾶσι χαλεποῖς δίδωσι πόρον, τῷ δὲ φιλονεικῶ τὸ μηδὲν περαίνεσθαι τῶν δεόντων συμπέφυκεν. [9] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν καταστροφῆς περὶ τοῦδε βουλευσάμενοι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ ζυμφορα ἐκατέροις προτεινόμενοι, ἐν οἷς τι καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐλασσοῦσθαι οἴομεθα, παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκομεν. [10] ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς χρώμενοι ξυνδιαφθεῖρεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι βουλευέσησθε. [11] προσήκει δὲ μὴ ξυνεχεῖ ῥῆσει τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέρους ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα, [12] ἢν τι μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖως εἰρηῇσθαι δοκῇ. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκατέροις εἰρηκέναι τε διὰ βραχέος ὅσα σφίσι κατὰ νοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ δέοντα πεπραχέναι ξυμβήσεται.’ ἀπεκρίνατο Βελισάριος: [13] ‘Οὕτω μὲν, ὅπως φατέ, προῖεναι τὸν διάλογον οὐδὲν κωλύσει, ὅπως δὲ εἰρηναῖά τε καὶ δίκαια πρὸς ὑμῶν λέγοιτο.’ [14] Αὐθις οὖν Γότθων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον: ‘Ἡδικήκατε ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ φίλους τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ὄντας ὅπλα οὐ δέον ἀράμενοι. ἐροῦμεν δὲ ἅπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον οἴομεθα ξυνεπίστασθαι. [15] Γότθοι γὰρ οὐ βία Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι γῆν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκτήσαντο, ἀλλ' Ὀδόακρὸς ποτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθελὼν ἐς τυραννίδα τὴν τῆδε πολιτείαν μεταβαλὼν εἶχε. [16]

Ζήνων δὲ τότε τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὴν κρατῶν καὶ τιμωρεῖν μὲν τῷ ξυμβεβασилευκότι βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦ τυράννου τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐλευθεροῦν, Ὀδοάκρου δὲ καταλῦσαι τὴν δύναμιν οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, Θευδέριχον ἀναπεῖθαι τὸν ἡμῶν ἄρχοντα, καίπερ αὐτόν τε καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκεῖν μέλλοντα, καταλῦσαι μὲν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν τιμῆς ἀναμνησθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἧς τετύχηκεν ἤδη, πατρίκιός τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων γεγονῶς ὑπατος, Ὀδοάκρον δὲ ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς Αὐγούστουλον τίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτόν τε καὶ Γότθους τὸ λοιπὸν κρατεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. [17] οὕτω τοίνυν παραλαβόντες τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχὴν τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διεσωσάμεθα τῶν πώποτε βεβασилευκότων οὐδενὸς ἥσσον, καὶ Θευδερίχου μὲν ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν διαδεξαμένου τὸ Γότθων κράτος νόμος τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν, οὐκ ἄγραφός ἐστι. [18] τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰς θεὸν εὐσεβείας τε καὶ πίστεως οὕτω Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐφυλάξαμεν, ὥστε Ἰταλιωτῶν μὲν τὴν δόξαν οὐδεὶς οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐκ ἀκούσιος ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν μετέβαλε, Γότθων δὲ μεταβλημένων ἐπιστροφὴ τις οὐδαμῶς γέγονε. [19] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱερὰ τιμῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνωτάτω τετύχηκεν: οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἰς τι τούτων καταφυγὼν πώποτε πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων βεβίασται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχὰς αὐτοὶ μὲν διαγεγόνασιν ἔχοντες, [20] Γότθος δὲ αὐτῶν μετέσχεν οὐδεὶς. ἢ παρελθὼν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλεγχέτω, ἢ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἡμῖν εἰρησθαι οἴηται. προσθεῖη δ' ἂν τις ὥς καὶ τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα Γότθοι ξυνεχώρουν Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐφῶν βασιλέως ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος κομίζεσθαι. [21] ὑμεῖς δέ, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων, Ἰταλίας μὲν οὐ προσεποιεῖσθε κακουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀδοάκρου βαρβάρων, καίπερ οὐ δι' ὀλίγου, ἀλλ' ἐς δέκα ἐνιαυτοὺς τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένου, νῦν δὲ τοὺς δικαίως αὐτὴν κεκτημένους, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκον, βιάζεσθε. [22] οὐκοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐκποδὼν ἴστασθε, τὰ τε ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσα ληϊσάμενοι τετυχήκατε.' Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος: 'Ἡ μὲν ὑπόσχεσις ὑμῶν βραχέα τε εἰρησθαι καὶ μέτρια προὔλεγεν, ἡ δὲ ῥῆσις μακρά τε καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀλαζονείας ὑμῖν γέγονε. [23] Θευδέριχον γὰρ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων Ὀδοάκρῳ πολεμήσοντα ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοι: τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ τύραννον τυράννου διαλλάσσειν βασιλεῖ ἔμελεν; ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἐλευθέρα τε καὶ βασιλεῖ κατήκοος ἔσται. [24] ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν τύραννον εὖ διαθέμενος ἀγνωμοσύνη ἐς τᾶλλα οὐκ ἐν μετρίοις ἐχρήσατο: ἀποδιδόναι γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν γῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω. [25] οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε τόν τε βιασάμενον καὶ ὃς ἂν τὰ τοῦ πέλας ἐκουσίως μὴ ἀποδιδῶν ἴσον γε εἶναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν χώραν τὴν βασιλέως ἐτέρῳ τῷ οὐποτε οὐκ ἂν παραδοίην. [26] εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου τυχεῖν βούλεσθε, λέγειν ἀφήμι.' [27] Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ πάντα ἡμῖν εἴρηται οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα λέληθεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅπως ἥκιστα φιλονεικεῖν δόξαμεν, καὶ Σικελίας, τοσαύτης τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιαύτης τὸν πλοῦτον οὔσης, ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα, ἧς δὴ ἐκτὸς Λιβύην ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτηῖσθαι οὐ δυνατόν.' [28] Καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος: 'Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ Γότθους Βρεττανίαν ὅλην συγχωροῦμεν ἔχειν, μείζω τε παρὰ πολὺ Σικελίας οὖσαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γεγεννημένην. [29] τοὺς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ἢ χάριτός τινος ἄρξαντας τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβεσθαι ἄξιον.' [30] Βάρβαροι: 'Οὐκοῦν, ἦν τι καὶ περὶ Καμπανίας ὑμῖν ἢ Νεαπόλεως αὐτῆς

εἵπομεν, οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε;’ [31] Βελισάριος: ‘Οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν κύριοι τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διοικήσασθαι οὐχ ὅπη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν.’ Βάρβαροι: ‘Οὐδ’ ἦν χρήματα ῥητὰ φέρειν βασιλεῖ ἐφ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξωμεν;’ [32] Βελισάριος: ‘Οὐ δῆτα. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου του ἡμεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ἢ ὥστε τῷ κεκτημένῳ φυλάξαι τὴν χώραν.’ [33] Βάρβαροι: ‘Φέρε δὴ, στέλλεσθαι ἡμᾶς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὰς ξυνθήκας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τακτόν τινα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον καθ’ ὃν προσήκει τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς ἐκεχειρίαν παρίστασθαι.’ [34] Βελισάριος: ‘Ἔστω: γινέσθω ταῦτα. οὐ γάρ ποτε ὑμῖν εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένοις ἐμποδὼν στήσομαι.’ [35] Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησάν τε ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐκάτεροι καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Γότθων ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [36] ἡμέραις δὲ ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις συχνὰ παρ’ ἀλλήλους φοιτῶντες τά τε ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ διετίθεντο καὶ ὅπως δὴ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν τινας ἐπισήμων ἐκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέχωνται.

VI

Now the barbarians straightway began to despair of winning the war and were considering how they might withdraw from Rome, inasmuch as they had suffered the ravages both of the pestilence and of the enemy, and were now reduced from many tens of thousands to a few men; and, not least of all, they were in a state of distress by reason of the famine, and while in name they were carrying on a siege, they were in fact being besieged by their opponents and were shut off from all necessities. And when they learned that still another army had come to their enemy from Byzantium both by land and by sea — not being informed as to its actual size, but supposing it to be as large as the free play of rumour was able to make it, — they became terrified at the danger and began to plan for their departure. They accordingly sent three envoys to Rome, one of whom was a Roman of note among the Goths, and he, coming before Belisarius, spoke as follows:

“That the war has not turned out to the advantage of either side each of us knows well, since we both have had actual experience of its hardships. For why should anyone in either army deny facts of which neither now remains in ignorance. And no one, I think, could deny, at least no one who does not lack understanding, that it is only senseless men who choose to go on suffering indefinitely merely to satisfy the contentious spirit which moves them for the moment, and refuse to find a solution of the troubles which harass them. And whenever this situation arises, it is the duty of the commanders on both sides not to sacrifice the lives of their subjects to their own glory, but to choose the course which is just and expedient, not for themselves alone, but also for their opponents, and thus to put an end to present hardships. For moderation in one’s demands affords a way out of all difficulties, but it is the very nature of contentiousness that it cannot accomplish any of the objects which are essential. Now we, on our part, have deliberated concerning the conclusion of this war and have come before you with proposals which are of advantage to both sides, wherein we waive, as we think, some portion even of our rights. And see to it that you likewise in your deliberations do not yield to a spirit of contentiousness respecting us and thus destroy yourselves as well as us, in preference to choosing the course which will be of advantage to yourselves. And it is fitting that both sides should state their case, not in continuous speech, but each interrupting the other on the spur of the moment, if anything that is said shall seem inappropriate. For in this way each side will be able to say briefly whatever it is minded to say, and at the same time the essential things will be accomplished.” Belisarius replied: “There will be nothing to prevent the debate from proceeding in the manner you suggest, only let the words spoken by you be words of peace and of justice.”

So the ambassadors of the Goths in their turn said: "You have done us an injustice, O Romans, in taking up arms wrongfully against us, your friends and allies. And what we shall say is, we think, well known to each one of you as well as to ourselves. For the Goths did not obtain the land of Italy by wresting it from the Romans by force, but Odoacer in former times dethroned the emperor, changed the government of Italy to a tyranny, and so held it. And Zeno, who then held the power of the East, though he wished to avenge his partner in the imperial office and to free this land from the usurper, was unable to destroy the authority of Odoacer. Accordingly he persuaded Theoderic, our ruler, although he was on the point of besieging him and Byzantium, not only to put an end to his hostility towards himself, in recollection of the honour which Theoderic had already received at his hands in having been made a patrician and consul of the Romans, but also to punish Odoacer for his unjust treatment of Augustulus, and thereafter, in company with the Goths, to hold sway over the land as its legitimate and rightful rulers. It was in this way, therefore, that we took over the dominion of Italy, and we have preserved both the laws and the form of government as strictly as any who have ever been Roman emperors, and there is absolutely no law, either written or unwritten, introduced by Theoderic or by any of his successors on the throne of the Goths. And we have so scrupulously guarded for the Romans their practices pertaining to the worship of God and faith in Him, that not one of the Italians has changed his belief, either willingly or unwillingly, up to the present day, and when Goths have changed, we have taken no notice of the matter. And indeed the sanctuaries of the Romans have received from us the highest honour; for no one who has taken refuge in any of them has ever been treated with violence by any man; nay, more, the Romans themselves have continued to hold all the offices of the state, and not a single Goth has had a share in them. Let someone come forward and refute us, if he thinks that this statement of ours is not true. And one might add that the Goths have conceded that the dignity of the consulship should be conferred upon Romans each year by the emperor of the East. Such has been the course followed by us; but you, on your side, did not take the part of Italy while it was suffering at the hands of the barbarians and Odoacer, although it was not for a short time, but for ten years, that he treated the land outrageously; but now you do violence to us who have acquired it legitimately, though you have no business here. Do you therefore depart hence out of our way, keeping both that which is your own and whatever you have gained by plunder."

And Belisarius said: "Although your promise gave us to understand that your words would be brief and temperate, yet your discourse has been both long and not far from fraudulent in its pretensions. For Theoderic was sent by the Emperor Zeno in order to make war on Odoacer, not in order to hold the dominion of Italy for himself. For why should the emperor have been concerned to exchange one tyrant for another? But he sent him in order that

Italy might be free and obedient to the emperor. And though Theoderic disposed of the tyrant in a satisfactory manner, in everything else he shewed an extraordinary lack of proper feeling; for he never thought of restoring the land to its rightful owner. But I, for my part, think that he who robs another by violence and he who of his own will does not restore his neighbour's goods are equal. Now, as for me, I shall never surrender the emperor's country to any other. But if there is anything you wish to receive in place of it, I give you leave to speak."

And the barbarians said: "That everything which we have said is true no one of you can be unaware. But in order that we may not seem to be contentious, we give up to you Sicily, great as it is and of such wealth, seeing that without it you cannot possess Libya in security."

And Belisarius replied: "And we on our side permit the Goths to have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and was subject to the Romans in early times. For it is only fair to make an equal return to those who first do a good deed or perform a kindness."

The barbarians: "Well, then, if we should make you a proposal concerning Campania also, or about Naples itself, will you listen to it?"

Belisarius: "No, for we are not empowered to administer the emperor's affairs in a way which is not in accord with his wish."

The barbarians: "Not even if we impose upon ourselves the payment of a fixed sum of money every year?"

Belisarius: "No, indeed. For we are not empowered to do anything else than guard the land for its owner."

The barbarians: "Come now, we must send envoys to the emperor and make with him our treaty concerning the whole matter. And a definite time must also be appointed during which the armies will be bound to observe an armistice."

Belisarius: "Very well; let this be done. For never shall I stand in your way when you are making plans for peace."

After saying these things they each left the conference, and the envoys of the Goths withdrew to their own camp. And during the ensuing days they visited each other frequently and made the arrangements for the armistice, and they agreed that each side should put into the hands of the other some of its notable men as hostages to ensure the keeping of the armistice.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ ὃ τε τῶν Ἰσαύρων στόλος τῷ

Ῥωμαίων λιμένοι προσέσχε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς Ὀστίαν ἦλθον, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς οὔτε καταίρουσιν οὔτε στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐμπόδιος σφίσιν ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. [2] ὅπως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διανυκτερεύειν οἱοί τε ὦσιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ τε Ἰσавροὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἀγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος ὀρύξαντες φυλακὰς ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀεὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ταῖς ἀμάξαις φραζάμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε νύξ ἐπεγένετο, Βελισάριος ἐς Ὀστίαν ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑκατὸν ἦλθε καὶ τὰ τε ξυμπεπτωκότα ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τὰ τε ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τε καὶ Γότθοις εἰπὼν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παραθαρσύνας, τὰ τε φορτία πέμπειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς Ῥώμην ἰέναι. “Ὅπως γάρ,” ἔφη, “ἄνευ [4] κινδύνου ἢ ὁδὸς ἔσται ἐγὼ προνοήσω.” αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὀρθρου βαθέος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαινε, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῶν φορτίων τὴν παρακομιδὴν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [5] ἐδόκει δὲ χαλεπὸν καὶ δεινῶς ἄπορον τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ βόες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἡμιθνήτες ἅπαντες ἔκειντο, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον στενὴν τινα ὁδὸν ξὺν ταῖς ἀμάξαις πορεύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς βάρεις ἀνέλκειν, καθάπερ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶθιστο, ἀδύνατα ἦν. [6] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχομένη Ῥωμαίοις τηνικαῦτα ἀπόρευτος ἦν, ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα, ὅσα γε παρ’ ὅχθην, ἀστίβητος παντάπασιν τυγχάνει οὔσα. [7] διὸ δὴ τοὺς λέμβους νηῶν τῶν μειζόνων ἀπολεξάμενοι, σανῖσι τε αὐτοὺς ὑψηλαῖς κύκλῳ τειχίσαντες, ὅπως οἱ πλέοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἤκιστα βάλλωνται, τοξότας τε καὶ ναύτας ἐσεβίβασαν κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστου. [8] τῶν τε φορτίων ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅσα φέρειν οἱοί τε ἦσαν ἐνθέμενοι, διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐς Ῥώμην πνεῦμα τηρήσαντες σφίσιν ἐπιφόρον ἐναντιῖλλοντο, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεβεβοηθήκει. [9] ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων συχνούς τὰς ναῦς φυλάσσοντας. ἔνθα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ὁ ποταμὸς ἦει, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔπλεον, ἀράμενοι τὰ τῶν λέμβων ἰστία: ἡ δὲ ὁ ροῦς ἐλίσσόμενος ὁδὸν πλαγίαν ἐφέρετο, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεὶ τὰ ἰστία τῷ πνεύματι οὐδαμῇ ἐνηργεῖτο, ἐρέσσοντές τε καὶ τὸν ροῦν βιαζόμενοι πόνον οἱ ναῦται οὐ μέτριον εἶχον. [10] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καθήμενοι ἐμπόδιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤκιστα ἤθελον, ἢ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους ἐσκομίζεσθαι τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἰόμενοι, αἰτία τε οὐ λόγου ἄξια διακωλύειν τὴν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑποσχέσει Βελισάριος ἐκρατύνατο, ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν εἶναι ἡγούμενοι. [11] Γότθοι μέντοι ὅσοι ἐν Πόρτῳ ἦσαν, ἐν χρῶ ἀεὶ παραπλέοντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεώμενοι, οὐδαμῇ ἥπτοντο, ἀλλὰ τεθηπότες ἐκάθηντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἔννοϊαν. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ πολλάκις ἀναπλεύσαντες ἅπαντα κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ἐσεκομίσαντο τὰ φορτία, οἱ μὲν ναῦται ξὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησαν κατὰ τάχος ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στράτευμα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐσῆλθε, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι Παῦλος ἐν Ὀστίᾳ ξὺν τῶν Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἔμεινε. [13] Μετὰ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, Ζήνωνα μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι, Γότθοι δὲ Οὐλίαν, οὐκ ἀφανὴ ἄνδρα, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ ἐν τρισὶ μῆσι μηδεμιᾶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφόδῳ χρήσονται, ἕως οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπανήκοντες γνώμην τὴν βασιλέως ἀγγείλωσιν. [14] ἦν δὲ τινες καὶ ἀδικίας οἱ ἕτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπάρξωσι,

τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀποδοθήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σφῶν ἔθνος. [15] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων οἱ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων παραπεμπόντων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, Ἰλδίγερ δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρός, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε. [16] Γότθοι τε οἱ τὸ ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον εἶχον, ἐπιλελοιπότες σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξέλιπόν τε αὐτὸ Οὐιττίγιδος γνώμη, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον μετάπεμψαι ἦλθον: Παῦλος δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐξ Ὀστίας καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν. [17] αἵτιοι δὲ μάλιστα τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς ἀπορίας ἐγένοντο θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τι αὐτοῖς ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ ζυγχοῦντες. [18] διὸ δὴ καὶ πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν, Κεντουκέλλας ὄνομα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέλιπον. [19] ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη, σταδίους αὐτῆς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα. [20] καὶ αὐτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμειος ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ Ἀλβανῶν πόλισμα ἔσχεον, Ῥώμης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον κείμενον, ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἐνθένδε διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῆνικαῦτα τῶν πολεμίων, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἡδὴ κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον. [21] διὸ δὴ Γότθοι διαλύειν τε τὰ ζυγκείμενα καὶ τι ἐς Ῥωμαίους κακουργεῖν ὥρων. πέμψαντες οὖν παρὰ Βελισάριον πρέσβεις ἡδικῆσθαι σφᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔφασαν: [22] Οὐιττίγιδος γὰρ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Πόρτῳ μεταπεμψαμένου κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν Παῦλόν τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους τὸ ταύτῃ φρούριον λόγῳ οὐδενὶ καταλαβόντας ἔχειν. [23] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τε Ἀλβανῷ καὶ Κεντουκέλλαις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἡτιῶντο, ἠπέλουν τε, ἢν μὴ ταῦτα σφίσιν ἀποδιδῶ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν. [24] Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν γέλῳτι αὐτοὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, παραπέτασμα μὲν εἶναι ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπὼν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ οὐδένα ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Γότθοι ἐκλίποιν. [25] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποψία τινὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. Ἐπειτα δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην εἶδε στρατιωτῶν πλήθει ἀκμάζουσιν, ἄλλους τε ἱππέας ἐς χωρία Ῥώμης μακρὰν ποῦ ἄποθεν περιέπεμπε καὶ Βιταλιανοῦ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἱππεῦσιν, ὀκτακοσίους οὖσιν, ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀλβαν διαχειμάζειν, ἐν Πικηνοῖς κειμένην: [26] καὶ οἱ τῶν τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐπομένων τετρακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν Δαμιανὸς ὁ Βαλεριανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἦρχε, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάσπιστῶν ὀκτακοσίους ἄνδρας, διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. [27] οἷς δὴ δορυφόρους δύο, Σοῦνταν τε καὶ Ἀδηνιν, ἐέστησε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Ἰωάννην ἔπεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγοῖτο, ἐκέλευε: τῷ δὲ Ἰωάννῃ ἐπήγγελλε, τέως μὲν τὰ ζυγκείμενα σφίσι φυλάττοντας ὁρᾷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἡσυχῇ μένειν: ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν αὐτοῖς λελύσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε: [28] παντὶ μὲν τῷ στρατῷ ἄφνω τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καταθεῖν τὴν Πικηνῶν χώραν, ἅπαντά τε ἐξῆς περιόντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία καὶ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς φήμης ἐπιδημοῦντα. [29] ταύτης γὰρ σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας ἄνδρας μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἀπολελεῖσθαι, πάντων ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὡς φαίνεται στρατευσαμένων, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χρήματα πανταχῇ εἶναι. [30] ἐξανδραποδίζειν οὖν καὶ ληΐζεσθαι τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα φυλασσόμενον μή ποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων λυμῆνῃται. [31] ἢν δὲ πῃ χωρίῳ ἐντύχῃ, ἄνδρας τε καὶ ὀχύρωμα, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἔχοντι, πάσῃ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει

ἀποπειράσασθαι. [32] καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἰέναι, τοῦ πράγματος δέ οἱ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένειν. [33] προΐοντι γάρ οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὀχύρωμα κατὰ νότου ἀπολιπόντι κίνδυνος πολὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔσται, ἐπεὶ οὐποτ' ἀμύνειν σφίσιν εὐπετῶς ἔξουσιν, ἣν που ἐνοχλοῖντο πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων. τὴν δὲ λείαν φυλάσσειν ἅπασαν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡ στρατιὰ διανέμοιτο. [34] εἴτα ξὺν γέλῳ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν: 'Οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὲν τοὺς κηφῆνας πόνῳ μεγάλῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τοῦ μέλιτος οὐδεμιᾷ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ὀνίνασθαι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἔπεμψεν. [35] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὃ τε Μεδιολάνων ἱερεὺς Δάτιος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίου ἐδέοντο φρουροὺς ὀλίγους σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι. [36] αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι, οὐ Μεδιόλανον μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιγυρίαν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ Γότθων τε ἀποστῆσαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. [37] αὕτη δὲ ἡ πόλις ὥκισται μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις, μέση που μάλιστα Ῥαβέννης τε πόλεως καὶ Ἀλπεων τῶν ἐν Γάλλων ὁρίοις κειμένη: [38] ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ ἐστί: πρώτη δὲ πόλεων τῶν ἐσπερίων μετὰ γε Ῥώμην μεγέθει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα. καὶ αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος ὑποσχόμενος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελεῖ ποιῆσιν κατεῖχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν.

VII

But while these negotiations were in progress at Rome, meanwhile the fleet of the Isaurians put in at the harbour of the Romans and John with his men came to Ostia, and not one of the enemy hindered them either while bringing their ships to land or while making their camp. But in order that they might be able to pass the night safe from a sudden attack by the enemy, the Isaurians dug a deep trench close to the harbour and kept a constant guard by shifts of men, while John's soldiers made a barricade of their waggons about the camp and remained quiet. And when night came on Belisarius went to Ostia with a hundred horsemen, and after telling what had taken place in the engagement and the agreement which had been made between the Romans and the Goths and otherwise encouraging them, he bade them bring their cargoes and come with all zeal to Rome. "For," he said, "I shall take care that the journey is free from danger." So he himself at early dawn rode back to the city, and Antonina together with the commanders began at daybreak to consider means of transporting the cargoes. But it seemed to them that the task was a hard one and beset with the greatest difficulties. For the oxen could hold out no longer, but all lay half-dead, and, furthermore, it was dangerous to travel over a rather narrow road with the waggons, and impossible to tow the barges on the river, as had formerly been the custom. For the road which is on the left of the river was held by the enemy, as stated by me in the previous narrative, and not available for the use of the Romans at that time, while the road on the other side of it is altogether unused, at least that part of it which follows the river-bank. They therefore selected the small boats belonging to the larger ships, put a fence of high planks around them on all sides, in order that the men on board might not be exposed to the enemy's shots, and embarked archers and sailors on them in numbers suitable for each boat. And after they had loaded the boats with all the freight they could carry, they waited for a favouring wind and set sail toward Rome by the Tiber, and a portion of the army followed them along the right bank of the river to support them. But they left a large number of Isaurians to guard the ships. Now where the course of the river was straight, they found no trouble in sailing, simply raising the sails of the boats; but where the stream wound about and took a course athwart the wind, and the sails received no impulse from it, the sailors had no slight toil in rowing and forcing the boats against the current. As for the barbarians, they sat in their camps and had no wish to hinder their enemy, either because they were terrified at the danger, or because they thought that the Romans would never by such means succeed in bringing in any provisions, and considered it contrary to their own interest, when a matter of no consequence was involved, to frustrate their hope of the armistice which Belisarius had already promised. Moreover, the Goths who were in Portus, though they could see their enemy constantly sailing by almost near enough to touch, made no move against

them, but sat there wondering in amazement at the plan they had hit upon. And when the Romans had made the voyage up the river many times in the same way, and had thus conveyed all the cargoes into the city without interference, the sailors took the ships and withdrew with all speed, for it was already about the time of the winter solstice; and the rest of the army entered Rome, except, indeed, that Paulus remained in Ostia with some of the Isaurians.

And afterwards they gave hostages to one another to secure the keeping of the armistice, the Romans giving Zeno, and the Goths Ulias, a man of no mean station, with the understanding that during three months they should make no attack upon one another, until the envoys should return from Byzantium and report the will of the emperor. And even if the one side or the other should initiate offences against their opponents, the envoys were nevertheless to be returned to their own nation. So the envoys of the barbarians went to Byzantium escorted by Romans, and Ildiger, the son-in-law of Antonina, came to Rome from Libya with not a few horsemen. And the Goths who were holding the stronghold at Portus abandoned the place by the order of Vittigis because their supplies were exhausted, and came to the camp in obedience to his summons. Whereupon Paulus with his Isaurians came from Ostia and took possession of it and held it. Now the chief reason why these barbarians were without provisions was that the Romans commanded the sea and did not allow any of the necessary supplies to be brought in to them. And it was for this reason that they also abandoned at about the same time a sea-coast city of great importance, Centumcellae by name, that is, because they were short of provisions. This city is large and populous, lying to the west of Rome, in Tuscany, distant from it about two hundred and eighty stades. And after taking possession of it the Romans went on and extended their power still more, for they took also the town of Albani, which lies to the east of Rome, the enemy having evacuated it at that time for the same reason, and they had already surrounded the barbarians on all sides and now held them between their forces. The Goths, therefore, were in a mood to break the agreement and do some harm to the Romans. So they sent envoys to Belisarius and asserted that they had been unjustly treated during a truce; for when Vittigis had summoned the Goths who were in Portus to perform some service for him, Paulus and the Isaurians had seized and taken possession of the fort there for no good reason. And they made this same false charge regarding Albani and Centumcellae, and threatened that, unless he should give these places back to them, they would resent it. But Belisarius laughed and sent them away, saying that this charge was but a pretext, and that no one was ignorant of the reason why the Goths had abandoned these places. And thereafter the two sides were somewhat suspicious of one another.

But later, when Belisarius saw that Rome was abundantly supplied with soldiers, he sent many horsemen to places far distant from Rome, and

commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian, and the horsemen under his command, eight hundred in number, to pass the winter near the city of Alba, which lies in Picenum; and with him he sent four hundred of the men of Valerian, whom Damianus, the nephew of Valerian, commanded, and eight hundred men of his own guards who were especially able warriors. And in command of these he put two spearmen, Suntas and Adegis, and ordered them to follow John wherever he should lead; and he gave John instructions that as long as he saw the enemy was keeping the agreement made between them, he should remain quiet; but whenever he found that the armistice had been violated by them, he should do as follows: With his whole force he was to make a sudden raid and overrun the land of Picenum, visiting all the districts of that region and reaching each one before the report of his coming. For in this whole land there was virtually not a single man left, since all, as it appeared, had marched against Rome, but everywhere there were women and children of the enemy and money. He was instructed, therefore, to enslave or plunder whatever he found, taking care never to injure any of the Romans living there. And if he should happen upon any place which had men and defences, as he probably would, he was to make an attempt upon it with his whole force. And if he was able to capture it, he was to go forward, but if it should so happen that his attempt was unsuccessful, he was to march back or remain there. For if he should go forward and leave such a fortress in his rear, he would be involved in the greatest danger, since his men would never be able to defend themselves easily, if they should be harassed by their opponents. He was also to keep the whole booty intact, in order that it might be divided fairly and properly among the army. Then with a laugh he added this also: "For it is not fair that the drones should be destroyed with great labour by one force, while others, without having endured any hardship at all, enjoy the honey." So after giving these instructions, Belisarius sent John with his army.

And at about the same time Datius, the priest of Milan, and some notable men among the citizens came to Rome and begged Belisarius to send them a few guards. For they declared that they were themselves able without any trouble to detach from the Goths not only Milan, but the whole of Liguria also, and to recover them for the emperor. Now this city is situated in Liguria, and lies about half way between the city of Ravenna and the Alps on the borders of Gaul; for from either one it is a journey of eight days to Milan for an unencumbered traveller; and it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and in population and in general prosperity. And Belisarius promised to fulfil their request, but detained them there during the winter season.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη εἶχε. τῆς δὲ τύχης ὁ φθόνος ᾧδαινεν ἦδη ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, ἐπεὶ τὰ πράγματα εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς σφίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν προΐοντα ἑώρα, κακῶ τε κεραννύναι τινὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλουσα, ἔριν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας λόγου ἀξίας ἐπενόει

Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἣ ὅπως τε ἔφυ καὶ ἐς ὃ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [2] Πρεσίδιος ἦν τις, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ὣκημένος μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ὢν δὲ οὐκ ἀφανής. οὗτος ὁ Πρεσίδιος, ὅτι δὴ Γότθοις προσκεκρουκῶς, ἡνίκα Οὐίτιγισ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην στρατεύειν ἔμελλε, ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ στελλόμενος φεύγει, οὔτε τῷ τὴν βουλὴν κοινωσάμενος οὔτε τι τῶν χρημάτων ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ξιφίδια δύο αὐτὸς ἔφερεν, ὧν τῷ κουλεῷ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις κεκαλλωπισμένῳ ἐτυχέτην. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν Σπολιτίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐς νεῶν τινα ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου κατέλυσεν. [3] ὁ δὴ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀκούσας ἑτύγγανε γὰρ ἔτι ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν ἔχων, τῶν τινα ὑπασπιστῶν Μαξεντίολον πέμψας ἄμφω ἀφαιρεῖται λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τῷ ἀκινάκα. [4] περιαλγῆς δὲ γεγινὼς τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐς Ῥώμην ὅτι τάχιστα παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεται, οὗ δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀφίκετο· ἥδη γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἠγγέλλετο. [5] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν τε θορύβῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ Ῥωμαῖοις καθειστήκει τὰ πράγματα, σιωπῇ ὁ Πρεσίδιος ἔμενεν· ὥς δὲ τὰ τε Ῥωμαίων καθυπέρτερα εἶδε καὶ Γότθων πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέα σταλέντας, καθάπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, Βελισαρίῳ συχνὰ προσιὼν τὴν τε ἀδικίαν ἀπήγγελλε καὶ οἱ τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν ἠξίου. [6] ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνός πολλὰ μὲν αὐτός, πολλὰ δὲ δι' ἐτέρων μεμφόμενος, παρήνει ἔργου τε ἀδίκου καὶ δόξης αἰσχυρᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [7] ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος ἡγρὴν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς· τοὺς τε λόγους αἰεὶ ἐρεσχελῶν διεκρούετο καὶ τὸν ἡδικημένον ἐτόθαιζε. [8] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ποτε, ἵππῳ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὀχουμένῳ, ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πρεσίδιος τοῦ τε χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου ἐλάβετο καὶ μέγα ἀναβοῶν ἠρώτα εἰ ταῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ βασιλέως νόμοι, ἵνα ἐπειδὴν τις τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγῶν ἰκέτης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἵκοιτο, οἶδε ἀφέλωνται βία ὅσα ἂν τύχη ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων. [9] πολλῶν δὲ περιεστηκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ζὺν ἀπειλῇ κελευόντων μεθίσθαι, οὐ πρότερον ἀφῆκε, πρὶν δὴ αὐτῷ ὑπέσχετο Βελισάριος τὰ ξιφίδια δώσειν. [10] τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ Κωνσταντῖνόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ἐς οἰκίσκον τινὰ ζυγκαλέσας Βελισάριος ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῶν μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ζυμπεπτωκότων ὑέμνησε, παρήνει δὲ ὅσπερ γοῦν τοῦ χρόνου τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποδιδόναι. [11] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦ Τιβερίδος τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι ἢ τῷ Πρεσιδίῳ διδοίη. [12] θυμῷ τε ἥδη ἐχόμενος Βελισάριος ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ οὐκ οἶοιτο Κωνσταντῖνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὠμολόγει ἅπαντα πείσεσθαι· βουλομένῳ γὰρ ταῦτα βασιλεῖ εἶναι· τότε μέντοι, ὃ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτάττοι, οὐ μήποτε δράσειν. [13] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εἰσιέναι τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε, Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ “Ὅπως με δηλαδὴ ἀποκτενοῦσιν,” ἔφη. “Οὐδαμῶς γε,” ὁ Βελισάριος εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸν σὸν ὑπασπιστὴν Μαξεντίολον, ὃς σοι τὰ ξιφίδια βιασάμενος ἤνεγκεν, ἀναγκάσωσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποδιδόναι ἅπερ αὐτοῦ [14] βία λαβὼν ἔτυχεν.” ἀλλὰ Κωνσταντῖνος τεθνήξεσθαι παραντίκα οἰόμενος δρᾶσαι τι μέγα, πρὶν τι αὐτὸς πάθοι, ἐβούλετο. [15] διὸ δὴ τὸ ξιφίδιον εἵλκεν ὅπερ οἱ πρὸς τῷ μηρῷ ἀπεκρέματο, ἄφνω τε αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Βελισαρίου γαστέρα ὥσεν. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγείς ὀπίσω τε ἀπέστη καὶ Βέσσα ἐγγὺς που ἐστηκὸτι περιπλακεῖς διαφυγεῖν ἵσχυσε. [16] Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν, ἔτι τῷ

θυμῷ ζέων, ἐπῆει, κατιδόντες δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς τὸ ποιούμενον ὁ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ χειρὸς λαμβανόμενος ὀπίσω ἀνθεῖλκον. [17] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ εἰσελθόντες οἱ δορυφόροι οὗς δὴ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐκάλεσε Βελισάριος, Κωνσταντίνου τε τὸ ξιφίδιον ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ ἐκ χειρὸς αἰροῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀρπάσαντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἄχαρι ἐν τῷ παραντίκῳ εἰργάσαντο, παρόντας αἰδούμενοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἶμαι, ἐς οἶκημα δὲ ἄλλο ἀπαγαγόντες, Βελισαρίου κελεύσαντος, [18] χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἔκτειναν. τοῦτο Βελισαρίῳ εἰργασται μόνον οὐχ ὅσιον ἔργον καὶ ἥθους τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῶν ἄξιον: ἐπιεικεία γὰρ πολλῇ ἐς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχρήτο. ἀλλὰ ἔδει, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, Κωνσταντίνῳ γενέσθαι κακῶς.

VIII

Such was the course of these events. But the envy of fortune was already swelling against the Romans, when she saw their affairs progressing successfully and well, and wishing to mingle some evil with this good, she inspired a quarrel, on a trifling pretext, between Belisarius and Constantinus; and how this grew and to what end it came I shall now go on to relate. There was a certain Presidius, a Roman living at Ravenna, and a man of no mean station. This Presidius had given offence to the Goths at the time when Vittigis was about to march against Rome, and so he set out with some few of his domestics ostensibly on a hunting expedition, and went into exile; he had communicated his plan to no one and took none of his property with him, except indeed that he himself carried two daggers, the scabbards of which happened to be adorned with much gold and precious stones. And when he came to Spolantium, he lodged in a certain temple outside the fortifications. And when Constantinus, who happened to be still tarrying there, heard of this, he sent one of his guards, Maxentius, and took away from him both the daggers for no good reason. The man was deeply offended by what had taken place, and set out for Rome with all speed and came to Belisarius, and Constantinus also arrived there not long afterward; for the Gothic army was already reported to be not far away. Now as long as the affairs of the Romans were critical and in confusion, Presidius remained silent; but when he saw that the Romans were gaining the upper hand and that the envoys of the Goths had been sent to the emperor, as has been told by me above, he frequently approached Belisarius reporting the injustice and demanding that he assist him in obtaining his rights. And Belisarius reproached Constantinus many times himself, and many times through others, urging him to clear himself of the guilt of an unjust deed and of a dishonouring report. But Constantinus — for it must needs be that evil befall him — always lightly evaded the charge and taunted the wronged man. But on one occasion Presidius met Belisarius riding on horseback in the forum, and he laid hold of the horse's bridle, and crying out with a loud voice asked whether the laws of the emperor said that, whenever anyone fleeing from the barbarians comes to them as a suppliant, they should rob him by violence of whatever he may chance to have in his hands. And though many men gathered about and commanded him with threats to let go his hold of the bridle, he did not let go until at last Belisarius promised to give him the daggers. On the following day, therefore, Belisarius called Constantinus and many of the commanders to an apartment in the palace, and after going over what had happened on the previous day urged him even at that late time to restore the daggers. But Constantinus refused to do so; nay, he would more gladly throw them into the waters of the Tiber than give them to Presidius. And Belisarius, being by now mastered by anger, enquired whether Constantinus did not think that he was subject to his orders.

And he agreed to obey him in all other things, for this was the emperor's will; this command, however, which at the present time he was laying upon him, he would never obey. Belisarius then commanded his guards to enter, whereupon Constantinus said: "In order, plainly, to have them kill me." "By no means," said Belisarius, "but to have them compel your bodyguard Maxentius, who forcibly carried away the daggers for you, to restore to the man what he took from him by violence." But Constantinus, thinking that he was to die that very instant, wished to do some great deed before he should suffer anything himself. He accordingly drew the dagger which hung by his thigh and suddenly thrust it at the belly of Belisarius. And he in consternation stepped back, and by throwing his arms around Bessas, who was standing near, succeeded in escaping the blow. Then Constantinus, still boiling with anger, made after him; but Ildiger and Valerian, seeing what was being done, laid hold of his hands, one of the right and the other of the left, and dragged him back. And at this point the guards entered whom Belisarius had summoned a moment before, snatched the dagger of Constantinus from his hand with great violence, and seized him amid a great uproar. At the moment they did him no harm, out of respect, I suppose, to the officers present, but led him away to another room at the command of Belisarius, and at a somewhat later time put him to death. This was the only unholy deed done by Belisarius, and it was in no way worthy of the character of the man; for he always shewed great gentleness in his treatment of all others. But it had to be, as I have said, that evil should befall Constantinus.

Γότθοι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς Ῥώμης τὸν περίβολον κακουργεῖν ἤθελον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τινὰς ἐς τῶν ὀχετῶν ἓνα νύκτωρ καθῆκαν, ὧν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφήρηντο. [2] οἱ δὲ λύχνα τε καὶ δῆδας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνθένδε εἰσόδου. ἔτυχε δὲ τινὰ διώρυχα οὐ μακρὰν Πιγκιανῆς πυλίδος τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τούτου κύρτωμα ἔχον, [3] ὅθεν δὴ τῶν τις φυλάκων τὸ πῦρ κατιδὼν τοῖς ξυμφυλάσσουσιν ἔφρασεν: οἱ δὲ λύκον αὐτοῦ παριόντα ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν. [4] ταύτη γὰρ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπερέχειν τὴν τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ξυνέβαινε, πυρὶ δὲ εἰκάζεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ λύκου ὀφθαλμοὺς ᾤοντο. [5] τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὅσοι τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἀπεπειράσαντο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἔνθα δὴ ἄνοδος τις ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς αὐτό που τὸ Παλάτιον φέρονσα, οἰκοδομία τινὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐνέτυχον οὔτε πρόσω ἰέναι τὸ λοιπὸν συγχωρούση οὔτε τῇ ἀναβάσει τὸ παράπαν χρῆσθαι. [6] ταύτην δὲ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν Βελισάριος προμηθεῖα τινὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆσδε τῆς πολιορκίας πεποίηται, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. [7] λίθον οὖν ἓνα βραχὺν ἐνθένδε ἀφελόντες ὀπίσω τε ἀναστρέφειν εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν ἐπανήκοντες τὸν τε λίθον ἐνδεικνύμενοι πάντα ἀπήγγελλον. [8] καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἅμα τοῖς Γότθων ἀρίστοις ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἀμφὶ πυλίδι Πιγκιανῇν εἶχον, μνήμην τῆς τοῦ λύκου ὑποψίας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦντο τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς Βελισάριον ἦλθεν, οὐ παρέργως ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα

ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας τε αὐτίκα τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δοκίμων ξὺν Διογένει τῷ δορυφόρῳ ἐς τὸν ὀχετὸν καθῆκε καὶ διερευνήσασθαι ἅπαντα ξὺν πολλῷ τάχει ἐκέλευσεν. [10] οἱ δὲ τὰ λύχνα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν δάδων ὅσα διερρυήκει πανταχοῦ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ εὖρον, καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἣ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τῶν Γόθων ἀφήρητο κατανενοηκότες Βελισαρίῳ ἀπήγγελλον. [11] διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ὀχετὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ φυλακῇ ἔσχε καὶ οἱ Γόθοι αἰσθόμενοι ταύτης δὴ τῆς πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. [12] Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἔφοδον κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμηχανῶντο οἱ βάρβαροι. τηρήσαντες οὖν τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν κλίμακάς τε καὶ πῦρ ἐπαγόμενοι, ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων προσδεχομένων, ἐπὶ πυλίδα Πιγκιανὴν ἤεσαν, ἐλπίδι θαρροῦντες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, ἅτε οὐ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα λειφθέντων. [13] ἔτυχε δὲ Ἰλδίγερ τηνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυλακὴν ἔχων· ἕκαστοι γὰρ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν ἐτετάχατο. [14] ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶδε προσιόντας οὐκ ἐν τάξει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπήντησέ τε οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις ἐς παράταξιν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἰοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τρεψάμενος συχνοὺς ἔκτεινε. [15] κραυγῆς δὲ μεγάλης καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, γεγεννημένης Ῥωμαῖοι τε ὡς τάχιστα πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου ξυνέρρεον καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄπρακτοι ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐχώρησαν. [16] Οὐίττιγיס δὲ αὐθις ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ περιβόλου καθίστατο. καί, ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐπιμαχωτάτη μάλιστα μοῖρα, ἣ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἡ ὄχθη ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ταύτῃ οἱ πάλοι Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ ὀχυρώματι τὸ τεῖχος ἀπημελημένως ἐδεύοντο, βραχύ τε αὐτὸ καὶ πύργων ἔρημον παντάπασι ποιησάμενοι, ῥῶον ἐνθένδε ἤλπιζε τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι φυλακτήριον λόγου ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [17] δύο οὖν Ῥωμαῖους ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν ὤκημένους χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει οἶνου ἄσκον ἔχοντας παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνη φρουροὺς ἰέναι περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸν οἶνον τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ φιλοφροσύνην ἐνδείκνυμένους χαρίζεσθαι, εἴτα ξὺν αὐτοῖς πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν καθημένους πίνειν, ἐκάστω τε ἐς τὴν κύλικα ὑπνωτικὸν ἐμβαλεῖν φάρμακον ὅπερ σφίσιν αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει. [18] ἀκάτους δὲ λάθρα ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ὄχθῃ ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος εἶχεν, αἷς δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινάς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα οἱ φύλακες ὑπνῷ ἔχοντο, ξὺν κλίμαξιν ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντας τὴν ἐπιθεσιν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. [19] τό τε στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαζεν ὅλον, ὅπως ἅπασα κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἀλώη. [20] τούτων δὲ οὕτω ξυγκειμένων σφίσι· τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἄτερος τοῖν Οὐίττιγιδι ἐς ταύτην δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι τὴν ὑπουργίαν ὅτι γὰρ ἔδει Ῥωμαῖους τούτῳ τῷ Γόθων στρατοπέδῳ ἀλῶναι αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐλθὼν Βελισαρίῳ τε ἅπαντα φράζει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐνδείκνυσιν. [21] ὃς δὴ αἰκίζόμενος ἐς φῶς τε ἅπαντα ἠνεγκεν ὅσα δρᾶν ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἐπεδείκνυν ὅπερ Οὐίττιγισ αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει. [22] καὶ αὐτοῦ Βελισάριος τὴν τε ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα λωβησάμενος ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ χαράκωμα ὄνῳ ὀχοῦμενον ἔπεμψε. [23] καὶ κατιδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐφῆ σφῶν τὰ βουλευμένα ὁδῷ ἰέναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡ πόλις σφίσιν ἀλώσιμος εἴη.

IX

And the Goths not long after this wished to strike a blow at the fortifications of Rome. And first they sent some men by night into one of the aqueducts, from which they themselves had taken out the water at the beginning of this war. And with lamps and torches in their hands they explored the entrance into the city by this way. Now it happened that not far from the small Pincian Gate an arch of this aqueduct had a sort of crevice in it, and one of the guards saw the light through this and told his companions; but they said that he had seen a wolf passing by his post. For at that point it so happened that the structure of the aqueduct did not rise high above the ground, and they thought that the guard had imagined the wolf's eyes to be fire. So those barbarians who explored the aqueduct, upon reaching the middle of the city, where there was an upward passage built in olden times leading to the palace itself, came upon some masonry there which allowed them neither to advance beyond that point nor to use the ascent at all. This masonry had been put in by Belisarius as an act of precaution at the beginning of this siege, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative. So they decided first to remove one small stone from the wall and then to go back immediately, and when they returned to Vittigis, they displayed the stone and reported the whole situation. And while he was considering his scheme with the best of the Goths, the Romans who were on guard at the Pincian Gate recalled among themselves on the following day the suspicion of the wolf. But when the story was passed around and came to Belisarius, the general did not treat the matter carelessly, but immediately sent some of the notable men in the army, together with the guardsman Diogenes, down into the aqueduct and bade them investigate everything with all speed. And they found all along the aqueduct the lamps of the enemy and the ashes which had dropped from their torches, and after observing the masonry where the stone had been taken out by the Goths, they reported to Belisarius. For this reason he personally kept the aqueduct under close guard; and the Goths, perceiving it, desisted from this attempt.

But later on the barbarians went so far as to plan an open attack against the fortifications. So they waited for the time of lunch, and bringing up ladders and fire, when their enemy were least expecting them, made an assault upon the small Pincian Gate, emboldened by the hope of capturing the city by a sudden attack, since not many soldiers had been left there. But it happened that Ildiger and his men were keeping guard at that time; for all were assigned by turns to guard-duty. So when he saw the enemy advancing in disorder, he went out against them before they were yet drawn up in line of battle and while they were advancing in great disarray, and routing those who were opposite him without any trouble he slew many. And a great outcry and commotion arose throughout the city, as was to be expected, and the Romans

gathered as quickly as possible to all parts of the fortifications; whereupon the barbarians after a short time retired to their camp baffled.

But Vittigis resorted again to a plot against the wall. Now there was a certain part of it that was especially vulnerable, where the bank of the Tiber is, because at this place the Romans of old, confident in the protection afforded by the stream, had built the wall carelessly, making it low and altogether without towers; Vittigis therefore hoped to capture the city rather easily from that quarter. For indeed there was not even any garrison there of any consequence, as it happened. He therefore bribed with money two Romans who lived near the church of Peter the Apostle to pass along by the guards there at about nightfall carrying a skin full of wine, and in some way or other, by making a show of friendship, to give it to them, and then to sit drinking with them well on into the night; and they were to throw into the cup of each guard a sleep-producing drug which Vittigis had given them. And he stealthily got ready some skiffs, which he kept at the other bank; as soon as the guards should be overcome by sleep, some of the barbarians, acting in concert, were to cross the river in these, taking ladders with them, and make the assault on the wall. And he made ready the entire army with the intention of capturing the whole city by storm. After these arrangements were all complete, one of the two men who had been prepared by Vittigis for this service (for it was not fated that Rome should be captured by this army of the Goths) came of his own accord to Belisarius and revealed everything, and told who the other man was. So this man under torture brought to light all that he was about to do and displayed the drug which Vittigis had given him. And Belisarius first mutilated his nose and ears and then sent him riding on an ass into the enemy's camp. And when the barbarians saw him, they realised that God would not allow their purposes to have free course, and that therefore the city could never be captured by them.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, ἐν τούτῳ Βελισάριος γράψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἔργου ἐκέλευεν ἔχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις ἱπευθεὶς τὴν Πικηνῶν περιῶν χώραν τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἐληΐζετο πάντα, παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενος λόγῳ. [2] Οὐλίθεόν τε, τὸν Οὐιτιτίγιδος θεῖον, ζὺν Γότθων στρατῷ ὑπαντιάσαντα μάχῃ νικήσας αὐτόν τε κτείνει καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν. [3] διὸ δὴ οὐδεὶς οἱ ἐτόλμα ἔτι ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφῆκτο ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν, Γότθων μὲν ἐνταῦθα φρουρὰν οὐκ ἀξιόχρεόν τινα ἔμαθεν εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ ὄχυρόν τε καὶ ἀνάλωτον κατενόησε τὸ χωρίον. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσεδρεύειν μὲν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα πρόσω ἤλαυνε. [5] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Οὐρβῖνον ἀμφὶ πόλιν ἐποίει, ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων ἐσήλανε, ἥπερ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ῥαβέννης διέχει. [6] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ὑποψία ἐς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς οἰκήτορας πολλῇ χρώμενοι, ἐπειδὴ προΐεναι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐπύθοντο, ἀπεχώρησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ ἰόντες ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο. [7] οὕτω δὲ Ἰωάννης Ἀρίμινον ἔσχε πολεμίων φρουρὰν

ὀπισθεν ἔν τε Αὐξίμῳ καὶ Οὐρβίνῳ ἀπολιπών, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Βελισαρίου ἐντολῶν ἐς λήθην ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενος, ἐπεὶ ζὺν τῷ δραστηρίῳ τὸ ζυνετὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἦν Γότθοι πύθωνται τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά πη Ῥαβέννης εἶναι, αὐτίκα μάλα τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλύσουσι προσεδρεῖαν, [8] ἀμφὶ τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ δεῖσαντες. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Οὐίτιγίς τε καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατὸς Ἀρίμινον ἔχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσαν, ἐς μέγα δέος ἀμφὶ Ῥαβέννη ἐμπεπωκότες ἄλλο τε ὑπολογισάμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν, εὐθυωρὸν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποίησαντο, [9] ὥς μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται. καὶ μέγα τι κλέος ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ἰωάννης ἔσχε, διαβόητος καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὢν. [10] τολμητὴς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ αὐτουργὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἔς τε τοὺς κινδύνους ἄοκνος, δίαίτάν τε σκληρὰν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν τινὰ ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχε βαρβάρου ὀτουοῦν ἢ στρατιώτου οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης τοιόσδε τις ἦν. [11] Ματασοῦνθα δέ, ἡ τοῦ Οὐιτιγίδος γυνή, δεινῶς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀχθομένη, ὅτι δὴ οἱ βία τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἤκειν ἐπύθετο, περιχαρὴς τε ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε καὶ πέμψασα παρ' αὐτὸν λάθρα γάμου τε καὶ προδοσίας περὶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε. [12] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πέμποντες αἰεὶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. Γότθοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Ἀρίμινον ἔμαθον καὶ ἅμα ζύμπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοιπεί, ὃ τε τῶν τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐξῆκεν ἤδη, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καίπερ οὐπω τι τῶν πρέσβεων ἔνεκα πεπυσμένοι. [13] τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔτους ἀμφὶ τροπὰς ἑαρινὰς ἦν, τῇ δὲ πολιορκία ἐνιαυτὸς τε ἐτέτριπτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ ἡμέραι ἐννέα, ὅτε οἱ Γότθοι ἅπαντα σφῶν τὰ χαρακώματα καύσαντες, ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὁδοῦ εἶχοντο. [14] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ φεύγοντας ὀρῶντες τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον ἢ τὸ παρὸν θήσονται. τῶν τε γὰρ ἱππέων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ παρεῖναι τηνικαῦτα ζυνέβαινε, ἄλλων ἄλλῃ πη ἐσταλμένων, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, αὐτοὶ τε ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πολεμίων οὐκ ᾔοντο εἶναι. ἅπαντας μέντοι πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἱππείας Βελισάριος ὥπλισε. [15] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ διαβάντας τὴν γέφυραν εἶδεν, ἐξῆγε διὰ Πιγκιανῆς πύλης τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ τε μάχῃ ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονε τῶν προτέρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦσσαν. [16] καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν καρτερῶς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς πολεμίους ὕφισταμένων, πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ζυμβολῇ ἔπεσον· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Γότθοι τραπόμενοι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος ἐποίουν· [17] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἠπειγέτο πρῶτος. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ἐς στενοχωρίαν πολλὴν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἔπασχον· πρὸς τε γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. [18] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καταδύομενοι ἔθνησκον. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες οἱ λοιποὶ τοῖς πρότερον διαβάσι ζυνέμιζαν. [19] Λογγίνος δὲ Ἰσαυρος καὶ Μουνδύλας, οἱ Βελισαρίου δορυφόροι, διαφερόντως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἠρίστευσαν. ἀλλὰ Μουνδύλας μὲν τέτρασι βαρβάροις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν ἐκτείνε τε ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη· [20] Λογγίνος δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων τροπῆς αἰτιώτατος γεγινὼς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών.

X

But while these things were happening, Belisarius wrote to John and commanded him to begin operations. And he with his two thousand horsemen began to go about the land of Picenum and to plunder everything before him, treating the women and children of the enemy as slaves. And when Ulitheus, the uncle of Vittigis, confronted him with an army of Goths, he defeated them in battle and killed Ulitheus himself and almost the whole army of the enemy. For this reason no one dared any longer to engage with him. But when he came to the city of Auximus, though he learned that it contained a Gothic garrison of inconsiderable size, yet in other respects he observed that the place was strong and impossible to capture. And for this reason he was quite unwilling to lay siege to it, but departing from there as quickly as he could, he moved forward. And he did this same thing at the city of Urbinus, but at Ariminum, which is one day's journey distant from Ravenna, he marched into the city at the invitation of the Romans. Now all the barbarians who were keeping guard there were very suspicious of the Roman inhabitants, and as soon as they learned that this army was approaching, they withdrew and ran until they reached Ravenna. And thus John secured Ariminum; but he had meanwhile left in his rear a garrison of the enemy both at Auximus and at Urbinus, not because he had forgotten the commands of Belisarius, nor because he was carried away by unreasoning boldness, since he had wisdom as well as energy, but because he reasoned — correctly, as it turned out — that if the Goths learned that the Roman army was close to Ravenna, they would instantly break up the siege of Rome because of their fears regarding this place. And in fact his reasoning proved to be true. For as soon as Vittigis and the army of the Goths heard that Ariminum was held by him, they were plunged into great fear regarding Ravenna, and abandoning all other considerations, they straightway made their withdrawal, as will be told by me directly. And John won great fame from this deed, though he was renowned even before. For he was a daring and efficient man in the highest degree, unflinching before danger, and in his daily life shewing at all times a certain austerity and ability to endure hardship unsurpassed by any barbarian or common soldier. Such a man was John. And Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, who was exceedingly hostile to her husband because he had taken her to wife by violence in the beginning, upon learning that John had come to Ariminum was absolutely overcome by joy, and sending a messenger to him opened secret negotiations with him concerning marriage and the betrayal of the city.

So these two kept sending messengers to each other without the knowledge of the rest and arranging these matters. But when the Goths learned what had happened at Ariminum, and when at the same time all their provisions had failed them, and the three months' time had already expired, they began to

make their withdrawal, although they had not as yet received any information as far as the envoys were concerned. Now it was about the spring equinox, and one year had been spent in the siege and nine days in addition, when the Goths, having burned all their camps, set out at daybreak. And the Romans, seeing their opponents in flight, were at a loss how to deal with the situation. For it so happened that the majority of the horsemen were not present at that time, since they had been sent to various places, as has been stated by me above, and they did not think that by themselves they were a match for so great a multitude of the enemy. However, Belisarius armed all the infantry and cavalry. And when he saw that more than half of the enemy had crossed the bridge, he led the army out through the small Pincian Gate, and the hand-to-hand battle which ensued proved to be equal to any that had preceded it. At the beginning the barbarians withstood their enemy vigorously, and many on both sides fell in the first encounter; but afterwards the Goths turned to flight and brought upon themselves a great and overwhelming calamity; for each man for himself was rushing to cross the bridge first. As a result of this they became very much crowded and suffered most cruelly, for they were being killed both by each other and by the enemy. Many, too, fell off the bridge on either side into the Tiber, sank with all their arms, and perished. Finally, after losing in this way the most of their number, the remainder joined those who had crossed before. And Longinus the Isaurian and Mundilas, the guards of Belisarius, made themselves conspicuous for their valour in this battle. But while Mundilas, after engaging with four barbarians in turn and killing them all, was himself saved, Longinus, having proved himself the chief cause of the rout of the enemy, fell where he fought, leaving the Roman army great regret for his loss.

Οὐίτιγίς μὲν οὖν στρατῷ τῷ καταλοιπῷ ἐπὶ Ραβέννης ἰὼν τῶν χωρίων τὰ ὀχυρώματα πλήθει φρουρῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐν Κλουσίῳ μὲν τῇ Τούσκων πόλει χιλίους τε ἄνδρας καὶ ἄρχοντα Γιβίμερα ἀπολιπών, ἐν τε Οὐρβιβεντῷ τοσοούτους, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Ἀλβίλαν ἄνδρα Γότθον ἐπέστησε. καὶ Οὐλιγίσalon ἐν τῇ Τουδέρα ζὺν τετρακοσίους κατέλιπεν. [2] ἐν δὲ δὴ Πικηνῶν τῇ χώρᾳ τετρακοσίους μὲν ἐς Πέτραν τὸ φρούριον εἴασεν, οἱ καὶ πρότερον ταύτῃ ὤκνητο, ἐν Αὐξίμῳ δέ, ἣ πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐκείνῃ πόλεων ἐστὶ, Γότθους τε ἀριστίνδην ζυνηλεγμένους τετρακισχιλίους κατέλιπε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐς ἄγαν δραστήριον Οὐίσανδον ὄνομα, ζὺν τε τῷ Μώρα δισχιλίους ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ τῇ πόλει. [3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια δύο, Καισιηνά τε καὶ Μοντεφέρετρα, ὧν δὴ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ φρουρὰν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ κατὰ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν κατεστήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ εὐθὺς Ἀριμίνου ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐχώρει. [4] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γότθοι τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, Ἰλδίγερά τε καὶ Μαρτίνον ζὺν ἰπεῦσι χιλίους πέμψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐτέρας ὁδοῦ θάπτον ἰόντες φθάσωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλεν Ἰωάννην μὲν καὶ τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστῆσαι ὡς τάχιστα, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἱκανοὺς μάλιστα ἐς

τῆς πόλεως τὴν φυλακὴν καταστήσασθαι, ἐκ φρουρίου ἀφελομένους ὃ δὴ πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ Ἰονίῳ ἐστίν, Ἀγκῶν ὄνομα, [5] δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Ἀριμίνου διέχον. ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὸ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον κατελήφει, Κόνωνα ξὺν τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ Θρακῶν στρατεύματι οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πέμψας. [6] ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἦν πεζοὶ τε καὶ μόνοι ἀρχόντων οὐκ ἀξιολόγων σφίσι παρόντων Ἀρίμινον ἔχωσιν, οὐποτε αὐτῆς ἐς πολιορκίαν Γόθων τὴν δύναμιν καταστήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδόντας ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης αὐτίκα ἰέναι, ἦν τε Ἀρίμινον πολιορκεῖν ἐθελήσωσι, τοῖς τε πεζοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς πλείω τινὰ χρόνον ἀρκέσειν: [7] καὶ ὥς ἱππεῖς δισχιλίοι ἐξῴθεν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἰόντες πολλὰ τε κακά, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσσονται καὶ ῥᾶον ἐς τῆς προσεδρείας αὐτοὺς τὴν διάλυσιν ξυνελάσουσι. [8] τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Βελισάριος τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν. οἱ δὲ διὰ Φλαμινίας ὁδοῦ πορευόμενοι λίαν τε τοὺς βαρβάρους προτερήσαντες ἦσαν. [9] ἅτε γὰρ ἐν πολλῷ ὁμίλῳ οἱ Γόθοι σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ περιόδοις ἠναγκάζοντο μακραῖς τισι χρῆσθαι τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Φλαμινίᾳ ὁδῷ ὀχυρωμάτων ἥκιστα ἐθέλοντες ἄγχιστά πη ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται, Ναρνίαν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον καὶ Περυσίαν εἶχον. [10] Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐνέτυχον, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, ἀπεπειράσαντο τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὀχύρωμα οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐτεκτήναντο, ἀλλὰ τοῦ χωρίου ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν: ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐς ἄγαν κρημνώδης. [11] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ποταμὸς τις οὐδενὶ ἐσβατὸς ὀξύτητι τοῦ ῥοῦ κάτεισιν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν πέτρα ἀνέχει ἀπότομός τε καὶ ὕψους ἐς τόσον διήκουσα, ὥστε τοῖς κάτω οὗσι φαινόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐστήκασιν, ὄρνισι τοῖς μικροτάτοις μεγέθους περὶ εἰκάζονται. [12] προϊόντι τε διέξοδος οὐδεμία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν. λήγουσα γὰρ ἡ πέτρα ἐς αὐτόν που μάλιστα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν ῥοῦν διήκει, διάβασιν τοῖς ταύτῃ ἰοῦσιν οὐδεμίαν παρεχόμενη. [13] διώρυχα τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι ἐργασάμενοι, πυλίδα τῷ χωρίῳ ταύτῃ πεποιήνται. [14] φράζαντες δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας εἰσόδου τὸ πλεῖστον, πλην γε δὴ ὅσον πυλίδα κάνταῦθα λελεῖσθαι, φρουρίον τε αὐτοφυὲς ἀπειργάσαντο καὶ Πέτραν αὐτὸ λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι ἐκάλεσαν. [15] οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰλδίγερα πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τῶν πυλίδων τὴν ἐτέραν μαχόμενοι τε καὶ πολλὰ βάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἦνυτον, καίπερ ἥκιστα σφᾶς ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους κατόπισθεν τὴν ἄνοδον βιασάμενοι κατὰ κορυφὴν λίθοις ἔβαλον ἐνθὲνδε τοὺς Γόθους. [16] οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδενὸς ἐπιτυγχάνειν οἰοί τε ἦσαν ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, ἐπενόουν τάδε. [17] τμήματα μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ σκοπέλου ποιούμενοι πολλοὶ θ' ἅμα ὠθοῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας σταθμώμενοι ἐρρίπτουν. [18] τὰ δὲ ὅπη ἂν τῆς οἰκοδομίας καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προσπίπτοντα ψαυοί, κατέσειέ τε ἱκανῶς ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς μέγα τι δέος καθίστη. [19] διὸ δὴ χεῖράς τε οἱ Γόθοι τοῖς ἔτι ἀμφὶ τὴν πυλίδα οὗσιν ὥρεγον καὶ ξὺν τῷ φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία παρέδοσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως τε δοῦλοι καὶ Βελισαρίου κατήκοοι ὄντες. [20] καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ Μαρτίνος τοὺς μὲν

πλείστους ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἤγον, ὀλίγους δέ
τινας ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ τε καὶ γυναξιν αὐτοῦ εἴασαν. ἐλίποντο δέ τινα καὶ
Ῥωμαίων φρουράν. ^[21] ἐνθὲνδε τε ἐς Ἀγκῶνα ἐλθόντες καὶ πολλοὺς
ἀπαγαγόμενοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ πεζῶν ἐς Ἀρίμινον τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο, τὴν τε
Βελισαρίου γνώμην ἀπήγγελλον. ^[22] Ἰωάννης δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔπεσθαι ἤθελε καὶ
Δαμιανὸν ξὺν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις κατεῖχεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ
ἀπολιπόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐνθὲνδε ξὺν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις τε καὶ
ὑπασπισταῖς ἀνεχώρησαν.

XI

Now Vittigis with the remainder of his army marched toward Ravenna; and he strengthened the fortified places with a great number of guards, leaving in Clusium, the city of Tuscany, one thousand men and Gibimer as commander, and in Urventus an equal number, over whom he set Albilas, a Goth, as commander. And he left Uligisalus in Tudera with four hundred men. And in the land of Picenum he left in the fortress of Petra four hundred men who had lived there previously, and in Auximus, which is the largest of all the cities of that country, he left four thousand Goths selected for their valour and a very energetic commander, Visandus by name, and two thousand men with Moras in the city of Urbinus. There are also two other fortresses, Caesena and Monteferetra, in each of which he established a garrison of not less than five hundred men. Then he himself with the rest of the army moved straight for Ariminum with the purpose of laying siege to it.

But it happened that Belisarius, as soon as the Goths had broken up the siege of Rome, had sent Ildiger and Martinus with a thousand horsemen, in order that by travelling more quickly by another road they might arrive at Ariminum first, and he directed them promptly to remove John from the city and all those with him, and to put in their place fully enough men to guard the city, taking them from the fortress which is on the Ionian Gulf, Ancon by name, two days' journey distant from Ariminum. For he had already taken possession of it not long before, having sent Conon with no small force of Isaurians and Thracians. It was his hope that if unsupported infantry under commanders of no great note should hold Ariminum, the Gothic forces would never undertake its siege, but would regard it with contempt and so go at once to Ravenna, and that if they should decide to besiege Ariminum, the provisions there would suffice for the infantry for a somewhat longer time; and he thought also that two thousand horsemen, attacking from outside with the rest of the army, would in all probability do the enemy great harm and drive them more easily to abandon the siege. It was with this purpose that Belisarius gave such orders to Martinus and Ildiger and their men. And they, by travelling over the Flaminian Way, arrived long before the barbarians. For since the Goths were moving in a great throng, they proceeded in a more leisurely manner, and they were compelled to make certain long detours, both because of the lack of provisions, and because they preferred not to pass close to the fortresses on the Flaminian Way, Narnia and Spolitium and Perusia, since these were in the hands of the enemy, as has been stated above.

When the Roman army arrived at Petra, they made an attack upon the fortress there, regarding it as an incident of their expedition. Now this fortress was not devised by man, but it was made by the nature of the place; for the road

passes through an extremely mountainous country at that place. On the right of this road a river descends which no man can ford because of the swiftness of the current, and on the left not far away rises a sheer rock which reaches to such a height that men who might chance to be standing on its summit, as seen by those below, resemble in size the smallest birds. And in olden times there was no passage through as one went forward. For the end of the rock reaches to the very stream of the river, affording no room for those who travel that way to pass by. So the men of ancient times constructed a tunnel at that point, and made there a gate for the place. And they also closed up the greatest part of the other entrance, leaving only enough space for a small gate there also, and thus rendered the place a natural fortress, which they call by the fitting name of Petra. So the men of Martinus and Ildiger first made an attack upon one of the two gates, and shot many missiles, but they accomplished nothing, although the barbarians there made no defence at all; but afterwards they forced their way up the cliff behind the fortress and hurled stones from there upon the heads of the Goths. And they, hurriedly and in great confusion, entered their houses and remained quiet. And then the Romans, unable to hit any of the enemy with the stones they threw, devised the following plan. They broke off large pieces from the cliff and, many of them pushing together, hurled them down, aiming at the houses. And wherever these in their fall did no more than just graze the building, they yet gave the whole fortress a considerable shock and reduced the barbarians to great fear. Consequently the Goths stretched out their hands to those who were still about the gate and surrendered themselves and the fort, with the condition that they themselves should remain free from harm, being slaves of the emperor and subject to Belisarius. And Ildiger and Martinus removed the most of them and led them away, putting them on a basis of complete equality with themselves, but some few they left there, together with their wives and children. And they also left something of a garrison of Romans. Thence they proceeded to Ancon, and taking with them many of the infantry in that place on the third day reached Ariminum, and announced the will of Belisarius. But John was not only unwilling himself to follow them, but also proposed to retain Damianus with the four hundred. So they left there the infantry and retired thence with all speed, taking the spearmen and guards of Belisarius.

Καὶ Οὐίτιγισ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. αὐτίκα τε πύργον ξύλινον τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καθυπέρτερον τεκτηνάμενοι τροχοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀνεχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤγον, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [2] ὅπως δὲ μὴ πάθωσιν ὅπερ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, οὐ διὰ τῶν βοῶν τὸν πύργον ἤγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἔνδον κρυπτόμενοι ἐφεῖλκον. [3] κλίμαξ δὲ ἦν τις τοῦ πύργου ἐντὸς εὐρεῖα ἐς ἄγαν, δι' ἣς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἀναβήσεσθαι εὐπετῶς ἔμελλον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τὸν πύργον τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσωσιν, ἐνθὲνδε πόνῳ οὐδενί

ἐπιβήσονται κατὰ τὰς τοῦ τείχους ἐπάλξεις· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ πύργου ὑπερβολὴ εἵργαστο. [4] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀγχιστὰ πη ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ξυνεσκοτάζεν ἤδη, φύλακας δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν πύργον κατασθησάμενοι ἠϋλίσαντο ἅπαντες, ἐναντίωμα οὐδ' ὅτιον ἔσσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἐμπόδιον, οὐδὲ τάφρος ἐν μέσῳ ὅτι μὴ βραχεῖα παντάπασιν ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα. Οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν δέει πολλῶ ὥς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἀπολούμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [6] Ἰωάννης δὲ οὔτε ἀπογνοὺς πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον οὔτε τῷ δέει ξυνταραχθεὶς ἐπενόει τάδε. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις ἀπολιπών, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις δικέλλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τοιαῦτα ὄργανα φέρουσιν, ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων προειρημένον, ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος ἐκέλευσε σιωπῇ τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσειν. [7] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ τὸν χοῦν ὄνπερ ἐνθένδε ἀνηροῦντο ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐς τὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐς αἰετὶ ἐτίθεσαν, ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τοίχου ἐγίνετο. [8] λαθόντες τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοὺς πολεμίους καθεύδοντας βαθεῖαν τε καὶ εὖρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν τὴν τάφρον δι' ὀλίγου πεποιήνται, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπιμαχώτατός τε ὁ περιβόλος ἦν καὶ προσβάλλειν ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον. [9] οἱ δὲ πολεμιοὶ πόρρῳ που τῶν νυκτῶν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ ποιουμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ, καὶ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ τάφρῳ ὥς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. [10] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τὰ τε πεπραγμένα κατανοήσας καὶ περιαλγῆσας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι διεχρήσατο μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τινάς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσσον ἐπάγειν τὴν μηχανὴν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐκέλευε φακέλων πλῆθος τοὺς Γότθους ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ κατὰ τάχος ρίπτειν, οὕτω τε τὸν πύργον ἐνταῦθα ἐφέλκοντας ἄγειν. [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, ὥσπερ Οὐίτιγίς ἐπέτελλεν, ἔπρασσον προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, καίπερ τῶν ἐναντίων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένων. οἱ δὲ φάκελλοι, ἐμπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ πύργου, βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ὑπεχώρουν κάτω. [12] διὸ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι πρόσω ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ μηχανῇ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἄναντες σφίσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο, οὗ δὴ ξυννήσαντες τὸν χοῦν ἔτυχον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη. [13] Ῥωμαῖοι. δεῖσαντες οὖν μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγινομένης ἐπεξεληθόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν μηχανὴν καύσωσιν, [14] ὀπίσω αὐτὴν αὖθις ἐφείλκον. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης κωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἐξώπλισε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο: [15] Ἄνδρες, οἷς τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου ξὺν ἡμῖν μέτεστιν, εἴ τῳ ὑμῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐστὶ βιώναί τε καὶ τοὺς οἶκοι ἀπολελειμμένους ἰδεῖν, μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῷ κεκτημένος τὴν τούτων ἐλπίδα ἢ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ γνώτω. [16] ἡνῖκα μὲν γὰρ Βελισάριος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔστελλε, πολλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐλπίς τε καὶ ἔρως ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἔργου προθυμίαν ἐνήγον. [17] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν γῇ τῇ παραλία πολιορκηθῆσεσθαι ὑποπτεύομεν, οὕτω δὴ θαλασσοκρατούντων Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν περιόψεσθαι τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ὑπετόπησεν ἄν τις. [18] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τότε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὥρμα ἐπίδειξις τε τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐσόμενον κλέος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [19] νῦν δὲ οὔτε περιεῖναι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῆς εὐψυχίας, οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, ἐπάναγκές τε οὐκ ἄλλου του ἢ τοῦ βιώσεσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἕνεκα τοῦτον ὑποστῆναι τὸν

κίνδυνον. [20] ὥστε εἰ μὲν τισιν ὑμῶν ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιεῖσθαι ξυμβαίνει, πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδραγαθίζομένοις, εἴπερ τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοις, ἐνδόξοις γενέσθαι. [21] κτῶνται γὰρ εὐκλειαν οὐχ οἱ τῶν καταδεεστέρων κρατήσαντες, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐλασσοῦμενοι τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μεγέθει νικῶεν. [22] οἷς δὲ τὸ φιλόψυχον ἐμπέφυκε μᾶλλον, τούτοις δὴ μάλιστα τὸ εὐτόλμοις εἶναι ξυνοίσει, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οἷς τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν τανῦν, ἴσταται, μόνῳ ἂν τῷ τῶν κινδύνων ὑπερφρονεῖν διασώζονται.' [23] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Ἰωάννης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπολιπών. [24] ἀνδρείως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑφισταμένων τῶν πολέμιων γέγονε καρτερὰ ἐς ἄγαν ἢ μάχη. καὶ τὸν μὲν πύργον μόλις τε καὶ ὥπὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ σφέτερον οἱ βάρβαροι στρατόπεδον ἐνεγκεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [25] τοσούτους μέντοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀπέβαλον τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, ὥστε οὐκέτι τειχομαχεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπογνόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, λιμῷ πιεζομένους προσχωρήσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους караδοκοῦντες. λίαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοιπεί, ἐπεὶ οὐχ εὖρον ὅθεν αὐτὰ διαρκῶς ἐσκομίσονται. [26] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε. Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἤκουσι χιλιούς ἐπεμψεν Ἰσαύρους τε καὶ Θράκας. [27] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν Ἰσαύρων Ἐννης, τῶν δὲ Θρακῶν Παῦλος, Μουνδίλας τε ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπάσπιστῶν ἔχων. ξυνην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φιδέλιος, ὃς ἐγεγόνει τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος. [28] ἐκ Μεδιολάνου γὰρ ὁρμώμενος ἐπιτήδειος τούτῳ ἔδοξε τῷ στρατῷ ἐπεσθαι ἅτε δύναμιν τινα ἐν Λιγούροις ἔχων. [29] πλεῦσαντες οὖν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων λιμένος Γενοῦα προσέσχον, ἢ Τουσκίας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐσχάτη, παράπλου δὲ καλῶς Γάλλων τε καὶ Ἰσπανῶν κεῖται. [30] ἐνθα δὴ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, τοὺς λέμβους τῶν νηῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι, ὅπως ἂν Πάδον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι μηδὲν σφίσιν ἐμπόδιον εἴη. [31] οὕτω γοῦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Πάδον διαβάντες ἐς Τικηνὸν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, Γότθοι αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [32] ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ τιμιώτατα βάρβαροι ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτῃ ὄκνητο ἐν Τικηνῷ καταθέμενοι ἅτε ἐν χωρίῳ ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχοντι, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίποντο. [33] μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τρεψάμενοι διέφθειράν τε συχνούς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐλεῖν παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον. μόλις γὰρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς πύλας οἱ βάρβαροι ἴσχυσαν, ἐγκειμένων σφίσι τῶν πολέμιων. [34] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελαννόντων Φιδέλιος εὐξόμενος ἐς τινα τῶν ἐκεῖνῃ νεῶν ὕστατος ἔμεινε. τύχη δὲ τινι ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου ἔπεσε. [35] καὶ αὐτὸν κατιδόντες Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἐπεπτώκει, ἐπεξελθόντες ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἔλαθον τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗ δὴ ὕστερον Μουνδίλας τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἤσχαλλον. [36] Ἐνθεν τε ἐς Μεδιόλανον πόλιν ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμαχητὶ ξυν Ἀιγουρία τῇ ἄλλῃ ἔσχον. [37] ἅπερ ἐπειδὴ Οὐίττιγς ἔμαθε, στράτευμά τε πολὺ κατὰ τάχος καὶ Οὐραϊαν ἄρχοντα, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἐπεμψε. [38] καὶ Θεοδίδερτος δὲ οἱ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, ἄνδρας μυρίους δεηθέντι ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀπέστειλεν, οὐ Φράγγων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ Βουργουζιῶνων, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τὰ βασιλέως ἀδικεῖν

πράγματα. [39] οἱ γὰρ Βουργουζῖωνες ἐθελούσιοί τε καὶ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ, οὐ Θευδιβέρτῳ κελεύοντι ἐπακούοντες δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἀναμιχθέντες ἔς τε Μεδιόλανον Ῥωμαίων ἥκιστα προσδεχομένων ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. ταύτῃ γοῦν οὐδέ τι ἐσκομίσασθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἤχθοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ. [40] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν φυλακὴν οἱ στρατιῶται εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Μουνδύλας πόλεις τε καταλαβὼν ἔτυχεν ὅσαι Μεδιολάνου ἄγχιστα οὖσαι ὀχυρώματα εἶχον, Βέργομόν τε καὶ Κῶμον καὶ Νοβαρίας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα πολίσματα, καὶ φρουρὰς πανταχόθι λόγου ἀξίας καταστησάμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ τριακοσίους μάλιστα ἔχων ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ἔμεινε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἑννης τε καὶ Παῦλος. [41] ὥστε ἀνάγκῃ οἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰεὶ τὴν φυλακὴν εἶχον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιγούροις ἐφέρετο τῇδε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XII

And not long afterward Vittigis and his whole army arrived at Ariminum, where they established their camp and began the siege. And they immediately constructed a wooden tower higher than the circuit-wall of the city and resting on four wheels, and drew it toward that part of the wall which seemed to them most vulnerable. But in order that they might not have the same experience here which they had before the fortifications of Rome, they did not use oxen to draw the tower, but hid themselves within it and thus hauled it forward. And there was a stairway of great breadth inside the tower on which the barbarians in great numbers were to make the ascent easily, for they hoped that as soon as they should place the tower against the fortifications, they would have no trouble in stepping thence to the parapet of the wall; for they had made the tower high with this in view. So when they had come close to the fortifications with this engine of war, they remained quiet for the time, since it was already growing dark, and stationing guards about the tower they all went off to pass the night, supposing that they would meet with no obstacle whatever. And indeed there was nothing in their way, not even a trench between them and the wall, except an exceedingly small one.

As for the Romans, they passed the night in great fear, supposing that on the morrow they would perish. But John, neither yielding to despair in face of the danger nor being greatly agitated by fear, devised the following plan. Leaving the others on guard at their posts, he himself took the Isaurians, who carried pickaxes and various other tools of this kind, and went outside the fortifications; it was late in the night and no word had been given beforehand to anyone in the city; and once outside the wall, he commanded his men in silence to dig the trench deeper. So they did as directed, and as they dug they kept putting the earth which they took out of the trench upon the side of it nearer the city-wall, and there it served them as an earthwork. And since they were unobserved for a long time by the enemy, who were sleeping, they soon made the trench both deep and sufficiently wide, at the place where the fortifications were especially vulnerable and where the barbarians were going to make the assault with their engine of war. But far on in the night the enemy, perceiving what was being done, charged at full speed against those who were digging, and John went inside the fortifications with the Isaurians, since the trench was now in a most satisfactory condition.

But at daybreak Vittigis noted what had been accomplished and in his exceeding vexation at the occurrence executed some of the guards; however, he was as eager as before to bring his engine to bear, and so commanded the Goths to throw a great number of faggots as quickly as possible into the trench, and then by drawing the tower over them to bring it into position. This

they proceeded to do as Vittigis commanded, with all zeal, although their opponents kept fighting them back from the wall with the utmost vigour. But when the weight of the tower came upon the faggots they naturally yielded and sank down. For this reason the barbarians were quite unable to go forward with the engine, because the ground became still more steep before them, where the Romans had heaped up the earth as I have stated. Fearing, therefore, that when night came on the enemy would sally forth and set fire to the engine, they began to draw it back again. This was precisely what John was eager to prevent with all his power, and so he armed his soldiers, called them all together, and exhorted them as follows:

“My men, who share this danger common to us all, if it would please any man among you to live and see those whom he has left at home, let him realize that the only hope he has of obtaining these things lies in nothing but his own hands. For when Belisarius sent us forth in the beginning, hope and desire for many things made us eager for the task. For we never suspected that we should be besieged in the country along the coast, since the Romans command the sea so completely, nor would one have supposed that the emperor’s army would so far neglect us. But apart from these considerations, at that time we were prompted to boldness by an opportunity to display our loyalty to the state and by the glory which we should acquire in the sight of all men as the result of our struggles. But as things now stand, we cannot possibly survive save by courage, and we are obliged to undergo this danger with no other end in view than the saving of our own lives. Therefore, if any of you perchance lay claim to valour, all such have the opportunity to prove themselves brave men, if any men in the world have, and thereby to cover themselves with glory. For they achieve a fair name, not who overpower those weaker than themselves, but who, though inferior in equipment, still win the victory by the greatness of their souls. And as for those in whom the love of life has been more deeply implanted, it will be of advantage to these especially to be bold, for it is true of all men, as a general thing, that when their fortunes stand on the razor’s edge, as is now the case with us, they may be saved only by scorning the danger.”

With these words John led his army out against the enemy, leaving some few men to guard the battlement. But the enemy withstood them bravely, and the battle became exceedingly fierce. And with great difficulty and late in the day the barbarians succeeded in bringing the tower back to their own camp. However, they lost so great a number of their fighting men that they decided thenceforth to make no further attacks upon the wall, but in despair of succeeding that way, they remained quiet, expecting that their enemy would yield to them under stress of famine. For all their provisions had already failed them completely, since they had not found any place from which they could bring in a sufficient supply.

Such was the course of events here. But as for Belisarius, he sent to the representatives of Milan a thousand men, Isaurians and Thracians. The Isaurians were commanded by Ennes, the Thracians by Paulus, while Mundilas was set over them all and commanded in person, having as his guard some few of the guardsmen of Belisarius. And with them was also Fidelius, who had been made praetorian prefect. For since he was a native of Milan, he was regarded as a suitable person to go with this army, having as he did some influence in Liguria. They set sail, accordingly, from the harbour of Rome and put in at Genoa, which is the last city in Tuscany and well situated as a port of call for the voyage to Gaul and to Spain. There they left their ships and travelling by land moved forward, placing the boats of the ships on their waggons, in order that nothing might prevent their crossing the river Po. It was by this means, in any event, that they made the crossing of the river. And when they reached the city of Ticinum, after crossing the Po, the Goths came out against them and engaged them in battle. And they were not only numerous but also excellent troops, since all the barbarians who lived in that region had deposited the most valuable of their possessions in Ticinum, as being a place which had strong defences, and had left there a considerable garrison. So a fierce battle took place, but the Romans were victorious, and routing their opponents, they slew a great number and came within a little of capturing the city in the pursuit. For it was only with difficulty that the barbarians succeeded in shutting the gates, so closely did their enemy press upon their heels. And as the Romans were marching away, Fidelius went into a temple there to pray, and was the last to leave. But by some chance his horse stumbled and he fell. And since he had fallen very near the fortifications, the Goths seeing him came out and killed him without being observed by the enemy. Wherefore, when this was afterwards discovered by Mundilas and the Romans, they were greatly distressed.

Then, leaving Ticinum, they arrived at the city of Milan and secured this city with the rest of Liguria without a battle. When Vitigis learned about this, he sent a large army with all speed and Uraias, his own nephew, as commander. And Theudibert, the leader of the Franks, sent him at his request ten thousand men as allies, not of the Franks themselves, but Burgundians, in order not to appear to be doing injury to the emperor's cause. For it was given out that the Burgundians made the expedition willingly and of their own choice, not as obeying the command of Theudibert. And the Goths, joined by these troops, came to Milan, made camp and began a siege when the Romans were least expecting them. At any rate the Romans, through this action, found it impossible to bring in any kind of provisions, but they were immediately in distress for want of necessities. Indeed, even the guarding of the walls was not being maintained by the regular soldiers, for it so happened that Mundilas had occupied all the cities near Milan which had defences, namely Bergomum, Comum, and Novaria, as well as some other strongholds, and in every place

had established a considerable garrison, while he himself with about three hundred men remained in Milan, and with him Ennes and Paulus. Consequently and of necessity the inhabitants of the city were regularly keeping guard in turn. Such was the progress of events in Liguria, and the winter drew to its close, and the third year came to an end in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐπὶ τε Οὐίτιγιν καὶ τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦει, ὀλίγους μὲν τινας φρουρὰς ἔνεκα ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπολιπὼν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ζῆν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος. [2] πέμψας τέ τινας ἐς Τουδέραν τε καὶ Κλούσιον χαρακώματα ἐπήγγειλε ποιεῖσθαι, οἷς δὴ ἔψεσθαι τε ἔμελλε καὶ ξυμπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς τῆδε βαρβάρους. [3] οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ προσιόντα τὸν στρατὸν ἔμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὸν κίνδυνον πρέσβεις τε παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμψαν καὶ παραδώσειν ὁμολογία σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν ἑκατέραν ὑπέσχοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι. παραγενομένῳ τέ οἱ ἐπιτελῆ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐποίησαντο. [4] ὁ δὲ Γότθους μὲν ἅπαντας ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ἐπὶ Σικελίας τε καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἔπεμψεν, ἐν δὲ Κλουσίῳ καὶ Τουδέρᾳ φρουρὰν καταστησάμενος πρόσω ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίτιγιν στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἄρχοντα Οὐάκιμον ἐς Αὐξιμον πέμψας τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Γότθοις ἐκέλευεν ἀναμίγνυσθαι, καὶ ζῆν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκῶν πολεμίους ἰόντας ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ταύτῃ φρουρίου. [6] ὁ δὲ Ἀγκῶν οὗτος πέτρα τίς ἐστιν ἐγγώνιος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴληφε ταύτην: ἀγκῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμφερὴς ἐστιν. [7] ἀπέχει δὲ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα πόλεως μάλιστα Αὐξίμου, ἧς δὴ ἐστιν ἐπίνειον. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα ἐπὶ πέτρας τῆς ἐγγωνίου ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἅπαντα οἰκοδομήματα, καίπερ ὄντα πολλά, [8] ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀτείχιστα ἦν. Κόνων δέ, ὃς τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῇ ἐφειστήκει, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐάκιμον ἤκουσεν ἐπιέναι τε καὶ ἤδη που οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι, ἐπίδειξιν πεποιῆται ἀλογίστου γνώμης. [9] παρὰ φαῦλον γὰρ ἡγησάμενος τό τε φρούριον καὶ τοὺς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκήτορας ζῆν τοῖς στρατιώταις κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς διασώσασθαι, τὸ μὲν ὀχύρωμα εἶασε παντάπασι στρατιωτῶν ἔρημον, ἅπαντας δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων πέντε ὡς ἐς παράταξιν διεκόσμησεν, οὐ βαθεῖάν τινα τὴν φάλαγγα ποιησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὴν ὑπώρειαν ὅλην ὥσπερ ἐς κυνηγέσιον περιβάλλεσθαι. [10] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντας εἶδον, στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον εὐθὺς ἔφυγον. [11] ἐπιδιώξαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσιέναι, αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν, κλίμακας δὲ τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες, τῆς ἀνόδου ἀπεπειράσαντο. τινὲς δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκία ἔκαιον. [12] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὸ φρούριον ᾤκουν, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, προανακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα, κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ φεύγοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδέχοντο. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄγχιστα ἐγκειμένους τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἶδον, ὅπως μὴ συνεισβάλλωσι δέισαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας κατὰ τάχος ἐπέθεντο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπάλξεων βρόχους καθέντες, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ Κόνωνα αὐτὸν ἀνέλκοντες διεσώσαντο. [14] ταῖς μέντοι κλίμαξιν ἀνιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι

παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον τὸ φρούριον κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνδρες δύο, ἔργα θαυμάσια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἤδη αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι γενομένους ἀρετῇ ὤσαντο, ὧν ὁ μὲν Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἦν ἐκ Θράκης, Οὐλιμουθ ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ Βαλεριανοῦ, Γουβουλγουδοῦ, ^[15] Μασσαγέτης γένος. τοῦτ' ἂν τῷ ἄνδρῃ τύχῃ μὲν τινι καταπεπλευκότε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐτυχέτην: ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ τοὺς ἀνιόντας τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τὸ μὲν φρούριον παρὰ δόξαν ἔσωσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμιθνήτες καὶ τὸ σῶμα κρεουργηθέντες ὅλον ἐνθένδε ἀπεκομίσθησαν. ^[16] Τότε Βελισαρίῳ Ναρσῆς ξὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκειν καὶ ἐν Πικηνοῖς εἶναι ἠγγέλλετο. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίας, ἄλλως δὲ ὀξὺς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εὐνοῦχον δραστήριος. ^[17] στρατιῶται δὲ αὐτῷ πεντακισχίλιοι εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε κατὰ συμμορίας ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ Ναρσῆς ἕτερος, ἐξ Ἀρμενίων τῶν Πέρσαις κατηκόων αὐτόμολος ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη πρότερον ξὺν Ἀρατίῳ τὰδελφῷ ἦκων, ὃς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ξὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐλθὼν ἔτυχεν. ^[18] εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους δισχίλιοι μάλιστα, ὧν Οὐίσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλουῖθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἦρχον.

XIII

And Belisarius at about the time of the summer solstice marched against Vittigis and the Gothic army, leaving a few men to act as a garrison in Rome, but taking all the others with him. And he sent some men to Tudera and Clusium, with orders to make fortified camps there, and he was intending to follow them and assist in besieging the barbarians at those places. But when the barbarians learned that the army was approaching, they did not wait to face the danger, but sent envoys to Belisarius, promising to surrender both themselves and the two cities, with the condition that they should remain free from harm. And when he came there, they fulfilled their promise. And Belisarius removed all the Goths from these towns and sent them to Sicily and Naples, and after establishing a garrison in Clusium and in Tudera, he led his army forward.

But meanwhile Vittigis had sent another army, under command of Vacimus, to Auximus, commanding it to join forces with the Goths there, and with them to go against the enemy in Ancon and make an attempt upon that fortress. Now this Ancon is a sort of pointed rock, and indeed it is from this circumstance that it has taken its name; for it is exceedingly like an "elbow." And it is about eighty stades distant from the city of Auximus, whose port it is. And the defences of the fortress lie upon the pointed rock in a position of security, but all the buildings outside, though they are many, have been from ancient times unprotected by a wall. Now as soon as Conon, who was in command of the garrison of the place, heard that the forces of Vacimus were coming against him and were already not far away, he made an exhibition of thoughtless folly. For thinking it too small a thing to preserve free from harm merely the fortress and its inhabitants together with the soldiers, he left the fortifications entirely destitute of soldiers, and leading them all out to a distance of about five stades, arrayed them in line of battle, without, however, making the phalanx a deep one at all, but thin enough to surround the entire base of the mountain, as if for a hunt. But when these troops saw that the enemy were greatly superior to them in number, they turned their backs and straightway fled to the fortress. And the barbarians, following close upon them, slew on the spot most of their number — those who did not succeed in getting inside the circuit-wall in time — and then placed ladders against the wall and attempted the ascent. Some also began burning the houses outside the fortress. And the Romans who resided habitually in the fortress, being terror-stricken at what was taking place, at first opened the small gate and received the soldiers as they fled in complete disorder. But when they saw the barbarians close at hand and pressing upon the fugitives, fearing that they would charge in with them, they closed the gates as quickly as they could, and letting down ropes from the battlement, saved a number by drawing them up, and among them Conon

himself. But the barbarians scaled the wall by means of their ladders and came within a little of capturing the fortress by storm, and would have succeeded if two men had not made a display of remarkable deeds by valorously pushing off the battlements those who had already got upon the wall; one of these two was a bodyguard of Belisarius, a Thracian named Ulimuth, and the other a bodyguard of Valerian, named Gouboulgoudou, a Massagete by birth. These two men had happened by some chance to come by ship to Ancon a little before; and in this struggle, by warding off with their swords those who were scaling the wall, they saved the fortress contrary to expectation, but they themselves were carried from the battlement half dead, their whole bodies hacked with many wounds.

At that time it was reported to Belisarius that Narses had come with a great army from Byzantium and was in Picenum. Now this Narses was a eunuch and guardian of the royal treasures, but for the rest keen and more energetic than would be expected of a eunuch. And five thousand soldiers followed him, of whom the several detachments were commanded by different men, among whom were Justinus, the general of Illyricum, and another Narses, who had previously come to the land of the Romans as a deserter from the Armenians who are subject to the Persians; with him had come his brother Aratius, who, as it happened, had joined Belisarius a little before this with another army. And about two thousand of the Erulian nation also followed him, commanded by Visandus and Aluith and Phanitheus.

Οἷτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν Ἑρουλοὶ καὶ ὅθεν Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ζυμμαχίαν κατέστησαν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾧκουν πολὺν τινα νομίζοντες θεῶν ὄμιλον, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἰλάσκεσθαι ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. [2] νόμοις δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἐτέροις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ γηράσκουσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τις αὐτῶν ἢ γῆρα ἢ νόσῳ ἀλώῃ, ἐπάναγκες οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς συγγενεῖς αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζουσιν. [3] οἱ δὲ ζύλα πολλὰ ἐς μέγα τι ὕψος ξυνήσαντες καθίσαντές τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ τῶν ζύλων ὑπερβολῇ, τῶν τινα Ἐρούλων, ἀλλότριον μέντοι, ζὺν ξιφιδίῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμπον. [4] συγγενῇ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν φονέα εἶναι οὐ θέμις. ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ τοῦ συγγενοῦς φονεὺς ἐπανήγῃ, ζύμπαντα ἕκαιον αὐτίκα τὰ ζύλα, ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀρξάμενοι. [5] παυσασμένης τε αὐτοῖς τῆς φλογὸς συλλέξαντες τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τῇ γῇ ἔκρυπτον. [6] Ἐρούλου δὲ ἀνδρὸς τελευτήσαντος ἐπάναγκες τῇ γυναικὶ ἀρετῆς τε μεταποιουμένη καὶ κλέος αὐτῇ ἐθελούσῃ λείπεσθαι βρόχον ἀναψαμένη παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάφον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν θνήσκειν. [7] οὐ ποιοῦσιν τε ταῦτα περιειστῆκει τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδόξῳ τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συγγενέσι προσκεκρουκέναι. τοιούτοις μὲν ἐχρῶντο Ἑρουλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμοις. [8] Προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου δυνάμει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία τῶν περιόικων βαρβάρων ἀπάντων καθυπέρτεροι γεγεννημένοι, ἐπιόντες τε, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, [9] ἐκάστους ἐνίκων καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐλητίζοντο. καὶ τελευτῶντες Λαγγοβάρδας τε Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἔθνη ὑπήκοα σφίσιν ἐς

ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου πεποιήνται, οὐκ εἰθισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἐκεῖνι
βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ δὲ φιλοχρηματίας τε καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένοι. [10]
ἡνίκα μέντοι Ἀναστάσιος Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες
Ἑρουλοι ἐφ' οὐστίνας ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔλθοιεν, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα
ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, χρόνος τε αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτῶν τριῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐτρίβη.
[11] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς ἄγαν ἀχθόμενοι Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνέδην σφῶν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
ἐκάκιζον, φοιτῶντές τε αἰεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν μαλθακὸν τε καὶ γυναικῶδη ἐκάλουν,
ἄλλοις τέ τισιν αὐτὸν ἐρεσχελοῦντες ὀνόμασι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο.
[12] Ῥοδοῦλφός τε τὴν ὕβριν ὥς ἥκιστα φέρων ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας οὐδὲν
ἀδικοῦντας ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε τινὰ σφίσιν ἁμαρτάδα ἐπενεγκὼν οὔτε λύσιν
τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων σκηψάμενος, [13] ἀλλὰ πόλεμον ἐπιφέρων αἰτίαν οὐκ
ἔχοντα. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἀκοῇ ἔλαβον, πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν
Ῥοδοῦλφον ἀνεπυνθάνοντο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἠξίουσαν εἰπεῖν ἥς δὴ ἕνεκα Ἑρουλοι
ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, ὁμολογοῦντες, εἰ μὲν τι ἀπεστερήκασιν τοῦ φόρου,
ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ξὺν μεγάλῳ αὐτὸ ἀποτίσειν: εἰ δὲ μέμφονται μέτριον σφίσι
τετάχθαι τὸν φόρον, ἀλλὰ μείζω ποιήσιν αὐτὸν οὐ μήποτε Λαγγοβάρδαι
ὀκνηροὶ ἔσονται. [14] ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς πρέσβεις προτεινομένους ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ὁ
Ῥοδοῦλφος ἀποπεμψάμενος πρόσω ἤλαυνεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθις πρέσβεις ἐτέρους
πρὸς αὐτὸν στείλαντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλὰ λιπαροῦντες ἰκέτευσαν. [15] οὕτω
δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἀπαλλαγέντων τρίτοι πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντες
ἀπεῖπον Ἑρούλους πόλεμον ἀπροφάσιστον μηδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν. [16] ἦν
γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γνώμη τοιαύτη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι, ἀλλ' ὥς
μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι, ἀντιτάζονται τοῖς ἐπιούσι, μαρτυράμενοι τὸν θεόν,
οὐπὲρ τῆς ῥοπῆς καὶ βραχεῖα τις τὸ παράπαν ἱκμὰς πάσῃ τῇ ἀνθρώπων
δυνάμει ἀντίξους ἔσται: αὐτόν τε εἰκὸς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαις ἡγμένον
ἀμφοτέροις πρυτανεῦσαι τῆς μάχης τὸ πέρασ. [17] οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπον,
δεδίδασσθαι ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐπιόντας οἰόμενοι, Ἑρουλοι δέ, ὑποστειλάμενοι τῶν
πάντων οὐδέν, Λαγγοβάρδαις ἔγνωσαν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [18] ἡνίκα δὲ ἀμφοτέροι
ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τὸν μὲν ὑπερθεν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀέρα
ξυνέβαινε μελαίνῃ τινὶ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐς ἄγαν παχεῖα καλύπτεσθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς
Ἑρούλους αἰθρίαν ὑπερφυῶς εἶναι. [19] οἷς δὴ τεκμηριούμενος εἶκασεν ἄν τις
ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν Ἑρούλους ἰέναι: οὐ γὰρ τι τούτου
πικρότερον βαρβάροις τέρας εἰς μάχην καθισταμένοις οἷόν τε εἶναι. [20] οὐ
μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτῳ Ἑρουλοι προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν
ἀφροντιστήσαντες πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν,
πλήθει ὁμίλου τὸ τοῦ πολέμου σταθμώμενοι πέρασ. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μάχῃ ἐν χερσὶ
γέγονε, θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Ἑρούλων πολλοί, θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ῥοδοῦλφος
αὐτός, οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι.
[22] καὶ τῶν πολεμίων σφίσιν ἐπισπομένων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον,
ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες διεσώθησαν. [23] Διὸ δὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἤθεσι τοῖς πατράοις
οὐκέτι εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ἐχώρουν,
τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν ἢ ἐκτὸς Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ ξὺν τε παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ
περιούσας. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς χώραν οὗ δὴ Ῥογοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκνηντο, οἱ
τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμιχθέντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρησαν, ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο.

[25] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἅτε ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ἐνθένδε οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐξαναστάντες, ἄγχιστά που τῆς Γηπαίδων χώρας ἀφίκοντο. [26] καὶ αὐτοὺς Γήπαιδες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἱκέτας γενομένους ἐνοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ προσοίκους σφίσι ξυνεχώρουν εἶναι. [27] ἔπειτα δὲ ἥρξαντο ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυσθαι. γυναικᾶς τε γὰρ ἐβιάζοντο καὶ βοῦς τε καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα ἥρπαζον, καὶ ἀδικίας οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπελείποντο, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦρχον. [28] ἅπερ Ἑρουλοὶ φέρειν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες Ἴστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβαίνουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις προσοικεῖν ἔγνωσαν, Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ δεξάμενος ἰδρύεσθαι αὐτοῦ εἶασε. [29] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον προσκεκρούκασιν αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἀνόσια ἔργα ἐργασάμενοι τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους· διὸ δὴ στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε. [30] νικήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι πλείστους μὲν ἔκτειναν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ζύμπαντας διαφθεῖραι γεγόνασιν. [31] ἀλλ' εἰς ἱκετείαν τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ κατάλοιποι αὐτῶν γεγονότες ἐδέοντο διασώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ζυμμάχους τε καὶ βασιλέως ὑπηρετάς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχειν. [32] ταῦτά τε μαθόντα τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λειφθῆναι μὲν τισιν Ἑρούλων ξυνέβη, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ζύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις γεγένηνται οὔτε τι εἰργάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθόν. [33] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, χώρα τε ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἄλλοις χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ἐταιρίζεσθαι τε παντελῶς ἴσχυσε καὶ Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι ἅπαντας ἔπεισε. [34] διόπερ τὴν δαίταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες τοῖς Χριστιανῶν νόμοις ἐπὶ πλείστον προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸ ζυμμαχικὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ξυντάσσονται. [35] ἔτι μέντοι αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἄπιστοι καὶ πλεονεξία ἐχόμενοι βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πέλας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν, [36] οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ μίξεις οὐχ ὁσίας τελοῦσιν, ἄλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὄνων, καὶ εἰσι πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι. [37] Ὑστερον δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις διέμειναν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράφεται· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀπέστησαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [38] Ἑρουλοὶ τὸ τοῦ τρόπου θηριῶδές τε καὶ μανιῶδες ἐνδειξάμενοι ἐς τὸν αὐτῶν ῥῆγα ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Ὁχος ὄνομά, ἐξαπιναιῶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἔκτειναν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπενεγκόντες ἢ ὅτι ἀβασίλευτοι τὸ λοιπὸν βούλονται εἶναι. [39] καίτοι καὶ πρότερον ὄνομα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ἰδιώτου δὲ ὅτουοῦν οὐδὲν τι σχεδὸν ἐφέρετο πλέον. [40] ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἅπαντες καὶ ζύσσιτοι εἶναι ἠξίου, καὶ ἀνέδην ὅστις βούλοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν· [41] ἀσυνθετώτεροι γὰρ ἢ ἀσταθμητότεροι Ἑρούλων εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες. τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ σφίσι ἐξειργασμένου μετέμελεν ἤδη. [42] ἔφασκον γὰρ ἄναρχοί τε καὶ ἀστρατήγητοι βιοτεύειν οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι· πολλὰ γοῦν σφίσι βουλευσαμένοις ἄμεινον τῷ παντὶ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν τινα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου μεταπέμψασθαι ἐκ Θούλης τῆς νήσου. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

XIV

Now as to who in the world the Eruli are, and how they entered into alliance with the Romans, I shall forthwith explain. They used to dwell beyond the Ister River from of old, worshipping a great host of gods, whom it seemed to them holy to appease even by human sacrifices. And they observed many customs which were not in accord with those of other men. For they were not permitted to live either when they grew old or when they fell sick, but as soon as one of them was overtaken by old age or by sickness, it became necessary for him to ask his relatives to remove him from the world as quickly as possible. And these relatives would pile up a quantity of wood to a great height and lay the man on top of the wood, and then they would send one of the Eruli, but not a relative of the man, to his side with a dagger; for it was not lawful for a kinsman to be his slayer. And when the slayer of their relative had returned, they would straightway burn the whole pile of wood, beginning at the edges. And after the lire had ceased, they would immediately collect the bones and bury them in the earth. And when a man of the Eruli died, it was necessary for his wife, if she laid claim to virtue and wished to leave a fair name behind her, to die not long afterward beside the tomb of her husband by hanging herself with a rope. And if she did not do this, the result was that she was in ill repute thereafter and an offence to the relatives of her husband. Such were the customs observed by the Eruli in ancient times.

But as time went on they became superior to all the barbarians who dwelt about them both in power and in numbers, and, as was natural, they attacked and vanquished them severally and kept plundering their possessions by force. And finally they made the Lombards, who were Christians, together with several other nations, subject and tributary to themselves, though the barbarians of that region were not accustomed to that sort of thing; but the Eruli were led to take this course by love of money and a lawless spirit. [X]When, however, Anastasius took over the Roman empire, the Eruli, having no longer anyone in the world whom they could assail, laid down their arms and remained quiet, and they observed peace in this way for a space of three years. But the people themselves, being exceedingly vexed, began to abuse their leader Rodolphus without restraint, and going to him constantly they called him cowardly and effeminate, and railed at him in a most unruly manner, taunting him with certain other names besides. And Rodolphus, being quite unable to bear the insult, marched against the Lombards, who were doing no wrong, without charging against them any fault or alleging any violation of their agreement, but bringing upon them a war which had no real cause. And when the Lombards got word of this, they sent to Rodolphus and made enquiry and demanded that he should state the charge on account of which the Eruli were coming against them in arms, agreeing that if they had

deprived the Eruli of any of the tribute, then they would instantly pay it with large interest; and if their grievance was that only a moderate tribute had been imposed upon them, then the Lombards would never be reluctant to make it greater. Such were the offers which the envoys made, but Rodolphus with a threat sent them away and marched forward. And they again sent other envoys to him on the same mission and supplicated him with many entreaties. And when the second envoys had fared in the same way, a third embassy came to him and forbade the Eruli on any account to bring upon them a war without excuse. For if they should come against them with such a purpose, they too, not willingly, but under the direst necessity, would array themselves against their assailants, calling upon God as their witness, the slightest breath of whose favour, turning the scales, would be a match for all the strength of men; and He, in all likelihood, would be moved by the causes of the war and would determine the issue of the fight for both sides accordingly. So they spoke, thinking in this way to terrify their assailants, but the Eruli, shrinking from nothing whatever, decided to meet the Lombards in battle. And when the two armies came close to one another, it so happened that the sky above the Lombards was obscured by a sort of cloud, black and very thick, but above the Eruli it was exceedingly clear. And judging by this one would have supposed that the Eruli were entering the conflict to their own harm; for there can be no more forbidding portent than this for barbarians as they go into battle. However, the Eruli gave no heed even to this, but in absolute disregard of it they advanced against their enemy with utter contempt, estimating the outcome of war by mere superiority of numbers. But when the battle came to close quarters, many of the Eruli perished and Rodolphus himself also perished, and the rest fled at full speed, forgetting all their courage. And since their enemy followed them up, the most of them fell on the field of battle and only a few succeeded in saving themselves.

DATE:

[X]491 A.D.

For this reason the Eruli were no longer able to tarry in their ancestral homes, but departing from there as quickly as possible they kept moving forward, traversing the whole country which is beyond the Ister River, together with their wives and children. But when they reached a land where the Rogi dwelt of old, a people who had joined the Gothic host and gone to Italy, they settled in that place. But since they were pressed by famine, because they were in a barren land, they removed from there not long afterward, and came to a place close to the country of the Gepaedes. And at first the Gepaedes permitted them to dwell there and be neighbours to them, since they came as suppliants. But afterwards for no good reason the Gepaedes began to practise unholy deeds upon them. For they violated their women and seized their cattle and other property, and abstained from no wickedness whatever, and finally began an unjust attack upon them. And the Eruli, unable to bear all this any longer,

crossed the Ister River and decided to live as neighbours to the Romans in that region; this was during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, who received them with great friendliness and allowed them to settle where they were. But a short time afterwards these barbarians gave him offence by their lawless treatment of the Romans there, and for this reason he sent an army against them. And the Romans, after defeating them in battle, slew most of their number, and had ample opportunity to destroy them all. But the remainder of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the generals and begged them to spare their lives and to have them as allies and servants of the emperor thereafter. And when Anastasius learned this, he was pleased, and consequently a number of the Eruli were left; however, they neither became allies of the Romans, nor did they do them any good.

But when Justinian took over the empire,[Y] he bestowed upon them good lands and other possessions, and thus completely succeeded in winning their friendship and persuaded them all to become Christians. As a result of this they adopted a gentler manner of life and decided to submit themselves wholly to the laws of the Christians, and in keeping with the terms of their alliance they are generally arrayed with the Romans against their enemies. They are still, however, faithless toward them, and since they are given to avarice, they are eager to do violence to their neighbours, feeling no shame at such conduct. And they mate in an unholy manner, especially men with asses, and they are the basest of all men and utterly abandoned rascals.

DATE:

[Y]527 A.D.

Afterwards, although some few of them remained at peace with the Romans, as will be told by me in the following narrative, all the rest revolted for the following reason. The Eruli, displaying their beastly and fanatical character against their own “rex,” one Ochus by name, suddenly killed the man for no good reason at all, laying against him no other charge than that they wished to be without a king thereafter. And yet even before this, while their king did have the title, he had practically no advantage over any private citizen whomsoever. But all claimed the right to sit with him and eat with him, and whoever wished insulted him without restraint; for no men in the world are less bound by convention or more unstable than the Eruli. Now when the evil deed had been accomplished, they were immediately repentant. For they said that they were not able to live without a ruler and without a general; so after much deliberation it seemed to them best in every way to summon one of their royal family from the island of Thule. And the reason for this I shall now explain.

Ἦνικα Ἑρουλοὶ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνέστησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, ᾠκῆσαντο ἐς τὰ

ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς χωρία, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτάς που τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρύσαντο· [2] οὗτοι γοῦν πολλῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ἡγουμένων σφίσιν ἡμειψαν μὲν τὰ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνη ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ἔρημον δὲ χώραν διαβάντες ἐνθένδε πολλὴν ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους καλουμένους ἐχώρησαν. [3] μεθ' οὗς δὴ καὶ Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον οὐ βιαζομένων σφᾶς τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων. [4] ἐνθένδε τε ἐς ὠκεανὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐναυτίλλοντο, Θούλη τε προσχόντες τῇ νήσῳ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Θούλη μεγίστη ἐς ἄγαν· Βρεττανίας γὰρ αὐτὴν πλεόν ἢ δεκαπλασίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [5] κεῖται δὲ αὐτῆς πολλῶ ἄποθεν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ γῇ μὲν ἔρημος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἐν χώρᾳ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἔθνη τριακαίδεκα πολυανθρωπότατα ἵδρυται· βασιλεῖς τέ εἰσι κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστον. [6] ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θαυμάσιον οἶον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀμφὶ θερινὰς μὲν τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα οὐδαμῇ δύει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπὲρ γῆς φαίνεται. [7] μῆσι δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἐξ ὕστερον ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς που τροπὰς ἥλιος μὲν ἐς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα τῆς νήσου ταύτης οὐδαμῇ φαίνεται, νυξ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπέραντος κατακέχυται· κατήφειά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχει πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τοὺς τῆδε ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι μεταξὺ οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν. [8] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν νῆσον τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτη γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένῳ, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθῃ. [9] τῶν μέντοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐνθένδε ἀφικομένων ἐπυνθανόμην ὅπῃ ποτὲ οἷοι τέ εἰσι τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζεσθαι τὸ μέτρον οὔτε ἀνίσχοντος οὔτε δύοντος τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις ἐνταῦθα ἡλίου. οἷπερ ἐμοὶ λόγον ἀληθῆ τε καὶ πιστὸν ἔφρασαν. [10] τὸν γὰρ ἡλίον φασὶ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐκείνας οὐ δύειν μὲν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πῇ μὲν πρὸς ἑω, πῇ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. [11] ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἐπανίων αὐθις ἀμφὶ τὸν ὀρίζοντά τε γινόμενος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίκεται ᾧωρον, οὔπερ αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα τὰ πρότερα ἐώρων, ἡμέραν οὕτω καὶ νύκτα μίαν παρῳχηκέναι διαριθμοῦνται. [12] καὶ ἡνίκα μέντοι ὁ τῶν νυκτῶν χρόνος ἀφίκεται, τῆς τε σελήνης τῶν τε ἄστρον ἀεὶ τοῖς δρόμοις τεκμηριούμενοι τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν λογίζονται μέτρον. [13] ὅπηνίκα δὲ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ μακρᾷ ταύτῃ διαδράμοι νυκτί, στέλλονταί τινες ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολάς, εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς τοῦτό γε, τὸν τε ἥλιον ἀμηγέτη ἐνθένδε ὁρῶντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς κάτω ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἥλιος αὐτοὺς καταλάμψει. [14] οἱ δὲ πανδημεὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν εὐαγγέλια καὶ ταῦτα ἐν σκότῳ. αὕτη τε Θουλίταις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐορτῶν ἐστί· [15] δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι περιδεεῖς ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι, καίπερ ταὐτὸ συμβαῖνον σφίσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, μὴ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιλείποι τὸ παράπαν ὁ ἥλιος. [16] Τῶν δὲ ἰδρυμένων ἐν Θούλῃ βαρβάρων ἐν μόνον ἔθνος, οἱ Σκριθίφινοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτὴν ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται οὔτε ὑποδεδεμένοι βαδίζουσιν οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν οὔτε τι ἐδώδιμον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσιν. [17] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ γῆν γεωργοῦσιν οὔτε τι αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες ἀεὶ ξὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν τὴν θήραν μόνῃν ἐπιτηδεύουσι. [18] θηρίων τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων ζώων μέγα τι χρήμα αἱ τε ὕλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλαι ὑπερφυῶς οὔσαι, καὶ τὰ ὄρη ἅ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. [19]

καὶ κρέασι μὲν θηρίων ἀεὶ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων σιτίζονται, τὰ δέρματα δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε λίνον οὔτε ὄργανον ὅτῳ ῥάπτοιέν ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν θηρίων τοῖς νεύροις τὰ δέρματα ἐς ἄλληλα ταῦτα ξυνδέοντες οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἀμπίσχονται. [20] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ βρέφη αὐτοῖς κατὰ ταῦτά τιθνοῦνται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. [21] οὐ γὰρ σιτίζονται Σκριθιφίνων παιδία γυναικῶν γάλακτι οὐδὲ μητέρων ἄπτονται τιθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ζῶων τῶν ἀλίσκομένων τοῖς μυελοῖς ἐκτρέφονται μόνοις. [22] ἐπειδὴν οὖν γυνὴ τάχιστα τέκοι, δέρματι τὸ βρέφος ἐμβαλομένη κρεμᾷ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δένδρου τινός, μυελὸν δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνθεμένη ξὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν στέλλεται θήραν. ἐπὶ κοινῇ γὰρ τά τε ἄλλα δρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα μετίασι τοῦτο. [23] τοῦτοις μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ταύτη πη ἔχει. Οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι Θουλίται ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οὐδέν τι μέγα διαλλάσσουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, θεοὺς μέντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσιν, οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους, ἐγγεῖους τε καὶ θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὕδασι πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα. [24] θύουσι δὲ ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι, τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν ὄνπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον: [25] τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι. ἱερεύονται δὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον οὐ θύοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ξύλου κρεμῶντες, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ῥιπτοῦντες, ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ἰδέαις οἰκτίσταις. [26] οὕτω μὲν Θουλίται βιοῦσιν. ὦν ἔθνος ἐν πολυάνθρωπον οἱ Γαυτοὶ εἰσι, παρ' οὓς δὴ Ἑρούλων τότε οἱ ἐπὶ πλῆται ἰδρύσαντο. [27] Νῦν δὲ Ἑρουλοὶ οἱ δὴ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὄκηνται, φόνου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξεργασμένου, ἔπεμψαν τῶν λογίμων τινὰς ἐς Θούλην τὴν νῆσον, τοὺς διερευνησομένους τε καὶ κομιοῦντας, ἥν τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν αἵματος τοῦ βασιλείου οἴοι τε ὦσιν. [28] ἐπεὶ τε οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐγένοντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα γένους τοῦ βασιλείου εὗρον, ἕνα μέντοι ἀπολέξαντες ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα ἤρεσκεν, ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφοντες ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν. [29] ὃς δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Δανοῖς ἐγένετο, τελευτᾷ νόσῳ. διὸ δὴ αὖθις οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενόμενοι ἕτερον ἐπηγάγοντο Δάτιον ὄνομα. ᾧ δὴ ὁ τε ἀδελφὸς Ἄορδος εἶπετο καὶ τῶν ἐν Θούλῃ Ἑρούλων νεανία διακόσιοι. [30] χρόνου δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ τριβέντος συχνοῦ Ἑρούλοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σιγγιδόνον ἔννοια γέγονεν ὥς οὐ τὰ ξύμφορα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιοῖεν ἐκ Θούλης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπαγόμενοι Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οὗτι ἐθελουσίῳ. [31] πέμψαντες οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον βασιλέως ἐδέοντο ἄρχοντα σφίσι πέμψαι, ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. [32] ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν τινα Ἑρούλων ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχοντα εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε, Σουαρτούαν ὄνομα. [33] ὄνπερ Ἑρουλοὶ εἶδον μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ προσεκύνησαν ἄσμενοι ἐπιστέλλοντί τε τὰ εἰωθότα ἐπῆκουον: ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἤκέ τις ἀγγέλλων τοὺς ἐκ Θούλης νήσου ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι. [34] καὶ Σουαρτούας μὲν ὥς ἀπολέσων αὐτοὺς ὑπαντιάζειν ἐκέλευεν, Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπαινέσαντες εὐθὺς εἶποντο. [35] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδῷ ἀλλήλων διεῖχον, νύκτωρ μὲν ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ πλῆτας αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀποδρὰς ὄψετο. [36] καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν πάσῃ δυνάμει κατάγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Ἑρουλοὶ δὲ δύναιμι τῶν

Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Γήπαισι προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. αὕτη μὲν Ἑρούλοις αἰτία τῆς ἀποστάσεως γέγονε.

XV

When the Eruli, being defeated by the Lombards in the above-mentioned battle, migrated from their ancestral homes, some of them, as has been told by me above, made their home in the country of Illyricum, but the rest were averse to crossing the Ister River, but settled at the very extremity of the world; at any rate, these men, led by many of the royal blood, traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni, as they are called. After these they passed by the nations of the Dani, without suffering violence at the hands of the barbarians there. Coming thence to the ocean, they took to the sea, and putting in at Thule, remained there on the island.

Now Thule is exceedingly large; for it is more than ten times greater than Britain. And it lies far distant from it toward the north. On this island the land is for the most part barren, but in the inhabited country thirteen very numerous nations are settled; and there are kings over each nation. In that place a very wonderful thing takes place each year. For the sun at the time of the summer solstice never sets for forty days, but appears constantly during this whole time above the earth. But not less than six months later, at about the time of the winter solstice, the sun is never seen on this island for forty days, but never-ending night envelops it; and as a result of this dejection holds the people there during this whole time, because they are unable by any means to mingle with one another during this interval. And although I was eager to go to this island and become an eye-witness of the things I have told, no opportunity ever presented itself. However, I made enquiry from those who come to us from the island as to how in the world they are able to reckon the length of the days, since the sun never rises nor sets there at the appointed times. And they gave me an account which is true and trustworthy. For they said that the sun during those forty days does not indeed set just as has been stated, but is visible to the people there at one time toward the east, and again toward the west. Whenever, therefore, on its return, it reaches the same place on the horizon where they had previously been accustomed to see it rise, they reckon in this way that one day and night have passed. When, however, the time of the nights arrives, they always take note of the courses of the moon and stars and thus reckon the measure of the days. And when a time amounting to thirty-five days has passed in this long night, certain men are sent to the summits of the mountains — for this is the custom among them — and when they are able from that point barely to see the sun, they bring back word to the people below that within five days the sun will shine upon them. And the whole population celebrates a festival at the good news, and that too in the darkness. And this is the greatest festival which the natives of Thule have; for, I imagine, these islanders always become terrified, although they

see the same thing happen every year, fearing that the sun may at some time fail them entirely.

But among the barbarians who are settled in Thule, one nation only, who are called the Scrithiphini, live a kind of life akin to that of the beasts. For they neither wear garments of cloth nor do they walk with shoes on their feet, nor do they drink wine nor derive anything edible from the earth. For they neither till the land themselves, nor do their women work it for them, but the women regularly join the men in hunting, which is their only pursuit. For the forests, which are exceedingly large, produce for them a great abundance of wild beasts and other animals, as do also the mountains which rise there. And they feed exclusively upon the flesh of the wild beasts slain by them, and clothe themselves in their skins, and since they have neither flax nor any implement with which to sew, they fasten these skins together by the sinews of the animals, and in this way manage to cover the whole body. And indeed not even their infants are nursed in the same way as among the rest of mankind. For the children of the Scrithiphini do not feed upon the milk of women nor do they touch their mother's breast, but they are nourished upon the marrow of the animals killed in the hunt, and upon this alone. Now as soon as a woman gives birth to a child, she throws it into a skin and straightway hangs it to a tree, and after putting marrow into its mouth she immediately sets out with her husband for the customary hunt. For they do everything in common and likewise engage in this pursuit together. So much for the daily life of these barbarians.

But all the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ very much from the rest of men, but they reverence in great numbers gods and demons both of the heavens and of the air, of the earth and of the sea, and sundry other demons which are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers. And they incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices, and make oblations to the dead, but the noblest of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war; for they sacrifice him to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god. And the manner in which they offer up the captive is not by sacrificing him on an altar only, but also by hanging him to a tree, or throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some of the other most cruel forms of death. Thus, then, do the inhabitants of Thule live. And one of their most numerous nations is the Gauti, and it was next to them that the incoming Eruli settled at the time in question.

On the present occasion, therefore, the Eruli who dwelt among the Romans, after the murder of their king had been perpetrated by them, sent some of their notables to the island of Thule to search out and bring back whomsoever they were able to find there of the royal blood. And when these men reached the island, they found many there of the royal blood, but they selected the one man who pleased them most and set out with him on the return journey. But

this man fell sick and died when he had come to the country of the Dani. These men therefore went a second time to the island and secured another man, Datus by name. And he was followed by his brother Aordus and two hundred youths of the Eruli in Thule. But since much time passed while they were absent on this journey, it occurred to the Eruli in the neighbourhood of Singidunum that they were not consulting their own interests in importing a leader from Thule against the wishes of the Emperor Justinian. They therefore sent envoys to Byzantium, begging the emperor to send them a ruler of his own choice. And he straightway sent them one of the Eruli who had long been sojourning in Byzantium, Suartuas by name. At first the Eruli welcomed him and did obeisance to him and rendered the customary obedience to his commands; but not many days later a messenger arrived with the tidings that the men from the island of Thule were near at hand. And Suartuas commanded them to go out to meet those men, his intention being to destroy them, and the Eruli, approving his purpose, immediately went with him. But when the two forces were one day's journey distant from each other, the king's men all abandoned him at night and went over of their own accord to the newcomers, while he himself took to flight and set out unattended for Byzantium. Thereupon the emperor earnestly undertook with all his power to restore him to his office, and the Eruli, fearing the power of the Romans, decided to submit themselves to the Gepaedes. This, then, was the cause of the revolt of the Eruli.

Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ναρσῆς ζὺν ἀμφοτέροις στρατεύμασιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνemίγγυντο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Φίρμον, ἥ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, ἀπέχει δὲ Αὐξίμου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδόν. [2] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ζὺν πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅπη ποτὲ σφίσι πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰοῦσι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει. [3] ἦν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμινον πολιορκοῦντας χωρήσειαν, τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑπώπτευνον μὴ κατὰ νότου ἰόντες σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ταύτη ὠκημένους τὰ ἀνήκεστα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, δράσωσι, καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐδείκναιον μὴ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεινόν τι πάθωσιν. [4] οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι Ἰωάννη χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐπεκάλουν γὰρ οἱ ὅτι θράσει τε ἀλογίστῳ καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἔρωτι ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει οὐδὲ ἢ Βελισάριος ἐξηγεῖτο ἐφῆ ταῦτο τοῦ πολέμου περαίνεσθαι. [5] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἔκει γὰρ οἱ φίλτατος ἦν Ἰωάννης ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων δέσας μὴ Βελισάριος πρὸς τὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰρημένα ἐνδοὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ πράγματα θῆται ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [6] ‘Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι διαλογίζεσθε, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις εἰκότως ἀμφιγνοήσειε τὴν βουλὴν ἔχετε, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς πάρεστι καὶ τοῖς ἐς πολέμου πείραν οὐδεμίαν ἐλθοῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρεῖσσω. [7] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τε κίνδυνος ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ βλάβος ἐκατέρωθεν τοῖς γε ἀποτυχοῦσιν ἀντίπαλον. βουλευέσθαι τε ἱκανῶς ἄξιον καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἰοῦσιν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν. [8] ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν ἐς Αὐξίμον προσβολὴν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον

ἀποθέσθαι βουλοίμεθα, τὴν ζημίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐδαμῶς ἔξομεν: τί γὰρ ἂν μεταξὺ τὸ διαλλάσσον εἴη; ἐν Ἀριμίῳ δέ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, σφαλέντες, εἰ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ, τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν καταλύσομεν. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐς τὰς σὰς ἐντολὰς ὕβρισεν, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, πολλήν γε τὴν δίκην ἔχεις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβών, ἐπεὶ σοι πάρεστι σώζειν τε τὸν ἐπταικότα καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις προῖεσθαι. [10] σκόπει δὲ μὴ τὰς ποινὰς ὧν Ἰωάννης ἀγνοήσας ἡμαρτε παρὰ βασιλέως τε καὶ ἡμῶν λάβης. εἰ γὰρ νῦν Ἀρίμινον ἐξέλωσι Γότθοι, στρατηγόν τε αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίων δραστήριον καὶ στράτευμα ὅλον καὶ πόλιν κατήκοον βασιλεῖ δορυάλωτον πεποιῆσθαι ξυμβήσεται. [11] καὶ οὐκ ἄχρι τούτου στήσεται τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπασαν καταστήσαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δυνήσεται τύχην. οὕτως γὰρ λογίζου περὶ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς πλήθει μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμῶν παρὰ πολὺ προὔχουσιν, ἐς ἀνανδρίαν δὲ οἷς πολλὰκις ἐσφάλισαν ἐμπεπτώκασιν. εἰκότως: τὸ γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφείλετο. [12] ἦν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐημερήσωσι, τό τε φρόνημα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπολήσονται καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου μόνον ἡμῖν τῆς τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνως τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε διοίσουσι. [13] φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλασσόμενοι τῶν οὐπω δεδυστυχηκότων ἀμείνους ἀεὶ τὰς γνώμας εἶναι.' Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [14] Στρατιώτης δέ τις ἐξ Ἀριμίνου λαθὼν τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν φυλακὴν ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ γράμματα ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης ἔγραψεν. [15] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: 'Ἀπαντα ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐπιλελοιπέναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μῆτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀντέχειν ἡμᾶς ἴσθι μῆτε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι οἷους τε εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπτά ἡμερῶν ἀκουσίους ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν τήνδε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγχειριεῖν: [16] περαιτέρω γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην ἥκιστα ἔχομεν, ἥνπερ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἦν τι οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς δράσωμεν, [17] ἀξιώχρεων οἶμαι.' Ἰωάννης μὲν ἔγραψεν ὧδε. Βελισάριος δὲ διηπορεῖτό τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέπιπτε. περὶ τε γὰρ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐδείμναινε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ πολεμίους ὑπώπτευε δηώσειν μὲν ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα περιόντας τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, σφῶν δὲ κατόπισθεν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνεδρεύοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσμίξειαν, πολλὰ τε κακὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, διεργάσεσθαι. [18] ἔπειτα μέντοι ἐποίει τάδε. Ἀράτιον μὲν ξὺν χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν αὐτοῦ ἔλιπεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ στρατόπεδον ποιήσονται, πόλεως Αὐξίμου σταδίους διακοσίους ἀπέχον. [19] οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευε μῆτε πη ἐξανισταμένους ἐνθένδε ἰέναι μῆτε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀμυνομένοις, ἦν ἐκεῖνοί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι. [20] ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς βαρβάρους μάλιστα ἥλπιζεν ἄγχιστά που στρατοπεδευομένων Ῥωμαίων ἐν τε Αὐξίμῳ ἡσυχῇ μενεῖν καὶ οὐποτε κακουργήσοντας σφίσιν ἔψεσθαι. [21] στρατιὰν δὲ ἀξιολογωτάτην ξὺν ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν, ἧς Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Οὐλίαιρις καὶ Ναρσῆς Ἀράτιον ἀδελφὸς ἦρχον. [22] αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῷ στόλῳ Ἰλδίγερ ἐφειστήκει, ᾧ δὴ εὐθὺς Ἀριμίνου Βελισάριος ἐπέστελλε πλεῖν, φυλασσομένῳ ὅπως μὴ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταίρειν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἐγχειρήσωσιν: ὁδῷ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [23] καὶ στρατιὰν μὲν ἄλλην, ἧς Μαρτίνος ἦρχε, ταῖς ναυσὶ

ταύταις παρακολουθοῦντας κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπειδὴν ἄγχιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἴκωνται, πυρὰ πλείονα καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ στρατοῦ καίειν, δόκησίν τε πλήθους πολλῶ πλείονος τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρέχεσθαι. [24] αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλην ὁδὸν τῆς ἡϊόνος ἀπωτάτῳ οὔσαν ξύν τε Ναρσῇ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διὰ πόλεως Οὐρβισαλίας ἦει, ἣν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις οὕτως Ἀλάριχος καθεῖλεν ὥστε ἄλλο γε αὐτῇ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπολέλειπται τοῦ πρότερον κόσμου, ὅτι μὴ πύλης μιᾶς καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ ἐδάφους λείψανόν τι βραχύ.

XVI

BELISARIUS and Narses came together with their two armies near the city of Firmum, which lies on the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and is one day's journey distant from the city of Auximus. In that place they began to hold conferences with all the commanders of the army, considering at what particular point it would be most to their advantage to make the first attack upon the enemy. For if, on the one hand, they should proceed against the forces besieging Ariminum, they suspected that the Goths in Auximus would in all probability, taking them in the rear, inflict irreparable harm both upon them and upon the Romans who lived in that region; but, on the other hand, they were anxious concerning the besieged, dreading lest by reason of their lack of provisions they should suffer some great misfortune. Now the majority were hostile toward John, and made their speeches accordingly; and the charge they brought against him was that he had been moved by unreasoning daring and a desire to gain great sums of money to place himself in his present dangerous position, and that he would not allow the operations of the war to be carried out in due order nor in the manner prescribed by Belisarius. But Narses, who loved John above all other men, beginning to be fearful lest Belisarius should give way to the words of the officers and treat the situation at Ariminum as of secondary importance, spoke as follows:

"Fellow officers, you are not debating a question of the customary sort, nor are you holding this council regarding a situation about which one would naturally be in doubt, but in circumstances where it is possible even for those who have had no experience of war to make their choice offhand and in so doing to choose the better course. For if it seems to be true that each of these two alternatives offers to those who fail an equal degree of danger and evenly balanced possibilities of mischief, it is altogether worth while to deliberate and to go most thoroughly into the arguments, and only then to make our decision regarding the situation before us. But if we should wish to put off the assault upon Auximus to some other time, the penalty we shall suffer will involve in no way any vital interest of ours; for what difference could arise during the interval? But if we fail at Ariminum, we shall in all probability, if it is not too bitter a thing to say, shatter the strength of the Romans. Now if John treated your commands with insolence, most excellent Belisarius, the atonement you have already exacted from him is surely ample, since it is now in your power either to save him in his reverse or to abandon him to the enemy. But see that you do not exact from the emperor and from us the penalty for mistakes committed by John through ignorance. For if the Goths capture Ariminum at the present juncture, it will be their good fortune to have made captive a capable Roman general, as well as a whole army and a city subject to the emperor. And the calamity will not stop with this, but it will

also have such weight as to determine the fortune of the war in every field. For you should reason thus regarding the enemy, that they are still, even at the present time, far superior to us in the number of their soldiers, and they have lost their courage only because of the many reverses they have suffered. And this is natural; for the adversity of fortune has taken away all their confidence. If, therefore, they meet with success at the present time, they will at no distant date recover their spirit and thereafter they will carry on this war with a boldness, not merely equal to ours, but actually much greater. For it is a way with those who are freeing themselves from a difficult situation always to have a better heart than those who have not yet met with disaster." Thus spoke Narses.

At this time a soldier who had escaped from Ariminum by slipping through the guard of the barbarians came into the camp and shewed Belisarius a letter which John had written to him, conveying the following message: "Know that for a long time all our provisions have been exhausted, that we are no longer able either to hold out against the populace or to ward off our assailants, and that within seven days we shall unwillingly surrender both ourselves and this city to the enemy; for beyond this time we are absolutely unable to overcome the necessity which is upon us, and this necessity, I think, will be a sufficient apology in our behalf, if we do anything which is unseemly." Thus, then, did John write. But Belisarius, on his part, was sorely perplexed and plunged into the greatest uncertainty. For while he was fearful concerning the besieged, he suspected, at the same time, that the enemy in Auximus would overrun the whole country round about and plunder it with never a fear, and also that they would ambush his own army from behind at every opportunity, and especially whenever he joined battle with his opponents, and would thus in all probability do the Romans great and irreparable harm. Finally, however, he did as follows. He left Aratius with a thousand men there, instructing them to make a camp by the sea, at a distance of two hundred stades from Auximus. These troops he commanded neither to move away from that position nor to fight a decisive action with the enemy, except in so far as to drive them off from the camp, if they should ever make an attack upon it. For he hoped by this course to make it certain that the barbarians, seeing Romans encamped close by, would remain quietly in Auximus and never follow his own army to do it harm. And he despatched by sea a very considerable army commanded by Herodian, Uliaris and Narses the brother of Aratius. But Ildiger was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, and he was instructed by Belisarius to sail straight for Ariminum, taking care not to attempt putting in to shore near the city while the land army was still far behind; for they would be proceeding by a road not far from the coast. And he ordered another army under command of Martinus to march along the coast, keeping near these ships, and instructing them that, when they came close to the enemy, they should burn a greater number of camp-fires than usual and not in proportion

to the actual numbers of the army, and thus lead their opponents to believe their numbers to be much greater than they actually were. He himself, meanwhile, went by another road far removed from the shore with Narses and the rest of the army, passing through the city of Urvisalia, which in earlier times Alaric destroyed so completely that nothing whatever has been left of its former grandeur, except a small remnant of a single gate and of the floor of the adjoining edifice.

Ἐνταῦθά μοι ἰδεῖν θέαμα ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. ἡνίκα ὁ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸς ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἦλθε, γέγονεν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ταραχὴ τις πολλὴ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. [2] τῶν τε γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν ἔφευγον ἐξαπιναίως ὅπῃ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει, αἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνόμεναι ἦγοντο κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων. [3] ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ χωρίῳ μία τις γυνὴ ἀρτίως τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπολιποῦσα ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἔτυχε ἐπὶ γῆς κείμενον, καὶ εἵτε φευγουσα εἵτε ὑφ' ὁποιοῦν καταληφθεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἐπανήκειν οὐκέτι ἔσχεν· ἀφανισθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῇ δηλονότι ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξυνέπεσε. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν παιδίον ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ γεγονὸς ἔκλαιεν. αἰξὶ δὲ αὐτὸ μία ἰδοῦσα ὥκτιζέτο τε καὶ πλησίον ἀφικομένη ἔναγχος γὰρ τεκοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ ἔτυχε τὸν τιτθὸν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸ παιδίον ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἐφύλασσε, [5] μὴ κύων ἢ τι θηρίον αὐτὸ λυμάνηται. χρόνου τε τῇ ταραχῇ τριβέντος συχνοῦ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον μεταλαχεῖν τὸ παιδίον ξυνέβη. [6] γνωσθὲν δὲ Πικηνοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι δὴ ὁ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἐπὶ Γότθων μὲν τῷ πονηρῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦκοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐ πείσονται οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι, [7] ἐπανήλθον εὐθὺς οἴκαδε ἅπαντες. ἐν τε Οὐρβισαλίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενόμεναι, ὅσαι γένος Ῥωμαῖαι ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις περιὸν εἶδον, τὸ γεγονὸς ξυμβάλλειν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ὅτι δὴ βίῃ πεποίηται. [8] καὶ τὸν τιτθὸν ἐκάστη ἐδίδου αἱ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχουσαι ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ παιδίον ἀνθρώπειον γάλα ἔτι προσίετο καὶ ἡ αἰξὶ αὐτοῦ μεθίσθαι ἤκιστα ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ μηκωμένη ἀμφὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνδελεχέστατα, δεινὰ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι, ὅτι τῷ παιδίῳ ἄγχιστα αἱ γυναῖκες ἰοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸ ἐνοχλοῖεν, τό τε ζύμπαν εἰπεῖν μεταποιεῖσθαι ὥς οἰκείου τοῦ βρέφους ἡξίου. [9] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἱ τε γυναῖκες τὸ παιδίον οὐκέτι ἠνώγλουν καὶ ἡ αἰξὶ ἀδεέστερον ἔτρεφε τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιμελομένη ἐφύλαττε. διὸ δὴ Αἰγίσθον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐκάλουν. [10] καὶ ἡνίκα μοι ἐπιδημεῖν ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη, ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ παραλόγου ποιούμενοι παρὰ τε τὸ παιδίον ἦγον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεπίτηδες, [11] ἵνα βοᾷ, ἐλύπουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῖς λυποῦσιν ἀχθόμενον ἔκλαεν, ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ αἰξὶ ἴδυσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅσον λίθου βολὴν δρόμῳ τε καὶ μηκηθμῷ ἐχομένη πολλῷ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦει, ὑπερθέν τε αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσα ἔστη, ὥς μὴ τις αὐτὸ λυπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν δύνηται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Αἰγίσθῳ τούτῳ τοιαῦτα ἔστι. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν ἐχώρει. πλήθει γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσοῦμενος τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἤθελεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ θανατῶντας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐώρα· [13] ᾤετο δὲ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθωνται πανταχόθεν σφίσι πολεμίων ἐπινέαι

στρατόν, ἀλκῆς ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς μνησθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς φυγὴν τρέψεσθαι. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἐσομένου ὑποτοπήσας. [14] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὅσον Ἀριμίνου ἀπέχειν ἡμέρας ὁδόν, Γότθοις τισὶν ὀλίγοις κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ὁδῶ πορευομένοις ἐνέτυχον. [15] οἳ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πολεμίων περιπεπωκότες στρατῶ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἕως παρὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἰόντων βαλλόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ τραυματίαι γεγεννημένοι ἐπὶ τινος τῶν ἐκείνη σκοπέλων ἀναδραμόντες διέλαθον. [16] ὅθεν σκοποῦμενοι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατόν ἐς πάσας δυσχωρίας ξυρρέοντας, πολλῶ πλείονας τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι. [17] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰ Βελισαρίου σημεῖα ἰδόντες, αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔγνωσαν. νύξ τε ἐπέλαβε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ηὐλίσαντο, τῶν δὲ Γότθων οἱ τραυματίαι λάθρα ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Οὐιτιγίδος στρατόπεδον ἦσαν. [18] οὗ δὴ ἀμφὶ μέσσην ἡμέραν γενόμενοι τάς τε πληγὰς ἐπεδείκνυν καὶ Βελισάριον σφίσι ξὺν στρατῶ κρεῖσσονι ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐπὼ παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [19] οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὥς ἐς μάχην πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀριμίνου πόλεως τετραμμένοι ταύτῃ γὰρ ὦντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφίξεσθαι, αἰεὶ τε ἐς τοῦ ὅρους τὰ ἄκρα ἐβλεπον ἅπαντες. [20] ἐπεὶ δέ, νυκτὸς σφίσιν ἐπιγενομένης, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἡσύχαζον, πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα εἶδον, ἅπερ τὸ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ στράτευμα ἔκαιεν, ἐς δέος τε ἀμήχανον ἦλθον: [21] κυκλωθῆσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὑπώπτειον. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ξὺν δέει τοιοῦτῳ ηὐλίσαντο, τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι στόλον νηῶν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντα ὁρῶσιν ἐξαίσιον οἶον: ἐς τε ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμηντο. [22] ξυσκευαζόμενοι τε κατὰ τάχος τοσοῦτῳ θορύβῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ εἶχοντο ὥστε οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἐν νῶ ἐποιοῦντο ἢ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἀπαλλάσσοιτο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ Ῥαβέννης τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένοιτο. [23] καὶ εἰ μὲν τι ἰσχύος ἢ θάρρους περιεῖναι τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τετύχηκε, πλείστους τε ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν καὶ ζύμπας ἐνταῦθα ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐτελεύτησε. [24] νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ὁρρωδία τε σφίσι μεγάλῃ τοῖς φθάσασιν ἐπιγενομένη καὶ ἀσθένεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πολλοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσα. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι θορύβου ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ λειπόμενοι τῶν χρημάτων τινὰ δρόμῳ πολλῶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἔθεον.

XVII

IN that place it was my fortune to see the following sight. When the army of John came into Picenum, the people of that region, as was natural, were thrown into great confusion. And among the women, some took hurriedly to flight, wherever each one found it possible, while others were captured and led away in a disorderly manner by those who chanced upon them. Now a certain woman of this city had, as it happened, just given birth to a child, and had abandoned the infant, leaving it in its swaddling clothes lying upon the ground; and whether she sought safety in flight or was captured by someone or other, she did not succeed in getting back again to that place; for assuredly it fell out that she disappeared from the world or at least from Italy. So the infant, being thus abandoned, began to cry. But a lone she-goat, seeing it, felt pity and came near, and gave the infant her udder (for she too, as it happened, had recently brought forth young) and guarded it carefully, lest a dog or wild beast should injure it. And since the confusion was long continued, it came about that the infant partook of this food for a very long time. But later, when it became known to the people of Picenum that the emperor's army had come there to injure the Goths, but that the Romans would suffer no harm from it, they all returned immediately to their homes. And when such of the women as were Romans by birth came to Urvisalia with the men, and saw the infant still alive in its swaddling clothes, they were utterly unable to comprehend what had happened and considered it very wonderful that the infant was living. And each of them who chanced to be at that time able to do so offered her breast. But neither would the infant now have anything to do with human milk, nor was the goat at all willing to let it go, but as it kept bleating unceasingly about the infant, it seemed to those present to be feeling the greatest resentment that the women came near it and disturbed it as they did, and, to put all in a word, she insisted upon claiming the babe as her own. Consequently the women no longer disturbed the infant, and the goat continued to nourish it free from fear and to guard it with every care. Wherefore the inhabitants of the place appropriately called this infant Aegisthus. And when I happened to be sojourning in that place, by way of making a display of the strange sight they took me near the infant and purposely hurt it so that it might cry out. And the infant, annoyed by those hurting it, began to cry; whereupon the goat, which was standing about a stone's throw away from it, hearing the cry, came running and bleating loudly to its side, and took her stand over it, so that no one might be able to hurt it again. Such then is the story of this Aegisthus.

But Belisarius was advancing through the mountains in this region. For seeing that he was greatly inferior to his opponents in numbers, he did not wish to engage in an open battle with them, since he could see that the barbarians were actually paralyzed by their previous defeats; and he thought that, as soon

as they learned that a hostile army was coming upon them from all sides, they would not once think of resistance, but would without the least hesitation turn to flight. And indeed he arrived at a correct opinion regarding the situation, and his suppositions were not at variance with what the future was to bring forth. For when they had reached a point in the mountains where they were about one day's journey distant from Ariminum, they happened upon a small company of Goths who were travelling on some necessary errand. And these Goths, falling in unexpectedly with a hostile army, were quite unable to get away from the road before they were attacked by the missiles of those who marched in the van, and some fell on the spot, while others, after receiving wounds, succeeded in hiding themselves by scrambling up some of the high cliffs close by. From that position they watched the Roman army collecting over all the rough ground, and they supposed them to be many more than they really were. And seeing the standards of Belisarius there also, they realized that he was leading this army in person. Then night came on and the Romans bivouacked where they were, while the wounded Goths went stealthily to the camp of Vittigis. And reaching it about midday, they displayed their wounds and declared that Belisarius would be upon them almost at once with an army past numbering. Then the Goths began to prepare for battle to the north of the city of Ariminum, for they thought that the enemy would come from that direction, and they were all constantly looking toward the heights of the mountain. But when, as night came upon them, they had laid down their weapons and were resting, they saw many camp-fires to the east of the city, about sixty stades away — these were the fires which the troops of Martinus were burning — and they fell into a state of helpless fear; for they suspected that they would be surrounded by the enemy at daybreak. So for that night they bivouacked in such a state of fear; but on the succeeding day at sunrise they saw a fleet of ships in overwhelming numbers bearing down upon them, and being plunged into speechless terror, they made a rush to flee. And while they were packing up their luggage as quickly as they could, there arose so much confusion and shouting among them that they neither paid heed to the commands given nor did they think of anything else than how each man for himself could get away first from the camp and place himself inside the fortifications of Ravenna. And if the besieged had only had some strength or daring left in them, they could have killed great numbers of the enemy on the spot by making a sally from the city, and the whole war would have ended there. But, as it was, this was prevented by the great fear which had taken possession of them because of their past experiences, and by the weakness which had come upon many owing to the lack of provisions. So the barbarians, leaving there some of their possessions in the excess of their confusion, began to run as fast as they could go on the road to Ravenna.

Πρῶτοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαρακωμα τῶν Γότθων ὅσοι νόσοις τισὶν ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἐμείναν ἐν

ἀνδραπόδων ἐποίησαντο λόγῳ, καὶ χρήματα πάντα ξυνέλεξαν ὅσα φεύγοντες
Γότθοι ἐλίποντο. [2] καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἤλθεν ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν.
καὶ ἐπεὶ ὠχρίωντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν ἀνυμῶντας Ἰωάννην τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ
εἶδε, τοῦ θράσους ὑπαινιττόμενος τὸ ἀλόγιστον χάριτας αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν
Ἰλδίγερι ὀφείλειν. [3] ὁ δὲ οὐκ Ἰλδίγερι, ἀλλὰ Нарсῆ τῷ βασιλέως ταμία
ὁμολογεῖν ἔφη, παραδηλῶν, οἶμαι, Βελισάριον οὐ σφόδρα ἐθελοῦσιον, ἀλλὰ
Нарсῆ ἀναπεισθέντα σφίσιν ἀμῦναι. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄμφω ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς
ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. [4] διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Нарсῆν εἶων οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ
στρατεῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνέπειθον ὅσον αἰσχρὸν εἶη τῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βασιλεῖ
κοινωνοῦντι μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτοκράτορι τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῷ ἀνδρὶ
ὑπακούειν. [5] οὐ γάρ ποτε Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ ἐκόντα εἶναι τῆς στρατιᾶς
ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρξιν ἀπεφαίνοντο, βουλομένῳ δέ οἱ καθ' αὐτὸν τῷ Ῥωμαίων
στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πλείους τε στρατιώτας καὶ πολλῶ ἀμείνους ξὺν τοῖς
ἄρχουσιν ἔψεσθαι. [6] τοὺς τε γὰρ Ἑρούλους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τε καὶ
ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὦν Ἰουστίνος τε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, ξὺν
τοῖς Ἀρατίῳ τε καὶ Нарсῆ ἐπομένους οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ μυρίους ἔφασκον εἶναι,
ἀνδρείους τε ὄντας καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, βούλεσθαι τε τὴν
Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν οὐ Βελισαρίῳ λογιζέσθαι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέρος καὶ
Нарсῆν φέρεσθαι. [7] τὴν γὰρ βασιλέως αὐτὸν οἶεσθαι ὁμιλίαν ἀπολιπεῖν, οὐκ
ἐφ' ᾧ κινδύνους ἰδιοῖς τὴν Βελισαρίου δόξαν κρατύνηται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἔργα
ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιδειξάμενος διαβόητος ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ὥς τὸ
εἰκός, εἴη. [8] καίτοι οὐδὲ Βελισάριον ἔφασκον δυνήσεσθαι τι ἄνευ γε αὐτῶν τὸ
λοιπὸν δρᾶσαι. [9] στρατιᾶς γὰρ ἥς ἐκεῖνος ἄρχοι τὸ πλεῖστον ἤδη ἐν τε
φρουρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ἄσπερ αὐτὸς εἶλε, καὶ κατέλεγον ἀπὸ
Σικελίας ἀρξάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντα. [10] Нарсῆς τε ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
ἤκουσεν, ἥσθη ἐς ἄγαν τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ οὔτε κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὔτε
μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἔτι ἐδύνατο. [11] πολλάκις οὖν Βελισαρίου ἄλλου
του ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἀξιοῦντος ἐς σκήψεις τινὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἀναχωρῶν τὴν
παρακέλευσιν ἀπεκρούετο. [12] ὦν δὴ αἰσθόμενος Βελισάριος ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐ ταῦτά ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, περὶ τοῦδε
τοῦ πολέμου δοκῶ μοι γινώσκειν. [13] ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶ τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε
παντάπασιν ἡσσημένων ὑπερφρονοῦντας. [14] ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτῃ ὑμῶν τῇ παρρησίᾳ
ἐς προὔπτον ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖσθαι κίνδυνον οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους οὔτε
ἀνανδρία τινὶ οὔτε ὀλιγανθρωπία ἡσσήσθαι ἡμῶν, προνοία δὲ μόνῃ καὶ βουλῇ
καταστρατηγηθέντας ἐς φυγὴν ἐνθένδε τετράφθαι οἶδα. [15] δέδοικα δὲ μὴ
ταῦτα ὑμεῖς τῇ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ δόξῃ σφαλλόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς
καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα δράσητε. [16] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ νενικηκέναι δοκοῦντες
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπαιρόμενοι διαφθείρονται ἢ οἱ παρὰ δόξαν μὲν
ἐπταικότες, δεῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ φροντίδι πολλῇ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχόμενοι.
[17] ῥαθυμία μὲν γὰρ τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων τινὰς ἔφθειρε, πόνος δὲ ξὺν μερίμνῃ
τῶν δεδυστυχηκότων πολλοὺς ὤνησεν. [18] ἐπεὶ τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωρία εἰκόντων ἢ
δύναμις ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλεῖ, μελέτη δὲ ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέναι ἱκανῶς
πέφυκεν. [19] οὐκοῦν ἐνθυμείσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὥς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ μὲν Οὐίττιγίς
τέ ἐστι καὶ Γότθων μυριάδες πολλαί, Οὐραῖας δὲ Μεδιόλανόν τε πολιορκεῖ

καὶ περιβέβληται Λιγουρίαν ὅλην, Αὐξιμος δὲ ἤδη στρατιᾶς πλήρης πολλῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ἄλλα τε χωρία πολλὰ πρὸς ἀξιωμαχῶν ἡμῖν φρουρεῖται βαρβάρων μέχρι ἐς Οὐρβιβεντόν, ἣ Ῥώμης ἐν γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὕσα. [20] ὥστε νῦν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ἐν κινδύνῳ τὰ πράγματα κεῖται, ἐς κύκλωσίν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπεπτωκόσιν. [21] ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ Φράγγους αὐτοῖς ἐν Λιγουρίᾳ ξυντετάχθαι φασίν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔξω δέους μεγάλου ἐς μνήμην ἰέναι πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. [22] φημὶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε χρῆναι μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Λιγουρίαν τε καὶ Μεδιόλανον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπὶ τε Αὐξιμον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνη πολεμίους χωρεῖν, ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ πράζοντας· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα τοῦ πολέμου ἔργα διαχειρίζειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα τε δοκῇ καὶ βέλτιστα εἶναι. Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. [23] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἀμείβεται ὥδε: ‘Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ στρατηγέ, μὴ οὐχὶ ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ σοι πάντα εἰρησθαι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντίποι. [24] πάντα δὲ τουτονὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Μεδιόλανόν τε καὶ Αὐξιμον ἀποκεκρίσθαι μόνον ἀξύμφορον εἶναι παντελῶς οἶμαι. [25] ἀλλὰ σὲ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐξηγεῖσθαι οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλοιο οὐδὲν ἀπαικός, ἡμεῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίων ἐπικτησόμεθα χώραν, ἣν μάλιστα Γότθους προσποιεῖσθαι φασι, καὶ Ῥάβενναν ξυνταράζομεν οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς καθ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι βούλεσθε διεργάσεσθε, πάσης ἀποκεκλεισμένους τῆς τῶν ἀμυνόντων ἐλπίδος. [26] ἦν γὰρ ξὺν ὑμῖν ἐν Αὐξίμῳ προσεδρεύειν ἐλοίμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ τῶν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιόντων βαρβάρων περιέσται ἡμῖν ἀμφιβόλοις τε γεγενῆσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπολελειμμένοις αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι.’ καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ δεῖσας μὴ ἐς πολλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἰόντων καταρρεῖν τε τὰ βασιλέως ξυμβαίῃ πράγματα καὶ τῇ ἐνθὲνδε ἀκοσμίᾳ ξυγχεῖσθαι, γράμματα βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς τοὺς στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντας ἔγραψεν. [28] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ναρσῆν τὸν ἡμέτερον ταμίαν οὐκ ἐφ’ ᾧ ἄρξαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμψαμεν: μόνον γὰρ Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, αὐτῷ τε ὑμᾶς ἔπεσθαι ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ προσήκει.’ τὰ μὲν οὖν βασιλέως γράμματα ὥδέ πῃ εἶχε. [29] Ναρσῆς δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀκροτελευτίου λαβόμενος ἀπ’ ἐναντίας Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζετο ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ξυμφόρου βουλευέσθαι: διὸ δὴ σφίσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι.

XVIII

AMONG the Romans, Ildiger and his men were the first to arrive at the enemy's camp, and they made slaves of such of the Goths as had remained there suffering from sickness of one kind or another, and collected all the valuables which the Goths had left in their flight. And Belisarius with his whole army arrived at midday. And when he saw John and his men pale and dreadfully emaciated, he said to him, hinting at the rashness of his audacious deed, that he owed a debt of gratitude to Ildiger. But John said that he recognized his obligation, not to Ildiger, but to Narses, the emperor's steward, implying, I suppose, that Belisarius had not come to his defence very willingly, but only after being persuaded by Narses. And from that time both these men began to regard each other with great suspicion. It was for this reason that the friends of Narses even tried to prevent him from marching with Belisarius, and they sought to shew him how disgraceful it was for one who shared the secrets of the emperor not to be commander-in-chief of the army, but to take orders from a mere general. For they expressed the view that Belisarius would never willingly share with him the command of the army on equal terms, but that, if he wished to take command of the Roman army for himself, he would be followed by the greater part of the soldiers, and much the best ones too, together with their commanders. For the Eruli, they said, and Narses' own spearmen and guards, and the troops commanded by Justinus and John himself, together with the forces of Aratius and the other Narses, amounted to not less than ten thousand men, brave soldiers and especially capable warriors, and they did not wish the subjugation of Italy to be reckoned to the credit of Belisarius alone, but desired that Narses too should carry off his share of the honour. For they supposed that he had left the society of the emperor, not that by facing danger himself he might establish the glory of Belisarius, but presumably in order that by making a display of deeds of wisdom and bravery he might become famous among all men. Furthermore, they said, even Belisarius would thenceforth be unable to accomplish anything without these troops. For the greater part of the forces which he commanded had already been left behind in fortresses and cities which he had himself captured, and they enumerated them all, starting at Sicily and naming them in order as far as Picenum.

When Narses heard this, he was exceedingly pleased with the suggestion and could no longer restrain his mind or tolerate the existing arrangement. Often, therefore, when Belisarius thought proper to undertake some new enterprise, he would resort to different pretexts, now one and now another, and thus block the project he was urging. And Belisarius, perceiving this, called together all the commanders and spoke as follows:

“It seems to me, fellow officers, that I do not have the same opinion regarding this war as you have. For you, I see, are contemptuous of the enemy as being completely vanquished. But my opinion is that by this confidence of yours we shall fall into a danger which can be foreseen, because I know that the barbarians have not been vanquished by us because of any lack of courage on their part or because of inferiority in numbers, but that it is by means of careful planning beforehand that they have been outgeneralled, and consequently have turned to flight from this place. And I fear that you may be deceived in regard to these facts because of your false estimate of the situation, and may thus do irreparable harm both to yourselves and to the cause of the Romans. For those who, accounting themselves victorious, are lifted up by their achievements are more readily destroyed than those who have indeed suffered an unexpected reverse, but thereafter are actuated by fear and abundant respect of their enemy. For while indifference has sometimes ruined men who were in good case, energy coupled with solicitude has often relieved those who had been unfortunate. For, on the one hand, when men allow themselves to drift into an attitude of unconcern, the measure of their strength is wont, as a rule, to be lessened, but, on the other hand, careful study of a situation is naturally calculated to instil vigour. Accordingly, let each one of you remember that Vittigis is in Ravenna with many tens of thousands of Goths, that Uraias is besieging Milan and has brought the whole of Liguria under his power, that Auximus is already filled with an array both numerous and formidable, and that many other places, as far as Urviventus, which is in the neighbourhood of Rome, are guarded by barbarian garrisons which are a match for us. Consequently the situation is more perilous for us at the present time than it formerly was, seeing that we have come to be, in a way, surrounded by the enemy. And this is not all, for I pass over the report that the Franks also have joined forces with them in Liguria, a thing which cannot fail to be remembered by all Romans with great fear. I state, therefore, as my opinion that a part of the army ought to be sent to Liguria and Milan, but that the rest should instantly proceed against Auximus and the enemy there, in order to accomplish whatever God permits; and afterwards we should also take in hand the other tasks of the war in whatever way seems best and most advantageous.” So spoke Belisarius.

And Narses replied as follows: “In other respects, General, no one could deny that everything has been spoken by you with truth. But that the emperor’s whole army here should be divided between Milan and Auximus alone I consider to be utterly inexpedient. It would not be at all unreasonable for you, on your part, to lead against these places such of the Romans as you yourself might wish, but we, on our part, shall take possession for the emperor of the territory of Aemilia, which the Goths are making the greatest effort to win for themselves, and we shall harass Ravenna in such a way that you will crush the enemy before you as you wish, while they are excluded from the hope of

armies to support them. For if we should elect to join you in carrying on a siege at Auximus, the barbarians, I fear, will come upon us from Ravenna, with the result that we shall become exposed to the enemy on both sides and, being at a distance from our base of supplies, we shall be destroyed on the spot.” Such were the words of Narses.

But Belisarius feared that, if the Romans should go against many places at once, it would come about that the emperor’s cause would be weakened and finally ruined by the confusion resulting therefrom, and so he shewed a letter from the Emperor Justinian which he had written to the commanders of the army, conveying the following message: “We have not sent our steward Narses to Italy in order to command the army; for we wish Belisarius alone to command the whole army in whatever manner seems to him to be best, and it is the duty of all of you to follow him in the interest of our state.” Such was the purport of the emperor’s letter. But Narses, laying hold of the final words of the letter, declared that Belisarius at the present time was laying plans contrary to the interest of the state; for this reason, he said, it was unnecessary for them to follow him.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος Περάνιον μὲν ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ζὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ, ἐφ’ ᾧ πολιορκήσουσιν αὐτήν, ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Οὐρβίνον τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγε, πόλιν τε ἐχρὺν καὶ Γόθων φρουρὰν διαρκῇ ἔχουσιν ἄεχαι δὲ αὕτη Ἀρμίνου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξηγουμένῳ Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ζύμπαντες εἶποντο. [2] τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὸν πρόποδα ἐστρατοπέδευσαν δίχα: οὐ γάρ πη ἀλλήλοις ζυνετετάχато, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον τὰ πρὸς ἔω τῆς πόλεως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. [3] κεῖται δὲ Οὐρβίνος ἐπὶ λόφου περιφεροῦς τε καὶ ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. οὐ μέντοι ὁ λόφος οὔτε κρημνώδης οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀπόρευτός ἐστι, μόνον δὲ δύσοδος τῷ ἀνάντης ἐς ἄγαν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγχοτάτω ἰόντι. [4] μίαν δὲ εἰσοδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτετάχато ὧδε. Βελισάριος δὲ ῥᾶον σφίσι προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογία τοὺς βαρβάρους οἰόμενος ἅτε κατωρρωδικότας τὸν κίνδυνον, πρέσβεις τε παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι κατηκόους βασιλέως γενέσθαι παρήνει. [5] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τῶν πυλῶν ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι ὅου γάρ τῇ πόλει σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι πολλὰ τε καὶ λίαν ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπον, οἱ δὲ Γόθοι χωρίου τε ἰσχυρὸν θαρροῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἥκιστα ἐνεδέχοντο, κατὰ τάχος δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [6] Βελισάριος οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάβδους παχείας τῷ στρατῷ ξυλλέγειν ἐπήγγελλε, στοάν τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι μακράν. [7] ἥς δὴ ἐντὸς κρυπτόμενοι ἔμελλον τῶν τε πυλῶν ζὺν αὐτῇ ἀγχοτάτω ἰέναι, ἥ μάλιστα ὁ χῶρος ὁμαλός ἐστι, καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. [8] Ναρσῆ δὲ ζυγγενόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινές, ἀπέραντά τε ποιεῖν Βελισάριον καὶ τὰ ἀμύχανα ἐπινοεῖν ἔφασκον. ἥδη γάρ Ἰωάννην τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρασάμενον, καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγων τινῶν τηνικαῦτα φρουρὰν

ἔχοντος, ἀνάλωτον αὐτὸ ἡσθῆσθαι παντάπασιν εἶναι ‘καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως’, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν χρῆναι βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰμιλίας χωρία. [9] ταύτη ὁ Ναρσῆς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς νύκτωρ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσε, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλὰ λιπαροῦντος μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Οὐρβίνον πόλιν σφίσι ξυνελεῖν. [10] οὗτοι μὲν ἐς Ἀρίμινον κατὰ τάχος ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἵκοντο. Μώρας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπεὶ κατὰ ἡμῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναχωρήσαντας ἅμα ἡμέρα εἶδον, ἐτώθαζον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς μεμενηκότας ἐρεσχελοῦντες. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ λειπομένη στρατιᾷ τειχομαχεῖν ἤθελε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα βουλευομένῳ εὐτύχημα γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη θαυμάσιον οἶον. [12] μία τις ἦν ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ πηγὴ, ἐξ ἧς δὴ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντες ὕδρευοντο. αὕτη κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου ἀποξηρανθεῖσα ὑπέληγεν. [13] ἐν τε ἡμέραις τρισὶν οὕτως αὐτὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέλειπεν ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πηλῷ ἐνθένδε αὐτὸ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀρνούμενοι ἔπινον. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [14] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένος ἤθελεν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ περιβόλου. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσας κύκλῳ ἀμφὶ τὸν λόφον ἅπαντα ἔστησε, τινὰς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ράβδων ἐπάγειν στοάν: [15] οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν μηχανὴν νενομίκασι ταύτην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐντὸς ὑποδύντες ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ τὴν στοὰν ἐφείλκον τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνοντες. [16] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι χεῖρας τὰς δεξιὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων προτεινόμενοι ἐδέοντο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ εἰδότες τι τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ ξυμπεπτωκότων τὸν τε πόλεμον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν δεδιέναι ὑπώπτευν. ἀμφοτέρω γοῦν τῆς μάχης ἄσμενοι ἀπέσχοντο. [17] καὶ Γότθοι Βελισαρίῳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία παρέδωκαν, ἐφ’ ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως κατήκοοι ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ γεγεννημένοι. [18] Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν θαύματί τε καὶ ξυμφορᾷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιεῖτο. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἔτι ἡσύχαζεν, Ἰωάννην δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Καισῆναν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ κλίμακας φέροντες ἦσαν. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προσέβαλλόν τε καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπεπειρῶντο. καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀμυνομένων ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον καὶ Φανίθεος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. [21] Ἰωάννης δὲ Καισῆνης τότε τοῦ φρουρίου ἀποτυχὼν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ξὺν τε Ἰουστίνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ πρόσω ἤλαυνε. [22] καὶ πόλιν μὲν ἀρχαίαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κατέλαβεν ἡ Φοροκορνήλιος ὠνόμαστα, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ ἀεὶ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων, ξύμπασαν βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀνεσώσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XIX

UPON hearing this Belisarius sent Peranius with a numerous army to Urviventus with instructions to besiege it, while he himself led his army against Urbinus, a city of strong defences and guarded by a sufficient garrison of Goths (it is at a distance from the city of Ariminum of one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller), and as he led forth the army he was followed by Narses and John and all the others. And upon coming near the city, they encamped in two divisions along the foot of the hill; for they had not combined their forces at all, but the troops of Belisarius held the position to the east of the city, and those of Narses that to the west. Now the city of Urbinus is situated upon a hill which is round and exceedingly high. However, the hill is neither precipitous nor altogether impossible to climb, and it is difficult only by reason of being very steep, especially as one comes very close to the city. But it has one approach by level ground on the north. So the Romans were stationed for the siege as has been stated. Now Belisarius was of the opinion that the barbarians would somewhat readily make terms with the Romans for a surrender, believing that they had become terrified by the danger, and so he sent envoys to them, promising that they would receive many benefits, and exhorting them to become subjects of the emperor. These envoys stood near the gates (for the enemy would not receive them into the city), and spoke at length, making a great effort to win them over, but the Goths, confident in the strength of their position and their abundance of provisions, would not listen to their proposals, and bade the Romans depart from the city with all speed. So when Belisarius heard this, he ordered the army to collect thick poles and to make of them a long colonnade. This device was destined to cover the men hidden inside as they moved it forward close up to the gate at the particular point where the ground was level and carried on their operations against the wall. So the soldiers were engaged in this work.

But some of the intimates of Narses gathered around him and declared that Belisarius was undertaking an endless task and devising impracticable plans. For John, they said, had already made an attempt upon the place, and that too at a time when it was guarded by only a few men, and had perceived that it was altogether impregnable (and this was true), and they said that he ought to recover for the emperor the land of Aemilia. And since he was won over by this suggestion, Narses at night abandoned the siege, although Belisarius begged him earnestly to remain there and assist his own troops in capturing the city of Urbinus. So Narses and his followers went in haste to Ariminum with a portion of the army. And as soon as Moras and his barbarians saw at daybreak that one-half of the enemy had withdrawn, they began to shout taunts and bantering words from the fortifications at those who had remained.

Belisarius, however, was purposing to storm the wall with his remaining force. And while he was laying plans for this attack, an altogether wonderful piece of good fortune befell him. There was only one spring in Urbinus, and from it all the inhabitants of the city were drawing water. This spring of its own accord little by little dried up and began to give out. And in three days the water had left it to such an extent that the barbarians drawing from it were drinking the water along with mud. Consequently they decided to capitulate to the Romans. But Belisarius, who had not received any information of this, was still purposing to make an attempt upon the fortifications. And he armed his entire force and placed it in a circle about the whole hill, and then commanded a few men to move forward the colonnade of poles (for such is the name by which this device is customarily called) where the ground was level. So these men went into it and began to walk and to draw the colonnade with them, hidden from the eyes of the enemy. Thereupon, the barbarians, stretching forth their right hands from the parapet, begged to receive peace. But the Romans, not knowing anything of what had taken place regarding the spring, supposed that it was the combat and the Roman device which they dreaded. Both sides, at any rate, gladly refrained from battle. And the Goths surrendered both themselves and the city to Belisarius with the condition that they should remain free from harm and that they should become subjects of the emperor on terms of complete equality with the Roman army.

But Narses, upon hearing of this success, was filled with both astonishment and dejection. And he himself still remained quietly in Ariminum, but he ordered John to lead his whole army against Caesena. So they went, taking ladders with them. And when they came close to the fortress, they delivered an attack and made trial of the fortifications. But since the barbarians defended themselves manfully, many fell in the fight and among them Phanitheus, the leader of the Eruli. So John, failing to capture the fortress of Caesena at that time, saw fit to make no further attempt upon it, since it seemed to him impregnable, and he marched forward with Justinus and the rest of the army. And by a sudden move he succeeded in taking possession of an ancient city which is named Forocornelius; and since the barbarians constantly retired before him and never came to an engagement, he recovered the whole of Aemilia for the emperor. Such was the course of these events.

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Οὐρβίνον ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς εἶλεν, ἐς μὲν Αὐξιμον ἐν τῇ παραυτίκα ἰέναι ἀξύμφορον ᾤετο εἶναι: χρόνον γὰρ σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν προσεδρεῖα ὑπώπτευε. [2] βία τε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν ἐρύματος ἰσχυρὴ ἀδύνατον ἦν, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, πολλήν τινα ληϊσάμενοι χώραν μέγα τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χρῆμα ἐσηνέγκαντο σφίσιν. [3] Ἀράτιον δὲ σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν Φίρμῳ διαχειμάζειν ἐκέλευε φυλάσσειν τε ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐνθένδε ποιούμενοι ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία βιάζωνται: αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐπὶ Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἐπήγε τὸ στρατεῦμα.

[4] Περάνιος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ταύτη Γότθους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑποσπανίζειν ἡκηκόει πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἤλπιζε τε, ἦν πρὸς τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ Βελισάριον παντὶ που παρόντα τῷ στρατῷ ἴδωσι, ῥᾶον ἐνδώσειν· [5] ὅπερ ἐγένετο. Βελισάριος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἀφίκετο, ἅπαντας μὲν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν χώρῳ ἐπιτηδείως κειμένῳ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύκλῳ περιῶν διεσκοπεῖτο εἴ πως αὐτὴν βιάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατα ἦ. καὶ οἱ μηχανὴ μὲν οὐδεμίᾳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὥστε βία τινὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. [6] λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ παντάπασιν ἔδόκει ἀμήχανός οἱ ἡ ἐπικράτησις ἔσεσθαι. [7] Λόφος γάρ τις ἐκ κοίλης γῆς ἀνέχει μόνος, τὰ μὲν ὑπερθεῖν ὑπτιός τε καὶ ὁμαλός, τὰ δὲ κάτω κρημνώδης. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν λόφον ἰσομήκεις πέτραι κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται τινα, οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη οὖσαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον βολὴν διέχουσαι λίθου. [8] ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόφου οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι τὴν πόλιν ἐδείμαντο, οὔτε τείχη περιβαλόντες οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεὶ φύσει αὐτοῖς τὸ χωρίον ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [9] μία γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν εἴσοδος τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἣν φυλασσομένοις τοῖς ταύτη ὤκημένοις οὐδεμίαν ἐτέρωθι πολεμίων προσβολὴν δεδιέναι ξυμβαίνει. [10] χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἢ τὴν εἴσοδον ἢ φύσις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐτεκτίνετο, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ποταμὸς αἰεὶ μέγας τε καὶ ἀπόρευτος τὰ μεταξὺ ἔχει τοῦ τε λόφου καὶ τῶν πετρῶν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη. [11] διὸ δὴ καὶ βραχεῖαν τινα οἰκοδομίαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰσόδῳ πεποιήνται τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι. καὶ πύλη τις ἐνταυθὰ ἐστίν, ἣν τότε Γότθοι ἐφύλασσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Οὐρβιβεντῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. [12] Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο, ἣ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κακουργήσειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχων ἢ λιμῷ παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. [13] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐσπάνιζον, καίπερ ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτὰ ἔχοντες, ὅμως τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ἥκιστα μὲν ἐς τροφῆς κόρον ἐρχόμενοι, ὅσον δὲ μὴ λιμῷ ἀποθνήσκειν χρώμενοι σιτίοις ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, δέρρεις τε καὶ διφθέρας ὕδατι βρέχοντες πολὺν τινα χρόνον εἴτα ἦσθιον· Ἀλβίλας γὰρ ὅς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμος μάλιστα, ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς κεναῖς ἔβωσκεν. [15] Ἦνίκα τε αὐθις ἐπαιῶν ὁ χρόνος τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν ἤνεγκεν, ὁ σῖτος ἤδη ἐν τοῖς ληϊοῖς αὐτόματος ἤκμαζεν, οὐχὶ τοσοῦτος μέντοι ὅσος τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἦσσαν. [16] ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐλαξίν οὐκ ἀρότροις οὐδὲ χερσίν ἀνθρώπων ἐκέκρυπτο, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολῆς κείμενος ἔτυχε, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ τινα ὀλίγην ἢ γῇ ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν. [17] οὐδενός τε αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀμήσαντος, πόρρῳ ἀκμῆς ἐλθὼν αὐθις ἔπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθὲνδε ἐφύη. ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰμιλίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκὸς ἔτυχε. [18] διὸ ἐκλιπόντες τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦλθον. οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία διὰ τὸ ἐπιθαλάττια εἶναι παντάπασιν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι. [19] καὶ Τούσκων δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὁ λιμὸς ἦψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὤκηντο, τῶν δρυῶν τὰς βαλάνους ἀλοῦντες, ὥσπερ τὸν σῖτον, ἄρτους τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιοῦμενοι ἦσθιον. [20] καὶ νόσοις μὲν παντοδαπαῖς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡλίσκοντο, [21] ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ περιγενόμενοι διεσώζοντο. ἐν Πικηνῷ μέντοι λέγονται Ῥωμαῖοι γεωργοὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πέντε μυριάδες λαοῦ λιμῷ

ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι πλείους ἐκτὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου. [22] Ὅποιοι δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔθνησκον αὐτοὺς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [23] ἰσχυοὶ μὲν καὶ ὠχροὶ ἐγίνοντο πάντες: ἥ τε γὰρ σὰρξ ἀποροῦσα τροφῆς κατὰ γε τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον ἑαυτῆς ἤπτετο, καὶ ἡ χολὴ τῷ περιόντι τὸ κράτος τῶν σωμάτων ἥδη ἔχουσα οἰκείαν τινὰ εἰκασίαν ἐς ταῦτα ἤφει. [24] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, πᾶσα τε αὐτοὺς ἱκμᾶς ἐπελελοίπει καὶ τὸ δέρμα λίαν ἀπεσκληρὸς βύρση μάλιστα ἐμφερὲς ἦν, δόκησιν παρέχον ὥς ἄρα τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐμπεπηγὸς εἶη. τό τε πελιδνὸν ἐς τὸ μέλαν μεταβαλόντες δαδίοις τισὶν ἐς ἄγαν καυθεῖσιν ἐόκεσαν. [25] καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἔκθαμβα ἦν, ἀεὶ δὲ δεινῶς τι μαρτυρῶν ἔβλεπον. ἔθνησκόν τε οἱ μὲν ἀπορία τροφῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίαν αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰόντες. [26] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ σφίσις ἀποσβεσθὲν ἅπαν τὸ θερμὸν ἔτυχεν ὅπερ ἡ φύσις ἐντὸς ἔκαυσεν, εἴ τις ἐς κόρον αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ βραχύ, θρέψειεν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ καιροῦ τεχθέντα παιδιά, οἶδε καταπέσαι οὐκέτι τὰ σιτία ἔχοντες, πολλῶ διεφθείροντο θάσσον. [27] τινὲς δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ ὑπερβιαζομένου ἀλλήλων ἐγέυσαντο. καὶ λέγονται γυναῖκες δύο ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι ὑπὲρ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως ἄνδρας ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐδηδοκέναι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μόνας περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσε. [28] διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἐκεῖνη πορευομένους ξένους εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καταλύειν οὐπὲρ αὐταὶ ὥκουν ξυνέβαινεν: οὗς δὴ καθεύδοντας διαφθείρουσαι ἡσθιον. [29] λέγουσιν οὖν τὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ξένον ἐξ ὕπνου ἀναστάντα, ἠνίκα αὐτῷ ταῦτα τὰ γυναῖκα ἐγχειρεῖν ἔμελλον, μαθεῖν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναθορόντα τὸν πάντα λόγον καὶ ἄμφω κτείνειν. [30] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι φασιν. οἱ δὲ πλείστοι τῇ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀνάγκῃ ἐχόμενοι, εἴ πού τις παρατύχη πόα, πολλῇ μὲν σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦσαν, ὀκλάσαντες δὲ ἀνέλκειν αὐτὴν ἐκ γῆς ἐπειρῶντο. [31] εἶτα 'οὐ γὰρ ἠδύναντο, ἐπεὶ πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἰσχύς ἐπελελοίπει ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πόας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς πίπτοντες ἔθνησκον. [32] καὶ γῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔκρυπτεν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶς: οὐ γὰρ ἦν τις ὅτῳ καὶ ταφῆς λόγος γένοιτο: ὄρνις μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἤπτετο, οἷοι πολλοὶ σιτίζεσθαι πεφύκασιν νεκροῖς σώμασιν, [33] ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφεῖντο. σάρκας γὰρ ἀπάσας, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, προδεδαπανῆσθαι τῷ λιμῷ ἥδη τετύχηκε. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

Now Belisarius, since he had captured Urbinus at about the winter solstice, thought it inexpedient to march against Auximus immediately; for he suspected that a long time would be consumed by his troops in besieging it. For it was impossible to take the place by storm because of the strength of its defences, and the barbarian garrison of the city was both numerous and composed of the best troops, as I have previously stated, and since they had plundered a large tract of country, they had brought in for themselves a great store of provisions. But he commanded Aratius with a numerous army to pass the winter in Firmum and to be on his guard that the barbarians in future should not be at liberty to make their raids from Auximus and fearlessly to carry on a campaign of violence in that region; he himself, however, led his army against Urviventus. For Peranius kept urging him to do this, since he had heard from the deserters that the Goths in that city had a scarcity of provisions, and he hoped that if, in addition to their lack of supplies, they should see Belisarius also present with his whole army, as they would suppose, they would give in the more readily, as indeed actually happened. For Belisarius, immediately upon reaching Urviventus, commanded the whole army to encamp in a place suitably situated, while he himself made a complete circuit of the city, looking carefully to see whether it was perhaps not impossible to capture it by storm. And it seemed to him that there was no possible means of taking the place by any manner of assault. However, he decided that it would not be altogether impossible to capture it by a secret stratagem.

For the city occupies a lone hill which springs from low-lying ground, being on the top level and smooth, but precipitous at the base. And round this hill there stand rocks of equal height which form, as it were, a circle about it, not immediately at the base of the hill, but about a stone's throw away. Upon this hill, then, the men of old built the city, and they neither placed walls around it nor constructed defences of any other kind, since the place seemed to them impregnable by nature. For there is only one approach to the city through the rocks, and if the inhabitants of the city only keep this under guard, they have nothing to fear from hostile attacks at any other point. For apart from the place where nature, as has been stated, constructed the approach to the city, a river which is always large and impassable occupies the space between the hill and the rocks which I have just mentioned. In view of this situation the Romans of old built a short piece of wall across this approach. And there is a gate in it, which the Goths were guarding at that time. Such is the situation of Urviventus.

And Belisarius commenced the siege with his whole army, hoping either to

deliver an attack by way of the river or to bring the enemy to submission by famine. The barbarians, on their part, were for a time not utterly destitute of provisions, though their supply was indeed too scanty for their needs, but still they held out beyond all expectation in enduring their suffering, never getting sufficient nourishment to satisfy them, and using each day only enough food so as not to die of starvation. But finally, when all their provisions had been exhausted, they began to eat skins and hides which they had previously soaked in water for a long time; for their commander Albilas, a man of especial note among the Goths, was sustaining them with empty hopes.

Now as time went on and brought again the summer season, the grain was already ripening uncared for in the cornlands, but in no such quantities as formerly — indeed it was much less. For since it had not been covered in the furrows, either by ploughs or by the hand of man, but lay upon the surface, the earth was able to make only a small portion of it take root. And since after that no one reaped it, when it had become fully ripe it fell again to the ground and nothing grew from it thereafter. And this same thing had happened also in Aemilia; and because of this situation the inhabitants of that region left their homes and went to Picenum, thinking that, since that country was on the sea, it could not be suffering from absolute lack of food supplies. And the Tuscans, no less than the others, were attacked by famine for the same cause; and as many of them as lived in the mountains were eating loaves made of the acorns of the oak trees, which they ground up just like grain. The natural result of this was that the most of the people fell victim to all manner of diseases, and it was only a few who threw these off and recovered. Indeed it is said that among the Roman farmers in Picenum not less than fifty thousand persons perished by famine, and a great many more north of the Ionian Gulf.

I shall now tell of the appearance which they came to have and in what manner they died, for I was an eye-witness. All of them first became lean and pale; for the flesh, being ill supplied with nourishment, according to the old saying “laid hold upon itself,” and the bile, having now the mastery of their bodies by reason of its excess, lent them almost its own appearance. And as the malady developed, all moisture left them, and the skin became very dry so that it resembled leather more than anything else, giving the appearance of having been fastened upon the bones. And as they changed from a livid to a black colour, they came to resemble torches thoroughly burned. And their faces always wore an expression of amazement, while they always had a dreadful sort of insane stare. And they died, some because of the lack of food, and others too by sating themselves too much with it. For since all the warmth which nature kindled within them had died away, whenever anyone fed them to satiety, and not little by little, just like infants newly born, the result was that, since they were as yet unable to digest the food, they died much more quickly. Some too, overcome by hunger, fed upon their comrades. And it is said that two women in a certain place in the country above the city of

Ariminum ate seventeen men; for these women, as it happened, were the only inhabitants of the place who survived, and consequently it came about that strangers travelling that way lodged in the little house where these women lived; so they would kill these strangers while they slept and eat them. Now the story goes that the eighteenth stranger was roused from sleep, just when these women were about to lay hands upon him, and leaping up and learning from them the whole story, killed both of them. Such, then, is the story which they tell. And the most of the people were so overcome by their hunger that if they happened upon a bit of grass anywhere, they would rush to it with great eagerness, and kneeling down, would try to pull it from the ground. Then, finding themselves unable to do so because all strength had left them, they would fall upon the grass and their outstretched hand and die. And no one ever laid them in the earth, for there was in fact not a man to concern himself about burying them; and yet they remained untouched by any of those numerous birds which have the habit of feeding upon dead bodies, for they offered nothing which the birds craved. For all the flesh, as I have previously stated, had already been consumed by starvation. Such was the manner in which famine visited the land.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Οὐράϊαν τε καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους Μεδιόλανον πολιορκεῖν ἤκουσε, Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Οὐλίαριν ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [2] οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς ποταμὸν Πάδον, ὃς Μεδιολάνου ἀπέχει ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. χρόνος τε σφίσι πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐτρίβη, ἀμφὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ βουλὴν ἔχουσιν. [3] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Μουνδίλας ἤκουσε, τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Παῦλον ὄνομα, παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. [4] ὁ δὲ λαθὼν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τοῦ Πάδου τὴν ὄχθην ἦλθεν. ὁλκάδος δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ νηχόμενος ξὺν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσατο. [5] κοιμισθεὶς οὖν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἦκων ἔλεξε τοιαύδε· ‘Μαρτίνε τε καὶ Οὐλίари, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδὲ δόξης τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἦκοντες, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν Γότθων δύναμιν αὔξοντες. [6] Μεδιόλανος γὰρ ἦδε, πόλεων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πασῶν μάλιστα μεγέθει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία παρὰ πολὺ προὔχουσα, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πρὸς τε Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐπιτείχισμά τε οὔσα καὶ πάσης, ὡς εἶπεῖν, προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἐμπέπτωκε μέγαν ξὺν τε Μουνδίλᾳ καὶ τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ, παρὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνοχλουμένη, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελουμένη. [7] ἡλίκᾳ μὲν οὖν ἡδίκηται βασιλεὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, λέγειν ἀφήμι. οὐ γάρ μοι πλείοσι λόγοις ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδίδωσι χρῆσθαι, ὅξεϊάν τινα τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπιζητῶν, ἕως ἔτι λείπεται τις ἐλπίς. [8] ὑμᾶς δὲ φημι χρῆναι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα κινδυνεύουσι Μεδιολανίταις ἀμύνειν. ἦν γάρ τινι μελλήσει ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐς ἡμᾶς χρῆσθε, ἡμῖν μὲν τὰ πάντων πικρότατα πεπονθόσιν ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβήσεται, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν βασιλέως προσέσθαι δύναμιν. [9] προδόται γάρ, οἶμαι, καλεῖσθαι εἰσι δίκαιοι οὐχ οἱ ἂν τὰς πύλας τοῖς ἐναντίοις

ἀνακλίνοιεν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἦσπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, οἱ ἂν πολιορκούμενοι παρὸν τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀμύνειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκίνδυνον ὄκηνησιν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐλόμενοι, τὴν ἐκείνων, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν τοῖς πολεμίοις δεδῶκασιν.' [10] Παῦλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Μαρτίνος δὲ καὶ Οὐλίαιρις ἔψεσθαι οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπαγγεिलाμένοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψαντο. [11] ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐθις τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθὼν ἐς Μεδιόλανον νύκτωρ εἰσῆλθε, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν ἐπέρρωσεν. [12] Οὐδέν τι δὲ ἦσπον οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ὄκνω ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, χρόνος τε πολὺς ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ μελλήσει ἐτρίβετο. [13] μετὰ δὲ Μαρτίνος ἀπολύεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν ἐθέλων Βελισαρίῳ ἔγραψε τάδε: "Ἐπεμψας ἡμᾶς ὧδε τοῖς ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐπαμυνούντας, καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλῇ σπουδῇ, ὥσπερ σὺ ἐκέλευες, ἄχρι ἐς Πάδον ποταμὸν ἤκομεν, ὃν διαβαίνειν ὁ στρατὸς δέδοικεν, ἐπεὶ δύναμιν τε Γότθων μεγάλην καὶ Βουργουζίωνων πάμπολύ τι ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἐν Λιγούροις εἶναι ἀκούομεν, πρὸς οὓς γε ἡμεῖς διαμάχεσθαι μόνοι οὐχ οἷοί τε οἰόμεθα εἶναι. [14] ἀλλὰ κέλευε Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον ὡς τάχιστα ἐν γειτόνων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν Αἰμιλίῳ τῇ χώρᾳ εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἐπομένοις κινδύνου ἡμῖν τοῦδε ξυνάρασθαι. [15] κοινῇ γὰρ ἐνθὲνδε ἰόντες αὐτοὶ τε σῶοι εἶναι καὶ δρᾶν τι κακὸν δυνησόμεθα τοὺς [16] πολεμίους." Μαρτίνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν ἀνελέξατο, Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον ἐκέλευε ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ἐς Μεδιόλανον κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. οἱ δὲ πράξειν οὐδὲν ἔφασκον, ὅτι μὴ Ναρσῆς ἐπιστέλλοι σφίσι. [17] διὸ δὴ καὶ Ναρσῆ Βελισάριος ἔγραψε τάδε: "Ἐνσῶμα εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὰν νόμιζε, ἣν δὴ ἦν μὴ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι μίαν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τὰ μέλη ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ τι ἀλλήλων χωρὶς ἐνεργεῖν βούλεσθαι, λελεῖψεται ἡμῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν διαπεπραγμένοις ἀπολωλέναι. [18] οὐκοῦν Αἰμιλίαν μὲν ἔα, οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἔχουσιν οὔτε τινὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ῥοπὴν φέρουσιν. [19] σὺ δὲ Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον κέλευε αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα εὐθὺς τῶν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πολεμίων ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον ἰέναι, ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας. [20] ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα στρατιᾶς πλῆθος, ὅπερ ἂν καὶ στέλλοιμι, οὐκ εἶναι ξυμβαίνει, ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐς Μεδιόλανον ἐνθὲνδε ἰέναι ἀξίυμφορον οἶομαι εἶναι. [21] χρόνου τε γὰρ τετρίψεται πλῆθος, ὥστε ὀπίσω τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤξουσιν, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἥνίκα ἐς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωνται, οὐδαμῶς ἔξουσιν. [22] ἦν δέ γε ξὺν τε Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Οὐλίαιρι οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐς Μεδιόλανον ἴωσι, κρατήσουσί τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν καταλήψονται αὐθις, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος." [23] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε τὰ γράμματα, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Μεδιόλανον ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἰέναι. [24] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐστάλη, ὅπως ἀκάτους ἐνθὲνδε κομίζοι, οὕτω τε διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς δύνηται. ἀλλὰ νόσος αὐτῷ ξυμβᾶσα τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα διεκώλυσεν. [25] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τῇ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν ὀκνήσει ἐχρῶντο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὰς Ναρσοῦ ἐντολὰς ἔμενον, ἐν τούτῳ χρόνῳ δαπανᾶσθαι πολὺ τι χρῆμα τῇ

πολιορκία τετύχηκεν. [26] οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβιαζομένου κυνῶν τε καὶ μυῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐγεύσαντο καὶ ζῶων ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς βρῶσιν ἀνθρώπου οὐποτε ἦλθον. [27] οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι πρέσβεις παρὰ Μουνδίαν πέμψαντες ἐνδοῦναι σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἐκέλευον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπαθείς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κακῶν μείνωσιν. [28] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὠμολόγησε πράξειν, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν τὰ πιστὰ δώσουσι καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐς τῶν οἰκητόρων τινὰ δράσουσιν. [29] ὥς δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι Μουνδίᾳ τε καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκαν, θυμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐς Λιγούρους ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντας ἀπολοῦντες ἐνδηλοι ἦσαν, συγκαλέσας Μουνδίᾳς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [30] 'Εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι πώποτε, παρὸν αἰσchrῶς βῶναι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν εἴλοντο σωτηρίας τῆς παραυτίκα τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν ἀλλαξάμενοι, τοιούτους δὴ τινὰς ἐν τῷ παρόντι βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ μὴ τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸν μετὰ τῆς αἰσchrῆς βίον διώκειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Βελισαρίου διδασκαλίας, ἥς ἐκ παλαιοῦ μετασχοῦσιν ὑμῖν μὴ οὐχὶ γενναίοις τε καὶ λῖαν εὐτόλμοις εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον. [31] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εἰς φῶς ἤκουσι μία τις ἅπασι προέρχεται τύχη, τοῖς καθήκουσι τεθνήξεσθαι χρόνοις: τρόπῳ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀλλήλων ὥς τὰ πολλὰ διαλλάσσουσι. [32] διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι ἄνδρῳ μὲν, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἅπαντες ὕβριν τε καὶ γέλωτα ὀφείλοντες τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πρότερον, εἴτα τοῖς ἄνωθεν διωρισμένοις καιροῖς οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἀναπιμπλάσι τὴν πεπρωμένην, γενναίοις δὲ ἀνδράσι ξύν τε τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς περιουσία τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει πάσχειν. [33] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εἰ μὲν ἀνθρώπους τούσδε ξυνδιασώζουσιν ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τοῖς βαρβάροις παρῆν, ἔφερεν ἂν τοῦτο γοῦν τινα τῆς αἰσchrᾶς ταύτης ἡμῖν σωτηρίας συγγνώμην. [34] ἦν δέ γε Ῥωμαίους τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδεῖν ἀνάγκη ταῖς τῶν πολέμιων διαφθειρομένους χερσίν, ὅτου τις ἂν εἴποι τοῦτο θανάτου πικρότερον ἔσται. [35] οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις συγκατεργάζεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν δόξαιμεν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἐσμέν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κύριοι ἀρετῇ τὴν ἀνάγκην κοσμήσασθαι, εὐδοξον τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν θώμεθα τύχην. [36] φημί δὲ χρῆναι ὥς ἄριστα ἐξοπλισαμένους ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους οὐ προσδεχομένους χωρεῖν. [37] δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμῖν περιέσται θάτερον: ἢ τὴν τύχην ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἰργάσθαι τι κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος ἢ τελευτῆς τετυχηκότας εὐδαίμονος εὐκλεῶς μάλιστα τῶν παρόντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν.' [38] Μουνδίᾳς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς παρεκάλουν οἱ πολέμιοι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδοσαν. [39] καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργασάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ ξύν Μουνδίᾳ εἶχον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἄνδρας μὲν κτείναντες ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, γυναῖκας δὲ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενοι λόγῳ, αἷς δὴ Βουργουζίῳνας δεδώρηνται χάριν αὐτοῖς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἐκτίνοντες. [40] Ῥεπάρατον δὲ εὐρόντες τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχον, ἔκοψάν τε κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ κρέα τοῖς κυσὶν ἔρριψαν. [41] Βηργεντίνος δὲ 'καὶ γὰρ ἐντὸς ὧν Μεδιολάνου ἔτυχέ διὰ τε Βενετίων καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Δαλματίαν κομίζεται. καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐνθὲνδε ἦλθε, πάθος ἀγγέλλων μέγα τοῦτο ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε γενέσθαι. [42] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

οἱ Γότθοι πόλεις τε τὰς ἄλλας ὁμολογία εἶλον αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἔτυχον φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι, καὶ Λιγουρίας αὖθις ὅλης ἐκράτησαν. Μαρτῖνος δὲ καὶ Οὐλίαρις ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνέστρεφον.

XXI

Now when Belisarius heard that Uraias and the barbarians were besieging Milan, he sent Martinus and Uliaris against them with a numerous army. But when this force reached the River Po, which is one day's journey distant from Milan, they established a camp and remained there. And a long time was spent by them at that camp while they were deliberating about the crossing of the river. And when Mundilas heard this, he sent to them one of the Romans, Paulus by name. He accordingly passed through the lines of the enemy without being detected, and reached the bank of the Po. But he happened to find no ferry ready at the moment, and so he removed his clothing and, at great risk, made the crossing by swimming. So when he had betaken himself to the Roman camp and had come into the presence of the commanders, he spoke as follows:

“Martinus and Uliaris, you are not acting justly nor in a manner worthy of your own fame, seeing that in appearance you have come for the saving of the emperor's cause, but in reality to magnify the power of the Goths. For this city of Milan, which far surpasses practically all the other cities of Italy in point of size and population and in every other sort of prosperity, and, apart from these advantages, is an outpost against the Germans and the other barbarians, and has been thrown out to protect the whole Roman empire, so to speak, — this city, I say, has now fallen into great danger together with Mundilas and the emperor's army, harassed as it is by the enemy, and neglected meanwhile by you. And how much the emperor has been wronged by you in the present case, I refrain from stating. For the urgency of the moment does not allow me to use many words, seeking as I do quick assistance for the city, while some hope is still left. But you, I say, must come to the defence of the people of Milan in their peril with all possible speed. For if at the present crisis you act with any hesitation in coming to us, the result will be for us, on the one hand, to perish after suffering the most cruel fate possible, and for you, on the other, to have betrayed to the enemy the emperor's power. For those who may perchance open their gates to the enemy are not the only ones who are justly called traitors, but with equal, nay even greater, justice this name belongs to those who, though they have the power to defend those dearest to them when they are besieged, still choose the course of hesitation, which involves no danger, instead of engaging in the struggle, and thus probably give to their enemy the victory over them.” Thus spoke Paulus, and Martinus and Uliaris sent him back with the promise to follow him right speedily. And he once more succeeded in getting through the barbarians unnoticed, entered Milan by night, and having roused the hopes of the soldiers and all the Romans, still more strengthened their purpose to be faithful to the emperor.

Nevertheless Martinus and his men continued to be reluctant to move and remained where they were, and much time was consumed by them in hesitating in this way. But finally Martinus, wishing to clear himself of the charge, wrote to Belisarius as follows:

“You sent us hither in order to bring support to those endangered in Milan, and we have come in great haste, just as you commanded, as far as the River Po; but the army fears to cross this river, since we hear that a strong force of Goths are in Liguria, and a very great multitude of Burgundians with them; and against such an army we do not consider ourselves able to fight a decisive battle alone. But command John and Justinus, who are in our neighbourhood in the land of Aemilia, to come with all possible speed together with their troops and assist us in meeting this danger. For by going together from here we shall be enabled both to be safe ourselves and also to do some harm to the enemy.” Such was the content of Martinus’ letter. And Belisarius, upon reading it, commanded John and Justinus to join the forces of Martinus and go with all speed against Milan. But they said that they would do nothing except what Narses commanded them. Wherefore Belisarius wrote also to Narses as follows:

“Consider that the whole army of the emperor is one body, and that, if it does not display one single purpose, just as do the members of a man, but one part wishes to act separately from the others, what will be left to us is to perish utterly without having performed any of our duties. Therefore have done with Aemilia, which neither contains any fortress nor has any decisive importance for the Romans, at least at the present moment. But do you command John and Justinus without the least delay to go with the forces of Martinus straight against the enemy at Milan, for they are near at hand and sufficiently strong to overpower the barbarians. For it so happens that I myself have here no numerous army which I could possibly send, and even apart from this, I think it inexpedient for soldiers to go from here against Milan. For a great amount of time will be consumed in the journey so that they will fail to reach the city at the proper moment, and they will be quite unable on account of the length of the journey to use their horses against the enemy when they reach them. But if these men go with Martinus and Uliaris against Milan, they will in all probability both overcome the barbarians there and also take possession of Aemilia again without encountering any further resistance.” When this letter had been delivered to Narses and read by him, he himself sent orders to John and Justinus to go with the other army to Milan. And John a little later set out for the sea-coast, in order to bring boats from there, which were to enable the army to cross the river. But an illness which fell upon him put a stop to the undertaking.

But while the forces of Martinus were hesitating about the crossing of the river, and those of John were awaiting the instructions of Narses, a great

amount of time was consumed, and the siege meantime continued to be pressed. And the besieged were already suffering extremely from the famine, and under the overwhelming necessity of their wretched situation the most of them had begun to eat dogs and mice and other animals such as had never been eaten by man. So the barbarians sent envoys to Mundilas, bidding him surrender the city to them, with the condition that he himself and the soldiers should remain free from harm. But Mundilas agreed to do this only on condition that they not only give pledges for the safety of the Roman garrison, but also that they would do no harm to any one of the inhabitants. But since the enemy, though ready to give pledges to Mundilas and the soldiers, were moved by furious passion against the Ligurians and were evidently going to destroy them all, Mundilas called all the soldiers together and spoke as follows:

“If it has ever happened that any men before us, though having the opportunity to save their lives with disgrace, have chosen rather to die with fair fame, abandoning their immediate safety for a glorious end of life, such men I should wish you also to be at the present time, and not through fondness for life to pursue it even though it be involved in shame, and that too, contrary to the teaching of Belisarius, by which you have profited for a long time past, so that to be otherwise than noble and exceedingly courageous is for you sacrilege. For when men have once entered life, a single fate is advancing upon all of them — to die at the appointed time; but as to the manner of death men differ, for the most part, one from the other. And there is this difference, that cowards, as one might expect, in every case first bring upon themselves insult and ridicule from their enemies and then, at the exact time previously appointed, fulfil their destiny no whit the less; but it falls to the lot of noble men to suffer this with valour and an abundance of goodly fame. And apart from these considerations, if it had been possible to become slaves of the barbarians, and at the same time to save the people of the city, that at least might have brought us some forgiveness for saving ourselves so disgracefully. But if, in fact, we are bound to look on while such a great multitude of Romans is being destroyed by the hand of the enemy, this will be more bitter than any form of death of which a man could tell. For we should appear to be doing nothing more or less than helping the barbarians to perpetrate this dreadful deed. While, therefore, we are sufficiently our own masters to adorn necessity with valour, let us make glorious the fortune which has fallen upon us. And I say that we ought all to arm ourselves in the best possible manner, and advance upon the enemy when they are not expecting us. For the result for us will be one of two things: either fortune will have wrought for us in some way a success which transcends our present hope, or we, in achieving a happy end, shall have rid ourselves of our present troubles with the fairest fame.”

So spoke Mundilas; but not one of the soldiers was willing to undergo the

danger, and they surrendered both themselves and the city on the terms which the enemy offered. And the barbarians did indeed inflict no harm upon the soldiers, simply putting them under guard with Mundilas, but the city they razed to the ground, killing all the males of every age to the number of not less than three hundred thousand and reducing the women to slavery and then presenting them to the Burgundians by way of repaying them for their alliance. And when they found Reparatus, the pretorian prefect, they cut his body into small pieces and threw his flesh to the dogs. But Vergentinus (for he had been, as it happened, inside Milan) made his escape and betook himself with his followers to Dalmatia, passing through the land of the Veneti and the other nations of that region. And from there he went to the emperor bearing the message of this great calamity which had befallen the Romans. In consequence of this success the Goths took by surrender the other cities which happened to have Roman garrisons and again gained control over the whole of Liguria. As for Martinus and Uliaris, they marched back with their army toward Rome.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. Βελισάριος δὲ οὕτω τι πεπυσμένος τῶν ἐν Λιγυρία ξυμπεπτωκότων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεῦτα ἤδη, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦει. [2] τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Μεδιολάνῳ τετυχηκότα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πορείᾳ μαθὼν ἐν μεγάλῳ ἐποίησατο πένθει. [3] καὶ Οὐλίarin μὲν ἐς ὄψιν οἱ ἐλθεῖν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε. [4] βασιλεὺς δὲ τούτων μὲν ἔνεκα δεινὸν τι εἰργάσατο οὐδένα, τὴν δὲ Βελισαρίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ διαφορὰν ἀκούσας Ναρσῆν τε αὐτίκα μεταπεμπάμενος αὐτοκράτορα παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο. [5] ὧδε μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐπανῆκε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἄγων. Ἐρουλοὶ δὲ μένειν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ναρσοῦ ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωροῦντος οὐκέτι ἤξιουν, καίτοι Βελισαρίου πολλὰ ὑποσχομένου σφίσι πρὸς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ μένουσιν ἔσσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συσκευασάμενοι ἅπαντες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ Λιγυρίας ἀπεχώρησαν. [6] οὗ δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ Οὐράϊα στρατῷ, ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ ἄλλα ζῆα ὅσα ἐπῆγον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέδοντο, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι ἀπώμοσαν, μήποτε Γότθοις ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἢ εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [7] οὕτω τε εἰρηναίαν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία ἦλθον. ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς Βιταλίῳ ξυγγενομένοις τῶν ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἡμαρτημένων μετέμελεν. [8] ἀφοσιούμενοί τε τὸ ἔγκλημα Οὐίσανδον μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτοῦ εἶασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες, Ἀλουῖθ τε ἡγουμένου σφίσι καὶ Φιλιμούθ, ὅσπερ Φανιθεοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐν Καισίνῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. [9] Οὐίτιγίς δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ Γότθοι Βελισάριον ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥάβενναν ἤξειν ἀκούοντες ἐν δέσματι μεγάλῳ καθίσταντο καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο: καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις 'οὐ γὰρ ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ μόνας ὄντο εἶναι ἔδοξεν ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικουρίαν ἐπάγεσθαι. [10] Γερμανῶν μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε δολεροῦ καὶ ἀπίστου ἤδη ἐν πείρᾳ γεγενημένοι ἀπέσχοντο, ἀγαπῶντες, ἣν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς

ἴωσιν, [11] ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. ἐς δὲ Λαγγοβαρδῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα Οὐάκην πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν, χρήματά τε μεγάλα προτεινόμενοι καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. [12] οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ φίλον τε καὶ ζῦμμαχον τὸν Οὐάκην ἐγνωσαν εἶναι, ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [13] Οὐίτιγισ τοίνυν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπορούμενος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰεὶ ξυνεκάλει πολλούς. παρ' ὧν δὴ συχνὰ ἐπυνθάνετο ὃ τί ποτέ οἱ βουλευομένῳ τε καὶ πράσσοντι ἄμεινον τὰ πράγματα ἔξει. [14] γινῶμαι οὖν πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ξυνιόντων ἐλέγοντο, αἱ μὲν ἐπιτηδεῖως τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον φέρουσαι. [15] ἐν αἷς καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν λόγον ἦλθεν, ὡς οὐ πρότερόν ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν ἴσχυσε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτε αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐς Πέρσας γεγέννηται. [16] τοὺς τε γὰρ Βανδίλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους τηνικαῦτα ἀπολωλέναι καὶ Γότθοις τὰ παρόντα ξυμπεπτωκέναι. ὥστε, ἦν τις καὶ νῦν Ἰουστινιανῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα ξυγκροῦη, οὐ μήποτε Ῥωμαῖοι, τούτου δὲ ἐκπεπολεμωμένου σφίσι τοῦ ἔθνους, πόλεμον ἄλλον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς οὐδένας ἀνθρώπων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσι. [17] ταῦτα Οὐιττίγιδι τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσε καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἔδοξεν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα Χοσρόην στέλλεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους, οἵπερ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πολέμιον καταστήσουσι. [18] διὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιγούροις ἱερέων δύο χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς ταύτην ἀναπεῖθουσι τὴν ὑπουργίαν. [19] ὧν ἕτερος μὲν, ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπισκόπου δόκησιν τε καὶ ὄνομα περιβεβλημένος, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὃ δὲ ἕτερος αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν εἶπετο. [20] γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς Χοσρόην γεγραμμένα Οὐίτιγισ ἐπεμψεν. οἷς δὲ Χοσρόης ἡγμένος ἀνήκεστα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔργα Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσατο, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [21] ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Χοσρόην τε καὶ Πέρσας βουλευέσθαι ἤκουσε, καταλύειν μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ πόλεμον ὡς τάχιστα ἔγνω, Βελισάριον δὲ μεταπέμψασθαι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειε. [22] τοὺς μὲν οὖν Οὐιττίγιδος πρέσβεις ἔτι γὰρ ὄντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐτύγχανον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης σταλῆσεν ὑποσχόμενος, οἵπερ ἐς Γότθους τὰς σπονδὰς θήσονται ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ. [23] τούτους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐ πρότερον μεθῆκε Βελισάριος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἕως καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀθανάσιον τε καὶ Πέτρον ἀφῆκαν. [24] οὗς δὲ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένους γερῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἡξίωσεν, Ἀθανάσιον μὲν ὑπαρχον τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραιτωρίων καταστησάμενος, Πέτρῳ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχὴν παρασχόμενος. [25] καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

SUCH was the course of events in Liguria. And Belisarius, having not yet learned anything of what had happened in that field, was moving with his whole army into Picenum, since the winter was now coming to an end. But learning in the course of this journey what had befallen Milan, he grieved exceedingly. And never after that time would he allow Uliaris to come into his presence; but he wrote to the emperor everything which had taken place. And the emperor treated no one with severity on account of these things, but upon hearing of the disagreement between Belisarius and Narses, he recalled Narses immediately and appointed Belisarius commander-in-chief for the whole war. Thus it was that Narses returned to Byzantium, bringing some few of the soldiers. But the Eruli, seeing that Narses was departing from Italy, refused to remain there longer, although Belisarius promised that they would receive many benefits both from himself and from the emperor, if they remained; but they all packed up their luggage and withdrew, going first to Liguria. There they happened upon the army of Uraias, and they sold all the slaves and the animals they were taking with them to the enemy, and, having thus acquired a great amount of money, they took an oath that they would never array themselves against Goths or do battle with them. Thus they made their withdrawal in peace and came into the land of the Veneti. But upon meeting Vitalius there, they forthwith began to repent of the wrong they had done the Emperor Justinian. And seeking to clear themselves of the charge against them, they left there Visandus, one of their commanders, with his forces, but all the rest betook themselves to Byzantium under the leadership of Aluith and Philemuth, the latter having taken the command after Phanitheus was killed at Caesena.

Now Vittigis and the Goths with him, hearing that Belisarius at the beginning of spring would come against them and Ravenna, were plunged into great fear, and they began to take counsel regarding the situation which confronted them; and realizing as they did that they alone were not a match for their enemy in battle, they decided, after long deliberation, to invite the assistance of some other barbarians. In carrying out this purpose, however, they avoided the Germans, having already had experience of their crafty and untrustworthy character, being well content if they too should not come against the Goths with Belisarius, but should stand aside for both. But they sent envoys to Vaces, the ruler of the Lombards, offering great sums of money and inviting him to an offensive and defensive alliance. But these envoys, upon learning that Vaces was a friend and ally of the emperor, returned unsuccessful. It was natural, therefore, that Vittigis should be at a loss in these circumstances, and he was constantly calling together many of the elders. And from them he made many inquiries as to how he should form his plans and act in order that

he might achieve the greatest success. Accordingly many opinions were expressed by those who gathered for the council, some of them in no way adapted to the situation, and some too which contained suggestions worthy of some consideration. And among these suggestions this idea also was advanced, that the emperor of the Romans had plainly never been able to make war upon the barbarians in the West before the time when the treaty had been made with the Persians. For it was only then that the Van dais and Moors had been destroyed, and the Goths had suffered their present misfortunes. Consequently, if someone should once more rouse the hostility of the king of the Medes against the Emperor Justinian, the Romans thereafter would never be able, when once that nation had been stirred up to war against them, to carry on another war against any people in the world. This suggestion pleased both Vittigis himself and the other Goths.

It was decided, therefore, that envoys should be sent to Chosroes, the king of the Medes, but that they should not be Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and the negotiations be made useless, but Romans, who were to make him hostile to the Emperor Justinian. Accordingly they bribed two priests of Liguria with great sums of money to undertake this service. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy, assuming the appearance and the title of bishop, which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. Vittigis also entrusted to them a letter written to Chosroes and sent them off. And Chosroes, influenced by this very letter, committed acts of an outrageous character against the Romans in time of peace, as has been told by me in the preceding narrative. Now when the Emperor Justinian heard that Chosroes and the Persians were planning to this end, he decided to bring the war in the West to an end as quickly as possible, and to recall Belisarius in order that he might take the field against the Persians. So he immediately dismissed the envoys of Vittigis (for they happened to be still in Byzantium), promising that men would be sent by him to Ravenna who would draw up the treaty with the Goths in such form that the interests of both sides would be furthered. But Belisarius did not release these envoys to the enemy until they, in turn, had released the embassy of Athanasius and Peter. And when these men arrived at Byzantium, the emperor counted them worthy of the greatest gifts of honour, appointing Athanasius prefect of the pretorians in Italy, and giving Peter the office of “magister” as it is called. And the winter drew to a close, and the fourth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [529 A.D.]

Βελισάριος δὲ Αὐξιμόν τε καὶ Φισούλαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον ᾗθελε, οὕτω τε ἐπὶ τε Οὐίττιγιν καὶ Ῥάβενναν ἰέναι, οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν πολέμιων οὔτε σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἴσασθαι δυναμένου, οὔτε τὰ ὀπίσθε κακουργεῖν ἔχοντος. [2] Κυπριανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἐς Φισούλαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς ἐκ καταλόγου οὗ Δημήτριος

ἦρχεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. [3] Μαρτῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ οὐπὲρ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο ὃν καὶ Φαγὰν ἐκάλουν, ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν ἔστελλεν. [4] οὗς δὲ φροντίδα ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως μὴ Οὐραΐας τε καὶ οἱ ξύν αὐτῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν, ἣν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἀποκρούεσθαι οὐχ οἰοί τε ὧσιν, ὀπισθεν αὐτοὺς λάθρα ἐπισπομένους κατὰ νότου ἰέναι. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν πόλιν Δορθῶνα πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν καταλαβόντες, αὐτοῦ τε ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αὐξιμον πόλιν χιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἔχων ἀφίκετο. [6] Αὐξιμος δὲ αὕτῃ πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἐν Πικηνοῖς πόλεων ἐστίν, ἣν δὲ μητρόπολιν καλεῖν νενομίκασι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἀκτῆς μὲν κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου σταδίους τέσσαράς τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, Ῥαβέννης δὲ πόλεως ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα. [7] κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ, εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπρόσδοτος τοῖς πολεμίοις παντάπασιν οὔσα. [8] ἐνταῦθα Γόθων εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, Οὐίτιγίς ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν κατεστήσατο, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ ταύτην ἐξέλῳσι πρότερον, ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν οὔποτε στρατεύειν τολμήσωσιν. [9] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Αὐξιμον ἦλθεν, ἐκέλευε Βελισάριος παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὰ ἔσχατα πάντα στρατοπεδεύεσθαι κύκλῳ. [10] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ συμμορίας γενόμενοι καλύβας ἄλλος ἄλλῃ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπήγγυντο, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Γόθοι μακρὰν πον ἀπολελειμμένους ἀλλήλων καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἅτε ἐν μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχοντας, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀμφὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἣ Βελισάριος στρατόπεδον ἔτι ποιούμενος ξύν τε δορυφόροις καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν. [11] οἱ δὲ ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, ῥᾱστά τε αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ ὡσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐπισπόμενοι κατὰ μέσον τοῦ λόφου ἐγίνοντο. [12] ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιστραφέντες καὶ χωρίου ἰσχυρὸν πιστεύοντες ἀντίοι τοῖς διώκουσιν ἔστησαν, συχνούς τε αὐτῶν ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν βάλλοντες ἔκτειναν, ἕως νύξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτω τε διαλυθέντες ἐκάτεροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἠύλisanτο. [13] ἔτυχον δὲ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Γόθων τινὲς ὀρθρου βαθέος τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἕνεκα ἐς τὰ ἐκείνῃ σταλέντες χωρία. [14] οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ παρουσίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἐς νύκτα ἐπανῆκον. ἄφνω τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πυρὰ κατιδόντες ἐν θαύματι τε καὶ δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. [15] καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι τολμήσαντες καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Αὐξιμον ἐσῆλθον. ὅσοι δὲ κατορρωδήσαντες ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐς ὕλας τινὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης χωρήσουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις γενόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. [16] Βελισάριος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν Αὐξιμον ἰσχυροτάτην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οὔσαν, παντελῶς τέ οἱ ἀμήχανα εἶναι προσβολὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι, βία μὲν τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ᾤετο, πολιορκία δὲ ἀκριβεῖ ἔς τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίδα εἶχε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑποχειρίους ποιήσασθαι. [17] Τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν πόαν τινὰ πολλὴν ἢ γῆ ἀνιέισα ξυμβολῆς ἀφορμὴν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην Ῥωμαῖοις τε καὶ Γόθοις ἔφερε. [18] ταύτην γάρ ἀποτεμνομένους αἰεὶ τῶν ἵππων

ἐνεκα τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τε τῷ λόφῳ δρόμῳ πολλῶ ἀνιόντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντες ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, φέρεσθαι τὴν πόαν οὐδαμῇ εἶων, πολλοὺς τε αἰετῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ διέφθειρον. [19] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσωμένοι ἐπενόουν τάδε. τῶν ἀμαξῶν τοὺς τροχοὺς ζύν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξι ἀφελόμενοι ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, τέμνειν τε τὴν πόαν ἀρξάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀνιόντας ἤδη ἐς τοῦ λόφου τὰ μέσα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἶδον, τοὺς τροχοὺς ἀφῆκαν κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. [20] τύχη δὲ τινι τούτους ζυνέπεσε τοὺς τροχοὺς ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς ἀνθρώπου οὐδενὸς ἀψαμένους ἐλθεῖν. ταύτης τε τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, τότε μὲν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐποίουν τάδε. [21] τὰς φάραγγας, αἱ τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσὶν ἄγχιστα, ἐνέδραις τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν προλοχίσαντες ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐφαίνοντο, ἡνίκα τε ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένοιτο, ἐκπηδῶντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν οἱ κρυπτόμενοι, πλήθει τε τοὺς ἐναντίους παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ μὴ προαισθῆσθαι ἐκπλήσσοντες πλείστους μὲν ἔκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αἰετῶς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεπον. [22] Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις εἰστήκεσαν ἔβλεπον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ὑπεξανισταμένους τοὺς πολεμίους, κραυγῇ δὲ πολλῇ τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνακαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἥνουν, ἐπεὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων βοῆς ἥκιστα ἤκουον, μήκει τε τοῦ λόφου ἐπὶ πλείστον αὐτῶν διειργόμενοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αἰετῶς ἐξεπίτηδες σφίσι ἀντιπαταγούντων τοῖς ὅπλοις. [23] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορουμένῳ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ζυνέγραψε, προσελθὼν εἶπεν: 'Οἱ ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, ὧν στρατηγέ, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ χρώμενοι νόμους τινὰς ἡπίσταντο δύο, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφείκει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντι, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεκάλει τοὺς μαχομένους, ἡνίκα ταῦτα ἐδόκει τῷ στρατηγῷ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. [24] ταύτη τε αἰετῶς οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκέλευον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἴσχυον. [25] κραυγὴ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ζυμβολαῖς σημεῖναι τι σαφὲς οὐδαμῶς ἐφύκει, πατάγου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πανταχόσε ἀντικτυποῦντος καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐκπλήσσοντος τὰς τῶν μαχομένων αἰσθήσεις. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ τανῦν ἀμαθία τε ἡ τοιαύτη τέχνη ἐξώλισθε καὶ μιᾷ σάλπιγγι ἅμωφ δηλῶσαι ἀμήχανον, αὐτὸς οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν ποιεῖ. [27] σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου τοῖς στρατιώταις διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ταῖς δὲ πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας. [28] ἑκατέρου γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἡχοῦ μὴ οὐχὶ ζυνεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαν λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ πρόεισι.' [29] Προκόπιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Βελισάριος δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ἅπαν ζυγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα ἔλαξε τοιάδε: 'Προθυμίαν ἐς τόδε ζυμφέρειν τε οἶμαι καὶ πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιαν εἶναι, μέχρις ἂν μετρία τις οὔσα οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔχουσι προσποιῆται βλάβος. [30] τῷ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντι τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αἰετῶς τρέπεσθαι εἶωθεν. ὑμεῖς οὖν μὴ τῷ φιλονείκῳ τὸ λοιπὸν σφάλ्लεσθε: φεύγειν γὰρ δὴ πού τὸν κακουργοῦντα οὐδεμία αἰσχύνῃ. [31] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐς κακὸν προὔπτον ἀνεπισκέπτως ἰὼν καὶ σωθεὶς ἐνθένδε, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνει: γενναῖος δὲ ὃς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀνδραγαθίζῃται. [32]

οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσι διαμάχεσθαι, προλοχίζοντες διαφθεῖρειν ἡμᾶς ἐγγχειροῦσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦ διαφυγεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐνέδραν τὸ τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι μεμπτότερον. [33] τοῦ γὰρ ἐνδιδόναι ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶι γνώμαις οὐδὲν αἴσχιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὅπως μὴ προσπεσεῖσθε ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραις μελήσει. [34] ἔργον δ' ἂν ὑμέτερον εἴη, ἐπειδὴν σημήνω, ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. αὕτη δὲ ὑμῖν ἢ δῆλωσις ἐκ σάλπιγγος, ᾧ στρατιῶται, τῆς πεζικῆς ἔσται.' Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [35] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν, τινὰς τε αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ ἔκτεινον. [36] ἐν οἷς ἓνα χρυσοφοροῦντα τῶν τις Μαυρουσίων ἰδὼν λαβόμενός τε τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, ὅπως ἀποδύοι, τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφεῖλκε. [37] Γότθος δὲ τις αὐτὸν ἀκοντίῳ βαλὼν μυῶνων τε, οἷ ὀπισθέν εἰσι τῶν κνημῶν, ἐκατέρων ἐπιτυχῶν, ἐνέρσει τοῦ ἀκοντίου ἄμφω τῷ πόδε ξυνέδησεν. [38] ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ὁ Μαυρούσιος τῶν τριχῶν ἐχόμενος τὸν νεκρὸν εἵλκεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τὰς ἐνέδρας ἐκίνουν, Βελισάριος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶν τὰ ποιούμενα, ταῖς σάλπιγξι τοὺς πεζοὺς οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο ἡγεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευεν. [39] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ βραχὺ ἤδη ὑπεχώρουν, τὸν Μαυρούσιον ξὺν τῷ ἀκοντίῳ ἀράμενοι. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἔπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν.

XXIII

Now Belisarius wished first to capture Auximus and Fisula, and after that to march against Vittigis and Ravenna, with no one of the enemy any longer able to oppose his advance or to harass his rear.

He accordingly sent Cyprian and Justinus with their men and some of the Isaurians to Fisula, together with five hundred foot-soldiers from the detachment commanded by Demetrius; and they made camp about the fortress and commenced a siege of the barbarian garrison. And Martinus and John with their troops and another army, commanded by John whom they called the Glutton, he sent to the country along the Po River. These officers he commanded to take care that Uraias with his forces should not advance from Milan against his own army; and if they were not able to repel the enemy's attack, they were secretly to follow behind them and assail their rear. So they took possession of Dorthon, an unwallled city which lay on the river, and having established their camp remained there, while Belisarius himself went to the city of Auximus with eleven thousand men. Now this is the first of the cities in Picenum, being the metropolis, as the Romans are accustomed to call it.

And it is about eighty-four stades distant from the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and from the city of Ravenna a journey of three days and eighty stades. And it is situated upon a very high hill, having no approach at all upon the level ground, and for this reason it is entirely inaccessible for an enemy. In that city Vittigis had assembled all the most notable troops among the Goths and had established them there as a garrison, conjecturing that the Romans, unless they should first capture this city, would never dare to march against Ravenna.

Now when the Roman army arrived at Auximus, Belisarius commanded them all to encamp in a circle about the base of the hill. So they took their places by companies, and were setting up their huts at different points in the line; and the Goths, observing that the enemy were rather far apart from one another, and were not able easily to bring assistance to each other, since they were in a great plain, suddenly advanced upon them in the late afternoon, on the side to the east of the city, where Belisarius happened to be still engaged in making camp with his spearmen and guards. And the Romans took up their arms and began to defend themselves against their assailants as well as the circumstances permitted, and by their valour they forced them back with the greatest ease and routed them; and in following up their flight they reached the middle of the hill. There the barbarians turned upon them, and, confident in the strength of their position, made a stand against their pursuers; and since they were shooting from above, they slew many of them, until night coming on put a stop to the fighting. Thus the two armies separated and bivouacked

that night. Now it happened that on the day before this encounter some of the Goths had been sent out to the country close by at early dawn in order to gather provisions. These foraging parties, having learned nothing of the presence of the enemy, returned at night, and suddenly spying the fires of the Romans, they became greatly amazed and frightened. And many of them, who plucked up courage to take the risk and escaped detection by their enemy, entered Auximus. But as many as were overcome by terror and hid themselves for the time in any convenient clumps of trees with the intention of proceeding to Ravenna, all these not long afterward fell into hostile hands and were destroyed. And Belisarius, seeing that Auximus was exceedingly strong and securely placed, and that it was altogether impossible for him to make an attack upon the fortifications, was of the opinion that he could never take the place by storm, but he hoped by a close siege to reduce the enemy to want by cutting off their food supplies and thus to bring them into his power by the passage of time.

Now not far from the fortifications there was a place where the ground was covered with an abundant growth of grass, and this gave rise every day to an encounter between the Romans and the Goths. For every time the Romans saw their opponents cutting this grass for the sake of their horses, they would ascend the hill with a great rush, and, upon reaching the enemy, they would engage with them, and by making a display of valorous deeds, try to prevent them altogether from carrying off the grass; and they always slew many of the Goths in this place. Then the Goths, finding themselves no match for their enemy in valour, devised the following plan. They removed the wheels along with the axles from their waggons and held them in readiness; then, when they had commenced to cut the grass, as soon as they saw that the Romans, as they ascended, were at the middle of the hill, they released the wheels to rush down upon them from above. But by some chance it so happened that these wheels went all the way to the level ground without touching a single man. And since they had failed in this attempt, the barbarians on that occasion took to flight and got inside the fortifications, but after that they adopted the following plan. After filling the ravines which are close to the fortifications with ambuscades of the men of note among them, a few soldiers would shew themselves near the grass to the enemy, and when the fighting had come to close quarters, those in concealment would leap out from their ambuscades, and, being greatly superior to their opponents in number, and striking terror into them because they had not previously seen their assailants, they used to kill great numbers of them and always turned the rest to flight. And although those of the Romans who had kept their position in the camps did see the enemy rising from the ambuscades, and tried, with much shouting, to call their companions back, still they failed utterly to do so, since those fighting could not in the least hear their call, because, in the first place, they were separated from them by a great expanse of hillside, and, in the second place, the barbarians

purposely always made a din to drown the voices by beating their weapons together.

And when Belisarius was in perplexity because of this situation, Procopius, who wrote this history, came before him and said: "The men, General, who blew the trumpets in the Roman army in ancient times knew two different strains, one of which seemed unmistakably to urge the soldiers on and impel them to battle, while the other used to call the men who were fighting back to the camp, whenever this seemed to the general to be for the best. And by such means the generals could always give the appropriate commands to the soldiers, and they on their part were able to execute the commands thus communicated to them. For during actual combat the human voice is in no way adapted to give any clear instructions, since it obviously has to contend with the clash of arms on every side, and fear paralyzes the senses of those fighting. But since at the present time such skill has become obsolete through ignorance and it is impossible to express both commands by one trumpet, do you adopt the following course hereafter. With the cavalry trumpets urge on the soldiers to continue fighting with the enemy, but with those of the infantry call the men back to the retreat. For it is impossible for them to fail to recognize the sound of either one, for in the one case the sound comes forth from leather and very thin wood, and in the other from rather thick brass." So spoke Procopius.

And Belisarius was pleased by the suggestion, and calling together the whole army he spoke as follows:

"I consider that enthusiasm is beneficial and thoroughly praiseworthy, but only so long as it continues to be of a moderate sort and consequently brings no harm upon those under its spell. For every good thing, when in excess, is wont to change for the worse. Do you, therefore, from this time forth, not allow your enthusiasm for battle to cause you to fail of success; for to flee from one who is inflicting loss upon you is, as you surely know, no disgrace. But he who without looking about him goes into trouble which is before his eyes and, should it so happen, escapes from it, still stands convicted of folly; but the man truly noble is he who plays the part of a brave man in dangers that cannot be avoided. Now the barbarians, since they are unable to fight a decisive battle with us in the open, are trying to destroy us by laying snares. But for us it is more blameworthy to face the danger than to escape from their ambush. For nothing is more shameful than to fall in with the plans of the enemy. It will rest with me, accordingly, to see to it that you do not come unawares upon the ambuscades of the enemy. And it will be your duty, as soon as I give the signal, to retire with all speed. And this signal, soldiers, will be given by the trumpet of the infantry." So spoke Belisarius. And the soldiers, seeing the enemy near the grass, made a charge against them and killed a few of their number in the first onset. And one of the Moors saw

among these fallen Goths one in particular whose person was adorned with gold, and laying hold of the hair of his head, he began to drag the corpse after him in order to strip it. But some Goth hurled a javelin at him, and with such a lucky aim that the weapon passed through both his legs, piercing the muscles which are behind the shins, with the result that his two legs were pinned together by means of the javelin. But nevertheless the Moor kept holding the hair of the corpse and dragging it along. At this point the barbarians roused their men from ambush, and Belisarius, seeing from the camp what was being done, commanded the foot-soldiers to whom this duty was assigned to sound the trumpets quickly. And the Romans, hearing it, began immediately to withdraw gradually, taking up and carrying the Moor, javelin and all. And the Goths dared follow them no further, but returned unsuccessful

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης, ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς Οὐίτιγιν ἐβουλεύοντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς στέλλεσθαι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐτόλμα ἄλῃσιν γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας οὐκ ἂν ποτε ᾤοντο, ἐπενόουν τάδε. [3] ἀσέλῃνον νύκτα τηρήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι οὓς δὴ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπειν διεννοοῦντο, γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐν χερσὶ θέμενοι, ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, ἐβόων ἅπαντες πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξαΐσιον. [4] εἶκασεν ἄν τις ἐς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς καταστῆναι λίαν τε σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως· [5] οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ παντάπασι Ῥωμαῖοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, Βελισαρίου γνώμη ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβουλήν τινα ὑποτοπάσαντες ἔσσεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤκειν. ἃ δὴ δεδιότες ᾤοντο ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἡσυχάζουσι διασώζεσθαι ἢ ἐς προὔπτον τινα κίνδυνον ἐν νυκτὶ ἀσελῇνῳ χωρεῖν. [6] οὕτω γοῦν οἱ βάρβαροι λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔπεμψαν. οἱ οὐδενὸς πολεμίου ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες παρὰ τε Οὐίτιγιν τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἔδειξαν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ἦνίκα ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐς τὴν ἐν Αὐξίμῳ φρουρὰν καθίστης, τὰς κλεῖς ἔφησθα παρακαταθέσθαι ἡμῖν Ῥαβέννης τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς σῆς. [8] διὸ δὴ ἐπήγγελλες ἡμῖν παντὶ σθένει φυλάσσεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς μέρος παραδῶμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ Γότθων κράτος, ἰσχυρίζου τε δεομένοις ἡμῖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ παρέσεσθαι αὐτεπάγγελτος. [9] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε λιμῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ μαχόμενοι πιστοὶ φύλακες τῆς σῆς βασιλείας γεγόναμεν, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπωςτιοῦν ἡμῖν βοηθεῖν ἔγνωκας. [10] λογίζου τοίνυν μὴ ποτε Αὐξίμον ἐλόντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἀνελόμενοι, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα κειμένων ὑπερορᾶς, οὐδενὸς τῶν σῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾧσι.” τὰ γράμματα μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. [11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὰ Οὐίτιγίς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκῳ τοὺς ἄνδρας πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν Αὐξίμῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπεπέμψατο, μετὰ δὲ πολλὰ λογισάμενος ἡσυχίαν ἤγε. [12] τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπόπτεινε μὴ κατὰ νότου σφίσιν ἐπισπόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ποιήσονται, καὶ πολλήν

οἰόμενος ζῆν Βελισαρίῳ μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν εἶναι ἐς ἀμήχανόν τι δέος ἐξέπιπτε. [13] μάλιστα δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸν ζυνετάρασσεν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄθεν ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πορίζηται. [14] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄτε θαλασσοκρατοῦντες καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀγκῶνι φρούριον ἔχοντες, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ἐκ τε Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐνταῦθα κατατιθέμενοι ἐς καιρὸν ἐνθένδε εὐπετῶς ἔφερον. [15] Γότθοις δὲ στρατεύουσιν ἐς Πικηνῶν τὴν χώραν πόρον οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐννοῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐς ἀμηχανίαν καθίστατο. [16] Οὐιττίγιδος μὲν οὖν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Αὐξιμον ἤνεγκαν οἱ πρῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε σταλέντες καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κεναῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπέρρωσαν. [17] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλακὴν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τι συμβαίῃ καὶ αὐθις τοιοῦτο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο τῇδε. [18] Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν καὶ Ἰουστίνον Φισούλαν πολιορκοῦντες τῷ μὲν περιβόλῳ προσβάλλειν ἢ ἀγχιστά πον αὐτοῦ ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον· δυσπρόσοδον γὰρ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν τὸ φρούριον ἦν. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων σφίσι συχνὰ ἐπεξιόντων μάχῃ τε μᾶλλον διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι, ἀγχώμαλοι μὲν αἱ ξυμβολαὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐγίνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ πλέον ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες ἔς τε τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς πολεμίους κατέκλεισαν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασσον, [19] ὥστε μηδένα πη ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντες καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἔπεμπον, βοηθεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι, ὥς οὐκέτι πλείω τινὰ ἀνθέξουσιν χρόνον. [20] Οὐίττιγίς δὲ Οὐραῖαν ἐκέλευε ζῆν τῷ ἐν Λιγούροις στρατῷ ἐς Τικινοὺς ἰέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρίζετο πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων δυνάμει τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέσεσθαι. [21] ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει καὶ ἅπαν κινήσας τὸ ζῆν αὐτῷ στρατεύμα ἐς Τικινοὺς ἦει· Πάδον τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐγγὺς πον τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἦλθον. [22] οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἀντεκάθηντο τοῖς πολεμίσις, ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν μάλιστα ὅσον σταδίους ἐξήκοντα. χειρῶν δὲ οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον. [23] τοῖς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξεν ἀποχρῆν, εἰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμποδῶν στήσονται, ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας πορεύεσθαι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ὥκνουν διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίσις, λογιζόμενοι ὥς, ἦν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ξυμβολῇ ἀτυχήσωσιν, ἅπαντα Γότθων διαφθεροῦσι τὰ πράγματα. [24] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἐπιμινύμενοι ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ζῆν αὐτῷ ἔξουσιν. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ἐκάτεροι ἡσυχίαν ἤγον.

As time went on and the barbarians saw that their supply of food was coming to be exceedingly scant, they purposed to report their situation to Vittigis. And since no one of them dared set out on this mission (for they thought that they would never elude their besiegers), they devised the following plan. They first put in readiness the men whom they were intending to send to Vittigis, and then waited for a moonless night; when this came they put a letter into their hands, when it was well on in the night, and thereupon all raised a mighty shout at many parts of the circuit-wall. One would have supposed that they had been thrown into confusion owing to a violent attack of the enemy and an unexpected capture of the city. And the Romans, utterly unable to understand what was taking place, by the will of Belisarius remained quietly in the camps, suspecting that some stratagem would be carried out from the city and that an army from Ravenna bringing assistance to the enemy had come against them. And moved as they were by these fears, they thought it better for them to remain quietly in a secure position and thus save themselves than to go on a moonless night into a danger which could, in a way, be foreseen. By such means, therefore, the barbarians concealed their plan from the enemy and despatched the men on the way to Ravenna. And they, without being seen by a single one of the enemy, came before Vittigis on the third day and displayed the letter. And the writing was as follows: "When you appointed us, O King, for the garrison of Auximus, you said that you had placed in our keeping the keys of Ravenna itself and of your kingdom. And for this very reason you enjoined upon us to be on guard with every fibre of our being, that we should not by any act of ours betray the power of the Goths to the enemy, and you declared that, if we craved your assistance, you would be at hand with the whole army even before any messenger could announce your coming. Now as for us, we have, up to the present time, though fighting both with famine and with Belisarius, proved ourselves faithful guardians of your kingdom, but you have seen fit to aid us in no way whatsoever. You must consider, therefore, whether the Romans may not one day capture Auximus and take up the keys which you yourself are disregarding as they lie here, and thereby be excluded in future from none of your possessions." Such was the purport of the letter.

When it was brought to Vittigis and he saw it, he did at the moment send the men away with the promise that he would bring assistance to Auximus with the whole army of the Goths; but later, after long consideration, he continued to remain inactive. For, on the one hand, he suspected that the troops of John would follow up his rear and thus make him exposed to attack on two sides, and, on the other, he thought that Belisarius had with him a numerous force of able fighting men; consequently he fell into a sort of helpless fear. But chief among the many causes of his concern was the famine, which disturbed him

greatly, since he had no source from which to provide supplies for his army. For the Romans, on the one hand, being as they were masters of the sea and holding the fortress in Ancon, brought all their supplies from Sicily and Calabria and stored them in that place, and, at the proper time, easily got them from there. The Goths, on the other hand, if they marched into the land of Picenum, would have no means of securing provisions; this he fully realized, and so he found himself completely at a loss. So the men who had lately been sent to Vittigis from Auximus brought back his promise to the city without being detected by their enemy, and thus fortified the barbarians there with empty hopes. And Belisarius, upon hearing this from the deserters, ordered that a still stricter guard should be kept in order that no such thing might happen again. Such was the course of these events.

Meanwhile the troops of Cyprian and Justinus who were besieging Fisula were quite unable to make an assault upon the fortifications or even to get very close to them; for this fortress was difficult of access on every side. But the barbarians made frequent sallies against them, wishing rather to reach a decision by battle with the Romans than to be hard pressed by lack of provisions; and the engagements at first, indeed, proved indecisive, but after a time the Romans, now having the advantage, shut the enemy up within their wall and continued to guard them securely, so that no one could leave the city. So the barbarians, seeing that their provisions were failing, and finding themselves helpless in their present situation, sent to Vittigis without the knowledge of their enemy, begging him to bring them assistance with all speed, on the ground that they would not hold out very much longer. And Vittigis commanded Uraias to go to Ticinum with the army then in Liguria; for, after that, he declared, he too would come to the aid of the besieged himself with the whole Gothic army. And Uraias, acting accordingly, set in motion the whole army he had with him and went to Ticinum. And crossing the river Po, they came to the vicinity of the Roman camp. There they too made camp and established themselves over against their enemy, at a distance of about sixty stades from them. And neither side began an attack. For the Romans, on the one hand, deemed it sufficient if they should block the way for their enemy, so that they could not advance upon the besieging army, and the barbarians, on the other, were reluctant to fight a decisive battle with their enemy in that place, reasoning that, if they should fail in this engagement, they would ruin the whole cause of the Goths. For, in that case, they would no longer be able to unite with the troops of Vittigis and with him to give assistance to the besieged. So both sides, reasoning thus, continued to remain quiet.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φράγγοι κεκακῶσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούσαντες καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ῥᾶστα ἂν οἰόμενοι Ἰταλίας τὰ πολλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιήσασθαι, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἕτεροι ἐς τοσόνδε χρόνον διαφέρουσι μῆκος περὶ χώρας ἀρχῇ οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐν γειτόνων οὔσης, αὐτοῖς

δὲ ἡσυχῇ μένοντες ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδῶν στήσονται. [2] ὄρκων τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ ξυνηκῶν ἐπιλελησμένοι, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Γότθους ἐπεποίηντο ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὰ ἐς πίστιν σφαλερώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐς μυριάδας δέκα εὐθὺς ξυλλεγνέτες, ἡγουμένου σφίσι Θεοδιβέρτου, ἐς Ἱταλίαν ἐστράτευσαν, ἱππείας μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀμφὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἔχοντες, [3] οἱ δὲ καὶ μόνοι δόρατα ἔφερον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες οὔτε τόξα οὔτε δόρατα ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ ἐλέκυν ἓνα. οὗ δὲ ὁ μὲν σίδηρος ἀδρός τε καὶ ὀξὺς ἐκατέρωθι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, ἡ λαβὴ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου βραχεῖα ἐς ἄγαν. [4] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἐλέκυν ρίπτοντες ἀεὶ ἐκ σημείου ἐνὸς εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ τάς τε ἀσπίδας διαρρηγνύναι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς κτείνειν. [5] Οὕτω μὲν Φράγγοι τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀμείβαντες αἱ Γάλλους τε καὶ Ἱταλοὺς διορίζουσιν, ἐν Λιγούροις ἐγένοντο. [6] Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῶν πρότερον τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχομένοις μεγάλα πολλὰκις ὑπὲρ ξυμμαχίας προέσθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσασθαι ἤθελον, ἐπειδὴ Θεοδιβέρτον παρεῖναι στρατῷ πολλῷ ἤκουσαν, ἔχαιρον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαίρόμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχητὶ περιέσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤοντο. [7] οἱ δὲ Γερμανοί, τέως μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἐς Γότθους ἄχαρι ἔπρασσον, ὅπως σφίσι μηδεμία κωλύμῃ ἐς τοῦ Πάδου τὴν διάβασιν πρὸς αὐτῶν γένηται. [8] ὥς δὲ ἴκοντο ἐς Τικινῶν πόλιν, ἵνα δὲ γέφυραν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐτεκτῆναντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπουργοῦν οἱ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες καὶ τὸν Πάδον κατ' ἐξουσίαν διαβαίνειν εἶον. [9] ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων οὕσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὖρον ἱερεῦνόν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου ἐρρίπτουν. [10] οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης φυλάσσουσι, θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσια ἱερεύοντες, ταύτῃ τε τὰς μαντείας ποιοῦμενοι. [11] κατιδόντες δὲ Γότθοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἔς τε ἄμαχόν τι δέος κατέστησαν καὶ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐς τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἄσμενοι ἐθεῶντο κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σφᾶς προσιόντας, ἐπὶ ξυμμαχία τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤκειν οἰόμενοι. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμιλος Γερμανῶν πολὺς ἐπιρρεύσας ἔργου τε εἶχοντο καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις ἐσακοντίζοντες συγχονὺς ἤδη ἐσίνοντο, στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἰόντες τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἔθεον. [13] φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισάριον ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἐλεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι μάχῃ νικήσαντα. ᾧ δὲ ξυμμίξαι βουλόμενοι ἄραντες τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τάχος ἦσαν. [14] ἐντυχόντες δὲ παρὰ δόξαν πολεμίων στρατῷ οὗτι ἐθελούσιοι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχον, ἐπὶ Τουσκίαν δὲ ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. [15] ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι ἅπαντα ἐς Βελισάριον τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. [16] Φράγγοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, νενικηκότας, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐκάτερα ἐλόντες παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνταῦθα εὖρον, δι' ὀλίγου δὲ ἅπαντα διὰ

πολυανθρωπίαν δαπανήσαντες, ἄλλο τι οὐδὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ βόας τε καὶ τοῦ Πάδου τὸ ὕδωρ προσφέρεσθαι εἶχον. [17] ταῦτα τὰ κρέα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ καταπέψαι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες γαστρός τε ῥύσει καὶ δυσεντερίᾳ νόσῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡλίσκοντο, ὧν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὥς ἦκιστα ἴσχυον. [18] φασὶ γοῦν τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ Φράγγων στρατοῦ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι. διὸ δὴ περαιτέρω ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ Φράγγων τε στρατὸν παρεῖναι ἀκούσας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτίνον τε καὶ Ἰωάννην μάχῃ ἡσσηθέντας φυγεῖν ἐς ἀμηχανίαν κατέστη, περὶ τε τῇ πάσῃ στρατιᾷ δείσας καὶ διαφερόντως περὶ τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐγγυτέρω τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπύθετο εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὴ πρὸς Θευδίβερτον ἔγραψε τάδε: [20] “Ἄνδρα μὲν ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον μὴ οὐχὶ ἀψευδεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐθνῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, οἶμαι, ὃ γενναῖε Θευδίβερτε, [21] οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι. τὸ δὲ καὶ ὄρκους ἀδικοῦντας ἐν γράμμασι κειμένους περιορᾶν τὰ ξυγκείμενα οὐδ’ ἂν τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις ἐπιτηδεύς ἔχοι. ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐξαμαρτάνων οἶσθα, καίτοι ὁμολογήσας ἑναγχος πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Γότθους τόνδε ξυλλήψεσθαι. [22] νῦν δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν ἔστηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἀράμενος ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἤκεις. μὴ σύ γε, ὃ βέλτιστε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα μέγαν ὑβρίζων, ὃν δὴ πού τὴν ὕβριν μὴ λίαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμείψεσθαι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη. [23] κρεῖσσον δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀσφαλῶς αὐτόν τινα ἔχειν ἢ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων μεταποιούμενον ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καθίστασθαι.” [24] ταύτην ἐπεὶ Θευδίβερτος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς Γερμανῶν κακιζόμενος, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως θνήσκοιεν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐφήμῳ, ἄρας τοῖς περιοῦσι τῶν Φράγγων ἐπὶ οἴκου ξὺν τάχει πολλῷ ἀπεχώρησεν.

AT this time the Franks, hearing that both Goths and Romans had suffered severely by the war, and thinking for this reason that they could with the greatest ease gain the larger part of Italy for themselves, began to think it preposterous that others should carry on a war for such a length of time for the rule of a land which was so near their own, while they themselves remained quiet and stood aside for both. So, forgetting for the moment their oaths and the treaties they had made a little before with both the Romans and the Goths (for this nation in matters of trust is the most treacherous in the world), they straightway gathered to the number of one hundred thousand under the leadership of Theudibert, and marched into Italy; they had a small body of cavalry about their leader, and these were the only ones armed with spears, while all the rest were foot-soldiers having neither bows nor spears, but each man carried a sword and shield and one axe. Now the iron head of this weapon was thick and exceedingly sharp on both sides, while the wooden handle was very short. And they are accustomed always to throw these axes at one signal in the first charge and thus to shatter the shields of the enemy and kill the men.

Thus the Franks crossed the Alps which separate the Gauls from the Italians, and entered Liguria. Now the Goths had previously been vexed at the thanklessness of the Franks, on the ground that, although they, the Goths, had often promised to give up to them a large territory and great sums of money in return for an alliance, these Franks had been unwilling to fulfil their own promise in any way; but when they heard that Theudibert was at hand with a great army, they were filled with rejoicing, lifted up, as they were, by the liveliest hopes and thinking that thereafter they would have the superiority over their enemy without a battle. As for the Germans, as long as they were in Liguria, they did no harm to the Goths, in order that these might make no attempt to stop them at the crossing of the Po. Consequently, when they reached the city of Ticinum, where the Romans of old had constructed a bridge over this river, those who were on guard there gave them every assistance and allowed them to cross the Po unmolested. But, upon getting control of the bridge, the Franks began to sacrifice the women and children of the Goths whom they found at hand and to throw their bodies into the river as the first-fruits of the war. For these barbarians, though they have become Christians, preserve the greater part of their ancient religion; for they still make human sacrifices and other sacrifices of an unholy nature, and it is in connection with these that they make their prophecies. And the Goths, upon seeing what was being done, fell into a kind of irresistible fear, took to flight and got inside the fortifications.

So the Germans, having crossed the Po, advanced to the Gothic camp, and the Goths were at first pleased to see them coming in small companies toward their camp, thinking that these men had come to fight in alliance with them. But when a great throng of Germans had come up and opened an attack, and by hurling their axes were already slaying many, they turned their backs and rushed off in flight, and passing through the Roman camp ran along on the road to Ravenna. And the Romans, seeing them in flight, thought that Belisarius had come to support their own force and had both taken the camp of the enemy and dislodged them from it after defeating them in battle. And wishing to join forces with him, they took up their arms and went forth with all speed. But coming unexpectedly upon a hostile army, they were compelled, much against their will, to engage with them, and being badly worsted in the battle, they all fled, not to their camp, to which it was now impossible to return, but to Tuscany. And when they had at length reached safety, they reported to Belisarius all that had befallen them.

The Franks, having defeated both armies, as has been said, and having captured both camps without a single man in them, for the time being found provisions in the camps; but in a short time they had consumed all these on account of their great numbers, and, since the land was destitute of human habitation, they were unable to obtain any provisions except cattle and the water of the Po. But they were unable to digest this meat because of the great quantity of water they drank, and consequently the most of them were attacked by diarrhoea and dysentery, which they were quite unable to shake off because of the lack of proper food. Indeed they say that at least one-third of the Frankish army perished in this way. Hence it was that, as they were unable to go forward, they remained where they were.

Now when Belisarius heard that an army of Franks was in Italy and that the forces of Martinus and John had been defeated in battle and had fled, he was reduced to a state of perplexity, concerned as he was, not only for the whole army, but especially for the detachment conducting the siege of Fisula, since he learned that these barbarians were nearer to them than to any others. He therefore wrote immediately to Theudibert as follows: "I consider it unseemly in any case, O noble Theudibert, for a man who lays claim to excellence to fail to be truthful, but especially so when he is a ruler, as thou art, of nations of such vast numbers. But to violate oaths which are set down in writing and to disregard treaties — this would not be proper even for the most ignoble of men. And yet these very offences have been committed by thee in the present case, as thou knowest thyself, although it was only recently that thou didst agree to assist us in this war against the Goths. But, as matters now stand, far from holding thyself aloof from both nations, thou hast actually taken up arms in this rash manner and made an attack upon us. Do not thou, at least, my excellent friend, follow such a course, and that too when it involves an insult to the great emperor, who would surely not be likely to overlook the insult, or

fail to exact atonement in the fullest measure. Now the best course is for each man to keep his own possessions in safety, and not, by laying claim to the possessions of others, to involve himself in any danger which concerns his most vital interests.” When Theudibert had read this letter, perplexed as he was already by his present situation, and sharply reproached by the Germans, because, as they said, they were, for no good reason, dying in a deserted land, he broke camp with the survivors of the Franks and retired homeward with great speed.

Οὕτω μὲν Θεουδίβερτος στρατεύσας ἐς Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἄφοδον ἐποίησατο. οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀνέστρεψαν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον, ὅπως μὴ τινα οἱ πολέμιοι ἔφοδον ἐπὶ σφῶν τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ποιήσονται. [2] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Αὐξίμφῳ, Φράγγων μὲν ἀφίξεως πέρι οὐδέν πεπυσμένοι, ἀπειρηκότες δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα οὕτω μέλλουσαν, αὐθις μὲν Οὐίττιγιν διανοοῦντο μαρτύρεσθαι, λαθεῖν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φυλακὴν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες ἐπένθουν. [3] μετὰ δὲ τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Βέσον γένος Βουρκέντιον ὄνομα, ὑπὸ Ναρσῆ τεταγμένον τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ, μόνον ἰδόντες ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν φυλακὴν ἔχοντα, ὥς μὴ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόαν ληψόμενος ἴοι, ἔς τε λόγους αὐτῷ ξυνῆλθον ἐγγυτέρῳ ἤκοντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες ὥς οὐδέν ἐς αὐτὸν κακουργήσωσι συγγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον, ἔσσεσθαι οἱ μεγάλα ἐπαγγελαμένοις παρὰ σφῶν χρήματα. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιστολὴν τινα ἐς Ῥάβενναν διακομίσαι, τάξαντες μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα χρυσίον ῥητόν, πλέον δὲ ὑποσχόμενοι δώσειν, ἐπειδὰν σφίσιν Οὐιττίγιδος γράμματα ἐπανήκοι φέρων. [5] τοῖς δὲ χρήμασιν ὁ στρατιώτης ἀναπεισθεὶς ὑπουργήσῃν τε ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίησε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. γράμματα γοῦν κατασσεσημασμένα λαβὼν ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. καὶ Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς ὄφιν ἐλθὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. [6] ἐδήλου δὲ τάδε: “Ὅπῃ μὲν ἡμῖν τὰ παρόντα ἔχει σαφῶς εἴσεσθε, πυνθανόμενοι ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παραπομπὸς εἴῃ. [7] Γότθῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμήχανά ἐστι. τῶν δὲ βρωμάτων ἡμῖν τὸ εὐπορώτατον ἢ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος πόα τυγχάνει οὐσα, ἥς γε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄσασθαι τανῦν ἔξεστιν, ὅτι μὴ πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἀγῶνι. ταῦτα ἐς ὃ τι ἡμῖν τελευτήσῃ σέ τε χρὴ καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογιζέσθαι.” [8] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Οὐίττιγίς ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται ὧδε: ‘Ἀναπετωκέναι δὲ ἡμᾶς, ὃ φίλτατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οἰέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδὲ ἐς κακίας τοσόνδε ἤκειν ὥστε ῥαθυμία τὰ Γότθων καταπροΐεσθαι πράγματα. [9] ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔναγχος ἦ τε τῆς ἐξόδου παρασκευὴ ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἤσκητο καὶ Οὐραΐας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν. [10] ἀλλ’ ἡ Φράγγων ἔφοδος παραδόξως ἐπιτεσοῦσα πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἀνεχαίτισεν, ὧν ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν δικαίως φεροίμην. [11] ὅσα γὰρ μείζω ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου δύναμιν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπτακόσι τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτοις εἶναι χαρίζεται, τῆς τύχης ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἐπισπωμένης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγκλήματα. [12] νῦν μέντοι ‘καὶ γὰρ Θεουδίβερτον ἐκποδὼν ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι ἀκούομεν’ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ

παρεσόμεθα. [13] χρηὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς τὰ παραπίπτοντα φέρειν ἀνδρείως τε καὶ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἐπιτηδεύως, λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν, ἧς ἔνεκα ἐκ πάντων ἀπολέξας ὑμᾶς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ κατεστησάμην, αἰσχυνομένους δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν Γότθοι ἅπαντες ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔχοντες Ῥαβέννης τε ὑμᾶς καὶ [14] τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας προβέβληνται.' τοσαῦτα γράψας Οὐίτιγισ καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς δὴ ἐς Αὐξιμον ἀφικόμενος, παρά τε τοὺς ἐταίρους τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἦλθε καὶ ἀρρώστημα ὃ τι δὴ οἱ ξυμβεβηκέναι σκηψάμενος ἐξ τε ἱερόν τι οὐκ ἄποθεν ὄν διὰ τοῦτο ἐσχολακέναι, κατέστη μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἥπερ εἰώθει, λαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ γράμματα ἔδωκεν: ἅπερ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγνωσθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντας, [15] καίπερ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζομένους, ἐπέρρωσε. διὸ δὴ προσχωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ πολλὰ τιθασσεύοντι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. αὖθις δὲ 'οὐδὲ γὰρ σφίσι στρατεύμα ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐξεληλυθὸς ἡγγέλλετο καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἦδη ἤχθοντὸ Βουρκέντιον πάλιν πέμπουσι, τοῦτο ἐν γράμμασι δηλώσαντες μόνον, ὥς πέντε ἡμερῶν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν οἱοὶ τέ εἰσι τῷ λιμῷ μάχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆκεν αὖθις, Οὐίτιγίδος ἐπιστολὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς ἀναρτῶσαν. [16] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ μακρὰν οὕτω προσεδρεῖαν πεποιήνται, διηποροῦντο, οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας σφίσιν ἐν τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρῶντες. [17] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο ζῶντά τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκίμων λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἂν γνοίῃ ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ δεινὰ καρτεροῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ οἱ Βαλεριανὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπουργήσιν εὐπετῶς ὡμολόγει. [18] εἶναι γάρ τινας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἐκ τοῦ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνους, οἱ κρύπτεσθαι τε ὑπὸ λίθῳ βραχεῖ ἢ φυτῷ τῷ παρατυχόντι εἰώθασιν καὶ ἀναρπάζειν ἄνδρα πολέμιον. [19] τοῦτό τε αἰεὶ παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθα ἴδρυνται, ἐξ τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐνδείκνυνται. ἦσθη τῷ λόγῳ Βελισάριος καὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε. [20] Βαλεριανὸς οὖν ἀπολέξας τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἓνα σώματός τε μεγέθους περί εὗ ἦκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον, ἄνδρα πολέμιον ἄγειν ἐπέστελλε, χρήματά οἱ μεγάλα πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσεσθαι. [21] δράσειν δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ εὐπετῶς ἔφασκεν οὐπὲρ ἢ πόα τυγχάνει οὔσα: χρόνου γὰρ πολλοῦ ταύτῃ τοὺς Γότθους ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων σιτίζεσθαι. [22] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκλαβηνὸς ὀρθρου βαθέος ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος, ἐν θάμνῳ τινὶ ἐγκαλυψάμενός τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγὼν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐκρύπτετο. [23] ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθος ἀνὴρ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων τὰς βοτάνας κατὰ τάχος ξυνέλεγε, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ θάμνου ὑποτοπάζων οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, συχνὰ δὲ περισκοπῶν ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐνθένδε ἐς αὐτὸν ἴοι. [24] καὶ οἱ ἐπιπεσὼν ὀπισθεν ὁ Σκλαβηνὸς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνάρπαστον ἐποίησατο, σφίγγων τε μέσον καρτερῶς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐξ τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤνεγκε καὶ φέρων Βαλεριανῷ ἐνεχείρισεν. [25] ᾧ δὴ πυνθανομένῳ, ὅτῳ ποτὲ Γότθοι πιστεύοντες καὶ τί τὸ ἐχυρὸν ἔχοντες ἦκιστα ἐθέλουσι προσχωρεῖν σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκούσιοι τὰ δεινότερα ἐγκαρτεροῦσι, τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τῷ Βουρκεντίῳ ὁ βάρβαρος ἔφρασε καὶ αὐτόν οἱ ἐς ὧσιν ἦκοντα ἤλεγχε. [26] ὁ δὲ Βουρκέντιος, ἐπεὶ

ἔκπυστος ἤδη γεγινώς ἦσθετο, οὐδέν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπέκρυψε. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος μὲν τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτὸν ὅ τι βούλοιντο παρέδωκε χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ζῶντα οὐκ ἐξ μακρὰν ἔκαυσαν, θεωμένων τὰ ποιούμενα τῶν πολεμίων. Βουρκέντιος μὲν οὕτω τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπέλαυσε.

THUS did Theudibert, after marching into Italy, take his departure. And the troops of Martinus and John returned in spite of the changed situation, in order that the enemy might not make any attack upon the Romans engaged in the siege. Now the Goths in Auximus, who had learned nothing concerning the coming of the Franks, had begun to despair of their hope from Ravenna which was so long deferred, and were purposing once more to address an appeal to Vittigis; but seeing that they were unable to elude the guards of the enemy, they were filled with grief. But later on their attention was drawn to one of the Romans — he was of the race of the Besi and named Burcentius, and had been assigned to the command of Narses, the Armenian — for they noted that he was keeping guard alone at midday, that no one should come out from the city to take the grass; and they went nearer and hailed him, and giving pledges that they would do him no harm, they urged him to come to meet them, promising that he would receive from them a large sum of money. And when they had come together, the barbarians besought the man to carry a certain letter to Ravenna, naming a fixed sum of gold to be paid to him immediately, and promising to give more when he should return bringing them a letter from Vittigis. And the soldier, won over by the money, agreed to perform this service, and he carried out his promise. For he received a sealed letter and carried it with all speed to Ravenna; and coming before Vittigis he delivered it to him. Now the message conveyed was as follows: “The situation in which we now find ourselves will be clearly revealed to you when you inquire who the bringer of this letter is. For not a Goth can find a way to get outside the fortifications. And as for food, the most available supply we have is the grass which grows by the wall, and even this at the present time we cannot so much as touch, except by losing many men in the struggle for it. And it becomes both thee and the Goths in Ravenna to consider what the end of all this will be for us.” When Vittigis had read this, he replied as follows: “Let no one think that we have ceased our efforts, dearest of all men, nor that we have come to be guilty of such a degree of baseness as to abandon utterly the cause of the Goths through sheer indifference. For, on my part, it was only recently that the preparations for departure had been made with all possible thoroughness, and Uraias with his whole army had come under summons from Milan. But the inroad of the Franks, coming upon us unexpectedly as it did, has made havoc of all our preparations, a result for which I, at least, could not justly hear the blame. For things which are beyond human power confer even upon those who fail the boon of being free from blame, since fortune draws upon herself whatever charge springs from what has befallen. Now, however, since we hear that Theudibert has got out of our way, we shall at no distant time, if God wills, come to you with the whole Gothic army. And it is needful for you to bear whatever falls to your lot manfully and as befits the

necessity which is upon you, calling to mind, first, your own valour, on account of which I chose you out from the whole army and established you in Auximus, and respecting also the reputation which you hold among all the Goths, and which prompted them to put you forward as a bulwark for Ravenna and for their own safety.” After writing this letter and rewarding the man with a large sum of money, Vittigis sent him away. And when he reached Auximus, he rejoined his comrades, giving as his excuse that some sickness or other had fallen upon him, and that for this reason he had been passing the time in a certain sanctuary not far away; and so he was appointed once more to guard-duty, to the very watch to which he had been accustomed, and unbeknown to all the Romans he gave the letter to the enemy; and when this was read to the people, it gave them all additional encouragement, although they were hard pressed by the famine. Wherefore they were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius, although he offered many enticements. But when no army had been reported as having left Ravenna, and they were already in extreme distress because of the lack of provisions, they once more sent Burcentius with a message stating only this, that after five days they would no longer be able to fight with the famine. And he returned to them a second time with a letter from Vittigis tantalizing them with similar hopes.

Now the Romans were distressed no less than the Goths, because they had been carrying on such a long siege in a deserted land, and they were completely baffled at seeing the barbarians refusing to give in to them although involved in so much suffering. In view of this situation Belisarius was eager to capture alive one of the men of note among the enemy, in order that he might learn what the reason might be why the barbarians were holding out in their desperate situation. And Valerian promised readily to perform such a service for him. For there were some men in his command, he said, from the nation of the Sclaveni, who are accustomed to conceal themselves behind a small rock or any bush which may happen to be near and pounce upon an enemy. In fact, they are constantly practising this in their native haunts along the river Ister, both on the Romans and on the barbarians as well. Belisarius was pleased by this suggestion and bade him see that the thing was done with all speed. So Valerian chose out one of the Sclaveni who was well suited as to size of body and especially active, and commanded him to bring a man of the enemy, assuring him that he would receive a generous reward from Belisarius. And he added that he could do this easily in the place where the grass was, because for a long time past the Goths had been feeding upon this grass, since their provisions were exhausted. So this barbarian at early dawn went close to the fortifications, and hiding himself in a bush and drawing his body into small compass, he remained in concealment near the grass. And at daybreak a Goth came there and began hastily to gather the blades of grass, suspecting no harm from the bush, but looking about frequently toward the enemy’s camp, lest anyone should attack him from there. Then the barbarian,

falling unexpectedly upon the Goth from behind, made him captive, holding him tightly about the waist with both hands, and thus carried him to the camp and handed him over to Valerian. And when he questioned the prisoner, asking what basis of confidence and what assurance the Goths could possibly have that they were absolutely unwilling to yield to the Romans, but were voluntarily enduring the most dreadful suffering, the Goth told Valerian the whole truth concerning Burcentius, and when he was brought before him he proved his guilt. As for Burcentius, when he perceived that he had been already found out, he concealed nothing of what he had done. Wherefore Belisarius handed him over to his comrades to do with him as they wished, and they not long afterwards burned him alive, the enemy looking on as they did so. Thus did Burcentius profit by his love for money.

Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀντέχοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶν ἐς τοῦ ὕδατος καθίστασθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διενοεῖτο, ταύτῃ ῥᾶον τε καὶ εὐπορώτερον αἰρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενος. [2] καί, ἦν γάρ τις κρήνη Αὐξίμου πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει, τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπέχουσα ὅσον λίθου βολήν, κατὰ βραχὺ μάλιστα τὸν ροῦν ἀφιεῖσα ἐς τινα δεξαμενὴν αὐτόθι ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσαν, ἣ τε δεξαμενὴ πλήρης γεγενημένη ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὀλίγης ἐπιρροῆς παρείχeto πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑδρεύεσθαι, ἐννοιά τις Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὥς, ἦν μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνταῦθα ξυσταίῃ, οὐ μὴ ποτε οἰοί τε ὧσιν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων βαλλόμενοι ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιρροῆς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι. [3] διαφθεῖραι γοῦν ἐθέλων τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον, κύκλῳ τε αὐτὸ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενος, δόκησιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρείχeto ὥς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλεῖν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πανταχόθεν μέλλοι. [4] διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδικότες τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ Γότθοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὥς ἐνθένδε ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους. [5] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰσαύρους πέντε τοὺς ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἐμπείρους ζῶν τε πελέκεσι καὶ ἄλλοις ὀργάνοις ἐς λίθων ἐκτομὰς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐς τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἀσπίδων πλήθει κρυπτομένους ἐσήγαγε, διαφθεῖραί τε καὶ διελεῖν τοὺς τοίχους πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευεν. [6] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπώπτειον ἰέναι, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ὅπως ἂν ὥς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενομένους εὐπετῶς βάλλοιεν, ἐν νῷ τὸ ποιοῦμενον ἥκιστα ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐντὸς γενομένους τῆς δεξαμενῆς εἶδον, λίθους τε καὶ τοξεύματα πάντα ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλον. [7] τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἅπαντες ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, μόνοι δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἰσαυροὶ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἔργου εἶχοντο· κύρτωμα γάρ τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδατος σκιάς ἕνεκα τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τῇδε πεποιῆται. [8] οὐ δὴ ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι ὥς ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων, καίπερ συχνὰ βαλλόντων, ἐφρόντιζον. [9] Διὸ δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν ταύτην πυλίδα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἅπαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἦσαν. [10] καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισαρίου σφίσις ἐγκελευομένου σπουδῇ πολλῇ ὑπηντίαζον. γίνεται μὲν οὖν μάχῃ καρτερὰ ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὠθισμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ φόνος ἐκατέρων πολὺς. [11] Ῥωμαῖόν δὲ

μᾶλλον συχνοὶ ἐπιπτον. ἅτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπερθεὶν ἀμυνόμενοι ὀλίγοι τε πολλοὺς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ τῷ ὠθισμῷ περιγεγόμενοι πλείους ἔκτεινον ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔθνησκον. [12] ἐνδιδόναι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, παρόντα τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευόμενον Βελισάριον αἰσχυνόμενοι. [13] τότε δὴ καὶ βέλος τι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἦει ξὺν ροίζῳ πολλῷ, πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐνταῦθα βληθέν. [14] ὅπερ Βελισάριος μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶδεν. οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὔτε φυλάσσεσθαι οὔτε πη ἐκτρέπεσθαι ἴσχυσε. δορυφόρος δέ τις Οὐνίγαστος ὄνομα παρ' αὐτὸν ἐστηκὼς κατενόησέ τε οὐκ ἄποθεν ὃν τῆς Βελισαρίου γαστρός, καὶ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν προβαλλόμενος ἔσωσε μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου, αὐτὸς δὲ πληγείς τῷ τοξεύματι εὐθὺς μὲν περιώδυνος γεγωνὼς ἀνεχώρησε. [15] μετὰ δὲ τῶν νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων οὐκέτι τὴν χεῖρα ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσεν. ἢ τε μάχη πρῶι ἀρξαμένη ἐς μέσσην ἡμέραν ἀφίκετο. [16] Καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ ὑπὸ τε Ναρσῇ καὶ Ἀρατίῳ τασσόμενοι ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, ἔς τε τὴν δυσχωρίαν, ἢ μάλιστα ἀνάντης ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ περιθέοντες καὶ κτείνοντες τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς αἰεὶ σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντας, ἕως διωσάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνη βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. [17] οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνδιδόντας ὀρῶντες ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγονεί, οἱ τε βάρβαροι αὐθις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τὴν τε δεξαμενὴν διεφθάρθαι καὶ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἅπαν ἐπιτετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ᾤοντο, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον χάλिका ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι παντελὲς ἴσχυσαν. [19] οἱ γὰρ πάλαι τεχνῖται, ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελούμενοι μάλιστα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην τὴν οἰκοδομίαν εἰργάσαντο, ὥστε μήτε χρόνῳ μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῇ εἴκειν. [20] ἄπρακτοι γοῦν οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους τοῦ χώρου κρατήσαντας εἶδον, ἐκ τῆς δεξαμενῆς ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [21] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν τε ζώων τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ βοτάνας ἐς ἀνθρώπου φθορὰν ἱκανῶς πεφυκυίας ρίπτειν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε καὶ λίθον κατακεκαυμένην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἦν πάλαι μὲν τίτανον, τανῦν δὲ ἄσβεστον καλεῖν νενομίκασιν ἐμβαλόντας ἐνταῦθα σβεννύειν. [22] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι φρέατι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ὕδωρ τι βραχὺ ὡς μάλιστα ἔχοντι ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐχρῶντο. [23] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Βελισάριος οὔτε βία τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν οὔτε τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι ὕδατος πέρι ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, μόνῳ τῷ λιμῷ περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίδα ἔχων. [24] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο. οἱ τε Γότθοι καταδοκοῦντες ἔτι τὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης στρατὸν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡσύχαζον. [25] Ἦδη δὲ οἱ ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκούμενοι ὡς μάλιστα τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, φέρειν τε τὸ κακὸν οὐχ οἰοί τε ὄντες, ἀπειπόντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα, τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [26] Κυπριανῷ τοίνυν καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες, τά τε πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογία παρέδωκαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπαγόμενοι, φρουράν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν Φισούλῃ καταστησάμενοι, ἐς Αὐξίμον ἦλθον. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγουμένους τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ βαρβάροις αἰεὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος ἐκέλευε τῆς ἀπονοίας μεθίσσθαι, τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀποσεισαμένους ἐλπίδα:

ὄνησις γάρ τις οὐ μή ποτε οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἔσται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ
κεκακωμένοι οὐδὲν ἤσπον ἐς ταὐτὸν τύχης τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ ἀφίζονται. [28] οἱ
δὲ πολλὰ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λογισάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ λιμῷ οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, τοὺς
τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἠξίου, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς
κακῶν ζῶν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης πορεύσονται. [29] διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος
τοῖς παροῦσι διηπορεῖτο, πολεμίους μὲν τοιοῦτους τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ
τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀναμίγνυσθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι
οἰόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ ὑστερῆσαι ὥς ἥκιστα ἠθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβεννάν τε
καὶ Οὐίτιγιν, ἠωρημένων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἰέναι. [30] Φράγγοι γὰρ αὐτὸν
ξυνετάρασσον, Γότθοις ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπίδοξοι
ὄντες. ὧν δὴ προτερῆσαι τὴν παρουσίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων διαλύειν τὴν
προσεδρείαν μήπω Αὐξίμου ἀλούσης οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. [31] οἱ τε στρατιῶται οὐκ
εἶων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα, τραύματα μὲν πολλὰ
ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὧνπερ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔτυχον, πόνους δὲ πάντας
ἀπαριθμοῦντες τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ σφίσι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκότας, ὧν δὴ ἄθλα
εἶναι τῶν ἡσσημένων τὰ λάφυρα ἰσχυρίζοντο. [32] τέλος δὲ οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι
καιροῦ ὀξύτῃ ἀναγκασθέντες, καὶ Γότθοι τῷ λιμῷ βιαζόμενοι ξυνίασιν
ἀλλήλοις, ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ ἡμίσεια Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
διανέμονται, τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα Γότθοι ἔχοντες βασιλέως κατήκοοι ὦσιν. [33]
ἐκάτεροι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ
ξυγκείμενα κύρια εἶναι, Γότθοι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀποκρύψασθαι.
[34] οὕτω τε δὴ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐνείμαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Αὐξιμον ἔσχον,
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῷ βασιλέως στρατεύματι ἀνεμίγνυντο.

XXVII

BUT when Belisarius saw that the barbarians continued none the less to hold out in their suffering, he was minded to carry out his plot against their water-supply, thinking that in this way he would accomplish the capture of his enemy with greater ease and facility. Now there was a spring on a steep slope to the north of Auximus, about a stone's throw distant from the circuit-wall, which discharged its water in a very small stream into a cistern which had been there from of old; and when the cistern became full from this small inflow, it was a matter of no difficulty for the inhabitants of Auximus to draw the water. This situation suggested to Belisarius that, if the water should not be collected there, the barbarians would never be able to till their jars from the spring's flow, because they would be exposed to the missiles of their enemy for a long time. Wishing, therefore, to destroy the cistern, he devised the following plan. He armed his whole force and drew it up in a circle about the circuit-wall as if for battle, giving his opponents the impression that he was about to make an attack upon their defences from all sides without the least delay. The Goths, consequently, fearing the attack, remained quietly at the battlements, with the intention of warding off their enemy from that position. But Belisarius meanwhile chose out five Isaurians who were skilled in masonry and conducted them to the cistern with mattocks and other implements suitable for cutting stone, concealing them as they went under a great number of shields; then he commanded them to put forth all their strength to break up and tear down the walls of the cistern as quickly as possible. As for the barbarians, as long as they suspected that these men were coming against the wall, they remained quiet, in order that they might come as close as possible and thus form an easy mark for their missiles, never once thinking what their real object was; but when they saw that the Isaurians had got inside the cistern, they began to hurl stones and discharge all kinds of missiles at them. Then indeed all the other Romans retired on the run, but the five Isaurians alone, who had now reached safety, began their work; for a sort of vault had been built over the cistern by the men of old in order to shade the water. So when they had got under this vault, they paid not the least heed to the enemy, although they were discharging missiles with great frequency.

In view of this the Goths could no longer endure to remain inside the fortifications, but opening the small gate on that side, they all rushed out against the Isaurians with great fury and tumult. And the Romans, urged on by Belisarius, made a countercharge with great enthusiasm. So a fierce battle took place in which for a long time they engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle, and there was great slaughter on both sides. But the men were falling more thickly among the Romans. For since the barbarians were defending themselves from a higher position, a few men could overpower many, and

gaining superiority in the hand-to-hand struggle, they were killing more men than those who were killed among themselves. However, the Romans were determined not to give in, feeling shame before Belisarius, who was present and urging them on with shouts. While this battle was in progress, it also happened that a missile came flying with a shrill whiz toward the belly of the general, having been directed there by one of the enemy either by some chance or with deliberate intent. And this missile was not seen at all by Belisarius. At any rate, he failed either to guard against it or to step aside to avoid it. But a certain spearman named Unigastus, who was standing beside him, saw it when it was not far from the belly of Belisarius, and by putting forth his right hand saved the general unexpectedly; but he himself, owing to the wound inflicted by the arrow, withdrew immediately, suffering severe pain. And after that, since the sinews had been severed, he was never able to use his hand again. And the battle, which had begun early in the morning, continued up to midday.

And seven men of the Armenians from the command of Narses and Aratius made a display of valorous deeds, running about the unfavourable ground, which was exceedingly steep, just as if on the level, and killing those of the enemy who from time to time made a stand against them, until they forced back the barbarians in that part of the line and routed them. Then the other Romans, seeing the enemy now giving way, began to pursue them and the rout became decisive, and the barbarians went back inside the fortifications. Now the Romans thought that the cistern had been destroyed and that the Isaurians had accomplished their whole task, but in fact they had been altogether unable to remove so much as one pebble from the masonry; for the artisans of old, who cared most of all for excellence in their work, had built this masonry in such a way as to yield neither to time nor to the attempts of men to destroy it. At any rate the Isaurians had accomplished nothing when, upon seeing that the Romans had won the position, they left the cistern and withdrew to the camp. Consequently Belisarius commanded the soldiers to throw into the water the dead bodies of animals and such herbs as nature has caused to be especially deadly for man and also to put in a kind of stone, very thoroughly burned, which in olden times they were accustomed to call "titanos," but which at the present time they call "asbestos," and thus to quench it in the water. And the soldiers did accordingly, but the barbarians made use of a well inside the fortifications which had an exceedingly scant supply of water, and thus they supplied themselves during this time, but with a smaller quantity than they needed. Thereafter Belisarius no longer exerted himself either to capture the place by storm or to carry out any plot with regard to the water or anything else, hoping that by famine alone he would overcome the enemy. And because of this purpose he exercised the greatest care in guarding the lines. The Goths, meanwhile, still expecting the army from Ravenna and being in great want of provisions, remained quiet.

By this time the Goths who were besieged in Fisula were beginning to be exceedingly hard pressed by famine, and, being unable to endure the suffering, and despairing also of the hope from Ravenna, they decided to yield to their opponents. They accordingly opened negotiations with Cyprian and Justinus, and, upon receiving pledges for their lives, they surrendered both themselves and the fortress. Then Cyprian and his colleagues, taking them along with the Roman army, and after establishing a sufficient garrison at Fisula, came to Auximus. And Belisarius, from that time, was constantly displaying their leaders to the barbarians in Auximus and bidding them cling no longer to their insane purpose, but abandon their hope from Ravenna; for they, like the others, would never receive the least assistance, but after being utterly worn out by hardship they would none the less come to the same fate as had the garrison in Fisula. And they, after long deliberation among themselves, seeing that they could no longer hold out against the famine, were ready to receive his proposals and expressed a desire to surrender the city, on condition that they themselves suffer no harm and proceed with their belongings to Ravenna. As a result of this, Belisarius was altogether uncertain what to do in the situation before him, because, on the one hand, he thought it inexpedient that a body of the enemy of such marked excellence and so numerous besides should join forces with their comrades in Ravenna, and, on the other hand, he was quite unwilling to let slip the moment of opportunity, but wished to move against Ravenna and Vittigis while the situation was still unsettled. For the Franks were causing him great concern, since he fully expected that they would come to the assistance of the Goths almost immediately. And though he was eager to anticipate their arrival, he was unable to break up the siege with Auximus still uncaptured. The soldiers, furthermore, would not allow him to concede their property to the barbarians, displaying many wounds which they had received at their hands before the city and recounting all the struggles which had fallen to their lot during this siege; and they declared that the rewards for these sufferings were surely the spoils of the vanquished. But finally, since the Romans were compelled by the pressing need of the moment, and the Goths were overcome by the famine, they came to an agreement with each other, stipulating that the Romans should divide among themselves one half of their wealth, while the Goths should keep the rest and be subjects of the emperor. Both sides accordingly gave pledges to secure this agreement, the commanders of the Romans that the agreement should be binding, and the Goths that they would conceal nothing whatever of their wealth. Thus, then, they divided the whole of it between them, and the Romans, on their part, took possession of Auximus, while the barbarians mingled with the emperor's army.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος Αὐξίμον εἴλε, Ῥάβενναν πολιορκεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐνταῦθα ἐπῆγε. Μάγνον τε πέμψας ξὺν πλήθει πολλῶ ὑπὲρ Ῥαβέννης ἐκέλευε Πάδου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην αἰεὶ περιόντα

φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθὲνδε οἱ Γότθοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. [2] καὶ Βιτάλιος δέ οἱ ξὺν στρατῷ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἀφικόμενος ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐφύλασσε. ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη τις τύχη, δῆλωσιν ἄντικρυς ποιούμενη ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴ πρυτανεῦει ἀμφοτέροις τὰ πράγματα. [3] συχνὰς γὰρ οἱ Γότθοι ἀκάτους πρότερον ἐν Λιγούροις συλλέξαντες ἐς τὸν Πάδον καθῆκαν, ὥσπερ ἐμπλησάμενοι σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης διεννοοῦντο. [4] οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπέληγεν ὥστε αὐτοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἕως ἐπελθόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀκάτους σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἅπασιν εἶλον. [5] ὁ τε ποταμὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς ῥοὴν ἐπανιὼν τὸν καθήκοντα ναυσίπορος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγεγόνει. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβῆναι οὐ πάποτε πρότερον ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. [6] ἤδη τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἤρξαντο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑποσπανίζειν. οὔτε γὰρ διὰ κόλπου τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἰονίου εἶχον, θαλασσοκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεκέκλειντο. [7] γνόντες δὲ οἱ Φράγγων ἄρχοντες τὰ ποιούμενα προσποιεῖσθαι τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες, πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Οὐίτιγιν πέμπουσι, ξυμμαχίας ὑπόσχεσιν προτεινόμενοι, [8] ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς χώρας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρξουσιν. ὅπερ Βελισάριος ὡς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεροῦντας Γερμανοὺς ἐπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ Θεοδόσιον τὸν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστῶτα. [9] Πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις Οὐίτιγιδι ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαῦτα: ‘Ἐπεμψαν ἡμᾶς οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες, δυσχεραίνοντες μὲν ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Βελισαρίου πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἤκουσαν, τιμωρεῖν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τάχιστα κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [10] τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πεντήκοντα ἤδη που τὰς Ἀλπεις ὑπερβεβηκέναι οἰόμεθα, οὐσπερ τοῖς πελέκεσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ καταχῶσιν αὐχοῦμεν. [11] ὑμᾶς δὲ οὐ τῶν δουλωσομένων τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπεσθαι ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς Γότθους καθισταμένων. [12] ἄλλως τε, ἦν μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ξὺν ἡμῖν ἔλησθε, οὐδεμία λελείπεται Ῥωμαίοις ἐλπίς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ’ αὐτόθεν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναδυσόμεθα τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. [13] ἦν δέ γε ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις τετάξονται Γότθοι, οὐδ’ ὡς τῷ Φράγγων ἔθνεϊ ἀνθέξουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, ἀλλὰ περιέσται ὑμῖν τὸ ξὺν τοῖς πάντων πολεμιωτάτοις ἡσσησθαι. [14] ἐς προὔπτον δὲ κακὸν ἰέναι, παρὸν κινδύνου ἐκτὸς σῶζεσθαι, πολλὴ ἄνοια. ὅλως δὲ ἄπιστον πᾶσι βαρβάροις τὸ Ῥωμαίων καθέστηκε γένος, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει πολέμιόν ἐστιν. [15] ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ξυνάρξομεν τε βουλομένοις ὑμῖν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης καὶ τὴν χώραν διοικησόμεθα ὅπη ἂν δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. σὲ δὲ καὶ Γότθους ἐλέσθαι εἰκὸς ὅτι ἂν ὑμῖν ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ.’ Φράγγοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [16] Παρελθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε: ‘Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ λυμανεῖται τὸ Γερμανῶν πλῆθος, ὥπερ οὗτοι δεδίττεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀξιούσι, τί ἂν τις ἐν ὑμῖν μακρολογίῃ, οἷς γε διὰ μακρὰν ἐμπειρίαν ἅπασαν ἐξεπίστασθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα ἀρετὴ ἀνθρώπων ὁμίλῳ φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι; [17] ἐῷμεν γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πάντων μάλιστα βασιλεῖ πάρεστι πλήθει στρατιωτῶν περιεῖναι τῶν πολεμίων. τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων πιστόν,

ὃ χρησθαι αὐτοῖς ἐς πάντα βαρβάρους, μετὰ γε Θορίγγους καὶ τὸ Βουργουζιῶνων ἔθνος, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιδέδεικται. [18] ὥς ἡμεῖς γε ἡδέως ἂν Φράγγους ἐροίμεθα τίνα ποτὲ μέλλοντες ὁμεισθαι θεὸν τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῖν ἐχυρὸν ἰσχυρίζονται δώσειν. [19] τὸν γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένον ὄντινα τετιμῆκαςι τρόπον ἐπίστασθε δὴ που: οἱ γε χρήματα μὲν τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, Γαλλίας δὲ ὅλας παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ κεκομισμένοι οὐχ ὅσον ὑμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου συνάρασθαι οὐδαμῶς ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπλα οὕτως ἀνέδην καθ' ὑμῶν εἴλοντο, εἴ τις ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πάδῳ ξυμπεπτωκότων διασώζεται λόγος. [20] καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ φθάσαντα λέγοντας ἐλέγχειν τὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἀσέβημα; τῆς παρούσης αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο μιαιώτερον. [21] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογημένων τε καὶ ταῖς ξυνηθείαις ὁμωμοσμένων κοινωνεῖν τῶν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. [22] ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτου παρ' ὑμῶν τύχωσιν, εἰς τί ποτε αὐτοῖς τελευτήσῃ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἀκόρεστον σκοπεῖσθαι προσήκει.' [23] Τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν. Οὐίτιγίς δὲ ξὺν Γότθων τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολλὰ κοινολογησάμενος τὰς τε πρὸς βασιλέα ξυνηθείας εἴλετο καὶ ἀπράκτους ἀπεπέμψατο τοὺς Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Γότθοι μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἤδη, Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐφύλασσε τοῦ μὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [24] καὶ Βιτάλιον μὲν ἐς Βενετίους ἰόντα ὥς πλεῖστα ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰλδίγερα πέμψας τὸν Πάδον ἐφύλασσε κατέρωθεν, ὅπως τε οἱ βάρβαροι μᾶλλον ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδώσουσι καὶ τὰς ξυνηθείας ποιήσονται ἢ αὐτὸς βούλεται. [25] καὶ ἐπεὶ σίτον πολὺν ἐν δημοσίοις οἰκίμασιν ἔτι ἐντὸς Ῥαβέννης ἀποκεῖσθαι ἔγνω, τῶν τινα ταύτῃ ὥκημένων ἀνέπεισε χρήμασι ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκήματα ξὺν τῷ σίτῳ λάθρα ἐμπρῆσαι. [26] φασὶ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ Ματασοῦνθης, τῆς Οὐίτιγίδος γυναικός, ταῦτα ἀπολωλέναι. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ σίτος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκέκαυτο, οἱ μὲν τινες ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπετόπαζον, οἱ δὲ κεραυνῷ τὸν χώρον βεβληθῆαι ὑπώπτευν. [27] ἑκάτερα δὲ λογιζόμενοι Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐίτιγίς ἐς ἀμυχανίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέπιπτον, οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμεισθαι οἰόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο. [28] Ἐν δὲ Ἀλπεσιν αἱ Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους διορίζουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἀλπεῖς Κουτίας καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, φρούρια συχνὰ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [29] οὗ δὴ Γότθοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ξὺν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥκημένοι, φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὗσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βούλεσθαι Βελισάριος προσχωρεῖν ἤκουσε, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινά, Θωμᾶν ὄνομα, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες παραστήσονται ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. [30] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀφικομένους Σίσιγίς, ὃς τῶν ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίων ἦρχεν, ἐνὶ τῶν φρουρίων δεξάμενος, αὐτὸς τε προσεχώρησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστους εἰς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν. [31] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐράϊας τετρακισχίλους Λιγούρους τε καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπεσι φρουρίων ἀπολεξάμενος, ἐπὶ Ῥαβένναν ὥς βοηθήσων κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [32] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Σισίγιδι πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο, ἀμφὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δεδιότες, [33] ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ἡξίουσαν ἰέναι. διὸ δὴ Οὐράϊας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Κουτίας ἦλθε καὶ τὸν Σίσιγιν ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν

ἐπολιόρκει. ταῦτα Ἰωάννης τε, ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς, καὶ Μαρτῖνος
πυθόμενοι ἄγχοτάτῳ γὰρ Πάδου ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἐτύγγανον κατὰ τάχος
ἐβοήθουν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσι φρουρίων τισὶν ἐξ
ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπισκήψαντες εἶλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὤκημένους
ἠνδραποδίσαντο, ἐν οἷς παιδὰς τε συχνοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐράϊα
στρατευομένων ξυνεπεσεν εἶναι. [34] πλεῖστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν
φρουρίων ὀρμώμενοι εἶποντο. [35] οἵπερ, ἐπεὶ ἀλῶναι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν
ἔμαθον, ἀποταξάμενοι τοῦ Γότθων στρατοπέδου ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, τοῖς ἀμφὶ
τὸν Ἰωάννην προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐράϊας οὔτε τι ἐνταῦθα
ἀνύτειν οὔτε τοῖς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ κινδυνεύουσι Γότθοις βοηθεῖν ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ
ἄπρακτος ἐς Λιγουρίαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. καὶ Βελισάριος κατ'
ἐξουσίαν Οὐίτιγιν τε καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ καθεῖρξε.

XXVIII

AFTER the capture of Auximus, Belisarius made haste to lay siege to Ravenna, and he brought up his whole army against it. He also sent Magnus with a large force beyond Ravenna, with orders to move constantly along the bank of the river Po and keep guard, with the purpose of preventing the Goths thereafter from bringing in provisions by way of the river. Furthermore, Vitalius, who had come from Dalmatia with an army to join him, was guarding the other bank of the river. It was here that the Romans met with a piece of good fortune which made it perfectly clear that Fortune herself was determining the course of events for both sides. For the Goths had previously collected a large number of boats in Liguria and brought them down to the Po, and after filling them with grain and other provisions were purposing to set sail for Ravenna. But the water in this river fell so low at that time that it was altogether impossible to navigate upon it, until the Romans came up and seized the boats with all their cargoes. Then the river not long afterward returned to its proper volume and became navigable thereafter. And as far as we know from tradition, this had never happened to the river before. By this time the barbarians had already begun to experience some lack of provisions. For they were both unable to bring anything in by the Ionian Gulf, since their enemy commanded the sea everywhere, and they were shut off from the river. And the rulers of the Franks, learning what was going on and wishing to gain Italy for themselves, sent envoys to Vittigis, holding out a promise of an offensive and defensive alliance, on condition that they should rule the land jointly with him. Now when Belisarius heard this, he also sent envoys, among whom was Theodosius, who stood at the head of his own household, in order to speak against the Germans.

So the envoys of the Germans were admitted first to Vittigis presence and spoke to the following effect: "The rulers of the Germans have sent us to you, in the first place because they are vexed to hear that you are thus besieged by Belisarius, and, in the second place, because they are eager to avenge you with all possible speed in accordance with the terms of our alliance. Now we suppose that our army, numbering not less than five hundred thousand fighting men, has by now crossed the Alps, and we boast that they will bury the entire Roman army with their axes at the first onset. And you, on your part, ought to conform to the purpose, not of those who intend to enslave you, but of those who are entering into the danger of war because of their loyalty to the Goths. And apart from this, if, on the one hand, you unite your forces with ours, the Romans will have no hope left of facing both our armies in battle, but from the very outset and without any effort at all we shall gain the supremacy in the war. But if, on the other hand, the Goths choose to array themselves with the Romans, even in that case they will not withstand the

Frankish nation (for the struggle will not be evenly matched in point of strength), but the ultimate result for you will be defeat in the company of the most hostile of all men. But to plunge into a disaster which can be foreseen, when the opportunity is offered to be saved without danger, is utter folly. Besides, the Roman nation has proved itself altogether untrustworthy toward all barbarians, since by its very nature it is hostile to them. We therefore propose, if you are willing, to share with you the rule of all Italy, and we shall administer the land in whatever manner seems best. And for thee and the Goths the natural course to follow is that one which is destined to redound to your advantage." Thus spoke the Franks.

And the envoys of Belisarius also came forward and spoke as follows. "That the multitude of the Germans will inflict no injury on the emperor's army — and it is with this that they seek to scare you — why should one enter into a lengthy proof before you, seeing that you, certainly, have come to understand by long experience what wholly governs the course of war, and know that valour is in no circumstances wont to be overcome by mere throngs of men. For we need not add that, in point of fact, the emperor surpasses all others in the ability to outstrip his enemies in regard to multitude of soldiers. But as touching the loyalty of these Franks, which they proudly claim to shew toward all barbarians, this has been well displayed by them, first to the Thuringians and the Burgundian nation, and then to you also, their allies! And indeed we, on our part, should take pleasure in asking the Franks by what god they can possibly intend to swear when they declare that they will give you surety for their loyalty. For you understand surely in what manner they have honoured the one by whom they have already sworn — they who have received from you vast sums of money, as you know, and also the entire territory of Gaul as the price of their alliance, and yet have decided not merely to render you no assistance at all in your peril, but have actually taken up arms thus wantonly against you, if any account of those things which happened on the Po is preserved among you. But why need we demonstrate the impiety of the Franks by recounting past events? Nothing could be more unholy than this present embassy of theirs. For just as if they had forgotten the terms they themselves have agreed upon and the oaths they have taken to secure the treaty, they claim the right to share your all with you. And if they do actually obtain this from you, it befits you to consider what will be the end of their insatiable greed for money."

Thus spoke the envoys of Belisarius in their turn. As for Vittigis, after long conference with the noblest of the Goths, he gave his preference to the proposed treaty with the emperor, and sent away the envoys of the Germans unsuccessful. And from that time the Goths and the Romans began directly to carry on negotiations with each other, but Belisarius was no whit the less on his guard to prevent the barbarians from bringing in provisions for themselves. Furthermore, he commanded Vitalius to go to Venetia and bring

over as many of the towns of that region as possible, while he himself, with Ildiger, whom he had sent forward, was maintaining a guard over both banks of the Po, in order that the barbarians might yield more readily through lack of provisions and make the treaty as he himself wished. And since he learned that a large amount of grain was still lying in storage in public warehouses inside Ravenna, he bribed one of the inhabitants of the city to set fire secretly to these same warehouses and destroy the grain with them. But they say that, in reality, it was by the will of Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, that they were destroyed. Now some few were led by the fact that the grain burned suddenly to believe that the thing had been carried out by a plot, but others suspected that the place had been struck by lightning. Still, whichever of the two views they took, both the Goths and Vittigis were, more than ever, plunged into a state of helplessness, unable as they were even to trust their own compatriots thereafter, and thinking that war was being waged against them by God Himself. Such was the course of these events.

Now there are numerous strongholds in the Alps which separate Gaul from Liguria, and which the Romans call the Cottian Alps. These strongholds were garrisoned, as had been the custom for many years, by many of the noblest of the Goths, who resided in them together with their wives and children; and when Belisarius heard that these garrisons wished to submit themselves to him, he sent to them one of his officers, Thomas by name, with some few men, with instructions to give pledges and accept the surrender of the barbarians there. And when they reached the Alps, Sisigis, who commanded the garrisons of that district, received them in one of the fortresses, and not only submitted himself but also urged each of the other commanders to do likewise. Just at this time Uraias, who had selected four thousand Ligurians and men from the fortresses in the Alps, was moving with all speed toward Ravenna with the intention of relieving the city. But when these men learned what had been done by Sisigis, they became fearful for their families and demanded that they should first go to them. Consequently Uraias entered the Cottian Alps with his whole army, and laid siege to Sisigis and the force of Thomas. Now when John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Martinus learned of this situation (for they happened to be very near the Po), they came to the rescue as quickly as possible with their whole army; and by falling suddenly upon some of the fortresses in the Alps, they captured them and made slaves of their inhabitants, and a large number of these captives, as chance would have it, proved to be children and waives of the men who were serving under Uraias. For the most of the men under his command were natives of these very fortresses. And when these men learned that their own homes had been captured, they detached themselves suddenly from the army of the Goths, having decided to go over to the troops under John, and as a result of this Uraias was able neither to accomplish anything there nor to bring assistance to the Goths endangered in Ravenna, but he returned unsuccessful with a few

men to Liguria and remained quietly there. And Belisarius without interference held Vittigis and the nobles of the Goths confined in Ravenna.

Τότε δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο, Δομνικός τε καὶ Μαξιμῖνος, ἐκ βουλῆς ἄμφω, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην κατὰ τὰδε ποιήσονται: [2] Οὐίτιγιν μὲν πλούτου τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φέρεσθαι, χώρας τε ἄρχειν ἢ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἐστί: τῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων τὸ ἥμισυ βασιλέως εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἐστὶν ὑπήκοα ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ποιήσασθαι. [3] Βελισαρίῳ τε οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα δεῖξαντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐκομίσθησαν. μαθόντες δὲ Γότθοι καὶ Οὐίτιγίς ἐφ' ᾧ ἤκοιεν, ἄσμενοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὡμολόγησαν τὰς σπονδὰς θήσεσθαι. [4] ἅπερ ἀκούσας Βελισάριος ἡσχαλλεν, ἐν ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλη ποιούμενος, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἐφῆ, παρὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τό τε κράτος τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ δορυάλωτον Οὐίτιγιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγεῖν. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥαβέννης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, γράμμασιν οἰκείοις ἐπιρρῶσαι τὰς ξυνθήκας ἤκιστα ἤθελεν. [6] ὥνπερ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι νῶ τε δολερῶ τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσι Ῥωμαίους προτείνεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, καὶ ὑποψία ἐς αὐτοὺς μεγάλη ἐχρῶντο, ἄντικρὺς τε ἡδὴ ἔφασκον ἄνευ τῶν Βελισαρίου γραμμάτων τε καὶ ὄρκων οὐποτε ξυνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι. [7] Ἀκούσας δὲ βελισάριος λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινάς, ὥς δὴ ἐπιβουλευὼν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι τὸν πόλεμον καταλύειν οὐδαμῶς Βούλοίτο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας, Δομνίку τε καὶ Μαξιμίνου παρόντων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε: [8] 'Τὴν μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὥς ἤκιστα ἐστάναι αὐτὸς τε οἶδα καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ταῦτά μοι γινώσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οἶμαι. [9] πολλοὺς τε γὰρ ἐπίδοξος, ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεται, οὐσα ἢ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίς ἔσφηλε, καὶ τοῖς ἡτυχηκένοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡδὴ παρὰ δόξαν περιεῖναι ξυνέβη. [10] διὸ δὴ φημι χρῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευομένους οὐ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα προβάλλεσθαι μόνον, ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης. [11] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὑμᾶς τε τοὺς ξυνάρχοντας καὶ τούσδε τοὺς βασιλέως πρέσβεις ξυνεισάγειν ἔδοξεν ἔμοιγε, ὅπως ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐλόμενοι ὃ τι ἂν βασιλεῖ ξυνοίσειν δοκῇ, μήποτε τίνα ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων κατ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσησθε μέμψιν. [12] τῶν γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη σιωπᾶν μὲν ἕως ἕξεστιν ἐξελέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, σκοποῦμένοις δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀπόβασιν τὰς αἰτίας ποιεῖσθαι. [13] ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσιν βασιλεῖ τε δέδοκται καὶ Οὐίτιγίδι βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού. [14] εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν ξύμφορα ταῦτα εἶναι δοκεῖ, λεγέτω παρελθὼν ἕκαστος. εἰ μέντοι πᾶσάν τε Ἰταλίαν οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνασώσασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ποιήσασθαι, οὐδὲν κωλύσει μηδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν.' ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος εἶπεν, [15] ἅπαντες ἄντικρὺς ἀπεφώνησαν τὰ βασιλέως βουλευματα βέλτιστα εἶναι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς οἷους τε ἔσεσθαι περαιτέρω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάζεσθαι. [16] Βελισάριος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῇ γνώμῃ γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ἡξίου δηλῶσαι, ὥς μήποτε αὐτὴν ἀρνηθεῖεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ γράψαντες ἐν βιβλιδίῳ ἐδήλουν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων. [17]

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένετο. Γότθοι δὲ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι οὐκέτι τε ἀντέχουν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ δυνάμενοι Οὐιττίγιδος μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο ἅτε ὡς μάλιστα δεδυστυχηκότος, βασιλεῖ δὲ προσχωρεῖν ὤκνουν, δεδιότες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅπως δὲ μὴ δοῦλοι βασιλέως γενόμενοι ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας ἀνίστασθαι ἀναγκάζονται καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἰόντες ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσεσθαι. [18] ἐν σφίσιν οὖν αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι, εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις καθαρὸν ἦν, βασιλέα τῆς ἐσπερίας βελισάριον ἀνειπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πέμψαντες δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν λάθρα ἐδέοντο ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι: ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἄσμενοι ἔψεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. [19] Βελισάριος δὲ καταστῆναι μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἐκόντος βασιλέως ἤκιστα ἠθέλει: [20] τῷ τε γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου ὀνόματι ὑπερφυῶς ἤχθετο καὶ ὄρκοις δεινотάτοις πρὸς βασιλέως καταληφθεὶς πρότερον ἔτυχε, μήποτε αὐτοῦ περιόντος νεωτεριεῖν: ὅπως δὲ τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσεται, ἀσμένως ἔδοξε τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι. [21] ὣν δὴ αἰσθόμενος Οὐιττίγης ἔδεισέ τε καὶ Γότθους ὡς βέλτιστα βεβουλευσθαι εἰπὼν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς λάθρα παρήνει ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι: [22] οὐδένα γάρ οἱ ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος αὐτῷ τούτους τε βασιλέως πρέσβεις καὶ πάντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ Γότθους τε ἅπαντας ξὺν Οὐιττίγιδι δορυαλώτους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ χρήματα μὲν πάντα ληΐσασθαι, [23] Ἰταλίαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ζύμπασαν ἀνασώσασθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ ὑπέρογκον τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις εὐτύχημα ἔφασκον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ πράσσειν αὐτὸν ὅπῃ ἂν δύνηται τι ὡς τάχιστα ἡξίου. [24] αὐτίκα γοῦν παρὰ τε Οὐιττίγιν καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους Βελισάριος τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν τινὰς ἔπεμψε, κελεύων ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσῃν ὅσα ὑπέσχοντο. [25] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποτίθεσθαι ὁ λιμὸς ξυνεχώρει, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγκείμενος ἐς ταύτην ἐνήγε. [26] διὸ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον στέλλουσιν αὐτῷ, ἄλλο μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐροῦντας, ἐν παραβύστῳ δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους, ὡς ἄχαρί τε αὐτῶν ἐργάσεται οὐδένα καὶ βασιλεὺς τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ Γότθων εἴη, οὕτω τε ξὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἤξοντας. [27] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὥμοσεν ἅπαντα, καθάπερ οἱ πρέσβεις ἡξίου, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁμείσθαι ἔφη. [28] καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀποσεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν οἰόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφίεσθαι αὐτῇς πάντων μάλιστα, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευον ἰέναι. [29] καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ναρσῆν καὶ Αῤάτιον 'τούτους γάρ οἱ ὡς μάλιστα δύνους εἶναι ὑπώπτευεν' ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τὰ τε ἀναγκαῖα σφίσι πορίζεσθαι: αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἔφασκε δυνατὰ εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χωρίον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. [30] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, ξὺν Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχῳ, ἄρτι ἦκοντι ἐκ Βυζαντίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι σὺν Γότθων τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει. [31] καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐμπλησάμενος σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεῶν ἐκέλευε κατὰ τάχος ἐς Κλάσσεσς τὸν λιμένα ἐσπλεῖν: οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ Ῥαβέννης προάστειον καλοῦσιν οὗ ὁ λιμὴν ἐστίν. [32] Ἐμοὶ δὲ τότε διασκοπομένῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥάβενναν εἴσοδον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔννοια τις

ἐγένετο, ἀνθρώπων μὲν ξυνέσει ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὡς ἥκιστα περαίνεσθαι τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα, εἶναι δέ τι δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ στρέφον τὰς διανοίας ἐνταῦθα ἄγει οὗ δὴ κωλύμη τις τοῖς περαινομένοις οὐδεμία ἔσται. [33] τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους οἱ Γότθοι πλήθει καὶ δυνάμει παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες καὶ οὔτε μάχῃ διακριθέντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο, οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτοφούν δεδουλωμένοι τὸ φρόνημα, δορυάλωτοί τε πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ὄνομα ἐν ὕβρει οὐδεμιᾷ ἦγον. [34] αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐτύγγανον γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀκηκουῖαι μεγάλους τε τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης καθήμεναι εἶδον, ἔς τε τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πᾶσαι ἀπέπτυνον, καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμεναι τοὺς νενικηκότας τὴν ἀνανδρίαν ὠνείδιζον. [35] Βελισάριος δὲ Οὐίτιγιν μὲν οὐ ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ὤκνητο, ἔς ἀγροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντας, [36] ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. πολέμιον γὰρ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπώπτευεν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδὲ Γότθους ποτὲ ταύτῃ ξυστήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς πρότερον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἄσμενοι ἦσαν. [37] οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἐγίνοντο: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Γότθων ἐν γε Ῥαβέννῃ πλήθει ἡσσῶντο. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐν Παλατίῳ χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἅπερ διακομίζειν βασιλεῖ ἐμελλε. [38] Γότθων γὰρ οὐδένα οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐληΐσατο οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ ληΐσασθαι ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν οὐσίαν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα διεσώσατο. [39] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα φυλακὴν εἶχον Ῥαβεννάν τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἔχουσιν ἤκουσαν, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίᾳ παραδιδόναι καὶ ἅπερ ἐφύλασσαν ἀξιοῦντες. [40] καὶ ὅς, ἅπασι τὰ πιστὰ προθυμότατα παρασχόμενος, Ταρβήσιόν τε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν Βενετίοις ὀχύρωμα ἦν παρεστήσατο. Καισὴνα γὰρ ἐν Αἰμιλία μόνῃ ἐλέλειπτο, ἣν δὴ πρότερον ξὺν Ῥαβέννῃ παραστησάμενος ἔτυχε. [41] καὶ Γότθοι μὲν ἅπαντες ὅσοι τούτων δὴ τῶν χωρίων ἦρχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὰ πιστὰ ἔλαβον, παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦκοντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον: Ἰλδίβαδος δέ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὅσπερ φρουρᾶς τῆς ἐν Βερώνῃ ἦρχε, πρέσβεις μὲν ἐς Βελισάριον ἐφ' οἷσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ εὐρῶν Βελισάριος ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐς Ῥαβενναν ἦλθεν οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ ὑποχείριος γέγονε. τύχῃ γὰρ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέβη ἣν δὴ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

IT was in these circumstances that envoys arrived from the emperor, Domnicus and Maximinus, both members of the senate, in order to make peace on the following terms. Vittigis was to receive one half of the royal treasure, and to rule over the territory which is north of the river Po; but the other half of the money was to fall to the emperor, and he was to make subject and tributary to himself all that lay south of the Po. So the envoys, having shewn the emperor's letter to Belisarius, betook themselves to Ravenna. And when the Goths and Vittigis had learned the purpose of their coming, they gladly agreed to make the treaty on these terms. But Belisarius, upon hearing this, was moved with vexation, counting it a great calamity that anyone should prevent him from winning the decisive victory of the whole war, when it was possible to do so with no trouble, and from leading Vittigis a captive to Byzantium. So when the envoys returned to him from Ravenna, he refused absolutely to ratify the agreement by his own signature. And when the Goths became aware of this, they began to feel that the Romans were offering them peace with treacherous intent, and became very suspicious of them; and they forthwith declared flatly that without both the signature and the oath of Belisarius they would never make a compact with the Romans.

And Belisarius, upon hearing that some of the commanders were criticizing him bitterly, on the ground that he was plainly plotting against the emperor's cause, and for this reason was quite unwilling to bring the war to an end, called them all together, and, in the presence of Domnicus and Maximinus, spoke as follows. "I am not alone in knowing that the fortune of war is by no means fixed and firm, but I think that each one of you shares this same view with me regarding it. For many men have been deceived by the hope of victory when it seemed certain that it would come to them, while men who, to all appearances, have met with disaster, have many a time had the fortune to triumph unexpectedly over their adversaries. Consequently I say that men deliberating with regard to peace should not put before them only the expectation of success, but reflecting that the result will be either way, they should make their choice of policy on this basis. In view of this, it has seemed best to me, at any rate, to bring to a conference you, my colleagues, and these envoys of the emperor, to the end that the present occasion may afford an opportunity to choose at our leisure whatever course may seem destined to be of advantage to the emperor, that after the event you may never bring any reproach against me. For it would be a thing most monstrous, first to be silent as long as it is possible to choose the better course, and later, upon surveying the outcome decreed by fortune, to bring accusations. Now as to the emperor's decision with a view to the conclusion of the war, and as to the wishes of Vittigis, you are of course well informed. And if you, too, think this

course advantageous, let each man come forward and speak. If, however, you think that you are able to recover the whole of Italy for the Romans and to gain the mastery over the enemy, nothing will prevent you from speaking with complete frankness.” When Belisarius had thus spoken, all expressed the opinion with certainty that the emperor’s decision was best, and that they would be unable to do the enemy any further harm. And Belisarius was pleased with the expression of the commanders’ opinion, and asked them to set it down in writing, in order that they might never deny it. They accordingly wrote a document stating that they were unable to achieve superiority over their opponents in the war.

These deliberations, then, were being carried forward in the Roman camp. But the Goths, hard pressed by the famine and no longer able to endure their suffering, were in a state of suspense; for while they were hostile to the rule of Vittigis, seeing that he had been unfortunate in the extreme, still they were reluctant to yield to the emperor, fearing only this, that upon becoming slaves of the emperor they would be compelled to remove from Italy and go to Byzantium and settle there. So after deliberating among themselves, all the best of the Goths decided to declare Belisarius Emperor of the West. And sending to him secretly, they begged him to assume the royal power; for upon this condition, they declared, they would follow him gladly. But Belisarius was quite unwilling to assume the ruling power against the will of the emperor; for he had an extraordinary loathing for the name of tyrant, and furthermore he had, in fact, been bound by the emperor previously by most solemn oaths never during his lifetime to organize a revolution; still, in order to turn the situation before him to the best advantage, he let it appear that he received the proposals of the barbarians gladly. And Vittigis, perceiving this, became fearful, and saying that the deliberations of the Goths had arrived at the best possible result, he too secretly urged Belisarius to enter upon the royal power; for no one, he said, would stand in his way. Then indeed Belisarius again called together the envoys of the emperor and all the commanders and asked them whether it seemed to them a matter of great importance to make all the Goths with Vittigis captives, and to secure as plunder all their wealth, and recover the whole of Italy for the Romans. And they said that this would be for the Romans a great and overwhelming piece of good fortune, and they begged him to bring it about as quickly as possible, by whatever means he could. Accordingly Belisarius at once sent to Vittigis and the notables of the Goths some of his intimates, bidding them carry out what they had promised. And indeed the famine would not permit them to put off the matter to any other time, but, by its increasing pressure, was driving them to this decision. Consequently they again sent envoys to the camp of the Romans, with instructions to make some vague statement openly, but in secret to receive pledges from Belisarius, both that he would do no harm to anyone of the Goths, and that thenceforth he himself would be king of the Goths and

Italians; this accomplished, they were to come with him and the Roman army into Ravenna. As for Belisarius, he swore to everything else, just as the envoys required of him, but concerning the kingship he said that he would swear to Vittigis himself and the rulers of the Goths. And the envoys, thinking that he would never reject the kingship, but that he would strive for it above all other things, made not the least hesitation in urging him to come with them into Ravenna. Then Belisarius ordered Bessas and John and Narses and Aratius to go with their several commands to different places (for these were the men whom he suspected of being exceedingly hostile to him), and to provide provisions for themselves; for he alleged that it was no longer possible for him, in the place where he was, to bring in provisions for the whole army. So these officers, as well as Athanasius, the pretorian prefect, who had recently come from Byzantium, proceeded to carry out the instructions given them, but he himself with the remainder of the army marched into Ravenna with the envoys of the Goths. And loading a fleet of ships with grain and other provisions, he gave orders that they should sail with all speed into the harbour of Classes; for thus the Romans call the suburb of Ravenna where the harbour is.

And while I watched the entry of the Roman army into Ravenna at that time, an idea came to me, to the effect that it is not at all by the wisdom of men or by any other sort of excellence on their part that events are brought to fulfilment, but that there is some divine power which is ever warping their purposes and shifting them in such a way that there will be nothing to hinder that which is being brought to pass. For although the Goths were greatly superior to their opponents in number and in power, and had neither fought a decisive battle since they had entered Ravenna nor been humbled in spirit by any other disaster, still they were being made captives by the weaker army and were regarding the name of slavery as no insult. But when the women, as they sat at the gate, had seen the whole army (for they had heard from their husbands that the enemy were men of great size and too numerous to be counted), they all spat upon the faces of their husbands, and pointing with their hands to the victors, reviled them for their cowardice.

As for Belisarius, he held Vittigis under guard, but not in disgrace, and urged those of the barbarians who lived south of the river Po to go to their own lands and care for them unmolested. This he did because he felt that he would have no hostile force to deal with in that quarter, and that the Goths of that region would never unite, because he had, as it happened, previously established a large number of Roman troops in the towns there. So these Goths gladly made haste to return. And thus the Romans were now making their position secure, for in Ravenna at least they were no longer outnumbered by the Goths. He next took possession of the money in the palace, which he intended to convey to the emperor. But as for the private property of the Goths, neither did he take plunder from any individual, nor would he permit any other Roman to

take such plunder, but each one of them preserved his property according to the terms of the agreement. Now when those of the barbarians who were keeping guard in the strongest of the towns heard that both Ravenna and Vittigis were held by the Romans, they began to send envoys to Belisarius, craving permission to submit themselves by surrender and the places they guarded. And he most willingly furnished pledges to them all, and thus took over Tarbesium and such other strongholds as there were in Venetia. For Caesena was the only one remaining in Aemilia, and this he had previously taken over along with Ravenna. And the Goths who commanded these towns, as soon as they received the pledges, came to Belisarius and remained with him — all except Ildibadus, a man of note, who commanded the garrison in Verona; for though he too sent envoys to Belisarius on the same mission as the others, especially because Belisarius had found his children in Ravenna and taken possession of them, still he did not either come to Ravenna or submit himself to Belisarius. For fortune brought him to a situation which I shall now describe.

Τινὲς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες βασκανίαν ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχοντες διέβαλλον αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ, τυραννίδα οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐπενεγκόντες. [2] βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταύταις ἀναπεισθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέκειτο ἤδη, Βελισάριον μὲν ὡς τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειεν· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Ἰταλίας Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ζῆν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε, καὶ Κωνσταντιανῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐπέστελλεν ἰέναι. [3] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ Πάδου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐκτὸς ἴδρυντο, ἀκούσαντες ὡς Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς μεταπέμποιτο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶχον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἰόμενοι Βελισάριον τῆς ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν πίστεως περὶ ἐλάσσονος τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασιλείαν ποιήσασθαι. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τῆς ἀφόδου τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ξυμφρονήσαντες, εἴ τι αὐτῶν καθαρὸν ἐνταῦθα ἐπι ἐλέλειπτο, ἐς Τικινὸν παρὰ Οὐραῖαν τὸν Οὐιτιτίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἦλθον, πολλὰ τε πρότερον ζῆν αὐτῷ κλαύσαντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· [5] ‘Οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῷ Γότθων γένει αἰτιώτατος τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἢ σὺ γέγονας. ἡμεῖς γάρ τὸν θεῖον τὸν σόν, οὕτως ἀνάνδρως τε καὶ ἀτυχῶς ἐξηγούμενον, πάλαι ἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς παρελύσαμεν, ὥσπερ Θευδάτον τὸν Θευδερίχου ἀδελφιδοῦν, εἰ μὴ σου τὸ δοκοῦν δραστήριον αἰσχυρόμενοι Οὐιτιτίγιδι μὲν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα ξυγχωρεῖν ἐγνώμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ σοὶ μόνῳ παραδιδόναι τὴν Γότθων ἀρχήν. [6] ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡ τότε δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν εὐγνώμοσύνη, νῦν ἀνοιά τε φαινομένη καὶ τῶνδε ἡμῖν τῶν ξυμφορῶν αἰτία. [7] Γότθων γάρ, ὥσπερ οἶσθα, ὦ φίλε Οὐραῖα, τεθνάναι μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξυμβαίνει, τῶν δὲ περιόντων, εἴ τι μὲν ἄριστον ἀπολέλειπται, ζῆν τε Οὐιτιτίγιδι καὶ χρήμασι πᾶσι Βελισάριος ἄγων οἰχήσεται. [8] ταῦτο δὲ τοῦτο μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πείσεσθαι, ὀλίγους τε καὶ λίαν οἰκτροῦς καθεστῶτας, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. [9] τοιούτων τοίνυν περιεστηκότων δεινῶν, τὸ ζῆν εὐκλεία τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ παῖδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας πρὸς τῶν

πολεμίων ἐς τῆς γῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας ἀγομένους ἰδεῖν. [10] πράξομεν δέ τι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἣν γέ σε τῶν ἔργων ἀρχηγὸν ἔξομεν.’ Γότθοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. [11] Οὐραΐας δὲ ἀμείβεται ᾧδε: ‘Ὡς μὲν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς πρὸ τῆς δουλείας ἡμᾶς τὸν κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι, ταῦτά με ὑμῖν γινώσκειν ξυμβαίνει. [12] ἐς Γότθων δέ με τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι παντάπασι νύκτα ἀξύμφορον εἶναι: πρῶτα μὲν, ὅτι Οὐτιτίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν, ἀνδρὸς οὕτως ἡτυχηκότος, εὐκαταφρόνητος ἂν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκοίην, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας ἀεὶ τὰς ὁμοίας τύχας παραπέμπεσθαι οἴονται ἄνθρωποι: [13] ἔπειτα δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσια ποιεῖν δόξαιμι, ἐπιβατεύων τῆς τοῦ θείου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μοι ἀχθομένους ὑμῶν τοὺς πλείστους, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξω. [14] ἐγὼ δέ φημι χρῆναι Γότθων ἄρχοντα ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε Ἰλδίβαδον καθίστασθαι, ἄνδρα ἐς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς ἥκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον. [15] ᾧ δὴ καὶ Θεῦδιν θεῖόν γε ὄντα τὸν τῶν Οὐισιγότθων ἡγούμενον ξυνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς οὐδὲν ἀπαικός, διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ξὺν ἐλπίδι ἀμείνوني πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους διοίσομεν.’ [16] Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐραΐας εἰπὼν τὰ ξύμφορα Γότθοις ἅπασι λέγειν ἔδοξε. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰλδίβαδος ἐκ Βερώνης αὐτίκα μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν. [17] ᾧ δὴ τὴν πορφύραν περιβαλόντες, βασιλέα τε Γότθων ἀνεῖπον καὶ σφίσι νύκτα θέσθαι τὰ παρόντα ἐδέοντο. ᾧδε μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰλδίβαδος κατέστη. [18] ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γότθους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Ἄπαντας ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, πολλῶν ξυνεπίσταμαι εἶναι πολέμων ἐμπείρους, ὥστε οὐποτε εἰκότως εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως χωρήσομεν. ἐμπειρία γὰρ λογισμὸν φέρουσα θρασύνεσθαι ἤκιστα εἴωθεν. [19] ἄξιον δὲ ἀναμνησθέντας πάντων ὑμᾶς τῶν πρότερον ξυμπεπτωκότων, οὕτω τανῦν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων βουλευέσθαι. [20] λήθη γὰρ πολλοῖς τισιν ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἤδη φθασάντων ἐπῆρε μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας τὰς γνώμας, [21] ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἱκανῶς ἔσφηλεν. Οὐτίτιγίς τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκόντων γε οὐδὲ ἀντιτεινόντων ὑμῶν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν καθήκε τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ’ ἀπειπόντες τότε πρὸς τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα ξυμφορώτατον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡγήσασθε εἶναι Βελισαρίῳ οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἐπακούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς σώμασι διακινδυνεύειν ἀπέραντα. [22] νῦν μέντοι αὐτὸν ἀκηκοότες ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνωτε. καίτοι ἐχρῆν ἐκλογίζεσθαι ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ὥς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ δοκεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεδογμένων παρὰ δόξαν πολλάκις ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόβασις ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἐχώρησε. [23] τύχη γὰρ καὶ μετὰμελος τὰ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πεφύκασιν: ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Βελισαρίῳ ξυμβῆσεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπαικός. [24] ἄμεινον τοίνυν πυθέσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ πρότερον, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ ἀντικαθιστάναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόην ξυγκείμενα, οὕτω τε ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰ δευτέρα ἰέναι.’ [25] Ταῦτα Ἰλδίβαδος εἰπὼν εὖ τε βεβουλευῆσθαι Γότθοις ἔδοξε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὴ Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες τῶν τε ξυγκειμένων σφίσι νύκτα ἐπέμνησαν καὶ ἅτε διαλυτὴν τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἐκάκιζον, αὐθαίρετον μὲν ἀποκαλοῦντες ἀνδράποδον, ὀνειδίζοντες δὲ ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐρυθρίῳ πρὸ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν δουλείαν αἰρούμενος, ἄλλα τε τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρεκάλουν. [26] οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἰλδίβαδον ἐθελούσιον ἀφίξεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο,

τὴν τε πορφυρίδα καταθησόμενον ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ βασιλέα Βελισάριον Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν προσκυνήσοντα. [27] οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτα ἔλεγον, οἰόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα οὐδὲν μελλήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [28] ὁ δὲ οὐ προσδεχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἄντικρυς ἀπεῖπεν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ζῶντος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως Βελισάριος ἐπιβατεύοι τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματος. [29] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀπηλλάσσοντό τε ὥς τάχιστα καὶ Ἰλδιβάδῳ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγελλον. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦει καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

CERTAIN officers of the Roman army, out of malice toward Belisarius, began to slander him to the emperor, advancing against him a charge of usurpation for which there were no grounds whatever in his case. And the emperor, not so much because he was persuaded by these slanders as because the Medic war was already pressing upon him, summoned Belisarius to come as quickly as possible, in order to take the field against the Persians; meanwhile he commanded Bessas and John with the others to take charge of Italy, and directed Constantianus to go to Ravenna from Dalmatia. Now the Goths who inhabited the country to the north of the Po and of Ravenna, upon hearing that the emperor was summoning Belisarius, at first, indeed, paid no heed to the matter, thinking that Belisarius would never regard the kingdom of Italy as of less account than loyalty to Justinian. But when they learned that he was making preparations for his departure in real earnest, all the loyal Goths of that region who were still left formed a common purpose and went to Uraïas, the nephew of Vittigis, at Ticinum; and after first lamenting long with him, they spoke as follows:—"The man who has proved to be chiefly responsible for the present misfortunes of the nation of the Goths is no other than you. For we, on our part, should have long ago removed that uncle of yours from the kingship, seeing that he has led us in such a cowardly manner and with such ill fortune, just as we removed Theodatus, the nephew of Theoderic, unless, out of respect for the natural vigour which you seemed to display, we had decided to concede to Vittigis merely the title of king, but in fact to entrust to you alone the rule of the Goths. What, however, seemed then consideration, now stands out clearly as folly and the cause of these misfortunes of ours. For very many of the Goths, as you know, dear Uraïas, and our noblest, have perished in the war, and such nobles as are left among the survivors Belisarius will lead away along with Vittigis and all our wealth. And no one could deny that we too shall suffer this same fate a little later, seeing that we are reduced to a small and pitiable band. Since, therefore, such a dire fate has encompassed us, it will be preferable for us to die with glory rather than to see our wives and children led by the enemy to the extremities of the earth. And we shall, in all probability, accomplish something worthy of valorous men, if only we have you as leader of our struggles." Thus spoke the Goths.

And Uraïas replied as follows:—"You say that we ought in our present extremity to choose the peril of battle rather than slavery, and this opinion I share with you. But, on the other hand, I think it altogether inexpedient for me to ascend the throne of the Goths, in the first place because, being the nephew of Vittigis, a man who has been so unfortunate, I should appear to the enemy as worthy to be despised, since men believe that among kinsmen the like fortune is ever handed on from one to another; and, in the second place, I

should seem to act impiously in usurping the rule of my uncle, and in case I do this I shall probably have the most of you angry with me. But my opinion is that Ildibadus must become ruler of the Goths for this perilous enterprise, a man who has attained the highest excellence and is conspicuously energetic. And it is to be expected with certainty that Theudis also, the ruler of the Visigoths, seeing that he is Ildibadus' uncle, will assist him in the war because of his kinship. And this indeed will be ground for more confident hope in carrying on the struggle against our opponents."

When Uraïas, in his turn, had spoken thus, it seemed to all the Goths that his words pointed out the course which would be to their advantage. And Ildibadus was straightway summoned by them and came from Verona. Then, after clothing him in the purple, they declared him king of the Goths and entreated him to take the situation in hand and set matters right for them. Thus did Ildibadus come into the royal power. But a short time after this, he called all the Goths together and spoke as follows:—"All of you, fellow-soldiers, as I am well aware, have had experience in many wars, so that we shall probably never proceed to make war on the spur of the moment. For experience brings a man sober judgment, so that he is not wont to act rashly in any case. Now you ought, in fairness to yourselves, to call to recollection all that has befallen us heretofore, and make plans to meet the present situation with this in mind. For when forgetfulness of past events comes upon men, it often, through folly, exalts their minds at the wrong moment, and then, when their all is at stake, utterly overthrows them. Now when Vittigis placed himself in the hands of the enemy, it was not against your will nor did you strive to prevent him, but at that time you bowed before the adversities of fortune and considered that we should best consult our own interests by sitting at home and obeying Belisarius rather than by risking our lives in endless dangers. But now, upon hearing that Belisarius is setting out for Byzantium, you have decided to undertake a revolution. And yet each one of you ought to have taken into consideration that things do not always happen for men as they will them, but many times the outcome of events has unexpectedly gone contrary to what has been determined upon. For chance or a change of heart have a way of setting most things right when least expected; and even now it is by no means improbable that this is what will happen to Belisarius. It is better, therefore, to make enquiries of him first and to attempt to bring the man back to the earlier agreement, and only after this should you proceed to the next best step."

When Ildibadus had thus spoken, the Goths decided that he had counselled well, and he sent envoys to Ravenna with all speed. So these envoys, upon coming before Belisarius, reminded him of the agreement made with them and reproached him as a breaker of his promises, calling him a slave by his own choice, and chiding him because, they said, he did not blush at choosing servitude in place of the kingship; and with many other speeches of a similar sort they kept urging him to accept the rule. For, should he do so, they

declared that Ildibadus would come of his own accord in order to lay down the purple at his feet and do obeisance to Belisarius as king of the Goths and Italians. So the envoys, on their part, kept making these speeches, thinking that the man would without any hesitation take upon himself the kingly title immediately. But he, contrary to their expectation, refused them outright, saying that never, while the emperor Justinian lived, would Belisarius usurp the title of king. So they, upon hearing this, departed as quickly as possible and reported the whole matter to Ildibadus. And Belisarius took his way to Byzantium; and the winter drew to its close and the fifth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.[500 A.D.]

BOOK VII. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος, ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡωρημένων, ξὺν τε Οὐίτιγιδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς δοκίμοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰλδιβάδου παισὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐπαγόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκε, καὶ οἱ Ἰλδιγέρ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτῖνος ξὺν Ἡρωδιανῷ εἶποντο μόνοι. [2] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Οὐίτιγιν μὲν ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἀσμένως εἶδε, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ὅμιλον κάλλους τε σώματος καὶ μεγέθους πέρι ἐθαύμασε. [3] τὸν δὲ Θεουδερῖχου πλοῦτον ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα δεξάμενος ἐν Παλατίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐν παραβύστῳ θέαμα προϋθῆκεν, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων φιλοτιμούμενος, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκεν οὔτε τὸν θρίαμβον Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο, ὥσπερ ἡνίκα Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους νενικηκὼς ἦλθε. [4] πᾶσι μέντοι ἐν διηγήμασι Βελισάριος ἦν, νίκας τε δύο ἀναδησάμενος, οἷας οὐπὼ πρότερον ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ διαπεπρᾶχθαι ξυνέπεσε, καὶ βασιλεῖς μὲν ἀγαγὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς Βυζάντιον δύο, Γιζερῖχου δὲ καὶ Θεουδερῖχου τό τε γένος καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάφυρον Ῥωμαίοις παρὰ δόξαν πεποιημένος, ὃν δὴ ἐπιφανέστερος ἔν γε βαρβάροις οὐδεὶς πώποτε γεγωνὼς ἔτυχε, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλοῦτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐθις ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποκομίσας, γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα μοῖραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ἀνασώσάμενος. [5] ἦν τε Βυζαντίοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας προϊόντα ἰδεῖν, ἢ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπανήκοντα, κόρον τε αὐτῶν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου οὐδεὶς ἔλαβε. [6] πομπῇ γάρ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροτάτῃ ἢ πρόοδος ἐφύκει, ἐπεὶ οἱ Βανδύλων τε πλῆθος καὶ Γότθων τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων αἰεὶ εἶπετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας καὶ εὐπρόσωπος πάντων μάλιστα. [7] οὕτω δὲ πρᾶν τε καὶ εὐπρόσοδον παρῆεν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ πένητί τε λίαν καὶ ἀδόξῳ ἐμφορῆς εἶναι. [8] Ἐρως δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς τε στρατιωτῶν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀγροίκων ἁμαχὸς τις ἐγένετο, ὅτι δὴ ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας φιλοδωρότατος ἐγεγόνει ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων: τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἡτυχηκότων χρήμασι μεγάλοις παρεμυθεῖτο τὰ πρότερα τραύματα καὶ τοῖς εὐδοκμήσασι ψέλλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς ἔχειν ἄθλα παρῆεν, ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὅτου οὖν στρατιώτου ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπολωλὸτος ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισαρίου αὐτίκα ὑπῆρχεν: ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀγροίκους ὅτι δὴ τοσαύτῃ φειδοῖ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ ἐχρήτο ὥστε βιασθῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν πώποτε στρατηγούντος Βελισαρίου τετύχηκε, πλουτεῖν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ξυνέβαινε πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδημοίῃ στρατιᾶς πλῆθος. [9] ἀπεδίδοντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ γνώμην τὰ ὄνια πάντα. καὶ ἡνίκα μὲν ἀκμάζοι τὰ λήϊα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσε μὴ τινι παριοῦσα ἢ ἵππος λυμῆνται. [10] τῶν δὲ ὠραίων ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ὄντων ἄψασθαι αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξουσία ἐγένετο. [11] καὶ μὴν καὶ σωφροσύνης ὑπερφυῶς μετεποιεῖτο: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἄλλης ὅτι μὴ τῆς γεγαμημένης γυναικὸς ἥπτετο. [12] αἰχμαλώτους οὖν ἐκ τε Βανδύλων καὶ Γότθων ἐλὼν τοσαύτας τε τὸ

πλήθος καὶ τοιαύτας τὰ πρόσωπα, οἷας οὐδεὶς που ἀνθρώπων εἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἐς ὄψιν αὐτῶν τινα ἤκειν οὔτε ἄλλως ἐντυχεῖν εἶασεν. [13] ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγχίνους τε διαφερόντως καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπινοῆσαι τὰ βέλτιστα ἱκανώτατος. [14] ἐν μέντοι κινδύνοις πολέμου εὐψυχός τε ἦν ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ζὺν λογισμῷ εὐτολμώτατος, ὅξυς τε καὶ μελλητής ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ ἐγχειρήσει, [15] κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐκάτερον. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐελπὶν τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταραχῆς παρείχeto κρείσσω, εὐημερῶν δὲ οὔτε ἐπῆρτο οὔτε ἐτρύφα: μεθύοντα γοῦν Βελισάριον οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν. [16] Ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐν τε Λιβύῃ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ προὔστη, νικῶν τε διετέλει καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ κτώμενος. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγνώσθη. [18] αὐτὸς τε γὰρ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ προὔχων καὶ πλούτου μὲν πολλοῦ ἐξουσία, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τοὺς πώποτε στρατηγούς ὑπεραίρων, φοβερός, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐγένετο. [19] ἀντιτείνειν τε γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντι, οἶμαι, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἐπιτελῇ τε πράσσειν ὅσα ἐπιτάττοι οὐδαμοῦ ἀπηξίου, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν. [20] ἐπτακισχιλίους γὰρ ἱππέας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρείχeto: ὧν δὴ ἀπόβλητος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐγεγόνει, αὐτῶν δὲ ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἐν τῇ παρατάξει ἐστάναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀρίστους ἤξιον. [21] Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡνίκα πρὸς Γότθων πολιορκούμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ξυμβολαῖς ἐβλεπον, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἀνεφθέγγοντο ὥς οἰκία μία τὴν Θεωδερῖχου δύναμιν καταλύει. [22] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, δυνατὸς γεγονὼς τὰ τε ζυνοίσοντα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ἔπρασεν ἀεὶ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ. [23] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κέρδη οἰκεῖα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες διαπράσσεσθαι, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους ληΐζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνδιδόναι τοὺς κατηκόους ἤδη ἤρξαντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐφρόνουν τὰ δέοντα ἔτι οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν παραγγελλομένων ἐπακούοντας εἶχον. [24] διὸ δὴ πολλὰ τε αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτήθη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεφθάρη Ῥωμαίοις ξύμπαντα ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ. ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [25] Ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀναστάντα ὁδῷ ἰέναι Ἰλδιβάδος ἐπύθετο, τοὺς τε βαρβάρους ζυνηγεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσους νεώτερα πράγματα ἤρεσκε. [26] καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὥς μάλιστα ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Γότθων τῷ γένει τὸ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποίειτο. [27] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οὐ πλέον ἢ χίλιοι αὐτῷ εἶποντο καὶ πόλιν μίαν Τικινὸν εἶχον, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Λιγουριά καὶ Βενεταίᾳ ἦσαν. [28] Ἦν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστὼς λογισμοῖς: λογοθέτην τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [29] οὗτος ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπεκάλει ζημίαν. τοιούτων δὲ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοὺς ὑπάγων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνδοξος ἐξ ἀδόξων ταχὺ γέγονεν, ἐκ πενήτων ἀτεχνῶς πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ χρήματα μεγάλα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ἐπράξατο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὀλίγους τε καὶ πτωχοὺς εἶναι καὶ ὀκνηρῶς εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχειν αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο

ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. [30] Βυζάντιοι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ψαλίδιον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ῥάδιον ἦν ἀποτεμενομένῳ κύκλῳ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα ἔλασσον μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς ὅσον βούλοιοτο ἐξεργάζεσθαι, φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ ὥς τὸ κυκλοτερές σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. [31] ψαλίδιον γὰρ τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτῳ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται. τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον μετεπέμψατο, [32] ἐς Ἰταλίαν πέμπει. ὁ δὲ γεγωνὶς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογισμοὺς προὔθηκε λόγον οὐκ ἔχοντα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλιώτας οὔτε τῶν βασιλέως ἀψαμένους χρημάτων οὔτε τι ἄτοπον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ὑπουργήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ἐκάλει, τὴν ἐς Θεωδέρικον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Γότθων ἄρχοντας ἀδικίαν ἐπικαλῶν, ἀναγκάζων τε ἀποτινῆναι, εἴ τι ἐκείνους ἐξαπατήσαντες, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, [33] ἐκέρδαινον. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τὰ τε τραύματα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῇ τῶν λογισμῶν μικρολογίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἡμείβετο. διὸ δὴ οἱ τε Ἰταλιῶται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δύσνοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστασθαι ἠθέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν ἐποίουν ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ πράγματα. [34] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες διὰ ταῦτα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Βιτάλιος δὲ μόνος ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν Βενετίοις ἄλλο τε πλῆθος στρατιᾶς ἔχων καὶ βαρβάρων Ἑρουλῶν πολὺν τινα ὄμιλον διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν Ἰδριβάδῳ ἐτόλμησε, δείσας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐτὸν ἦκοντα οὐκέτι ἀναστέλλειν οἰοί τε ὧσι. [35] μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρβήσιον γενομένης Βιτάλιος παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθεὶς ἔφυγεν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς σώσας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑρουλοὶ τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ Οὐίσανδος ὁ τῶν Ἑρουλῶν ἀρχηγὸς θνήσκει. [36] Θεωδιμουῆδος δὲ ὁ Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου υἱός, μερᾶκιον ὧν ἔτι, ἐς κίνδυνον μὲν θανάτου ἦλθεν, ὅμως δὲ ζῶν Βιταλίῳ διέφυγεν. Ἰδριβάδου τε ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου παρὰ τε βασιλέα ἦλθε καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [37] Ὑστερον δὲ Οὐραϊᾶν Ἰδριβάδῳ προσκεκρουκέναι ξυνέπεσεν ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. ἦν τῷ Οὐραϊᾷ γυνὴ πλούτῳ τε καὶ σώματος κάλλει τὰ πρωτεῖα φερομένη ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις πασῶν μάλιστα. [38] αὕτη ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατήλθέ ποτε, κόσμου τε περιβεβλημένη πολὺ τι χρῆμα καὶ θεραπείαν ἐπαγομένη λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν. [39] τὴν τε Ἰδριβάδου γυναῖκα ἐν ἱματίοις λιτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἰδοῦσα, οὔτε ὡς ξυνοικοῦσαν βασιλεῖ προσεκύνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβρισεν. ἔτι γὰρ Ἰδριβάδος πενία ξυνῆν ὡς ἦκιστα βασιλικοῖς ἐντυχὼν χρήμασι. [40] περιαλγῆς δὲ γενομένη τῆς ὕβρεως τῇ ἀτοπίᾳ τοῦ Ἰδριβάδου γυνή, παρὰ τε τὸν ἄνδρα δεδακρυμένη ἦλθε καὶ οἱ ἀμῦναι τὰ ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῆς Οὐραϊᾶς γυναικὸς παθοῦση ἠξίου. [41] διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἰδριβάδος Οὐραϊᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους διέβαλεν, ὡς δὴ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτομολεῖν μέλλοι, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον δόλῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ Γότθων ἔχθος ἐνέπεσε. [42] βουλομένοις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἦκιστα ἦν οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως Οὐραϊᾶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Ἰδριβάδῳ ἅτε ἀνόσια εἰργασμένῳ ἐλοιδοροῦντο. τίσασθαι μέντοι τούτου δὴ τοῦ φόνου αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν. [43] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Οὐέλας, Γήπαις μὲν γένος, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων ἀξίωμα ἦκων. [44] οὗτος ἀνὴρ, μνησθεὶς γυναικὸς εὐπρεποῦς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐξαίσιόν τινα ἔρωτα

ἦρα, ἐσταλμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐφ' ᾧ τινα ποιοίη ξὺν ἐτέροις
τισὶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφοδον, τὴν μνηστὴν ἐτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὶ Ἰλδίβαδος,
εἴτε ἀγνοία εἴτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἡγμένος, ξυνώκισεν. [45] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ἐπανάκων Οὐέλας ἤκουσε, θυμοειδὴς ὢν φύσει, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
ἔργου ὕβριν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτίκα κτεῖναι Ἰλδίβαδον ἔγνω, [46] χαριεῖσθαι
Γότθοις ἅπασιν αὐτῇ οἰόμενος. καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν Γότθων τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἐστιῶντα τηρήσας τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. [47] ἀριστῶντα γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα
πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους περιίστασθαι νόμος. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν
χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν ἐς τὰ βρώματα ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος πρηνὴς ἔκειτο, Οὐέλας δὲ
αὐτοῦ ἄφνω τῷ ξίφει τὸν τράχηλον παίει. [48] ὥστε, τῶν βρωμάτων ἔτι
ἐχομένων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δακτύλοις, ἡ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν
καταρραγεῖσα ἐξέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς θάμβος τι μέγα τοὺς παρόντας ἤνεγκεν
ἅπαντας. [49] αὕτη μὲν τίσις Ἰλδίβαδον περιῆλθε τοῦ Οὐράϊα φόνου. καὶ ὁ
χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος
ξυνέγραψεν.

THUS Belisarius departed, though the situation was still unsettled, and he arrived at Byzantium in company with Vittigis and the notables of the Goths and the children of Ildibadus, bringing with him all the treasure; and he was escorted by Ildiger, Valerian, Martinus, and Herodian only. Now the Emperor Justinian did indeed take pleasure in seeing Vittigis and his wife, and marvelled at both the beauty and the great stature of the barbarian throng. But upon receiving the wealth of Theoderic, a notable sight in itself, he merely set it forth for the members of the senate to view privately in the palace, being jealous because of the magnitude and splendour of the achievement; and neither did he bring it out before the people, nor did he accord to Belisarius the customary triumph, as he had done when he returned from his victory over Gelimer and the Vandals. However, the name of Belisarius was on the lips of all: to him were ascribed two victories, such as had never before fallen to the lot of any one man to achieve; he had brought two kings captive to Byzantium, and unexpectedly had made both the race and the possessions of Gizeric and of Theoderic Roman spoil — two kings than whom none, among barbarians at least, has ever been more illustrious; and he had brought back their wealth from the enemy and restored it once more to the state, and recovered for the empire in a short space of time almost one half of its territory on land and sea. And the Byzantines took delight in watching Belisarius as he came forth from his house each day and proceeded toward the market-place or as he returned to his house, and none of them could get enough of this sight. For his progress resembled a crowded festival procession, since he was always escorted by a large number of Vandals, as well as Goths and Moors. Furthermore, he had a fine figure and was tall and remarkably handsome. But his conduct was so meek and his attitude toward those who met him so affable that he seemed like a very poor man and one of no repute.

As a commander the love ever felt for him both by soldiers and peasants was irresistible, seeing that, in his treatment of his soldiers on the one hand, he was surpassed by none in generosity; (for when any had met with misfortune in battle, he used to console them by large presents of money for the wounds they had received, and to those who had distinguished themselves he presented bracelets and necklaces to wear as prizes, and when a soldier had lost in battle horse or bow or anything else whatsoever, another was straightway provided in its place by Belisarius); and in his treatment of the peasants, on the other hand, he won their affection because he shewed so much restraint and such consideration for them that it never fell to their lot to suffer any violence when Belisarius was general — nay, rather, all those whose land was visited by a large body of troops under his command

unexpectedly found that they were enriched; for they always set their own price upon everything sold to the soldiers. And whenever the crops were ripe, Belisarius used to watch closely that the cavalry in passing should not damage any man's grain. Also, when the fruit was ripe on the trees, not a single man was permitted to touch it. Furthermore, he possessed the virtue of self-restraint in a marvellous degree; and hence it was that he never would touch any woman other than his wedded wife. And so, although he took captive such great numbers of women from both the Vandals and the Goths, and such beautiful women as no man in the world, I suppose, has ever seen, he refused to allow any of them to come into his presence or meet him in any other way. In addition to all his other qualities, he was also remarkably shrewd, and in difficult situations he was able with unerring judgment to decide upon the best course of action. Furthermore, in the dangers of war he was both courageous without incurring unnecessary risks and daring to a degree without losing his cool judgment, either striking quickly or holding back his attack upon the enemy according to the requirements of the situation. Nay more, in desperate situations, on the one hand he shewed a spirit which was both full of confidence and unruffled by excitement, and in the fulness of success, on the other hand, he neither gave way to vanity nor rushed into indulgence; at any rate no man ever saw Belisarius intoxicated.

Now as long as he was in command of the Roman army both in Libya and in Italy, he was continually victorious and always acquired whatever lay before him. But when he had been brought back to Byzantium by imperial summons, his ability was recognized still more fully than in previous times and received most generous appreciation. For since by his own outstanding merit in every field he was prominent above all his fellows, and surpassed the generals of all time in the vastness of his wealth and the number of his bodyguards and spearmen, he was naturally looked upon by all officers and soldiers alike as a formidable person. For no one, I am sure, had the hardihood to resist his commands, and his men never refused to carry out whatever orders he gave, both respecting as they did his ability and fearing his power. For he used to equip seven thousand horsemen from his own household, and not one of these was an inferior man, but each of them could claim to stand first in the line of battle and to challenge the best of the enemy. Indeed, when Rome was beleaguered by the Goths, and the Roman elders were watching the progress of the struggle through the various engagements, they marvelled greatly and cried out that one man's household was destroying the power of Theoderic.

So Belisarius, having become, as was noted above, a man of power, both because of the respect accorded him and because of his sound judgment, continued to advise such measures as would prove in the interest of the emperor's cause and to carry out with independent judgment the decisions reached. But the other commanders, being, unlike him, on an equality with

one another, and having no single thought in mind except to make sure of their own personal gain, had already begun both to plunder the Romans and to put the civil population at the mercy of the soldiers, and neither were they themselves any longer giving heed to the requirements of the situation, nor could they secure obedience to their commands on the part of the soldiers. Consequently, many blunders were committed by them, and the entire fabric of the Roman power was utterly destroyed in a short space of time. And I shall now proceed to recount the story of these events as best I can.

When Ildibadus learned that Belisarius had departed from Ravenna and was on his way, he began to gather about him all the barbarians and as many of the Roman soldiers as were inclined to favour a revolution. And he sought by every means to strengthen his rule, and laboured diligently to recover for the Gothic nation the sovereignty of Italy. Now at the first not more than a thousand men followed him and they held only one city, Ticinum, but little by little all the inhabitants of Liguria and Venetia came over to his side.

Now there was a certain Alexander in Byzantium who held the office of comptroller of the state treasury; this official the Romans call “logothete,” using a Greek name. This man was always making charges against the soldiers for the losses they caused to the treasury of the state. And by subjecting them to trial for offences of this sort, he on his part quickly rose from obscurity to fame and from poverty to immense wealth, and not only this, but he also succeeded in collecting great sums of money for the emperor, surpassing all predecessors in this; but it was he, more than any other man, who was chiefly responsible for the deterioration of the army, in that the soldiers were both few and poor and reluctant to face the perils of war. The Byzantines indeed went so far as to call him by the name “Snips,” because it was an easy feat for him to cut off the edge all around a golden coin, and while thus making it as much smaller as he wished, still to preserve the circular shape it originally had. For they call the tool with which such work is done “snips.” This Alexander, then, it was whom the emperor sent to Italy after summoning Belisarius to return. And directly upon his arrival at Ravenna, he published an altogether unreasonable financial reckoning. For though the Italians had neither laid hands upon the emperor’s money nor committed any offence against the state, he summoned them, first of all, to face an investigation, laying to their charge the wrongs they had done Theoderic and the other Gothic rulers, and compelling them to pay whatever gains they had made, as he alleged, by deceiving the Goths. In the second place, he disappointed the soldiers by the niggardliness of the reckoning with which he repaid them for their wounds and dangers. Hence not only did the Italians become disaffected from the Emperor Justinian, but not one of the soldiers was willing any longer to undergo the dangers of war, and by wilfully refusing to fight, they caused the strength of the enemy to grow continually greater.

While the other commanders were remaining quiet on account of this situation, Vitalius alone (for he happened to have in Venetia a numerous army comprising with others a great throng of barbarian Eruli) had the courage to do battle with Ildibadus, fearing, as actually happened, that at a later time when his power had grown greatly they would be no longer able to check him. But in the fierce battle which took place near the city of Tarbesium, Vitalius was badly defeated and fled, saving some few men, but losing the most of them there. In this battle many Eruli fell and among them Visandus, the leader of the Eruli, was killed. And Theudimund, the son of Mauricius and grandson of Mundus, a mere lad at the time, came indeed into danger of death, but succeeded in making his escape in company with Vitalius. As a result of this achievement the name of Ildibadus reached the emperor and spread over the whole world.

But after a time it so fell out that enmity sprang up between Uraïas and Ildibadus for the following reason. Uraïas had a wife who in wealth and personal beauty was adjudged first among all the women of these barbarians. This woman once went down to the bath clad in great magnificence of ornament and taking with her a very notable company of attendants. And seeing the wife of Ildibadus there in plain garments, she not only did her no obeisance as the consort of the king but otherwise too ignored and did her insult. For Ildibadus was still in poverty, having by no means come into royal wealth. And the wife of Ildibadus, being very much offended by the uncalled-for insult, came to her husband in tears and demanded that he avenge her for the outrageous treatment she had received from the wife of Uraïas. Accordingly Ildibadus first slandered Uraïas to the barbarians, imputing to him that he was intending to desert to the enemy, but a little later he put him to death by treachery, and thereby incurred the enmity of the Goths. For it was by no means in accordance with their wish that Uraïas should be thus unceremoniously removed from the world. And forthwith a large number of them formed a party and began to denounce Ildibadus vehemently as having committed an unholy deed. However, no one was willing to exact vengeance from him for this murder.

But there was one among them, Velas by name, who, though a Gepid by birth, had attained the dignity of serving among the king's guards. This man had wooed a woman fair to look upon, and he loved her with an extraordinary love; but while he was off on an expedition against the enemy, in order to make some attack upon them in company with certain others, Ildibadus, meantime, either through ignorance or prompted by some other motive, married his intended bride to someone else among the barbarians. And when Velas, returning from the army, heard this, being passionate by nature, he could not bear the insult thus done him, but decided immediately to kill Ildibadus, thinking that he would thereby render a welcome service to all the Goths. And so, when the king on a certain occasion was entertaining the

noblest of the Goths at a banquet, he watched for an opportunity and put his plot into execution. For while the king is dining, it is customary for many persons to stand about him and among them his bodyguards. So when he had stretched out his hand to the food as he lay reclining upon the couch, Velas suddenly smote his neck with his sword. And so, while the food was still grasped in the man's fingers, his head was severed and fell upon the table, and filled all those present with great consternation and amazement. Such, then, was the vengeance which overtook Ildibadus for the murder of Uraïas. And the winter drew to a close and the sixth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [541 A.D.]

Ἐράριχος δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ Ῥογὸς μὲν γένος, δύναμιν δὲ περιβεβλημένος ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην. οἱ δὲ Ῥογοὶ οὗτοι ἔθνος μὲν εἰσι Γοτθικόν, αὐτόνομοί τε τὸ παλαιὸν ἐβίου. [2] Θευδερίχου δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐταιρισσάμενον σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἔθνεσιν, ἔς τε τὸ Γότθων ἀπεκέκριντο γένος καὶ ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους ἅπαντα ἔπρασσον. [3] γυναιξὶ μέντοι ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμιγνύμενοι ἀλλοτρίαις, ἀκραϊφνέσι παίδων διαδοχαῖς τὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διεσώσαντο. [4] τοῦτον Ἐράριχον, ἐπεὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰδιβάδου φόνῳ καθεστήκει τὰ πράγματα, βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οἱ Ῥογοὶ ἀνείπον. [5] ὅπερ τοῖς Γότθοις οὐδαμῶς ἥρεσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πολλὴν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀθυμίαν κατέστησαν ἅτε τῶν ἐλπίδων σφίσι διεφθαρμένων ἄσπερ ἐπὶ Ἰδιβάδῳ τὰ πρότερα ἔσχον, ὃς δὴ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ Ἰταλίας κράτος Γότθοις ἀνασώσασθαι ἱκανὸς ἦν. [6] Ἐράριχος μέντοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔδρασε: μῆνας γὰρ πέντε ἐπιβιὸς ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [7] Τουτίλας ἦν τις, Ἰδιβάδου ἀνεψιός, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνέσεως ἦκον καὶ τὸ δραστήριον ὡς μάλιστα ἔχων καὶ λόγου ἐν Γότθοις πολλοῦ ἄξιος. οὗτος ὁ Τουτίλας Γότθων μὲν τῆνικαῦτα τῶν ἐν Ταρβησίῳ ἄρχων ἐτύγγανεν. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι Ἰδιβάδον οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπύθετο, πέμψας πρὸς Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, τὰ πιστὰ οἱ δοθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐδεῖτο, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὧν ἦρχε, ζὺν Ταρβησίῳ παραδώσει Ῥωμαίοις. [9] ἅπερ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀσμένως ἀκούσας ὡμοσεν ἅπαντα καθάπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤτησε, τακτὴ τε ἡμέρα ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀμφοτέροις ξυνέκειτο, ἐν ᾗ ἔμελλε Τουτίλας τε καὶ Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Ταρβησίῳ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τινὰς τῶν Κωνσταντιανῶ ἐπιτηδεῖων καὶ σφᾶς γε αὐτοὺς ζὺν αὐτῇ ἐγχειρίσαι. [10] Ἦδη δὲ Γότθοι τῇ Ἐραρίχου ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο, οὐκ ἀξιοχρεῶν τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρῶντες τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκάκιζον ἅτε μεγάλων ἔργων ἐμπόδιον γεγονότα σφίσιν, ὅτι δὴ ἐκποδὼν Ἰδιβάδον πεποιήται. [11] τέλος δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες πέμπουσι παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐς Ταρβήσιον, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακαλοῦτες. πολὺν γὰρ ἤδη πόθον τῆς Ἰδιβάδου ἀρχῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸν ἐκείνου ξυγγενὴ ἔτρεπον, εὐέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενόμενοι τῷ βούλεσθαι ταῦτα. [12] ὁ δὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκουσιν ἀντικρυς τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογίαν ἀποκαλύψας ἔφασκεν ὡς, ἦν Γότθοι Ἐράριχον τῆς κυρίας ἐντὸς κτείνουσιν,

ἔψεται τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντα ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσει ἢ αὐτοὶ βούλονται. [13] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς τὴν Ἑραρίχου καταστροφὴν εἶχοντο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. [14] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τῆς τῶν πολέμιων ἀπολαύοντες ἀσχολίας οὔτε ξυνίσταντο οὔτε τι δρᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους διανοοῦντο. [15] Ἑράριχος δὲ Γότθους ἅπαντας συγκαλέσας πρέσβεις ἀνέπεισε πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι, δεησομένους ἐφ' ᾧ εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεται, ἐφ' οἷσπερ Οὐιτιγίδι τὰ πρότερα σπένδεσθαι ἤθελεν: ὥστε τὰ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ Γότθους ἔχοντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι Ἰταλίας τῆς ἄλλης. [16] καὶ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ταῦτα ἐπήνεσαν, ἀπολέξας τινὰς τῶν οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων, πρέσβεις ἐπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ Καβαλλάριον ὄνομα. [17] οἱ δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα ταῦτα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ πράξιν ἔμελλον ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸς βασιλέα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως χρήματά τε αὐτὸς πολλὰ λήψεται καὶ ἐς πατρικίους ἀνάγραπτος εἶη ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς ζύμπασαν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατάθοιτο σχῆμα. [18] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐγένοντο, κατὰ ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. ἐν τούτῳ Γότθοι Ἑράριχον κτείνουσι δόλῳ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν Τουτίλας.

II

THERE was a certain Eraric in the Gothic army, one of the Rogi by birth, a man possessed of great power among these barbarians. Now these Rogi are indeed a Gothic nation, but in ancient times they used to live as an independent people. But Theoderic had early persuaded them, along with certain other nations, to form an alliance with him, and they were absorbed into the Gothic nation and acted in common with them in all things against their enemies. But since they had absolutely no intercourse with women other than their own, each successive generation of children was of unmixed blood, and thus they had preserved the name of their nation among themselves. This Eraric, in the midst of the turmoil consequent upon the murder of Ildibadus, was suddenly proclaimed king by the Rogi. This act pleased the Goths not at all; however, the most of them had in fact fallen into great despondence be-

cause the hopes they had formerly placed in Ildibadus had been frustrated; for he, they felt, would have been able to recover the kingdom and the sovereignty of Italy for the Goths. Eraric, however, did nothing at all worthy of note; for after living in office five months he died in the following manner. There was a certain Totila, a nephew of Ildibadus, a man gifted with remarkable discretion, energetic in the extreme, and held in high esteem among the Goths. This Totila happened at that time to be in command of the Goths in Tarbesium. But when he learned that Ildibadus had been removed from among men in the manner described, he sent to Constantianus at Ravenna asking that pledges be given him for his safety, on condition that he hand over to the Romans both himself and the Goths whom he commanded along with Tarbesium. This proposal Constantianus heard gladly and swore to everything just as Totila requested, and a fixed day for the transaction was agreed upon by both, on which Totila and the Goths who were keeping guard in Tarbesium were to receive into the city some of the associates of Constantianus and put themselves and the city into their hands.

But already the Goths were becoming dissatisfied with the rule of Eraric, seeing the man to be incompetent to carry on the war against the Romans, and the most of them were openly abusing him as one who had stood in their way to great achievements, alleging that he had done away with Ildibadus. And finally they made an agreement among themselves and sent to Totila at Tarbesium, urging him to assume the royal power. For by now they were beginning to feel generally a keen sense of regret for the lost rule of Ildibadus, and so they began to turn their hope of victory toward his relative Totila, having come to feel confidence in the man because his wish was the same as theirs. As for Totila, when the messengers came before him, he, without any concealment, disclosed his agreement with the Romans, but said that, if the

Goths should kill Eraric before the appointed day, he would both follow them and carry out everything in accordance with their desires. When the barbarians heard this, they set about forming a plot to compass the destruction of Eraric. Such was the progress of events in the Gothic camp.

But in the meantime the Roman armies, though enjoying security as a result of the preoccupation of the enemy, were neither moving to unite their forces, nor were they planning any action against the barbarians. As for Eraric, he called together all the Goths and persuaded them to send envoys to the Emperor Justinian, who should beg him to make peace with them on the same terms on which he had been willing previously to conclude a treaty with Vittigis, on the condition, namely, that the Goths, holding the territory north of the Po, should withdraw from the rest of Italy. And since this was approved by the Goths, he chose out some of those especially intimate with him, including one Caballarius by name, and sent them as envoys. Now these envoys were ostensibly to treat of those matters which I have mentioned above, but secretly he instructed them to treat with the emperor of nothing else than how he might himself receive a great sum of money and be enrolled among the patricians in return for handing over the whole of Italy and laying aside his official title. So the envoys, upon reaching Byzantium, proceeded to treat of these matters. It was at this time that the Goths killed Eraric by treachery. And after his death, Totila took over the rule in accordance with the agreement made with them.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε τὰ τε ἅμφί Ἑραρίχῳ ξυνενεχθέντα καὶ ὅτι Γότθοι Τουτίλαν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσαντο, κακίζων τε καὶ ἐρεσχελῶν τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας οὐκέτι ἀνίει. [2] διὸ δὴ φυλακτῆρια καταστησάμενοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ Βέσσας καὶ Βιτάλιος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξυνελέγοντο, οὗ δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη, διατριβὴν εἶχον. [3] ἐπειδὴ τε ἅπαντες ξυνελέγησαν, ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βερώνῃ, ἣ ἐν Βενεταίᾳ ἐστὶ, στρατεῦσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτὴν τε καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξέλωσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τε Τουτίλαν καὶ Τικινούς ἰέναι. [4] οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ξυνεΐλεκτο, ἄρχοντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἑνδεκα ἦσαν, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἐτύγγανον Κωνσταντινιανὸς τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οἱ καὶ εὐθὺς πόλεως Βερώνης ἐχώρουν. [5] γενόμενοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῇ ταύτῃ πεδίῳ. τούτου γὰρ πανταχόσε τοῦ χωρίου πεδία ἱππῆλατά ἐστι, διήκοντα ἐς Μάντουαν πόλιν, ἥπερ διέχει πόλεως Βερώνης ἡμέρας ὁδῷ. [6] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Βενέτοις ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Μαρκιανὸς ὄνομα, ὅσπερ ἐν φρουρίῳ μὲν κατῴκητο πόλεως Βερώνης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχων τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [7] καί, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν τις φυλάκων ἐκ παιδὸς γνῶριμος, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα δέξασθαι. [8] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὡμολόγει ὁ τῶν πυλῶν φύλαξ, πέμπει τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν πράξαντας ὁ

Μαρκιανὸς παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε
ξυγκείμενα ἐσαγγείλωσι καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσβάλλωσι νύκτωρ. [9]
ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ξύμφορον εἶναι προτερῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἓνα ξὺν ὀλίγοις
τισίν· ἦν δέ γε ὁ φύλαξ αὐτοῖς ἀνακλίνη τὰς πύλας, ἔχεσθαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ
πόλει ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸν στρατὸν δέξασθαι. [10] τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων
ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ μόνος Ἀρμένιος μὲν
γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὗτι ἀκουσίως
καθῆκεν αὐτόν. [11] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Περσῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς
Βυζάντιον ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν γῆς σὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ὀλίγω ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγχανε
πέμψας, τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐξελὼν φρούριον. [12] τότε δὲ ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐκ τοῦ
παντὸς στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἁworὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου
ἐγένετο. [13] καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ φύλαξ ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο ἀνεπέτασε σφίσι τὰς πύλας, οἱ
μὲν τινες ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶτες τὸ στράτευμα μετεπέμποντο, οἱ δὲ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ
τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ταύτη φυλάσσοντας ἔκτειναν ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες. [14]
ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι ἅπαντες ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ, διὰ πυλῶν ἐτέρων φεύγοντες
ῥχοντο. Πέτρα δὲ τις ἐς ἄγαν ὑψηλὴ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέχει, ὅθεν ἅπαντα
κατανοεῖν πάρεστι τὰ ἐν Βερῶνῃ πρασσόμενα καὶ ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς ταύτη
ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὄρᾶν. [15] ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι
καταφυγόντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἡσύχαζον. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων
τεσσαράκοντα τῆς πόλεως ἦκον οὐκέτι ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
χρημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀμφισβητούντων τῶν στρατηγῶν. [16] ἔτι τε αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ
ταύτη διαμαχομένων τῇ λείᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τε ἤδη διαφανῶς γέγονε καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ἀπὸ
τῆς ἄκρας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανεοηκότες τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολεμίων καὶ
ὅσον Βερῶνῃς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα διέχον εἰστήκει, δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἐχώρουν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πυλῶν ὅθεν ἀπαλλαγέντες πρότερον ἔτυχον· οὐδὲ γὰρ
αὐτῶν οἱ ἐσεληλυθότες ἔχεσθαι ἴσχυσαν. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν
ξυμφρονήσαντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις κατέφυγον, τῶν δὲ
βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀρταβάζης
πάντων μάλιστα ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐνδεικνύμενοι καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας
ἡμύνοντο. [18] Καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν
Βερῶνῃ χρημάτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διοικησάμενοι παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ
τὴν πόλιν χωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [19] ἀποκεκλεισμένους δὲ σφίσι τὰς πύλας εὐρόντες
ἰσχυρότάτα τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνομένους ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἀπήλαινον,
καίπερ μαχομένους ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς ἐτέρους θεώμενοι καὶ
δεομένους μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν, ἕως ἂν καταφυγόντες ἐς
αὐτοὺς σώζοιντο. [20] διὸ δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζην τῷ τε πλήθει βιαζόμενοι
τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπικουρίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ
τείχους ἔξω ἤλαντο ἅπαντες. [21] οἷς μὲν οὖν καταπεσεῖν ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ χωρίου
ξυνέβη, οὗτοι δὴ ἀθῶοι ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ
Ἀρταβάζης ἦν· ὅσοι μέντοι ἐς δυσχωρίας κατέπεσον, αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες
διεφθάρησαν. [22] ἐπεὶ τε Ἀρταβάζης ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθε, πολλὰ
τε ὀνειδίσας καὶ λοιδορησάμενος ἅπασιν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦει, τὸν τε Ἡριδανὸν
διαβάντες ἐν Φαβεντία πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἡ χώρας μὲν τῆς Αἰμιλίας ἐστί,
σταδίους δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ῥαβέννης διέχει.

III

Now when the Emperor Justinian learned of the fate which had befallen Eraric and that the Goths had established Totila as ruler over them, he began to rebuke and censure the commanders of the army in Italy and gave them no respite. The consequence of this was that John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Bessas and Vitalius and all the others, after establishing garrisons in each city, gathered at Ravenna, where Constantianus and Alexander, whom I have mentioned previously, were quartered. And when they were all gathered together, it was decided that the best procedure for them was to march first against Verona, which is in Venetia, and then, after capturing that city and the Goths there, to move against Totila and Ticinum. So this Roman army was assembled with a strength of twelve thousand men, and its commanders were eleven in number, the first of whom were, as it happened, Constantianus and Alexander; and they marched straight toward the city of Verona. And when they had come to a place close to the city, about sixty stades away, they made camp in the plain there. For plains which are suitable for cavalry stretch out in every direction from this place and extend as far as the city of Mantua, which is one day's journey distant from the city of Verona.

Now there was a man of note among the Veneti, Marcian by name, who lived in a fortress not far distant from the city of Verona, and being as he was a staunch adherent of the emperor, he eagerly undertook to band over the city to the Roman army. And since one of the guards had been known to him from childhood, he sent to him some of his intimates and persuaded the man by means of a bribe to receive the emperor's army into the city. Then, when the guard of the gate had agreed, Marcian sent those who had arranged the matter with the guard to the commanders of the Roman army, in order both to report to them the arrangements made and to join them in forcing an entrance into the city by night. The commanders then decided that it was advisable for one of their number to go in advance with some few men; and if the guard should set the gates open for them, they were to hold them fast and receive the army in safety into the city. Now no one among them all was willing to undertake this perilous enterprise except Artabazes alone, an Armenian by birth but a man of exceptional ability in war, who not at all unwillingly offered himself for the undertaking. This man commanded some Persians whom Belisarius had, as it happened, sent to Byzantium from Persian territory along with Bleschames a little before this, after his capture of the fortress Sisauranon. So he on the present occasion selected one hundred men from the whole army and at a late hour of the night went up close to the fortifications. And when the guard, true to his agreement, opened the gate for them, some of them took their stand there and were urging the army to come, while the others mounted the wall and killed the men on guard there, assailing them as they did without

warning. Then the whole Gothic force, upon perceiving their evil plight, rushed off in flight through another gate.

Now there is a certain rock which rises to a great height facing the fortifications of Verona, from which it is possible to observe everything which is taking place in the city and to count the people in it, and, besides, to see for a very great distance over the plain. Thither the Goths retreated and remained quiet during the whole night. As for the Roman army, it advanced to a point within forty stades of the city, but proceeded no further, the generals being engaged in a dispute among themselves over the money in the city. And they still continued to wrangle over this plunder until day had now clearly dawned; but the Goths, after observing accurately from the height both the number of the enemy scattered through the city and the distance at which the rest of the army had halted from Verona, made a rush toward the city, and passed through the very gate through which, as it happened, they had previously departed; for those who had entered the city were unable even to hold this gate. So the Romans, taking counsel together, hastily sought safety on the parapet along the circuit-wall; and when the barbarians in great numbers assailed them at close quarters, they all, and Artabazes especially, made a display of remarkable deeds and warded off their assailants most vigorously.

At that moment the commanders of the Roman army had at last reached an agreement with each other regarding the money in Verona, and decided to proceed against the city with all the rest of the army. But finding the gates closed to them and the enemy warding them off most vigorously, they quickly marched to the rear, although they saw the others fighting inside the fortifications and begging them not to abandon them, but to remain there until they should save themselves by fleeing to them. So Artabazes and his men, being overcome by the numbers of the enemy and despairing of assistance from their own army, all leaped down outside the wall. Now all those who had the fortune to fall on smooth ground betook themselves unscathed to the Roman army, among whom was Artabazes also, but as many as fell on rough ground were all killed instantly. And when Artabazes had reached the Roman army, he proceeded with them, having heaped abuse and contumely upon them all; and after crossing the Eridanus, they entered the city of Faventia, which is in the land of Aemilia, one hundred and twenty stades distant from Ravenna.

Τουτίλας δὲ τὰ ἐν Βερώνῃ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν Γότθων τε τῶν ἐκ Βερώνης πολλοὺς μετεπέμπετο, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήσαν, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, ἕς πεντακισχιλίουσ ὄντι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦει. ὁ δὲ μαθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. [2] καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρταβάξης ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ὑμεῖς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, ὑπερφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε ἡμῶν τῷ πλήθει ἐλασσομένων τανῶν ἀξιούτω, μηδέ, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Βελισαρίῳ δεδουλωμένους ἀγωνίζεται, λογισμῷ ἀναπεπτωκότι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἴτω. [3] πολλοὶ

γὰρ δόξῃ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ ἐξηπατημένοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔσφηλαν, καὶ καταφρόνημά
τισιν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι γινόμενον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καταλῦσαι δύναμιν
ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἢ προλαβοῦσα κακοπραγία τοῦσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς
εὐτυχίαν παρακαλεῖ. [4] τύχη γὰρ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθοῦσα ἐς
εὐτολμίας ὑπερβολὴν περιίσταται. [5] καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ὑποψία τανῦν ἡγμένος ἐν
ὑμῖν εἶρηκα, ἀλλ' οἷς διακινδυνεύσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔναγχος ἐκμεμάθηκα τὴν
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόλμαν. [6] καὶ με νομιζέτω μηδεὶς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἡσσηθέντα
τῶν πολεμίων θαυμάσαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ καὶ πλήθει
ὑπεραιρόντων καὶ τούτῳ ἐλασσομένων τοῖς γε πρὸς αὐτοὺς
διαμαχησομένοις ἐνδηλος γίνεται. [7] οἶμαι τοίνυν ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν τοῦ
ποταμοῦ τηρήσας τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ἡμισυ
διαβαίνουσιν, ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἢ πᾶσιν ἀθρώοις ἤδη γεγεννημένοις. [8] μηδενὶ τε
ἄδοξος εἶναι ἢ τοιαύτῃ δεδόχθω νίκη. δόξαν τε γὰρ καὶ ἄδοξίαν ἢ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀπόβασις ὀνομάζειν φιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότας εἰώθασιν
ἐπαινεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐ διερευνώμενοι τῆς [9] νίκης τὸν τρόπον.' Ἀρταβάζης
μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄρχοντες τῷ διαμαχομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν
δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔπρασσον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένοντες τὸν καιρὸν ἔτριβον. [10] Ἦδη δὲ
ὁ τῶν Γόθων στρατὸς ἄγχιστα ἐγγέγονει, καὶ ἐπεὶ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν
ἔμελλον, ξυγκαλέσας Τουτίλας ἅπαντας τοιαῦτα παρεκελεύσατο: 'Αἱ μὲν
ἄλλαι ξύμπασαι μάχαι, ὧ ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, ὁμοίαν τινὰ μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
πλείστον ἐπαγγελλούμεναι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὁρμῶσιν, ἡμεῖς
δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι
χρῶμενοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάμεθα τόνδε. [11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡσσηθέντες, ἂν
οὕτω τύχοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔξουσιν. ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς
ὀχυρώμασιν Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης πλῆθος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέλειπται καὶ
ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπιβοηθήσειν οὐδὲν ἀπεικός.
ἡμῶν δὲ ταῦτο τοῦτο παθόντων τὸ Γόθων ὄνομα μετὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος
ἀπολωλέναι λελείνεται. [12] ἐκ μυριάδων γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμᾶς
ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβέβηκε. τοσαῦτα ὑπειπὼν κάκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι οὐκ ἀπὸ
τρόπου οἶομαι εἶναι, ὥς ἥνικα μὲν ξὺν Ἰλδιβάδῳ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν βασιλεῖ
ἔγνωτε, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑμῖν οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς χιλίους ξυμβιοῦν ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ χώρα
περίστατο ξύμπασα ἐς Τικινὸν πόλιν. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ξυμβολῇ γεγόνате
κρείσσους, ἐπίπροσθεν ἡμῖν τά τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς χώρας κεχώρηκεν.
ὥστε ἦν καὶ νῦν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, προϊόντος, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,
τοῦ πολέμου πάμπαν κρατήσιν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλπίδα ἔχω. [14] τοῖς γὰρ
νενικηκόσιν αἰεὶ τὸ πλείοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει.
προθυμείσθω τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος παντὶ σθένει τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖν
τὴν μάχην ἐξεπιστάμενος τὴν νῦν οὐκ εὐδοκιμηκόσιν ἡμῖν ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμήχανον. [15] ἄξιον δὲ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀδικίᾳ θαρροῦντας. [16] οὕτω γὰρ
αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τοὺς κατηκούς βεβίωται ὥστε Ἰταλιώταις τανῦν τῆς
τετολμημένης οὐ δέον αὐτοῖς ἐς Γόθους προδοσίας κολάσεως οὐδεμιᾶς
ἐτέρας προσδεῖ. οὕτω ξυλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ξύμπαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ κακὰ πρὸς τῶν
ὑποδεχθέντων γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. [17] τί δ' ἂν πολεμίων εὐαλωτότερον γένοιτο

οἷς γε τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ δῆτα πεπραγμένα οὐχ ὑγιῶς ἔχει· καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει εὐέλπιδας ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα γίνεσθαι πρέποι. [18] οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνθρώπων χωροῦμεν ἢ ὅσοι ἐναγχος ἐν μέσῃ Βερώνῃ γενόμενοι μεθέντες τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, καίπερ διώκοντος τῶν πάντων αὐτοὺς οὐδενός, οὕτω δὴ αἰσχυρῶς ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο.' [19] Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας παρακελευσάμενος τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τριακοσίους ἐκέλευεν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντας, κατόπισθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένηται, κατὰ νότου αὐτῶν ἰόντας βάλλειν τε καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ξυνταραχθέντες οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μνήσονται. [20] αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς εὐθὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐχώρει· [21] οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐθὺς ὑπηντίαζον. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀμφοτέρω ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐγγυτέρω ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, Οὐάλαρις ὄνομα, μέγας τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ εἶδος φοβερός ἄγαν, ἔτι μέντοι δραστήριός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἔστη, θεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προῦκαλεῖτο, εἴ τις οἱ βούλοιο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [22] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι κατωρρωδικότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη μόνος. [23] ἄμφω τοῖνυν τὸ ἵππῳ κατ' ἀλλήλοιν ἐλάσαντε, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο, τὰ δόρατα ὥθουν, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ προτερήσας ἔφθασε τὸν Οὐάλαριν ἐς πλευράν τὴν δεξιάν παίσας. [24] ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος καιρίαν τυπεῖς ὑπτιος ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ οἱ τὸ δόρυ ἐξόπισθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς ἐρεισθὲν πεσεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδαμῇ εἶα. [25] ὁ δὲ Ἀρταβάζης ἐνέκειτο ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ δόρυ ἐς τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὠθῶν ἔγκατα. οὐπῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἁλῶναι καιρίᾳ πληγῇ ὑπετόπαζεν. [26] οὕτω τε ξυνέβη Οὐαλάριδος τὸ τοῦ δόρατος ἄκρον σιδήριον σχεδόν τι ὀρθὸν γεγεννημένον τοῦ Ἀρταβάζου θώρακος ἅπτεσθαι, κατὰ βραχὺ τε προῖον διελθεῖν μὲν τὸν θώρακα ὅλον, ὀλισθῆσαν δὲ τοῦ δέρματος ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζου αὐχένα ψαῦσαι. [27] τύχη τέ τινι ἀρτηριάν ἐνταυθα πη οὖσαν ἐπίπροσθεν ἰὼν ὁ σίδηρος τέμνει, καὶ ρύσις αὐτίκα πολλοῦ αἵματος ἦν. [28] αἵσθησις δὲ ὀδύνης οὐδεμίᾳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνεν, [29] Οὐάλαρις δὲ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε. καὶ Ἀρταβάζης δέ, τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέτι λωφήσαντος, τρίτῃ ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Ῥωμαίοις τε κατέσεισε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε ἀπόμαχος ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενος οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὰ πράγματα αὐτὸς ἔσφηλεν. [30] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω βελῶν γεγονῶς τοῦ τραύματος ἐπεμελεῖτο, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα ἄμφω ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [31] Καρτερᾶς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς οἱ τριακόσιοι βάρβαροι κατόπισθεν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐφάνησαν, οὓς δὴ κατιδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν σφίσι μαχομένων οἰόμενοι ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἔπεσον καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο, [32] ὥσπερ ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. φεύγοντάς τε οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔκτεινον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ζωγρήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα ξύμπαντα ἔλαβον, ὅπερ οὐπῶ πρότερον Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε. τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔφευγε, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅπῃ ἔτυχον διασωθέντες ἐφύλασσον.

IV

TOTILA, upon learning what had taken place at Verona, summoned many of the Goths from that city, and upon their arrival moved with his whole army, amounting to five thousand men, against his opponents. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned this, they began to deliberate over their situation. And Artabazes came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow-commanders, let no one of you think fit at the present time to despise the enemy because they are inferior to us in number, nor, because he is fighting against men enslaved by Belisarius, let him advance against them in a reckless frame of mind. For many a man, deceived by a false estimate of a situation, has brought about his own downfall, while others who have been filled with unjustified contempt of their foes have seen their whole power ruined thereby; and even apart from this, the very fact of their previous ill fortune lures these men on to attain a fairer lot. For when fortune has reduced a man to despair and robbed him of his fair hopes, it changes his nature and leads him to feel an extraordinary degree of daring. And it is not because I am moved by mere suspicion that I have made these statements before you, but because of the thorough acquaintance I have recently made with the daring of these men while engaged in mortal combat with them. And let no one think that I now marvel at their power because I was defeated along with a handful of men. For it is to those who shall come to blows with them that men's valour becomes revealed, whether those men are superior in number or inferior. My opinion then is that it will be more to our advantage to watch for the crossing of the river by the barbarians, and, while the crossing is in progress, and about half their men are across, to engage with them then, rather than after they have already assembled, all in one body. And let no man consider such a victory inglorious. For the outcome of events alone is wont to decide whether a deed shall be named glorious or inglorious, and it is the victors whom men are accustomed to praise without investigating the manner of the victory." So spoke Artabazes. But the commanders, owing to the divergence of their opinions, did nothing that they should, but continued to remain where they were and lose their opportunity by delay.

And now the army of the Goths had come very near, and when they were about to cross the river, Totila called them all together and exhorted them as follows: "My kinsmen, all other battles give promise, as a general thing, of a contest that will be more or less even and thereby incite the contending armies to the struggle, but we are entering this combat, not on an equality with our enemy as regards the advantages of fortune, but facing a very different situation. For they, even in case of a possible defeat, will be able after no long time to renew the fight against us. For there is left behind for them a numerous army quartered in the strongholds throughout the whole of Italy,

and, furthermore, it is not at all improbable that another army will at a very early date come to their assistance from Byzantium. But if we, on the other hand, suffer this same fate, there will be a final end of the name and hopes of the Goths. For from an army of two hundred thousand we have been reduced in the course of events to five thousand men. Having made such a preface, I think it not inappropriate to recall to your minds this fact also, that when you decided to take up arms with Ildibadus against the emperor, the number of your band amounted to no more than one thousand men, while your entire territory consisted of the city of Ticinum. But since you came off victors in the engagement, both our army and our territory have increased. So that if you are willing in this battle to display the same spirit of manly courage, I am hopeful that, as the war goes on, following its natural course, we shall accomplish the complete defeat of our opponents. For it always proves true that the victors increase both in numbers and in power. Let each one of you, therefore, be eager to join battle with the enemy with all your strength, understanding clearly that if we do not succeed in the present battle, it will be impossible to renew the struggle against our opponents. It is reasonable, furthermore, for us to grapple with the enemy with high hopes, taking courage from the unjust acts committed by them. For such has been their conduct towards their subjects that the Italians at the present time need no further punishment for the flagrant treason which they dared to commit against the Goths; so true is it that every form of evil, to put all in a word, has fallen to their lot from the hands of those whom they cordially received. And what enemy could be more easy to overcome than men whose deeds, even those done in God's name, are utterly wicked? Nay more, the very fear we inspire in them should properly be a further cause for confidence on our part as we enter the struggle. For those against whom we proceed are no other men than those who recently first penetrated into the middle of Verona, then abandoned it for no good reason, and, although not a man pursued them, yet even so rushed off in a disgraceful flight."

After delivering this exhortation Totila commanded three hundred of his troops to cross the river at a distance of about twenty stades from where he stood and get behind the enemy's camp, and when the battle should come to close quarters, to fall upon their rear, harassing them with their missiles and assailing them with all their strength, in order that the Romans might be thrown into confusion and abandon all thought of resistance. He himself, meanwhile, with the rest of the army straightway crossed the river and advanced directly upon his opponents; and the Romans immediately came out to meet him. And when, as both armies advanced, they came nearer to each other, a Goth, Valaris by name, tall of stature and of most terrifying mien, an active man withal and a good fighter, rode his horse out before the rest of the army and took his stand in the open space between the armies, clad in a corselet and wearing a helmet on his head; and he challenged all the Romans,

if anyone was willing to do battle with him. Whereupon all remained quiet, being stricken with terror, save Artabazes alone, who advanced to fight the man. So they rode their horses toward each other, and when they came close, both thrust their spears, but Artabazes, anticipating his opponent, delivered the first blow and pierced the right side of Valaris. And the barbarian, mortally wounded, was about to fall backward to the earth, but his spear, resting on the ground behind him and being braced against a rock, did not permit him to fall. As for Artabazes, he continued to press forward still more vigorously, driving the spear into the man's vitals; for as yet he did not suppose that he had already suffered a mortal wound. Thus it came about that Valaris' spear stood practically upright and its iron point encountered the corselet of Artabazes, and first, entering little by little, it went clear through the corselet, and then, slipping further, grazed the skin of Artabazes' neck. And by some chance the iron, as it pushed forward, cut an artery which lies in that region, and there was immediately a great flow of blood. However, the man experienced no feeling of pain, and he rode back to the Roman army, while Valaris fell dead on the spot. But the flow of blood from Artabazes' wound did not abate and on the third day afterwards he departed from among men; and this mishap shattered all the hopes of the Romans, since he was rendered unfit for fighting in the engagement which followed, and himself injured their cause in no small degree. For while he went out of range of missiles and was caring for his wound, the two armies engaged with each other.

But when the engagement was hottest, the three hundred barbarians suddenly appeared advancing behind the Roman army; and when the Romans saw these men, supposing as they did that their assailants were a great multitude, they fell into a panic and straightway rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. And the barbarians kept up a slaughter of Romans as they fled in complete disorder, and many of them they captured and held under guard, and they captured all the standards besides, a thing which had never before happened to the Romans. As for the commanders, each one of them as he could fled with only a few men, and finding safety in whatever cities they happened to reach they continued to guard them.

Χρόνῳ δὲ Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον στράτευμα ἐπὶ τε Ἰουστίνον καὶ Φλωρεντίαν ἐπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας Γότθων τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπέστησε, Βλέδαν καὶ Ρουδέριχον καὶ Οὐλίαν. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐς Φλωρεντίαν ἦλθον, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [2] Ἰουστίνος δὲ ξυνταραχθεὶς ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσκομισάμενος οὐδὲν ἔτυχεν, ἐπεμψεν ἐς Ῥάβενναν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας, [3] βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενος. νύκτωρ τε ὁ σταλεὶς τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἐς Ῥάβενναν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἀπήγγειλε. [4] διὸ δὴ στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων λόγῳ ἄρ' εὐθὺς ἐς Φλωρεντίαν ἦει, ὃν δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ Κυπριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοὺς ἡγοῦντο ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπύθοντο, [5] λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς χωρίον

Μουκέλλιν ὄνομα, Φλωρεντίας διέχον ἡμέρας ὁδόν. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖον στρατὸς Ἰουστίνῳ ξυνέμιξεν, ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς τῶν αὐτῷ ἐπομένων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ εἶασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν. [7] Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ πορευομένοις ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἓνα παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενον πρόσω ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τοῖς πολεμίους ἀπροσδόκητον ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα σχολῇ βαδίζον ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι. κλήρους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμβεβλημένοι τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐκαραδόκουν ἐς τοῦτο γνώμην. [8] ὁ μὲν οὖν κλήρος ἐκπεπῆδηκεν ἐς Ἰωάννην, οὐκέτι δὲ βουλομένοις τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἦν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα. [9] διὸ δὴ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἰωάννης ἠνάγκαστο ἐπίπροσθεν ἰὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον γνόντες τὸ μὲν πεδῖον, οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐτύγγανον, δέει πολλῷ ἀπολιπεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐς λόφον δὲ μέγαν τινὰ ὃς ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ξὺν θορύβῳ ἀνέδραμον. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, ἀναδραμόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔργου εἶχοντο. [11] καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀμυνομένων ὠθισμός τε πολὺς γέγονε καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἔργα ἐνδεικνύμενοι θαυμαστὰ ἐπιπτον. [12] Ἰωάννου δὲ κραυγῇ τε καὶ ταραχῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν πολεμίους ὀρμήσαντος ξυνέβη τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίων ἀκοντίῳ βληθέντα πεσεῖν: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκρουσθέντες ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν. [13] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ἀφικόμενοι φάλαγγά τε ποιησάμενοι ἴσταντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν φυγόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐδέξαντο, ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἂν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίους χωρήσαντες ἐνίκησάν τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἐλεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [14] ἀλλὰ τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνέβη ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον φήμην οὐκ ἀληθῆ περιφέρεσθαι, ὥς δὴ Ἰωάννης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ δορυφόρους ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθεῖη. [15] ἐπεὶ τε ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἦλθε, μένειν ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν αἰσχρὰν τινὰ ξύμπαντες ἦσαν. [16] οὐδὲ γὰρ ξυντεταγμένοι οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυμμορίας τινάς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ὥς πῃ ἐδύνατο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ταύτῃ ἀπώλοντο, ὅσοι μέντοι διεσώθησαν ἡμέρας πολλὰς οὐδαμῇ διωκόμενοι ἔφευγον. [17] χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἔτυχεν ἐς ὀχυρώματά τινα ἐσελθόντες ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἢ ὅτι τεθνεῶς Ἰωάννης εἶη. [18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε ξυνεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀλλήλοις οὔτε ξυνίστασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διεννοοῦντο, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔμενε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμάζε, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴωσι. [19] Τουτίλας δὲ φιλοφροσύνην ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, προσποιεῖσθαι τε αὐτοὺς ἴσχυσε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐθελούσιοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ ἑβδομον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραπεν.

NOT long after this Totila sent an army against Justinus and Florentia, putting in command of the force the most warlike of the Goths, Vledas, Roderic, and Uliaris. And when they came to Florentia, they established themselves in camp about the wall and entered upon a siege. Thereupon Justinus, in great agitation because, as it happened, he had brought no provisions at all into the city, sent to Ravenna to the commanders of the Roman army, begging them to come to his assistance with all speed. And the messenger slipped unobserved through the enemy's lines by night, and upon reaching Ravenna reported the situation which confronted the garrison. As a result of this intelligence a considerable Roman army immediately started on the way to Florentia, under command of Bessas, Cyprian and John the nephew of Vitalian. When the Goths learned of this army through their scouts, they broke up the siege and withdrew to a place called Mucellis, one day's journey distant from Florentia. And when the Roman army had joined forces with Justinus, the commanders left there a few of his men to guard the city, but took the rest along with them and proceeded against the enemy.

And as they proceeded on their way it was decided that the most advantageous plan was for one of the commanders to choose out the most famous fighters in the whole army and with them go in advance of the others, and make a sudden and unexpected attack upon the enemy, while the rest of the army should proceed without quickening its pace and come upon the scene later. So they cast lots with this plan in view and awaited the decision of fortune in the matter. Now the lot fell out for John, but the commanders were no longer willing to carry out the agreement. Thus it was that John was compelled with his own troops alone to go in advance of the others and make an attack upon the enemy. But the barbarians, learning that their opponents were advancing upon them and being greatly terrified, decided to abandon the plain where they had established their camp, and in confusion ran to the top of a high hill which rises near by. And when the force of John arrived there, they too ran up against the enemy and opened the attack. But since the barbarians defended themselves vigorously, a violent struggle took place and many men on both sides, while making a remarkable display of heroism, were beginning to fall. Now though John had led a charge with loud shouting and tumult against the enemy opposite him, it so happened that one of his bodyguards was hit by a javelin thrown by one of the enemy and fell, as a result of this the Romans, now repulsed, began to retire to the rear.

By this time the remainder of the Roman army also had reached the plain, where they formed a phalanx and stood waiting. And if they had stood fast to give support to John's troops, which were now in full flight, they could have

advanced all together upon the enemy, and not only would they have defeated them in the battle, but they would have been able also to capture practically the whole force. But by some chance it so fell out that an untrue report was circulated through the Roman army to the effect that John had perished at the hand of one of his own bodyguards during the action then in progress. And when the report came to the commanders, they were no longer willing to hold their position, but they one and all began to retire in a disgraceful sort of retreat. For neither did they keep their troops in order, nor did they move off in any kind of groups, but each man for himself, just as he could, rushed off in headlong flight. And many indeed perished in this flight, and as for the rest, all such as were saved continued their flight for many days although they were not pursued at all. And some time afterwards they entered such strongholds as each one happened upon, and the report they carried to those they chanced to meet was only this, that John was dead. And consequently they were no longer in contact with each other, nor had they any purpose of uniting thereafter against the enemy, but each remained inside the circuit-wall of his own fort and began to prepare for a siege, fearing that the barbarians would come against him. Totila, meanwhile, was shewing great kindness to his prisoners, and thereby succeeded in winning their allegiance, and henceforth the most of them voluntarily served under him against the Romans. And the winter drew to its close, and the seventh year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [542 A.D.]

Ἐπειτα δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας Καισῆνάν τε καὶ Πέτραν τὰ φρούρια εἶλεν. ὀλίγον τε ὕστερον ἐς Τουσκίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα χωρίων ἀποπειρασάμενος, ἐπεὶ οἱ προσχωρεῖν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, Τίβεριν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐς μὲν τὰ Ῥώμης ὄρια οὐδαμῇ ἦλθεν, ἐς Καμπανοὺς δὲ καὶ Σαμνίτας αὐτίκα ἤκων Βενεβεντὸν πόλιν ἐχυρὰν παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ τεῖχη ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκον ἔκ τε ὀχυροῦ ὀρμώμενον πράγματα Γότθοις παρέχειν δύνηται. [2] μετὰ δὲ Νεαπολίτας πολιορκεῖν ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει, καίπερ ἐπαγωγὰ πολλὰ λέγοντα, ὥς ἥκιστα ἤθελον. Κόνων γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσε, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἰσαύρων χιλίους ἔχων. [3] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἡσύχαζε, πέμψας δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν, Κύμην τε τὸ φρούριον καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ὀχυρώματα εἶλε, χρήματά τε ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι μέγала ἴσχυσε. [4] καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα εὐρῶν οὔτε ὕβρισε καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐλευθέρως ἀφῆκε, μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τε ξυνέσει καὶ φιланθρωπία ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔσχε. Καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ὑπηντίαζεν, ὀλίγους ἀεὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περιπέμπων ἔργα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια ἔπρασσε. [5] Βριττίους μὲν καὶ Λευκανοὺς παρεστήσατο, καὶ Ἀπουλίαν ξὺν Καλαβρία ἔσχε, τοὺς τε δημοσίους φόρους αὐτὸς ἔπρασσε, καὶ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ἀντὶ τῶν τὰ χωρία κεκτημένων ἐφέρετο, καὶ τᾶλλα καθίστη ἅτε τῆς Ἰταλίας γεγωνὸς κύριος. [6] διὸ δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ χρόνοις τοῖς καθήκουσιν οὐ κομιζομένη τὰς συνειθισμένας συντάξεις

χρήματα μεγάλα βασιλεὺς ὤφειλε. [7] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται τῶν τε προσηκόντων ἐκπεπτωκότες καὶ ἐς κινδύνου μέγεθος αὐτῆς ἐλληλοκότες ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον παρεῖχον, ἐν τε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄσμενοι ἔμενον. [8] Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν Ῥάβενναν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ Ῥώμην, Σπολίτιον δὲ Βέσσας, καὶ Ἰουστίνος Φλωρεντιαν, Κυπριανὸς δὲ Περυσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φυγὼν τε καὶ διασωθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε. [9] Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς μαθὼν τε καὶ ἐν ξυμφορᾷ πεπονημένος τῶν Ἰταλίας πραιτωρίων ἑπαρχον Μαξιμίον ὡς τάχιστα κατεστήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιστάτης εἶη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζηται. [10] καὶ οἱ νεῶν ξυνέπεμψε στόλον, Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Θρακῶν Ἡρωδιανός, τῶν δὲ Ἀρμενίων Φάζας Ἴβηρ, Περανίου ἀδελφιδοῦς· ξυνέπλεον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐννοὶ ὀλίγοι. [11] Μαξιμῖνος μὲν οὖν ἄρας ἐκ Βυζαντίου παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς τὴν Ἥπειρον ἤλθεν· ἐνθα δὴ τὸν καιρὸν κατατρίβων ἐκάθητο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [12] ἦν γὰρ πολεμίων ἔργων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δειλὸς τε καὶ μελλητῆς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [13] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον στρατηγὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὃς δὴ τὰ πρότερα ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστράτευε καταλόγου πεζικοῦ ἄρχων. [14] καταπλεύσας οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ Κόνωνά τε καὶ Νεαπολίτας πικρότατα πολιορκεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παντάπασι σπανίζοντας ἤκουσε, βοηθεῖν μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἤθελεν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατεύματα βραχὺ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον εἶπετο, [15] ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας ἐκ Σικελίας ἀπάσης ἀγείρας σίτου τε αὐτὰς ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἔπλει, δόκησιν παρέχων τοῖς ἐναντίοις πάμπόλῳ τι στρατεύματα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι. [16] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. μέγαν γὰρ σφίσιν ἐπιέναι στρατὸν ᾧοντο, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ στόλου πολὺ τι χρῆμα πλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπύθοντο. [17] καὶ εἰ μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺ Νεαπόλεως ἰέναι Δημήτριος ἤθελεν, οἴμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκπληξάι τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντιστατοῦντος. [18] νῦν δὲ κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον καταίρειν μὲν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Ῥώμης καταπλεύσας λιμένα, στρατιώτας ἐνθένδε ἀγείρειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [19] οἱ δὲ ἅτε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἡσσημένοι τε καὶ μέγα δέος ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, ἔπεσθαι Δημητρίῳ ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. διὸ δὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ ἤκουσιν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἰέναι ἠνάγκαστο. [20] Ἦν δὲ τις Δημήτριος ἕτερος, Κεφαληνὸς γένος, ναύτης μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔργων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἀκριβῶς ἔμπειρος, πλεύσας δὲ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐγένετο ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν δόκιμος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτροπον βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Νεαπόλεως κατεστήσατο. [21] ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ χωρίον πολιορκεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀσελγείᾳ πολλῇ ἐχόμενος ἐς τὸν Τουτίλαν συχνὰ ὕβριζε, λίαν τε ἀθυρόγλωσσος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὤφθη. [22] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας Κόνωνος ἐς λέμβον τινὰ λάθρα ἐσβάς ἐτόλμησε παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν Δημήτριον ἰέναι μόνος. [23] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου σωθεὶς τε καὶ ξυγγενόμενος τῷ Δημητρίῳ ἐθάρσυνέ τε μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνήγε. [24] Τουτίλας δὲ τὸν

πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀκούσας δρόμωνας μὲν πολλοὺς ἄριστα πλέοντας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατήρην ἐς τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν οἱ πολέμιοι Νεαπόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου κατέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἅπαντας ἔτρεψε. [25] καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, ἐζώγηρε δὲ πλείστους, διέφυγον δὲ ὅσοι ἐς τῶν νεῶν τοὺς λέμβους ἐσπηδῆσαι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἴσχυσαν, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦν. τὰς γὰρ ναῦς ἀπάσας σὺν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις, αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν, [26] οἱ βάρβαροι εἶλον. οὗ δὴ καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Νεαπόλεως ἐπίτροπον εὔρον. γλώσσάν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἄμφω ἀποτεμόντες οὐκ ἔκτειναν μὲν, οὕτω δὲ λωβησάμενοι ὅπη βούλοιτο ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. ταύτην τε Τουτίλα τὴν δίκην Δημήτριος γλώσσης ἀκολάστου ἐξέτισεν.

VI

AFTER this Totila took the fortresses of Caesena and Petra. And a little later he entered Tuscany and made trial of the places there; but since no one was willing to yield to him, he crossed the Tiber, and, carefully refraining from entering the territory of Rome at all, he advanced immediately into Campania and Samnium and with no trouble won the strong city of Beneventum, the walls of which he razed to the ground, in order that any army coming from Byzantium might not be able, by using this strong base, to cause trouble for the Goths. After this he decided to besiege Naples, because the inhabitants, in spite of his many winning words, were quite unwilling to receive him into the city. For Conon was keeping guard there with a force of a thousand Romans and Isaurians. And Totila himself with the greater part of the army made camp not far from the fortifications and remained quiet, but he sent off a part of the army and captured the fortress of Cumae and certain other strongholds, from which he succeeded in gathering in great sums of money. And finding the wives of the senators there, he not only refrained from offering them any insult, but actually shewed such kindness as to let them go free, and by this act he won a great name for wisdom and humanity among all Romans.

And since no hostile force was operating against him, he was constantly sending small detachments of the army round about and accomplishing results of great importance. In this way he brought the Brutii and Lucani under his sway, and gained Apulia as well as Calabria. And he himself collected the public taxes and also received the revenues from the land instead of those who owned the estates, and in all other matters he conducted himself as having become master of Italy. In consequence of this the Roman soldiers naturally did not receive their customary payments at the times appointed, and the emperor owed them great sums of money. Because of this situation the Italians, on the one hand, having been evicted from their property and finding themselves for the second time in very grave peril, were beginning to feel greatly dejected, while the soldiers, on the other hand, were shewing themselves increasingly insubordinate to their commanders, and were glad to remain inside the cities. So Constantianus was holding Ravenna, John Rome, Bessas Spolitium, Justinus Florentia, and Cyprian Perusia; and each one of the others was holding whatever town had originally provided him shelter and safety in his flight.

Upon hearing of these things, the emperor, in sore distress, made all haste to appoint Maximinus pretorian prefect of Italy, commissioning him to exercise authority over the commanders for the purpose of carrying on the war, and to furnish the soldiers with provisions according to their needs. And he sent a fleet of ships with him, manning them with Thracian and Armenian soldiers.

The leader of the Thracians was Herodian, and of the Armenians Phazas the Iberian, nephew of Peranius; and a few Huns also sailed with them. So Maximinus sailed forth from Byzantium with the whole fleet and reached Epirus in Greece, where for no good reason he proceeded to settle down and waste precious time. For he was utterly inexperienced in warlike deeds, and was consequently both timid and exceedingly prone to delay.

Later on the emperor sent Demetrius also as general, a man who had previously served under Belisarius as commander of a detachment of infantry. So Demetrius sailed to Sicily, and, upon learning that Conon and the inhabitants of Naples were exceedingly hard pressed by the siege, being altogether out of provisions, he wished indeed to go to their assistance with all speed, but was unable to do so because the force which followed him was so small as to be of little consequence, and so devised the following plan. Gathering as many ships as possible from all Sicily and filling them with grain and other provisions, he set sail, making it appear to his opponents that some enormous army was aboard the ships. And he judged the mind of the enemy correctly; for they thought that a great army was coming upon them, reaching this conclusion just because they had learned that a huge fleet was sailing from Sicily. And if Demetrius had been willing at the very first to steer straight for Naples, I believe that he would have both struck terror into the enemy and saved the city, without a man opposing him. But as it was, he felt that the danger involved was too great, and so did not put in to Naples at all, but sailing to the harbour of Rome began hastily to gather soldiers from there. But the soldiers at Rome, having been defeated by the barbarians and still regarding them with great awe, were by no means willing to follow Demetrius against Totila and the Goths. Thus it came about that he was compelled to go to Naples with only the troops who had come with him from Byzantium.

Now there was another Demetrius, a Cephallenian by birth, who had previously been a sailor and was thoroughly skilled in all matters pertaining to the sea and its dangers, and having sailed with Belisarius to Libya and to Italy, he had become noted for this skill of his; and for this reason the emperor had appointed him governor of Naples. And when the barbarians began to besiege the town, he was so carried away by a spirit of utter wantonness that he commenced to heap insults upon Totila, and continued often to do so, and the man was observed to have an exceedingly reckless tongue during this time of stress.

As the situation became worse and the loss of life among the besieged was becoming serious, this man, acting on the advice of Conon, had the daring to embark secretly on a skiff and go alone to the general Demetrius. And having, to everybody's surprise, made the voyage in safety and coming before Demetrius, he endeavoured with all his power to stir him to boldness, and urged him on to undertake the task before him. But Totila had heard the whole

truth about this fleet and was holding many ships of the swiftest sort in readiness; and when the enemy put in at that part of the coast, not far from Naples, he came upon them unexpectedly, and filling them with consternation turned the whole force to flight. And although he killed many of them, he captured a very large number, and there escaped only as many as succeeded at the first in leaping into the small boats of the ships, among whom was Demetrius the general. For the barbarians captured all the ships with their cargoes, crews and all, among whom they found Demetrius, the governor of Naples. And cutting off his tongue and both his hands, they did not indeed kill him, but released him thus mutilated to go where he would. This then was the penalty which Demetrius paid to Totila for an unbridled tongue.

Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ Μαξιμῖνος πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ Σικελίᾳ προσέσχεν, ἔς τε τὰς Συρακούσας

VII

LATER on Maximinus also put in at Sicily with all his ships, and upon reaching Syracuse he remained quiet, being terrified at the perils of war. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned of his coming, they all sent to him with great eagerness, begging him to come to the rescue with all speed; and Conon sent a particularly urgent message from Naples, where he was most vigorously besieged by the barbarians; for by this time all their provisions had been exhausted. But Maximinus, after delaying through the whole critical period in such a state of terror, was finally moved by his fear of the emperor's threats and gave way before the abuse of the other commanders; so, while he himself still remained just where he was, he sent the whole army to Naples with Herodian, Demetrius and Phazas, the winter season being already very close upon them.

But when the Roman fleet had reached a point close to Naples, a violent wind came down upon them, raising an extraordinarily severe tempest. And the darkness covered everything, while the surging waters prevented the sailors from pulling their oars or handling the ships in any other way. And because of the roar of foaming waves they were no longer able to hear one another, but complete confusion prevailed and they were at the mercy of the wind's violence, which carried them, little as they wished it, to the very shore where the enemy were encamped. The barbarians, therefore, boarding the craft of their opponents at their leisure, began to kill the men and sink the ships without meeting any opposition. And they also captured along with many others the general Demetrius. But Herodian and Phazas with some few men succeeded in making their escape, because their ships did not come very close to the enemy's camp. Such was the fate of the Roman fleet.

And Totila fastened a cord about Demetrius' neck and so dragged him up to the wall of Naples, where he ordered him to advise the besieged no longer to ruin themselves by trusting in hopes of no avail, but to hand the city over as quickly as possible to the Goths and thus rid themselves of bitter hardships; for the emperor, he said, was unable thereafter to send them further aid, but in this fleet both their strength and their hope had utterly perished. So Demetrius spoke the words which Totila commanded. And the besieged, being now exceedingly hard pressed by famine and utter destitution, upon seeing the fate of Demetrius and hearing all his words, began to despair of every hope, and gave way to sorrowing and helplessness, and the city was filled with loud tumult and lamentation.

Afterwards Totila himself called them up to the battlement, and addressed them as follows: "Men of Naples, it is not because we have any charge or reproach to bring against you, that we have undertaken this present siege, but

in order that we may be able, by freeing you from most hated masters, to repay you for the service you have rendered us during this war — a service which has induced the enemy to treat you with the utmost severity. For it has come about that you alone among all the Italians have manifested the greatest loyalty to the Gothic nation and have fallen most unwillingly under the power of our opponents. So that, in the present circumstances, when we have been compelled to besiege you along with them, we naturally have a feeling of reluctance on account of your loyalty to us, although we are not carrying on the siege in order to harm the Neapolitans. Do not, therefore, in vexation at the miseries arising from the siege, think that you ought to regard the Goths with anger. For those who are striving to benefit their friends merit from them no blame, even though they be compelled to use unpleasant means in accomplishing the service they afford them. And as for the enemy, let not the least fear of them enter your hearts, and be not led by past events to think that they will gain the victory over us. For the unreasonable events of life, which are due to chance and contrary to expectation, are apt as time goes on to come to naught again. And such is the good-will which we feel toward you that we make the concession that both Conon and all his soldiers may go free from harm wherever they may wish, on the one condition that they yield the city to us and depart hence, taking with them all their own possessions; and nothing shall prevent our taking an oath to secure these promises and to guarantee the safety of the Neapolitans.”

Thus spoke Totila; and both the Neapolitans and all the soldiers under command of Conon expressed approval; for the keen necessity of famine was pressing them hard. However, by way of guarding their allegiance to the emperor, and still expecting, as they did, that some assistance would come to them, they agreed to give up the city after thirty days. But Totila, wishing to dispel from their minds every hope of assistance from the emperor, appointed three months’ time, with the stipulation that after this time they should do as had been agreed. He declared, further, that until the time was accomplished he would make no assault on the wall, nor employ any stratagem of any kind. The agreement was accordingly approved in this sense. But the besieged, without awaiting the appointed day (for they were utterly overcome by the lack of necessities), a little later received Totila and the barbarians into the city. And the winter drew to its close, and the eighth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.[543 A.D.]

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Νεάπολιν Τουτίλας εἶλε, φιланθρωπίαν ἐς τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπεδείξατο οὔτε πολεμίῳ οὔτε βαρβάρῳ ἀνδρὶ πρέπουσαν. [2] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους λιμῷ νενοσηκότας λαβὼν, οἷς δὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς ὀπίσω ἦδη ἐκεχωρήκει, δείσας μὴ βρώσεως ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, [3] ἀποπνιγεῖεν, ἐπενόει τάδε. φυλακὰς ἔν τε τῷ λιμένι καὶ ταῖς πύλαις καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευε μηδένα πη ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [4] αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπασι μικρολογία τινὶ προμηθεῖ ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὰ σιτία

παρείχετο, προσεπιβάλλων ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη τοσοῦτον τοῦ μέτρου ὅσον οὐ δοκεῖν αἰσθῆσιν τινα τῶν ἐντιθεμένων ἐς αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι. [5] οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἕκαστον ὅπῃ βούλοιο ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [6] Κόνωνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας, ὅσους δὴ αὐτοῦ μένιν ἤκιστα ἤρεσκεν, ἐς ναῦς ἐμβιβάσας πλεῖν κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰσχύνην σφίσι φέρειν οἰόμενοι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναχώρησιν, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς διανοοῦντο. [7] τοῦ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος ἀπαίρειν ἐνθὲνδε οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες διηποροῦντο, δεδιότες μὴ τι Τουτίλαν τῶν ὁμολογημένων ὀλιγωρεῖν διὰ τὸ κεκρατηκέναι ξυμβαίῃ, καὶ κακόν τι μέγα πρὸς αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν. [8] ὥνπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἦσθετο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρηγόρει τε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας, θαρσεῖν μὲν ἤδη ἐκέλευε καὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ φόβῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναμίγνυσθαι, τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθὲνδε ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου δέοιντο, ἅτε παρὰ φίλων κομίζεσθαι. [9] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔτι σφίσι ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐφέρετο καὶ χρόνος ἐτρίβη συγχός, ἵππους τε καὶ ὑποζύγια παρασχόμενος, ἐφοδίοις τε αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκέλευεν ὁδῷ ἰόντας πορεύεσθαι, πομπούς τινας τῶν ἐν Γότθοις δοκίμων σφίσι ξυμπέμψας. [10] Τὸ δὲ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτὴν μὴ καταλαβόντες αἰθῆς Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὀρμώμενοι πράγματα Γοτθοὶς παράσχωσιν. [11] ἐν πεδίῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος διακρίνεσθαι μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤθελεν ἢ τέχναις τισὶ καὶ σοφίσμασι διαμάχεσθαι. μοῖραν μέντοι αὐτοῦ καθελὼν πολλὴν τὸ λοιπὸν εἴασεν. [12] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ῥωμαῖός τις αὐτῷ προσελθὼν, Κῆλαβρος γένος, ἡτιᾶτο τῶν δορυφορῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα τὴν παῖδα παρθένον οὔσαν οὔτι ἐκουσίαν βιάσασθαι. [13] καὶ ὃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἀπαρνηθέντα τὸ ἐγκλημα τίσασθαι τῆς ἀμαρτάδος ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ καθεῖρξε. [14] δεῖσαντες δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ὄραστήριος γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐτύγγανεν ὦν καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ξυλληγέμενος εὐθύς καὶ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὅπιν ἐλθόντες ἐδέοντο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφεῖναι. [15] Ὁ δὲ πρῶως τε καὶ ταραχῇ οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Οὐκ ἀπανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῇ εἰκὼν οὐδὲ ξυγγενῶν ὑπερηδόμενος ξυμφοραῖς, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα δεδιὼς μὴ τι Γότθοις ξυμβήσεται φλαῦρον, ἐς λόγους τούσδε, ὧς ξυστρατιῶται, [16] καθίσταμαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οἶδα, ὥς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ πολὺς ὅμιλος τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα μεταβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον. [17] φιλανθρωπίαν μὲν γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν παρανομίαν εἰώθασιν, ἐξ ἧς διεφθάρθαι τε τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα καὶ ξυντεταράχθαι ξυμβαίνει, σκαιὸν δὲ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς δύσκολον, ὃς ἂν τὰ νόμιμα περιστέλλειν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς βούληται, ὅπως δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις παραπετάσασιν ἐς τὴν ἀσέλγειαν χρώμενοι ἀδεέστερον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τε ἱκανοὶ εἶεν καὶ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [18] ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ μὴ τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀμαρτάδα ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνταλλάξασθαι, μηδὲ τοῦ μιάσματος τοῦδε αὐτοὶ τὸ μέρος οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες μεταλαχεῖν. τό τε γὰρ ἐξαμαρτεῖν καὶ τὸ διακωλύειν τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἐξημαρτηκότας τιμωρίαν, οἶμαι, ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστί. [19] βούλομαι τοίνυν οὕτως σκοπομένους ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν, ὥς νῦν αἵρεσις ὑμῖν δυοῖν πρόκειται, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὧν ἡδίκηκε μὴ δοῦναι τὴν

δίκην, ἢ τὸ Γότθων γένος σεσῶσθαι τε καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεκτῆσθαι κράτος.
[20] σκέψασθε γάρ: ἦν ἡμῖν κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατιωτῶν μὲν
πληθος δόξη τε καὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐμπειρία λαμπρόν, χρήματα δὲ
ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσω, ἵππων δὲ καὶ ὄπλων περιουσίας ὑπερβολή
τις, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν γε Ἰταλιώταις ὀχυρώματά ἐστιν. καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ
ἀχρεῖα παντάπασιν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις ἐφόδια. [21] ἐπεὶ
δὲ ὑπὸ Θευδάτῳ ταττόμενοι, ἀνδρὶ τὸ δίκαιον περὶ ἐλάσσονος τῆς ἐς τὸ
πλουτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας πεποιημένῳ, ἴλεον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν παρανομία τῇ ἐς
τὴν δαίαιταν ὥς ἥκιστα κατεστήσαμεν, ὅπῃ ποτὲ κεχώρηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ τύχη
ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού, ὑφ' οἷων τε καὶ ὁπόσων ἡσσημένοις ἀνδρῶν. [22] νῦν δὲ τὴν
δίκην παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς ὢν ἐξημάρτομεν ἱκανῶς ἔχων αὔθις ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ
βούλημα ρυθμίζει τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἡμῖν ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδα τὰ
πράγματα ἄγει, οἷς γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν νενικηκέναι τοὺς
πολεμίους τετύχηκε. [23] περιστέλλειν οὖν τὴν τῆς νίκης πρόφασιν τῷ τὰ
δίκαια πράσσειν ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῇ ἰόντας φθονεροὺς ἡμᾶς
ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖν. [24] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα
καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐκάστου ἢ τοῦ
πολέμου πρυτανεύεται τύχη.' Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. [25] ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ
τὰ εἰρημένα οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι τὸν δορυφόρον οὐκέτι ἐξητοῦντο, ἀλλ' εἶων
ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ πράσσειν δοκοίη. καὶ ὅς τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν
διεχρήσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τῇ βιασθείῃσι
παρέσχετο.

VIII

Now when Totila captured Naples, he made a display of kindness to his captives which was to be expected neither from an enemy nor from a barbarian. For finding sickness prevalent among the Romans owing to famine — and indeed their bodily strength had already been reduced by it — he feared lest, if they suddenly sated themselves with food, they would in all probability choke to death, and so he devised the following plan. Stationing guards both at the harbour and at the gates, he gave orders that no one should go away from the city. Then he himself, with a sort of provident parsimony, proceeded to issue food more sparingly than they desired it, adding each day only so much to the quantity that the increase from day to day seemed not to be noticed at all. And only after having thus built up their strength did he open the gates and allow each man to go wherever he wished.

As for Conon and the soldiers under his command, as many as were by no means satisfied to remain there he embarked on ships and bade them sail wherever they chose. And thinking that the return to Byzantium would bring disgrace upon them, they were purposing to sail with all speed for Rome. But since the wind stood against them and they were consequently quite unable to put out from the harbour, they were in great perplexity, fearing lest Totila, seeing he had been victorious, should decide to disregard his agreement in some measure, and they should suffer some great harm at his hand. When Totila perceived this, he called them all together and reassured them and gave still further confirmation of the pledges he had given, bidding them take courage immediately, mingle with the Gothic army with no fear, and buy from them their provisions and procure whatever else they lacked as from friends. But later, since the wind was still blowing against them and much time had been wasted, he provided them with both horses and pack animals, presented them with travelling-money, and bade them make the journey to Rome by land, sending with them some of the Gothic notables as an escort.

And he set about razing the wall of Naples to the ground, so that the Romans might not take possession of it again and, by using it as a strong base, make trouble for the Goths. For he preferred to reach an outright decision by a battle with them on a plain rather than to carry on a long contest by means of sundry devices of craft and cunning. But after tearing down a large part of it he left the rest.

While Totila was thus engaged, a certain Roman came before him — a Calabrian by birth — and made the charge that one of Totila's bodyguards had violated his daughter, who was a maiden, utterly against her will. Whereupon, seeing that the man did not deny the charge, Totila made haste to punish him for the offence and confined him in prison. But the most notable men among

the barbarians began to feel alarm for him (for he was, as it happened, an active fellow and a good warrior), and so they straightway gathered together and went before Totila with the request that he dismiss the charge against the man.

But he, gently and with no excitement, after hearing their statement, spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the reason for my speaking as I now do is not that I am yielding to a harsh inhumanity, or taking especial delight in the misfortunes of my kinsmen, but it is that I feel the greatest possible apprehension lest some mischance befall the Goths. Now I, for my part, know this, that the great majority of mankind twist and turn the names of things until they reverse their meaning. For, on the one hand, they are accustomed to call kindness that which is really lawlessness, the outcome of which is that everything respectable is brought to utter confusion; and, on the other hand, they call any man perverse and exceedingly difficult who wishes to preserve the lawful order with exactness — to the end, plainly, that by using these names as screens for their wanton deeds they may be able more fearlessly to do wrong and display their baseness. But I urge you not to sacrifice your own security for the sinful act of a single man, nor to assume any share yourselves in this foul sin, seeing that you have done no wrong. For the act of committing a sin and that of preventing the punishment of those who have committed sin are, in my judgment, on the same plane. I wish, accordingly, that you make your decision concerning the matter in hand taking this point of view — that two alternatives are now presented to your choice, either that this man should not pay the penalty for the wrong he has done or that the Gothic nation should be saved and achieve victory in the war. For I would have you consider this: we had, at the beginning of this war, a vast army unsurpassed both in renown and in actual experience of war; our wealth, to put all in a word, was too great to be reckoned; we possessed an extraordinary abundance of both horses and weapons; and, lastly, we held all the fortresses that there are in Italy. And truly these things are regarded as not entirely useless equipment when men are entering into a war. But while we were arrayed under Theodatus, a man who made less of justice than of his desire to become wealthy, the lawlessness of our daily conduct caused God to be in no wise propitious to us, and to what our fortune has come as a result of this you are, of course, well aware, as you know what kind of men and how few of them have defeated us. But now that God has inflicted upon us sufficient punishment for the sins we committed, he is once more ordering our lives in accordance with our desire, and, to speak comprehensively, he is guiding our affairs in a better way than we could have hoped for, inasmuch as we have had the fortune to be victorious over our enemies beyond the measure of our actual strength. To preserve, therefore, the justification of our victory by acting righteously will be more to our interest than, by reversing our course, to let it seem that we have become envious of our own selves. For it is not possible, no, not possible, for a man who

commits injustice and does deeds of violence to win glory in battle, but the fortune of war is decreed according to the life of the individual man.” Thus then spoke Totila. And the notables of the Goths, approving his words, no longer begged for the bodyguard’s release, but consented that he be treated in whatever manner Totila might deem best. And he executed the man not long afterwards, and gave to the injured girl all the money that belonged to him.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἔπρασσεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τῶν κατηκόων χρήματα ἥρπαζον, καὶ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀσελγείας οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν ὑπελίποντο, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἔχοντες ἐρωμένους ἐκώμαζον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοῦς τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρεχόμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν ιδέαν ἀτοπίας ἐνέπιπτον. [2] τοῖς τε Ἰταλιώταις περιῆν ἅπασιν πάσχειν τὰ χαλεπώτατα πρὸς ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων. [3] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγροὺς ἐστέρηντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἐπιπλά πάντα. καὶ προσῆν αὐτοῖς αἰκίζεσθαι τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφθεῖρεσθαι, τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένοις. [4] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀμύνειν σφίσι κακουμένοις πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅσον ἐρυθριᾶν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποθεινοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἷς ἐξημάρτανον ἀπειργάζοντο. [5] οἷς δὲ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀπορούμενος γράμματα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, ἄντικρυς ἀποφαίνων ὅτι δὴ Γότθων τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντέχειν ἀδύνατος εἴη. [6] οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ὥσπερ τὴν γνώμην ἐπισηφίζοντες, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐσήμαινον τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὀκνήσεως. Ἰταλιώταις μὲν τὰ πράγματα ἐφέρετο τῇδε. Τουτίλας δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιστολὴν ἔπεμψεν. [7] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ὅσοι μὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς πέλας ἢ προλαβούσης ἀγνοίας ἴσως ἢ λήθης ἐπιγενομένης τινός, τούτοις ἄξιον τοὺς τὰ δεινὰ πεπονθότας συγγνώμονας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀμαρτάδος ξυμπεσὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον. [8] ἦν δέ τις ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῇ μόνῃς, τούτῳ δὲ μηδὲ ἀντιλέγειν ποτὲ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λελεῖψεται. [9] οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γνώμης αὐτὸς φέρεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη. [10] οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, λογιζέσθε ἤδη τί ποτε ἄρα ὑμῖν ἀπολελογῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἐς Γότθους εἰργασμένα ξυμβήσεται: πότερα ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν τὰς Θεουδερύχου τε καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθης εὐεργεσίας τετύχηκεν, ἢ χρόνῳ τε αὐτὰς καὶ λήθῃ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξιτήλους εἶναι; [11] καίτοι οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ φαύλοις τισὶν οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦς, κατὰ δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι ξυνέβη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔς γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς ἑναγχός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπογυίου, ὧ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι. [12] ἀλλὰ τὴν Γραικῶν ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀρετὴν ἢ ἀκοῇ λαβόντες ἢ πείρᾳ μαθόντες οὕτω δὴ προήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν πράγματα ἔγνωτε; [13] καίτοι ἐξεναγείσθε μὲν ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦς, οἶμαι, ἄριστα, ὁποῖων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτύχετε ξένων καὶ φίλων ἐπίστασθε δὴ πού, εἴ τι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέμνησθε λογισμῶν. [14] ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας, ὧν τῆς τε φιλοφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ἀπάνασθε: ὧν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα ἐς τοῦτο

τύχης τὰ πράγματα ἤκει. [15] ὑμῶν δὲ οἰέσθω μηδεὶς μήτε ὑπὸ νέου φιλοτιμίας τὰ ὀνειδῆ ταῦτα ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι μήτε με ἅτε βαρβάρων ἄρχοντα κομπωδεστέρους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. [16] οὐ γὰρ ἡμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἔργον εἶναί φημι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τινὰ ἰσχυρίζομαι τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικίας αὐτοὺς μετελθεῖν. [17] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων δόξειεν εἶναι τὸν μὲν θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς τίννυσθαι, ὑμᾶς δὲ τῇ τοῦτων ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἀτοπία καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν; δότε τοίνυν τινὰ πρόφασιν ὑμῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Γότθους ἀπολογίας, [18] ἡμῖν δὲ τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς συγγνώμης. δώσετε δέ, ἢν γε μὴ ἀναμενοῦντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι βραχείας τινὸς καὶ ταύτης ἀνονήτου ὑμῖν ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος ἔλῃσθε μὲν τὰ κρείσσω, ἐπανορθώσητε δὲ τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς οὐ δέον ὑμῖν πεπραγμένα.' [19] Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. ἐγχειρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν τισιν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς διδόναι. [20] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. Ἰωάννης δὲ τοὺς τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἰδόντας ἀποκρίνασθαι τι πρὸς Τουτίλαν διεκώλυσε. διὸ δὴ αὐθις ὁ Τουτίλας γράψας γραμμάτια πολλά, ὅρκους τε αὐτοῖς τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐνθέμενος διαρρήδη ἀπάνωκε μήποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὰ κακὸν τι ἐργάσασθαι Γότθους. [21] οἷτινες μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ βιβλίδια ταῦτα ἐκόμισαν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἁworὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐν τοῖς διαφανέσι τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις παγέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, ἐγνώσθη: οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ὑποψία πολλῇ ἐς τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κατεστήσαντο εὐθὺς ἅπαντας. [22] Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας μοῖραν μὲν τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας ἐς Καλαβρίαν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ἐν Δρυοῦντι φρουρίου ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥς ἤκιστα οἱ προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον οἱ φυλακτῆριον ταύτη ἔχοντες, τοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐσταλμένους ἐκέλευεν ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία ἦει. [23] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθεν, ἔς τε ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπέπτωκε καὶ Βελισάριον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν πέμψαι, καίπερ ἔτι Περσῶν ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένων, ἠνάγκαστο. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔλῃγε, καὶ τὸ ἔνατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

IX

WHILE Totila was thus engaged, meantime the commanders of the Roman army, as well as the soldiers, were plundering the possessions of their subjects, and they did not shrink from any act of insolence and licentiousness whatsoever, but the commanders, for their part, were revelling with mistresses inside the fortresses, while the soldiers, shewing themselves more and more insubordinate to their commanders, were falling into every form of lawlessness. As for the Italians, the result of the situation for them was that they all suffered most severely at the hands of both armies. For while, on the one hand, they were deprived of their lands by the enemy, the emperor's army, on the other hand, took all their household goods. And they were forced besides to suffer cruel torture and death for no good cause, being hard pressed as they were by the scarcity of food. For the soldiers, though utterly unable to defend them when maltreated by the enemy, not only refused to feel the least blush of shame at existing conditions, but actually made the people long for the barbarians by reason of the wrongs they committed. And Constantianus, being at a loss because of this situation, sent a letter to the Emperor Justinian, setting forth plainly that he was unable to hold out in the war against the Goths. And the other commanders, as if giving their vote in support of this view, indicated in this same letter their reluctance to carry on the struggle. Such then were the fortunes of the Italians.

Meantime Totila sent a letter to the Roman senate written in the following terms. "Such men as wrong their neighbours, being either the victims of ignorance or blinded by some forgetfulness that has come upon them, may fairly be forgiven by the victims of their ill-treatment. For their ignorance or forgetfulness, which led to their wrongdoing, also excuses it for the most part. If, however, any man does wrong as a result of deliberate intent solely, such a man will have nothing left with which even to defend his conduct. For it is not the deed alone, but also the intention, for which this man himself must, in justice, bear the responsibility. Therefore, since this is so, consider forthwith what defence you will possibly be able to make for your actions toward the Goths. Has it really come to pass that you are ignorant of the good deeds of Theoderic and Amalasuntha, or have they been blotted from your minds with the lapse of time and forgetfulness? No, indeed; neither one of these is true. For it was not in some small matter, nor toward your ancestors in olden times that their kindness was displayed, but it was in matter of vital importance, dear Romans, towards your very selves, recently and in days that are close at hand. But was it because you had been informed by hearsay or learned by experience the righteousness of the Greeks toward their subjects that you decided to abandon to them as you did the cause of the Goths and Italians? At any rate, you, for your part, have, I think, entertained them royally, but you

know full well what sort of guests and friends you have found them, if you have any recollection of the public accounts of Alexander. For I need make no mention of the soldiers and the commanders by whose friendliness and magnanimity you have profited; and it is precisely this conduct of these men which has brought their fortunes to such a pass. Now let no one of you think that I am moved by youthful ambition to bring these reproaches against them nor that I am inclined to boastful speech merely because I am a ruler of barbarians. For the overmastery of those men, I say, has not been a work of our valour, but I confidently maintain that a sort of vengeance has overtaken them for the wrongs you have suffered at their hands. How then could it fail to appear a most atrocious act on your part, that you, while God is exacting vengeance from them in your behalf, should cling fondly to that atrocity of theirs and be unwilling to be rid of the ills arising therefrom? Give yourselves, therefore, some ground for the defence you must make to the Goths, and give us, on the other hand, some ground for forgiveness toward you. And you will give this if, without proposing to await the conclusion of the war, now that there is only scant hope left you, and that too of no avail, you choose the better course and set right the wrongs which you have committed against *us*."

Such then was the message which the writing set forth; and now Totila, placing it in the hands of some of the captives, commanded them to go to Rome and give it to the senators. And they did this. But John prevented those who saw this letter from making any reply to Totila. For this reason Totila made a second attempt, writing a large number of short letters, in which he gave expression to the most solemn oaths, swearing in explicit terms that never would the Goths do any harm to anyone of the Romans. Now as to what persons conveyed these writings to Rome, I cannot speak; for all of them were posted late at night in the conspicuous places in the city, and only when it came day were they discovered; but the commanders of the Roman army entertained grave suspicions against the priests of the Arians, and consequently removed these all from the city immediately.

Totila, upon hearing this, sent a certain portion of his army into Calabria, bidding them make trial of the fortress at Dryus. But since the troops keeping guard in this fortress absolutely refused to yield to him, he commanded the force which had been sent there to institute a siege, while he, with the greater part of the army, went to the vicinity of Rome.

When the emperor heard this, he was greatly embarrassed, and, in spite of the fact that the Persians were still pressing him very hard, was compelled to send Belisarius against Totila. And the winter drew to a close, and the ninth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [544 A.D.]

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦει. ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατιώτας ὡς μάλιστα ὀλίγους εἶχε ἑαυτοὺς γὰρ οἱ ἐπομένους τοῦ ἐν Μήδοις στρατοπέδου

ἀποστῆσαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσέ Θράκην ὅλην περιῶν χρήματά τε προϊέμενος, ξυνῆγε νέους ἐθελουσίους. [2] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ βασιλέως γνώμη καὶ Βιτάλιος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός, ἄρτι ἐπανήκων ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὗ δὴ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολιπὼν ἔτυχεν. [3] ἄμφω γοῦν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἀγείραντες ἐν Σάλλωσιν ἐγένοντο, γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τὰ πρῶτα ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε ὅπῃ ἂν δυνατόν εἴη διενεγκεῖν. [4] τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥώμης χωρία ἀποβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον, οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνοντες ἔπει αὐτοὺς ἐν τε Καλαβροῖς στρατοπεδεύεσθαι καὶ Καμπανοῖς ἤκουσαν οὔτε αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ ὁτῶν βιαζόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦσαν. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν Δρυοῦντι πολιορκούμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς παντάπασιν ἐκλειοιπὼτων βαρβάροις τοῖς πολιορκουσιν ἐς λόγους ξυνῆλθον. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογία ἐνδώσουσι, τακτὴ τε ἀμφοτέροις ἐν τούτῳ ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο. [6] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ μήκος πλοίοις ἐνθέμενος Βαλεντίνον ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν εἰς Δρυοῦντα ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου ἐνθένδε ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, οὓς δὴ νόσῳ τε ξυντετηκέναι καὶ λιμῷ ἔμαθε, τῶν δὲ ξυμπλεόντων τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστήσασθαι: ῥᾶον γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀκμητὰς τε ὄντας καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντας τὸ φρούριον ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διαφυλάττειν. [7] Βαλεντίνος μὲν οὖν τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσε τέτρασι πρότερον τῆς κυρίας ἡμέραις, ἀφύλακτόν τε τὸν λιμένα εὐρὼν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς τὸ φρούριον εἰσελθεῖν ἴσχυσε. [8] τοῖς γὰρ ὁμολογημένοις οἱ Γότθοι θαρσοῦντες οὐδέν τε μεταξὺ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζοντες σφίσιν ἔσσεσθαι, ὀλιγώρως ἤδη τὰ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα διαθέμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [9] τότε μέντοι καταπλέοντα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες ἔδεισάν τε καὶ τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσαν, μακράν τε ἄποθεν τοῦ χωρίου γενόμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ πάντα ἐς Τουτίλαν τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Δρυοῦντος τὸ φρούριον κινδύνου ἦλθε. [10] τῶν δὲ ξὺν Βαλεντίνῳ τινὲς ληῖσασθαι βουλόμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐποιήσαντο, τοῖς τε πολεμίοις τύχῃ τινὶ ὑπαντιάσαντες πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡτίονι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [11] καὶ παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὕδωρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἔφυγον, ἵνα δὴ ἔβδομηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποβαλόντες ἐς τὸ φρούριον οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν. [12] Βαλεντίνος δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλαι φρουροὺς ἐνθένδε ἡμihnήτας εὐρὼν ὑπεξήγαγεν, ἐτέρους δὲ ἀντικαταστησάμενος ἀκραιφνεῖς, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Βελισάριος, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς χρόνον αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπὼν ἐνιαύσιον, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Σάλωνας ἦλθε. [13] Καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθένδε ἄρας Πόλῃ προσέσχευ. οὗ δὴ τὸ στράτευμα διέπων χρόνον τινὰ ἔμενε. [14] Τουτίλας δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας, τὴν τε δύναμιν ἐθέλων γινῶναι ἥνπερ ἐπήγετο, ἐποίει τάδε. Βόνος ἦν τις Ἰωάννου ἀνεψιὸς φρουρᾶς ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Γενούᾳ. [15] τούτου δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι χρησάμενος γράμματα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισάριον ἔγραψεν ἅτε παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα παραγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν κινδύνοις τισὶ χαλεποῖς οὔσιν. [16] ἄνδρας τε ἀπολεξάμενος περιέργους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πέντε τά τε γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε καὶ δύναμιν ἀκριβῶς κατανοεῖν τὴν Βελισαρίου

ἐπέστελλεν, ἐνδεικνυμένους ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ Βόνου σταλεῖν. [17] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντας ζὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, εἶδεν. [18] ἀναλεξάμενός τε τὰ γράμματα Βόνῳ ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὅτι δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἤξει. οἱ δὲ περισκοπήσαντες ἅπαντα, καθάπερ σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε Τουτίλας, ἔς τε τὸ Γόθων στρατόπεδον ἐπανῆκον καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι. [19] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Τίβουριν πόλιν, Ἰσαύρων φρουρὰν ἔχουσαν, προδοσίᾳ εἴλε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τῶν τινες οἰκητόρων τὰς πύλας ζὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐφύλασσον. [20] οὗτοι Ἰσαύροις τοῖς ξυμφυλάσσουσι διάφοροι γεγεννημένοι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς πρὸς αὐτῶν γινομένης αἰτίας ἄγχιστά που ἐνστρατοπεδευομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπηγάγοντο νύκτωρ. [21] οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰσαυροὶ ξυμφρονήσαντες ἀλικομένης τῆς πόλεως σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντες διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [22] τῶν δὲ οἰκητόρων οὐδενὸς οἱ Γόθοι ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλὰ ζὺν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν τρόπῳ δὴ ὥνπερ ἐξεπιστάμενος ἔγωγε ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὡς μὴ ἀπανθρωπίας ἀπολείπω μνημεῖα τῷ ὀπισθεν χρόνῳ: ἐν οἷς καὶ Κάτελλος ἀπώλετο ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. [23] καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Τίβουριν ἔσχον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκέτι ἠδύναντο ἐκ Τούσκων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐσκομίζεσθαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις κειμένη Ῥώμης ὑπερθεν ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα εἰσπλεῖν βουλομένοις ἐγένετο.

X

THUS Belisarius, for the second time, went to Italy.

But since he had an exceedingly small number of soldiers — for it was quite impossible for him to detach his own troops from the army in Persia — he proceeded to travel about the whole of Thrace, and, by offering money, to gather fresh volunteers. And by the emperor's command he was accompanied by Vitalius, the General of Illyricum, who had recently returned from Italy, where he had left the Illyrian soldiers. So together they collected about four thousand men and went to Salones with the intention of going to Ravenna first of all and conducting the war from there in whatever manner might be possible. For they could in no wise effect a landing near Rome, either by keeping their movements secret from the enemy (since, as they had heard, the Goths were encamped both in Calabria and in Campania), nor by overpowering the enemy in any manner whatsoever; for they were going against them without sufficient strength to meet them on even terms.

In the meantime the Romans besieged in Dryus, seeing that their provisions had been absolutely exhausted, made an agreement with the besieging barbarians, stipulating that they would hand over the place by surrender, and a definite day was meanwhile agreed upon by both. But Belisarius loaded ships with provisions for a year's time and commanded Valentinus to sail with them to Dryus, and to remove the former garrison from the fortress as quickly as possible — for he learned that they had been much weakened by disease and famine — and to establish as a garrison in place of them some of the men sailing with him; for by this arrangement it would be comparatively easy for them, being fresh and not in want of any necessities, to guard the fortress in security. So Valentinus, chancing to find a favourable wind, sailed with this fleet to Dryus, and arrived four days before the time appointed for the surrender; and finding the harbour unguarded, he took possession of it, and succeeded without trouble in entering the fortress. For the Goths, being confident in the agreement they had made, and supposing that they would encounter no obstacle in the interval, were now giving little heed to their operations against Dryus and were remaining quiet. Then, however, upon seeing the fleet suddenly bearing down upon them, they took fright and abandoned the siege, and going to a great distance from the place, they made camp and reported to Totila all that had befallen them. So close was the peril from which the fortress of Dryus escaped. But some of Valentinus' men, wishing to plunder the adjoining country, began to make excursions; and by some chance they encountered the enemy near the shore of the sea, and engaged with them. And being badly defeated in the battle, the most of them fled into the sea-water; in this way they lost one hundred and seventy men,

and the rest withdrew to the fortress.

Valentinus, upon finding the previous garrison half dead, removed them from the fortress, and substituted other fresh men, just as Belisarius had instructed him to do, and leaving them supplies for a year's time, returned with the rest of the army to Salones.

Then Belisarius, setting sail from there with the whole fleet, put in at Pola, where he remained for a short time, putting the army in order. But Totila, hearing that Belisarius had reached Pola, and wishing to discover the strength of the army which he was bringing, took the following measures. There was a certain Bonus, nephew of John, commanding the garrison in Genoa. He accordingly made use of this man's name and wrote a letter to Belisarius purporting to be from this Bonus, and urging him to come with all possible speed to their assistance, as they were in some extreme peril. Then he chose out five men of an especially inquisitive nature, put the letter into their hands, and instructed them to observe accurately the force of Belisarius, while palming themselves off as having been sent from Bonus. So when the men came before Belisarius, he received them with great friendliness, as was his custom. And after reading the letter, he bade them report back to Bonus that he would come with the whole army after no long time. Then, after they had looked over everything exactly as Totila had directed them to do, they returned to the Gothic camp and declared that the force of Belisarius was by no means considerable.

Meanwhile Totila captured the city of Tibur, which contained a guard of Isaurians, through an act of treason; this happened in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of the place were guarding the gates together with the Isaurians. These men, having quarrelled with the Isaurians who kept guard with them, although the Isaurians had given no cause for offence, now invited the enemy, who were encamped close by, to come in by night. But the Isaurians, on their part, adopted a common plan while the city was being captured, and practically all of them succeeded in making their escape. Among the inhabitants, however, not a man was spared by the Goths, but they were all killed, together with the priest of the city, in a manner which I shall by no means mention, although I know it well, in order that I may not leave records of inhuman cruelty to future times. Among these victims Catellus also perished, a man of note among the Italians. So the barbarians took possession of Tibur, and the Romans, in consequence, were no longer able to bring in their provisions from Tuscany by way of the Tiber. For the city, situated as it is fronting the river about a hundred and twenty stades above Rome, became thereafter an outpost against those wishing to sail into Rome by that route.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Τιβούρει οὕτω γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε. Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀφικόμενος Γότθους τε τοὺς παρόντας καὶ Ῥωμαίων

στρατιώτας ξυναγαγὼν ἔλαξε τοιάδε: ‘Οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα πρὸς τῆς κακίας διερρυηκέναι ξυμβέβηκεν. [2] ἄνωθεν γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐμπέφυκεν ἀτεχνῶς πράγμασι, πολλὰς τε ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεις μοχθηρία τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀναχαιτίζειν τε καὶ διαφθείρειν ἱκανῶς ἴσχυσεν. ὅπερ καὶ νῦν τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἔσφηλεν. [3] ὃ δὴ τοσοῦτον τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν μέλει, ὥστε τὴν Περσῶν ἐπικράτησιν περὶ ἐλάσσοнос τοῦτων ποιούμενος ἀποστεῖλαί με τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔγνωκεν, ὅπως ἐπανορθώσω καὶ ἰάσωμαι εἴ τι τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς Γότθους εἴργασται. [4] τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ὑφ’ ὁτουοῦν ἁμαρτάνεσθαι οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως ἕξω, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν βασιλεῖ τε διαρκῶς πρέπον καὶ παραπυλῆς τοῖς ἡγαπημένοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. [5] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον ὑμῖν τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι ξυμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλέως εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ξυνεῖναι τε καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτίκα προσέσται: οὗ τί ἂν ἀξιώτερον γένοιτο ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων; [6] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὑμῖν πάρειμι, προσήκει καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον πάσῃ δυνάμει χρήσασθαι, [7] ὅπως ἂν τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ὠφελείας ἀπόναισθε. ὅτῳ τε ὑμῶν ξυγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι παρὰ Τουτίλα τῷ τυράννῳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, μεταπεμψάσθω τούτους ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν βασιλέως δηλώσας γνώμην. [8] οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ τε ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο. ὥς ἔγωγε οὔτε τῷ πολεμυσείῳ ἐνθάδε ἀφῆγμαι οὐτ’ ἂν ἐκὼν ποτε τοῖς βασιλέως κατηκόοις πολέμιος εἶην. [9] εἰ μέντοι καὶ νῦν παρὰ φαῦλον ἡγησάμενοι τὸ τὰ βελτίῳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλέσθαι οἶδε ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἡμῖν ἴωσιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ὥς μάλιστα ἀκουσίους ὥς πολέμοις χρῆσθαι.’ [10] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος εἶπε. προσεχώρει δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐδεὶς οὔτε Γότθος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος. ἔπειτα δὲ Θουριμουθ τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ τῶν [11] ἐπομένων τινὰς ξύν τε Βιτάλιῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς Αἰμιλιάν πέμψας, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων. [12] Βιτάλιος οὖν ξύν τῷ στρατῷ τούτῳ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βονώνειαν γενόμενός τινά τε τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρίων ὁμολογία ἐλὼν ἐν Βονωνείᾳ πόλει ἡσύχαζε. [13] χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰλλυριοὶ ξύμπαντες, ὅσοι ξύν αὐτῷ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε παθόντες οὔτε ἀκούσαντες, λάθρα ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. [14] πρέσβεις τε παρὰ βασιλέα πέμψαντες συγγνώμην διδόναι σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀφικομένοις ἢ ὅτι συχνὸν σφίσι χρόνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ στρατευομένοις τάς τε συντάξεις ὥς ἥκιστα κομιζομένοις χρήματα διὰ πολλὰ τὸ δημόσιον ὤφειλε. [15] στρατεύματος δὲ Οὐννικοῦ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπισκήψαντος παῖδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραποδίσθαι τετύχηκεν. [16] ἃ δὴ πυθόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν γε Ἰταλιώταις σπανίζοντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς τὰ πρῶτα χαλεπήνας, εἶτα συγγνώμων ἐγένετο. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀναχώρησιν στράτευμα ἐπὶ Βονώνειαν ἔπεμψεν, ὥς Βιτάλιον καὶ τοὺς ξύν αὐτῷ ἀναρπάσσοντας. [17] ἀλλὰ Βιτάλιός τε καὶ Θουριμουθ προλοχίσαντες ἐνέδραις τισὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας πολλοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν, [18] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. ἐνθα Ναζάρης, ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, στρατιωτῶν τε τῶν ἐν

Ἰλλυριοῖς ἄρχων, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πάντων μάλιστα ἐπεδείξατο. οὕτω τε ὁ Θουριμουθ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦλθε. [19] Τότε δὴ Βελισάριον τρεῖς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ, Θουριμουθ τε καὶ Ῥικίλαν καὶ Σαβινιανόν, ἔστειλε ξὺν χίλιοις στρατιώταις ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν, Μάγνῳ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐνταῦθα πολιορκουμένοις ἐπαμυνοῦντας. [20] οἱ δὲ Τουτίλαν τε λαθόντες καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον νύκτωρ ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπεκδρομάς τέ τινας ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους διεννοοῦντο. [21] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσσην τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἄγχιστα πη εἶναι ἐξήλθον μὲν ὡς ὑπαντιάσοντες, κατασκόπους δὲ πέμψαι πρότερον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, κατασκεψομένους τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἴωσι. [22] Ῥικίλας δὲ ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος οἰνωμένος γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγχανεν ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ οὐκ εἶα ἰέναι, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας κατὰ τάχος ἦει. [23] Γόθοις τε τρισὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος ἔστη: ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γὰρ ἀνδρίας ἐτύγχανεν ἦκων: πολλοὺς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἰδὼν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιρρέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. [24] τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἵππου ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ὀκλάσαντος, κραυγὴ τε πολλὴ τῶν πολεμίων γέγονε καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἠκόντιζον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἅπαντες. ὧν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβόηθουν δρόμῳ. [25] καὶ Ῥικίλας μὲν δόρασι πολλοῖς κεκαλυμμένος θνήσκει, τρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους οἱ ἀμφὶ Θουριμουθ, ἄραντές τε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐς Αὐξίμον πόλιν ἐκόμισαν, οὐκ ἐπαξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν κληρωσάμενον. [26] Ἐπειτα Σαβινιανὸς τε καὶ Θουριμουθ Μάγνῳ κοινολογησάμενοι ἀξύνμορον σφίσιν εὕρισκον εἶναι περαιτέρω διατριβὴν τινα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, λογισάμενοι ὅτι δὴ οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίους πολλοῖς γε οὕσιν ἀξιόμαχοί ποτε γένοιντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιορκουμένων καταδαπανῶντες τροφὰς ἀλώσιμον ἔτι θάσσον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ποιήσονται. [27] καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ χίλιοι παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν ἄφοδον, ὡς νύκτωρ τῆς ἀποπορείας ἀρξόμενοι: αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν τις στρατιωτῶν αὐτομολήσας λάθρα ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἔκπυστα ἐποίησε τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα. [28] Τουτίλας τοίνυν ἄνδρας δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐφύλασσε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπὸ σταδίων Αὐξίμου τριάκοντα, οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενος. [29] οἱ ἐπεὶ παριόντας ἀμφὶ νύκτα μέσσην τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔργου εἶχοντο. [30] καὶ αὐτῶν διακοσίους μὲν ἔκτειναν, Σαβινιανὸς δὲ καὶ Θουριμουθ ξὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ λαθεῖν τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀρίμινον ἴχυσαν. [31] τῶν μέντοι ὑποζυγίων ἀπάντων Γόθοι ἐκράτησαν, ἃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν τε θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἔφερεν. [32] Ἔστι δὲ πολίσματα δύο πρὸς τὴν ἁκτὴν τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, Πίσαιρος τε καὶ Φανός, μεταξὺ τῆς τε Αὐξίμου καὶ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως κείμενα. ὧν δὴ τὰς οἰκίας τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀρχὰς Οὐίτιγίς ἐμπρήσας τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλεν ἄχρι ἐς ἡμισυ μάλιστα, ὅπως μὴ καταλαβόντες αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι πράγματα Γόθοις παρέξωσι. [33] τούτων θάτερον, Πίσαιρον, Βελισάριος καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω: ἔδοξε γὰρ οἱ ἐς ἵππων νομὰς ἐπιτηδείως τὸ χωρίον κεῖσθαι. πέμψας οὖν νύκτωρ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εὗρός τε καὶ μῆκος πύλης ἐκάστης ξυνεμετρήσατο λάθρα. [34] τὰς τε πύλας τεκτηνάμενος καὶ σιδήρῳ περιβαλὼν

εἴτα τισιν ἀκατίοις ἐνθέμενος ἔπεμψεν, ὥς δὴ ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σαβινιανόν τε καὶ Θουριμουθὸν κατὰ τάχος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐναρμόσαντας ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν, ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου κατεπεπτώκει, ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τρόπῳ, λίθους τε καὶ πηλὸν καὶ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἐμβαλλομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. [35] Τουτίλας δὲ μαθὼν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. [36] καὶ ἀποπειρασάμενος χρόνον τε ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας τινά, ἐπεὶ ἐξελεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἄπρακτος ἐν Αὐξίμῳ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν. [37] Ἐπεξήει δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τειχῶν ἕκαστοι ἔμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην στείλας, Ἀρτασίρην τε, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ Βαρβατίωνα Θράκα, ὡς ξυμφυλάζοντας Βέσσαι τὴν πόλιν ὥς ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγγανεν ὧν, ἐπέστελλε τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπεξιέναι. [38] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατός, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀξιώχρεων ἀντιτάξασθαι σφίσι τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἦσθοντο οὕσαν, τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [39] διὸ δὴ ἐν Πικηνοῖς ἀμφὶ τε Φίρμον καὶ Ασκουλον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XI

SUCH was the fate which befell Tibur. As for Belisarius, he arrived at Ravenna with the whole fleet; there he gathered those of the Goths who were in the city and the Roman soldiers, and spoke as follows: "This is not the first occasion on which it has come to pass that the achievements of virtue have been brought to naught by wickedness. For from of old this is wholly natural in human affairs, and many a time the depravity of persons of the basest sort has been quite sufficient to frustrate and destroy the deeds of good men. And now, too, this very thing has ruined the cause of the emperor. And he, for his part, is so deeply concerned to correct the mistakes which have been made that he has considered the task of defeating the Persians as of less moment than this situation, and so has decided at the present time to dispatch me to you, in order that I may be able to set right and remedy whatever has been wrongly done by the commanders in their treatment of his soldiers or of the Goths. Now it is not human that no mistakes at all should be committed by anyone, nor is it possible in the natural progress of events; but the task of setting right the mistakes which have been made is one eminently befitting an emperor, and also one which can well afford consolation to his beloved subjects. For not only will you find riddance from your distress, but you will also straightway be privileged to understand and enjoy the emperor's goodwill toward you. And of all things in the world what could be a greater boon for a man than this? Seeing then that I am here with you for this very purpose, it is incumbent upon each one of you, in your turn, to exert himself to the utmost that you may profit by the service thus offered. If any one of you, then, chances to have relatives or friends with the usurper Totila, let him summon these as quickly as possible, explaining the emperor's purpose; for by such a course you could achieve both the blessings which flow from peace and those which fall from the hand of the mighty emperor. For I, for my part, have neither come here with a lust for war against anyone, nor should I ever, willingly at least, be an enemy of the subjects of the emperor. If, however, they consider it even now too trivial a thing to choose the course which is better for themselves, and if they take their stand against us, it will be necessary for us likewise, even though it be sorely against our will, to treat them as enemies."

So spoke Belisarius. But not one of the enemy came over to him, either Goth or Roman. Next he sent his bodyguard Thurimuth and some of his own troops with Vitalius and the Illyrian soldiers into Aemilia, commanding them to make trial of the towns there. So Vitalius with this force took up a position near the city of Bononia, and, after taking some of the neighbouring fortresses by surrender, remained inactive in Bononia. But not long after this the whole body of the Illyrians who were serving under him, suddenly and without

having either experienced any hard treatment or heard any rebuke, withdrew secretly from the town by night and betook themselves homeward. And sending envoys to the emperor, they begged him to grant them pardon, seeing that they had come to their homes in this manner for no other reason than that, after their long service in Italy without receiving the regular pay at all, the state now owed them a large sum of money. But it so happened that a Hunnic army had fallen upon the Illyrians and enslaved the women and children, and it was because of this intelligence, and also because they had a scarcity of provisions in Italy, that they withdrew. And though the emperor was at first angry with them, he afterwards forgave them.

Now Totila, upon learning of the withdrawal of the Illyrians, sent an army against Bononia in order to capture Vitalius and the troops with him by a swift attack. But Vitalius and Thurimuth laid ambuscades in several places and thus destroyed many of the attacking force and turned the rest to flight. There Nazares, a man of note and an Illyrian by birth, commander of the troops in Illyricum, surpassed all others by the remarkable exhibition he made of warlike deeds against the enemy. Thereupon Thurimuth came to Belisarius in Ravenna.

Then at length Belisarius sent three of his own bodyguards, Thurimuth, Ricilas and Sabinianus, with a thousand soldiers to the city of Auximus, in order to support Magnus and the Romans besieged there. This force, slipping past Totila and the enemy's camp by night, got inside of Auximus, and then began planning to make sallies against their opponents. So on the following day about noon, upon learning that some of the enemy were near at hand, they sallied forth with the purpose of confronting them; but, before proceeding, they decided to send scouts against them to spy out the enemy's strength so as not to make an attack on them without reconnoitring.

But Ricilas, the guardsman of Belisarius, who chanced to be drunk at the time, would not allow any others to go scouting, but he himself rode out alone on horseback and went on at full speed. And happening upon three Goths on a steep slope, he at first took his stand with the intention of opposing them; for he was a man of extraordinary bravery; but upon seeing many men rushing toward him from all sides, he made haste to flee. But his horse stumbled in a rough place, whereupon a great shout arose from the enemy and they all hurled their javelins at him. Then the Romans, hearing this uproar, came to the rescue on the run. And Ricilas was killed, being buried under a great number of spears, but the troops of Thurimuth routed their opponents, and lifting up the body carried it inside the city of Auximus; thus did Ricilas meet his death in a manner unworthy of his valour.

Thereupon Sabinianus and Thurimuth in conference with Magnus found it inadvisable for them to spend any more time there, reasoning that while

clearly, owing to his numbers, they would never be a match for the enemy in battle, they would, on the other hand, by using up the supplies of the besieged, doom the city to still earlier capture by their opponents. And when this had been decided upon, they themselves and their thousand men began to prepare for their departure, intending to make the beginning of their journey at night; but one of the soldiers forthwith deserted secretly to the enemy's camp and made known the plans of the Romans. Totila accordingly picked out two thousand men distinguished for their valour and, as night came on, set guards upon the roads at a distance of thirty stades from Auximus, keeping his movements entirely secret. So when these guards at about midnight saw the enemy passing by, they drew their swords and began their attack. And they killed two hundred of them, but Sabinianus and Thurimuth, together with the rest, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in escaping and fleeing into Ariminum. However, the Goths captured all the pack animals which were carrying the servants, the weapons, and the clothing of the soldiers.

There are two fortresses on the coast of the Ionian Gulf, Pisaurus and Fanus, situated between the cities of Auximus and Ariminum. They had been dismantled at the beginning of this war by Vittigis, who had burned the houses in them and torn down their walls to about half their height, in order that the Romans might not, by seizing them, make trouble for the Goths. One of these fortresses, Pisaurus, Belisarius decided to seize; for it seemed to him that the place was by its situation suitable for the pasturage of horses. So he sent by night some of his associates and secretly obtained the accurate measurements, as to breadth and height, of each one of the gate-ways. He next had gates made and bound with iron and then loaded them on boats and sent them off, commanding the men of Sabinianus and Thurimuth to fit these gates quickly to the walls and then to remain inside the circuit-wall, and, after thus insuring their safety, to build up in whatever manner possible such parts of the circuit-wall as had fallen down, putting in stones and mud and any other material whatsoever. So they carried out these instructions. But Totila, upon hearing what was going on, marched against them with a great army. And he made an attempt on the town and tarried near it for some time, but since he was unable to capture it, he returned baffled to his camp at Auximus.

The Romans, however, were no longer making sallies against the enemy, but at each fortress they were remaining inside the walls. Furthermore, even when Belisarius sent two of his guardsmen to Rome, Artasires, a Persian, and Barbation of Thrace, in order to assist Bessas in guarding the city, he instructed them by no means to make sallies against the enemy. As for Totila and the Gothic army, seeing that the force of Belisarius was not sufficient to array itself against them, they decided to harass the strongest of the towns. They accordingly made camp in Picenum before Firmum and Asculum, and commenced a siege. And the winter drew to a close, and the tenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [545 A.D.]

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις οὐδαμῇ ἔχων Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀνεψιὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν, ὅρκους αὐτὸν δεινотάτοις καταλαβὼν ὥς ἐπανάκειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν σπουδῇ θήσεται, βασιλέως δεησόμενον στρατιάν τε πολλήν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πέμψαι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἵππους. [2] οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι λίαν ὄντες οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι ἠθέλον, χρήματά τε πολλὰ φάσκοντες τὸ δημόσιον σφίσιν ὀφείλειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπάντων ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι. [3] καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ γράμματα ὑπὲρ τούτων βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: ‘Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὃ βασιλεῦ κράτιστε, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων χωρὶς. ὧν οὐδ’ ἂν τις μὴ διαρκῶς ἔχων πόλεμον, οἶμαι, διενεγκεῖν οὐ μὴ ποτε ἱκανὸς εἴη. [4] Θρᾶκας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνδελεχέστατα περιελθόντες στρατιώτας ξυνήγομεν κομιδῇ ὀλίγους οἰκτροὺς οὐδέ τι ὄπλων ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας καὶ μάχης ὄντας παντάπασιν ἀμελετήτους. [5] ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους ἐνταῦθα οὔτε αὐτάρκεις ὄντας καὶ κατεπηχότας τοὺς πολεμίους δεδουλωμένους τε τὸ φρόνημα τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων πολλάκις ἡσησῆσθαι, οἱ γε οὐδὲ εἰκὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους διέφυγον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐς τὴν γῆν ρίψαντες. [6] χρημάτων δὲ πρόσδοδον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πορίζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀδύνατά ἐστι, πάλιν πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων κατελιγμένης. [7] διὸ δὴ καὶ ὑπερήμεροι γεγεννημένοι ἐς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς συντάξεις ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα ἔχομεν: ἀφείλετο γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ ὄφλημα. [8] εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ δέσποτα, ἴσθι, ὥς τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ στρατευομένων οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἡτομοληκότες τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔδει Βελισάριον ἐς Ἰταλίαν στέλλεσθαι μόνον, ἄριστα σοὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασται: εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἰταλίῳταις ἤδη πού μέσοις: εἰ δὲ περιεῖναι βούλει τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξαρτῦεσθαι δεῖ. [10] στρατηγὸς γάρ τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ὑπουργούντων χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. δορυφόρους τοῖνυν καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς μάλιστα μοι πάντων σταλῆναι προσήκει, ἔπειτα πάμπόλῳ τι πλῆθος Οὐννων τε καὶ ἄλλων βαρβάρων, οἷς καὶ χρήματα ἤδη δοτέον.’ [11] Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ χρόνον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ διατρίψας πολὺν οὐδὲν μὲν διεπράξατο ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθεν, ἔγχε δὲ τοῦ Γερμανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοῦ παῖδα. [12] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Φίρμον τε καὶ Ἀσκουλον ὁμολογία εἶλεν: ἐς Τούσκους τε ἀφικόμενος Σπολίτιόν τε καὶ Ἀσίσην ἐπολιόρκει. ἦρχε δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Σπολίτῳ φυλακτηρίου Ἡρωδιανός, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἀσίσῃ Σισίφριδος, Γότθος μὲν γένος, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ λίαν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἔχων. [13] Ἡρωδιανός μὲν οὖν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἡσυχῇ μέινωσιν. [14] ὧν ἦν μὴ ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγένηται, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ζύν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι Γότθοις ἐνδῶσειν. τόν τε παῖδα ὄμηρον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρέσχετο. [15] ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆν μὲν ἡ κυρία, στράτευμα δὲ οὐδαμῶθεν Ῥωμαίων ἦλθεν, Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα Τουτίλα καὶ Γότθοις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Σπολίτιον ἐνεχείρισαν. [16] φασὶ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχθος αὐτόν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον Γότθοις ἐνδοῦναι: λογισμοὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν Βελισάριος τῶν βεβιωμένων ἠπέλιψε πράξειν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ

Σπολιτίῳ ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε. ^[17] Σισίφριδος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπεκδρομὴν ποιησάμενος, τῶν τε ξὺν αὐτῷ πλείστους ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. ^[18] Ἀσίσηνοί τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδοσαν. πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κυπριανὸν εὐθὺς Τουτίλας, ἐνδοῦναί οἱ αὐτῷ Περυσίαν ἡξίου, δεδιττόμενος μὲν ἦν ἀπειθήσει, χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὸν δωρήσασθαι μεγάλοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ^[19] ἦν γε ταῦτα ἐπιτελοίῃ. ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ πρὸς Κυπριανοῦ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, τῶν ἐκείνου δορυφόρων ἓνα, Οὔλιφον ὄνομα, χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει δόλῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαχρήσασθαι. ^[20] Οὔλιφος μὲν οὖν μόνῳ τῷ Κυπριανῷ ἐντυχὼν ἔκτεινέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν φεύγων ὄχετο. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦσσαν οἱ Κυπριανοῦ στρατιῶται βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσαν· διὸ δὴ Γότθοι ἐνθὲνδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

XII

Now Belisarius, finding himself utterly unable to give support to the besieged towns, sent John the nephew of Vitalian to Byzantium, first binding him by the most solemn oaths that he would make every effort to return as quickly as possible; and his mission was to beg the emperor to send them a large army and a generous supply of money, and, furthermore, both arms and horses. For even the few soldiers he had were unwilling to fight, asserting that the state owed them much money and that they themselves were in want of everything. And this was true. Belisarius also wrote a letter to the emperor recording these matters; and the letter set forth the following.

“We have arrived in Italy, most mighty emperor, without men, horses, arms, or money, and no man, I think, without a plentiful supply of these things, would ever be able to carry on a war. For though we did travel about most diligently through Thrace and Illyricum, the soldiers we gathered are an exceedingly small and pitiful band, men without a single weapon in their hands and altogether unpractised in fighting. And we see, on the other hand, that the men who were left in Italy are both insufficient in number and in abject terror of the enemy, their spirit having been utterly humbled by the many defeats they have suffered at their hands, — men who did not simply escape at random from their opponents, but even abandoned their horses and flung their weapons to the ground. And as for the revenue, it is impossible for us to derive any money from Italy, since it has again been taken by the enemy into their possession. Consequently, since we have fallen behind in regard to the payment of the soldiers, we find ourselves quite unable to impose our orders upon them; for the debt has taken away our right to command. And this also thou must know well, my master, that the majority of those serving in thy armies have deserted to the enemy. If, therefore, it was only necessary that Belisarius be sent to Italy, then thou hast made the best preparation possible for the war; for I am already in the very midst of Italy. If, however, it is thy will to overcome thy foes in the war, provision must also be made for the other necessary things. For no man could, I think, be a general without men to support him. It is therefore needful that, above all others, my spearmen and guards should be sent me, and, next to them, a very large force of Huns and other barbarians is needed, to whom money must also be given immediately.”

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. But as for John, though he spent a long time in Byzantium, he accomplished none of the objects of his mission; but he married the daughter of Germanus, the nephew of the emperor. In the meantime Totila captured Firmum and Asculum by surrender; and advancing into Tuscany, he began the siege of Spolitium and Asise. Now the garrison in Spolitium was commanded by Herodian and that in Asise by Sisifridus, who,

though a Goth by birth, was exceedingly loyal to the Romans and the emperor's cause. Herodian, for his part, came to terms with the enemy, the agreement being that they should remain quiet for thirty days; and if no assistance should come to the Romans within this time, he was to surrender both himself and the city together with the soldiers and the inhabitants to the Goths. And he furnished his son as a hostage for the keeping of this agreement. So when the appointed day came, and no Roman army had arrived from any quarter, Herodian and the whole garrison of Spolitium, in accordance with the agreement, put themselves and the city into the hands of Totila and the Goths. But they say that the hostility existing between Herodian and Belisarius was the real cause of his surrendering himself and Spolitium to the Goths; for Belisarius had threatened to call him to account for his previous record.

Such was the course of events as regards Spolitium. Sisifridus, on the other hand, in making a sally with his troops, lost the most of his men and perished himself. Thereupon the inhabitants of Asise, despairing of the situation, immediately handed the city over to the enemy. Totila also sent straightway to Cyprian, demanding that he surrender Perusia to him, attempting to terrify him in case he should disobey, but promising, on the other hand, to reward him with a large sum of money if he should carry out this order. But since he met with no success in dealing with Cyprian, he bribed one of his bodyguard, Ulifus by name, to kill him by treachery. Ulifus accordingly, meeting Cyprian by chance alone, killed him and got away in flight to Totila. But nevertheless the soldiers of Cyprian continued to guard the city for the emperor, and the Goths, consequently, decided to retire from Perusia.

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦει, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο: τοὺς μέντοι γεωργοὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀδεῶς ἐκέλευεν, ἥπερ εἰώθασιν, ἐς αἰεὶ γεωργεῖν, τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ ἀποφέροντας ὅσους τὸ πρότερον ἔς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀποφέρειν ἤξιουν. [2] Γότθων δέ τινων ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ἀφικομένων Ἀρτασίρης τε καὶ Βαρβατίων, πολλοὺς τε τῶν ἐπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενοι, Βέσσα ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος, ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαντο. [3] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. οἷς δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκπεπωκότες ἐνέδραις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέτυχον. [4] οὗ δὴ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες αὐτοὶ ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διέφυγον μόλις, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καίπερ ἐγκειμένοις, οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων. [5] Καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λιμός τις ἀκριβὴς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίεζεν, οὐκέτι δυναμένους τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰσκομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀποκεκλεισμένων φορτίων. [6] ἐπεὶ γὰρ Γότθοι Νεάπολιν εἶλον, ναυτικὸν ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι ἀκάτων πολλῶν κὰν ταῖς νήσοις ταῖς Αἰόλου καλουμέναις καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῇδε ἐπείκεινται, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσον. [7] ὅσαι οὖν νῆες ἐκ Σικελίας ἀναγόμεναι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, πᾶσαι γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς

ἀνδράσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκεῖνων χερσὶ. [8] Τουτίλας δὲ στρατεύμα ἐς Αἰμιλίαν πέμψας, πόλιν Πλακεντίαν ἐξελεῖν ἢ βία ἢ ὁμολογία ἐκέλευεν. [9] αὕτη δὲ πρώτη μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰμιλίῳ τῆς χώρας, ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχουσα. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ἡριδανῷ κεῖται καὶ μόνῃ τῶν τῆδε χωρίων Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος οὕσα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ στρατὸς οὗτος Πλακεντίας ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, λόγους προὔφερον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὅπως τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐνδοῖεν. [11] ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν σφίσι προὐχώρει, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰσθόμενοι. [12] Τότε τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν ὑποψία προδοσίας περὶ ἐγένετο ἐς Κέθηγον, πατρίκιον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς. διὸ δὴ ἐς Κεντουκέλλας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο. [13] Βελισάριος δὲ περὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι δείσας, ἐπεὶ ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀμύνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἀπανίστασθαι τε ἐνθένδε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, ὅπως δὴ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ κάμνουσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν οἷός τε εἴη. [14] καὶ οἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς ἐς Ῥαβένναν ἀφικομένῳ μετέμελεν, ἃ δὴ Βιταλίῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς ἔδρασε πρότερον οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ξυμφύρῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα καθεύρξας αὐτὸν ἐδεδώκει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διοικεῖσθαι ῥοπήν. [15] καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἡ Βελισάριον ἐλῆσθαι τὰ χεῖρω, ἐπεὶ χρῆν τότε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι κακῶς, ἢ βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ βελτίω, ἐμπόδιον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγενῆσθαι, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βουλευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς πᾶν τὸνναντίον Βελισαρίῳ ἀποκεκρίσθαι. [16] οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπνεῖ ἐξ οὐρίας τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ χεῖριστα βουλευομένοις οὐδὲν ἀπαντιάσει δεινόν, ἀντιπεριάγοντος αὐτὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐς πᾶν ξύμφορον. [17] ἀνδρὶ δέ, οἶμαι, κακοτυχοῦντι εὐβουλία οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, παραιρουμένου αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ ἀληθῆ δόξαν τοῦ χρῆναι παθεῖν. [18] ἦν δέ τι καὶ βουλευσῆταί ποτε τῶν δεόντων, ἀλλὰ πνέουσα τῷ βουλευσάντι ἀπ' ἐναντίας εὐθὺς ἡ τύχη ἀντιστρέφει αὐτῷ τὴν εὐβουλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότατα τῶν ἀποβάσεων. [19] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἐκεῖνῃ ἔχει οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰουστίνον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥαβέννης φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτὸς ἐνθένδε διὰ τε Δαλματίας καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων κομίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἵνα δὴ στρατεύμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου караδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. γράψας τε βασιλεῖ γράμματα, τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐσήγγελλεν. [20] ὁ δὲ οἱ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Ἰσαάκην Ἀρμένιον Ἀρατίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφὸν ζὺν στρατῷ ἔπεμψε βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν. [21] οἱ δὴ ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ξυνέμιξαν. Καὶ Ναρσὴν δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον παρὰ τῶν Ἐρούλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πείσει ἐς Ἰταλίαν στρατεύεσθαι. [22] καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἐρούλων πολλοὶ εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημουθ ἦρχον καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἦλθον. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διαχειμάσαντες ἔμελλον ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. [23] ζυγὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ ξυνέβη τις τύχη μεγάλη Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ἐργάσασθαι. [24] βαρβάρων γὰρ Σκλαβηνῶν πολὺς ὅμιλος ἔτυχον ἑναγχος διαβάντες μὲν

ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ληϊσάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξανδραποδίσαντες πάμπλου πλῆθος. ^[25] οἷς δὴ Ἑρουλοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες, νικήσαντές τε παρὰ δόξαν μέτρῳ σφᾶς πολλῶ ὑπεραίροντας, αὐτοὺς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. ^[26] τότε δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ τινα εὐρών ἐπιβατεύοντα τοῦ Χίλβουδίου ὀνόματος, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ στρατηγῆσαντος, διελέγξαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ῥαδίως ἔσχε. τοῦτο δὲ ὅ τί ποτε ἦν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

XIII

AFTER this Totila moved against Rome, and upon coming near the city, he began a siege. He did no harm, however, to the farmers in this or any other part of Italy, but commanded them to continue tilling the soil without fear, just as they were accustomed to do, bringing to him the revenue which they had formerly brought to the public treasury and to the owners of the land. And when some Goths had come close up to the fortifications of Rome, Artasires and Barbation made a sally against them, though Bessas did not in the least approve their action, leading out a large number of their men to the attack. And they straightway killed many and turned the rest to flight. But in following up these men and allowing themselves to be drawn into a pursuit over a great distance, they fell into an ambush set by the enemy. Here they lost the most of their men, and they themselves, accompanied by a handful of men, succeeded only with difficulty in making their escape. And thereafter they no longer dared go out against their opponents, even though they were pressing their attack.

From this time on a severe famine afflicted the Romans, for they were no longer able to bring in any necessities from the country and the traffic by sea was cut off. For after the Goths captured Naples, they had stationed a navy of many light craft both there and at the so-called Aeolian Islands and at such other islands as lie off this coast, and with these they were keeping a close watch over the sea-route. Consequently such ships as put out from Sicily and started to sail to the harbour of Rome fell one and all into the hands of these patrols together with their crews.

Totila now sent an army into Aemilia, with orders to take the city of Placentia either by storm or by surrender. This is the chief city in the land of Aemilia and has strong defences, being situated on the river Eridanus, and it was the only city still left in that region subject to the Romans. So when this army came near Placentia, they offered terms to the garrison there to the end that they might hand over the city by surrender to Totila and the Goths. But since they met with no success, they made camp on the spot and began a siege, perceiving that the people in the city were in need of provisions.

At that time there arose a suspicion of treason among the commanders of the emperor's army in Rome against Cethegus, a patrician and leader of the Roman senate. For this reason he departed hastily for Centumcellae.

But Belisarius became alarmed both for Rome and for the whole Roman cause, since it was impossible to lend assistance from Ravenna in any case, and especially with a small army; and so he decided to remove from there and take possession of the district about Rome, in order that by being near at hand

he might be able to go to the rescue of those in difficulty there. Indeed he repented having ever come to Ravenna at all, a course which he had taken earlier through the persuasion of Vitalius and not to the advantage of the emperor's cause, since by shutting himself up in that place he had given the enemy a free hand to determine the course of the war as they wished. And to me it seemed either that Belisarius had chosen the worse course because it was fated at that time that the Romans should fare ill, or that he had indeed determined upon the better course, but God, having in mind to assist Totila and the Goths, had stood as an obstacle in his way, so that the best of the plans of Belisarius had turned out utterly contrary to his expectations. For those upon whom the wind of fortune blow's from a fair quarter, even though they make the worst plans, will meet with no calamity, since Heaven reverses these plans and brings them to an entirely favourable issue; but a man, I believe, who is under the ban of fortune utterly lacks the ability to plan wisely, being bereft of understanding and insight into the truth by the fact that he is fated to suffer ill. And even if he ever does make some plan adapted to the needs of the situation, still fortune straightway breathes contrariwise upon him after he has made such a plan, and perverts his wise purpose so as to bring about the most dire results. However, whether this is so or otherwise, I am unable to say.

Belisarius then appointed Justinus to command the garrison of Ravenna, and himself, with only a few men, journeyed thence through Dalmatia and the neighbouring lands to Epidamnus, where he remained quiet expecting an army from Byzantium. And writing a letter to the emperor, he reported the present situation. The emperor, therefore, not long afterward, sent him John the nephew of Vitalian and Isaac the Armenian, brother of Aratius and Narses, together with an army of barbarian and Roman soldiers. These troops reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius there.

The emperor also sent Narses the eunuch to the rulers of the Eruli, in order to persuade the most of them to march to Italy. And many of the Eruli followed him, commanded by Philemuth and certain others, and they came with him into the land of Thrace. For the intention was that, after passing the winter there, they should be despatched to Belisarius at the opening of spring. And they were accompanied also by John whom they called the Glutton. And it so fell out that during this journey they unexpectedly rendered a great service to the Romans. For a great throng of the barbarians, Sclaveni, had, as it happened, recently crossed the river Ister, plundered the adjoining country and enslaved a very great number of Romans. Now the Eruli suddenly came upon these barbarians and joined battle with them, and, although far outnumbered, they unexpectedly defeated them, and some they slew, and the captives they released one and all to go to their homes. At that time also Narses found a certain man who was pretending to the name of Chilbudius, a man of note who had once been a general of the Romans, and he easily succeeded in unmasking the plot. Here I shall give the facts of this story.

Χιλβούδιος ἦν τις ἐκ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκίας ἐσάγαν μὲν δραστήριος τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τόσον δὲ χρημάτων κρείσσων ὥστε ἀντὶ μεγίστου κτήματος ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ εἶχε τὸ κεκτηθῆαι μηδέν· [2] τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Χιλβούδιον, ὅτε δὴ τέταρτον ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχήν, Θράκης στρατηγὸν ἀνειπών, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο, φυλάσσειν κελεύσας ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς ἔσται, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάβασιν πολλάκις ἤδη Οὐννοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ πεπονημένοι ἀνῆκεστα Ῥωμαίους ἔργα εἰργάσαντο. [3] Χιλβούδιος δὲ οὕτω τοῖς βαρβάροις φοβερὸς γέγονεν ὥστε ἐς τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον, ὅσον ξὺν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμῇ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν, οὐχ ὅσον διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέραν σὺν Χιλβουδίῳ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. [4] ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ τρισὶν ὕστερον διέβη μὲν ὁ Χιλβούδιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἥπερ εἴωθει ξὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ, Σκλαβηνοὶ δὲ πανδημεὶ ὑπηντίαζον. [5] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης Ῥωμαίων τε πολλοὶ ἔπεσον καὶ Χιλβούδιος ὁ στρατηγός. [6] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ τε ποταμὸς ἐσβατὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα εὐέφοδα γέγονε, ξύμπασά τε ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἀρετῇ ἀντίρροπος γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε. [7] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ διάφοροι ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ἐνθα δὴ τοῖς Ἄνταις ἡσσηθῆναι τῶν ἐναντίων τετύχηκεν. [8] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Σκλαβηγὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, Χιλβούδιον ὄνομα, αἰχμάλωτον εἶλεν, ἐς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼν ὤχετο. [9] οὗτος ὁ Χιλβούδιος προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου εὖνους τε ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους δραστήριος. [10] πολλάκις τε τοῦ δεσπότη προκινδυνεύσας ἠρίστευσέ τε διαφερόντως καὶ κλέος ἴσχυσε περιβαλέσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέγα. [11] ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἄνται ἐπισκήψαντες εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία πολλοὺς ἐλήϊσαντο καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν τῶν ἐκεῖνῃ Ῥωμαίων. οὕσπερ ἐπαγόμενοι ἀπεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. [12] Τούτων δὲ ἓνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἰς φιλάνθρωπόν τινα ἤγαγεν ἡ τύχη καὶ πρᾶον δεσπότην. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε λίαν καὶ οἶος ἀπάτη τοὺς ἐντυχόντας περιελθεῖν. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε βουλόμενος ἐπανάκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἤκων τῆς τε φιланθρωπίας ἐπήνεσε καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἱ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρίσατο τάγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἀχάριστον δεσπότη φιланθρωποτάτῳ φανήσεσθαι, ἀλλ', ἦν γε αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰσηγούμενῳ ἐπακούειν ἐθέλλῃ, κύριον αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων. [14] εἶναι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σκλαβηγῶν ἔθνει Χιλβούδιον, τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῆσαντα, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ, πάντας βαρβάρους λανθάνοντα ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν. [15] ἦν τοίνυν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη προέσθαι τε τὰς τοῦ Χιλβουδίου τιμὰς καὶ διακομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, δόξαν τε ἀγαθὴν καὶ πλούτου αὐτὸν ἀμύπολῳ χρῆμα περιβαλέσθαι πρὸς βασιλέως οὐκ ἀπαικὸς εἶναι. [16] ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἰπὼν τὸν κεκτημένον εὐθὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ γίνεται ἐν Σκλαβηνοῖς μέσοις· ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνοντο ἀδεῶς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. χρήματα γοῦν πολλὰ τῷ

Χιλβούδιον κεκτημένῳ προέμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ὠνοῦντο καὶ ζῖν αὐτῷ ἀπιόντες εὐθὺς ὥχοντο. [17] ἐπεὶ τε ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐγένοντο, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ πριάμενος, εἰ Χιλβούδιος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἴη. [18] καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηξίου τὰ ὄντα καταλέγειν ζῖν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὥς εἴη μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀντῆς τὸ γένος, μαχόμενος δὲ ζῖν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι πρὸς Σκλαβηνοὺς, τότε πολεμίους σφίσιν ὄντας, πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀλώῃ, τανῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἡθῆ, ἐλεύθερος τὸ λοιπὸν κατὰ γε τὸν νόμον καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται. [19] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσίον προέμενος εἰς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἡσχαλλεν, ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχὼν οὐ μετρίως τινός. [20] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος τὸν τε ἄνθρωπον παρηγορεῖν τὴν τε ἀλήθειαν ἐκκρούειν ἐθέλων, ὥς μὴ τι αὐτῷ τῆς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανόδου χαλεπὸν εἴη, Χιλβούδιον μὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐπι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι, δεδιότα δὲ ἅτε δὴ ὄντα ἐν μέσοις βαρβάροις ὥς ἡκιστα ἐθέλειν ἀποκαλύπτειν τὸν πάντα λόγον, ἦν μέντοι γένηται ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀποκρύψεσθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κρύφα ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων. [21] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθεν, ἡγείροντο μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἄνται σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, κοινὴν δὲ εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡξίου, μεγάλα σφίσιν οἴομενοι ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, κυρίως ἤδη τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Χιλβουδίου γεγενημένοις. [22] τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ τά τε ζύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἑκατέροις ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται τούτοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς βαρβάροις. [23] θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα: εἰμαρμένῃν δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἓν γε ἀνθρώποις ῥοπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἡ νόσφ' ἀλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἦν διαφυγῶσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσιν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἶονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωησθαι. [24] σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικίσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον. [25] ἐς μάχην δὲ καθιστάμενοι πεζῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ πολλοὶ ἴασιν ἀσπίδια καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, θώρακα δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐνδιδύσκονται. [26] τινὲς δὲ οὐδὲ χιτῶνα οὐδὲ τριβώνιον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνας τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, οὕτω δὴ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις καθίστανται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος. [27] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσσουσιν. εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν ἢ ξανθοὶ εἰσιν οὔτε πῃ ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροί εἰσιν ἅπαντες. [28] δίαίταν δὲ σκληρὰν τε καὶ ἀπρημελημένην, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγῆται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ ῥύπου ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνδελεχέστατα

γέμουσι, πονηροὶ μέντοι ἢ κακοῦργοι ὥς ἥκιστα τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀφελεῖ διασώζουσι τὸ Οὐννικὸν ἦθος. [29] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄνομα Σκλαβηνοῖς τε καὶ Ἄνταις ἐν τῷ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν: Σπόρους γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκηνημένοι τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦσι. [30] διὸ δὴ καὶ γῆν τινα πολλὴν ἔχουσι: τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆς ἐτέρας τοῦ Ἰστρου ὄχθης αὐτοὶ νέμονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν λεῶν τοῦτον ταύτη πη ἔχει. [31] Ἄνται δὲ τότε ἀγειρόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἠνάγκαζον ὁμολογεῖν σφίσι ὅτι Χιλβούδιος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἶη. [32] ἀρνηθέντα τε κολάζειν ἠπειλοῦν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς πρέσβεις τινὰς παρὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους στείλας ἡξίου ξυνοικίσεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, Τούρριν ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις αὐτὴν δειμαμένου, ἔρημος δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, ληϊσμένων αὐτὴν τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων. [33] ταύτη γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρᾳ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἅτε προσηκούσῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμολόγει δεδωρῆσεσθαι καὶ σφίσι ξυνοικεῖν μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, χρήματα δὲ μεγάλα σφίσι προῖεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἐνσπονδοὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντες Οὐννοὶ ἐμπόδιοι ἐς αἰὶ γένωνται, καταθεῖν βουλομένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [34] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπήνεσάν τε καὶ πράξουσιν ἅπαντα ὑπέσχοντο, εἵπερ αὐτοῖς τὸν Χιλβούδιον στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐθις καταστησάμενος ξυνοικιστὴν δοίῃ, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχυρίζόμενοι, ἥπερ ἠβούλοντο, Χιλβούδιον εἶναι. [35] ταύταις δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἤδη καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελέ τε καὶ ἔφασκε Χιλβούδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἶναι. ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτὸν στελλόμενον ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ καταλαμβάνει. [36] καὶ ξυγγενόμενος, ἐπεὶ φενακίζοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὗρε, καίπερ τὴν τε Λατίνων ἀφιέντα φωνὴν καὶ τῶν Χιλβουδίου γνωρισμάτων πολλὰ ἐκμαθόντα τε ἤδη καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοντά ἑν τε δεσποτηρίῳ καθεῖρξε καὶ τὸν πάντα ἐξειπεῖν λόγον ἠνάγκασεν, οὕτω τε ἐς Βυζάντιον ξὺν αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

XIV

THERE was a certain Chilbudius of the household of the Emperor Justinian, who was exceedingly efficient in war, and, at the same time, so far superior to the lure of money that instead of a great property in his own right he had no possessions at all. This Chilbudius was appointed by the emperor, in the fourth year of his reign, to be General of Thrace, [531 A.D.] and was assigned to guard the river Ister, being ordered to keep watch so that the barbarians of that region could no longer cross the river, since the Huns and Antae and Sclaveni had already made the crossing many times and done irreparable harm to the Romans. And Chilbudius became such an object of terror to the barbarians that for the space of three years, during which time he remained there holding this office, not only did no one succeed in crossing the Ister against the Romans, but the Romans actually crossed over to the opposite side many times with Chilbudius and killed and enslaved the barbarians there. But three years later, when Chilbudius crossed the river, as was his custom, with a small force, the Sclaveni came against him with their entire strength; and a fierce battle taking place, many of the Romans fell and among them the general Chilbudius. Thereafter the river became free for the barbarians to cross at all times just as they wished, and the possessions of the Romans were rendered easily accessible; and the entire Roman empire found itself utterly incapable of matching the valour of one single man in the performance of this task.

But later on the Antae and Sclaveni became hostile to one another and engaged in a battle, in which it so fell out that the Antae were defeated by their opponents. Now in this battle one of the Sclaveni took captive a certain young man of the enemy named Chilbudius, who was just wearing his first beard, and took him off to his home. This Chilbudius, as time went on, became devoted to his master to an extraordinary degree and proved himself a vigorous warrior in dealing with the enemy. Indeed he exposed himself to danger many times to save his master, distinguishing himself by his deeds of valour, through which he succeeded in winning great renown. At about this time the Antae descended upon the land of Thrace and plundered and enslaved many of the Roman inhabitants; and they led these captives with them as they returned to their native abode.

Now chance brought one of these captives into the hands of a kind and gentle master. This man was a great rascal and one capable of circumventing and deceiving those who fell in his way. And since he was unable by any device to effect his return to the land of the Romans, much as he wished it, he conceived the following plan. Coming before his master, he praised him for his kindness and declared that God on account of this would bestow upon him blessings in abundance, and that he for his part would shew himself by no

means ungrateful to a most kindly master; but, if only he was willing to give ear to the excellent suggestion which he had to offer, he would shortly put him in possession of a great sum of money. For there was, he said, among the nation of the Sclaveni one Chilbudius the former general of the Romans, in the condition of a slave, while all the barbarians were ignorant as to who in the world he was. If, therefore, he was willing to pay out the price set upon Chilbudius and convey the man to the land of the Romans, it was not unlikely that he would acquire for himself from the emperor not only a fair reputation but also an enormous amount of money. By these words the Roman speedily persuaded his master, and he went with him into the midst of the Sclaveni; for these barbarians were already on peaceful terms and were mingling with one another without fear. Consequently they were able, by paying out a large sum of money to the master of Chilbudius, to purchase the man, and they departed with him immediately. And when they had come into their own country, the purchaser enquired of the man whether he was Chilbudius himself, the general of the Romans. And he did not hesitate to state truly all the facts in order, saying that he too was by birth of the Antae, and that while fighting with his compatriots against the Sclaveni, who were then at war with them, he had been captured by one of the enemy, but now, upon arriving in his native country, he too according to the law would be free from that time forth.

Thereupon the man who had paid out gold for him became speechless with vexation, seeing that he had failed of a hope of no moderate sort. But the Roman, wishing to reassure the man and to controvert the truth, so that no difficulty might arise to prevent his return to his home, still insisted that this man actually was that Chilbudius, but that he was afraid, clearly because he was in the midst of the barbarians, and so was quite unwilling to reveal the whole truth; if, however, he should get into the land of the Romans, he would not only not conceal the truth, but in all probability would actually take pride in that very name. Now at first these things were done without the knowledge of the other barbarians.

But when the report was carried about and reached the entire nation, practically all the Antae assembled to discuss the situation, and they demanded that the matter be made a public one, thinking that great benefit would come to them from the fact that they had now become masters of the Roman general Chilbudius. For these nations, the Sclaveni and the Antae, are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people.

It is also true that in all other matters, practically speaking, these two barbarian peoples have had from ancient times the same institutions and customs. For they believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as

for fate, they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men, but whenever death stands close before them, either stricken with sickness or beginning a war, they make a promise that, if they escape, they will straightway make a sacrifice to the god in return for their life; and if they escape, they sacrifice just what they have promised, and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice. They reverence, however, both rivers and nymphs and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to all these also, and they make their divinations in connection with these sacrifices. They live in pitiful hovels which they set up far apart from one another, but, as a general thing, every man is constantly changing his place of abode. When they enter battle, the majority of them go against their enemy on foot carrying little shields and javelins in their hands, but they never wear corselets. Indeed some of them do not wear even a shirt or a cloak, but gathering their treds up as far as to their private parts they enter into battle with their opponents. And both the two peoples have also the same language, an utterly barbarous tongue. Nay further, they do not differ at all from one another in appearance. For they are all exceptionally tall and stalwart men, while their bodies and hair are neither very fair or blonde, nor indeed do they incline entirely to the dark type, but they are all slightly ruddy in colour. And they live a hard life, giving no heed to bodily comforts, just as the Massagetae do, and, like them, they are continually and at all times covered with filth; however, they are in no respect base or evildoers, but they preserve the Hunnic character in all its simplicity. In fact, the Sclaveni and Antae actually had a single name in the remote past; for they were both called Spori in olden times, because, I suppose, living apart one man from another, they inhabit their country in a sporadic fashion. And in consequence of this very fact they hold a great amount of land; for they alone inhabit the greatest part of the northern bank of the Ister. So much then may be said regarding these peoples.

So on the present occasion the Antae gathered together, as has been said, and tried to compel this man to agree with them in the assertion that he was Chilbudius, the Roman general himself. And they threatened, if he denied it, to punish him. But while this affair was progressing in the manner described, meantime the Emperor Justinian had sent some envoys to these very barbarians, through whom he expressed the desire that they should all settle in an ancient city, Turris by name, situated to the north of the river Ister. This city had been built by the Roman emperor Trajan in earlier times, but for a long time now it had remained unoccupied, after it had been plundered by the barbarians of that region. It was this city and the lands about it that the Emperor Justinian agreed to give them, asserting that it had belonged to the Romans originally; and he further agreed to give them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves, and to pay them great sums of money, on condition that they should remain at peace with him thereafter and constantly block the way against the Huns, when these wished

to overrun the Roman domain.

When the barbarians heard this, they expressed approval and promised to carry out all the conditions, provided that he restore Chilbudius to the office of General of the Romans and assign him to assist them in the establishment of their city, stoutly maintaining, what they wished was so, that the man there among them was Chilbudius. Thereupon the man himself, being lifted up by these hopes, began now to claim and to assert, as well as the others, that he was Chilbudius the Roman general. Indeed he was setting out for Byzantium on this mission when Narses, in the course of his journey, came upon him. And when he met the man and found him to be playing the part of an imposter, although he spoke in the Latin tongue and had already learned many of the personal peculiarities of Chilbudius and had been very successful in assuming them, he confined him in prison and compelled him to confess the whole truth, and thereafter brought him in his own train to Byzantium. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

Βασιλεὺς μὲν ταῦτα ἅπερ μοι δεδήλωται ἔπρασεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, Φωκᾶν ὄνομα, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, ζῦν στρατεύματι ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον ξυμφυλάξουσι τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὥνπερ Ἰννοκέντιος ἤρχε, καὶ ὅπη ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ ἦ ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιούμενοι ξυνταράξουσι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. [2] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ Φωκᾶν πέμψαντες λάθρα ἐς Ῥώμην σημαίνουσι Βέσσαν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἐπιέναι τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ χαρακώματι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου μέλλουσι· δεήσει οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενον, ἥνίκα αἰσθηται τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς, βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὅπως τι καὶ δρᾶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκάτεροι δυνήσονται μέγα. [3] Βέσσα δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε, καίπερ ἐς τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας ζῦν αὐτῷ ἔχοντι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ζῦν πεντακοσίοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ἐπισκήψαντες τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἔκτειναν, αἰσθησίς τε τοῦ ἐνθένδε θορύβου τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ταχὺ γέγονεν. [4] ὥς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξῆει, κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν λιμένα κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἀνεχώρησαν. [5] Πέμψαντές τε παρὰ Βέσσαν αὖθις ἡτιῶντο μὲν ὀκνησὶν τινὰ οὐ δέον αὐτῷ ἐμπεπτωκέναί, ἰσχυριζόμενοι δὲ ὡς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἑτέραν ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιήσονται παρεκάλουν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς καιρὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιθέσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [6] ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπεξιόντα διακινδυνεύειν ἀπεῖπεν. οἱ μὲντοι ἀμφὶ Βαλεντίνον τε καὶ Φωκᾶν ζῦν στρατῷ πλείονι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι διεννοοῦντο καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἤδη ἐγένοντο. [7] στρατιώτης δὲ τις ὑπὸ Ἰννοκεντίῳ ταττόμενος αὐτόμολος παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦκων ἀγγέλλει ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένη ἔφοδος ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔσται. [8] καὶ ὃς τῶν χωρίων ὅσα ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο εἶχεν ἐνέδραις ἔγνω προλοχίζειν ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. οὗ δὴ τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ζῦν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς τε πλείστους ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ θνήσκουσιν. ὀλίγοι

δέ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον κομίζονται. [9] Τότε καὶ Βιγίλιος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἔπεμψεν, οἰόμενος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τοῖς τὰ φορτία παραπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. [10] αἱ μὲν οὖν νῆες αὐταὶ ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμοι χρόνῳ τε βραχεῖ προτερήσαντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυσαν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα αἱ νῆες ἐνταῦθα κατάρωσι, κρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [11] ὅπερ κατιδόντες ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐν Πόρτῳ εἶχον, ἔς τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνέβαινον ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια σείοντες τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ σημαίνειν ἐβούλοντο μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἑτέρωσε, ὅπῃ παρατύχη, [12] ἐκτρέπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων οὐ ξυνιέντες, ἀλλὰ χαίρειν τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα παρακαλεῖν, τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφόρου ὄντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ λιμένος κατὰ τάχος ἐγένοντο. [13] ἔπλεον δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ καὶ τις ἐπίσκοπος Βαλεντίνος ὄνομα. ἔκ τε τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν πλοίων ἀπάντων οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐκράτησαν. [14] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ τὸν Τουτίλαν ἤγαγον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἐφέλκοντες ὥχοντο. [15] τούτου ὁ Τουτίλας ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως ὅσα ἐβούλετο, ἐπενεγκὼν τε αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὡς ἤκιστα ἀληθίζεται, ἅμφω τῷ χεῖρε ἀπέκοψε. [16] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

WHILE the emperor was taking such measures as have been described, Belisarius on his part sent an army to the harbour of Rome under command of Valentinus and one of his own bodyguards, Phocas by name, an exceptionally able warrior, with instructions to join the garrison in Portus, which was commanded by Innocentius, and to assist them in guarding that fortress; and wherever they found it possible, they were to make excursions and harass the enemy's camp. Consequently, Valentinus and Phocas secretly sent a messenger into Rome bearing the intelligence to Bessas that they were at that moment about to make a sudden attack upon the stockade of their opponents; he should, therefore, on his part, select the most warlike of the soldiers in Rome, and, whenever he observed their assault, rush to their assistance, so that each of the two forces might be able to inflict some great injury upon the barbarians. Bessas, however, was by no means taken with this plan, notwithstanding the fact that he had as many as three thousand soldiers under him. Thus it was that Valentinus and Phocas with a force of five hundred descended unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp and killed a few men, and the tumult occasioned thereby soon reached the ears of the besieged. But seeing that no one came out from the city against the camp, they quickly retired to the harbour without suffering any loss.

So they sent to Bessas a second time, and first charging him with having had a regrettable attack of timidity, they declared that they would soon make another assault upon the enemy and urged that he too should fall upon the barbarians with all his strength at the proper moment. Bessas, however, still refused to make a sally against his opponents and risk a battle. Still Valentinus and Phocas were purposing to assail the enemy in larger force and had already made their preparations. But a certain soldier of Innocentius' command went as a deserter to Totila and carried the news that on the following day there would be an attack upon them from Portus. So Totila decided to fill with ambuscades of soldiers all the places which were adapted for this purpose. On the following day, therefore, Valentinus and Phocas fell into these ambuscades, and not only lost the most of their men, but were also killed themselves. And only a small handful made their escape with difficulty and betook themselves to Portus.

It was at this time that Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, who was then sojourning in Sicily, filled with grain as many ships as he could and sent them off, thinking that in some way or other those who were conveying the cargoes would be able to get into Rome. So these ships were sailing toward the Roman harbour, but the enemy spied them and got to the harbour a short time before the ships arrived; there they concealed themselves inside the walls,

their purpose being that, as soon as the ships should come to the land there, they might capture them with no difficulty. And when all the men keeping guard in Portus observed this, they went up to the battlement, every man of them, and by waving their cloaks strove to signal the men on the ships not to come ahead, but to turn aside and go elsewhere — anywhere in fact, where chance might lead them. But the men on the ships failed to comprehend what they were doing, supposing that the Romans in Portus were rejoicing and inviting them to the harbour, and since they had a favouring wind they quickly got inside the harbour. Now there were many Romans on board the ships, and among them a certain bishop named Valentinus. Then the barbarians arose from their hiding place and took possession of all the boats without encountering any resistance. And as for the bishop, they took him prisoner and led him before Totila, but all the rest they killed, and drawing the boats up on shore with their cargoes still in them, they departed.

And Totila made such enquiries of this priest as he wished, and then accused him of not telling the truth in any respect and so cut off both his hands. Such was the course of these events. And the winter drew to a close, and the eleventh year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [546 A.D.]

Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰπεμπος ἦλθεν. ἐτύγγανε γὰρ πολὺν τινα χρόνον διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχων. [2] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Πλακεντία πολιορκούμενοι ἀπάντων ἤδη σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντων ἐς βρώσεις οὐχ ὁσίας τινάς, βιαζόμενοι τῷ λιμῷ, ἦλθον. [3] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐגעύσαντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Πλακεντίαν ὁμολογία Γότθοις παρέδωκαν. [4] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε καὶ Ῥώμην πρὸς Τουτίλα πολιορκουμένην ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει. [5] ἣν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Ῥώμης ἱερεῦσιν, ὄνομα μὲν Πελάγιος, διάκονος δὲ τὴν τιμὴν, ὅς δὴ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ χρόνον διατρίψας συχνὸν φίλος μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένος μεγάλα ἐς Ῥώμην ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγγανεν ἀφικόμενος. [6] ἐν ταύτῃ τε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορουμένοις πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων προέμενος, ὦν καὶ πρότερον ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι δόκιμος, μεῖζον, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ φιланθρωπία κλέος ἀπῆνεγκε. [7] τοῦτον Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πελάγιον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀμήχανα τῷ λιμῷ ἔπασχον, πείθουσι παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε ἰέναι καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐκεχειρίαν διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἣν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία ταύτης δὴ ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίκηται, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁμολογία καὶ τὴν πόλιν Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν. [8] ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ Πελάγιος παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦλθεν. ἤκοντά τε αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας ἀσπασάμενος αἰδοῖ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ πρῶτος ἔλεξεν ὧδε: [9] 'Πᾶσι μὲν, ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, νόμος βαρβάρους τὸ χρῆμα τῶν πρέσβων σέβειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιουμένους, οἷος αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ ἄλλως τιμᾶν ἐν σπουδῇ ἄνωθεν γέγονε. [10] τιμὴν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν οὐ πραότητι προσώπων οὐδὲ

ρήμάτων ὄγκῳ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων διακεκρίσθαι οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἢ λόγοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσιν ἐς αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι. [11] τετιμῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἐκείνῳ ξυμβαίνει, ὅτ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀποκαλύψαντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπέμπουντο, περιυβρίσθαι δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ, ὃς ἂν ὑπούλων τε καὶ ξυμπεπλασμένων ἀκούσας ῥημάτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο. [12] τριῶν τοίνυν ἐκτός, ὦ Πελάγιε, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅτου ἂν δεηθείης, οὐ μή ποτε πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀτυχῆσεις. [13] ἃ δὴ φυλασσόμενόν σε σιωπᾶν ἄμεινον, ὅπως μὴ σαυτῷ αἰτιώτατος γεγωνῶς τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνύειν ὧν ἔνεκα ἦλθες τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μέμψιν ἡμῖν ἀναθήσεις. [14] τῷ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖως τοῖς παροῦσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμπέφυκε. λέγω δὲ ὅπως μήτε Σικελιωτῶν τινος ἔνεκα μήτε τῶν Ῥώμης περιβόλων, ἢ τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσεις. [15] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἢ Γότθους φειδοῖ ἐς Σικελιωτῶν τινα χρῆσεσθαι, ἢ τόδε τὸ τεῖχος ἐστάναι, ἢ δούλους τοὺς ξὺν ἡμῖν στρατευσαμένους τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις δουλεύειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλογίστῳ ταῦτα προτείνεσθαι γνώμη τῷ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτίκα ἐξευπεῖν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκλύσομεν.' [16] 'Ἦν μὲν ἡ νῆσος εὐδαίμων ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐκεῖ φυομένων πασῶν μάλιστα, ὥστε οὐ τοῖς αὐτῇ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπαρκεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε εἰσκομιζομένους ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν φορὰν διαρκῶς ἔχειν. [17] διόπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐδέοντο Θεουδέρχου Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα Γότθων καταστῆναι φρουράν, ὥς μηδὲν αὐτῶν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἶη. [18] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων κατέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατός, οὔτε ἀνδρῶν πλήθει οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὄντες. [19] Σικελιῶται δὲ τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες οὐκ ἐς Γότθους ταῦτα ἀνήνεγκαν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι καθεῖρξαν αὐτούς, οὐκ ἄλλο προσκρούειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐδὲν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀναπετάσαντες προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ τὰς τῶν πόλεων πύλας ἐδέξαντο ὑπτίαις χερσὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀπιστότατα, ἐκ χρόνου καιροφυλακοῦντες πολλοῦ δραπετεῦσαι μὲν τῆς τῶν κεκτημένων χειρός, νέους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἀγνώτας αὐτοῖς δεσπότας εὐρεῖν. [20] ἐντεῦθεν τε ὀρμώμενοι καθάπερ ἐξ ἐπιτειγίσματος οἱ πολέμοι τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀπονῆτι ἔσχον καὶ Ῥώμην τήνδε κατέλαβον, σίτον ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπαγαγόμενοι τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πολιορκουμένοις ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ μήκος ἀντέχειν ξύμπασι Ῥωμαίοις. [21] τὰ μὲν οὖν Σικελιωτῶν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ὧνπερ αὐτοῖς Γότθους συγγνώμονας εἶναι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἔσται, τοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὄγκου παραιρουμένου τοῖς ἡδίκηκόσι τὸν ἔλεον. [22] Τούτων δὲ τῶν περιβόλων ἐντὸς καθεῖρξαντες αὐτούς οἱ πολέμοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες παρατάσσεσθαι ἡμῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, σοφίσμασι δὲ καὶ παραγωγαῖς ἀεί τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν Γότθους ἐκκρούοντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου γεγέννηται. [23] ὅπως τοίνυν καὶ ὕστερον μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιμεν προνοεῖν ἄξιον. τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαξ ἀγνοία σφαλέντας ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐκπεπτωκέναι κακοπραγίαν οὐ προειδομένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἤδη συνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, οὐ τύχης ἐναντίωμα γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄνοιαν τῶν

ἐπταικότες, ὥς τὸ εἶδος, [24] περιίστασθαι. προσθεῖη δ' ἂν τις ὡς καὶ τὸν Ῥώμης καθαιρεθῆναι περίβολον μάλιστα πάντων ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει. οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων γὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν καθειργμένοι πάντων τε ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πολιορκηθήσεσθε πρὸς τῶν ἐπιόντων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσουσι μὲν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι, ἄθλον δὲ τῶν νικῶντων ὑμεῖς οὐ μετὰ κινδύνων ὑμετέρων γενήσεσθε. [25] τῶν μέντοι προσκεχωρηκότες ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν ἔνεκα τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὥς, ἥνπερ ἐκείνους συνταξαμένους τε ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν κεκομισμένους τοῦ μή ποτε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πάλοι κεκτημένοις προήσεσθαι τανῦν ἐγχειρίσειν ὑμῖν γνοίμεν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ πιστὸν ἔχομεν. [26] οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐς τοὺς ἀπάντων οἰκτροτάτους ὀλιγοῦντα βέβαιον ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο τι γνῶρισμα ἐς πάντας τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυμβάλλοντας τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἀεὶ περιφέρειν φιλεῖ.' [27] Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Πελάγιος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε: 'Κατεσπουδάσθαι σοι μάλιστα πάντων ἐμέ τε, ὃ γενναῖε, καὶ τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ὑπειπὼν ὄνομα ἐν μοίρᾳ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀτιμοτάτῃ ξυνέταξας. [28] ὑβρίζει γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρα φίλον τε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἔγωγε οἶμαι οὐχ ὅς ἂν κατὰ κόρρης πατάξαι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀσελγείᾳ ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσαιτο, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψασθαι τὸν ἐς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα γνοίῃ. [29] οὐ γὰρ ὅπως τιμῆς πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τινὸς τύχωσι, καθεῖναι αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὅπως τι ἀγαθὸν διαπεπραγμένοι τοῖς ἐσταλκόσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπανήξωσιν. [30] ὥστε προπηλακισθέντας ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον διαπεπραχθεὶς τι ὧν ἔνεκα ἦλθον ἢ λόγων ἐπιεικεστέρων ἀκούσαντας τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχόντας ἐπανελθεῖν. παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὃ τι δεῖ περὶ τούτων ὧν αὐτὸς εἴρηκας. [31] τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἐνοχλοίῃ τὸν γε πρὸς τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀπειπόντα τὴν ξύμβασιν ; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἂν σιωπῶην, ὥς ἐνδηλος εἴ ὀπόσῃ ἐς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σοὶ ὅπλα ἀντάραντας φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι μέλλεις, ὅς ἐς Σικελιώτας τοὺς οὐδαμῇ σοὶ ἀπληντηκότας ἀκήρυκτον τὸ ἔχθος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔγνω. [32] ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μεθεὶς τὴν πρὸς σὲ δέησιν τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐς τὸν θεὸν μεταθήσομαι, ὅς δὴ τοῖς τὰς ἱκεσίας ὑπερφρονοῦσι νεμεσᾶν εἴωθε.'

XVI

AND Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, in obedience to the emperor's summons, came to Byzantium from Sicily; for he had been waiting a considerable time in Sicily for this summons.

It was at about this time that the Romans besieged in Placentia, seeing that all their provisions had now been completely exhausted, resorted to foods of an unnatural sort under constraint of famine. In fact they had actually tasted each other's flesh. And it was because of this situation that they came to terms with the Goths and surrendered both themselves and Placentia to them. Such was the course of events here.

At Rome likewise, as it laboured under the siege of Totila, all the necessities of life had already failed. Now there was a certain man among the priests of Rome, Pelagius by name, holding the office of deacon; he had passed a considerable time in Byzantium and had there become especially intimate with the Emperor Justinian, and it so happened that he had a short time previously arrived at Rome possessed of a great fortune. And during this siege he had bestowed a great part of his fortune upon those destitute of the necessities of life; and thus, though he had been a notable person even before that time, among all the Italians, now quite naturally he won still greater renown for philanthropy. So the Romans, finding their situation desperate by reason of the famine, persuaded this Pelagius to go before Totila and negotiate for them an armistice of only a few days, the understanding to be that, if within the time of that armistice no help should reach them from Byzantium, they would surrender both themselves and the city to the Goths. Pelagius accordingly went on this mission to Totila. And when he came, Totila greeted him with great respect and friendliness, and then spoke first as follows:

“Among all barbarian peoples it is a well-nigh universal custom to reverence the office of ambassadors, and I for my part have always been eager to honour particularly those, such as yourself, who can lay claim to excellence. Now it is my opinion that the distinction between honour and insult to a man clothed with the office of ambassador is not made by a smiling countenance or bombastic utterances on the part of those who receive him, but either by simply speaking the truth or, on the other hand, by addressing him with insincere speeches. For signal honour, on the one hand, is conferred upon him who has not been dismissed until the truth has been disclosed to him with directness, but the greatest possible insult, on the other hand, has been heaped upon that ambassador who takes his departure after hearing only deceitful and insincere phrases. Now, therefore, O Pelagius, with the exception of three things you will never fail to receive from us whatever you may crave. These things, then, you had best avoid and pass by without mention, so that you may

not, though having been yourself most to blame for failing to accomplish any of the objects of your coming, impute to us the blame for this failure. For the inevitable consequence of making a request inappropriate to the actual situation is generally failure to gain one's object. I warn you, then, that you are to make no plea in the interest of either anyone of the Sicilians, or the fortifications of Rome, or the slaves who have put themselves under our protection. For it is impossible either for the Goths to shew any mercy to anyone of the Sicilians or for this wall to remain standing or for the slaves who have been serving in our army to return to the service of their former masters. And in order to avoid the appearance of advancing these demands in a spirit of unreason, we shall clear ourselves of that suspicion by stating our grounds immediately.

“In the first place, then, that island from ancient times enjoyed an unrivalled degree of prosperity, as evidenced by its revenues and by the abundance of the crops produced therein, so that it not only provided enough for its inhabitants, but you Romans also were abundantly supplied by importing annually as tribute the produce of Sicilian fields. It was for this reason that the Romans begged Theoderic at the beginning of his reign that no numerous garrison of Goths should be placed there, so that no check might be put upon the freedom of the inhabitants or their general prosperity. In such circumstances the enemy's army put in at Sicily with a force which was a match for us neither in numbers of men nor in any other respect whatever. But the Sicilians, upon seeing the fleet, did not report this to the Goths, did not even shut themselves into their strongholds, did not consent to shew hostility to our adversaries in any other manner, but opening the gates of their cities with all zeal received the army of the enemy with open arms, just as I suppose the most untrustworthy slaves would do, who had for a long time been watching for the favourable moment to escape from the hand of their owners and find some new and unknown masters. Then by using that island as a base, the enemy, as if fighting from an advanced fortress, without difficulty possessed themselves of all Italy and seized upon this city of Rome, having brought with them from Sicily such a great quantity of grain that, though they were besieged for an entire year, it continued to suffice for the whole population of the city. Such is the case of the Sicilians, whose misdeeds have been such that it will be utterly impossible for the Goths to shew them forgiveness, seeing that the gravity of the accusations sweeps away all compassion for the guilty.

“In the second place, it was within these walls that our enemy shut himself and from which he was quite unwilling to come down into the plain and array himself against us, but by crafty wiles and baffling tricks, he ever flouted the Goths from day to day, and thus became, quite undeservedly, master of our possessions. Consequently it is worth while for us to make provision that we shall not have this same experience a second time. For when men who have once met with a reverse through ignorance fall into the same evil plight again

without providing against the calamity which has already become familiar to them by experience, men believe what has befallen them to be no adversity of fortune, but in all likelihood a proof of the folly of the victims of the disaster. And one might add that the destruction of the walls of Rome will benefit you above all others. For you will not hereafter be shut in with others and excluded from all the necessities of life while you suffer siege at the hands of the assailants of the city, but, on the contrary, the two armies will stake their chances in open battle against one another, while you, without perils on your part, will simply become the prize of the victors. In the third place, regarding the slaves who have put themselves under our protection, we shall say only this, that if, after they have taken their places in our ranks against our adversaries and have received from us the promise that we will never abandon them to their former masters, we should at the present juncture decide to put them into your hands, we shall have no right to be trusted by you either. For it is impossible — impossible, I say — for the man who makes light of his covenant with the most unfortunate of men to give evidence of a spirit that can be relied on in dealing with anyone else, but he always carries along with him his untrustworthiness, just as he does any other characteristic that reveals his true nature in all his dealings with other men.”

Thus spoke Totila; and Pelagius replied as follows: “Though you began, excellent Sir, by saying that you have the very greatest admiration not only for me, but also for the ambassadorial title, you have in fact assigned us to the very lowest grade of dishonour. Indeed I for my part think that he who really insults one who is both friend and ambassador is not the man who may strike him on the head or otherwise maltreat him, but rather he who decides to allow his visitor to depart with his mission unaccomplished. For it is not with the purpose of achieving any honour at the hands of those who receive them that men are accustomed to submit to the labours of an embassy, but in order that they may return with some good accomplished to those who have sent them. Consequently, it will be more favourable to their purpose to have been treated with wanton contempt and still have accomplished some of the objects for which they came, than, after hearing more courteous words, to return disappointed in their hope. Turning now to the present situation, I know not what plea I ought to make concerning those things which you yourself have mentioned. For why should one importune him who had refused an agreement before hearing the plea? This, however, I could not leave unsaid, that it is clear what measure of kindness you are purposing to display toward the Romans who have taken up arms against you, seeing that, with regard to the Sicilians, you have determined to vent your enmity upon them without mercy, though they have in no way opposed you. But as for me, I shall give over my petition to you and refer my mission to God, who is accustomed to send retribution upon those who scorn the prayers of suppliants.”

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἄπρακτον

ἐπανήκοντα εἶδον, ἐν πολλῇ ἀμνηχανία ἐγένοντο. ἔτι τε μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων ὁ λιμὸς ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ἀνήκεστα αὐτοὺς ἔργα εἰργάζετο. τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας οὕτω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀντείχον. [2] διὸ δὴ ἄθροοι Ῥωμαῖοι γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι, Βέσσα τε καὶ Κόνωνι, προσελθόντες, δεδακρυμένοι ζὺν οἰμωγῇ πολλῇ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: 'Τοιαύτας μὲν οὕσας, ὧ στρατηγοί, τύχας ἡμῖν τὰς παρούσας ὁρῶμεν, ὥστε εἰ καὶ τι δρᾷν ὑμᾶς ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἰσχύομεν, οὐκ ἂν τινα ἡμῖν τὸ ἐγκλημα τοῦτο μέμψιν ἐπήνεγκεν. [3] ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπερβολὴ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει. νῦν δὲ ἀμύνειν ἔργῳ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, δηλώσοντές τε λόγῳ καὶ ἀποκλαύσοντες τὴν ξυμφορὰν παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκομεν. ὅπως δὲ ἀκούσησθε πρῶως, οὐ ξυνταρασσόμενοι τῷ τῶν λόγων θράσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πάθους ἀκμῇ τοῦτο σταθμώμενοι. [4] ὁ γὰρ ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡναγκασμένος οὐκ ἔργοις, οὐ ῥήμασι τὴν εὐκοσμίαν διασώσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν δύναται. [5] ἡμᾶς, ὧ στρατηγοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε ξυγγενεῖς ὑμῖν νομίζετε εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοτρόπους τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας ἥθεσι γεγονέναι, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἐκόντας τῇ πόλει τὸν βασιλέως δέχεσθαι στρατόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίους τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας καὶ ὅπλα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀραμένους, εἴτα ἡσσηθέντας τῇ μάχῃ, ἀνδράποδα δορυάλωτα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ γε τὸν τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι νόμον. [6] καὶ χορηγεῖτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἰχμαλώτοις τροφὴν οὐ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἀποχρῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχουσιν, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς περιόντες ἀνθυπουργήσωμεν ὑμῖν ὅσα τοὺς οἰκέτας τοῖς κεκτημένοις ὑπηρετεῖν ἄξιον. [7] εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ ῥάδιον ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοῦτε χειρός, ἐκεῖνο κερδανοῦντες, τὸ μὴ περὶ τὰς τῶν δούλων πονεῖσθαι ταφάς: ἦν δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀπολέλειπται, ἀποκτινύναι ἡμᾶς ἄξιον τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστερήσετε τελευτῆς σῶφρονος μὴδὲ θανάτου φθονήσητε τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου, ἀλλὰ πράξει μιᾷ μυρίων ἀπαλλάξατε Ῥωμαίους [8] δυσκόλων.' ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βέσσαν ἀκούσαντες τὸ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν σφίσιν ἀδύνατον, τὸ δὲ ἀποκτινύναι ἀνόσιον ἔφασαν εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀφεῖναι ἀκίνδυνον. Βελισάριον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίσαντο, ταύτῃ τε αὐτοὺς παρηγορήσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο. [9] Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων τε καὶ μηκυνόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα κακοῦ ἦρετο, βρώσεις ὑποβάλλων ἐκτόπους τε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερορίους. [10] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων, οἵπερ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχον 'σίτου γὰρ πολὺ τι μέτρον ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται χρεῖας τῆς οἰκείας ἀποτεμνόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο Ῥωμαίων τοῖς εὖ πράσσουσι χρημάτων μεγάλων: μεδίμνου μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ ἐπτὰ ἐγεγόνει χρυσοῖ. [11] οἷς μέντοι οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐφέρετο, ὥστε βρώσεως ἐς τόσον ἄξιωτέρας μεταλαγχάνειν ἱκανοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς τὸ τεταρτημόριον κατατιθέντες πιτύρων τε τὸ μέδιμνον ἐμπλησάμενοι ἦσθιον, τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτοῖς ἡδίστην τε καὶ τρυφερωτάτην ποιούσης τὴν βρῶσιν. [12] καὶ βοῦν δέ, ὃν ἂν ἐπεξιόντες οἱ Βέσσα ὑπασπιστὰι λάβοιεν, ἀπεδίδοντο κατὰ πεντήκοντα χρυσῶν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἵππος τεθνεῶς ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ὑπῆρχεν, ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν εὐδαίμοσιν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ἐτάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ κρέασι ζῶου τεθνηκότος ἐντρυφᾷν εἶχεν. [13] ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος ἅπας ὁμιλος τὰς ἀκαλήφας

μόνας ἦσθιον, οἶαι πολλαὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον κὰν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις πανταχῇ τῆς πόλεως φύονται. [14] ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῖς μὴ τὸ τῆς πόας δριμύν τά τε χεῖλη καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν φάρυγγα δάκνη οὐ παρέργως αὐτὰς ἔψοντες ἦσθιον. [15] Τέως μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα εἶχον, οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ πίτυρα ὠνούμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἦδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα βίον αὐτῶν τὸν ἐφήμερον ἀντηλλάσσοντο. [16] τελευτῶντες δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται σῖτον οὐκ εἶχον, ὄνπερ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀπόδονται, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τῷ Βέσσαι ὀλίγος ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, οὕτε Ῥωμαῖοι ὅτου ὠνοῖντο, ἐς τὰς ἀκαλήφας ἅπαντες ἐβλεπον. [17] ταύτης δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ διαρκούσης τῆς βρώσεως, οἱ γε οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰέναι παντάπασιν εἶχον, ἐξίτηλοι μὲν αἱ σάρκες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγίνοντο, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα ἐς τὸ πελιδνὸν κατὰ βραχὺ ἦκον εἰδῶλοις αὐτοὺς ἐμφερεστάτους εἰργάζετο. [18] πολλοὶ τε βαδίζοντες ἔτι καὶ τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτοῖς μασσομένων τὰς ἀκαλήφας, ἔθνησκόν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἐς γῆν ἐπιπτον. [19] ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων τὴν κόπρον ἦσθιον. πολλοὶ τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι διεχρήσαντο, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε κύνας οὔτε μῦς εὔρισκον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ζῶον νεκρὸν ὅτῳ σιτίζοντο. [20] Ἦν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ, πέντε παίδων πατήρ, ὃν δὴ περιστάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἀπτόμενοι τροφὴν ἔπραττον· [21] ὁ δὲ οὔτε ἀνοιμώζας οὔτε ὅτι ξυνεταράχθη ἐνδηλος γεγωνός, ἀλλ' ἰσχυρότατα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ πάθος ὅλον ἀποκρυσάμενος, ἔπεσθαί οἱ τοὺς παῖδας ὡς δὴ τροφὴν ληψομένους ἐκέλευεν. [22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν γέφυραν ἦλθε, δήσας ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ θοιμάτιον, τούτῳ τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καλυπτόμενος ἤλατο ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὕδωρ, θεωμένων τὰ δρώμενα τῶν τε παίδων καὶ πάντων Ῥωμαίων οἱ ταύτῃ ἦσαν. [23] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες λαμβάνοντες χρήματα ἕτερα μεθῆκαν Ῥωμαίους ὅσοις ἐνθένδε βουλομένοις ἦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. [24] ὀλίγων τε ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὄχοντο φεύγοντες ὥς πη ἕκαστος δυνατὸς ἐγεγόνει. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῆς δυνάμεως καταμαρανθείσης αὐτοῖς τῷ λιμῷ ἦδη πλέοντες ἢ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἀπέθανον. [25] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διεφθάρησαν. Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐκεχωρήκει ἐς τοῦτο ἡ τύχη.

XVII

WITH such words Pelagius departed. And when the Romans saw him returning unsuccessful, they fell into a state of helpless despair. For the famine, becoming still more acute, was working terrible havoc among them from day to day. The soldiers, however, had not yet exhausted their supplies, but they could still hold out. The Romans therefore gathered in a throng and came before Bessas and Conon, the commanders of the emperor's army; there with weeping and loud lamentation they spoke to them as follows: "The fate, Generals, which we see to be upon us at the present time is such that, if we actually had the power to commit some unholy deed against you, such a crime would have brought upon us no reproach. For the overwhelming constraint of necessity furnishes of itself a sufficient defence. But now, seeing that our strength cannot suffice for our defence, we have resorted to words and have come before you to make our position clear and to lament over our misfortune; and do you hear us with forbearance, not being stirred up by the boldness of our words, but judging it with due regard to the acuteness of our suffering. For he who has been compelled to despair of safety can no longer control his actions — no, nor his words — so as to preserve decorum. As for us, Generals, do not consider us to be either Romans or fellow-countrymen of yours, or even to have assimilated our ways of government to yours, and do not suppose that in the beginning we received the emperor's army into the city willingly, but regard us as enemies from the first and as men who have taken up arms against you, and later, when defeated in battle, have become your captive slaves simply in accordance with the customs of war. And do you furnish sustenance to these your captives, if not in quantities sufficient for our needs, at least in such measure as to make life possible, that by your so doing we too may survive and render you such service in return as it is fitting that slaves should render their masters. But if you find this difficult or contrary to your wish, then at least consent to release us from your hands, by which action you will gain this advantage that you will not be troubled by the burial of your slaves. And if even this favour is not left us, deign to put us to death and do not deprive us of an honourable end nor begrudge us death, which to us is the sweetest of all things, but by a single act free the Romans from ten thousand troubles." When Bessas and his officers heard this, they asserted, firstly, that to furnish them with provisions was impossible, secondly, that to put them to death would be unholy, and, thirdly, that even to release them was not without danger. But they insisted that Belisarius with the army from Byzantium would arrive right speedily, and after thus consoling them sent them away.

But the famine, becoming more severe as time went on, was greatly increasing its ravages, driving men to discover monstrous foods unknown to

the natural desires of man. Now at first, since Bessas and Conon, who commanded the garrison in Rome, had, as it happened, stored away a vast supply of grain for their own use within the walls of Rome, they as well as the soldiers were constantly taking from the portion assigned for their own needs and selling at a great price to such Romans as were rich; for the price of a bushel had reached seven gold pieces. Those however, whose domestic circumstances were such that they were unable to partake of food which was so much dearer, were able, by paying in cash one fourth of this price, to get their bushel measures filled with bran; this was their food and necessity made it most sweet and dainty to their taste. As for beef, whenever the bodyguards of Bessas captured an ox in making a sally, they sold it for fifty gold pieces. And if any man had a horse or any other animal which had died, this Roman was counted among those exceedingly fortunate, seeing that he was able to live luxuriously upon the flesh of a dead animal. But all the rest of the numerous inhabitants were eating nettles only, such as grow in abundance about the walls and among the ruins in all parts of the city. And in order to prevent the pungent herb from stinging their lips and throat they boiled them thoroughly before eating.

So long, then, as the Romans had their gold currency, they bought their grain and bran in the manner described and went their way; but when their supply of this had at length failed, then they brought all their household goods to the forum and exchanged them for their daily sustenance. But when, finally, the soldiers of the emperor had no grain which they could possibly sell to the Romans (except, indeed, that Bessas still had a little left), nor had the Romans anything with which to buy, they all turned to the nettles. But this food was insufficient for them, for it was utterly impossible to satisfy themselves with it, and consequently their flesh withered away almost entirely, while their colour, gradually turning to a livid hue, gave them a most ghostly appearance. And it happened to many that, even as they walked along chewing the nettles with their teeth, death came suddenly upon them and they fell to the ground. And now they were even beginning to eat each other's dung. There were many too, who, because of the pressure of the famine, destroyed themselves with their own hands; for they could no longer find either dogs or mice or any dead animal of any kind on which to feed.

Now there was a Roman in the city, the father of five children; and they gathered about him and, laying hold of his garment, kept demanding food. But he, without a word of lament and without letting it be seen that he was sorely troubled, but most steadfastly concealing all his suffering in his mind, bade the children follow him as if for the purpose of getting food. But when he came to the bridge over the Tiber, he tied his cloak over his face, thus concealing his eyes, and leaped from the bridge into the waters of the Tiber, the deed being witnessed both by his children and by all the Romans who were there.

From that time on the imperial commanders, upon receiving further money, released such of the Romans as desired to depart from the city. And only a few were left in the city; for all the rest made their escape by flight in whatever manner proved possible for each one. But the most of these, since their strength had been utterly wasted away by the famine, perished as soon as they had begun their journey, whether by water or by land. Many too were caught on the road by the enemy and destroyed. To such a pass had come the fortune of the senate and people of Rome.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ζῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Ἰσαάκῃ στράτευμα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνόν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ζυνέμιζεν, Ἰωάννης μὲν ἅπαντας διαπορθμευσάμενους ἡξίου τὸν κόλπον πεζῇ ἰόντας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κοινῇ τὰ προσπίπτοντα φέρειν, Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ἀξύμφορον τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πλέουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην χωρία μᾶλλον ζυνοῖσιν· [2] πεζῇ γὰρ ἰοῦσι χρόνον τε σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πλείω καὶ τι ὑπαντιάσειν ἴσως ἐμπόδιον· Ἰωάννην δὲ διὰ τε Καλαβρῶν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ἰόντα ἐξελάσαι μὲν ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάρους ὄντας, ὑποχείρια δὲ ποιησάμενον τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ζυμμιῶσαι σφίσιν ἦκοντα ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην χωρία. [3] οὗ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καταίρειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διενοεῖτο. ᾧτο γὰρ πικρότατα πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τινα, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, βραχυτάτην τριβὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα λυμανεῖσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. [4] καὶ πλέουσι μὲν ἀνέμου τε σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος πεμπταίοις ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα καταίρειν δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι, στρατῷ δὲ ἐκ Δρυοῦντος πεζῇ ἰοῦσιν οὐδ' ἂν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι. [5] Ταῦτα βελισάριος Ἰωάννῃ ἐπιστείλας παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρε· πνεύματος δὲ σκληροῦ σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος Δρυοῦντι προσέσχον. [6] οὐπὲρ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι, ὅσοι δὴ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φρουρίου, διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρεῖαν εὐθὺς κομίζονται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βρεντέσιον, δυοῖν μὲν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Δρυοῦντος διέχουσιν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀκτῇ τοῦ κόλπου κειμένην, ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν, ὑποτοπάζοντες Βελισάριον αὐτίκα δὴ διαβήσεσθαι τὸν ἐκεῖνη πορθμόν, ἔς τε Τουτίλαν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. [7] ὁ δὲ πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ὥς ὑπαντιάσων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιήσατο καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ ἐκέλευεν, ὅπῃ ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη, τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν. [8] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἐκ Δρυοῦντος ἀπέπλευσεν, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀφροντιστήσαντες δίαίταν οὐ κατεσπουδασμένην ἐν Καλαβροῖς εἶχον καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἡσυχῇ μένων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφύλασσε τὰς ἐς Ῥώμην εισόδους, ὥς μή τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνατὰ εἴη. [9] ἐν τε τῷ Τιβέριδι ἐπενόει τάδε. χώρον κατανοήσας ἥ μάλιστα ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν στενῷ κάτεισιν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐνενήκοντα, δοκοὺς ἐσάγαν μακρὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας ὁχθῆς ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐξικνουμένας ἐνταῦθα ἐς γεφύρας κατέθετο σχῆμα. [10] πύργους τε δύο ξυλίλους παρ' ἐκατέραν ὁχθὴν τεκτηνάμενος φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν, ὥς μηκέτι ἀκάτοις τιςὶν ἢ πλοίοις ἄλλοις ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἀναγομένοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιτητὰ εἴη. [11] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος μὲν ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα κατήρε, καὶ τὸ ζῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στράτευμα ἔμενεν.

Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Καλαβρίαν διαπορθμεύεται, Γότθων ἥκιστα αἰσθομένων, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διατριβὴν εἶχον. [12] δύο τε τῶν πολεμίων λαβὼν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ὁδῷ ἰόντας τὸν μὲν ἕνα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων λαβόμενος ζωγραῖσθαι ἤξiou. [13] ‘Οὐ γὰρ ἀχρεῖός σοι,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἔσομαι.’ ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννου, τί δὲ οὐκ ἀπολούμενος συνοίσεις ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ μέλλει, Γότθοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἥκιστα προσδεχομένοις ἐπιστήσιν αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο. [14] καὶ ὃς ἀτυχῆσιν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς δεήσεως σὺδαμῇ ἔφασκε, χρῆναι δὲ οἱ πρῶτα τὰς τῶν ἵπων νομὰς ἐνδεικνύναι. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁμολόγει καὶ ταῦτα ὁ βάρβαρος σὺν αὐτῷ ἦει. [15] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἵππους νεμομένους καταλαβόντες ἀναθρόκουσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πεζοὶ ὄντες ἐτύγγανον: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ χωροῦσι δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον. [16] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καταπλαγέντες αὐτοῦ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, σὺδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες διαφυγόντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐκομίσθησαν. [17] Ἰωάννης δὲ Καλαβροὺς ἅπαντας παρηγορῶν τε καὶ τιθασσεύων ἐς εὐνοίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπηγάγετο, πολλὰ σφίσι ὑποσχόμενος πρὸς τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι. [18] ἄρας τε ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, πόλιν καταλαμβάνει Κανούσιον ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ἐν Απουλίοις που μέσοις, πέντε δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Βρεντεσίου διέχει ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἰόντι. [19] τούτου Κανουσίου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσι Κάνναι, ἵνα δὲ λέγουσι Λιβύων στρατηγοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀννίβαλος τὸ μέγα πάθος ζυμῆναι Ῥωμαίους. [20] Ἐνταῦθα Τουλλιανὸς τις, Βεναντίου παῖς, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, δύναμιν πολλὴν ἐν τε Βριττίοις καὶ Λευκανοῖς ἔχων, Ἰωάννῃ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἡττιᾶτο μὲν τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν τῶν πρόσθεν ἐς Ἰταλιώτας αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένων, ὁμολόγει δέ, ἦν τι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιεικεῖα ἐς αὐτοὺς χρήσονται, Βριττίους τε καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσι, κατηκόους βασιλεῖ αὐτῆς ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐσομένους οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἢ πρότερον ἦσαν. [21] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς προσκεχωρηκέναι βαρβάροις τε καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς οὖσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων βιαζομένους, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ἀδικουμένους. [22] Ἰωάννου δὲ πάντα ἰσχυριζομένου πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιώταις τάγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, ζῆν αὐτῷ ὁ Τουλλιανὸς ἦει. [23] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑποψία οἱ στρατιῶται σὺδεμιᾶ ἐς Ἰταλιώτας ἔτι εἶχοντο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου φίλιά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει κατήκοα. [24] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἤκουσε, Γότθων τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Καπύην πέμπει. οἷς δὲ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴν τὸ ζῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατεύμα ἐνθένδε ἴδοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντας, ἔπεσθαι σφίσι αἰσθησιν αὐτοῖς σὺδεμίαν παρεχομένους: [25] αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα μελήσειν. δείσας τε διὰ ταῦτα Ἰωάννης μὴ ἐς κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ ἐμπέσῃ, παρὰ Βελισάριον μὲν οὐκέτι ἦει, ἐς δὲ Βριττίους καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐχώρει. [26] Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Γότθοις Ῥεκμοῦνδος, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὅνπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ τῇ Βριττίων φρουρᾷ καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καὶ Μαυρουσίων αὐτομόλων τινὰς ἔχοντα, ἐφ’ ᾧ ζῆν αὐτοῖς τὸν τε κατὰ Σκύλλαν φυλάξει πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν

ταύτη ἡϊόνα, ὡς μήτε ἐνθένδε τινὲς ἀπαίρειν ἐς Σικελίαν μήτε ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐνταῦθα καταπλεῖν ἀδεέστερον οἰοί τε ᾧσι. [27] τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ μεταξὺ Ῥηγίου τε καὶ Βέβωνος ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ αὐτάγγελος Ἰωάννης ἐπιπεσὼν κατέπληξέ τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς αὐτοὺς μεμνημένους, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. [28] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, δύσβατόν τε ὄν καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, κατέφυγον, Ἰωάννης δὲ διώξας τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει γενόμενος, οὕτω τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις κρατυναμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθων, πλείστους μὲν τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἔκτεινεν, ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένους, Ῥεκιμοῦνδον δὲ καὶ Γότθους ξὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ὁμολογία εἶλεν. [29] Ἰωάννης μὲν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐς αἰὲ καραδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ἐμέμφετό τε ὅτι δὴ οὐ διακινδυνεύσας τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καπύῃ φυλάσσουσι τριακοσίοις οὗσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἤκων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίοδον ἐνεχείρησε, καίπερ βαρβάρους ἀριστίνδην ξυνειλεγμένους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. Ἰωάννης δὲ τὴν δίοδον ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀπουλίας ἐχώρησεν, ἐν τε χωρίῳ Κερβαρίῳ καλουμένῳ ἡσύχαζε.

XVIII

WHEN the army under John and Isaac had reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius, John, on the one hand, urged that they ferry all the troops across the gulf and proceed by land with the whole army, meeting together whatever opposition might develop against them; but Belisarius, on the other hand, considered this plan inexpedient, and thought that more was to be gained by sailing to the neighbourhood of Rome; for in going by land they would consume a longer time, and would perhaps be confronted by some obstacle; John meanwhile was to march through the territory of the Calabrians and the other peoples of that region, drive out the few barbarians who were there, and, after reducing to submission the territory south of the Ionian Gulf, march to the neighbourhood of Rome and rejoin his friends; it was here, indeed, that Belisarius purposed to land with the rest of the army. For he thought that, since the Romans were suffering most cruelly in the siege, even the smallest delay would, in all probability, bring disaster to their cause. And if they went by sea and met with a favouring wind, it would be possible to land at the harbour of Rome on the fifth day, while an army marching by land from Dryus could not reach Rome even within forty days.

So Belisarius gave these directions to John and set sail from there with his whole fleet; but a violent wind fell upon them, and they put in at Dryus. And when the Goths who had been stationed there to besiege the fortress saw this fleet, they abandoned the siege and straightway betook themselves to the neighbourhood of Brundisium, a city two days' journey distant from Dryus, situated on the coast of the gulf and without walls; for they supposed that Belisarius would immediately pass through the strait at Dryus; and they reported their situation to Totila. He, for his part, put his own army in readiness to oppose Belisarius and commanded the Goths in Calabria to keep the passes under guard as best they could.

But when Belisarius, finding a favourable wind, sailed away from Dryus, the Goths in Calabria thought no more of him and began to conduct themselves carelessly, while Totila was content to remain quiet and to guard still more closely the approaches to Rome, so that it might be impossible to bring any kind of provisions into the city. And he devised the following structure on the Tiber. Observing a place where the river flows in a very narrow channel, about ninety stades distant from the city, he placed very long timbers, reaching from one bank to the other, so as to form a bridge at that point. Then he constructed two wooden towers, one on either bank, and placed in each one a garrison of warlike men, so that it might be no longer possible for boats of any kind whatever to make their way up from Portus and so enter the city.

Meanwhile Belisarius, on his part, landed at the harbour of Rome, while John

with his army was remaining where he was. Then John ferried his force over to Calabria, quite unobserved by the Goths, who, as stated above, were waiting in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. And he captured two of the enemy who were going out as scouts, one of whom he killed immediately; but the other laid hold of his knees and begged to be made a prisoner. "For," he said, "I shall not be useless to you and the Roman army." And when John asked him what advantage he could possibly confer upon the Romans and him if he was not destroyed, the man promised to enable him to fall upon the Goths while they had not the least expectation of such a thing. Then John said that his prayer should not fail to be heard, but first he must shew him the pastures of their horses. This too the barbarian agreed to do and so he went with him. And first, upon finding the enemy's horses pasturing, all the men who happened to be on foot leaped upon their backs; and there was a large number of such men comprising some of the best troops. Next they advanced at full speed upon the camp of their opponents. And the barbarians, being unarmed and utterly unprepared, and terror-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, were most of them destroyed where they stood, utterly forgetful of their valour, and only a small number succeeded in escaping and made their way to Totila.

Then John began to console and pacify all the Calabrians, endeavouring to win them to loyalty to the emperor and promising that they would receive many benefits both from the emperor and from the Roman army. Then, departing as quickly as he could from Brundisium, he captured a city, Canusium by name, which is situated approximately at the centre of Apulia and is distant from Brundisium five days' journey as one goes westward toward Rome. Twenty five stades away from this city of Canusium is Cannae, where they say the Romans in early times suffered their great disaster at the hand of Hannibal, the general of the Libyans. [216 B.C.]

In that city a certain Tullianus, son of Venantius, a Roman who possessed great power among the Brutii and Lucani, came before John and made charges against the emperor's army for the treatment they had previously meted out to the Italians, but he agreed that, if the army thereafter should treat them with some degree of consideration, he would hand over Bruttium and Lucania to the Romans, to be again subject and tributary to the emperor no less truly than they had been before. For it was not, he said, by their own will that they had yielded to men who were both barbarians and Arians, but because they had been placed under most dire constraint by their opponents, and had also been treated with injustice by the emperor's soldiers. And upon John's declaration that thereafter the Italians would receive every blessing from the army, Tullianus went with him. Consequently the soldiers no longer entertained any suspicion as regards the Italians, but the most of the territory south of the Ionian Gulf had become friendly to them and subject to the emperor.

But when Totila heard this, he selected three hundred of the Goths and sent them to Capua. These men he instructed that, whenever they saw the army of John marching thence toward Rome, they should simply follow him without drawing attention to themselves; for he himself would attend to the rest. In consequence of this John became afraid that he would fall into some trap and be surrounded by the enemy, and so discontinued his movement to join Belisarius, and instead marched into the territory of the Bruttii and Lucani.

Now there was a certain Rhecimundus among the Goths, a man of note whom Totila had appointed to keep guard over Bruttium; he had under him some of the Goths as well as Roman soldiers and Moors who had deserted, and his instructions were to guard with these troops the Strait of Scylla and the adjoining coast, so that no one might be able fearlessly to set sail from there for Sicily nor to land there from the island. This army was surprised by John, whose presence had not been reported to them; and he fell upon them at a point between Rhegium and Vevon, threw them into consternation by a sudden attack, utterly heedless as they were of their valour, and turned them immediately to flight. And they sought refuge by fleeing to the mountain which rises near by, a difficult one to climb and generally precipitous; but John pursued them and reached the steep slopes along with the enemy, and thus, before they had as yet secured their position on the rough mountain-side, he engaged with them and killed many of the Moors and Roman soldiers, though they offered a most vigorous resistance, and captured by surrender Rhecimundus and the Goths together with all who remained.

After accomplishing this feat, John still continued to remain where he was, while Belisarius, constantly expecting John, remained inactive. And Belisarius kept reproaching him because he would not take the risk of meeting in battle the force on guard at Capua, only three hundred in number, and endeavour to make his way through, in spite of the fact that he had barbarians under his command who were men selected for their valour. But John abandoned that plan, and proceeded to a place in Apulia, called Cervarium, where he remained in idleness.

Δείσας οὖν Βελισάριος ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, μή τι ἀνήκεστον δράσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσκομίζειν διενοεῖτο. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς γε τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ὥστε μάχῃ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, πρότερον ἐπενόει τάδε. [3] ἀκάτους δύο ἐσάγαν εὐρείας ζεύξας τε καὶ λίαν ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδήσας, πύργον ξύλινον ἐπὶ αὐταῖς ἐτεκτῆνατο, πολλῶ καθυπέρτερον τῶν τοῖς πολεμίῳις ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ πεποιημένων. [4] ξυμμετρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔτυχε πρότερον, πέμψας τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, οἵπερ εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτόμολοι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο. [5] δρόμωνάς τε διακοσίους τείχεσι ξυλίνοις περιβαλὼν ἐς Τίβεριν καθῆκε, πανταχόθι τῶν ξυλίνων τειχῶν τρυπήματα ποιησάμενος, ὅπως δὴ βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθὲνδε σφίσι

δυνατὰ εἶη. σῖτόν τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλὰ τοῖς δρόμωσι
τούτοις ἐνθήμενος στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐπλήρου. [6]
στρατιώτας δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππεις ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν χωρίοις ἐχυροῖς
τισιν ἀμφὶ τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἔστησεν, οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευσε μένειν τε
αὐτοῦ καί, ἣν τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸν Πόρτον ἴωσι, διακωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ
πάσῃ. [7] τὸν δὲ Ἰσαάκην ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἐσαγαγὼν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν
γυναῖκα παρέδωκε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων ἐτύγχανε. καὶ οἱ ἐπέστελλε
μηδεμιᾷ ἐνθένδε μηχανῇ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδ' ἦν Βελισάριον πύθηται πρὸς
τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς αἰεὶ ἔχεσθαι, ὅπως, ἣν τι
σφίσιν ἐναντίωμα ὑπαντιάσῃ, ἔξουσιν ὅπῃ διαφυγόντες σωθήσονται. [8]
ὀχύρωμα γὰρ ἄλλο ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφίσι
πανταχόσε πολέμια ἦν. [9] Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς ἓνα τῶν δρομώνων ἐσβὰς τοῦ τε
στόλου ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὰς ἀκάτους ἐφέλκειν ἐκέλευεν, [10] οὗ δὴ τὸν πύργον
ἐτύγχανε τεκτινάμενος. τοῦ δὲ πύργου ὑπερθεῖν λέμβον τινὰ ἔθετο, πίσεως τε
καὶ θείου καὶ ῥητίνης αὐτὸν ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσα δὴ
τοῦ πυρὸς βρῶσις ὀξυτάτῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. [11] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἣ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ, καὶ πεζὸς
παραβεβηθήκει στρατός. [12] πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βέσσαν τῇ προτεραίᾳ
ἐκέλευε τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πολλῶν στρατῶν ἐπεξιόντα ζυνταράξαι τὰ τῶν
πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ὅπερ οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστεῖλας πολλάκις ἤδη
ἐτύγχανεν. [13] ἀλλὰ Βέσσας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐπιτελῇ
ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελόμενα ἔγνω. [14] ἔτι γάρ οἱ μόνῳ τι τοῦ σίτου ἐλέλειπτο,
ἐπεὶ ὅσον ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ Σικελίας ἄρχοντες πρότερον ἔπεμψαν τοῖς τε
στρατιώταις ἐπαρκέσοντα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντί, αὐτὸς ὀλίγον μὲν κομιδῇ τῷ
δήμῳ ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον κεκομισμένος ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῳ
ἀπέκρυσεν, ὥνπερ τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων μεγάλων
διαλύεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἥκιστα ἤθελε. [15] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ
Ῥωμαίων στόλος πόνῳ ἀναπλέοντες ἄτε τοῦ ρεύματος σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος
ἦσαν. Γότθοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν ἡσυχῇ
ἔμενον. [16] ἤδη δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄγχιστα τῆς γεφύρας γενόμενοι φρουρᾷ πολεμίων
ἐνέτυχον, οἱ δὴ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σειρᾷ σιδηρᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ
ἐτετάχατο, ἣν οὐ πολλῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἐναποθέμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ἐκ
τῆς ἐτέρας τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθης ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐξικνουμένην, ὅπως δὴ
μηδὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν γέφυραν ἰέναι οἱ ἐναντίοι εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. [17] καὶ αὐτῶν
βάλλοντες τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλυσιν ἀνελόμενοι
εὐθὺ τῆς γεφύρας ἐχώρησαν. ἐπειδὴ τε τάχιστα ἐς αὐτὴν ἦλθον, ἔργου
εἶχοντο, οἱ τε βάρβαροι ἐκ τῶν πύργων ἡμύνοντο καρτερώτατα. [18] ἤδη δὲ καὶ
ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐξαναστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν. Τότε δὴ
Βελισάριος τὰς ἀκάτους, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ὁ πύργος πεποιήται, ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἀγαγὼν
θατέρου τῶν πολεμίων πύργου, ὃς δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Πόρτον ὁδοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰστήκει, ἐκέλευε τὸν λέμβον ὑφάψαντας ὑπερθεῖν τῶν
πολεμίων τοῦ πύργου ρίπτειν. [19] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.
ἐμπεσὼν δὲ τῷ πύργῳ ὁ λέμβος αὐτόν τε αὐτίκα μάλα ἐνέπρησε καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ
Γότθους ἅπαντας, ἐς διακοσίους μάλιστα ὄντας. [20] ἐκαύθη δὲ καὶ Ὀσδας σὺν

αὐτοῖς, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε, Γότθων ἀπάντων μαχιμώτατος ὢν. θαρσήσαντες δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπιβεβοηθηκότας βαρβάρους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἔβαλλον. [21] οἱ δὲ καταπεπληγμένοι τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα, ὥς ἕκαστός πη ἠδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο: τῆς τε γεφύρας Ῥωμαῖοι ἤπτοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἔμελλον αὐτίκα μάλα διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἰέναι, ἔς τε Ῥώμην κομίζεσθαι οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος. [22] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα βουλομένη τῇ τύχῃ, τῶν τινος φθονερῶν δαιμόνων μηχανὴ γέγονεν, ἣ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [23] Ἐν ᾧ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῆδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐφέρετο, ἐν τούτῳ τις φήμη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Πόρτον ἔλθοῦσα περιήγγελλεν, ὥς νικῶν μὲν Βελισάριος, ἀνέλοιτο δὲ τὴν ἄλυσιν, διαφθείρας τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [24] Ἰσαάκης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κλέους τοῦδε μεταλαχεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. τὰς τε Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς ἀλογήσας, ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην ἀπιὼν ὄχθετο. [25] καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὕσπερ ἐνταῦθα Βελισάριος καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν, ἱππεῖς ἐπαγόμενος ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαρακωμα ἤλαυνεν, οὗ Ῥουδέριχος ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [26] ἐπελθὼν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ Ῥουδέριχον ὑπαντίασαντα ἔπληξεν. [27] οἱ δὲ Γότθοι εὐθὺς λιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπεχώρησαν, ἣ πλῆθος πολεμίων ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰσαάκην ὀπισθεν εἶναι, ἣ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξαπατῶντες, ὅπως δὴ αὐτούς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ἐλεῖν δύνωνται. [28] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ Ἰσαάκῃ εἰσδύσαντες ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαρακωμα τὸν τε ἄργυρον ὅσπερ ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα ἤρπαζον. [29] ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ αὐτίκα οἱ Γότθοι πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνουσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ζῶντα δὲ Ἰσαάκην ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν οὐ πολλοῖς εἶλον. ἤκοντές τε ἱππεῖς παρὰ Βελισάριον δρόμῳ ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι δὴ ἔχοιτο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων Ἰσαάκης. [30] Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλαγεὶς οἷς ἠκηκόει καὶ οὐ διερευνησάμενος ὅποιά ποτε μηχανῇ Ἰσαάκης ἀλόφῃ, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος τὸν τε Πόρτον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἅπαντα διεφθάρθαι σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἄλλο τε οὐδὲν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ὀχύρωμα, ὅποι ἂν καταφυγόντες τὸ λοιπὸν σώζοιντο, ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκεν οὐ γεγονὸς αὐτῷ πρότερον τοῦτό γε. [31] διὸ δὴ κατὰ τάχος ὀπίσω ὑπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ὥς ἐπιθησόμενος μὲν ἀτάκτοις ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἀνασωσόμενος δὲ πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ χωρίον. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. [32] ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόρτῳ γενόμενος Βελισάριος, τὴν τε Ἰσαάκου μανίαν ἔγνω καὶ τῆς οὐ δέον οἱ αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης παραχρῆς ἥσθετο, τῷ τε τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματι περιώδυνος γεγωνὸς ἐνόσει τὸ σῶμα. [33] πυρετὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενόμενος ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ὑπερφυῶς τε αὐτὸν ἠνία καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον θανάτου ἦγεν. [34] ἡμέραιν δὲ δυοῖν ὕστερον Ῥουδερίχῳ τε ξυνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας περιαλήσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ τὸν Ἰσαάκην διέφθειρε.

XIX

BELISARIUS, therefore, dreading that the besieged would do something desperate because of the lack of provisions, began to make plans to convey his supplies into Rome by some means or other. And since he plainly had no force sufficient to pit against the enemy, so that he could fight a decisive battle with them in the plain, he first arranged the following plan. He chose two skiffs of very unusual breadth and, after fastening them together and lashing them very firmly to one another, constructed a wooden tower upon them, making it much higher than those made by the enemy at their bridge. For he had previously had them accurately measured by sending some of his men, who, as it was made to appear, were going over to the barbarians as deserters. Next he built wooden walls upon two hundred swift-sailing boats and launched them in the Tiber, having caused openings to be made in all parts of the wooden walls, in order that his men might be able to shoot at the enemy through them. Finally he loaded grain and many other kinds of provisions on these boats and manned them with his most warlike soldiers. He also stationed other troops, both infantry and cavalry, on either side of the river in certain strong positions near the mouth of the Tiber, commanding them to remain at their posts and, if any of the enemy should threaten Portus, to prevent them with all their strength. But he stationed Isaac inside Portus, and it was to him that he entrusted both the city and his wife and whatever else he happened to possess there. And he directed him in no circumstances to go away from the city, not even if he learned that Belisarius had perished at the hand of the enemy, but to maintain a close and constant guard, so that, if any reverse should befall the Romans, they might have a place where they could take refuge and save themselves. For they held no other stronghold at all in that region, but the whole country in every direction was hostile to them.

Then he himself embarked on one of the swift boats and led on the fleet, giving orders to tow the boats on which he had constructed the tower. Now he had placed on the top of the tower a little boat which he had caused to be filled with pitch, sulphur, resin, and all the other substances on which fire naturally feeds most fiercely. And on the other bank of the river — that on the right as one goes from Portus to Rome — a force of infantry was also drawn up along the stream to support him. But he had sent word to Bessas the day before commanding that on the following day he should make a sally with a strong force and throw the enemy's camp into confusion; and indeed this was the same command that he had already sent him many a time before. But neither on previous occasions nor during the present battle did Bessas see fit to carry out his orders. For now he was the only one who still had any grain left, since of all the grain which the magistrates of Sicily had previously sent to Rome to suffice both for the soldiers and for the whole population, he had

let an exceedingly small amount go to the populace, while he had taken for himself the largest part on the pretext of providing for the soldiers and had hidden it away; and since he was selling this reserve to the senators at high prices, he by no means wished the siege to be broken.

Meanwhile Belisarius and the Roman fleet were making their way upstream in spite of the difficulty caused by the adverse current. The Goths, however, offered no opposition, but remained quietly in their fortified camps. But immediately upon coming close to the bridge, the Romans encountered a hostile guard; this force had been stationed on either side of the river to protect an iron chain which Totila had put in place there not long before, the which chain reached from one bank of the Tiber to the other, and its purpose was to make it difficult for the enemy to get even as far as the bridge. And they killed some of the guards with their missiles and turned the rest to flight, then lifted out the chain and went straight on toward the bridge. And as soon as they came up to it, they opened their attack, while the barbarians, shooting from the towers, were striving most vigorously to drive them back. By this time, too, the barbarians had started out from their fortified camps and were rushing to the bridge.

Just at that moment Belisarius brought the skiffs on which the tower had been built as close as possible to one of the towers of the enemy — the one which stood on the road to Portus at the very edge of the water — and gave orders to set fire to the little boat and throw it on top of the enemy's tower. And the Romans carried out this order. Now when this little boat fell upon the tower, it very quickly set fire to it, and not only was the tower itself consumed, but also all the Goths in it, to the number of about two hundred. And among those thus burned was Osdas, their commander, who was the most warlike of all the Goths. Whereupon the Romans took courage and began to discharge their missiles still faster than before against the barbarians who had come to the support of their comrades. As for the Goths, they were struck with consternation at the turn of events, and facing about rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. The Romans then began to destroy the bridge and were ready, after wrecking it in a twinkling, to go ahead and proceed into Rome with no further opposition. But, since this was not the will of fortune, some envious spirit interposed and contrived to ruin the cause of the Romans in the following manner.

While the two armies were engaged in the operations just described, meantime a report fraught with ill for the Romans reached Portus and the tidings spread that Belisarius was victorious and had taken up the chain after destroying the barbarians at that point, and all the rest which I have told above. Now when Isaac heard this, he could no longer contain himself, but was eager to have a hand in that glorious victory. So, disregarding the instructions of Belisarius, he was off as quickly as possible to the other side of

the river. And he took with him a hundred horsemen from among the troops which Belisarius had stationed there, and advanced against the enemy's stockade, which was commanded by Ruderic, a capable warrior. Then he made a sudden assault upon the barbarians in the camp and smote a certain number of them, including Ruderic who had come out against him. The Goths, for their part, immediately abandoned the camp and withdrew, either because they supposed that Isaac had a very large hostile force in the rear, or by way of deceiving their opponents so that they might be able to capture them, as actually happened.

So Isaac's men penetrated the hostile camp, and began to plunder the silver which lay there and the other valuables. But the Goths immediately returned and slew many of their opponents, but took Isaac alive along with some few others. Horsemen then hastened to Belisarius and reported that Isaac was in the hands of the enemy. Belisarius was thunderstruck at what he heard, and, without investigating in what manner Isaac could have been captured, but thinking that both Portus and his wife were lost and that complete disaster had fallen upon the Romans, in that no other stronghold remained where they could now take refuge and save themselves, he fell into a state of speechlessness, an experience which he had never had before. It was for this reason that he hastily withdrew his forces to the rear, with the intention of attacking the enemy while they were still in disorder and recovering the town at all costs.

So the Roman army withdrew from the bridge without accomplishing its object. But when Belisarius reached Portus, he learned of the madness of Isaac and perceived that his own excitement had been without reason; whereupon he was so overcome with sorrow at this adversity of fortune that he fell sick. For a fever came on which by its long continuance harassed him sorely and brought him into danger of death. Two days later it came about that Ruderic died, and Totila, being exceedingly grieved at his loss, put Isaac to death.

Βέσσας τε τὸν σῖτον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεμπολῶν ἐπλούτει, πρυτανευούσης αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὅλος εἰς μέριμναν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακῶς οὔτε φυλακῆς τοῦ περιβόλου οὔτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ἀσφαλείας πέρι ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπτωκέναι μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς γε βουλομένοις ἐξῆν, φυλακτῆριον δὲ ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπημελημένον ὡς μάλιστα. [2] οἷς γὰρ αἰεὶ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπικεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε, πολλῇ ἐξουσία τοῦ καθεύδειν ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφειστήκει, ὅστις ἂν καὶ λόγον τινὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ποιοῖτο: οὐδὲ περιόντες τινὲς κύκλω τῶν περιβόλων, ἥπερ εἰώθει, διερευνᾶσθαι τοὺς φύλακας ὃ τί ποτε ποιοῦσιν ἠξίου, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τις τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτοῖς ξυμφυλάσσειν ἠδύνατο. [3] ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ κομιδῇ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐλείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπερφυῶς κεκακωμένοι. [4] Τέσσαρες οὖν Ἰσάυροι, ἀμφὶ πύλην

Ἀσιναρίαν φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, τηρήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐχομένοις καθεύδειν ἐπέβαλλεν, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ἐκείνη τείχους ἐπέκειτο, κάλως τε ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀναρτήσαντες ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξικνουμένους, καὶ τούτων χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις λαβόμενοι ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀφικόμενοι δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει αὐτόν τε ὁμολόγουν καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν: δυνατοὶ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [5] καὶ ὃς χάριτας σφίσιν ἀδράς ἔξειν ὁμολογήσας, ἦνπερ ἐπιτελῇ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κυρίους τε αὐτοὺς καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, δύο τῶν ἐπομένων ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε κατασκευασμένους τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι Γότθοις ἔφασκον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. [6] οὔπερ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφίκοντο, τῶν καλωδίων λαβόμενοι ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, οὐδενὸς ἐνταῦθα ἢ φθεγγομένου ἢ τῶν ποιουμένων αἰσθησιν ἔχοντος. [7] ἐπειδὴ τε ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, τοῖς βαρβάροις οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ πάντα ἐδείκνυν, ὥς ἀνίεναι μὲν βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐμπόδιον εἶη, ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ πολλὴ ἂν ἐξουσία γένοιτο σφίσιν, οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ταῦτά τε αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν Τουτίλᾳ κελεύσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο. [8] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἦσθη μὲν πως τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ, ὑποψία δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐς τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐχόμενος οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν ἤξιον. [9] ἡμέραις τε οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον αὖθις οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκον, ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ ὃς ἐτέρους δύο ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἅπαντα διερευνησάμενοι ἀπαγγείλωσιν. [10] οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκοντες ἅπαντα ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἠγγέλλον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται πολλοὶ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στελλόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν Γότθοις δέκα ὁδῶ ἰοῦσιν ἐνέτυχον, οὓς δὴ ἐλόντες παρὰ τὸν Βέσσαν εὐθὺς ἄγουσι. [11] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ὃ τί ποτε ὁ Τουτίλας διανοοῖτο, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τινος σφίσιν Ἰσαύρων ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν: ἤδη γὰρ ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐγεγόνει. [12] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων ἀκούσαντες ἔν τε πολλῇ ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἔσχον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐντροπὴν οὐδεμίαν πεποιήντο. καὶ τρίτον οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ ἔργον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνήγον. [13] ὁ δὲ ἄλλους τε ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶ κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων τινά, οἵπερ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλαντες ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπέρρωσαν. [14] Τουτίλας δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νῦξ ἐγεγόνει, ἅπαν ἡσυχῇ ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγεν ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀσιναρίαν. καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐν Γότθοις ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἰσχύος πέρι εὖ ἠκόντων ζὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις διὰ τῶν βρόχων ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευεν, ἐς ἐκεῖνον δηλονότι τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐς ὃν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ταύτῃ τείχους ὕπνον ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῶν ἄλλων αἰρουμένων ἐπέβαλεν. [15] οὔπερ, ἐπειδὴ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καταβαίνουσι μὲν ἐς πύλας τὰς Ἀσιναρίας, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τό τε ξύλον πελέκεσι διαφθείρουσιν ὥπερ ἐνέρσει τοίχου ἐκατέρου ἐναρμοσθέντι τὰς πύλας ἐπιζευγνύναι εἰώθεσαν, τά τε σιδηρία ξύμπαντα οἷς δὴ τὰς κλεῖς αἰεὶ οἱ φύλακες ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἐκλείον τε τὰς πύλας καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀνέωγον. [16] οὕτω δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες, ἦπερ ἐβούλοντο, τῇ πόλει Τουτίλαν τε καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐδέξαντο. Τουτίλας

δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐς ἓνα χῶρον ξυναγαγὼν σκεδάννυσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἴασεν· ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι ξυμβαίνειν ταραχῆς δέ, [17] ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῇ πόλει καὶ θορύβου ἐπιτεσόντος οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔφευγον, ὥς πη ἐκάστω εὐπετὲς γέγονεν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσι. [18] τῶν δὲ πατρικίων Δέκιος καὶ Βασίλειος ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἵπποι γὰρ σφίσι παρόντες ἔτυχον ξὺν τῷ Βέσσα φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [19] Μάξιμος δὲ καὶ Ὀλύβριος καὶ Ὀρέστης καὶ τινες ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν ἔφυγον. τοῦ μέντοι δήμου πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπολελεῖσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ κατέφυγον μόλις. [20] τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν ἀπιόντες ἤδη πρότερον ἐς ἐτέρας ὥχοντο χώρας, οἱ δὲ τῷ λιμῷ διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλα νύκτωρ ἠγγέλλον ὅτι δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ χαρίεντα τὸν λόγον αὐτοὺς εἰρηκέναι εἰπὼν οὐκ εἶα διώκειν. [21] τί γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον ἀνθρώπῳ γένοιτο, ἔφη, πολεμίων φευγόντων; [22] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν ἡδὴ καὶ οὐδεμία ἐτι ἐνέδρας τινὸς ὑποψία ἐλέλειπτο, Τουτίλας μὲν ἐς τὸν Πέτρου νεῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὐξόμενος ἦει, Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας διέφθειρον. [23] ἀπέθανόν τε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἑξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἐξήκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, Πελάγιος αὐτῷ ἐς ὅσιν ἤλθε τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ φέρων, παντὶ τε τρόπῳ τὴν ἱκεσίαν προτεινόμενος ‘Φείδου τῶν σῶν, ὦ δέσποτα’ εἶπε. [24] καὶ ὡς ἐπιτωθάζων τε καὶ ἐνδιαθρυπτόμενος ἔφη ‘Νῦν με, ὦ Πελάγιε, ἱκετεύσων ἐλήλυθας.’ ‘Ὅτε με’ ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπεκρίνατο ‘δοῦλον σὸν ὁ θεὸς εἶναι πεποίηκεν. [25] ἀλλὰ δούλων τῶν σῶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὦ δέσποτα, φείδου.’ ταύτην ὁ Τουτίλας τὴν ἱκεσίαν δεξάμενος ἀπεῖπε Γότθοις μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποκτινύναι τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ τιμιώτατα ἐξελεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐξουσίαν ληΐζεσθαι. [26] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πατρικίων οἰκίαις εὗρε, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα οὐτὲρ ὁ Βέσσας κατέλυε. τὰς γὰρ ἀνοσίας, ὡς γε δεδήλωται, τοῦ σίτου τιμὰς ὁ κακοδαίμων Τουτίλα ἤθροιζεν. [27] οὕτω τε περιέστη τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ῥουστικιανῇ, τῇ Βοετίου μὲν γαμετῇ γενομένη, παιδί δὲ Συμμάχου, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προῖεμένη, δούλων τε καὶ ἀγροίκων ἀμπεχομένοις ἱμάτια, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρτον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων αἰτουμένοις βιοῦν. [28] ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας περιόντες καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐς ἀεὶ κόπτοντες τροφὴν διδόναι σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου. [29] Καὶ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥουστικιανὴν κτείνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ χρήματα προῖεμένη τοῖς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι τὰς Θευδερίχου εἰκόνας διαφθείρειε, τοὺς φόνους ἀμυνομένη Συμμάχου τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Βοετίου τοῦ ξυνοικήσαντος. [30] Τουτίλας δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν αὐτὴν ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας ὕβρεως ἐκτὸς διεφύλαξε, καίτερ Γότθων ἐς κοίτην ὡς μάλιστα ἐφιεμένων αὐταῖς ξυνελθεῖν. [31] διόπερ αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾶ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσθαι ξυνέβη οὔτε ἀνδρὶ ξυνοικουσίῃ οὔτε παρθένῳ ἢ χήρᾳ οὔσῃ, μέγα τε κλέος ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου Τουτίλας ἔσχε.

MEANWHILE Bessas continued to grow more wealthy than ever by retailing his grain, since his prices were fixed by the necessity of those who wanted it. And since he was entirely wrapped up in his concern for this traffic, he neither paid heed to the defence of the walls nor concerned himself with any other measures for security whatsoever, but any of the soldiers who so wished were allowed to neglect their duties; and meanwhile there was only an insignificant garrison on the walls, and even this received very little attention. For those who chanced from day to day to be assigned to guard duty were freely permitted to sleep, since no one was put in command of them who might possibly take some notice of such an act; nor did any officers consent to go the rounds of the fortifications, as had been customary, and inspect the guards to see what they were doing, and furthermore not one of the citizens was able to assist them in keeping guard; for an exceedingly small number, as I have said, were left in the city and these were wasted to the last degree by the famine.

Thus it came about that four Isaurians who were keeping guard by the Asinarian Gate did as follows: having waited carefully for that part of the night during which it always fell to the lot of the soldiers next them to sleep while the guarding of that portion of the wall devolved upon them, they fastened ropes to the battlement long enough to reach down to the ground, and laying hold of these with both hands got outside the fortifications; then they went before Totila and agreed to receive him and the Gothic army into the city; for, as they declared, they were able to do this without any trouble. And Totila promised that he would be exceedingly grateful to them if they made good these promises and that he would put them in possession of great sums of money; he then sent with them two of his men to look over the place from which these men claimed that the Goths could effect an entrance into the city. So this party came up beside the wall and, laying hold of the ropes, ascended to the battlement, where not a man uttered a sound or observed what was going on. So when they reached the top, the Isaurians shewed the barbarians everything, namely that those who wished to ascend would meet with no obstacle, and that after they had come up they would have complete freedom of action, meeting as they would with not the least resistance; then, after bidding them carry this report to Totila, they sent them away.

Now when Totila heard this report, he was, in a way, pleased at the intelligence, but, notwithstanding this, he felt a suspicion as regards the Isaurians and was not inclined to place very much confidence in them. Not many days later these men came to him again, urging him to undertake the enterprise. Totila thereupon sent two other men with them, with instructions

that they too should make a thorough investigation of the whole situation and bring back a report. And these men, upon returning to him, made a report in all respects like that of those previously sent. But during this time a large force of Roman soldiers, who were out on a reconnoitering expedition, charged upon ten Goths walking along a road not far from the city, and they took them prisoners and straightway brought them before Bessas. And he enquired of these barbarians what Totila's purpose really was; and the Goths said that he was in hopes that some of the Isaurians would deliver the city to him: for the story had already become known to many of the barbarians. But even when Bessas and Conon heard this, they treated the matter with great unconcern and took no heed of the report. And a third time the Isaurians came into the presence of Totila and tried to induce the man to do the deed. So he sent with them a number of men and among them one related to him by blood, and they, upon returning to him, reported the whole situation and encouraged him to proceed.

Totila, then, as soon as night came on, put his whole force under arms in silence and led them up near the Asinarian Gate. And he commanded four men who were conspicuous among the Goths for their bravery and strength to climb up the ropes with the Isaurians to the battlements, during that part of the night, of course, in which the guarding of that portion of the wall fell to the Isaurians while the others were taking their turn at sleeping. And when these men got inside the fortifications, they descended to the Asinarian Gate without meeting any opposition; there they shattered with axes both the wooden beam with which the Romans customarily made the gates fast by fitting it into recesses in the wall on either side, and also all the ironwork into which the guards always inserted their keys to shut the gates or open them according to the need of the moment. Then they swung the gates open, just as they wished to do, and without any trouble received Totila and the Gothic army into the city.

But Totila collected his men there in one place and would not allow them to scatter at all, for he feared that they would fall into some ambush set by the enemy. And tumult and confusion, as was natural, fell upon the city, and the most of the Roman soldiers were fleeing with their commanders through another gate, each one taking whatever course he found easy to follow, while only a few with the rest of the Romans were taking refuge in the sanctuaries. Among the patricians Decius and Basilus, in company with a few others (for horses happened to be at hand for them) succeeded in escaping with Bessas. But Maximus, Olyvrius, Orestes, and some others fled to the church of the Apostle Peter. Among the common people, however, it so fell out that only five hundred men had been left throughout the whole city, and these with difficulty found refuge in the sanctuaries. For all the rest of the population were gone, some having departed to other lands and some having been carried off by the famine, as I have stated above. Now many persons during that night

kept reporting to Totila that both Bessas and the enemy were fleeing. But he, saying the report they had given was a pleasing one, would not permit a pursuit. “For what could be sweeter for a man,” he said, “than a fleeing enemy?”

When it was already day and there was now no suspicion left of any ambush, Totila, for his part, went to the church of the Apostle Peter to — pray, but the Goths began to slay — those who fell in their way. And in this manner there perished among the soldiers twenty-six, and among the people sixty. And when Totila had come to the sanctuary, Pelagius came before him carrying the Christian scriptures in his hand, and, making supplication in every manner possible, said “Spare thine own, O Master.” And — Totila, — mocking him — with a haughty air of indifference, said “Now at — last, Pelagius, you have come to make yourself a suppliant before me.”

“Yes” replied Pelagius, “at a time when God has made me your slave. Nay, spare your slaves, O Master, from now on.” And Totila received this supplication with favour and forbade the Goths thereafter to kill any Roman at all, but he permitted them, while setting aside for him the most valuable of the property, to have unrestricted authority to plunder all the rest for themselves.

Now he found much of value in the houses of patricians, but most of all in the house where Bessas had lodged. For that ill-starred wretch had been only collecting for Totila the outrageous sums which, as set forth above, he had charged for the grain. And thus the Romans in general, and particularly the members of the senate, found themselves reduced to such straits that they clothed themselves in the garments of slaves and rustics, and lived by begging bread or any other food from their enemies; a very notable example of this change of fortune being that of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, who had been wife of Boethius, a woman who was always lavishing her wealth upon the needy. Indeed these wretches went about to all the houses and kept knocking at the doors and begging that they give them food, feeling no shame in doing so.

Now the Goths, on their part, were eager to put Rusticiana to death, bringing against her the charge that after bribing the commanders of the Roman army, she had destroyed the statues of Theodoric, her motive in so doing having been to avenge the murder not only of her father Symmachus, but also of her husband Boethius. But Totila would not permit her to suffer any harm, but he guarded both her and all the other women safe from insult, although the Goths were extremely eager to have intercourse with them. Consequently not one of them had the ill fortune to suffer personal insult, whether married, unwed, or widow, and Totila won great renown for moderation from this course.

Τῇ δὲ ὕστεραιᾳ Γότθους ἅπαντας ζυγκαλέσας ὁ Τουτίλας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Οὐ

καινήν τινα οὐδὲ ἀγνώτα ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ἐρῶν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν πολλάκις ἐς ὑμᾶς
εἶπον, ὑμῖν δὲ αὐτὰ ἐνδεξαμένοις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.
[2] μὴ τοίνυν τινὶ ὀλιγωρία διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παραίνεσιν τανῦν χρήρησθε. [3]
λόγων γὰρ τῶν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀγόντων κόρον οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι,
κἂν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τις ἀποκναίειν δοκῇ: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν
εὐεργεσίαν ἀπειπεῖν ἄξιον. [4] λέγω δὲ ὅτι πρῶην μὲν ἐς μυριάδας εἴκοσι
μαχιμωτάτων ξυνιόντες στρατιωτῶν πλούτῳ τε ὑπερφυεῖ χρώμενοι καὶ ἵππων
τε καὶ ὀπλων περιουσίαν τινά, ὥς ἔνι μάλιστα, ἐνδεικνύμενοι, καὶ γερόντων
ξυνετωτάτων πολλὸν ὅμιλον, ὅπερ τοῖς ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένοις
ξυμφορώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων Γραικῶν ἡσσηθέντες,
τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀφηρήμεθα. [5] νῦν δ' ἡμῖν ἐς
ὀλίγους ἀπολειφθεῖσι γυμνοὺς τε καὶ οἰκτροὺς καὶ οὐδ' ὅτουοῦν τῶν πάντων
ἐμπείρους κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων πλέον ἢ διςμυρίων ὄντων τετύχηκε. [6] τὰ
μὲν οὖν πεπραγμένα συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ: τὰς δὲ τῶν οὕτω
ξυμβαινόντων αἰτίας ἐν εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα δηλώσω: ὅτι Γότθοι μὲν
πρότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων περὶ ἐλάσσονος πεποιημένοι τὸ δίκαιον,
ἔπρασσον ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς κατηκόους Ῥωμαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, οἷς δὴ,
ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἡγμένος ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τότε ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστράτευσε. [7]
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλήθει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ τῶν
ἐναντίων παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες δυνάμει τινὶ ἀφανεῖ τε καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα
γινωσκομένη ἡσσηθήμεν. [8] οὐκοῦν τὸ φυλάξαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται,
διασώζουσι δηλονότι τὸ δίκαιον. μεταβαλλομένοις γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πολέμια ἔσται. [9] οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένει οὐδὲ φύσει ἐθνῶν
ξυμμαχεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος τιμῶτο. πόνος τε
οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τὰγαθὰ ἐφ' ἐτέρους μετενεγκεῖν. [10] ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ
ἀδικεῖν μόνον ἐν γνώμῃ ἐστί, θεῷ δὲ ξύμπαντα ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐφύκε κεῖσθαι.
[11] φημὶ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς χρῆναι τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς
κατηκόους τηρεῖν. ταυτὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη λέγειν τὴν εὐημερίαν ἐς αἰεὶ
διασώζεσθαι.' [12] Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἐς τοὺς Γότθους εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ξυγκαλέσας πολλὰ ὠνείδισέ τε καὶ ἐκάκισεν, οἱ δὲ πολλὰ
πρὸς τε Θεουδερῖχου καὶ Ἀταλαρίχου ἀγαθὰ πεπονθότες, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἀπάσης αὐτοὶ ἐς αἰεὶ καταστάντες καὶ τὴν τε πολιτείαν διοικησάμενοι,
πλούτου τε περιβεβλημένοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, εἴτα ἐς Γότθους τοὺς εὐεργέτας
πολλῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἐχόμενοι, ἐς ἀπόστασίν τε οὐ δέον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
πονηρῷ ἴδοιεν καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐπαγάγοιντο, προδόμενοι σφῶν
αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγεννημένοι. [13] καὶ ἀνεπνυθάνετο μὲν εἴ τι πρὸς
Γότθων πάθοιεν αὐτοὶ κακὸν πώποτε. [14] λέγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζεν, εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν
σφίσι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ξυμβαίνει, καταλέγων ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅτι
δὴ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀφήρηντο σχεδὸν τι ἀπάσας, πρὸς δὲ τῶν καλουμένων
λογοθετῶν αἰκίζόμενοι λογισμοὺς ἐκτίνειν τῶν σφίσιν ἐς Γότθους
πεπολιτευμένων ἀναγκασθεῖεν καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένοι φόρους τοὺς
δημοσίους οὐδέν τι ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τοῖς Γραικοῖς φέροιεν: ἄλλα
τε πολλὰ ἐνετίθει τῷ λόγῳ, ὅσα δεσπότην δυσμενῇ τοὺς δεδουλωμένους

ὄνειδίζειν εἰκός. [15] Ἡρωδιανόν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ παραδόντας Ἰσαύρους “Ὑμεῖς μὲν” ἔφη “ζύντροφοι Γότθοις γεγενημένοι οὐδὲ χῶρόν τινα ἔρημον ἐς τήνδε ἡμῖν ἐνδιδόναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγνώκατε, οἶδε δὲ ἡμᾶς Ῥώμη τε αὐτῇ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ ἐδέξαντο. [16] διόπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οἰκετῶν λόγῳ γεγέννησθε, οὗτοι δὲ Γότθοις φίλοι τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ συγγενεῖς γεγενημένοι τὰς ὑμετέρας [17] ἀρχὰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν.” οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρίκιοι ταῦτα ἀκούοντες σιωπῇ εἶχοντο. Πελάγιος δὲ Τουτίλαν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν ἐπταικότες τε καὶ δεδυστυχηκότες παραιτούμενος οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτοὺς φιλανθρωπίας ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. [18] Ἐπειτα δὲ Πελάγιόν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ῥητόρων ἓνα, Θεόδωρον ὄνομα, πρέσβεις ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλεν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινотάτοις καταλαβὼν, ὅτι τε εὐνοία ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσονται καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξουσιν. [19] ἐπέστελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ παντὶ σθένει παρὰ βασιλέως πορίζεσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζεται Ῥώμην ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ζύμπασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου διαφθείρας βουλῆς ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγειν. καὶ γράμματα δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. [20] ἤδη μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ζυμπεπτωκότα. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦλθον, ἀπήγγειλάν τε ὅσα ὁ Τουτίλας σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισαν. [21] Ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: “Ὅσα μὲν ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ μεμαθηκέναι σε ἅπαντα οἶμαι, σιωπᾶν ἐγνώκα. [22] ὦν δὲ ἕνεκα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπέσταλκα τούσδε αὐτίκα εἶση. αἰτούμεθα τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὰ σέ τε προσίεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν. [23] ὥνπερ μνημεῖά τε καὶ παραδείγματα κάλλιστα ἔχομεν Ἀναστάσιόν τε καὶ Θεωδέρικον, οἱ βεβασилεύκασιν μὲν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων ἅπαντα ἐνεπλήσαντο τὸν κατ’ αὐτοὺς χρόνον. [24] ἦν γάρ σοι ταῦτά ποτε βουλομένῳ εἶη, πατήρ τε ἂν ἐμὸς εἰκότως καλοῖο καὶ συμμαχούς [25] ἡμᾶς ἐφ’ οὓς ἂν βούλοιο τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξεις.” ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων ἅπαντας ἤκουσεν, ἀπεπέμψατο αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τοῦτό τε μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ Τουτίλᾳ γράψας, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου πεποιήται Βελισάριον, κύριός τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος εἶη τὰ πρὸς Τουτίλαν ὅπως βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι.

Ox the day following the capture Totila gathered all the Goths together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is not with the purpose of making to you any new or unknown exhortation that I have brought you together in this place, but in order to say those very things which I have often said to you, and which you for your part have heeded with the result that the greatest of blessings have fallen to your lot. Do not, therefore, on this account regard this present exhortation as of little moment. For when words lead to good fortune, men ought not to feel surfeit of them, even though the speaker seem to wear out his hearers with much speaking; for they cannot reasonably reject the benefit gained from such words. Now what I would say is this: only yesterday, as it were, we assembled a host of two hundred thousand most warlike soldiers, we had at our disposal enormous wealth, and could display a lavish abundance of both horses and arms, we had a numerous company of mature men of the greatest discretion — a circumstance considered most advantageous for those entering upon a war — and yet, with all this in our favour, we were vanquished by five thousand Greeklings, and for no good reason were stripped of our power and everything else that was ours. But now it has been our fortune, though reduced to a small number, destitute of arms and in pitiable plight and without any experience at all, to gain the mastery over an enemy more than twenty thousand strong. Our experience, then, to put it in a word, has been such as I have described. But the causes of this outcome, though you know them full well, I must now state to you. The Goths in earlier times paid less heed to justice than to any other thing, and treated each other and their Roman subjects as well in an unholy manner; wherefore God was then moved to take the field against them on the side of their enemies. And so, although we were far superior to our opponents in number and in valour and in the general equipment for war, we were defeated by a power which was invisible and quite uncomprehended. It will therefore rest with you to guard your blessings — manifestly by continuing to observe justice. For if you change your course, God too will instantly change His favour and become hostile to you. For it is not His wont to fight with a race of men or a particular nation, but with such as shew the greater honour to justice. And for Him it is no labour to transfer his blessings from one people to the other. For whereas only to refrain from wrong-doing inheres in the will of man, God by His very nature has all things in His power. I say, therefore, that you must observe justice strictly both in your dealings with each other and with your subjects; for it would amount to the same thing to tell you to preserve your good fortune for ever."

After Totila had made this speech before the Goths, he likewise called together the members of the Roman senate, and reproached and abused them

at length, saying that, although they had received many benefits from both Theoderic and Atalaric, in that they themselves had always been appointed to the chief offices throughout the kingdom and had thus administered the government, and had, furthermore, amassed vast wealth, still they had acted with such ingratitude toward the Goths, their benefactors, that, regardless of their obligations, they had planned a revolt to their own harm, and brought in the Greeks to attack their fatherland, thus turning traitors to themselves on the impulse of the moment. Then, after enquiring whether they had ever suffered any personal harm at the hands of the Goths, he compelled them to state whether any good thing came to them from the Emperor Justinian, reviewing all that had happened in order: first, they had, he said, been stripped of practically all the offices; second, they had been maltreated by the *logothetes*, as they were called, in that they had been compelled to settle accounts for their treatment of the Goths during their official careers; and, third, although they were in dire straits on account of the war, they were paying the Greeks not a whit less in public taxes than in times of peace. And he included many other things too in his speech, such things as an angry master might be expected to say in upbraiding men who have become his slaves. Then he set before them Herodian and the Isaurians who had handed over the city to him, and said: "You, who have been reared together with the Goths, have not up to the present day seen fit to surrender to us even one empty town, but these men have received us into Rome itself and Spolitium. By this action you have been reduced to the rank of household slaves, while these men, seeing that they have really proved themselves friends and kinsmen of the Goths, will hold your offices hereafter " Now when the patricians heard this, they sat in silence. But Pelagius began to plead with Totila for them as men who had suffered reverse and misfortune, and would not let him go until he made them a promise of kind treatment and thus sent them away.

After this he sent Pelagius and one of the Roman orators, Theodoras by name, as envoys to the Emperor Justinian, having bound them by most solemn oaths that they would remain loyal to him and would make every effort to return to Italy as quickly as possible. And he instructed them to exert themselves to the utmost to secure peace for him from the emperor, in order, as he said, that he, for his part, might not be compelled to raze Rome entirely to the ground, to destroy the members of the senate, and to carry the war into Illyricum. And he also wrote a letter to the Emperor Justinian. Now the emperor had already heard of what had taken place in Italy. But when later on the envoys came before him, they delivered the message which Totila had instructed them to bring and put the letter into his hands.

Now the contents of the letter were as follows: "As to what has transpired in the city of Rome, since I suppose thou hast learned everything, I have decided to remain silent. But as to the purpose for which I have sent these envoys, thou shalt straightway be informed. We demand that thou, for thy part, take to

thysself the advantages which flow from peace and also grant them to us. These advantages are recalled and exemplified most admirably in the lives of Anastasius and Theoderic, who ruled as kings not long ago, and filled their whole reigns with peace and prosperity. And if this same condition should perchance please thee, thou wouldst properly be called my father, and thou wilt also have us hereafter as allies against whomsoever thou mayest wish to use us.” When the Emperor Justinian saw this letter thus brought to him, and heard all the words of the envoys, he dismissed them instantly, giving them only this reply and writing it to Totila, that he had made Belisarius supreme commander in the war, and that he, consequently, had full power to make such settlement with Totila as he wished.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Βυζάντιον καὶ αὖθις ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν Λευκανοῖς τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Τουλλιανὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνι ἀγροίκους ἀγείρας τὴν εἴσοδον στενοτάτην οὖσαν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι κακουργήσοντες ἴοιεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Λευκανίας χωρία. [3] καὶ Ἄνται δὲ αὐτοῖς τριακόσιοι ξυμφύλασσαν, οὕσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα δεηθέντι Τουλλιανῷ ἀπολιπὼν πρότερον ἔτυχεν· ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μάχεσθαι ἐν δυσχωρίαις πάντων μάλιστα. [4] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔμαθε, Γότθους μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον καθεῖναι ἀξύνμορον ὤετο εἶναι, ἀγροίκων δὲ πλῆθος ἀγείρας, Γότθων τε ξυμπέμπας αὐτοῖς ὀλίγους τινάς, ἐκέλευε τῆς εἰσόδου σθένει παντὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι. [5] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν, ὠθισμὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, Ἄνται δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς δυσχωρίας σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τουλλιανὸν ἀγροίκους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐτρέψαντο. [6] φόνος τε αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει πολὺς. Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἔγνω Ῥώμην μὲν καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπολιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Λευκανοῦς ἰέναι. [7] τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντός μάλιστα. ἐμπιπρᾶν δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἔμελλε, Ῥώμην τε μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος μαθὼν πρέσβεις τε καὶ γράμματα παρ’ αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. [8] οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ Τουτίλας ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθον, εἰπὼν τε ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκοιεν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· Ἰσχυρὸς μὲν κάλλι οὐκ ὄντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπων ἂν φρονίμων εὐρήματα εἶεν καὶ πολιτικῶς βιοτεύειν ἐπισταμένων, ὄντα δὲ ἀφανίζειν τοὺς γε ἀξυνέτους εἰκὸς καὶ γνώρισμα τοῦτο τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως οὐκ αἰσχυνομένους χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀπολιπεῖν. [9] Ῥώμη μέντοι πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι ὑφ’ ἡλίῳ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη ὁμολόγηται εἶναι. [10] οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἀρετῇ εἵργασται οὐδὲ χρόνου βραχείας δυνάμει ἐς τόσον μεγέθους τε καὶ κάλλους ἀφίκται, ἀλλὰ βασιλέων μὲν πλῆθος, ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἀρίστων συμμορίαί πολλαί, χρόνου τε μικροῦ καὶ πλούτου ἐξουσίας ὑπερβολὴ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τεχνίτας ἀνθρώπους ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [11] οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν τοιαύτην, οἷανπερ ὄρεᾶς, κατὰ βραχὺ τεκτηνόμενοι, μνημεῖα τῆς πάντων ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐπιγενησομένοις ἀπέλιπον, ὥστε ἢ ἐς ταῦτα ἐπήρεια εἰκότως ἂν

ἀδίκημα μέγα ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος δόξειεν εἶναι: [12] ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προγεγεννημένους τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς μνήμην, τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγεννησομένους τῶν ἔργων τὴν θέαν. [13] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἐκεῖνο εὖ ἴσθι, ὥς δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ ἡσσηθήσῃ βασιλέως ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ, ἡ περιέσῃ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι. [14] ἦν μὲν οὖν νικῶης, Ῥώμην τε καθελὼν, οὐ τὴν ἐτέρου του, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀπολωλεκῶς ἄν, ὃ βέλτιστε, εἴης, καὶ διαφυλάξας, κτήματι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν πάντων καλλίστῳ πλουτήσεις: ἦν δέ γε τὴν χεῖρῳ σοι τύχην πληροῦσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, σώσαντι μὲν Ῥώμην χάρις ἂν σώζοιτο παρὰ τῷ νενικηκότι πολλή, διαφθεῖραντι δὲ φιланθρωπίας τε οὐδεὶς ἐτι λελείπεται λόγος καὶ προσέσται τὸ μηδὲν τοῦ ἔργου ἀπόνασθαι. [15] καταλήψεται δέ σε καὶ δόξα τῆς πράξεως ἀξία πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἥπερ ἐφ' ἐκάτερά σοι τῆς γνώμης ἐτοιμῶς ἔσθηκεν, [16] ὅποια γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰ ἔργα εἴη, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα φέρεσθαι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ πολλάκις ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς παραινέσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς πεποιημένος τὴν μάθησιν, ἐπέισθη τε καὶ Ῥώμην εἰργάσατο ἄχαρι περαιτέρῳ οὐδέν. σημήνας τε Βελισαρίῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοὺς πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψατο. [18] καὶ τοῦ μὲν στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος Ῥώμης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον ἐνστρατοπεδευσαμένους ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀλγηδόνι ἐκέλευεν ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως δὴ μηδεμία ἐξουσία τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἴη ἔξω πη τοῦ Πόρτου ἰέναι: αὐτὸς δὲ ζὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἦει. [19] Ῥωμαίων μέντοι τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ζὺν αὐτῷ εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ζὺν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα ἑάσας, ἀλλ' ἔρημον αὐτὴν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπών. [20] Ἰωάννης δὲ Τουτίλαν οἱ ἐπιέναι μαθὼν, μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀπουλίας οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκετο. τῶν τε πατρικίων οἱ ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀγόμενοι ἐς Λευκανοὺς πέμψαντες τῶν οἰκείων τινάς, Τουτίλα γνώμη, τοὺς σφετέρους ἀγροίκους ἐκέλευον μεθίεσθαι μὲν τῶν πρασσομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς γεωργεῖν ἥπερ εἰώθεσαν: ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τάγαθὰ ἀπήγγελλον τῶν κεκτημένων. [21] οἱ δὲ ἀπετάξαντο μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον: Τουλλιανὸς δὲ φυγῶν ὥχето, καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι Ἄνται παρὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. [22] οὕτω μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, πλὴν τοῦ Δρυοῦντος, αὐθις ὑποχείρια Γότθοις τε καὶ Τουτίλα γέγονε. θαρσοῦντες δὲ ἤδη οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ κατὰ συμμορίας σκεδαννύμενοι περιήεσαν κύκλῳ ἅπαντα. [23] ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [24] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δείσας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἅπαντάς τε τοὺς ζὺν αὐτῷ ἀγείρας, ἀμφὶ ὅρος τὸ Γάργανον, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀπουλίῳις πού μέσοις ἀνέχει, ἐν τῷ Ἀννίβαλος τοῦ Λίβυος χαρακώματι στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε.

BUT while these envoys were travelling to Byzantium and returning to Italy, the following events took place in Lucania. Tullianus gathered the rustics of that region and set a guard upon the pass (a very narrow one) which gives access to the district, with the purpose of preventing the enemy from entering to devastate the land of Lucania. And three hundred Antae also were helping them to keep guard, men whom John had left there previously, as it happened, at the request of Tullianus; for these barbarians excel all others in their ability to fight on rough ground. When Totila learned this, though he considered it inexpedient to assign Goths to the task, he gathered a multitude of rustics, and sent them with a very few Goths, with orders to try with all their strength to force the pass. When these two forces engaged in battle, a violent struggle ensued, each side striving to force the other back, but the Antae by their valour, and also because the very roughness of the ground was to their advantage, together with the rustics under Tullianus turned their opponents to flight; and a great number of them were slaughtered.

But when Totila learned this, he decided first to raze Rome to the ground, and then, while leaving the most of his army in that neighbourhood, to march with the rest against John and the Lucanians. Accordingly he tore down the fortifications in many places so that about one third of the defences were destroyed. And he was on the point also of burning the finest and most noteworthy of the buildings and making Rome a sheep-pasture, but Belisarius learned of his design and sent envoys with a letter to him. When these envoys came before Totila, they stated why they had come and delivered the letter, which conveyed the following.

“While the creation of beauty in a city which has not been beautiful before could only proceed from men of wisdom who understand the meaning of civilization, the destruction of beauty which already exists would be naturally expected only of men who lack understanding, and who are not ashamed to leave to posterity this token of their character.

Now among all the cities under the sun Rome is agreed to be the greatest and the most noteworthy. For it has not been created by the ability of one man, nor has it attained such greatness and beauty by a power of short duration, but a multitude of monarchs, many companies of the best men, a great lapse of time, and an extraordinary abundance of wealth have availed to bring together in that city all other things that are in the whole world, and skilled workers besides. Thus, little by little, have they built the city, such as you behold it, thereby leaving to future generations memorials of the ability of them all, so that insult to these monuments would properly be considered a great crime against the men of all time; for by such action the men of former generations

are robbed of the memorials of their ability, and future generations of the sight of their works. Such, then, being the facts of the case, be well assured of this, that one of two things must necessarily take place: — either you will be defeated by the emperor in this struggle, or, should it so fall out, you will triumph over him. Now, in the first place, supposing you are victorious, if you should dismantle Rome, you would not have destroyed the possession of some other man, but your own city, excellent Sir, and, on the other hand, if you preserve it, you will naturally enrich yourself by a possession the fairest of all; but if, in the second place, it should perchance fall to your lot to experience the worse fortune, in saving Rome you would be assured of abundant gratitude on the part of the victor, but by destroying the city you will make it certain that no plea for mercy will any longer be left to you, and in addition to this you will have reaped no benefit from the deed. Furthermore, a reputation that corresponds with your conduct will be your portion among all men, and it stands waiting for you according as you decide either way. For the quality of the acts of rulers determines, of necessity, the quality of the repute which they win from their acts.” Such was the letter of Belisarius.

And Totila, after reading it over many times and coming to realize accurately the significance of the advice, was convinced and did Rome no further harm. So he sent a statement of his decision to Belisarius and immediately dismissed the envoys. And he commanded the main body of the army to make camp not far from Rome at the town of Algedon, which is about one hundred and twenty stades distant from the city toward the west, and to remain quietly there, in order that the troops of Belisarius might have no freedom to go anywhere outside Portus; but with the rest of the army he himself marched against John and the Lucanians. As for the Romans, however, he kept the members of the senate with him, while all the others together with their wives and children he sent into Campania, refusing to allow a single soul in Rome, but leaving it entirely deserted.

When John learned that Totila was marching against him, he refused to remain longer in Apulia, but went hastily to Dryus. Now those patricians who were being taken into Campania sent certain of their domestics into Lucania, by direction of Totila, and bade their tenants abandon their present machinations, and till the fields as they were accustomed; for, the message announced, they would have the property of their masters. So they detached themselves from the Roman army, and remained quietly on the land; whereupon Tullianus made off in flight, and the three hundred Antae decided to follow John in his retreat. In this way the whole territory south of the Ionian Gulf, with the exception of Dryus, became once more subject to the Goths and Totila. And the barbarians by this time were filled with confidence and, scattering in small bands, began to overrun the whole country round about. When John learned this, he sent a numerous force of his men against them. And this force, falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, killed a large number.

And Totila, as a result of this experience, became cautious and gathered all his troops together in the neighbourhood of Mt. Garganon, which rises near the centre of Apulia, and encamping in the fortified enclosure of Hannibal the Libyan, he remained quiet.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τις ξὺν τῷ Κόνωνι ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγόντων, ἥνικα ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, Μαρτινιανὸς ὄνομα, Βυζάντιος γενος, Βελισαρίῳ προσελθὼν στέλλεσθαι αὐτόμολος δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξιου, μεγάλην Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγγελλομενος ἀγαθὰ δράσειν: δόξαν τε τοῦτο Βελισαίῳ, ἀπιὼν ὥχeto. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας ἰδὼν ὑπερφυῶς ἦσθη. [2] εὐδοκμοῦντα γὰρ ἐν μονομαχίαις τὸν νεανίαν ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδε πολλάκις. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων τε δύο καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν ἕτερον εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ὁμήρου λόγῳ ἐφύλασσε, ἕς τε Σπολίτιον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν. [3] Ἐτύγχανον δὲ Γότθοι, ἥνικα Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἐνδιδόντος Σπολίτιον εἶλον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες, τοῦ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυνηγεσίου, ὅπερ καλεῖν ἀμφιθέατρον νενομίκασι, τάς τε εἰσόδους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποφράξαντες καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν αὐτομόλων, [4] ἐφ' ᾧ φυλάξωσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. Μαρτινιανὸς οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς Σπολίτιον ἦλθε, στρατιώτας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐταιρίσασθαι ἴσχυσεν, οὗσπερ ἀνέπειθε δράσαντάς τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους μέγα οὕτω δὴ ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [5] στείλας δὲ τινας καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Περυσίᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐκέλευεν οἱ στρατεύματα ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς Σπολίτιον πέμψαι, τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τὴν δήλωσιν ποιησάμενος. [6] Ὀδολγὰν δὲ Οὐννος ἦρχε τότε τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ φρουρᾶς, Κυπριανοῦ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, δόλῳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ὅσπερ ξὺν στρατεύματι ἐπὶ τὸ Σπολίτιον ἦει. [7] Μαρτινιανὸς δὲ ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι τὸ στρατεύμα τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιώταις τοῦ τε φυλακτηρίου τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέφθειρε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐδέξατο. οἱ δὲ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων πλείστους, τινὰς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ Βελισάριον ἤγον. [8] Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ ἔννοια γέγονεν ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἐς ὃ τι τύχης ἐλλήλυθε θεάσασθαι. τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὖν χιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἦει. [9] Ῥωμαῖος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφικόμενος δρόμῳ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἵπερ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν Ἀλγηδόνι, τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατεύμα ἤγγειλεν. [10] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προλοχίσαντες ἐνέδραις τισὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης χωρία, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστά πη ἀφικομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν. [11] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψάμενοι, πλείστους τε διαφθείραντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [12] Ἔστι δὲ Καλαβρῶν ἐπιθαλασσία πόλις ὁ Τάρας, δυοῖν σχεδὸν τι ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Δρυοῦντος διέχουσα, ἐπὶ τε Θουρίους καὶ Ῥηγίνους ἐνθὲνδε ἰόντι. [13] ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισί, Ταραντηνῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων, ἀφίκετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος. [14] καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν

εἶδε μεγίστην τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, πᾶσαν μὲν φυλάξαι οἷός τε ἔσεσθαι οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ ὧετο, ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἀμφί τινα χῶρον στενὸν μάλιστα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς κόλπον ἰοῦσαν, οὗ δὴ Ταραντηνῶν ὁ λιμὴν ἐστίν, ἰσθμόν τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χῶρον οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ σταδίων εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐπενόει τάδε. ^[15] ἀποτεμὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τὴν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ μοῖραν τειχίσματί τε αὐτὴν περιέβαλεν ἐκ θατέρου θαλάσσης μέρους ἄχρι ἐς ἕτερον καὶ τάφρον βαθεῖαν ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὥρυσεν. ^[16] ἐνταῦθά τε οὐ Ταραντηνοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ὄκουν συνήγαγε, καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῖς λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίπετο. ^[17] ταύτη τε Καλαβροὶ ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι Γότθων ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. ^[18] Τουτίλας δὲ φρούριον ἐν Λευκανοῖς καταλαβὼν ἐχυρώτατον ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Καλαβρίας ὀρίων κείμενον, ὅπερ Ἀχεροντίδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐνταῦθά τε φυλακὴν ἀνδρῶν οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τετρακοσίων καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἦει, τῶν βαρβάρων τινὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία, οἷσπερ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειτο φυλακὴ, τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα ὄντων.

XXIII

AT this time one of the men who had fled from Rome with Conon while the city was being captured — he was named Martinianus, a Byzantine by birth — came before Belisarius and asked permission to go to the enemy, pretending to be a deserter, and he promised to render the Romans a great service; and since this met with the approval of Belisarius, he went off. Now when Totila saw him, he was exceedingly pleased. For he heard that the youth had won fame in single combats, and he had also seen him many times. And since the man had two children and his wife among the captives, Totila immediately restored to him his wife and one of the children, but the other he continued to guard as a hostage, and sent Martinianus to Spolitium with a few others.

Now it so happened that when the Goths captured Spolitium by the surrender of Herodian, they had indeed razed the whole circuit-wall of the city to the ground, but they had thoroughly walled up the entrances of the structure in front of the city, which served for the keeping of wild animals and has come to be called an amphitheatre, and had established in it a garrison both of Goths and of Roman deserters, for the purpose of guarding the country round about. So when Martinianus had come to Spolitium, he succeeded in winning the friendship of fifteen soldiers, whom he persuaded to return to the Roman army after first accomplishing some great exploit against the barbarians. And he also sent some men to the commander of the garrison in Perusia, bidding him send an army to him at Spolitium with all possible speed, and explaining to him the whole situation. Now the garrison in Perusia was at that time commanded by Odalgan, a Hun, Cyprian having been treacherously removed from the world, as has been stated above, by one of his own bodyguards. And he came himself with an army to Spolitium.

Then, when Martinianus ascertained that this army was close at hand, he in company with the fifteen soldiers suddenly slew the commander of the garrison and, opening the gates, received all the Romans into the fortress. And the most of the enemy they slew, but they made some prisoners and brought them before Belisarius.

Shortly after this Belisarius conceived the idea of going up to Rome and seeing into what condition it had fallen. So he selected a thousand of his soldiers and with them went to the city. But a man of Rome went in haste to the enemy who were in camp at Algedon, and reported the presence of Belisarius' army. So the barbarians occupied the district in front of Rome with several ambuscades, and, when they saw that the force of Belisarius had come close upon them, they rose from their places of ambush and attacked them. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued, in which the Romans by their valour routed

their enemy, and, after destroying the most of them, they withdrew immediately to Portus. Such was the course of events at Rome.

There is a city on the coast of Calabria called Tarentum, about two days' journey distant from Dryus, on the road from there to Thurii and Rhegium. Thither John came with a few men, at the invitation of the Tarentines, having established the rest of his command as a garrison in Dryus. And when he saw that this city was exceedingly large and entirely without defences, he thought that he would be utterly unable to defend the whole of it; but he observed that the sea to the north of the city formed a bay on either side of a very narrow strip of land, where the port of Tarentum is situated, and thus the space between the bays naturally forms an isthmus for a distance of not less than twenty stades; so he formed the following plan. He cut off from the rest of the city that portion which lay on the isthmus, and enclosed it by means of a wall extending from one bay to the other and along the wall he dug a deep trench. There he collected not only the Tarentines but also all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and he left them a garrison of considerable size. In this way all the Calabrians were now in a secure position and they consequently purposed to revolt from the Goths. Such was the course of events in this quarter.

Totila, for his part, occupied a very strong fortress in Lucania, situated close to the boundaries of Calabria, called Acherontis by the Romans; and after establishing there a garrison of not less than four hundred men, he himself with the rest of his army marched against Ravenna, leaving in Campania some of the barbarians, who were charged with the guarding of Roman prisoners, the members of the senate being in that place.

Βελισαρίῳ δὲ τόλμα προμηθῆς γέγονε τότε ἀρχὴν μὲν μανιώδης δόξασα εἶναι τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσι πρῶτον, ἐκβᾶσα δὲ ἐς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπέρογκον. [2] τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς φρουρὰς ἔνεκα τῆς ἐν Πόρτῳ ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε, προσποιεῖσθαι τε αὐτὴν σθένει παντὶ ἤθελεν. [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν ὅσα καθελὼν τοῦ περιβόλου Τουτίλας ἔτυχε βραχεῖ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι χρόνῳ, ἐποίει τάδε. [4] λίθους ἄγχιστά πη ὄντας ξυναγαγὼν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ξυνέβαλεν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐντὸς ἔχοντας, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τίτανον εἶχεν οὔτε τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μόνον τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σώζοιτο πρόσωπον, σκολόπων τε μέγα τι χρῆμα ἔξωθεν ἴστη. [5] ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ τάφρους βαθείας ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὅλον ὀρύξας πρότερον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [6] παντὸς δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ταῦτα ἐργαζομένου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου καθήρητο τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τετέλεστο. [7] τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ὄκνητο ἐνταῦθα ἠγείροντο, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ οἰκίσεως ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τέως σπανίζοντες ἀφθονίαν ἐνταῦθα εὖρον, ἥνπερ Βελισάριος ποιεῖν ἴσχυσε, ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας πάντων ἐμπλησάμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐς τε

Ῥώμην διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔσκομίσας. [8] Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἄρας αὐτίκα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἦλθεν, οὐπω Βελισαρίου τὰς πύλας ἐναρμόσασθαι τῷ περιβόλῳ ἰσχύσαντος. [9] πάσας γὰρ διαφθείρας Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔφθη τεχνιτῶν ἀπορία Βελισάριος τεκτηνάμενος. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, τότε μὲν ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἠύλisanτο παρὰ Τίβερin ποταμόν, ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἅμα ἠλίφ ἀνίσχοντι θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦσαν. [11] Βελισάριος δὲ τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν χώραν τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περιβόλων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐκέλευε. [12] γέγονε τοίνυν καρτερὰ μάχη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐλπίδα εἶχον αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσειν, τοῦ δὲ πράγματος σφίsin ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένων, ὀργῇ χρώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέκειντο, τοῦ θυμοῦ σφᾶς παρὰ δύναμιν ἐς τὴν εὐτολμίαν ὀρμῶντος. [13] οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχοντο, τοῦ κινδύνου, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐς τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐνάγοντος. [14] γέγονεν οὖν φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλομένων πολὺς, κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ ταιλαιπωρίᾳ ἐκάτεροι εἶχοντο καὶ ἡ μάχη πρῶτ' ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. [15] ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γενόμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν, τῶν ἐν σφίσι τραυματιῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρίας πέρι μάλιστα πάντων εὖ ἤκοντες ἐν περιτροπῇ τὰς τῶν πυλῶν χώρας ἐφύλασσαν, τριβόλους ἔμπροσθεν πολλοὺς θέμενοι, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν. [16] Οἱ δὲ τριβόλοι τοιοῦδε εἰσί. σκολόπων τεττάρων ἰσομήκων μάλιστα τὰ ὀπισθε πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναρμοσάμενοι τριγώνου σχῆμα τὰς αὐτῶν εὐθείας πανταχόθεν ἐργάζονται, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ὅπου παρατύχη ρίπτουσι. [17] ταύτῃ τε τῶν σκολόπων οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἰσχυρότατα ἐστήκασιν πάντες, ὁ δὲ λειπόμενος ἀνέχων μόνος ἐμπόδιον ἀνδράσι τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐς αἰὶ γίγνεται. [18] ὁσάκις δὲ τις τοῦτον δὴ κυλίνδει τὸν τρίβολον, ὁ μὲν τέως ἐκ τῶν σκολόπων τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ὀρθιον κληρωσάμενος χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἔστηκεν, ἄλλος δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενος ἄνω τοῖς ἐπιέναι βουλομένοις ἐμπόδιόν ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοι τοιοῦδε εἰσίν. ἐκάτεροι δὲ οὕτω μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἠύλisanτο. [19] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Τουτίλας αὖθις παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἡμύνοντο. καθυπέρτεροί τε τῇ ζυμβολῇ γεγενημένοι ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησαν. [20] καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑποχωρούντων διώκοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς πόρρω πού τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. οὗς δὴ κυκλώσεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον, ὥς μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος ἑκατένησε γὰρ τὰ ποιούμενά τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα στείλας διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴσχυσε. [21] οὕτω τε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπαγόμενοι. [22] ἐνταῦθά τε ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τὰ τε τραύματα θεραπεύοντες καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιμελόμενοι ἅμα γὰρ σφίσι διέφθαρτο ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ πάσῃ ποιούμενοι. Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ὥς τειχομαχήσαντες ἦσαν. [23] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σφίsin

ὑπαντιάσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. τύχη τέ τινη ὁ τὸ Τουτίλα σημεῖον φέρων καιρίαν πληγὴς αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπίπτει καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔρριψε. [24] καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὅσοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμάχοντο, ὥρμησαν ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀρπασόμενοι. φθάσαντες δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ εὐτολμότατοι τό τε σημεῖον ἀρπάζουσι καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ χεῖρα τὴν λαιὰν ἀποτεμόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβον. [25] ψέλλιον γὰρ χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὁ πεπτωκὼς φορῶν ἔτυχε λόγου ἄξιον, ὥπερ ἐναβρύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤκιστα ἤθελον, φεύγοντες δηλονότι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αἰσχύνην. [26] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ἐτράποντο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τοῦ νεκροῦ σῶμα ἐσκύλευσαν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διώκοντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἦλθον. [27] Τότε δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Γότθοις λόγιοι ἦσαν Τουτίλα προσελθόντες ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε καὶ ἀνέδην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀβουλίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμην ἐλὼν οὔτε ξύμπασαν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς πολεμίσι καταληπτὴ εἴη, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ αὐτοῖς ἐργασθὲν ἔτυχε, τοῦτο λόγῳ αὐτὸς οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειν. [28] οὕτω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπέφυκε πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἀποβάσεις ἀεὶ τὴν γνώμην ῥυθμίζειν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῷ τῆς τύχης ῥεύματι προσχωρεῖν, ἀγγιστρόφους τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταστάσεις ποιεῖσθαι τῆς δόξης. [29] διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθοι εὐημεροῦντα μὲν τοῖς ἐγχειρήμασι Τουτίλαν ἐτεθήπεσαν ἴσα θεῷ, ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀήττητον ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἥνίκα πόλεων τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἐκ μοίρας τινὸς τὰ τεῖχη διαφθείρειν εἶα, σφαλέντι δέ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, λοιδορεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίουν τῶν ἔναγχος σφίσιν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰρημένων ἀμνημονοῦντες, ἀπ' ἐναντίας τε αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἰόντες. [30] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶ μὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς ἀεὶ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει γίνεσθαι εἴωθε. [31] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν ἐς Τίβουριν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, πάσας σχεδὸν τι τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας διελόντες, ὅπως μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐπετῶς σφίσιν ἐπιέναι οἰοί τε ᾧσι. [32] γέφυραν μέντοι μίαν, ἥ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, διαφθεῖραι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα. τό τε ἐν Τιβούρει φρούριον ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σθένει παντὶ ἔγνωσαν: [33] καθελόντες γὰρ αὐτὸ πρότερον ἔτυχον: τὰ τε χρήματα ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι ἅπαντα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [34] καὶ Βελισάριος ἀδεέστερον ἤδη τὰς πύλας τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου πανταχόθι ἐφαρμοσάμενος σιδήρῳ τε αὐτὰς περιβαλὼν αὐθις βασιλεῖ τὰς κλεῖς ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραπεν.

AT that time Belisarius conceived a daring and far-seeing plan, which in the beginning indeed appeared insane to those who first saw and heard of his actions. but its outcome proved to be a splendid achievement of marvellous importance. For he sallied forth, leaving behind only a few of his soldiers to keep guard in Portus, and went himself with the rest of his army to Rome, with the intention of trying with all his strength to establish himself in possession of the city. And since he was unable in a short time to rebuild all the portions of the wall which Totila had torn down, he did as follows. Gathering stones which lay close by, he threw them one on top of the other, regardless of order, without putting anything at all between the stones, since he had neither lime nor anything else of the sort, but caring only that the face of the masonry should be preserved, and he set a great quantity of stakes on the outside. Now he had previously, as it happened, dug deep trenches around the entire circuit-wall, as stated in the previous narrative. And since the whole army carried out this work with unbounded enthusiasm, in twenty-five days such parts of the fortifications as had been torn down had been finished in this manner. And all the Romans who lived in the neighbourhood gathered in the city, both because of their desire to make their homes in Rome, and also because they had for a time been scantily supplied with provisions and they found abundance there; for Belisarius had been able to bring this about by loading a great number of boats with all manner of provisions and bringing them up to Rome by the river.

When Totila heard this, he immediately set his whole army in motion and marched against Belisarius and Rome, before Belisarius had as yet been able to fit the gates to the wall. For it so happened that Totila had destroyed them all, and Belisarius had not up to that time succeeded in having gates built because of the lack of artisans. And when the barbarian army came near the city, they made camp for the moment and bivouacked on the bank of the Tiber, but on the following day at sunrise they advanced, filled with great fury and shouting as they came, to a position before the walls. But Belisarius had selected the most warlike of his soldiers and stationed them in the open gateways, commanding the rest to stand above and ward off the assailants from the wall with all their force. So a fierce battle ensued; for the barbarians, on their part, at first entertained the hope that they would capture the city at the first shout, but since the attempt proved difficult, and the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance, they gave way to rage and began to press upon the foe, their fury inspiring them to daring beyond their strength. The Romans, meanwhile, resisted with unexpected determination, the danger naturally arousing them to bravery. Consequently a great slaughter of the barbarians took place, since they were being shot at from a high position, and both

armies were becoming very weary and distressed; and the battle, which had begun in the morning, ended at night. Thereupon the barbarians repaired to their camps and passed the night there, caring for their wounded; as for the Romans, some were keeping guard on the wall, while others, who were the men most conspicuous of all for their bravery, were guarding the open gateways in relays, having placed *triboli* in great numbers in front of them, so that the enemy might not make a surprise attack upon them.

Now these *triboli* are of the following sort. Four spikes of equal length are fastened together at their butts in such a manner that their points form the outline of a triangle on every side. These they throw at random upon the ground, and because of their form three of the spikes all plant themselves very firmly upon the ground, while the remaining one stands up alone and always proves an obstacle for both men and horses. And as often as anybody rolls over one of these *triboli*, the spike which hitherto has chanced to stand up straight in the air becomes planted on the ground, but another one takes its place above, as an obstacle to those who wish to advance to the attack. Such are the *triboli*. So both sides bivouacked thus after the battle.

On the following day Totila decided to storm the wall again with his whole army, and the Romans proceeded to ward them off in the manner described; and gaining the upper hand in the engagement, they plucked up courage to make a sally against their enemy. And as the barbarians retreated, some of the Romans, in pursuing them, went to a considerable distance from the fortifications. These the barbarians were on the point of surrounding, so that they might be unable to return to the city. But Belisarius, noting what was taking place, sent a large number of his men to that point and thus succeeded in rescuing the force. After being repulsed in this way the barbarians withdrew, having lost many of their able fighting men, and bringing with them a great number of wounded to their camp. There they remained quiet, caring for their wounds and attending to their arms, many of which had now been destroyed, and putting everything else in readiness.

Many days later they again advanced against the wall with the purpose of storming it. But the Romans came out to meet them and joined battle. And by some chance the man who was bearing the standard of Totila received a mortal wound and not only fell from his horse himself, but also threw the standard to the ground. Whereupon those of the Romans who were fighting at the front made a rush with the intention of seizing the standard and the corpse. But the most courageous of the barbarians got there first, seized the standard, and also cut off the left hand of the corpse and took it with them. For the fallen man was wearing upon this hand a notable bracelet of gold, over which they were quite unwilling that their opponents should exult, and they sought thus to avoid the disgrace which its loss would involve. Then the barbarian army was turned to retreat in complete disorder, while the Romans despoiled

what was left of the corpse, and in pursuing the enemy to a great distance killed many of them, and then returned to the city without the slightest loss.

Then all the notable Goths came to Totila and inveighed against him and reproached him mercilessly for his lack of wisdom; after capturing Rome, they said, he had neither levelled the whole city to the ground so that it might be no longer possible for the enemy to take possession of it, nor had himself held it, but that which they had accomplished by a great expenditure of both labour and time, this he himself had undone in an altogether unreasonable manner. Thus it is by nature inbred in men to accommodate their judgment in every case to the outcome of events and to allow their mind to be dominated by the current of fortune, and to make their changes of opinion instantly as a result of this. It was indeed for this reason that while Totila was succeeding in his undertakings, the Goths had revered him equally with God, calling him an unvanquished and invincible leader, at the time when he allowed them to destroy only a portion of the defences of captured cities, but when he met with the reverse above mentioned, they did not feel it improper to inveigh against him, unmindful of what they had recently said about him, and going contrary to these declarations without the least hesitation. But these errors of judgment and others like them must inevitably be constantly committed by men, since they are due to human nature.

So Totila and his barbarians broke up the siege and went to the city of Tibur, having torn down practically all the bridges over the Tiber, that it might not be easy for the Romans to make an attack upon them. One bridge, however, which bears the name of Mulvius, they were quite unable to destroy, since it was very close to the city. And they decided to rebuild the fortress in Tibur with all their might; for they had dismantled it previously; and they deposited there all their possessions and remained quiet. As for Belisarius, having now less cause for fear, he fitted gates to the circuit-wall of Rome on every side, bound them with iron, and once more sent the keys to the emperor. And the winter drew to a close, and the twelfth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [547 A.D.]

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον στράτευμα ἐπὶ Περυσίαν ὁ Τουτίλας στείλας, οἵπερ ἄμφι τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους. [2] καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοὺς σπανίζοντας ἦσθοντο ἤδη, πέμψαντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐδέοντο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι, ῥᾶον ἂν οὕτω καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐξελεῖν Περυσίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι. [3] Τουτίλας δὲ οὐ λίαν ἐς τὰ ἐπαγγελλλόμενα προθυμουμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶν παραίνεσίν τινα ποιεῖσθαι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠθέλε. [4] διὸ δὴ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: ‘Ὅρῶν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ἐμὲ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοντας, ἀγανακτοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ξυμπεπτακὸς ἐναντίωμα, ξυναγαγεῖν ταυῶν ἔγνωκα, ὅπως ὑμῶν δόξαν ὡς ἥκιστα ὀρθὴν ἀφελὼν ἀντικαθιστάναι τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω

δυνήσωμαι, καὶ μήτε ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκον ἐς ἐμὲ δόξετε μήτε ἀγνωμοσύνη εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας χρῆσθαι. [5] τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ σφάλλασθαι ποτε πέφυκεν, ὅστις τε ἄνθρωπος ὢν εἴτα δυσχερῶς ἔχων ἐς τὰ προσπίπτοντα φαίνεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμαθίας, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἀποίσεται δόξαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ὑπεκστήσεται τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀνάγκην. [6] βούλομαι δὲ τῶν πρότερον πεπραγμένων ὑμᾶς ὑπομῆσαι, οὐχ ὅσον ἔνεκα τοῦ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων ἐκλύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαιότερον ἂν ταύτας ὑμῖν προσήκειν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. [7] Οὐίτιγίς γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθιστάμενος ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε Φανοῦ μὲν καὶ Πισαύρου τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων πόλεων τὰ τεῖχη καθεῖλε, Ῥώμην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἰταλίας πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀφῆκεν οὐδ' ὅτιον λυμηνάμενος. [8] ἐκ μὲν οὖν Φανοῦ καὶ Πισαύρου φλαῦρον οὐδὲν Γότθοις ξυμβέβηκεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων ταύτη, ἥπερ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, Γότθοις καὶ Οὐίτιγιδι ἐκεχωρήκει τὰ πράγματα. [9] Ἐγὼ τοῖνυν ἐπειδὴ διδόντων ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, ἐλογισάμην τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι δόξασιν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπεσθαι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λυμηναμένων τοῖς πράγμασι διδόναι βλάβος. [10] φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι οὐδέν τι μέγα διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων δοκοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ πειρά τισι γινομένη διδάσκαλος κρεῖσσω τὸν ἐκμαθόντα τῶν οὐ τετυχηκότων τῆς διδασκαλίας τῷ παντὶ τίθησιν. [11] ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν Βενεβεντὸν εἵλομεν, τὰ τεῖχη καθελόντες τῶν ἄλλων εὐθὺς ἐκρατοῦμεν, ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοὺς περιβόλους καθελεῖν ἔγνωμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐχυροῦ τινας ὀρμώμενος ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς σοφίζεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον δυνατὸς εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀναγκάζεται ἡμῖν ἐς πεδῖον κατιῶν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [12] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον, ἐγὼ δὲ καθαιρεῖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς ἀλίσκομένας ἐκέλευον. [13] ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν εὐβουλίαν θαυμάζοντες ὑπουργεῖτε τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, τὸ ἔργον, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, οἰκείουμενοι. ὁ γὰρ ἐπαινέσας τὸν δράσαντα οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτουργὸς γίνεται. [14] νῦν δὲ μεταβέβλησθε, ὃ φίλτατοι Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη Βελισάριον κρεῖσσον λόγου θράσος ἐλόμενον τῶν ἐγκεχειρημένων αὐτῷ παρὰ δόξαν κρατεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταπεπληγῆθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἅτε ἀνδρεῖον ὑμῖν ξυμβαίνει. [15] ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ θρασεῖς εὐτολμοὶ κέκληνται ἢ οἱ προμηθεῖς ἀσφαλεῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰ καθεστῶτα τολμήσας ἐννοία τοῦ δοκοῦντος δραστηρίου τετίμηται, ὁ δὲ προμηθεὶ γνώμῃ ἀποκνήσας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποτυχὼν τε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπισπᾶται τῶν ξυμπίπτόντων καὶ πράξας κατὰ νοῦν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς γε ἀμαθέσιν ἐργάσασθαι δοκεῖ. [16] Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἐκλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, δι' ὧν ὑμῖν ἀγανακτεῖν ξυμβαίνει τανῦν. Ἡ Βελισάριον εὐδοκιμηκέναι καθ' ὑμῶν οἴεσθε, οἵπερ δορυάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγεννημένοι ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τε στρατηγοῦντι ὅπλα ἀντάραντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδύνησθε; [17] καίτοι εἰ μὲν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα ὑμᾶς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη, ταύτην ὑμᾶς αἰσχυνομένους χρὴ σιωπᾶν, ἐν τοῖς πταισίμασι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθυμουμένους ὡς οὐδὲν πέφυκεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μένειν: εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῖν τύχῃ ἐκεῖνο τὸ κράτος ἐβράβευσε, σέβειν μᾶλλον ἢ δυσκόλως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχειν ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει, ὡς μὴ προσκεκρουκότες τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην μεταμαθεῖν βιάζισθε. [18] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶφρονος τρόπου φανείη τοὺς πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα περιβεβλημένους εὐτυχήματα οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν βραχεῖ τε τανῦν

πταίσαντας οὕτω δεδουλῶσθαι τὸ φρόνημα; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀπαξιοῦν τε καὶ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπους εἶναι. [19] τὸ γὰρ ἐν οὐδενὶ σφάλλεσθαι χρόνῳ θεοῦ ἂν ἴδιον γένοιτο. τούτων τοίνυν φημὶ χρῆναι ἀφεμένους ὑμᾶς προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐν Περυσίᾳ πολεμίοις ἰέναι. ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν δυνήσησθε, αὐθις ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐν καλῷ κείσεται. [20] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξυμπεσὸν οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἀποίητον τίθεσθαι δύναίτο, εὐτυχημάτων δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιγινομένων τοῖς ἐπτακόσι λελωφικέναι ξυμβαίνει τὴν τῶν κακῶν μνήμην. [21] Ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν ἡ Περυσίας ἐπικράτησις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. Κυπριανὸς γὰρ ὃς τῶν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων ἥρχε, τύχη τε καὶ βουλαῖς ἡμετέραις ἐκποδὼν γέγονε, πλῆθος δὲ ἀναρχὸν ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζον ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἥκιστα πέφυκεν. [22] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὀπισθὲν τις ἐς ἡμᾶς κακουργήσει: τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας τούτου ἔνεκα καθελεῖν ἔγνωκα, ὥς μή τι πάθοιμεν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀπροσδόκητον, καὶ ὑπόπτους ξυμβαίνει Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, ὅπερ διὰ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὁρᾶν πάρεστι. [23] γινῶμαι γὰρ ἀλλήλαις μαχόμεναι διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐλέγχονται. οὐκοῦν οὐδέ πη ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου δεδύνηνται. ἀναχαιτίζει γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἡ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμφοῖν ὑποψία. οἷς δ' ἂν αὕτη ἐγγένηται, φθόνον τε καὶ ἔχθος ἐπάναγκες ξυνοικίξεισθαι. [24] ὧν δὴ μεταξὺ ἐπιτεσόντων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.' τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Περυσίαν ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνταῦθά τε ἀφικόμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο.

LONG before this Totila had, as it happened, sent an army against Perusia, and they had encamped about the circuit-wall of the city and were maintaining a close siege of the Romans there. And since they perceived that the city was scantily supplied with provisions, they sent to Totila and begged him to come there with his whole army, thinking that they would thus capture Perusia and the Romans in it with less difficulty and labour.

Now Totila saw that the barbarians were not very eager to carry out his orders, and so he desired to deliver an exhortation to them. With this in view, he called them all together and spoke as follows.

"I have observed, fellow-soldiers, that you are cherishing toward me an unjustified anger, and at the same time that you bitterly resent that adversity of fortune which has befallen us; for this reason I have decided to bring you together on the present occasion, in order that I may be able to remove from your minds an impression which is absolutely wrong and bring you back to a better judgment, and also that you may appear neither to shew me an ingratitude which ill befits you, nor to be led by base motives to assume a thankless attitude toward the Deity. For it is of the very nature of human affairs that failure must come at times, and when any man, forgetting that he is human, shews himself rebellious against that which befalls him, he will himself naturally acquire a reputation for stupidity, and yet in no wise escape the necessity which fate has laid upon him. Now I wish to remind you of previous events, not so much in order to absolve myself from the blame for what has happened, as to demonstrate that this may with more justice be laid upon yourselves. For when Vittigis was entering upon this war at the very beginning, he did indeed tear down the walls of the coast towns Fanum and Pisanum, but Rome and the other cities of Italy without exception he exempted, not damaging them in the least. Consequently, while no trouble has come to the Goths from Fanum and Pisaurum, it was because of the circuit-walls of Rome and the other fortified places that trouble came to the Gauls and Vittigis after the manner that is well-known to you.

"Accordingly, when I accepted the royal power offered by you, I formed the reasonable purpose of emulating those deeds which had come to be regarded as better for us rather than to damage our cause by doing those things which had harmed us. For while men do not seem to differ greatly one from the other as far as nature is concerned, still some have had the advantage of experience, which, like a teacher, makes him who has learned her lesson superior in every respect to those who have not received such instruction. Accordingly, when we captured Beneventum, we razed its walls and straightway captured the other towns, whose circuit-walls we decided to raze in the same way, in order

that the enemy's army might not be able, by having any strong base, to carry on the war by stratagem, but should at once be compelled to come down to the plain and engage with us there. So while the enemy, for their part, were in flight, I was giving orders to raze such of the cities as were captured. And you, marvelling at my good judgment, aided and abetted this decision, and so, it would seem, made my actions your own. For he who praises the man who has done a deed becomes himself the agent of the deed no less than the other. But now you have reversed your position, my dearest Goths, simply because it has come about that Belisarius, by adopting a course of unreasonable daring, has unexpectedly attained the object for which he strove, and in consequence of this you have come to be astounded at the man as a marvel of courage. For men of daring are called courageous more readily than men of foresight are called safe. And the reason is that, while he who displays daring beyond the established bounds of conduct is honoured with the name and fame of a strenuous man, he who refrains from danger with careful judgment and meets with ill success draws upon him the responsibility for what happens, and even if he achieves the success he planned, he still seems, to foolish men at any rate, to have accomplished nothing by himself.

“And apart from this, you do not consider that you are angry with me for the things which, in reality, cause you resentment just now. Or do you really believe that Belisarius has won a glorious success against you — you who, though reduced to the condition of prisoners of war and runaway slaves, took up arms under me as your general and have proved yourselves able many a time to overcome him in battle? And yet if it was through my merit that you succeeded in accomplishing such things, out of respect for that merit you ought to be silent, remembering in the hour of men's reverses that nothing can remain fixed; and if, on the other hand, it was some fortune which bestowed that victory upon you, it will profit you more to shew reverence toward her rather than vexation, so that you may not be compelled through failure to learn the true meaning of her favour. Indeed, how could it fail to appear inconsistent with a well-tempered spirit that men who have achieved for themselves many great successes not long ago and have now met with a slight reverse should allow their pride to be thus humbled? For such an attitude means purely and simply this, that you obstinately refuse to acknowledge that you are human. For never to make mistakes could be predicated only of God. Consequently I say that you must abandon this attitude and with all enthusiasm grapple with the enemy in Perusia. For if you prove able to capture them, Fortune will again smile upon you. For while that which has happened could never be undone by all eternity, still when fresh successes fall to the lot of those who have met with reverse, it comes about that the memory of evil days is made lighter.

“And you will achieve the mastery of Perusia without any trouble. For Cyprian, who was commander of the Romans there, has been put out of the

way by fortune, coupled with our planning, and an ungoverned multitude, particularly when scantily supplied with the necessities of life, is quite incapable of offering a brave resistance. Nor indeed will anyone harm us from the rear; for not only have I seen fit to destroy the bridges over the river, with this purpose, that we might suffer no loss from unexpected assaults, but it is also true that Belisarius and John are regarding each other with suspicion, a fact which can be seen from previous events. For the conflict of men's judgments, one with the other, is clearly detected by their actions. This indeed is the reason why they have not even been able to join forces with each other up to this time. For their mutual suspicion disconcerts each of them; and those who admit this feeling are bound to harbour envy and hostility besides. And when these passions assault men, no needful thing can be done." After this speech Totila led forth his army against Perugia, and, upon their arrival at that city, they made camp hard by the circuit-wall and established themselves for a siege.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰωάννη Ἀχεροντίδα τὸ φρούριον πολιορκοῦντι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, ἔννοιά τις καὶ τόλμα γέγονεν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τὴν βουλὴν διασώσασθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ κλέος περιβαλέσθαι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἴσχυσε. [2] Τουτίλαν γὰρ καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν τειχομαχεῖν ἀκούσας ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον, τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ προρρηθέν, ἐς Καμπανούς, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιείς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἥϊ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπὼν Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ὅπως ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδόκητος ἀναρπάσαι τε καὶ διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς οἷός τε εἶη ἅτε τῶν ἐνταῦθα χωρίων ἀτειχίστων παντάπασιν ὄντων. [3] Ξυνηνέχθη δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τουτίλαν δείσαντα, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ τις τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κακουργήσων ἴοι, στράτευμα ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἱππέων στείλαι. [4] οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν Μεντούρῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο, ἄμεινον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχῇ μένειν τῶν τε ἵππων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἴκῳ γὰρ πολλῷ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ σφίσιν ὁμιλῆσαι ξυνέβη, στείλαι δὲ τινὰς τὰ ἐν Καπύῃ τε κατασκευομένους καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις. χώραν δὲ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι τὴν μεταξὺ οὐ πλεον ἢ σταδίους τριακοσίων. [5] τετρακοσίουσιν οὖν, οὔσπερ δὴ ἵπποις τε καὶ σώμασιν ἀκραιφνέσι χρῆσθαι ξυνέτυχε, ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψαν. [6] τύχῃ τέ τινι ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὸν τε ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸν καὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς τετρακοσίουσιν βαρβάρους ἐν Καπύῃ γενέσθαι, οὐδετέρους τι πρότερον τῶν ἐναντίων πέρι ἀκούσαντας. [7] καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἰσχυρὰ γίνεται: ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ὄψει ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον: νικῶσι δὲ κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. [8] ὀλίγοι τε τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ δρόμῳ ἐχόμενοι ἐς Μεντοῦρναν ἀφίκοντο. οὔσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἄλλοι εἶδον τοὺς μὲν αἵματι περιρρομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ βέλη ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι φέροντας, ἄλλους δὲ οὔτε τι φθεγγομένους οὔτε τι ἀπαγγέλλοντας τῶν ξυμπεσόντων, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἐχομένους καὶ τὸ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δέος ἐνδεικνύντας, αὐτίκα ἐς

τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον. [9] καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐλθόντες πλῆθος ἀμύθητον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων ἐσήγγελλον, ταύτῃ δηλονότι τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς αἰσχύνῃν ἰώμενοι. [10] Ἐτύγγανον δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν εἰς Γότθους ἡτομοληκότων τὸ πρότερον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία ἰόντες, [11] οἵπερ Ἰωάννη προσχωρεῖν ἐγνώσαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνταῦθα εὗρε, γυναῖκας δὲ σχεδόν τι ἀπάσας. [12] Ῥώμης γὰρ ἀλικομένης πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες φεύγουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπισπόμενοι ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἀφίκοντο, ταῖς δὲ γυναῖξιν πάσαις ἀλῶναι ξυνέβη. [13] Κλημεντίνος μέντοι, πατρίκιος ἀνὴρ, καταφυγὼν ἐς τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνῃ νεῶν, τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλεν, ἐπεὶ φρούριον ὃ Νεαπόλεως ἄγχιστά ἐστι Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐνδοὺς πρότερον, τὴν βασιλείᾳς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ὀργὴν ἐδεδίει: Ὁρέστης τε, ὁ Ῥωμαίων γεγενηὺς ὑπάτος, ἄγχιστα μὲν πη ἐτύγγανεν ὢν, ἵππων δὲ ἀπορία ὥς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων αὐτοῦ ἔμμενε. [14] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ξὺν τοῖς προσκεχωρηκόσιν ἑβδομήκοντα στρατιώταις ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἰωάννης. [15] Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν πένθει ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλῳ καὶ τίσασθαι Ἰωάννην τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἡπείγετο. διὸ δὴ ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλυνε, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων μοῖραν τινὰ φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπών. [16] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐν Λευκανοῖς στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος κατασκόπους τε πρότερον πέμψας, οἱ δὴ ἀπάσας διερευνῶμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐφύλασσον μὴ πολεμίων στρατὸς κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦ. [17] ἐν νῷ τε τὸ τοιοῦτον Τουτίλας ἔχων, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστι κατασκόπων χωρὶς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καθῆσθαι, τὰς συνειθισμένας ὁδοὺς ἐκλιπὼν διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ κρημνῶδη τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ λίαν ἀνέχει, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλυνεν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν τις ὑποτοπάζειν ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄβατα τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα νομίζεται εἶναι. [18] οἱ μέντοι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ κατασκοπῇ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου σταλέντες αἰσθόμενοι μὲν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία γενέσθαι, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα σαφὲς πεπυσμένοι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐγένετο δείσαντες ἤλυνον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. [19] καὶ ξυνηνέχθη ὁμοῦ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι νύκτωρ. ὀργῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ οὐ προμηθεὶ γνώμῃ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤδη ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀβελτερίας ἀπώνατο. [20] στράτευμα γὰρ δεκαπλάσιον ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἦν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων εὐδελόν τε ὄν ὅτι δὴ στρατῷ κρείσσονι ξύμφορόν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, δέον τε μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὀρθροῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὥς μὴ ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν δυνατοὶ εἶεν, τοῦτο μὲν ὥς ἥκιστα ἐφυλάξατο: ἦ γὰρ ἅπαντας σαγηνεύσας εὐθὺς ἂν τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶλεν: ἀλλὰ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζόμενος ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπέστη τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ. [21] καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐς ἀλκὴν εἶδεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἔτι ἐκαθευδον, οὐ μέντοι ἀνελεῖν πολλοὺς δεδύνηνται Γότθοι, ἀλλὰ ἀναστάντες οἱ πλείστοι ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. [22] ἔξω δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γενόμενοι ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ἅπερ ἄγχιστά πη πολλὰ ἀνέχει, ἀναδραμόντες ἐσώθησαν. [23] ἐν οἷς Ἰωάννης τε αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ Ἄρουφος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα. [24] Ἦν δὲ τις ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Γυλάκιος ὄνομα, Ἀρμένιος

γένος, ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχων. οὗτος ὁ Γιλάκιος οὔτε ἐλληνίζειν ἠπίστατο οὔτε Λατίνην ἢ Γοτθικὴν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἢ Ἀρμενίαν μόνην ἀφεῖναι φωνήν. [25] τούτῳ δὴ Γότθοι ἐντυχόντες τινὲς ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. κτεῖναι γὰρ τὸν παραπίπτοντα οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ὥς μὴ ἀλλήλους διαφθεῖρειν ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, [26] ἀναγκάζονται. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ἴσχυσε πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Γιλάκιος στρατηγὸς εἴη. τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα, ὃ δὴ πρὸς βασιλέως λαβὼν ἔτυχε, πολλάκις ἀκούσας ἐκμαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. [27] ταύτῃ τοίνυν οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι δὴ πολέμιος εἴη, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐξώγησαν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἄνθρωπον διεχρήσαντο. [28] Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄρουφος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἔφευγόν τε πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκοντο, Γότθοι δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ληϊσάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν.

WHILE these events were taking place in the manner described, John was meanwhile besieging the fortress of Acherontis; and since he was not making any progress, he conceived a daring plan, which not only effected the rescue of the Roman senate, but also caused him to win for himself an extraordinarily great renown among all men. For upon hearing that Totila and the Gothic army were engaged in assaulting the fortifications of Rome, he chose out the most illustrious of his horsemen, and, without announcing his plan to anyone at all, he rode with them into Campania (for Totila had, as it happened, left the members of the senate there), resting neither day nor night, in order that by making an unexpected attack he might be able to seize and rescue the senators, seeing that the towns there were entirely without defences.

Now it so happened that Totila at that very time began to be alarmed lest some of the enemy should, as in fact they did, come with the intention of striking a blow to rescue the prisoners, and he had accordingly sent an army of cavalry to Campania. Now when this force reached the city of Minturnae, it was decided that the better course for them was for the main body to remain quietly there and care for their horses (for they had become greatly fatigued on this journey), while they sent a few scouts to investigate the situation at Capua and the adjoining towns. Now the distance between the two places is not more than three hundred stades. They accordingly sent forward as scouts four hundred men whose horses were unwearied and whose strength was still unimpaired. And it so fell out by some chance that on that very day at the same time both John and his army and these same four hundred barbarians reached Capua, neither having heard anything previously of their opponents. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued on the spur of the moment; for no sooner did they see each other than they began fighting; but the Romans won a decisive victory and killed most of the enemy immediately. Only a few of the barbarians were able to escape, and these reached Minturnae in rapid flight. But when the others saw these men, some dripping with blood, some still actually carrying the missiles in their bodies, and others refusing to speak a word or give any account of what had happened, but still persisting in their retreat and openly displaying the terror which was in them, they leaped upon their horses immediately and joined in the flight. And when they came before Totila, they reported that there was an innumerable host of the enemy, seeking in this way to remove the shame of their flight.

Now it so happened that not less than seventy Roman soldiers of those who had previously deserted to the Goths were on their way into the towns of Campania, and these men decided to go over to John. And John found there only a few of the members of the senate, but practically all their wives. For

during the capture of Rome many of the men followed the soldiers in flight and reached Portus, but the women were all captured. Clementinus, however, a patrician, took refuge in one of the sanctuaries there and refused absolutely to follow the Roman army, for he had previously handed over to Totila and the Goths a stronghold which is close to Naples, and in all probability dreaded the wrath of the emperor for this reason. On the other hand, Orestes, who had been consul of the Romans, though he chanced to be near at hand, was obliged to remain, altogether against his will, owing to a scarcity of horses. John then immediately sent to Sicily the members of the senate together with the seventy soldiers who had come over to him.

Totila, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and eagerly sought an opportunity to inflict vengeance upon John for the deed. With this in view, he marched against him with the main body of his army, leaving a small part of his troops behind in order to keep guard. Now it so happened that John and his men, a thousand in number, had made camp in Lucania, having previously sent out scouts who were watching all the roads closely and keeping guard that no hostile army should approach to do them harm. But Totila had in mind that such would be the case, believing it impossible that John's force should settle in their camp without sending out scouts, and so he abandoned the customary roads and marched against them through the mountains, many of which in that region are precipitous and rise to a very great height — a feat which no one would have been able to suspect, for these mountains are considered in fact impassable. Meanwhile, the men thus sent out as scouts by John did indeed observe that a hostile army had got into that region, but they secured no definite information about it; however they feared what actually did take place, and so they too marched toward the Roman camp. And it so turned out that they arrived there at night together with the barbarians. But Totila, being now overmastered by violent passion and not weighing the consequences with careful judgment, reaped the fruits of his fatuous fury. For though he had under him an army ten times as large as that of his opponents, and though it was plain to be seen that for a stronger army it was of course advantageous to fight the decisive battle in broad daylight, and he should rather have engaged with his enemy at dawn in order that they might not be able to escape in the darkness, still he did not observe this precaution at all; for, in fact, he could have stretched a cordon about his opponents and immediately captured every man of them as in a net; but instead he gave way to his anger and fell upon the hostile army at an advanced hour of the night. And although not one of them thought of offering the least resistance, since the most were in fact still sleeping, none the less the Goths did not find themselves able to slay many, but they got up, and the majority, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in slipping away. And once outside the camp they ran up into the mountains, many of which rise close by, and thus were saved. Among these was John himself and Arufus, the leader of the Eruli. Of the Romans

about a hundred perished.

Now there had been with John a certain Gilacius of the Armenian race, commander of a small force of Armenians. This Gilacius did not know how to speak either Greek or Latin or Gothic or any other language except Armenian alone. When some of the Goths happened upon this man, they enquired who he might be. For they were quite averse to killing every man who came in their way, lest they be compelled to destroy each other in fighting at night, as might easily happen. But he was able to make them no answer except indeed that he was Gilacius, a general; for his title which he had received from the emperor he had heard many times and so had been able to learn it by heart. The barbarians, accordingly, perceiving by this that he was an enemy, made him a prisoner for the moment, but not long afterwards put the man to death. So John and Arufus fled with their followers as fast as they could go and made for Dryus, which they reached on the run, and the Goths plundered the Roman camp and then retired.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἰταλιώταις στρατόπεδα τῆδε ἐφέρετο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στράτευμα πέμπειν ἄλλο ἐπὶ Γότθους καὶ Τουτίλαν ἔγνω, γράμμασι τοῖς Βελισαρίου ἡγμένος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγε, τὰ παρόντα σφίσι πολλάκις σημήνας. [2] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Πακούριόν τε τὸν Περανίου καὶ Σέργιον τὸν Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφικόμενοι τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ξυνέμιζαν. [3] μετὰ δὲ Βῆρόν τε ξὺν Ἑρούλοις τριακοσίοις καὶ Οὐαράζην Ἀρμένιον γένος ξὺν ὀκτακοσίοις Ἀρμενίοις στέλλει, Βαλεριανόν τε τὸν τῶν Ἀρμενίων στρατηγὸν ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς πλέον ἢ χιλίοις οὗσιν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [4] Βῆρος οὖν πρῶτος Δρυοῦντι προσχὼν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀφείς μένειν μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ᾗθελεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου στρατόπεδον ἦν, ἱπεύων δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πρόσθεν ἦει. [5] ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλὰ μέθης νόσῳ ἀναιμένος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θράσει ἀπερὶσκέπτῳ ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχετο. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα πη πόλεως Βρεντεσίου ἀφίκοντο, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμεινον. Ἄπερ ὁ Τουτίλας μαθὼν ‘Ὁ Βῆρος δυοῖν’ ἔφη ‘τὸ ἕτερον: ἡ δυνάμει μεγάλη χρῆται, ἡ ἀνοία πολλῇ ἔχεται. [7] ἴωμεν τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπως ἡ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποπειρασώμεθα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἡ τῆς ἀνοίας ἐκεῖνος τῆς αὐτοῦ [8] αἰσθηται.’ ὁ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλας ταῦτα εἰπὼν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦει, Ἑρουλοι δὲ παρόντας ἤδη κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατέφυγον ἐς ὕλην τινὰ ἐγγὺς πη οὔσαν. [9] κυκλώσαντές τε αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι πλέον μὲν ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν, ἔμελλον δὲ Βῆρόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς λειπομένους ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας κρυπτομένους χειρώσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τύχη τις αὐτοῖς ξυμβᾶσα διεσώσατο ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου. [10] νῆες γὰρ ἐν αἷς ὁ τε Οὐαράζης καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρμένιοι ἔπλεον, ἄφνω ἐς τὴν ἐκεῖνη ἀκτὴν κατήσαν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶδε, πλείονα ἤπερ ἦν ὑποτοπάζων εἶναι τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄρας αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπήλαυνεν, οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Βῆρον ἄσμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς δρόμῳ ἀφίκοντο. [11] ὁ τε Οὐαράζης πλεῖν μὲν

ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Τάραντα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀφίκετο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. [12] Βελισαρίῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν ὅτι δὴ πολλὴν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πέμψειεν, οἷσπερ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἐν Καλαβρία ξυμμιζαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμοσεῖναι. [13] ἥδη δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἄγχιστα κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἤκων διαπορθμεύσασθαι μὲν ᾤετο οἱ ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. [14] στρατιώταις τε γὰρ καὶ ἵπποις ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρκέσειν, ἐπεὶ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἦν. [15] τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐπομένων Ἰωάννη πέμψας ὠμολόγησε διαχειμάσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦξειν. [16] Βελισάριος οὖν ἐπειδὴ τὰ βασιλέως ἀνελέξατο γράμματα, ἐνακοσίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, ἱππεῖς μὲν ἑπτακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ διακοσίους, τοὺς τε λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς ἐκείνῃ χώρας καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς Κόνωνα ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ Σικελίας αὐτίκα ἔπλει. [17] ἔνθεν τε ἀνηγάγετο. καταίρειν διανοούμενος ἐς τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Σκύλαιον καλούμενον χώρον, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὴν Σκύλλαν οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι φασιν, οὐχ ὅτι ταύτῃ πη τὸ θηριῶδες γύναιον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν, ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σκυλάκων μέγα τι χρῆμα, οὕσπερ κυνίσκους τανῦν καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. [18] τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρχὴν μὲν εἰκότα ἐς αἰεὶ γίνεται, ἡ δὲ φήμη αὐτὰ περιαγαγοῦσα ἐς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς δόξας οὐκ ὀρθὰς ἀγνοία τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. [19] καὶ προῖον οὕτως ὁ χρόνος ἰσχυρὸς μὲν τις δημιουργὸς αὐτίκα τοῦ μύθου καθίσταται, μάρτυρας δὲ τῶν οὐ γεγονότων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐξουσία τῆς τέχνης, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, ἐταιρίζεται. ταῦτά τοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν ὠνόμασαν ἐπιχώριοι Κυνὸς Κεφαλὴν ἄκραν τὴν μίαν Κερκύρας τῆς νήσου ἢ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλιὸν ἐστίν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κυνοκεφάλους τινὰς εἶναι βούλονται τοὺς τῇδε ἀνθρώπους. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυκοκρανίτας καλοῦσι τῶν Πισιδῶν τινας, οὐχ ὅτι λύκων κεφαλὰς ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Λύκου Κράνος τὸ ὄρος ἐκλήθη ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη ἐκάστῳ βουλομένῳ εἴη ταύτῃ δοκεῖτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

XXVII

THUS were the armies in Italy engaged. And the Emperor Justinian decided to send another army against the Goths and Totila, being led to do so by the dispatches of Belisarius, who kept urging him to take this action, having indicated many times the situation in which the Romans found themselves. Accordingly, he first sent Pacurius, the son of Peranius, and Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, with a few men. And they arrived in Italy and immediately united with the rest of the army. Later on he sent Verus with three hundred Eruli, and Varazes, an Armenian by birth, with eight hundred Armenians, and he recalled from his post Valerian, the General of Armenia, and ordered him to go to Italy with his attendant spearmen and guards, who numbered more than a thousand. Now Verus was the first to put in at Dryus, and he left his ships there, being quite unwilling to remain in that place, where John's army was, and went forward on horseback with his command. For this man was not of a serious temper, but was utterly addicted to the disease of drunkenness, and consequently he was always possessed by a spirit of reckless daring. And when they had come close to the city of Brundisium, they made camp and remained there.

And when Totila learned this, he said "Verus has one of two things, either a powerful army or a very silly head. Let us then proceed against him instantly, that either we may make trial of the man's army, or that he may realize his own silliness." So Totila with these words marched against him with a numerous army; and the Eruli, spying the enemy already at hand, took refuge in a wood which was close by. And the enemy surrounded them and killed more than two hundred, and were about to lay hands on Verus himself and the rest of the force who were hiding among the thorn-bushes, but fortune came to their aid and saved them unexpectedly. For the ships in which Varazes and the Armenians under him were sailing suddenly put in at the shore there. Now when Totila saw this, supposing the hostile army to be more numerous than it really was, he immediately set out and marched away from there, while Verus and his men were glad to reach their ships on the run. And Varazes decided to sail no farther, but proceeded with them to Tarentum, whither John the nephew of Vitalian also not long afterwards came with his whole army. Such was the course of these events.

Now the emperor wrote to Belisarius that he had sent him a numerous army with which he should unite in Calabria and so engage with the enemy. And in fact Valerian had already come down close to the Ionian Gulf, but he thought that, for the present at any rate, it was inexpedient for him to ferry across. For at that season of the year, he reasoned, provisions would not be sufficient for men and horses, since it was near the winter solstice. But he did send three

hundred of his men to John with the promise that after spending the winter there he would also come himself at the beginning of spring.

Belisarius, accordingly, upon reading the emperor's letter, selected nine hundred men distinguished for valour, seven hundred horse-men and two hundred foot-soldiers, and leaving all the rest to guard that district, and appointing Conon commander over them, he immediately set sail for Sicily. And from there he again put out to sea purposing to sail to the harbour of Tarentum; and as he sailed by he had on his left the place called Scylaeum, at which the poets say that Scylla once lived, not because there really existed there the woman in the form of a beast, as they say, but rather because a certain fish, formerly called "scylax" and now "cyniscus" has been found in great abundance in this part of the strait from ancient times even down to my day. For names in the beginning are always appropriate to the things they describe, but rumour, carrying these names to other peoples, engenders there certain false opinions through ignorance of the facts. And as time goes on with this process, it immediately becomes a powerful builder, as it were, of the story, and allies itself with the poets, presumably because of the licence of their art, as witnesses of things that never happened. Thus, for example, the natives of the island of Cercyra have from ancient times called one headland of the island "Dog's Head" — the one toward the east — but others because of this name will have it that the people there are a kind of dog-headed folk. Indeed they even call some of the Pisidians "Wolf-Skulls," not because they have the heads of wolves, but because the mountain which rises there has received the name "Wolf-Helmet." Now as for these matters, let each one both think and speak as he wishes. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἰέναι τοῦ Τάραντος ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἔστι δέ τις ἀκτὴ μνηοειδὴς ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ τῆς ἡϊόνος ὑποχωρούσης ἢ θάλασσα ὥσπερ ἐν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς γῆς ἀναβαίνει. [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀκτὸς ταύτης διάπλους ἅπας ἐς χιλίους σταδίους διήκει, ἐκατέρωθι δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν ἐκβολὴν κεῖται πολίσματα δύο: θάτερον μὲν ὁ Κρότων πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ὁ Τάρας δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα. [3] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡϊόνος Θουρίων ἢ πόλις οἰκεῖται. τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἀντιστατοῦντος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σὺν πολλῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένου, περαιτέρω δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐφιέντος, τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχε. [4] Βελισάριος οὖν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἐνταῦθα εὔρεν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅθεν ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζοντο εἶχεν, αὐτὸς μὲν ζὺν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, ὅπως ἐνθὲνδε μεταπέμπεσθαι τε καὶ διέπειν τὸ ζὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατεύμα δύνηται: [5] τοὺς δὲ ἵππεῖς ἅπαντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι παρὰ τὰς τῆς χώρας εἰσόδους, Φάζαν τε τὸν Ἰβηρα καὶ Βαρβατίωνα τὸν δορυφόρον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας. [6] οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ῥᾶστα ᾤετο σφίσι μὲν καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς σφετέροις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα πορίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὥς τὸ εἰκόσ, ἀποκρούεσθαι δυνατοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [7] τὰ γὰρ Λευκανῶν ὄρη μέχρι

ἐς Βριττίους διήκοντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐν στενῷ ξυνιόντα δύο μόνας εἰσόδους στενάς μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται, ὧν ἀτέρα μὲν Πέτρα Αἵματος τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ κέκληται, Λαβοῦλαν δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν καλεῖν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι νενομίκασιν. [8] ἐνταῦθα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν Ῥουσκιανὴ ἐστὶ τὸ Θουρίων ἐπίνειον, ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα φρουρίον ἐχυρώτατον ἐδείμαντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης πολλῶ πρότερον καταλαβὼν ἔτυχε φρουρὰν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐκείνη καταστησάμενος. [9] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίου στρατιῶται ἐνταῦθ' ἀπὸ πηλὸν ἰόντες πολέμιον στρατεύματι ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὕσπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀποπειράσονται τοῦ τῆδε φρουρίου. [10] ἐς χεῖρας δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα ἐλθόντες ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἔτρεψαν, καίπερ αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι, καὶ πλεον ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν. [11] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φεύγοντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα πάντα ἐσήγγελλον: οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ἅτε δὲ ἄναρχοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. [12] οὔτε γὰρ ἀγηγερμένοι ἡσύχαζον οὔτε ἄγχιστα τῆς στενοχωρίας ἐγκαθεζόμενοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀλιγορίαν τραπόμενοι νύκτωρ μὲν ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἀλλήλων διεσκηνημένοι ἐκάθευδον, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διερευνώμενοι περιήρχοντο, οὔτε τινὰς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στείλαντες οὔτε ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ἀσφαλείας περὶ βεβουλευμένοι. [13] Τουτίλας οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπόθετο ἅπαντα, ἐς τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς τοῦ παντός στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἦει. [14] καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδοκίτως οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις, ἀλλ' οὕτω περιουοῖσιν ὥσπερ εἴρηται, [15] κατέπληξέ τε καὶ συνετάραξεν ἅπαντας. ἐνταῦθα Φάζας ἄγχιστα γὰρ πη ἐσκηνημένος ἐτύγχανεν ὑπαντιάσας τοῖς πολέμοις ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδειξάμενος, τισὶ μὲν τοῦ διαφυγεῖν αἴτιος γέγονεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸν ἅπασιν θνήσκει. [16] μέγα τε πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅτε διαφέροντας τὰ πολέμια τὴν ἐλπίδα ξύμπαντες εἶχον. [17] ὅσοι μέντοι φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε διεσώθησαν. πρῶτός τε Βαρβατίων ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ξὺν ἐτέροις δυοῖν φεύγων ἀνὰ κράτος ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθε. καὶ τὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπαγγέλλων ἐπεῖπεν οἴεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους παρέσεσθαι. [18] Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν τε μεγάλῳ πένθει ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσεπήδησεν. ἐνθεν τε ἄραντες καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ Σικελίας Μεσσηνὴν προσέσχον, ἢ τοῦ μὲν Κρότωνος ἑπτακοσίου σταδίου διέχει, Ῥηγίνων δὲ καταντικρὺ κεῖται.

XXVIII

So Belisarius was making haste to go straight to Tarentum. Now the shore there has approximately the form of a crescent, where the coast recedes and the sea advances in a gulf, as it were, far up into the land. But the distance, as one sails along this whole coast, extends to one thousand stades, and on either side of the opening of the gulf stand two cities, the one toward the west being Croton, and the one to the east Tarentum. And at the middle of this shore is the city of Thurii. But Belisarius was hindered by a storm and forced from his course by a violent wind and a high sea which would not permit his ships to make any progress at all; he therefore put in at the harbour of Croton.

And since he neither found any fortress there nor any place from which provisions could be brought in for the soldiers, Belisarius himself together with his wife remained there with the infantry, in order that from there he might be able to summon and organize John's army; but he ordered all the horsemen to go ahead and make camp at the passes leading into the country, placing in command of them Phazas the Iberian and the guardsman Barbation. For in this way he thought that they could secure all necessary supplies for their horses and themselves very easily, and would probably, too, be able in a narrow pass to repulse the enemy. For the mountains of Lucania extend as far as Bruttium, and standing as they do close to one another, they form there only two passes, which are exceedingly narrow, one of which has received the name "Rock of Blood" in the Latin tongue, while the natives are accustomed to call the other Lavula. Not far from these passes on the coast is Rusciane, the naval harbour of Thurii, while above it at a distance of about sixty stades is a very strong fortress built by the ancient Romans. This fortress had been occupied by John much earlier and he had established a considerable garrison in it.

Now the soldiers of Belisarius, upon reaching this district, chanced upon a hostile army, which Totila had sent for the purpose of making an attempt on the fortress there. And they engaged with them immediately and by their valour routed them without any difficulty, although they were far outnumbered, and they slew more than two hundred. Those who were left took to flight and when they came before Totila, reported everything that had befallen them. As for the Romans, they made camp and remained there, but since they were without proper commanders and had won a victory, they began to conduct themselves in a rather careless manner. For they neither stayed quietly gathered in one place, nor did they take up positions near the pass and guard the approaches, but, becoming negligent, they were sleeping at night in encampments very far removed from one another, and during the day they would go about searching for provisions, neither sending any men out as

scouts nor taking any other measures for security.

Totila, consequently, upon learning everything, selected three thousand horsemen from his whole army and went against the enemy. And falling upon them unexpectedly, not drawn up in battle formation but going about in the manner described, he threw them all into consternation and complete disorder. At this moment Phazas, who happened to be camping near by, encountered the enemy and made a display of valorous deeds, and he did, indeed, thus make himself the cause of the escape of a few men, but he himself perished together with all his men. This misfortune fell heavily upon the Romans, because they all pinned their hope on this detachment as an unusually efficient fighting force. Now as many as succeeded in fleeing saved themselves in such manner as each found possible. And Barbation, the guardsman of Belisarius, fled with two others as hard as he could, and was the first to reach Croton. There he reported how matters stood at the moment, and added that he thought the barbarians too would be at hand right speedily. And Belisarius, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and rushed on board the ships. So they set sail from there, and since a wind was blowing, they succeeded that day in reaching Messana in Sicily, which is seven hundred stades from Croton, being situated opposite to Rhegium.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Σκλαβηνῶν στράτευμα διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον Ἰλλυριοὺς ἅπαντας ἄχρι Ἐπιδαμνίων ἔδρασαν ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, κτείνοντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίζοντες τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενοι. [2] ἤδη δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ τε καὶ δοκοῦντα ἐχυρὰ τὰ πρότερα εἶναι οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐξελεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ περιήρχοντο ξύμπαντα κατ' ἐξουσίαν διερευνώμενοι. [3] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἄρχοντες στράτευμα πεντακισχιλίων τε καὶ μυρίων ἔχοντες εἶποντο, ἄγχιστα μέντοι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι. [4] Τότε δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ πολλάκις χειμῶνος ὥρα σκληροί τε λίαν καὶ ὑπερφρεῖς ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ χωρίοις ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο, νύκτωρ ἅπαντες. [5] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ὥκημένοι καταχωσθήσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐνθὲνδε φλαῦρον αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθῃ παθεῖν. [6] Τότε καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ὀκτωκαίδεκα πῆχυς ἀναβὰς ἐπέκλυσε μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἥρδευσε πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν μὲν Θηβαΐδι τῇ ὑπερθεῖν οὔση ὑφίζανοντά τε καὶ ἀποχωροῦντα τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ ὕδατα παρείχετο τοῖς τῇδε ὥκημένοις σπεῖρειν τε τὴν γῆν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἥπερ εἰώθει· [7] χώρας δὲ τῆς ἑνερθεῖν ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐπεπόλασεν, οὐκέτι ἀπέβη, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῇ ξύμπαντα διαγέγονε τὸν τοῦ σπεῖρειν καιρὸν, οὐ ξυμπεσὸν τοῦτό γε πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, ἔστι δὲ οὐ καὶ ἀπολωφῆσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπέκλυσεν αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. [8] ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα ἐσεσήπει τὰ σπέρματα, ὅσα δὴ μεταξὺ καταβεβλημένα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔτυχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ζώων ἀπορία τροφῆς τὰ πλείστα ἐφθάρη. [9] Τότε καὶ τὸ κῆτος, ὃ δὴ Βυζάντιοι Πορφύριον ἐκάλουν, ἔάλω. τοῦτό τε τὸ κῆτος πλεόν μὲν ἢ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τὰ ἀμφ' αὐτὸ χωρία

ἠνώχλει, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ διαλείπον, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, πολὺν τινα μεταξὺ χρόνον. [10] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν κατέδυσσε πλοῖα, πολλῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβατάς ξυνταράττον τε καὶ βιαζόμενον ὥς ἀπωτάτω ἀπήνεγκεν. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο χειρώσασθαι. ἐπιτελέσαι δὲ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔσχεν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ τανῦν ἀλῶναι ξυνέπεσεν. [11] ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γαλήνη τὴν θάλασσαν πολλὴ ἔχουσα, δελφίνων δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ στόματος Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ξυνέρρεον. [12] οἷπερ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸ κῆτος ἰδόντες ἔφρευγον ὥς πη ἐκάστω δυνατὰ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀμφὶ τοῦ Σαγάριδος τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἦλθον. τινὰς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν καταλαβὼν τὸ κῆτος καταπιεῖν εὐθὺς ἴσχυσεν. [13] εἴτε δὲ πείνῃ εἴτε φιλονεικίᾳ ἔτι ἐχόμενον οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἐδίωκεν, ἕως δὴ αὐτὸ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς γῆς ἐκπεσὼν ἔλαθεν. [14] ἐνταῦθά τε ἰλυὶ βαθείᾳ κομιδῇ ἐντυχὼν ἐβιάζετο μὲν καὶ πάντα ἐκίνει, ὅπως δὴ ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσοιτο, διαφυγεῖν δὲ τὸ τέναγος τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ πηλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας ἦλθε, δρόμῳ εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἦεσαν, ἀξίναις τε πανταχόθεν ἐνδελεχέστατα κόψαντες οὐδ' ὥς ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ σχοίνοις ἀδραῖς τισιν εἶλκον. [16] ἐν τε ἀμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι εὗρισκον μῆκος μὲν πηχῶν μάλιστα τριάκοντα ὄν, εὐρος δὲ δέκα. ἐνταῦθά τε κατὰ συμμορίας τινὰς διασπασάμενοι οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐγεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν ταριχεῦσαι τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσιν σφίσιν ἔγνωσαν. [17] Βυζάντιοι δέ, ἐπεὶ τῶν τε σεισμῶν ἦσθοντο καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τε τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ τῷ κήτει τοῦτῳ ἔγνωσαν, προὔλεγον αὐτίκα ξυμβήσεσθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτῶν ἐκάστω ἦρεσκε. [18] φιλοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενοι τὰ ἐσόμενα τερατεύεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀποκναιόμενοι τὰ ξυμβησόμενα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τεκμηριοῦσθαι. [19] ἐγὼ δὲ μαντείας τε καὶ τεράτων δηλώσεις ἄλλοις ἀφιεῖς ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδα, ὥς ἡ μὲν τοῦ Νεῖλου ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας διατριβὴ μεγάλων αἰτία ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι συμφορῶν γέγονε, τὸ δὲ κῆτος ἀφανισθὲν πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγὴ κακῶν διαδείκνυται οὕσα. [20] τινὲς δὲ φασιν οὐ τὸ κῆτος τοῦτο, οὐπερ ἐμνήσθην, ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶναι, ὃ δὴ ἀλῶναι ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπ' ἀνέμιμι. [21] Τουτίλας οὖν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ἃ προδεδήλωται, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζειν ἐπύθετο, ἐξαίρησιν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ὅτι τάχιστα, ἢν μὴ τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἰοί τε ὧσιν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατό τε ὥς ἀγχοτάτω καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἔλγη, καὶ τρισκαίδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XXIX

AT about this time an army of Sclaveni crossed the river Ister and spread desolation throughout the whole of Illyricum as far as Epidamnus, killing or enslaving all who came in their way, young and old alike, and plundering their property. And they had already succeeded in capturing numerous strongholds of that region, which were then quite undefended, but which previously had been reputed to be strong-places, and they continued to roam about searching out everything at their own pleasure. And the commanders of the Illyrians kept following them with an army of fifteen thousand men, without, however, having the courage to get close to the enemy.

At that time also, earthquakes of extraordinary severity occurred many times during the winter season, both in Byzantium and in other places, always at night. And the inhabitants of these cities, supposing that they would be overwhelmed, fell into great fear, yet no harm befell them as a result of the earthquakes.

Then it was, too, that the river Nile rose above eighteen cubits and flooded all Egypt with water; and yet in the region of Thebes, which is higher upstream, the waters settled and receded at the appointed time and gave opportunity to the inhabitants of that district both to sow the land and to attend to their other tasks just as they were accustomed to do. But as for the country below, after the water had first covered the surface, it did not recede, but remained in the way throughout the time of sowing, a thing which had never happened before in all time; and there were places where the water, even after receding, flowed in again not long afterwards. Thus it came about that all the seeds, such as had been put into the ground in the interval, rotted. And by this strange occurrence the people were reduced to dire straits, while most of the animals died through lack of sustenance.

It was at that time also that the whale, which the Byzantines called Porphyrius, was caught. This whale had been annoying Byzantium and the towns about it for fifty years, not continuously, however, but disappearing sometimes for a rather long interval. And it sank many boats and terrified the passengers of many others, driving them from their course and carrying them off to great distances. It had consequently become a matter of concern to the Emperor Justinian to capture this creature, but he was unable by any device to accomplish his purpose. But I shall explain how it came to be captured in the present instance. It happened that while a deep calm prevailed over the sea, a very large number of dolphins gathered close to the mouth of the Euxine Sea. And suddenly they saw the whale and fled wherever each one could, but the most of them came in near the mouth of the Sangarius. Meanwhile the whale succeeded in capturing some of them, which he swallowed forthwith. And

then, either still impelled by hunger or by a contentious spirit, it continued the pursuit no less than before, until, without noticing it, it had itself come very close to the land. There it ran upon some very deep mud, and, though it struggled and exerted itself to the utmost to get out of it as quickly as possible, it still was utterly unable to escape from this shoal, but sank still deeper in the mud. Now when this was reported among all the people who dwelt round about, they straightway rushed upon the whale, and though they hacked at it most persistently with axes on all sides, even so they did not kill it, but they dragged it up with some heavy ropes. And they placed it on waggons and found its length to be about thirty cubits, and its breadth ten. Then, after forming several groups and dividing it accordingly, some ate the flesh immediately, while others decided to cure the portion which fell to them.

Now the Byzantines, observing the earthquakes and learning the circumstances of the Nile's rise and the capture of this whale, began straightway to prophesy that such and such things would take place, according to the taste of each. For men are wont, when present events baffle them, to utter awesome prophecies of the future, and, distracted by occurrences which trouble them, to infer, with no good reason, what the future will bring forth. But as for me, I shall leave to others prophecies and explanations of marvels; still, I know well that the lingering of the Nile on the fields did prove a cause of great calamities at that time at any rate, while the disappearance of the whale, on the other hand, unquestionably provided an escape from many troubles. However, some say that it was not the same whale that I mentioned, but another one that was captured. But I shall return to the point where I made the digression from my narrative.

Totila, after accomplishing what has been recounted, learning that the Romans in the fortress near Rusciane were beginning to feel the want of provisions, thought that he would capture them very quickly if they should be unable to bring in any supplies, and so he made camp close to the town and settled down for a siege. And the winter drew to a close and the thirteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.[548 A.D.]

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ δισχιλίους ἐς Σικελίαν ναυσὶν ἔπεμψε καὶ Βαλεριανὸν οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. [2] καὶ ὃς διαπορθμευσάμενος ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ εὔρεν. [3] ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀντωνίνα μὲν ἢ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ ἐς Βυζαντιὸν στέλλεται, τῆς βασιλίδος δεησομένη μείζονι παρασκευῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξαρτύεσθαι. [4] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα νοσήσασα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα τε καὶ εἴκοσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιβιοῦσα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. [5] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ πολιορκούμενοι πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις ξυνίασιν, ὠμολόγησάν τε μεσοῦσης μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θέρους ὥρας τὸ φρούριον ἐνδῶσειν, ἣν μὴ τις ἐπιγένηται μεταξὺ βοήθεια σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ

μέντοι ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἅπαντες μείνωσιν. [6] ἦσαν δὲ Ἰταλῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τε καὶ λόγιμοι, καὶ Δεοφέρων ὁ Τουλλιανοῦ ἀδελφός, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ τριακόσιοι, οὕσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Χαλαζάρ τε αὐτοῖς τὸν δορυφόρον ἐπιστήσας, Μασσαγέτην γένος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γουδίλαν Θραῦκα, καὶ πεζοὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ φρουρίου σταλέντες. [7] Τότε καὶ ὅσοι στρατιῶται πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ φρουρᾷ ἐτετάχατο τὸν σφῶν ἄρχοντα Κόνωνα κτείνουνσιν, ἐμπορίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἐπενεγκόντες. [8] πρέσβεις τε τῶν ἱερέων τινὰς πέμπουσιν, ἀπισχυριζόμενοι ὥς, ἢν μὴ βασιλεὺς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀμνηστίαν σφίσι διδοίη χρόνου τε ῥητοῦ τὰς συντάξεις ἐκτίσοι ὅσας δὴ αὐτοῖς τὸ δημόσιον ὤφειλε, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες προσχωρήσουσι. βασιλεὺς τε αὐτοῖς τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει. [9] Βελισάριος δὲ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα μεταπεμψάμενος ζὺν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βαλεριανῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι στόλον πολὺν ἀγείρας εὐθὺ Ῥουσκιανῆς κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπαμύνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων. [10] οἱ τε ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ κατιδόντες εὐέλπιδές τε γενόμενοι οὐκέτι τοῖς πολεμίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καίπερ ἐνισταμένης ἤδη τῆς σφίσι ξυγκειμένης ἡμέρας. [11] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα χειμῶνος ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἀκτῆς ἀλμμένου παντάπασιν οὕσης, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ξυνηνέχθη διασκεδάννυσθαι. [12] ταύτῃ τε χρόνου μῆκος σφίσι τριβῆναι ξυνέβη. αὐθὶς τε ἀγγηγερόμενοι ἐν τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανὴν ἀνήγοντο. οὕσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι εἶδον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ἀμφὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα ἐγένοντο τὴν ἀπόβασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστέλλειν διανοοῦμενοι. [13] Τουτίλας τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀντιμετώπους ἔστησε ταῖς τῶν νηῶν πύρραις. τοὺς μὲν δόρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τόξα ἐντειναμένους. [14] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἶδον, καταρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἄγχιστα οὐδαμῇ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ χρόνον μὲν τινα τὰς ναῦς ἐκαστάτῳ ἀνακωχεύσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν πρύμναν τε πάντες ἐκρούοντο καὶ ἀναχθέντες τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν αὐθὶς λιμένι προσέσχον. [15] Οὗ δὴ ἐπὶ κοινῇ βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντα τὰ ταύτῃ τε ὥς ἄριστα διοικήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίσασθαι, Ἰωάννην δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸν τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἐς γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀποβιβάσαντας ὁδῷ τε πορευομένους ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἰέναι, ξυνταράζοντας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς τὰ ἐκείνῃ πολιορκοῦντας πολίσματα. [16] οὕτῳ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς Τουτίλαν διαλύσαντα τὴν προσεδρεῖαν ἐπισπέσθαι ἐλπίδα εἶχον. [17] Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις χιλίοις οὗσι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει: Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον δείσας ταῖς ναυσὶ κόλπον περιῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος εὐθύ. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐν Πικηνοῖς τε γενήσεσθαι ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ᾧετο καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ξυμμίξαι. [18] ἀλλὰ Τουτίλας διαλύσαι τὴν προσεδρεῖαν οὐδ' ὥς ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, δισχιλίους δὲ ἱππεῖς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Πικηνοὺς στέλλει, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάροις ξυμμιζαντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Βαλεριανὸν

ἀποκρούσονται. [19] Οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς τὰ τε ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη παντάπασιν ἐπελελοίπει καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας ἐλπίδα εἶχον, Γουδίλαν τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Δεοφέροντα τὸν Ἰταλιώτην παρὰ Τουτίλαν πέμψαντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, δεόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πεπραγμένων ξυγγνώμονα εἶναι. [20] ὁ δὲ Τουτίλας ἐς ἄλλον οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐς τὸν Χαλαζᾶρ ἐπιτελέσειν τὴν κόλασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο ἅτε τὰ πρόσθεν ξυγκείμενα ἠλογηκότα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐπιχωρεῖν πᾶσιν. [21] οὕτω τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐδέξατο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χαλαζᾶρ ἄμφω τε τὸ χεῖρε ἀποτεμῶν καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους μένειν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Γότθοις ξυντάσσονται: ὅπερ κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι τοῖς ἀλISCOμένοις πράσσειν εἰώθει: [22] οἷς δὲ τὸ μένειν ἐν ἡδονῇ ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, τούτους δὴ γυμνοὺς ὅπη βούλονται ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τινὰ οἱ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀκούσιον ξυστρατεύεσθαι. [23] ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπολελειμμένων ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. [24] τῶν μέντοι Ἰταλῶν τὰ μὲν χρήματα πάντα ἀφείλετο, τὰ δὲ γε σώματα κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθῇ εἶασεν. [25] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπογενομένης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένη ἐδέετο βασιλέως μετὰπεμπτόν οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα ἐλθεῖν. ῥᾷστά τε διεπράξατο τοῦτο. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐπικείμενος ἰσχυρότατα βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν.

THE Emperor Justinian now sent not less than two thousand infantry by sea to Sicily and ordered Valerian to join Belisarius without any delay. He accordingly crossed the sea and put in at Dryus where he found Belisarius together with his wife. At about this time Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, set off for Byzantium, intending to beg the empress to make larger provision for carrying on the war. But the Empress Theodora had fallen sick and passed from the world, having lived as queen twenty-one years and three months. [June 28, 548 A.D.]

Meanwhile the Romans who were being held under siege in the fortress near Rusciene, hard pressed, as they were, by the lack of necessary supplies, opened negotiations with the enemy and agreed that precisely at the middle of the summer season they would hand over the fortress, unless some relief came to them in the interval, on condition, however, that they should all remain free from harm. Now there were in this fortress many notables of the Italians, among whom was Deopheron the brother of Tullianus, while the Roman army was represented by three hundred Illyrian horsemen whom John had stationed in that place, appointing as commanders over them Chalazar the guardsman, a Massagete by birth and an especially able warrior, and Gudilas the Thracian; and there were also a hundred infantry sent by Belisarius to guard the fortress.

At that time also the soldiers who had been detailed by Belisarius for the garrison of Rome killed their commander Conon, bringing against him the charge of trafficking in grain and the other provisions to their detriment. And they sent some of the priests as envoys, firmly declaring that if the emperor did not exonerate them from guilt for this deed and remit to them within a specified time the back payment which the state owed them, they would without the slightest hesitation go over to Totila and the Goths. And the emperor fulfilled their request.

Belisarius now summoned John to Dryus and, together with him and Valerian and other commanders, he gathered a great fleet and sailed straight for Rusciene with all speed, being intent upon bringing relief to the besieged. And those in the fortress, seeing this fleet from their elevated position, revived their hopes and now decided not to yield to the enemy, although the day upon which they had agreed was already close at hand. First then a terrific storm came on, and for this reason and also because the coast there is altogether without harbours, the ships came to be scattered far apart from one another; thus it came about that considerable time was wasted. And when they had been collected in the harbour of Croton, they put out a second time for Rusciene. But when the barbarians saw them, they leaped upon their horses and came down to the beach, intending to prevent the disembarkation of their

enemy. And Totila placed them for a great distance along the shore face to face with the prows of the ship, some with spears and some with bows ready strung. This array struck terror to the hearts of the Romans when they saw it and they had not the courage to come close, but they first stopped their ships at a great distance and remained quiet for some time, and then, giving up the landing in despair, they all backed off and put to sea and sailed once more into the harbour of Croton.

There, after taking council together, they decided that it was better that Belisarius should proceed to Rome and there set matters in order as well as possible and bring in provisions, while John and Valerian should first disembark the men and horses on the shore and then march overland into Picenum, in order to throw into confusion those of the barbarians who were besieging the strongholds in that region. For they entertained the hope that Totila would be led by such moves to abandon the siege and follow them. Accordingly, John, for his part, accompanied by his troops, a thousand in number, carried out this plan; but Valerian, fearing the danger, went around through the Ionian Gulf with the ships and sailed straight for Ancon. For he thought that he could in this way reach Picenum with safety and unite with John. But even so Totila was unwilling to abandon the siege, but, while he himself remained settled there, he selected two thousand horsemen from the army and sent them into Picenum, in order to unite with the barbarians there and throw back the forces of John and Valerian.

The Romans who were besieged in the fortress at Rusciacae, seeing that their provisions had now completely failed them and that they had no further hope of assistance from the Romans, sent Gudilas the guardsman and Deophoron the Italian to Totila and opened negotiations concerning their safety, begging him to pardon them for their deeds. And Totila promised that he would inflict punishment upon no one except Chalazar, seeing that he had disregarded the previous agreement, but he would remit the charge against all the others. On such terms he in person took over the fortress. And he cut off both the hands of Chalazar and his private parts and then killed him immediately; as for the soldiers, he ordered those who wished to do so to remain, keeping their own possessions, on condition that they array themselves thereafter with the Goths on terms of complete equality; indeed this was the same procedure which he had regularly followed when the other strongholds were captured; those, on the other hand, who were not at all satisfied to remain, he commanded to depart from there and go without equipment wherever they pleased, in order that no man in the world might march unwillingly under his standard. Thus, while eighty of the Roman army abandoned their possessions and came to Croton, the rest remained where they were with their possessions. The Italians, however, he deprived of all their property, though he left their persons entirely unharmed.

When Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, reached Byzantium after the decease of the empress, she begged the emperor to summon her husband thither. This she accomplished very readily. For the Persian war was now pressing the Emperor Justinian to the utmost, and influenced him to this decision.

Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινες ἐπίθουσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο. οἵπερ ὅπως τε ἐς τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο κατέστησαν καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀφίκοντο, [2] αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Ἀρταβάνη Γόνθαριν καθελόντι τὸν τύραννον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐξαισία τις ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο Πρεΐέκταν τὴν βασιλέως ἀδελφιδὴν, ἣν εἶχεν ἐγγυητήν, [3] γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτῇ βουλομένη ὡς μάλιστα ἦν, οὐκ ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένη, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ χάριτας ὡμολόγει πολλὰς ἅτε τισαμένῳ μὲν τὸν Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φόνον, αὐτὴν δὲ ἀνασώσαμένῳ καὶ ἀναρπάσαντι, αἰχμάλωτόν τε οὖσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ τυράννῳ Γονθάριδι μέλλουσιν οὔτι ἐκουσίαν ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνελθεῖν. [4] ἐπεὶ τε ἅμφω ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, Πρεΐέκταν μὲν Ἀρταβάνης βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, καίπερ Λιβύης ὅλης στρατηγὸς καταστάς, ἔχρηζε βασιλέως, ἀναπλάσας τινὰς οὐχ ὑγιεῖς σκῆψεις, [5] ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο. ἐνήγε γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἢ τοῦ γάμου ἐλπίς, ἅλλα τε πολλὰ ἐνθένδε ἀγαθὰ ὑποφαίνουσα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐ πόρρω αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι. [6] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εὐημερίας ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἐπιλαβόμενοι οὐ δύνανται τὴν διάνοιαν ἐνταῦθα ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ καταδοκοῦσι τὰ πρόσω, καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ χωροῦσιν, ἕως καὶ τῆς οὐ δέον ὑπαρξάσης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας στερήσονται. Βασιλεὺς μέντοι τὴν δέξιν ἐπιτελὴ ἐποίει καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο, [7] ἕτερον ἀντικαταστήσας Λιβύης στρατηγόν, ἥπερ μοι δεδιῆγται. [8] γενόμενον δὲ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἄλλως ἡγάπα. [9] ἦν γὰρ εὐμήκης τε το σῶμα καὶ καλός, τό τε ἦθος ἐλευθέριος καὶ ὀλίγα ἅττα φθεγγόμενος. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐτετιμῆκε. [10] στρατηγόν τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα φοιδεράτων καταστησάμενος ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνεγράψατο τὸ ἀξίωμα. [11] τῇ μέντοι Πρεΐέκτῃ ξυνοικίζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ πρότερον ξυγγενῆς τε οὖσα καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσα. [12] ἦν δὴ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποσεισάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτυχε τῶν τινος ἴσως παραπετωκυίας αἰτίας, ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι προσκρούειν ξυμβαίνει. [13] αὕτη, τέως μὲν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ οὐκ εὖ καθεστῆκε τὰ πράγματα, οἵκοι καθῆστο ἐν πάσῃ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, τὰ παρόντα σιωπῇ φέρουσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἤδη λαμπρὸς τε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ μέγας ἐγεγόνει ταῖς τύχαις, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤλθεν. ἱκέτις τε γενομένη τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἠξίου. [14] ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς ἔπεφύκει γὰρ αἰὲν δυστυχούσαις γυναῖξιν προσχωρεῖν ἀκουσίῳ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ ὡς μάλιστα ξυνοικεῖν ἔγνω, τὴν τε Πρεΐέκταν Ἰωάννης ὁ Πομπηίου τοῦ Ὑπατίου γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο. [15] ταύτην Ἀρταβάνης τὴν ξυμφορὰν οὐκ ἠνεγκε πρῶως, ἀλλ' ἡγριαίνεται τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένον Ῥωμαίους ἔλεγε τόσα... γυναῖκα μὲν τὴν οἱ αὐτῷ κατηγγυημένην ἐκόντα ἐκοῦσαν ἀγαγέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἐφῆ, τῇ δὲ

πάντων αὐτῷ δυσμενεστάτη οὖση πλησιάζειν ἀναγκάζεται τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἀνιᾶν πέφυκεν. ^[16] ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἢ βασιλὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ταύτην ἀσμένως ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα εὐθύς. ^[17] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ βασιλεῖ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα Βοραΐδην ἀδελφὸν ἔχειν. οὗτος οὖν Βοραΐδης ὁ Γερμανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἔναγχος ἐτετελευτήκει, τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀπολιπών. ^[18] οὖσης δὲ αὐτῷ γυναικὸς τε καὶ παιδὸς μιᾶς, τοσαῦτα τὴν παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ἔχειν ὅσα ὁ νόμος ἠνάγκαζε. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς τῇ παιδί μᾶλλον ἀμύνειν ἤξιον· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Γερμανὸν ἔδακνε.

AT this time certain men formed a plot to assail the Emperor Justinian. And I shall now set forth how these men came to undertake this plot and the manner in which they were frustrated and never came to the accomplishment of their purpose. Artabanes, after slaying the tyrant Gontharis, as told in the preceding narrative, conceived an immoderate desire to take to wife the emperor's niece Preiecta, who was betrothed to him. Now she, too, desired this very ardently, not that she was led to this by love for the man, but because she acknowledged a heavy-debt of gratitude to him, seeing that he had not only avenged the murder of her husband Areobindus, but had also rescued and snatched her from peril when she was a captive and destined after no long time to become the unwilling consort of the tyrant Gontharis. Since, then, both wanted this, Artabanes sent Preiecta to the emperor, while he himself, though appointed to the post of General of all Libya, invented sundry untruthful pretexts to induce the emperor to summon him to Byzantium. For he was led on to do this by the hope of this marriage, which suggested to him many blessings that would flow from the union and, in particular, that he would thereafter not be far from the throne. For when men lay hold upon prosperity unexpectedly, their minds cannot remain stable, but in their hopes they ever keep going forward, until they are deprived even of the felicity that has been undeservedly theirs.

However, the emperor fulfilled his request and summoned Artabanes to Byzantium, while he appointed in his place another General of Libya, as has been related above. Now when Artabanes reached Byzantium, the common people admired him for his achievements and loved him for his other qualities. For he was both tall of stature and handsome, of a noble character and little given to speech. And the emperor had honoured him in a very unusual manner. For he had appointed him general of the troops in Byzantium and commander of the foederati, as well as clothing him with the dignity of consul. But as for Preiecta, Artabanes was quite unable to marry her. For he had already a wife who was a relative of his and had been married to him from childhood. This wife he had, for his part, repudiated long before, doubtless because one of those causes had developed such as lead to the estrangement of man and wife. She, for her part, as long as the affairs of Artabanes were not prosperous, had remained at home without causing any trouble, bearing her lot in silence. But when Artabanes had now become illustrious by his deeds and great by his good fortune, the woman could no longer bear her dishonour and came to Byzantium. There, making herself a suppliant of the empress, she demanded the right to take back her husband. Whereupon the empress, whose nature always led her to assist unfortunate women, decided to force Artabanes to accept her as his wife, although he

rebelled violently, while John the son of Pompeius and nephew of Hypatius made Preiecta his wedded wife. This calamity Artabanus did not bear lightly, but he became furious and said that one who had served the Romans so well... was now refused permission to lead in marriage the woman to whom he was betrothed and who shared with him a common desire to consummate the marriage, but he was, on the contrary, compelled for ever to share the couch of the one woman in the world most hateful to him — a situation which is bound inevitably to harass a man's soul. Consequently, a little later, as soon as the empress had passed from the world, he, without further ado, promptly and joyfully sent this wife away.

Now it happened that Germanus, who was nephew to the emperor, had a brother named Boraides. This Boraides, then, brother of Germanus, had recently died, leaving the most of his property to his brother and nephews. And though he had a wife and one daughter, he directed that the daughter should have only as much as the law required. Because of this, the emperor chose to champion the daughter's cause, an act which irritated Germanus exceedingly.

Βασιλεῖ μὲν οὖν τά τε ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ Γερμανῷ ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχεν. ἦν δέ τις Ἀρσάκης ὄνομα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀρσακίδης ἀνὴρ, τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κατὰ γένος προσήκων. [2] ὃς δὴ κακουργῶν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐφωράθη καὶ προδοσίας διαφανῶς ἐάλω ἅτε δὴ ἐς Χοσρόην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα πράγματα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα πράσσων. [3] βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸν ἄλλο μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ξάνας δὲ οὐ πολλὰς κατὰ νότου ἐπόμεπυσε καμήλῳ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀχούμενον, οὐδὲν μέντοι αὐτὸν οὔτε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τῆς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, [4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φυγῇ ἐξημίωσε. δυσφορούμενος δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν Ἀρσάκης δολῶσεις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπινόειν ἤρξατο. [5] ἐπειδὴ τε ξυναχθόμενόν οἱ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἄτε ξυγγενῇ εἶδεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρέθιζε τε καὶ λόγων ἐνέδραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταλαβὼν ἐκάκιζεν, οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε ἡμέραν τινὰ ἀνιείς, ἀνδρεῖόν τε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον ἀπὸ καιροῦ γεγονότα ὠνείδιζεν. [6] ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κακοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις γενναῖόν τε καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος διαλυτὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, φίλον τε ὄντα καὶ ἐστιάτορα Γόνθαριν αὐτοχειρὶ λαβόντα κτείνειν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [7] ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι ἀποδειλιάσαντα οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ἐνταῦθα καθῆσθαι, τῆς μὲν πατρίδος οἱ φρουρουμένης τε ἐνδεδεχέστατα καὶ δασμοῖς ἐκτετηκυίας ἀήθεσι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀνηρημένου ἐπὶ ξυνηκῶν τε καὶ ξυμβάσεως λόγῳ, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου τε καὶ σκεδαννυμένου ἀεὶ πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. [8] ἀλλὰ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων αὐτῷ Ἀρταβάνης ἀποχρῆν οἶεται, εἰ στρατηγός τε Ῥωμαίων εἴη καὶ ὑπατος καλοῖτο μόνον. ‘Καὶ σὺ μὲν’ ἔφη ‘ξυγγενεῖ τέ μοι ὄντι καὶ πεπονθότι ἀνήκεστα ἔργα οὐδαμῇ συναλγεῖς· ἐγὼ δέ σε οἰκτεῖρω τῆς ἐπ’ ἀμφοῖν ταῖν γυναικοῖν, ὧ βέλτιστε, τύχης, ἧς τε οὐ δέον ἐστέρησαι καὶ ἣ ξυνοικεῖν ἠναγκάσθης. [9] καίτοι οὐδένα εἰκός, ὅτῳ φρονήματος καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ τινος μέτεστι, τὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀναδύεσθαι φόνον οὔτε ὀκνήσει οὔτε ὀρρωδία τινί,

ὃς δὴ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς αἰὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἄωρι νύκτωρ, ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν
ιερέων ἐσχατογέρουσιν ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδῇ ἔχων. [10]
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔφη ‘οὐδέ τις σοι ἀντιστήσεται τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ξυγγενῶν. ὁ
μέντοι γε πάντων δυνατώτατος Γερμανός, οἶμαι, ξυλλήψεται σοι
προθυμούμενος ζῆν τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, νεανίαις τε οὖσι καὶ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ
καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ζέουσιν, οὓς γε καὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοματίσειν ἐλπίδα
ἔχω. [11] ἡδικομένοι γὰρ πρὸς ἐκείνου τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη ὅσα οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε
τις ἄλλος Ἀρμενίων οὐδεὶς.’ τοιοῦτοις Ἀρσάκης αἰὶ καταγοιτεύων τὸν
Ἀρταβάνην, ἐπειδὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐνδόντα εἶδεν, ἐπὶ τινι Περσαρμένιον ἕτερον,
[12] Χαναράγγην ὄνομα, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγεν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Χαναράγγης νεανίας
μὲν, καλὸς δὲ τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μέντοι κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
παιδαριώδης. [13] Ἐπεὶ οὖν Ἀρσάκης αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνην τὰ τε ἐς τὴν
γνώμην καὶ ἐς τοὺς λόγους ζυνέμιξεν, ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐπαγγειλάμενος
Γερμανόν τε καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ὁμογνώμονας ἐς τὸ ἔργον θήσεσθαι
σφίσι. [14] καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰουστίνος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Γερμανοῦ παίδων νεανίας
μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηγῆτης, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πράξεις ὀξύτερος. [15]
ὥστε καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀναβεβήκει.
ἀφικόμενός τε παρ’ αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἔφασκέν οἱ λάθρα ἐν ἱερῷ τινι ἐντυχεῖν
βούλεσθαι. [16] ἐπεὶ τε ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐγενέσθην ἄμφω, ἡξίου πρῶτον Ἀρσάκης τὸν
Ἰουστίνον δι’ ὄρκων ἰσχυρίσασθαι μὴ ποτε τοὺς λόγους ἔς τινα τῶν πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ ἐς τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἐξοίσειν. [17] ταῦτά τε ὁμωμοκότη τῷ
ἀνδρὶ ὠνείδιζεν εἰ βασιλεῖ ξυγγενὴς πλησιαιτάτος ὢν ἀγοραίους μὲν καὶ
ἀγελαίους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἔχοντας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς προσῆκον ὀρῶν τὰς τῆς
πολιτείας ἀρχάς, αὐτὸς δὲ τηλικὸς ὢν ἤδη ὡς αὐτοῦ εἶναι διοικεῖσθαι τὰ
πράγματα, οὐχ αὐτὸν μόνον περιορῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐπ’ ἄκρον
ἀρετῆς ἦκοντα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν ἰδιώτου μοίρᾳ καθημένους
τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. [18] καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι ζυνέβη, ἥς
δὴ κληρονόμος τὰ γε ὅσα βεβουλῆσθαι Βοραῖδην αὐτὸς γεγονώς, εἴτα οὐ δέον
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφήρηται. [19] καίτοι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
περιοφθῆσεσθαι εἰκὸς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα Βελισάριος ἐξ
Ἰταλίας ἀφίκεται. ἡγγέλλετο γὰρ ὢν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἤδη πού μέσοις. [20] τοσαῦτα
ὑπεῖπὼν Ἀρσάκης ἐς τὴν ἐς βασιλέα ἐπιβουλὴν τὸν νεανίαν ὥρμα, τὰ τέ οἱ
αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ ξυγκείμενα καὶ τῷ Χαναράγγῃ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο
ἀποκαλύψας. [21] ταῦτα Ἰουστίνος ἀκούσας ζυνεταράχθη τε καὶ ἰλιγγιάσας
ἄντικρυς τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ ἀπέειπε μὴτ’ ἂν οἱ αὐτῷ μήτε Γερμανῷ τῷ πατρὶ ταῦτά
ποτε ποιητέα εἶναι. [22] Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρσάκης τὰ ζυμπεσόντα τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ
ἀπήγγειλεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουστίνος ἐς τὸν πατέρα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκε. καὶ ὃς
Μαρκέλλω κοινολογησάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ
πρᾶγμα ζυμβουλὴν ἐποιεῖτο, εἴπερ σφίσι ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα ἐξενεγκεῖν
ζύμφορον εἶη. [23] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐμβριθέστατός τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τῇ
σιωπῇ τὰ πολλὰ νέμων, οὔτε χρημάτων τι ἔνεκα πράσσων οὔτε λόγων ἢ
πράξεων γελωτοποιῶν ἀνεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλως ἀνειμένη διαίτη χαίρων, ἀλλὰ
βίον σκληρόν τέ τινα καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀλλότριον ἐς αἰὶ ἔχων, τοῦ μέντοι δικαίου
ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπυρώτατος ἐραστής. [24] ὃς δὴ τότε

οὐκ εἶα τὸν λόγον ἐς βασιλέα φέρεσθαι. ‘Σὲ μὲν γὰρ τούτου’ ἔφη ‘μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἀξύμφορον. ἦν γάρ τι λάθρα ἐρεῖν βασιλεῖ βούλοιο, ὑποτοπήσουσί τε εὐθὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνην αὐτὸ μεμηνύσθαι, καὶ ἦν που Ἀρσάκης διαφυγὼν λαθεῖν δύνηται, ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ ἔγκλημα μενεῖ. [25] ἐγὼ δέ τι μὴ λῖαν ἀκριβολογησάμενος ἢ πιστεύειν αὐτὸς ἢ βασιλεῖ ἔσαγγέλλειν οὐδαμῇ εἴωθα. [26] βούλομαι τοίνυν ἢ τῶν λόγων αὐτήκοος γενέσθαι ἢ τῶν μοι ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὑμετέρας ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγοντός τι ὑπὲρ τούτων διαφανές.’ [27] Ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀκούσας Ἰουστίνον τὸν παῖδα ἐκέλευε πράσσειν ὅπως ἡ Μαρκέλλου ἐπίταξις ἐπιτελὴς εἴη. [28] ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκη μὲν τι ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπεῖν οὐκέτι εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ ἄντικρυς αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἀπειπὼν ἔτυχε. [29] τοῦ δὲ Χαναράγγου ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη ἑναγχος Ἀρσάκης παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκοι. ‘Εγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε’ ἔφη ‘τῶν τι ἀπορρήτων ἐθάρσησα ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τοιῷδε ὄντι καταλιπεῖν. [30] ἀλλ’ εἰ μοι βούλοιο τι αὐτὸς τῶν προὔργου εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι τάχα [31] ἂν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν πράξαιμεν.’ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ Χαναράγγης τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κοινολογησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐς τὸν Ἰουστίνον ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅσα δὴ πρότερον Ἀρσάκης αὐτῷ εἰπὼν ἔτυχεν. [32] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστίνος αὐτὸς τε ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὁμολόγει ὁμογνωμονοῦντα παρέξεσθαι, ἐδόκει τῷ Γερμανῷ τὸν Χαναράγγην ἐς λόγους ζυμμῖζαι, τακτὴ τε ἡμέρα τῷ διαλόγῳ ξυνέκειτο. [33] ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλῳ σημῆνας ἡξίου τῶν τινὰ οἱ ἐπιτηδείων παρέχεσθαι σφίσιν, [34] αὐτήκοον τῶν Χαναράγγου λόγων ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ Λεόντιον παρείχετο, τὸν Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν, ἄνδρα λόγου τε τοῦ δικαίου μεταποιούμενον καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενον μάλιστα. [35] ὃν δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐν δωματίῳ ἐκάθισεν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπεκρέματό τις παχεῖα σινδὼν παραπέτασμα τῆς στιβάδος οὔσα, ἐφ’ ἧς ἐστιᾷσθαι εἰώθει. [36] ταύτης τε τῆς σινδόνης τὸν μὲν Λεόντιον ἐντὸς ἔκρυπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ παιδί ἐκτὸς ἔμενον. [37] ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Χαναράγγου ἀφικομένου ἤκουσε σαφῶς ὁ Λεόντιος ἅπαντα λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐγεγόνει. [38] ἐν τοῖς καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν λόγον ἦλθεν, ὥς, ἦν βασιλέα κτείνωσι Βελισαρίου ἔτι ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁδῷ ἰόντος, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν βεβουλευμένων προχωρήσειε σφίσιν· εἴπερ αὐτοῖς μὲν βασιλέα Γερμανὸν καταστήσεσθαι βουλομένοις εἴη, Βελισάριον δὲ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς ἀθροίσειν εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, οὕτω τε σφίσιν ἐπιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἀπωθεῖσθαι ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται. [39] δεήσει γοῦν ἐς μὲν τὴν Βελισαρίου παρουσίαν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τάχιστα ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε ἀφίκηται καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐν Παλατίῳ εἴη, τότε δὴ, ἐσπέρας βαθείας που οὔσης, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντας ἀπροσδοκῆτους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ Μάρκελλόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν βασιλεῖ κτεῖναι. [40] οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀδεέστερον ἢ βούλονται διοικήσονται. Ταῦτα Μάρκελλος πρὸς Λεοντίου μαθὼν οὐδ’ ὥς ἐς βασιλέα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔγνω, ἀλλ’ ἔτι ὀκνήσει πολλῇ εἶχετο, τοῦ μὴ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην σπουδῇ πολλῇ κατεργάσασθαι ἀπερισκέπτως. [41] ὁ μέντοι Γερμανὸς ἅπαντα ἔς τε Βούζην καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐξήνεγκε, δέισας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μή τινα ἐκ τῆς μελλήσεως ὑποψίαν λάβῃ. [42] Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν Βελισάριος

ἀγχιστά του ἤδη ἡγγέλλετο, Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐς βασιλέα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνην ἐκέλευε, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τισὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε βάσανον. [43] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ξύμπασα ἐς φῶς τε ἤδη ἐληλύθει καὶ διαρρήδην ἐν γράμμασιν ἦν, ἅπαντας βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκάθισεν, οὐπὲρ εἰώθασι τὰς ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις ποιεῖσθαι γνώσεις. [44] οἵπερ ἀναλεξάμενοι ἅπαντα ὅσα τοῖς εὐθυνομένοις δεδιγῆσθαι τετύχηκεν, οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἐς Γερμανόν τε καὶ Ἰουστίνον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τὸ ἐγκλημα ἦγον, ἕως ὃ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλου τε καὶ Λεοντίου τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρασχόμενος ἐκλύειν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἔσχεν. [45] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης διώμοτοι ἰσχυρίσαντο μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν σφᾶς τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλὰ ταύτη πάντα ξυνενεχθῆναι ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιῆγται. [46] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο ἅπαντες ἅτε οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμαρτηκότων. [47] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῶ πάντες ἐν βασιλέως ἐγένοντο, αὐτὸς μὲν ὅζῳ θυμωθεὶς βασιλεὺς ἡγανάκτει τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἡγριαίνετο τὴν βραδυτῆτα τῆς δηλώσεως αἰτιώμενος, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων δύο μὲν τινες θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν ὠμολόγουν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ δυσφοροῦμένοις ἐφόκεσαν· ταύτη τε τὸν βασιλέως θυμὸν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρον, ἄλλοτριάς αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι συμφορὰς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. [48] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατεπτηχότες σιωπῇ εἶχοντο, τῷ μὴ ἀντιστατεῖν ἃ βούλοιο ἐγκωροῦντες αὐτῷ· Μάρκελλος δὲ μόνος ὀρθοστομήσας διασώσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵσχυσε. [49] τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλκων τε καὶ βιαζόμενος δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ Γερμανὸν μὲν οἱ ἐπικαιρότατα ἔφη τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐξεῖπειν, αὐτὸν δὲ περιέργως ἀκριβολογούμενον σχολαιότερον αὐτὰ μεμνηνυκέναι. [50] καὶ τὴν βασιλέως ὀργὴν οὕτω κατέπαυσε. μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κλέος οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος περιεβάλετο ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἅτε ἀρετῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μεταποιούμενος. [51] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς παρέλυσεν τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἅπαντας οὐ ζὺν ἀτιμία ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, ἐν Παλατίῳ μέντοι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκήματι.

SUCH then were the relations of the emperor to Artabanes and to Germanus. There was also a certain Arsaces in Byzantium, an Armenian by birth and one of the Arsacidae, related to Artabanes by blood. This man had been detected not long before this in an attempt to harm the state, and he had been clearly convicted of treason, since he was negotiating with Chosroes, the Persian king, to stir up trouble for the Romans. But the emperor did him no further harm than to beat his back with not many blows and parade him through the city mounted on a camel; however, he did him no injury in either his person or his property, nor did he even penalize him by exile. But Arsaces was nevertheless incensed at what had taken place, and began to devise treacherous plans against both Justinian and the state. And when he saw that Artabanes, as his kinsman, was sharing his vexation, he began to stir him up still more, and, gaining the man's attention by crafty speeches, he ceased not day nor night to upbraid him, rebuking him for having been both courageous and faint-hearted out of season. For he had, on the one hand, given proof of his nobility of spirit in his attitude toward the misfortunes of others, in that he had put an end to the tyranny; indeed, though Gontharis was his friend and his host, he had laid hold of him with his own hand and slain him under no compulsion whatever. But at the present juncture, he said, he was utterly cowed, and he continued to sit there without a spark of manhood, though his fatherland was kept under strictest guard and exhausted by unwonted taxes, his father had been slain on the pretext of a treaty and covenant, and his whole family had been enslaved and was kept scattered to every corner of the Roman empire. But in spite of these facts Artabanes thought it sufficient for him to be a general of the Romans and merely bear the name of consul. "And you," he said, "do not share my sorrow in the least, though I am your kinsman and have suffered outrageous treatment, while I, for my part, pity you, my dear fellow, for the fortune you have suffered in the case of both those women, not only the one you have been cheated of wrongfully but also the other with whom you have been compelled to live. And yet it ill becomes anyone who has even a little spirit in him to refuse to undertake the murder of Justinian, nor should he hesitate nor entertain any fear, — a man who always sits unguarded in some lobby to a late hour of the night, eagerly unrolling the Christian scriptures in company with priests who are at the extremity of old age. Furthermore," he continued, "not one of the kinsmen of Justinian will oppose you. Indeed the most powerful of them all, Germanus, will, I believe, assist you with all his heart and his sons as well, seeing that they are young men and consequently boiling with fury against him; and I am in hopes that these men will actually carry through the enterprise of their own accord. For they have already suffered injustice at his hand such as neither we nor anyone else among the Armenians has suffered." By such speeches Arsaces ever

sought to cast a spell over Artabanes, and as soon as ever he saw him beginning to yield, he carried the matter to another Persarmenian, Chanaranges by name. Now this Chanaranges was a young man who, though comely of person, was not a man of serious character, but childish to an extraordinary degree.

So when Arsaces had brought him and Artabanes into mutual agreement, both in their thinking and in their speaking, he departed, promising to make Germanus and his sons of the same mind with them in regard to the undertaking. Now Justinus, the elder of the sons of Germanus, was a youth wearing his first beard, but an energetic fellow and unusually keen in action; indeed, as a result of these qualities, he had actually risen to the dignity of the consular chair not long before. Accordingly, Arsaces approached him and said that he wished to speak with him secretly in some sanctuary. When they had both entered the church, Arsaces first required Justinus to affirm on oath that he would never report their conversation to any man in the whole world, except his father alone. And after the man had sworn to this effect, he took him to task, because, on the one hand, he, a very close relative of the emperor, saw other men holding the offices of the state, common plebeian fellows with no claim to such distinction, while he himself, on the other hand, though he was now of such age that he was entitled to manage his own affairs, paid no heed to the fact that not only he himself, but also his father, and that, too, in spite of his high achievements, and his brother Justinian had to sit for ever in the place of private citizens. Nay more, he had not even been allowed to enter into the property of his uncle, to which he and no other had been heir as far as concerned the purpose of Boraides, but the greater part of it had been unjustly wrested from him. Still it was probable that they would be still further humiliated forthwith, as soon as Belisarius should arrive from Italy; for he was reported to be already somewhere in the heart of Illyricum. After such an introduction Arsaces sought to impel the youth to take part in the plot against the emperor, disclosing to him the agreement reached between himself, Artabanes and Chanaranges in regard to this business. Upon hearing this Justinus was greatly agitated and his head swam, but he told Arsaces flatly that neither he himself nor his father Germanus could ever do these things.

Then, while Arsaces reported to Artabanes what had happened, Justinus referred the whole matter to his father. He thereupon conferred with Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards, and they took the question under consideration whether it was advisable for them to report this matter to the emperor. Now this Marcellus was a man of very great dignity who observed silence in most matters, neither doing anything for the sake of money nor tolerating buffoonery in word or deed nor taking any pleasure in other forms of relaxation, but always living a kind of austere life to which pleasure was strange; but at the same time he was scrupulous in his observance of justice and a most ardent lover of truth. So he naturally would

not on that occasion allow the report to be carried to the emperor. "For as for you," he said, "it is inexpedient that you should carry information of this thing. For if you should wish to say anything to the emperor in secret, Artabanes and his friends will straightway become suspicious that the matter has been denounced, and, if perchance Arsaces is able to escape unnoticed, the charge will remain unproved. And I, on the other hand, am not at all accustomed either to believe myself or to report to the emperor anything which I have not thoroughly verified. It is my desire, consequently, either that I hear the words with my own ears or that one of my intimates, by your contriving, hear the man saying something unmistakably clear about these matters." When Germanus heard this, he bade his son Justinus arrange that the requirement of Marcellus should be carried out. He, however, was no longer able to say anything about this matter to Arsaces, since he had, as stated above, given him a flat refusal. Still he did enquire of Chanaranges whether Arsaces had recently approached him at the suggestion of Artabanes. "For I," he said, "should never have had the courage to entrust any of my secrets to him, seeing he is such a man as he is. But if you should be willing yourself to tell me something to the point, we could, by deliberating in common, perhaps accomplish something really worth while." Chanaranges then conferred with Artabanes about this and reported to Justinus each and every thing which Arsaces had previously told him.

Then, since Justinus agreed both to carry out everything himself and to bring his father to agreement with them, it was decided that Chanaranges should meet Germanus in conference, and a definite day was appointed for the interview. Germanus reported this to Marcellus and requested him to provide them one of his intimates who should hear with his own ears the words of Chanaranges. And he provided Leontius, the son-in-law of Athanasius, a man who had strict regard for justice and thoroughly capable of speaking the truth. This man Germanus introduced into his house and placed in a room where a thick curtain had been hung to conceal the couch on which he was accustomed to dine. And he hid Leontius inside this curtain, while he himself with his son Justinus remained outside. When Chanaranges came there, Leontius clearly heard him say everything which he, Artabanes, and Arsaces had planned. Among these things this too was mentioned, that, if they killed the emperor while Belisarius was still on the way to Byzantium, their purpose would not be advanced at all; for, though they might wish to establish Germanus on the throne, it was probable that Belisarius would gather a vast army from the towns of Thrace, and they would be unable by any device to repulse the man when he came against them in this way. It would consequently be necessary to postpone the execution of the plan until Belisarius should be present, but as soon as the man should reach Byzantium and should be closeted with the emperor in the palace, then, at some time late in the evening, they should go there unexpectedly, armed with daggers, and

kill Marcellus and Belisarius as well as the emperor. For such a course of action would enable them thereafter to make such dispositions as they wished without fear.

Even when Marcellus learned this from Leontius, he could not as yet make up his mind to report the matter to the emperor, being, as he was, still very reluctant to act, lest by excessive haste he should doom Artabanes on imperfect evidence. Germanus, however, revealed everything to Bouzes and Constantianus, fearing, as actually happened, that some suspicion would attach to him as a result of the delay.

Many days later, when word came that Belisarius was now close at hand, Marcellus reported the whole matter to the emperor, who immediately commanded Artabanes and his associates to be taken off to prison, entrusting to some of his officers the duty of torturing them. And when the whole conspiracy had now come to light and was clearly set down in writing, the emperor called a session of all the members of the senate in the palace, where they are accustomed to make their decisions regarding matters in dispute. When they had read over everything which had been stated by the men under examination, they nevertheless sought to involve Germanus and his son Justinus in the accusation, until Germanus, by presenting the testimony of Marcellus and Leontius, succeeded in clearing himself of the suspicion. For these men, as well as Constantianus and Bouzes, declared under oath that Germanus had concealed from them nothing whatever as far as concerned these matters, but that everything had happened as I have just related. The senators, consequently, straightway acquitted both him and his son unanimously as having committed no offence against the state.

But when all had gone within to the emperor's apartment, the emperor himself, who had become violently angry, began to complain and to speak with the greatest bitterness against Germanus, blaming him for the tardiness of his disclosure, and two of the officials, courting his favour, agreed with his opinion and seemed to share his displeasure. In this way they greatly increased the emperor's anger, eager as they were to be complacent to him in matters involving other men's misfortunes. But the others, cowed by fear, remained silent, yielding to him by not opposing his wish; Marcellus alone, however, by speaking with plain directness succeeded in saving the man. For taking the blame upon himself and speaking with all the emphasis in his power, he said that Germanus, for his part, had told him most seasonably what was going on, but that he himself, making a very careful and detailed investigation, had reported the matter more deliberately. And in this way he allayed the emperor's anger. So Marcellus won for himself great renown from this incident among all men, as one who in a moment of the gravest peril shewed his sterling quality. And the Emperor Justinian removed Artabanes from the office he held, but he did him no harm, nor in fact any one of the

others, beyond keeping them all under guard without dishonour — in the palace, however, not in the public prison.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ πολέμου τόνδε κύριοι τῆς ἐσπερίας οἱ βάρβαροι διαρρήδην ἐγένοντο πάσης. τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος, καίπερ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ κράτος νενικηκόσιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐς τοῦτο ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον σφίσι χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ὀνήσει διεφθάρθαι πολλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰταλίαν προσαπολέσθαι, καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ Θρᾷκας σχεδὸν τι ξύμπαντας ἐπιδεῖν πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ὁμόρων γεγενημένων δημιουργένους τε καὶ διαφθειρομένους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. [2] Γαλλίας μὲν ὅλας τὰς σφίσι κατηκόους κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Γερμανοῖς ἔδωσαν Γότθοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἀντιτάξασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [3] ταύτην τε τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὅπως οὐ διακωλύειν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπέρρωσε σφίσι, τοῦ μὴ τί οἱ ἐναντίωμα τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων ὑπαντίασαι. [4] οὐ γάρ ποτε ᾤοντο Γαλλίας ζῆν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκτῆσθαι Φράγγοι, μὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἔργον ἐπισφραγίσαντος τοῦτο γε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες Μασαλίαν τε τὴν Φωκαέων ἀποικίαν καὶ ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἔσχον, θαλάσσης τε τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἐκράτησαν. [5] καὶ κάθηνται μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ τὸν ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι, νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλων πεποιήνται, οὐ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος, ἥπερ εἴθισται, χαρακτῆρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ στατῆρι τούτῳ, [6] ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. καίτοι νόμισμα μὲν ἀργυροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἦ βούλοιο ποιεῖν εἴωθε, χαρακτῆρα δὲ ἴδιον ἐμβαλέσθαι στατῆρι χρυσῷ οὔτε αὐτὸν θέμις οὔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὄντιναοῦν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων βαρβάρων, καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄντα χρυσοῦ κύριον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσι προῖεσθαι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο οἷοί τε εἰσιν, εἰ καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ξυμβάλλοντας εἶναι ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Φράγγοις ἐχώρησεν. [7] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Τουτίλα καθυπέρτερα τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, Φράγγοι Βενετίων τὰ πλεῖστα σφίσι προσεποιήσαντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων δυναμένων ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι οὔτε Γότθων οἷων τε ὄντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἐκατέρους διενεγκεῖν. [8] Γήπαιδες δὲ πόλιν τε Σίρμιον καὶ Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάσας καταλαβόντες ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα βασιλεὺς αὐτὰς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀφείλετο Γότθους· ἐξηνδραπόδισάν τε τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐληΐζοντο βιαζόμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [9] διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς συντάξεις οὐκέτι ἐδίδου, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο σφᾶς ἀνέκαθεν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων κομίζεσθαι. [10] Λαγγοβάρδας δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδωρήσατο Νωρικῷ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Παννονίας ὀχυρώμασί τε καὶ ἄλλοις χωρίοις πολλοῖς καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις ἄγαν. [11] διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων Λαγγοβάρδαι ἐξαναστάντες ἐνθένδε ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἰδρύσαντο, [12] Γηπαίδων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν Δαλμάτας τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς μέχρι τῶν Ἐπιδάμνου ὁρίων ληϊσάμενοι ἡνδραπόδισαν, ἐπειδὴ τε τῶν τινες αἰχμαλώτων ἐνθένδε φυγόντες οἴκαδε ἀποκομίζεσθαι ἴσχυσαν, περιόντες τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅτε Ῥωμαῖοις ἔνσπονδοι

ὄντες ἦν τινὰς τῶν ἀποδράντων ἐπιγνοῖεν ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδων οἰκείων δεδραπετευκότων ἐπελαμβάνοντο, τῶν τε γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκομίζοντο, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. ^[13] καὶ ἄλλα μέντοι Δακίας χωρία δόντος βασιλέως Ἑρουλοὶ ἔσχον ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σιγγιδόνον, οὗ δὴ ἴδρυνται νῦν, Ἰλλυριοῦς τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καταθέοντες καὶ ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται γεγένηνται ἐν τοῖς φοιδεράτοις καλουμένοις ταπτόμενοι. ^[14] ἤνικα οὖν Ἑρούλων ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις σταλεῖεν, τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ληϊζονται, τὰς συντάξεις ἀπάσας πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται.

XXXIII

AT about this point in the war, the barbarians became unquestionably masters of the whole West. Thus, though the Romans had been at first decisively victorious in the Gothic war, as I have previously said, the final result for them was that not only had they consumed money and lives in prodigal fashion to no advantage, but they had also lost Italy besides, and had to look on while practically all the Illyrians and Thracians were being ravaged and destroyed in a pitiable manner by the barbarians, seeing they had now become their neighbours. And it came about as follows.

The Goths had at the beginning of this war given to the Germans all of Gaul which was subject to them, believing that they could never be able to array themselves against both nations, as has been said by me in the previous narrative. This act the Romans were not only unable to prevent, but the Emperor Justinian even encouraged it, in order that no obstacle might confront him through having these particular barbarians roused to war (for the Franks never considered that their possession of Gaul was secure except when the emperor had put the seal of his approval upon their title). And consequently the rulers of the Germans occupied Massilia, the colony of Phocaea, and all the sea-coast towns and gained control of that part of the sea. So as gentlemen of leisure they view the horse races at Arelatum, and also make a golden coin from the product of the mines in Gaul, not stamping the likeness of the Roman emperor on this stater, as is customary, but their own likeness. And yet, while the Persian king is accustomed to make silver coinage as he likes, still it is not considered right either for him or for any other sovereign in the whole barbarian world to imprint his own likeness on a gold stater, and that, too, though he has gold in his own kingdom; for they are unable to tender such a coin to those with whom they transact business, even though the parties concerned in the transaction happen to be barbarians. Thus, then, had matters proceeded as regards the Franks.

When the arms of the Goths and Totila had gained the upper hand in the war, the Franks assumed control of the largest part of Venetia with no right at all, the Romans, for their part, being unable to ward them off any longer, and the Goths being unable to carry on the war against the two peoples. Meanwhile the Gepaedes held the city of Sirmium and practically all the cities of Dacia, having taken possession of them at the moment the Emperor Justinian took them away from the Goths; and they not only enslaved the Romans of that region, but they were also constantly moving forward, plundering and doing violence to the Roman territory. Consequently the emperor was no longer giving them the contributions which it had long been customary for them to receive from the Romans. Now the Emperor Justinian had bestowed upon the

Lombards the city of Noricum and the strongholds of Pannonia, as well as many other towns and a very great amount of money. It was because of this that the Lombards departed from their ancestral homes and settled on the south side of the Ister River, not far from the Gepaedes. They then, in their turn, plundered the population of Dalmatia and Illyricum as far as the boundaries of Epidamnus, taking captives; and since some of the captives escaped and succeeded in getting back to their homes, these barbarians, on the ground that they were at peace with the Romans, went about through the Roman domain, and whenever they recognized any of the escaped captives there, they laid hold of them as if they were their own slaves who had run away, and, dragging them from their parents, carried them off with them to their own homes, no one opposing them. Other towns of Dacia also, about the city of Singidunum, had been taken over by the Eruli as a gift from the emperor, and here they are settled at the present time, overrunning and plundering Illyricum and the Thracian towns very generally. Some of them have even become Roman soldiers serving among the foederati, as they are called. So whenever envoys of the Eruli are sent to Byzantium, representing the very men who are plundering Roman subjects, they collect all their contributions from the emperor without the least difficulty and carry them off home.

Οὕτω μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι διεδάσαντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γήπαιδες τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἅτε δὴ ἐν γειτόνων πη ὤκημένοι ἀλλήλοις διάφοροι γεγέννηται ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [2] πολεμῶσιόντες τε προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι ὥρῳαν τοῖς πολέμοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, χρόνος τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ τακτὸς ὤριστο. [3] Λαγγοβάρδαι δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι Γήπαισιν ἀξιόμαχοι κατὰ μόνας αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι· πλήθει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλασσοῦσθαι τῶν πολέμιων ξυνέβαινεν Ῥωμαίους ἔγνωσαν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι. [4] πέμπαντες οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πρέσβεις στρατεύμα σφίσιν ἐδέοντο πέμψαι. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γήπαιδες ἔγνωσαν, πέμπουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεησομένων, ἥρχε δὲ τότε Γηπαίδων μὲν Θορισὶν ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρων Αὐδοῦν. [5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς λόγους μὲν τοὺς πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούειν ἔγνω, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι ξυνιόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς παρ' αὐτὸν γινομένων. [6] ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιαύδε: ‘Ἡμῖν μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καταπεπλήχθαι τῇ Γηπαίδων ἀτοπία ξυμβαίνει, οἳ γε τοσαῦτά τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν παρανενομηκότες ἀρχὴν νῦν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ὕβρεων ὑμῖν κομιοῦντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤκουσιν. [7] οὗτοι γὰρ ἂν μόνοι τὰ ἔσχατα ἐς τοὺς πέλας ὑβρίζοιεν, οἳ λίαν αὐτοὺς εὐπετεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι οἰόμενοι τῆς τῶν ἡδίκημένων ἀπολαύσοντες εὐηθείας παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοιεν. [8] ὑμᾶς δὲ διασκοπεῖσθαι τοσοῦτον αἰτοῦμεν, ὅπη ποτὲ γνώμης τὰ ἐς φιλίαν Γήπαισιν ἔχει. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξεργάσαισθε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ προγεγενημένοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι τὰ ἐσόμενα ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ δύνανται ἄνθρωποι. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν

ἐς ἑτέρους τινὰς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδεδείχθαι μόνον τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος
ξυνέβαινε, πολλοῦ λόγου τε ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἑξῶθεν μαρτυρίας
ἔδεδῃσε, διελέγγχειν ἐφιεμένοις τὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τρόπον: νῦν δὲ τὸ παράδειγμα
ἐγγύθεν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν πάρεστι.' [10] 'Σκέψασθε γάρ: Γότθοι μὲν τὴν
Δακῶν χώραν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχον, Γήπαιδες δὲ τοῦ Ἰστρου
ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὤκνητο ἅπαντες, Γότθων μὲν οὕτω κατεπτηχότες τὴν
δύναμιν ὥστε τὸν ποταμὸν διαπορθευέσθαι οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀποπειράσασθαι
πώποτε ἴσχυσαν, ἔνσπονδοι δὲ καὶ φίλοι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες καὶ δῶρα
πολλὰ τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πρὸς τε τῶν
ἔμπροσθεν βεβασιλευκότων, [11] καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μέντοι οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν. ἡδέως
ἂν οὖν πυθοίμεθα τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τί ποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτοῖς ἐς
Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὸν εἵργασται. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν οὐ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα εἰπεῖν: [12]
ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἶχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν ὑμᾶς ἀδικοῖεν, οὐ γνώμη τινί, ἀλλ' ἀπορία
ἠναγκασμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [13] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπέκεινα προσποιεῖσθαι
ὕμεις οὐδὲν ἠξιοῦτε, τὸ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε τὸ ἐκ Γότθων αὐτοὺς ἀνεσόβει δέος. [14] τίς
δ' ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνην ποτὲ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν καλοίη; ποία δὲ φιλίας βεβαίωσις ἐν
τῇ τοῦ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἀμηχανία γενήσεται; οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα, οὐκ
ἔστι. δύναμις γὰρ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐνδείκνυται μόνη, ἐξάγουσα πᾶσιν ἐν
δημοσίῳ τῇ τοῦ δρᾶν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸν τρόπον. [15] ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα
Γήπαιδες εἶδον Γότθους μὲν ἐκ Δακίας ἀπεληλαμένους ἀπάσης, ὑμᾶς δὲ
ἀσχολία τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχομένους, πανταχόθι τῆς γῆς ἐπιβατεῦσαι
τῆς ὑμετέρας οἱ μιαιώτατοι τετολμήκασιν.' [16] 'Πῶς ἂν τις ἐφικέσθαι δύναιτο
λόγῳ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀτοπίας; οὐ κατεφρόνησαν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς; οὐκ
ἔλυσαν σπονδῶν τε καὶ συμμάχων θεσμούς; [17] οὐχ ὕβρισαν εἰς οὓς ἦκιστα
ἐχρῆν; οὐκ ἐβιάσαντο βασιλείαν ἧς δοῦλοι ἂν εὐξαιντο εἶναι, ἣν τις σχολὴ
ὑμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γένηται; Γήπαιδες, ὃ βασιλεῦ, Σίρμιον ἔχουσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους
ἀνδραποδίζουσιν, ὅλην τε προσποιεῖσθαι Δακίαν αὐχοῦσι: [18] τίνα πόλεμον
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ποτε ἢ ζῶν ὑμῖν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότες; ἢ τίνος ἀγωνίας
ἄθλα τὴν χώραν ταύτην πεποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα ἔμμισθοι πρὸς ὑμῶν
γεγονότες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κεκομισμένοι χρόνον οὐκ
ἴσμεν ὅποσον ἄνω. [19] καίτοι τῆς παρούσης αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐ γέγονε
πρᾶξις μιαιωτέρα ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολεμῆσειοντας ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε θαρσοῦσιν ἀφῆχθαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοσόνδε
περιυβρισμένῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκειν. [20] ἴσως που καὶ ἀναιδεΐας περιουσία ἐς
ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλέσουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῖς οὕτω κατεσπουδασμένοις ὑμῖν. [21]
καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἀποδοσεῖοντες ἤκουσιν ὥνπερ ἐπεβάτευσαν οὐδὲν σφίσι
προσῆκον, Λαγγοβάρδας αἰτιωτάτους τῆς ἐνθὲνδε ὠφελείας λογιστέον
Ῥωμαίοις, ὥνπερ τῷ δέει ἀναγκασθέντες τὴν ἀκούσιον εὐγνωμοσύνην ὀψὲ
τοῦ καιροῦ μεταμπίσχονται. [22] τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάγκην πεποιημένῳ τὴν χάριν
εἰκότως ὁ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τυχὼν εἴσεται. εἰ δέ γε μὴδὲ νῦν ἐκστῆναι τῶν οὐ
προσηκόντων βεβούληνται, τίς ἂν εἴη ταύτης δὴ τῆς κακοτροπίας ὑπερβολή;' [23]
'Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀφελεία βαρβαρικῇ, λόγων σπανιζούσῃ, τῶν
πραγμάτων οὐδαμῇ ἐπαξίως εἰρήσθω. [24] σὺ δέ, ὃ βασιλεῦ, διασκοπούμενος
ὅσα ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὰ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ

Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς σοῖς ξυνοίσοντα πᾶσσε, τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐννοῶν, ὡς ἡμῖν μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συντετάξονται Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίως, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς οὗσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρήσουσι.' [25] Λαγγοβάρδαι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. γενόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ οἱ Γηπαίδων πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε: 'Δίκαιον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίας αἰτήσῃ παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἀφικομένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, ὡς δίκαιά τε δεησόμενοι πάρεισι καὶ ξύμφορα τοῖς ξυμμαχήσουσιν, οὕτω τε τοὺς λόγους ὥνπερ ἔνεκα πρεσβεύουσι ποιεῖσθαι. [26] ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡδίκημεθα πρὸς Λαγγοβαρδῶν, αὐτόθεν δῆλον: δίκη γὰρ διαλύειν τὰ διάφορα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχομεν, [27] δικάζεσθαι δὲ οἷς ἂν σπουδάζηται βιάζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ πρόσσεστιν. [28] ὡς δὲ πολυανθρωπία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ Γήπαιδες παρὰ πολὺ Λαγγοβαρδῶν κρείσσους τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, [29] τί ἂν τις ἐν εἰδόσι μακρολογοίῃ; τὸ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν καθισταμένους ἐς κακόν τι προὔπτον ἰέναι, παρὸν τὴν νίκην ξὺν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ταπτομένους ἀκίνδυνον ἔχειν, οὐκ ἂν τινας οἰόμεθα τῶν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφρονούντων ἐλέσθαι. [30] ὥστε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἐτέρους τινὰς ἰοῦσι ξυντετάξονται τὸ λοιπὸν Γήπαιδες, χάριν μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ὀφείλοντες, δυνάμεως δὲ περιουσία ξυμποριζόμενοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν. [31] καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο λογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἂν πρόποι, ὡς Λαγγοβάρδαι μὲν ἐξ ὑπογυίου Ῥωμαίοις γεγέννηται φίλοι, Γήπαιδας δὲ ὑμῖν ἐνσπόνδους τε τὸ ἀνέκαθεν καὶ γνωρίμους γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει. [32] φιλία δὲ χρόνου μήκει ξυμπλεκόμενη τὴν διάλυσιν οὐκ εὐπετὴ ἔχει. ὥστε ξυμμάχους οὐ δυνατοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαίους κεκτήσεσθε. [33] δικαίωματα μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγωγὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἡμῖν.' 'Θεάσασθε δὲ ὅποιοι Λαγγοβάρδαι τοὺς τρόπους εἰσί. [34] δίκη μὲν τὰ διάφορα διαλῦσαι, καίπερ πολλὰ προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενοι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἤδη που ἐν χερσὶ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναποδίζοντες τῷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσθένειαν ξυνεπίστασθαι παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες Ῥωμαίους ἀνελέσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ δέον ἀγῶνα. [35] πάντως δὲ οἱ κλῶπες οὗτοι τό τε Σίρμιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ Δακίας ἄττα χωρία ὑπόθεσιν ὑμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε προΐσχονται εἶναι. [36] καίτοι πόλεων τε καὶ χώρας τοσοῦτον τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ περίεστιν ὥστε καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινας, οἷς ἂν καὶ δοίης μοῖραν τινα πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν. [37] Φράγγους ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ Ἑρούλων ἔθνος καὶ τούτους Λαγγοβάρδας τοσοῦτοις ἐδωρήσω πόλεώς τε καὶ χώρας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, [38] μέτροις, ὅποσα οὐκ ἂν τις διαριθμήσαιο. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες, τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐβούλου, διαπεπράγμεθα: ὁ δέ τι προΐεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βεβουλευμένος κρείσσω παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τετυχηκότος τῆς χάριτος τὸν προτερήσαντά τε καὶ γνώμη τὸ δῶρον αὐτονόμῳ ἐλόμενον οἶεται εἶναι, ἢν μὴ ἐς τὸν κεκτημένον ὑβρίζων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φίλος οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι θαρσῶν, τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίωσιν πεποιῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ὅπερ καὶ Γήπαισιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τετύχηκεν εἶναι. [39] ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν αἰτοῦμεν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἰέναι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκποδῶν ἀμφοτέροις στήναι. ταῦτα γὰρ βουλευόμενοι δίκαιά τε ποιεῖτε καὶ λίαν ἐπιτηδείως τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.' [40] Καὶ Γήπαιδες μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. βουλευσάμενος δὲ

πολλὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποπέμψασθαι ἀπράκτους ἔγνω, ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας διώμοτον πεποιημένος πλέον αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐς μυρίους ἱππεῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης καὶ Ἀράτιος ἦρχον. [41] ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς, προρρηθὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλέως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα διαμαχήσωνται πρὸς τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος, ἐνθένδε σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἰέναι. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκων. [42] ξύμμαχοι δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑρουλοι πεντακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι εἶποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημοῦθ ἦρχον. [43] οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες Ἑρουλοι ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντες ξὺν τοῖς Γήπαισιν ἐτετάχατο, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντες οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτυχον ἐξ αἰτίας ἥ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη. [44] Μοῖρα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ ἰόντων Ἑρούλων τισὶ ξὺν Ἀόρδῳ τῷ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀδελφῷ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιτυχάνουσι. [45] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης νικῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀορδον τῶν τε Ἑρούλων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. γνόντες δὲ Γήπαιδες ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατόν, τὰ διάφορα εὐθὺς Λαγγοβάρδαις διέλυσαν, ἔς τε σπονδὰς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ξυνέβησαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων. [46] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἔμαθον, ἐν πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι ἐδύναντο πρόσω ἰέναι οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω εἶχον δειμαίνοντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Ἑρουλοι καταθέοντες τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν ληΐσωνται χώραν. [47] αὐτοῦ γοῦν μείναντες ἐς βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

XXXIV

THUS had the barbarians apportioned the Roman empire among themselves. But later on the Gepaedes and the Lombards, having come to be neighbours, became exceedingly hostile toward one another. And they were extremely enthusiastic in their desire to fight each other, so that each nation was eager to do battle with the enemy, and a fixed time had been determined upon for the encounter. But the Lombards, thinking that they alone by their own strength would never be a match for the Gepaedes in battle (for they were, in fact, outnumbered by their enemy), decided to invite the Romans to an alliance. Accordingly they sent envoys to the Emperor Justinian begging him to send them an army. And when the Gepaedes learned this, they too sent envoys to Byzantium to present the same request. Now the Gepaedes were ruled at that time by Thorisin, and the others by Adouin. So the Emperor Justinian decided indeed to hear the statement of each of them, but he did not wish them to come at the same time, but to appear before him separately. First the Lombards came into the emperor's presence and spoke as follows.

"We, for our part, O Emperor, have been astounded at the outrageous conduct of the Gepaedes, seeing that, although they have already perpetrated crimes both many and great against your realm, as we all know, they have now come before you to offer you, in fact, the greatest possible insult. For they, and they only, can be said to put the utmost insult upon their neighbours, who imagine that these are so very easily deceived that they come to them with the intention of profiting by the simplicity of those very men whom they have already wronged. Now we ask you to give careful consideration to one matter only, the question namely as to what attitude the Gepaedes assume toward their friends. For thus you could with the greatest certainty assure the welfare of the Roman empire, since men are always able to infer safely from previous events what the future will bring forth. If, now, it were true that the nation of the Gepaedes had displayed their ingratitude only to some other people, it would have been necessary for us to occupy much time with a long speech and to bring in testimony from outside, in striving to demonstrate the base character of the men; but as it is, we are enabled to choose an example near at hand from your own experience.

"This is what we would have you consider: the Goths formerly held the land of Dacia as a tributary province, while all the Gepaedes dwelt originally on the other side of the Ister, being in such mortal terror of the Gothic power, on the one hand, that they never succeeded in crossing the stream, or even attempting it, while they were, on the other hand, on terms of close alliance and friendship with the Romans, and every year they received from the former emperors many gifts in the name of friendship, and indeed they have received

them from thee in no less generous measure. We should be glad then to ask these gentlemen what good thing they have done for the Romans in return for these benefits. But they would not be able to mention one such thing, great or small. Now as long as they had no means of doing you wrong, they remained quiet, not because of any conviction on their part, but because they were compelled by lack of opportunity to do so. For you, on your part, did not seek to lay any claim to the country beyond the Ister, while the fear inspired by the Goths always frightened them from the land on this side. But who indeed would call impotence gratitude? And what assurance of friendship could be based on inability to commit an offence? None, O Emperor, none; these things cannot be. For opportunity alone reveals the nature of a man, bringing out his character to the common gaze of all because of his freedom to act. For behold, at the very moment the Gepaedes saw that the Goths had been driven from all Dacia, while you, on your part, were busily engaged in fighting your enemies, the cursed wretches have dared to trespass upon your land in every part.

“How could anyone adequately depict in words the outrageous nature of their action? Did they not heap contempt upon the Roman empire? Did they not break the bonds of both treaty and alliance? Did they not insult those whom they should never have treated thus? Did they not do violence to an empire whose slaves they would crave the privilege of being should you find any leisure to deal with them? The Gepaedes, O Emperor, are holding Sirmium and enslaving Romans, and they make the boast that they are in possession of all Dacia. Yet what war have they ever won fighting in your behalf, or with you, or against you? Or what struggle do they consider has brought them this land as a prize? And in spite of all this, they have often been in your pay and have been receiving their payments, as previously stated, for we know not how long a time. And yet there has never been in all time an act more despicable than this present embassy of theirs. For as soon as they saw that we were eager to make war on them, they had the hardihood to come to Byzantium and appear before the emperor who has been so grievously insulted by them. In sooth they will, perhaps, in their excess of shamelessness, invite you to form an alliance of arms against us who have been so favoured by you. And verily if they have come with the purpose of giving back what they have usurped without any right, the Lombards should be counted by the Romans most responsible for that benefit, if they are really constrained through fear of them unwillingly to change their course and manifest gratitude late in the day. For naturally he who creates the constraint will be thanked by him who receives the benefit. But if indeed they have decided even now to retreat from none of their usurped holdings, what could surpass such baseness?

“This then shall be our plea, expressed with barbarian simplicity, with scant words, and in no way worthily of the situation. But we beg that thou, O Emperor, after carefully weighing what we have said less adequately than the

facts deserve, take that course of action which will redound to the benefit both of the Romans and of the Lombards, thy people, calling to mind this, in addition to all other considerations, that while the Romans will justly take sides with us, seeing that we have been in agreement from the first as regards religion, they will stand in opposition to our opponents for the simple reason that they are Arians.”

Thus spoke the Lombards. On the following day the envoys of the Gepaedes in turn came before the emperor and spoke as follows: “It may fairly be expected, O Emperor, that those who approach a neighbouring state with a request to form an alliance of arms, should first demonstrate that they have come with a just request and with proposals of advantage to those who are to form the alliance, and then speak on the matters of which they have come to treat. In the first place, then, that we have been wronged by the Lombards is evident from the facts themselves; for we are eager to settle our difficulties by arbitration, and those who are bent on arbitration can have nothing to do with violence. In the second place, why should one, in order to prove that the Gepaedes are far superior to the Lombards both in multitude and in valour, address long speeches to those who know? Now the policy of entering a conflict on the side of the weaker contestant and thus getting into an evil plight which has been foreseen, though the opportunity is offered of having the victory without danger by arraying oneself with the more powerful contestant, is not one, we think, which any men gifted with even a little discretion would choose. Consequently you also will find, when you go forth against another enemy, that the Gepaedes hereafter will array themselves with you, thus paying a debt of gratitude for what you have done, and by their overwhelming power helping you in all probability to achieve the overmastery of your foes. Furthermore, it would be in point for you to consider this fact also, that while the Lombards have become friends of the Romans on the spur of the moment, the Gepaedes have been in alliance with you and well known to you from ancient times. And friendship cemented by long continuance is not easily dissolved. Consequently you will acquire not only powerful, but also steadfast, allies. These, then, are the just grounds on the basis of which we invite you to form this alliance.

“Now observe what manner of men the Lombards are. At first they absolutely refused to settle our differences by arbitration, though we invited them repeatedly to do so, overcome, as they were, by unreasoning boldness. But now that the war has come almost to an actual engagement, they, making a tardy retreat from their position because they realize fully their own weakness, have come to you, asking the Romans to take up the unjust struggle in their behalf. Doubtless these thieves bring up the case of Sirmium and a few other towns in Dacia, and put this forward as a pretext on which you may enter this war. And yet thy empire comprises such an overabundance both of cities and of lands that thou art actually searching for men upon whom thou couldst

confer some part of it for their habitation. Indeed thou hast bestowed upon the Franks and the nation of the Eruli and these Lombards such generous gifts of both cities and lands, O Emperor, that no one could enumerate them all. But we, emboldened by thy friendship, have accomplished that which thou didst wish, and truly, when a man has formed the purpose of parting with some one of his possessions, he thinks far less highly of one who waits to receive his gift than of one who anticipates Ins purpose and takes the gift by his own decision, provided such an one does not appear to have claimed the right to take this course in a spirit of insolence toward the possessor, but in a spirit of confidence in the strong friendship he feels toward him; and this is exactly the attitude of the Gepaedes toward the Romans. We ask you, then, to recall these things and, preferably, to observe the terms of our alliance by throwing all your strength into the conflict on our side against the Lombards, otherwise, to stand aside for both. For in reaching such a decision you are acting with justice and greatly to the advantage of the Roman empire.”

Such was the speech of the Gepaedes, whom the Emperor Justinian, after long deliberation, decided to send away with their mission unaccomplished; but he made a sworn alliance of arms with the Lombards, and then sent them more than ten thousand horsemen commanded by Constantianus, Bouzes, and Aratius. Associated with them also was John the nephew of Vitalian, who had received previous instructions from the emperor that, as soon as they should fight a decisive battle with the nation of the Gepaedes, he should hasten thence to Italy with his troops. For he, too, as it happened, had returned from Italy. They also took with them as allies fifteen hundred Eruli, commanded by Philemuth and others. For, except for these, the whole nation of the Eruli, to the number of three thousand, were arrayed with the Gepaedes, since they had revolted from the Romans not long before for a cause which I have set forth above.

Now a detachment of the Romans who were marching to join the Lombards as allies unexpectedly chanced upon some of the Eruli with Aordus, the brother of their ruler. And a fierce battle ensued in which the Romans were victorious, and they slew both Aordus and many of the Eruli. Then the Gepaedes, upon learning that the Roman army was close at hand, straightway settled their disagreement with the Lombards, and so these barbarians made a treaty of peace with each other, contrary to the will of the Romans. When the Roman army learned this, they found themselves involved in a very perplexing situation. For neither were they able to continue their advance nor could they retrace their steps, because the generals feared lest both Gepaedes and Eruli would overrun and plunder the land of Illyricum. At any rate, they remained there and reported their situation to the emperor. Such was the course of these events. But I shall return to the point in my narrative from which I strayed.

Βελισάριος μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει, γῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰταλῶν πενταετὲς οὐδαμῇ ἀποβάς, οὐδὲ πῃ ὁδῷ ἰέναι ἐνταῦθα ἰσχύσας, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ κεκρυμμένη ἐχόμενος πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἔκ τε ὀχυρώματος ἀεὶ ἐπιθαλασσίῳ τινὸς ἐς ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας ὀχύρωμα διηνεκὲς [2] ναυτιλλόμενος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε Ῥώμην τε ἀνδραποδίσαι καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα. τότε δὲ καὶ Περυσίαν πόλιν. ἡ πρώτη ἐν Τούσκοις οὖσα ἐτύγχανε. πικρότατα πολιορκουμένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἥπερ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ὁδῷ ἰόντος κατ' ἄκρας ἐάλω. [3] ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικόμενος διατριβὴν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε, πλούτου μὲν ἐξουσίαν περιβεβλημένος πολλήν. εὐτυχήμασι δὲ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ ξυμβεβηκόσιν ἀπόβλεπτος ὢν, ἅπερ οἱ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐστράτευσε ξυμβόλῳ προὔλεγε τινὶ οὐκ ἀφανεῖ τὸ δαιμόνιον. [4] Ὅδὲ ξύμβολος ἐγένετο ὧδε. ἦν τις Βελισαρίῳ κλῆρος ἐν Βυζαντίων τῷ προαστείῳ ὃ δὴ Παντεΐχιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρασ ἡπεῖρῳ. ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἡ ἔμελλε Βελισάριος ἐπὶ τε Γελίμερα καὶ Λιβύην ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἐνδεδεχέστατα πλήθειν οἱ τὰς ἀμπέλους ξυνέβη. [5] οἶνου τε ὃς ἐνθένδε γεγωνὸς ἔτυχε πίθων οἱ θεράποντες ἐμπλησάμενοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἔνερθεν κατορύξαντες, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεν πηλῷ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐπιβύσαντες, ἐν τῷ οἰνῶνι κατέθεντο. [6] μῆσι δὲ ὀκτῶ ὕστερον ἐν πίθοις τισὶν ἀναβράσσωσιν ὁ οἶνος διεσπάσατο μὲν τὸν πηλὸν ὥπερ ἐπέφρακτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ὑπερβλύσας δὲ καὶ ρεύσας πολὺς ἐς τοσόνδε γῆν τὴν ἐχομένην ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε καὶ τέλμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐργάσασθαι μέγα. [7] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ θεράποντες εἶδον, ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι ἔσχον, αὐθις δὲ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πίθους τῷ πηλῷ ἀποφράξαντες τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγωνὸς εἶδον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκτημένον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγον, ὃ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγείρας ἐπέδειξε τὰ ποιούμενα: οἷπερ τῷ ξυμβόλῳ τεκμηριούμενοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν οἰκίαν μεγάλην προὔλεγον ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι. [9] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Βελισαρίῳ ἐχώρησε. Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεὺς, ζὺν Ἰταλοῖς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα τῆνικαδε παροῦσι, πολλοῖς τε καὶ λογιμωτάτοις ἐσάγαν οὖσιν, οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ἔχρηζε βασιλέως Ἰταλίας μεταποιεῖσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν Γόθιγος ἐνῆγε, πατρικίος ἀνὴρ, ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον ἀναβεβηκὼς πολλῷ πρότερον: ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτων δὴ ἔνεκεν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος ἔτυχεν ἑναγχος. [11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰταλίας μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο προνοήσῃν αὐτὸς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διατριβὴν εἶχεν, εὖ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἐν σφίσιν ἀντιλεγόμενα σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος μάλιστα. [12] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Λαγγοβάρδης ἀνὴρ ἐς Γήπαιδας φεύγων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [13] ἡνίκα Λαγγοβαρδῶν Οὐάκης ἦρχεν, ἦν τίς οἱ ἀνεψιὸς Ῥισιοῦλφος ὄνομα. ὃν δὴ ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴν Οὐάκης τελευτήσειεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκάλει. [14] προνοήσας οὖν Οὐάκης ὅπως εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἄγοιτο, ἔγκλημα Ῥισιοῦλφῳ ἐπενεγκὼν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον φυγῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐζημίωσεν. [15] ὃς δὴ ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστὰς τῶν πατρίων ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους αὐτίκα φεύγει, παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα δυοῖν. [16] χρήμασι δὲ Οὐάκης

τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺτους ἀνέπεισε τὸν Ῥισιούλφον κτείνειν. τῶν δὲ Ῥισιούλφου παίδων ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, Ἰλδίγης ὄνομα, ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς φεύγει. [17] Οὐ πολλῶ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Οὐάκης νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐς δὲ Οὐάλδαρον, τὸν Οὐάκου υἱόν, ἡ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἦλθεν ἀρχή. ὃ δὴ παιδὶ κομιδῇ ὄντι ἐπίτροπος καταστάς Αὐδοῦν τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο. [18] δυνάμει τε πολλῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρώμενος αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔσχε, τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου νόσῳ αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. [19] ἡνίκα τοίνυν Γήπαισί τε καὶ Λαγγοβαρδαῖς ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, Ἰλδίγης εὐθὺς Λαγγοβαρδῶν τε τοὺς οἱ ἐπισπομένους καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν πολλοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς Γήπαιδας ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν Γήπαιδες κατάξιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλπίδα εἶχον. [20] γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς Λαγγοβαρδας σπονδῶν ἕνεκα ὁ μὲν Αὐδοῦν τὸν Ἰλδίγην εὐθὺς ἄτε πρὸς φίλων ἐζητεῖτο Γηπαίδων, οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐκδοῦναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκέλευον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ὅπη βούλοιο διασώσασθαι. [21] καὶ ὃς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Γηπαίδων τισὶν ἐθελουσίοις ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς αὐθὺς ἀφίκετο. [22] ἔνθεν τε ἀναστὰς παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἦει, στράτευμα οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἔς τε Βενετίας ἀφικόμενος Ῥωμαίοις τισὶν ὑπαντήσας, ὧν Λάζαρος ἡγεῖτο, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε, τρεψάμενός τε αὐτοὺς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν. οὐ μέντοι Γότθοις ξυνέμιξεν, ἀλλ' Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάς αὐθὺς ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς ἀπεχώρησεν. [23] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε ἡπὲρ μοι εἴρηται, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων, Ἰνδούλφ ὄνομα, βάρβαρος γένος, θυμοειδὴς τε καὶ δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐν Ἰταλία λειφθεὶς ἔτυχε, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις προσεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [24] καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας εὐθὺς ξὺν στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Δαλματίας χωρία. [25] ὃς δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ Μουικούρῳ καλουμένῳ γενόμενος, ὅπερ ἐπιθαλάσσιον ἄγχιστά πη Σαλῶνων ἐστί, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέμισγε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις ἄτε Ῥωμαῖός τε ὧν καὶ Βελισαρίῳ προσήκων, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτός τε τὸ ξίφος ἀράμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐπισπομένοις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐξαπιναιῶς ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [26] ληϊσάμενός τε τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ ἄλλῳ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ κειμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ Λαυρεάτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. [27] οὗ δὴ ἐπιβὰς τοὺς παραπετωκότας ἀνήρει. Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Κλαυδιανὸς ἔγνω, ὅσπερ τότε Σαλῶνων ἦρχε, στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων δρομώνων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. [28] οἱ δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Λαυρεάτῃ ἐγένοντο, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἔφυγον ὅπη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε, τοὺς δρόμονας ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀπολιπόντες. οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πλοῖα ἔμπλεα σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν. [29] ἅπερ ἅπαντα Ἰνδούλφ τε καὶ Γότθοι ἐλόντες κτείναντές τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊσάμενοι παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦλθον. [30] καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

THE journey of Belisarius to Byzantium was an inglorious one; for five years he had not disembarked anywhere on the soil of Italy, nor had he succeeded in making a single inarch there by land, but he had been obliged to conceal himself by flight during this whole time, always sailing without interruption from one fortified coast-town to some other stronghold along the shore. As a result of this the enemy, having now little to fear, had enslaved Rome and everything else, practically speaking. It was on this occasion also that he abandoned Perusia, the leading city of Tuscany, though it was very closely besieged; indeed it was captured by storm while he was still on his way. After reaching Byzantium he took up a permanent residence there, having now amassed a great fortune and being greatly admired because of his earlier successes, just as the Deity had foretold to him by an unmistakable sign before he made the expedition to Libya.

Now the sign was as follows. Belisarius had an inherited property in the suburb of Byzantium which is called Panteichion, and is situated on the opposite mainland. On this property, shortly before the time when Belisanus was about to lead the Roman army against Gelimer and Libya, it so happened that his vines bore a great abundance of grapes.

And with the wine thus produced his servants had filled a great quantity of jars, which they placed in the wine-cellar, burying the lower part of them in the earth and smearing the upper part carefully with clay. But eight months later the wine in some jars, as it began to ferment, burst the clay with which each of them had been sealed; then it ran over the tops of the jars and, flowing copiously, covered the ground around with such a flood that it actually formed a great pool on the floor there. When the servants saw this, they were filled with amazement; and they were able to fill many amphoras from it, after which they again stopped up those same jars with clay and remained silent about the matter. But when they had seen this happen many times at about the same date, they did report the matter to their master, and he, for his part, gathered many of his friends there and displayed the phenomenon; whereupon they foretold that many blessings would fall upon that house, basing their conclusion upon this sign.

Such was the fortune of Belisarius. But Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, together with the Italians who were in the city at that time (and there were many very notable men there), was giving the emperor no respite from his entreaty to stand forth with all his power as champion of Italy. But Justinian was influenced most of all by Gothigus, a man of patrician rank who had long before this time risen to the dignity of the consular office; for he, too, had recently come to Byzantium for this very purpose. Now although the emperor

did promise to concern himself personally with Italy, still he was devoting his time for the most part to the doctrines of the Christians, seeking eagerly and with great determination to make a satisfactory settlement of the questions disputed among them.

Such was the situation in Byzantium. Meanwhile one of the Lombards had fled to the Gepaedes for the following reason. When Vaces was ruler of the Lombards, he had a nephew named Risiulfus, who, according to the law, would be called to the royal power whenever Vaces should die. So Vaces, seeking to make provision that the kingdom should be conferred upon his own son, brought an unjustified accusation against Risiulfus and penalized the man with banishment. He then departed from his home with a few friends and fled immediately to the Varni, leaving behind him two children. But Vaces bribed these barbarians to kill Risiulfus. As for the children of Risiulfus, one of them died of disease, while the other, Ildiges by name, fled to the Sclaveni.

Now not long after this Vaces fell sick and passed from the world, and the rule of the Lombards fell to Valdarus, the son of Vaces. But since he was very young, Audoum was appointed regent over him and administered the government. And since he possessed great power as a result of this, he himself seized the rule after no long time, the child having immediately passed from the world by a natural death. Now when the war arose between the Gepaedes and the Lombards, as already told, Ildiges went straight to the Gepaedes taking with him not only those of the Lombards who had followed him, but also many of the Sclaveni, and the Gepaedes were in hopes of restoring him to the kingdom. But on account of the treaty which had now been made with the Lombards, Audouin straightway requested the Gepaedes, as friends, to surrender Ildiges; they, however, refused absolutely to give up the man, but they did order him to depart from their country and save himself wherever he wished. He, then, without delay, took with him his followers and some volunteers of the Gepaedes and came back to the Sclaveni. And departing from there, he went to join Totila and the Goths, having with him an army of not less than six thousand men. Upon his arrival in Venetia, he encountered some Romans commanded by Lazarus, and engaging with them he routed the force and killed many. He did not, however, unite with the Goths, but recrossed the Ister River and withdrew once more to the Sclaveni.

While these events were taking place in the manner described, one of the guardsmen of Belisarius, Indulf by name and of barbarian birth, a passionate and energetic fellow, who had been left in Italy, went over to Totila and the Goths for no good reason. And Totila straightway sent him with a large army and a fleet to Dalmatia. So he came to the place called Mouicurum, which is a coast town situated very near Salones, and at first, being a Roman and a member of Belisarius' suite, he mingled with the people of the town; then however he raised his own sword, urged his followers to do the same, and

suddenly killed them all. Then, taking all the valuables as plunder, he departed from there and descended upon another fortress situated on the coast, which the Romans call Laureate. Here he entered the town and slew those who fell in his way.

When Claudian, who was commander of Salones at that time, learned this, he sent an army against him on *dromones*, as they are called. And when this force reached Laureate, they engaged with the enemy. But they were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle and took to flight, wherever each man could, abandoning their ships in the harbour. And it so happened that the other boats were there laden with grain and other provisions. All these Indulf and the Goths captured, and, after killing all whom they met and making plunder of the valuables, they returned to Totila. And the winter drew to a close and the fourteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [649 A.D.]

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἅπαν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος εἰς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐτύγγανε δὲ Βελισάριος τρισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, οὐσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ καταστησάμενος Διογένην αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐπέστησεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν τε διαφερόντως καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. [2] διὸ δὴ χρόνου μῆκος τῇ προσεδρεία ταύτῃ ἐτίρβητο. οἱ τε γὰρ πολιορκούμενοι ἀρετῆς περιουσία πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν ἀξιόμαχοι ὄντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Διογένης ἕς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῇ φυλακῇ ἐχρῆτο ὥς μὴ τις κακουργήσων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἴοι καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως σῖτον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου σπείρας ἐνδεῖν σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὥς ἥκιστα ἐποίει. [3] πολλάκις δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τειχομαχεῖν ἐγχειρήσαντες καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειράσασθαι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, ἀρετῇ σφᾶς ἀπωσαμένων ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων. τοῦ μέντοι Πόρτου κρατήσαντες Ῥώμην κατὰ κράτος ἐπολιόρκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [4] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκοντα εἶδεν, ἄρχοντα πέμπειν ξὺν στρατῷ ἄλλον ἐπὶ Γότθους τε διανοεῖτο καὶ Τουτίλαν. [5] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτελῇ ταύτην δὴ ἐπεποιήκει τὴν ἔννοιαν, οἶμαι ἂν, Ῥώμης μὲν ἔτι ὑπ' αὐτῷ οὐσης, σεσωσμένων δὲ οἱ τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπιβεβοηθηκοσιν ἀναμίγνυσθαι δυναμένων, περιέσεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτὸν τῷ πολέμῳ. [6] νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Λιβέριον ἀπολεξάμενος, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πατρικίων, ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ἀσχολίας οἱ ἴσως ἐπιγενομένης ἐτέρας τινὸς τὴν προθυμίαν κατέπαυσε. [7] Χρόνου δὲ τῇ Ῥώμης πολιορκία τριβέντος πολλοῦ, τῶν τινὲς Ἰσαύρων, οἱ ἅμφι πύλην ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι φυλακὴν εἶχον ἅμα μὲν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν πρὸς βασιλέως σφίσι δεδῶσθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὀρώντες τοὺς παραδόντας Ῥώμην τὰ πρότερα Γότθοις κεκομψευμένους ἐπὶ μεγάλων τινῶν χρημάτων ὄγκῳ, Τουτίλα λαθραϊότατα ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες ὡμολογήσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδώσειν, [8] τακτὴ τε ξυνέκειτο ἡμέρα τῇ πράξει. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἡ κυρία, Τουτίλας μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν νυκτῶν φυλακῇ δύο πλοῖα μακρὰ καθῆκεν, ἄνδρας ἐνταῦθα χρῆσθαι ταῖς σάλπιγγιν

ἐπισταμένους ἐνθήμενος. [9] οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλε διὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐρέσσοντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἄγχιστα ἤκωσι ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐνταῦθα ἡχεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν ἄγχιστα πύλης τῆς εἰρημένης, ἣ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, λανθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. [11] λογισάμενός τε ὡς ἦν τινες τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαδρᾶναι οἰοί τε ὦσιν, ἴωσιν ἐς Κεντουκέλλας, ἐπεὶ ὀχύρωμα ἕτερον τῶν τῇδε χωρίων οὐδαμῇ σφίσιν ἐλέλειπτο, ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων ἐνέδραις τισὶ προλοχίζειν ἔγνω τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸν φέρουσαν, οἷς δὴ ἐπήγγελλε τοὺς φεύγοντας διαχρήσασθαι. [12] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ὄντες, ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐγένοντο, ἐχρῶντο ἤδη κατὰ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ταῖς σάλπιγξι. [13] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καταπλαγέντες ἐς μέγα τε δέος καὶ θόρυβον καταστάντες ἐξαπινάίως ἀπολιπόντες οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ σφέτερα φυλακτήρια ἐβόηθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς τὸ ἐκείνη τεῖχος εἶναι οἰόμενοι. [14] μόνοι τε οἱ προδιδόντες Ἰσαυροὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν φυλακῇ μείναντες τάς τε πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον καὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέξαντο. [15] καὶ πολλὸς μὲν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἐνταῦθα γεγένηται φόνος, πολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες δι' ἐτέρων πυλῶν ὤχοντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κεντουκέλλας ἰόντες ὑπὸ τε τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι γενόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. ὀλίγοι μέντοι αὐτῶν διέφυγον μόλις, ἐν οἷς καὶ Διογένην πληγέντα φασὶ διασεσῶσθαι. [16] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Παῦλος μὲν ὄνομα, Κίλιξ δὲ γένος, ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐφειστήκει τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, ὕστερον δὲ καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων ἕς τε Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσεν καὶ ζὺν τῷ Διογένει ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃς φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο. [17] οὗτος ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλίσκομένης τότε τῆς πόλεως, ζὺν ἵππεῦσι τετρακοσίοις ἕς τε τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ τάφον ἀνέδραμε καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔσχε τὴν ἐς Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν νεῶν φέρουσαν. [18] τοῦ δὲ Γότθων στρατοῦ, ὀρθρου τε ὄντος καὶ μέλλοντός τι ὑποφαίνειν ἡμέρας, τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντος, ἐνταῦθα ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφιστάμενοι τὸ πλεόν ἔσχον: τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅτε πλήθους τε μεγάλου καὶ στενοχωρίας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔσης πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [19] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶδε, κατέπαυσε μὲν αὐτίκα τὴν μάχην, Γότθους δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντικαθεζομένους ἡσυχάζειν ἐκέλευεν, οἰόμενος λιμῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰρήσειν. [20] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν Παῦλός τε καὶ οἱ τετρακόσιοι ἀπόσιτοι διαγεγόνασιν, τὴν τε νύκτα οὕτως ἠύλίσαντο: τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν σιτίζεσθαι τῶν ἵππων τισίν, ὅκνησις δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τῆς ἐδωδῆς οὐ ζυνειθισμένῳ διεκρούσατο μέχρι ἐς δεῖλιν ὀψίαν, καίπερ πιεζομένους τῷ λιμῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [21] τότε δὲ πολλὰ λογισάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλέσαντες, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι εὐπρεπεῖ θανάτῳ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον. [22] ὀρμησαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κτεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὅσους ἂν ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ εἴη οὕτω τε ἀνδρείως τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν ἅπαντες. [23] ἀλλήλους τοίνυν ἐξαπινάίως περιπλακέντες καὶ τῶν προσώπων καταφιλήσαντες τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἡσπάζοντο, ὡς ἀπολούμενοι εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. [24] Ὅπερ κατανοήσας ὁ Τουτίλας ἔδεισε μὴ θανατῶντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ σωτηρίας πέρι ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστα ἔργα Γότθους

δράσῳσι. [25] πέμψας οὖν παρ' αὐτοὺς δυοῖν προὔτεινετο αὐτοῖς αἵρεσιν, ὅπως ἢ τοὺς ἵππους ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενοι, ἀπομόσαντές τε μηκέτι ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεύεσθαι, κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀπαλλάσσωνται, ἢ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Γότθοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυστρατεύσωι. [26] τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς λόγους ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον εἴλοντο ἅπαντες, ἔπειτα δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ποιῆσθαι καὶ ἄνοπλοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αἰσχυνόμενοι, δειμαίνοντες δὲ μὴ τισιν ἐνέδραις ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ περιπεπωκότες διαφθαρεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ σφίσι χρόνου τὰς συντάξεις πολλοῦ τὸ Ῥωμαίων δημόσιον ὄφειλεν, ἅπαντες ἐθελούσιοι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀνemieγνυντο, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι Παῦλός τε καὶ τῶν τις Ἰσαύρων, Μίνδης ὄνομα, Τουτίλα ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἐς Βυζάντιον σφᾶς ἐδέοντο στεῖλαι. [27] παῖδάς τε γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας σφίσιν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὥνπερ χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι. [28] οὕσπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἅτε ἀληθιζομένους ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφοδίους τε δωρησάμενος καὶ παραπομποὺς ξυμπέμψας ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἄλλοι μέντοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ὅσοι καταφυγόντες ἐς τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ ἔτυχον, ἐς τριακοσίους ὄντες, τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες Τουτίλα προσεχώρησαν. [29] Ῥώμην δὲ οὔτε καθελεῖν οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν Τουτίλας ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ Γότθους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ξυνοικίζειν ἐνταῦθα ἔγνω ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε.

XXXVI

[549 A.D.] TOTILA now led his whole army against Rome, and establishing himself there entered upon a siege. But Belisarius had selected three thousand men noted for their valour and appointed them to garrison Rome, placing in command of them Diogenes, one of his own spearmen, a man of unusual discretion and an able warrior. Consequently a long time was consumed in the blockade. For the besieged, on their part, shewed themselves, thanks to their extraordinary valour, a match for the entire Gothic army, while Diogenes was ever keeping a strict watch that no one should approach the wall to damage it; furthermore, he sowed grain in all parts of the city inside the circuit-wall and so brought it about that they had not the least shortage of food. Many times indeed the barbarians attempted to storm the fortifications and make trial of the circuit-wall, but they were always repulsed, being driven back from the wall by the valour of the Romans.

They did, however, capture Portus, and thereafter held Rome under close siege. Such was the course of these events.

As soon as the emperor saw Belisarius returned to Byzantium, he began to make plans for sending another commander with an army against the Goths and Totila. And if he had actually carried out this idea, I believe that, with Rome still under his power, and the soldiers in the city saved for him and enabled to unite with the relieving force from Byzantium, he would have overcome his opponents in the war. But in fact, after first selecting Liberius, one of the patricians from Rome, and ordering him to make himself ready, he later, perhaps because some other business claimed his attention, lost interest in the matter.

After the siege of Rome had continued for a long time, some of the Isaurians who were keeping guard at the gate which bears the name of Paul the Apostle — men nursing a grievance because for many years nothing had been paid them by the emperor, and observing, at the same time, that those Isaurians who had previously surrendered Rome to the Goths had become the proud possessors of vast sums of money — very secretly opened negotiations with Totila and agreed to hand over the city, and a definite day was appointed for the transaction. So when the appointed day was come, Totila contrived the following plan. He launched in the Tiber River during the first watch of the night two long boats, placing on them men who understood the use of the trumpet. These he commanded to row straight across the Tiber, and when they came close to the circuit-wall to sound the trumpets there with all their might. Meanwhile he himself was holding the Gothic army in readiness close to the above-mentioned gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul, unobserved by his enemy. And reasoning that, if any of the Roman army should succeed

in escaping from the city, as they well might under cover of darkness, they would go to Centumcellae, for no other fortress was left to them anywhere among the towns of that region, he decided to guard the road leading thither by means of some ambuscades of warlike men, to whom he gave instructions to destroy the fugitives. So the men in the boats, upon getting near the city, immediately made use of their trumpets, as they had been instructed to do. Thereupon the Romans were thunderstruck, and falling into great fear and confusion suddenly abandoned for no sufficient reason their several posts and hastened on the run to give assistance at that point, supposing that the attempt was directed against that part of the wall. Thus the Isaurians who were betraying the city remained alone at their post, and they opened the gates at their leisure and received the enemy into the city. And there was great slaughter of those who fell into the hands of the enemy there, though many made off in flight through other gates, but those who went toward Centumcellae got into the ambuscades and perished. However, a few of them did escape with difficulty, Diogenes too, they say, being among them and securing his safety though wounded.

Now there was in the Roman army one named Paulus, a Cilician by birth, who at first had been in charge of the household of Belisarius, but later went with the army to Italy in command of a cavalry troop, and had been appointed with Diogenes to command the garrison of Rome. This Paulus, during the capture of the city at that time, rushed with four hundred horsemen into the Tomb of Hadrian and seized the bridge leading to the church of the Apostle Peter. And while it was still dawn and a little daylight was about to appear, the Gothic army assailed these men, but they withstood their enemy most vigorously where they were and gained the upper hand; indeed they slew large numbers of the barbarians, seeing they were in a great throng and huddled together. When Totila saw this, he stopped the fighting immediately, and commanded the Goths quietly to blockade their enemy, thinking that he would capture the men by starvation. Consequently Paulus and the four hundred passed that day without food, and bivouacked during the night in the same condition. On the following day, however, they resolved to use some of the horses for food, but a feeling of reluctance owing to the unusual nature of this food prevented them until late afternoon, although exceedingly hard pressed by hunger. At that time, after long deliberation among themselves, and after exhorting one another to boldness, they came to the conclusion that the better course for them was to end their lives then and there by a glorious death. In fact their decision was to make a sudden rush upon their enemy, to kill as many of them as each man could, and thus each and every one of them to meet his death valiantly. Accordingly they rushed suddenly into each other's arms, and kissing one another's cheeks held their friends in a last embrace on the point of death, intending one and all to perish forthwith.

But Totila, observing this, began to fear that men who were setting their faces

toward death, having now no further hope as regards safety, would inflict irreparable harm upon the Goths. He therefore sent to them and offered them a choice of two alternatives, either to leave their horses and arms there, take an oath not again to fight against the Goths, and thus to depart for Byzantium without experiencing any harm, or, on the other hand, to keep their own possessions and fight thereafter in the Gothic army, enjoying full and complete equality with the Goths. These proposals were heard gladly by the Romans. And at first, to be sure, all were for choosing to go to Byzantium, but later, being ashamed to make their withdrawal on foot and without arms, and dreading also that they would fall into some ambushes on the homeward journey and thus be destroyed, and bearing a grudge, furthermore, because the Roman State owed them pay for a long period, they all mingled voluntarily with the Gothic army, except indeed that Paulus and one of the Isaurians, Mindes by name, came before Totila and prayed him to send them to Byzantium. For they stated that they had children and wives in their native land, and apart from these they were unable to live. And Totila received the request of these men with favour, believing that they were speaking the truth, and he released them after presenting them with travelling money and sending an escort with them. There were others also of the Roman army, those, namely, who had chanced to take refuge in the sanctuaries of the city, about three hundred in number, who received pledges and went over to Totila. As for Rome itself, Totila was unwilling thereafter either to dismantle or to abandon it; instead he decided to establish in residence there both Goths and Romans, not only members of the senate, but also all the others, for the following reason.

Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων τὸν ἄρχοντα πέμψας, τὴν παῖδά οἱ γυναῖκα ἔδειτο γαμετὴν δοῦναι. [2] ὁ δὲ τὴν αἴτησιν ἀπεσεῖσατο, Ἰταλίας αὐτὸν οὔτε εἶναι οὔτε ἔσσεσθαι ποτε βασιλέα φάσκων, ὅς γε Ῥώμην ἔλὼν ἔχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῆς οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῆς καθελὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθῆκεν αὐτοῖς. [3] διὸ δὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι ὅτι ταχιστα πάντα ἐκέλευεν, ὅσα καθελὼν τε καὶ πυρπολήσας αὐτὸς ἔτυχεν, ἥνικα Ῥώμην τὸ πρότερον εἶλε: τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὐσπερ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐφύλασσε μετεπέμπετο. [4] ἐνταῦθα τε ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱππικὸν θεασάμενος, τὴν στρατιὰν ἡτοίμαζε πᾶσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν στρατεύσων. [5] ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ πλοῖα τετρακόσια ὥς ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ στόλον νεῶν μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἄγαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς ἐφῶς ἐνταῦθα σταλείσας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τε καὶ φορτίοις πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔλὼν ἔτυχε. [6] Στέφανόν τε ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψε, τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τόνδε καταλύειν αἰτῶν, ἐνσπόνδους δὲ Γότθους ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτῷ ξυμμαχήσουσιν ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς ἄλλους ἰόντι. [7] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὔτε τὸν πρεσβευτὴν οἱ ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθεῖν ξυνεχώρησεν οὔτε τινὰ τῶν λεγομένων

ἐντροπὴν τὸ παράπαν πεποίηται. [8] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, αὐθις τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ξύμφορον δέ οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, Κεντουκέλλων ἀποπειρασάμενῳ πρότερον οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἰέναι. [9] ἤρχε δὲ τότε τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος, δύναμιν ἀξιώχρεων ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. [10] καὶ ὁ μὲν Γόθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ ἐς Κεντουκέλλας ἀφίκοντο, ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. [11] πρέσβεις δὲ πέμψας παρὰ Διογένην ὁ Τουτίλας αὐτόν τε προῦκαλεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας, ἦν μὲν σφίσι βουλομένοις ἢ μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [12] ἐν ἐλπίδι τε παρῆνει μηδεμιᾷ ἔχειν, δύναμιν ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐκ βασιλέως σφίσιν ἀφίξεσθαι: [13] ἀδύνατον γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι πόλεμον πρὸς Γόθους τόνδε διενεγκεῖν, εἰ τῷ ἱκανὰ τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ χρόνου τοσούτου ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ξυμβάντα. [14] αἴρεσιν οὖν προὔτεινέτο ἐλέσθαι ὁποτέραν ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλιντο, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τῷ Γόθων στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλασσομένοις ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. [15] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Διογένης οὔτε μάχῃ διακρίνεσθαι βουλομένοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον εἶναι οὔτε μέντοι ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῷ Γόθων στρατῷ, ἐπεὶ παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο. [16] πόλιν δέ, ἥσπερ φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ ἐνδοῦναι οὐδαμῇ ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τις σκῆψις αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα στέλλεσθαι βουλομένοις, τανῦν πάρεστιν: [17] ἐς χρόνον δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι τινὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐδέοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα σημήνωσιν, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ μεταξὺ βοηθείας ἐκ βασιλέως ἐνταῦθα ἰούσης οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσονται, Γόθοις μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες, οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστον δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι. [18] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλαν ἤρεσκε, τακτὴ ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο, ἄνδρες δὲ τριάκοντα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δέδονται ταύτῃ καὶ Γόθοι τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐχώρησαν. [19] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον, οὐ πρότερον διέβησαν τὸν τῆδε πορθμόν, ἕως φρουρίου τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἀπεπειράσαντο. [20] ἤρχον δὲ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος, οὐσπερ Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν. [21] οἵπερ ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἶχον, τειχομαχοῦντάς τε ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες τὸ πλεον ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἔσχον. [22] ὕστερον μέντοι πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατακλεισθέντες ἡσύχαζον. [23] Τουτίλας δὲ μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ Γόθων στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ χρόνῳ ὑστέρῳ ἐξαίρῃσειν караδοκῶν τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους, ἐς δὲ Ταραντηνοὺς στρατεύμα πέμψας τὸ ἐκείνη φρούριον παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ: καὶ Γόθοι δὲ οὐσπερ ἐλίπετο ἐν Πικηνῶν τῇ χώρᾳ πόλιν Ἀρίμινον τηνικάδε προδοσίᾳ εἶλον. [24] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα ἐβούλευσε πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Γόθους τε καὶ Τουτίλαν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέστελλεν εἶναι. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε, Γόθοι μὲν ἐν φροντίδι μεγάλῃ ἐγένοντο: δεξιὰ γάρ τις ἢ ἀμφὶ Γερμανῷ δόξα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν. [25] εὐέλπιδες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοί τε

γεγεννημένοι εὐθὺς ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ τῷ τε κινδύνῳ καὶ τῇ
ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντεῖχον. [26] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως
μεταμαθὼν Λιβέριον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις
ἐμνήσθην, ἐς τὸ ἔργον καταστήσασθαι ἀντὶ Γερμανοῦ ἔγνω. [27] καὶ ὁ μὲν
παρασκευασάμενος ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτίκα ξὺν στρατῷ ἀποπλεύσει
ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ μετέμελεν αὐθις, ἡσυχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενε. [28]
τότε δὴ Βῆρος ξὺν ἀνδράσιν οὓς ἀγείρας μαχιμωτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχε
Γότθοις τοῖς ἐν Πικηνῷ οὓσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν πόλεως Ῥαβέννης οὐ πολλῷ
ἄποθεν, τῶν τε ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος.

Not long before this Totila had sent to the ruler of the Franks and requested him to give his daughter in marriage. But the Frankish king spurned the request, declaring that Totila neither was nor ever would be king of Italy, seeing that after capturing Rome he had been utterly unable to hold it, but after tearing down a portion of it had let it fall again into the hands of his enemy. Consequently he made haste on the present occasion to convey supplies into the city, and gave orders to rebuild as quickly as possible everything which he himself had pulled down and destroyed by fire when he captured Rome at the previous time; then he summoned the members of the Roman senate and all the others whom he had under guard in Campania. And after witnessing the horse-races there, he made ready his whole army, intending to make an expedition against Sicily. At the same time too he put his four hundred war-ships in readiness for sea-fighting, as well as a very considerable fleet of large ships which had been sent thither from the East by the emperor, and which he, during all this time, had had the fortune to capture with both crews and cargoes. He also sent a Roman named Stephanus as an envoy to the emperor, requesting him to put an end to this war and make a treaty with the Goths, with the understanding that they should fight as his allies when he should go against his other enemies. But the Emperor Justinian would not permit the envoy even to come into his presence, nor did he pay the least attention to anything he said.

When Totila heard this, he again set about making preparations for the war. And it seemed to him advisable first to make trial of Centumcellae and then to proceed against Sicily. Now the garrison there was at that time commanded by Diogenes, the guardsman of Belisarius, and he had a sufficient force under him. So the Gothic army, upon reaching Centumcellae, made camp close to the circuit-wall and commenced a siege. And Totila sent envoys to Diogenes and challenged him and his soldiers, if it was their wish to reach a decision by battle with the Goths, to fall to with all speed. He also advised them to entertain no hope whatever that further reinforcements from the emperor would reach them; for Justinian, he said, was unable longer to carry on this war against the Goths, if anyone could base a reasonable judgment upon those things which had taken place at Rome for such a long period. He accordingly offered them the privilege of choosing whichever of two alternatives they wished, either to mingle with the Gothic army on terms of complete equality, or to depart from the city without suffering harm and betake themselves to Byzantium. But the Romans and Diogenes declared that it was not their wish either to fight a decisive battle or, on the other hand, to mingle with the Gothic army, because they would find it impossible to live apart from their children and their wives. And as for the city over which they were keeping guard, they

were quite unable for the present to surrender it with any plausible excuse, since they had, in fact, not even a pretext for doing so at that time, particularly if they wished to present themselves before the emperor; they did, however, beg him to defer the matter for a time, in order that they might during that interval report the situation to the emperor, and in case no relief should come to them from him in the meantime, that then finally they might quit the city; thus they would surrender the city to the Goths, while they, for their part, would not be without justification in leaving it. This was approved by Totila, and a definite day was agreed upon; then thirty men were given as hostages by each side to make this agreement binding, and the Goths broke up the siege and proceeded on the way to Sicily.

But when they came to Rhegium, they did not cross the strait there until they had made trial of the fortress of that city. Now the garrison there was commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, whom Belisarius had appointed to that post. And since they had under them a large force of excellent men, they not only repulsed the enemy when he attacked the wall, but also made a sally and gained the advantage in combat. Later, however, since they were far outnumbered by their opponents, they were shut up inside the circuit-wall and remained quiet. So Totila left a portion of the Gothic army there to guard the place, expecting that at a later time they would capture the Roman garrison through failure of the food supply; meanwhile he sent an army against Tarentum and took over the fortress there with no difficulty; likewise the Goths whom he had left in the land of Picenum also took the city of Ariminum at that time; for it was betrayed to them.

When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he formed the purpose of appointing his nephew Germanus commander-in-chief to carry on the war against the Goths and Totila, and he directed him to make ready. Now when the report of this reached Italy, the Goths became very deeply concerned; for the reputation of Germanus happened to be a favourable one among all men. The Romans, on the other hand, straightway became confident one and all, and the soldiers of the emperor's army began to meet danger and hardship much more courageously. But the emperor for some unknown reason changed his mind and decided to appoint to the post Liberius, a Roman whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative, in place of Germanus. And Liberius did in fact make preparations with all possible speed, and it was expected that he would sail away immediately with an army. But again the emperor changed his mind, and consequently he too remained quiet. It was at this time that Verus with a band of excellent warriors whom he had gathered about him came to an engagement not far from the city of Ravenna with the Goths who were in Picenum, and he not only lost many of his followers but was also killed himself after shewing himself a brave man in the encounter.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον στράτευμα Σκλαβηνῶν οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς τρισχιλίους

ἀγгерμένοι, ποταμόν τε Ἴστρον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, διέβησαν, καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ποταμόν Εὐρον εὐθὺς διαβάντες δίχα ἐγένοντο. [2] εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν ἄτερα μὲν συμμορία ὀκτακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα τοὺς καταλοίπους. [3] ἑκατέροις μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἔν τε Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θραξίν, ἡσσήθησάν τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες οὕτω παρ' ἑκατέρων τῶν βαρβαρικῶν στρατοπέδων, καίπερ ἐλασσόνων παρὰ πολὺ ὄντων, ἀπήλλαξαν, Ἀσβάδῳ ἡ ἑτέρα τῶν πολεμίων ξυμμορία ξυνέμιξεν. [5] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς Κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελῶν ἔτυχε, τῶν δὲ ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχεν οἱ ἐν Τζουρουλῷ τῷ ἐν Θράκῃ φρουρίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται, [6] πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι ὄντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκλαβηνοὶ τρεψάμενοι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πλείστους μὲν αἰσχροτάτα φεύγοντας ἔκτειναν, Ἀσβαδὸν δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐζώγησαν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς πυρὸς ἐμβεβλημένον φλόγα ἔκαυσαν, ἱμάντας πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ νότου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκδεύσαντες. [7] ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένοι τὰ χωρία ζύμπαντα, τὰ τε Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν, ἀδεέστερον ἐληΐζοντο, καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ πολιορκία ἑκατέροι εἶλον, οὔτε τειχομαχῆσαντες πρότερον, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πεδῖον καταβῆναι τολμήσαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταθεῖν ἐγκεχειρήκασιν αἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι πώποτε. [8] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατῷ ποταμόν Ἴστρον φαίνονται διαβεβηκότες ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου, πλὴν γε δὴ ἐξ ὅτου μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [9] Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τὸν Ἀσβαδὸν νενικηκότες μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν ληϊσάμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα καὶ πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν τειχομαχῆσαντες εἶλον, καίπερ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχουσαν, Τόπηρον ὄνομα: ἡ πρώτη μὲν Θρακῶν τῶν παραλίων ἐστί, τοῦ δὲ Βυζαντίου διέχει ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν δυοκαίδεκα. [10] εἶλον δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐν δυσχωρίαις πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυσαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας γενόμενοι αἱ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά εἰσιν ἥλιον, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι Ῥωμαίους ἠνώχλουν. [11] ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ὅσοι τὸ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον εἶχον οὐ πλείους αὐτοὺς ἢ ὅσοι καθεωρῶντο εἶναι, ἀνελόμενοι αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα ἐξίαςιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες. [12] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὺς κατωρρωδηκότες ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν χωροῦσι: καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν δίωξιν ἐκπεπωκότες πόρρω πού τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. [13] ἀναστάντες οὖν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν κατόπισθέν τε τῶν διωκόντων γενόμενοι ἐσιτητὰ σφίσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ἐποιοῦν. [14] ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ φεύγειν δοκοῦντες ἀμφιβόλους ἤδη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποίηνται. οὗς δὴ ἅπαντας οἱ βάρβαροι διαφθείραντες τῷ περιβόλῳ προσέβαλον. [15] οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστερημένοι, γίνονται μὲν ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. [16] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔλαιόν τε καὶ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον θερμήναντες τῶν τειχομαχοῦντων κατέχεον, καὶ λίθων βολαῖς πανδημεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρώμενοι τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν πού ἐγένοντο. [17] ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοὺς πλήθει βελῶν οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἐκλίπειν τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἠνάγκασαν καὶ κλίμακας τῷ περιβόλῳ

ἐρείσαντες κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν εἶλον. [18] ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐληΐσαντο, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων πεποίηνται λόγῳ. [19] καίτοι τὰ πρότερα οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡ συμμορία ἡ ἐτέρα, ἐξ οὗτου δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψαν χώρα, τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. ὥστε γῆν ἅπασαν, ἥπερ Ἰλλυριῶν τε καὶ Θρακῶν ἐστί, νεκρῶν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀτάφων γενέσθαι. [20] Ἐκτεινον δὲ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας οὔτε ζῖφει οὔτε δόρατι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ σκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰσχυρότατα, ὅξεϊς τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς δειλαίους ἐκάθιζον, τὴν τε σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλουτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐνείροντες ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκατα, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι ἠξίου. [21] καὶ ξύλα δὲ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τε χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας τῶν ἡλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἴτα ῥοπάλοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχέστατα παίοντες, ὥς δὴ κύνας ἢ ὄφεις ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον διέφθειρον. [22] ἄλλους δὲ ξὺν τε βουσί καὶ προβάτοις, ὅσα δὴ ἐπάγεσθαι ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ὥς ἥκιστα εἶχον, ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις καθεύδοντες, οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοῖ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. οὕτω μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας ἀεὶ ἀνήρουν. [23] ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐτέρας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τῶν αἱμάτων μεθύοντες πλήθει, ζωργεῖν τὸ ἐνθὲνδε ἠξίου. τῶν παραπεπτωκότων τινάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἐπαγόμενοι ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

XXXVIII

At about this time an army of Sclaveni amounting to not more than three thousand crossed the Ister River without encountering any opposition, advanced immediately to the Hebrus River, which they crossed with no difficulty, and then split into two parts. Now the one section of them contained eighteen hundred men, while the other comprised the remainder. And although the two sections were thus separated from each other, the commanders of the Roman army, upon engaging with them, both in Illyricum and in Thrace, were defeated unexpectedly, and some of them were killed on the field of battle, while others saved themselves by a disorderly flight.

Now after all the generals had fared thus at the hands of the two barbarian armies, though they were far inferior to the Roman forces in number, one section of the enemy engaged with Asbadus. This man was a guard of the Emperor Justinian, since he served among the *candidati*, as they are called, and he was also commander of the cavalry cohorts which from ancient times have been stationed at Tzurullum, the fortress in Thrace, a numerous body of the best troops. These too the Sclaveni routed with no trouble, and they slew the most of them in a most disgraceful flight; they also captured Asbadus and for the moment made him a prisoner, but afterwards they burned him by casting him into a fire, having first flayed strips from the man's back. Having accomplished these things, they turned to plunder all the towns, both of Thrace and of Illyricum, in comparative security; and both armies captured many fortresses by siege, though they neither had any previous experience in attacking city walls, nor had they dared to come down to the open plain, since these barbarians had never, in tact, even attempted to overrun the land of the Romans. Indeed it appears that they have never in all time crossed the Ister River with an army before the occasion which I have mentioned above.

Then those who had defeated Asbadus plundered everything in order as far as the sea and captured by storm a city on the coast named Topirus, though it had a garrison of soldiers; this is the first of the coast towns of Thrace and is twelve days' journey distant from Byzantium. And they captured it in the following manner. The most of them concealed themselves in the rough ground which lay before the fortifications, while some few went near the gate which is toward the east and began to harass the Romans at the battlements. Then the soldiers keeping guard there, supposing that they were no more than those who were seen, immediately seized their arms and one and all sallied forth against them. Whereupon the barbarians began to withdraw to the rear, making it appear to their assailants that they were moving off in retreat because they were thoroughly frightened by them; and the Romans, being drawn into the pursuit, found themselves at a considerable distance from the

fortifications. Then the men in ambush rose from their hiding-places and, placing themselves behind the pursuers, made it no longer possible for them to enter the city. Furthermore, those who had seemed to be in flight turned about, and thus the Romans now came to be exposed to attack on two sides. Then the barbarians, after destroying these to the last man, assaulted the fortifications. But the inhabitants of the city, deprived as they were of the support of the soldiers, found themselves in a very difficult situation, yet even so they warded off the assailants as well as the circumstances permitted. And at first they resisted successfully by heating oil and pitch till it was very hot and pouring it down on those who were attacking the wall, and the whole population joined in hurling stones upon them and thus came not very far from repelling the danger. But finally the barbarians overwhelmed them by the multitude of their missiles and forced them to abandon the battlements, whereupon they placed ladders against the fortifications and so captured the city by storm. Then they slew all the men immediately, to the number of fifteen thousand, took all the valuables as plunder, and reduced the children and women to slavery. Before this, however, they had spared no age, but both these and the other group, since the time when they fell upon the land of the Romans, had been killing all who fell in their way, young and old alike, so that the whole land inhabited by the Illyrians and Thracians came to be everywhere filled with unburied corpses.

Now' they killed their victims, not with sword nor spear, nor in any other accustomed manner, but by planting very firmly in the earth stakes which they had made exceedingly sharp, and seating the poor wretches upon these with great violence, driving the point of the stake between the buttocks and forcing it up into the intestines; thus did they see fit to destroy them. These barbarians also had a way of planting four thick stakes very deep in the ground, and after binding the feet and hands of the captives to these they would then assiduously beat them over the head with clubs, killing them like dogs or snakes or any other animal. Others again they would imprison in their huts together with their cattle and sheep — those, of course, which they were utterly unable to take with them to their native haunts — and then they would set fire to the huts without mercy. Thus did the Sclaveni consistently destroy those who fell in their way. But from this time onward both these and those of the other group, being as it were drunk with the great quantity of blood they had shed, saw fit to make prisoners of some who fell into their hands, and consequently they were taking with them countless thousands of prisoners when they all departed on the homeward way.

Ὑστερον δὲ Γότθοι τῷ Ῥηγίνων προσέβαλον ὀχυρώματι, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι καρτερώτατα σφᾶς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο, ἔργα τε ὁ Θουρμιοῦθ ἐπεδείκνυτο αἰεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄξια. [2] γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐνδεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, ὅπως δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι μηδὲν μὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ

ἐσκομίζωνται, ἀπορία δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον
Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Σικελίαν
διαπορθμευσάμενος τῇ Μεσηνῶν προσέβαλε τείχει. [3] καὶ οἱ Δομνεντίολος ὁ
Βούζου ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὅσπερ τῶν τῆδε Ῥωμαίων ἦρχεν, ὑπαντίσας τε πρὸ τοῦ
περιβόλου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχεν. [4] αὐτῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
γενόμενος φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιμελούμενος ἡσυχίαν ἦγε. Γότθοι δέ,
μηδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος, ἐληῖσαντο Σικελίαν σχεδὸν τι ὅλην. [5] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ
οἱ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ πολιορκούμενοι, ὧν δὴ Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἱμέριος ἦρχον, ὥσπερ
μοι εἴρηται, τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα σφᾶς παντάπασιν ἐπελελοίπει, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸ
φρούριον ὁμολογίᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδοσαν. [6] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε,
στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐκ καταλόγων πεζῶν ἐν
τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος, ἄρχοντά τε Λιβέριον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας, πλεῖν
κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν νῆσον διασώσασθαι δυνάμει τῇ
πάσῃ. [7] ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄρχοντα τοῦ στόλου καταστησάμενῳ Λιβέριον αὐτίκα δὴ
μάλα μετέμελεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐσχατογέρων τε ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα καὶ ἀμελέτητος
πολεμῶν ἔργων. [8] Ἀρταβάνη τε ἀφείς τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα πάντα καὶ
στρατηγὸν καταλόγων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης καταστησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθὺς
ἔπεμψε, στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ παρασχόμενος, ἐπιστείλας δὲ τὸν ξὺν τῷ
Λιβερίῳ παραλαβεῖν στόλον, ἐπεὶ Λιβέριον ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο. [9]
αὐτοκράτορα δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους πολέμου Γερμανὸν
κατεστήσατο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιόν. ᾧ δὴ στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ἔδωκε,
 χρήματα δὲ λόγου ἄξια παρασχόμενος στρατιὰν ἐπέστελλεν ἐκ τε Θρακῶν καὶ
Ἰλλυριῶν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείραντι οὕτω δὴ στέλλεσθαι σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν πολλῇ. [10] καὶ οἱ Φιλημούθ τε τὸν Ἐρουλον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ
Ἰωάννην τὸν αὐτοῦ μὲν Γερμανοῦ κηδεστήν, Βιταλιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦν
στρατηγὸς γὰρ ὧν τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καταλόγων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε ξὺν
αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἐπήγγελλε. [11] Τότε δὴ Γερμανὸν φιλοτιμία
πολλή τις ἔσχε Γότθων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἀναδήσασθαι, ὅπως οἱ Λιβύην τε καὶ
Ἰταλίαν ἀνασώσασθαι περιέσται τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. [12] Στότζα γὰρ
τετυραννηκότος ἐν γε Λιβύῃ τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὸ Λιβύης κράτος βεβαιότατα
ἦδη ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐκ βασιλέως σταλεις καὶ μάχῃ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ δόξαν
νικήσας τὴν τε τυραννίδα κατέπαυσε καὶ Λιβύην αὐτῆς ἀνεσώσατο τῇ
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. [13] καὶ νῦν δὲ
τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἐληλακότων ἐς ὃ μοι ἐναγχος
δεδιῆγεται, μέγα δὴ ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι κλέος ἐβούλετο ἅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὴν
ισχύσας βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. [14] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔτετελευτήκει γάρ οἱ
πολλῷ πρότερον ἢ γυνὴ Πασσάρα ὄνομά Ματασοῦνθαν ἐν γαμετῆς
ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ, τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα,
Οὐιττίγδος ἥδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. [15] ἥλιπζε γάρ, ἦν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐν
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἢ γυνὴ εἶη, αἰσχύνεσθαι, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, Γότθους ὅπλα ἐπ' αὐτὴν
ἀνελέσθαι, ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς Θευδερίχου τε καὶ Ἀταλαρίχου ἀρχῆς. [16]
ἔπειτα δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα τὰ μὲν ἐκ βασιλέως, τὰ δὲ πλείω οἰκοθεν οὐδεμιᾷ
φειδοῖ προῖέμενος στρατιὰν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου πολλὴν ἀνδρῶν
μαχιμωτάτων ἀγείραι δι' ὀλίγου εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσε. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι τε γάρ, ἄνδρες

ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια, τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ὧν δὴ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ ἦσαν, ἐν ὀλιγοῦσι πεποιημένοι, Γερμανῶ εἶποντο, ἕκ τε Βυζαντίου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν, Ἰουστίνου τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, πολλὴν ἐνδειξαμένων περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῇ, [18] ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἀπὼν ὥχετο. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ καταλόγων ἱππικῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἴδρυντο, δόντος βασιλέως, ξυνέλεξε. [19] καὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ οἵπερ ἄμφι ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διατριβὴν εἶχον, κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Γερμανοῦ ἦκοντες καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι, [20] ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἄλλοι τε βάρβαροι ἐκ πάσης ἀγειρόμενοι ξυνέρρεον γῆς. καὶ ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος ὀπίτας χιλίους ἐν παρασκευῇ πεποιημένος αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέσχετο πέμψειν. [21] Τούτων δὴ καὶ πλειοτέρων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀγγελλομένων, οἷα δὴ ἐξεργάζεσθαι εἴωθεν ἐς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια προϊοῦσα ἢ φήμη, Γότθοι ἅμα μὲν ἔδεισαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἐγένοντο, εἰ σφίσι ἐς γένος τὸ Θεουδερῖχου πολεμητέα εἴη. [22] στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὅσοι Γότθοις ἐτύγχανον ἀκούσιοι ξυστρατεύοντες, ἄγγελον πέμψαντες Γερμανῶ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευον ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενον αὐτὸν ἴδοιεν, ἐνστρατοπεδευομένην τε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι μελλήσαντες ξὺν ἐκείνοις τετάζονται πάντως. [23] οἷς δὴ ἅπασι θαρσύναντες οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἐν τε Ῥαβέννῃ καὶ εἴ που ἄλλῃ πόλιν σφίσι λελεῖφθαι τετύχηκεν, εὐέλπιδες ἰσχυρότατα γεγενημένοι, τὰ χωρία βασιλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλάσσειν ἤξιον. [24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ξὺν τῷ Βήρῳ τὰ πρότερα ἢ ἄλλοις τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἦσσημένοι τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ διέφυγόν τε καὶ σκεδαννύμενοι περιήεσαν, ὅπῃ ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν, ἐπειδὴ ὁδῷ ἰέναι Γερμανὸν ἤκουσαν, ἄθροοι ἐν Ἰστρίᾳ γεγενημένοι, ἐνταῦθά τε τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο προσδεχόμενοι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [25] Τότε δὴ ὁ Τουτίλας, ἡμέρα γὰρ ἡ ξυγκείμενη αὐτῷ τε καὶ Διογένι ἄμφι Κεντουκέλλαις εἰστήκει, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι. [26] Διογένης δὲ τούτου δὴ κύριος ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς οὐκέτι εἶναι: ἀκηκοέναι γὰρ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὸν Γερμανὸν καταστῆναί τε καὶ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι. [27] τῶν δὲ ὁμήρων βουλομένων οἱ αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους ἀπολαβεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Γότθων σφίσι δεδομένους ἀποτινῆναι. [28] τοὺς τε σταλέντας ἀποπεμπάμενος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως φυλακτηρίου ἐπεμελεῖτο, Γερμανόν τε καὶ τὸ ξὺν αὐτῷ καραδοκῶν στράτευμα. [29] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XXXIX

After this the Goths assaulted the fortress of Rhegium, but the besieged continued to defend themselves very vigorously and so repulsed them, and Thurimuth was always conspicuous for the deeds of heroism which he performed in fighting them. But Totila discovered that the besieged were in want of provisions, and so he contented himself with leaving a portion of his army there to keep guard, in order, of course, that the enemy might not carry in anything thereafter, but might be compelled by lack of necessities to surrender themselves and the fortress to the Goths; he himself meanwhile crossed over to Sicily with the rest of the army and delivered an attack on the wall of Messina. And Domnentiolus, the nephew of Buzes, who was in command of the Romans there, encountered him before the fortifications, and in the engagement which followed he was not unsuccessful. But he went back into the city and remained quiet, attending to the guarding of the place. The Goths, however, since no one came out against them, plundered practically the whole of Sicily. And the Romans besieged in Rhegium, commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, as I have said, seeing their provisions had failed completely, came to terms and surrendered themselves and the fortress to the enemy.

When the emperor heard of these things, he gathered a fleet and embarked on these ships a very considerable army formed from infantry detachments, and appointing Liberius commander over them, ordered him to sail with all speed for Sicily, and to put forth all his power to save the island. But he very speedily repented having appointed Liberius commander of the fleet; for he was an extremely old man and without experience in deeds of war. Then he absolved Artabanes from all the charges against him, and appointing him General of the forces in Thrace straightway sent him to Sicily, providing him with an army of no great size but instructing him to take over the fleet commanded by Liberius, since he was summoning Liberius to Byzantium. But as commander-in-chief in the war against Totila and the Goths he appointed Germanus, his own nephew. To him he gave an army of no great size, but he provided him with a considerable amount of money and directed him to gather a very formidable army from Thrace and Illyricum and then to set forth with great speed for Italy. And he further instructed him to take with him to Italy both Philemuth the Erulian with his troops and his own son-in-law John the nephew of Vitalian; for John, as General of the forces in Illyricum, was stationed there.

Then a great ambition took possession of Germanus to achieve for himself the overthrow of the Goths, in order that it might be his fortune to recover for the Roman empire both Libya and Italy. For in the case of Libya, at any rate, he

had been sent there by the emperor at the time when Stotzas had established his tyranny and was already holding the power of Libya most securely, and he had exceeded all expectations by defeating the rebels in battle, put an end to the tyranny, and once more recovered Libya for the Roman empire, as I have recounted in the preceding narrative. And now that the affairs of Italy had come to such a pass as I have just described, he naturally wished to win for himself great glory in that field, by showing himself able to recover this too for the emperor. Now his first move, made possible by the fact that his wife, who was named Passara, had died long before, was to marry Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha and granddaughter of Theoderic, since Vittigis had already passed from the world. For he cherished the hope that, if the woman should be with him in the army, the Goths would probably be ashamed to take up arms against her, calling to mind the rule of Theoderic and Atalaric. Then, by expending great sums of money, part of which was provided by the emperor, but most of which he furnished unstintingly from his own resources, he easily succeeded, contrary to expectation, in raising a great army of very warlike men in a short space of time. For among the Romans, on the one hand, the experienced fighters in many cases ignored the officers to whom they belonged as spearmen and guards and followed Germanus; these came not only from Byzantium, but also from the towns of Thrace and Illyricum as well, his sons Justinus and Justinian having displayed great zeal in this matter — for he had taken them also on his departure. He also enrolled some from the cavalry detachments which were stationed in Thrace, with the emperor's permission. The barbarians also, on the other hand, who had their homes near the Ister River kept coming in great numbers, attracted by the fame of Germanus, and, upon receiving large sums of money, these mingled with the Roman army. And other barbarians too kept flocking to his standard, collected from the whole world. Furthermore, the ruler of the Lombards made ready a thousand heavy-armed soldiers and promised to send them right speedily.

When these things were reported in Italy, with such additions as rumour customarily makes as it spreads among men, the Goths were both frightened and perplexed at the same time, being faced, as they were, with the necessity of making war upon the race of Theoderic. But those Roman soldiers who chanced to be fighting unwillingly in the ranks of the Goths sent a messenger to Germanus with orders to state to him that, as soon as they should see him arrived in Italy and his army actually encamped, they too without any hesitation would certainly array themselves with his troops. All these things brought fresh courage to the detachments of the emperor's army in Ravenna and whatever other cities chanced to be left in their hands, and being now filled with the highest hopes they were determined to guard the towns rigorously for the emperor. Nay, more, all those who under Verus or other commanders had previously engaged with the enemy and had escaped after being defeated in battle by their opponents, and were now dispersed and

wandering about, each man wherever chance led him, all these, as soon as they heard that Germanus was on the way, gathered in a body in Istria, and there remained quiet, awaiting this army. Just at this time Totila sent to Centumcellae (for the time agreed upon by him and Diogenes as touching this town had arrived), and commanded Diogenes to surrender the city in accordance with the agreement. Diogenes, however, said that he personally no longer had authority to do this; for he had heard that Germanus had been appointed commander-in-chief to carry on that war, and was not far away with his army. And he added that, in regard to the hostages, it was his desire to receive back, on the one hand, their own, and, on the other, to return those furnished by the Goths. Then, after dismissing the messengers, he turned his attention to the defence of the city, expecting Germanus and the army with him. Such was the course of these events; and the winter drew to its close, and the fifteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [a d.]

Γερμανοῦ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν Σαρδικῇ, τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν πόλει, ἀγείραντός τε καὶ διέποντος, ἅπαντά τε ἰσχυρότατα ἐξαρτυομένου τὰ ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευήν, Σκλαβηγῶν ὅμιλος ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον ἀφίκετο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν: Ἰστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἀμφὶ Νάϊσον ἤλθον. [2] ὧν δὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀποσκεδασθέντας μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πλανωμένους δὲ καὶ κατὰ μόνας περιούοντας τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία τῶν τινὲς Ῥωμαίων καταλαβόντες τε καὶ ξυνδήσαντες ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα οὗτος δὴ ὁ τῶν Σκλαβηγῶν στρατὸς καὶ ὃ τι κατεργασόμενοι διέβησαν ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. [3] οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρίσαντο ὡς Θεσσαλονίκην τε αὐτὴν καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἀμφὶ αὐτὴν πολιορκία ἐξαίρησοντες ἦκοιεν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, ἄγαν τε ξυνεταράχθη καὶ πρὸς Γερμανὸν εὐθὺς ἔγραψεν, ὁδὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀναβαλέσθαι, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ καὶ πόλεις ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμῦναι, καὶ τὴν Σκλαβηγῶν ἔφοδον ὅση δύναμις ἀποκρούσασθαι. καὶ Γερμανὸς μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα διατριβὴν εἶχε. [4] Σκλαβηγοὶ δὲ γνόντες διαρρήδην πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Γερμανὸν ἐν Σαρδικῇ εἶναι ἐς δέος ἤλθον: [5] μέγα γὰρ ὄνομα ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. ἥνικα Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Γερμανοῦ θεῖος τὴν βασι: λείαν εἶχεν, Ἄνται, οἱ Σκλαβηγῶν ἀγχιστα ᾤκηνται, Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. [6] ἐτύγγανε δὲ Γερμανὸν βασιλεὺς Θράκης ὅλης στρατηγὸν καταστησάμενος οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. ὃς δὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ κατὰ κράτος τε μάχῃ νικήσας σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαφερόντως ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους περιεβάλετο. [7] δειμαίνοντες οὖν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ μοι εἶρηται, Σκλαβηγοί, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιολογωτάτην αὐτόν ἐπάγεσθαι οἰόμενοι ἅτε πρὸς βασιλέως στελλόμενον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὁδοῦ μὲν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἀπέσχοντο, ἐς δὲ τὸ πεδῖον καταβῆναι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἰλλυριῶν διαμείψαντες ἐν Δαλματία ἐγένοντο. [8] ὧν δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφροντιστήσας πάσῃ ἐπήγγελλε τῇ στρατιᾷ

ἔρξασθαι, ὥς ἡμέρῃν δυοῖν ὕστερον ὁδοῦ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀρξόμενος. [9] Ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέπεσε τύχη νοσήσαντι ἐξαπινάϊως τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι. εὐθυρόν τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείος τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ στρατηγὸς τε ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξιός, ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασι τὰ τε νόμιμα καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον βεβαιοτάτα φυλάσσειν ἐξεπιστάμενος, δικάσας μὲν ὀρθότατα πάντων μάλιστα, χρήματα δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἅπασι δεδανεικῶς μεγάλα καὶ τόκον οὐδ' ὅσον λόγῳ κεκομισμένος πρὸς αὐτῶν πώποτε, ἐν Παλατίῳ μὲν καὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐμβριθέστατός τε καὶ σοβαρὸς ἄγαν, ἐστιάτωρ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν οἶκοι ἡδύς τε καὶ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ἐπίχαρις, οὐδέ τι ἐν Παλατίῳ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὅση δύναμις ξυγχωρῶν, οὐδὲ στασιώταις τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῆς βουλῆσεως ἢ τῆς ὁμιλίας μεταλαχῶν πώποτε, καίπερ καὶ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει πολλῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐλλοκότων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε. [10] Βασιλεὺς δὲ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιώδυνος γεγωνὺς Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε, τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν. Γερμανοῦ δὲ γαμβρόν, ξὺν Ἰουστινιανῷ θατέρῳ τοῖν Γερμανοῦ παῖδοιν τῷ στρατῷ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγήσασθαι. [11] καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαλματίας ἦσαν, ὥς ἐν Σάλωσι διαχειμάσοντες, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατα σφίσιν ὄντο εἶναι τῇδε τοῦ καιροῦ περιουσίην τὴν τοῦ κόλπου περίοδον ἐς Ἰταλίαν κομίζεσθαι: διαπορθμεύεσθαι γὰρ νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν ἀμήχανα ἦν. [12] Λιβέριος δέ, οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος ὥνπερ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ μετέμελε, Συρακούσαις προσέσχε πολιορκουμέναις πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. [13] βιασάμενος τε τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους ἐς τε τὸν λιμένα κατήρε καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. καὶ [14] Ἀρταβάνης δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐν Κεφαλωνίᾳ γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριον ἦδη ἐνθένδε ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ Σικελίας κεχωρηκέναι ἔγνω, ἄρας ἐνθένδε πέλαιος αὐτίκα τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν καλούμενον διέβη. [15] ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλαβρῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, χειμῶνός οἱ ἐξαισίου ἐπιτεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σκληροῦ τε ὑπεράγαν ὄντος καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσιν ἰόντος, οὕτως ἀπάσας διασκεδάννυσθαι τὰς ναῦς ξυνηνέχθη, ὥς δοκεῖν ὅτι δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ ἐς τὴν Καλαβρίαν ἐξενεχθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [16] οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ διωθόμεναι ἀνέστρεφόν τε βιαζόμεναι ὑπερφυνῶς καὶ αὐθις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δέ, ὅπῃ παρατύχη, ἢ διεφθάρθαι ἢ διασεσῶσθαι τετύχηκε. [17] ναῦς δὲ μία, ἐν ἣ ἔπλει Ἀρταβάνης αὐτός, τοῦ ἰστοῦ οἱ ἐν τῷ σάλῳ τούτῳ ἀποκοπέντος, ἐς τοσόνδε κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσα, πρὸς τε τοῦ ῥοθίου φερομένη καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐπισπομένη Μελίτῃ προσέσχε τῇ νήσῳ. οὕτω μὲν Ἀρταβάνην διασεσῶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκίτου ξυνέπεσε. [18] Λιβέριος δὲ οὔτε τοῖς πολιορκουσίην ἐπεξίεναι ἢ μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἷός τε ὦν διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σφίσιν ἅτε πολλοῖς οὗσιν ἐς πλείω χρόνον οὐδαμῇ διαρκούντων, ἄρας ἐνθένδε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἐς Πάνορμον ἀπεχώρησε. [19] Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ Γότθοι σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ληϊσάμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ Σικελίας χωρία ἵππων μὲν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ ζῶων ἄλλων μέγα τι χρῆμα, σῖτον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς νήσου μετενεγκόντες καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα, μεγάλα κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὴν τε νῆσον

ἐξαπινάϊως ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέστρεφον, τρόπῳ ὁρμώμενοι τοιῷδε. [20] τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων, Σπῖνον ὄνομα, ἐκ Σπολιτίου ὁρμώμενόν οἱ αὐτῷ παρέδρον οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καταστησάμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν. [21] οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει Κατάνη, ἀτειχίστῳ οὔσῃ, διατριβὴν εἶχε. τύχη τέ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέβη ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. [22] ὃν δὴ ρύεσθαι ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπιγόμενος τῶν τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν γυναῖκα, αἰχμάλωτον οὔσαν, ἀφεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἤθελε. [23] γυναῖκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουν ἀνταλλάξασθαι ἀνδρὸς τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίσταυρος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [24] δεῖσας οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθαρεῖν, ὡμολόγησε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῇ Τουτίλαν ἀναπεῖσειν Σικελίας μὲν ἀπανίστασθαι, παντὶ δὲ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν διαπορθμεύσασθαι. [25] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄρκοις αὐτὸν σφίσιν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καταληφθέντα Γότθοις ἀπέσσαν, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κεκομισμένοι. [26] ὁ δὲ Τουτίλα ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ Γότθους ἔφασκε Σικελίαν ληϊσαμένους σχεδόν τι ὅλην ὀλίγων τινῶν φρουρίων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν. [27] ἔναγχος γὰρ ἰσχυρίζετο ἀκηκοέναι, ἡνῖκα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτύγγανεν ὢν, Γερμανὸν μὲν τὸν βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ κηδεστὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα παντὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ συλληγέντι στρατῷ εἶναι μὲν ἤδη ἐν Δαλματία, εὐθὺς δὲ Λιγουρίας αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ξυσκευαζομένους ἐνθένδε χωρήσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Γότθων ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς παῖδᾶς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσουσι καὶ χρήματα ληϊσονται πάντα, οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ὑπαντιάζειν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις διαχειμάζοντας. [28] ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων περιεσόμεθα, Σικελίας αὖθις ἅμα ἥρι ἀρχομένῳ παρέσται ἡμῖν ἀδεέστερον ἐπιβήσεσθαι πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι. [29] ταύτῃ ὁ Τουτίλας τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς φρουροὺς μὲν ἐν ὀχυρώμασι τέτρασιν εἵασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξύμπασαν τὴν λείαν ἐπαγόμενος παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν διεπορθμεύσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [30] Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Δαλματίαν ἐν Σάλωσι διαχειμάζειν ἔγνωσαν, ἐνθένδε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν εὐθὺς Ῥαβέννης ὁδῷ ἰέναι διανοούμενοι. [31] Σκλαβηνοὶ δέ, οἳ τε τὰ πρότερα ἐν γῇ τῇ βασιλέως γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, καὶ ἄλλοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἴστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἀναμιχθέντες, κατέθεον ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. [32] καὶ τινες μὲν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ εἶχον ὡς Τουτίλας τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας ἐπιτέμψειε τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπως δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀδύνατα εἴη τὸν πρὸς Γότθους πόλεμον ἀσχολία τῇ ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὖ διοικήσασθαι. [33] εἴτε δὲ Τουτίλα χαριζόμενοι εἴτε ἄκλητοι Σκλαβηνοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἐς τρία μέντοι τέλη σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἀνέκιστα ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ὅλῃ ἔργα εἰργάσαντο, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληϊζόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκεῖα διαχειμάζοντες οὐδὲν τε δεδιότες πολέμιον. [34] ὕστερον δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἧς ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Ἀράτιος καὶ Ναζάρης ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ Γερμανοῦ παῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. [35] ἐπιστάτην δὲ Σχολαστικὸν ἐφ' ὅπασι κατεστήσατο, τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ἕνα. [36]

Οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς μοῖραν τῶν βαρβάρων καταλαμβάνουσιν ἀμφὶ Ἀδριανούπολιν, ἥπερ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐν μεσογείοις κεῖται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν Βυζαντίου διέχουσα. [37] καὶ πρόσω μὲν χωρεῖν οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι εἶχον: λείαν γὰρ ἐπήγοντο ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ζῶων ἄλλων καὶ πάντων χρημάτων ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσονα. [38] μένοντες δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠπείγοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, τούτου δὴ αὐτοῖς αἰσθησιν ὥς ἤκιστα παρεχόμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [39] χρόνου δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεία τριβομένοι συγχοῦ ἥσχαλλόν τε οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ζύμπαντα εὐπορα ἔχοντες ἅτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας περιορῶσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένους καὶ οὐ βούλονται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. [40] οἷς δὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀναγκασθέντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυνέμιζαν. καὶ γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ μάχη, ἡσσῶνται δὲ κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι. [41] ἐνθα δὴ στρατιῶται μὲν πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι θνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι ξὺν τοῖς καταλοίποις μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν, [42] ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. καὶ Κωνσταντιανοῦ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι εἶλον, τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς ὀλιγορίαν τραπόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [43] καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλουμένην ἐληΐζοντο κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἀδήωτον ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείαν αὐτοὺς πολλὴν τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν ξυνηνέχθη: οὕτω δὲ χώραν πολλὴν ληΐζόμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη ἀφίκοντο, ἅπερ ὀλίγῳ πλέον ἢ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν Βυζαντίου διέχει. [44] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς τούτοις δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις, μοῖρα τε αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες τινὶ καὶ ἐξαπιναίως ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἐτρέψαντο. [45] καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μέγα τι διεσώσαντο χρῆμα, τό τε Κωνσταντιανοῦ σημεῖον εὐρόντες ἀνείλonton. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ βάρβαροι ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

But while Germanus was collecting and organizing his army in Sardice, the city of Illyricum, and making all the necessary preparations for war with the greatest thoroughness, a throng of Sclaveni such as never before was known arrived on Roman soil, having crossed the Ister River and come to the vicinity of Naïssus. Now some few of these had scattered from their army and, wandering about the country there alone, were captured by certain of the Romans and made prisoners; and the Romans questioned them as to why this particular army of the Sclaveni had crossed the Ister and what they had in mind to accomplish. And they stoutly declared that they had come with the intention of capturing by siege both Thessalonice itself and the cities around it. When the emperor heard this, he was greatly agitated and straightway wrote to Germanus directing him to postpone for the moment his expedition to Italy and defend Thessalonice and the other cities, and to repel the invasion of the Sclaveni with all his power. So Germanus, for his part, was devoting himself to this problem.

But the Sclaveni, upon learning definitely from their captives that Germanus was in Sardice, began to be afraid; for Germanus had a great reputation among these particular barbarians for the following reason. During the reign of Justinian, the uncle of Germanus, the Antae, who dwell close to the Sclaveni, had crossed the Ister River with a great army and invaded the Roman domain. Now the emperor had not long before this, as it happened, appointed Germanus General of all Thrace. He accordingly engaged with the hostile army, defeated them decisively in battle, and killed practically all of them; and Germanus, as a result of this achievement, had covered himself with great glory in the estimation of all men, including these same barbarians. Consequently, on account of their dread of him, as I have said, and also because they supposed that he was conducting a very formidable force, seeing that he was being sent by the emperor against Totila and the Goths, the Sclaveni immediately turned aside from their march on Thessalonice and no longer dared to descend to the plain, but they crossed over all the mountain ranges of Illyricum and so came into Dalmatia. Germanus, accordingly, paid no further attention to them and issued orders to the entire army to prepare for marching, intending to commence the journey thence to Italy two days later.

But by some chance it so befell that he was taken sick and abruptly reached the term of life. Thus did Germanus suddenly pass away, a man endowed with the finest qualities and remarkable for his activity; for in war, on the one hand, he was not only a most able general, but was also resourceful and independent in action, while in peace and prosperity, on the other hand, he well understood how to uphold with all firmness both the laws and the institutions of the state.

As a judge he was conspicuously upright, while in private life he made loans of large sums of money to all who requested it, never so much as speaking of taking interest from them. Both in the palace and in the market-place he was a man of very impressive personality and exceedingly serious demeanour, while in his daily home life he was a pleasant, open-hearted, and charming host. He would not permit, as far as his strength allowed, any offence in the palace against established laws, nor did he ever share either in the purpose or in the conversations of the conspirators in Byzantium, though many even of those in power went so far in their unnatural conduct. Such then was the course of these events.

The emperor was deeply moved by this misfortune, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian and son-in-law of Germanus, in company with Justinian, one of the two sons of Germanus, to lead this army into Italy. So they set out on the way to Dalmatia, intending to pass the winter in Salones, since it seemed to them impossible at that season to make the circuit of the gulf, as they would be obliged to do in travelling into Italy; for it was impossible for them to ferry across since they had no ships. Meanwhile Liberius, not having as yet learned anything of the emperor's change of purpose regarding the fleet he commanded, put in at Syracuse while it was under siege by the enemy. And he forced his way through the barbarian lines, sailed into the harbour, and so got inside the fortifications with the whole fleet. Now Artabanes not long after this reached Cephallenia, and finding that Liberius and his army had already put out to sea and departed thence on the way to Sicily, he immediately set out from there and crossed the so-called Adriatic Sea. But when he came near Calabria, he was assailed by a terrific storm and a head wind of extraordinary violence, and it so fell out that all the ships were scattered so completely that it appeared that the most of them had been driven on the shore of Calabria and fallen into the hands of the enemy. This, however, was not the case, but they had first been driven apart by the great violence of the wind, then had turned about, heavily buffeted meanwhile by the sea, and had reached the Peloponnesus again. As for the other ships, some were lost and some were saved, according to where chance carried them. But one ship, that in which Artabanes himself was sailing, had its mast broken off in this heavy sea, and yet, after coming to such a degree of danger, was carried by the surge and followed the swell until it came to land at the island of Melita. Thus did it come about contrary to expectation that Artabanes was saved.

Liberius now found himself unable to make sallies against the besiegers or to fight a decisive battle against them, while at the same time their provisions could not possibly suffice for any considerable time, seeing they were a large force, and so he set sail from there with his troops, and, eluding the enemy, withdrew to Panormus.

Totila and the Goths, meanwhile, had plundered practically the whole land of

Sicily; they had collected as booty a vast number of horses and other animals, and had stripped the island of grain and all its other crops; these, together with all the treasure, which amounted to a great sum indeed, they loaded on their ships, and then suddenly abandoned the island and returned to Italy, being impelled to do so for the following reason. Not long before this, as it happened, Totila had appointed one of the Romans, Spinus by name, a native of Spolitium, to be his personal adviser. This man was staying in Catana, which was an unwallled town. And, by some chance, it came about that he fell into the hands of the enemy there. Now Totila, being eager to rescue this man, wished to release to the Romans in his stead a notable's wife who was his prisoner. But the Romans would not consent to accept a woman in exchange for a man holding the position of quaestor, as it is called. The man consequently became fearful that he would be destroyed while in hostile hands, and so promised the Romans that he would persuade Totila to depart immediately from Sicily and cross over to Italy with the whole Gothic army. So they first bound him over by oaths to carry out this promise and then gave him up to the Goths, receiving the woman in return. He then went before Totila and asserted that the Goths were not consulting their own interests, now that they had plundered practically the whole of Sicily, in remaining there for a few insignificant fortresses. For he declared that he had recently heard, while he was among the enemy, that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had passed from the world, and that John, his son-in-law, and Justinian, his son, with the whole army collected by Germanus were already in Dalmatia and would move on from there, after completing their preparations in the briefest time, straight for Liguria, in order, obviously, to descend suddenly upon the Goths and make slaves of their women and children and to plunder all their valuables; and it would be better for the Goths, he said, to be there to meet them, passing the winter meanwhile in safety in company with their families. "For," he went on, "if we overcome that army, it will be possible for us at the opening of spring to renew our operations against Sicily free from anxiety and with no thought of an enemy in our minds." Totila was convinced by this suggestion, and so, leaving guards in four strongholds, he himself, taking with him the entire booty, crossed over with all the rest of the army to Italy. Such was the course of these events.

Now John and the emperor's army, upon reaching Dalmatia, decided to pass the winter in Salones, purposing to march from there straight for Ravenna after the winter season. But the Sclaveni now reappeared, both those who had previously come into the emperor's land, as I have recounted above, and others who had crossed the Ister not long afterwards and joined the first, and they began to overrun the Roman domain with complete freedom. And some indeed entertained the suspicion that Totila had bribed these very barbarians with large gifts of money and so set them upon the Romans there, with the definite purpose of making it impossible for the emperor to manage the war

against the Goths well because of his preoccupation with these barbarians. But as to whether the Sclaveni were conferring a favour upon Totila, or whether they came there without invitation, I am unable to say. These barbarians did, in any case, divide themselves into three groups and wrought irreparable damage in all Europe, not merely plundering that country by sudden raids, but actually spending the winter as if in their own land and having no fear of the enemy. Afterwards, however, the Emperor Justinian sent a very considerable army against them, which was led by a number of commanders, including Constantianus, Aratius, Nazares, Justinus the son of Germanus and John who bore the epithet of the Glutton. But he placed in supreme command over them all Scholastieus, one of the eunuchs of the palace.

This army came upon a part of the barbarians near Adrianopolis, which is situated in the interior of Thrace, five days' journey distant from Byzantium. And the barbarians were unable to proceed further; for they were taking with them a booty which surpassed all reckoning, consisting of men and animals and valuables of every description. So they remained there, eager to come to an engagement with the enemy, but without letting this be known to them in any way. Now the Sclaveni were encamped on the hill which rises there, while the Romans were in the plain not far away. And since a long time was consumed in thus blocking the enemy, the soldiers began to be resentful and made a great to-do, laying against the generals the charge that while they themselves, as commanders of the Roman army, had all provisions in abundance, they were paying no heed to the soldiers, to whom the want of absolute necessities was causing hardship and who were unwilling to engage with the enemy. By these remonstrances the generals were compelled to join battle with the enemy. And the battle which followed was a fierce one, but the Romans were decisively vanquished. In that battle many of the best soldiers perished, and the generals came within a little of falling into the hands of the enemy, succeeding only with difficulty in making their escape with the remnant of the army and thus saving themselves, each as best he could. The standard of Constantianus was also captured by the barbarians, who now moved forward heedless of the Roman army. And they plundered the land of Astica, as it is called, without let or hindrance, a place which had not been ravaged since ancient times, and for this reason it turned out that they found there an enormous booty. Thus they devastated a wide expanse of country and came as far as the long walls, which are a little more than one day's journey distant from Byzantium. But not long afterwards the Roman army, in following up these barbarians, came upon a portion of their force, engaged with them suddenly, and turned them to flight. And they not only slew many of the enemy, but also rescued a vast number of Roman captives, and they also found and recovered the standard of Constantianus. But the rest of the barbarians departed on the homeward way with the other booty.

BOOK VIII. THE GOTHIC WAR (continued)

Ὅσα μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε μοι δεδιήγηται, τῇδε συγγέγραπται ἥπερ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ χωρίων ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἔργα τὰ πολέμια ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι διελόντι τε καὶ ἄρμοσαμένῳ τοὺς λόγους, οἵπερ ἤδη ἐξενεχθέντες πανταχόθι δεδῆλωνται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείσεται. [2] γράμμασι γὰρ τοῖς ἐς τὸ πᾶν δεδηλωμένοις οὐκέτι εἶχον τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοῦσδε γεγονέναι ξυνέβη, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸ Μῆδων γένος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους ἐξήνεγκα, ἐν τῷδὲ μοι τῷ λόγῳ πάντα γεγράφεται, ἱστορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ποικίλην ξυγκείσθαι. [3] Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὅσα ξυνέβη ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς πενταετηρίδος ἐκεχειρίας ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγεγόνει καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιήγηται λόγοις· τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενῳ ἐνιαυτῷ Μηδικῆς στρατιᾶς πολὺς ὁμιλος ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἐσέβαλον. [4] οἷσπερ ἐφειστήκει Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, Χοριάνης ὄνομα, πολέμων ἐσάγαν πολλῶν ἔμπειρος, καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἀλανῶν γένους πολλοὶ εἶποντο. [5] οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς χώραν τῆς Λαζικῆς ἢ ἐπικαλεῖται Μοχήρησις, ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. [6] ρεῖ δὲ πη ἐνταῦθα ποταμὸς Ἴππις, οὐ μέγας οὐδὲ ναυσίπορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς ἐσβατός, οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν χάρακα ἐποιήσαντο, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἄποθεν. [7] Ὅπως δὲ τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγομένοις ἔκδηλα τὰ ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς χωρία ἔσται ὅσα τε γένη ἀνθρώπων ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἴδρυνται, καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν σφίσιν ὥσπερ οἱ σκιαμαχοῦντες διαλέγεσθαι ἀναγκάζονται, οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἀναγράψασθαι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον ἄνθρωποι οἰκοῦσι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντι μὲν ὡς καὶ τῶν παλαιότερων τισὶ γέγραπται ταῦτα, οἰομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῖς πάντα εἰρήσθαι· [8] ὧν γέ τινες Τραπεζουντίων ὁμόρους ἢ Σάνους ἔφασαν, οἱ τανῦν Τζάνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ἢ Κόλχους εἶναι, Λαζοὺς ἐτέρους καλέσαντες οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τούτου προσαγορεύονται τοῦ ὀνόματος. [9] καίτοι ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. Τζάνοι μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλίας ὡς ἀπωτάτω ὄντες προσοικοῦσι τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ μεταξὺ ἀποκρέμαται, λίαν τε ἄβατα καὶ ὅλως κρημνῶδη, χώρα τε πολλὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐς αἰεὶ οὕσα καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι καὶ λόφοι ὑλῶδεις καὶ σήραγγες ἀδιέξοδοι, οἷς δὴ ἅπασι μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιοι εἶναι διείργονται Τζάνοι. [10] Κόλχους δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι μὴ τοὺς Λαζοὺς εἶναι, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ὤκηνται· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα μόνον οἱ Κόλχοι, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα, τανῦν ἐς τὸ Λαζῶν μεταβέβληνται. [11] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ μέγας αἰὼν μετὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνα ἀναγραφασμένους ἐπιγενόμενος αἰεὶ τε συννεωτερίζων τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καθεστώτων τὰ πρότερα νεοχμῶσαι ἴσχυσεν, ἐθνῶν τε μεταστάσεις καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ὀνομάτων διαδοχαῖς. [12] ἅπερ μοι διαμετρήσασθαι ἀναγκαιότατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ τὰ μυθῶδη περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλοντι ἢ ἄλλως ἀρχαῖα, οὐδὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου δεθῆναι τὸν Προμηθεά ποιηταὶ λέγουσι· [13] μύθου γὰρ ἱστορίαν

παρὰ πολὺ κεχωρίσθαι οἶμαι· ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεξιόντι τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, ὅσα δὴ τανῦν ἐπιχωριάζει τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἐκάστω.

I

The narrative which I have written up to this point has been composed, as far as possible, on the principle of separating the material into parts which relate severally to the countries in which the different wars took place, and these parts have already been published and have appeared in every corner of the Roman empire. But from this point onward I shall no longer follow this principle of arrangement. For after my writings had appeared before the public, I was no longer able to add to each the events which happened afterwards, but all the later developments in these wars, and in the war against Persia as well, now that I have published the previous parts, will be written down in full in this present narrative, and thus the record which I shall make of these events will of necessity be composite.

Now all that took place up to the fourth year of the five-year truce which was made between the Romans and the Persians has already been recounted by me in the previous books. But in the succeeding year a Persian army in vast numbers invaded the land of Colchis. In command of this army was a Persian, Chorianes by name, a man of wide experience in many wars, and a large number of barbarians of the tribe of the Alani followed him as allies. When this army had come to a part of Lazica, which is called Mocheresis, they made camp in a suitable position and remained there. Now there is a river in that place, the Hippis, not a large or navigable stream, but actually passable for both horsemen and foot-soldiers, and it was on the right of this that they made their entrenchment, not along the bank, but at a considerable distance from it.

At this point in my narrative it has seemed to me not inappropriate to pause a moment, in order that the geography of Lazica may be clear to those who read this history and that they may know what races of men inhabit that region, so that they may not be compelled to discuss matters which are obscure to them, like men fighting shadows; I shall therefore give an account of the distribution of the peoples who live about the Euxine Sea, as it is called, not that I am ignorant that these things have been written down by some of the men of earlier times also, but because I believe that not all their statements are accurate. Some of these writers, for example, have stated that the territory of the Trapezuntines is adjoined either by the Sani, who at the present day are called Tzani, or by the Colchians, calling another people Lazi, who are actually addressed by this name at the present day. And yet neither of these statements is true. For, in the first place, the Tzani live at a very great distance from the coast as neighbours of the Armenians in the interior, and many mountains stand between which are thoroughly impassable and altogether precipitous, and there is an extensive area always devoid of human habitation, canons from which it is impossible to climb out, forested heights, and

impassable chasms — all these prevent the Tzani from being on the sea. In the second place, it is impossible that the Lazi should not be the Colchians, because they inhabit the banks of the Phasis River; and the Colchians have merely changed their name at the present time to Lazi, just as nations of men and many other things do. But apart from this, a long period of time has elapsed since these accounts were written, and has brought about constant changes along with the march of events, with the result that many of the conditions which formerly obtained have been replaced by new conditions, because of the migration of nations and successive changes of rulers and of names. These things it has seemed to me very necessary to investigate, not relating the mythological tales about them nor other antiquated material, nor even telling in what part of the Euxine Sea the poets say Prometheus was bound (for I consider that history is very widely separated from mythology), but stating accurately and in order both the names of each of those places and the facts that apply to them at the present day.

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Πόντος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐς Κόλχων τὴν γῆν. [2] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι Βιθυνοὶ τε καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Ὀνωριάται καὶ Παφλαγόνες ὥκηνται, οἳ δὴ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Ἡράκλειάν τε καὶ Ἄμαστρον ἐπιθαλασσίας πόλεις ἔχουσι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλοῦμενοι μέχρι ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν καὶ τὰ ταύτης ὄρια. ἐνταῦθα πολίσματά τε ἄλλα ἐπιθαλασσίδια καὶ Σινώπη τε καὶ Ἀμισὸς οἰκεῖται, Ἀμισοῦ δὲ ἀγχιστα τό τε Θεμίσκουρον καλούμενον καὶ Θερμῶδων ποταμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων στρατόπεδον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων γεγράφεται μοι οὐ πολλῶ ὀπισθεν. [3] Τραπεζουντίων δὲ τὰ ὄρια διήκει ἕξ τε κόμην Σουσούρμενα καὶ τὸ Ριζαῖον καλούμενον χωρίον, ὅπερ Τραπεζουντίων διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς παραλίας ἐς Λαζικὴν ἰόντι. [4] Τραπεζοῦντος δέ μοι ἐπιμνησθέντι οὐ παριτέον τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ τῇδε ξυμβαῖνον. τὸ γὰρ μέλι ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς περὶ Τραπεζοῦντα χωρίοις πικρὸν γίνεται, ἐνταῦθα μόνον στασιαζομένης τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸ δόξης. [5] τούτων δὲ διὰ τῶν χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰ Τζανικῆς ὄρη πάντα ἀνέχει, ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτῶν Ἀρμένιοι Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὥκηνται. [6] Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν Τζανικῶν ὁρῶν κάτεισι ποταμὸς Βόας ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἕξ τε λόχμας παμπληθεῖς ἰὼν καὶ χώραν λοφώδη περιερχόμενος φέρεται μὲν ἄγχιστα τῶν Λαζικῆς χωρίων, ποιεῖται δὲ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, οὐ μέντοι Βόας καλούμενος. [7] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγὺς ἵκηται, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα μεθίησι τοῦτο, ἐτέρας δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε προσηγορίας μεταλαγχάνει, ἐκ τῶν οἱ ἐπιγινομένων ὄνομα κτῶμενος. [8] Ἀκαμψιν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, ὅτι διὰ κάμψαι αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάσσει ἀναμιχθέντα ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ ξὺν ῥύμῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ ὀξύτῃ τοῦ ῥοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ταραχὴν τοῦ ῥοθίου πολλὴν ἐπίπροσθεν ἐργαζόμενος, ὥστε ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰὼν ἄπορον ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτῃ διάπλουν: οἳ τε ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Πόντου, εἴτε Λαζικῆς εὐθὺ πλέοντες εἴτε καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες, οὐκέτι ἐξῆς διαπλεῖν δύνανται. [9] κάμψαι γὰρ τοῦ

ποταμοῦ τὸν ῥοῦν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτω μὲν ἀναγόμενοι τοῦ ἐκείνη πελάγους, ἐπὶ μέσον δέ που τὸν Πόντον ἰόντες, οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσασθαι τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῆς δύνανται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Βόαν τοιαῦτά ἐστι. [10] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον αὐτονόμων ἀνθρώπων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, οἱ δὴ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν μεταξὺ ὤκνηται. καὶ κώμη τις, Ἀθῆναι ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖται, οὐχ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ἀποικοι, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἶονται, τῇδε ἰδρύσαντο, ἀλλὰ γυνή τις Ἀθηναία ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις κυρία ἐγγέρονει τῆς χώρας, ἥσπερ ὁ τάφος ἐνταῦθα καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐστι. [11] μετὰ δὲ Ἀθήνας Ἀρχαβίς τε οἰκεῖται καὶ Ἀψαροῦς, πόλις ἀρχαία, ἡ τοῦ Ῥιζαίου διέχει ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν τριῶν μάλιστα. [12] αὕτη Ἀψυρτος τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὸ πάθος γεγεννημένη. ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Μηδείας τε καὶ Ἰάσονος τὸν Ἀψυρτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ χωρίον λαβεῖν: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέθνησκε, τὸ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὠνομάζετο. [13] ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἄγαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀναριθμοὺς διαδοχαῖς ἐνακμάσας αὐτὸς διαφθεῖραι μὲν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβολὴν ἴσχυσεν ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὄνομα ζύγκεται τοῦτο, ἐς δὲ τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον τρόπον μεταρρυθμῆσαι τὴν προσηγορίαν τῷ τόπῳ. [14] τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀψύρτου καὶ τάφος ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν. αὕτη πόλις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν πολυάνθρωπος, καὶ τείχους μὲν αὐτὴν περιέβαλε μέγα τι χρῆμα, θεάτρῳ δὲ καὶ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκαλλωπίζετο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷσπερ πόλεως μέγεθος δείκνυσθαι εἴωθε. νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτῶν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπολέλειπται, ὅτι μὴ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη. [15] Ὡστε εἰκότως θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις τῶν Κόλχους φαμένων Τραπεζουντίοις ὁμόρους εἶναι. ταῦτη μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δέρας ζὺν τῇ Μηδεῖα συλήσας Ἰάσων οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἦθη φυγὼν φαίνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ Φᾶσίν τε ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοτάτω βαρβάρους. [16] λέγουσι μὲν οὖν ὥς κατὰ τοὺς Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος χρόνους κατάλογοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ μέχρι ἐς Λαζοὺς καὶ Σαγίνας ἵδρυντο. [17] τὰ δὲ νῦν ἄνθρωποι ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν οὔτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως κατήκοοι ὄντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοῖς οὖσιν οἱ Λαζῶν ἐπίσκοποι τοὺς ἱερεῖς καθίστανται σφίσι. [18] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔνσπονδοὶ τε καὶ φίλοι ἀμφοτέροις ἐθέλοντες εἶναι, τοὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους αἰεὶ στελλομένους παραπέμπειν διηνεκῶς ὠμολόγησαν: ὁ δὴ φαίνονται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ δρῶντες. [19] ἀκάτοις γὰρ ἰδίαις τοὺς παρὰ θατέρου βασιλέως ἐς τὸν ἕτερον στελλομένους ἀγγέλους ναυτιλλόμενοι παραπέμπουσι. φόρου μέντοι ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ γεγένηται ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. [20] τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄρῃ τε λίαν ἀπότομα ἀποκρέμαται καὶ χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει. καὶ αὐτῆς ὑπερθεν οἱ Περσαρμένιοι καλούμενοι ὤκνηται, καὶ Ἀρμένιοι οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι εἰσι μέχρι ἐς τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὄρους διήκοντες. [21] Ἐκ δὲ Ἀψαροῦντος πόλεως ἐς Πέτραν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Λαζῶν ὄρους, οὗ δὴ τελευτᾷ ὁ Εὐξείνιος Πόντος, μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδός. ἀπολήγων δὲ ὁ Πόντος ἐνταῦθα μνηοειδῇ τίθεται τὴν ἀκτὴν. [22] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τούτου διάπλους ἐς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ πεντακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους διήκει, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὀπισθεν ζύμπαντα Λαζική τέ ἐστι καὶ ὠνόμασται. [23] μετὰ δὲ

αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν Σκυμνία τε καὶ Σουανία ἐστί. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη Λαζῶν κατήκοα τυγχάνει ὄντα. καὶ ἄρχοντας μὲν οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι τῶν ὁμογενῶν τινὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὶ ἐπιγένηται ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, ἕτερον αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως ἐς αἰεὶ εἴθισται. [24] ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐκ πλαγίου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Μέσχοι Ἰβήρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοοι ὤκηνται, [25] τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες. ὄρη δὲ τὰ Μέσχων οὐ σκληρὰ οὐδὲ καρπῶν ἀφορὰ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐθηνοῦσιν ἀγαθοὺς ἅπασιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ Μέσχοι γεωργοὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ ἀμπελῶνες τυγχάνουσιν ἐκεῖ ὄντες. [26] ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ὄρη ἐπείκεινται ἄγαν τε ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκει· ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Ἰβηρία ἐστί, μέχρι ἐς Περσαρμενίους διήκουσα. [27] Διὰ δὲ τῶν ὁρῶν ἡ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Φᾶσις ποταμὸς κάτεισιν, ἐκ τῶν Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενος καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μηνοειδὲς τοῦ Πόντου ἐκβάλλει. [28] ταύτῃ τε ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν αὐτὸν διορίζειν τινὲς οἶονται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατιόντος τοῦ ῥοῦ Ἀσία ἐστί, τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐρώπῃ ὠνόμασται. [29] κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης μοῖραν ζύμπαντα Λαζῶν τὰ οἰκία ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ οὔτε πόλισμα οὔτε ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα οὔτε κόμην τινὰ λόγου ἀξίαν Λαζοὶ ἔχουσι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Πέτραν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο πρότερον. [30] κατὰ ταύτην δὲ πού τὴν Λαζικῆς μοῖραν ἀπέκειτο, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ δέρας ἐκείνο, οὗπερ ἔνεκα οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν Ἀργὸν ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι μυθολογοῦσι. λέγουσι δὲ ταῦτα, ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀληθιζόμενοι ἥκιστα. [31] οὐ γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, λαθὼν τὸν Αἰήτην Ἰάσων ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάσσετο ζὺν τῇ Μηδεῖᾳ τὸ δέρας ἔχων, εἰ μὴ τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Κόλχων οἰκία τοῦ χωρίου διείργετο Φάσιδι ποταμῷ, ἵνα δὴ τὸ δέρας ἐκεῖνο κεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινεν, ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ παραδηλοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγραφάμενοι. [32] ὁ μὲν οὖν Φᾶσις τῇδε φερόμενος, ἥπερ μοι δεδιγῆται, ἐς αὐτόν που λήγοντα ἐκβάλλει τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. τοῦ δὲ μηνοειδοῦς κατὰ μὲν τὴν μίαν ἀρχήν, ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, Πέτρα ἡ πόλις ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῇ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης μοῖραν Ἀψιλίων ἡ χώρα ἐστί· [33] Λαζῶν δὲ κατήκοοί εἰσι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἀψίλιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ζύμπαντα ἔθνη ὥνπερ ἐμνήσθην ἐς τὸδε τοῦ λόγου.

II

This Pontus, then, begins from Byzantium and Calchedon and ends at the land of the Colchians.

And as one sails into it, the land on the right is inhabited by the Bithynians, and next after them by the Honoriatae and the Paphlagonians, who have, besides other towns, the coast cities of Heraclea and Ainastris; beyond them are the people called Pontici as far as the city of Trapezus and its boundaries. In that region are a number of towns on the coast, among which are Sinope and Amisus, and close to Amisus is the town called Themiscyra and the river Thermodon, where they say the army of the Amazons originated. But concerning the Amazons I shall write a little later. From here the territory of the Trapezuntines extends to the village of Susurmena and the place called Rhizaeum, which is two days' journey distant from Trapezus as one goes toward Lazica along the coast. But now that I have mentioned Trapezus, I must not omit the very strange thing which takes place there; for the honey which is produced in all the places around Trapezus is bitter, this being the only place where it is at variance with its established reputation. On the right of these places rise all the mountains of Tzanica, and beyond them are the Armenians, who are subject to the Romans.

Now from these mountains of Tzanica the Boas River descends, a stream which, after passing into innumerable jungles and traversing a mountainous region, flows along by the land of Lazica and empties into the Euxine Sea, as it is called, but no longer keeping the name of Boas. For when it gets near the sea it loses this name and thereafter bears another, which it acquires from the character which it now displays. This name which the natives apply to it for the rest of its course is Acampsis, and they so name it, obviously, because it is impossible to force a way through it after it has entered the sea, since it discharges its stream with such force and swiftness, causing a great disturbance of the water before it, that it goes out for a very great distance into the sea and makes it impossible to coast along at that point. And those who are navigating in that part of the Pontus, whether sailing toward Lazica or even putting out from there, are not able to hold a straight course in their voyage; for they are quite unable to push through the river's current, but they must needs put out to a very great distance into the sea there, going somewhere near the middle of the Pontus, and only in this way can they escape the force of the river's discharge. So much, then, may be said regarding the Boas River.

Beyond Rhizaeum there is found a territory occupied by independent peoples, who live between the Romans and the Lazi. And there is a certain village there named Athenae, not, as some suppose, because colonists from Athens

settled there, but because a certain woman named Athenaea in early times ruled over the land, and the tomb of this woman is there even to my day. Beyond Athenae are Archabis and Apsarus, an ancient city which is about three days' journey from Rhizaeum. This was called Apsyrtus in ancient times, having come to be named after the man on account of his catastrophe. For in that place the natives say that Apsyrtus was removed from the world by the plot of Medea and Jason, and that from this circumstance the place received its name; for he died on that spot and the place was named after him. But an extremely long time has elapsed since these events, while countless generations of men have flourished, and the mere passage of time has thus availed to efface from memory the succession of incidents from which this name arose and to transform the name of the place to the form in which it appears at the present. There is also a tomb of this Apsyrtus to the east of the city. This was a populous city in ancient times, and a great expanse of wall surrounded it, while it was adorned with a theatre and hippodrome and all the rest of those things by which the size of a city is commonly indicated. But at the present nothing of these is left except the foundations of the buildings.

It is now clear that one might with good reason wonder at those who assert that the Colchians are adjacent to the Trapezuntines. For on this hypothesis it would appear that after Jason in company with Medea had captured the fleece, he actually did not flee toward Hellas and his own land, but backward to the Phasis River and the barbarians in the most remote interior. Now they say that in the time of the Roman Emperor Trajan detachments of Roman soldiers were stationed there and as far as the Lazi and Saginae. But at the present time people live there who are neither subjects of the Romans nor of the king of the Lazi, except indeed that the bishops of the Lazi appoint their priests, seeing they are Christians. And wishing, as they do, to live in peace and friendship with both peoples, they have made a permanent agreement to provide an escort for those who from time to time travel from the one country to the other; and it appears that they have been doing this even down to my time. For they escort the messengers despatched from the one king to the other, sailing in boats of their own. However, they have become in no way tributary down to the present time. On the right of these places very abrupt mountains tower overhead and a barren land extends to an indefinite distance. And beyond this the so-called Persarmenians dwell, as well as the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, extending as far as the confines of Iberia.

From the city of Apsarus to Petra and the boundary of Lazica, where the Euxine Sea reaches its limit, is a journey of one day. Now as this sea comes to an end here, its coast takes the form of a crescent. And the distance across this crescent amounts to about five hundred and fifty stades, while the entire country behind it is Lazica and is known under this name. Behind them in the interior are Scymnia and Suania; these nations happen to be subjects of the Lazi. Indeed, although these peoples do have magistrates of their own blood,

still, whenever any of the magistrates reaches the end of his life, it is always customary for another one to be appointed in his place by the king of the Lazi. At the side of this land and bordering upon Iberia proper for the most part dwell the Meschi, who have been from ancient times subjects of the Iberians, having their dwellings on the mountains. But the mountains of the Meschi are not rough nor unproductive of crops, but they abound in all good things, since the Meschi, for their part, are skilful farmers and there are actually vineyards in their country. However, this land is hemmed in by mountains which are very lofty and covered by forests so that they are exceedingly difficult to pass through. And these mountains extend as far as the Caucasus, while behind them toward the east is Iberia, extending as far as Persarmenia.

Now through the mountains which rise here the Phasis River emerges, having its source in the Caucasus and its mouth at the middle of the crescent of the Pontus. Because of this some consider that it forms the boundary between the two continents; for the land on the left as one goes down this stream is Asia, but that on the right is named Europe. Now it so happens that all the habitations of the Lazi are on the European side, while on the opposite side there is neither fortress nor stronghold nor any village of consequence held by the Lazi, except indeed the city of Petra which the Romans built there in earlier times. It was somewhere in this part of Lazica, as the inhabitants say, that the famous Heece was placed for safe keeping, that fleece on account of which, as the poets tell the tale, the Argo was fashioned. But in saying this they are, in my opinion, not telling the truth at all. For I think that Jason would not have eluded Aeetes and got away from there with the fleece in company with Medea, unless both the palace and the other dwellings of the Colchians had been separated by the Phasis River from the place in which that fleece was lying; indeed the poets who have recorded the story imply that this was the case. So the Phasis, flowing as I have said, empties into the Euxine Sea approximately at the very point where it comes to an end. Now at the one end of the crescent, that, namely, which is in Asia, was the city of Petra, while on the opposite coast which forms a part of Europe the territory is held by the Apsilii; these Apsilii are subjects of the Lazi and have been Christians from ancient times, just as all the other nations which I have mentioned up to this point in my narrative.

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας καθύπερθεν ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιόν ἐστι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος, ὁ Καύκασος, ἐς τοσόνδε ὕψος ἀνέχει, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν ὑπερβολῶν οὔτε ὄμβρους οὔτε νιφετοὺς ἐπιψαύειν ποτέ: τῶν γὰρ νεφελῶν αὐτὰς ἀπασῶν καθυπερτέρας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τὰ δὲ μέσα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων χιόνων ἔμπλεα διηνεκές ἐστι. [2] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόποδες ὑψηλοὶ ἐσάγαν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστεροι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἄλλοις σκοπέλων. [3] τῶν δὲ τοῦ Καυκασίου ὄρους προπόδων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τε βορρᾶν ἄνεμον καὶ ἥλιον δύοντα τετραμμένοι ἔς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θρᾷκας διήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τε ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἔς τὰς διεξόδους ἐξικνοῦνται αὐτὰς αἱ τὰ

τῇδε ὤκημένα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη ἐς γῆν τὴν τε Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄγουσιν. [4] ὥνπερ ἀτέρα μὲν Τζοῦρ ἐπικέκληται, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα Πύλη ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κασπία ἐκλήθη. ταύτην δὲ τὴν χώραν ἡ ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Κασπίας κατατείνει Πύλας Ἀλανοὶ ἔχουσιν, αὐτόνομον ἔθνος, οἱ δὴ καὶ Πέρσαις τὰ πολλὰ ζυμμαχοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἄλλους πολεμίους στρατεύουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Καυκασίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. [5] Οὐννοι δέ, οἱ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλούμενοι, ἐνταῦθα ὤκηνται καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη. ἐνθένδε μὲν τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ὠρμησθαὶ φασιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Θεμίσκουρον καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν Θερμώδοντα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται, [6] οὗ δὴ πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι Ἀμισός ἐστι. τανῦν δὲ οὐδαμῇ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος χωρίων Ἀμαζόνων τις μνήμη ἢ ὄνομα διασώζεται, καίτοι καὶ Στράβωνι καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ λόγοι ἀμφὶ αὐταῖς πολλοὶ εἴρηνται. [7] ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσι μάλιστα πάντων τὰ γε κατὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ζῆν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι ἔφασαν οὐ πώποτε γένος γυναικῶν ἀνδρείων γεγενέαι, οὐδ' ἐν ὄρει μόνῳ τῷ Καυκασίῳ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν θεσμῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν χωρίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ζῆν γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεῦσαι, στρατόπεδόν τε ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Θερμώδοντα ποιησαμένους ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ γῆν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν πολλὴν καταθέοντας, ὑπαντιασάντων σφίσι τῶν τῇδε ὤκημένων, ἅπαντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, οὐδένα τε αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἐπανάκειν ἐς τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ χαράκωμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ταύτας δὴ τὰς γυναῖκας, δέει τῶν περιοίκων καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀναγκασθείσας, τό τε ἄρρενωπὸν ἀμφιέσασθαι οὔτι ἐθελουσίας καὶ ἀνελομένας τὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολελειμμένην τῶν ὅπλων σκευήν, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξοπλισαμένας ὡς ἄριστα ἔργα ἀνδρεῖα ζῆν ἀρετῇ ἐπιδείξασθαι, διωθουμένης ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὰς τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἕως δὴ ἀπάσαις διαφθαρῆναι ξυνέπεσε. [8] ταῦτα δὲ ὧδέ πη γεγενέαι καὶ ζῆν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς Ἀμαζόνας στρατεύσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οἶομαι, τεκμηριούμενος οἷς δὴ καὶ χρόνῳ τῷ κατ' ἐμὲ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [9] τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύματα μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους παραπεμπόμενα τῶν προγεγενημένων τῆς φύσεως ἴνδαλμα γίνεται. [10] Οὐννων τοίνυν καταδραμόντων πολλὰκις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, τοῖς τε ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πεσεῖν ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ῥωμαῖοι διερευνώμενοι τῶν πεπτωκότων τὰ σώματα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν αὐτοῖς εὔρον. [11] ἄλλο μέντοι γυναικῶν στράτευμα οὐδαμῇ τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπιχωρίαζον ἐφάνη. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα γεγενῆσθαι πώποτε ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. [12] Μετὰ δὲ Ἀψιλίους τε καὶ τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβασγοὶ ὤκηνται, ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκοντες. οἱ δὲ Ἀβασγοὶ Λαζῶν μὲν κατήκοοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν, [13] ἄρχοντας δὲ ὁμογενεῖς δύο ἐσαεὶ εἶχον. ὢν ἄτερος μὲν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἴδρυτο. [14] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μέχρι μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ ἄλση τε καὶ ὕλας ἐσέβοντο: θεοὺς γὰρ τὰ δένδρα βαρβάρῳ τινὶ ἀφελεία ὑπώπτευνον εἶναι. [15] πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων τὰ δεινότερα διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἔπασχον. ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ

βασιλεῖς, ὅσους ἂν παῖδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει ἀγαθοὺς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ἴδιοιεν, τούτους δὴ ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες εὐνούχους τε ἀπεργαζόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις χρημάτων μεγάλων. [16] τοὺς τε αὐτῶν πατέρας ἔκτεινον εὐθύς, τοῦ μὴ αὐτῶν τινὰς τίσασθαι ποτε τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἀδικίας τὸν βασιλέα ἐγχειριεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπόπτους αὐτοῖς τῶν κατηκόων τινὰς ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἢ τε τῶν υἱέων εὐμορφία σφίσιν ἐς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπεκρίνετο: [17] διεφθείροντο γὰρ οἱ ταλαίπωροι, παίδων θανάσιμον δεδυστυχηκότες εὐπρέπειαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις εὐνούχων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ γένος Ἀβασγοὶ ἐτύγγανον ὄντες. [18] Ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἅπαντα Ἀβασγοὶς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον τετύχηκε μεταμπίσχεσθαι. [19] τὰ τε γὰρ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα εἴλοντο καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν τινὰ ἐκ Παλατίου εὐνούχων στείλας, Ἀβασγὸν γένος, Εὐφρατᾶν ὄνομα, τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλεῦσι διαρρήδην ἀπέιπε μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει τὴν ἀρρενωπίαν ἀποψιλοῦσθαι, σιδήρῳ βιαζομένης τῆς φύσεως. ὃ δὴ ἄσμενοι Ἀβασγοὶ ἤκουσαν, [20] καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐπιτάξει θαρροῦντες ἤδη τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο σθένει παντὶ διεκώλουν. ἐδεδίει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος μὴ ποτε παιδίου πατὴρ εὐπρεποὺς γένηται. [21] τότε δὴ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερὸν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς οἰκοδομησάμενος, ἱερεῖς τε αὐτοῖς καταστησάμενος, διεπράξατο ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς ἦθι τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι, τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς ἄμφω Ἀβασγοὶ καθελόντες αὐτίκα ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ βιοτεύειν ἐδόκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε.

III

Above and beyond this country are the mountains of the Caucasus. This mountain range which composes the Caucasus rises to such a great height that its summits are in fact never touched either by rain or by snow; for they are indeed above all clouds. But the middle slopes are continually filled with snow down to the very base. And from this it may be inferred that the foothills are extremely high, being in no way inferior to the principal ridges of other mountains. Now the spurs of the Caucasus range extend in one direction to the north and west and continue into Illyricum and Thrace, while in the other direction they extend toward the east and south and reach as far as those very passes which provide entrance for the Hunnic nations inhabiting that region into both Persian and Roman territory. One of these passes is called Tzur, while the other has been named the Caspian Gates from ancient times. But this country which extends from the Caucasus range as far as the Caspian Gates is held by the Alani, an autonomous nation, who are for the most part allied with the Persians and march against the Romans and their other enemies. So much then may be said regarding the Caucasus.

The Huns who are called Sabiri dwell in that region, as well as certain other Hunnic tribes. And they say that the Amazons really originated here and afterwards established their camp near Themiscyra on the Thermodon River, as I have stated above, at the place where the city of Amisus is at the present time. But to-day nowhere in the vicinity of the Caucasus range is any memory of the Amazons preserved or any name connected with them, although much has been written about them both by Strabo and by some others. But it seems to me that those have spoken the truth about the Amazons at any rate better than any others, who have stated that there never was a race of women endowed with the qualities of men and that human nature did not depart from its established norm in the mountains of the Caucasus alone; but the fact was that barbarians from these regions together with their own women made an invasion of Asia with a great army, established a camp at the river Thermodon, and left their women there; then, while they themselves were overrunning the greater part of the land of Asia, they were encountered by the inhabitants of the land and utterly destroyed, and not a man of them returned to the women's encampment; and thereafter these women, through fear of the people dwelling round about and constrained by the failure of their supplies, put on manly valour, not at all of their own will, and, taking up the equipment of arms and armour left by the men in the camp and arming themselves in excellent fashion with this, they made a display of manly valour, being driven to do so by sheer necessity, until they were all destroyed. That this is about what happened and that the Amazons did make an expedition with their husbands, I too believe, basing my judgment on what has actually taken place

in my time. For customs which are handed down to remote descendants give a picture of the character of former generations. I mean this, that on many occasions when Huns have made raids into the Roman domain and have engaged in battle with those who encountered them, some, of course, have fallen there, and after the departure of the barbarians the Romans, in searching the bodies of the fallen have actually found women among them. No other army of women, however, has made its appearance in any locality of Asia or Europe. On the other hand, we have no tradition that the mountains of the Caucasus were ever devoid of men. Concerning the Amazons then let this suffice.

Beyond the Apsilii and the other end of the crescent the Abasgi dwell along the coast, and their country extends as far as the mountains of the Caucasus. Now the Abasgi have been from ancient times subjects of the Lazi, but they have always had two rulers of their own blood. One of these resided in the western part of their country, the other in the eastern part. And these barbarians even down to my time have worshipped groves and forests; for with a sort of barbarian simplicity they supposed the trees were gods. But they have suffered most cruelly at the hands of their rulers owing to the excessive avarice displayed by them.

For both their kings used to take such boys of this nation as they noted having comely features and fine bodies, and dragging them away from their parents without the least hesitation they would make them eunuchs and then sell them at high prices to any persons in Roman territory who wished to buy them. They also killed the fathers of these boys immediately, in order to prevent any of them from attempting at some time to exact vengeance from the king for the wrong done their boys, and also that there might be in the country no subjects suspected by the kings. And thus the physical beauty of their sons was resulting in their destruction; for the poor wretches were being destroyed through the misfortune of fatal comeliness in their children. And it was in consequence of this that the most of the eunuchs among the Romans, and particularly at the emperor's court, happened to be Abasgi by birth.

But during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian the Abasgi have changed everything and adopted a more civilised standard of life. For not only have they espoused the Christian doctrine, but the Emperor Justinian also sent them one of the eunuchs from the palace, an Abasgi by birth named Euphrates, and through him commanded their kings in explicit terms to mutilate no male thereafter in this nation by doing violence to nature with the knife. This the Abasgi heard gladly, and taking courage now because of the decree of the Roman emperor they began to strive with all their might to put an end to this practice. For each one of them had to dread that at some time he would become the father of a comely child. It was at that same time that the Emperor Justinian also built a sanctuary of the Virgin in their land, and

appointed priests for them, and thus brought it about that they learned thoroughly all the observances of the Christians; and the Abasgi immediately dethroned both their kings and seemed to be living in a state of freedom. Thus then did these things take place.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀβασγῶν ὄρους κατὰ μὲν ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον Βροῦχοι ὤκνηται, Ἀβασγῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν μεταξύ ὄντες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου Ζήχοι ἱδρυνται. [2] τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ζήχοις κατὰ μὲν παλαιὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ βασιλέα καθίστη, τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπακούουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. [3] μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Σαγίνοι μὲν οἰκοῦσι, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς παραλίας Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔσχον. [4] φρουρίᾳ τε δειμάμενοι ἐπιθαλασσίδια δύο, Σεβαστόπολιν τε καὶ Πιτιοῦντα, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ ἀλλήλοιν διέχοντα, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστήσαντο. [5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερα κατάλογοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς πάντα χωρία ἐκ τῶν Τραπεζοῦντος ὁρίων ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς Σαγίνας εἶχον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται: νῦν δὲ μόνα τὰ δύο ταῦτα φρουρία ἐλέλειπτο σφίσιν, οὗ δὴ τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ Χοσρόης, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγαγομένων ἐς τὴν Πέτραν, στράτευμα Περσῶν ἐνταῦθα στέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, τοὺς τε τὰ φρουρία ταῦτα καθέξοντας καὶ καθιζησομένους ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίοις. [6] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται προμαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, προτερήσαντες τάς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες ἐς τε τὰς ἀκάτους μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐσβάντες ἐς ἡπειρον εὐθὺς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ καὶ Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν ἐχώρησαν, ζημιώσαντες μὲν τῇ τῶν φρουρίων διαφθορᾷ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, κέρδος δὲ αὐτῇ πορισάμενοι μέγα, ὅτι δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς οὐ γεγόνασιν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἄπρακτοι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Πέτραν ἀνέστρεφον Πέρσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [7] Ὑπὲρ δὲ Σαγίνας Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ ἱδρυνται. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν Εὐλυσία μὲν ἡ χώρα ὠνόμασται, βάρβαροι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄνθρωποι τὰ τε παράλια καὶ τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν καλουμένην Λίμνην καὶ ποταμὸν Τανάιν, ὃς δὴ ἐς τὴν Λίμνην ἐσβάλλει. [8] αὕτη δὲ ἡ Λίμνη ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ ταύτῃ ὤκνηται Κιμμεριοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, τανῦν δὲ Οὐτίγουροι καλοῦνται. [9] καὶ αὐτῶν καθύπερθεν ἐς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἔθνη τὰ Ἀντῶν ἄμετρα ἱδρυνται. παρὰ δὲ τὸν χώρον αὐτὸν ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Λίμνης ἐκβολὴ ἄρχεται, Γότθοι οἱ Τετραζῖται καλούμενοι ὤκνηται, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὴ τὰ Χριστιανῶν νόμιμα σεβόμενοι περιστέλλουσιν οὐδενὸς ἥσσαν. [10] Τάναϊν δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν ταύτην, ἥπερ ἐκ Λίμνης ἀρξαμένη τῆς Μαιῶτιδος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον διήκει, ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν, ὥς φασιν, εἴκοσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον ὃς ἐνθένδε πνεῖ Ταναίτην προσαγορεύουσιν. [11] εἴτε δὲ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης ἐγένοντό ποτε οἱ Γότθοι οὗτοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῖς ἦσκητο, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεία τε τανῦν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη πολλῇ τιμῶσι τὴν δόξαν. [12] Οὗτοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἴλεγον δέ, ἡνίκα πρῶτόν τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχὴν πρέσβεις τέτταρας

ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψαν, ἐπίσκοπον σφίσι τινὰ δεόμενοι δοῦναι: ἐπεὶ ὅστις μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱερεὺς ἦν τετελευτήκει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ἔγνωσαν δὲ ὥς καὶ Ἀβασγοῖς ἱερέα βασιλεὺς πέμπειε: καὶ αὐτοῖς προθυμότατα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπιτελῇ ποιήσας τὴν δέησιν ἀπεπέμψατο. [13] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οὗτοι δέει Οὐννων τῶν Οὐτιγούρων ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανές, αὐτηκόων πολλῶν ὄντων, ἀποστοματίζοντες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἤκοιεν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ βασιλεῖ ἡγγειλαν, ὥς λαθραιότατα δὲ ξυγγενόμενοι ἅπαντα φράζουσιν, ὅσα συνοίσειν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἔμελλε, ξυγκρουομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων βαρβάρων. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον οἱ Τετραζῖται καὶ ὅθεν ἀναστάντες ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

IV

Beyond the confines of the Abasgi along the Caucasus range dwell the Bruchi, who are between the Abasgi and the Alani, while along the coast of the Euxine Sea the Zechi have their habitation. Now in ancient times the Roman emperor used to appoint a king over the Zechi, but at present these barbarians are in no way subject to the Romans. Beyond these dwell the Saginae, and the Romans had held a portion of their coast from ancient times. And they had constructed two fortresses on the coast, Sebastopolis and Pityus, two days' journey apart, and maintained in them garrisons of soldiers from the first. For though in earlier times detachments of Roman soldiers held all the towns on the coast from the limits of Trapezus as far as the Saginae, as previously stated, it finally came about that these two fortresses were the only ones left them; and here they actually maintained their garrisons up to my day, [but no longer]; for Chosroes, the Persian king, having been brought in by invitation of the Lazi to Petra, made haste to send an army of Persians there who were to take possession of these fortresses and settle down to garrison duty in them. But the Roman soldiers succeeded in learning this in advance, and so, anticipating him, they fired the houses and razed the walls to the ground, and then with no hesitation embarked in small boats and made their way immediately to the city of Trapezus on the opposite mainland. Thus, while they did penalize the Roman empire by the destruction of the fortresses, they at the same time gained for it a great advantage in that the enemy did not become masters of the land. For as a result of their action the Persians returned baffled to Petra. Thus then did this take place.

Above the Saginae are settled numerous Hunnic tribes. And from there onward the country has received the name of Eulysia, and barbarian peoples hold both the coast and the interior of this land, as far as the so called Maeotic Lake and the Tanais River which empties into the lake. And this lake has its outlet at the coast of the Euxine Sea. Now the people who are settled there were named in ancient times Cimmerians, but now they are called Utigurs. And above them to the north the countless tribes of the Antae are settled. But beside the exact point where the outlet of the lake commences dwell the Goths who are called Tetraxitae, a people who are not very numerous, but they reverence and observe the rites of the Christians as carefully as any people do. (The inhabitants indeed give the name Tanais also to this outlet which starts from the Maeotic Lake and extends to the Euxine Sea, a distance, they say, of twenty days' journey. And they also call the wind which blows from there the Tanaitis.") Now as to whether these Goths were once of the Arian belief, as the other Gothic nations are, or whether the faith as practised by them has shewn some other peculiarity, I am unable to say, for they themselves are entirely ignorant on this subject, but at the present time they honour the faith

in a spirit of complete simplicity and with no vain questionings.

This people a short time ago (when, namely, the Emperor Justinian was in the twenty-first year of his reign) sent four envoys to Byzantium, begging him to give them a bishop; for the one who had been their priest had died not long before and they had learned that the emperor had actually sent a priest to the Abasgi; and the Emperor Justinian very willingly complied with their request before dismissing them. Now these envoys were moved by fear of the Utigur Huns in making the public declaration of the object of their coming — for there were many who heard their speeches — and so they made no statement whatever to the emperor openly except regarding the matter of the priest, but meeting him with the greatest possible secrecy, they declared everything, shewing how it would benefit the Roman empire if the barbarians who were their neighbours should be always on hostile terms with one another. Now as to the manner in which the Tetraxitae settled there and whence they migrated, I shall now proceed to tell.

Πάλαι μὲν Οὐννων, τῶν τότε Κιμμερίων καλουμένων, πολὺς τις ὄμιλος τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἐνέμοντο ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. [2] καὶ ποτὲ τις αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν, ᾧ δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο δύο, ἄτερος μὲν Οὐτίγουρ ὄνομα, Κουτρίγουρ δὲ ὁ ἕτερος. [3] οἵπερ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν βίον συνεμετρήσατο, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἅμφω ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διεδάσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν: [4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Οὐτίγουροι, οἱ δὲ Κουτρίγουροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζονται. οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες τῇδε ὤκηντο, κοινὰ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ζύμπαντα ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι δὲ ἀνθρώποις οἱ δὴ τῆς τε Λίμνης καὶ τῆς ἐνθὲνδε ἐκροῆς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴδρυντο, ἐπεὶ οὔτε διέβαινόν ποτε τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα οὔτε διαβατὰ εἶναι ὑπόπτευν, πρὸς τὰ εὐκολώτατα περίφοβοι ὄντες, τῷ μὴδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι αὐτῶν πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἀμελέητοι τῆς διαβάσεως παντάπασιν εἶναι. [5] Λίμνην δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκβολὴν ὑπερβάντι εὐθὺς μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν που τὴν ταύτης ἀκτὴν οἱ Τετραξίται καλούμενοι Γότθοι τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκηντο, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως: πολλῶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποθεν Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ γένη ζύμπαντα ἴδρυντο. [6] οἱ δὴ καὶ Σκύθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλοῦντο, ἐπεὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἅπερ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία εἶχον, Σκυθικὰ μὲν ἐπὶ κοινῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν Σαυρομάται ἢ Μελάγγλαιοι, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. [7] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, φασίν, εἴπερ ὁ λόγος ὑγιῆς ἐστί, τῶν μὲν Κιμμερίων νεανίας τινὰς ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἔλαφον δὲ μίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν φεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ὕδατα ἐσπηδῆσαι ταῦτα. [8] τοὺς τε νεανίας, εἴτε φιλοτιμία εἴτε φιλονεικία τινὶ ἐχομένους, ἢ καὶ τι δαιμόνιον αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκασε, τῇ ἐλάφῳ ἐπισπένσθαι ταύτῃ, μηχανῇ τε μεθίσθαι αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾶ, ἕως ζὺν αὐτῇ ἐς τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἀκτὴν ἵκοντο. [9] καὶ τὸ μὲν διωκόμενον ὅ τι ποτ' ἦν εὐθὺς ἀφανισθῆναι: ἴδοκεῖν γάρ μοι οὐδὲ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἐνταῦθα ἐφάνη, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ γενέσθαι κακῶς τοῖς τῇδε ὤκημένοις βαρβάροις τοὺς δὲ νεανίας τοῦ μὲν κυνηγεσίου ἀποτυχεῖν, μάχης δὲ ἀφορμὴν καὶ λείας εὐρέσθαι. [10] ἐς ἣθι γὰρ τὰ πάτρια ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντες ἐνδηλα

πᾶσι Κιμμερίοις πεποίηται ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα βατὰ σφίσι τὰ ὕδατα εἶη. ἀνελόμενοι οὖν αὐτίκα τὰ ὅπλα πανδημεῖ τε διαβάντες ἐγένοντο μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, Βανδίων μὲν ἤδη ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντων ἐπὶ τε Λιβύης ἰδρυσαμένων, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ δὲ Οὐισιγόθων οἰκησαμένων. [11] Γότθοις οὖν τοῖς ἐς τὰ τῆδε ὥκημένοις πεδία ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιτεσόντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτρέψαντο ἅπαντας. [12] ὅσοι τε αὐτοὺς διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ζὺν παισί τε καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἀπέλιπον μὲν τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, διαπορθμευσάμενοι δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο. [13] Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς ταύτῃ ὥκημένους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν, μετὰ δὲ δόντος βασιλέως ὥκησαντο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυνεμάχουν Ῥωμαίοις, τὰς τε συντάξεις ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται πρὸς βασιλέως κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ φοιδεῖσθαι ἐπικληθέντες· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς τότε Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἡσημένιοι αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ξυνηθῆκαις τισὶν ἔνσπονδοι. [14] ἐγένοντο σφίσι· φοῖδερα γὰρ Λατῖνοι τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ καλοῦσι ξυνηθῆκας, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται λόγοις· τὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέφερον οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἕως ὅχοντο ἀπρόντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν, Θευδερίχου ἡγουμένου σφίσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Γόθων τῆδε κεχώρηκεν. [15] Οὐννοι δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κτείναντες, τοὺς δέ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐξαναστήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν Κουτρίγουροι μὲν παιδᾶς τε καὶ γυναικας μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο, [16] οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὥκηνται. καὶ δῶρα μὲν πολλὰ πρὸς βασιλέως ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζονται, καὶ ὥς δὲ διαβαίνοντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον καταθέουσιν ἐσαεὶ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, [17] ἔνσπονδοὶ τε καὶ πολέμιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες. Οὐτίγουροι δὲ ζὺν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο, μόνοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα καθιζήσόμενοι. [18] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, Γότθοις ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Τετραξίταις καλουμένοις ἐνέτυχον. [19] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φραζάμενοι ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ Γότθοι ἀντικρὺ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι ἔστησαν, σθένει τε τῷ σφετέρῳ καὶ χωρίου ἰσχυῖ θαρσοῦντες· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμώτατοι ἀπάντων εἰσὶ τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων. [20] καὶ ἡ πρώτη τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἐκροή, οὗ δὴ τότε οἱ Τετραξῖται Γότθοι ἴδρυντο, ἐν κόλπῳ ξυνοῦσα μηνοειδεῖ, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, μίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἴσοδον οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι παρείχετο. [21] ὕστερον δὲ οὔτε γὰρ Οὐννοι χρόνον τινὰ τρίβεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα ἤθελον, οἳ τε Γότθοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ὁμίλῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνθέξειν οὐδαμῇ ἠλπιζόν' ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀναμιχθέντες κοινῇ ποιήσονται τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ἰδρύσονται μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ παρ' αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκβολῆς μάλιστα τὴν ἀκτὴν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τανῦν ἴδρυνται, φίλοι δὲ καὶ ζύμμαχοι τὸ λοιπὸν Οὐτιγούροις ὄντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα βιώσονται τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. [22] οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἶδε οἱ Γότθοι τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο καὶ τῶν Κουτριγούρων, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν γῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Λίμνης οὔσῃ μόνοι Οὐτίγουροι τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ὥκηνται, ἀλλ' ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς διειργόμενοι μεταξὺ οὓσιν ἀκουσίῳ ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχονται. [23] Ὑπερβάντι δὲ Λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν

τῶν τῆδε πεδίων Κουτρίγουροι Οὔννοι, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ᾠκήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Σκύθαι τε καὶ Ταῦροι ξύμπασαν ἔχουσι τὴν ταύτη χάραν, ἥσπερ μοῖρά τις Ταυρικὴ καὶ νῦν ἐπικαλεῖται, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν νεὼν γεγονέναι φασίν, οὐδὲρ ποτε ἢ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἰφιγένεια προὔστη. [24] καίτοι Ἀρμένιοι ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς Κελεσηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ τὸν νεὼν τοῦτον γεγονέναι φασί Σκύθας τε τηνικάδε ξύμπαντας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, τεκμηριούμενοι τοῖς ἀμφί τε Ὀρέστη καὶ πόλει Κομάνῃ δεδιγμένοις μοι ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ λόγου. [25] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστί· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐτέρωθι γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυμπεπλεκόντων, ἄνθρωποι προσποιεῖσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὥς πάτρια ἦθη, ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἣν μὴ τῇ δοκῇσιν τῇ αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ἔπωνται. [26] Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πόλις θαλασσία οἰκεῖται, Βόσπορος ὄνομα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος γενομένη οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. [27] ἐκ δὲ Βοσπόρου πόλεως ἐς πόλιν Χερσῶνα ἰόντι, ἥ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ, Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστί, βάρβαροι, Οὔννικὰ ἔθνη, τὰ μεταξὺ ἅπαντα ἔχουσι. [28] καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολίσματα δύο ἀγχοῦ Χερσῶνος, Κῆποι τε καὶ Φανάγουρις καλούμενα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν. ἅπερ οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν βαρβάρων τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐλόντες τινὲς ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. [29] ἐκ δὲ Χερσῶνος πόλεως ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσιν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν δέκα, βάρβαροι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ξύμπαντα ἔχουσιν. [30] Ἰστρος δὲ ποταμὸς ἐξ ὁρέων μὲν τῶν Κελτικῶν ρεῖ, περιῶν δὲ τὰς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας, φερόμενός τε ἐπὶ τὰ Δακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ἐκβάλλει ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα. [31] Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου περίοδος ἐκ Καλχηδόνας μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον ταύτη πη ἔχει. [32] ἐς ὅσον δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἦδε διήκει, ἅπαντα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, βαρβάρων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ᾠκημένων ἐνταῦθα τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπιμιξίας τε Ῥωμαίοις παρ' αὐτῶν τινάς, ὅτι μὴ ὅσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν, ἴσως οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς πρότερον ταῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκόσι διαμετρήσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τι ξυμβαίνει εἰρησθαι. [33] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι διαφανὲς ἐστίν, ὥς Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνας ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, δυοῖν καὶ πεντήκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· ᾧ δὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τεκμηριούμενος φαίη ἂν τις καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τοῦ Πόντου μοῖραν μέτρου τοῦδε εἶναι οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν.

V

In ancient times a vast throng of the Huns who were then called Cimmerians ranged over this region which I have just mentioned, and one king had authority over them all. And at one time the power was secured by a certain man to whom two sons were born, one of whom was named Utigur and the other Cutrigur. These two sons, when their father came to the end of his life, divided the power between them, and each gave his own name to his subjects; for the one group has been called Utigurs and the other Cutrigurs even to my time. All these now continued to live in this region, associating freely in all the business of life, but not mingling with the people who were settled on the other side of the lake and its outlet; for they never crossed these waters at any time nor did they suspect that they could be crossed, being fearful of that which was really easy, simply because they had never even attempted to cross them, and they remained utterly ignorant of the possibility.

Now beyond the Maeotic Lake and the outlet flowing from it the first people were the Goths called Tetraxitae, whom I have just mentioned, who in ancient times lived close along the shore of this strait; but the Goths and the Visigoths and Vandals were located far away from them as were other Gothic nations. These Tetraxitae were called also Scythians in ancient times, because all the nations who held these regions are called in general Scythians, while a few of them had an additional designation such as Sauromatae or Melanchlaenae or something else.

But as time went on, they say (if, indeed, the story is sound), some youths of the Cimmerians were engaged in hunting, and a single doe which was fleeing before them leaped into these waters. And the youths, either moved by a thirst for glory or in some sort of competition, or perhaps it was really some deity which constrained them, followed after this doe and refused absolutely to let her go, until they came with her to the opposite shore. And then the quarry, whatever it was, immediately disappeared from sight; for in my opinion it appeared there for no other purpose than that evil might befall the barbarians who lived in that region. Thus, while the youths did fail in their hunt, they found an incentive to battle and plunder. For they returned as fast as they could to their own land, and thus made it clear to all the Cimmerians that these waters could be crossed by them. Accordingly they immediately took up arms as a nation, and making the crossing with no delay got on the opposite mainland; this was at a time when the Vandals had already migrated from there and established themselves in Libya; while the Visigoths had taken up their abode in Spain. So they suddenly fell upon the Goths who inhabited these plains and slew many of them and turned the rest to flight. And as many as succeeded in escaping them migrated thence with their children and wives,

leaving their ancestral abodes, and by ferrying across the Ister River they came into the land of the Romans.

And at first they committed many outrages against the inhabitants of that region, but later, with the emperor's permission, they settled in Thrace; and during part of this time they were fighting on the side of the Romans, receiving pay from the emperor every year just as the other soldiers did and being called "foederati"; for so the Romans at that time called them in the Latin tongue, meaning to shew, I suppose, that the Goths had not been defeated by them in war, but had come into peaceful relations with them on the basis of some treaty; for the Latins call treaties in war "foedera," as I have explained in the previous narrative; but during the rest of the time they were actually waging war against the Romans for no good reason, until they went off to Italy under the leadership of Theoderic. Thus then did the Goths fare.

But the Huns, after killing some of them and driving out the others, as stated, took possession of the land. And the Cutrigurs, on the one hand, summoned their children and wives and settled there in the very place where they have dwelt even to my time. And although they receive from the emperor many gifts every year, they still cross the Ister River continually and overrun the emperor's land, being both at peace and at war with the Romans. The Utigurs, however, departed homeward with their leader, being destined to live alone in that land thereafter. Now when these Huns came near the Maeotic Lake, they chanced upon the Goths there who are called Tetraxitae. And at first the Goths formed a barrier with their shields and made a stand against their assailants in their own defence, trusting both in their own strength and the advantage of their position; for they are the most stalwart of all the barbarians of that region. Now the head of the outlet of the Maeotic Lake, where the Tetraxitae Goths were then settled, forms a crescent-shaped bay by which they were almost completely surrounded, so that only one approach, and that not a very wide one, was open to those who attacked them. But afterwards, seeing that the Huns were unwilling to waste any time there and the Goths were quite hopeless of holding out for a long time against the throng of their enemy, they came to an understanding with each other, agreeing that they should join forces and make the crossing in common, and that the Goths should settle on the opposite mainland, principally along the bank of the outlet (where they are actually settled at the present time), and that they should continue to be thereafter friends and allies of the Utigurs and live for ever on terms of complete equality with them. Thus it was that these Goths settled here, and the Cutrigurs, as I have said, being left behind in the land on the other side of the lake, the Utigurs alone possessed the land, making no trouble at all for the Romans, because they do not even dwell near them, but, being separated by many nations which lie between, they are forced, by no will of their own, not to meddle with them.

West of the Maeotic Lake, then, and the Tanais River the Cutrigur Huns established their homes over the greater part of the plains of that region, as I have said; and beyond them Scythians and Taurians hold the entire country, a certain part of which is even now called Taurica; and this is the place where they say the Temple of Artemis was, over which Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia once presided. The Armenians, however, claim that this temple was in the part of their land called Celesene, and that at that period all the peoples of this region were called Scythians, citing as evidence the story of Orestes and the city of Comana related by me in that part of my narrative. But as regards these matters, let each one speak according to his wish; for many things which happened elsewhere, or which, perhaps, never really happened at all, men are wont to appropriate to their own country, being indignant if all do not follow their opinion.

Beyond these nations there is an inhabited city on the coast, Bosphorus by name, which became subject to the Romans not long ago. From the city of Bosphorus to the city of Cherson, which is situated on the coast and has likewise been subject to the Romans from of old, all between is held by barbarians, Hunnic nations. And two other towns near Cherson, named Cepi and Phanaguris, have been subject to the Romans from ancient times and even to my day. But these not long ago were captured by some of the neighbouring barbarians and razed to the ground. From the city of Cherson to the mouth of the Ister River, which is also called the Danube, is a journey of ten days, and barbarians hold that whole region. Now the Ister River rises in the Celtic mountains, skirts the boundaries of Italy, flows into the lands of Dacia, Illyricum, and Thrace, and finally empties into the Euxine Sea. From that point all the territory as far as Byzantium is under the sway of the Roman emperor.

Such is the circuit of the Euxine Sea from Calchedon to Byzantium. As to the length of this circuit, however, I am unable to speak accurately regarding all portions of it, since such vast numbers of barbarians, as stated above, dwell along its shores, and the Romans have no intercourse at all with any of them except for an occasional interchange of embassies; indeed those who have attempted heretofore to ascertain these measurements have not been able to make any definite statement. This, however, is clear, that the right side of the Euxine Sea, from Calchedon, namely, to the Phasis River, is a journey of fifty-two days for an unencumbered traveller. From this fact one could not unreasonably draw the conclusion that the length of the other side of the Pontus likewise is not far from this.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἀναγράψασθαι οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα δεινοί. [2] λέγουσι μὲν γάρ τινες αὐτῶν τὰ ἡπείρῳ ταῦτα διορίζειν ποταμὸν Τάναϊν, ἀπισχυρίζομενοι μὲν χρῆναι τὰς

τομὰς φυσικὰς εἶναι, τεκμηριούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἡ μὲν θάλασσα προϊοῦσα ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἑφάν φέρεται μοῖραν, ποταμὸς δὲ Τάναις ἐκ τῶν ἀρκτῶων φερόμενος ἐς ἄνεμον νότον μεταξὺ ταῖν ἡπείροιν χωρεῖ: ἔμπαλιν δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἰόντα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι. [3] ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἰόντες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον ἰσχυρίζονται εἶναι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς τὰ μὲν ἡπείρω ταῦτα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τε ἐν Γαδεύροις διορίζει πορθμὸς ἀπ' Ὤκεανοῦ ἐξιὼν καὶ ἡ προϊοῦσα ἐνθένδε θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐν δεξιᾷ Λιβύη τε καὶ Ἀσία ὠνόμασται, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πάντα Εὐρώπη ἐκλήθη μέχρι που ἐς λήγοντα τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον. [4] Τούτων δὲ δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων ὁ μὲν Τανάϊς ποταμὸς ἐν γῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης τικτόμενος ἐκβάλλει ἐς Λίμνην τὴν Μαιώτιδα, ἡ δὲ Λίμνη ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται οὔτε λήγοντα οὔτε μὴν κατὰ μέσον, ἀλλ' ἐτι πρόσω. [5] τὰ δὲ εὐώνυμα τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου τῇ τῆς Ἀσίας λογίζεται μοῖρα. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ποταμὸς Τανάϊς ἐξ ὁρέων τῶν Ῥιπαίων καλουμένων ἔξεισιν, ἅπερ ἐν γῇ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀναγραφάμενοι ὁμολογοῦσι. [6] τούτων δὲ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὁρῶν τὸν Ὤκεανὸν ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τὰ τοίνυν αὐτῶν τε καὶ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ ὀπισθεν ξύμπαντα Εὐρωπαϊα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐπάναγκες εἶναι. [7] πόθεν οὖν ἄρα ποτὲ ἄρχεται ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν διορίζειν ὁ Τανάϊς οὐ ῥῶδιον εἶναι εἰπεῖν. ἦν δὲ τινα ποταμὸν διορίζειν ἅμφω τὰ ἡπείρω λεκτέον, [8] οὗτος δὴ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Φᾶσις ἂν εἴη. καταντικρὺ γὰρ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Γαδεύροις φερόμενος ταῖν ἡπείροιν κατὰ μέσον χωρεῖ, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν πορθμὸς ἐξ Ὤκεανοῦ ἐξιὼν θάλασσαν τήνδε ἀπεργαζόμενος τὰ ἡπείρω ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔχει, ὁ δὲ Φᾶσις κατ' αὐτόν που λήγοντα μάλιστα ἰὼν τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐς τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τὰ μέσα ἐκβάλλει, τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐκτομὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διαφανῶς ἐκδεχόμενος. [9] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκάτεροι προτεινόμενοι διαμάχονται. Ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνος ὁ πρότερος λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος, ὅνπερ ἀρτίως ἐλέγομεν, μήκει τε χρόνου κεκόμψευται καὶ ἀνδρῶν τινῶν παλαιοτάτων δόξη, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ἐκεῖνο εἰδὼς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνθρωποι ἅπαντες, ἦν τινος φθάσωσι λόγου ἀρχαίου πεπονημένοι τὴν μάθησιν, οὐκέτι ἐθέλουσι τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ζητήσῃ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ταλαιπωρεῖν, οὐδὲ νεωτέραν τινὰ μεταμαθεῖν ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιότερον ὑγιές τε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐντιμον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐκαταφρόνητον νομίζεται εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γελοιῶδες χωρεῖ. [10] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τανῦν οὐ περὶ νοερῶν ἢ νοητῶν τινὸς ἢ ἀφανῶν ἄλλως γίνεταί ζητησις, ἀλλὰ περὶ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ χώρας: ἅπερ ὁ χρόνος οὔτε ἀμείβειν οὔτε πη ἀποκρύψασθαι ἴσχυσεν. [11] ἡ τε γὰρ πεῖρα ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐς μαρτυρίαν ἱκανωτάτη, οὐδὲν τε παρεμποδισθῆσθαι οἶμαι τοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς εὐρέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. [12] ὁ τοίνυν Ἀλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τετάρτῃ φησὶ μίαν μὲν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, νομίζεσθαι δὲ εἰς μοῖρας τε καὶ προσηγορίας τρεῖς διαιρεῖσθαι, Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην. [13] καὶ αὐτῶν Λιβύης μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Νεῖλον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ποταμὸν μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην διορίζειν τὸν Κόλχον Φᾶσιν. εἰδὼς δὲ τινας ἀμφὶ Ταναΐδι ποταμῷ ταῦτα οἶεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστέρω ἐπέειπε. [14] καὶ μοι οὐκ ἀπό

καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἡροδότου τὰ γράμματα τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθῆναι ὧδέ
πῃ ἔχοντα: ‘Οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εὐούση γῇ ὀνόματα τριφάσια
κέαται, ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ ὀρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ
Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος. [15] οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν
Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμῖα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσιν.’ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς
Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεὶ τῷ Λυομένῳ εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῆς τραγωδίας τὸν
ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν τέρμονα καλεῖ γῆς τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. [16] Κάκεινο
δέ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἰρήσεται, ὥς τούτων δὴ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφῶν οἱ μὲν
τὴν Μαιῶτιν οἶονται Λίμνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, καὶ αὐτοῦ
τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Λίμνης χωρεῖν, μητέρα τε διὰ τοῦτο
τοῦ Πόντου καλεῖσθαι τὴν Λίμνην. [17] ταῦτά τέ φασι τεκμηριούμενοι, ὅτι δὴ
ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰεροῦ ἢ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκροῇ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου
καθάπερ τις ποταμὸς κάτεισι, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πέρας εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ Πόντου
οἶονται [18] οἱ δὲ τοῦ λόγου κατηγοροῦντες ἀποφαίνουσιν ὅτι δὴ μία τις ἐξ
Ὠκεανοῦ ξύμπασα ἡ θάλασσα οὖσα καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐτέρῳθι ἀπολήγουσα ἐς γῆν
τὴν Λαζῶν κατατείνει, πλήν γε εἰ μὴ τις, φασί, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διάλλασσον
ἐτερότητα εἶπῃ, ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἡ θάλασσα Πόντος ὠνόμασται. [19] Εἰ δὲ τὰ
ρέυματα ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καλουμένου κάτεισιν ἐς Βυζάντιον, οὐδὲν τοῦτο
πρᾶγμα. τὰ γὰρ ἐν πορθμοῖς ἅπασι ξυμπίπτοντα πάθῃ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φαίνεται
εἶκοντα, οὐδέ τις αὐτὰ φράσαι ὥποτε ἱκανὸς γέγονεν. [20] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ
Σταγειρίτης Αἰριστοτέλης, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐν Χαλκίδι τῇ τῆς
Εὐβοίας τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα γεγονώς, κατανοῶν τε τὸν ταύτῃ πορθμόν, ὅνπερ
Εὐριπον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ λόγον τὸν φυσικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνᾶσθαι
βουλόμενος, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐνίστε μὲν τὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τούτου
ρέυματα ἐκ δυσμῶν φέρεται, ἐνίστε δὲ ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα
πλεῖν τὰ πλοῖα ξύμπαντα ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει. ἦν δέ ποτε τοῦ ροῦ ἐξ
ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἰόντος, ἀρξαμένων τε τῶν ναυτῶν ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῇ τοῦ
ρόθιου ἐπιρροῇ ναυτίλλεσθαι, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ τὸ ρεῦμα ἦν,
ὅπερ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀναστρέφει μὲν τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα εὐθὺς
ἐνθεν ὥρμηται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πλεῖ, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῶν
ἀνέμων τινὸς ὥς ἥκιστα ἐπιπνεύσαντος, ἀλλὰ γαλήνης τε βαθείας τινὸς καὶ
νηνεμίας ἐνταῦθα οὔσης, ταῦτα ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐννοῶν τε καὶ ἀνακυκλῶν ἐπὶ
χρόνου μῆκος, δυσθανατῶν ἐπὶ ξυννοίᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου. [21] οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν διείργοντι πορθμῷ πολλὰ τῷ
παραλόγῳ γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλουμένου
πελάγους τὸ ρεῦμα ἐκεῖσε ἰέναι. [22] καίτοι ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδείρων ἡ τῆς
θαλάσσης πρόοδος γίνεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰλιγγοὶ ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐνταῦθα συχνοὶ ἀπ’
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης αἰτίας τὰς ναῦς διαχρῶνται. [23] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ
ποιηταὶ λέγουσι πρὸς τῆς Χαρύβδεως ῥοφεῖσθαι τὰ πλοῖα, ὅσα ἂν τύχῃ
τηνικάδε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ τούτῳ. [24] οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα οἶονται τὰ
πλείστω παραλόγῳ ἐν πᾶσι ξυμβαίνοντα τοῖς πορθμοῖς, ἐκ τῆς ἄγχιστα οὔσης
ἐκατέρωθεν ἡπείρου ξυμβαίνειν: βιαζόμενον γὰρ φασὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ
ρόθιον ἐς ἀτόπους τινὰς καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσας ἀνάγκας χωρεῖν. [25] Ὡστε εἰ
καὶ ὁ ροῦς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καλουμένου ἐς Βυζάντιον δοκεῖ φέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τις

τὴν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἀπολήγειν ἰσχυρίζαιτο ἐνταῦθα εἰκότως. [26] οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ στερεῶς τινὸς ὁ λόγος ὅδε φύσεως ἔστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἡ στενοχωρία κἀνταῦθα νικάτω. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παντάπασι τὸ τοιοῦτον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. [27] λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀσπαλιεῖς τῶν τῆδε χωρίων ὡς οὐχ ὅλος δὴ εὐθὺ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὁ ῥοὺς κάτεισιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω, ἅπερ ἡμῖν διαφανὴ ἐστί, κατὰ ταῦτα ἰέναι ξυμβαίνει, τὰ μέντοι ἔνερθεν, ἵνα δὴ ἄβυσσός ἐστί τε καὶ ὠνόμασται, τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄνω διαρρήδην χωρεῖν, ἔμπαλιν τε τοῦ φαινομένου ἐσαεὶ φέρεσθαι. [28] ταῦτά τοι, ἐπειδὴν ἄγραν μετιόντες ἰχθύων τὰ λῖνα ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπορρίψωσι, ταῦτα δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ ρεύματι βιαζόμενα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰερὸν φέρεσθαι. [29] Ἐν δὲ Λαζικῇ πανταχόθεν ἡ γῆ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποκρουομένη τὴν πρόοδον καὶ ἀναχαιτίζουσα τὸν αὐτῆς δρόμον, πρῶτόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀπολήγειν αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δηλονότι τὰ ὅρια σφίσι τῆδε θεμένου. [30] ἀπτομένη γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τῆς ταύτῃ ἡϊόνος οὔτε πρόσω χωρεῖ οὔτε πη ἐς ὕψος ἐπαίρεται μεῖζον, καίπερ πανταχόθεν ἀεὶ περιρρεομένη ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς ἀναρίθμων τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ἄγαν, ἀλλ' ἀναποδίζουσα ὀπίσω ἐπάνεισιν αὐθις καὶ μέτρον διαριθμουμένη τὸ ταύτης ἴδιον, διασώζει τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὄρον, ὥσπερ τινὰ δειμαίνουσα νόμον, ἀνάγκη τε τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφιγγομένη μή τι τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐκβᾶσα φανείη. [31] τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτὰς οὐκ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίου ξυμβαίνει κεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων γινωσκέτω τε καὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ αὐτῷ δ φίλον.

VI

Since we have now reached an appropriate point in the narrative, it has seemed to me not out of place to mention the opinions concerning the boundaries of Asia and Europe which are debated among those who are experts in these matters. For, on the one hand, some of them say that these two continents are separated by the Tanais River, stoutly maintaining first of all that the division must be a natural one, and further supporting their claim by the fact that, while the sea extends from the west toward the east, the Tanais River flows from the north toward the south between the two continents; similarly, they say, the Egyptian Nile proceeds in the opposite direction from the south to the north and flows between Asia and Libya. On the other hand, others taking issue directly with them maintain that their reasoning is not sound. For they say that these two continents are divided originally by the strait at Gadira, which issues from the ocean, and by the sea which extends from that point, and that the land on the right of the strait and the sea received the names of Libya and Asia, while everything on the left was called Europe approximately as far as the end of the so-called Euxine Sea.

But on this hypothesis the Tanais River rises within the limits of Europe and empties into the Maeotic Lake, which in turn discharges its waters into the Euxine Sea neither at its end nor even at its middle, but actually beyond it. Yet the land on the left of this same sea is counted as a portion of Asia. But apart from this the river Tanais rises in the so-called Rhipaeen mountains, which are in the land of Europe, as, in fact, those who have written of these matters from ancient times agree. Now the Ocean is very far removed from these Rhipaeen mountains; consequently all the land beyond them and the Tanais River in both directions must necessarily be European. Just at what point, then, the Tanais River begins to divide the two continents it is not easy to say. But if any river must be said to divide the two continents, that river would surely be the Phasis. For it flows in a direction opposite to that of the strait of Gadira, and so passes between the two continents; for while the strait, coming out of the ocean and forming this sea, has these two continents, one on either side, the Phasis River flows almost at the end of the Euxine Sea and empties into the middle of the crescent, obviously continuing the division of the land heretofore made by the sea. These then are the arguments which the two sides put forth as they wrangle over the question.

But not only the former argument, but also that which I have just stated, can boast, as I shall shew, of high antiquity and the support of some men of very ancient times, for I am aware that as a general thing all men, if they first discover an ancient argument, are no longer willing to devote themselves to the labour involved in the search for truth nor to learn instead some later

theory about the matter in hand, but the more ancient view always seems to them sound and worthy of honour, while contemporary opinions are considered negligible and are classed as absurd. Furthermore, in the present case the investigation is not concerned with any matter to be grasped only by the mind or the intellect, or that is in any other way obscure, but with rivers and lands: these are things which time has not been able either to change or to conceal in any way. For the test is near at hand and vision can provide most satisfactory evidence, and I think no obstacle will be placed in the way of those eager to discover the truth. To proceed, then, Herodotus of Halicarnassus in the Fourth Book of his History says that the entire earth is one, but is considered to be divided into three parts, having three separate titles, Libya, Asia, and Europe. And between two of them, on the one hand, Libya and Asia namely, flows the Egyptian Nile, while Asia and Europe, on the other hand, are divided by the Colchian Phasis. But knowing as he did that some thought that the Tanais River performed this function, he mentioned this view also afterwards. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to insert in my narrative the actual language of Herodotus, which is as follows. "Nor am I able to conjecture for what reason it is that, though the earth is one, three names are applied to it which are women's names. And its lines of division have been established as the Egyptian Nile and the Colchian Phasis. But others name the Tanais River, which empties into the Maeotic Lake and the Cimmerian Strait." Also the tragic poet Aeschylus in the Prometheus Unbound, at the very beginning of the tragedy, calls the Phasis River the limit of the land of both Asia and Europe.

At this point I shall also mention the fact that some of those who are versed in such matters think that the Maeotic Lake forms the Euxine Sea, and that it spreads out from this lake partly to the right and partly to the left, this being the reason why the lake is called the mother of the Pontus. And they make this statement on the basis of the observation that from the place called Hieron the outlet of this sea flows down toward Byzantium just as if it were a river, and consequently they consider this to be the limit of the Pontus. But those who oppose this view explain that the entire sea is, of course, one, coming from the ocean, and, without any other ending, extends to the land of the Lazi, unless, indeed, they say, anyone considers the mere change of name to constitute a real difference, seeing that the sea is called Pontus beyond a certain point.

But if the current does flow down from the place called Hieron to Byzantium, this has nothing to do with the matter. For the phenomena which are exhibited in all straits appear to be susceptible of no explanation, nor has anyone ever shewn himself able to account for them. Indeed it was this question which led Aristotle of Stagira, a man prominent among all others as a philosopher, to go to Chalcis on Euboea, where he observed the strait which they call Euripus in an effort to discover by careful investigation the physical reason why it is and in what manner it comes about that sometimes the current of the strait flows

from the west, but at other times from the east, and the sailing of all boats there is governed by this fact; whenever, for example, the current is running from the east and the mariners have begun to sail their boats from that direction following the inflow of the water, as they are accustomed to do, if then the current turns upon itself, a thing which is wont to happen there many a time, it immediately turns these boats back in the direction from which they have started, while the other boats sail from the west to the opposite end, even though no wind has blown upon them in the least but deep calm prevails there with all winds absent; all this the Stagirite observed and pondered for a long time, until he worried himself to death with anxious thought and so reached the term of his life. But this is not an isolated case, for in the strait also which separates Italy from Sicily nature plays many strange tricks. For it appears that the current runs into this strait from the sea called the Adriatic, and this in spite of the fact that the forward movement of the sea takes place from the ocean and Gadir. But there are also numerous whirlpools which appear there suddenly from no cause apparent to us and destroy the ships. It is on account of this that the poets say that the boats are gulped down by Charybdis, when any chance to be in this strait at such a time. But the advocates of the second view think that all these exceedingly strange phenomena which present themselves in all straits come about in consequence of the two sides coming very close to each other; for the water, they say, being constrained by the limited space, is subject to some strange and unaccountable compulsion.

Consequently, if the current does actually seem to flow from the place called Hieron to Byzantium, no one could reasonably maintain that the sea and the Euxine end at that point. For this view rests upon no solid basis of nature, but here again the narrowness of the channel must be considered the determining factor. Indeed not even this is all that happens here; for the fishermen of the towns on the Bosphorus say that the whole stream does not flow in the direction of Byzantium, but while the upper current which we can see plainly does flow in this direction, the deep water of the abyss, as it is called, moves in a direction exactly opposite to that of the upper current and so flows continually against the current which is seen. Consequently, whenever in going after a catch of fish they cast their nets there anywhere, these are always carried by the force of the current in the direction of Hieron.

But at Lazica the land checks the advance of the sea on all sides and puts a stop to its course, and thus makes its first and only ending at that point, the Creator obviously having set bounds there for sea and land. For when the sea encounters that beach, it neither advances farther nor does it rise to any higher level, although it is constantly receiving the inflow of countless rivers of extraordinary size which empty into it from all sides, but it falls back and returns again and thus, while making the beach of normal width, it preserves the boundary set by the land as if fearing some law, and, through the necessity prescribed by this, checking itself with precision and taking care not to be

found to have transgressed the covenant in any way. For all the other shores of the sea do not face it, but lie along its side. But concerning these matters let each man form his decision and speak as he wishes.

Ὅτου δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἕνεκα Λαζικῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν ἤδη μὲν πρόσθεν μοι ἐρρήθη: ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ Πέρσας μάλιστα πάντων ἐς τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν, ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω, ὅτι δὴ καὶ χώραν τήνδε περιγηγασάμενος ζύμπασαν σαφῆ τὸν περὶ τούτου πεποίηκα λόγον. [2] πολλάκις οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χοσρόου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐκ εὐδιήγητα μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπήνεγκαν πάθη, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄφελος οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπενεγκαμένοις ἐνθένδε τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι προσκεκακῶσθαι ζυνέπεσε: πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀποβεβληκότες αἰεὶ ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. [3] διὸ δὴ ἐς ἣθη ἐπανιόντες τὰ πάτρια Χοσρόη ὡς λαθραϊότατα ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ διαφθορέα τοῦ Περσῶν γένους αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν. [4] καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπανήκοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα πάθεσιν ἔτυχον ὀμιληκότες ἀνηκέστοις τισί, ζυστήσεσθαι τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ διαχρήσεσθαι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ, εἰ μὴ προμαθὼν ἐφυλάξατο, θωπεία πολλῇ τοὺς ἐν σφίσιν λογιμωτάτους περιελθὼν. [5] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐθέλων μέγα τι ὄφελος Περσῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκπορίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε. Πόλει γοῦν Δάρας αὐτίκα ἐγκεχειρηκῶς ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐς ἀπόγνωσίν τε τῆς τοῦ χωρίου ἐπικρατήσεως παντάπασιν ἦλθεν. [6] οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐξαιρήσειν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχεν, οὕτω φυλασσομένων τῶν ἐκεῖνη φρουρῶν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πολιορκῶν μηχανῇ τινὶ περιέσεσθαι αὐτῶν ἤλπιζε. [7] τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαεὶ ἐν πόλει Δάρας διαρκῶς ἐστὶν ἐξεπιτηδες ἀποκείμενα, ὅπως δὴ ἐς μέγα τι χρόνου διαρκέσειε μῆκος, καὶ πηγὴ ἀγχιστά πη φυομένη ἐν χώρῳ κρημνῶδει ποταμὸν ἀπεργάζεται μέγαν ὅσπερ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺ φέρεται, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐφιεμένων ἐτέρωσέ πη αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπειν ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. [8] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γένηται, τὴν τε πόλιν περιῶν ζύμπασαν καὶ τὰς ταύτῃ δεξαμενὰς ἐμπλησάμενος εἵτα ἔξεισιν, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐς χάος ἐμπεσὼν ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ὅπῃ [9] ποτὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἐκδίδωσιν οὐδενὶ γέγονε φανερόν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χάος οὐκ ἐπὶ παλαιοῦ γεγονὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτην ἢ φύσις αὐτὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἀπαντοματίσασα ἔθετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζυμβαίνει τοῖς προσεδρεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας πιάζεσθαι ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ. [10] Ταύτης οὖν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀποτυχὼν ὁ Χοσρόης τῆς πείρας ἐς ἐννοίαν ἦλθεν ὡς, ἦν καὶ πόλιν οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐτέραν τινὰ παραστήσασθαι δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλὰ καθίζεσθαι οὐ μὴ ποτε οἶός τε εἶη ἐν μέσῳ Ῥωμαίων, ὀχυρωμάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω πολλῶν. [11] καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν γὰρ τούτου δὴ εἵνεκα ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ἠνίκα ἐξεῖλεν, ἀπηλλάγῃ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. διὸ δὴ μετεωρισθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ μακροτέρας ἐλπίδος ὤχεϊτο, διερευνώμενος ἀμήχανα ἔργα. [12] ἀκοῇ γὰρ ἔχων ὄντινα τρόπον ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ Πόντου τοῦ

Εὐξείνου οὗτοι δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ὥκηνται Λίμνην ἀδεῶς κατατρέχουσι Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαις Λαζικὴν ἔχουσι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἡνίκα ἂν βουλομένοις ἦ, εὐθὺ Βυζαντίου ἰέναι, οὐδαμῇ διαπορθμευομένοις τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βαρβαρικὰ ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἵδρυται ἐσαεὶ δρῶσι. ^[13] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι μεταποιοῦνται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

VII

Now the reason why Chosroes was eager to get possession of Lazica has already been stated by me in a previous passage, but that particular consideration which above everything else impelled him and the Persians to desire this I shall here set forth, now that I have given a description of this whole country and so made clear my statement of this matter. Many times these barbarians, under the leadership of Chosroes, had invaded the Roman domain with a mighty army, and while they had indicted upon their enemy sufferings not easy to describe, as has been told by me in the books on this subject, still they gained from these invasions no advantage whatsoever and had also to bear the loss of both treasure and lives: for they always departed from the Roman domain having lost many men. Consequently, after they had returned to their own land, they would very privately rail against Chosroes and call him the destroyer of the Persian nation. And on one such occasion when they had returned from Lazica, seeing that they had suffered terrible losses there, they were actually on the point of combining openly against him and doing away with him by a most cruel death, and would have done so had he not learned in advance and guarded against it by winning over the most notable of them by assiduous wheedling. As a result of this incident he wished to remove the sting from the accusation, and to this end was eager to gain some great advantage for the Persian Empire.

He accordingly made an attempt upon the city of Daras, but met with reverse there, as I have told, and came to a state of utter despair regarding the capture of the place. For neither could he thereafter capture it by a surprise assault, seeing that the guards of the city were so alert, nor indeed did he entertain the hope that he would by any device get the better of them in a siege. For there is always an abundant supply of all manner of provisions in the city of Daras stored away against a siege, so that it may last for a great length of time, and close by there is a spring placed by nature among precipices, forming a large river which flows straight towards the city, and those who seek to interfere with it are unable to turn it to any other course or otherwise do violence to it on account of the rough character of the terrain. But as soon as this river gets inside the circuit-wall, it flows about the entire city, filling its cisterns, and then flows out, and very close to the circuit-wall it falls into a chasm, where it is lost to sight. And where it emerges from there has become known to no man up to this time. Now this chasm was not there in ancient times, but a long time after the Emperor Anastasius built this city nature unaided fashioned and placed it there, and for this reason it comes about that those desiring to draw a siege about the city of Daras are very hard pressed by scarcity of water.

So Chosroes, having failed in this attempt, as I have said, came to the

conclusion that, even if he should be able to gain some other Roman city, he would still never be able to establish himself in the midst of the Romans while many strongholds were left behind in the hands of his enemy. Indeed it was for this reason that he razed Antioch to the ground when he captured it and so departed from Roman soil. Consequently his thoughts soared aloft and were carried toward more distant hopes as he sought after impossible things. For having learned by report how those barbarians on the left of the Euxine Sea who dwell about the Maeotic Lake overrun fearlessly the Roman domain, he kept saying that it would be possible for the Persians, if they held Lazica, to go, whenever they wished, straight to Byzantium with no trouble and without crossing the sea at all, just as the other barbarian nations who are settled in that region are constantly doing. For this reason, then, the Persians are trying to gain Lazica. But I shall return to the point where I made this digression from the narrative.

Χοριάνης μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰππιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα Γουβάζης τε, ὁ Κόλχων βασιλεὺς, ἔμαθε καὶ Δαγισθαῖος, ὅσπερ ἠγεῖτο τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐπικοινωνοῦντες βουλευσάμενοι ἤγον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν στράτευμα. [2] γενόμενοι τε Ἰππιδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πότερα μένουσί τε αὐτοῖς καὶ δεχομένοις ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἰτέον, ὅπως δὴ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου ποιησάμενοι ἐπίδειξιν Πέρσαις, ἐνδηλά τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις καταστησάμενοι ὡς καταφρονήματι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι, τῆς τε ξυμβολῆς αὐτῆς ἄρχοντες δουλωσάμενοι τῶν ἀνθισταμένων τὸ φρόνημα ἱκανοὶ εἶεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ γνώμη ἐνίκη τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρακαλούντων, [3] ὥρμητο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἅπαντες. ἐνταῦθα Λαζοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυντάσσεσθαι οὐκέτι ἤξιουν, προτείνόμενοι ὅτι δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὔτε πατρίδος οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων προκινδυνεύοντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γῆς τῆς πατρώας ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν: ὥστε καὶ γυναικας τὰς σφετέρας ἐρυθριῶν, [4] εἰ σφίσι πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ξυμβαίη κρατεῖσθαι. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴν αὐτοσχεδιάσειν ὑπόπτειν. [5] πρῶτοί τε αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνους ὥρων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμοσεῖν, ὅπως αὐτοὺς μὴ ξυνταράξωσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐχ ὅμοια σφίσι ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον προθυμοῦμενοι. [6] ταῦτα νεανιευσαμένους Λαζῶν περιχαρὴς ὁ Γουβάζης γενόμενος μικρὸν τε ἄποθεν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλέσας τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο. [7] Ἐπαίνεσιν μὲν ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὁρμῶσαν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τινα δεῖ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ποιεῖσθαι. οἷς γὰρ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη τὴν προθυμίαν ἀνίστησι, παρακελεύσεως ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς προσδεῖν οἶομαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχηκεν. [8] ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν γὰρ καὶ παίδων καὶ γῆς τῆς πατρώας καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπίασι Πέρσαι. [9] τοῖς δὲ τι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βιαζόμενοις οὐδεὶς τῶν πάντων παραχωρεῖ, υπερμάχεσθαι τῶν προσηκόντων ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς φύσεως. [10] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε δὲ ὡς Πέρσαις τὴν πλεονεξίαν

οὐδὲν ἴστησιν, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ γεγρονόσι τοῦ δύνασθαι, οὐδὲ ἄρξουσιν μόνον ἡμῶν ἢ τάξουσιν φόρους ἢ τὰ ἄλλα κατηκούς ποιήσονται, εἴ τι μὴ ἐπιλελήσμεθα ὧν Χοσρόης ἐγκεχείρηκεν ἐφ' ἡμῖν οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον, ἣν νῦν περιέσσονται ἡμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. [11] ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἄχρι τοῦ λόγου προίετω μοι τὰ τῆς Περσῶν πείρας, μηδὲ διαλιπέτω τὸ Λαζῶν ὄνομα. οὐ χαλεπὸς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς Μήδους ἀγὼν, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσι καὶ υπερβαλλομένοις τῇ μάχῃ. [12] τῷ γὰρ ξυνειθισμένῳ τὸ δύσκολον οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, προδαπανηθείσης τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ταλαιπωρίας μελέτη καὶ πείρα. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε νενικημένων ἐν ζυμβολαῖς καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως θρασυνομένων ἡμᾶς δεήσει. [13] φρόνημα γὰρ δουλωθέν ἅπαξ παλινδρομεῖν ἥκιστα εἴωθε. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖτε.' [14] Τοσαῦτα Γουβάζης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγε τὸ Λαζῶν στράτευμα, καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Λαζῶν ἱππεῖς τεταγμένοι ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἦσαν, ὀπισθεν δὲ οὐκ ἄγχιστα πη, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπωτάτω, [15] ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἵππος αὐτοῖς εἶπετο. τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγούντο Φιλήγαγός τε, Γήπαις γένος, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ, καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, οὗ δὴ κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην. [16] ἐν ὑστέρῳ δὲ Γουβάζης τε ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαγισθαῖος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ζὺν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων πεζοῖς εἶποντο, λογισάμενοι ὥς, εἰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τραπήναι ζυμβαίη, ἐς αὐτοὺς ῥᾶστα σωθήσονται. [17] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαζοὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐτάξαντο, Χοριάνης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν χιλίους τῶν οἱ ἐπομένον ἀπολεξάμενος τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοπλισμένους ὡς ἄριστα, πρόσω ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπισθεν ἦει, φυλακτῆριον ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. [18] προτερήσασα δὲ ἡ Λαζῶν ἵππος ἀτιμάζει τὰς ἐπαγγελίας οἷς ἔδρασεν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων διαβαλοῦσα τὰς πρόσθεν ἐλπίδας. [19] τοῖς γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων προδρόμοις ἐντετυχηκότες ἐξαπινάϊως οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν ὄψιν, τρέψαντες αὐτίκα τοὺς ἵππους, κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπειγόμενοι ἀνεμίγνυντο, ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπαξιούντες καταφυγεῖν οἷς δὴ ζυντάσσεσθαι τὰ πρότερα ὥκνου. [20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων. ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο, χειρῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον οὐδὲ ξυνέμισγον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἑκάτεροι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἀνεπόδιζον, ὑποχωρούντων δὲ ἐπεβάτευν, ἔς τε ὑπαγωγὰς καὶ παλινδιώξεις καὶ ἀγχιστρόφους μεταβολὰς πολὺν τινα κατέτριψαν χρόνον. [21] Ἦν δὲ τις Ἀρταβάνης ὄνομα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, Περσαρμένιος γένος, ὅσπερ ἐς Ἀρμένιους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκούς πολλῶ πρότερον ἀπηυτομοληκὼς ἔτυχεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ φόνῳ Περσῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς πίστιν πεποιημένος ἐχέγγυον. [22] Βαλεριανῷ γὰρ τότε στρατηγούντι ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα Ῥωμαίους οἱ αὐτῷ διδόναι ἐδεῖτο: τυχὼν τε ὄνπερ ἐβούλετο, ἐς φρουρίον ἐν Περσαρμενίοις κείμενον ἦει. [23] οὗ δὴ ἑκατὸν τε καὶ εἴκοσι Περσῶν φυλακτῆριον ὑπὸ τῷ φρουρίῳ αὐτὸν ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐδέξαντο, οὐπω ἔνδηλον ὄντα ὅτι δὴ μεταπορευθεὶς τὴν πολιτείαν νεωτερίζει. [24] ὁ δὲ τούς τε εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν κτείνας καὶ ζύμπαντα

ληισάμενος τὰ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ χρήματα, μεγάλα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα, παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα ἦλθε, πιστός τε σφίσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φανείς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυνεστράτευεν. [25] οὗτος Ἀρταβάνης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ δύο ξὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἐγένετο, οὗ δὴ ἀφίκοντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινές. [26] ἐφ' οὓς Ἀρταβάνης ὀρμήσας, τῶν Περσῶν ἓνα, ψυχῆς τε ἀρετῇ καὶ σώματος ἀλκῇ ἐπιεικῶς μέγαν, τῷ δόρατι εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ρίψας προσουδίζει χαμαί. [27] τῶν δέ τις βαρβάρων παρὰ τῷ πεπτωκότι ἐστὼς ξίφει κατὰ κόρρης τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐπάταξεν οὐ καιρίαν πληγὴν. ἄτερός τε τῶν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ ἐπισπομένων, Γότθος γένος, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν χεῖρα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου κεφαλῇ ἔχοντα, κατὰ λαγόνᾳ ἐπιτυχὼν τὴν εὐώνυμον διεχρήσατο. [28] καὶ οἱ χίλιοι τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν, τὸν τε Χοριάνην σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν στρατῷ ἔμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀνεμίγνυντο σφίσιν. [29] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον πεζοὶ ἐς ἱππεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἦν. [30] τότε δὴ Φιλήγαγός τε καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐλάσσους εἶναι ἢ ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπιούσαν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἵππον οἰόμενοι, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἀπέγνωσαν τὴν Λαζῶν δύναμιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀποθορόντες ταῦτ' οἰεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς ἅπαντας. [31] ἐς φάλαγγά τε ὡς βαθυτάτην ταξάμενοι πεζοὶ μετωπηδὸν ἀντίοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, τὰ δόρατα ἐπανατεινόμενοι σφίσιν. [32] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιδραμεῖν πεζοῖς γε οὔσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐδύναντο οὔτε αὐτῶν ξυνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἵπποι ταῖς τε τῶν δοράτων αἰχμαῖς καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαίτιζον, ἐπὶ τὰ τόξα ἔβλεπον ἅπαντες, ἐλπίδι θαρσοῦντες ὡς πλήθει βελῶν ῥᾶστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς φυγὴν τρέπονται. [33] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν Λαζοῖς ἅπασιν ταῦτ' οὕτω ἐποίουν. ἐκατέρωθεν τε συχνὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύματα ἤει, ἕκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον. [34] Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀλανοὶ μάλιστα συνεχῇ τὰ βέλη πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀφίεσαν. ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ τὰς ἀσπίδας ξυνέβαινεν ἀποκρούεσθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ Χοριάνῃ τῷ Περσῶν ἄρχοντι βεβλήσθαι ξυνέβη. [35] ὑφ' οὗτου μέντοι οὗτος ἀνὴρ βληθείη, φανερόν οὐδενὶ γέγονε: τύχῃ γάρ τινι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἰὼν ὁ ἄτρακτος ἐξ τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν αὐχένα παγείς εὐθυωρὸν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, ἐνός τε θανάτῳ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τε μάχῃ ἐκλίθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἡ νίκη ἐχώρει. [36] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἔκειτο, δρόμῳ δὲ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα οἱ βάρβαροι ἦσαν, οἱ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν τοῖς Λαζοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες αἰρήσειν αὐτοβοεῖ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον. [37] ἀλλὰ τις τῶν Ἀλανῶν εὐψυχίας περὶ καὶ σώματος ἰσχύος εὖ ἦκων, τοξεύειν τε συχνὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα διαφερόντως ἐξεπιστάμενος, ἐς τοῦ χάρακος τὴν εἴσοδον στενοτάτην οὔσαν εἰστήκει, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐπιούσι παρὰ δόξαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγένετο. [38] Ἰωάννης δέ, ὁ τοῦ Θωμᾶ παῖς, μόνος ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκων ἐξαπινάίως τὸν ἄνθρωπον δόρατι ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐκράτησαν. καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, ὡς ἐκάστω

δυνατὰ γέγονεν. [39] αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα
γενομένη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν στρατιὰ τοὺς ἐν Πέτρα
φρουροὺς τῷ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πλήθει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιρρώσαντες
ἀνεχώρησαν.

VIII

Chorienes, then, and the Median army had made their camp near the Hippis River. And when Gubazes, the Colchian king, and Dagisthaeus, who commanded the Roman army, learned this, they formed a common plan and led forth the Roman and Lazic army against the enemy. And when they had come to the opposite side of the Hippis River and had made their camp there, they began to consider the situation, debating whether it would be more to their advantage to wait there and receive the enemy's attack or whether they should advance upon their enemy, in order, of course, that by displaying their daring to the Persians and by making it obvious to their opponents that they were filled with contempt as they went against them, they might, by assuming the offensive in the combat, be able to humble the spirit of the men arrayed against them. And since the opinion of those prevailed who urged an advance upon the enemy, the whole army straightway hastened toward them. Thereupon the Lazi would no longer consent to fight beside the Romans, putting forth the objection that the Romans, on the one hand, in entering the struggle, were not risking their lives for their fatherland or their most precious possessions, while for them the danger involved their children and their wives and their ancestral land; so that they would have to blush before their own women, if it should so fall out that they were defeated by their opponents. Indeed they imagined that under this stress they would improvise the valour which was not in them. And they were filled with zeal to engage with the enemy by themselves first, so that the Romans might not throw them into confusion during the action through not having the same zeal as they had in meeting the danger. After the Lazi had begun to shew this spirit of bravado, Gubazes became well pleased, and calling them together a little apart from the Romans he exhorted them as follows.

"Fellow-men, I know not whether it is necessary to address any exhortation to you to impel you to be of good courage. For those men whose enthusiasm is upheld by the necessity of circumstances would, I think, need no further exhortation, and this is the case with us, in the present crisis at any rate. For it is your women and children and your ancestral land, and, to speak plainly, your all, which is involved in this danger, for it is to secure these that the Persians are coming upon us. For no one in the whole world gives way to those who are seeking by violence to rob him of any of his possessions, for nature compels him to fight for his property. And you are not ignorant that nothing stops the avarice of the Persians when they have come to have power in their grasp, and if at the present time they prevail over us in the war, they will not stop with simply ruling us or imposing taxes or treating us in other matters as subjects, — a statement which we can test by our own memory of what Chosroes attempted upon us not long ago. But let me not even so much

as mention the experience we have had with the Persians, and let not the name of the Lazi come to an end. And the struggle against the Medes, my fellow-men, is not a hard one for us who have many times grappled with them and prevailed over them in the fight. For a task which has become thoroughly familiar entails no difficulty whatever, the necessary labour having been previously expended in practice and experience. Consequently we shall be obliged because of this fact actually to despise the enemy as having been defeated in previous combats and having no such ground for courage as you have. For when the spirit has been humbled, it is by no means wont to mount again. Holding these thoughts then before your minds, advance with high hopes to close with the enemy.”

After making such a speech Gubazes led out the army of the Lazi, and they arrayed themselves as follows. As a vanguard the cavalry of the Lazi advanced in order against the foe, while the Roman cavalry followed them, not at a short interval, but very far in the rear. This particular Roman force was under the leadership of Philegagus, a Gepaid by birth and an energetic man, and of John the Armenian, son of Thomas, an exceptionally able warrior who was known by the surname Guzes, and who has been mentioned already in the previous narrative. Behind these followed Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, and Dagisthaeus, the general of the Romans, with the infantry of both armies, reasoning that, should it come about that the cavalry were routed, they would be saved very easily by falling back on them. So the Romans and the Lazi arrayed themselves in this manner; Chorianes meanwhile selected from his army a thousand men equipped with the corselet and in all other respects most thoroughly armed, and sent them forward as a scouting party, while he himself with all the rest of the army marched in the rear, leaving behind in the camp a garrison of only a few men. Now the cavalry of the Lazi which had gone ahead shewed in what they did scant regard for their professions, denouncing by their actions the hopes which they had previously aroused. For when they came suddenly upon the advance party of the enemy, they did not bear the sight of them, but straightway wheeled their horses and began to gallop back to the rear in complete disorder; and pressing onward they mingled with the Romans, not declining to take refuge with the very men beside whom they had previously been unwilling to array themselves. But when the two forces came close to each other, neither side at first opened the attack or joined battle, but each army drew back as their opponents advanced and in turn followed them as they retired, and they consumed much time in retreats and counter-pursuits and swiftly executed changes of front.

But there was a certain Artabanus in that Roman army, a Persarmenian by birth, who had, as it happened, deserted long before to the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, not as a simple deserter however, but by the slaughter of one hundred and twenty Persian warriors he had given the Romans a pledge of his loyalty to them. For he had come before Valerian, who at that

time was a general in Armenia and requested him to give him fifty Romans; and upon getting what he wished he proceeded to a fortress situated in Persarmenia. There a garrison of one hundred and twenty Persians received him with his company into the fortress, it not being as yet clear that he had changed his allegiance and gone over to the enemy. He then slew the hundred and twenty men and plundered all the money in the fortress — and there was an enormous quantity of it — and so came to Valerian and the Roman army, and having thus proved himself faithful to them, he thereafter marched with the Romans. This Artabanus in the present battle placed himself in the space between the armies, taking with him two of the Roman soldiers, and thither came some of the enemy also. Artabanus charged these men, and engaging with one of the Persians who was a man of high valour and great bodily prowess, he straightway slew him with his spear and throwing him from his horse brought him down to the ground. But one of the barbarians standing beside the fallen man smote Artabanus on the head with a sword, but not with a mortal stroke. Then one of the followers of Artabanus, a Goth by birth, attacked this man, and while he still held his hand at Artabanus' head, smote him with a well-directed blow in the left flank and laid him low. Thereupon the thousand, being terrified at what had taken place, began to withdraw to the rear, where they awaited Chorianes and the rest of the army of Persians and Alani, and in a short time mingled with them.

By this time the infantry under Gubazes and Dagisthaeus also came up with their cavalry and both armies closed to a hand-to-hand encounter.

At this point Philegagus and John, thinking they were too few to bear the onset of the barbarian horse, particularly because they had no confidence in the power of the Lazi, leaped from their horses and compelled all to do the same, both Romans and Lazi. They then arrayed themselves on foot in a very deep phalanx, and all stood with a front facing the enemy and thrusting out their spears against them. But the barbarians knew not what to make of it, for they were neither able to charge their opponents, who were now on foot, nor could they break up their phalanx, because the horses, annoyed by the points of the spears and the clashing of the shields, balked; and so they all resorted to their bows, emboldened by the hope that by a multitude of missiles they would very easily turn their enemy to flight. The Romans likewise and all the Lazi began to do exactly the same thing. So from each side the arrows were flying in great numbers into both armies, and on both sides many men were falling. Now the Persians and Alani were discharging their missiles in a practically continuous stream and much faster than their opponents. However, the Roman shields checked the most of them.

In the course of this battle Chorianes, the commander of the Persians, happened to be hit. But by whom this man was wounded was not clear to anyone; for some chance guided the shaft as it came out of a crowded mass of

men, fastened itself in the man's neck, and killed him outright, and by one man's death the battle was inclined and victory fell to the Romans. For as he fell from his horse to the ground on his face and lay there, the barbarians went in a wild rush to their stockade, while the Rinnans with the Lazi followed upon their heels and slew many, hoping to capture with one rush the camp of their opponents. But one of the Alani, who was a man of great courage and bodily strength and who knew unusually well how to shoot rapidly to either side, took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, which was very narrow, and unexpectedly blocked the way for the oncoming Romans for a long time. But John, the son of Thomas, approached alone very close to him and slew the man with a spear, and thus the Romans and Lazi captured the camp. And great numbers indeed of the barbarians were destroyed there, and the remainder betook themselves away to their native land, each one as he found it possible to get there. So this invasion of the Persians into the land of Colchis ended in this way. Meanwhile another Persian army, after fortifying the garrison at Petra with an abundance of provisions and all other supplies, had departed on their way.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Λαζοὶ Δαγισθαῖον εἰς βασιλέα διέβαλλον, εἰς Βυζάντιον ἦκοντες, προδοσίαν τε καὶ μηδισμόν ἐπιφέροντες. [2] Πέρσαις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀναπεισθέντα οὐ βεβουλησθαι καταπεπτωκότος τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἐπιβατεῦσαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους θυλάκους μεταξὺ ψάμμου ἐμπλησμένους καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ἀντὶ λίθων ποιησάμενους τοῦ περιβόλου ὅσα καταπεπτῶκει ταύτῃ κρατύνασθαι. [3] ἔλεγόν τε ὡς Δαγισθαῖος, εἴτε χρήμασιν εἴτε ὀλιγοῖα εἰς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, τὴν ἐπιθεσιν εἰς ἕτερόν τινα χρόνον ἀπέθετο, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐν τῷ παρατύχῳ μεθήκεν, ἧς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέσθαι οἷός τε ἐγγέγονε. [4] αὐτὸν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι καθείρξας ἐτήρει: Βέσσαν δέ, ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἦκοντα, στρατηγὸν Ἀρμενίων καταστησάμενος εἰς Λαζικὴν πέμπει, ἄρχειν ἐπαγγείλας τοῦ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ. [5] οὗ δὴ καὶ Βενῖλος, ὁ Βούζου ἀδελφός, ξὺν στρατῷ ἤδη σταλὲς ἔτυχε καὶ Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ ὁ Βάβας ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Οὐλίγαγος Ἑρουλος γένος. [6] Ὁ τε Ναβέδης ἐσβαλὼν εἰς Λαζικὴν στρατῷ ἄλλο μὲν τι λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, Ἀβασγοῖς δὲ ἀποσταῖσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν ἐπιχωριάσας τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, παῖδας τῶν ἐν σφίσιν λογίμων ἐξήκοντα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαβε. [7] τότε δὲ ποιούμενος ὁ Ναβέδης ὁδοῦ ἀπέρεργον, καὶ Θεοδώραν Ὀψίτην ξυνοικήσασαν ὅς ἐγγέγονε Γουβάζου μὲν θεῖος, Λαζῶν δὲ βασιλεὺς· εὐρὼν ἐν Ἀψιλίοις εἶλεν, ἔς τε τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπήνεγκε. [8] Ῥωμαῖα δὲ γένος ἡ γυνὴ ἐτύγγανεν οὕσα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ Λαζῶν βασιλεῖς εἰς Βυζάντιον πέμποντες βασιλέως τε γνώμῃ ξυνιόντες εἰς κηδὸς τις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς γυναικας ἐνθένδε γαμετὰς ἐκομίζοντο. [9] καὶ Γουβάξης ἀμέλει Ῥωμαίας γυναικὸς ἐγγέγονε γένος. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα οἱ Ἀβασγοὶ οὗτοι εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [10] Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους καθείλον, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιῆγται, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων πρὸς βασιλέως στελλόμενοι ἐπεχωρίαζόν τε

αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν ἡξίουσαν, καινὰ τε αὐτοῖς ἅττα ἐπέταττον. [11] οἷσπερ Ἀβασγοὶ βιαιοτέροις οὖσιν ἀτεχνῶς ἦχοντο. δέισαντες οὖν μὴ Ῥωμαίων δοῦλοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσονται, τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐθις κατεστήσαντο σφίσιν Ὀσίτην μὲν ὄνομα ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, [12] Σκεπαρνᾶν δὲ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ἐς ἀγαθῶν γὰρ ἐκπεπωκότες ἀπόγνωσιν τὰπρότερον δόξαντα σφίσι μοχθηρὰ εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἅτε πονηροτέρων ὄντων, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀντηλλάσσοντο, δυνάμιν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες Πέρσαις ὡς λαθραϊότατα προσεχώρησαν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, Βέσσαν ἐκέλευε στρατεύμα λόγου ἅξιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στεῖλαι. [13] ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας αὐτοῖς Οὐλίγαγον τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ υἱόν, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν. ἐτύγγανε δὲ ἄτερος μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς ἡγουμένων, Σκεπαρνᾶς ὄνομα, ἐν Πέρσαις τινὰ διατριβὴν ἔχων: [14] μετὰπεμπτος γὰρ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκτο. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, τὴν Ῥωμαίων μαθὼν ἔφοδον, τοὺς τε Ἀβασγοὺς ἅπαντας ἡγείρε καὶ ὑπαντιάζειν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν. [15] Ἔστι δὲ χῶρος μετὰ τοὺς Ἀψιλίας ὄρους ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἀβασγίαν εἰσόδῳ τοιόσδε: ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐλασσούμενόν τε καὶ ὑπολήγον ὥσπερ τις κλῖμαξ κατατείνει καὶ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον. [16] καὶ φρούριον μὲν ἐχυρώτατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους περὶ ἀξιολογώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀβασγοὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπωρεΐᾳ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου ἐδείξαντο. [17] οὗ δὴ καταφεύγοντες ἐκκρούουσιν αἰεὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐδαμῇ ἐχόντων τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. μία δὲ εἰσόδος εἰσάγουσά ἐστιν ἕς τε τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἀβασγῶν χώραν, ἥπερ ἀνδράσι σύνδυο ἐρχομένοις ἀπόρευτος τυγχάνει οὕσα. [18] μηχανὴ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ μόλις πεζεύοντα ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. τῆς τε ἀτραποῦ ταύτης ὑπέρεκται φάραγξ ἐσάγαν σκληρὰ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου διήκουσα μέχρι ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. [19] φέρεται δὲ καὶ προσηγορίαν τῆς φάραγγος ἀξίαν ὁ χῶρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐλληνίζοντες οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι τὰ Τραχέα καλοῦσιν. [20] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στόλος μεταξὺ ὁρίων τῶν τε Ἀβασγῶν καὶ Ἀψιλίων κατέπλευσεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ Οὐλίγαγος ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβιβάσαντες πεζῇ ἐχώρουν, οἳ τε ναῦται ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἀπάσαις παρὰ τὴν ἡῖόνα τῷ στρατῷ εἶποντο. [21] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν Τραχέων ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐξωπλισμένους τε ὁρῶσιν Ἀβασγοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τῆς ἀτραποῦ ὑπερθεν ἥς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθη κατὰ τὴν φάραγγα ὅλην ἐν τάξει ἐστώτας, ἀμυχανία τε πολλῇ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὰ σφίσι παρόντα οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ λογισάμενος Ἰωάννης ἄκεσιν τινα τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρε. [22] τὸν γὰρ Οὐλίγαγον ξὺν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐάσας αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαγόμενος τὰς ἀκάτους ἐπλήρου. ἐρέσσοντές τε χῶρον τὸν τῶν Τραχέων περιήλθόν τε καὶ διέβησαν ὅλον καὶ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων ταύτη ἐγένοντο. [23] ἄραντες οὖν τὰ σημεῖα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦσαν. Ἀβασγοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγκειμένους ἰδόντες ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν δὲ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμία τραπόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, οὕτω τῷ δέει καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμυχανία συμποδιζόμενοι ὥστε οὔτε τὴν πατρίαν σφίσι δυσχωρίαν ἔτι διαγινώσκειν

ἐδύναντο οὔτε πη εὐπετῶς ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. [24] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπισπόμενοι τε καὶ καταλαβόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. δρόμῳ τε ξὺν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενοι ἀνακεκλιμένης ἔτι ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῆς ταύτης πυλίδος· οἱ γὰρ φύλακες ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς θύρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔτι ἐδέχοντο. [25] τῶν τε φυγόντων τοῖς διώκουσιν ἀναμιχθέντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἴενται ἅπαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ σώζεσθαι, [26] οἱ δὲ τοῦ τὸ φρούριον ἐξελεῖν. ἀνακεκλιμένας οὖν τὰς πύλας εὐρόντες συνεισέβαλον ἐς ταύτας ἀλλήλοις. οἱ γὰρ πυλωροὶ οὔτε διακρίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς εἶχον οὔτε τὰς πύλας ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐπιτιθέναι. [27] Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀβασγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἠλίσκοντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων κεκρατηκέναι οἰόμενοι πόνῳ δυσκολωτέρῳ ἐνταῦθα ὠμίλουν. [28] τῶν γὰρ οἰκῶν συχνῶν τε οὐσῶν καὶ οὐλίαν διεχουσῶν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον τείχους πανταχόθεν συμπεφραγμένων, Ἀβασγοὶ ἐς αὐτὰς ἀναβάντες καὶ σθένει παντὶ ἀμυνόμενοι, τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔβαλλον, πόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ τῷ ἐς παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλέῳ καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀπορία ἐχόμενοι, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς οἰκίας ἐς ἐννοίαν ἦλθε. [29] πῦρ τοίνυν αὐταῖς πανταχόθεν ἀνάψαντες τοῦ ἀγῶνος παντάπασι τούτου ἐκράτησαν. Ὀψίτης μὲν οὖν, ὁ τῶν Ἀβασγῶν ἄρχων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ φυγεῖν ἴσχυσεν, ἔς τε Οὐννους τοὺς πλησιοχώρους καὶ ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον ἀνεχώρησε. [30] τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἢ ξὺν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐξηνθρακωμένοις τετεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη, ἢ ὑπὸ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων γεγονέναι χερσίν. ἐξώγησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων γυναῖκας ξὺν γόνῳ παντί, τοῦ τε φρουρίου τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον κατεστήσαντο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Ἀβασγοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ἐν δὲ Ἀψιλίοις ἐγένετο τάδε.

IX

IN the meantime the following took place. The Lazi began to slander Dagisthaeus to the emperor, going to Byzantium to do so, charging him with treason and Medizing. For they declared that he had yielded to the persuasion of the Persians in refusing to establish himself inside the fallen circuit-wall of Petra, while the enemy in the interval had filled bags with sand and laid courses with them instead of stones, and thus had made secure such parts of the circuit-wall as had fallen down. And they stated that Dagisthaeus, whether impelled to do so by a bribe or through negligence, had postponed the attack to some other time, and had thus let slip for the moment the precious opportunity which, of course, he had never again been able to grasp. The emperor consequently confined him in the prison and kept him under guard; he then appointed Bessas, who had returned not long before from Italy, General of Armenia and sent him to Lazica with instructions to command the Roman army there. Vendus, the brother of Buzes, had also been sent there already with an army, as well as Odonachus, Babas from Thrace, and Uligagus of the Eruli.

Now Nabedes had invaded Lazica with an army, but he accomplished nothing of consequence beyond spending some time with this army among the Abasgi, who had revolted from the Romans and Lazi, and taking from them sixty children of their notables as hostages. It was at that time that Nabedes as an incident of his journey captured Theodora, the consort of Opsites (he was uncle of Gubazes and king of the Lazi), finding her among the Apsilii, and he carried her off to the land of Persia. Now this woman happened to be a Roman by birth, for the kings of the Lazi from ancient times had been sending to Byzantium, and, with the consent of the emperor, arranging marriages with some of the senators and taking home their wives from there. In fact Gubazes was sprung from a Roman family on his mother's side. But the reason why these Abasgi turned to revolt I shall now set forth.

When they had removed from power their own kings, as has been told by me above, Roman soldiers sent by the emperor began to be quartered among them very generally, and they sought to annex the land to the Roman empire imposing certain new regulations upon them. But because these were rather severe the Abasgi became exceedingly wroth. Fearing, consequently, that they would be mere slaves of the Romans thereafter, they again put their rulers in power, one named Opsites in the eastern part of their country, and Sceparnas in the western part. Thus, because they had fallen into despair of good things, they naturally enough sought to regain the status which had previously seemed to them grievous in place of their later estate, seeing this had been worse, and in consequence of this change they were in fear of the power of the

Romans and as secretly as possible went over to the Persians. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he commanded Bessas to send a strong army against them. He accordingly selected a large number from the Roman army, appointed to command them Uligagus and John the son of Thomas, and immediately sent them by sea against the Abasgi. Now it happened that one of the rulers of the Abasgi, the one named Sceparnas, was away for some reason among the Persians; for he had gone under summons not long before to Chosroes. But the other ruler, learning of the inroad of the Romans, mustered all the Abasgi and made haste to encounter them.

Now there is a place beyond the boundary of Apsilia on the road into Abasgia of the following description: a lofty ridge runs out from the Caucasus, and gradually sinks, as it runs along, to a lower level, resembling in a way a ladder, until it comes to an end at the Euxine Sea. And the Abasgi in ancient times built an exceedingly strong fortress of very considerable size on the lower slope of this mountain.

Here they always take refuge and repel the inroads of their enemies, who are in no way able to storm the difficult position. Indeed there is only one path leading to this fortress and to the rest of the land of the Abasgi, and this happens to be impassable for men marching by twos. For there is no possibility of getting along there except in single file and on foot, and that with difficulty. Above this path rises the side of an exceedingly rough gorge which extends from the fortress to the sea. And the place bears a name worthy of the gorge, for the inhabitants call it Trachea, using a Greek word.

So the Roman fleet put in between the boundaries of the Abasgi and Apsilii, and John and Uligagus disembarked their troops and proceeded on foot, while the sailors followed the army along the coast with all the boats. And when they came close to Trachea, they beheld the entire force of the Abasgi fully armed and standing in order along the whole gorge above the path which I have just mentioned, whereupon they fell into great perplexity because they were quite unable to handle the situation before them, until John, after reasoning long with himself, discovered a remedy for the trouble. For leaving Uligagus there with the half of the army, he himself took the others and manned the boats. And by rowing they rounded the place where Trachea was and passed it entirely and thus got in the rear of the enemy. Thereupon the Romans raised their standards and advanced. The Abasgi, then, seeing their enemy pressing upon them from both sides, no longer offered resistance nor even kept their ranks, but turning to withdraw in a very disorderly retreat they kept moving forward, but so impeded were they by their fear and the helplessness resulting therefrom that they were no longer able to find their way about the rough terrain of their native haunts, nor could they easily get away from the place. The Romans meanwhile were following them up from either side and caught and killed many. And they reached the fortress on the

run together with the fugitives and found the small gate there still open; for the guards could by no means shut the gates, since they were still taking in the fugitives. So pursued and pursuers mingled together were all rushing toward the gate, the former eager to save themselves, the latter to capture the fortress. Finding then the gates open, they charged through them together: for the gatekeepers were neither able to distinguish the Abasgi from the enemy nor to shut the gates to with the throng overpowering them.

And the Abasgi for their part, though feeling relief at getting inside the fortress, were actually being captured with the fortress, while the Romans, thinking they had mastered their opponents, found themselves involved there in a more difficult struggle. For the houses were numerous and not very far apart from each other — indeed they were even crowded close enough together so that they resembled a wall all round, and the Abasgi mounted them and defended themselves with all their strength by hurling missiles upon the heads of their enemy, struggling with might and main and filled with terror and with pity for their children and women, and consequently overcome with despair, until it occurred to the Romans to fire the houses. They accordingly set fire to them on all sides, and thus were completely victorious in this struggle. Now Opsites, the ruler of the Abasgi, succeeded in making his escape with only a few men, and withdrew to the neighbouring Huns and the Caucasus mountains. But the others were either charred and burned to ashes with their houses or fell into the hands of their enemy. The Romans also captured the women of their rulers with all their offspring, razed the defences of the fortress to the ground, and rendered the land desolate to a great distance. For the Abasgi, then, this was the result of their revolution. But among the Apsilii the following took place.

Ἀψίλιοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοοι Λαζῶν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἔστι δέ τι φρούριον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα: Τζιβιλὴν αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. [2] τῶν δέ τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Τερδέτης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ εἶχε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει, Γουβάζῃ τῷ τῶν Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ προσκεκρουκῶς τε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχων, Πέρσαις ὠμολόγησε λάθρα τοῦτο δὴ ἐνδῶσειν τὸ φρούριον, στρατεύμα τε Περσῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει ἐς Ἀψιλίαν ἦει. [3] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστα τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προτερήσας αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις οἱ Λαζοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες ἀπιστεῖν τῷ Λαζῶν ἄρχοντι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψία ἐχόμενοι. οὕτω τε ἀφικόμενον τὸ Περσῶν στρατεύμα τῷ φρουρίῳ ὁ Τερδέτης ἐδέξατο. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μῆδοι οὐ Λαζικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀψιλίαν ἔχεσθαι τότε πρὸς αὐτῶν ᾤοντο. οὔτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε Λαζοὶ ἀσχολία τῇ ἀμφὶ Πέτρα τε καὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ πιεζόμενοι Ἀψιλίοις ἐπαμύνειν ἔσχον. [5] Ἦν δέ τις γυνὴ τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου, Ἀψιλία γένος, τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς μάλιστα. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκτόπως ἐρασθεὶς ἐξαπινάϊως ὁ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύματος ἄρχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πειρᾶν ἤρξατο, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς

οὐδὲν προϋχώνει, βιάζεσθαι μελλήσει αὐτὴν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐνεχειρήσεν. [6] οἷς δὴ ὀξυθυμωθεὶς ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, αὐτόν τε νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεληλυθότας ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε, παρανάλωμα τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐπιθυμίας γεγενημένους, καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔσχεν αὐτός. Ἀψίλιοι τε Κόλχων διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέστησαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ σφᾶς πρὸς Περσῶν κακουμένους προσποιεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλον. [7] ἀλλὰ Γουβάξης Ῥωμαίων χιλίους καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ υἱόν, οὐπερ ἔναγχος ἐπεμνήσθην, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν: ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τιθασσεύων ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ ἔσχε καὶ Λαζῶν κατηκόους κατεστήσατο αὐθις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε Ἀψιλίοις καὶ Τζιβιλῇ τῷ φρουρίῳ τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. [8] Ὑπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον Χοσρόη ξυνέβη μὴδὲ τὸν γόνον τῇ ἀπανθρωπῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνέπαφον μείναι. τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀνασῶζαδος ὄνομα ἔδυνатаι δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Περσῶν φωνῇ ἀθανατίζων προσκεκρουκῶς αὐτῷ ἔτυχε, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῇ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία ἐξαμαρτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς εὐνὴν συνιών. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα φυγῇ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξημίωσεν. [9] ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Οὐαζαῖνη χώρα, ἀγαθὴ μάλιστα, οὗ δὴ πόλις Βηλαπατῶν καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Κτησιφῶντος διέχουσα. [10] ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαγγείλαντος Ἀνασῶζαδος οὗτος διατριβὴν εἶχε. Τότε δὲ τῷ Χοσρόη χαλεπώτατα νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι: νοσώδης γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης φύσει. [11] ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς πανταχόθεν πολλάκις ἀμφ' αὐτόν ἤγειρεν, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Τριβοῦνος ὁ ἰατρὸς ἦν, Παλαιστίνος γένος. [12] ὁ δὲ Τριβοῦνος οὗτος λόγιος μὲν ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐς τέχνην τὴν ἱατρικὴν οὐδενὸς ἥσσω, ἄλλως δὲ σώφρων τε καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας ἐς ἄκρον ἦκων. [13] καὶ ποτε Χοσρόην κακῶς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντα ἰασάμενος ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, δῶρα πολλὰ τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κεκομισμένος. [14] ἡνίκα τοίνυν ἡ ταύτης προτέρα ἐκεχειρία ἐγένετο, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόης τὸν ἱατρὸν τοῦτον συνδιαιτησόμενον αὐτῷ ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἤτησε δοῦναι. τῆς τέ οἱ αἰτήσεως ἐπιτελεσθείσης, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Τριβοῦνον ὁ Χοσρόης αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτου ἂν δέηται. [15] ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἤτει τῶν πάντων χρημάτων ἢ ὥστε οἱ Ῥωμαίων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς Χοσρόην ἀφείναι. [16] ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄλλους τε τρισχιλίους ἀφῆκε καὶ ὅσους πρὸς ὄνομα ἐξητήσατο ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις λογίμους ὄντας, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐς πάντα ἀνθρώπους ὁ Τριβοῦνος ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [17] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνασῶζαδος τὰ Χοσρόη τῷ πατρὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ ξυμπεσόντα ἔγνω, τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύων, νεώτερα πράγματα ἔπρασσε. [18] τοῦ τε πατρὸς οἱ ράϊσαντος, οὐδέν τι ἥσσω τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀποστήσας καὶ ὄπλα ἀντάρας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζων ἦει. [19] ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Φάβριζον ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐπεμψε. νικήσας οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ Φάβριζος ὑποχειρίον τε τὸν Ἀνασῶζαδον πεποιημένος παρὰ Χοσρόην οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἦνεγκε. [20] καὶ ὃς τοὺς τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλωβήσατο, οὐ τὰς ὄψεις ἀφελόμενος, ἀλλὰ βλέφαρά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἀκοσμία πολλῇ ἀντιστρέψας. [21] περόνην γὰρ σιδηρὰν πυρακτώσας τινὰ καὶ ταύτῃ μόνον τοῖν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφθαλμοῖν τὰ ἔξω χρίσας, οὕτω δὴ τῶν βλεφάρων τὸν

κόσμον λωβήσασθαι ἔσχε. [22] ταῦτα δὲ Χοσρόης τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα ἐποίει μόνον, ὅπως ἂν τῷ παιδί ἀναστέλληται ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐλπίς. ἄνδρα γὰρ λώβη ἐχόμενον οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφήσει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι Πέρσαις, ὥσπερ κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

X

The Apsilii have been subjects of the Lazi from ancient times. Now there is in this country an exceedingly strong fortress which the natives call Tzibile. But one among the notables of the Lazi, Terdetes by name, who held the office of “magister,” as it is called, in this nation, had had a falling out with Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, and was hostile to him; accordingly he secretly promised the Persians to hand over this particular fortress to them, and he came into Apsilia leading an army of Persians to accomplish this object. Then, when they came close to the fortress, he himself went ahead with his Lazic followers and got inside the fortifications, because those keeping guard there could in no way disobey the commander of the Lazi, feeling as they did no suspicion of him. Thus when the Persian army arrived Terdetes received it into the fortress. And as a result of this the Medes considered that not Lazica alone, but also Apsilia was held by them. Meanwhile neither the Romans nor the Lazi were in a position to defend the Apsilii, being hard pressed, as they were, by the task of dealing with Petra and the Median army.

But there was a certain woman who was the wife of the commander of the garrison there, one of the Apsilii, an exceedingly comely person to look upon. With this woman the commander of the Persian army suddenly fell violently in love, and at first he began to make advances, but after that, since he met with no encouragement from the woman, he attempted with no hesitation to force her. At this the husband of the woman became exceedingly enraged, and at night he slew both the commander and all those who had entered the fortress with him, who thus became incidentally victims of their commander’s lust, and he himself took charge of the fortress. On account of this affair the Apsilii revolted from the Colchians, alleging against them that, whilst the Apsilii were being oppressed by the Persians, they had been altogether unwilling to champion their cause. But Gubazes sent a thousand Romans and John the son of Thomas, whom I have recently mentioned, against them; this man succeeded, after long efforts at conciliation, in winning them over without a fight and made them once more subjects of the Lazi. Such was the story of the Apsilii and the fortress of Tzibile.

At about this time it came about that Chosroes through his inhumanity did not remain unscathed even as regards his own offspring. For the eldest of his sons named Anasozadus (this means in the Persian tongue “Immortal”) chanced to have a falling out with him, having been guilty of many breaches of conduct, and in particular having consorted with the wives of his father without the least hesitation. At first then Chosroes punished his son by banishment. Now there is a certain land in Persia called Vazaine, an exceedingly good country, in which the city named Belapaton is situated, seven days’ journey distant

from Ctesiphon. There at the command of his father this Anasozadus was living.

But at that time it so fell out that Chosroes became very violently ill, so that it was actually said that he had passed from the world; for Chosroes was by nature of a sickly disposition. Certain it is that he often gathered around him physicians from all parts, among whom was the physician Tribunus, a Palestinian by birth. This Tribunus was a man of great learning and inferior to none in medical skill, and was furthermore a temperate and God-fearing man of the highest worth. On one occasion he had cured Chosroes of a serious illness, and when he departed from the land of the Persians, he carried with him many and notable gifts from his patient. When, accordingly, the truce preceding the present one was made, Chosroes demanded of the Emperor Justinian that he give him this Tribunus to live with him for a year. This demand having been granted him, as stated by me above, Chosroes bade Tribunus ask for whatever he wanted. And he asked for nothing else in the world except that Chosroes should release for him some of the Roman captives. So he released three thousand for him, and besides these all whom he requested by name as being notable men among the captives, and as a result of this incident Tribunus won great renown among all men. Thus did these events take place.

When Anasozadus learned of the disease which had fallen upon his father, he began to stir up a revolution by way of usurping the royal power. And though his father recovered, he nevertheless set the city in revolt himself, and taking up arms against him went forth fully prepared for battle. When Chosroes heard this, he sent against him an army with Phabrizus as general. So Phabrizus having been victorious in the battle made Anasozadus captive and brought him before Chosroes not long afterward. And he caused the eyes of his son to be disfigured, not destroying their sight but distorting both the upper and lower lids in a very ugly fashion. For he heated a sort of iron needle in the fire and with this seared the outside of his son's eyes when they were shut, thus marring the beauty of the lids. Now Chosroes did this with only one end in view, that his son's hope of achieving the royal power might be frustrated. For the law does not permit a man who has a disfigurement to become king over the Persians, as has been stated by me in the preceding narrative also.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἀνασωζάδῳ τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ τρόπου ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα: τὸ δὲ πέμπτον ἔτος τῆς ἐκεχειρίας διήνυστο. [2] καὶ Πέτρον μὲν ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐῷα παντάπασιν διοικήσονται. [3] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔψεσθαὶ οἱ ἄνδρα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν ταῦτα διαθησόμενον, ὅπῃ ἑκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. [4] Ἰσδιγούσαναν τε αὐθις οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔπεμψεν, ὀφρυάζοντά τε καὶ ἀλαζονεῖα τινὶ ἀμυθήτω

ἐχόμενον, οὗ δὴ ὁ τε τύφος καὶ τὸ φύσημα φορητὸν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων οὐδενὶ ἔδοξεν. [5] ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπομένων τε καὶ θεραπευόντων ἀμπολὺ πληθος. εἶκασεν ἂν τις ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἰέναι. [6] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογιμωτάτων, οἳ δὴ καὶ διαδήματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν χρυσᾷ ἐφόρουν. [7] ἔδακνέ τε τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἄνθρωποις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὐ κατὰ πρεσβευτήν, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον φιλοφροσύνης τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἠξίωσε. [8] Βραδούκιος μέντοι ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐκέτι ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ Χοσρόην φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι, ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπενεγκόντα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὁμοτράπεζος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ γέγονεν. [9] ‘οὐ γὰρ ἂν,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐρμηνεὺς γε ὢν ἐς τοῦτο ἀξιώματος πρὸς βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, εἰ μὴ καταπροδοὺς ἔτυχε τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα.’ τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ἰσδιγούσσαν αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν φασίν, ὡς λάθρα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς λόγους ἔλθοι. [10] τὰ δὲ πρῶτα ὁ πρεσβευτὴς οὗτος βασιλεῖ ἐντυχὼν οὐ μικρὸν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ, οὐ μέγα εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ ἡτιᾶτο Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἡδικηκέναι, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδους Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐν σπονδαῖς λυμήνασθαι φάσκων, ἄλλα τε οὐκ ἀξιόλογα ἐπιφέρων ἐγκλήματα, ὥνπερ μοι ἐπιμνησθῆναι οὔτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [11] Ἐν μὲν οὖν Βυζαντίῳ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. Βέσσας δὲ παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Πέτρας ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυσσον, ἵνα δὴ καὶ Δαγισθαῖος τὰ πρότερα τὴν διώρυχα πεποιημένος τὸν περίβολον ταύτῃ καθεῖλεν. οὗτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ὥρυσσον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [12] οἱ τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην δειμιάμενοι, ἐπὶ πέτρας μὲν ἔθεντο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια, ἐνιαχὴ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ χώματος αὐτὰ ξυνέβαινε κεῖσθαι. [13] ἦν δέ τις τοῦ τείχους μοῖρα ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖα, ἣς δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς σκληρᾶς τε καὶ ἀμηχάνου τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ θεμέλια ἐτεκτίναντο. [14] ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν μοῖραν Δαγισθαῖός τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ τανῦν Βέσσας διώρυσσον ὁμοίως, οὐκ ἐφείσης τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι περαιτέρω ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς διώρυχος μήκος συμμετρούσης τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πρυτανευούσης εἰκότως. [15] Ἦνίκα οὖν Πέρσαι μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς τοῦτο τοῦ τείχους ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἠθελον, οὐ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα τὴν οἰκοδομίαν πεποίηται, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [16] κάχληκος τὸν κενωθέντα ἐμπλησάμενοι χώρον δοκοὺς παχείας αὐτοῦ ὑπερθεν ἔθεντο, ὥσπερ ἐνδεδεχέστατα ζύσαντες ὁμαλὰς τε παντάπασι καταστησάμενοι ἐξευξαν μὲν ἐς ἀλλήλας ἐς μέγα τι εὖρος, κρηπίδα δὲ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ θεμελίων ποιησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου καθύπερθεν αὐτῶν ἐτεκτίναντο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμπείρως. ὅπερ οὐ ξυνέντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔνερθεν τῶν θεμελίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διώρυχα ᾤοντο. [17] καὶ τὸν χώρον κενώσαντες ὅλον ἐκ τῶν δοκῶν ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς γῆς τὸν μὲν περίβολον κατασεῖσαι κατὰ πολὺ ἰσχυσαν, μοῖρά τε αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναίως κατεπεπτόκει, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε πη ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦτο ἐκλίθη οὔτε τις αὐτῷ τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολὴ ξυνεταράχθη, ἀλλ’ ἀκραιφνὲς ὅλον εὐθείᾳ τινὶ καταβάσει, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς, ἐς τὸν κενωθέντα χώρον καταβὰν ἔστη, καὶ τὴν οἰκειάν ἐφύλασσε χώραν, οὐκ ἐς ὕψος ὅσον τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ’ ἐς τι ἦσσαν. [18] κενωθέντος οὖν παντὸς τοῦ τῶν

δοκῶν ἔνερθεν χώρου ὑφίζανειν αὐτὰς ἐνταῦθα ξὺν τῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οἰκοδομίᾳ πάσῃ ξυνέβη. [19] Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδ' ὥς ἐσβατὸν ἐγεγόνει τὸ τεῖχος. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν ὄμιλος, ἡνίκα πολὺς ξὺν τῷ Μερμερόῃ ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, μέγα τι χρῆμα τῇ πρόσθεν οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐνθέμενοι ὑψηλὸν ἐσάγαν τὸν περιβόλον ἐτεκτῆναντο. [20] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ κατασεισθὲν αὐθις ἐστηκὸς εἶδον, διηποροῦντό τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [21] οὔτε γὰρ διορύσσειν ἔτι ἠδύναντο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀποκεκριμένης τῆς κατώρυχος σφίσι, κριῶ τε χρῆσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀνάντει ἐτειχομάχουν, ἡ δὲ μηχανὴ αὕτη ἐφέλκεσθαι οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ τε καὶ λίαν ὑπτίῳ. [22] Τύχῃ δέ τινι ξυνεκύρησεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ εἶναι βαρβάρων τῶν Σαβείρων ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. [23] οἱ Σάβειροι ἔθνος μὲν ἐστὶν Οὐννικόν, ὥκηνται δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη, πάμπολυ πλῆθος μὲν ἐσάγαν ὄντες, ἐς ἀρχὰς δὲ πολλὰς ἐπεικῶς διηρημένοι. [24] τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ μὲν τινὲς εἰσι τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, οἱ δὲ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐκ παλαιοῦ γνῶριμοι. τοῖν τε βασιλέοις ἐκάτερος χρυσίον εἰώθει τακτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνσπόνδοις προῖσθαι, οὐκ ἐπέτειον μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα ἂν ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡ χρεία ἐνάγοι. [25] τότε οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν Σαβείρων τοὺς οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν ἔστειλέ τινα τὸν τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοὺς κομοῦντα. [26] ὁ δὲ πολεμίων γὰρ μεταξὺ ὄντων ἐς ὄρη τὰ Καυκάσια ἰέναι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήματα ἐπαγόμενος οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν ἀφικνεῖται μὲν παρὰ τε τὸν Βέσσαν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἐς τὴν Πέτρας πολιορκίαν καθίστατο, παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Σαβείρους πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν τινὰς ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς τὰ χρήματα ληψομένους παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκειν, οἱ τε βάρβαροι τρεῖς ἀπολεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικήν εὐθὺς ἐπεμψαν: οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τειχομαχίαν κατέστησαν. [27] Οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους εἶδον ἀπογόντας τε καὶ ἀπορουμένους τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι, μηχανὴν τινα ἐπετεχνήσαντο, οἷα οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν τινί, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε: καίτοι τεχνιτῶν μὲν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ γέγονέ τε ἀεὶ καὶ τανῦν ἐστίν. [28] ἐς χρείαν δὲ πολλάκις ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κατέστησαν τῆς μηχανῆς ἐκάτεροι ταύτης, ἐς ἐρύματα τειχομαχοῦντες ἐν χωρίοις σκληροῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις τισὶ κείμενα: ἀλλ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦτο γεγένηται ὅπερ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τανῦν γέγονεν: οὕτως ἀεὶ προϊόντι τῷ χρόνῳ συννεωτερίζειν τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἐπινοίας φιλεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις. [29] κριὸν γὰρ αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οἱ Σάβειροι οὗτοι, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, [30] ἀλλὰ καινουργήσαντες ἐτέρῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. οὐ γὰρ δοκοῦς ἐς τὴν μηχανὴν ταύτην, οὐκ ὀρθὰς, οὐκ ἐγκαρσίας ἐμβέβληνται, ἀλλὰ ῥάβδους παχείας τινὰς ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες, καὶ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ τῶν δοκῶν πανταχόθι ἐναρμοσάμενοι, βύρσαις τε τὴν μηχανὴν καλύψαντες ὅλην τὸ τοῦ κριοῦ διεσώσαντο σχῆμα, μίαν δοκὸν μόνην, ἥπερ εἴησται, κατὰ μέσσην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀλύσεσιν ἀναρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς τισὶν, ἥσπερ τὸ ἄκρον ὁξὺ γεγεννημένον καὶ σιδήρῳ περικαλυφθὲν ὥσπερ βέλους ἀκὴς ἔμελλε συχνὰ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι. [31] οὕτω δὲ κούφην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπειργάσαντο, ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων

ἐφέλκεσθαι ἢ διωθεῖσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες τεσσαράκοντα, οἳ καὶ τὴν δοκὸν ἀνασύρειν τε καὶ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἔνδον τῆς μηχανῆς ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βυρσῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἔφερον τὸν κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. [32] Τρεῖς μὲν οὗτοι οἱ βάρβαροι μηχανὰς τοιαύτας εἰργάσαντο, τὰς δοκοὺς ξὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ ἐκ τῶν κριῶν ἀφελόμενοι, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐφέλκειν: ὑποδύντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστην οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεχθέντες ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ τεύχους ἔθεντο. [33] ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ μηχανῆς ἐκάστης ἕτεροι ἴσταντο, τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κράνεσι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κεκαλυμμένοι καὶ κοντοὺς ἔχοντες, ὥνπερ τὰ ἄκρα σιδηρίοις ἀγκιστροειδέσιν ἐρήρειστο, τούτου δὴ παρεσκευασμένων αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ἡ τοῦ κριοῦ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐμβολὴ ξυγχῆτ' τὰς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολὰς, τούτοις δὴ τοῖς κοντοῖς περιαιρεῖν τε τοὺς ξυγχεομένους τῶν λίθων καὶ ἀπορρίπτειν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [34] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἔργου εἶχοντο καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη συχναῖς ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς κατεσεῖετο, οἱ δὲ τῶν μηχανῶν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ὄντες τοῖς ἀγκιστροειδέσι κοντοῖς τῶν λίθων τοὺς ξυνταρασσομένους ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ξυνθήκης ἐρρίπτουν, ἀλώσεσθαι τε ἡ πόλις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπίδοξος ἦν. [35] Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπενόουν τάδε. ξύλινον πύργον, ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρεσκεύαστο, καθύπερθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτίθεντο, ἀνδρῶν ἔμπλεων τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχιμωτάτων, ἥλοις τε σιδηροῖς καὶ θώραξι τὰς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβαλόντων. [36] ἀγγεῖα δὲ θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου ἐμπλησάμενοι καὶ φαρμάκου ὅπερ Μῆδοι μὲν νάφθαν καλοῦσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Μηδείας ἔλαιον, πυρὶ τε ταῦτα ὑφάψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν κριῶν ἔβαλλον, ὥσπερ ὀλίγου ἐμπιπράναι πάσας ἐδέξαντο. [37] ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ ταύτας, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐστῶτες, τοῖς κοντοῖς, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, ἐνδεδεχέστατα περιαιροῦντες τὰ βαλλόμενα καὶ περικαθαίροντες, ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν εὐθὺς ἐρρίπτουν. [38] οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀνθέξιν ὑπώπτευν: τὸ γὰρ πῦρ οὗ προσψάύσειεν ἐνεπίμπρα αὐτίκα, εἰ μὴ εὐθυωρὸν ἀποβληθεῖ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. [39] Βέσσας δὲ αὐτὸς τεθωρακισμένος καὶ ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα κλίμακας πολλὰς ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦ τεύχους προῆγε. [40] καὶ λόγῳ τοσοῦτον παραθαρρύνας, ὅσον μὴ ἀμβλῦναι τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμήν, ἔργοις τῆς παρακελεύσεως τὰ λοιπὰ ἔνειμεν. ἀνὴρ γὰρ πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα γεγυνὼς ἐτῶν καὶ παντάπασιν ἔξωρος ὢν ἤδη πρῶτος ἐπέβη τῆς κλίμακος. [41] ἐνταῦθα μάχη καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξις γίνεται Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις οἷαν ἔγωγε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οὐδαμῇ οἶμαι ξυνενεχθῆναι. [42] τὸ μὲν γὰρ βαρβάρων πλῆθος εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ξυνήει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. [43] καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν τραυματία σχεδόν τι γεγόνασι πάντες, ὀλίγοις τε λίαν ἐπ' ἀθῷοις τοῖς σώμασι περιεῖναι ξυνέβη. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἐβιάζοντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπεκρούοντο. [44] ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ κτεινομένων πολλῶν οὐ μακράν που ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀπεῷσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον Πέρσαι: ὠτισμοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν κλιμάκων ὑπερβολῇ γεγενημένου ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἅτε πολεμίους καθύπερθεν οὔσι

μαχόμενοι ἔθνησκον καὶ Βέσσας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πεσὼν ἔκειτο. [45] καὶ τότε δὴ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίας πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων γεγεννημένης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔβαλον, οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ξυνέστησάν τε σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ κράνη μὲν ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, θώρακας δὲ ἀμπεχόμενοι πάντες, ἔτι μέντοι καθύπερθεν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι καὶ ἐν χρῶ ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις, ὀροφῆς αὐτῷ σχῆμα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὸν τε στρατηγὸν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἔκρυψαν καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα παντὶ σθένει ἀπεκρούοντο. [46] καὶ πάταγος μὲν τῶν ἀεὶ πεμπομένων κὰν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπλοις ἀποκαυλιζομένων πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ ἄσθματι καὶ τάλαιπωρία ἕκαστος εἶχετο. [47] Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἅπαντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἀμύνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν, καὶ ταύτη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστελλον. [48] Τότε δὴ ὁ Βέσσας 'οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξανίστασθαι εἶχε, τῆς ὀπλίσεως ἀντιστατούσης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ σώματός οἱ οὐκ εὐσταλοῦς ὄντος, ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ εὖσαρκός τε καί, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐσχατογέρων' οὐκ ἐς ἀμυχανίαν ἐξέπεσε, καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦκων, ἀλλὰ βουλευεταί τι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ὥπερ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διασώσασθαι ἔσχε. [49] τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις ἐπέστελλε σύρειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκ ποδὸς καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω τοῦ τείχους ἐφέλκειν. [50] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσυρον, οἱ δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὑπεχώρουν, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας ὑπερθεν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες, τοσαύτην δὲ ποιούμενοι βάδισιν ὅσον ἐκεῖνος ἐσύρετο, ὡς μὴ ἀπαρακάλυπτος γεγωνὼς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων βληθεῖη. [51] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Βέσσας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγεγόνει, ἐξανίστατό τε καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦει, τῆς τε κλίμακος ἐπιβατεύσας αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν ὥρμητο. [52] ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεδείκνυντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια. περίφοβοί τε γενόμενοι Πέρσαι καιρὸν σφίσι τινὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους διδόναι ἤτουν, ὅπως συσκευασάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσωνται τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες. [53] Βέσσας δὲ δολώσεις αὐτοὺς ἐπιτεχνάσασθαι ὑποτοπάζων, ὅπως μεταξὺ κρατύνωνται τὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὀχύρωμα, τὴν μὲν ξυμβολὴν καταπαύειν ἔφη οὐχ οἷός τε εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ βουλομένους αὐτῷ ξυγγενέσθαι, τῶν στρατοπέδων μαχομένων, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἰέναι τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν, δεῖξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς. [54] Τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τὸν λόγον γίνεται μὲν αὐθις καρτερά τις μάχη καὶ ὠθισμὸς πολὺς, ἔτι δὲ ἀγχωμάλου τῆς ξυμβολῆς οὔσης ξυνηνέχθη τὸ τεῖχος ἐτέρωθι, οὔπερ διορῶζαντες Ῥωμαῖοι πρότερον ἔτυχον, ἐξαπινάϊως καταπεσεῖν. ἐνταῦθα οὖν πολλοὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ξυνέρρεον. [55] καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πλήθει τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες, καίπερ δίχα διηρημένοι, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον βάλλοντές τε καὶ ὠθοῦντες καρτερώτατα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέκειντο. [56] Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἀντεῖχον, ἐκατέρωθι βιαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαιρεθεῖσα ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη διαφανῆς ἦν. [57] οὕτω δὲ πονουμένων ἀμφοτέρων ἔτι τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ οὔτε Περσῶν ἀποκρούεσθαι δυναμένων ἐγκειμένους σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαίων βιάζεσθαι παντάπασι τὴν εἴσοδον οἶων τε ὄντων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱὸς ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, τὰ μὲν καταπεπτακότα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὠθισμοὺς εἶασεν, Ἀρμενίων

δὲ τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενος ὀλίγους τινὰς διὰ τοῦ κρημνωδους, ἤπερ ἅπαντες τὴν πόλιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι ὑπόπτευνον, βιασάμενος ἀνέβη τοὺς ταύτη φρουρούς. [58] κατὰ τε τὰς ἐπάλλξεις γενόμενος ἓνα Περσῶν τῶν τῆδε ἀμυνομένων, ὅσπερ μαχιμώτατος ἐδόκει εἶναι, δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. ἐσβατόν τε Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [59] Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ ἐστήκεσαν μέγα τι χρῆμα τῶν πυρφόρων ἀγγείων ὑφῆψαν, ὅπως τῶν βαλλομένων τῷ περιόντι καταφλέξει αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς μηχανὰς οἰοί τε ὄσιν, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἅπαντα τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθεῖσθαι. [60] πνεῦμα δὲ νότου σκληρόν τε καὶ ὑπερφυῆς ἄγαν ἐξαπινάϊως ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ξυν πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐπιτεσόν, τῶν τοῦ πύργου σανίδων ἀμηγέπη μιᾷς ἦσαν. [61] οὐ ξυνιέντων δὲ αὐτίκα τῶν ἐνταῦθα Περσῶν ᾠόνῳ γὰρ καὶ θορύβῳ καὶ δέει καὶ ταραχῇ ἀμέτρῳ εἶχοντο ἅπαντες, ἢ τε ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς παρηρεῖτο τὴν αἴσθησιν ἢ φλόξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη τῷ τε τῆς Μηδείας ἐπωνύμῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἷσπερ ἄλλοις ἐξήρτυτο τὸν πύργον ὅλον καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐνέπρησεν. [62] ἐξηνθρακωμένοι τε ἅπαντες ἔπεσον, οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, οἱ δὲ τούτου ἐκτός, ἵνα δὴ αἶ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτάς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐστήκεσαν: οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσοι δὴ ἐς τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ καταπεπτωκότα ἐμάχοντο, ἐνδιδόντων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων ἕς τε ὀλιγορίαν ἐμπεπτωκότων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καὶ κατ' ἄκρας ἡ Πέτρα ἐάλω. [63] Τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναδραμόντες καὶ τὸ ἐκείνη καταλαβόντες ὀχύρωμα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσους οὐκ ἔκτειναν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ, ἐξώγρησαν ἅπαντας ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα ὄντας. [64] καὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτὼ μὲν καὶ δέκα ἀκραιφνεῖς εὖρον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες τραυματῖαι ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Θωμᾶ υἱός, λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδῳ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων βληθεὶς ἔργα τε θαυμαστὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος.

XI

[550 A.D.] As for Anasozadus, then, his fortune and his character brought him to this. And when the fifth year of the truce had now come to an end, the Emperor Justinian sent Petrus, a patrician and holding the office of "Magister," to Chosroes, in order that they might arrange in every detail the treaty for the settlement of the East. But Chosroes sent him away, promising that after no long time he would be followed by the man who would arrange these matters in a manner advantageous to both parties. And not long afterwards he sent Isdigousnas for the second time, a man of pretentious demeanour and filled with a kind of unspeakable villainy, whose pompous puffing and blowing no one of the Romans could bear. And he brought with him his wife and daughters and his brother, and was followed by a huge throng of retainers. One would have supposed that the good men were going out for battle. In his company also were two of the most notable men among the Persians, who actually wore golden diadems on their heads. And it irritated the people of Byzantium that the Emperor Justinian did not receive him simply as an ambassador, but counted him worthy of much more friendly attention and magnificence.

But Braducius did not come again with him to Byzantium, for they say that Chosroes had removed him from the world, laying no other charge against the man than that he had been a table-companion of the Roman emperor. "For," said he, "as a mere interpreter he would not have achieved such high honour from the emperor, unless he had betrayed the cause of the Persians." But some say that Isdigousnas slandered him, asserting that he had conversed secretly with the Romans. Now when this ambassador met the emperor for the first time, he spoke no word either small or great about peace, but he made the charge that the Romans had violated the truce, alleging that Arethas and the Saracens, who were allies of the Romans, had outraged Alamundarus in time of peace, and advancing other charges of no consequence which it has seemed to me not at all necessary to mention.

While these negotiations were going on in Byzantium, Bessas with the whole Roman army was entering upon the siege of Petra. First the Romans dug a trench along the wall just where Dagisthaeus had made his ditch when he pulled the wall down there. Now the reason why they dug in the same place I shall explain. Those who built this city originally placed the foundations of the circuit-wall for the most part upon rock, but here and there they were allowed to rest upon earth. And there was such a portion of the wall on the west side of the city of no great extent, on either side of which they had constructed the foundations of the circuit wall upon hard, unyielding rock. This was the portion which Dagisthaeus on the previous occasion and now

Bessas likewise undermined, the character of the ground not permitting them to go further, but quite naturally determining the length of the trench for them and controlling it naturally.

Consequently when the Persians, after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus, wished to build up this part of the wall which had fallen down, they did not follow the previous plan in its construction, but did as follows. Filling the excavated space with gravel, they laid upon it heavy timbers which they had planed very thoroughly, making them entirely smooth, and then they bound them together so as to cover a wide space; these then they used as a base instead of foundation stones, and upon them they skilfully carried out the construction of the circuit-wall. This was not understood by the Romans and they thought they were making their ditch under the foundations. But by excavating the entire space under the timbers which I have just mentioned and carrying their work across most of the ground they did succeed in damaging the wall seriously, and a portion of it had actually dropped down suddenly, but nevertheless this fallen part did not incline at all to either side nor was one of the courses of stone deranged, but the whole section descended intact in a direct line, as if let down by a machine, into the excavated space and stopped there, keeping its proper position, though not with the same height as before, but somewhat less. So when the whole space under the timbers had been excavated, it came about that they settled into it with the entire wall on them.

But even so the wall did not become accessible to the Romans. For when Mermeroes had come there with his great throng of Persians, they had added a great deal to the earlier masonry and so built the circuit-wall exceedingly high. So the Romans, when they saw the part of the wall which had been shaken down still standing, were at a loss and found themselves involved in great perplexity. For neither could they mine any longer, seeing their digging had brought such a result, nor were they able at all to employ the ram, for they were fighting against a wall on a slope, and this engine cannot be brought up to a wall except on smooth and very flat ground.

Now by some chance it so fell out that there were in this Roman army a small number of the barbarians called Sabiri, for the following reason. The Sabiri are a Hunnic nation and live in the region of the Caucasus, being a very numerous people and properly divided among many different rulers. And some of the rulers from ancient times have had relations with the Roman emperor, and others with the king of Persia. And each of these two sovereigns was accustomed to pay a fixed amount of gold to those in alliance with him, not annually, however, but only as need impelled him to do so. At that time, accordingly, the Emperor Justinian, by way of inviting those of the Sabiri who were friendly to him to a fighting alliance, had sent a man who was to convey the money to them. But this man, seeing that, with enemies between, he could in no wise travel in safety into the Caucasus region, particularly when

carrying money, went only as far as Bessas and the Roman army that was engaged in besieging Petra, and from there he sent to the Sabiri, bidding some of them who were to receive the money to come to him with all speed; whereupon the Sabiri selected three of their leading men and straightway sent them with a small escort into Lazica. These, then, were the men who, upon arriving there, had entered into the attack on the wall with the Roman army.

Now when these Sabiri saw that the Romans were in despair and at a loss how to handle the situation, they devised a contrivance, such as had never been conceived by anyone else of the Romans or of the Persians since men have existed, although there have always been and now are great numbers of engineers in both countries. And though both nations have often been in need of this device throughout their history, in storming the walls of fortresses situated on any rough and difficult ground, yet not to a single one of them has come this idea which now occurred to these barbarians. Thus as time goes on human ingenuity is ever wont to keep pace with it by discovering new devices. For these Sabiri improvised a ram, not in the customary form, but using a new method which was their innovation. They did not put any beams into this engine, either upright or transverse, but they bound together some rather thick wands and fitted them in place everywhere instead of the beams; then they covered the entire engine with hides and so kept the shape of a ram, and hung a single beam by loose chains, as is customary, in the centre of the engine, and the head of this, having been made sharp and covered over with iron like the barb of a missile, was intended to deal repeated blows to the circuit-wall. And they made the engine so light that it was no longer necessary that it be dragged or pushed along by the men inside, but forty men, who were also destined to draw back the beam and thrust it forward against the wall, being inside the engine and concealed by the hides, could carry the ram upon their shoulders with no difficulty.

These barbarians made three such engines, taking the beams with their iron heads from the rams which the Romans had in readiness but were unable to draw up to the wall. And Roman soldiers chosen for their valour in groups of not less than forty went inside each one of them and set them down very close to the wall. And others were standing on either side of each engine, armed with the corselet and having their heads carefully covered by helmets and carrying poles, the ends of which were fitted with hook-shaped irons; now the purpose for which these had been provided was this, that as soon as the impact of the ram on the wall should break up the courses of the stones, they might be able with these poles to loosen and pull down such stones as were dislodged. So the Romans set to work and the wall was already being shaken by frequent blows, while those who were on both sides of the engines, using their hooked poles, were pulling down the stones as they were dislodged from their setting in the masonry, and it seemed certain that the city would be captured instantly.

But the Persians hit on the following plan. They placed on the top of the circuit-wall a wooden tower which had been made ready by them long before, filling it with their most warlike men, who had their heads and the rest of their bodies protected by iron nails and corselets. And they had filled pots with sulphur and bitumen and the substance which the Persians call “naphtha” and the Greeks “Medea’s oil,” and they now set fire to these and commenced to throw them upon the sheds of the rams, and they came within a little of burning them all. But the men standing beside them, as I have said, by means of the poles which I have just mentioned kept removing these missiles with the greatest determination and clearing them off, so that they hurled everything down to the ground from the engines as soon as it fell. But they could not expect to hold out long in this work; for the fire kindled instantly whatever it touched, unless it was immediately thrown off. Such then was the course of events here.

But Bessas, who had himself donned his corselet and put his whole army under arms, began to move forward many ladders to the part of the wall which had sunk. And after stirring their courage with a speech of only such length as not to blunt the point of the opportunity, he devoted the remainder of his exhortation to action. For though he was a man of more than seventy years and already well past his prime, he was the first to mount the ladder. There a battle took place and a display of valour by both Romans and Persians such as I at least believe has never once been seen in these times. For while the number of the barbarians amounted to two thousand three hundred, the Romans counted as many as six thousand. And practically all those on both sides who were not killed received wounds, and it proved true that exceedingly few survived with their bodies intact. So the Romans, for their part, were struggling with all their strength to force the ascent, while the Persians on their side were beating them back with great vigour. Thus many were being slain on both sides and the Persians were not far from repelling the danger. For at the tops of the ladders a violent struggle for position took place, and many of the Romans, fighting as they were with an enemy above them, were being slain, and Bessas the general also fell to the ground and lay there. And at that point a tremendous shout arose from both armies as the barbarians rushed together from all sides and shot at him, and his bodyguard gathered hastily about him, all of them having helmets on the heads and wearing corselets; and by holding their shields close together over their heads and crowding in so as to touch one another, they made a sort of roof over him and concealed their general in complete safety, and kept fending off the missiles with all their strength. And a great din arose from the missiles which were thrown continually and blunted on the shields and other armour, and at the same time each man was shouting and panting and exerting himself to the utmost. Meanwhile all the Romans, in their eagerness to defend their general, were shooting at the wall, stopping not for an instant, seeking thus to check

the enemy.

In this crisis Bessas distinguished himself; though he could not get on his feet on account of the impediment of his armour and also because his body was not nimble (for this man was fleshy and, as said, very old), still he did not yield to helpless despair, even when he had come into such great danger, but formed a plan on the spur of the moment by which he succeeded in saving both himself and the Roman cause. For he directed his bodyguards to drag him by the foot and thus pull him very far from the wall, and they carried out this order. And so, while some were dragging him, others were retreating with him, holding their shields above him and toward each other, and walking at the same speed as he was being dragged, so that he might not, through becoming uncovered, be hit by the enemy. Then as soon as Bessas had reached safety, he got on his feet, and urging his men forward went toward the wall, and setting foot on the ladder once more made haste to mount it. And all the Romans following behind him made a display of real heroism against the enemy. Then the Persians became terrified and begged their opponents to give them some time, in order that they might pack up and get out of the way when they handed over the city. But Bessas suspected that they had contrived some trickery, to the end that in the interval they might increase the strength of the circuit-wall, and so he said that he was unable to put a stop to the fighting, but those who wished to meet him to discuss terms could, while the armies were fighting, nevertheless proceed with him to another part of the wall; and he designated a certain spot to them.

This proposal, however, was not accepted by them, and once more fierce fighting commenced, involving a violent tussle; but while the conflict was still indecisive, it so fell out that the wall at another point, where the Romans had previously undermined it, suddenly toppled over. Consequently many from both armies rushed together at that spot. And now the Romans shewed their great numerical superiority over the enemy, though they were divided into two parts, and they kept pressing the battle against their opponents, shooting faster than ever and pushing forward with the greatest force. The Persians, on the other hand, no longer resisted with the same strength as before, assailed violently as they were at both points, and the smallness of their numbers thus divided between two fronts was conspicuous. Now while both the armies were still struggling thus, and the Persians, on the one hand, could not repulse their enemy as they pressed upon them, and the Romans, on the other hand, were unable completely to force their entrance, a young man of the Armenian race named John, son of Thomas, whom they were wont to call Guzes, abandoned the downfallen part of the circuit-wall and the struggles there, and, taking with him some few of his Armenian followers, ascended by the precipice, where all considered the city to be impregnable, having overpowered the guards at that point. Then, after getting on the parapet, he slew with his spear one of the Persian defenders there, who appeared to be the most warlike. In this manner

an entry was made possible for the Romans.

Now the Persians who were posted in the wooden tower had kindled a huge number of firebearing pots, in order that they might be able by the very number of their missiles to burn up the engines, men and all, their defenders being unable to push them all aside with their poles. Hut suddenly there sprang up from the south a wind of extraordinary violence and blew against them with a great roar, and in some way or other it set fire to one of the planks of the tower. But the Persians there did not immediately comprehend this, for they were every man of them working and shouting immoderately, being filled with fear and in the midst of wild confusion, and the urgency of the moment had robbed them of their senses; so the flame rising little by little, fed by the oil which bears Medea's name and all the other things with which the tower was supplied, consumed the whole tower and the Persians who were in it. These were all burned to death, and their charred bodies fell, some inside the wall, others outside where the engines stood with the Romans about them. Then the other Romans also who were fighting at the fallen part of the wall, since the enemy were giving way before them in utter despair and strove no longer to resist, got inside the fortifications, and Petra was captured completely.

So about five hundred of the Persians ran up to the acropolis, and seizing the stronghold there remained quiet, but the Romans made prisoners of all the others, such as they had not slain in the fighting, amounting to about seven hundred and thirty. And among these they found only eighteen unhurt, all the rest having been wounded. There fell too many of the best of the Romans, and among them John the son of Thomas, who, while entering the city, was hit on the head by a stone thrown by one of the barbarians, but only after he had made a display of marvellous deeds against the enemy.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταλαβόντας πολιορκοῦντες λόγους προὔφερον, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς προτεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁμολογοῦντες, ταύτῃ Πέρσας καραδοκοῦντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσιν. [2] οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ἐς ἀντίστασιν εἶδον, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνθέξειν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ οἴομενοι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀρετὴν θανατῶντες. [3] Βέσσας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων ἀντικαταστῆσαι τε ἐς τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὡς πλησιαιτάτα αὐτοῖς ἰέναι κελεύει παραίνεσίν τε τινα ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσασθαι, δηλώσας ὅσα δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν βούλοιο. [4] Καὶ ὃς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 'Τί πεπονθότες ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ᾧ βέλτιστοι Πέρσαι, τὸν ὄλεθρον διατείνεσθε τοῦτον, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τὰ θανάσιμα σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα διαφανῶς ἀτιμάζοντες; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἀντιστατεῖν, οὐδὲ ζυνετὸν τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ὑπέικειν: οὐδὲ μὴν ἄδοξόν τ' οὐχὶ τῇ παρούσῃ [5] ἐπομένους βιώναι.' ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὐδὲ

ἀγαθῆς τινὸς ἐλπίδος τυχοῦσα τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐκφεύγει δικαίως, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἔργων περιβάλλεται τὰ αἰσχροτάτα: κακῷ γὰρ τῷ ἀμηνῶν τὸ σύγγνωμον ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. [6] μὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν προὔπτῳ ζηλοῦτε κινδύνῳ, μηδὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀλλάξασθε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὡς ἀναβιώσεσθαι μὲν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀδύνατον, οἱ δὲ περιόντες καὶ χρόνῳ διαχρήσονται σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, ἣν γε τοῦτο κρεῖσσον εἶναι δοκῇ. [7] βουλευσάσθε οὖν τὴν ὑστάτην βουλὴν καὶ περισκοπεῖσθε τὰ ζύμφορα, ἐκεῖνο εἰδότες, ὡς ταῦτα ἂν τῶν βουλευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα εἴη ἐν οἷς τὸ μεταμέλειν τοῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσται. [8] ὡς ἡμεῖς γε ὑμᾶς καὶ ζυγομαχοῦντας οἰκτείρομεν καὶ θανατώντων φειδόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐνδιαθρυπτομένους τε καὶ βλακεύοντας ἐλεεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν, ἢ Ῥωμαίοις Χριστιανοῖς νόμος. [9] ἄλλο τε ὑμῖν περιέσται οὐδέν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω μεταβαλόντες Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀντὶ Χοσρόου κύριον ἔξετε: ὑπὲρ γὰρ τούτων ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν ὁμολογοῦμεν. [10] μὴ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαχρήσησθε, παρὸν σώζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐπὶ οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν ὀνήσει, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ θανατᾶν τοῦτό γε. [11] γενναῖος δὲ ὅς ἂν ἐγκατερῇ τὰ δεινότατα, ἡνίκα τι προσδοκᾷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν ἐκούσιον τελευτὴν ἄνθρωποι, ἔνθα δὴ τις ἐπὶ κείται κρείσσων τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κινδύνῳ ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ βίου μὲν καταστροφὴ ἄχρηστος ἄνοια προπετής, τὸ δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἀνόητον θράσος τοῦ δραστηρίου πρόσχημα οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς τοῖς γε σώφροσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ. [12] καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρή, μὴ τι δόξητε καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀγνωμονεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπολεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, παραδεδώκει τοῖς διασώζειν ἐφιεμένοις. [13] τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτά ἐστι, βουλευσέσθε δὲ ὑμεῖς δηλονότι ὧν περ ἀξίοις ὑμῖν ζυμβαίνει εἶναι.' [14] Ἡ μὲν παραίνεσις ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοῇ δέχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐθελοκωφοῦντες ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαῖοιεν προσεποιοῦντο. [15] καὶ τότε, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευσαμένου, Ῥωμαῖοι πῦρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐμβέβληνται, τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐνδῶσειν τὰ σώματα σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι. [16] τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὅτι δὴ σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τετεφρῶσθαι ζυμβήσεται, ἐλπίδα οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ εἰδότες καθ' ὃ τι σωθήσονται ἀμυνόμενοι, οὐδ' ὡς ὑποχείριοι τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ζὺν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εὐθὺς ἅπαντες, θαυμάζοντες τὰ ποιούμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καταφλεγόμενοι διεφθάρησαν. [17] δι' ὅσης τε σπουδῆς ὁ Χοσρόης Λαζικήν ἤγε τηνικάδε φανερόν γεγονεν: ὅς γε στρατιώτας μὲν τοὺς πάντων λογιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐν τῷ τῆς Πέτρας κατεστήσατο φυλακτηρίῳ, ὅπλα δὲ κατέθετο τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε ληῖσαμένων αὐτὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστω πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἐπιβαλεῖν σκευήν, καίτοι κὰν τῇ ἀκροπόλει πολλὰ καυθῆναι ζυνέβη. [18] εὗρηται δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ τεταριχευμένων κρεῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα δὴ ἔμελλε πενταετὲς τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις πᾶσιν ἐπαρκέσειν. [19] οἶνον δὲ οὐκ ἔτυχον ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι Πέρσαι, πλήν γε ὅτι τὸν τε ὀξίνην καὶ διαρκὴ κύαμον. [20] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπύρρεον ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι εὗρον, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι διηποροῦντο, ἕως τὸν

πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τοῖς κρυφίοις ὀχετοῖς ἔμαθον. ὁ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [21] Ἦνίκα Πέτραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐλὼν τῇδε τὸ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι προσεδρεύσουσι μὲν αὐτῇ μηχανῇ πάσῃ, εὐθὺς δὲ διελεῖν τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐγχειρήσουσιν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. [22] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ὅπερ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήγετο ἐς τρεῖς διελὼν μοίρας κατὰρχα τε βαθεῖαν κοιμίδῃ ποιησάμενος, ὀχετοὺς ἐτεκτῆνατο τρεῖς, τὸν ἕνα μὲν κάτω ἐς τῆς κατὰρχος ταύτης τὰ ἔσχατα, κόπρῳ καὶ λίθοις καλύψας ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῆς κατὰρχος μέσα: ἐνταυθὰ τε κρύψας τὸν δεύτερον, ὑπερθεὶν τὸν τρίτον ἐδείματο, ὑπὲρ γῆς τε ὄντα καὶ ὁρατὸν πᾶσιν: ὥστε τριώροφον κεκρυμμένως τὸν ὀχετὸν εἶναι. [23] ὥνπερ οὐ ξυνέντες κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς πολιορκίας Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν διαφανῆ ὀχετὸν διελόντες, ἐπίπροσθέν τε οὐκ ἐπεξαγαγόντες τὸν ἐπὶ διώρυχι πόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἔργου πρὸ τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπωλείας ἀποπαυσάμενοι, ᾤοντο ἐνδεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὸ ὕδωρ, σφαλλούσης αὐτοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρὰ τὸ πονεῖσθαι ὀλιγωρίας. [24] τῆς δὲ προσεδρείας μηχανομένης, τῶν τινὰς πολεμίων λαβόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔμαθον ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ὑδρεῦσθαι. [25] κατορύξαντες τοῖνον τὸν χῶρον εὐρίσκουσι τὸν δεύτερον ὀχετὸν ἐνταυθὰ πη ὄντα, καὶ τοῦτον διελόντες αὐτίκα ᾤοντο ταύτῃ πᾶσαν κατειργάσθαι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς δευτέροις ἐν τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διδασκαλίᾳ παιδευθέντες τὰ πρότερα. [26] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες ἐπίρρεον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζον τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ εἶχοντο. [27] τὸ δὲ γεγονὸς παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες, τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς σφετέρας παρὰ τοὺς πόνους ὀλιγωρίας ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡσθάνοντο. [28] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ὁ Βέσσας εὐθὺς βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψε, τὸν δὲ Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὡς μὴ πράγματα οἱ πολέμοι σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχωνται. [29] καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἀποδεδειγμένης τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπήνεσεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας, ὅτι δὴ ὅλον καθεῖλε τὸ τεῖχος. [30] γέγονεν οὖν ὁ Βέσσας αὐθις οἷς τε εὐημέρησεν οἷς τε ἀρετῆς πεποιήται δήλωσιν ἀπόβλεπτος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. [31] ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο, ἐλπίδα Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχον ἅτε ἀνδρειοτάτῳ διαγεγονότι τὰ πρότερα. [32] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐνταυθα δεδυστυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε, Ῥώμῃς τε οὕτω τοῖς Γότθοις ἀλούσης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, καὶ διεφθαρμένου ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον Ῥωμαίων τοῦ γένους, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς οὕτω δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναστρέψαντα στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας αὐτόν. [33] διέσυρον δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖ βεβουλευμένα ἐχλευάζον, εἰ τῷ Βέσσῃ τούτῳ, Γότθων τε ἡσσηθέντι κατὰ κράτος καὶ τυμβογέροντι γεγενημένῳ, πόλεμον τὸν Μηδικὸν ἐγχειρίσειεν ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς βίου. [34] ἀλλὰ τούτων σχεδὸν τι ἅπασι δεδογμένων, εὐτυχία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ τοιάδε τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷδε ξυνηνέχθη χρῆσθαι. οὕτως ἄρα οὐχ ἥπερ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ροπῇ πρυτανεύεται τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ὃ δὴ τύχην εἰώθασι καλεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ταύτῃ πρόεισι τὰ ξυμβαίνοντα ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐνδὴλα γίνεται. [35] τῷ γὰρ παραλόγῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι φιλεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης ὄνομα προσχωρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς πη ἐκάστῳ φίλον, ταύτῃ

δοκείτω.

XII

On the following day the Romans, while besieging those barbarians who had seized the acropolis, made a proposal, offering them personal safety and promising to give them pledges to that effect, thinking that the Persians would submit on this basis. But they did not receive the suggestion and prepared to resist, not thinking that they would hold out long in their desperate situation, but courting a heroic death. But Bessas, wishing to dissuade them from this purpose and to turn them instead to a longing for safety, commanded one of the Roman soldiers to go up as close as he could to them and make a kind of exhortation to the men, and he stated what he wished him to say to them.

This man then came up close to the fortress and spoke as follows: "Most noble Persians, what has come over you that you are stubbornly holding to this course of destruction, bending your energies with unreasonable zeal to accomplish a certain death and conspicuously dishonouring the practice of valour? For it is not a manly thing to array oneself against the inevitable, nor a wise thing to refuse to bow to those who have won the mastery; nor, on the other hand, is it inglorious to live by falling in with the situation chance has brought. For man, in the grip of necessity which is relieved by no hope of rescue, is thereby justly acquitted of the charge of dishonour, even if he is involved in the most shameful actions; for evil, when it is unavoidable, is naturally followed by forgiveness. Do not, therefore, emulate madmen in the midst of obvious danger, and do not barter your safety for wanton folly, but rather call to mind that it is impossible for the dead to come to life, while the living can destroy themselves at a later time, if indeed this seems best. Make, then, your final deliberation and consider well your interests, recalling the fact that those decisions would be the best in which reversal shall still be within the power of those who have made the decision. For we on our part do pity you, though you are fighting against your own friends, and spare you when you are courting death, and we expect, as is customary for Christian Romans, to feel compassion for you though you throw life to the winds, and look upon it as a trivial matter. And the result for you will be simply this, that by shifting your citizenship for the better you will have Justinian instead of Chosroes as master; indeed we agree to give you pledges to make this promise binding. Do not then destroy yourselves when it is possible to be saved. For it is not a glorious thing to linger fondly in danger for no advantage whatsoever, since this is not playing the part of brave men, but simply courting death. But noble is he who steels himself to endure the most severe fortune, when he can anticipate from it some benefit. For men do not applaud voluntary death in a situation where even the surrounding danger gives ground for some stronger hope, but a useless destruction of life is downright folly, and senseless daring which leads to death, when held out as a pretence of high seriousness, merits

no praise, at least in the judgment of thinking men. Furthermore, you are bound also to take into consideration that you may seem to be shewing some ingratitude toward Heaven. For if God wished to destroy you, my men, he would not, I think, have put you into the hands of those who are striving to preserve you. Seeing then that such is our stand in the matter, it will clearly be for you to decide what it is fitting should befall you.”

Such was the exhortation. The Persians, however, were unwilling even to listen to the discourse, but wilfully shutting their ears pretended that they did not understand. Then finally, at the command of the general, the Romans hurled fire into the acropolis, thinking that in this way the enemy would be constrained to surrender themselves. Then, as the flames spread in great volume, the barbarians, with disaster before their eyes, and knowing full well that they would speedily be burned to ashes, and having no hope, nor yet seeing any possibility of saving themselves by fighting, still even in that situation would not consent to fall into the power of their enemy, but they were immediately burned to death, every man of them, together with the acropolis, while the Roman army marvelled at what was taking place. And at that time it became manifest how much importance Chosroes placed upon Lazica; for he had chosen out the most notable of all his soldiers and assigned them to the garrison of Petra, and deposited there such an abundance of weapons that when the Romans took possession of them as plunder, five men's equipment fell to each soldier, and this too in spite of the fact that many weapons had been burned on the acropolis. There was also found a vast quantity of grain and of cured meat as well as all other provisions, which were indeed sufficient to keep all the besieged adequately supplied for five years. But the Persians had not, as it happened, stored wine there other than sour wine, but they had brought in an ample supply of beans. But when the Romans actually found water there flowing from the aqueduct, they were greatly astonished and perplexed, until they learned the whole truth about the concealed pipes. And I shall now explain what these were.

At the time when Chosroes established the garrison in Petra after capturing it, knowing well as he did that the Romans would assail it with every means in their powder, and would straightway attempt without a moment's hesitation to cut the aqueduct, he contrived the following plan. The water which was being carried into the city he divided into three parts and had a very deep trench dug, in which he constructed three pipe-lines, one lying on the very bottom of this trench, and this he covered with mud and stones up to the middle of the trench; at that level he concealed the second pipe-line, and above it built the third, which was above ground and visible to all; so the piping was on three levels, but this fact was concealed. This the Romans at the beginning of the siege did not understand, and so, after they had cut this obvious pipe-line, they did not carry forward their work on the trench, but gave up the labour before the next pipe-line was destroyed, and thought that the besieged were in want

of water, their minds being deceived by their own slipshod methods. But as the siege was prolonged, the Romans by capturing some of the enemy learned that the besieged were drawing water from the aqueduct. Accordingly they dug down into the ground and found there the second pipe-line, which they cut immediately, and they thought that they had thus crippled the enemy completely, not having learned even the second time from the lesson before them the real meaning of their previous experience. But when they had captured the city and saw, as I have said, the water flowing in from the pipe, they began to marvel and were greatly perplexed. And hearing from their captives what had been done, they came to realize after the event the care shewn by the enemy in their work and the futility of their own feeble efforts.

Bessas now straightway sent all the prisoners to the emperor and razed the circuit-wall of Petra to the ground in order that the enemy might not again make trouble for them. And the emperor praised him particularly for the valour he had displayed and for his wisdom in tearing down the whole wall. Thus Bessas became once more, both because of the good fortune he had enjoyed and also because of the valour he had displayed, an object of respectful admiration among all men. For previously, when he was appointed to command the garrison of Rome, the Romans had great hopes of him, since before that time he had consistently shewn himself a man of the highest courage. But when it came about that he met with ill fortune there, Rome being captured as it was by the Goths, as I have recounted in the previous narrative, and the race of the Romans being in large part destroyed, still the Emperor Justinian, when he returned after this to Byzantium, appointed him General against the Persians. Now practically everyone bitterly criticized this act and scoffed at the emperor's decision, if he was going to entrust the Medic war to this Bessas in his closing years, after he had been defeated decisively by the Goths and had now become a doddering old man. But although this was the feeling of practically all men, it actually fell out that this general met with the good fortune and displayed the valour which I have described. Thus it is that human affairs proceed not according to the judgment of men, but are subject to the power and authority of God, which men are wont to call fortune, knowing not why in the world events proceed in the manner in which they manifest themselves to them.

For the name of fortune is wont to attach to that which appears to be contrary to reason. But as regards this matter, let each man think as he wishes.

Μερμερόης δέ, δείσας μή τι Πέτρα τε καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς τῆδε ἀπολελειμμένοις φλαῦρον διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ξυμβαίη, ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦει, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ὁ καιρὸς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγε. [2] μεταξύ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἅπαντα τῆς μὲν ὁδοῦ ταύτης τὸ παράπαν ἀπέσχετο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἄλλο τι χωρίον Λαζοῖς ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἐν Πέτρα οὐκ ἦν. [3] ἀναστρέψας δὲ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν

Κολχίδα εισόδους, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατός ἐστιν, αὐτόν τε περὶ διαμείψας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ποταμόν, Ῥέοντα ὄνομα, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἐκείνη ναυσίπορον ὄντα, τοῦ τε Φάσιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ ταύτῃ γενόμενος ἐπὶ πόλιν, Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὄνομα, ἡ πρώτη τε καὶ μεγίστη ἐν Λαζοῖς ἐστίν, ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. [4] ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλέφαντες ὀκτῶ εἵποντο. ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἔμελλον ἰστάμενοι Πέρσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσπερ ἐκ πύργων κατὰ κορυφῆς ἐνθένδε βάλλειν. [5] ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν τις Περσῶν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τλαιπωρίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀγασθῇ, οἳ γε τὴν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ὁδὸν φέρουσιν, κρημνώδεσι τε νάπαις καὶ δυσχωρίαις λοχμώδεσι πανταχόθι ξυνεχομένην, ὕλαις τε οὕτως ἀμφιλαφῆσι καλυπτομένην, ὥς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ δοκεῖν ἀπόρευτον τὰ πρότερα εἶναι, οὕτως ὁμαλῇ κατεστήσαντο ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ὅλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὅσους βούλοιντο ἐπαγομένους ταύτῃ στρατεύειν. [6] ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμμαχοι Οὐννοὶ ἐκ τῶν Σαβείρων καλουμένων δισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι. [7] ἀλλὰ δεῖσας ὁ Μερμερόης μὴ ἐς πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ὄντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μήτε τι αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν ἐπαγγέλλοντι ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τι ἀνήκεστον ἐς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα δράσῃσι, τετρακισχιλίους μὲν ξυστρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν εἶπασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρήμασι πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. [8] Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς δισχίλιοι μὲν καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν ἀγνερμένοι ἐς ταῦτ' ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει φυλακτηρίῳ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν, ὧν Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ Βάβας ἦρχον, ἄμφω ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια. [9] οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἐντὸς τῶν ἐκβολῶν ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ἐκεῖνο διανοούμενοι, ὥστε ἦν πῃ ἐπισκῆπη ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι βοηθοῖεν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [10] ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Βενῖλός τε καὶ Οὐλίγαγος· ξυνην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐαράξης ὁ Περσαρμένιος, ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκων, ᾧ δὴ Τζάνοι ὀκτακόσιοι εἶποντο. [11] Βέσσας γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν Πέτραν εἴλε, πονεῖν μὲν ἔτι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐς δὲ Ποντικούς καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀποχωρήσας ἐπεμελεῖτο ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πόρων, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογία τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις πράγματα ἐσφηλεν. [12] εἰ γὰρ εὐθὺς τότε νενικηκώς, ἥπέρ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ τὴν Πέτραν ἐλὼν ἐς τὰ Λαζῶν τε καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅρια ἦλθε καὶ τὰς ἐκείνῃ δυσχωρίας ἐφράζατο, οὐκ ἂν, μοι δοκεῖ, ἔτι Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐς Λαζικὴν ἦει. [13] νῦν δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος τοῦ πόνου τούτου ὀλιγορήσας μόνον οὐχὶ τοῖς πολεμίῳ Λαζικὴν αὐτοχειρὶ παραδέδωκε, τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως ὀργῆς ὀλίγα φροντίσας. [14] εἰώθει γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπιχωρεῖν τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τε τὴν δίαίταν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον παρανομοῦντες ἡλίσκοντο. [15] Ἦν δὲ Λαζῶν φρούρια δύο πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὀρίοις, Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανίς, ἅπερ ἐν δυσχωρίαις κείμενα χαλεπαῖς τισὶ καὶ ὅλως δυσκόλοις δυσπρόσοδα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα ἐτύγγανε. [16] ταῦτα Λαζοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν πόνῳ πολλῷ ἐφρούρουσαν, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐδωδίων τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν φύεται, ἀλλὰ φέροντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσεκομίζοντο. [17] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Λαζοὺς ἀναστήσας ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν

στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο. [18] οἱ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐλύμοις ἀποζῆν ὥσπερ οἱ Κόλχοι ἐς πλείω χρόνον, οὐκ εἰωθὸς σφίσιν, ὥς ἤκιστα εἶχον, Λαζοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι φέροντές τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον. [19] Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὰ καταλαβόντες ἔσχον, ἔν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέλαβον τὰς ἀντιδόσεις Βώλου τε τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῦ Φαραγγίου πεποιημένοι, ὥσπερ μοι ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις πάντα ἐρρήθη. [20] Λαζοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ φρούρια ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ αὐτὰ Πέρσαι ἐπιτειχίσματα κατὰ σφῶν ἔχοιεν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖν θάτερον, ὅπερ Σκάνδα καλοῦσιν, αὐθις οἰκοδομησάμενοι ἔσχον, ὃ τε Μερμερόης ἐπίπροσθεν ἦγε τὸν Μήδων στρατόν. [21] Ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, Ῥοδόπολις ὄνομα, ἥπερ ὑψηντίαζε πρώτη τοῖς ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐσβάλλουσιν, εὐέφοδος τε καὶ ἐπιμαχάτῃ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. [22] διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν πολλῷ πρότερον δεῖσαντες Λαζοὶ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔμαθον, [23] εὐθὺς Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἦσαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μερμερόης τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν. [24] ἄμεινον γάρ οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τούτους πρότερον ἐξελόντι οὕτω δὴ ἐς τῆς Ἀρχαιοπόλεως τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, ὥς μὴ ὀπισθεν αὐτοὶ ἰόντες κακουργήσωσι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [25] ὥς ἀγχατάω δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενος ἡσπάσατο ἐρεσχελῶν τε τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τι νεανιευσάμενος ὥς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπανήξει σφίσι. [26] βουλομένη γάρ οἱ αὐτῷ ἔφασκεν εἶναι Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἄλλους προσεῖπεῖν πρότερον, οἱ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδεύονται ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν. [27] οἱ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενοι ἰέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ βούλοιτο, ἰσχυρίσαντο μέντοι ὥς, ἣν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἐντύχη, οὐ μὴ ποτε αὐτοῖς ἐπανήξει. [28] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἥσους οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἢ φέρειν τῶν ἐπιόντων τὴν δύναμιν ἐς τὰς σφίσι παρεσκευασμένας ἀκάτους ἐμβάντες ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν διεπορθμεύσαντο ἅπαντες, τῶν σφίσι παρόντων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα μὲν διακομίζειν οἴοι τε ἦσαν, ἐν ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβεβλημένοι, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι τρυφᾶν δύνωνται. [29] γενόμενος οὖν ἐνταῦθα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὁ Μερμερόης οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἔρημόν τε παντάπασιν ἰδὼν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἡσχαλλέ τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἐδυσφορεῖτο. [30] καύσας τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων χαράκωμα καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἀνέστρεφεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ἦγε.

XIII

Now Mermeroes, fearing that in the course of a long time some mishap should befall Petra and the Persians left there, had set his whole army in motion and marched in that direction, being further influenced to do so by the season, seeing it was now past winter. But in the course of this journey he learned all that had befallen and abandoned this march entirely, knowing well that the Lazi had no fortress beyond the Phasis River excepting only the one at Petra. He then returned and seized the passes from Iberia into the land of Colchis, where the Phasis can be forded, and he not only crossed this river on foot but also another river of no less difficulty, named the Rheon, which is likewise not navigable there, and thus getting on the right of the Phasis, he led his army forward against a city named Archaeopolis, which is the first and greatest city in Lazica. Now this army, apart from a few men, was all cavalry, and they had with them eight elephants, upon which the Persians were to stand and shoot down upon the heads of their enemy just as from towers. Indeed one might be led with good reason to marvel at the assiduity and resourcefulness of the Persians in the prosecution of their wars; for it was they who took in hand the road leading from Iberia into Colchis, which was everywhere impeded by precipitous ravines and difficult ground covered with brush, and concealed by forests of wide-spreading trees, so that even for an unencumbered traveller the way had seemed impassable previously, and they made it so smooth that not only did their entire cavalry pass that way with no difficulty, but they also actually marched over that road taking with them as many of their elephants as they wished. And Huns also came to them as allies from the nation of the Sabiri, as they are called, to the number of twelve thousand. But Mermeroes, fearing lest these barbarians, being in such numbers, would not only be altogether unwilling to obey his commands, but would actually do some terrible thing to the Persian army, permitted only four thousand to march with him, while he sent all the rest away to their homes after making them a generous present of money.

Now the Roman army numbered twelve thousand; they were not, however, all concentrated in one place, for there were only three thousand in the garrison at Archaeopolis under command of Odonachus and Babas, both able warriors, while all the rest were waiting in camp on the other side of the Phasis River, having in mind that, if the enemy's army should make an attack at any point, they themselves would move out from there and go to the rescue in full force. These were commanded by Vendus and Uligagus; and Varazes the Persarmenian was also with them, having recently returned from Italy and having eight hundred Tzani under his command. As for Bessas, as soon as he had captured Petra, he was quite unwilling to continue the struggle, but withdrew to the Pontici and the Armenians and was giving the closest possible

attention to the revenues from his territory, and by this niggardly policy he again wrecked the cause of the Romans. For if, straightway after that victory which I have described and his capture of Petra, he had gone to the boundaries of Lazica and Iberia and barricaded the passes there, never again, as it seems to me, would a Persian army have entered Lazica. But in fact this general, by slighting this task, all but surrendered Lazica to the enemy with his own hand, paying little heed to the emperor's wrath. For the Emperor Justinian was accustomed to condone, for the most part, the mistakes of his commanders, and consequently they were found very generally to be guilty of offences both in private life and against the state.

Now there were two fortresses of the Lazi almost exactly on the boundary of Iberia, Scanda and Sarapanis. These, being situated in extremely rugged and difficult country, were extraordinarily hard of access. They used to be garrisoned by the Lazi in ancient times with great difficulty, for no food at all grows there, and supplies had to be brought in by men who carried them on their shoulders. But the Emperor Justinian at the beginning of this war had removed the Lazi from these fortresses and substituted a garrison of Roman soldiers. These soldiers, then, not long afterwards, being hard pressed by the lack of necessary supplies, abandoned these fortresses because they were quite unable to live for any considerable time on millet, as the Colchians did, since it was not familiar to them, and the Lazi no longer persevered in travelling the long journey to bring them all their supplies. Whereupon the Persians occupied and held them, but in the treaty the Romans got them back in exchange for the fortress of Bolum and Pharangium, as I have told in detail in the preceding narrative. The Lazi accordingly razed these fortresses to the ground, in order that the Persians might not hold them as outposts against them. But the Persians rebuilt and held the one of the two which they call Scanda, and Mermeroes led the Medic army forward.

There had been a city in the plain called Rhodopolis, which lay first in the way of those invading Colchis from Iberia, so situated as to be easily accessible and altogether open to attack. For this reason the Lazi had long before, in fear of the Persian invasion, razed it to the ground. When the Persians learned this, they proceeded straight for Archaeopolis. But Mermeroes learned that his enemy was encamped near the mouth of the Phasis River, and he advanced upon them. For it seemed to him better first to capture this force and then to undertake the siege of Archaeopolis, in order that they might not come from the rear and do harm to the Persian army. And he went close by the fortifications of Archaeopolis and gave a mocking salutation to the Romans there, and with something of a swagger said that he would come back to them at the earliest moment. For, said he, he wished to address his greetings to the other Romans first who were encamped near the Phasis River. And the Romans, by way of answer, bade him go wherever he wished, but they declared that if he came upon the Romans there he would

never return to them. When the commanders of the Roman army learned this, they became thoroughly frightened and, thinking themselves too few to withstand the force of their assailants, embarked on the boats which they had ready and ferried across the Phasis River, every man of them, placing their supplies of provisions on the boats, as much at least as they were able to carry, and throwing the rest into the river in order that the enemy might not be able to revel in them. So when Mermeroes arrived there with his whole army not long afterward, and saw the enemy's camp entirely abandoned, he was vexed and filled with resentment at the baffling situation. He then fired the Roman stockade, and boiling with fury turned back immediately and led his army against Archaeopolis.

Κεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαιοπόλις ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς σκληροῦ ἐσάγαν, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν παραρρεῖ ἐξ ὁρῶν κατιῶν ἅπερ τῆς πόλεως καθύπερθ' ἐστι. [2] πύλαι δὲ αὐτῇ αἱ μὲν κάτω εἰσὶ, φέρουσαι παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὴν ὑπώρειαν, οὐκ ἀπρόσοδοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄνοδον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τινὰ ἐς αὐτὰς οὐχ ὁμαλὴ εἶναι· αἱ δὲ ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐξάγουσαι δυσπρόσοδοι ἐσάγαν εἰσὶ· χῶροι γὰρ λοχμῶδεις πρὸ τούτων τῶν πυλῶν εἰσὶν, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκοντες. [3] ἐπεὶ τε ὕδατος ἄλλου τοῖς τῆδε ὥκημένοις οὐδαμῇ μέτεστι, τείχη δύο ἐνθένδε οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμιάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐτεκτῆναντο, ὅπως ἂν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ ἀρύεσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη. Μερμερόης οὖν παντὶ σθένει τειχομαχεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐποίει τάδε. [4] πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς Σαβείροις ἐπήγγειλε κριοὺς παμπληθεῖς ἐργάζεσθαι, οἷους ἂν φέρειν ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων δυνατοὶ εἶεν, ἐπεὶ μηχανὰς μὲν τὰς συνειθισμένας τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς Ἀρχαιοπόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐπάγεσθαι εἶχε, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα κείμενον, ἠκηκόει δὲ ὅσα τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδοις Σαβείροις ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέτρας τεῖχος ἐργασθεῖη οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπινενοημένοις ἐπόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς πείρας ὠφέλειαν μετῆι. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπαγγελλλόμενα ἐποίουν. [5] κριοὺς τε αὐτίκα συχνοὺς ἐτεκτῆναντο, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος Ῥωμαίοις εἰργάσθαι Σαβείρους ἐρρήθη. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν Δολομίτας καλουμένους κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ κρημνώδη στέλλει ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπιστείλας τοὺς ταύτῃ πολεμίους δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [6] οἱ δὲ Δολομίται οὗτοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσιν, ὥκημένοι ἐν Πέρσαις μέσοις, οὐ μὴν κατήκοοι γεγόνασιν βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν πώποτε. [7] ἰδρυμένοι γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀποτόμοις τε καὶ ὅλως ἀβάτοις αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ἐκ παλαιοῦ διαγεγόνασιν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου· μισθαρνοῦντες δὲ αἰεὶ συστρατεύουσι Πέρσαις ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσι. [8] καὶ πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἅπαντες, ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τρία. [9] θεῖν δὲ λίαν ἐν τε τοῖς κρημνοῖς καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἐξεπίστανται, ὥσπερ ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ. [10] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μερμερόης αὐτοὺς τῆδε τειχομαχεῖν ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς κάτω τοὺς τε κριοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος ἦι. [11] οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ξὺν τοῖς Σαβείροις ἐς τὸ τεῖχος συχνὰ βάλλοντες, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καλύψαντες τὸν ταύτῃ ἀέρα, οὐ μακράν που ἐγένοντο ἀναγκάσαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίους ἐκλιπεῖν τὰς ἐπάλξεις. [12] οἱ δὲ Δολομίται τὰ δοράτια

ἐκ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐλύπουν. [13] πανταχόθι τε Ῥωμαῖοις τὰ πράγματα πονηρά τε καὶ κινδύνων ἔμπλεα ἐγεγόνει, ἔσχατα ἐσχάτων κακὰ πάσχουσι. [14] Τότε δὴ Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας, εἴτε ἀρετὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι εἴτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, ἢ καὶ τι αὐτοὺς θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, εἶασαν μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινάς, οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας ἀμύνασθαι, τοὺς πλείστους δὲ ξυγκαλέσαντες βραχεῖάν τινα παρακέλευσιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τάδε: 'Τὸν μὲν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, καὶ τὴν περιλαβοῦσαν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκην ὁρᾶτε. [15] δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τούτοις δὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα εἶκειν. τοὺς γὰρ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας ἐλθόντας τοῦτο ἂν διασώσασθαι δύναίτο μόνον, τὸ μὴ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐφίεσθαι: ἐπεὶ τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸ διαφθεῖρεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. [16] καὶ τότε δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐννοεῖν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς δεήσει, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶνδε ἀμυνομένοις τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῖν κείσεται, ἣν καὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὡς προθυμότερα διενέγκωμεν. [17] μάχη γὰρ ἐκ διεστηκότων ξυνισταμένη ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐδενὶ ξυγχωρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περίσταται κράτος. [18] ἣν μέντοι ἡ ξυμβολὴ ξυσταδὸν γένηται, τά τε τῆς προθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον κρατήσῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας ἡ νίκη χωρήσει. [19] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εὐημερήσαντες μὲν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου μαχόμενοι οὐδὲν ἂν τι τῆς εὐημερίας ἀπόναινο μέγα, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκῳ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἀπεῶσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὁ κίνδυνος αὐθις ἐν ἀκμῇ γίνεται, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ σφαλέντες αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, [20] συνδιαφθείρονται τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν. ἐκ χειρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους νενικηκότες ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι, εὐέλπιδές τε τῇ προσπεσούσῃ τανῶν ἀπογνώσει γεγεννημένοι. [21] τοὺς γὰρ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας τινὸς ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντας τὸ θεῖον ἀεὶ διασώζεσθαι μάλιστα εἴωθε.' [22] Τοσαῦτα Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας παρακελευσάμενοι τάς τε πύλας ἀνέωγον καὶ τὸ στράτευμα δρόμῳ ἐξήγον, ὀλίγων ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθά τινων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδης. [23] τῶν τις Λαζῶν τῇ προτεραίᾳ, λόγιμος μὲν ὢν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει, ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει δὲ ὤκημένος, ἔπρασσε πρὸς Μερμερόνῃ ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι προδοσίας πέρι. [24] ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἐπήγγελλε χαρίζεσθαι Πέρσας, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως, ἡνίκα ἐς τειχομαχίαν καθιστῶνται, τὰ οἰκία ἐμπρήσῃ λάθρα, ἔνθα ὁ τε σίτος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπέκειτο. [25] ἐπέστελλε δὲ ταῦτα, δυοῖν γενήσεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον λογισάμενος: ἢ γὰρ Ῥωμαίους περὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο σπουδάζοντάς τε καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένους ἐνδώσειν σφίσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιβατεῦειν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἢ τειχομαχοῦντας ἀποκρούεσθαι βυλομένους Πέρσας ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὀλιγορίᾳ ποιήσεσθαι: [26] καιομένων δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πόνῳ σφᾶς οὐδενὶ πολιορκία ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ἐξαίρησιν. [27] τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ὁ Μερμερόνης τούτῳ δὴ τῷ Λαζῷ ταῦτα ἐπέστελλεν: ὁ δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὡμολόγει ἐπιτελῆ δράσειν, ἡνίκα τὴν τειχομαχίαν ἀκμάζουσιν ἴδῃ, πῦρ ὡς λαθραιότατα τοῖς δωματίοις

τούτοις ἐνάψας. [28] αἰρομένην δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἐξαπινάϊως Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδόντες ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐβόηθουν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ πῦρ ἔσβησαν ἀμηγέτη λυμηνάμενον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν. [29] Ἐμπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήξαντες πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀνταίρειν τολμῶντας. [30] Πέρσαι γὰρ ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντας ἐπεξιέναι σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλων διεστηκότες ὡς ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐτετάχατο ζὺν ἄκοσμία. [31] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τοὺς κριοὺς φέροντες ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ τὰ ἐς μάχην ἀπαράσκευοι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὰ τόξα ἐντεταμένα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες συσταδὸν ἐγκειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχον. [32] οὕτω δὴ κόπτοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιστροφάδην αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ξυνέβη δὲ τότε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἓνα πληγέντα, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἢ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου ξυνταραχθέντα, περιστρέφεσθαι τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀναχαιτίζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβάτας ρίπτειν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλύειν. [33] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἀνεπὸδιζον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ διεχρῶντο. [34] θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις ἐνταῦθα δικαίως, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀποκρούσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, τοῖς παροῦσι δηλονότι ξυνταραχθέντες, ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. [35] Ἦνίκα Χοσρόης τε καὶ ὁ Μῆδων στρατὸς ἐτειχομάχουν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐδέσσης περίβολον, τῶν τις ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβεβηκότος οἱ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις μαχιμωτάτων, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὅτι δὴ δι' ὀλίγου βιασάμενος τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνῃ πύργου ἀμυνομένους ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν συχνὰ βαλλομένους τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσει. [36] ἐδόκει γάρ τις μηχανὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλέπολις εἶναι. ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι χοῖρον ἐκ τοῦ πύργου ἐπικρεμάσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγον. [37] κραυγμὸν γάρ τινα, ὦν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἡρτημένος, ὁ χοῖρος ἐνθένδε ἠφίει, ὃνπερ ὁ ἐλέφας ἀχθόμενος ἀνεχαιτίζει καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἀναποδιζὼν ὀπίσω ἐχώρει. ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε. [38] νῦν δὲ τὸ παρειμένον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγορίᾳ ἢ τύχῃ ἐπλήρου. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Ἐδέσσης ἐμνήσθην, οὐ σιωπήσομαι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τέρας πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ξυνεγεθέν. [39] ἡνίκα γὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης λύειν ἔμελλε τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδάς, γυνή τις ἐν πόλει βρέφος ἐκῦει τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῶς ἀνθρωπόμορφον, δύο δὲ τοι κεφαλὰς ἔχον. ὃ δὴ τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσι φανερόν γέγονεν. [40] Ἐδεσσά τε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἑῷα σχεδόν τι πᾶσα καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἢ πολλῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ βασιλεῦσι περιμάχητος δυοῖν γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. [41] Τῆς δὲ ταραχῆς οὕτως ἐπιπεσούσης τῷ Μῆδων στρατῷ, ὅσοι δὴ αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν ἐτετάχατο, τὴν μὲν ταραχὴν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων θεώμενοι, τὸ δὲ ξυμβεβηκὸς οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένοι, κατωρρώδησαν, ἔς τε ὑπαγωγὴν ζὺν πολλῇ ἄκοσμία ἐτράποντο. [42] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Δολομίται παθόντες ἔξ ὑπερδεξίων γὰρ μαχόμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα πάντα ἐώρων αἰσχρὰν τινα φυγὴν ἔφευγον, ἢ τε τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγονέι. [43] καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τρεῖς τετύχηκεν εἶναι, τέσσαρα δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν σημείων

Ῥωμαῖοι εἶλον, ὥπερ εὐθὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψαν. [44] ἵππους δὲ φασιν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ἐς δισμυρίους ἀπολωλέναι, οὐ βληθέντας οὐδὲ πληγέντας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν μὲν ὁδὸν πορευθέντας, κόπῳ δὲ ὠμιληκότας ἐν ταύτῃ πολλῷ, τροφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λαζικῇ ἐγένοντο, ὥς ἥκιστα ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντας, οὕτω τε λιμῷ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πιεζομένους πολλῇ διεφθάρθαι. [45] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς πείρας ὁ Μερμερόης ἀποτυχὼν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Μοχήρησιν ἀπεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἀποτυχόντες, Λαζικῆς τῆς ἄλλης τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον. [46] Ἀρχαιοπόλεως δὲ ἡ Μοχήρησις ἡμέρας μιᾶς ὁδῷ ἀπέχει, πολλὰς καὶ πολυανθρώπους κώμας ἔχουσα — καὶ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος αὕτη μάλιστα ἡ ἀρίστη ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἶνος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καρποὶ ἀγαθοὶ φύονται, καίτοι τά γε ἄλλα τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐ ταύτῃ ἔχει. [47] ταύτην παραρρεῖ τὴν χώραν ποταμός, Ῥέων ὄνομα, οὗ δὴ καὶ φρούριον ὠκοδομήσαντο ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κόλχοι, οὗπερ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενον ἐσάγαν ὑπὶ εὐέφοδον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [48] Κοτιάϊον δὲ τότε τὸ φρούριον ὠνομάζετο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, νῦν μέντοι Κόταῖς αὐτὸ καλοῦσι Λαζοὶ τῇ τῆς φωνῆς ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος διαφθείροντες ἀρμονίαν. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀριανὸς οὕτως ἱστορήσεν. [49] ἕτεροι δὲ φασὶ πόλιν τε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις τὸ χωρίον καὶ Κοίταιον καλεῖσθαι· ἔνθεν τε τὸν Αἰήτην ὠρμησθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτόν τε Κοιταῖα καὶ γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Κοιταῖδα καλεῖν. [50] Τοῦτο Μερμερόης τανῦν ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν τοῦ ἔργου εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤδη ἐνέκειτο, ξύλινα τοῦ φρουρίου ὅσα καταπεπτῶκει ὥς τάχιστα ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμνευε. [51] τοῦ δὲ Κόταῖς ἄγχιστα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατόν ἐστιν, Οὐθιμέρεος ὄνομα· ἐν ᾧ δὴ φυλακτήριον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οἱ Λαζοὶ εἶχον. [52] μετεῖχον δὲ σφίσι τῆς τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακῆς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι τινές. [53] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μερμερόης τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, γῆς τε τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ κάλλιστα ἔχων, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις γινόμενος ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος φρούριον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἢ ἐς χώραν τὴν τε Σουανίαν καὶ τὴν Σκυμνίαν καλουμένην ἰέναι, [54] καίπερ σφίσιν αὐτῆς κατηκόου οὔσης. πολεμίων γὰρ ἐν Μοχηρήσιδι ὄντων, Λαζοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁδοῦ ἀποκεκλεισθαι τῆς εἰς τὰ ταύτη χωρία ξυμβαίνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XIV

The city of Archaeopolis is situated on an exceedingly rugged hill, and a river flows by, coming down from the mountains which are above the city. And it has two gates, one of which is below, opening on the base of the hill, but this one is not inaccessible except in so far that the ascent to it from the plain is not smooth; but the upper gate leads out to the steep slope and is extremely difficult to approach; for the ground before this gate is covered with brush which extends to an indefinite distance. And since the inhabitants of this city can get no other water, those who built it constructed two walls which extend from the city all the way to the river, in order that it might be possible for them to draw water from it in safety.

Mermeroes, consequently, being eager and determined to assault the wall there with his whole strength, did as follows. He first commanded the Sabiri to build a great number of rams, of the sort which men would be able to carry on their shoulders, because he was quite unable to bring up the customary engines to the circuit-wall of Archaeopolis, lying as it did along the lower slopes of the hill; for he had heard what had been achieved by the Sabiri who were allies of the Romans at the wall of Petra not long before, and he sought by following out the method discovered by them to reap the advantage of their experience. And they carried out his orders, constructing immediately a large number of rams, such as I have said were recently made for the Romans by the Sabiri. Next he sent the Dolomites, as they are called, to the precipitous parts of the city, directing them to harass the enemy there with all their strength. These Dolomites are barbarians who live indeed in the middle of Persia, but have never become subject to the king of the Persians. For their abode is on sheer mountainsides which are altogether inaccessible, and so they have continued to be autonomous from ancient times down to the present day; but they always march with the Persians as mercenaries when they go against their enemies. And they are all foot-soldiers, each man carrying a sword and shield and three javelins in his hand. But they shew extra ordinary nimbleness in running over cliffs and peaks of mountains, just as on a level plain. For this reason Mermeroes assigned them to attack the wall there, while he with the rest of the army went against the lower gate, bringing up the rams and the elephants. So then the Persians and Sabiri together, by shooting rapidly at the wall so that they filled the air round about it with their arrows, came not far from compelling the Romans there to abandon the parapet. And the Dolomites, hurling in their javelins from the crags outside the circuit-wall, were inflicting still more harm upon the Romans facing them. On every side, indeed, the situation of the Romans had become bad and full of danger, for they were in an extremely evil plight.

At that point Odonachus and Babas, either as making a display of valour or wishing to test the soldiers, or it may even be that some divine influence moved them, left only a few of the soldiers where they were, directing them to ward off the assailants of the wall from the parapet, and meanwhile called together the greater part of them and made a short exhortation, speaking as follows. "Fellow-soldiers, you perceive the danger which is upon us and the necessity in which we are involved. But it is incumbent upon us not to yield in the least to these evils. For those who come into a situation where safety is despaired of could be saved only by not courting safety; for a fondness for life is wont in most cases to be followed by destruction. And you will be obliged to consider this fact also in our present stress, that by simply warding off the enemy from this parapet your safety will by no means be firmly established, even though we carry forward the struggle with the greatest zeal. For a battle which is waged between armies standing apart gives no one opportunity to shew himself a brave man, but the issue as a general thing is determined by chance. If, however, the conflict becomes a hand-to-hand struggle, enthusiasm will in most cases prevail, and victory will appear where valour lies. And apart from this, even in the case of success in the conflict, men fighting from the wall would reap no great benefit from this success, because, while they have for the moment succeeded in repulsing the enemy, the danger will again be acute on the morrow, and, on the other hand, if they fail even by a little, they are naturally destroyed along with their defences. But once having conquered their opponents in hand-to-hand combat they will thereafter have their safety assured. Let us then with these thoughts in mind advance against the enemy with all zeal, calling to our aid the assistance from above, and with our hopes raised high by that desperate situation which has now fallen to us. For God is ever wont to save those men above all others who find no hope of safety in themselves." After Odonachus and Babas had thus encouraged the soldiers, they opened the gates and led the army forth on the run, leaving a few men behind for the following reason. One of the Lazi, who was a man of note in this nation, an inhabitant of Archaeopolis, had on the previous day negotiated with Mermeroes for the betrayal of his native land.

Now Mermeroes had sent word to him to render the Persians only this service, that, whenever they began the assault on the wall, he should secretly set fire to the buildings where the grain and the rest of the provisions were stored. And he directed him to do this, reasoning that one of two things would happen, either that the Romans being concerned about this fire and devoting their attention to it would give his men opportunity to scale the circuit-wall unmolested, or that in their eagerness to repulse the Persians storming the wall they would pay no attention to these buildings; and if in this way the grain and other provisions were burned, he would with no difficulty capture Archaeopolis in a short time. With such purpose did Mermeroes give these instructions to this Laz; and he, for his part, agreed to carry out the order

when he saw the storming of the wall at its height, by setting fire as secretly as possible to these buildings. And when the Romans saw the flames rising suddenly, some few of them went to the rescue and with great difficulty quenched the fire, which had done a certain amount of damage, but all the rest, as stated, went forth against the enemy.

This force, by falling upon them suddenly and terrifying them by the unexpectedness of their attack, slew many, for the Persians offered no resistance; indeed they did not even dare raise a hand against them. This was because the Persians, having no expectation that their enemy, who were few in number, would make a sally against them, had taken up positions apart from one another with a view to storming the wall and so were not in battle array. And those who were carrying the rams upon their shoulders were quite naturally both unarmed and unprepared for battle, while the others, with only strung bows in their hands, were entirely unable to ward off an enemy pressing upon them in close array. Thus the Romans, slashing and turning from side to side, kept destroying them. At that moment also it so happened that one of the elephants, because he was wounded, some say, or simply because he became excited, wheeled round out of control and reared up, thus throwing his riders and breaking up the lines of the others. As a result of this the barbarians began to retreat, while the Romans continued without fear to destroy those who from time to time fell in their way. And one might wonder at this point that the Romans, though knowing well by what means they ought to repel a hostile attack by elephants, did none of the necessary things, being obviously confused by the situation, and yet this result was achieved without effort on their part. And what this is I shall now make clear.

When Chosroes and the Medic army were storming the fortifications of Edessa, one of the elephants, mounted by a great number of the most warlike men among the Persians, came close to the circuit-wall and made it seem that in a short space he would overpower the men defending the tower at that point, seeing they were exposed to missiles falling thickly from above, and would thus take the city. For it seemed that this was, in fact, an engine for the capture of cities. The Romans, however, by suspending a pig from the tower escaped this peril. For as the pig was hanging there, he very naturally gave vent to sundry squeals, and this angered the elephant so that he got out of control and, stepping back little by little, moved off to the rear. Such was the outcome of that situation. But in the present case the omission due to the thoughtlessness of the Romans was made good by chance. But now that I have mentioned Edessa, I shall not be silent as to the portent which appeared there before this present war. When Chosroes was about to break the so-called endless peace, a certain woman in the city gave birth to an infant which in other respects was a normally formed human being, but had two heads. And the meaning of this was made clear by the events which followed; for both Edessa and practically the whole East and the greater part of the Roman

empire to the north came to be fought for by two sovereigns. Thus did these things happen. But I shall return to the point from which I strayed.

When confusion thus fell upon the Medic army, those stationed in the rear, seeing the confusion of those before them, but having no real knowledge of what had happened, became panic-stricken and turned to retreat in great disorder. And the Dolomites also experienced a like panic (for they were fighting from the higher positions and could see everything which transpired), and they too began to flee in a disgraceful manner, so that the rout became decisive. Four thousand of the barbarians fell there, among whom, as it happened, were three of the commanders, and the Romans captured four of the Persian standards, which they immediately sent to Byzantium for the emperor. They say, moreover, that not less than twenty thousand of their horses perished, not from wounds inflicted by their enemy's missiles or swords, but because in travelling a great distance they had become utterly exhausted and then had found no sufficiency of fodder since the time they had come into Lazica; and so, they say, under the stress of both starvation and weakness they succumbed.

Having thus failed in this attempt, Mermeroes withdrew with his whole army to Mocheresis; for, even though they had failed of getting Archaeopolis, the Persians still held the mastery of the greater part of the rest of Lazica. Now Mocheresis is one day's journey distant from Archaeopolis, a district which includes many populous villages. And this is really the best land in Colchis; for both wine and the other good things are produced there, though the rest of Lazica, to be sure, is not of such a sort. Along by this district flows a river called Rheon, and on it the Colchians in ancient times built a fortress, but in later times they themselves razed the greater part of it to the ground, because, lying as it did in a very flat plain, it seemed to them easy of access. In those times the fortress was named Cotiaion in the Greek language, but now the Lazi call it Cotaïs, having corrupted the true sound of the name because of their ignorance of the language. Such is the account given by Arrian. But others say that the place was a city in ancient times and was called Coetaeon; and that Aeetes was born there, and as a result of this the poets both called him a Coetaean and applied the same name to the land of Colchis.

This place Mermeroes was now eager to rebuild, but, since he had no equipment for the task, and because at the same time the winter was already setting in, he replaced with wood as quickly as possible such parts of the fortress as had fallen down and remained there. But very close to Cotaïs is an exceedingly strong fortress, Uthimereos by name; in this the Lazi were maintaining strict guard. And a small number of Roman soldiers also were sharing with them the defence of the fortress. So Mermeroes settled there with his whole army, holding the fairest part of the land of Colchis, and preventing his opponents from carrying any provisions into the fortress of Uthimereos, or

from going into the district of Suania and Scymnia, as it is called, though this was subject to them. For when an enemy is in Mocheresis, the road into this region is thereby cut off for both Lazi and Romans. Thus were the armies engaged in Lazica.

Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Χοσρόου πρεσβευτὴς Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐς λόγους Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνίων πολὺ τι χρόνου κατέτριψε μῆκος. [2] πολλὰ τε διαφιλονεικήσαντες ἐν ὑστάτῳ ξυνέβησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ πενταετὴ μὲν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐν τῇ ἐκατέρου βασιλείῳ ἐπικρατεία εἶναι, φοιτῶντας δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπικηρυκευομένους ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ Λαζικῇ καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς διάφορα διοικήσασθαι. [3] ξυνέκειτο δὲ Πέρσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας τῶν πέντε τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ εἴκοσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ μηνῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, οὓς δὴ μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐς ταύτην διαδραμεῖν μεταξὺ ἔτυχεν, ἕως ἐκάτεροι παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπρέσβευον, ἕτερα κεντηνάρια ἕξ. [4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἔφασκον Πέρσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγους συγκεχωρηκέναι γενέσθαι. [5] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴκοσι κεντηνάρια Ἰσδιγούσνας μὲν αὐτόθεν ἡξίου κομίζεσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἠθέλεν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος τέτταρα δοῦναι, τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ξυνηθήκας Χοσρόην ἐνέχυρον ἔχειν. [6] ὕστερον μέντοι τὸ ζυγκείμενον ἅπαν χρυσίον Ῥωμαῖοι Πέρσαις εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν δασμοὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν. [7] τὰ γὰρ αἰσχυρὰ ὀνόματα, οὐ τὰ πράγματα, εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον αἰσχύνεσθαι. [8] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Βερσαβοὺς ὄνομα, λόγιμός τε διαφερόντως καὶ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. [9] ὅνπερ ποτὲ Βαλεριανὸς ἐν Ἀρμενίῳς παραπετωκότα ἐν ζυμβολῇ δορυάλωτον εἶλεν, ἕς τε Βυζάντιον αὐτίκα βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε. [10] καὶ αὐτῷ χρόνος πολὺς φυλασσομένῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐτρίβη. βουλομένῳ τε ἦν τῷ Χοσρόῃ χρημάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προῖεσθαι πλῆθος, ὅπως τὸν Βερσαβοῦν ἐπανήκοντα ἴδῃ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθι. [11] ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὸν Ἰσδιγούσνα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφήκεν: ἐπηγγέλλετο γὰρ βασιλεῖ ὁ πρεσβευτὴς οὗτος ἀναπείσειν Χοσρόην ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀναστῆσαι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [12] ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἐκεχειρία ἥδε Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις, πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [13] ταύταις δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείστοι ἐπικεικῶς ἤχθοντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν δικαίαν τινὰ ἢ ἀλόγιστον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν μέμψιν, οἷά γε τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. [14] Ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι δὴ Λαζικῆς βεβαιοτάτα πρὸς Περσῶν ἀρχομένης αἱ ξυνηθῆκα αὗται γεγόνασιν, ὥς μὴ τις πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἀδεέστερόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐνοικεῖν δύνωνται. [15] ὅθεν αὐτοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξελάσαι οὐδεμιᾷ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα μηχανῇ ἔξουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐνθὲνδε Πέρσαις εὐέφοδον τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσται. ταῦτα οὖν ἀποσκοποῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἥσχαλλον καὶ δυσφοροῦμενοι διηποροῦντο: [16] καὶ ὅτι Πέρσαι τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν σφίσιν ἐν σπουδῇ γεγονός, δόξαν δὲ οὔτε πολέμῳ κρατήσῃ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι, λέγω δέ, ὅπως ἐς δασμοῦ ἀπαγωγὴν ὑπόφοροι αὐτῶν

Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσονται, ἰσχυρότατα ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῷ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ὀνόματι ἐκρατύναντο. [17] τάξας γὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης Ῥωμαίοις κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον τεσσάρων δασμόν, οὗπερ γλιχόμενος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαφανῆς ἦν, ἐς ἑνδεκα ἔτη τανῦν καὶ μῆνας ἑξ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἑξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα κεντηνάρια τῇ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας κεκόμισται σκῆψει, ὄνομα τῷ δασμῷ τὰς σπονδὰς θέμενος, καίπερ ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς μεταξὺ βιαζόμενός τε καὶ πολεμῶν, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη. [18] ὥνπερ Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐν ἐλπίδι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαις ἥσθοντο οὐ κεκρυμμένως γεγενημένοι. [19] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο. Ἰσδιγούσνας δὲ χρήματά τε περιβαλόμενος ὅσα οὐδεὶς πρέσβεων πώποτε, καὶ πάντων, οἶμαι, πλουσιώτατος Περσῶν γεγωνῶς ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμῆκει τε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. [20] μόνος δὲ πρέσβεων ἀπάντων οὗτος ἐς πείραν φυλακῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ βάρβαροι εἶποντο πολλοὶ ἐσάγαν ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐντυγχάνειν τε καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷς ἂν βούλιντο, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πανταχόσε περιπάτους ποιεῖσθαι, ὦνεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι ὅσα ἦν βουλομένοις σφίσι, καὶ ξυμβόλαια ποιεῖσθαι πάντα ἐργασίᾳ τε τῇ περὶ ταῦτα ἐνδιατρίβειν ζῶν πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ, καθάπερ ἐν πόλει αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ, Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἐπομένου ἢ ζυνόντος ὅλως ἢ τηρεῖν ἀξιοῦντος, ἥπερ εἰώθει. [21] Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετύχηκε τι τῶν οὐπὼ πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, γεγονότων ξυνεχεσθῆναι. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἔτους μετόπωρον ἦν, αὐχμὸς δὲ καὶ πνιγμὸς ὥπερ θέρους μέσου ἐγένετο θαυμαστὸν ὅσον: ὥστε ἀμέλει ρόδων μὲν πλῆθος ἄτε ἥρος ὄντος ἐφύη, τῶν εἰωθότων οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν διαλασσόντων. [22] καρποὺς δὲ τὰ δένδρα σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντα νέους τινὰς αὐθις ἤνεγκε, κὰν ταῖς ἀμπέλαις οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐγένοντο βότρυες, καίπερ τοῦ τρυγῆτου γεγενημένου ἡμέραις ἤδη οὐ πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν. [23] οἷς δὴ οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τεκμηριούμενοι προῦλεγον ἀπροσδόκητον μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι, οἱ μὲν ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον. [24] ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τι ξυμβεβηκὸς γεγονέναι οἶμαι, νότων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνέμων, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ θέρμης ἐνθένδε παρὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα πολλῆς τε καὶ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης τῇ χώρᾳ. [25] εἰ δέ τι, ὥπερ οὗτοί φασι, καὶ σημαίνει παρὰ δόξαν ἐσόμενον, βεβαιοτάτα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβησομένων εἰσόμεθα.

In Byzantium, meanwhile, Chosroes' envoy Isdigousnas, in conferring with the Emperor Justinian regarding the peace, wasted a vast amount of time.

And it was only after long-continued debates that they finally reached an agreement that for five years the truce should be observed in the realms of both sovereigns, while envoys passed back and forth from each country to the other, fearlessly carrying on negotiations for peace during this period until they should settle the points of disagreement regarding both Lazica and the Saracens. It was further agreed that the Persians receive from the Romans for this five-year truce twenty centenaria of gold, and for eighteen months which had elapsed between the expiration of the former truce and the time when they had commenced negotiations with each other in the present case, six centenaria more. For the Persians declared that only on this understanding had they permitted negotiations for the treaty to proceed. Isdigousnas further demanded that he should receive these twenty centenaria on the spot, but the emperor wished to give four each year, his purpose, of course, being that he might have surety that Chosroes would not violate the agreement. Later, however, the Romans gave the Persians outright the entire amount of gold agreed upon, in order not to appear to be paying them tribute each year. For it is the disgraceful name, and not the fact, which men are wont as a general thing to be ashamed of.

Now there was a certain man among the Persians named Bersabus, a person of especial note and a very close friend of King Chosroes. Valerian had once happened upon this man in a battle in Armenia, and he took him prisoner and immediately sent him to the emperor at Byzantium. And a long time passed while he was being kept under guard there. Now Chosroes was willing to advance a great amount of money for him, in order that he might see Bersabus returned to the land of Persia. But on the present occasion the Emperor Justinian released the man at the request of Isdigousnas; for this ambassador promised the emperor to persuade Chosroes to remove the Persian army from Lazica. Thus this armistice was arranged by the Romans and Persians in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Now the majority of the Romans were thoroughly displeased with this treaty; but whether the reproach they made was in some measure justified or as unreasonable as the complaints of subjects commonly are, I am unable to say. [553 A.D.]

These objectors kept saying that this peace had been made while Lazica was most firmly in the power of the Persians, whose purpose was that for five years no one might molest them, but that during this time they might be able without fear or hardship to occupy all the fairest parts of the land of Colchis; and the Romans thereafter would be utterly unable to dislodge them from

there in all time, but thenceforth Byzantium itself would be easily accessible to the Persians from that point. Such was the general view, and the people were consequently vexed and irritated and utterly pessimistic. They were also moved by the fact that the very thing which the Persians had been striving for from ancient times, but which had seemed impossible of achievement either by war or by any other means, — that is to say, having the Romans subject to the payment of tribute to them — this had been most firmly achieved at the present juncture in the name of an armistice. For Chosroes, by imposing upon the Romans an annual tribute of four centenaria, the very thing he had clearly been bent upon having from the first, has up to the present time in a space of eleven years and six months speciously gathered in forty-six centenaria on the pretext of the armistice, giving to the tribute the name of treaty, although in the meantime he has, as stated, been carrying on a campaign of violence and war in Lazica. From this plight the Romans had not the least hope of rescuing themselves in the future, but they perceived that they had in no hidden sense become tributary to the Persians. Thus were these things done.

But Isdigousnas, in possession of money such as no envoy ever carried, and having become, I suppose, the wealthiest of all the Persians, departed on the homeward way, for the Emperor Justinian had honoured him in a signal manner and presented him with huge sums of money before his dismissal. And this man, unlike all other ambassadors, did not have the experience of being under guard in any sense, but both he himself and all who followed him — and they were an exceedingly numerous company — enjoyed complete freedom for a long period of time in meeting and associating with whom they wished, walking about in every part of the city, buying and selling whatever they pleased, and carrying on all manner of transactions and devoting themselves with complete unconcern to the business connected therewith, just as they, would in a city of their own, with not a Roman following or accompanying them at all or deigning to watch them, as is customary.

At this time an event occurred which has never happened before, as far at least as we know. For though the season of the year was late autumn, there was a very remarkable period of drought and hot weather as in the middle of summer, so that a great quantity of roses actually came out, as if it were spring, differing in no way at all from ordinary roses. And practically all the trees brought forth new fruit again, while the clusters likewise appeared on the vines, although the vintage had already been gathered not many days before. From these things those that are clever in such matters drew sundry conclusions, saying that some great and unexpected thing would take place, some that it would be good and others the opposite. But I for my part think that this was the result of a sort of coincidence, the usual south winds having prevailed for a very long period, and great heat having consequently come upon the land beyond what is customary and not in keeping with the season. But if it really does, as they say, indicate that some unexpected event will

happen, we shall know most certainly from the future outcome.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τάδε ἀμφὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [2] Γουβάζης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Χοσρόην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐπιβουλεύειν θάνατον ἤσθετο. [3] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λαζῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν δεινὰ πάσχοντες καὶ διαφερόντως τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμῆδιζον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐ τὰ Περσῶν ἀσπαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαξιέοντες τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν δυσχερῶν τὰ τέως μὴ παρόντα αἰρούμενοι. [4] ἦν δέ τις ἐν Λαζοῖς οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἀνὴρ Θεοφόβιος ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τῷ Μερμερόῳ λαθραιότατα ἐς λόγους ξυμμιξίας φρούριον ἐνδώσειν τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος ὡμολόγησεν. [5] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐλπίσι μεγάλας ἐπάρας ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥρμησε ταύτην, φίλον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσεσθαι, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀνάγραφτον ἐπ' εὐεργεσία ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι μέγαν. οἷς δὴ Θεοφόβιος ἐπαρθεὶς πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο. [6] Καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐπιμιξία Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαζοῖς τότε, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πέρσαις πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πανταχόσε περιήρχοντο τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐλάνθανον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρχαίοπολιν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐκεῖνι ὀχυρωμάτων καταλαβόντες ἐκρύπτοντο: καὶ Γουβάζης αὐτός, ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. [7] πόνῳ γοῦν ὁ Θεοφόβιος οὐδενὶ ἰσχυσε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Μερμερόῳ ἐπιτελέσαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ φρουρίῳ γενόμενος ἔφασκε Λαζοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις οἱ τὸ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον εἶχον ὥς ἅπας μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἀπολώλει, Γουβάζῃ δὲ βασιλεῖ καὶ Λαζοῖς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι διαφθαρεῖν τὰ πράγματα, Κολχίς δὲ ζύμπασα πρὸς Περσῶν ἔχοιτο, καὶ οὐδέ τις ἐλπίς Ῥωμαίοις ποτὲ ἢ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἀνασωθῆσεσθαι τῆς χώρας τὸ κράτος. [8] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερα κατὰ μόνας ταῦτα τὸν Μερμερόην διαπεπράχθαι, μυριάδας τε πλέον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπαγαγόμενον Περσῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ βαρβάρους Σαβείρους παμπληθεῖς: νῦν δὲ καὶ βασιλέα Χοσρόην στρατῷ ἀμυθῆτῳ ἐνθάδε ἤκοντα ἐξαπιναιῶς αὐτοῖς ἀναμεμίχθαι καὶ οὐκ ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲ αὐτὴν Κόλχων τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ τὴν γῆν ἐπαρκέσειν. [9] ταῦτα τερατευσάμενος Θεοφόβιος ἐς δέος μέγα καὶ ἀμηχανίαν κατεστήσατο τοὺς ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς. [10] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλιπάρουν πρὸς θεοῦ τοῦ πατρώου ἱκετεύοντες τὰ παρόντα ὅση δύναμις εὐθέσθαι σφίσι. [11] καὶ ὃς αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγει πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ οἴσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φρούριον ἐνδώσουσι Πέρσαις. Ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῦτα ἤρεσκεν, αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς αὐθὶς τε τῷ Μερμερόῳ ἐς ὅσιν ἦκων ἅπαντα ἔφραζεν. [12] ὁ δὲ Περσῶν ἄνδρας τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος ἔπεμψε, τὰ τε πιστὰ παρεξομένους ἀμφὶ τε τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῖς τῆδε φρουροῖς καὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο καθέξοντας. [13] οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαις τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος φρούριον ἔσχον καὶ Λαζικῆς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἰσχυρότατα ἐκρατύναντο. [14] οὐ μόνην δὲ Λαζικὴν ταύτην οἱ Πέρσαις ὑποχειρίαν πεποίηνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σκυμνίαν τε καὶ Σουανίαν,

ἐκ δὲ Μοχρησίδος ἄχρι ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἄβατα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ
ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο. [15] ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς
πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε Λαζοὶ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν
ὄρων ἢ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐτόλμων οὐδέ πη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξίναι. [16]
Μερμερόης δὲ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐγκειμένης ὥρας ξύλινον μὲν τεῖχος ἐν
Κόταϊς ἐτεκτῆνατο, φρουράν τε Περσῶν τῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ
τρισχίλων ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἐν τε τῷ Οὐθιμέρεος ἄνδρας αὐτάρκεις
ἀπολιπών. [17] οἰκοδομησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Λαζῶν φρούριον, ὃ δὴ
καλοῦσι Σαραπανίν, πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὀρίοις Λαζικῆς
κείμενον, αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. [18] ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς ἀγείρεσθαι τε
μαθὼν καὶ ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος, παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. [19] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γουβάζης τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ
ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον, οὐχ ὑποστάντες τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον διελύθησάν τε
καὶ διεσώθησαν ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν. [20] ὃ τε Γουβάζης ἀναδραμὼν
ἐς τῶν ὄρων τὰς ὑπερβολὰς διεχειμάζε ζῦν τε τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ
τοῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείοις, τῇ μὲν ἀμηχανία τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
διαμαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἀνάγκην, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐς
τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον θαρσῶν, ταύτῃ τε τὴν τύχην παρηγορῶν τὴν τότε
παροῦσαν, οἷά γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, [21] καὶ караδοκῶν τὰ βελτίω. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ
Λαζοὶ τῇ πρὸς βασιλέα Γουβάζην αἰδοῖ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν οὐδέν τι
ἦσσαν ἐν τοῖς σκοπέλοις κατέτριβον, δύσκολον μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὐδέν πρὸς τῶν
πολεμίων δειμαίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν
χειμῶνα, ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἀμηχανά τε καὶ ὅλως ἀπρόσδοα ζυμβαίνει εἶναι, λιμῷ
δὲ καὶ ψύχει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ δυσθανατῶντες. [22] Ὁ δὲ Μερμερόης
οἰκία τε πολλὰ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Μοχρήρησιν
κώμαις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πανταχόθι καταστησάμενος τῶν τῆδε χωρίων, τῶν τε
αὐτομόλων περιπέμπων τινὰς ἐς τῶν ὄρων τὰς ἀκρωρείας καὶ τὰ πιστὰ
παρεχόμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἴσχυσεν: οἷς δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ἀπορουμένοις ἐχορήγει συχνὰ καὶ ὡς οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο, τὰ τε ἄλλα διφκεῖτο
ζῦν ἀδεία πολλῇ ἅτε τῆς χώρας γεγωνὸς κύριος. [23] καὶ πρὸς Γουβάζην
ἔγραψε τάδε: 'Δύο ταῦτα ρυθμίζει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν βίον, δύναμις τε καὶ
φρόνησις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ δυνατῷ περιόντες τῶν πέλας αὐτοῖ τε βιοτεύουσι
κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὅτῃ βούλονται τοὺς καταδεεστεροὺς ἐσαεῖ ἄγουσιν, οἱ δὲ
διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν δεδουλωμένοι τοῖς κρείττοσι, τῷ ξυνετῷ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν
ιώμενοι, θωπεῖα τοὺς κρατοῦντας μετίασι καὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις
βιοῦν δύνανται, πάντων ἀπολαύοντες τῇ κολακεῖᾳ ὥνπερ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν
ἀσθένειαν στερεῖσθαι ζυμβαίνει. [24] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τισὶ
σφίσι φέρεται οὕτως, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώποις
ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπασιν πανταχόθι γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι ἐμπέπηγε φύσει.
[25] καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὦ φίλε Γουβάζη, ἦν μὲν οἶε περιέσεσθαι Περσῶν τῷ
πολέμῳ, μήτε μέλλε μήτε σοι ἐμπόδιον γινέσθω μηδέν. [26] εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἡμᾶς
τῆς Λαζικῆς ἐνθα ἂν βούλοιο ὑφισταμένους τε τὴν σὴν ἔφοδον καὶ
ἀντιπαραταττομένους ὑπὲρ χώρας τῆσδε ὅση δύναμις: ὥστε παρέσται σοι
διαγωνιζομένῳ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. [27] εἰ μέντοι ἀδύνατος ὢν

Περσῶν τῇ δυνάμει ἀντιτάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδας, σὺ δέ, ὃ ἴγαθέ, τὸ δεύτερον διαχειρίζε, τὸ γνῶθι σαυτόν, καὶ προσκύνει τὸν σαυτοῦ δεσπότην Χοσρόην ἅτε βασιλέα καὶ νενικηκότα καὶ κύριον. [28] αἶτει τέ σοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἕλων εἶναι, ὅπως ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν δυνατὸς εἴης τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν. [29] ὡς ἔγωγε ἀναδέχομαι βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἕλων τέ σοι γενήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν, ὁμήρους σοι παρεχόμενον παῖδας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων ἀρχόντων, ὡς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔξεις. [30] εἰ δέ σοι τούτων οὐδέτερον βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ἐξ τινα ἐτέραν ἀπιὼν χώραν δὸς τοῖς διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀβουλίαν ταιλαιπῶροις γενομένοις Λαζοῖς ἀναπνεῦσαί ποτε καὶ ἀπὸ δυσκόλων τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐγκειμένων ἀνενεγκεῖν μηδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντον ὀλεθρον τόνδε προστρίβεσθαι βούλου ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχούμενος· λέγω δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας. [31] οὐ γάρ σοι τιμωρεῖν ποτὲ δυνατοὶ ἔσονται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡμέραν δεδύνηται τήνδε.’ Μερμερόης μὲν ταῦτα ἔγραψε. [32] Γουβάζην δὲ οὐδ’ ὥς ἐπειθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὁρῶν κολωνοῖς ἔμενε, караδοκῶν τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίαν καὶ τῷ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ἔχθει ὡς ἥκιστα ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπόγνωσιν ἐγκλίνειν ἐθέλων. [33] οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βουλήματος ἀρμόζονται χρεῖαν, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τῷ ἀρέσκοντι αὐτοὺς αἰὶ προσχωροῦσι, καὶ προσίενται τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα, οὐ διασκοπούμενοι μὴ ψευδὴς εἶη, τῷ δὲ λυποῦντι χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες ἀπιστοῦσιν, οὐ διερευνώμενοι μὴ ἀληθὴς εἶη.

XVI

While these negotiations were taking place in Byzantium between the Romans and Persians regarding the treaty, meantime the following took place in Lazica. Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, was well disposed toward the Romans, for he perceived that Chosroes, as I have stated in the previous narrative, was plotting his death. But the most of the other Lazi, being subjected to outrageous treatment at the hands of the Roman soldiers, and being particularly angry with the commanders of the army, began to favour the Medes as a general thing, not because they preferred the cause of the Persians, but because they wished to be rid of the Roman rule and preferred those difficulties which were not for the moment present. Now there was a man of no mean station among the Lazi, Theophobius by name, who conferred very secretly with Mermeroes and promised to put the fortress of Uthimereos into his hands. And he filled the man with great hopes and urged him to accomplish this, declaring that as a result of this deed he would not only be a very close friend of King Chosroes, but would also be inscribed by the Persians as a benefactor for all time, and consequently would become great in renown and in wealth and power. Theophobius was elated by these promises and kept working still more eagerly for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Now there was at that time no free movement of the Romans and Lazi, but, while the Persians were going about everywhere in that country with complete liberty, some of the Romans and Lazi were hiding by the Phasis River, while others had seized Archaeopolis or some other one of the strongholds there and were concealing themselves therein. Meanwhile Gubazes himself, the king of the Lazi, was remaining quietly at the summit of the mountains. Consequently Theophobius was able with no difficulty to make good his promise to Mermeroes. For he went inside the fortress and stated to the Lazi and Romans who were keeping guard there that the whole Roman army had perished, that the cause of King Gubazes and of all the Lazi about him had been utterly lost, and that all Colchis was held by the Persians, and there was not one single hope for the Romans or Gubazes ever to win back the rule of the land. For formerly, he pointed out, Mermeroes had accomplished this alone, bringing with him more than seventy thousand fighting men of the Persians and vast numbers of barbarian Sabiri; but now, he said, King Chosroes himself had actually come there with an unnumbered host and suddenly joined forces with them, and henceforth not even the whole land of the Colchians would suffice for this army. With these high-flown words Theophobius reduced the guards there to a state of terror and helplessness. And they besought him with entreaties in the name of their ancestral god to use all his power to turn the present situation to their advantage. He then promised them that he would

bring from Chosroes pledges for their safety, on condition that they surrender the fortress to the Persians.

The men were delighted with these terms and he immediately departed from the place, and coming again before Mermeroes explained everything. Then Mermeroes selected the most notable men of the Persians and sent them with him to Uthimereos, for the purpose of arranging pledges both for the money and for the lives of the guards of the place and so taking possession of that fortress. Thus did the Persians gain the fortress of Uthimereos and thereby secured the mastery of Lazica most firmly. But not only did the Persians bring this land of Lazica under their sway, but also Scymnia and Suania, and in this way the whole territory from Mocheresis as far as Iberia became inaccessible to the Romans and the king of the Lazi. And neither the Romans nor the Lazi were able to ward off the enemy, for they did not even dare to descend from the mountains or their strongholds, nor to make any advances against the enemy.

Mermeroes, as the winter season came on, built a wooden wall at Cotaïs and established there a guard of warlike Persians no less than three thousand strong, and he also left a sufficient force of men in Uthimereos. And he also built up the other fortress of the Lazi which they call Sarapanis, situated at the very limit of the territory of Lazica, and remained there. But later, upon learning that the Romans and Lazi were gathering and making camp at the mouth of the Phasis River, he moved against them with his whole army. When Gubazes and the commanders of the Roman army learned this, refusing to withstand the enemy's attack they dispersed and saved themselves as each found it possible. As for Gubazes, he ran up to the summit of the mountains and there proceeded to pass the winter along with his children and his wife and those particularly intimate with him, putting up with the rigours of winter because of the hopelessness of his present evil situation, but confident of the future because of his hope in Byzantium, and in this way finding consolation for the fortune then present, as men are wont to do, and looking for a better day. And the rest of the Lazi likewise, ashamed to be outdone by King Gubazes, were passing the winter as well as he among the crags, fearing indeed no difficulty from the enemy there, for these mountains are at all times impracticable and wholly inaccessible for an attacking force, and particularly during the winter, but forced to endure mortal suffering through hunger, cold, and the other hardships.

Meanwhile Mermeroes at his leisure built many houses in the villages throughout Mocheresis and established stores of supplies everywhere among these places; then by sending some of the deserters to the heights of the mountains and offering pledges he succeeded in winning over many; these were naturally in want of provisions, and he supplied them in generous measure and cared for them as his own; indeed he carried on the whole

administration with an air of complete security, as having become lord of the land. And he wrote the following letter to Gubazes: "Two things there are which harmonize the lives of men, power and wisdom. For some, who, by reason of their power, are superior to their neighbours, both live themselves according to their own desires and also never fail to lead where they wish those less powerful than themselves, while others, though enslaved to the stronger through their weakness, can still remedy their impotence by discretion, and by courting the powerful with flattery are still able to live with their own possessions, enjoying by means of their conciliatory attitude everything of which they are deprived by their weakness. And this does not hold only for some of the nations of men, while it is otherwise in other nations, but one might say that this is implanted in human experience universally in every part of the inhabited world like any other natural characteristic. Do you, accordingly, my dear Gubazes, if you think you are going to overcome the Persians in the war, neither hesitate nor let anything stand in your way. For you will find us in any part of Lazica you may choose ready to meet your attack and prepared in battle-array to fight for this land with all our might; so that in waging a decisive struggle you will have the opportunity to display your valour against us. If, however, even you yourself realize that you are unable to array yourself against the might of the Persians, then do you, good Sir, take the second alternative and 'know thyself,' and bow down before your master Chosroes as king and victor and lord. And beg that he be merciful to you in spite of your acts, in order that you may be able henceforth to escape the evils which harass you. For I personally promise that King Chosroes will be merciful to you and will give pledges, furnishing you as hostages sons of the notable rulers in Persia, that you will have your safety and your kingdom and everything else in security for all time. But if neither of these things meets your wish, do you at least go off to some other land and thus grant to the Lazi, who have been reduced to wretchedness through your folly, recovery at length and respite from the difficulties which press upon them, and do not wish to inflict upon them this lingering destruction, being carried on by a deceptive hope, by which I mean assistance from the Romans. For they will never be able to defend you, just as they have not been able up to the present day." Thus wrote Mermeroes. But even so he did not persuade Gubazes, who remained among the summits of the mountains, awaiting the assistance to come from the Romans and, by reason of his hostility to Chosroes, absolutely unwilling to incline to despair of the Romans. For men as a general thing adapt their decisions to the dictates of their desire, and while, on the one hand, they incline toward the argument which pleases them and espouse all its consequences, not investigating to see whether it may be false, they, on the other hand, are outraged by the one which annoys them and they distrust it, never searching out to see whether it may not be true.

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινὲς μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἤκοντες, γνόντες τε ὡς

Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ σπουδῆς εἴη μηκέτι πρὸς Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐς βασιλέα γενόμενοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ μετάξῃ διοικήσεσθαι ὡμολόγουν, ὥς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου του ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσωνται· [2] χρόνου γὰρ κατατρίψαι μῆκος ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη τὰ πολλὰ οὔση, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται, ταύτη τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυνατὰ εἴη. [3] ἐνδελεχέστατα δὲ διερευνωμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυθνανομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθὴς εἴη ἔφασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκώληκας τινὰς τῆς μετάξης δημιουργοὺς εἶναι, τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς διδασκάλου τε οὔσης καὶ διηνεκῶς ἀναγκαζούσης ἐργάζεσθαι. [4] ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκώληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακομίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν γόνον εὐπορόν τε καὶ ῥάδιον ὄλως. εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκώληκων τῶνδε τὸν γόνον φᾶ ἐκάστου ἀνάρηθμα. [5] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ φᾶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τῆς γονῆς ὕστερον κόπρῳ καλύψαντες ἄνθρωποι ταύτη τε διαρκῇ θερμίναντες χρόνον ζῶα ποιοῦσι. [6] ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρήσασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸν λόγον. [7] οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι ἐν Σηρίνδῃ αὐτὶς τὰ τε φᾶ μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκώληκας τε αὐτὰ τρόπῳ ὥπερ ἐρρήθη μεταπεφυκέναι διαπραζάμενοι τρέφουσί τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. [8] τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μετάξῃ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε. [9] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Ἰσδιγούσνας τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελλε. καὶ ὅς τὰ μὲν χρήματα κεκομισμένος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐπεσφράγισε, Λαζικῆς δὲ μεθίεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν. [10] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τούτοις Οὐννων τῶν Σαβείρων ἐταιρισάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα ξὺν Πέρσαις τισὶ τῷ Μερμερόῃ εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. ὃ δὴ ἐπέστελλεν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλέφαντάς οἱ πολλοὺς ἔστειλε. [11] Μερμερόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Οὐννων στρατῷ ἐκ Μοχηρήσιδος ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ Λαζῶν ὀχυρώματα ἦει, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος. [12] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ, Μαρτίνου ἡγουμένου σφίσι, χωρίου ἰσχύι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα κρατυνάμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [13] ξυνήν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γουβάζης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης τινός, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Λαζῶν τινὰ ἔδρασε. [14] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν φρουρίῳ τῷ μαθὼν τὴν Γουβάζου ἀδελφὴν εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἐξαιρήσων μηχανῇ πάσῃ. [15] καρτερώτατα δὲ ἀμυνομένων τῶν ταύτῃ φρουρῶν καὶ χωρίου σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης τῆς φύσεως ὀχυρότητι ἄπρακτοι ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα ἐπὶ Ἀβασγοὺς σπουδῇ ἴεντο. [16] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Τζιβιλῇ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες τὴν δίοδον καταλαμβάνοντες στενοτάτην τε καὶ κρημνώδη οὔσαν, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὸ παράπαν τε ἀδιέξοδον, ἐμπόδιοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο. [17] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Μερμερόης καθ' ὃ τι τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους βιάζεται, ὑπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὥς πολιορκήσων αὐτίκα ἦει. τοῦ τε περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν

προὔχῳρει, ἀνέστρεφεν αὐθις. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν Σαβείρων τὸν ἄρχοντα ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. [19] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ τῷ νεκρῷ γενομένης ὕστερον Πέρσαι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἐπὶ τε Κόταϊς καὶ Μοχήρησιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέπρακτο τῇδε. [20] Τὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἅπαντα Ῥωμαίοις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς καθειστῆκει. τῷ γὰρ Ἰωάννῃ, ὃνπερ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο, εὐτυχήματα λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσῳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [21] ὃς δὴ ἓνα τῶν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις ἀρχόντων ἐταιρισάμενος, Κουτζίναν ὄνομα, τὰ τε πρότερα μάχῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνίκησε καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Ἰαύδαν, οἱ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τε καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶχον, ὑποχειρίους πεποίηται, εἰποντό τε αὐτῷ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. [22] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔν γε Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο. τοῖς μέντοι φθάσασι πολέμοις τε καὶ στάσεσιν ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἡ χώρα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οὔσα διέμεινεν.

XVII

At about this time certain monks, coming from India and learning that the Emperor Justinian entertained the desire that the Romans should no longer purchase their silk from the Persians, came before the emperor and promised so to settle the silk question that the Romans would no longer purchase this article from their enemies, the Persians, nor indeed from any other nation; for they had, they said, spent a long time in the country situated north of the numerous nations of India — a country called Serinda — and there they had learned accurately by what means it was possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. Whereupon the emperor made very diligent enquiries and asked them many questions to see whether their statements were true, and the monks explained to him that certain worms are the manufacturers of silk, nature being their teacher and compelling them to work continually. And while it was impossible to convey the worms thither alive, it was still practicable and altogether easy to convey their offspring. Now the offspring of these worms, they said, consisted of innumerable eggs from each one. And men bury these eggs, long after the time when they are produced, in dung, and, after thus heating them for a sufficient time, they bring forth the living creatures. After they had thus spoken, the emperor promised to reward them with large gifts and urged them to confirm their account in action. They then once more went to Serinda and brought back the eggs to Byzantium, and in the manner described caused them to be transformed into worms, which they fed on the leaves of the mulberry; and thus they made possible from that time forth the production of silk in the land of the Romans. At that time then matters stood thus between the Romans and the Persians, both as touching the war and in regard to silk.

After the winter season Isdigousnas arrived at the court of Chosroes with the money and announced the terms agreed upon by them. And Chosroes, upon receiving the money, confirmed the armistice without any hesitation, but he was utterly unwilling to relinquish Lazica. In fact he actually used this money to purchase the alliance of a vast horde of the Sabiri Huns, and he sent them immediately with some Persians to Mermeroes, whom he directed to pursue his task with all the power at his disposal; and he sent him, furthermore, a large number of elephants.

Mermeroes, accordingly, accompanied by the whole army of Persians and Huns, departed from Mocheresis and moved against the strongholds of the Lazi, taking the elephants with him. The Romans, however, offered no resistance whatever, but under the leadership of Martinus they made themselves as secure as possible in a naturally strong position near the mouth of the Phasis River and there remained quiet. And Gubazes, the king of the

Lazi, was also with them. But this Medic army, because of a certain chance which befell it, did no harm to anyone either of the Romans or of the Lazi. For in the first place Mermeroes, learning that the sister of Gubazes was in a certain fortress, led his army against this with the intention of capturing it at all hazards. But because the guards of that place offered a most valiant resistance and also because the naturally strong position gave them material assistance, the barbarians were repulsed from the town without accomplishing their purpose and withdrew; whereupon they hastily directed their course against the Abasgi. But the Romans keeping guard in Tzibile seized the pass, which was very narrow and precipitous, as I have stated previously, and quite impossible to force, and thus they blocked their way. Consequently Mermeroes, having no means of dislodging his opponents by force, led his army back and straightway moved on Archaeopolis with the purpose of besieging it. But, upon making trial of the circuit-wall, he met with no success and consequently turned back again. But the Romans followed up the retreating enemy and in a dangerous pass began to slay many of them, among those who fell being, as it chanced, the commander of the Sabiri. And a fierce battle taking place over the corpse, the Persians finally, at dusk, forced back their opponents and routed them, after which they retired to Cotaïs and Mocheresis. Such then were the fortunes of the Romans and the Persians.

- In Libya, on the other hand, affairs had taken an altogether favourable turn for the Romans. For it so fell out that John, whom the Emperor Justinian had appointed General there, met with a number of incredible pieces of good fortune, since after securing the allegiance of one of the Moorish rulers, Cutzinas by name, he first defeated the others in battle, and not long afterwards reduced to subjection Antalas and Iaudas, who held the sovereignty over the Moors of Byzacium and Numidia, and they joined his train in the position of slaves. And as a result of this the Romans had for the time no enemy in Libya at any rate. But by reason of the previous wars and insurrections the land remained for the most part destitute of human habitation.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε ξυνηέχθη ἐν Εὐρώπῃ γενέσθαι. Γήπαιδες μὲν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, τὰς σπονδὰς θέμενοι πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς σφίσι πολεμίους ὄντας ἐτύγγανον. [2] παντάπασι δὲ οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες τὰ διάφορα πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλῦσαι πολεμητέα σφίσιν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ᾤοντο εἶναι. [3] Γήπαιδες μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεῖ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τῷ πολέμῳ ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν. [4] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Γηπαίδων Θορισίν, τῶν δὲ Λαγγοβαρδῶν Αὐδοῦν ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ ἀνδρῶν μυριάδες πολλαὶ εἶποντο. ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστα πη ἀμφοτέρω ἦλθον, οὐπω δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς ἀλλήλων καθεωρῶντο. [5] δείματα δὲ τὰ πανικὰ καλούμενα ἐξαπιναίως ἑκατέροις ἐπιπεσόντα φεύγοντας ἀπ' αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἅπαντας ὀπίσω ἀπήνεγκε, μόνων τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ ἀπολελεμμένων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν. [6] οἷπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνθέλκειν τε καὶ τῆς

ὕπαγωγῆς ἀναχατιῖν ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐδὲν ἦνουν οὔτε θωπεῖαις οἰκτραῖς οὔτε ἀπειλαῖς φοβεραῖς χρώμενοι. [7] Περιδεῆς οὖν γεγωνὼς Αὐδουὶν ὁρῶν διασκεδαννυμένους ἀκόσμως οὕτως ὅτι γὰρ ἤδει τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ὁμοίαν κεκληρῶσθαι τύχην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους εὐθὺς ἐπεμψε τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτησομένους. [8] οἵπερ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Γηπαίδων Θορισὶν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα εἶδον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τετυχηκότων κατενόησαν τὰ τοῖς πολεμίους ξυνεγεχθέντα καὶ τῷ Θορισὶν ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἀνεπνυθάνοντο αὐτοῦ ὅτι ποτὲ οἱ γῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ πλῆθος εἴη. [9] καὶ ὁ τῶν ξυμπεπτακότων οὐδὲν ἀρνηθεὶς ὁ Φεύγουσιν οὐδενὸς διώκοντος ἔφη. οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες ὅτι ταῦτο τοῦτο, φασί, ὅτι Ἀγγοβάρδαι πεπόνθασιν. ἀληθιζόμενον γὰρ σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀποκρυψόμεθα. [10] οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ γένη ταῦτα διολωλέναι ὥς ἤκιστα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ διέλυσε τὴν παράταξιν, σωτήριον ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβαλὼν δέος, φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιχωρήσωμεν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ, τὸν πόλεμον καταλύοντες. ὅτι ἔστω, γινέσθω ταῦτα, ὁ Θορισὶν ἔφη. δυοῖν τε οὕτως ἐνιαυτοῖν ἐκεχειρίαν πεποιήνται, [11] ὅπως μεταξὺ ἐπικηρυκεύομενοί τε καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ φοιτῶντες ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ διάφορα διαλύσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐκάτεροι ἀνεχώρησαν. [12] Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐχ οἷοί τε γεγεννημένοι ἐς τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων τὴν διάλυσιν ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔργα χωρεῖν ἐμελλον. [13] δειμαίνοντές τε Γῆπαιδες τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπίδοξοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὥς Ἀγγοβάρδαι ξυντάσσονται τῶν τινὰς Οὐννων ἐς τὴν ὁμαίχμιαν ἐπάγεσθαι διανοοῦντο. [14] ἔπεμψαν οὖν παρὰ τῶν Κουτριγούρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὴ ἐνθένδε ὤκνηται Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐδέοντο πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀγγοβάρδας ξυνδιενεγκεῖν σφίσιν. [15] οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς ἐπεμψαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ Χινιαλῶν, ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. [16] Γῆπαιδες δὲ τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐπω ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτὸς ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς καταθεῖν μεταξὺ τὴν βασιλέως γῆν, πάρεργον τῆς σφετέρας ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν. [17] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν διάβασιν ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τε Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίοις ἐφφύρουν, αὐτοὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Οὐννους ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς διαπορθμεύσαντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἀφίεσαν. [18] Καὶ οἱ μὲν πάντα σχεδὸν τι ἐληΐσαντο τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε. πέμψας παρὰ Οὐννων τῶν Οὐτιγούρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὴ ἐπέκεινα Λίμνης ὤκνηται τῆς Μαιώτιδος, ἐμέμφετό τε καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ἀπεκάλει τὴν ἐς Κουτριγούρους ἀπραγμοσύνην, εἵπερ τὸ τοὺς φίλους διαφθειρομένους περιορᾷ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ἀδικωτάτοις καταλέγειν δεήσει. αὐτῶν γὰρ Κουτρίγουροι, [19] ἔφη, πλησιοχώρων ὄντων ἀφροντιστήσαντες, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Βυζαντίου χρήματα μεγάλα κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας οὐ θέλουσιν ἀποπαύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσημέραι καταθέουσιν τε καὶ ληΐζονται αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. [20] τούτων δὲ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ μέρος κερδαίνοντες, οὐδὲ τῆς λείας Κουτριγούροις διαλαγχάνοντες, οὐ προσποιοῦνται κακομένους Ῥωμαίους,

καίπερ αὐτοῖς φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες. [21] ταῦτα σημήνας τοῖς Οὐτιγούροις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ χρήμασι μὲν αὐτοὺς δωρησάμενος, ὑπομνήσας δὲ ὅσων δώρων καὶ προτερον πολλάκις πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀναπεῖθει σφᾶς ἔφοδον αὐτίκα ἐς τῶν Κουτρινγούρων τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους ποιήσασθαι. [22] Οἱ δὲ Γόθων τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων, οἱ δὲ Τετραζῖται καλοῦνται, δισχιλίους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι διέβησαν πανδημεὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. [23] ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Σανδὶλ, ἀνὴρ ξυνετώτατος μὲν καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος, ἐς ἀλκὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς. [24] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίησαντο, τῶν Κουτρινγούρων πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ὥνπερ ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμυνομένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον μὲν ἢ μάχῃ ἐγεγόνει, μετὰ δὲ Οὐτίγουροι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες φεύγοντες, ὅπη αὐτῶν ἐκάστω δυνατὰ γέγονε, διεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

XVIII

While these events were taking place as described, meanwhile the following transpired in Europe. The Gepaedes had in the first place, as I have stated in the previous narrative, confirmed a treaty with their enemies the Lombards. But being utterly unable to compose their differences with them, they decided not much later that they must make war. So the Gepaedes and the Lombards advanced in full force against each other, both being fully prepared for the war. And the commanders were, on the side of the Gepaedes, Thorisin, and on that of the Lombards, Auduin, each of them being followed by many myriads of men. Now they had already come close to one another, but the two armies could not yet see each other. But that fright which is called panic suddenly fell upon both armies and carried the men all backward in a flight which had no real cause, only the commanders being left where they were with a small number of men. And though they strove to draw their men back and check the retreat, they could accomplish nothing either by the use of abject entreaty or by fearful threats.

So Auduin became thoroughly frightened at seeing the men taking to their heels in this disorderly manner (for he did not know that the enemy had shared the same fate), and straightway sent some of his followers on an embassy to his opponents to beg for peace. But these men, when they came to Thorisin, the commander of the Gepaedes, and observed what was taking place and understood from their own experience what had befallen their enemies, enquired of Thorisin, when they came into his presence, where in the world the host of his subjects was. And he, for his part, without making any denial of what had happened, said, "They are fleeing, though no man pursues." Thereupon the envoys said to him in reply, "This is the very thing which has happened to the Lombards also. For seeing that you speak the truth, O king, we shall conceal nothing on our side. Accordingly, since it is not at all the will of God that these nations should utterly perish, and since for this reason He dissolved the battle lines, smiting both armies with a saving fear, come now, let us too yield to the will of God by putting an end to the war."

"Very well, let it be so," said Thorisin. Thus they made a two years' truce, to the end that by maintaining diplomatic relations and keeping constantly in communication with one another in the interval, they might make a thorough settlement of all their differences. So at that time they each withdrew with this understanding.

But finding themselves unable during this truce to come to such terms with each other as to reach a settlement of the disputed points, they were once more on the point of resorting to warfare. But the Gepaedes, fearing the Roman power (for it was expected that the Romans would array themselves

with the Lombards), were purposing to invite some of the Huns to an offensive and defensive alliance. They sent, accordingly, to the rulers of the Cutrigurs, who live on the western side of the Maeotic Lake, and begged that they assist them in carrying on the war against the Lombards. And these Huns straightway sent them twelve thousand men, under different commanders, among whom was Chinialon, an especially capable warrior. But the Gepaedes were for the moment embarrassed by the presence of these barbarians, since the time had not yet arrived when a battle could be fought, for the truce still had a year to run, and so they persuaded them to overrun the emperor's land in the interval, thus turning their embarrassment to their profit by delivering this attack on the Romans. But since the Romans were guarding carefully the crossing of the Ister River both in Illyricum and in the land of Thrace, they themselves ferried these Huns across the Ister at the point where their own territory touched the river and turned them loose in the Roman domain.

And they had indeed plundered practically the whole country there, when the Emperor Justinian hit upon the following plan. Sending to the rulers of the Utigur Huns, who live on the eastern side of the Maeotic Lake, he reproached them and branded as unjust their inactivity with regard to the Cutrigurs, if indeed one ought to consider the act of watching without protest the destruction of one's friends as the height of injustice. "For the Cutrigurs," he said, "paying no heed to their neighbours, the Utigurs, and that too though they receive great sums of money every year from Byzantium, are unwilling in any degree to cease from their injustice toward the Romans, but they are every day raiding and plundering them for no good reason. And though the Utigurs themselves gain no portion of this plunder nor share in the booty with the Cutrigurs, they are not taking the side of the Romans who are being wronged, though they have been on terms of close friendship with them from ancient times." Thus the Emperor Justinian, by sending this message to the Utigurs, and not only making a gift of money to them but also reminding them of all the gifts they had previously received from him on many occasions, persuaded them immediately to make an attack upon those of the Cutrigurs who had been left behind.

So they first drew into alliance with them two thousand of the Goths called Tetraxitae, who are their neighbours, and then crossed the Tanais River in full force. And they were commanded by Sandil, a man of the greatest cleverness and experienced in many wars, and one, moreover, well endowed with prowess and fortitude. So after they had made the crossing of the river, they engaged with a large number of the Cutrigurs who disputed their advance. And since this force offered a most vigorous resistance to their assailants, the battle continued for a very long time, but finally the Utigurs routed their opponents and slew many. And only a small number of them, by fleeing wherever each man found it possible, saved themselves. Then their enemy made slaves of their women and children and so departed on their homeward

Τούτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμαχομένων ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, τοῦ τε κινδύνου σφίσι κατὰ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀκμάζοντος, εὐτυχία χρῆσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηγέθη πολλῇ. [2] ὅσοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Κουτρίγουροις ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐς μυριάδας, ὥς φασι, ξυνιόντες πολλάς, ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ διαλαθόντες ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἐξαναστάντες οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου ἐς τὰ πατρία ἦθη ἀφίκοντο, καὶ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώναντο. [3] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Ἀράτιον στρατηγὸν στείλας παρά τε Χινιαλὼν καὶ Οὐννους τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀγγεῖλαι μὲν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφίσιν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ξυνενεχθέντα, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς προῖεμενον πείσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. [4] οἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐτιγούρων τὴν ἐφοδὸν γνόντες καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρατίου κεκομισμένοι ξυνέβησαν μήτε φόνον ἔτι ἐργάσεσθαι μήτε ἀνδραποδεῖν Ῥωμαίων μηδένα μήτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι δράσειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἅτε διὰ φίλων ποιήσεσθαι τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων. [5] ξυνέκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν δυνατοὶ εἶεν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἐπανιόντες ἰδρύεσθαι, μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστεως τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχεσθαι: ἦν δέ γε αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ μένειν ἀδύνατα ἦ, ἐπανιέναι μὲν αὐθις αὐτοὺς ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, βασιλέα δὲ σφᾶς δωρήσασθαι τισι τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνταῦθα ἐνοικησάμενοι ἔνσπονδοὶ τε τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίοις ἔσονται καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ξυμφυλάξουσιν ἐκ πάντων βαρβάρων. [6] Ἦδη δὲ καὶ Οὐννων τῶν ἡσημένων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ διαφυγόντων τοὺς Οὐτιγούρους δισχίλιοι ἦλθον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενοι: [7] ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σιννίων, ὅσπερ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ πολλῶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδύλους ἐστράτευσε: γίνονται τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἰκέται. καὶ ὃς αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ἐν τε χωρίοις ἰδρύσασθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐκέλευσεν. [8] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Σανδὶλ, ὁ τῶν Οὐτιγούρων βασιλεὺς, ἔμαθε, παρωξυσμένος τε καὶ περιωργισμένος, εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν Κουτρίγουρους ὁμογενεῖς ὄντας ἀδικίας τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τιννύμενος ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστήσειεν αὐτοὺς τῶν πατρίων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέως σφᾶς ἐνδεξαμένου ἐνοικησάμενοι ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ πολλῶ ἄμεινον βιοτεύσουσιν, ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ἐς βασιλέα τὰ πεπραγμένα ὀνειδιοῦντας, οὐκ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῖς τινὰ ἐγχειρίσας 'ἐπεὶ γραμμάτων παντάπασιν Οὐννοι ἀνήκοοί τε καὶ ἀμελέτητοι ἐς τόδε εἰσὶ καὶ οὔτε γραμματιστὴν τινὰ ἔχουσιν οὔτε τῷ περὶ τὰ γράμματα πόνῳ συναύξεται αὐτοῖς τὰ παιδιὰ, βαρβαρικώτερον δὲ ἅπαντα ἀποστοματιοῦντας ὅσα δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπιστεῖλειε σφίσι. [9] Ἀφικόμενοι οὖν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς ὧσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν οἱ ἔφασαν δι' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τάδε βασιλέα Σανδὶλ: 'Παροιμίαν τινὰ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκηκοὼς οἶδα, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ αὐτῆς ἐπιλέλησμαι, [10] τοιαύτη τις ἡ παροιμία τυγχάνει οὔσα. τὸ θηρίον ὁ λύκος τῆς μὲν τριχὸς, φασίν, ἴσως ἂν τι καὶ παραλλάξαι οὐκ ἀδύνατος εἴη, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην οὐ μεταστρέφει, οὐκ ἀφιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ μεθαρμοσαμένῳ ταύτην τῆς φύσεως. [11] ταῦτα μὲν,' παροιμιαζόμενός φησιν ὁ Σανδὶλ, 'τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκήκοα, πλαγίῳ τινὶ παραδηλούντων τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λόγῳ. οἶδα δέ τι καὶ ἀπὸ

τῆς πείρας μαθὼν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἀγροικιζόμενον βάρβαρον ἐκμαθεῖν· [12] τοὺς κύνας οἱ ποιμένες ἐπιτιθίους ὄντας ἀναιρούμενοι οὐκ ἀπημελημένως οἴκοι ἐκτρέφουσιν, εὐγνώμον δὲ τοῖς σιτίζουσι ζῶον ὁ κύων καὶ τὰ ἐς χάριν μνημονικώτατον. πράσσεται οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ποιμέσι τούτου διὰ ἔνεκα, τοῦ τῶν λύκων ἐπιόντων ποτὲ διακρούεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἐφόδους τοὺς κύνας παραστάτας τε καὶ σωτῆρας τοῖς προβατίοις καθισταμένους. καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γῇ τῇ πάσῃ γίνεσθαι οἶομαι. [13] τεθέαται γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς οὔτε ποιμνὴ κύνας ἐπιβουλεύσαντας οὔτε λύκους ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς πώποτε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ τοῦτον ἡ φύσις θεσμὸν κυσί τε καὶ προβάτοις καὶ λύκοις νομοθετήσασα ἔθετο. [14] οἶμαι δὲ κἂν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ σῇ, οὗ δὴ πραγμάτων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάντων, τάχα δέ που καὶ τῶν ἀμυγνάνων, περιουσίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, παράλλαξιν τούτων τινὰ οὐδαμῇ γίνεσθαι. [15] ἡ γοῦν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ἑμοῖς δεῖξατε ὅπως ἂν τι καὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδ' ἄ μάθοιμεν· εἰ δὲ ἀραρότως ταῦτα πανταχῇ πέφυκεν, οὐ καλὸν σοί ἐστι Κουτρίγούρων τὸ γένος ξεναγεῖσθαι, οἶμαι, τεθολωμένον ἐπαγαγομένῳ γειτόνημα, καὶ οὐς ὄντας ὑπερορίους οὐκ ἡνεγκας, τανῦν ἐνδήμους πεποιημένῳ. [16] αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ τρόπον ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐνδείκονται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ τούτου χωρὶς οὔτε πολέμιος ἐπιλείπει διαφθείρων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἡσηθηῖς ἀμείνων ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοί, οὔτε φίλος περιέσται Ῥωμαῖοις, ἐμπόδιός ποτε τοῖς καταθέουσι γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐσόμενος, δεῖ τοῦ μὴ, ἐπειδὴν φέρεται παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ κράτιστα, τοὺς ἡσημένους ἐπιδεῖν ἐπιφανέστερον αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πράσσοντας, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀγόνῳ τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχομεν, τοῖς δὲ Κουτρίγούροις σιτανεῖν τε καὶ τοῖς οἰνῶσι κατακραυπαλᾶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ παροψίδας αἰρεῖσθαι πάσας. [17] πάντως δέ πῃ καὶ βαλανείων αὐτοῖς μέτεστι, καὶ χρυσοφοροῦσιν οἱ πλανῆται καὶ ἱματίων οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσι λεπτῶν τε καὶ πεποικιλμένων καὶ καταληλειμμένων χρυσῶ. καίτοι Κουτρίγουροι μὲν Ῥωμαίων [18] ἀνάριθμα πλήθη ἐξηνδραποδικότες τὰ πρότερα μετήνεγκαν ἐς γῆν τὴν σφετέραν. [19] οἷς δὴ τὰ ἀνδραποδώδη πάντα ἐπέχειν οὐ πάρεργον τοῖς καταράτοις ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα οὐχ ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐντεῖναι καὶ θανατοῦν ἴσως πρόχειρον ἦν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δεσπότη βαρβάρῳ ὃ τε τρόπος καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία ἐφήσιν. [20] ἡμεῖς δὲ πόνοις τε ἡμετέροις καὶ κινδύνους ἐς ψυχὴν φέρουσι τύχης αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαντες τῆς τότε κρατούσης τοῖς γειναμένοις ἀπέδομεν, διαπονήματα ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου γεγεννημένου. [21] ὣν δὴ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐκάτεροι κεκομίσμεθα, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπολαύομεν ἔτι τῶν πατρίων κακῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποφυγοῦσι τὴν αὐτῶν δούλωσιν χώρας τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσομοιροῦντες [22] διαλαγχάνουσι.' τοσαῦτα μὲν Οὐτιγούρων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τιθασεύσας καὶ δώρων πλήθει παρηγορήσας οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

XIX

While these barbarians were fighting it out with each other in the manner described, and when the struggle was now at the most violent point, it so fell out that great good fortune came to the Romans. For all those Romans who chanced to be among the Cutrigurs in the status of slaves, amounting, as they say, to many tens of thousands, during this struggle departed hastily from there without being detected, and, since no one followed them up, they reached their native land, thus profiting by another nation's victory at the time of their sorest need. The Emperor Justinian now sent to Chinialon and the other Huns the general Aratius, bidding him announce to them what had befallen in their own land and, by offering them money, persuade them to depart with all possible speed from the territory of the Romans. So these Huns, upon learning the inroad of the Utigurs and receiving at the same time a large sum of money from Aratius, made an agreement that they would commit no further bloodshed nor enslave any one of the Romans nor do any other harm, but would make their withdrawal, treating the people on the way as friends. And this also was agreed upon, that if, on the one hand, these barbarians should be able to return and settle in their own country, they would both remain there and hold fast for the future their allegiance to the Romans; but if, on the other hand, it should be impossible for them to remain in that land, they were to return once more to Roman territory, and the emperor would confer upon them some district in Thrace, to the end that they should establish their homes there and be for ever at peace with the Romans while they assisted in guarding the land carefully against all barbarians.

By this time two thousand of the Huns who had been defeated in the battle and escaped the Utigurs had entered the Roman empire, bringing their wives and children; and among their several leaders was Sinnion, who long before had marched with Belisarius against Gelimer and the Vandals, and they now made themselves suppliants of the Emperor Justinian. He received them with all kindness and bade them settle on Thracian soil. But when Sandil, the king of the Utigurs, learned this, he was exasperated and filled with anger, seeing that, while he himself, by way of punishing the Cutrigurs who were his kinsmen for the wrong they had done the Romans, had driven them from their ancestral abode, they for their part had been received by the emperor, had settled in the land of the Romans, and were going to live much more comfortably; he accordingly sent envoys to the emperor to remonstrate at what had been done, not putting any letter into their hands (for the Huns are absolutely unacquainted with writing and unskilled in it up to the present time, and they neither have any writing-master nor do the children among them toil over their letters at all as they grow up), but instructing them rather to deliver by word of mouth in the barbarian fashion everything which he

enjoined upon them.

So when these envoys came into the presence of the Emperor Justinian, they stated that their king Sandil spoke through them as by a letter as follows: "I know a certain proverb which I have heard from my boyhood, and if I have not forgotten it, the proverb runs somewhat as follows. That wild beast, the wolf, might, they say, possibly not be unable actually to change in some degree the colour of his fur, but his character he doth not transform, nature not permitting him to change this. This proverb," says Sandil, "have I heard from my elders, who thus hinted at the ways of men by means of a dark saying. And I know something also which I have learned from experience, one of those things which it would be natural that a rough barbarian should learn: the shepherds take dogs when they are still suckling and rear them with no lack of care in the house, and the dog is an animal grateful to those who feed it and most mindful of kindness. Now this is obviously done by the shepherds with this purpose, that when the wolves attack the flock at any time, the dogs may check their attacks, standing over the sheep as guardians and saviours. And I think this takes place throughout the whole world. For no man in the world has at any time seen dogs attacking a flock nor wolves defending it, but nature as a law-maker has established this as a kind of ordinance, as it were, for dogs and sheep and wolves. And I think that even in your empire, where practically everything is found in abundance, including doubtless even impossible things, there is not the slightest variation from this rule. Otherwise make a demonstration to my envoys in order that on the threshold of old age we may actually learn something new to our experience. But if these things are by nature everywhere fixed, it is not, I think, a fair thing for you to receive hospitably the nation of the Cutrigurs, inviting in a foul set of neighbours, and making people at home with you now whom you have not endured beyond your boundaries. For they will, after no long delay, shew their own true character toward the Romans, and apart from this, neither will an enemy be lacking who will prey upon the Roman domain in the hope that, if defeated, he will be better off at your hands, nor will a friend be left the Romans who some day will stand in the way of those who would overrun your land, through fear lest, when he gains the mastery by the gift of fortune, he may see the vanquished faring more splendidly than himself at your hands, seeing that while we eke out our existence in a deserted and thoroughly unproductive land, the Cutrigurs are at liberty to traffic in corn and to revel in their wine-cellar and live on the fat of the land. And doubtless they have access to baths too and are wearing gold — the vagabonds — and have no lack of fine clothes embroidered and overlaid with gold. Yet another point: the Cutrigurs had previously enslaved countless thousands of Romans and carried them off to their own land. And these cursed rascals have been at no slight pains to impose all the indignities of slavery upon these victims, for they were doubtless ever ready even to apply the lash to those who had done no wrong

or to put them to death, and they practised such other cruelties as natural inclination and opportunity suggest to a barbarian master. We, on the other hand, by our struggles and perils which involved our lives in danger, delivered them from the fate which then enchained them and restored them to their parents, so that they came to represent for us the object, it proves, of all our labours in the war. And for these things we and they have each of us received from you for these different actions rewards of an opposite nature, if it is true that we, on the one hand, still partake of our ancestral woes, but they are allotted an equal share in the land of those who by our valour escaped from being their slaves.” Thus spoke the envoys of the Utigurs. But the emperor, after wheedling them with many words and comforting them with a quantity of gifts, sent them away not long afterward. Such was the course of these events.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ τε Οὐάρνων ἔθνει καὶ στρατιώταις νησιώταις οἱ δὴ ἐν νήσῳ τῇ Βριττία καλουμένῃ ὤκνηται, πόλεμος καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. [2] Οὐαρνοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἵδρυνται, διήκουσι δὲ ἄχρι ἐς Ὠκεανὸν τὸν ἀρκτῶν καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥήνον, ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς τε διορίζει καὶ Φράγγους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἵδρυνται. [3] οὗτοι ἅπαντες, ὅσοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον ἐκατέρωθεν ποταμὸν ὤκνητο, ἰδίου μὲν τινος ὀνόματος ἕκαστοι μετελάγχανον, ἐπὶ κοινῇ δὲ Γερμανοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ἅπαντες. [4] Βριττία δὲ ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ τούτου μὲν Ὠκεανοῦ κεῖται, τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων καταντικρὺ τῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῶν μάλιστα, Βρεττανίας δὲ καὶ Θούλης τῆς νήσου μεταξύ ἐστίν. [5] ἐπεὶ Βρεττανία μὲν πρὸς δύοντά που κεῖται ἥλιον κατὰ τῆς Ἰσπανῶν τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας, ἀμφὶ σταδίους οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους τῆς ἡπείρου διέχουσα, Βριττία δὲ ἐς τῆς Γαλλίας τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς Ὠκεανὸν τετραμμένα, Ἰσπανίας δηλονότι καὶ Βρεττανίας πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. [6] Θούλη δέ, ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπους εἰδέναί, ἐς Ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἄρκτῳ τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βρεττανία καὶ Θούλη ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι λόγοις ἐρρήθη: Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἷς αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐφέστηκε. [7] καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. [8] τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθὲνδε μετανιστάμενοι ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν. [9] οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν ἐς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον προσποιεῖσθαι φασιν. [10] ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ὁ Φράγγων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον στείλας ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἀγγίλων ξυνέπεμψε, φιλοτιμούμενος ὥς καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἦδε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν καλουμένην νῆσον τοιαῦτά ἐστι. [11] Τῶν δὲ Οὐάρνων ἀνὴρ τις οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, Ἑρμεγίσκλος ὄνομα, ἦρχεν. ὅσπερ τὴν βασιλείαν κρατύνασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων, τὴν Θευδιβέρτου ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Φράγγων ἄρχοντος γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποίησατο. [12] τετελευτήκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔναγχος ἢ πρότερον

ξυνοικοῦσα γυνή, παιδὸς ἐνὸς γενομένη μήτηρ ὃν καὶ ἀπέλιπε τῷ πατρὶ Ῥάδιγιν ὄνομα, ᾧ δὴ ὁ πατὴρ παρθένου κόρης, γένους Βριττίας, ἐμνήστευσε γάμον, ἥσπερ ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ἦν τότε Ἀγγίλων τοῦ ἔθνους, χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ τῆς μνηστείας αὐτῇ δεδωκὼς λόγῳ. [13] οὗτος ἀνὴρ ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱπευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθήμενον εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζοντα. [14] εἶτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεῖς εἶτε ἄλλο μὲν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος μαντευομένου τερατευσάμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὡς τεθνήξεται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὕστερον. [15] τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος δηλοῦν πρόρρησιν. ‘Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν προορώμενος’ ἔφη ‘ὅπως δὴ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ βιώσεσθε, τοῖς τε Φράγγοις ἐς κῆδος συνῆλθον, γυναῖκα ἐνθένδε τὴν ἐμοὶ ξυνοικοῦσαν ἐπαγαγόμενος, καὶ τῷ παιδί τῷ ἡμῶν περιβέβλημαι τὴν Βριττίαν μνηστήν. [16] ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι ὑποτοπάζω αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, εἰμὶ δὲ ἅπαις ἄρσενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου, ὅσα γε τὰ γυναικὸς τῆσδε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἀνυμέναιός τε καὶ ἄνυμφος ἔτι νῦν ἐστί, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐπικοινωνοῦμαι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ εἴ τι ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀσύμφορον δόξειεν εἶναι, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτήν, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωμαι τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ κατακυροῦντες διαπεραίνετε. [17] οἶμαι τοίνυν Οὐάρνοις ξυνοίσειν τὴν κηδεῖαν ἐς Φράγγους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τοὺς νησιώτας ποιεῖσθαι. [18] Βρίττιοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ὑμῖν οἰοί τέ εἰσιν, ὅτι μὴ ὁπὲρ τε καὶ μόλις: Οὐαρνοὶ δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τουτὶ μόνον τοῦ Ῥήνου τὸ ὕδωρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν γειτόνων μὲν ὡς πλησιαίτατα ὄντας ὑμῖν, ἐς δυνάμεως δὲ κεχωρηκότας μέγα τι χρῆμα, ἐν προχείρῳ ἔχειν εὖ ποιεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἴη: [19] λυμανοῦνται δὲ πάντως. ἦν μὴ τὸ κῆδος αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἔσται. βαρεῖα γὰρ φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις υπερβάλλουσα αὐτοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων δύναμις γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἀδικίαν ἐτοιμοτάτη, ἐπεὶ γείτονι δυνατῷ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐκπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. [20] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, παρείσθω μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦδε νησιῶτις μνηστή, χρήματα πάντα ὅσα παρ’ ἡμῶν κεκομισμένη τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἔτυχε τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπενεγκαμένη μισθόν, ἣ νόμος ἀνθρώπων ὁ κοινὸς βούλεται: Ῥάδιγιν δὲ ὁ παῖς ξυνοικιζέσθω τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῇ τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πάτριος ἡμῖν ἐρήσι νόμος.’ [21] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρᾳ νοσήσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμεγίσκλου υἱός, Οὐάρνων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, γνώμῃ τῶν ἐν βαρβάροις τοῖσδε λογίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελὴ ἐποίει τὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βουλὴν καὶ τὸν γάμον αὐτίκα τῇ μνηστῇ ἀπειπὼν τῇ μητρὶ ξυνοικίζεται. [22] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τοῦ Ῥαδίγιδος μνηστὴ ἔμαθεν, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ πράγματος συμφορὰν, τίσασθαι αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὕβρεως ὥρμητο. [23] τίμιον γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις σωφροσύνη νομίζεται εἶναι, ὥστε δὴ μόνου παρ’ αὐτοῖς ξυντετυχηκότος ὀνόματος γάμου, μὴ ἐπιγενομένου τοῦ ἔργου, δοκεῖ πεπορνεῦσθαι γυνή. [24] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἐμπύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅτου δὴ ὑβρίσειεν ἐς αὐτὴν ἔνεκα, οὔτε πεπορνευμένην οὔτε τι ἄλλο εἰργασμένην εἰς αὐτὸν ἄχαρι. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνύτειν

οὐδὲν ταύτῃ ἐδύνατο, τὸ ἄρρενωπὸν ἀνελομένη ἐπὶ πολέμια ἔργα ἐχάρει. [26] Ναῦς οὖν αὐτίκα τετρακοσίας ἀγείρασα στράτευμά τε αὐταῖς ἐνθεμένη οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μυριάδων δέκα μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὴ ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐάρνους τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ. [27] ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἕνα, ξυνδιοικησόμενον αὐτῇ τὰ παρόντα, οὐχ ὥς μέντοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐν ιδιώτου τελοῦντα μοίρα. [28] ἄλκιμοι δὲ εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα βαρβάρων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι, ἔς τε τὰς ξυμβολὰς πεζοὶ ἴασιν. [29] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον εἰσὶ τοῦ ἱππεύεσθαι ἀμελέτητοι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἵππον ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίστασθαι σφίσι ξυμβαίνει, ἐπεὶ ἵππον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ οὐδὲ ὅσα κατ' εἰκόνα θεῶνται: οὐ γὰρ ποτε τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἐν γε Βριττία γεγονὸς φαίνεται. [30] εἰ δὲ ποτε αὐτῶν τισὶν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἢ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Φράγγοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἵππους ἔχοντι ἐπιχωριάσασθαι ξυμβαίῃ, ἐνταῦθά τε ἵπποις ὀχεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐπάναγκες εἴη, ἀναθρόσκειν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτοὺς μετεωρίζοντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζουσιν, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τε βουλομένους ἐνθὲνδε αὐθις αἶροντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατατίθενται. [31] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Οὐάρνοι ἱππῶται εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅπαντες. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι τοιοῖδε εἰσὶ. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτερέται πάντες. οὐδὲ ἰστία τούτοις δὴ τοῖς νησιώταις τυγχάνει ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες ἀεὶ ναυτίλλονται μόνον. [32] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, παρθένος μὲν ἥπερ αὐτῶν ἦρχε, χαράκωμα ἐχυρὸν πηξαμένη παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκβολὴν ποταμοῦ Ῥήνου, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ ἔμμενε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι κελεύει. [33] ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ Οὐάρνοι τότε τῆς τε Ὠκεανοῦ ἡϊόνος καὶ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῆς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. οὗ δὴ ἀφικομένων κατὰ τάχος Ἀγγίλων ξυνέμιζαν μὲν ἀμφοτέροι ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις, ἥσσανται δὲ κατὰ κράτος Οὐάρνοι. [34] καὶ αὐτῶν πίπτουσι μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ξὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν τρέπονται ἅπαντες, οἱ τε Ἀγγίλοι τὴν διώξιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δι' ὀλίγου πεποιημένοι, ἢ θέμις πεζοῖς, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. [35] οὕσπερ ἐκάκιζεν ἐπ' ἀνήκοντας ἐς αὐτὴν ἢ παρθένος, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο πικρότατα, οὐδὲν τῇ στρατιᾷ λόγου ἄξιον ἰσχυριζομένη πεπράχθαι, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀγάγοιεν αὐτὴ ζῶντα Ῥάδιγιν. [36] Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς μάλιστα μαχιμωτάτους εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν, ἀπαγγείλασα δορυάλωτον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανῇ πάσῃ. [37] οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐπίταξιν περιήρχοντο διερευνώμενοι ξύμπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, ἕως ἐν ὕλῃ ἀμφιλαφεῖ κρυπτόμενον Ῥάδιγιν εὕρον: δῆσαντές τε αὐτὸν τῇ παιδί ἀπεκόμισαν. [38] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰστήκει, τρέμων τε καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑποτοπάζων θανάτῳ οἰκτίστω: ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου οὔτε ἀπέκτεινεν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ ὀνειδίσασα τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἡλογηκὼς τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐτέρῃ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνέλθοι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πεπορνευμένης αὐτῷ τῆς μνηστῆς. [39] καὶ ὃς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπολογούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σπουδὴν προῦφερεν, ἱκεσίους τε προὔτεινετο λόγους καὶ λιταῖς ἀνέμισγε τὴν ἀπολογίαν πολλαῖς, ἐς τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀναφέρων τὸ ἔγκλημα. [40] βουλομένη τε αὐτῇ ξυνοικισθῆσεσθαι ὠμολόγει καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐν

δίκη τὸ πρότερόν οἱ αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἐπιγεννησομένοις ἰάσεσθαι. [41] ἔπει δὲ τὴν παῖδα ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τῶν τε δεσμῶν ἀφείτο Ῥάδιγίς τῆς τε ἄλλης φιλοφροσύνης ἠξίωτο, ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν Θευδιβέρτου εὐθὺς ἀδελφὴν, τὴν δὲ Βριττίαν ἐγγήματο. ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. [42] Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Βριττίᾳ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐδείξαντο μακρὸν οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι, δίχα τέμνον αὐτῆς πολλὴν τινα μοῖραν: τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὃ τε ἀῆρ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔστι. [43] τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὐεξία τε ἀέρων ἔστι συμμεταβαλλομένη ταῖς ὥραις, θέρους μὲν μετρίως ἀλεεινὴ, ψυχρινὴ δὲ χειμῶνος: [44] καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν πολλοὶ ὤκνηται κατὰ ταῦτα βιοτεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τὰ τε δένδρα καρποῖς ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω γινομένοις ὡραίοις ἄνθει, τὰ τε λήϊα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον τέθηλεν: [45] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕδασιν ἡ χώρα ἐναβρυνομένη διαρκῶς φαίνεται. πρὸς δύοντα δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὥστε ἀμέλει ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡμῶριον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα βῖωσαι, ἔχῃς δὲ καὶ ὄφεις ἀνάριθμοι καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπὰ γένη διακεκλήρωται τὸν χώρον ἐκεῖνον. [46] καί, τὸ δὴ παραλογώτατον, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσιν ὥς, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος τὸ τεῖχος ἀμείψας ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴοι, εὐθυρὸν θνήσκει, τὸ λοιμῶδες τῶν ἐκεῖν ἁέρων ὥς ἥκιστα φέρων, τοῖς τε θηρίοις ἐνθαδὲ ἰοῦσιν ὁ θάνατος εὐθὺς ὑπαντιάζων ἐκδέχεται. [47] Ἐνταῦθα δέ μοι γενομένῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ' ἀναγκῆς ἔστι λόγου μυθολογία ἐμφερεστάτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ μοι οὕτε πιστὸς τὸ παράπαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καίπερ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν πρᾶσσομένων αὐτουργοί, τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτήκοοι ἰσχυρίζοντο γεγονέναι, οὔτε παριτέος παντάπασιν, ὥς μὴ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ Βριττίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ ἀναγραφόμενος ἀγνοίας τινὸς τῶν τῇδε ξυμβαινόντων διηνεκῶς ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν. [48] Λέγουσιν οὖν τὰς τῶν ἀποβιούντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ διακομίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, σπουδαιότατα μὲν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκηκοὺς πολλάκις τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐς ὄνειρων δέ τινα δύναμιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι νενομικῶς τὰ θρυλλούμενα. [49] παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν Ὠκεανοῦ νήσον κώμας παμπληθεῖς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι σαγηνεύοντές τε καὶ γῆν γεωργοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' ἐμπορίαν ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐς τήνδε τὴν νήσον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοοι ὄντες, φόρου μέντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὐπώποτε παρασχόμενοι, ὑφειμένου αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄχθους, ὑπουργίας τινός, ὥς φασιν, ἔνεκα, ἥ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λελέξεται. [50] Λέγουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς σφίσιν. ὅσοις οὖν τῇ ἐπιγεννησομένῃ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο τῇ τῆς ὑπουργίας διαδοχῇ ἰτέον ἐστίν, οὗτοι δὴ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ξυσκοτάζη, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καθεύδουσι, προσδεχόμενοι τὸν συναγωγέα τοῦ πράγματος. [51] ἄωρὶ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν τῶν μὲν θυρῶν σφίσιν ἀρασσομένων αἰσθάνονται, φωνῆς δέ τινος ἀφανοῦς ἐπαῖουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλούσης. [52] αὐτοὶ τε ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡτόνα βαδίζουσιν, οὐ ξυνιέντες μὲν ὅποια ποτὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναγκαζόμενοι. [53] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀκάτους παρεσκευασμένας ὀρῶσιν ἐρήμους τὸ παράπαν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τὰς σφετέρας μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας τινάς, ἐς ἃς δὴ ἐσβάντες τῶν

κωπῶν ἄπτονται. [54] καὶ τῶν βάρεων αἰσθάνονται ἀχθομένων μὲν ἐπιβατῶν πλήθει, ἄχρι δὲ ἐς σανίδας τε ἄκρας καὶ τῶν κωπῶν τὴν χώραν τῷ ῥοθίῳ βεβαπτισμένων, ἀποδεουσῶν τε τοῦ ὕδατος ὅσον οὐδὲ δάκτυλον ἓνα, αὐτοὶ μέντοι οὐδένα θεῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἐρέσσοντες ὥραν ἐς τὴν Βριττίαν καταίρουσι. [55] καίτοι ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἡνίκα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ναυτίλλονται, οὐχ ἰστίοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες, ἐς νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν μόλις ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύονται. ἐς τὴν νῆσον δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἀποφορτιζόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τῶν βάρεων σφίσι κούφων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κακ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπαιρομένων ἐν τε τῷ ὕδατι καταδυομένων οὐδέν τι ἄλλο, πλὴν γε ὅσα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν αὐτήν. [56] Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὀρῶσιν οὔτε ξυμπλέοντα οὔτε ἀπαλλασσόμενον τῆς νηός, φωνῆς δὲ ἀκούειν τινὸς ἐνθένδε φασὶ τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις ἀπαγγέλλειν δοκούσης πρὸς ὄνομα τῶν συμπεπλευκότων αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον, τά τε ἀξιώματα ἐπιλεγούσης οἷς πρώην ἐχρῶντο καὶ πατρώθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλούσης. [57] ἦν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξυνδιαπορθμευσάμεναι αὐτοῖς τύχῳσι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποστοματίζουσι τὰ ὀνόματα οἷσπερ ξυνοικοῦσαι ἐβίων. [58] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι ξυμβαίνειν φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

At about this time war and fighting sprang up between the nation of the Varni and soldiers who live on the island called Brittia; and it came about from the following cause. The Varni dwell beyond the Ister River, and extend as far as the northern ocean along the river Rhine, which separates them from the Franks and the other nations who dwell in that region. Now among all these nations which in ancient times dwelt on both sides of the Rhine river each people had its own particular name, but the whole group was called in common Germans. The island of Brittia lies in this part of the ocean not far from the coast, being about two hundred stades off and approximately opposite the mouth of the Rhine, and between the islands of Britain and Thule. For while Britain lies to the west about in line with the extreme end of Spain, separated from the continent by a distance which at the least is about four hundred stades, Brittia is towards the rear of Gaul, that side namely which faces the ocean, being, that is, to the north of both Spain and Britain. And Thule, as far as men know at any rate, is situated towards the extremity of the northern ocean. But the description of Britain and of Thule has been set down by me in the preceding narrative. The island of Brittia is inhabited by three very numerous nations, each having one king over it. And the names of these nations are Augili, Frissones, and Brittones, the last being named from the island itself. And so great appears to be the population of these nations that every year they emigrate thence in large companies with their women and children and go to the land of the Franks. And the Franks allow them to settle in the part of their land which appears to be more deserted, and by this means they say they are winning over the island. Thus it actually happened that not long ago the king of the Franks, in sending some of his intimates on an embassy to the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, sent with them some of the Angili, thus seeking to establish his claim that this island was ruled by him. Such then are the facts relating to the island that is called Brittia.

The Varni, not long ago, were ruled by a man named Hermegisclus. He, being eager to strengthen his kingdom, had made the sister of Theudibert, ruler of the Franks, his wedded wife. For his previous wife had died recently, having been the mother of one child, Radigis by name, whom she left to his father; and he sought a marriage for this child with a maiden born in Brittia, whose brother was then king of the nation of the Angili, and had given her a large sum of money because of his wooing. Now this man, while riding with the most notable of the Varni in a certain place, saw a bird sitting in a tree and croaking loudly. And whether he really comprehended the bird's voice, or, possessing some other knowledge, simply made a mysterious pretence of comprehending the bird's prophecy, he at any rate immediately told those with him that he would die forty days later. For this, he said, was revealed to him

by the pronouncement of the bird. "Now I," he said, "making provision that you should live most securely and at your ease, have related myself with the Franks by taking from their country the wife who is now my consort, and I have bestowed Brittia upon my son by betrothal. But now, since I expect to die very shortly, and, as far as this wife is concerned, I am without issue male or female, and my son furthermore is still unwed and without his bride, come now, let me communicate my thought to you, and, if it should seem to you not without some profit, do you, as soon as I reach the term of my life, put upon it the seal of your approval and execute it. I think, then, that it will be more to the advantage of the Varni to make the alliance by marriage with the Franks than with the islanders. For the men of Brittia, on the one hand, are not even able to join forces with you except after a long and difficult journey, while the Varni and Franks, on the other hand, have only yonder water of the Rhine between them, so that they, being very close neighbours to you, and having achieved an enormous power, have the means ready at hand both to help you and to harm you whenever they wish; and they will undoubtedly harm you if the said marriage alliance shall not prevent them. For men naturally find a neighbouring state's power, when it surpasses their own, grievous and a most ready cause of injustice, for a powerful neighbour may with comparative ease secure causes of war against his neighbours who are doing no wrong. Since, then, the facts are these, let the island girl who has been wooed for this boy be given up by you, and all the money which she has received from us for this purpose, let her retain as remuneration for the indignity, as the common law of mankind has it; but let my son Radigis be married to his own stepmother thenceforth, just as our ancestral law permits us."

So he spoke, and on the fortieth day from the pronouncement he fell sick and fulfilled his destiny. Then the son of Hermegisclus, after taking over the kingdom of the Varni, by the will of the notable men among these barbarians, carried out the counsel of the dead king, and straightway renouncing his marriage with his betrothed, became wedded to his step-mother. But when the betrothed of Radigis learned this, she could not bear the indignity of her position and undertook to secure revenge upon him for his insult to her. For so highly is virtue regarded among those barbarians, that when merely the name of marriage has been mentioned among them, though the fact has not been accomplished, the woman is considered to have lost her maidenhood. First, then, she sent an embassy to him of some of her kinsmen and inquired for what reason he had insulted her, though she had neither been unfaithful nor done him any other wrong. But since she was unable to accomplish anything by this means, she took up the duties of a man and proceeded to deeds of war.

She accordingly collected four hundred ships immediately and put on board them an army of not fewer than one hundred thousand fighting men, and she in person led forth this expedition against the Varni. And she also took with her one of her brothers who was to assist her in settling the situation, not that

he was holding the kingship, for he was still living in the position of a private citizen. Now these islanders are valiant beyond any of the barbarians we know, and they enter battle on foot. And this is not merely because they are unpractised in horsemanship, but the fact is that they do not even know what a horse is, since they never see so much as a picture of a horse on that island; for it is clear that this animal has in no time lived in Brittia. And whenever it happens that some of them on an embassy or some other mission make a visit among the Romans or the Franks or any other nation which has horses, and they are there constrained to ride on horseback, they are altogether unable, to leap upon their backs, but other men lift them in the air and thus mount them on the horses, and when they wish to get off, they are again lifted and placed on the ground. Nor, in fact, are the Varni horsemen either, but they too all march on foot. Such, then, are these barbarians. And there were no supernumeraries in this fleet, for all the men rowed with their own hands. Nor do these islanders have sails, as it happens, but they always navigate by rowing alone.

When they came to land on the continent, the maiden who commanded them, having established a strong stockade close by the mouth of the Rhine River, remained there with a small number, but commanded her brother to lead forward all the rest of the army against the enemy. Now the Varni at that time were encamped not far from the shore of the ocean and the mouth of the Rhine. So when the Angili reached that place, marching swiftly, the two armies engaged in combat with one another, and the Varni were defeated decisively. And many of them fell in this struggle, while the entire number of those remaining, together with the king, turned to retreat, and the Angili, after keeping up the pursuit for only a short distance, as is customary for infantry, retired to their camp. But the maiden rebuked them when they returned to her and inveighed most vehemently against her brother, declaring that nothing worthy of mention had been achieved by the army, because they had not brought her Radigis alive.

She then selected the most warlike men among them and sent them off straightway, instructing them to bring the man captive without fail. Then, by way of carrying out her mission, these men went about searching that whole country thoroughly, until they found Radigis hiding in a dense wood; then they bound him and took him back to the girl. So he stood before her eyes trembling and expecting to die instantly by the most cruel death; she, however, contrary to his expectations, neither killed him nor inflicted any other harm upon him, but by way of reproaching him for his insult to her, enquired of the fellow why in the world he had made light of the agreement and allied himself to another woman, and that too though his betrothed had not been unfaithful. And he, seeking to defend himself against the charge, brought forward the commands of his father and the zeal of his subjects, and he uttered words of supplication and mingled many prayers with his defence,

excusing his action by the stress of necessity. And if it was her will that they should be married he promised that what he had done unjustly in the past would be repaired by his subsequent conduct. Now when this was approved by the girl, and Radigis had been released from his bonds and received kind treatment in all other matters, he straightway dismissed the sister of Theudibert and wedded the girl from Brittia. Thus did these events take place.

Now in this island of Brittia the men of ancient times built a long wall, cutting off a large part of it; and the climate and the soil and everything else is not alike on the two sides of it. For to the east of the wall there is a salubrious air, changing with the seasons, being moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. And many people dwell there, living in the same fashion as other men, and the trees abound with fruits which ripen at the fitting season, and the corn-lands flourish as abundantly as any; furthermore, the land seems to display a genuine pride in an abundance of springs of water. But on the west side everything is the reverse of this, so that it is actually impossible for a man to survive there even a half-hour, but countless snakes and serpents and every other kind of wild creature occupy this area as their own. And, strangest of all, the inhabitants say that if any man crosses this wall and goes to the other side, he dies straightway, being quite unable to support the pestilential air of that region, and wild animals, likewise, which go there are instantly met and taken by death.

Since I have reached this point in the history, it is necessary for me to record a story which bears a very close resemblance to mythology, a story which did not indeed seem to me at all trustworthy, although it was constantly being published by countless persons who maintained that they had done the thing with their own hands and had heard the words with their own ears, and yet it cannot be altogether passed over, lest, in writing an account of the island of Brittia, gain a lasting reputation for ignorance of what takes place there.

They say, then, that the souls of men who die are always conveyed to this place. And as to the manner in which this is done, I shall presently explain, having many a time heard the people there most earnestly describe it, though I have come to the conclusion that the tales they tell are to be attributed to some power of dreams. Along the coast of the ocean which lies opposite the island of Brittia there are numerous villages. These are inhabited by men who fish with nets or till the soil or carry on a sea-trade with this island, being in other respects subject to the Franks, but never making them any payment of tribute, that burden having been remitted to them from ancient times on account, as they say, of a certain service, which will here be described by me.

The men of this place say that the conduct of souls is laid upon them in turn. So the men who on the following night must go to do this work relieving others in the service, as soon as darkness comes on, retire to their own houses

and sleep, awaiting him who is to assemble them for the enterprise. And at a late hour of the night they are conscious of a knocking at their doors and hear an indistinct voice calling them together for their task. And they with no hesitation rise from their beds and walk to the shore, not understanding what necessity leads them to do this, but compelled nevertheless. There they see skiffs in readiness with no man at all in them, not their own skiffs, however, but a different kind, in which they embark and lay hold of the oars. And they are aware that the boats are burdened with a large number of passengers and are wet by the waves to the edge of the planks and the oarlocks, having not so much as one finger's breadth above the water; they themselves, however, see no one, but after rowing a single hour they put in at Brittia. And yet when they make the voyage in their own skiffs, not using sails but rowing, they with difficulty make this passage in a night and a day. Then when they have reached the island and have been relieved of their burden, they depart with all speed, their boats now becoming suddenly light and rising above the waves, for they sink no further in the water than the keel itself.

And they, for their part, neither see any man either sitting in the boat with them or departing from the boat, but they say that they hear a kind of voice from the island which seems to make announcement to those who take the souls in charge as each name is called of the passengers who have come over with them, telling over the positions of honour which they formerly held and calling out their fathers' names with their own. And if women also happen to be among those who have been ferried over, they utter the names of the men to whom they were married in life. This, then, is what the men of this country say takes place. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη ζυηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος ἐφέρετο ὧδε. Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπεμψάμενος βασιλεὺς, ἡπὲρ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε, καὶ οὐδὲ Γερμανοῦ τετελευτηκότος πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διανοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῷ ὄντα, τῶν βασιλικῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἄρχοντα καταστησάμενος, αὐτοῦ κατεῖχεν. [2] ἦν τε τῷ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ὁ Βελισάριος Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν πρότεροι ἀνάγραπτοί τε ἐς πατρικίους γενόνασι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναβεβήκεσαν τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς αὐτῷ τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταντο πάντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ νόμῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. [4] ταῦτά τε βασιλεὺς κομιδῇ ἤρεσκεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ διεχειμάζεν ἐν Σάλωσι. προσδεχόμενοί τε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄπρακτοι ἔμενον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἐκκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελευτα τῷ Γοτθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ζυνέγραψε. [5] Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ Ἰωάννης μὲν διανοεῖτο ἐκ Σαλῶνων τε ἐξανίστασθαι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. [6] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν διεκώλυεν, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐπέστελλεν, ἕως Ναρσῆς ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀφίκεται. αὐτὸν γὰρ τοῦδε αὐτοκράτορα

καταστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐβούλευσεν. [7] ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα βουλομένη βασιλεῖ εἶη διαρρήδην μὲν τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ φανερόν γεγόνε· βασιλέως γὰρ βούλευμα ἔκπυστον ὅτι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἐθελουσίῳ ἀμήχανά ἐστιν· ἃ δὲ ὑποπτέοντες ἄνθρωποι ἔλεγον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. [8] ἔννοια Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες Ἰωάννου ἐπακούειν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθελήσουσιν, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες καταδεέστεροί τι αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα εἶναι. [9] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδεισε μὴ διχοστατοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ ἢ ἐθελοκακοῦντες τῷ φθόνῳ ζυγῆωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα. [10] Ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἀπαγγέλλοντος Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρός, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ διατριβὴν εἶχον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς. [11] ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ὡς ἄρχοι μὲν Ἰταλίας ποτὲ Ἀταλάριχος ὁ Θευδερίχου θυγατρίδου, βοῶν δὲ τις ἀγέλη ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀμφὶ δεῖλιν ὄνιαν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἦκει διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦν Φόρον Εἰρήνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· [12] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πῃ ὁ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεῶς κεραυνόβλητος γενόμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ κεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τις ἀρχαία πρὸ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρήνη, καὶ βοῦς ἐπὶ ταύτης χαλκοῦς ἔστηκε, Φειδίου, οἶμαι, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἢ Λυσίππου ἔργον. [13] ἀγάλματα γὰρ ἐν χώρῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τούτοις δὴ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ποιήματά ἐστιν. οὗ δὴ καὶ Φειδίου ἔργον ἕτερον· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγάλματι γράμματα. [14] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μύρωνος βοῖδιον. ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα ἐγκαλλωπίσματα Ῥώμῃ ποιήσασθαι. [15] ἓνα δὲ ταῦρον ἔφη τῶν τηνικάδε παριόντων εὐνοῦχον τῆς τε ἀγέλης ἀπολειπόμενον καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς κρήνης ἐπιβατεύσαντα καθύπερθεν βοῶς τοῦ χαλκοῦ στήναι. [16] τύχη δὲ τινι παριόντα τινά, Τοῦσκον γένος, κομιδῇ ἄγροικον δόξαντα εἶναι, ζυμβάλλοντα τὸ ποιούμενον φάναι· εἰσὶ γὰρ μαντικοὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ Τοῦσκοὶ ὡς εὐνοῦχός ποτε καταλύσει τὸν ἄρχοντα Ῥώμῃς. [17] καὶ τηνικάδε μὲν ὃ τε Τοῦσκος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγος γέλωτα ὥφλε. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς πείρας αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι τὰς προρρήσεις φιλοῦσι χλευάζειν, οὐκ ἀναχαιτίζοντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐλέγχου, τῷ μῆτε ἀποβεβηκέναι τὰ πράγματα μῆτε τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον εἶναι πιστόν, ἀλλὰ μύθῳ τινὶ γελοιώδει ἐμφορῇ φαίνεσθαι. [18] Νῦν δὲ δὴ ἅπαντες τὸ ζῦμβολον τοῦτο 'τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσιν ὑποχωροῦντες' θαυμάζουσι. [19] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν ἐστρατήγει Ναρσῆς, ἢ στοχαζομένης τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς βασιλέως γνώμης, ἢ πρυτανευούσης τὸ δέον τῆς τύχης. [20] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ναρσῆς στρατεύμα τε λόγου ἄξιον καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος ἐστέλλετο. [21] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐν μέσῃ Θράκῃ ἐγένετο, χρόνον τινὰ ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει ἀποκεκλεισμένος τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔμεινε. [22] στρατεύμα γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐπισκῆψαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἅπαντα ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς σφίσις ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, μόλις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει.

XXI

Such was the progress of the wars in each land. And the Gothic War continued as follows. After the emperor had summoned Belisarius to Byzantium as stated in the preceding narrative, he held him in honour, and not even at the death of Germanus did he purpose to send him to Italy, but he actually appointed him commander of the imperial guards as being General of the East, and detained him there. And Belisarius was first of all the Romans in dignity, although some of them had been enrolled before him among the patricians and had actually ascended to the seat of the consuls. But even so they all yielded first place to him, being ashamed in view of his achievements to take advantage of the law and to claim the right which it conferred, a circumstance which pleased the emperor exceedingly. Meanwhile John, the nephew of Vitalian, was passing the winter in Salones. And during all this time the commanders of the Roman army, expecting him in Italy, remained inactive. And the winter drew to its close and the sixteenth year ended in this Gothic War, the history of which Procopius has written. [551 A.D.]

When the following year opened, John was minded to depart from Salones and lead his army as quickly as possible against Totila and the Goths. But the emperor prevented him, bidding him remain there until Narses the eunuch should arrive. For he had decided to appoint him commander-in-chief for this war. But the reason why this was the wish of the emperor was explicitly evident to no one in the world; for it is impossible that an emperor's purpose be discovered except by his own will; but the surmises which people expressed I shall here set down. The thought had occurred to the Emperor Justinian that the other commanders of the Roman army would be quite unwilling to take orders from John, not consenting to be in any way inferior to him in rank. And consequently he feared lest by being at cross purposes or by playing the coward through envy they might make havoc of their operations.

And I also heard the following account of the matter given by a Roman gentleman when I was sojourning in Rome; and this man was a member of the senate. This Roman said that once, during the time when Atalaric the grandson of Theoderic ruled Italy, a herd of cattle came into Rome in the late evening from the country through the forum which the Romans call the Forum of Peace; for in that place has been situated from ancient times the temple of Peace, which was struck by lightning. And there is a certain ancient fountain before this forum, and a bronze bull stands by it, the work, I think, of Pheidias the Athenian or of Lysippus. For there are many statues in this quarter which are the works of these two men. Here, for example, is another statue which is certainly the work of Pheidias; for the inscription on the statue says this. There too is the calf of Myron. For the ancient Romans took great pains to

make all the finest things of Greece adornments of Rome. And he said that one of the cattle then passing by — a steer — left the herd and mounting this fountain stood over the brazen bull. And by some chance a certain man of Tuscan birth was passing by, one who appeared to be a very rustic fellow, and he understood the scene which was being enacted and said (for the Tuscans even down to my day are gifted with prophecy) that one day a eunuch would undo the ruler of Rome. And then indeed that Tuscan and the words he uttered earned only laughter. For before actual experience comes men are ever wont to mock at prophecies, whilst proof does not upset them, because the events have not come about and the tale of them is not credible, but seems akin to some ridiculous myth.

But now all men, yielding to the arguments of actual events, marvel at this sign. And it was perhaps for this reason that Narses marched as general against Totila, the emperor's judgment penetrating the future, or chance ordaining the inevitable thing. So Narses, receiving a notable army and great sums of money from the emperor, set forth. But when he came with his command to the midst of Thrace, he spent some time at Philippopolis, having been cut off from his road. For an army of Huns had made a descent upon the Roman domain and were plundering and pillaging everything with no man to stand in their way. But after some of them had advanced against Thessalonice and the rest took the road to Byzantium, Narses finally departed thence and marched forward.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ Σαλῶνων Ναρσῆν ἔμενε, Ναρσῆς δὲ Οὐννων τῇ ἐφόδῳ συμποδιζόμενος σχολαίτερον ἦει, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Τουτίλας προσδεχόμενος τὴν Ναρσοῦ στρατιὰν ἐποίει τάδε. [2] ἄλλους τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθίστη, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐάσας. [3] καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ὅση δύναμις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ μεταμέλει τῶν οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην εἰργασμένων τὰ πρότερα, ἐπεὶ ἐμπρήσας αὐτῆς πολλὰ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τίβεριν ποταμόν. [4] οἱ δὲ καθεστῶτες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα πάντα, μὴ ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσι προσηκόντων δυνατοὶ ἦσαν μεταποιεῖσθαι. [5] Καίτοι ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν φιλοπόλιδες Ῥωμαῖοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, περιστέλλειν τε τὰ πάτρια πάντα καὶ διασῶζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲν ἀφανίζεται Ῥώμῃ τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου. [6] οἱ γε καὶ πολὺν τινα βεβαρβαρωμένοι αἰῶνα τάς τε πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλωπισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, ὅσα οἷόν τε ἦν χρόνῳ τε τοσούτῳ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τῷ ἀπαμελεῖσθαι δι' ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχειν. [7] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι, ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναῦς Αἰνείου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τόδε κεῖται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἄπιστον. [8] νεώσοικον γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθην, ἐνταῦθά τε αὐτὴν καταθέμενοι, ἐξ ἐκείνου τηροῦσιν. ἥπερ ὁποῖα ποτὲ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. [9] Μονήρης τε ἡ ναῦς ἥδε καὶ περιμήκης ἄγαν τυγχάνει οὖσα, μῆκος μὲν ποδῶν

εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐρέσσεσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατα εἶναι. [10] ξύλων δὲ κόλλημα οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ παράπαν ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν οὐδὲ σιδήρων ἄλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πλοίου εἰς ἄλληλά πη ἐρήρυσται, ἀλλὰ μονοειδῆ ξύμπαντὰ ἐστὶ λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσω καὶ μόνῳ γεγονότα, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πλοίῳ. [11] ἢ τε γὰρ τρόπῳ μονοφυῆς οὕσα ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν πρῶραν διήκει, κατὰ βραχὺ μὲν θαυμασίως ἐπὶ τὸ κοῖλον ὑποχωροῦσα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐνθὲνδε κατὰ λόγον εὖ μάλα ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθόν τε καὶ διατεταμένον ἐπανιοῦσα. [12] τὰ τε παχέα ξύμπαντα ξύλα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν ἐναρμοσθέντα ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ δρυόχους καλοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ νομέας ἐκ τοῖχου μὲν ἕκαστον θατέρου ἄχρι ἐς τῆς νεῶς διήκει τὸν ἕτερον τοῖχον. [13] ὑφιζάνοντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξ ἐκατέρας ἄκρας καμπὴν ποιεῖται διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον, ὅπως ἂν τὴν νῆα μάλιστα κοίλῃν ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι ξυμβαίη, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως κατὰ τὴν τῆς χρείας ἀνάγκην τὰ τε ξύλα διακοπᾶς καὶ ξυναρμοσασμένης τὰ πρότερα τὸ κύρτωμα τοῦτο εἴτε χειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τε καὶ μηχανῇ ἄλλη τῆς τῶν νομέων ἀνωμαλίας ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω γεγενημένης. [14] σανὶς τε πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάστη ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἐς τῆς νηὸς ἐξικνεῖται τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρχήν, μονοειδῆς οὕσα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ τούτου ἕνεκα προσλαβοῦσα μόνον, ὅπως δὴ ταῖς δοκοῖς ἐναρμοσθεῖσα τὸν τοῖχον ποιῇ. [15] οὕτω μὲν ἡ ναὺς ἥδε πεποιημένη κρείσσω παρέχεται τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαίνοντα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα τίθεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις τὰ ξυνειθισμένα νικῶσα καὶ τοῦ λόγου κρατεῖ. [16] τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν ξύλων οὐδὲν οὔτε σέσηπεν οὔτε τι ὑποφαίνει ὥς σαπρὸν εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀκραίφνης πανταχόθι οὕσα ἡ ναὺς, ὥσπερ ὑπόγουον τῷ τεχνίτῃ τῷ αὐτῆς, ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, νεναυπηγημένη, ἔρρωται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ Αἰνείου νηὶ ταύτῃ ἔχει. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐς τριακόσια Γότθων πληρώσας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἐπιστείλας δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [18] οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Φαιάκων χώραν, ἣ νῦν Κέρκυρα ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζεσθαι ἔσχε. [19] νῆσον γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ διάπλῳ οἰκουμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν πορθμοῦ μέχρι ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος διηπορούμην ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἡ νῆσος εἶη. [20] ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδαμῇ νῆσον τεθέαμαι, ὅτι μὴ τρεῖς, οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν τῆς Φαιακίδος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων οὕσας, βραχεΐας κομιδῇ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων οἰκία ἐχούσας οὔτε ζῶων οὔτε ἄλλων τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. Ὅθονοι δὲ καλοῦνται τανῦν αἱ νῆσοι αὗται. [21] καὶ φαίη ἂν τις τὴν Καλυψὼ ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα γῆς τῆς Φαιακίδος ὄντα οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν ἢ σχεδία, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νεῶς τινος χωρὶς ἐνθὲνδε διαπορθμεύσασθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὅσον τεκμηριοῦσθαι εἰρήσθω. [22] τοῖς γὰρ παλαιοτάτοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐναρμόσασθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ ὁ πολὺς χρόνος τὰ τε τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα καὶ τὴν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ. [23] Τὸ πλοῖον ἀμέλει ὅπερ ἐν γῇ τῇ Φαιάκων ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ πεποιημένον παρὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀκτὴν ἔστηκεν, ἐκεῖνο τινες οἰόνται εἶναι ὃ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἐκόμισεν,

ἡνίκα ξεναγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη. [24] καίτοι οὐ μονοειδὲς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλιστα πολλῶν ξύγκειται. [25] καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκεκόλαπται καὶ διαρρήδην βοᾷ τῶν τινὰ ἐμπορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ιδρύσασθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. [26] Δία γὰρ Κάσιον ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ἣ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἐστήκεν ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον Κασώπῃ ἐπικαλεῖται. [27] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐκ λίθων πολλῶν καὶ ἡ ναὺς ἐκείνη πεποιήται ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ τοῦ Ἀτρέως τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Γεραιστῷ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἀφοσιούμενος κὰν τούτῳ τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν, ἡνίκα διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας πάθος τὸν ἀπόπλουον ἡ Ἀρτεμις ξυνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. [28] ἃ δὴ γράμματα ἐν πλοίῳ τούτῳ ἢ τηνικάδε ἢ ὕστερον ξυσθέντα δηλοῖ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ. ὦν τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ἐξίτηλα χρόνῳ τῷ μακρῷ γέγονε, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα καὶ ἐς τὸδε διαφαίνεται λέγοντα ὧδε: Νῆά με λαϊνέην ιδρύσατο τῇδ' Ἀγαμέμνων, Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς σῆμα πλοῖζομένης. [29] καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔχει: 'Τύννιχος ἐποίει Ἀρτέμιδι Βολοσίᾳ.' οὕτω γὰρ τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ βολὰς τὰς ὠδῖνας ὠνόμαζον. ἐμοὶ δὲ αὖθις ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἰτέον. [30] Ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οὗτος ὁ Γότθων στόλος ἀφίκετο, αὐτὴν τε ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπικέινται, [31] αἱ Συβόται καλοῦνται: διαβάντες δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐξαπιναίως ἅπαντα ἐληΐζοντο τὰ ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην χωρία καὶ διαφερόντως Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Ἀγχίαλον, οὗ δὴ Ἀγχίσην, τὸν Αἰνείου πατέρα, ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀλούσης ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ πλεοντά φασι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ χωρίῳ δοῦναι. [32] περιόντες δὲ τὴν παραλίαν ὅλην καὶ ναυσὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐντυχόντες πολλὰς αὐτοῖς φορτίους ἀπάσας εἶλον. ἐν ταῖς εἶναι ξυνέβη καὶ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς αἱ τῇ Ναρσοῦ στρατιᾷ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔφερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

Now while John, on the one hand, was at Salones awaiting Narses, and Narses, on the other hand, was travelling rather slowly, being hindered by the inroad of the Huns, meantime Totila, while awaiting the army of Narses, was engaged as follows. He placed a part of the Romans and some of the members of the senate in Rome, leaving the rest in Campania. And he commanded them to look after the city as well as they could, shewing plainly thereby that he felt repentance for what he had done to Rome previously; for he had, as it happened, burned large parts of it, particularly on the further side of the Tiber River. But these Romans, being reduced to the state of slaves and stripped of all their money, were not only unable to lay claim to the public funds, but could not even secure those which belonged to them personally.

Yet the Romans love their city above all the men we know, and they are eager to protect all their ancestral treasures and to preserve them, so that nothing of the ancient glory of Rome may be obliterated. For even though they were for a long period under barbarian sway, they preserved the buildings of the city and the most of its adornments, such as could through the excellence of their workmanship withstand so long a lapse of time and such neglect. Furthermore, all such memorials of the race as were still left are preserved even to this day, and among them the ship of Aeneas, the founder of the city, an altogether incredible sight. For they built a ship-house in the middle of the city on the bank of the Tiber, and depositing it there, they have preserved it from that time. And I shall now explain what sort of a ship this is, having seen it myself.

The ship is one with a single bank of oars and is very long, being one hundred and twenty feet in length and twenty-five feet wide, and its height is all that it can be without becoming impossible to row. But there is nowhere in the boat any piecing together of timbers at all nor are the timbers fastened together by any device of iron, but all the timbers are of one piece, a thing strange and unheard of and true only, as far as we know, of this one boat. For the keel, which is a single piece, extends from the extreme stern to the bow, gradually sinking to the middle of the ship in a remarkable way and then rising again thence properly and in due order until it stands upright and rigid. And all the heavy timbers which fit into the keel (these the poets call "oak-stays," but others call them "shepherds") extend each and every one from one side all the way to the other side of the ship. These, too, sinking from either end, form a remarkably shapely bend, in order that the ship may be fashioned with a very wide hull, whether nature under the constraint of their future use originally carved out the timbers and fashioned this arch or the sweep of the ribs was properly adjusted by craftsmen's skill and other devices. Each plank, furthermore,

extends from the very stem to the other end of the ship, being of one piece and pierced by iron spikes only for this purpose, that by being fastened to the timbers they may form the side of the ship. This ship thus constructed makes an impression when seen which transcends all description, for the nature of things always makes those works which are most cunningly built not easy for men to describe, but by means of her innovations so prevails over our usual habits of mind as to check even our power of speech. Now none of these timbers has either rotted or given the least indication of being unsound, but the ship, intact throughout, just as if newly constructed by the hand of the builder, whoever he was, has preserved its strength in a marvellous way even to my time. Such are the facts relating to the ship of Aeneas.

Totila now manned with Goths as many as three hundred ships of war and ordered them to go to Greece, instructing them to make every effort to capture those who fell in their way. But this fleet, as far as the land of the Phaeacians, which is now called Cercyra, was able to do no damage. For it so happens that there is no inhabited island in that part of the sea which extends from the strait of Charybdis as far as Cercyra, so that many a time, in passing that way, I have been at a loss to know where in the world the island of Calypso was. For nowhere in that sea have I seen an island with the exception of three not far from Phaeacia, and only about three hundred stades distant, huddled close together and very small and having no habitations either of men or of animals or anything else at all. These islands are now called Othoni. And one might say that Calypso lived there, and that Odysseus, consequently, being not far from the land of Phaeacia, ferried himself over from here on a raft, as Homer says, or by some other means without any ship. But let this be ventured by us only as a possible interpretation. For it is not easy to reconcile the actual facts precisely with the very ancient records, since the long passage of time is wont very generally to change the names of places and the beliefs concerning them.

Such is the case of the ship which stands by the shore of the island in the land of the Phaeacians, made of white stone and supposed by some to be the very one which carried Odysseus to Ithaca at the time when he had the fortune to be entertained in Phaeacia. And yet this boat is not a monolith, but is composed of a very great number of stones. And an inscription has been cut in it and cries aloud that some merchant in earlier times set up this offering to Zeus Casius. For the men of this place once honoured Zeus Casius, since the very city in which this boat stands is called up to the present time Casope in the same manner that ship is made of many stones which Agamemnon the son of Atreus set up to Artemis at Geraestus in Euboea, seeking even in this way to blot out the insult to her, at the time when through the suffering of Iphigeneia Artemis permitted the Greeks to set sail. This is declared by an inscription on this boat in hexameters which was engraved either then or later. And though the most of it has disappeared because of the passage of time, the first verses are discernible even to the present and run as follows: —

“Here on this spot Agamemnon did set me, a ship made of marble,

A sign of the fleet of the Greeks sailing to Troy e’er to be.”

And at the end it has the words: “Made by Tynnichus, to Artemis Bolosia”; for thus they used to name Eileithuia in former times, because they called the pains of travail “bolae.” But I must return to the point from which I have strayed.

When this Gothic expedition reached Cercyra, they plundered it thoroughly in a sudden raid, and also the other islands called Sybotae which lie near it; then suddenly crossing over to the mainland also they plundered the whole country about Dodona, and particularly Nicopolis and Anchialus, where the natives say Anchises the father of Aeneas passed from the world, while he was sailing from captured Troy with his son, and thus gave the place its name. And going about the whole coast and meeting many Roman ships, they captured every one of them, cargoes and all. Among these happened to be also some of the ships which were carrying provisions from Greece for the army of Narses. Thus then did these things take place.

Τουτίλας δὲ πολλῶ πρότερον Γότθων στράτευμα ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἐτύγγανε πέμψας, ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐξελοῦσιν: οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐν Γότθοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπέστησε, Σκιποῦάρ τε καὶ Γίβαλ καὶ Γουνδούλφ, ὅσπερ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἐγεγόνει ποτέ. [2] τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰνδοῦλφ ἐκάλουν. οἷς δὴ καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τὸ φρούριον κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν πολιορκοῦντες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν θήσονται. [3] χρόνου δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεΐα τριβέντος συχνοῦ, συνέβαινε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία πιέζεσθαι. [4] Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης διατριβὴν ἔχων, ἀμύνειν τε κατὰ μόνας τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀγκῶνι Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, πέμψας πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐπὶ Σαλόνων ὄντα ἔγραψε τάδε: ‘Μόνος ὁ Ἀγκῶν ἡμῖν τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς ἀπολέλειπται, ὥς αὐτὸς οἶσθα, εἴπερ ἔτι νῦν ἀπολέλειπται. [5] οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ Ῥωμαίοις πικρότατα πολιορκουμένοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βοηθοῦντες ἔξωροι ὦμεν, ὀπίσω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες, ἔωλόν τε τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προθυμίαν ποιοῦμενοι. [6] ἀλλὰ παύσομαι. ἡ γὰρ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀνάγκη μακροτέραν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔῃ γίνεσθαι, τὸν χρόνον ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἀκριβῶς σφίγγουσα καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ὀξυτέραν τοῦ [7] λόγου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ζητῶν.’ ταύτην Ἰωάννης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς βασιλέως ἀπορρηθέν, αὐτοκέλευστος ἐτόλμα ἰέναι, τῶν οἱ πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος ἐπηγγελημένων προὔργιαίτεραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης στενοχωρίαν πεποιημένος. [8] ἄνδρας τε ἀπολεξάμενος οὓς μάλιστα πάντων ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ᾤετο εἶναι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐμπλησάμενος πλέοντά τε ὡς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ὡς ἄριστα πεποιημένα, ἐνιά τε αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνθέμενος, ἄρας ἐκ Σαλόνων τῷ Σκάρδωνι προσέσχευεν.

οὗ δὴ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ζὺν ναυσὶ δώδεκα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἦλθεν. [9] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν, κοινολογησάμενοί τε καὶ τὰ σφίσι ξύμφορα δόξαντα εἶναι βεβουλευμένοι, ἐνθένδε μὲν ἀποπλέουσιν, ἐς δὲ ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέρασ καταράντες ἐς χωρίον ὁρμίζονται ὃ δὴ Σενογαλλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, [10] τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθων στρατηγοὶ ἔμαθον, πλοῖα μακρὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα, ἐπὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὄντα, Γότθων τῶν λογίμων αὐτίκα ἐπλήρουν. [11] τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῇ προσεδρεία τοῦ φρουρίου ἀπολιπόντες εὐθὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρουν. [12] ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μεμενηκότων ὁ Σκιποῦαρ, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντων Γίβαλ τε καὶ Γουνδούλφ. [13] ἐπειδὴ τε ἄγχιστα ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τάς τε ναῦς ἐκάτεροι ἀνεκώχευον καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτάς ἐς ὀλίγον παραίνεσιν ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐποιοῦντό τινα. [14] Πρῶτοί τε Ἰωάννης καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔλεξαν τοιάδε: ‘Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος μόνου τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τανῦν οἰέσθω, μηδὲ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀποκριθῆσεσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, ἀλλὰ ζύμπαν, ὡς συνελόντας εἰπεῖν, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον ἐνταῦθα ἐστάναι, ἐνθα τε ἂν ἀποκλῖναι ξυμβαίῃ τὴν μάχην, συγκληροῦσθαι αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ πέρασ. [15] οὕτως γὰρ περὶ τῶν παρόντων σκοπεῖσθε: πολλή τις ἐπὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀπόκειται τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπή, τοὺς τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντας ἡτᾶσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάναγκες. [16] λιμῷ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἡ ἀρετὴ ξυνοικίζεσθαι, πεινῇν τε καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς φύσεως. [17] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀπολέλειπται, ὅπῃ ἂν τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποκεῖσθαι δεήσει, οὕτω τε οἱ πολέμοι κρατοῦσι τῆς χώρας ὥστε φίλιον οὐδὲν μεμένηκεν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα χωρίον, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ τῶν τι ἐπιτηδείων ἐκπορίζεσθαι χρή. [18] ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἡμῖν ἡ προσδοκία μεμένηκε πᾶσα τοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου τῆς ἀντιπέρασ καταίρουσιν ἐνταῦθα προσχεῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν. [19] οὐκοῦν εὐημερήσαντες ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τήμερον καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κρατυνάμενοι τάχα ἂν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ πρὸς Γότθους πολέμου ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. [20] σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἄλλο μέντοι πικρὸν οὐκ ἂν εἵπομεν, ἀλλὰ δοίῃ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ὁ θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις διηνεκῇ εἶναι. κάκεῖνο δὲ λογίζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἄξιον, ὡς κακοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γινομένοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀποφεύγειν ἐξόν. [21] οὔτε γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἔξετε πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων κατειλημμένην οὔτε τὴν θάλασσαν πλώϊμον, οὔτω θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὖσα καὶ ξυμμεταβαλλομένη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἔργοις. [22] ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε τοίνυν ὅση δύναμις, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ἐκλογιζόμενοι, ὡς ἡσσηθέντες μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὴν ὑστάτην ἤτταν κληρώσεσθε, νενικηκότες δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄγαν εὐδαιμόνων ζὺν τῇ εὐκλείᾳ τετάξεσθε.’ [23] Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸς τοσαῦτα εἶπον. καὶ οἱ Γότθων δὲ ἄρχοντες τοιάνδε τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποίησαντο: ‘Ἐπειδὴ πάσης ἀπεληλαμένοι τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πολὺν τινα χρόνον οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐν ὁποίοις ποτὲ μυχοῖς οἶδε οἱ κατάρatoi τῆς γῆς ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης διαλαθόντες τανῦν ἡμῖν τετολμήκασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, καὶ ὡς ἀναμαχοῦμενοι

ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκουσιν, ἐπάναγκες αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἐγγενόμενον θράσος ἀναχαιτίζειν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ὥς μὴ ἐνδιδόντων ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτοῖς ἐς μέγα χωροῖη. [24] ἀμαθία γὰρ οὐ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναστελλομένη ἀναβαίνει μὲν ἐπ' ἄπειρον τόλμαν, ἐς ἀνηκέστους δὲ τῶν παραπιπτόντων τελευτᾷ συμφοράς. [25] δεῖξατε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ὡς Γραικοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ἄνδρῳ φύσει καὶ ἡσσημένοι θρασύνονται, μηδὲ συγχωρήσητε τὴν διάπειραν αὐτοῖς πρόσω ἰέναι. [26] ἀνδρῖα γὰρ καταφρονηθεῖσα ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἐξάγεται μείζω, [27] ἐπεὶ τῷ προΐεναι τὸ θάρσος ἄοκνον γίνεται. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἀνθέξιν αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθιζομένοις ὑμῖν μηδαμῶς οἴεσθε. φρόνημα γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν αὐτῷ χρωμένων μὴ συμμετρούμενον πρὸ μὲν τοῦ ἔργου ἐπαιρόμενον ἐν ἀκμῇ φαίνεται, ἀρξαμένης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν. [28] ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν ὄντινα τρόπον οἱ πολέμιοι πολλακίς ἀποπειρασάμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπήλλαξαν, ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀμείνους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται, ἀλλὰ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς προλαβοῦσι τετολμηκότες, τὴν ὁμοίαν καὶ νῦν κληρώσονται τύχην.' [29] Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν Γόθων ἄρχοντες παρακελευσάμενοι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάσαντες μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐσάγαν ἰσχυρά, πεζομαχία ἐμφορῆς οὔσα. [30] τὰς τε γὰρ ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἀντιπύρους ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκάτεροι στήσαντες τὰ τοξεύματα ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφίεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀρετῆς τι μετεποιοῦντο, ἄγχιστα πῃ ἀλλήλων γινόμενοι ἐν χρῶ τε ξυνιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ξυνέμισγον, ξίφεσί τε καὶ δόρασιν, ὥσπερ ἐν πεδίῳ, μαχόμενοι. [31] καὶ τὰ μὲν προοίμια τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦδε τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει. Ὑστερον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπειρία τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν ξὺν πολλῇ ἀταξία τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε διέφερον: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διίσταντο ὥστε διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ μόνας ἐμβάλλειν, οἱ δὲ συχοὶ ἐς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐξυμνῶντες πρὸς ἀλλήλων ἀεὶ τῇ τῶν πλοίων στενοχωρία ξυνεποδίζοντο. [32] εἴκασεν ἄν τις φορητὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἱκρία ξυγκεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐδὲ τοξεύειν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς διεστῶτας ἠδύναντο, ὅτι μὴ ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις, οὐδὲ ξίφεσιν ἢ δόρασι χρῆσθαι, ἡνίκα ἂν σφίσιν ἐγκειμένους αὐτοὺς ἴδοιεν, ἀλλὰ κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὠθισμῷ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διηνεκῶς εἶχοντο, ξυγκρούοντές τε ἀεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐθὶς διωθόμενοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ πῇ μὲν συμφύροντες τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ μέτωπον, πῇ δὲ ἀποφοιτῶντες πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῶν σφετέρων ἐκάτεροι. [33] τὰς τε παρακελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἄγχιστα ὄντας ξὺν ὀλολυγῇ πολλῇ ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰς διαστάσεις αὐτοὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐργάζωνται. [34] ἡσυχολημένοι τε τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμηχανίᾳ τῆς κατὰ σφῶν νίκης αἰτιώτατοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνοντο. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνδρείως μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν, ἐμπίρως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν διαχειρίζοντες, τὰ τε πλοῖα μετωπηδὸν στήσαντες, καὶ οὔτε κατὰ πολὺ διεστῶτες ἀλλήλων οὔτε μὴν ἄγχιστα ξυνιόντες περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας, ἀλλὰ συμμέτρους ἀεὶ τὰς τε ξυνόδους καὶ διαστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι, ἦν μὲν ναῦν πολεμίαν ἀποσκεδαννυμένην τῶν ἄλλων θεῶντο, κατέδουν ἐμβάλλοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, εἰ δὲ που ζύγχυσιν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἴδοιεν, ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον καὶ ἡνίκα σφίσιν ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἀτάκτοις οὔσι καὶ

συντριβέσι γεγενημένοις τῷ τῆς ἀταξίας καμάτῳ, [35] ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ἀπειρηκότες οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τε τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἁμαρτάδας ξυμπεπτωκυίας, οὐκ εἶχον καθ' ὃ τι μαχέσονται, οὐδὲ ναυμαχοῦντες, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ καθάπερ ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἐστῶτες, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἐπικινδύνως ἡτρέμιζον, ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ καταλιπόντες. [36] διὸ δὴ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν οἱ Γότθοι αἰσχροὺς ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐτράποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀλκῆς οὔτε φυγῆς τινὸς εὐπρεποῦς οὔτε τοῦ ἄλλου ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοὺς ἄγοντος ἐμέμνηντο ἔτι, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ πλοίων τῶν πολεμίων ὥς τὰ πολλὰ σκεδαννύμενοι διηποροῦντο. [37] καὶ αὐτῶν τινὲς ναυσὶν ἑνδεκα διέφυγον καὶ λαθόντες ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. [38] ὧν δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοχειρὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐταῖς ναυσὶ καταδύοντες ἔκτεινον: τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Γουνδοῦλφ μὲν ξὺν ταῖς ἑνδεκα ναυσὶ λαθὼν ἔφυγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐζώγρησαν Ῥωμαῖοι. [39] Καὶ ἔπειτα οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑνδεκα ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντες τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν, ὥς μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γένωνται, αὐτοὶ δὲ πεζῇ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν ὁ τοὺς ἐν Ἀγκῶνι ἐπολιόρκουν. [40] φράσαντές τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ξυμπεσόντα εὐθυωρὸν ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπόντες, καὶ δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐς Αὐξιμον πόλιν ἐγγὺς πη οὔσαν ἀνέδραμον. [41] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον αἰροῦσι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐσκομίσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐνθὲνδε. [42] καὶ Βαλεριανὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Σάλωνας ἀνέστρεψεν. αὕτη διαφερόντως ἡ μάχη τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν Τουτίλα καὶ Γότθων κατέλυσεν.

XXIII

Long before this Totila had sent an army of Goths into Picenum, in order to capture Ancon; and he appointed as commanders over this army the most notable men among the Goths, Scipuar and Gibal and Gundulf, the last named having once been a guardsman of Belisarius. And some called him Indulf. And he gave them also forty-seven ships of war, in order that, in besieging the fortress by land and sea, they might make the overmastery of it easier and less laborious. And after this siege had been continued a long time it came about that the besieged were hard pressed by the scarcity of provisions.

When this was learned by Valerian, who was waiting at Ravenna, being unable single-handed to succour the Romans in Ancon, he sent a messenger to John the nephew of Vitalian who was at Salones with the following letter. "Ancon is the only city left us to the south of the gulf, as you yourself know, if indeed it is now still left us. For such is the situation of the Romans who are being most closely besieged in this city, that I fear lest we be late with our assistance, shewing zeal after the critical time, and displaying our enthusiasm for it a day too late. But I shall cease. For the constraint imposed upon the besieged does not permit my letter to be made longer, since it strictly appropriates the time to its own uses, while the danger demands assistance more swift than words." When John had read this letter, he dared, though it had been forbidden him by the emperor, to go on his own initiative, considering the straitened condition brought about by chance more weighty than the imperial commands. So selecting men whom he considered the most able fighters of all, and manning thirty-eight ships of war with them — boats of great swiftness and built with all possible care for warfare on the sea — and putting a few of his provisions aboard, he set sail from Salones and put in at Scardon. And Valerian also came thither not long afterwards with twelve ships.

After joining forces they conferred with each other and considered the plans which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage; then they set sail from there and upon reaching the opposite mainland anchored at a place which the Romans call Senogallia, not far away from Ancon. When the Gothic generals learned this, they too immediately manned with the notable Goths the ships of war which they had with them, forty-seven in number, and leaving the rest of the army engaged in the siege of the fortress they advanced straight against their enemy. Now Scipuar, on the one hand, commanded those who remained to carry on the siege, and Gibal and Gundulf commanded the men on the ships. And when the two forces came near each other, both commanders stopped their ships and drew them close together and made an exhortation to the soldiers.

And John and Valerian spoke first as follows. "Let not one of you, fellow-soldiers, think that on the present occasion you are to struggle in behalf of this city of Ancon alone and the Romans besieged in it, nor that the result of this struggle will affect that matter only, but you must consider that the main issue of the whole war, to speak comprehensively, is here involved, and to whichever side the battle inclines, there will be bestowed also the final decision of fortune. For you should regard the present situation thus: War depends for its decision in large measure upon the commissary, and those in want of supplies are inevitably bound to be defeated by their enemy. For valour cannot dwell together with hunger, since nature will not permit a man to be starving and to be brave at the same time. This being the case, we have no other stronghold left us from Dryus to Ravenna, where we can deposit the food supplies for ourselves and our horses, and the enemy are so thoroughly masters of the land that not a single town remains there friendly to us, from which we could even in small measure provide ourselves with supplies. And it is on Ancon alone that our whole expectation is based that the army sailing in from the opposite mainland can land here and be in safety. Consequently, if we fare well in to-day's encounter, and secure Ancon, as is probable, for the emperor, we shall perhaps be in a position henceforth to hope that what remains of the Gothic war will likewise go well for us. If, however, we fail in this battle, — but of further calamity we would not speak, only may God grant to the Romans the lasting mastery of Italy. And this too is worthy of our consideration, that, if we shew ourselves cowards in the struggle, even flight will be impossible. For neither will you have the land, seeing it is held fast by our opponents, nor will you be able to sail the sea, since the enemy control it as they do; but it has come to this — that our hope of safety lies in our own strength alone and will shape itself in accordance with our performance during the combat. Be valiant, then, as far as in you lies, laying to heart this one thought, that if, on the one hand, you are defeated on the present occasion, you will suffer your last defeat, but if, on the other hand, you are victorious, you will not only win glory but will also be ranked with the very fortunate."

Thus spoke John and Valerian. And the commanders of the Goths made the following exhortation. "Since these accursed rascals, after being driven away from all Italy and hiding for a long time in we know not what corners of the earth or the sea, have now had the hardihood to engage with us and have come against us with the purpose of renewing the fight, it is necessary to check with full determination the daring which their folly has engendered in them, so that it may not happen by reason of our giving way that the result of their madness grows to something great. For foolishness which is not checked in the beginning does mount up to boundless daring, but ends in irreparable calamity to those concerned. Shew them, therefore, as quickly as possible that they are Greeklings and unmanly by nature and are merely putting on a bold front when defeated, and do not consent that this experiment of theirs proceed

further. For cowardice, when merely despised, proceeds to flaunt itself still more, because rashness just by continuing comes to be devoid of fear. And do not by any means suppose that they will resist you long if you play the part of brave men. For when a lofty spirit is not matched by a commensurate power on the part of those who indulge in it, though before the event it may appear exalted to the highest pitch, yet when the combat begins, it is wont to ebb away. Seeing then that this is true, call to mind in what manner the enemy have fared on many occasions when they have made trial of your valour, and consider that in coming against you they have not become better men on the spur of the moment, but shewing merely a degree of daring similar to that on previous occasions, they will now also achieve the same fortune.”

After the Gothic commanders had made this exhortation, they confronted the enemy and without delay came to close quarters with them. And the fighting was exceedingly fierce and resembled a battle on land. For both sides set their ships head on with the bows against those of their opponents and discharged their arrows against each other, and all those who laid some claim to valour brought their ships close enough to touch one another and then engaged from the decks, fighting with sword and spear just as if on a plain. Such was the opening stage of this encounter.

But after this the barbarians, through lack of experience in sea-fighting, began to carry on the combat with great disorder; for some of them became so far separated from one another that they gave their enemy opportunity to ram them singly, while others drew together in large groups and were constantly hindered by one another because of the crowding of the boats. One would have thought that the decks of their boats were built together like a mat. And neither could they shoot their bows against those of their opponents who were at a distance except late and with difficulty, nor could they use sword or spear whenever they saw them bearing down upon them; but their attention was constantly engrossed by the shouting and crowding among themselves, as they continually collided with each other and then pushed off again with their poles in a disorderly manner, sometimes pushing their prows into the crowded space, and sometimes backing off to a great distance, thus making trouble for their own side in either case. And each crew kept shouting orders and howling wildly to those nearest them, not to urge them against the enemy, but in order that their own ships might get the proper intervals from each other. And being thus preoccupied by their difficulty with each other, they themselves became the chief cause of victory for their enemy.

The Romans, on the other hand, handled the fighting manfully and their ships with skill, putting their boats head on and neither separating far from one another nor crowding together closer than was necessary, but always keeping their movements toward or from each other properly co-ordinated; and whenever they observed an enemy ship separated from the rest, they rammed

and sunk it with no difficulty, and whenever they saw some of the enemy in a confused mass, there they directed showers of arrows, and, as soon as they fell upon them when in disorder and utterly exhausted by the labour which their confusion entailed, they would destroy them out of hand. So the barbarians giving up the struggle against the adversities of fortune and the errors which they had made during the battle, knew not how they should continue to fight, for they neither continued the sea-fight nor yet stood upon their decks as in a land battle, but abandoning the struggle they came to a perilous pause, having now left all to chance. Consequently the Goths in great disorder turned to a disgraceful retreat, and they no longer thought of valour or of orderly flight nor of anything else which would insure their safety, but scattered as they were for the most part among their enemy's ships, they were completely helpless. And some of them fled unobserved with eleven ships and were saved, but all the rest to a man fell into the hands of their enemy. Many of these the Romans slew with their own hands, and many others they destroyed by sinking them with their ships; and of the generals Gundulf escaped unobserved with the eleven ships, but the other was captured by the Romans.

After this the men on the eleven ships disembarked on the land and immediately set the ships on fire so that they might not fall into the hands of their enemy, while they themselves proceeded on foot to the army which was besieging the city of Ancon. And after they had announced to them what had taken place, they all made a hasty retreat together, abandoning their camp to the enemy, and ran as hard as they could and in great confusion up to the neighbouring city of Auximus. And the Romans, coming to Ancon not long afterwards, captured the enemy's camp without a man in it and then, after carrying in provisions for those in the fortress, sailed away from there. And Valerian, for his part, proceeded to Ravenna, while John returned to Salones. This engagement especially broke the spirit and weakened the power of Totila and the Goths.

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῆδε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Λιβέριος μὲν ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπος ἦλθεν, Ἀρταβάνης δέ, τοῦτο βασιλεῖ δεδογμένον, παντὸς ἤρχε τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ. [2] ὃς δὴ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ φρουρίοις ἀπολελειμμένους, ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ὄντας, πολιορκῶν, μάχῃ τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπεξιόντας νικήσας ἐς πᾶσάν τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστησάμενος ὕστερον ὁμολογία ζύμπαντας εἶλεν. [3] οἷς οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοί τε γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ζυμπεπτωκόσι περιαλγούντες τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεγίνωσκον, ἤδη δυσέλπιδες τὸ παράπαν γεγενημένοι, λογιζόμενοί τε ὥς ἐν τῷ παρόντι δὴ αἰσχυρῶς ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολέμιων καὶ παντάπασι διεφθαρμένοι, ἦν τις Ῥωμαίοις βοήθεια καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐπιγένηται, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἀντέχειν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ χρόνου ῥοπήν τινα ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστήξουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ πρεσβείαν διαπράξασθαι τι ἐκ βασιλέως ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον. [4] πολλάκις γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ὁ Τουτίλας ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. οἷ, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὅσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ

βασιλεῖ ἦλθον, ἀνεδίδαξαν μὲν ὡς τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ μὲν πολλὰ κατέλαβον Φράγγοι, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγένηται, Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Δαλματίας, αἵτερ ἀκραίφνεῖς διέμειναν μόναι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξίστανται Γότθοι, δασμοὺς δὲ καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀποφέρειν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ συμμαχήσιν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν βασιλεὺς βούλοιο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατήκοοι αὐτῷ ἔσσεσθαι· [5] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς μάθησιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν λεγομένων ποιούμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἅπαντας ἀπεπέμπετο, πρὸς τὸ Γότθων ὄνομα χαλεπῶς ἔχων, ἄρδην τε αὐτὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐξελάσαι διανοούμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. [6] Θευδίβερτος δέ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσῳ, Λιγουρίας τε χωρία ἅττα καὶ Ἀλπεῖς Κουτίας καὶ Βενετιῶν τὰ πολλὰ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ὑποτελῇ ποιησάμενος. [7] τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τῶν μαχομένων οἰκείαν οἱ Φράγγοι εὐκαιρίαν πεποιημένοι τοῖς ἐκείνων περιμαχήτοις αὐτοὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐπλούτουν. [8] καὶ Γότθοις μὲν πολίσματα ὀλίγα ἐν Βενετίοις διέμεινε, τὰ τε ἐπιθαλασσίδια χωρία Ῥωμαῖοι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὑποχείρια σφίσιν ἅπαντα πεποιήνται Φράγγοι. [9] Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γότθων πόλεμον τόνδε ἦπερ μοι εἴρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόντων καὶ πολεμίους οὐ δυναμένων ἐπικταῖσθαι καινούς, Γότθοι τε καὶ Φράγγοι ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασι, καὶ ξυνέκειτο, μέχρι μὲν ἂν Γότθοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροιεν, ἔχοντας ἐκατέρους ὥνπερ ἐγένοντο ἐγκρατεῖς ἡσυχῇ μένειν, μηδὲν τε σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμιον εἶναι. [10] ἦν δέ γε βασιλέως ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ περιέσεσθαι Τουτίλαν τῷ πολέμῳ συμβαίῃ, τηνικάδε Γότθους τε καὶ Φράγγους διοικήσασθαι ταῦτα, ὅπῃ ἂν συνοίσειν ἐκατέροις δοκῇ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε ξυνέκειτο. [11] τὴν δὲ Θευδιβέρτου ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Θευδίβαλδος ὁ παῖς. βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς Λεόντιον, τὸν Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς, πρεσβευτὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐς τε ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ Χωρίων ἐκστῆναι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰτούμενος ὥνπερ Θευδίβερτος οὐ δέον ἐπιβατεῦσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχε. [12] Λεόντιος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Θευδίβαλδον ἀφίκετο, ἔλεξεν ὧδε: “Ἴσως μὲν τι καὶ ἄλλοις παρὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας τισὶ τετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσεν, ὅποιον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοις τανῦν πρὸς ὑμῶν γεγονέναι ξυνέβη, οὐδενί, οἶμαι, ξυνηνέχθη πάποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. [13] βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ πρότερον κατέστη ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε, οὐδὲ Γότθοις πολεμῆσιών ἐνδηλος γέγονεν, ἕως αὐτῷ Φράγγοι φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι χρήματα μεγάλα κεκομισμένοι τὴν ἀγωνίαν ξυλλήψεσθαι ὠμολόγησαν. [14] οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὅπως τι δρᾶν τῶν ὠμολογημένων ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν Ῥωμαῖους τοιαῦτα οἷα οὐδ' ἂν τις ὑποπτεῦσαι ῥαδίως ἔσχεν. [15] ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς Θευδίβερτος χώρας ἐπιβατεῦσαι ὑπέστη, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ἥσπερ βασιλεὺς πόνῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ κινδύνους πολέμου, καὶ ταῦτα Φράγγων ἀπάντων ἐκποδῶν ἵσταμένων, κύριος γέγονε. [16] διόπερ τανῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἦκω, οὐχ ὅπως μέμψομαι ἢ αἰτιάσομαι, ἀλλ' αἰτησόμενός τε καὶ παραινέσων ὅσα ξυνοίσειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλει. [17] λέγω δὲ ὅπως βεβαιότατα μὲν διασώζητε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐπραξίαν, συγχωρήσητε δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια· [18] τοὺς γὰρ δύναμιν περιβεβλημένους μεγάλῃν καὶ βραχέων τινῶν οὐχ ὅσια

κτησίς ἀφαιρῆσθαι πολλάκις τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ εὐδαίμων τῷ ἀδίκῳ ἐς ταῦτο ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε, καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅπως ἡμῖν τὸν πρὸς Τουτίλαν ξυνδιενέγκητε πόλεμον, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποτελοῦντες ὁμολογίαν. [19] τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν πρόπον γνησίους παισὶ πάντων μάλιστα, ἐπανορθοῦν μὲν, εἴ τι τοῖς γειναμένοις ἡμαρτήσθαι ξυμβαίνει, περιστέλλειν δὲ καὶ κρατύνεσθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα εἵργασται. [20] ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα διαφερόντως εὐκτὰ τοῖς συνετωτάτοις ἂν εἴη, ὅπως δὴ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἄριστα οἱ παῖδες ζηλοῖεν, εἰ δέ τι αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς πέπρακται, μὴ ὑπ' ἄλλου τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι. [21] καίτοι ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς ἀκλήτους Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον τόνδε ξυνάρασθαι. πρὸς Γότθους γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, οἱ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχθροὶ τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστοι γεγόνاسι Φράγγοις, ἄσπονδά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκήρυκτα πολεμοῦντες τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. [22] οἱ δὴ νῦν μὲν δέει τῷ ἐξ ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαξιούσι κολακικοὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς εἶναι· εἰ δέ ποτε ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τὴν ἐς Φράγγους ἐνδείξονται γνώμην. [23] πονηροὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἀμείβειν μὲν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντες, οὐ πράσσοντες κακῶς δύνανται, ἀποκρύπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν κακοπαθείαις εἰώθασιν, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ τῶν πέλας τινὸς δέωνται, τῆς χρείας αὐτοὺς συγκαλύπτειν ἀναγκαζούσης τὴν μοχθηρίαν. [24] ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀνανεοῦτε μὲν τὴν ἐς βασιλέα φιλίαν, ἀμύνεσθε δὲ τοὺς ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν δυσμενεῖς δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [25] Λεόντιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Θεουδίβαλδος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· ‘Συμμάχους μὲν ἐπὶ Γότθους ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες καλεῖτε· φίλοι γὰρ ἡμῖν τανῦν Γότθοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. εἰ δὲ ἀβέβαιοι Φράγγοι ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶεν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὶ ἔσσονται. [26] γνώμη γὰρ ἅπαξ μοχθηρὰ ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὀφθεῖσα ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς δικαίας ὁδοῦ ἀεὶ πέφυκεν. ὧν μέντοι ἐπεμνήσθητε χωρίων ἔνεκα, τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὥς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς Θεουδίβετος οὔτε βιάσασθαι πώποτε τῶν ὁμόρων τινὰ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε κτήμασιν ἄλλοτριῶς ἐπιτηδᾶν. [27] τεκμήριον δέ· οὐ γὰρ εἰμι πλούσιος. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενος, ἀλλὰ Τουτίλα ἔχοντος ἤδη αὐτὰ καὶ διαρρηδὴν ἐνδιδόντος καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν, ἐφ' ᾧ χρῆν μάλιστα βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν συνήδεσθαι Φράγγοις. [28] ὁ γὰρ τοὺς τι ἀφελομένους τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων ιδίων ὑφ' ἐτέρων τινῶν βιασθέντας ὀρῶν, εἰκότως ἂν χαίροι, τὴν δίκην ἐκτετικέναι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοὺς αὐτὸν ἡδικοκτότας οἰόμενος, ἢν μὴ ἐς τοὺς βιασαμένους αὐτὸς φθονερὸς γένηται, ἐπεὶ τὸ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δικαιώματα ἐς φθόνον ὥς τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι οἴονται ἄνθρωποι. [29] δικασταῖς μέντοι ἐπιτρέπειν οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν τὴν περὶ τούτων διάγνωσιν, ὥστε εἴ τι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φανερὸν γένηται, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀποτινύναι μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐπάναγκες εἶη. ὑπὲρ τε τούτων πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον σταλήσονται παρ' ἡμῶν [30] οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.’ τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν τε Λεόντιον ἀπεπέμψατο καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Λεῦδαρδον, ἄνδρα Φράγγον, τέταρτον αὐτὸν παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὥνπερ ἔνεκα ἤλθον. [31] Τουτίλας δὲ νήσους τὰς Λιβύῃ προσηκούσας καταλαβεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε. στόλον οὖν αὐτίκα νηῶν ἀγείρας καὶ στρατεύμα τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος ἀξίόχρεων ἔς τε Κουρσικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶν στέλλει. [32] οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς Κουρσικὴν

ἀποπλεύσαντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτῆς ἀμυνομένου, τὴν νῆσον ἔσχον, [33] μετὰ δὲ καὶ Σαρδῶ κατέλαβον. ἄμφω δὲ τὰ νήσω ὁ Τουτίλας ὑποτελεῖς ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου πεποίηται. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἦρχε, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐς Σαρδῶ ἔπεμψεν. [34] οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Καρανάλεως πόλεως ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι διανοοῦντο: τειχομαχεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ὤοντο οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ἐνταῦθα φυλακτήριον διαρκὲς εἶχον. [35] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιπεσόντες τρεψάμενοί τε αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. [36] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φεύγοντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐς τὰς ναῦς διεσώθησαν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθά τε διαχειμάσαντες ἔμενον, [37] ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ παρασκευῇ πλείονι ἐπὶ τε Κουρσικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶ αὖθις στρατεύσωσι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν Σαρδῶ τανῦν Σαρδινίαν καλοῦσιν. [38] ἐνταῦθα φύεσθαι ξυμβαίνει πόαν ἣς δὴ ἀπογευομένοις ἀνθρώποις αὐτίκα σπασμὸς θανάσιμος ἐπιγίνεται, οἱ δὲ τελευτῶσιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, γέλῳτα γελᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπασμοῦ δοκοῦντές τινα, ὥνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ χώρᾳ Σαρδώνιον καλοῦσι. [39] τὴν δὲ Κουρσικὴν οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Κύρνον ἐκάλουν. ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι πίθηκες γίνονται, οὕτω δὲ τινων ἵππων ἀγέλαι εἰσὶ τῶν προβατίων ὀλίγῳ μειζόνων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

At about this same time Roman affairs stood as follows in Sicily. Liberius had been summoned from there by the emperor and had gone to Byzantium, while Artabanus, for thus the emperor had decided, commanded the whole Roman army in Sicily. He had laid siege to those Goths who had been left in the fortresses of the island, a very small number indeed, and whenever they made sallies he had defeated them in battle and had reduced them to a state of absolute destitution as regards the necessities of life, and finally he had taken them all by surrender. At this the Goths became fearful, being deeply moved by the outcome of the naval battle, so that they were beginning to despair of the war, having by now become utterly hopeless; for they reasoned that even in the existing circumstances they had been shamefully defeated by their enemy and completely demoralized, and if any assistance should come to the Romans, even in small measure, they would be unable by any means to hold out against them even for the least space of time or to keep a foothold in Italy. Nor indeed had they any hope of accomplishing anything by negotiation with the emperor. For Totila had, as it happened, sent envoys to him often. These envoys had indeed come before Justinian and explained that the Franks had occupied the greater part of Italy, while the rest of it had become for the most part deserted on account of the war; yet the Goths were willing to retire in favour of the Romans from Sicily and Dalmatia, which alone had remained intact, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes for the abandoned land every year and would fight as allies against whomsoever the emperor should wish and would be in other respects subject to him. But the emperor would pay no attention to what they said and dismissed the envoys one and all, hating as he did the Gothic name and intending to drive it out absolutely from the Roman domain. Thus then did these events take place.

But Theudibert, the ruler of the Franks, had not long before been taken from the world by disease, having without justification made some parts of Liguria and the Cottian Alps and the most of Venetia subject to the payment of tribute. For the Franks had treated the preoccupation of the warring nations as their own opportunity, and without danger were enriching themselves with the lands for which the combatants were fighting. And the Goths indeed had a few fortresses left in Venetia, while the Romans held the coast towns; but the Franks had brought all the others under their sway. Now while the Romans and the Goths were waging this war against each other as I have described it and were unable to take on new enemies in addition, the Goths and the Franks had negotiated with each other and come to an agreement that, as long as the Goths were waging war against the Romans, both of them should remain quiet holding what they had secured and there should be no hostilities between them. But if indeed Totila should ever have the fortune to overcome Justinian

in the war, the Goths and the Franks should at such time settle these matters in such a way as should seem likely to benefit both of them. So much for this agreement. But Theudibert was succeeded by his son Theudibald. And the emperor sent Leontius, the son-in-law of Athanasius, a member of the senate, as envoy to him, inviting him to an offensive alliance against Totila and the Goths and demanding that he withdraw from the parts of Italy on which Theudibert had set his mind wrongfully to trespass.

Now Leontius, upon coming before Theudibald, spoke as follows. "It may perhaps be true that on other occasions events have gone contrary to the expectations of men, but such a thing as has been done to the Romans in the present case by you has, I think, never happened to anyone else in the world. For the Emperor Justinian, on his part, did not enter into this war, nor did he let it appear that he was about to fight the Goths, until the Franks, in the name of alliance and friendship, had received from him great sums of money and agreed to assist him in the struggle. They, however, have not only seen fit to fulfil none of their promises, but they have further wronged the Romans in a way which no one could have easily imagined. For your father Theudibert undertook to trespass upon territory to which he had no just claim and which the emperor had mastered with great labour by the perils of war, and that too while all the Franks were standing out of the way. Consequently I now come to you, not to reproach you or lay charges against you, but in order to make demands and to counsel you as to what will be of advantage to you yourselves. I say, then, that you, on the one hand, should preserve the prosperity which you now enjoy, and allow the Romans, on the other hand, to have that which is their own; for when a nation is possessed of great power, the unholy acquisition of even some trifling thing has many a time been of sufficient moment to rob it of the advantages it has enjoyed from of old, since prosperity is by no means wont to associate itself with injustice; and I demand, furthermore, that you join with us in carrying on the war against Totila, thus fulfilling your father's agreement. For the conduct which above all others would become true-born sons is this — to correct whatever mistakes have been made by their parents, but to continue and confirm whatever deeds of excellence they have done. Indeed this would be a thing most ardently prayed for by the most understanding of men, that their children might emulate the best of their activities, and that whatever has not been well done by them should be corrected by no one else than their children. In fact you ought to have taken up this war with the Romans unsummoned. For our struggle is against the Goths, who have been from the beginning bitter enemies of the Franks and altogether untrustworthy toward them, waging a truceless and implacable war upon them through all the ages. Of course they do not hesitate now, through fear of us, to adopt a wheedling air toward you; but if ever they should get rid of us, they will at no distant time display their real attitude toward the Franks. For evil men cannot change their character

either in prosperity or in adversity, though it is true as a general thing that, during periods of ill fortune, they are wont to conceal it, particularly when they need something from their neighbours, their need compelling them to cover up their baseness of heart. Call to mind then these things and renew, on the one hand, your friendship with the emperor, and defend yourselves, on the other hand, against your ancient enemies with all your power.”

So spoke Leontius. And Theudibald replied as follows. “You summon us, in the first place, to be allies against the Goths contrary to rectitude and justice; for it so happens that the Goths at the present time are our friends. And if the Franks should be unfaithful to them, neither will they ever be faithful to you. For men whose sentiments have once been seen to be base toward their friends are always of such a nature as to turn aside from the path of justice. And, in the second place, as to the lands you have mentioned, we shall say only this — that my father Theudibert never set his mind upon doing violence to any one of his neighbours or usurping the possessions of others. In proof of this witness the fact that I am not rich. Consequently he did not acquire these lands by robbing the Romans of them, but he took possession of them as a gift from Totila, who already held them and expressly handed them over to him, and upon this the Emperor Justinian should certainly have congratulated the Franks. For he who sees men who have robbed him of some of his private possessions roughly handled by any others would naturally rejoice, believing that those who wronged him have rightly and justly paid the penalty, except in case he be privately envious of those who have done the violence — for men feel that the appropriation by others of property which is claimed by an enemy tends, as a general thing, to envy. We are, however, able to leave to arbiters the decision of these matters, with the understanding that, if it becomes evident that my father robbed the Romans of anything, it shall be obligatory for us to restore this without delay. And envoys will be sent to Byzantium by us in regard to this matter not long hence.” With such words he dismissed Leontius and despatched Leudardus, a Frank, with three others to the Emperor Justinian. And upon their arrival at Byzantium they treated of the matters for which they had come.

Totila was now eager to seize the islands which belong to Libya. He accordingly gathered a fleet of ships immediately and, putting an adequate army on board, sent it to Corsica and Sardinia. This fleet first sailed off to Corsica and, finding no defenders, took the island, and afterwards took possession of Sardinia likewise. And Totila made both these islands subject to the payment of tribute. But when this was learned by John, who was commanding the Roman army in Libya, he sent a fleet of ships and a strong force of soldiers to Sardinia. And when they came close to the city of Caranalis, they made camp with the purpose of instituting a siege; for they did not consider themselves able to storm the wall, since the Goths had a sufficient garrison there. But when the barbarians learned this, they made a

sally against them from the city, and falling suddenly upon their enemy routed them with no difficulty and slew many. And the rest saved themselves for the moment by fleeing to the ships, but a little later they cast off from there and went to Carthage with the whole fleet. There they remained through the winter, in order that at the opening of spring they might again make an expedition to Corsica and Sardinia with fuller preparation. Now this island of Sardinia was formerly called Sardo. In that place there grows a certain herb such that, if men taste of it, a fatal convulsion immediately comes over them, and they die not long afterward, having the appearance of laughing, as it were, as a result of the convulsion, and this laughter they call "Sardonic" from the name of the place. But Corsica was called by men of ancient times Cynus. On that island are found apes just like men, and there is also a breed of horses only a little larger than sheep. So much for this.

Σκλαβηγῶν δὲ πολὺς ὄμιλος Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπισκήψαντες πάθη ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα εἰργάσαντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οὗ δὴ ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες ἡγοῦντο. οὔπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν [2] πολεμίων παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι χωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ὅπισθεν δὲ αἰεὶ μένοντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους ἐσίνοντο, [3] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ζωγρήσαντες βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψαν. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἦσσαν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τὰ δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. [4] ἐν ταύτῃ τε τῇ λεηλασίᾳ χρόνου τι μέγα κατατρίψαντες μῆκος τὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς νεκρῶν ἀνέπλησαν ἀπάσας, ἐξανδραποδίσαντες δὲ ἀνάρηματα πλήθη καὶ ληϊσάμενοι ξύμπαντα, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν σὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. [5] οὐδὲ γὰρ διαπορθμευομένους ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἴσχυσαν σφᾶς ἐνεδρεῦσαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ βιάσασθαι τρόπῳ, ἐπεὶ Γῆπαιδες αὐτοὺς μισθαρνήσαντες ὑπέδεξαντο καὶ διεπόρθμευσαν μακρόμισθοι γεγεννημένοι. ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ γὰρ ἐκάστη κατὰ στατήρα χρυσοῦν ἢ μίσθωσις ἦν. [6] διόπερ βασιλεὺς ἐδυσφορεῖτο, οὐκ ἔχων τὸ λοιπὸν ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστέλλοι διαβαίνοντας ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐφ' ᾧ ληϊσονται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἢ ξὺν ταῖς ὠφελίαις τὴν ἀποπορείαν ποιουμένους ἐνθένδε, ἥθελέ τε τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει ἐς συνθήκας καταστῆναι τινας. [7] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γῆπαιδὲς τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι αὐθις πολεμῆσιόντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦσαν. Γῆπαιδὲς τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες δύναμιν ἀνήκοοι γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ἦσαν ὥς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁμαιχμίαν διωμότως πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας πεποίηται φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχον. [8] πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, βασιλέα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ ὃς αὐτοῖς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. [9] δεηθέντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἄνδρες δυοκαίδεκα ὄρκια δόντες, ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς συνθήκας ἐπέρρωσαν. [10] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Λαγγοβάρδαις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν δεομένοις στρατιὰν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ Γῆπαιδας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπενεγκῶν Γῆπαισι Σκλαβηγῶν τινὰς ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας διαβιβάσαι ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. [11] Ἠγοῦντο δὲ τῆς

στρατιάς ταύτης Ἰουστῖνός τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Σουαρτούας, ὃς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μὲν ἄρχων Ἐρούλοις κατέστη πρότερον, ἐπαναστάντων δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀπὸ Θούλης τῆς νήσου ἠκόντων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐς βασιλέα τε ἀφίκετο φεύγων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταλόγων εὐθὺς γέγονε, καὶ Ἀμαλαφρίδας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, Ἀμαλαφρίδης μὲν θυγατρίδους, τῆς Θευδερίχου τοῦ Γότθων βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς, Ἑρμενεφρίδου δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θορίγγων ἡγησαμένου. [12] ὄνπερ Βελισάριος μὲν σὺν Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦγαγε, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Αὐδουὶν τῷ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἄρχοντι κατηγγύησε. [13] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τούτου οὐδεὶς παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀφίκετο, ὅτι μὴ οὗτος Ἀμαλαφρίδας σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Οὐλπίαναν βασιλέως ἐπαγγεῖλαντος διατριβὴν ἔσχον, στάσεως ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τῶν οἰκητόρων γεγεννημένης, ὥνπερ ἕνεκα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων γεγράφεται. [14] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀμαλαφρίδῃ ἐς τὰ Γηπαίδων ἦθη ἀφίκοντο, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ τῶν Γηπαίδων σφίσι καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἡσῶνται Γήπαιδες, καὶ αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖς φασὶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. [15] Αὐδουὶν τε, ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν βασιλεὺς, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμψας εὐαγγέλια μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδήλου, νενικημένων τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμέμφετο δὲ οὐ παραγενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατόν, καίπερ Λαγγοβαρδῶν τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ἔναγχος ἐσταλμένων ἐφ' ᾧ Ναρσῆ ξυστρατεύσωσιν ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε. [16] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιπεσόντες ἐξάισιοι τὴν τε Βοιωτίαν καὶ Ἀχαιάν καὶ τὰ περὶ κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον κατέσεισαν. [17] καὶ χωρία μὲν ἀνάρθημα, πόλεις δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐς ἑδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐν ταῖς Χαιρώνειά τε καὶ Κορώνεια ἦν καὶ Πάτραι καὶ Ναύπακτος ὅλη, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ φόνος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων πολὺς. [18] καὶ χάος δὲ τῆς γῆς πολλαχῇ ἀποσχιθεῖσιν γέγενηται. τὰ δὲ διαιρεθέντα ἔνια μὲν αὐθὺς ἐς ταῦτὸ ξυνιόντα τὸ πρότερον τῇ γῇ σχημὰ τε καὶ εἶδος ἀπέδωκεν, ἔστι δὲ οὐ καὶ διεστηκότα μεμένηκεν: ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι εἰσι δυνατοὶ ὅτι μὴ περιόδοις πολλαῖς χρώμενοι. [19] ἐν δὲ γε τῷ πορθμῷ ὄνπερ μεταξὺ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Βοιωτίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, γέγονέ τις ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἀμφὶ τε πόλιν τὴν Ἐχιναίων καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Σκάρφειαν. [20] πόρρω τε τῆς ἡπείρου ἀναβᾶσα καὶ κατακλύσασα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐς ἑδαφος καθεῖλεν εὐθὺς. χρόνος τε τῇ θαλάσσει πολὺς ἐπιχωριαζούσῃ τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐτρίβη, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τοῦ ἰοῦσι βατὰς ἐπὶ πλείστον γενέσθαι τὰς νήσους αἵπερ ἔντοσθεν τοῦ πορθμοῦ τούτου τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης δηλονότι ῥοθίου ἐκλιπόντος μὲν τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν, ἐπιπολάζοντος δὲ παρὰ δόξαν τὴν γῆν ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. [21] ἥνικα δὲ τῇ θαλάσσει ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανιέναι ξυνέπεσεν, ἰχθύες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπελείποντο, ὥνπερ ἡ ὄψις ἀήθης παντάπασιν οὔσα τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις τερατώδης τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [22] οὓς δὴ ἐδωδύμους εἶναι οἰόμενοι ἀνείλοντο μὲν ὡς ἐπήσοντες, θερμῆς δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀψαμένης ἐς ἰχθῶράς τε καὶ σηπεδόνας οὐ φορητὰς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον

ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. [23] ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, οὗ δὴ τὸ Σχίσμα ὠνόμασται, καὶ σεισμὸς ὑπερμεγέθης γενόμενος πλείω φόνον ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι εἰργάσατο, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ τινὰ ἐορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες ἔτυχον ἐκ πάσης τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταῦθα τότε τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ξυνειλεγμένοι πολλοί. [24] Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλίᾳ τάδε ξυνέπεσε. Κροτωνιάται καὶ στρατιῶται οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες, ὧν Παλλάδιος ἦρχε, πικρότατα πρὸς Γότθων πολιορκούμενοι καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, πολλάκις μὲν λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, ὥς εἰ μὴ βοηθοῖεν ὅτι τάχιστα σφίσιν, [25] οὔτι ἐθελουσίως σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδώσουσιν. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐνθένθε αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσων ἦλθε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

A great throng of Sclaveni now descended upon Illyricum and inflicted sufferings there not easily described. And the Emperor Justinian sent an army against them commanded by the sons of Germanus with others. But since this army was far outnumbered by the enemy, it was quite unable to engage with them, but remained always in the rear and cut down the stragglers left by the barbarians. And they slew many of them but took some few prisoners, whom they sent to the emperor. But nevertheless these barbarians continued their work of devastation. And spending as they did a long time in this plundering expedition, they filled all the roads with corpses, and enslaved countless multitudes and pillaged everything without meeting any opposition; then finally they departed on the homeward journey with all their plunder. Nor could the Romans ambuscade them while crossing the Ister River or harm them in any other way, since the Gepaedes, having engaged their services, took them under their protection and ferried them across, receiving large payment for their labour. For the payment was at the rate of one gold stater per head. At this the emperor was grievously vexed, seeing that for the future he had no possible means of checking the barbarians when crossing the Ister River in order to plunder the Roman domain, or when taking their departure from such expeditions with the booty they gained, and he wished for these reasons to enter into some sort of treaty with the nation of the Gepaedes.

Meanwhile the Gepaedes and the Lombards were once more moving against each other determined to make war. But the Gepaedes, fearing the power of the Romans (for they had by no means failed to hear that the Emperor Justinian had made a sworn alliance for offence and defence with the Lombards), were eager to become friends and allies of the Romans. They accordingly straightway sent envoys to Byzantium inviting the emperor to accept an offensive and defensive alliance with them also. So he without any hesitation gave them the pledges of alliance. And at the request of the same envoys twelve members of the senate also furnished them with a sworn statement confirming this treaty. But not long after this, when the Lombards according to the terms of their alliance requested an army to fight with them against the Gepaedes, the Emperor Justinian sent it, laying the charge against the Gepaedes that after the treaty they had transported certain of the Sclaveni across the Ister River to the detriment of the Romans.

Now the leaders of this army were, first, Justinus and Justinian, the sons of Germanus; second, Aratius; third, Suartuas, who had previously been appointed by Justinian ruler over the Eruli (but when those who had come from the island of Thule rose against him, as told by me in the previous narrative, he had returned in flight to the emperor, and immediately became

general of the Roman forces in Byzantium); and, lastly, Amalafridas, a Goth, grandson of Amalafrida the sister of Theoderic. king of the Goths, and son of Hermenefridus the former ruler of the Thuringians. This man had been brought by Belisarius to Byzantium with Vittigis, and the emperor had appointed him a Roman commander and betrothed his sister to Auduin the ruler of the Lombards. But not a man of that army reached the Lombards except this Amalafridas with his command. For the others, by direction of the emperor, stopped at the city of Ulpiana in Illyricum, since a civil war had arisen among the inhabitants of that place concerning those matters over which the Christians fight among themselves, as will be told by me in the treatise on this subject.

So the Lombards in full force and accompanied by Amalafridas came into the lands of the Gepaedes, and when the Gepaedes encountered them a fierce battle ensued in which the Gepaedes were defeated, and they say that a vast number of them perished in this engagement. Whereupon Auduin, the king of the Lombards, sent some of his followers to Byzantium, first to announce the good news to the Emperor Justinian, since the enemy had been vanquished, and, secondly, to reproach him because the emperor's army had not been present in accordance with the terms of their alliance, although such a host of Lombards had recently been sent to march with Narses against Totila and the Goths. Such was the course of these events.

It was at this time that extraordinary earthquakes occurred throughout Greece, both Boeotia and Achaea and the country on the Crisaean Gulf being badly shaken. And countless towns and eight cities were levelled to the ground, among which were Chaeronea and Coronea and Patrae and all of Naupactus, where there was also great loss of life. And the earth was rent asunder in many places and formed chasms. Now some of these openings came together again so that the earth presented the same form and appearance as before, but in other places they remained open, with the consequence that the people in such places are not able to intermingle with each other except by making use of many detours. But in the gulf between Thessaly and Boeotia there was a sudden influx of the sea at the city called Echinus and at Scarphea in Boeotia. And advancing far over the land it deluged the towns there and levelled them immediately. And for a long time the sea thus visited the mainland, so that for a very considerable period it was possible for men on foot to walk to the islands which are inside this gulf, since the water of the sea, obviously, had abandoned its proper place, and, strange to say spread over the land as far as the mountains which rise there. But when the sea returned to its proper place, fish were left on the ground, and since their appearance was altogether unfamiliar to the people of the country, they seemed a kind of prodigy. And thinking them edible they picked them up to boil them, but when the heat of the fire touched them the whole body was reduced to a liquid putrefaction of an unbearable sort. But in that locality where the so-called Cleft is located

there was a tremendous earthquake which caused more loss of life than in all the rest of Greece, particularly on account of a certain festival which they happened to be celebrating there and for which many had gathered in that place from all Greece.

In Italy the following took place. The people of Croton and the soldiers who constituted the garrison there, commanded by Palladius, were being very closely besieged by the Goths; and hard pressed as they were by scarcity of provisions, they had many times sent to Sicily without being detected by the enemy, calling to witness the commanders of the Roman army there, especially Artabanus, and saying that, if they did not relieve them at the earliest possible moment, they would, little as they wished it, surrender themselves and the city to the enemy not long thereafter. But no one came from there to assist them. And the winter drew to a close, and the seventeenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. [552 A.D.]

Βασιλεὺς δὲ μαθὼν τὰ ἐν Κρότωνι πρᾶσσόμενα πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις φρουροὺς ἔξ τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῖς ἐν Κρότωνι πολιορκουμένοις βοηθεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. [2] οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν: ἄρα ντὲς τε σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχον. οἱ τε βάρβαροι ἐξαπιναιῶς τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. [3] καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα διέφυγον, οἱ δὲ πεζῇ ἰόντες ἐς ὄρος τὸ Σκύλαιον ἀνεχώρησαν. ἃ δὴ ξυνενεχθέντα πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδόυλωσε Γότθων τὸ φρόνημα. [4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ῥάγναρις τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ δόκιμος μάλιστα, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, καὶ Μόρας, ὃς περ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς ἐν Ἀχεροντία φρουροῖς, Πακουρίῳ τῷ Περανίου τῶν ἐν Δρυοῦντι Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντι, γνώμῃ τῶν σφίσι ἐπομένων, ἐς λόγους ἤλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λαβόντες Ῥωμαίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσουσι ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα ὧς περ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ καταστάντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Πακούριος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεται. [5] Ναρσῆς δὲ ἐκ Σαλῶνων ἄρας ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἦει παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, μεγάλῳ ὑπερφυῶς ὄντι: χρήματα γὰρ κεκομισμένος ἐπιεικῶς μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως ἐτύγχανεν. [6] ἀφ' ὧν δὴ ἔμελλε στρατιάν τε ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγεῖραι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρκέσειν τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάγκαις, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας στρατιώταις ἐκλῦσαι τὰ πρόσθεν ὀφλήματα πάντα, ἐφ' οἷς περ αὐτοῖς ὑπερήμερος χρόνου πολλοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει, οὐ κομιζομένοις ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ἥπερ εἴθισται, τὰς σφίσι τεταγμένας συντάξεις: ἔτι μέντοι καὶ αὐτῶν βιάσασθαι τῶν παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπηυτομοληκότων τὰς γνώμας, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοὺς τοῖς χρήμασι τούτοις χειροθήεις γεγεννημένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταγῶναι προαίρεσιν. [7] Λίαν γὰρ τὰ πρότερα πόλεμον τόνδε ἀπημελημένως διαφέρων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀξιολογωτάτην αὐτοῦ πεποίηται τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν ὑστάτῳ. [8] ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ αὐτόν οἱ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐγκείμενον εἶδεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν στρατεύει,

φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδεδείκται στρατηγῷ πρόπουσαν, οὐκ ἄλλως βασιλεῖ ἐπαγγέλλοντι ὑπηρετήσῃν ὁμολογήσας, ἣν μὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀξιομάχους ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλῃ. [9] χρήματά τε οὖν καὶ σώματα καὶ ὅπλα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπαξίως πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κεκόμισται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ προθυμίαν αὐτὸς ἀοκνοτάτην ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀξιοχρεῶν στρατιὰν ἐξήγειρεν. [10] ἔκ τε γὰρ Βυζαντίου ἐπηγάγετο Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων ἔκ τε Ἰλλυριῶν πολλοὺς ἤθροισε. [11] καὶ Ἰωάννης δὲ ζὺν τε τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ ἀπολελειμμένῳ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἦει. [12] καὶ Αὐδουίν, ὁ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος, χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁμαιχιμίας ξυνθήκῃ, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ἐς ξυμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ καὶ θεραπεία εἶπετο μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν πλέον ἢ τρισχιλίων. [13] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους πλέον ἢ τρισχιλίοι, ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημουθ ἦρχον, καὶ Οὐννοὶ τε παμπληθεῖς καὶ Δαγισθαῖος ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἔκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαλλαγεῖς, καὶ Καβάδης, Πέρσας ἔχων αὐτομόλους πολλοὺς, ὁ Ζάμου μὲν υἱός, Καβάδου δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως υἱωνός, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τοῦ χαναράγγου σπουδῇ διαφυγόντος τε Χοσρόην τὸν θεῖον καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον ἀφικομένου ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤθη: καὶ Ἀσβαδος, νεανίας τις, Γήπαις γένος, διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὁμογενεῖς τετρακοσίους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια: καὶ Ἀρούθ, Ἑρουλος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἔκ παιδὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν δαίταν στέρξας καὶ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ποιησάμενος, αὐτὸς τε μαχιμώτατος ὢν καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦ Ἑρούλων ἔθνους ἐπομένους ἔχων ἐν πολέμου κινδύνοις ὡς μάλιστα δοκιμωτάτους: Ἰωάννης τε, ὁ Φαγᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγαγόμενος ὁμίλον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. [14] Ἦν οὖν μεγαλοδωρότατος ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους ὁζὺς ἐσάγαν, δυνάμιν τε πολλὴν περιβεβλημένος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀδεέστερον ἐς τὰ σπουδαζόμενα ἐχρήτο τῇ γνώμῃ. [15] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται εὐεργέτου αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον. [16] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδεικτο στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὡς ἀσμενέστατα ἕκαστοι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἤθελον, οἱ μὲν ἐκτίνειν οἱ ἐθέλοντες παλαιὰς χάριτας, οἱ δὲ καταδοκοῦντες, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι. [17] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἑρουλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, διαφερόντως πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὖ πεπονθότες. [18] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Βενετίων ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ τῶν ἐκείνῃ φυλακτηρίων ἦρχον, ἄγγελον στείλας ἡτεῖτο τὴν δίοδον σφίσιν ἅτε φίλοις οὔσι παρέχεσθαι. [19] οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Ναρσῆ ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔφασαν, ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανὲς τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐξενεγκόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα κατακρυψάμενοι, τοῦ Φράγγων ἕνεκα ξυμφόρου ἢ τῆς ἐς τοὺς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν κωλύμεν ποιεῖσθαι, σκῆψιν δὲ τίνα οὐ λίαν εὐπρόσωπον δόξασαν εἶναι προβεβλημένοι, ὅτι δὴ Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς σφίσι πολεμιωτάτους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἦκει. [20] ἐπὶ τούτοις διαπορουμένῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Ναρσῇ καὶ Ἰταλῶν τῶν οἱ παρόντων

ἀμφὶ τῷ πρακτέῳ πυνθανομένῳ ἐσήγγλόν τινες ὥς εἰ καὶ Φράγγοι παρήσουσι σφᾶς τήνδε τὴν δίοδον ποιῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐνθένδε κομίζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔξουσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν πορείαν ταύτην ποιῆσθαι ὅτι μὴ ἄχρι ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην. [21] Τουτίλαν γὰρ ἀπολεξάμενον εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ Γόθων στρατῷ, στρατηγόν τε αὐτοῖς καταστησάμενον Τεῖαν τὸν Γόθον, ἄνδρα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, στείλει ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην Γόθων κατήκοον οὔσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ διακωλύει τὴν πάροδον, ὅσα γε δυνατά. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. [22] Ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Τεῖας ἐγένετο ἐν πόλει Βερώνῃ, τὴν ἐκείνῃ δίοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέφραξε πᾶσαν, ἀδιέξοδὰ τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπορα πανταχόσε ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Πάδον τὰ χωρία εἶναι ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτῳ σκευωρησάμενος, καὶ πῇ μὲν λόχμας τε καὶ τάφρους καὶ φάραγγας τεκτηνάμενος, πῇ δὲ τέλμινάς τε ὥς βαθυτάτας καὶ χώρους τεναγώδεις τινὰς αὐτὸς τῷ Γόθων στρατῷ ἐφύλασσε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές, ὥς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἦν τι ἀποπειρῶνται τῆς ἐνθένδε ὁδοῦ. [23] ταῦτα δὲ Τουτίλας ἐμηχανᾶτο, οἰόμενος διὰ μὲν τῆς παραλίας κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ῥωμαίοις μῆποτε δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ ναυσίποροι ποταμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπόρευτα παντάπασιν παρέχονται εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία: ναῦς δὲ αὐτοὺς τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος ὥς ἡκιστα ἔχειν, ὥστε δὴ ἀθρόους παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἦν δὲ γε κατ' ὀλίγους ναυτίλλωνται, αὐτὸς ἂν τῷ καταλοίπῳ στρατῷ τῶν Γόθων τοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἀποβαίνοντας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναστεύει. [24] τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν γνώμη ὅ τε Τουτίλας ἐπήγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Τεῖας ἐποίει. Ναρσῆ δὲ λίαν ἀμηχανοῦντι Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ, τῶν τῇδε χωρίων ἐμπείρως ἔχων, παρήνει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μὲν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι, κατηκόων σφίσιν ὄντων, ὥς προδεδήλωται, τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, παρακολουθεῖν δὲ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς καὶ ἀκάτους πολλὰς. [25] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς γένωνται, γέφυραν ἐκ τῶν ἀκάτων τούτων τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοθίῳ ἐναρμοσάμενοι, ῥᾶον ἂν καὶ ἀπονώτερον ποιήσαιντο τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ταῦτα παρήνει, πείθεται δὲ Ναρσῆς, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης κομίζεται.

But the emperor, learning of the situation at Croton, sent to Greece and ordered the garrison of Thermopylae to sail with all speed to Italy and bring all the assistance in their power to the besieged in Croton. And they acted accordingly, setting sail with great haste; and chancing to find a favouring wind, they put in unexpectedly at the harbour of Croton. And the barbarians, upon seeing the fleet all of a sudden, were plunged immediately into great fear and in wild confusion broke up the siege. Now some of them made their escape by ship to the harbour of Tarentum, while others, going by land, withdrew to Mt. Scylaeum. And this event humbled the spirit of the Goths still more. In consequence of this Ragnaris, a Goth of very great note, who commanded the garrison at Tarentum, and Moras, who commanded the guards in Acherontia, opened negotiations, by the wish of their soldiers, with Pacurius son of Peranius, commander of the Romans in Dryus, and agreed that, on condition they should receive pledges for their safety from the Emperor Justinian, they would surrender themselves with their commands to the Romans together with the strongholds they had been set to guard. In order, then, to confirm this agreement Pacurius journeyed to Byzantium.

Narses now set out from Salones and moved against Totila and the Goths with the whole Roman army, which was an extraordinarily large one; for he had received from the emperor an exceedingly large sum of money, with which he was, first, to gather a very formidable army and meet the other requirements of the war, and, after that, to pay the soldiers in Italy all the money which was due to them from the past; for the emperor had been delinquent in this matter for a long time, since the soldiers were not receiving from the public treasury, as was usual, the pay assigned to them; furthermore, he was to bring pressure to bear also upon those soldiers who had deserted to Totila, so that they would be rendered tractable by this money and reverse their choice of allegiance.

Indeed, though the Emperor Justinian had previously conducted this war very negligently, he made the most notable preparation for it at the last. For when Narses saw that he urgently desired him to lead an expedition against Italy, he displayed an ambition becoming to a general, declaring that on no other condition would he obey the emperor's command than that he should take with him forces sufficient to the purpose. So by taking this position he obtained from the emperor money and men and arms in quantities worthy of the Roman empire, and he himself displayed a most tireless enthusiasm and so collected an adequate army. For he not only took with him a great number of Roman soldiers from Byzantium, but he also collected many from the lands of Thrace and Illyricum. And John, too, with his own army and that left by his father-in-law Germanus, accompanied him. Moreover, Auduin, ruler of the

Lombards, having been won over by the Emperor Justinian by the use of much money and in accordance with the treaty of alliance, selected twenty-five hundred of his followers who were capable warriors and sent them to fight with the Romans; and these were also attended by more than three thousand fighting men as servants. And he also had with him more than three thousand of the Erulian nation, all horsemen, commanded by Philemuth and others, besides great numbers of Huns. Dagisthaeus too was there with his followers, having been released from prison for this purpose, also Cabades, with many Persian deserters (this man was son of Zames and grandson of Cabades the Persian king, and has been mentioned in the previous narrative as having escaped from his uncle Chosroes by the efforts of the “chanaranges” and having come long before to the land of the Romans). There was also Asbadus, a young man of the race of the Gepaedes and an especially active man having with him four hundred men of his race who were capable warriors. Besides these there was Aruth of the nation of the Eruli, who from boyhood had admired Roman ways and had made the daughter of Mauricius son of Mundus his married wife, being himself a most valiant fighter, and bringing with him a large number of Eruli who were especially distinguished in the perils of war. Finally there was John surnamed the Glutton, whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative, bringing a large force of able Roman soldiers.

Narses, for his part, was a man of princely generosity and extraordinarily eager to help those who needed it, and being clothed with great power by the emperor he exercised his judgment the more freely regarding those matters in which he was interested. Consequently many commanders and soldiers as well had in former times experienced his generosity. Naturally, then, when he was appointed General against Totila and the Goths, each and every one desired most eagerly to serve under him, some wishing to repay him for old favours, and others probably expecting, as was natural, to receive great gifts from his hand. But the Eruli and the other barbarians were particularly well disposed towards him, having been especially well treated by him.

When they had reached a point very close to Venetia, he sent a messenger to the rulers of the Franks who commanded the fortresses there, demanding that they allow his army free passage, as being friends. But they said that they would by no means concede this to Narses, not openly revealing the real reason, but with all possible care concealing the fact that it was in the interest of the Franks or because of their good-will toward the Goths that they were barring his passage, and putting forward a kind of pretext which did not appear very plausible, by saying that he came bringing with him Lombards who were their bitterest enemies. Narses was at first puzzled by this and enquired of the Italians who were with him what should be done, but some men brought the news that, even if the Franks permitted them to pass through this country, they would still be utterly unable to get on from there to

Ravenna, nor could he march that way any farther than the city of Verona. For Totila, they reported, had gathered whatever was notable in the Gothic army, and appointing as General over them Teïas the Goth, a conspicuously able warrior, had sent him to the city of Verona, which was subject to the Goths, for the purpose of preventing, as far as in him lay, the Roman army from passing by. This was in fact the case.

By the time Teïas entered the city of Verona, he had shut off entirely the road by which his enemy must pass, having by artificial means made the land which borders the Po River such that it was altogether out of the question to travel in it or through it; for he had in some places constructed brush entanglements and ditches and gullies, in others sloughs of the greatest depth and certain expanses of swampy ground, while he himself with the Gothic army was maintaining close guard so as to engage with the Romans if they should make any attempt to pass by that road. Now Totila had devised these things with the idea that the Romans would never be able, on the one hand, to make the inarch along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, for a great number of navigable rivers have their mouths there and make the route entirely impassable; and, on the other hand, he thought that they certainly did not have ships in such numbers as to ferry the whole army in a body across the Ionian Gulf, while if they should sail in small groups, he himself with the remainder of the Gothic army would with no trouble stop the disembarkation on each occasion. Such was the purpose of Totila in giving these orders, which were being duly executed by Teias.

Narses thus found himself completely bewildered, but John, the nephew of Vitalian, being familiar with these regions, advised him to proceed with the whole army along the coast, the inhabitants of this district, as previously stated, being subject to them, while some of the ships and a large number of small boats accompanied them. For whenever they should come to the mouth of a river, they would throw a bridge of these boats across the river's current, and thus render the crossing comparatively easy. Such was the advice of John, and Narses was persuaded, and in this way made the journey to Ravenna with the whole army.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Ἰλδιγισᾶλ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀνὴρ, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθηεν ἅτε τοῦ Αὐδουίνου ὄντος ἐχθροῦ, ὃς τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεῖτο· αὐτῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν Αὐδουίνου βιασάμενος ἔσχεν ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀποδράς τῶν πατρίων ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεται. [2] οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοφροσύνης ἡξίωσεν, ἄρχοντά τε κατεστήσατο ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου φυλακῆς τεταγμένων λόχων, οὗσπερ σχολὰς ὀνομάζουσιν. [3] εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἔθνους ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὴ μίαν πρῶτον ἐπὶ Θράκης δίαταν εἶχον. [4] τὸν Ἰλδιγισᾶλ οὖν Αὐδουίνου μὲν πρὸς βασιλείῳς Ἰουστινιανοῦ

ἐξῆτειτο ἅτε φίλος τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ξύμμαχος ὢν, μισθὸν τῆς φιλίας τὴν προδοσίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἱκέτου εἰσπραπτόμενος, ὁ δὲ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐδίδου. [5] Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰλδιγισάλ, ἐνδεέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δόξαν ἐπικαλῶν οἱ αὐτῷ τὴν τε τιμὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι, δυσφορομένῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐώκει. ὁ δὲ Ἰόαρ κατενόησε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, πάλαι τε δορυάλωτος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐνταῦθα ἦκων, ἡνίκα τὸν πόλεμον Οὐίτιγισ ὁ Γότθων βασιλεὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διέφερε· [6] θυμοειδὴς δὲ ὢν καὶ δραστήριος ἄγαν πρὸς τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν ζυγομαχῶν διαγέγονεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Γότθοι μετὰ τὴν Οὐίτιγιδος ἐπικράτησιν ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, βασιλεῖ ὅπλα ἀντάραντες, κακουργῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ διαφανῶς ἦλῶ. φυγῇ δὲ ζημιωθείς τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν Ἀντινόου κομίζεται, καὶ χρόνος αὐτῷ πολὺς ἐν τῇ ποινῇ ταύτῃ ἐτρίβη. [7] ἀλλ' ὕστερον οἰκτισάμενος βασιλεὺς κατήγαγεν ἐς Βυζάντιον. οὗτος ὁ Ἰόαρ τὸν Ἰλδιγισάλ ἰδὼν ἀσχάλλοντα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐνδεδεχέστατα νοουθετῶν ἀναπειθεὶ δρασμῷ χρῆσασθαι, ζὺν αὐτῷ ὁμολογήσας ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι. [8] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή ἦρεσκε, φεύγουσι μὲν ἐξαπινάϊως ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν, ἐς δὲ Ἄπρων ἀφικόμενοι τὴν Θρακῶν πόλιν ἀναμίγνυνται Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς τῇδε οὔσι. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς ἵπποφορβίοις κατατυχόντες μέγα τι χρῆμα ἵππων ἐνθένδε ἐπαγόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν. [9] Ὦνπερ ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἦσθετο, ἐς τε Θράκην ὅλην καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς στείλας ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλε τοῖς δραπεταῖς τούτοις σθένει παντὶ ὑπαντιάσαι. [10] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Οὐννων τῶν Κουτριγούρων καλουμένων ὀλίγοι τινὲς οἳ δὴ ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξαναστάντες, ἥπερ μοι οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται, δόντος βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἰδρύσαντό τοῖς φεύγουσι τούτοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. [11] ἡσσηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ τινὲς μὲν πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τραπόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. οὕτω τε Θράκην ὅλην διεληλύθασιν Ἰλδιγισάλ τε καὶ Ἰόαρ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος. [12] ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δὲ γενόμενοι Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν εὗρον ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ζὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ζυνειλεγμένον. [13] τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τούτου ἄλλοι τέ τινες καὶ Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Ῥεκίθαγγος καὶ Λεωνιανὸς καὶ Ἀριμουθ ἦρχον, οἳ δὲ ἐτύγχανον τὴν ἡμέραν ἱπεύσαντες ὅλην. [14] ἐς τε χῶρον ὑλῶδη ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφᾶς ἔστησαν, ὥς αὐλισόμενοι τε καὶ διανυκτερεύσοντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην. [15] τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλον οἱ ἄρχοντες οὗτοι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἵππων τῶν σφετέρων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα ποταμὸν αὐτοὺς ἀναψύχειν, παρηγοροῦντας τὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ κόπον. [16] αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἕκαστος δορυφόρους ἐπαγόμενοι ἀποκεκρυμμένως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔπινον· δίψει γάρ, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, χαλεπῇ εἶχοντο. [17] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἰόαρ καὶ Ἰλδιγισάλ ἀγχοῦ που ὄντες καὶ σκοποὺς πέμψαντες ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν. ἀπροσδόκητοί τε πίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστάντες ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεέστερον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν πορείαν ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο διωκῆσαντο. [18] ἄναρχοι γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται γενόμενοι διηποροῦντό τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμηχανοῦντες ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνον. Ἰόαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰλδιγισάλ οὕτω διαφυγόντες ἐς Γήπαιδας ἦλθον. [19] Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τις ἐκ Γηπαίδων, Οὐστρίγοτθος ὄνομα, ἐς Λαγγοβάρδας φυγὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἐλεμοῦνδος μὲν

ὁ Γηπαίδων γεγωνὼς βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσῳ, τούτου δὴ οἱ μόνου τοῦ Οὐστριγόθου ἀπολελειμμένου παιδός, ὅνπερ ὁ Θορισὶν βιασάμενος ῥαιδίον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. [20] διὸ δὴ ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἔχων τὸν ἡδικοτάτα καθ' ὃ τι ἀμύνηται, ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστὰς τῶν πατρίων ἐς Λαγγοβάρδας Γήπαισι πολεμίους ὄντας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο. [21] ἐγένοντο δὲ Γήπαισιν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πρὸς τε βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ τὸ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἔθνος διαλλαγαί, ὁρκίοις τε ἀλλήλους δεινотάτοις κατέλαβον ἥ μὴν τὸ λοιπὸν φιλίαν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπέραντον διασώσασθαι. [22] ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς βεβαιοτάτα ξυνετελέσθη, βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Αὐδουὶν ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος παρὰ Θορισὶν τὸν Γηπαίδων ἄρχοντα πέμψαντες τὸν Ἰλδιγισὰν ἅτε κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐξηγοῦντο, τὴν ἐς τὸν ἱκέτην τὸν αὐτοῦ προδοσίαν δεόμενοι δήλωσιν τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς φιλίας ποιήσασθαι πρώτην. [23] Καὶ ὅς τοις Γηπαίδων λογίοις κοινολογησάμενος τὰ παρόντα σπουδῇ ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ ποιητέα οἱ τὰ πρὸς τοῖν βασιλείῳι αἰτῆμενα εἴη. [24] οἱ δὲ ἄντικρυς μὴ ποιήσιν ἀπεῖπον, κρεῖσσον ἀπισχυρισάμενοι εἶναι Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει αὐταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ γόνῳ παντὶ διολωλέναι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἢ ἀνοσίῳις ἐπ' ἀσεβήματι γενέσθαι τοιούτῳ. [25] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θορισὶν ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐξέπιπτεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκουσίῳιων τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ ἔργον εἶχεν οὔτε ἀνακυκλεῖν πόλεμον, πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πεπαυμένον πολλῷ, πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἔτι ἠθελεν. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐπενόει τάδε. [26] πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Αὐδουὶν ἐξητεῖτο τὸν Ἐλεμούνδου υἱὸν Οὐστρίγοθον, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ ἀμαρτάδα ὁρμῶν, τῶν τε ἱκετῶν ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι τὴν προδοσίαν παρακαλῶν. [27] τῇ γὰρ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἀτοπίας ὀκνήσει τὴν ἐπίταξιν αὐτῶν ἀναχαιτίσειν ἐλπίδα εἶχεν, ἀλλ' Αὐδουὶν αὐτὸν μηδεμιᾷ μελλήσει τῇ παρανομίᾳ καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ λήψεσθαι. [28] τούτων τε αὐτοῖς δεδογμένων ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὥς οὔτε Λαγγοβάρδαι οὔτε Γήπαιδες ἐθέλουσι τοῦ μιάσματος μεταλαχεῖν σφίσιν, ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανὲς οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ἑκάτερος δὲ δόλῳ τὸν θατέρου ἐχθρὸν ἔκτεινεν. [29] ὄντινα μέντοι τρόπον, ἀφίημι λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοισι οἱ ἀμφοῖν λόγοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσουσιν οἷά γε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ λαθραϊότατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἰλδιγισὰν καὶ Οὐστρίγοθον ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XXVII

While these things were going on as described, the following took place. Ildigisal the Lombard has been mentioned in the preceding narrative as a personal enemy of Auduin, who was the ruler of these barbarians (indeed the kingship belonged to this man by birth, but Auduin had taken it from him by violent means); he now escaped from his native land and set out for Byzantium. And when he arrived there the Emperor Justinian treated him with very particular consideration and appointed him commander of one of the companies of guards assigned to the palace, which they call “*scholae*.” And he was followed by no fewer than three hundred able warriors of the Lombard nation, who at first lived together in Thrace. Auduin accordingly demanded Ildigisal from the Emperor Justinian on the ground that he was a friend and ally of the Romans, claiming as payment for his friendship the betrayal of the suppliant to him. But Justinian refused absolutely to give him up.

Later on, however, Ildigisal began to make the complaint that both his rank and his maintenance were not commensurate with his worth and the good name of the Romans and appeared to be exceedingly dissatisfied. Now this was observed by Goar, a Goth, who had long ago come there from Dalmatia as a captive taken in this war, at the time when Vittigis, king of the Goths, was carrying on the war against the Romans; and being an impetuous and exceedingly active fellow, he was in constant rebellion against the fate which was upon him. But when the Goths, after the overthrow of Vittigis, planned a revolution and took up arms against the emperor, he was clearly caught working against the state. And being condemned to exile, he proceeded to the city of Antinous in Egypt, where he spent a long time under this punishment. But later the emperor, moved by pity, brought him back to Byzantium. This Goar, then, seeing Ildigisal in a state of discontent, as I have said, kept after him without interruption and tried to persuade him to take to flight, promising that he would leave Byzantium with him. And since this plan pleased them, they fled suddenly with only a few followers, and upon reaching the Thracian city of Apri, they joined forces with the Lombards who were there. Next they came by chance upon the imperial horse pastures and took from them a great number of horses, which they took with them as they proceeded.

But when the emperor learned of this, he sent into all Thrace and Illyricum and instructed all commanders and soldiers to use every means in their power to check these runaways. And first of all a small number of the Huns called Cutrigurs (men who had migrated from their ancestral abodes, as I have stated not long since, and settled in Thrace with the emperor’s permission) came to an engagement with these fugitives. But they were defeated in battle and some of them fell, while the rest were routed and did not continue the pursuit, but

remained where they were. Thus Ildigisal and Goar with their followers passed through the whole of Thrace, not molested by anyone. But upon reaching Illyricum they found a Roman army carefully gathered to oppose them. Now' this army was commanded by Aratius, Rhcithangus, Leonianus, Arimuth, and others, all of whom happened to have been riding the whole day. And upon reaching a wooded place about nightfall they had stopped, intending to bivouac and so pass the night there. So these commanders gave their soldiers the usual orders, instructing them to care for their horses and to refresh themselves beside the river which flowed by, thus repairing the fatigue of the journey. They themselves meanwhile took with them three or four bodyguards each and in a concealed place began to drink from the river; for they were naturally suffering from severe thirst. But the men of Goar and Ildigisal who were near by had sent out scouts and found this out. So falling unexpectedly upon them as they drank they slew every man of them, and thereafter they conducted their march as they pleased without further fear. For the soldiers, finding themselves without commanders, fell into a state of perplexity, and being completely at a loss began to withdraw. So Goar and Ildigisal made their escape in this way and came to the Gepaedes.

Now it so happened that a certain man named Ustrigothus had fled from the Gepaedes to the Lombards in the following circumstances. Elemundus, who had been king of the Gepaedes, had been taken from the world by disease not long before, this Ustrigothus being his only surviving child; but Thorisin had forced him aside (for he was still a stripling) and had thus secured the power. Consequently the boy, having no means of defending himself against the aggressor, departed from his native land and made off to the Lombards, who were then at war with the Gepaedes. But a little later a reconciliation was effected by the Gepaedes with both the Emperor Justinian and the Lombard nation, and they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that from that time forth they would preserve an eternal friendship with each other. And as soon as the details of the agreement had been most firmly fixed, both the Emperor Justinian and Auduin, ruler of the Lombards, sent to Thorisin, the ruler of the Gepaedes, demanding the surrender of Ildigisal as a common enemy, asking that he make the betrayal of his suppliant the first proof of his friendship to them.

He then conferred on the situation with the notable men of the Gepaedes and eagerly asked whether he was bound to fulfil the demand of the two sovereigns. And they forbade him absolutely to do so, firmly declaring that it was better for the nation of the Gepaedes to perish forthwith with their women and their whole stock rather than to become polluted by such an impiety. Upon hearing this Thorisin was plunged into uncertainty. For neither could he perform the deed against the will of his subjects, nor did he wish to revive once more a war against the Romans and Lombards which had been brought to an end with great labour and expenditure of time. Later, however, he

thought of the following plan. He sent to Auduin and demanded the surrender of Ustrigothus, son of Elemundus, urging him to commit a sin equal to the one urged upon himself, and inviting him to betray one suppliant in exchange for the other. In this way he hoped that he would frustrate their demand through dread of a similar transgression and would immediately catch Auduin himself by the proposed illicit compact. So when they had reached these decisions and understood clearly that neither Lombards nor Gepaedes were willing to have any share in the pollution, they did nothing at all openly, but each of them put the enemy of the other to death by stealth. But as to how they did this, I shall not undertake to tell; for the accounts of this matter do not agree with each other, but differ widely, as is natural in matters of a very secret nature. Such was the end of the story of Ildigisal and Ustrigothus.

Τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν ἀφικομένοις ἐς Ῥάβενναν πόλιν ἀνemiγνυντο Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰουστίνος οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ταύτῃ ἐλέλειπτο. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐννέα ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐτέτριπτο, Οὐσδρίλας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἄρχων, πρὸς Βαλεριανὸν ἔγραψε τάδε: [3] ‘Πάντα ταῖς φήμαις καταλαβόντες, τοῖς τε φάσμασιν ἤδη ζύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν συσχόντες καὶ ὀφρυάσαντες οὐχ ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ταύτῃ τε Γότθους, ὥσπερ οἶσθε, δεδιζάμενοι, εἶτα κάθησθε νῦν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῷ μὲν ἀποκεκρῦφθαι ὡς ἥκιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδηλοῖ, οἶμαι, ζυμφουροῦντες ἔτι τὸ φρόνημα τοῦτο, βαρβάρων δὲ παμμίκτῳ ὁμίλῳ τὴν οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ὑμῖν κατατρίβοντες χώραν. ἀλλ’ ἀνάστητε ὅτι τάχιστα καὶ πολεμίων ἔργων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄπτεσθε, δείξατέ τε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Γότθοις, μηδὲ ἀναρτήσητε μακροτέραις ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς, [4] προσδεχομένους ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ θέαρα.’ ἡ μὲν γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, Γότθων τῆς ἀλαζονείας γελάσας, καθίστατο εὐθὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ἐξοδὸν, φρουρὰν ζὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀπολιπών. [5] γενόμενοι τε πόλεως Ἀριμίνου ἄγχιστα, εὗρον οὐκ εὐπετὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐνθένδε τὴν δίοδον οὔσαν, Γότθων περιηρηκότων τὴν ἐκείνῃ γέφυραν οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον. [6] ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀρίμινον παραρρέων ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἀόπλῳ ἐνὶ πεζῇ ἰόντι μόλις διαβατὸς γίνεται διὰ τῆς γεφύρας πόνῳ τε καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἢ τὴν δίοδον ἀναστέλλοντος: πλήθει δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαφερόντως ἐξωπλισμένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀντιστατούντων, τρόπῳ ὁτῶν ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύσασθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστι. [7] διόπερ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐν τῷ γεφύρας χώρῳ γενόμενος ζὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπορούμενος ἐπὶ πλείστον διεσκοπεῖτο ὁπόθεν ἂν ποτε πόρον τινὰ τῷ πράγματι εὔροι. [8] οὗ δὴ καὶ Οὐσδρίλας τινὰς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἰπέων ἤλθε, μή τι τῶν πρασσομένων αὐτὸν διαλάβοι. τῶν δὲ τις Ναρσῆ ἐπισπομένων τὸ τόξον ἐντεινας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλεν, ἐνὶ τε τῶν ἵππων κατατυχὼν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν. [9] οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐσδρίλαν τότε μὲν ἐνθένδε κατὰ τάχος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγόμενοι τῶν σφίσι μαχιμωτάτων διὰ πύλης ἐτέρας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἵεντο, ὡς ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ

τὸν Ναρσῆν διαχρησόμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. [10] ἐπὶ θατερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διερευνώμενος τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν διάβασιν ἤδη ἀφῆκτο. ἀλλὰ τῶν τινὲς Ἑρουλῶν τύχη αὐτοῖς τινὶ ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαντες κτείνουσί τε τὸν Οὐσδρίλαν, καὶ ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐπιγνωσθέντα παρὰ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, καὶ Ναρσῆ ἐπιδείξαντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐπέρρωσαν πάντας, τεκμηριουμένους τῷ ξυμβεβηκότι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ Γόθοις πολέμια εἶναι: οἳ γε τῶν πολέμιων τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ προνοίας τινὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν ἐξαπιναίως ἀφήρηντο. [11] Ναρσῆς δέ, καίπερ Οὐσδρίλα πεπτωκότος, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, πρόσω ἤπειγε τὸ στράτευμα. οὔτε γὰρ Ἀρίμνην οὔτε ἄλλο τι χωρίον πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐχόμενον ἐνοχλεῖν ἤθελεν, ὥς μή τις αὐτῷ τρίβοιτο χρόνος, μηδὲ τῷ παρέργῳ τῆς χρείας ἢ σπουδαιοτάτῃ διείργοιτο πρᾶξις. [12] τῶν δὲ πολέμιων ἅτε πεπτωκότος σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἡσυχάζόντων τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐμποδίων καθισταμένων ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀδεέστερον γεφύρα τὸν ποταμὸν ζεύξας διεβίβασε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα. [13] ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς Φλαμηνίας ἐνθένδε ἀφέμενος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἦει. Πέτρας γὰρ τῆς Περτούσης καλουμένης, ἧσπερ μοι τὸ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος καρτερὸν χωρίου φύσει ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται λόγοις, κατειλημμένης τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολλῷ πρότερον, ἀπόρευτα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα, ὅσα γε κατὰ τὴν Φλαμηνίαν ὁδόν, ὄντα ἐτύγγανεν. ὁδὸν οὖν ὁ Ναρσῆς διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἀφείξεν τὴν βάσιμον ἦει.

XXVIII

When the forces of Narses reached the city of Ravenna, they were joined by the generals Valerian and Justinus and whatever of the Roman army was left in that region. Now when they had spent nine days' time at Ravenna, Usdrilas, a Goth and an exceptionally capable warrior, commander of the garrison at Ariminum, wrote to Valerian as follows. "Though you have filled the world with talk of you and have already captivated the whole of Italy with the visions of your power, and have assumed an air of supercilious pride quite above the level of mortal men, and though you have in this way frightened the Goths, as you fondly imagine, you nevertheless now sit in Ravenna without at all shewing your own forces to your enemy, through your policy of keeping hidden — no doubt as a way of guarding still this proud spirit of yours — but using a heterogeneous horde of barbarians with which to ruin the land which belongs to you in no sense whatever. But arise with all speed and henceforth essay the deeds of war; shew yourselves to the Goths, and do not tantalize us longer with mere hope, since we have been awaiting the spectacle a long time." Such was the message of the letter.

When this was brought to Narses and seen by him, he laughed at the effrontery of the Goths and immediately prepared his whole army for departure, leaving a garrison with Justinus at Ravenna. But when they came close to the city of Ariminum, they found that the road from that point was not easy, since the Goths had not long before damaged the bridge there. For the river which flows by Ariminum is scarcely passable for a single unarmed man making his way on foot over the bridge with great labour and difficulty, and that too when no one is harassing him or disputing the passage; but for a large number of men, particularly when under arms, and above all when confronted by an enemy, it is impossible by any means whatever to make that crossing. Consequently Narses went to the site of the bridge accompanied by a few, and being thoroughly perplexed he was considering carefully what solution he could possibly find for the difficulty. And Usdrilas also came thither, bringing some of his horsemen, lest anything that was done should escape him. Then one of the followers of Narses drew his bow and shot at them, and he hit one of their horses and killed it outright. And the company of Usdrilas for the moment departed from there in haste and got inside the fortifications, but immediately rushed out against the Romans through another gate, bringing with them others of their most warlike men, in order to fall upon them unexpectedly and destroy Narses forthwith. For in reconnoitring the crossing for the army he had already reached the other side of the river. But certain of the Eruli by some chance encountered them there and slew Usdrilas, and since he was identified by a Roman they cut off' his head, and coming into the Roman camp displayed it to Narses and so strengthened the courage of all; for

they inferred from what had happened that Heaven was hostile to the Goths, seeing that in seeking to ambush the general of their enemy they themselves, not through any plot or preconceived plan, had suddenly lost their own commander.

But Narses, in spite of the fall of Usdrilas, commander of the garrison at Ariminum, pushed forward with the army. For he did not wish to trouble Ariminum nor any other place held by the enemy, in order that no time might be wasted by him and the accomplishment of the most important thing be crowded out by that which was incidental to his task. The enemy, for their part, now that their commander had fallen, remained quiet and sought no longer to block his way, so that Narses without a fear spanned the river with a bridge and took the entire army across without any trouble. From there he left the Flaminian Way and went to the left. For the place called Petra Pertusa, whose naturally strong fortress has been described by me in the previous narrative, had been occupied by his opponents long before, and consequently the road was closed to the Romans and it was out of the question to pass through, as far at least as the Flaminian Way was concerned. Narses accordingly left the shorter road on this account and went by the road which could be travelled.

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. Τουτίλας δὲ πεπυσμένος ἦδη τὰ ἐν Βενεταίαις ξυνενεχθέντα. Τείαν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὴν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν προσδεχόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς χωρίοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. [2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήσαν, μόνοι τε δισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς ἐλείποντο ἔτι, τούτους δὴ οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἀλλὰ παντὶ ἄρας τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὡς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω ὑπαντιάσων ἦει. [3] ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ τὰ τε τῷ Οὐσδρίλα συμπεπτωκότα καὶ Ἀρίμνηον τοὺς πολεμίους διαβεβηκέναι μαθὼν, ὅλην μὲν Τουσκίαν ἀμείψας, ἐν ὅρει δὲ τῷ Ἀπεννίνῳ καλουμένῳ γενόμενος, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἔμενεν ἄγχιστα κώμης ἥνπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ταγίνας καλοῦσιν. [4] ἥ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰ Ναρσοῦ ἡγουμένου οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐν τῷ ὅρει καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Ἀπεννίνῳ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, σταδίους ἑκατὸν μάλιστα τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου διέχοντες, ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ μὲν, λόφους δὲ ἄγχιστά πη περιβεβλημένῳ πολλοὺς, ἵνα δὴ ποτε στρατηγοῦντα Ῥωμαίων Κάμιλλον τῶν Γάλλων ὁμίλον διαφθεῖραι μάχῃ νενικηκότα φασί. [5] φέρει δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ χῶρος καὶ διασώζει τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν Γάλλων τὸ πάθος, Βουσταγαλλῶρων καλούμενος. βοῦστα γὰρ Λατῖνοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς καλοῦσι λείψανα. [6] τύμβοι τε τῇδε γεώλοφοι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκείνων παμπληθεῖς εἰσίν. Αὐτίκα δὲ στείλας ἐνθένδε Ναρσῆς τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς παραίνεσιν ἐπήγγελλε ποιεῖσθαι τῷ Τουτίλᾳ καταθέσθαι μὲν τὰ πολέμια, βουλευέσθαι δὲ εἰρηναῖά ποτε, διαριθμουμένῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτός, ἀνθρώπων ἄρχων ὀλίγων τέ τινων καὶ ὑπόγυον νόμῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνειλεγμένων, πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ πλείστον διαμάχεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο. [7] ἔφη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε δὴ αὐτόν, εἰ πολεμησεῖοντα ἴδοιεν, μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἐγκελεύεσθαι τακτὴν

διορίσαι τινὰ ἡμέραν τῇ μάχῃ. [8] ἐπειδὴ γοῦν οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι τῷ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν νεανιευόμενος ἐκομπεύετο ὡς τρόπῳ αὐτοῖς παντὶ πολεμητέον εἶη, οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες ‘Ἄλλ, ὦ γενναῖε’ ἔφασαν ‘ῥητόν τινα καιρὸν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τίθει.’ καὶ ὁς αὐτίκα ‘ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ξυμμίξωμεν’ ἔφη. [9] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Ναρσῆν ἐπανάγκοντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν ἐπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ Τουτίλαν δολώσεις ὑποτοπάζων ἐπινοεῖν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μαχούμενος. [10] καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. ἡμέρᾳ γὰρ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη αὐτάγγελος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ παρῆν ὁ Τουτίλας. ἥδη δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἕκατεροι ἀντεκάθηντο, οὐ πλέον ἢ δυοῖν διέχοντες τοξευμάτων βολαῖν. [11] Ἦν γέ τι γεώλοφον ἐνταῦθα βραχύ, ὃ δὴ καταλαβεῖν ἀμφοτέροι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχον, ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖᾳ σφίσιν οἰόμενοι κεῖσθαι, ὅπως τε βάλλειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἔχοιεν καὶ ὅτι χῶροι λοφώδεις, ἧπέρ μοι δεδῆλωται, ἐνταῦθά πη ἦσαν, ταύτῃ τοι κυκλώσασθαι τινὰς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον κατὰ νότου ἰόντας ἀμήχανον ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ μιᾶς τινὸς ἀτραποῦ, [12] ἢ παρὰ τὸ γεώλοφον ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα. διὸ δὴ περὶ πλείονος αὐτὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀμφοτέροις ἐπανάγκες ἦν, Γότθοις μὲν, ὅπως ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ποιήσονται, Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ὅπως δὴ ταῦτα μὴ πάθουεν. [13] ἀλλὰ προτερήσας Ναρσῆς πεντήκοντα ἐκ καταλόγου πεζοὺς ἀπολέξας ἄωρὶ νύκτωρ ὡς καταληψομένους τε καὶ καθέξοντας αὐτὸ ἔστειλε. [14] καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐμποδῶν ἵσταμένου ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. [15] ἔστι δέ τις χειμάρρους τοῦ γεωλόφου ἐπίπροσθεν, παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἣς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, τοῦ δὲ χώρου καταντικρὺ οὗ ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο Γότθοι, οὗ δὴ οἱ πεντήκοντα ἔστησαν, ἐν χρῷ μὲν ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐς φάλαγγα δὲ ὡς ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξυντεταγμένοι. [16] Μεθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς ἰδὼν Τουτίλας ἀπώσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. Ἰλην τε ἱππέων εὐθὺς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἐξελᾶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐνθένδε αὐτοὺς ἐπιστείλας. [17] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἴεντο, ὡς αὐτοβοεῖ ἐξαιρήσοντας, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὀλίγον ξυντεταγμένοι καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀσπίσι φραζάμενοι, [18] τὰ δὲ δοράτια ἐπανατεινόμενοι ἔστησαν. εἶτα οἱ μὲν Γότθοι σπουδῇ ἐπιόντες ξυνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἦλαινον, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα, τῶν τε ἀσπίδων τῷ ὠθισμῷ καὶ τῶν δορατίων τῇ ἐπιβολῇ πυκνοτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυγκεχυμένη ὡς καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, ἐξεπίτηδές τε πάταγον ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐποίουν, ταύτῃ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους ἀεὶ δεδισσόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ταῖς τῶν δορατίων αἰχμαῖς. [19] καὶ οἱ τε ἵπποι ἀνεχαιτίζοντο τῇ τε δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῷ πατάγῳ λίαν ἀχθόμενοι καὶ διέξοδον οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀπεκναίοντο, ἀνθρώποις τε οὕτω ξυμφραξαμένοις μαχόμενοι καὶ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ εἴκουσι, καὶ ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπαῖουσιν. ἀποκρουσθέντες τε τὴν πρώτην ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν. [20] καὶ αὐθις ἀποπειρασάμενοι καὶ ταῦτά πάσχοντες ἀνεπὸδιζον. πολλάκις τε οὕτως ἀπαλλάξαντες οὐκέτι ἠνώχλουν, ἀλλ’ ἐτέραν Ἰλην Τουτίλας ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀντικαθίστη. [21] ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἀπαλλαγέντων ἕτεροι ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν καθίσταντο. πολλὰς τε Ἰλας ὁ Τουτίλας οὕτως ἀμείψας ἐπὶ πάσαις τε ἄπρακτος γεγονὼς εἶτα ἀπεῖπεν. [22] Οἱ μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα κλέος ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς

ἀπὴννεγκαν μέγα, δύο δὲ αὐτῶν διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἠρίστευσαν, Παῦλός τε καὶ Ἀνσίλας, οἳ δὴ ἐκπεπηδηκότες τῆς φάλαγγος δῆλωσιν ἀρετῆς μάλιστα πάντων πεποίηνται. [23] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι κατέθεντο εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐντεινάμενοι ἔβαλλον ἐπικαιριώτατα στοχαζόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων. [24] καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους διεχρήσαντο, ἕως ἔτι εἶχον τοὺς ἀτράκτους αὐτοῖς αἱ φαρέτραι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπιελοίπει, οἳ δὲ τὰ τε ξίφη ἀνελόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβεβλημένοι κατὰ μόνας τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. [25] ἐπειδὴν τε ἰππεύόμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τινὲς ξύν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, οἳ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι παίοντες ἀπεκαύλιζον τῶν δοράτων εὐθὺς τὰς αἰχμάς. [26] πολλάκις δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἀναστελλόντων τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς ξυνηνέχθη τὸ θατέρου ξίφος ἣν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Παῦλος ὀνόματι συγκεκάμφθαι τῇ ἐς τὰ ξύλα συνεχεῖ τομῇ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀχρεῖον εἶναι. ὅπερ αὐτίκα μὲν προσουδίζει χαμαί, [27] χερσὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέραις ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν δοράτων ἀφηρεῖτο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. τέτταρά τε δόρατα οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους διαφανῶς ἀφελόμενος αἰτιώτατος γέγονε τοῦ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοὺς ἀπογνῶναι. [28] διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὑπασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ναρσῆς τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσατο.

Such were the events of the march of the Roman army. Now Totila, having already learned what had taken place in Venetia, at first remained quiet in the vicinity of Rome awaiting Teïas and his army. But when they had come and only two thousand horsemen were still missing, Totila, without awaiting these, started on the march with all the rest of the army in order to encounter the enemy in a suitable place. But he learned on this march both what had befallen Usdrilas and also that his enemy had passed by Ariminum, whereupon he crossed the whole of Tuscany, and upon reaching the mountains called the Apennines established his camp there and remained close to a village which the inhabitants call Taginae. And the Roman army led by Narses also made camp on the Apennines not long afterward and remained in that position, about one hundred stades distant from the camp of their opponents, in a place which is level but surrounded by many hills close by, the very place where once, they say, Camillus as general of the Romans defeated in battle and destroyed the host of the Gauls. And the place even to my day bears witness to this deed in its name and preserves the memory of the disaster which befell the Gauls, being called Busta Gallorum. For the Latins call the remains of the funeral pyre “busta.” And there are great numbers of mounded tombs of their bodies in this place.

Now Narses immediately sent from there some of his associates, bidding them exhort Totila to lay aside warfare and at last make plans for peace, for he must realize that as ruler of only a small number of men recently banded together by no law, he would not be able to contend for very long with the whole Roman empire. But he told them this also, that, if they saw that Totila was determined to fight, they should immediately urge him to appoint a definite day for the battle. These envoys accordingly came before Totila and carried out their instructions. And he in a spirit of bravado began to boast that by all means they must fight, but the envoys rejoined quickly, “Very well, good Sir, appoint some definite time for the engagement.” Whereupon he immediately said, “At the end of eight days let us match our strength.” So the envoys returned to Narses and reported their agreement, whereupon he, suspecting that Totila was planning treachery, made preparations to fight on the following day. And in fact he was right in his judgment of the purpose of his enemy. For on the succeeding day Totila was at hand self-announced with his whole army. And immediately the two armies took up positions opposite one another, not more than two bowshots apart.

Now there was a small hill there which both were eager to occupy, thinking that it was favourably situated for their purposes, both in order to shoot at their opponents from a high point of vantage, and also because the ground

being hilly thereabout, as I have previously stated, it was impossible for anyone to encircle the Roman camp on that side and get behind it except by following a single path which happened to skirt the hill. Consequently both of them were bound to consider it of particular importance; the Goths, in order that they might surround their enemy during the engagement and so place them between two forces, and the Romans, in order that they might not have this thing happen to them. But Narses had anticipated the Goths by choosing fifty infantrymen from a cohort and sending them late at night to occupy and hold the hill. And they, finding none of the enemy in the way, went there and remained quiet. Now there is a certain water-course in front of the hill, running along the path which I have just mentioned and opposite the spot where the Goths had made their camp, and it was at this point that the fifty took up their position, standing shoulder to shoulder and arrayed in the form of a phalanx as well as the limited space permitted.

After day came, Totila saw what had happened and was eager to dislodge them. So he immediately sent a troop of horsemen against them with orders to drive them out from there as quickly as possible. The horsemen accordingly charged upon them with great hubbub and shouting, intending to capture them at the first cry, but the Romans drew up together into a small space and, making a barrier with their shields and thrusting forward their spears, held their ground. Then the Goths came on, charging in haste and thus getting themselves into disorder, while the fifty, pushing with their shields and thrusting very rapidly with their spears, which were nowhere allowed to interfere one with the other, defended themselves most vigorously against their assailants; and they purposely made a din with their shields, terrifying the horses, on the one hand, by this means, and the men, on the other, with the points of their spears. And the horses became excited, because they were greatly troubled both by the rough ground and by the din of the shields, and also because they could not get through anywhere, while the men at the same time were gradually worn out, fighting as they were with men packed so closely together and not giving an inch of ground, and trying to manage horses that did not in the least obey their urging. So they were repulsed in the first attack and rode back. And a second time they made the attempt and retired with the same experience. Then, after faring thus many times, they no longer continued the attack, but Totila substituted another troop for this work. And when they fared as their predecessors had, still others undertook the task. So after Totila had in this way sent in many troops and had accomplished nothing with all of them, he finally gave up.

Thus the fifty won great renown for valour, but two of them distinguished themselves particularly in this action, Paulus and Ansilas, who had leaped out from the phalanx and made a display of valour surpassing all others. For they drew their swords and laid them on the ground, and then stretched their bow's and kept shooting with a most telling aim at the enemy. And they destroyed

many men and many horses as well, as long as their quivers still held arrows. At length, when their missiles had now entirely failed them, seizing their swords and holding their shields before them, all by themselves they warded off the assailants. And whenever any of their opponents on horseback came at them with their spears, they immediately broke off the heads of the spears with a blow of their swords. But after they had in this manner checked the onrushes of the enemy many times, it came about that the sword of one of them (this was Paulus) was bent double by the frequent cutting of the wooden shafts and so was utterly useless. This then he immediately threw on the ground, and seizing the spears with both hands he would wrench them from his assailants. And by wrenching four spears from the enemy in this way in the sight of all he made himself the chief cause of their abandoning their attempt. Wherefore, in consequence of the exploit, Narses made him a personal guard of his own from that time on.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν. ἑκάτεροι δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς παράταξιν. καὶ Ναρσῆς τὸ στράτευμα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ ξυναγαγὼν τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο: ‘Τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐς ἀγωνίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις καθισταμένοις παρακελεύσεώς τε ἂν ἴσως δεήσῃ πολλῆς καὶ παραινέσεως ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ὁρμώσης, ὅπως δὴ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐναντίων πλεονεκτοῦντες κατὰ νοῦν μάλιστα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπαλλάξωσιν: ὑμῖν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες, οἷς καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ πάσῃ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι πρὸς καταδεεστέρους ἢ μάχῃ ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδεῖν οἶμαι ἢ τῷ θεῷ ἔλφῃ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. [2] εὐχῇ τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενοι πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ληστῶν τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἴεσθε, οἳ γε δοῦλοι βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγεννημένοι τύραννόν τε αὐτοῖς ἀγελαῖόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ συρφετοῦ προστησάμενοι ἐπικλοπώτερον συνταράξαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινὸς ἴσχυσαν. [3] καίτοι τούτους γε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι νῦν τὰ εἰκότα λογιζομένους ὑπώπτευσεν ἄν τις. [4] οἱ δὲ θράσει θανατῶντες ἀλογίστω τινὶ καὶ μανιώδῃ προπέτειαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι προὔπτον αὐτοῖς θάνατον ἀναιρεῖσθαι τολμῶσιν, οὐ προβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, οὐδὲ τί ἐπιγενήσεται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου καρδοκοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδη ἐπὶ τὰς ποινὰς τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἀγόμενοι. ὧν γὰρ ἄνωθεν τι κατεγνώσθη παθεῖν, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτόματοι. [5] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὑμεῖς μὲν πολιτείας εὐνόμου προκινδυνεύοντες καθίστασθε εἰς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, οἱ δὲ νεωτερίζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις ζυγομαχοῦντες, οὐ παραπέμψῃν τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐς διαδόχους προσδοκῶντές τινας, ἀλλ’ εὖ εἰδότες ὥς συναπολεῖται αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα καὶ μετ’ ἐφημέρου βιοτεύουσι τῆς ἐλπίδος. [6] ὥστε καταφρονεῖσθαι τὰ μάλιστά εἰσιν ἄξιοι. τῶν γὰρ οὐ νόμῳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνισταμένων ἀπολέλειπται μὲν ἀρετὴ πᾶσα, διακέκριται δέ, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, ἡ νίκη, οὐκ εἰωθυῖα [7] ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.’ τοιαύτην μὲν ὁ Ναρσῆς τὴν παρακείμευσιν ἐποίησατο. Καὶ Τουτίλας δὲ τεθηπότας τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν τούς οἱ ἐπομένους ὁρῶν

ξυγκαλέσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τάδε. Ὑστάτην ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον. [8] ἄλλης γάρ, οἶμαι, παρακελεύσεως μετὰ τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν οὐκέτι δεήσει, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς ἡμέραν μίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβήσεται πάντως. [9] οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐκνευρίσθαι τετύχηκε καὶ περιηρῆσθαι δυνάμεις ἀπάσας, πόνοις τε καὶ μάχαις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαις ὠμิลηκότας ἐπὶ χρόνου παμμέγεθες μῆκος, ἀπειρηκέναι τε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάγκας, ὥστε, ἢν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τῇ νῦν τῶν ἐναντίων περιεσόμεθα, οὐδαμῶς ἀναποδιεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν, ἢν δὲ ἡμεῖς τι προσπταίσωμεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλπίς οὐδεμία εἰς τὸ ἀναμαχήσεσθαι λελείπεται Γότθοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἦσαν ἐκατέρους σκῆψιν ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν εὐπρόσωπον διαρκῶς ἔξομεν. [10] ἀπολέγοντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανιέναι οὐκέτι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἴσως διωθουμένης αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῆς χρείας ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναχαιτίζονται, δεδισσομένης αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς τῆς τῶν κακῶν μνήμης. [11] τοσαῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκηκοότες ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε μὲν τῷ παντὶ σθένει, μηδεμίαν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ἀποτιθέμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, ταλαιπωρεῖσθε δὲ ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, μηδὲ τὸ σῶμα ταμιευόμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλον. [12] ὅπλων δὲ ὑμῖν γινέσθω καὶ ἵππων μηδεμία φειδῶ, ὥς οὐκέτι χρησίμων ἐσομένων ὑμῖν. ἅπαντα γὰρ προκατατρίψασα τὰ ἄλλα ἡ τύχη, μόνην τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφύλαξε ταύτην. [13] τὴν εὐψυχίαν τοίνυν ἀσκεῖτε καὶ πρὸς εὐτολμίαν παρασκευάζεσθε. οἷς γὰρ ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἡ ἐλπίς, ὥσπερ τανῦν ὑμῖν, ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χρόνου τινὰ βραχυτάτην ῥοπὴν ἀναπεπτωκέναι ξυνοίσει. [14] παρεληλυθίας γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνόνητος ἡ σποδὴ τὸ λοιπὸν γίνεται, κἂν διαφερόντως ὑπέρογκος ᾖ, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς φύσεως ἀρετὴν ἔωλον, ἐπεὶ παρελθούσης τῆς χρείας ἔξωρα καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐπάναγκες εἶναι. [15] οἶμαι τοίνυν προσήκειν ὑμᾶς ἐπικαιριώτατα ἐν ἔργῳ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, ὥς ἂν δυνήσεσθε καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι. ἐξεπίστασθέ τε ὥς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξιόλεθρος μάλιστα ἡ φυγὴ γίνεται. [16] φεύγουσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι λιπόντες τὴν τάξιν οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἢ ὅπως βιώσονται: ἢν δὲ θάνατον ἡ φυγὴ προὔπτον ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλῃ, ὁ τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστὰς τοῦ φυγόντος πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔσται. [17] τοῦ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὁμίλου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον, ἐξ ἐθνῶν ξυνειλεγμένων ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστον. ξυμμαχία γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ἐρανισθεῖσα οὔτε τὴν πίστιν οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν ἀσφαλῇ φέρεται, ἀλλὰ σχοζομένη τοῖς γένεσι μερίζεται καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις εἰκότως. [18] μηδὲ γὰρ οἴεσθε Οὐννους τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδας καὶ Ἑρούλους ποτέ, χρημάτων αὐτοῖς μεμισθωμένους οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόσων, προκινδυνεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον. [19] οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ἄτιμος ὥστε καὶ ἀργυρίου τὰ δευτερεῖα παρ' αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδα ὥς μάχεσθαι τὰ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ποιούμενοι ἐθελοκακήσουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἢ κεκομισμένοι τὴν μίσθωσιν, ἢ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὑποτετελεκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων. [20] τοῖς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τερπνότατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι μὴ ὅτι πολέμια, ἢν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς πράσσεται, ἀλλὰ βιασθεῖσιν ἢ μισθαρνήσασιν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἀναγκασθεῖσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ καταθύμιον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβήσεται,

ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ μοχθηρὰ φαίνεται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ
ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρήσωμεν.’

Such was the progress of these events. Both armies now prepared for action. And Narses gathered his army in a small space and exhorted them as follows. "When an army is entering the combat with its strength evenly matched with that of the enemy, a long speech of exhortation and encouragement would perhaps be necessary of the sort which would inspire the men with ardour, in order that, being superior to the enemy in this respect they might find the issue of the combat wholly what they wish. But in your case, my men, you who have to fight against an army vastly inferior to you in valour, in numbers, and in every sort of equipment besides, I think nothing further is necessary than that we enter this engagement with God propitious to us. Do you, then, invoke His alliance with unceasing prayer, and so fare forth with great contempt to achieve the overthrow of these robbers, who, being originally slaves of the great emperor and then turning fugitives and setting a tyrant over themselves who was a worthless fellow from the common rabble, have been able for a certain season to work havoc in the Roman empire by their thievish actions. And yet one would have supposed that these men would not even have arrayed themselves against us now, if they had considered the probabilities. Yet they are playing a desperate game with an irrational sort of boldness and displaying the rashness of frenzy, and in this spirit they dare to embrace a death which obviously awaits them, not shielding themselves by a reasonable hope, nor even looking forward to see what will fall to their lot through a strange and unexpected turn of events, but being indisputably led on by God to the punishment earned by their administration of the state. For such men as have been condemned to suffer by the powers above move on to their punishment unaided. But aside from this, while you for your part are entering this combat in defence of a lawful government, they are in revolt against the laws and fighting a battle of desperation, not expecting to transmit anything they hold to any successors, but well assured that it will all perish with them and that the hope on which they live is ephemeral. Consequently they deserve thoroughly to be despised. For those who are not organized under law and good government are bereft of all virtue, and the victory, naturally, is already decided; for victory is not accustomed to range itself against the virtues." Such was the exhortation which Narses made.

And Totila likewise, seeing his men in abject terror of the Roman army, called them all together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, I have brought you together here with the purpose of making a final exhortation. For no other admonition will, I believe, be necessary after this battle, but the result will certainly be that the war will be decided on one day. For so thoroughly have both we and the Emperor Justinian become exhausted and stripped of all power through being subjected to toils and battles and hardships for an

exceedingly long time, and so completely have we found ourselves unable to meet the demands of the war, that, if we shall overcome our opponents in this present engagement, they will be utterly unable to come back in the future, while if we meet with any reverse in this battle, no hope will be left the Goths of renewing the fight, but either side will have in defeat a thoroughly sufficient excuse for inaction. For when men once give up the fight against overwhelming obstacles, they no longer have the courage to return to them, but even when they are perhaps strongly impelled to do so by actual need, their hearts rebel, for the memory of their failure makes their spirit quail. Having heard this, my men, play the brave part with all your might, without holding any fighting power in reserve for some other occasion, and put your whole strength into the struggle without trying to save your bodies for another danger. And let there be on your part no sparing of arms or of horses, for they will never again be useful to you. For fortune, having demolished everything else, has preserved only the ultimate hope for this day. Tune your hearts, then, to a high courage, and make ready for deeds of noble daring. For when hope hangs by a thread, as it now does with you, the only safe course will be not to lose courage for the briefest moment of time. For after the point of the crisis has passed, zeal becomes for ever worthless, even though it be of an altogether immoderate sort, since the nature of things has no place for valour after the event, for once the need has passed, everything which follows must necessarily be too late. I believe, then, that you should enter the struggle making the best use of every opportunity which presents itself in action, so that you may be enabled also to enjoy the benefits to come from it. And you understand well that in the present situation he who flees thoroughly deserves his own destruction. For men abandon their post and flee for no other reason than that they may live; but if flight can be seen to involve the death of the fugitive, he who faces the danger will be in much greater safety than the man who flees. But the vast number of the enemy is worthy only to be despised, seeing that they present a collection of men from the greatest possible number of nations. For an alliance which is patched together from many sources gives no firm assurance of either loyalty or power, but being split up in nationality it is naturally divided likewise in purpose. And do not think that Huns and Lombards and Eruli, hired by them with I know not how much money, will ever endanger themselves for them to the point of death. For life with them is not so cheap as to take second place to silver in their estimation, but I well know that after making an appearance of fighting they will desert with all speed, either because they have received their pay, or as carrying out the orders of their own commanders. For even things that seem most delightful, — to say nothing of what happens in war — if they do not turn out in accordance with men's wishes, but if they are forced or hired or subject to any other compulsion, then such things will come no longer to be accounted pleasant, but by reason of the compulsion appear detestable. Remembering these things let us with all enthusiasm engage with the enemy."

Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶπε. τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα ἐς μάχην ξυνήει καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. μετωπηδὸν μὲν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἅπαντες ἔστησαν, ὡς βαθυτάτον τε καὶ περίμηκες τῆς φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. [2] τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερόν Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀμφὶ τὸ γεώλοφον εἶχον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς εἴ τι ἄριστον ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐτύγγανεν ὄν· [3] ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς στρατιωτῶν, δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ βαρβάρων Οὐννων εἶπετο πλῆθος ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένων· [4] κατὰ δὲ δεξιὸν Βαλεριανὸς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Φαγᾶς σὺν τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο πάντες. [5] πεζοὺς μέντοι τοξότας ἐκ τῶν καταλόγου στρατιωτῶν ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔστησαν ἐς ἄμφω τὰ κέρα. κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε Λαγγοβάρδας καὶ τὸ Ἐρούλων ἔθνος καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ὁ Ναρσῆς ἔταξεν, ἕκ τε τῶν ἵππων ἀποβιβάσας καὶ πεζοὺς εἶναι καταστησάμενος, ὅπως ἂν μὴ κακοὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενόμενοι ἢ ἐθελοκακοῦντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ὀξύτεροι εἶεν. [6] τὸ μέντοι πέρας κέρως τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετώπου Ναρσῆς ἐγγώνιον κατεστήσατο, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ἵππεις ἐνταῦθα στήσας. [7] προεῖρητο δὲ τοῖς μὲν πεντακοσίοις, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τισὶ τραπήναι ξυμβαίη, ἐπιβοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν σπουδῇ, τοῖς δὲ χιλίοις, ὅπηνίκα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων πεζοὶ ἔργου ἄρχωνται, κατόπισθέν τε αὐτῶν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀμφιβόλους ποιήσασθαι. [8] καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας δὲ τρώπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντίαν τὴν στρατιὰν ζύμπασαν ἔστησε. καὶ περιῶν τὴν οἰκείαν παράταξιν τοὺς στρατιώτας παρεθράσυνε τε καὶ παρεκάλει ἐς εὐτολμίαν προσώπῳ καὶ λόγῳ. [9] καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐποίει, ψέλλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ χαλινοὺς χρυσοὺς ἐπὶ κοντῶν μετεωρίσας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τῆς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον προθυμίας ὑπεκκαύματα ἐνδεικνύμενος. [10] χρόνον δὲ τινα μάχης οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ ἀμφοτέροι ἔμενον, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπίθεσιν. [11] Μετὰ δὲ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ, Κόκκας ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ δραστηρίῳ διαρκῶς ἔχων, τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας, ἄγχιστα ἤλθε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, προὔκαλεῖτό τε, εἴ τίς οἱ βούλοιτο πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἐπεξίεναι. [12] ὁ δὲ Κόκκας οὗτος εἷς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐτύγγανεν ὢν τῶν παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπηυτομοληκότων τὰ πρότερα. [13] καὶ οἱ αὐτίκα τῶν τις Ναρσοῦ δορυφόρων ἀντίος ἔσθη, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀνζαλᾶς ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος. [14] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόκκας ὀρμήσας πρῶτος ὡς τῷ δόρατι παίσων ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον ἵετο, καταστοχαζόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου γαστροῦς. [15] ὁ δ' Ἀνζαλᾶς ἐξαπινάϊως τὸν ἵππον ἐκκλίνας ἀνόνητον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο γενέσθαι τῆς οἰκείας ὀρμῆς. ταύτη τε αὐτὸς ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ πολεμίου γενόμενος ἐς πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀριστερὰν τὸ δόρυ ὥσε. [16] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου πεσὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος νεκρὸς ἔκειτο· κραυγὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὑπερφυῆς ἦρθη, οὐδ' ὡς μέντοι μάχης τινὸς οὐδέτεροι ἦρξαν. [17] Τουτίλας δὲ μόνος ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἐγένετο, οὐ μονομαχήσων, ἀλλὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις τοῦτον ἐκκρούσων. Γότθων γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους δισχιλίους ἄγχιστά πη προσίεναι μαθὼν ἀπετίθετο ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν παρουσίαν τὴν ξυμβολήν, ἐποίει δὲ τάδε. [18] πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἀπηξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅστις ποτὲ εἶη. τὴν τε γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν κατακόρως τῷ χρυσῷ κατεिल्μμένην ἡμίσιχετο καὶ τῶν οἱ φαλάρων

ὁ κόσμος ἔκ τε τοῦ πύλου καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἀλουργός τε καὶ ἄλλως βασιλικὸς ἀπεκρέματο θαυμαστος ὅσος. [19] καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερφυεῖ ὀχούμενος ἵππῳ παιδιὰν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἔπαιζε τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐπισταμένως. τὸν τε γὰρ ἵππον ἐν κύκλῳ περιελίσσων, ἐπὶ θάτερά τε ἀναστρέφων αὖθις κυκλοτερεῖς πεποίητο δρόμους. [20] καὶ ἵππευόμενος μεθίει ταῖς αὖραις τὸ δόρυ, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τε κραδαινόμενον ἀρπασάμενος εἴτα ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς χεῖρα παραπέμπων συχνὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ μεταβιβάζων ἐμπείρως, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τῇ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελέτῃ, ὑπτιάζων καὶ ἰσχυιάζων καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερα ἐγκλινόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν δεδιδαγμένος. [21] ταῦτά τε ποιῶν πᾶσαν κατέτριψε τὴν δείλην πρωΐαν. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν τῆς μάχης ἀναβολὴν μηκύνειν ἐθέλων ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, φάσκων ἐθέλειν αὐτοῖς ἐς λόγους ξυμῖξαι. Ναρσῆς δὲ φενακίζειν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζετο, εἴ γε πολεμῇσι τὰ πρότερα, ἥνίκα τοῦ προτείνεσθαι λόγους ἐξουσία εἴη, νῦν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος ἐς τοὺς διαλόγους χωροίη.

Thus then spoke Totila. And the armies drew together for battle and arrayed themselves as follows. All the forces in each army took their stand facing the enemy, making the phalanx as deep as possible and the front very long. And the Roman left wing was held by Narses and John near the hill, and with them was the flower of the Roman army; for each of them had, apart from the other soldiers, a great following of spearmen and guards and barbarian Huns, all chosen for their valour; and on the right were arrayed Valerian and John the Glutton along with Dagisthaeus and all the rest of the Romans. Furthermore, they placed on both wings about eight thousand unmounted bowmen from the regular troops. But at the centre of the phalanx Narses had placed the Lombards and the nation of the Eruli and all the other barbarians, causing them to dismount from their horses and making them infantry, in order that, if it should chance that they turned cowards in the engagement or deserted, they might not be too eager to fly. Now Narses had set the extreme left wing of the Roman front at an angle, placing fifteen hundred cavalry there. And the instructions previously given provided that the five hundred, on the one hand, should rush to the rescue the moment that any of the Romans chanced to be driven back, while the thousand, at the moment when the enemy's infantry began action, were to get behind them immediately and thus place them between two forces. And Totila arrayed his army in the same way opposite his enemy. Then going along his own battle-line he kept encouraging his soldiers with voice and expression and urging them to boldness. Narses likewise did the same thing, holding in the air bracelets and necklaces and golden bridles on poles and displaying certain other incentives to bravery in the coming struggle. For some time, however, neither army began battle, but both remained quiet awaiting the assault of their opponents.

But later on one man of the Gothic army named Coccas, who had a great reputation as an active fighter, rode his horse out and came close to the Roman army and uttered a challenge, if anyone was willing to come forth against him in single combat. Now this Coccas happened to be one of the Roman soldiers who had previously deserted to Totila. And immediately one of the spearmen of Narses stood forth against him, a man of Armenian birth named Anzalas, who was likewise mounted on a horse. Coccas then made the first rush and charged his foe in order to smite him with his spear, aiming the weapon at his belly. But Anzalas, by suddenly turning his horse aside, caused the charge of his enemy to be futile. By this manœuvre he was placed on his enemy's flank and he now thrust his spear into his left side. And Coccas fell from his horse to the ground and lay there a dead man. Whereupon a tremendous shout arose from the Roman army, but even then neither side began any fighting.

But Totila now went alone into the space between the armies, not in order to engage in single combat, but in order to prevent his opponents from using the present opportunity. For he had learned that the two thousand Goths who had been missing were now drawing near, and so he sought to put off the engagement until their arrival by doing as follows. First of all, he was not at all reluctant to make an exhibition to the enemy of what manner of man he was. For the armour in which he was clad was abundantly plated with gold and the ample adornments which hung from his cheek-plates as well as from his helmet and spear were not only of purple but in other respects befitting a king, marvellous in their abundance. And he himself, sitting upon a very large horse, began to perform the dance under arms skilfully between the armies. For he wheeled his horse round in a circle and then turned him again to the other side and so made him run round and round. And as he rode he hurled his javelin into the air and caught it again as it quivered above him, then passed it rapidly from hand to hand, shifting it with consummate skill, and he gloried in his practice in such matters, falling back on his shoulders, spreading his legs and leaning from side to side, like one who has been instructed with precision in the art of dancing from childhood. By these tactics he wore away the whole early part of the day. And wishing to prolong indefinitely the postponement of the battle, he sent to the Roman army saying that he wished to confer with them. But Narses declared that he must be trifling, seeing that he had been set on fighting at the time when there was opportunity to make proposals, but now, upon reaching the battle-field, he came forward to parley.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθοις καὶ οἱ δισχιλίοι ἦκον· οὐσπερ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα Τουτίλας ἀφικέσθαι μαθὼν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς ἄριστον ἦγεν, αὐτὸς τε ἐς σκηνὴν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχώρησε καὶ Γότθοι διαλύσαντες τὴν παράταξιν ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον. [2] ἐν δὲ τῇ καταλύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγονῶς Τουτίλας τοὺς δισχιλίους ἤδη παρόντας εὗρε. το τε ἄριστον ἅπαντας αἰρεῖσθαι κελεύσας καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν μεταμφιασάμενος ἅπασαν ἐξωπλίσατο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν στρατιωτῶν λόγῳ, εὐθὺς δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξῆγεν, ἀπροσδόκητος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι οἰόμενος καὶ ταύτῃ αἰρήσειν. [3] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπαρασκεύους Ῥωμαίους εὗρε. δείσας γὰρ ὁ Ναρσῆς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ σφίσιν ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀπέειπεν ἅπασι μῆτε ἄριστον αἰρεῖσθαι μῆτε ἀποδαρθεῖν μῆτε μὴν ἀποθωρακίσασθαι τῶν πάντων μηδένα μῆτε τοῦ χαλινοῦ μεθεῖναι τὸν ἵππον. [4] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀποσίτους τὸ παράπαν αὐτοὺς εἶασεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀκρατισαμένους ἐκέλευσε διηνεκὲς οὕτως ἀποσκοποῦντας караδοκεῖν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον. [5] τρόπῳ μέντοι τῷ αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ κέρα, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται εἰστήκεισαν, ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς τοῦ Ναρσοῦ γνώμῃ ἐτράπετο. [6] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες ὀπισθεν τῶν ἰππέων ἀθρόοι ἴσταντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἣν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι τραπῆναι ξυμβῆ, ἀναστρέφοντες μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ φεύγοντες σώζοιντο, ἐπὶ κοῖνα δὲ ἀμφοτέροι εὐθὺς χωρήσαιεν. Προεῖρητο δὲ Γότθοις ἅπασι μῆτε τοξεύματι μῆτε ἄλλῳ

ὁτ' οὖν ἐς συμβολὴν τήνδε ὅτι μὴ τοῖς δόρασι χρῆσθαι. [7] διὸ δὴ Τουτίλαν πρὸς τῆς ἀβουλίας καταστρατηγηθῆναι τῆς αὐτοῦ ξυνηνέχθη: ὅς γε καθιστάμενος ἐς τήνδε τὴν μάχην οὐκ οἶδα ὅτ' ἀναπεισθεὶς παρείχετο τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν οὔτε τῇ ὀπλίσει ἀντίξουν οὔτε τῇ τάξει ἀντίρροπον οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀντίπαλον, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐκάστοις ὡς ἐπικαιρότατα ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχρῶντο, ἢ τοξεύοντες, ἢ δόρατα ὠθοῦντες, ἢ ξίφη διαχειρίζοντες, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐνεργοῦντες τῶν σφίσι προχείρων κὰν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτηδεῖων, οἱ μὲν ἱππευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καθιστάμενοι, κατὰ τὸ τῇ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον, καὶ πῇ μὲν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων διαπρασσόμενοι, πῇ δὲ προσιόντας δεχόμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποκρουόμενοι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. [8] οἱ δὲ τῶν Γόθων ἱππεῖς, τῶν πεζῶν σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω, μόνοις θαρσοῦντες τοῖς δόρασιν ὀρμῇ ἀνεπισκέπτῳ ἐπήεσαν, ἐν τε τῷ πόνῳ γενόμενοι τῆς σφετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπώναντο. [9] ἐπὶ μέσους γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρμήσαντες ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ πεζῶν τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων γενόμενοι, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεῖπον εὐθύς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τοξόται ἄμφω τοῦ μετώπου τὰ κέρα ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς κατὰ βραχὺ ἔτρεπον, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. [10] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ Γόθοι ἀπέβαλον, οὐπω τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυμμίζαντες, πολλῶν τε ἀνηκέστων κακῶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντες ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις ἐς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίκοντο τὴν παράταξιν. [11] Ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὰς ἢ τῶν σφίσι ξυμμάχων βαρβάρων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν οὐκ ἔχω. [12] μία γὰρ ἀπάντων προθυμία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἐναγώνισις ἦν, ἕκαστοί τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιόντων σφίσιν ὡς καρτερώτατα δεξάμενοι τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ἀπεώσαντο. [13] ἤδη δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξαπιναίως ἐκινήθη ἐκάτερα, Γόθων μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν διώξιν. [14] ὠρμημένοις γὰρ ἐς αὐτοὺς Γόθοι οὐκ ἀντεῖχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐνεδίδοσαν ἐπιόντων αὐτῶν καὶ προτροπάδην ἀνέστρεφον, καταπεπληγμένοι αὐτῶν τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ καὶ τῇ εὐκοσμῇ. [15] ἐς ἀλκὴν τε οὐδαμῇ ἔβλεπον, ὥσπερ φάσματα ἐπιπεσόντα σφίσι δειμαίνοντες ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολεμοῦμενοι. [16] δι' ὀλίγου δὲ εἰς πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφικομένοις πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἤρετο καὶ πρόσω ἐχώρει. [17] οὐ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦλθον, ὥς ἀναπνεύσοντές τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναμαχοῦμενοι, ἥπερ εἴθισται, ἢ ὥτισμῳ τοὺς διώκοντας ἀπωσόμενοι ἢ παλιώξιν ἐγχειρίσοντες ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ πολέμου ἰδέαν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀτάκτως ὥστε αὐτῶν τισὶ καὶ διεφθάρθαι τῆς ἵππου ἐπιπεσοῦσης ξυνέπεσε. [18] διόπερ αὐτοὺς οἱ πεζοὶ οὔτε διαστάντες ἐδέξαντο οὔτε διασωσόμενοι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτοῖς προτροπάδην ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ διέφθειρον. [19] ὃ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατός, τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολαύοντες ὀρρωδίας, φειδοῖ οὐδεμιᾶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἀντιβλέπειν τολμῶντας, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις παρεχομένους ὃ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι: οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ τε δείματα ἐπεκάθιζε καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐκράτει. [20] Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξακισχίλιοι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. οἱ δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐξώγησαν, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον

ἔκτειναν. οὐ μόνον δὲ Γότθοι ἀνήρηντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν πλεῖστοι, τῶν τὸ πρότερον ἀποταξαμένων μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ, ἀπηυτομοληκότων δέ, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. [21] ὅσοις δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ μήτε ἀπολωλέναι μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὗτοι διαλαθεῖν τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὡς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἵππου ἢ ποδῶν ἢ τύχης ἔσχενη καιροῦ ἢ χώρου φέροντος ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτυχεῖν. [22] Ἦδε μὲν οὖν ἡ μάχη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε παντάπασιν ἤδη. Τουτίλαν δὲ φεύγοντα ἐν σκότῳ σὺν ἀνδράσιν οὐ πλέον ἢ πέντε οὖσιν, ὧνπερ ὁ Σκιποῦαρ εἰς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, τῶν τινὲς Ῥωμαίων ἐδίωκον, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς Τουτίλας εἶη: ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσβαδὸν τὸν Γήπαιδα ξυνέβαιναν εἶναι. [23] ὅσπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλα ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένετο, ὡς τῷ δόρατι αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν νώτων παίσων ἐπήει. [24] Γοτθικὸν δὲ τι μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς Τουτίλα οἰκίας φεύγοντι τῷ δεσπότῃ ἐπόμενον, τύχην τε ἀπαξιῶν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν, ἀνέκραγε μέγα: ‘Τί τοῦτο, ὦ κύων, τὸν δεσπότην τὸν σαυτοῦ πλήξων ὥρμηκας;’ ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀσβαδὸς ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸ δόρυ σθένει παντὶ ὥσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Σκιποῦαρ τὸν πόδα πληγεῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. [25] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Σκιποῦαρ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν διωκόντων πληγεῖς ἔστη, οἳ τε ξὺν Ἀσβάδῳ πεποιημένοι τὴν δίωξιν, τέτταρες ὄντες, ὅπως αὐτὸν διασώσονται, οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, [26] ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον. οἱ δὲ τῷ Τουτίλα ἐπισπόμενοι, διώκειν σφᾶς ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον πρόσω ἤλαυνον, καίπερ αὐτὸν καιρίαν πληγέντα καὶ λειποψυχοῦντα βεβαιότατα ἐπαγόμενοι, πρυτανευούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν βίαιον δρόμον. [27] σταδίους δὲ ἀνύσαντες τέσσαράς τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐς χωρίον ἀφίκοντο Κάπρας ὄνομα. οὗ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζοντες Τουτίλα τὴν πληγὴν ἐθεράπευον, ὅσπερ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν βίον ἐξεμέτρησεν. [28] ἐνταῦθά τε αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπισπόμενοι κρύψαντες τῇ γῇ ἀνεχώρησαν. Αὕτη γέγονε Τουτίλα τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου καταστροφή, ἔτη ἔνδεκα Γότθων ἄρξαντι, οὐκ ἐπαξίως ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα πρότερον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐχώρησε, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐ κατὰ λόγον ἢ τελευτὴ ἐπεγένετο. [29] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἡ τύχη ὠραῖζομένη τε διαφανῶς καὶ διασύρουσα τὰ ἀνθρωπεῖα τό τε παράλογον τὸ αὐτῆς ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βουλήματος ἀπροφάσιστον ἐπιδέδεικται, Τουτίλα μὲν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος αὐτοματίσασα, δειλίαν δὲ οὕτω τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ καταστροφὴν ἀπαυθαδισαμένη. [30] ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ, οἶμαι, καταληπτὰ οὔτε γέγονε πώποτε οὔτε μήποτε ὕστερον ἔσται: λέγεται δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ δοξάζεται διαψιθυριζόμενα ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, ὥς περ ἐκάστῳ φίλον, λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι δοκοῦντι εἶναι παρηγοροῦντι τὴν ἄγνοιαν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. [31] Τουτίλαν γοῦν Ῥωμαῖοι οὕτως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἕως αὐτοῖς γυνὴ μία, Γότθα γένος, ἔφρασέ τε καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπέδειξεν. [32] οἳ τε ἀκηκοότες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν θήκην ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ διορύξαντες ἐξήνεγκαν μὲν τὸν Τουτίλαν ἐνθένδε νεκρόν, ἐπιγνόντες δὲ αὐτόν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ θαύματος ἐμπλησάμενοι τὴν σφετέραν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐθις αὐτὸν τῇ γῇ ἔκρυσαν, ἔς τε Ναρσὴν αὐτίκα τὸν πάντα λόγον

ἀνήνεγκαν. [33] Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τά γε κατὰ Τουτίλαν καὶ τήνδε τὴν μάχην
ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλὰ τρὸς τῷ ἐτέρῳ φασίν: ὥνπερ μοι ἀναγράψασθαι οὐ τοι ἀπὸ
τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [34] λέγουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστον οὐδὲ παράλογον τὴν
ὑπαγωγὴν ξυνενεχθῆναι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἀκροβολιζομένων τινῶν βέλος ἐκ τοξεύματος τῷ Τουτίλᾳ ἐξαπιναίως
ἐπιτεσεῖν, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τοῦ πέμψαντος, ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἐν στρατιώτου
λόγῳ ὥπλισμένος τε καὶ παρατεταγμένος ὅπου δὴ τῆς φάλαγγος
ἀπημελημένος εἰστήκει, οὐ βουλόμενος τοῖς πολέμοις ἔνδηλος εἶναι, οὐδέ πη
αὐτὸν ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν παρεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ τύχης τούτῳ ταῦτα σκευωρουμένης
τινὸς καὶ ἰθυνάσης ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸν ἄτρακτον: καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν
καιρίαν βληθέντα, ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα, περιώδυνον γεγενημένον ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς
φάλαγγος ξύν τε ὀλίγοις κατὰ βραχὺ ὀπίσω ἰέναι. [35] καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς Κάπρας
ἀντέχοντα τῇ ταιλαιπωρίᾳ τὸν ἵππον ἑλάν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ λειποψυχήσαντα τὸ
λοιπὸν μεῖναι τὴν πληγὴν θεραπεύσοντα, οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον αὐτῷ
ἐπιγενέσθαι τὴν τέλειον ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου. [36] τὴν δὲ Γότθων στρατιὰν οὕτε
ἄλλως ἀξιόμαχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπομάχου σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν
γεγενημένου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἐν θάμβει γενέσθαι, εἰ μόνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐξ
ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν πολέμιων ὁ Τουτίλας καιρίαν βληθείη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
περιφόβους τε καὶ ἀθύμους γεγενημένους ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ὄρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν
καὶ ὑπαγωγὴν οὕτως αἰσχροῦ ἐμπεπτωκέναι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων λεγέτω
ἕκαστος ὅπῃ γινώσκει.

Meanwhile the two thousand Goths arrived; and when Totila had learned that they had reached the stockade, seeing that it was time for the morning meal, he himself went off to his own tent and the Goths began to break up their formation and retire. And when Totila reached his quarters, he found the two thousand already present. He then commanded all to take their meal, and changing his entire equipment he armed himself with all care with the private soldier's equipment and led the army out straightway against his enemy, thinking that he would fall upon them unexpectedly and thus overwhelm them. But even so he did not find the Romans unprepared. For Narses had feared, as actually happened, that the enemy would fall upon them when they were not expecting it, and so he had given orders that not a single man should either sit down to lunch or go off to sleep or even remove his cuirass, nor yet take his bridle off his horse. However, he did not allow them to be altogether without food, but commanded them to eat a small meal in ranks and with their equipment on, meanwhile maintaining a sharp look-out constantly and expecting the attack of the enemy. However, they were no longer arrayed in the same formation as before, for the Roman wings, in each of which four thousand unmounted horsemen had taken their stand, were moved forward at Narses' command so as to form a crescent. But the Gothic infantry were all placed in a body in the rear of the cavalry, in order that, if the horsemen should be routed, the fugitives might fall back upon them and be saved, and all could then advance immediately together.

Now orders had been given to the entire Gothic army that they should use neither bow nor any other weapon in this battle except their spears. Consequently it came about that Totila was out-generalled by his own folly; for in entering this battle he was led, by what I do not know, to throw against his opponents his own army with inadequate equipment and outflanked and in no respect a match for their antagonists. For the Romans, on the one hand, made use of each weapon in the fighting according to the particular need of the moment, shooting with bows or thrusting with spears or wielding swords, or using any other weapon which was convenient and suitable at a given point, some of them mounted on horses and others entering the combat on foot, their numbers proportioned to the needs of the situation, so that at one point they could carry out an encircling movement around the enemy, and at another receive a charge and with their shields stop short the attack. The cavalry of the Goths, on the other hand, leaving their infantry behind, and trusting only to their spears, made their charge with reckless impetuosity; and once in the midst of the fray they suffered for their own folly. For in making their charge against their enemy's centre they had, before they realized it, placed themselves in between the eight thousand infantry, and being raked by

their bowshots from either side they gave up immediately, since the bowmen kept gradually turning both the wings of their front so as to form the crescent which I have mentioned above. Consequently the Goths lost many men as well as many horses in this phase of the encounter before they had ever engaged with their opponents, and only after they had experienced very heavy losses did they with difficulty finally reach the ranks of their enemy.

At this point I cannot admire any of the Romans or of their barbarian allies more than the others. For they all shewed a common enthusiasm and displayed the same valour and energy in action, for each of them received the enemy's attack with the utmost vigour and repulsed the assault. And it was now toward evening when each of the two armies suddenly began to move, the Goths in retreat and the Romans in pursuit. For the Goths could no longer hold out against the onslaught of their enemy, but began to give ground before their attacks, and finally turned precipitately, terrified by their great numbers and their perfect order. And they gave not a thought to resistance, being as filled with terror as if some apparitions of the air had fallen upon them or as if Heaven were warring against them. But when shortly they reached their own infantry, their misfortune was doubled and trebled. For they did not come to them in an orderly retreat, as with the purpose of recovering their breath and renewing the fight with their assistance, as is customary; indeed they had no intention either of throwing back their pursuers by a massed attack or of undertaking a counter pursuit or any other military manoeuvre, but they arrived in such disorder that some of the men were actually destroyed by the onrushing cavalry. Consequently the infantry did not open intervals to receive them nor stand fast to rescue them, but they all began to flee precipitately with the cavalry, and in the rout they kept killing each other just as in a battle at night. Meanwhile the Roman army, profiting by their panic, continued to kill without mercy all who fell in their way, while their victims offered no defence nor dared look them in the face, but gave themselves up to their enemy to treat as they wished; so thoroughly had terror settled upon them and panic possessed them.

Six thousand of the Goths perished in this battle, while great numbers put themselves into the hands of their opponents. These the Romans for the moment made prisoners, but a little later they slew them. And not Goths alone were destroyed, but also great numbers of the old Roman soldiers who had earlier detached themselves from the Roman army and deserted, as I have told in the previous narrative, to Totila and the Goths. But all the soldiers of the Gothic army who had the fortune neither to perish nor to come under the hand of their enemy were able to hide or to flee, according as each could avail himself of horse or foot or good luck so as to find opportunity for the one or a place for the other.

Such was the conclusion of this battle, and complete darkness was already

settling down. But Totila was in flight through the night accompanied by not more than five men, one of whom chanced to be Scipuar, pursued by some of the Romans who did not know that he was Totila; among these was Asbadus of the Gepaedes. This man had drawn close to Totila and was charging him with the purpose of thrusting his spear into his back. But a Gothic youth of the household of Totila, who was following his fleeing master, outraged at what was taking place, cried aloud, "What is this, you dog? Are you rushing to smite your own master?" Then Asbadus thrust his spear with all his strength at Totila, but he himself was wounded in the foot by Scipuar and remained there. And Scipuar was wounded in turn by one of the pursuers and stopped, whereupon those who had been making the pursuit with Asbadus, four in number, gave up the chase in order to save him, and turned back with him. But the escort of Totila, thinking that the enemy were still pursuing them, rode forward without pausing, taking him along with great determination, though mortally wounded and fainting, for necessity compelled them to that headlong flight. So after covering eighty-four stades they came to a place called Caprae. Here they rested from travel and endeavoured to treat the wound of Totila, who not long afterwards completed the term of his life. And there his followers buried him in the earth and departed.

Such was the conclusion of the reign and the life of Totila who had ruled the Goths eleven years. But the end which came to him was not worthy of his past achievements, for everything had gone well with the man before that, and his end was not commensurate with his deeds. But here again Fortune was obviously disporting herself and tearing human affairs to shreds by way of making a display of her own perverse nature and unaccountable will; for she had endowed Totila of her own free will with prosperity for no particular reason for a long time, and then after this fashion smote the man with cowardice and destruction at the present time for no fitting cause. But these things, I believe, have never been comprehensible to man, nor will they ever become so at any future time. And yet there is always much talk on this matter and opinions are being for ever bandied about according to each man's taste, as he seeks comfort for his ignorance in an explanation which seems reasonable. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

The Romans, indeed, did not know that Totila had been thus taken from the world, until a certain woman of the Gothic race told them and pointed out the grave. But when they heard it they did not think the story sound, and so they came to the spot and with no hesitation dug out the grave and brought up from it the corpse of Totila; then, they say, after recognizing him and satisfying their curiosity with this sight, they again buried him in the earth and immediately reported the whole matter to Narses.

But some say that Totila's death and this battle happened otherwise than I have told it: and it has seemed to me not improper to record this version. For

these say that the retreat of the Gothic army did not take place in any strange and unaccountable manner, but while some of the Romans were shooting from a distance, a missile from a bow suddenly struck Totila, but not by the purpose of the man who had sent it, for Totila was armed in the fashion of a simple soldier and the place in the phalanx where he stood had been chosen at random; for he did not wish to be manifest to his enemy, nor would he, of course, expose himself to attack; but some chance prepared this fate for him and directed the shaft to the man's body. Then he, having suffered a mortal wound and being tortured with intense pain, withdrew from the phalanx with a few men and moved slowly away. And as far as Caprae he endured the suffering and continued to ride his horse, but there he fainted and after that remained there to care for his wound, and not long afterwards the final day of his life came upon him. Meanwhile the Gothic army, not being in any case a match for their opponents, upon seeing also that their commander had been unexpectedly rendered unfit for battle, became thunderstruck to think that Totila alone among them had been mortally wounded with no design on the part of the enemy, and consequently they became alarmed and discouraged and were plunged into terror which had no bounds and began to retreat in that disgraceful manner. But concerning these matters let each man speak according to his knowledge.

Ναρσῆς δὲ περιχαρὴς τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι γινόμενος ἐπαναφέρων οὐκ ἀνίει ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἅπαντα, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν ποσὶ διωκεῖτο. [2] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν οἱ ἐπισπομένων Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀπαλλαξείων τῆς ἀτοπίας ὅοι γε πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία τὰς τε οἰκοδομίας, αἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν, ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφευγούσαις βιαζόμενοι ἐπλησίαζον ἡρήμασι μεγάλοις αὐτοὺς δεξιωσάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Δαμιανόν, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν, ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρια σφίσι κελεύσας, ὅπως μηδενὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποπορεία λυμῆνονται. [3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, Βαλεριανὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βερῶναν, ὡς πολιορκήσων τε καὶ παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ. [4] δέισαντές τε οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες Βαλεριανῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ὡς σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία ἐνδώσοντας. [5] ἃ δὴ Φράγγοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία εἶχον, διεκάλουν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ τῆς χώρας ἅτε αὐτοῖς προσηκούσης ἀξιοῦντες μεταποιεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι Βαλεριανὸς ἀνεχώρησε. [6] Γότθοι δέ, ὅσοι ἀποφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς διεσώθησαν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Πάδον, πόλιν τε Τικινὸν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἔσχον, ἄρχοντά τε τὸν Τεῖαν κατεστήσαντο σφίσιν. [7] ὃς δὴ τὰ χρήματα εὐρὼν ἅπαντα ὅσα Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν ἐν Τικινῷ καταθέμενος, Φράγγους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι διενоеῖτο, Γότθους δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ξυλλέγων σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας. [8] ταῦτα ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀκούσας Βαλεριανὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ

Γότθοι ἀδεέστερον ξυστήσεσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἦει. [9] ἐν Τούσκοις τε γενόμενος Ναρνίαν μὲν ὁμολογία εἶλε, καὶ Σπολιτινοῖς ἀτειχίστοις οὓσι φρουρὰν ἔλιπεν, ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπιστείλας ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου καθελόντες ἐτύγχανον Γότθοι. [10] ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἀποπειρασομένους τοῦ ἐν Περυσίᾳ φυλακτηρίου. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῶν ἐν Περυσίᾳ φρουρῶν αὐτόμολοι γεγονότες Ῥωμαῖοι δύο, Μελιγῆδιος τε καὶ Οὐλίφος, ὅσπερ Κυπριανοῦ δορυφόρος γεγονὼς πρότερον, Τουτίλα πολλά οἱ ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς Κυπριανὸν τότε ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου δόλῳ ἔκτεινεν. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μελιγῆδιος λόγους τοῦ Ναρσοῦ ἐνδεξάμενος ἐβουλεύετο ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένους Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐλίφον τῶν πρassoμένων αἰσθόμενοι ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς. [12] καὶ Οὐλίφος μὲν ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, Μελιγῆδιος δὲ παρέδωκε Περυσίαν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα. τῷ μέντοι Οὐλίφῳ ξυνέβη τίσις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι ἐπιπεσοῦσα, ἐν αὐτῷ μάλιστα διεφθάρηαι τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὸς τὸν Κυπριανὸν διεχρήσατο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω κεχώρηκε. [13] Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν ἔχοντες ἐπειδὴ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας ἄγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς τὰ δυνατὰ σφίσιν ὑπαντιάσοντες. [14] ἐτύγχανε δὲ Τουτίλας πολλὰς μὲν ἐμπρησάμενος τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομίας, ἥνικα δὴ αὐτὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεῖλεν. ... ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ λογισάμενος, ὥς ἐς ὀλίγους ἀποκεκριμένοι οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶσι τὸ λοιπὸν Γότθοι ἅπαντα τὸν περιβόλον Ῥώμης διαφυλάξαι, τειχίσματι βραχεῖ ὀλίγην τινὰ τῆς πόλεως μοῖραν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ περιβαλὼν τάφον καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ τείχει ἐνάψας φρουρίου κατεστήσατο σχῆμα. [15] ἐνταῦθά τε τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τιμώτατα καταθέμενοι Γότθοι ἐς μὲν τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ἐφύλασσον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως τείχος ἀπημελημένον ὑπερεώρων. [16] φρουροὺς τοίνυν σφῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ τηνικάδε ἀπολιπόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς οἱ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι τείχους τῶν πολεμίων ἀποπειράσασθαι τειχομαχούντων ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. [17] Ὅλον μὲν οὖν τὸν Ῥώμης περιβόλον διὰ μεγέθους ὑπερβολὴν οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιόντες περιβάλλεσθαι εἶχον οὔτε Γότθοι φρουρεῖν. [18] διασκεδαννύμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅπη παρατύχοι προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοξοτῶν ἐπαγόμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα ἐς μοῖραν τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέσκηπτεν, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένους προσέβαλλε. [19] Φιλημουθ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑρουλοὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι μέρος ἠνώχλουν, ἐκαστάτω τε αὐτῶν οἱ λοιποὶ εἵποντο. ἐτειχομάχουν δὲ ἅπαντες ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ὄντες. [20] καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνιστάμενοι ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου, ἵνα δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο προσβολή, ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα παντάπασιν ἦν, Γότθων ἀπάντων ὅπη ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπισκῆψαιεν ἀγειρομένων, ἥπέρ μοι εἴρηται. [21] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γνώμῃ Ναρσοῦ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος στρατιώτας τε παμπληθεὶς ἔχων καὶ τό τε Ναρσοῦ καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου σημεῖον καὶ κλίμακας πολλὰς ἐπαγόμενος μοῖρα τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπέσκηψε, φρουρᾶς τὸ παράπαν ἐρήμῳ οὓσῃ. [22] τὰς τε κλίμακας εὐθὺς ἀπάσας οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου τῷ τείχει ἐρείσας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένους ἐντὸς τοῦ

περιβόλου ἐγένετο, τάς τε πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέφωγον. [23] ὥνπερ αὐτίκα Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἅπαντες ὅπη αὐτῶν ἐκάστω δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεπήδησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἐχώρησαν δρόμῳ. [24] Ἐνταῦθά μοι τοῦ λόγου ἔννοια γέγονεν ὄντινα ἡ τύχη διαχλευάζει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τρόπον, οὐκ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἰοῦσα οὐδὲ ἴσοις αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπουσα, ἀλλὰ ξυμμεταβαλλομένη χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ, καὶ παίζει ἐς αὐτοὺς παιδιάν τινα παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ τὸν χώρον ἢ τὸν τρόπον διαλλάσσουσα τὴν τῶν ταλαιπώρων ἀξίαν, εἴ γε ὁ Ῥώμην μὲν ἀπολωλεκῶς τὰ πρότερα Βέσσας οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τῆς Λαζικῆς Πέτρην, ἔμπαλιν δὲ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος Πέτρην τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ βασιλεῖ Ῥώμην. [25] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν γέγονέ τε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσται, ἕως ἄν ἡ αὐτὴ τύχη ἀνθρώποις ᾗ. Ναρσῆς δὲ τότε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον πολεμῶν ἦει. [26] κατορρωδήσαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων κεκομισμένοι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριόν οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παρέδοσαν, ἕκτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. [27] οὕτω τε Ῥώμη ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος τὸ πέμπτον ἐάλω, ἥσπερ εὐθύς ὁ Ναρσῆς τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε.

XXXIII

Narses was overjoyed at the outcome and ceased not attributing everything to God, an opinion which was indeed true; and he proceeded to arrange all urgent matters. And first of all he was eager to be rid of the outrageous behaviour of the Lombards under his command, for in addition to the general lawlessness of their conduct, they kept setting fire to whatever buildings they chanced upon and violating by force the women who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries. He accordingly propitiated them by a large gift of money and so released them to go to their homes, commanding Valerian and Damianus, his nephew, with their commands to escort them on the march as far as the Roman boundary, so that they might harm no one on the return journey. And after the Lombards had departed from Roman territory, Valerian went into camp near the city of Verona, intending to besiege it and win it for the emperor. But the garrison of this city became frightened and opened negotiations with Valerian, with the purpose of making a conditional surrender of themselves and the city. When this was learned by the Franks who were keeping guard in the towns of Venetia, they tried with all eagerness to prevent it, claiming the right to take charge of the land as belonging to themselves. And as a result of this, having accomplished nothing, Valerian retired from there with his whole army.

As for the Goths who had saved themselves by fleeing from the battle, they crossed the Po River and occupied the city of Ticinum and the adjacent country, appointing Teïas as ruler over them. And he found all the money which Totila had deposited in Ticinum, and was purposing to draw the Franks into an alliance; he also began to organize and put in order the Goths as well as circumstances permitted, eagerly gathering them all about him. When Narses heard this, he ordered Valerian with all his force to maintain a guard near the Po River so that the Goths might not be at liberty to assemble freely, while he himself with all the rest of the army marched against Rome. And when he came into Tuscany, he took Narnia by surrender and left a garrison at Spolitium, which was then without walls, instructing them to rebuild as quickly as possible such parts of the fortifications as the Goths had torn down. And he also sent some men to make trial of the garrison in Perusia. Now the garrison of Perusia was commanded by two Romans who had become deserters, Meligedius and Ulifus; the latter had formerly been a bodyguard of Cyprian, but had been won over by the large promises made to him by Totila and had treacherously killed Cyprian who then commanded the garrison of that place. Now Meligedius was for accepting the proposals of Narses and was planning with the men under his command to hand the city over to the Romans, but the party of Ulifus perceived what was going on and banded together openly against them. In the fight that followed Ulifus was destroyed

together with those who thought as he did, and Meligedius immediately surrendered Perugia to the Romans. And Ulifus obviously suffered retribution from Heaven in being destroyed at the very place where he himself had murdered Cyprian. Such was the course of these events.

But the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, upon learning that Narses and the Roman army were coming against them and were now very near, made preparations to offer the strongest resistance possible. Now it happened that Totila had burned many buildings of the city when he captured it for the first time.... But finally, reasoning that the Goths, reduced as they were to a small number, were no longer able to guard the whole circuit of the wall of Rome, he enclosed a small part of the city with a short wall around the Tomb of Hadrian and, by connecting this with the earlier wall, he made a kind of fortress. There the Goths had deposited their most precious possessions and they were keeping a careful guard over this fortress, disregarding the rest of the city wall which lay neglected. So on this occasion they left a few of their number as guards over this place while all the rest took their stand all along the battlements of the city wall, because they were eager to test their opponents' skill in attacking walls.

Now the whole circuit-wall of Rome was so extraordinarily long that neither could the Romans encompass it in their attack nor the Goths guard it. So the Romans scattered here and there at random and began to make their attacks, while the others defended themselves as well as circumstances permitted. Thus, Narses brought up a great force of archers and delivered an attack on a certain portion of the fortifications, while John the nephew of Vitalian was making an assault with his command at another point. Meanwhile Philemuth and the Eruli were harassing another section, and the rest followed at a great distance from them. Indeed, all were fighting at the wall with very considerable intervals between them. And the barbarians gathered at the points of attack and were receiving the assault. But the other parts of the fortifications, where there was no attack being made by the Romans, were altogether destitute of men, all the Goths being gathered, as I have said, wherever the enemy were attacking. In this situation Narses directed Dagisthaeus to take a large number of soldiers and the standards of both Narses and John, and, equipped with a large number of ladders, to make a sudden assault upon a certain part of the fortifications which was altogether destitute of guards. So he immediately placed all the ladders against the wall without any opposition, and with no trouble got inside the fortifications with his followers, and they opened the gates at their leisure. This was immediately discovered by the Goths, who no longer thought of resistance but began to flee, every man of them, wherever each one could. And some of them rushed into the fortress, while others went off on the run to Portus.

At this point in the narrative it occurs to me to comment on the manner in

which Fortune makes sport of human affairs, not always visiting men in the same manner nor regarding them with uniform glance, but changing about with the changes of time and place; and she plays a kind of game with them, shifting the value of the poor wretches according to the variations of time, place, or circumstance, seeing that Bessas, the man who had previously lost Rome, not long afterward recovered Petra in Lazica for the Romans, and that Dagisthaeus, on the contrary, who had let Petra go to the enemy, won back Rome for the emperor in a moment of time. But these things have been happening from the beginning and will always be as long as the same fortune rules over men. Narses now advanced against the fortress with his whole army in warlike array. But the barbarians became terrified, and, upon receiving pledges for their lives, surrendered both themselves and the fortress with all speed, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. Thus Rome was captured for the fifth time during his reign; and Narses immediately sent the keys of its gates to the emperor. [a d.]

Τότε δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διαφανέστατα ἐπιδέδεικται ὡς ἅπασιν, οἷσπερ ἔδει γενέσθαι κακῶς, καὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα δοκοῦντα εἶναι εἰς ὄλεθρον ἀποκέκρται, κατὰ νοῦν τε ἀπαλλάξαντες ἴσως τῇ τοιαύτῃ εὐημερίᾳ ξυνδιαφθείρονται. [2] Ῥωμαίων γὰρ τῇ τε ξυγκλήτῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν νίκην τήνδε πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον φθόρου αἰτίαν ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. [3] Γότθοι μὲν φεύγοντες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ἀπογνόντες, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, τοὺς παρατυχόντας σφίσι Ῥωμαίους οὐδεμιᾷ διεχρῶντο φειδοῖ. [4] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εισόδῳ. [5] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξυγκλήτου βουλῆς, τοῦτο Τουτίλα δεδογμένον, τὰ πρότερα ἔμενον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία. [6] ὧνπέρ τινες, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκ Καμπανίας ἐξαναστάντες ἐς αὐτὴν ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Γότθοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ ὀχυρώμασιν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἅπαντα διερευνώμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία τοὺς πατρικίους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην. [7] ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ Τουτίλας, ἡνίκα Ναρσῆ ὑπαντιάσων ἐνθένδε ἦι, τῶν ἐκ πόλεως ἐκάστης δοκίμων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παῖδας ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, οὗσπερ μάλιστα τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ᾤετο εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν γειναμένοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ξυνδιατρίβονται ὑπειπών, [8] ὁμήρους δὲ οἱ λόγῳ τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐσομένους, καὶ αὐτοὺς Τουτίλας μὲν τότε ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδον ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι, Τεῖας δὲ τανῦν ἐνταῦθα εὐρὼν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. [9] Ῥάγναρις τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τοῦ ἐν Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου, καίπερ τὰ πιστὰ γνώμη βασιλέως πρὸς τοῦ Πακουρίου κεκομισμένος, Ῥωμαίοις τε προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογήσας, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, παρασχόμενος δὲ καὶ Γότθους ἐξ ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ Τεῖαν ἤκουσε βασιλέα καταστάντα Γότθοις τοὺς τε Φράγγους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθέλειν ὁμοσεῖν ἵνα, μεταπορευθεὶς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ὁμολογημένα οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. [10]

σπουδάζων δὲ καὶ διατεινόμενος τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπένοι τάδε. πέμπας παρὰ τὸν Πακούριον ἤτει σταλῆναι οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινάς, ἐφ' ᾧ ζὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἕς τε τὸν Δρυοῦντα ἰέναι σφίσι δυνατὰ εἶη ἐνθένδε τε διαπορθμευσασμένοις τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. [11] ὁ μὲν οὖν Πακούριος μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βεβουλευμένων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων πεντήκοντα στέλλει. [12] ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ φρουρίῳ δεξάμενος καθεῖρξεν εὐθύς, τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ ἐσήμαινεν ὥς, εἴπερ αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας βυλομένῳ εἶη τοὺς αὐτοῦ ῥύεσθαι, ἀποδιδόναι δεήσει τοὺς Γόθων ὁμήρους. [13] ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πακούριος ὀλίγους μὲν τινας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ εἵασε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα ἤει. [14] Ῥάγναρις δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεντήκοντα μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ἔκτεινεν, ὥς ὑπαντιάσων δὲ τοῖς πολεμίῳις ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος τοὺς Γόθους ἐξῆγεν. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιζαν, ἡσδῶνται Γόθθοι. [15] Ῥάγναρις τε αὐτοῦ ἀποβαλὼν πλείστους ζὺν τοῖς καταλοιπίοις δρασμῷ εἶχετο. ἐς μέντοι τὸν Τάραντα εἰσελθεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε, πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιβεβλημένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀχεροντίδα ἐλθὼν ἔμεινε. [16] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν τε Πόρτον πολιορκήσαντες ὁμολογία εἶλον καὶ φρούριον ἐν Τούσκοις, ὃ δὴ Νέπα καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ Περτούσῃ ὀνομαζομένη ὀχύρωμα. [17] Τεῖας δὲ 'οὐ γὰρ ἀξιωμαχοὺς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Γόθτους κατὰ μόνας ᾤετο εἶναι παρὰ Θευδιβάλδον τὸν Φράγγων ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψε, χρήματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενος ἐπὶ τε ξυμμαχίαν παρακαλῶν. [18] ἀλλὰ Φράγγοι τὰ ζύμφορα, οἶμαι, βεβουλευμένοι οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς Γόθων οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠφελείας ἐβούλοντο θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιεῖν Ἰταλίαν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, καὶ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ κινδύνους ὑφίστασθαι ἠθελον. ἐτύγχανε [19] δὲ Τουτίλας ἔνια μὲν τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Τικινῷ καταθέμενος, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν φρουρίῳ ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἐν Κύμῃ τῇ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ φρουροὺς ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ζὺν Ἡρωδιανῷ ἐπιστήσας. [20] τούτους δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐξελεῖν ἐς Κύμην τινάς τοὺς τὸ φρούριον πολιορκήσοντας ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ῥώμην διακοσμῶν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἄλλους στείλας ἐκέλευε Κεντουκέλλας πολιορκεῖν. [21] Τεῖας δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐν Κύμῃ φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέισας, ἀπογνοὺς τε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἐλπίδα, τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους διέτασεν ὥς τοῖς πολεμίῳις ὁμόσε χωρήσων. [22] Ὡνπερ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ Φιλημουθ ζὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Τουσκίας χωρία ἰέναι κελεύει, ἐνταῦθά τε καθιζήσομένους καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀναχαιτίσοντας τὴν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ὁδόν, ὅπως οἱ Κύμην πολιορκοῦντες ἀδεέστερον αὐτὴν ἢ βία ἢ ὁμολογία ἐξελεῖν δύναιτο. [23] ἀλλὰ Τεῖας ὁδοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰς ἐπιτομωτάτας ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφείς, περιόδους δὲ πολλὰς καὶ μακροτάτας περιβαλόμενος, διὰ τε τῆς παραλίας κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἰόν, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκετο, [24] τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἅπαντας. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Ναρσῆς ἔμαθε, τοὺς τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ Φιλημουθ μετεπέμπετο, οἱ τὴν δίοδον ἐν Τούσκοις ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἄρτι Πέτρᾳ ἐξαιροῦντα

τὴν Περτοῦσαν καλουμένην μετεκάλει ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, τάς τε δυνάμεις
ξυνήγειρε, παντί τε καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ὥς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένος ἐς
Καμπανοὺς ἦει.

XXXIV

At that time it was shewn to the world with the greatest clearness that in the case of all men who have been doomed to suffer ill, even those things which seem to be blessings turn out for their destruction, and even when they have fared as they wish they are, it may be, destroyed together with this same prosperity. For this victory turned out to be for the Roman senate and people a cause of far greater destruction, in the following manner. The Goths, on the one hand, as by their flight they abandoned the dominion of Italy, made it an incident of their progress to destroy without mercy the Romans who fell in their way. And the barbarians of the Roman army, on the other hand, treated as enemies all whom they chanced upon as they entered the city. Furthermore, this too befell them. Many of the members of the senate, by decision of Totila, had been remaining previously in the towns of Campania. And some of them, upon learning that Rome was held by the emperor's army, departed from Campania and went thither. But when this was learned by the Goths who happened to be in the fortresses there, they searched that whole country and killed all the patricians. Among these was Maximus, whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative. It happened also that Totila, when he went from there to encounter Narses, had gathered the children of the notable Romans from each city and selected about three hundred of them whom he considered particularly fine in appearance, telling their parents that they were to live with him, though in reality they were to be hostages to him. And at that time Totila merely commanded that they should be north of the Po River, but now Teïas found and killed them all.

Now Ragnaris, a Goth, who commanded the garrison at Tarentum, had received pledges from Pacurius at the emperor's wish and agreed that he would submit to the Romans, as previously stated, and had furnished six Goths as hostages to the Romans to make this agreement binding; but upon hearing that Teïas had become king over the Goths and had invited the Franks to an alliance and wished to engage with the enemy with his whole army, he reversed his purpose completely and refused absolutely to fulfil his agreement. But he was eager and determined to get back the hostages, and so devised the following plan. He sent to Pacurius with the request that a few Roman soldiers be sent him in order that it might be possible for his men with safety to go to Dryus and from there to cross the Ionian Gulf and make their way to Byzantium. So Pacurius, being utterly ignorant of the man's purposes, sent him fifty of his men. And when Ragnaris had received them in the fortress, he immediately put them into confinement and sent word to Pacurius that, if it was his wish to recover his own soldiers, he would be obliged to surrender the Gothic hostages. But when Pacurius heard this, he left a few men to keep guard over Dryus, and immediately marched with all the rest of

his army against the enemy. Thereupon Ragnaris killed the fifty men immediately, and then led forth the Goths from Tarentum to encounter his enemy. And when they engaged with each other, the Goths were defeated. Whereupon Ragnaris, having lost great numbers there, set off in flight with the remnant. However, he was quite unable to get back into Tarentum, since the Romans surrounded it on every side, but he went to Acherontis and remained there. Thus, then, did these things happen. And not long afterwards the Romans took Portus by surrender after besieging the place, and likewise a fortress in Tuscany which they call Nepa, as well as the stronghold of Petra Pertusa, as it is called.

Meanwhile Teïas, considering the Goths by themselves not a match for the Roman army, sent to Theudibald, the ruler of the Franks, offering a large sum of money and inviting him to an alliance. The Franks, however, out of regard for their own interests, I suppose, wished to die for the benefit neither of Goths nor Romans, but were eager, rather, to acquire Italy for themselves, and only to attain this were they willing to undergo the perils of war. Now it so happened that, while Totila had deposited some of his money in Ticinum, as previously stated, he had placed the most of it in an exceedingly strong fortress at Cumae, which is in Campania, and he had set guards over the place, appointing as their commander his own brother with Herodian. Narses, then, wishing to capture this garrison, sent some men to Cumae to besiege the fortress, while he himself remained at Rome, putting it in order. And he sent another force with orders to besiege Centumcellae. Teïas then became fearful concerning the guards in Cumae and the money, and despairing of his hope of the Franks, he put his forces in array, intending to engage with his enemy.

But when Narses perceived this, he ordered John the nephew of Vitalian and Philemuth to proceed with his own army into the province of Tuscany, in order to take up a position there and check the march of his opponents to Campania, in order that the force besieging Cumae might be able without fear of molestation to capture it either by storm or by surrender. But Teïas, leaving the most direct roads very far on his right, took many very long detours, passing along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, and so reached Campania, having eluded his enemy entirely. And when Narses learned this, he summoned the forces of John and Philemuth, who were guarding the road through Tuscany, called back Valerian, who was just capturing Petra Pertusa, as it is called, with his men, collected his forces, and himself with his whole army marched into Campania arrayed as for battle.

Ἔστι δέ τι ὄρος ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ὁ Βέβιος, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι διὰ πολλάκις ἀφίησιν ἦχον μυκηθμῷ ἐμφορῇ. καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὐτῷ τοῦτο ξυμβαίη, ὁ δὲ καὶ κόνεως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ζεύσεως μέγα τι χρῆμα ἐρεύγεται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ἐκεῖνό μοι τοῦ λόγου ἐρρήθη. [2] τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους, ἥπερ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Αἵτνης, κενὰ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἄχρι ἐς τὴν

ὑπερβολὴν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου τετύχηκεν εἶναι, οὗ δὴ ἔνερθεν διηνεκές τὸ πῦρ καίεται. [3] ἐς τόσον δὲ βάθος τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κενὸν διήκειν ξυμβαίνει ὥστε δὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεῖα ἐστῶτι ὑπερκύπτειν τε τολμῶντι ἐνθένδε οὐ ραδίως ἢ φλοῶς ὁρατὴ γίνεται. [4] ὀπηνίκα δὲ ξυνενεχθεῖη τῷ ὄρει τῷδε τὴν κόνιν, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐρεύγεσθαι, καὶ πέτρας ἀποτεμνομένη ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Βεβίου ἐσχάτων ἢ φλοῶς ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους τούτου μετεωρίζει, τὰς μὲν βραχείας, τὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας κομιδῇ οὔσας, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτὰς ἀποπεμπομένη ὅπη παρατύχοι διασκεδάννυσι. [5] ῥέει δὲ καὶ ῥύαξ ἐνταῦθα πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀκρωρείας κατατείνων ἄχρι ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ ἔτι πρόσω, ἅπερ ἅπαντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτιν γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὄχθας δὲ ποιεῖται ὑψηλὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ῥύαξ, τὰ ἐνερθεν τέμνων. [6] καὶ φερομένη μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥύακος τὰ πρῶτα ἢ φλοῶς καιομένη εἰκάζεται ὕδατος ἐκροῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποσβεσθῆναι ξυμβαίη, ἀναστέλλεται μὲν τῷ ῥύακι ὁ δρόμος εὐθύς, ἐπίπροσθὲν τε ὁ ῥοὺς οὐδαμῇ πρόεισι, τὸ δὲ ὑφίζανον τούτου δὴ τοῦ πυρὸς πηλὸς φαίνεται σποδιᾷ ἐμφορῆς. [7] Κατὰ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Βεβίου τὸν πρόποδα ὕδατος πηγαὶ ποτίμου εἰσί. καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρόεισι Δράκων ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἄγχιστα πη τῆς Νουκερίας πόλεως φέρεται. τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμφότεροι τότε. [8] ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δράκων τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα βραχύς, οὐ μέντοι ἐσβατὸς οὔτε ἱππεῦσιν οὔτε πεζοῖς, ἐπεὶ ἔν στενῷ ξυνάγων τὸν ῥοῦν τὴν τε γῆν ἀποτεμνόμενος ὥς βαθύτατα ἐκατέρωθεν ὥσπερ ἀποκρεμαμένας ποιεῖται τὰς ὄχθας. [9] πότερα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος φέρεται τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ φύσις οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. καταλαβόντες δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἄγχιστα, πύργους τε ξυλίνους ταύτῃ ἐνθέμενοι μηχανάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς βαλλίστρας καλουμένας ἐνταῦθα πεποιήνται, ὅπως ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνοχλοῦντας δύνωνται βάλλειν. [10] ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν οὖν γίνεσθαι τινα ξυμβολὴν ἀμήχανα ἦν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, μεταξὺ ὄντος· ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὥς ἀγχοτάτω τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὄχθης γενόμενοι τοξεύμασι τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. [11] ἐγίνοντο δὲ καὶ μονομαχίαι τινές, Γότθου ἀνδρός, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐκ προκλήσεως τὴν γέφυραν διαβαίνοντος. χρόνος τε μηνῶν δυοῖν τοῖν στρατοπέδοις ἐς τοῦτο ἐτρίβη. [12] ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐθαλασσοκράτουν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι, ἐσκομιζόμενοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ναυσὶν ἀντεῖχον, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. [13] ὕστερον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τε πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων προδοσίᾳ Γότθου ἀνδρὸς εἶλον ὃς δὴ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐφειστήκει πάσαις, καὶ αὐτοῖς νῆες ἀνάριθμοι ἤλθον ἐκ τε Σικελίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς. [14] ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ καταστησάμενος δουλώσαι τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ φρόνημα παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν. [15] Οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς ὄρος ἄγχιστα ὃν καταφεύγουσιν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι Γάλακτος Ὅρος τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ· οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπισπένθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τῆς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατούσης. [16] ἀλλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις αὐτίκα ἐνταῦθα ἀναβεβηκόσι μετέμελεν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσπάνιζον, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐκπορίζεσθαι αὐτὰ οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες. [17] διὸ δὴ τὴν ἐν ξυμβολῇ τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰρετωτέραν τῆς πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ εἶναι οἴομενοι ὁμόσε τοῖς

πολεμίοις παρὰ δόξαν ἐχώρουν, ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοῖς ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπέπεσον. [18] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀμυνόμενοι ἔστησαν, οὐ κατὰ ἄρχοντας ἢ λόχους ἢ καταλόγους τὴν τάξιν καταστησάμενοι, οὐδὲ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ διακεκριμένοι ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ τῶν σφίσι παραγγελιομένων ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ἀκουσόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπῃ ποτὲ παρατύχη, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταξόμενοι. [19] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἵππων ἀφέμενοι πρῶτοι πεζῇ μετωπηδὸν εἰς βαθεῖαν φάλαγγα ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ταῦτα ἰδόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτάξαντο πάντες. [20] Ἐνταῦθά μοι μάχη τε πολλοῦ λόγου ἀξία καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ τῶν τινὸς λεγομένων ἡρώων, οἶμαι, καταδεεστέρα γεγράψεται, ἥς δὴ ὁ Τεΐας δήλωσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιήται. [21] Γότθους μὲν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπόγνωσις ὥρμα, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτούς, καίπερ ἀπονενοημένους ὀρῶντες, ὑφίσταντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, τοῖς καταδεεστέροις ἐρυθριῶντες ὑποχωρεῖν, ἀμφοτέροί τε θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας πολλῷ ἔντο, οἱ μὲν θανατῶντες, [22] οἱ δὲ ἀρετῶντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη πρῶτὴ ἤρξατο, Τεΐας δὲ πᾶσιν ἐνδηλος γεγενημένος καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος, ἐπανατεινόμενος δὲ τὸ δόρυ, πρῶτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἔστη. [23] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες, οἰόμενοι τε, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαλυθήσεσθαι τὴν ξυμβολὴν σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅσοι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, παμπληθεῖς ὄντες, καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ὥθουν, οἱ δὲ ἐσηκόντιζον. [24] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι κεκαλυμμένος ταύτῃ μὲν τὰ δόρατα ἐδέχετο πάντα, ἐμπίπτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πολλοὺς διεχρήτο. [25] καὶ ὅπηνίκα οἱ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔμπλεων οὔσαν πεπηγότων δοράτων θεῶτο, τῶν τινὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ταύτην παραδιδούς ἐτέραν ἡρεῖτο. [26] οὕτω μαχόμενος ἐς τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τριτημόριον διαγέγονε, καὶ τότε δὴ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐμπεπηγότα ἢ ἀσπὶς εἶχε, κινεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ὅπῃ βούλοιο καὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐκέτι ἴσχυε. [27] τῶν δὲ τινα ὑπασπιστῶν μετεκάλει σπουδῇ, οὐ τὴν τάξιν λιπὼν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄχρι ἐς δάκτυλον ἓνα οὐδὲ ἀναποδίσας, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἐπαγαγόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα τῇ ἀσπίδι ἐρείσας, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλάγιος γεγονώς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐρηρυσμένος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰστήκει, κτείνων τε τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ καὶ ἀποκρούμενος τῇ λαίᾳ καὶ ἀνακαλῶν τὸ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ ὄνομα. [28] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος παρῆν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην εὐθὺς τῆς βαρυνομένης τοῖς δόρασιν ἀντηλλάσσετο. [29] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ χρόνου τινὰ βραχεῖαν στιγμὴν γυνῶν γενέσθαι τὰ στέρνα ξυνέβη, τύχη τέ οἱ ξυνέπεσε τότε ἀκοντίῳ βεβλησθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐθυωρὸν θνήσκει. [30] καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ κοντοῦ μετεωρίσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς στρατιᾷ ἐκατέρᾳ περιόντες ἐδείκνυν, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν, ὅπως δὴ θαρσῆσωσι μᾶλλον, Γότθοις δέ, ὅπως ἀπογόνοντες τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσωσιν. [31] Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὥς τὴν ξυμβολὴν κατέλυσαν Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι σφίσι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνεσκόταζεν, αὐτοῦ ἐκάτεροι διαλυθέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἐνυκτέρευσαν. [32] ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἀναστάντες ὀρθρου τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐθις ἐτάξαντο καὶ μέχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ οὔτε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις οὔτε πῃ ἐτρέποντο ἢ ἀνεπὸδιζον, καίπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν κτεινομένων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγριωμένοι τῷ

ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπηνεῖ ἔργου εἶχοντο, Γότθοι μὲν εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δὴ τὴν ὑστάτην διαφέρουσι μάχην, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐλασσοῦσθαι ἀπαξιοῦντες. [33] ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ τὸν Ναρσὴν πέμψαντες τῶν λογίων τινὰς μεμαθηκέναι μὲν ἔλεγον ὥς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σφίσιν ὁ ἀγὼν γένοιτο: αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀντιταχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν: καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι ξυμβάλλοντες τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν γνωσιμαχεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν βούλεσθαι καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, οὐ μέντοι βασιλεῖ ἐπακούσοντας, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν αὐτόνομοι βιοτεύουσας, ἐδέοντό τε εἰρηναίαν σφίσι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους, οὐ φθονοῦντας αὐτοῖς λογισμοῦ σῶφρονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐφοδίοις αὐτοῦς δωρουμένους, ὅσα δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐναποθέμενος ἔτυχε πρότερον. [34] ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ναρσὴς ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παρῆναι δέησιν ἐνδέχεσθαι τήνδε, καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, μηδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι τόλμης ἐν ἀπογνώσει φυομένης τοῦ βίου, ἣ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἐχομένοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπαντιάζουσι χαλεπὴ γίνεται. [35] ‘Ἀρκεῖ γάρ,’ ἔφη, ‘τοῖς γε σῶφροσι τὸ νικᾶν, τὸ δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἐθέλγειν ἴσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀξύμφορον τρέποιτο.’ [36] Πείθεται τῇ ὑποθήκῃ Ναρσὴς, καὶ ξυνέβησαν ἐφ’ ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκ πάσης ἀπαλλάσσονται Ἰταλίας εὐθύς, πόλεμόν τε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διοίσουσιν ἔτι. [37] Γότθοι μὲν οὖν μετὰ χίλιοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαναστάντες ἐς Τικινόν τε πόλιν καὶ χωρία τὰ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδον ἐχώρησαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰνδούλφ, οὐπὲρ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην. [38] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὄρκια δόντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα ἐπέρρωσαν. οὕτω τε καὶ Κύμην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐξεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος ξυνετελεύτα τῷ Γοτθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

Now there is a mountain called Vesuvius in Campania, which I have mentioned in the previous narrative, remarking that it often gives forth a sound like bellowing. And whenever this occurs, the mountain also belches forth a great quantity of hot ashes. So much was said at that point in my narrative. Now the centre of this mountain, just as is the case with Aetna in Sicily, is a natural cavity extending from its base to its peak, and it is at the bottom of this cavity that the fire burns continually. And to such a depth does this cavity descend that, when a man stands on the summit of the mountain and dares to look over the edge from there, the flames are not easily visible. And whenever it comes about that this mountain belches forth the ashes, as stated above, the flames also tear out rocks from the bottom of Vesuvius and hurl them into the air above the summit of this mountain, some of them small, but some exceedingly large, and thus shooting them forth from there it scatters them wherever they chance to fall. And a stream of fire also flows from the peak extending from the summit to the very base of the mountain and even further, resembling in all respects the phenomenon which is observed at Mt. Aetna. And the stream of fire forms high banks on either side in cutting out its bed. Now as the flame is carried along in the channel it at first resembles a flow of burning water; but as soon as the flame is quenched, the course of the stream is checked immediately and the flow proceeds no further, and the sediment of this fire appears as mud resembling ashes.

At the very base of this Mt. Vesuvius there are springs of water fit to drink, and a river named Dracon proceeds from them which passes very near the city of Nuceria. And it was at this river that the two armies then made camp, one on one side and the other on the other. Now while this Dracon is a small stream, it still cannot be crossed either by horsemen or infantry, because, as it flows in a narrow-channel and cuts into the earth to a great depth, it makes the banks on both sides overhanging as it were. But whether the cause is to be found in the nature of the soil or of the water, I cannot decide. Now the Goths had seized the bridge over the river, since they had encamped very near it, and placing wooden towers upon it they had mounted various engines in them, among them those called ballistae, in order that they might be able to shoot from the tower down upon the heads of such of their enemy as harassed them. It was consequently impossible for a hand-to-hand engagement to take place, since the river, as I have said, lay between; but both armies came as close as possible along the banks of the stream, and for the most part used only bows against each other. Some single encounters also took place, when some Goth on occasion, in answer to a challenge, crossed the bridge. And two months' time was spent by the armies in this way. Now as long as the Goths controlled that part of the sea, they maintained themselves by bringing in provisions by

ship, since they were encamped not far from the shore. But later on the Romans captured the enemy's boats by an act of treason on the part of a Goth who was in charge of all their shipping; and at the same time innumerable ships came to them both from Sicily and from the rest of the empire. At the same time Narses also set up wooden towers on the bank of the river, and thus succeeded completely in humbling the spirit of his opponents.

The Goths then, becoming alarmed because of these things and being at the same time hard pressed by want of provisions, took refuge on a mountain which is near by, called by the Romans in the Latin tongue "Milk Mountain"; here the Romans were quite unable to follow them because the rough terrain made it impossible. But the barbarians immediately repented having gone up there, because they began to be still more in need of provisions, having no means of providing them for themselves and their horses. Thinking, consequently, that death in battle was preferable to that by starvation, they unexpectedly moved out to engage their enemy, falling upon them suddenly and without warning. But the Romans, to ward them off as well as circumstances permitted, took their stand, not arranging themselves by commanders or by companies or by cohorts, nor distinguished in any other manner from one another, and not so as to hear the commands given them in battle, but still, determined to put forth all their strength against the enemy wherever they should chance to stand. Now the Goths were the first to abandon their horses and all took their stand on foot, facing their enemy in a deep phalanx, and then the Romans too, observing this, let their horses go, and all arrayed themselves in the same manner.

Here shall be described a battle of great note and the heroism of one man inferior, I think, to that of none of the heroes of legend, that, namely, which Teiās displayed in the present battle. The Goths, on the one hand, were driven to be courageous by despair of the situation, while the Romans, on the other hand, though they could see that the enemy had become desperate, withstood them with all their strength, blushing to give way to a weaker force; thus from both sides they charged their nearest opponents with great fury, the one army courting death and the other desiring to make a display of valour. Now the battle began early in the morning, and Teiās, easily recognized by all, stood with only a few followers at the head of the phalanx, holding his shield before him and thrusting forward his spear. And when the Romans saw him, thinking that, if he himself should fall, the battle would be instantly decided in their favour, all those who laid claim to valour concentrated on him — and there was a great number of them — and they all directed their spears at him, some thrusting and others hurling them. He himself meanwhile, covered by his shield, received all their spears in it, and by sudden charges he slew a large number. And whenever he saw that his shield was filled with spears fixed in it, he would hand this over to one of his guards and take another for himself. And he continued fighting in this manner for the third part of the day, and at

the end of that time his shield had twelve spears stuck in it and he was no longer able to move it where he wished and repel his assailants. So he eagerly called one of his bodyguards without leaving his post so much as a finger's breadth nor giving ground nor allowing the enemy to advance, nor even turning round and covering his back with his shield, nor, in fact, did he even turn sidewise, but as if fastened to the ground he stood there, shield in hand, killing with his right hand and parrying with his left and calling out the name of the bodyguard. And the guard was now at his side with the shield, and Teias immediately sought to take this in exchange for the one weighed down with spears. But while he was doing so his chest became exposed for a brief instant of time, and it chanced that at that moment he was hit by a javelin and died instantly from the wound. Then some of the Romans raised his head aloft on a pole and went about shewing it to both armies, to the Romans in order that they might be encouraged, and to the Goths in order that they might in despair make an end of the war.

But not even then did the Goths abandon the struggle, but they kept fighting till night, although well aware that their king was dead. But when it began to grow dark, the two armies separated and passed the night on the battle-field in their equipment. And on the following day they arose at dawn, and arraying themselves again in the same manner they fought till nightfall, neither army retreating before the other nor being routed nor even giving ground, though large numbers were being slain on both sides, but they kept at it with the fury of wild beasts by reason of their bitter hatred of each other, the Goths, on the one hand, knowing well that they were fighting their last battle, and the Romans, on the other, refusing to be worsted by them. But finally the barbarians sent to Narses some of their notables, saying that they had learned that the struggle they had taken up was against God; for they recognized, they said, the power that was arrayed against them, and, since they were coming to realize by what had happened the truth of the matter, they were desirous from now to acknowledge defeat and give up the struggle, not, however, to obey the emperor, but to live in independence with some of the other barbarians; and they begged that the Romans concede to them a peaceful withdrawal, not begrudging them a reasonable settlement, but presenting them, in fact, with their own money as travelling funds, that money, namely, which each of them had previously deposited in the fortresses of Italy. These proposals Narses took under consideration. Now John the nephew of Vitalian advised that they should allow this request and not carry on battle further with men who courted death nor expose themselves to those whose daring was sprung from despair of life, an attitude which proves dangerous not only for those possessed by it, but also for their opponents. "For victory," he said, "is sufficient for the wise, but extravagant desires might perhaps turn out even to a man's disadvantage."

Narses followed this suggestion, and they came to terms, agreeing that the remainder of the barbarians, after receiving their own money, should depart

immediately from all Italy and that they should no longer wage war in any way against the Romans. Now a thousand Goths, in the midst of the negotiations, detached themselves from the main body, and under command of different men, among whom was the Indulf whom I have mentioned before, proceeded to the city of Ticinum and the country beyond the Po. But all the rest gave sworn pledges and confirmed all the details of the agreement. Thus the Romans captured Cumae and all that remained, and the eighteenth year, as it closed, brought the end of this Gothic War, the history of which Procopius has written.

Secret History

I

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄχρι δεῦρο ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, τῇδὲ μοι δεδιήγεται, ἥπερ δυνατόν ἐγγένοι τῶν πράξεων τὰς δηλώσεις ἀπάσας ἐπὶ καιρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀρμοσαμένῳ: τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲνδε οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείσεται, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γεγράφεται πάντα, ὅποσα δὴ τετύχηκε γενέσθαι πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

[1] All that has befallen the Roman Nation in its wars up to the present day has been narrated by me, as far as it proved possible, on the plan of arranging all the accounts of its activities in accordance with their proper time and place. Henceforth, however, this plan of composition will be followed by me no longer, for here shall be set down everything that came to pass in every part of the Roman Empire.

[2] αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν περιόντων ἔτι τῶν αὐτὰ εἰργασμένων ὄτῳ δεῖ ἀναγράφεσθαι τρόπον. οὔτε γὰρ διαλαθεῖν πλήθη κατασκόπων οἷόν τε ἦν οὔτε φωραθέντα μὴ ἀπολωλέναι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῖς γε οἰκειοτάτοις τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχον.

[2] The reason for this is that it was not possible, as long as the actors were still alive, for these things to be recorded in the way they should have been. For neither was it possible to elude the vigilance of multitudes of spies, nor, if detected, to escape a most cruel death. Indeed, I was unable to feel confidence even in the most intimate of my kinsmen.

[3] ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰρημένων ἀποκρύψασθαι τὰς αἰτίας ἤναγκάσθη. τὰ τό τε ὃ οὖν τέως ἄρρητα μέιναντα καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλωμένων ἐνταῦθά μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰς αἰτίας σημῆναι δεήσει.

[3] Nay, more, in the case of many of the events described in the previous narrative I was compelled to conceal the causes which led up to them. It will therefore be necessary for me in this book to disclose, not only those things which have hitherto remained undivulged, but also the causes of those occurrences which have already been described.

[4] Ἀλλὰ μοι ἐς ἀγώνισιν ἐτέραν ἰόντι χαλεπὴν τινα καὶ δεινῶς ἄμαχον τῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ τε καὶ Θεοδώρῳ βεβιωμένων βαμβαίνειν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζειν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκεῖνο διαριθμουμένῳ ξυμβαίνει, ὅτι δὴ μοι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται τὰ μήτε πιστὰ μήτε εἰκότα φανησόμενα τοῖς ὀπισθεν γενησομένοις, ἄλλως τε ὀπηνίκα ἐπὶ μέγα ρεύσας ὁ χρόνος παλαιότεραν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀπεργάζεται, δέδοικα μὴ καὶ μυθολογίας ἀποῖσομαι δόξαν κὰν τοῖς τραγωδοδιδασκάλοις τετάξομαι.

[4] As I turn, however, to a new endeavour which is fraught with difficulty and is in fact extraordinarily hard to cope with, being concerned, as it is, with the lives lived by Justinian and Theodora, I find myself stammering and shrinking as far from it as possible, as I weigh the chances that such things are now to be written by me as will seem neither credible nor probable to men of a later generation; and especially when the mighty stream of time renders the story somewhat ancient, I fear lest I shall earn the reputation of being even a narrator of myths and shall be ranked among the tragic poets.

[5] ἐκείνῳ μέντοι τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχων οὐκ ἀποδειλιάσω τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἔργου, ὥς μοι οὐκ ἁμαρτύρητος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἄνθρωποι δαημονέστατοι μάρτυρες τῶν πράξεων ὄντες ἀξιοχρεῶ παραπομποὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πίστεως ἔσσονται.

[5] But I shall not flinch from the immensity of my task, basing my confidence on the fact that my account will not be without the support of witnesses. For the men of the present day, being witnesses possessing full knowledge of the events in question, will be competent guarantors to pass on to future ages their brief in my good faith in dealing with the facts.

[6] Καίτοι με καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐς λόγον τόνδε ὀργῶντα πολλάκις ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνεχάιτισε χρόνον. ἐδόξαζον γὰρ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις ἀξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο γε, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ πονηρότατα μάλιστα ξυνοίσει ἄγνωστα χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ εἶναι, ἢ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐς ἀκοὴν ἤκοντα ζηλωτὰ γίνεσθαι.

[6] And yet there was still another consideration which very often, when I was eager to undertake my narrative, held me back for a very long time. For I conceived the opinion that for men of future generations such a record as this would be inexpedient, since it will be most advantageous that the blackest deeds shall if possible be unknown to later times, rather than that, coming to the ears of sovereigns, they should be imitated by them.

[7] τῶν γὰρ κρατούντων ἀεὶ τοῖς πλείστοις εὐπορος ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἢ ἐς τῶν προγεγενημένων τὰ κακὰ μίμησις, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἡμαρτημένα τοῖς παλαιότεροις ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐς ἀεὶ τρέπονται.

[7] For in the case of the majority of men in power their very inexperience always causes the imitation of the base actions of their predecessors to be easy, and they ever turn with greater ease and facility to the faults committed by the rulers of an earlier time.

[8] ἀλλὰ με ὕστερον ἐς τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τυραννήσουσιν ἐνδηλον ἔσται ὥς μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὴν τίσιν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων περιελθεῖν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶη, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνάγραπτοι αὐτῶν αἱ πράξεις καὶ

οἱ τρόποι ἐς αἰεὶ ἔσονται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε ἴσως ὀκνηρότερον παρανομήσουσι.

[8] But after I was brought to write my history of these events by the thought that it will assuredly be clear to those who hereafter shall hold sovereign power that, in the first place, punishment will in all probability overtake them likewise for their misdeeds, just as befell these persons; and, in the second place, that their own actions and characters will likewise be on record for all future time, so that consequently they will perhaps be more reluctant to transgress.

[9] τίς γὰρ ἂν τὸν Σεμιράμιδος ἀκόλαστον βίον ἢ τὴν Σαρδαναπάλου καὶ Νέρωνος μανίαν τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἀνθρώπων ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ τοῖς τότε γεγραφόσι τὰ μνημεῖα ταῦτα ἐλέλειπτο; ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια πεισομένοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πρὸς τῶν τυράννων οὐκ ἀκερδῆς αὕτη παντάπασιν ἢ ἀκοῇ ἔσται.

[9] For what man of later times would have learned of the licentious life of Semiramis or of the madness of Sardanapalus and Nero, if the records of these things had not been left behind by the writers of their times? And apart from these considerations, in case any should chance to suffer like treatment at the hands of their rulers, this record will not be wholly useless to them.

[10] παραμυθεῖσθαι γὰρ οἱ δυστύχοῦντες εἰώθασι τῷ μὴ μόνοις σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ ξυμπεσεῖν. διὰ τοι ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν ὅσα Βελισαρίῳ μοχθηρὰ εἴργασται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὅσα Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Θεοδώρα μοχθηρὰ εἴργασται ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[10] For those who have suffered misfortunes are wont to receive consolation from the thought that not upon themselves alone have cruel disasters fallen. For these reasons, then, I shall proceed to relate, first, all the base deeds committed by Belisarius; and afterwards I shall disclose all the base deeds committed by Justinian and Theodora.

[11] Ἦν τῷ Βελισαρίῳ γυνή, ἥς δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, πάππου μὲν καὶ πατρὸς ἡνιόχων, ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκῃ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐνδειξαμένων, μητρὸς δὲ τῶν τινος ἐν θυμέλῃ πεπορνευμένων.

[11] Belisarius had a wife, whom I have had occasion to mention in the previous books; her father and grandfather were charioteers who had given exhibition of their skill in both Byzantium and Thessalonica, and her mother was one of the prostitutes attached to the theatre.

[12] αὕτη τὰ πρότερα μάχλον τινὰ βιώσασα βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐξεργωγυῖα, φαρμακεῦσί τε πατρώοις πολλὰ ὠμилηκυῖα, καὶ τὴν μάθησιν τῶν οἱ ἀναγκαίων ποιησαμένη, ἐγγυητὴ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ γυνὴ γέγονε,

[12] This woman, having in her early years lived a lewd sort of a life and having become dissolute in character, not only having consorted much with the cheap sorcerers who surrounded her parents, but also having thus acquired the knowledge of what she needed to know, later became the wedded wife of Belisarius, after having already been the mother of many children.

[13] μήτηρ ἥδη παίδων γενομένη πολλῶν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἡξίου μοιχεύτρια τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι, ξυγκαλύπτειν μέντοι τοῦργον τοῦτο ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, οὐ καταδυομένη τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, οὐδὲ τι πρὸς τοῦ ξυνοικοῦντος δειμαίνουσα δέος ὅτε γὰρ αἰδῶ τινα ἔργου ὅτουοῦν ἔλαβε πώποτε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μαγγανείαις πολλαῖς κατείληφεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος ὑποπεύουσα τίσιν. λίαν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ Θεοδώρα ἡγριαίνετό τε καὶ ἐσεσήρει.

[13] Straightway, therefore, she decided upon being an adulteress from the very start, but she was very careful to conceal this business, not because she was ashamed of her own practices, nor because she entertained any fear so far as her husband was concerned (for she never experienced the slightest feeling of shame for any action whatsoever and she had gained complete control of her husband by means of many tricks of magic), but because she dreaded the punishment the Empress might inflict. For Theodora was all too prone both to storm at her and to shew her teeth in anger.

[14] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὑπουργήσασα χειροήθη πεποιήται, πρῶτα μὲν Σιλβέριον διαχρησαμένη τρόπῳ ᾧπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις εἰρήσεται, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωάννην κατεργασαμένη τὸν Καππαδόκην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀδεέστερόν τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἀποκρυπτομένη ἅπαντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου.

[14] But after she had made her tame and manageable, by rendering services to her in matters of the greatest urgency — having, in the first place, disposed of Silverius in the manner which will be described in the following narrative, and later having brought about the ruin of John the Cappadocian, as related by me in my earlier books — then at last she felt no hesitation in carrying out all manner of wickedness more fearlessly and with no further concealment.

[15] Ἦν δέ τις νεανίας ἐκ Θράκης ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, Θεοδόσιος τοῦνομα, δόξης γεγωνὸς ἐκ πατέρων Εὐνομιανῶν καλουμένων.

[15] There was a certain youth from Thrace in the household of Belisarius, Theodosius by name, who had been born of ancestors who professed the faith of those called Eunomians.

[16] τοῦτον, ἥνικα ἐς Λιβύην ἀποπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Βελισάριος τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν καὶ χερσὶν ἀνελόμενος ἐνθένδε οἰκείαις εἰσποιητὸν ἐποίησато ζὺν τῇ γυναικὶ παῖδα, ἥπερ εἰσποιεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ

Ἀντωνίνα τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἅτε παῖδα ὄντα ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἡγάπα τε ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς κὰν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένη ἀμφ' αὐτὴν εἶχεν.

[16] Now when Belisarius was about to embark on the voyage to Libya, he bathed this youth in the sacred bath, from which he lifted him with his own hands, thus making him the adopted child of himself and his wife, as is customary for Christians to make adoptions, and consequently Antonina loved Theodosius, as she naturally would, as being her son through the sacred word, and with very particular solicitude she kept him near herself.

[17] εὐθύς τε ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ ἐκτόπως ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ καὶ κατακορῆς γεγонуῖα τῷ πάθει ἀπεσεῖσατο μὲν θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων δέος τε καὶ αἰδῶ ξύμπασαν, ἐμίγνυτο δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν παραβύστῳ, τελευτῶσα δὲ καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ θεραπαινίδων παρόντων.

[17] And straightway she fell extraordinarily in love with him in the course of this voyage, and having become insatiate in her passion, she shook off both fear and respect for everything both divine and human and had intercourse with him, at first in secret, but finally even in the presence of servants of both sexes.

[18] κάτοχος γὰρ ἤδη τῷ πόθῳ τούτῳ γεγενημένη καὶ διαφανῶς ἐρωτόληπτος οὕσα οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἔργου κώλυμα ἔβλεπε. καὶ ποτε ὁ Βελισάριος ἐπ' αὐτοφῶρῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν λαβὼν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐξηπάτητο πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἑκὼν γε εἶναι.

[18] For being by now possessed by this passion and manifestly smitten with love, she could see no longer any obstacle to the deed. And one occasion Belisarius caught them in the very act in Carthage, yet he willingly allowed himself to be deceived by his wife.

[19] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω ἐν δωματίῳ καταγείῳ εὐρὼν ἐμεμήνει, ἡ δὲ οὔτε ἀποδελιάσασα οὔτε καταδυσασμένη τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, 'Ἐνταῦθα', ἔφη, 'τῶν λαφύρων τὰ τιμιώτατα σὺν τῷ νεανίᾳ κρύψουσα ἦλθον, ὥς μὴ ἐς βασιλέα ἔκλυστα γένηται'.

[19] For though he found them both in an underground chamber and was transported with rage, without either playing the coward or attempting to conceal the deed, remarked "I came down here in order to hide with the aid of the boy the most valuable of our booty, so that it may not get to the knowledge of the Emperor."

[20] ἡ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σκηπτομένη εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι δόξας ἀφῆκε, καίπερ τῷ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκλελυμένον τὸν ἱμάντα ὀρῶν τὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ξυνδέοντα, ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐβούλετό οἱ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ὀφθαλμῶν θέαν ὥς ἥκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι.

[20] Now she said this as a mere pretext, but he, appearing to be satisfied, dropped the matter, though he could see that the belt which supported the drawers of Theodosius, covering his private parts, had been loosened. For under compulsion of love for the woman, he would have it that the testimony of his own eyes was absolutely untrustworthy.

[21] τῆς δὲ μαχλοσύνης αἰεὶ προϊούσης ἐς κακὸν ἄφατον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι θεώμενοι τὰ πραττόμενα ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, δούλη δέ τις Μακεδονία ὄνομα ἐν Συρακούσαις, ἡνίκα Σικελίας ἐκράτησε Βελισάριος, ὄρκοις δεινотάτοις τὸν δεσπότην καταλαβοῦσα, μὴ ποτε αὐτὴν τῇ κεκτημένη καταπροήσесθαι, τὸν πάντα αὐτῷ λόγον ἐξήνεγκε, δύο παιδάρια πρὸς μαρτυρίαν παρασχομένη, οἷς δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν.

[21] Now this wantonness kept growing worse and worse until it had become an unspeakable scandal, and though people in general, observing what was going on, kept silence about it, yet a certain slave-girl named Macedonia, approaching Belisarius in Syracuse, when he had conquered Sicily, and binding her master by the most dread oaths that he would never betray her to her mistress, told him the whole story, adducing as witnesses two lads who were charged with the service of the bedchamber.

[22] ταῦτα μαθὼν Βελισάριος τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς τὸν Θεοδοσίον ἐκέλευσε διαχειρίσασθαι.

[22] Upon learning these things, Belisarius ordered certain of his attendants to destroy Theodosius. He, however, learned this in advance and fled to Ephesus.

[23] ὁ δὲ προμαθὼν εἰς Ἔφεσον φεύγει. τῶν γὰρ ἐπομένων οἱ πλεῖστοι τῷ ἀβεβαίῳ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γνώμης ἡγμένοι ἀρέσκειν τὴν γυναῖκα μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δοκεῖν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν, οἷ γε καὶ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπικείμενα τότε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ προῦδοσαν.

[23] For most of the persons in attendance upon Belisarius, moved by the instability of the man's temper, were more eager to please the wife than to seem to the husband well-disposed towards him, and for this reason they betrayed the command laid upon them at that time touching Theodosius.

[24] Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ Βελισάριον ὁρῶν περιώδυνον γεγονότα τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ξυνήλγει καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν ὥς “Ἐγὼ γε θᾶσσον ἂν τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν νεανίαν κατειργασάμην”.

[24] And Constantinus, observing that Belisarius had become very sorrowful at what had happened, sympathized with him in general and added the remark, “If it were I, I should have destroyed the woman rather than the youth.”

[25] ὅπερ Ἀντωνίνα μαθοῦσα, κεκρυμμένως αὐτῷ ἐχαλέπαινε, ὅπως ἔγκοτα

[25] And when Antonina heard of this, she nourished her anger against him secretly, in order that she might, when occasion offered, display the hatred she bore him.

[26] τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχθος, ἣν γὰρ σκορπιώδης τε καὶ ὀργὴν σκοτεινὴ. οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἢ μαγγανεύσασα ἢ θωπεύσασα πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς οὐχ ὑγιὲς τὸ κατηγορήμα τὸ ταύτης γένοιτο· καὶ ὃς Θεοδοσίον μὲν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ μετεπέμψατο, Μακεδονίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία τῇ γυναικὶ ἐκδοῦναι ὑπέστη.

[26] For she had the ways of a scorpion and concealed her wrath in darkness. So not long afterwards, using either magic or beguilement, she persuaded her husband that the accusation of this girl was unsound, and he without delay recalled Theodosius and agreed to hand over Macedonia and the boys to the woman.

[27] οὓς δὴ ἅπαντας πρῶτα τὰς γλώττας, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ἀποτεμοῦσα, εἴτα κατὰ βραχὺν κρεουργήσασα καὶ θυλακίους ἐμβεβλημένη ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἔρριψε, τῶν τινος οἰκετῶν Εὐγενίου ὄνομα ὑπουργήσαντός οἱ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἄγος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐς Σιλβέριον εἵργασται μίasma.

[27] And they say that she first cut out all their tongues, and then cut them up bit by bit, threw the pieces into sacks, and then without ado cast them into the sea, being assisted throughout in this impious business by one of the servants named Eugenius, the same one who performed the unholy deed upon Silverius.

[28] καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον Βελισάριος τῇ γυναικὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς κτείνει. τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῷ Πραισιδίῳ καὶ τοῖς ξιφιδίοις τηνικάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται.

[28] And not long afterwards Belisarius, persuaded by his wife, killed Constantinus also. For at that time fell the affair of Presidius and the daggers, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative.

[29] μέλλοντος γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεσθαι, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἢ Ἀντωνίνα, ἔως αὐτὸν τοῦ λόγου

[29] For though the man was about to be acquitted, Antonina would not relent until she had punished him for the remark which I have just mentioned.

[30] ἐτίσατο, οὗπερ ἐγὼ ἀρτίως ἐμνήσθην. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχθος μέγα περιεβάλλετο ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις λογίμων ἀπάντων.

[30] As a result of this act Belisarius became the object of great hostility on the part of both the Emperor and all the Roman notables.

[31] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε. Θεοδοσίος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίξεσθαι οἷός τε εἶναι, ἵνα δὴ τότε διατριβὴν εἶχον Βελισάριος τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνα, ἣν μὴ Φώτιος ἐκποδὼν γένηται.

[31] Such was the course of these events. But Theodosius declared that he was not able to come to Italy, where Belisarius and Antonina were then tarrying, unless Photius should be got out of the way.

[32] ὁ γὰρ Φώτιος πρόχειρος μὲν φύσει ἐς τὸ δάκνεσθαι ἦν, ἣν τις αὐτοῦ παρ' ὅτῳ οὖν αὐτῇ δύνηται μᾶλλον, ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ δικαίως ἀποπνίγεσθαι οἱ ξυνέβαινεν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς μὲν καίπερ υἱὸς ὢν ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐγίγνετο λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ δυνάμει τε πολλῇ ἐχρήτο καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα περιεβάλλετο.

[32] For Photius was by nature prone to be vexed if anyone had more influence than he with any person, and in the case of Theodosius and his associates he chanced to have a just cause to be sorely aggrieved, in that he himself, though a son, was made of no account, while Theodosius enjoyed great power and was acquiring great wealth.

[33] λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος τε καὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐς ἑκατὸν κεντηνάρια ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Παλατίων συλήσαντα ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ κατ' ἐξουσίαν διαχειρίσαι ταῦτα ξυνέβη.

[33] For they say that at Carthage and Ravenna together he had plundered as much as one hundred centenaria from the two Palaces, since he chanced to manage these without any associate and with full power.

[34] ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνίνα ἐπεὶ τὴν Θεοδοσίου γνώμην ἔμαθεν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἐνεδρεῦσά τε τὸν παῖδα καὶ φονίους τισὶν ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτὸν μετιοῦσα, ἕως καταπράξασθαι ἴσχυσεν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁδῷ ἰέναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν τὰς ἐνέδρας οἷόν τε ὄντα, τὸν δὲ Θεοδοσίον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρ' αὐτὴν ἦκειν.

[34] Now when Antonina learned of the decision of Theodosius, she did not cease laying snares for the youth Photius and pursuing him with certain murderous plots, until she succeeded in bringing it about that he departed from there and set out for Byzantium, being no longer able to withstand her snares, and Theodosius came to Italy to join her.

[35] οὗ δὴ κατακόρως τῆς τε τοῦ ἐρωμένου διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐηθείας ἀποναμένη χρόνῳ ὕστερον ξὺν ἀμφοῖν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν.

[35] There she enjoyed to the full both the attentions of her lover and the simplicity of her husband and later on came to Byzantium in company with both of them.

[36] ἔνθα δὴ Θεοδοσίον ἐδεδίσσετο τὸ συνειδέναι καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. λήσειν γὰρ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς οὐδαμῇ ᾔετο, ἐπεὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐώρα οὐκέτι τὸ πάθος ἐγκρυφιάζειν οἷαν τε οὔσαν, οὐδὲ κεκρυμμένως ἐξερωγέειν, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην μοιχαλίδα εἶναι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ὥς ἥκιστα ἀπαξιοῦσαν.

[36] There Theodosius became terrified by the consciousness of his guilt and his mind was in torment. For he thought that he would by no means escape detection altogether, since he saw that the woman was no longer able to conceal her passion nor to let it break out in secret only, but on the contrary did not object either to being or being called outright an adulteress.

[37] διὸ δὴ αὖθις ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀποθριζάμενος ἥπερ εἴθισται ἐνέγραψεν εἰς τοὺς μοναχοὺς καλουμένους αὐτόν.

[37] So once more he repaired to Ephesus and first assuming the tonsure, as was the custom in such cases, enrolled himself among the monks, as they are called.

[38] τότε δὴ κατ' ἄκρας ἐμάνη καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ζὺν τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τρόπον μεταβαλοῦσα τὸν πένθιμον περιήει συχνὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν κωκύουσα, ὀλολυγῇ τε κεκρημένη ὠλοφύρετο οὐκ ἀπολελειμμένου τάνδρως, ὅποιον αὐτῇ ἀγαθὸν ὠλώλει, ὥς πιστὸν, ὥς εὐχαριν, ὥς εὐνοϊκὸν, ὥς δραστήριον.

[38] Antoninaa thereupon became utterly frantic, and changing her dress together with the routine of her life to the mourning mode, she went about through the house moaning constantly, weeping and wailing even when her husband was close at hand and lamenting what a good thing had been lost from her life, how faithful he was, how charming, how gracious, how energetic.

[39] τελευτῶσα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐς ταύτας δὴ ἐπαγαγομένη τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐκάθισεν. ἔκλαε γοῦν ὁ ταλαίπωρος τὸν ποθινὸν ἀνακαλῶν Θεοδοσίον.

[39] Finally, she dragged even her husband into these scenes of lamentation and made him sit there. At any rate the poor man used to weep and call upon the beloved Theodosius.

[40] ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς βασιλέα ἐλθὼν, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλίδαν ἱκετεύων, ἀνέπεισε Θεοδοσίον μεταπέμψασθαι ἅτε ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὄντα τε καὶ ἐσόμενον.

[40] And later he actually went to the Emperor, entreating both him and the Empress, and persuaded him to recall Theodosius as being both for the present and for the future an indispensable^o part of his household.

[41] ἀλλὰ Θεοδοσίος ἀπεῖπε μηδαμῇ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐμπεδώσειν ἰσχυρισάμενος τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπιτήδευμα.

[41] But Theodosius declined absolutely to leave the place where he was, asserting that he intended to observe the practice of the monks as steadfastly as possible.

[42] ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ λόγος κατάπλαστος, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα Βελισάριος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀποδημοίῃ, αὐτὸς παρὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίναν ἀφίκεται λάθρα. ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο.

[42] Yet this answer proved to be fictitious, his purpose being that as soon as Belisarius should depart from Byzantium, he himself should come secretly to the side of Antonina. And this is exactly what happened.

II

Αὐτίκα γὰρ Βελισάριος μὲν ὡς Χοσρόη πολεμήσων ξὺν τῷ Φωτίῳ ἐστέλλετο, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς αὐτῇ πρότερον τοῦτό γε.

For soon Belisarius was despatched with Photius to carry on the war against Chosroes, while Antonina remained in Byzantium, contrary to her previous custom.

[2] τοῦ γὰρ μὴ κατὰ μόνας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθιστάμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τε γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης μαγγανευμάτων ὀλιγοροῦντα φρονῆσαί τι ἅμφ' αὐτῇ τῶν δεόντων, πανταχόσε τῆς γῆς ξὺν αὐτῷ στέλλεσθαι ἐπιμελὲς οἱ ἐγένετο.

[2] For in order that the man might not be alone and thus come to himself, and scorning her enchantments might come to think as he ought concerning her, she had taken care to travel all over the world with him.

[3] ὅπως δὲ καὶ αὐθις Θεοδοσίῳ παρὰ Ἀντωνίναν ἐσιτητὰ εἶη, Φώτιον ἐκποδὼν οἱ γενέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποίειτο.

[3] Furthermore, in order that Theodosius might once more have access to her, she took measures to have Photius put out of her way.

[4] πείθει τοίνυν τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐρεσχελεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐς αἰὶ καὶ προπηλακίζειν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντας καιρόν: αὐτῇ τε γὰρ γράφουσα ἐς ἡμέραν σχεδόν τι ἐκάστην διέβαλλέ τε διηνεκὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί πάντα ἐκίνει.

[4] So she persuaded some of the retinue of Belisarius to torment him constantly and insult him, sparing him not a moment; she herself, meanwhile, by writing practically every day was maintaining a steady attack of slander and was moving everything against the youth.

[5] οἷς δὴ ὁ νεανίας ἀναγκασθεὶς διαβόλως ἔγνω τῇ μητρὶ χρῆσθαι, ἤκοντά τέ τινα ἐκ Βυζαντίου, ὃς δὴ ἀπήγγελλε Θεοδοσίον λάθρα ξὺν Ἀντωνίνῃ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, παρὰ Βελισάριον εὐθὺς εἰσάγει, φράζειν ἐπιστείλας τὸν πάντα λόγον.

[5] So he in turn, under the compulsion of these measures, decided to resort to slander against his mother, and when a certain person arriving from Byzantium announced that Theodosius was secretly staying with Antonina, he straightway brought him before Belisarius, bidding him to reveal the whole story.

[6] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Βελισάριος ἔγνω, ὀξυθυμωθεὶς ὑπερφυῶς ὡς παρὰ τοῦς Φωτίου πόδας ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδεῖτο τιμωρεῖν οἱ αὐτῷ πάσχοντι

ὕψ' ὧν ἥκιστα χρῆν ἀνόσια ἔργα ὦ παῖ' λέγων ὅτι γλυκύτατε, πατέρα μὲν τὸν σὸν ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν οὐδαμῇ οἶσθα, ἐπεὶ σε ὑπὸ τιθοῦ τρεφόμενον ἔτι καταλιπὼν ζυνεμετρήσατο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ του τῶν αὐτοῦ ὄνησαι. ἦν γὰρ τὰ ἐς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμων.

[6] And when Belisarius heard the story, he was transported with rage and fell on his face before the feet of Photius and begged him to avenge his father who was suffering unholy treatment from those who, least of all, should do such things. And he said: "O son most beloved, you have no knowledge of what your father was, since while you were still being nourished at the breast, he fulfilled the term of life and left you and you have profited by no portion of his estate; for he was not very fortunate in the matter of possessions.

[7] ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δὲ καίπερ ὄντι πατρὶ τραπεῖς, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τηλικόσδε εἶ, ὥς σὸν εἶναι ἀμύνειν ἀδικουμένῳ μοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἔς τε ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἤκεις καὶ πλούτου περιβέβλησαι τοσόνδε χρῆμα, ὥστε πατὴρ τε καὶ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ ζυγγενὲς ἅπαν ἔγωγε καλοῖμην ἂν, ὃ γενναῖε, καὶ εἶην δικαίως.

[7] But you were reared under my care, who am only your stepfather, and you are now of such an age that it is your duty to defend me to the utmost when I suffer injustice; and you have risen to the rank of Consul and have acquired such a mass of wealth, my noble boy, that I might justly be called, and indeed might be, both father to you and mother and all your kindred.

[8] οὐχ αἵματι γὰρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις εἰώθασι δῆτα σταθμᾶσθαι τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους στοργήν

[8] For it is not by ties of blood, but in very truth by deeds, that men are wont to gauge their affection for one another.

[9] ἄνθρωποι. ὥρα σοι τοίνυν μὴ περιδεῖν ἐμὲ μὲν πρὸς τῇ τῆς οἰκίας διαφθορᾷ καὶ χρημάτων ἐστερημένον τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν σὴν αἷσχος ἀναδουμένην οὕτω δὴ μέγα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

[9] The time has come, then, for you not to stand by and see me, in addition to the ruin of my home, also deprived of property in so vast an amount and your own mother fastening upon herself a disgrace so great in the eyes of all mankind.

[10] ἐνθυμοῦ τε ὥς αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμαρτᾶδες οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἵενται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδων ἅπτονται μᾶλλον, οὗς γε καὶ δόξαν τινὰ φέρεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον συμβήσεται, ὥς φύσει τὸν τρόπον ταῖς γειναμέναις ἐοίκασιν.

[10] And bear in mind that the sins of women do not fall upon the husbands alone, but affect their children even more; for it will generally be their lot to carry with them a certain reputation to the effect that they resemble their

mothers in character.

[11] οὕτωςί τε λογίζου περι ἑμοῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ πάνυ μὲν φιλῶ, καὶ ἦν μοι τίσασθαι τὸν διαφθορέα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξῆ, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἐργάσομαι φαῦλον, περιόντος δὲ Θεοδοσίου ταύτῃ τὸ ἐγκλημα ἐπιχωρεῖν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην.'

[11] Thus would I have you take counsel concerning me, that I love my wife exceedingly, and if it be granted me to take vengeance upon the corrupter of my home, I shall do her no harm; but while Theodosius lives, I cannot forgive her the accusation against her."

[12] Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Φώτιος ὑπηρετήσῃ μὲν ὡμολόγει ἐς ἅπαντα, δεδιέναι δὲ μή τι λάβοι ἐνθένδε κακόν, τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀβεβαίῳ τῆς Βελισαρίου γνώμης τά γε ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων: ἄλλα τε γὰρ αὐτὸν πολλὰ καὶ τὸ Μακεδονίας δυσωπεῖν πάθος.

[12] Upon hearing all this Photius said that he would indeed assist in everything, but that he feared he might suffer some harm therefrom, for he decidedly could feel no confidence in the unsteady judgment of Belisarius in matters touching his wife; for many circumstances, and in particular the fate of Macedonia, troubled him.

[13] διὸ δὴ ἄμφω ἅπαντας ἀλλήλοιν ὡμοσάτην ὅσοι δὴ ἐν Χριστιανοῖς δεινότατοι ὄρκοι εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, μήποτε ἀλλήλω καταπροήσσεσθαι ἄχρι τῶν ἐς τὸν ὄλεθρον φερόντων κινδύνων.

[13] Accordingly the two men swore to each other all the oaths which are the most terrible among the Christians and are in fact so designated by them, that they would never betray each other, even in the presence of dangers threatening their destruction.

[14] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ παρόντι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἀζύμφορον εἶναι, ὀπηνίκα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίκηται, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσον Θεοδόσιος ἴοι, τῇνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου Φώτιον ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενον Θεοδόσιόν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐδενὶ πόνῳ χειρώσασθαι.

[14] And so for the present it seemed to them not advisable to undertake the deed, but when Antonina should arrive from Byzantium and Theodosius should go to Ephesus, at that moment Photius was to arrive in Ephesus, where without difficulty he would lay hands upon Theodosius and the money.

[15] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε τὴν ἐσβολὴν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσίδα πεποιήναι χώραν, ἀμφὶ τε Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυνηνέχθῃ γενέσθαι ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται.

[15] Now at that time, while they were making the invasion into the land of Persia with the whole army, the affair of John the Cappadocian chanced to be taking place in Byzantium, as has been set forth by me in the preceding narrative.

[16] ἔνθα δὴ τοῦτό μοι τῷ δέει σεσιώπῃται μόνον, ὅτι γε οὐκ εἰκὴ τόν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἢ Ἀντωνίνα ἐξηπατῇται, ἀλλ' ὄρκων αὐτοῦς πλήθει, ὥνπερ οὐδὲν φοβερώτερον ἔν γε Χριστιανοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ, πιστωσαμένη, μηδεμιᾷ δολερᾷ γνώμῃ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι.

[16] But in the other account one fact was passed over in silence by me through fear — that Antonina had practised deception upon John and his daughter, not without intent, but after giving them the assurance of countless oaths, than which none is accounted more terrible among Christians, at any rate, that she was not acting with any treacherous purpose towards them.

[17] ταῦτά τε διαπεπραγμένη καὶ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλίδος θαρροῦσα φιλίᾳ Θεοδοσίον μὲν ἐς Ἐφεσον στέλλει, αὐτὴ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποτοπάζουσα ἐναντίωμα ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω κομίζεται.

[17] So after she had completed this transaction and felt a much greater confidence in the friendship of the Empress, she sent Theodosius to Ephesus and herself, foreseeing no obstacle, set out for the East.

[18] ἄρτι δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τὸ Σισαυράνων φρούριον ἐλόντι ὁδῶ ἰούσα πρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλλεται. καὶ ὃς τᾶλλα πάντα ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ πεποιημένος ὀπίσω ὑπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα.

[18] And just after Belisarius had captured the fortress of Sisauranon, it was reported to him by someone that she was on the way. Whereupon he, counting all other things as of no importance, led his army back.

[19] ξυνηέχθη γάρ, ἥπερ μοι τὰ πρότερα δεδιήγῃται, καὶ ἕτερα ἅττα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γενέσθαι, ἅπερ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ὥρμα. τοῦτο μέντοι πολλῶ ἔτι θᾶσσον ἐνταῦθα ἀνῆγεν.

[19] For it so happened that certain other things too, as related by me previously, had occurred in the army which influenced him to this retreat.

[20] ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, οὗ μοι ἀκίνδυνον τηνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάσας εἰπεῖν.

[20] This information, however, led him much more quickly to the decision. But, as I said at the beginning of this book, it seemed to me at that time to be dangerous to state all the causes of what had taken place.

[21] ἔγκλημά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο Βελισαρίῳ πρὸς πάντων Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τὰ καιριώτατα αὐτὸς περὶ ἐλάσσονος πραγμάτων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πεποίηται.

[21] As a result of this action Belisarius was accused by all Romans as having subordinated the most vital interests of the State to those of his own family.

[22] ἀρχὴν μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς πάθει ἐχόμενος, ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς Ῥωμαίων οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθῃται τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἤκειν, ἀναστρέψας αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καταλαβεῖν τε καὶ τίσασθαι οἷός τε εἶη.

[22] For from the first he was so constrained by the misconduct of his wife that he had been quite unwilling to get to a region as distant as possible from Roman territory, in order that he might be able, as soon as he learned that the woman had come from Byzantium, to turn back and to catch and to punish her immediately.

[23] διὸ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ Ἀρέθαν Τίγριν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐκέλευσεν, οἳ γε οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διαπεπραγμένοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἡμέρας ὁδῷ ἀπολελεῖσθαι

[23] So for this reason he ordered Arethas and his men to cross the Tigris River, and they, after having accomplished nothing worthy of mention, departed for home, while as for himself he saw to it that he did not get even one day's march from the Roman boundary.

[24] ὄρων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. φρούριον γὰρ τὸ Σισαυράνων διὰ μὲν πόλεως Νισίβιδος ἰόντι πλέον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὁρίων διέχει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τούτου δὴ τοῦ μέτρου ξυμβαίνει τὸ μεταξὺ εἶναι.

[24] For while the fortress of Sisauranon, if one goes by way of the city of Nisibis, is indeed for an unencumbered traveller more than one day's journey from the Roman boundary, yet by another road it is only half that distance.

[25] καίτοι εἰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ Τίγριν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤθελεν, οἷμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ξύμπαντα ληΐσασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας χωρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐς Κτησιφῶντα πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀντιστατοῦντος σφίσιν ἀφῆχθαι, καὶ τοὺς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσοι τε Ῥωμαίων ἄλλοι ἐνταῦθα ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, διασωσάμενον ἐπανάκειν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Χοσρὴ αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν ἀδεέστερον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀποκομίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Κολχίδος. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον τετύχηκε τοῦτο αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[25] And yet if he had been willing in the first place to cross the Tigris River with his whole army, I believe that he would have plundered the whole land of Assyria and would have reached the city of Ctesiphon without encountering

any opposition whatever, and would have rescued the prisoners from Antioch and all the other Romans who chanced to be there before he finally returned to his native land. Furthermore, he was chiefly responsible for the fact that Chosroes returned home from Colchis in comparative security. And the manner in which this happened I shall straightway make clear.

[26] Ἦνίκα Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου εἰς γῆν ἐμβαλὼν τὴν Κολχίδα τὰ τε ἄλλα διεπράξατο, ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται, καὶ Πέτραν εἴλε, πολλοὺς τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη τῷ τε πολέμῳ καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις. δύσοδός τε γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἡ Λαζικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅλως κρημνώδης.

[26] When Chosroes, son of Cabades, made his invasion into the land of Colchis and achieved all those things which have been set forth by me above, including the capture of Petra, it chanced that many of the army of the Medes were destroyed both by the fighting and by the difficult nature of the country. For Lazica, as I have stated, is a country of bad roads and everywhere abounds in precipices.

[27] καὶ μὴν καὶ λοιμοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος σφίσι τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολωλέναι ξυνέπεσε, πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη.

[27] In addition to these difficulties it chanced that a pestilence fell upon the army and many of the soldiers also met their death as a result of their lack of provisions.

[28] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τινες ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐνταῦθα ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἡγγελλον ὡς Ναβέδην μὲν Βελισάριος ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβιν μάχῃ νικήσας πρόσω χωροίῃ, πολιορκία δὲ τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐλὼν φρούριον Βλησχάμην τε καὶ Περσῶν ἱππεῖς ὀκτακοσίους δορυαλώτους πεποιήται, στράτευμα δὲ ἄλλο Ῥωμαίων ζύν γε Ἀρέθα τῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντι πέμψειεν, ὅπερ διαβάν ποταμὸν Τίγριν ζύμπαντα λεηλατήσσειε τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, πρότερον ἀδῆῳτα ὄντα.

[28] At this point also certain persons from the land of Persia, who were passing that way, announced that Belisarius had defeated Nabedes in a battle near the city of Nisibis and was moving forward, had taken the fortress of Sisauranon by siege and captured Bleschames and eight hundred horsemen of the Persians, and had sent out another Roman army under Arethas, leader of the Saracens, and that this army had crossed the Tigris River and laid waste that whole country, which had never been plundered before.

[29] ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ στράτευμα Οὐννων ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ὁ Χοσρόης στείλας, ὅπως τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀσχολίᾳ μηδεμία τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐν Λαζικῇ πρassoμένων αἰσθησις γένηται.

[29] It happened also that Chosroes had sent an army of Huns against the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, in order that by reason of their preoccupation with this force the Romans there might take no notice of what was going on in Lazica.

[30] τούτους τε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπήγγελλον ἕτεροι Βαλεριανῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας παρὰ πολὺ αὐτῶν ἡσσηθέντας τῇ μάχῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολωλέναι.

[30] Still other messengers brought word that these barbarians had encountered Valerian and the Romans and, upon engaging with them, and having been heavily defeated in battle, had for the most part been destroyed.

[31] ἅπερ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀκούσαντες καὶ κακοπαθεῖα μὲν τῇ ἐν Λαζοῖς κεκακωμένοι, δεδιότες δὲ μή τι ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ ἐντυχόντες πολεμίων στρατῷ ἐν κρημνοῖς καὶ χωρίοις λοχμώδεσιν ἅπαντες οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ διαφθαρεῖν, περιδεεῖς ἀμφὶ τε παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι γεγεννημένοι, εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, Χοσρόῃ ἐλοιδοροῦντο ἐπικαλοῦντες ὥς ἔς τε τοὺς ὅρκους ἡσεβηκῶς καὶ τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσβάλοι μὲν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν προσῆκον, ἀδικοῖη δὲ πολιτείαν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ ἀξιοτάτην πασῶν μάλιστα, ἣς τῷ πολέμῳ περιεῖναι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο: ἔμελλον δὲ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν.

[31] When the Persians heard these things and, partly because of the miseries which they had suffered in Lazica, and partly because they feared lest they might during the withdrawal chance upon some hostile force among the cliffs and the regions overgrown with thickets and all, in the utter confusion of their forces, be destroyed, had become exceedingly anxious for the safety of their wives and children and native land, then all the loyal element in the Medic army began to heap abuses upon Chosroes, charging him with having, in violation of his oaths and the obligations commonly held to by all mankind, made during a truce an invasion of Roman territory to which he had no claim, and was wronging a State which was ancient and worthy, above all states, of the highest honour, one which he could not possibly overcome in war; and they were on the point of a revolution. Now

[32] οἷς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεὶς εὗρετο τοῦ κακοῦ ἵασιν τήνδε. γράμματα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀνελέξατο, ἅπερ ἔναγχος ἡ βασιλὶς τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐτύγχανε γράψασα.

[32] Chosroes was thoroughly disturbed by this situation, but he found the following remedy for the trouble. For he read to them a letter which the Empress had recently chanced to send to Zaberganes. Now this letter set forth the following:

[33] ἐδόηλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε “Ὅπως σε, ὦ Ζαβεργάνη, διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχω, εὖνουν σε οἰομένη τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν εἶναι, οἶσθα ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀφιγμένος.

[33] “How devoted I am to you, O Zaberganes, believing you to be loyal to our interests, you know already, since you quite recently came to us on an embassy.

[34] οὐκοῦν πράττοις ἂν εἰκότα τῇ δόξῃ, ἣν ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔχω, εἴ γε βασιλέα Χοσρόην εἰρηναῖα πείθοις ἐς πολιτείαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βουλευέσθαι.

[34] You would then be acting in accord with the high opinion I hold of you, if you should persuade King Chosroes to adopt a peaceful attitude toward our State.

[35] οὕτω γάρ σοι ἀγαθὰ μεγάλα πρὸς ἄνδρὸς ἀναδέχομαι τοῦμοῦ ἔσεσθαι, ὅς γε οὐδὲν

[35] For in case you do this, I promise that great benefits will accrue to you from my husband, who can be counted upon to carry out no measure whatever without consulting my judgment.”

[36] ἂν ὅ τι καὶ ἄνευ γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς πράξειεν.’ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναλεξάμενος, ὄνειδίσας τε Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εἰ πολιτείαν οἶονται εἶναι, ἦν γυνὴ διοικεῖται,

[36] When Chosroes had read this to the Persian notables, he reproached any of them who thought that any real State existed when a woman was the administrator, and thus succeeded in checking the vehemence of the men.

[37] τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁρμὴν ἀναστέλλειν ἔσχεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆει, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον οἰόμενος σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δέ οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσαντος ἄσμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπεκομίσθη.

[37] Yet even so he departed from there in the fear, thinking that the forces of Belisarius would block their way. No hostile force, however, encountered him, and he gladly repaired to his own land.

III

Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐρίσκει τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφικομένην. καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσε, πολλάκις τε διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτὴν ἐγγειρήσας ἐμαλθακίσθη, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ,

When Belisarius had reached Roman territory, he found that his wife had arrived from Byzantium. And he kept her under guard in disgrace, and though he many times set about destroying her, his heart was softened, being vanquished, as it seems to me, by a sort of flaming-hot love.

[2] ἔρωτος ἥσσηθεις διαπύρου τινός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μαγγανείαις πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς καταλαμβανόμενον ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἐκλύεσθαι. Φώτιος δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον στέλλεται, τῶν τινα εὐνούχων, Καλλίγονον ὄνομα, προαγωγὸν τῆς κεκτημένης ὄντα δεσμεύσας τε καὶ ζὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ αἰκιζόμενος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτη ἅπαντα ἐξήνεγκε τὰ ἀπόρρητα.

[2] But they say that it was also through her magic arts that he was brought under the control of the woman and immediately undone. Now Photius set off in haste for Ephesus, taking with him as a prisoner one of the eunuchs, Calligonus by name, who acted as a go-between for his mistress, and he on this journey revealed to him under torture all the woman's secrets.

[3] καὶ Θεοδόσιος μὲν προμαθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωάννου καταφεύγει τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ἀγιώτατόν ἐστι καὶ ἐπιεικῶς ἔντιμον.

[3] But Theodosius, having advance information, fled for safety to the sanctuary of the Apostle John, which is the most holy one there and held in very high honour.

[4] Ἀνδρέας δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἐφέσου ἀρχιερεὺς χρήμασιν οἱ ἀναπεισθεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐν τούτῳ ἡ Θεοδώρα ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ δαιμαίνουσα, ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα δὴ αὐτῇ ξυνεπεπτώκει, Βελισάριον ζὺν αὐτῇ ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμπεται.

[4] Andreas, however, the Chief Priest of Ephesus, accepted a bribe and delivered the man over to Photius. At this point Theodora, being solicitous for Antonina (for she had heard all that had happened to her), summoned Belisarius and her to Byzantium.

[5] Φώτιος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας Θεοδόσιον μὲν ἐς Κίλικας πέμπει, οὗ δὲ οἱ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ διαχειμάζοντες ἔτυχον, τοῖς παραπομποῖς ἐπιστείλας λαθραιότατα μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον διακομίζειν, ἐς Κίλικας δὲ ἀφικομένοις κεκρυμμένως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, μηδενὶ αἰσθησιν

παρεχομένοις ὅποι γῆς εἴη. αὐτὸς δὲ ζῶν τε Καλλιγόνῳ καὶ τοῖς Θεοδοσίῳ χρήμασιν ἀδροῖς τισιν οὖσιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν.

[5] And Photius, upon hearing this, sent Theodosius into Cilicia where the spearmen^o and guards chanced to be passing the winter, instructing the escort to convey this man with the utmost secrecy, and when they reached Cilicia, to keep him in very strictly hidden confinement, giving information to no man where in the world he was. He himself, meanwhile, with Calligonus and the money of Theodosius, which amounted to a rather imposing sum, came to Byzantium.

[6] ἐνταῦθα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπιδείξιν πεποίηται ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι δὴ χάριτας φονίους εἰδεῖν μείζοσί τε καὶ μιαιωτέροις ἀμείβεσθαι δώροις.

[6] There the Empress made an exhibition before all mankind, shewing that she knew how to requite bloody favours with greater and more unholy gifts.

[7] Ἀντωνίνα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα οἱ ἔναγχος τὸν Καππαδόκην ἐχθρὸν ἐνεδρεύσασα προὔδωκεν, αὐτὴ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίσασα ἀνδρῶν ἀνεγκλήτως ἀνήρηκε.

[7] For whereas Antonina had recently laid snares for one enemy for her, the Cappadocian, and had betrayed him, she herself delivered over to Antonina a host of men and brought about their destruction without even a charge having been brought against them.

[8] τῶν γὰρ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Φωτίῳ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινῶν μὲν τὰ σώματα αἰκισαμένη, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπικαλέσασα, ὅτι ἐς τὸ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν, οὕτω διέθετο ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ τί ποτε ἡ τύχη ἐτελεύτα οὕπω νῦν ἴσμεν: ἄλλους δὲ φυγῇ ἐζημίωσε, ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπενεγκούσα.

[8] For she first tortured certain intimates of Belisarius and Photius, alleging against them only the fact that they were on friendly terms with these two men, and then so disposed of them that up to this day we do not yet know what their final fate was; others too she punished by banishment, laying this same charge against them.

[9] ἓνα μέντοι τῶν Φωτίῳ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπισπομένων, Θεοδοσίον ὄνομα, καίπερ ἐς ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἦκοντα, τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφελομένη ἐν δωματίῳ καταγείῳ τε καὶ ὅλως ζοφώδει ἔστησεν ἐπὶ φάτνης τινὸς βρόχον οἱ τοῦ τραχήλου ἀναψαμένη ἐς τοσόνδε βραχὺν, ὥστε αὐτῷ δὴ ἐντετάσθαι καὶ χαλαρὸν μηδαμῇ εἶναι.

[9] But one of those who had followed Photius to Ephesus, Theodosius by name, though he had attained the dignity of Senator, she stripped of his property and forced him to stand in an underground chamber which was

utterly dark, tying his neck to a sort of manger with a rope so short that it was always stretched taut for the man and never hung slack.

[10] ἐστῆκώς ἀμέλει διηνεκὲς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς φάτνης ὁ τάλας ἥσθιέ τε καὶ ὕπνον ἡρεῖτο, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἤνυνεν ἀπάσας τῆς φύσεως χρείας, ἄλλο τέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ τοῖς

[10] So the poor wretch stood there continuously at this manger, both eating and sleeping and fulfilling all the other needs of nature, and nothing except braying was needed to complete his resemblance to the ass.

[11] ὄνοις εἰκάζεσθαι ὅ τι μὴ βρωμᾶσθαι ἐλέλειπτο. χρόνος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη, ἕως μελαγχολίας νόσφ' ἀλοὺς μανείας τε ἐκτόπως καὶ οὕτω δὴ ταύτης τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀφεθείς εἴτα ἀπέθανε.

[11] And a time amounting to not less than four months was passed by the man in this existence until he was attacked by the disease of melancholy, became violently insane and so finally was released from this confinement and then died. And she forced Belisarius,

[12] καὶ Βελισάριον οὕτι ἐκούσιον Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καταλαγῆναι ἠνάγκασε. Φώτιον δὲ αἰκισμοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνδραποδώδεσι περιβαλοῦσα καὶ ξάνασα κατὰ τε τοῦ νότου καὶ τῶν ὤμων πολλὰς, ἐκλέγειν ἐκέλευεν ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς Θεοδοσίος τε καὶ ὁ προαγωγὸς εἴη.

[12] quite against his will, to become reconciled with his wife Antonina. She then inflicted sundry servile tortures upon Photius, among others combing his back and his shoulders with many lashes and commanded him to tell where in the world Theodosius and the go-between were.

[13] ὁ δὲ καίπερ ὑπὸ τῆς βασάνου κατατεινόμενος τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐμπεδοῦν ἔγνω, ἀνὴρ νοσώδης μὲν καὶ ἀνειμένος γεγρονῶς πρότερον, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπείαν ἐσπουδακῶς, ὕβρεώς τε γενόμενος ἢ ταλαιπωρίας τινὸς ἄπειρος.

[13] But he, though being racked with torture, determined to hold fast to his oath; for though he was a sickly person and had in earlier life been dissolute, yet he had been devoted to the care of his body, having experienced neither wanton treatment nor hardship.

[14] οὐδὲν γοῦν αὐτὸς τῶν Βελισαρίου κεκρυμμένων ἐξεῖπεν. ὕστερον μέντοι ἅπαντα τὰ τέως ἀπόρητα ἐς φῶς ἐληλούθει.

[14] At any rate, he disclosed not one of the secrets of Belisarius. At a later time, however, everything which hitherto had remained secret came to light.

[15] καὶ Καλλίγονον μὲν ἦδ' ἐνταῦθα εὐροῦσα τῇδε παρέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Θεοδοσίον μετακαλέσασα ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, εὐθὺς μὲν κρύπτει ἐν Παλατίῳ, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία μεταπεμφαμένη Ἀντωνίναν,

[15] She also found Calligonus there and handed him over to Antonina. And she summoned Theodosius to Byzantium, and upon his arrival, straightway concealed him in the Palace; and next day, calling Antonina to her, she said

[16] ‘Ὡ φιλότῃ πατρικίᾳ’ ἔφη ‘μάργαρον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμὰς τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐμπέπτωκεν, οἷον οὐδεὶς ποτ' ἀνθρώπων εἶδε. καὶ σοι βουλομένη οὐκ ἂν φθονήσαιμι τοῦ θεάματος τούτου,

[16] “O dearest Patrician, yesterday a pearl fell into my hands, such as no man ever saw. If you wish, I should not begrudge you the sight of this, nay, I shall shew it to you.”

[17] ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείξω.’ καὶ ἡ μὲν οὐ ξυνιῖσα τοῦ πρassoμένου τὸν μάργαρόν οἱ ἐπιδείξαι πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει. ἡ δὲ τὸν Θεοδοσίον ἐξ οἰκίδιου τῶν τινος εὐνούχων

[17] And she, not comprehending what was going on, begged her earnestly to shew her the pearl. And she brought Theodosius out of the room of one of the eunuchs and shewed him to her.

[18] ἐξαγαγοῦσα ἐπέδειξεν. Ἀντωνίνα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περιχαρὴς ἄγαν γεγυῖα ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀχανὲς ἔμεινε, χάριτάς τέ οἱ δεδρακέναι ὡμολόγει πολλὰς, σώτειράν τε καὶ εὐεργέτιν ἀποκαλοῦσα καὶ δέσποιναν ὄντως.

[18] And Antonina was so overjoyed that she at first remained speechless with pleasure, and then she acknowledged that Theodora had done her a great favour, calling her Saviour and Benefactor and Mistress in very truth.

[19] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Θεοδοσίον ἡ βασιλὶς κατασχοῦσα ἐν Παλατίῳ τρυφῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐπαθείας ἡξίου, στρατηγόν τε ἡπέιλυσεν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καταστήσεσθαι.

[19] And so the Empress detained this Theodosius in the Palace and bestowed upon him luxury and all manner of indulgence, and threatened that she would make him a Roman General after no long time.

[20] ἀλλὰ τις προτερήσασα δίκη νόσῳ ἀλόντα δυσεντερίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει.

[20] But a sort of justice forestalled her, for he was seized by an attack of dysentery and removed from the world.

[21] ἦν δὲ οἰκίδια τῇ Θεοδώρα ἀπόκρυφα μὲν καὶ ὅλως λεληθότα ζοφώδη τε

καὶ ἀγείτονα, ἔνθα δὴ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας δήλωσις γίνεται.

[21] Now Theodora had concealed rooms which were completely hidden, being dark and isolated, where no indication of night or day could be observed.

[22] ἐνταῦθα τὸν Φώτιον ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος καθείρξασα ἐτήρει. ὅθεν δὴ αὐτῷ ξυνέβη τις τύχη οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις διαφυγόντι ἀπαλλαγήναι.

[22] There she confined Photius and kept him under guard for a long time. From this place he had the fortune, not once but even twice, to escape and get away.

[23] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς θεοτόκου, ὅσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίοις ἀγιώτατός ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὠνομάσθη, παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἰκέτης καθῆστο. ἐντεῦθεν τε αὐτὸν ἀναστήσασα βία τῇ πάσῃ καθείρξεν αὐθις.

[23] The first time he fled to the Church of the Mother of God, which among the Byzantines is considered most holy, as it indeed was designated in its name, and he sat as a suppliant beside the holy table. Thence she forced him with great violence to rise and once more put him into confinement.

[24] τὸ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον ἐς τῆς Σοφίας τὸ ἱερὸν ἦκων, ἐς αὐτὴν που τὴν θείαν δεξαμενὴν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐκάθισεν, ἥνπερ μάλιστα πάντων νενομίκασι Χριστιανοὶ σέβειν.

[24] And the second time he reached the sanctuary of Sophia, and he suddenly seated himself close to the divine receptacle itself, which the Christians have been wont to reverence above all things.

[25] ἀλλὰ κἀνθένδε ἀφέλκειν αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἴσχυσε. χωρίον γὰρ ἀβέβηλον πῶποτε ἀνέφαπτον αὐτῇ οὐδὲν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ βιάζεσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ ζύμπαντα οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι.

[25] But the woman succeeded in dragging him away even from there. For no inviolable spot ever remained inaccessible to her, but it seemed nothing to her to do violence to any and all sacred things.

[26] καὶ ξὺν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερεῖς καταπεπληγμένοι τῷ δέει ἐξίσταντο καὶ ἐνεχώρουν αὐτῇ ἅπαντα.

[26] And not only the populace but also the priests of the Christians, smitten with terror, stood aside and conceded everything to her.

[27] τριῶν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη, ὕστερον δὲ ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ Ζαχαρίας ἐπιστὰς ὄναρ ὄρκους, φασὶν, ἐκέλευσε φεύγειν, συλλήψεσθαι οἱ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε ὁμολογήσας.

[27] So a period of three years was passed by him in this manner of life, but afterwards the prophet Zachariah stood over him in a dream and with oaths, they say, commanded him to flee, promising that he would lend him a hand in this undertaking.

[28] ταύτη τε τῇ ὄψει ἀναπεισθεὶς ἀνέστη τε ἐνθὲνδε καὶ διαλαθὼν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἦλθε, μυρίων μὲν αὐτὸν διερευνωμένων ἀνθρώπων, οὐδενὸς δὲ τὸν νεανίαν, καίπερ ἐντυχόντα ὁρῶντος.

[28] Persuaded by this vision he got away from there and escaping detection came to Jerusalem, and though countless persons were searching for him, no man saw the youth, even when he stood before him.

[29] οὗ δὴ ἀποθριζάμενός τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν καλουμένων τὸ σχῆμα περιβαλλόμενος τὴν ἐκ Θεοδώρας κόλασιν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχε.

[29] There he shaved his head, and by clothing himself in the garb of the monks, as they are called, he succeeded in escaping the punishment of Theodora.

[30] Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ὁμωσοσμένα ἡλογηκῶς, τιμωρεῖν τε οὐδαμῇ τούτῳ ἐλόμενος πάσχοντι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀνόσια ἔργα, ἐς πάντα οἱ λοιπὸν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πολέμια τὰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὗρεν: εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τε Μήδους καὶ Χοσρόην σταλεῖς τὸ τρίτον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν κακότητα ὥφλε.

[30] But Belisarius had neglected his oath and had chosen in no way to support this man, though he was suffering unholy treatment, as I have said; and so, in all his undertakings thereafter, he naturally found the power of God hostile. For straightway, being sent against the Medes and Chosroes, who were making their third invasion into Roman territory, he was guilty of cowardice.

[31] καίτοι ἐδόκει τι λόγου ἄξιον διαπεπρᾶχθαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνθὲνδε ἀποσεισάμενος. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης Εὐφράτην διαβάς ποταμὸν Καλλίνικον πόλιν πολυάνθρωπον οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου εἴλε καὶ μυριάδας ἡνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων πολλὰς, Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπισπέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε, δόξαν ἀπῆνεγκεν ὡς δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐθελοκακήσας ἢ ἀποδειλιάσας, αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

[31] And yet he did seem to have accomplished something of note in having shaken off the war from that quarter. Yet when Chosroes crossed the Euphrates River, captured the populous city of Callinicus which had not a man to defend it, and enslaved many thousand Romans, and when Belisarius was not concerned even to follow up the enemy, he won the reputation of having remained where he was for one of two reasons — either because he was wilfully negligent or else because he was a coward.

IV

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ τι ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπιπεσεῖν ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. ὁ μὲν λοιμὸς, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθη, ἐπενέμετο τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀνθρώπους. βασιλεῖ δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ χαλεπώτατα νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέγετο ὅτι ἀπολώλει.

At about this time another thing also befell him, as follows. The plague which I mentioned in the previous narrative was ravaging the population of Byzantium. And the Emperor Justinian was taken very seriously ill, so that it was even reported that he had died.

[2] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον περιαγαγούσα ἡ φήμη διεκόμισεν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγον τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς ὥς, ἢν βασιλέα Ῥωμαῖοι ἕτερόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταστήσωνται σφίσιν, οὐ μῆποτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιτρέψωσιν.

[2] And this report was circulated by rumour and was carried as far as the Roman army. There some of the commanders began to say that, if the Romans should set up a second Justinian as Emperor over them in Byzantium, they would never tolerate it.

[3] ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεῖ μὲν ράϊσαι ξυνέβη, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι διαβόλοις ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.

[3] But a little later it so fell out that the Emperor recovered, and the commanders of the Roman army began to slander one another.

[4] Πέτρος τε γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν Φαγᾶν ἐκάλουν, Βελισαρίου τε καὶ Βούζου ἐκεῖνα λεγόντων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀκηκοέναι ἅπερ μοι ἀρτίως δεδήλωται.

[4] For Peter the General and John whom they called the Glutton declared that they had heard Belisarius and Bouzes say those things which I have just mentioned.

[5] ταῦτά γε ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα ἐπικαλέσασα ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰρῆσθαι μεστὴ ἐγεγόνει.

[5] The Empress Theodora, declaring that these slighting things which the men had said were directed against her, became quite out of patience.

[6] ἅπαντας οὖν εὐθὺς μετακάλεσασα ἐς Βυζάντιον, ζήτησίν τε τοῦ λόγου τούτου ποιησαμένη, τὸν Βούζην μετεπέμψατο εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐξαπινάϊως, ὥς τι αὐτῷ κοινολογησομένη τῶν ἄγαν σπουδαίων.

[6] So she straightway summoned them all to Byzantium and made an investigation of the report; and she called Bouzes suddenly into the woman's apartment as if to communicate to him something very important.

[7] ἦν δέ τι οἶκημα ἐν Παλατίῳ κατάγειον, ἀσφαλές τε καὶ λαβυρινθῶδες καὶ οἶον Ταρτάρῳ εἰκάζεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας ὥς τὰ πολλὰ καθεύρξασα ἐτήρει.

[7] Now there was a suite of rooms in the Palace, below the ground level, secure and a veritable labyrinth, so that it seemed to resemble Tartarus, where she usually kept in confinement those who had given offence.

[8] καὶ ὁ Βούζης οὖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληται, ἐνταῦθά τε ἀνὴρ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενόμενος ἄγνωστος ἀεὶ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ ἔμεινεν.

[8] So Bouzes was hurled into this pit, and in that place he, a man sprung from a line of consuls, remained, forever unaware of time.

[9] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος διαγινώσκειν οἶός τε ἐγεγόνει πότερον ἡμέρα ἢ νύκτωρ

[9] For as he sat there in the darkness, he could distinguish whether it was day or night, nor could he communicate with any other person.

[10] εἶη οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ ἐντυχεῖν εἶχεν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ, ὅσπερ οἱ ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τὰ σιτία ἐρρίπτει, ὥσπερ τι θηρίον θηρίῳ ἄφωνος ἀφώνῳ ὠμίλει.

[10] For the man who threw him his food for each day met him in silence, one as dumb as the other, as one beast meets another.

[11] καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τετελευτηκέναι εὐθὺς ἔδοξε, λόγον μέντοι ἢ μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τίνα ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς. ἐνιαυτοῖν δὲ δυοῖν ὕστερον πρὸς μησὶ τέσσαρσιν οἰκτισαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆκε.

[11] And straightway it was supposed by all that he had died, but no one dared mention or recall him. But two years and four months later she was moved to pity and released the man,

[12] καὶ ὃς ὥσπερ ἀναβεβιωκὸς ἅπασιν ὤφθη. ξυνέβη τε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνθένδε ἀεὶ ἀμβλυώττειν τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα νοσῶδει εἶναι.

[12] and he was seen by all as one who had returned from the dead. But thereafter he always suffered from weak sight and his whole body was sickly.

[13] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Βούζῃ τῇδε ἐχώρησε. Βελισάριον δὲ βασιλεὺς, καίπερ οὐδενὸς τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἀλόντα, ἐγκειμένης τῆς βασιλίδος παραλύσας

ἥς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς Μαρτῖνον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτὴν στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο, τοὺς τε Βελισαρίου δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν εἴ τι ἐν πολέμῳ δόκιμον ἦν, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων τισὶν ἐπέστειλε διαδάσασθαι.

[13] Such was the experience of Bouzes. As for Belisarius, though he was convicted of none of the charges, the Emperor, at the insistence of the Empress, relieved him of the command which he held and appointed Martinus to be General of the East in his stead, and instructed him to distribute the spearmen and guards of Belisarius and all his servants who were notable men in war to certain of the officers and Palace eunuchs.

[14] οἱ δὲ κλήρους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐμβεβλημένοι αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἅπαντας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διενείμαντο, ὥς πη κατατυχεῖν ἐκάστῳ συνέβη.

[14] So these cast lots for them and divided them all up among themselves, arms and all, as each happened to win them.

[15] καὶ τῶν φίλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτῷ τὰ πρότερα ὑπουργηκότων πολλοῖς ἀπεῖπε παρὰ Βελισάριον μηκέτι ἰέναι.

[15] And many of those who had been his friends or had previously served him in some way he forbade to visit Belisarius any longer.

[16] καὶ περιήρχετο πικρὸν θέαμα καὶ ἄπιστος ὄψις, Βελισάριος ἰδιώτης ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, σχεδὸν τι μόνος, σύννους ἀεὶ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὀρρωδῶν θάνατον.

[16] And he went about, a sorry and incredible sight, Belisarius a private citizen in Byzantium, practically alone, always pensive and gloomy, and dreading a death by violence.^a

[17] μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς πολλὰ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑω χρήματα εἶναι, πέμψασα τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων τινὰ κεκόμισται πάντα.

[17] And the Empress, learning that he had much money in the East, sent one of the Palace eunuchs and had it all brought back.

[18] ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα, ὥς μοι εἴρηται, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ διάφορος γεγενημένη, τῇ δὲ βασιλίδι φιλάτῃ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ οὖσα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἅτε Ἰωάννην ἑναγχοῦς κατεργασαμένη τὸν Καππαδόκην.

[18] But Antonina, as I have said, had indeed quarrelled with her husband, yet was on terms of closest friendship and intimacy with the Empress, seeing she had recently accomplished the ruin of John the Cappadocian.

[19] διὸ δὴ χάρισσασθαι ἡ βασιλὶς τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ βουλευσαμένη, ἅπαντα ἔπραττεν ὅπως ἐξαιτήσασθαι τε τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ γυνή καὶ ἀπὸ ξυμφορῶν τηλικῶνδε ρύσασθαι δόξειε, ταύτῃ τε οὐ μόνον τῷ ταλαιπῶρῳ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς καταλλαγῆναι συμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρρήδην αὐτὸν ἄτε πρὸς αὐτῆς διασεσωσμένον αἰχμάλωτον ἀναρπάσασθαι.

[19] So the Empress, in her determination to shew favours to Antonina, left nothing undone to have it appear that the woman had interceded successfully for her husband and had rescued him from such overwhelming misfortunes, and to bring it about that she should not only be completely reconciled with the wretched man, but also that she should unequivocally rescue him as though he were a prisoner of war whose life had been saved by her.

[20] ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἦλθε μὲν ποτε Βελισάριος πρῶτ' ἐς Παλάτιον, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ζῆν ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ὀλίγοις τισίν.

[20] And it came about as follows. Belisarius had on one occasion come early in the morning to the Palace, accompanied, as was his wont, by a small and pitiful escort.

[21] οὐκ εὐμενῶν δὲ πειρασάμενος βασιλέως τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιυβρισμένος ἐνταῦθα ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν μοχθηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγελαίων, οἵκαδε ἀμφὶ δέιλῃν ὀψίαν ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, συχνά τε περιστρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ταύτῃ καὶ πανταχόσε περισκοπούμενος, ὁπόθεν ποτὲ προσιόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλύντας ἴδοι.

[21] And finding the Emperor and the Empress not well disposed towards him, and also having been insulted there by men of the base and common sort, he departed for his home late in the evening, often turning about as he walked away and looking around in every direction from which he might see his would-be assassins approaching.

[22] ζῆν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ὀρρωδίᾳ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος καθῆστο μόνος, γενναῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐννοῶν, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐγεγόνει ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων, ἰδρῶν δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ ἱλιγγιῶν καὶ ζῆν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἀπορούμενος, φόβοις τε ἀνδραποδώδεσι καὶ μερίμναις ἀποκναιόμενος φιλοψύχοις τε καὶ ὅλως ἀνάνδροις.

[22] In such a state of terror he went up to his chamber and sat down alone upon his couch, thinking not one worthy thought nor even remembering that he had ever been a man, but perspiring constantly, with his head swimming, trembling violently in helpless despair, tortured by servile fears and apprehensions which were both cowardly and wholly unmanly.

[23] Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἄτε οὔτε τὰ πρασσόμενα ὅλως ἐπισταμένη οὔτε τι τῶν ἐσομένων караδοκουσα περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ἐποιεῖτο συχνοὺς ὀξυρεγμίαν

[23] Meanwhile Antonina, as though not understanding at all what was going on or expecting any of the things which were about to happen, was walking up and down there repeatedly, pleading an attack of indigestion; for they still maintained a suspicious attitude towards one another.

[24] ἔτι γὰρ εἰς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτως εἶχον. μεταξὺ δέ τις ἐκ Παλατίου, Κουαδρᾶτος ὄνομα, ἦκεν ἤδη δεδυκότος ἡλίου, τήν τε αὖλειον ὑπερβὰς ἐξαπναιῶς παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιδα ἔστη θύραν, φάσκων πρὸς τῆς βασιλίδος ἐνταῦθα ἐστάλθαι.

[24] In the meantime a man from the Palace, Quadratus by name, arrived after the sun had already set, and passing through the door of the court, suddenly stood by the door of the men's apartments, stating that he had been sent there by the Empress.

[25] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἤκουσε, χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος ἐλκύσας ὕπτιος ἔκειτο, πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐτοιμότατος: οὕτως ἅπαν αὐτὸν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἀπελελοίπει.

[25] When Belisarius heard this, he drew up his hands and feet upon the couch and lay there upon his back, completely prepared for destruction; so thoroughly had all his manhood left him.

[26] οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ Κουαδρᾶτος παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν γράμματά οἱ τῆς βασιλίδος ἐπέδειξεν.

[26] And before Quadratus had come into his presence, he displayed to him a letter from the Empress.

[27] ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε “Ἄ μὲν εἰργάσω ἡμᾶς, ὧ βέλτιστε, οἴσθα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ὀφείλουσα τῇ σῇ γυναικί, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἐγκλήματά σοι ἀφεῖναι ξύμπαντα ἔγνωκα, ἐκείνῃ τὴν σὴν δωρουμένη ψυχῇν.

[27] And the writing set forth the following. “You know, noble Sir, how you have treated us. But I, for my part, since I am greatly indebted to your wife, have decided to dismiss all these charges against you, giving to her the gift of your life.

[28] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔνθεν σοι τὸ θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων περιέστιν: ὅποῖος δὲ σὺ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔσῃ διὰ τῶν πραχθησομένων εἰσόμεθα.”

[28] For the future, then, you may be confident concerning both your life and your property; and we shall know concerning your attitude towards her from your future behaviour.”

[29] ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἀνελέξατο, ἅμα μὲν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθεὶς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐπίδειξιν ἐθέλων ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἀναστὰς εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτει.

[29] When Belisarius had read this, being transported with joy and at the same time wishing to give immediate evidence of his feelings, he straightway arose and fell on his face before the feet of his wife.

[30] καὶ χειρὶ μὲν ἑκατέρᾳ περιλαβὼν αὐτῆς ἅμφω τὰς κνήμας, τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν ἀεὶ τῶν ταρσῶν τῆς γυναικὸς μεταβιβάζων, τοῦ μὲν βίου καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν ἐκάλει, ἀνδράποδον δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνθὲνδε πιστὸν ὡμολόγει καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆρ ἔσεσθαι.

[30] And clasping both her knees with either hand and constantly shifting his tongue from one of the woman's ankles to the other, he kept calling her the cause of his life and his salvation, and promising thenceforth to be, not her husband, but her faithful slave.

[31] καὶ τῶν χρημάτων δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἐς τριάκοντα χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ δοῦσα, ἄλλα Βελισαρίῳ ἀπέδοτο.

[31] As for his property, the Empress gave thirty centenaria of it to the Emperor and restored the remainder to Belisarius.

[32] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῇδε κεχωρήκει, ὥπερ ἡ τύχη οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον Γελίμερά τε καὶ Οὐίτιγιν δορυαλώτους παρεδεδώκει.

[32] Such, then, was the turn of events in the case of Belisarius the General, the man at once whom not long before Fortune had delivered Gelimer and Vittigis as captives of war.

[33] ἐκ παλαιοῦ δὲ Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ Θεοδώραν πλοῦτος ὁ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἔκνιζεν, ὑπέρογκός τε ὢν καὶ βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἄξιος.

[33] But for a long time back the wealth of this man had been exceedingly irritating to both Justinian and Theodora, as being excessive and worthy of a royal court.

[34] ἔφασκόν τε ὡς τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων Γελίμερός τε καὶ Οὐιττίγιδος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποκρυψάμενος λάθρα ἔτυχε, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῶν βραχεῖαν τέ τινα καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόλογον βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε.

[34] And they kept saying that he had hidden away in secret the greater part of the State funds of both Gelimer and Vittigis, and had given only a small and utterly insignificant portion of them to the Emperor.

[35] πόνους δὲ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν τὴν βλασφημίαν διαριθμοῦμενοι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ σκῆψιν ἀξιόχρεων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν κεκομισμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.

[35] But as they reckoned up the great labours of the man and the slanderous talk in which outsiders would indulge, and since at the same time they could not lay hands on any satisfactory pretext against him, they remained quiet.

[36] τότε δὲ ἡ βασίλισ ἀυτοῦ λαβομένη κατωρρωδηκότος τε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσαντος ὅλως πράξει μιᾷ διεπράξατο ξυμπάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας κυρία γενέσθαι.

[36] But just then the Empress, catching him terrified and utterly reduced to cowardice, by a single act brought it about that she became mistress of his entire property.

[37] ἐς κῆδος γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ξυνηλθέτην εὐθύς, Ἰωαννίνα τε ἡ Βελισαρίου θυγάτηρ, ἥσπερ μόνης ἐγεγόνει πατὴρ, Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ τῆς βασιλίδος θυγατρὶδῷ μνηστὴ γέγονε.

[37] For the two entered forthwith into a relationship by marriage and Joannina, the only daughter of Belisarius, was betrothed to Anastasius, grandson of the Empress.

[38] Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τε ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν ἡξίου καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς ἑώας ἀποδειχθεὶς πάλιν ἐπὶ Χοσρόην καὶ Μήδους ἐξηγήσεσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, Ἀντωνίνα δὲ οὐδαμῶς εἰα: περιυβρίσθαι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔφασκεν, ἅπερ οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεσθαι.

[38] Now Belisarius made the request that he should receive back his proper office and, upon being designated General of the East, should again lead the Roman army against Chosroes and the Medes, but Antonina would have none of it; for she maintained that she had been insulted by him in those regions, and never would he again set eyes upon them.

[39] Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἄρχων τῶν βασιλικῶν καταστάς ἱπποκόμων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἐστάλη, ὁμολογήσας βασιλεῖ, ὥς φασι, χρήματα μήποτε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ αἰτήσιν, ἀλλὰ ζύμπασαν αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χρήμασιν οἰκείοις ποιήσεσθαι.

[39] For this reason, then, Belisarius was appointed Commander of the Royal Groomsb and was sent to Italy a second time, having promised the Emperor, as they say, that he would never ask him for money during this war, but that he himself would provide the entire equipment for the war with his personal funds.

[40] πάντες μὲν οὖν ὑπετόπαζον τὰ τε ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Βελισάριον διοικήσασθαι καὶ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ὁμολογῆσαι ἀμφὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ᾧ δεδιήγηται, ἀπαλλαξείοντα τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ διατριβῆς, ἐπειδὴν τε τάχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου ἐκτὸς γένηται, ἀρπάσεσθαι τε αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τι γενναῖον καὶ ἀνδρὶ πρέπον ἐπὶ τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς βιασαμένοις φρονήσειν.

[40] Now all suspected that Belisarius, in arranging matters concerning his wife in the manner I have described, and in making this promise to the Emperor, as here related, concerning the war, was prompted simply by the desire to be quit of the life in Byzantium, and that, as soon as he got outside the circuit-wall of the city, he would seize arms immediately and set himself to some noble and heroic task to punish his wife and the others who had done him despite.

[41] αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος ὄρκων τε τῶν Φωτίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεῖσις ὁμωμοσμένων ἐν λήθῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ ὀλιγοψυχίᾳ γενόμενος εἶπετο τῇ γυναικὶ, καταστάς ἐκτόπως εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρωτόληπτος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξήκοντα ἤδη γεγονυῖαν ἔτη.

[41] He, however, disregarding all that had happened, and forgetting completely and neglecting the oaths which had been sworn to Photius and his other kinsmen, meekly followed the woman, being extraordinarily smitten with her, though she was already sixty years of age.

[42] ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγένετο, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐχώρει, ἐπεὶ οἱ διαρρήδην τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ πολέμια ἦν.

[42] However, when he got to Italy, matters kept going wrong for him every single day, because the hand of God was definitely against him.

[43] πρῶτον μὲν γε τὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσιν ἐπὶ τε Θεωδάτῳ καὶ Οὐίτιγιν βουλευόμενα, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖς τοῖς πρassoμένοις δοκοῦντα ἔχειν, ἐς ξύμφορον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐτελεύτα τέλος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ δόξαν μὲν ἀπῆνεγκεν ὅτι δὴ τὰ βελτίῳ βεβούλευται ἅτε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε πραγμάτων γεγονῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀποβαίνουσι κακοτυχοῦντι τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀβουλίας δόκησιν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη.

[43] At first, to be sure, the plans of this General against Theodatus and Vittigis, in the existing circumstances, though they seemed ill adapted to what was going on, resulted for the most part in a favourable outcome; but in the latter period, though he did gain the reputation of having made his plans for the best because of the experience he had acquired in managing the affairs of this war, yet failing as he did in the sequel, most of his misfortunes were credited to what was accounted folly.

[44] οὕτως ἄρα οὐκ ἀνθρώπων βουλαῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ πρυτανεύεται τὰ

ἀνθρώπεια, ὃ δὴ τύχην εἰώθασι καλεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου δὴ ἕνεκα ταύτη πρόεισι τὰ ξυμβαίνοντα,

[44] Thus it is clear that it is not by the wisdom of men but by the power of God that human fortunes are regulated, though men are wont to call this “Fortune,” since they do not know the reason why events turn out in the manner in which they become manifest to them.

[45] ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐνδηλα γίνεται. τῷ γὰρ ἀλόγῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι φιλεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης ὄνομα προσχωρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ φίλον, ταύτη δοκείτω.

[45] For that which appears unaccountable is wont to have the name of Fortune applied to it. But let each man form such an opinion about these matters as he likes.

V

Βελισάριος δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενος αἰσχιστα ἐνθένδε ἀπήλλαξε: τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς ἐς πεντάετες ἀποβῆναι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ὅτι μὴ ἔνθα τι ὀχύρωμα ἦν. ναυτιλλόμενος δὲ πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια

Belisarius, coming to Italy for the second time, departed from there most ignominiously. For during a space of five years he did not succeed once in setting foot on any part of the land, as stated by me in the previous narrative, except where some fortress was, but during this whole period he kept sailing about visiting one port after another.

[2] περιήει. Τουτίλας δὲ λυσσῶν ἦν αὐτὸν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν, οὐ μέντοι εὔρεν, ἐπεὶ ὀρρωδία πολλῇ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ζύμπας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἶχετο.

[2] And Totila was frantic to catch him outside a walled town, but he did not succeed because both Belisarius himself and the entire Roman army were possessed by great fear.

[3] διὸ δὴ οὔτε τῶν ἀπολωλότων τι ἀνεσώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥώμην προσαπώλεσε καὶ ἄλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα.

[3] Consequently he not only recovered nothing of what had been lost, but he even lost Rome in addition and practically everything else.

[4] ἐγένετο δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ κέρδους αἰσχροῦ ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος ἅτε οὐδὲν ἐκ βασιλέως κεκομισμένος, Ἰταλοὺς ἀμέλει σχεδὸν πάντας, οὔπερ ᾤκηντο ἐπὶ τε Ῥαβέννης καὶ Σικελίας, καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου κατατυχεῖν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσχεν, ἐληΐσατο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, λογισμὸς δὴθεν τῶν βεβιωμένων καταπραττόμενος.

[4] And he became greedy for money during this period above all other men and a most assiduous schemer for shameful gain, seeing that he had brought nothing with him from the Emperor, and he recklessly plundered almost all the Italians who lived in Ravenna and in Sicily and anyone else whom he had the power to reach, alleging that he was making them pay a reckoning for the acts of their past lives.

[5] οὕτω γοῦν καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν μετιὼν χρήματα ἤτει, ἅπαντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπανασείων.

[5] Thus he, for instance, even pursued Herodian with demands for money, holding every sort of threat over the man.

[6] οἷς δὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀχθόμενος ἀπετάξατο μὲν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐθὺς ζύν τε τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τῷ Σπολιτίῳ Τουτίλᾳ καὶ Γότθοις ἐνέδωκεν.

[6] This treatment made Herodian so indignant that he detached himself from the Roman army and straightway put himself and all his followers and Spolegium into the hands of Totila and the Goths.

[7] ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδῷ διχοστατῆσαι συνέβη, ὅπερ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα μάλιστα ἔσφηλεν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[7] And how it came about that he and John, the nephew of Vitalian, quarrelled, an event which did the greatest harm to the Roman cause, I shall disclose forthwith.

[8] Ἐς τοῦτο ἀπεχθείας Γερμανῷ ἡ βασιλὶς ἦλθεν ἐπιδηλότατόν τε ἅπασιν τὸ ἔχθος ἐποίει, ὥστε αὐτῷ κηδεύειν, καίπερ βασιλέως ἀνεψιῷ ὄντι, ἐτόλμα οὐδείς, ἄνυμφοί τε αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες διαγεγόνασιν, μέχρις αὐτῇ ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου. ἡ τε θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ Ἰουστίνᾳ ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαιδέκα ἔτη ἡβήσασα ἔτι ἀνυμέναιος ἦν.

[8] The Empress had come to such a point of hostility towards Germanus (and was making her hostility perfectly obvious to all) that no one dared to make a marriage alliance with him, even though he was nephew to the Emperor, and his sons remained unmarried until they had reached middle age.

[9] διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἡνίκα Ἰωάννης πρὸς Βελισαρίου σταλὲς ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ καταστῆναι ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀμφὶ τῇ κηδεῖᾳ ἡνάγκαστο, καὶ ταῦτα λίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ὄντι.

[9] And his daughter Justina, though she had reached the maturity of eighteen years, was still unwed. For this reason, when John came to Byzantium on a mission from Belisarius, Germanus was forced to open negotiations with him concerning marriage, though John was much below his rank.

[10] ἐπεὶ τε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤρεσκεν ἄμφω, ὅρκοις ἀλλήλους ἔγνωσαν δεινότατοις καταλαβεῖν ἢ μὴν τὸ κῆδος ἐπιτελέσειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖν ἑκάτερος τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐπὶ θατέρῳ ὡς ἤκιστα εἶχεν, ὁ μὲν τῷ ζυνειδέναί ὅτι δὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ὀρέγοιτο, ὁ δὲ κηδεστοῦ ἀποροῦμενος.

[10] And since the project pleased both of them, they decided to bind one another by the most terrible oaths that they would put forth every effort to bring about the alliance, inasmuch as neither one of them had any confidence at all in the other, the one because he realized that he was reaching above his rank, the other because he was in sore need of a son-in-law.

[11] ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσα τίς γένηται διὰ πάσης ὁδοῦ ἰοῦσα ἑκάτερον μετιέναι

μηχανῇ πάσῃ οὐκ ἀπηξίου, ὅπως ἂν τὰ πραττόμενα διακωλύοι.

[11] The Empress, however, was beside herself, and resorting to every course she did not hesitate to bring every possible pressure to bear upon each of them to the end that she might put a stop to the negotiations.

[12] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖν καίπερ πολλὰ δεδιξαμένη ἀναπεῖθιν οὐδέτερον ἔσχε, διαρρήδην ἀπολεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἠπειλῆσε.

[12] But since she was unable to convince either one of them, though she tried hard to intimidate them, she threatened explicitly that she was going to destroy John.

[13] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης αὐθις ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεῖς οὐδαμῇ ξυμμιῶναι Βελισαρίῳ ἐτόλμησε, τὴν ἐξ Ἀντωνίνης ἐπιβουλὴν δείσας, ἕως Ἀντωνίνα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε.

[13] Consequently, when John was sent back to Italy, he did not dare to meet Belisarius, fearing the hostility of Antonina, until after she had gone back to Byzantium.

[14] τὴν τε γὰρ βασιλίδα ταύτη ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν αὐτοῦ φόνον οὐκ ἄπο τοῦ εἰκότος ἂν τις ὑπόπτευσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνίνης σταθμωμένῳ τρόπῳ ἅπαντά τε Βελισάριον ἐνδιδόναι τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπισταμένῳ δέος ἐγένετο μέγα καὶ τὸν ἐσῆει.

[14] For that the Empress had commissioned her to murder him was a thing which anyone might quite reasonably have suspected and as he weighed the character of Antonina, knowing well, as he did, that Belisarius gave in to the woman in every matter, he came to feel a great fear which disturbed him much.

[15] τοῦτο γοῦν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους ἐστῶτα προσουδίζει χαμαί.

[15] This situation did, in any event, shatter the fortunes of the Romans, which even before that time had been standing on a single leg, and dashed them to the ground.

[16] Βελισαρίῳ μὲν οὖν ὁ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος τῇδε ἐχώρησεν. ἀπογνοὺς δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο ὅπως οἱ ἐξῇ ἐνθὲνδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

[16] Thus, then, the Gothic War proceeded for Belisarius. Finally, in despair, he begged the Emperor that he be permitted to depart from Italy with all speed.

[17] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνδεχόμενον βασιλέα τὴν δέησιν ἔγνω, ἄσμενος εὐθὺς ἀπιὼν ὤχετο, χαίρειν πολλὰ τῷ τε Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς φράσας, καὶ τὰ

μὲν πλεῖστα ὑποχείρια τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπὼν, Περυσίαν δὲ πικρότατα πολιορκία πιεζομένην, ἥπερ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ ἰόντος κατ' ἄκρας ἀλοῦσα ἐς πᾶσαν κακοῦ ἰδέαν ἤλθεν, ἥπερ μοι πρότερον δεδιῆγται. ζυνηέχθη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τύχης ἐναντίωμα ζυμπεσεῖν τοιόνδε.

[17] And when he found that the Emperor accepted his plea, he returned home immediately, well pleased to bid faewell to the Roman army and to the Italians; and he left most of the strongholds in the hands of the enemy and Perusia in the grip of a very close siege; indeed this city, while he was still on this journey, was captured by storm and experienced every form of misery, as has been narrated by me previously. And it happened that misfortune fell upon his own house also, as will now be related.

[18] Θεοδώρα ἡ βασίλισ τῆς Βελισαρίου παιδὸς ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὴν ἐγγύην ἐπειγομένη τῷ θυγατριδῷ, συχνὰ γράφουσα τοὺς γειναμένους τὴν κόρην ἠνώχλει.

[18] The Empress Theodora, pressing to bring about the betrothal of the daughter of Belisarius to her grandson, kept writing constantly and harassing the parents of the girl.

[19] οἱ δὲ τὸ κῆδος ἀναδύομενοι ἀπετίθεντο μὲν ἐς παρουσίαν τὴν σφετέραν τὸν γάμον, μεταπεμπομένης δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον τῆς βασιλίδος, ἀδύνατοι εἶναι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τανῦν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐσκήπτοντο.

[19] But they, seeking to avoid the proposed alliance, tried to put off the marriage until they should be present, and when the Empress summoned them to Byzantium, they pretended that at the moment they were unable to leave Italy.

[20] ἡ δὲ γλιχομένη μὲν κύριον τὸν θυγατριδοῦν τοῦ Βελισαρίου καταστήσεσθαι πλούτου, ἥδει γὰρ ἐπὶ κληρον ἐσομένην τὴν παῖδα, οὐκ ὄντος Βελισαρίῳ ἑτέρου του γόνου, ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ Ἀντωνίνης γνώμῃ θαρσεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα, δειμαίνουσά τε μὴ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν οὐ φανεῖσα πιστὴ ἐς τὸν αὐτῆς οἶκον, καίπερ αὐτῆς οὕτω φιλανθρώπου ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τυχοῦσα, διασπάσεται τὰ ζυγκείμενα, ἐργάζεται ἀνόσιον ἔργον.

[20] But she was itching to make her grandson master of the wealth of Belisarius, for she realized that the girl would be the heiress, since Belisarius had no other offspring; yet she had not the slightest confidence in the purpose of Antonina, and fearing that after she was gone Antonina would not shew herself faithful to her house, though she had found the Empress so generous at times of the greatest necessity, and would tear up the agreement, she performed an unholy deed. For she caused the young girl to live with the

youth without any sanction of law.

[21] τῷ γὰρ μειρακίῳ τὴν παιδίσκην ξυνοικίζει οὐδενὶ νόμῳ. φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ πλησιάσαι οὔτι ἐκουσίαν ἠνάγκασε κρύβδην, οὕτω τε διαπεπαρθενευμένη τὸν ὑμέναιον τῇ κόρῃ ξυστῆναι, τοῦ μὴ βασιλέα τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλῦσαι.

[21] And they say that secretly she actually forced her to offer herself, much against her will, and thus, after the girl had been compromised, she arranged the wedding for her, to the end that the Emperor might not put a stop to her machinations.

[22] τοῦ μέντοι ἔργου ἐξειργασμένου ἔρωτι ἀλλήλοιν διαπύρῳ τινὶ ὃ τε Ἀναστάσιος καὶ ἡ παῖς εἶχοντο, καὶ χρόνος σφίσιν οὐχ ἥσων ἢ ὀκτὼ μηνῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη.

[22] Still, when the deed had been accomplished, Anastasius and the girl found themselves held by an ardent love for one another, and a space of no less than eight months was passed in this way.

[23] ἡνίκα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπογενομένης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν, ἐπελάθετο μὲν ἐθελουσία ὧν ἐκείνη ἔναγχος εἰς αὐτὴν εἵργαστο, ὡς ἥκιστα δὲ ὑπολογισαμένη ὡς, ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἢ παῖς αὐτῇ ξυνοικίζοιτο, πεπορνευμένη τὰ πρότερα ἔσται, τὸν Θεοδώρας ἔκγονον κηδεστὴν ἀτιμάζει, τὴν τε παῖδα ὡς μάλιστα ἀκουσίαν βιασαμένη ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἀπέστησε.

[23] But when Antonina, after the Empress' death, came to Byzantium, she purposely forgot the benefits which the Empress recently had conferred upon her, and paying no attention whatever to the fact that if the girl should marry anyone else, her previous record would be that of a prostitute, she spurned the alliance with the offspring of Theodora and forced the child, entirely against her will, to abandon her beloved.

[24] μεγάλην τε ἀγνωμοσύνης ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀπηνέγκατο δόξαν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἥκοντά τε οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀναπείθει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ἄγους αὐτῇ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦδε. ὥστε διαρρήδην τηνικάδε ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τρόπος ἐλήλεγκται.

[24] And from this act she won a great reputation for ingratitude among all mankind, yet when her husband arrived, she had no difficulty in persuading him to share with her in this unholy business. Consequently the man's character was openly revealed at that time.

[25] καίτοι διομοσάμενος Φωτίῳ τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶ πρότερον καὶ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα οὐδαμῇ ἐμπεδώσας συγγνώμης ἐτύγχανε πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

[25] And yet, though he previously had given his oath to Photius and certain of his kinsmen, and though he utterly repudiated this oath, he received pardon from all the world.

[26] αἴτιον γὰρ τοῦ ἀπίστου τάνδρὸς οὐ τὴν γυναικοκράτειαν, ἀλλὰ δέος τὸ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος ὑπώπτεον εἶναι.

[26] For they suspected that the cause of his faithlessness was not the domination of his wife, but his fear of the Empress.

[27] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἀπογενομένης, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, οὔτε Φωτίου οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ τῶν οἱ ἀναγκαίων λόγος γεγένητο, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ δέσποινα μὲν ἡ γυνὴ ἐφαίνετο οὔσα, κύριος δὲ Καλλίγονος ὁ προαγωγὸς ἦν, τότε δὴ ἀπογνόντες αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες ἐχλεύαζόν τε διαθρυλλοῦντες καὶ ἄτε ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνοντι ἐλοιδοροῦντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα Βελισαρίῳ ἀπαρακαλύπτως εἰπεῖν ταύτην πη ἔχει.

[27] But when, after the death of Theodora which I have mentioned, he shewed no consideration either for Photius or for any of his other kinsmen, but his wife was seen to be mistress over him and Calligonos, the go-between, his master, then finally all men repudiated him, mocked him with busy tongues, and reviled him as one who had shewn himself guilty of sheer folly. Such, then, in a general way, to state the facts without concealment, were the sins committed by Belisarius.

[28] Τὰ δὲ Σεργίῳ τῷ Βάκχου παιδί ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἡμαρτημένα διαρκῶς μὲν ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις δεδήλωται, ὃς δὴ αἰτιώτατος γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις ἐνταῦθα διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα, τὰ τε πρὸς Λευάθας αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν εὐαγγελίων ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογία πεποιημένους καὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα πρέσβεις οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαχρησάμενος, τοσοῦτον δέ μοι τανῦν ἐντιθέναι τῷ λόγῳ δεήσει, ὥς οὔτε νῦν δολερῶ οἱ ἄνδρες οὔτοι παρὰ Σέργιον ἦλθον οὔτε τινὰ σκῆψιν ὁ Σέργιος ὑποψίας περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ διώμοτος ἐπὶ θοίνῃν καλέσας τοὺς ἄνδρας διεχρήσατο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ.

[28] Now the wrongs committed in Libya by Sergius, son of Bacchus, have been sufficiently described by me at the proper point in the narrative. This man, indeed, made himself chiefly responsible for the collapse of the Roman rule in that district, not only by disregarding the oaths which he had sworn on the Gospels to the Leuathae, but also by putting to death the eighty ambassadors without any justification; but at this point it will be necessary to add to my account only that neither did these men come to Sergius with evil intent nor did Sergius have any pretext for suspicion concerning them, but he had bound himself by oath when he invited the men to a banquet and there did them to death in a shameful manner.

[29] ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Σολόμωνι καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ καὶ Λίβυσι πᾶσι διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη.

[29] As a result of this act it came about that Solomon and the Roman army and all the Libyans were destroyed.

[30] δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ, ἄλλως τε καὶ Σολόμωνος τετελευτηκότος, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, οὔτε τις ἄρχων οὔτε τις στρατιώτης ἐς πολέμου κίνδυνον ἰέναι ἤξϊον.

[30] For on account of him, especially after Solomon had died in the manner related by me, no one, either commander or soldier, cared to face the perils of war.

[31] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάννης ὁ Σισιννιόλου τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθει ἀπόμαχος ἦν, ἕως Ἀρεόβινδος ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίκετο.

[31] And, most serious of all, John, the son of Sisinniolus, because of the hostility which he felt towards Sergius, refused to fight until Areobindus came to Libya.

[32] ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σέργιος μαλθακὸς μὲν καὶ ἀπόλεμος, τὸ δὲ ἥθος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν κομιδῇ νέος, φθόνῳ τε καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐχόμενος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τεθρυμμένος τε τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν.

[32] For Sergius was soft and unwarlike and he was very immature both in character and in years, yet he was dominated to an excessive degree by jealousy and a spirit of braggadocio towards all men, effeminate in his way of living and puffing out his cheeks with pride.

[33] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἐγγόνης ἐτύγχανε μνηστήρ γεγωνῶς, τίσιν τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλὶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, καίπερ ἐνδελεχέστατα διαφθειρομένην Λιβύην ὀρῶσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολόμωνα τὸν Σεργίου ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Πηγασίου φόνου αὐτῇ τε καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀθῶον ἀφῆκεν. ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[33] But since he happened to have become a suitor of the daughter of Antonina, wife of Belisarius, the Empress was quite unwilling to inflict any punishment upon him or to discharge him from his office, though she saw that Libya was being most systematically ruined; indeed both she and the Emperor left Solomon, the brother of Sergius, unpunished for the murder of Pegasius. Now what this incident was I shall straightway explain.

[34] Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πηγάσιος τὸν Σολόμωνα πρὸς τῶν Λευαθῶν ὤνήσατο καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν, ὁ μὲν Σολόμων ξύν τε Πηγασίῳ τῷ ἐωνημένῳ καὶ στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις τισὶν εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἐστέλλετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ λαβὼν ὁ Πηγάσιος ὅ τι δὴ ἀδικοῦντα Σολόμωνα χρῆναί οἱ

ἔφασκεν ἐν μνήμῃ εἶναι ὡς αὐτὸν ἔναγχος ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ὁ θεὸς ῥύσαιτο.

[34] When Pegasius had ransomed Solomon from the Leuathae and the barbarians had gone off home, Solomon, in company with Pegasius, who had ransomed him, and some few soldiers set out for Carthage; and on this trip Pegasius, catching Solomon committing some wrong or any other, made the remark that he ought to bear in mind that God had recently rescued him from the enemy.

[35] ὁ δὲ χαλεπήνας, ὅτι δὴ οἱ ἄτε δορυαλώτῳ ὠνείδισε, τὸν Πηγάσιον εὐθὺς ἔκτεινε, ταῦτά τε σῶστρα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπέδωκεν.

[35] But he flew into a rage since he felt that Pegasius was reproaching him because he had been taken prisoner in battle and killed him out of hand and thus repaid the man for his rescue.

[36] ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Σολόμων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε, καθαρὸν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς τοῦ φόνου ἐποίει ἅτε προδότην ἀνελόντα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

[36] And when Solomon came to Byzantium, the Emperor cleared him of the murder on the ground that he had slain a traitor to the Roman rule.

[37] γράμματά τε αὐτῷ ἐδίδου τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀσφάλειαν παρεχόμενος. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σολόμων οὕτω τὴν τίσιν διαφυγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφάν ἄσμενος ἦει, τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ γένος τὸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὀψόμενος.

[37] And he provided him with a letter which guaranteed him immunity on that score. So Solomon, having escaped punishment in this way, gladly went to the East in order to see his native land and his relatives at home.

[38] ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τίσις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καταλαβοῦσα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Σολόμωνί τε καὶ Πηγασίῳ τῆδε ἐχώρησεν.

[38] But the punishment of God overtook him on this journey and removed him from the world. Such was the course of events touching Solomon and Pegasius.

VI

Οἵτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἰουστινιανὸς τε καὶ Θεοδώρα ἦσθιν τρόπον τε ὅτῳ διεσπάσαντο τὰ Ῥωμαίων

Now what manner of persons Justinian and Theodora were and the method by which they ruined the Roman Empire I shall proceed to tell forthwith.

[2] πράγματα ἔρων ἔρχομαι. Λέοντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, γεωργοὶ νεανῖαι τρεῖς, Ἰλλυριοὶ γένος, Ζίμαρχος τε καὶ Διτύβιστος καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ ἐκ Βεδεριάνης, πράγμασιν ἐνδελεχέστατα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πενίας οἰκοὶ μαχόμενοι τούτων τε ἀπαλλαξέοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ὥρμησαν.

[2] When Leon was holding the imperial power in Byzantium, three young farmers, Illyrians by race, Zimarchus, Dityvistus and Justinus from Vederiana, men who at home had to struggle incessantly against conditions of poverty and all its attendant ills, in an effort to better their condition set out to join the army.

[3] καὶ πεζῇ βαδίζοντες εἰς Βυζάντιον ἦσαν, σισύρας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοὶ φέροντες, ἐν αἷς δὴ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ διπύρους ἄρτους οἰκοθεν ἐμβεβλημένοι ἀφίκοντο, ταχθέντας τε ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς καταλόγοις βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦ Παλατίου τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπελέξατο. κάλλιστοι γὰρ ἅπαντες τὰ σώματα ἦσαν.

[3] And they came to Byzantium, walking on foot and themselves carrying cloaks slung over their shoulders, and when they arrived they had in these cloaks nothing more than toasted bread which they had put in at home; and the Emperor enrolled them in the ranks of the soldiers and designated them for the Palace Guard. For they were all men of very fine figure.

[4] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι πόλεμος πρὸς τὸ Ἰσαύρων ἔθνος ὅπλα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀραμένους κατέστη.

[4] But at a later time Anastasius, who had succeeded to the royal power, became involved in a war against the Isaurian nation, who had taken up arms against him.

[5] στρατιάν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν, ἥσπερ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο, ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κυρτός. οὗτος Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰουστίνον ἀμαρτάδος τινὸς ἕνεκα ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖρξεν, ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανιεῖν ἔμελλεν, εἰ μὴ τις μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένη ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐκώλυσεν.

[5] And he sent a considerable army against them, commanded by John who is known as the Hunchback. This John had confined Justinus in a prison because

of some offence and was on the point of removing him from the world on the following day, and would have done so had not a vivid dream come to him in the meantime and prevented him.

[6] ἔφη γάρ οἱ ἐν ὀνείρῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐντυχεῖν τινα παμμεγέθη τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τᾶλλα κρείσσω ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι.

[6] For the General declared that in a dream a certain person came to him, a creature of enormous size and in other respects too mighty to resemble a man.

[7] καὶ τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐπισκῆψαι μεθεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅνπερ καθεῖρξας ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτύγχανεν· αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕπνου ἐξαναστάντα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψιν ποιήσασθαι.

[7] And this vision enjoined upon him to release the man whom he had chanced to imprison on that day; and John said that upon arising from sleep he paid no heed to the vision of his dream.

[8] ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας νυκτὸς ἐδόκει μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ ὀνείρῳ καὶ αὐθις τῶν λόγων ἀκούειν ὥνπερ ἠκηκόει τὸ πρότερον, ἐπιτελέσαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα οὐδ' ὧς

[8] But when the next night came on, he seemed once more in sleep to hear the words which he had heard before; yet even so he was unwilling to carry out the order.

[9] βεβουλῆσθαι. τρίτον τέ οἱ ἐπιστᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψιν ἀπειλῆσαι μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, ἣν μὴ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ποιοίῃ, ἐπειπεῖν τε ὡς αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας χρέος οἱ μέγα ὀργισθησομένῳ ἐς χρόνον τὸν ὀπισθεν εἶη.

[9] And a third time the vision stood over him and threatened him with a terrible fate if he should fail to carry out the instructions, and added that when he in later times should become exceedingly angry, he would have need of this man and of his family.

[10] Τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως Ἰουστίνῳ περιεῖναι ξυνέβη, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως οὗτος Ἰουστῖνος ἐχώρησεν.

[10] So at the same time it came about that Justinus was saved in this way, and as time went on this Justinus advanced to great power.

[11] ἄρχοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων. ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, αὐτὸς τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυνάμει τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τυμβογέρων μὲν γεγονὼς ἤδη, ἀμάθητος δὲ γραμμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀναφάβητος ὢν, οὐ γεγονὼς ἐν γε

Ῥωμαῖοις πρότερον τοῦτο γε.

[11] For the Emperor Anastasius appointed him Commander of the Palace Guards. And when the Emperor departed this life, he himself, because of the power of his office, succeeded to the throne, being already an old man tottering to his grave, who had never learned to tell one letter from another, and was, as the familiar phrase has it, “without the alphabet,” a thing which had never happened before among the Romans.

[12] εἰθισμένον δὲ γράμματα οἰκεῖα τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐντιθέναι τὸν βασιλέα, ὅσα ἂν ἐπαγγέλλοντος αὐτοῦ γίνοιτο, αὐτὸς μέντοι οὔτε ἐπήγγειλεν οὔτε τοῖς πρασσομένοις ξυνεπίστασθαι οἷός τε ἦν.

[12] And while it was customary for the Emperor to affix letters in his own hand to all documents containing the orders that issued from him, he was unable either to issue orders himself or intelligently to share in the knowledge of what was being done.

[13] ὃς δὲ παρεδρεύειν αὐτῷ ἔλαχεν, ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίστωρος Πρόκλος ὄνομα,

[13] But the man who drew the lot to sit as his Counsellor, Proclus by name, who held the office of Quaestor, as it is called, himself used to attend to all matters with independent judgment.

[14] αὐτὸς δὴ αὐτονόμῳ γνώμῃ ἅπαντα ἔπρασσεν. ὅπως δὲ μαρτυρίαν τῆς βασιλέως χειρὸς ἔχοιεν, οἷς δὴ ἐπικείται τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, ἐπενοήθη τάδε.

[14] But in order that they might have evidence of the Emperor’s hand, those who had this matter in charge devised the following plan.

[15] ξύλῳ εἰργασμένῳ βραχεῖ ἐγκολάσαντες μορφήν τινα γραμμάτων τεττάρων, ἅπερ ἀναγνῶναι τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται, γραφίδα τε βαφῇ βάψαντες, ἣ βασιλεῖς γράφειν εἰώθασιν,

[15] Taking a small strip of prepared wood, they cut into it a sort of pattern of the four letters which mean in the Latin tongue “I have read,” and dipping the pen into ink of the colour which Emperors are wont to use in writing, they would put it into the hand of this Emperor.

[16] ἐνεχειρίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ. καὶ τὸ ξύλον, οὗπερ ἐμνήσθην, τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐνθένενοι, λαβόμενοι τε τῆς βασιλέως χειρὸς, περιῆγον μὲν ζὺν τῇ γραφίδι ἐς τῶν τεττάρων γραμμάτων τὸν τύπον, ἐς πάσας τε τὰς τοῦ ξύλου αὐτὴν περιελίξαντες ἐντομὰς οὕτω δὴ ἀπηλλάσσοντο, τοιαῦτα βασιλέως γράμματα φέροντες.

[16] And placing on the document the strip of wood which I have mentioned and grasping the Emperor's hand, they moved it and the pen along the pattern of the four letters, causing it to follow all the winding lines cut in the wood, and then went their way, carrying that kind of writing of the Emperor.

[17] Τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἰουστίνῳ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις εἶχε. γυναικὶ δὲ ὄνομα Λουπικίνη ξυνώκει. αὕτη δὲ δούλη τε καὶ βάρβαρος οὖσα τοῦ πρόσθεν αὐτὴν ἐωνημένου παλλακὴ γέγονε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπὶ βίου δυσμαῖς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

[17] Such an Emperor had the Romans in Justinus. And he had a wife named Lupicina who, as being a slave and a barbarian, had been concubine of the man who had previously bought her. And she as well as Justinus attained the throne in the closing years of life.

[18] Ἰουστίνος μὲν οὖν οὔτε τι πονηρὸν τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐργάζεσθαι οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἴσχυεν. εὐθεΐα γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο, ἄγλωττός τε παντάπασιν ὦν καὶ ἀγροικιζόμενος μάλιστα.

[18] Now Justinus did not succeed in doing his subjects any harm nor any good either. For he had a very easy-going disposition, being an altogether tongue-tied man and a very boorish fellow.

[19] ἀδελφιδουὺς δὲ αὐτῷ Ἰουστινιανὸς νέος ὦν ἔτι διωκεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ζύμπασαν καὶ γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις ξυμφορῶν αἴτιος, οἷας τε καὶ ὅσας ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα οὐδεὶς που πρότερον ἀκοῇ ἔλαβεν.

[19] And his nephew Justinian, who was still young, used to administer the entire government and he proved the author of calamities for the Romans — calamities so serious and so manifold that in all the history of the world probably no one previously had ever heard their equal.

[20] ἔς τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον φόνον καὶ χρημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἀλλοτριῶν ῥᾶστα ἐχώρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μυριάδας πολλὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, καίπερ αὐτῷ αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν παρασχομένων.

[20] For he used to proceed with the lightest of hearts to the unjust murder of men and the seizure of other men's money, and for him it was nothing that countless thousands of men should have been destroyed, though they had given him no grievance.

[21] καὶ φυλάσσειν μὲν τῶν καθεσταμένων οὐδὲν ἤξιον, ἅπαντα δὲ νεοχμοῦν ἐς αἰὶ ἠθελε, καὶ τὸ ζύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μέγιστος δὴ οὗτος ἦν

[21] And he took no thought to preserve what was established, but he was always wishing to make innovations in everything, and, to put all in a word,

this man was an arch-destroyer of well-established institutions.

[22] διαφθορεὺς τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων. τὸν μὲν οὖν λοιμὸν, ὅσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, καίπερ ἐπισκίψαντα εἰς τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, διέφυγον ἄνθρωποι οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ὅσοις διαφθαρῆναι τετύχηκεν, ἢ οὐδαμῇ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλόντες ἢ περιγενόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν ἀλῶναι ξυνέβη.

[22] Now the plague which was described by me in the previous narrative, though it fell upon the entire world, was escaped by no fewer persons than those who chanced to be carried away, either because they were not taken at all by the disease or because they recovered when they had the fortune to be caught.

[23] ἄνδρα δὲ τοῦτον διαφυγεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι Ῥωμαίῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πάθος ὄλῳ τῷ γένει ἐπεισπεσὸν ἀνέπαφον οὐδένα παντελῶς εἴασε.

[23] This man, however, not one living person of the entire Roman world had the fortune to escape, but, like any other affliction from Heaven falling upon the whole race, he left not a single soul wholly untouched.

[24] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔκτεινεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ πενία μαχομένους ἀφείς ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν τετελευτηκότων εἰργάζετο, εὐχομένους τὰ παρόντα σφίσι διαλῦσαι θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ. τινῶν μέντοι ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εἶλεν.

[24] For some he killed without any just cause, while others he left in the grip of poverty, making them more wretched than those who had died, so that they implored him to resolve the present misery by a most pitiable death. In some cases, however, he destroyed both property and life.

[25] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μόνην καταλῦσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, Λιβύης τε καὶ Ἰταλίας οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦ ἔνεκα πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἴσχυσεν ἢ ὥστε ξὺν τοῖς πρότερον ὑφ' αὐτῷ οὖσι διολέσαι

[25] But since it was nothing for him to ruin the Roman Empire alone, he succeeded in subjugating Libya and Italy for no other reason than to be able to destroy the inhabitants of these countries along with those previously under his sway.

[26] τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους. οὐπῶ γοῦν δεκαταῖος εἰς τὴν δύναμιν γεγονὼς Ἀμάντιον τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ἄρχοντα ξὺν ἐτέροις τισὶν ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπενεγκὼν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐς Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα λόγον τινὰ προπετῇ εἶποι.

[26] Indeed, when he had been not yet ten days in power, he slew Amantius,

Director of the Palace eunuchs, together with certain others for no cause whatever, charging the man with nothing except that he had spoken some hasty word against John, the Chief Priest of the city.

[27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φοβερώτατος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων πάντων. αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Βιταλιανὸν τὸν τύραννον μετεπέμψατο, ὃς δὴ τὰ πιστὰ πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας παρέσχετο, διαλαχὼν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Χριστιανοῖς μυστηρίων.

[27] And as a result of this conduct he became the most dreaded man in the world. And he immediately summoned also Vitalian, the usurper, having previously given him a pledge for his safety by sharing with him the Christian sacraments. But a little later,

[28] ὀλίγω τε ὕστερον ἐξ ὑποψίας αὐτῷ προσκεκρουκότα ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐν Παλατίῳ λόγῳ οὐδενὶ διεχρήσατο, πίστεις οὕτω δεινοτάτας ἐμπεδῶσαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιώσας.

[28] when he was suspected of having given him offence, he executed him in the Palace together with his followers for no just cause, by no means consenting to honour his pledges, terrible as they were.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς μοίρας δύο διεστηκότος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, μίαν αὐτὸς τὴν Βενέτων ἐταιρισάμενος, ἣ οἱ καὶ τὸ πρότερον κατεσπουδασμένη ἐτύγχανε, ξυγγεῖν τε καὶ ξυνταράξαι ἅπαντα ἴσχυσε. καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν Ῥωμαίους τὴν πολιτείαν πεποίηκεν.

Now the populace from of old has been divided into two Factions, as was stated by me in the preceding narrative, and he now adopted one of them, namely the Veneti or “Blues,” of whom, as it happened, he had previously been an enthusiastic supporter, and thus succeeded in throwing everything into confusion and disorder; and thereby he brought the Roman State to its knees.

[2] οὐχ ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ Βένετοι ἐπισπένθαι τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γνώμῃ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι στασιῶται ὄντες ἐτύγχανον.

[2] But not all the Blues saw fit to follow the will of this man, but only those who chanced to be militant.

[3] καὶ αὐτοὶ μέντοι προϊόντος ἤδη τοῦ δεινοῦ σωφρονέστατοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

[3] And yet even these, as the evil developed, seemed to be the most temperate men in the world; for their sins fell short of their licence to commit them.

[4] ἐνδεεστερώς γὰρ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμάρτανον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Πρασίνων οἱ στασιῶται ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπρασσον ἀεὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐς ὅσον σφίσι δυνατὰ ἐγγέγονει, καίπερ κατὰ μόνας διηνεκές κολαζόμενοι.

[4] And of course the militant group of the Greens did not on their part remain quiet, but they too were constantly busy with crimes, as far as came within their power, although they were being punished continually, one at a time.

[5] ὅπερ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ θρασύνεσθαι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς αἰὲ ἤγεν. ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ εἰώθασιν ἐς ἀπόνοιαν τρέπεσθαι ἄνθρωποι.

[5] Yet this very fact always led them on to deeds of much greater daring; for men, when they unjustly treated, are wont to become desperate.

[6] τότε οὖν τοὺς Βενέτους αὐτοῦ ῥιπίζοντός τε καὶ διαφανῶς ἐρεθίζοντος ἅπαντα κατ’ ἄκρας ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐκινήθη ὥσπερ σεισμοῦ ἢ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος ἢ πόλεως ἐκάστης πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλούσης.

[6] So at this time, while he kept fanning the flames and manifestly stirring up the Blues, the whole Roman Empire was agitated from top to bottom, as if an earthquake or a deluge had fallen upon it, or as if each and every city had been captured by the enemy.

[7] πάντα γὰρ ἐν ἅπασιν ξυνεταράχθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ ὁ τῆς πολιτείας κόσμος ξυγχύσεως ἐπιγενομένης ἐς πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἐχώρησαν.

[7] For everything was thrown into confusion in every part and nothing thereafter remained fixed, but both the laws and the orderly form of the government were completely overturned by the confusion that ensued.

[8] Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς στασιώταις τὰ ἐς τὴν κόμην ἐς νεώτερόν τινα μετεβέβλητο τρόπον. ἀπεκείροντο γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις.

[8] In the first place, the mode of dressing the hair was changed to a rather novel style by the Factions;

[9] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μύστακος καὶ τοῦ γενείου οὐδαμῇ ἥπτοντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς κατακομᾶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὥσπερ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐς ἀεὶ ἤθελον.

[9] for they did not cut it at all as the other Romans did. For they did not touch the moustache or the beard at all, but they wished always to have the hair of these grow out very long, as the Persians do.

[10] τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς κροτάφους ἀποτεμόμενοι τὰ ὀπισθεν ἀποκρέμασθαι σφίσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον λόγῳ οὐδενὶ εἶων, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται. διὸ δὴ καὶ Οὐννικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκάλουν.

[10] But the hair of their heads they cut off in front back to the temples, leaving the part behind to hang down to a very great length in a senseless fashion, just as the Massagetae do. Indeed for this reason they used to call this the "Hunnic" fashion.

[11] Ἐπειτα δὲ τὰ ἐς τὰ ἱμάτια εὐπάρυφοι ἠξίουσαν ἅπαντες εἶναι, κομπωδεστέραν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ἀξίαν ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι τὴν ἐσθῆτα.

[11] In the second place, as to fashions in dress, they all insisted on being well clad in fine garments, clothing themselves in raiment too pretentious for their individual rank.

[12] κτᾶσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων παρῆν. τοῦ δὲ χιτῶνος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ χεῖρει μέρος αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν καρπὸν ξυνῆει σφίσιν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι ἐς ὁμὸν ἐκάτερον ἐς ἄφατόν τι εὐρους διεκέχυτο

χρῆμα.

[12] For they were enabled to acquire such clothing from stolen funds. And the part of the tunic which covered the arms was gathered by them very closely about the wrist, while from there to each shoulder it billowed out to an incredible breadth.

[13] ὁσάκις τε ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῖς σείοιτο ἀναβοῶσιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τε καὶ ἵπποδρομίαις, ἢ ἐγκελευομένοις, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐς ὕψος αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀτεχνῶς ἤρετο, αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενον τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς οὕτω καλὸν τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄδρὸν εἶη ἂν, ὥστε δεῖν γε αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἱματίων καλύπτεσθαι, οὐκ ἐννοοῦσιν ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τῷ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡραιωμένῳ τε καὶ κενῷ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐξίτηλον διελεγχθεῖη.

[13] And as often as their arms were waved about, either as they shouted in the theatres and hippodromes, or urged men on to victory in the customary manner, this part of their garments would actually soar aloft, causing the foolish to suppose that their bodies must be so fine and sturdy that they must needs be covered by such garments, not taking into consideration the fact that by the loosely woven and empty garment the meagreness much rather than the sturdiness of their bodies was demonstrated.

[14] αἱ ἐπωμίδες δὲ καὶ ἀναξυρίδες καὶ τῶν ὑποδημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ἐς τῶν Οὐννων τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπεκέκριτο σφίσιν.

[14] Also their cloaks and their drawers and especially their shoes, as regards both name and fashion, were classed as “Hunnic.”

[15] Ἑσιδηροφόρουν δὲ νύκτωρ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἅπαντες σχεδόν, ἐν δέ γε ἡμέρᾳ ξιφίδια παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν δίστομα ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ἀποκρυψάμενοι, ξυνιστάμενοί τε κατὰ συμμορίας, ἐπειδὰν ξυσκοτάζοι, ἐλωποδύτουν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἐν τε ὅλῃ ἀγορᾷ καὶ τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀφαιρούμενοι τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τὰ τε ἱμάτια καὶ ζώνας τε καὶ περόνας χρυσᾶς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοιεν.

[15] Now at first practically all of them carried weapons openly at night, but in the day-time they concealed small two-edged swords along the thigh under their mantle, and they gathered in groups as soon as it became dark and would waylay men of the better classes both in the market-place at large and in the alleys, robbing their victims of their clothing and their girdles and gold brooches and whatever besides they might have in their hands.

[16] τινὰς δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἀρπαγῇ καὶ κτείνειν ἠξίουσαν, ὅπως μηδεὶν τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀναγγείλωσιν.

[16] And some they saw fit to kill as well as to rob, to keep them from carrying word to anyone of what had befallen them.

[17] οἷς δὴ ἅπαντες καὶ τῶν Βενέτων οἱ μὴ στασιῶται μάλιστα ἤχθοντο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἔμενον.

[17] Now these performances outraged everyone and particularly the partisans of the Blue Faction who were not militant, for not even they remained immune.

[18] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ζώναις τε καὶ περόναις καὶ ἱματίοις πολλῶ ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὥς πλεῖστοι ἐχρῶντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τῷ φιλοκάλῳ ἀπόλωνται, καὶ οὐπω δεδυκότος ἡλίου ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκρύπτοντο.

[18] The result of this was that thereafter most men used girdles and brooches of bronze and mantles much inferior to their station, in order that they might not destroyed by their love of beautiful things, and even before the sun had set they would withdraw into their houses and remain out of sight.

[19] μηκνυομένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐς τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας πρὸς τῆς τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς γινομένης ἐπὶ μέγα τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θράσος ἐς αἰὲ ἤρετο.

[19] And as the evil continued and no attention was paid to the offenders by the city Government, the boldness of these men kept steadily rising to a great height.

[20] ἁμαρτία γὰρ παρρησίας ἀξιωθείσα ἐπ' ἄπειρον φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κολαζόμενα τὰ ἐγκλήματα φιλεῖ οὐκ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἀποκόπτεσθαι.

[20] For when wrongdoing is accorded full licence, it naturally goes beyond all bounds, since even such crimes as are punished are usually not completely eradicated;

[21] φύσει γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν εὐπετῶς τρέπονται.

[21] for by nature most men turn readily to sin.

[22] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν Βενέτων ἐφέρετο τῇδε. τῶν δὲ ἀντιστασιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπέκλινον μοῖραν, ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ξυναμαρτάνειν τε καὶ μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην, οἱ δὲ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐς ἑτέρας τινὰς ἐλάνθανον χώρας: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ πρὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς κολαζόμενοι.

[22] Such were the fortunes of the Blues. And of the partisans of the opposing

side, some swung over to their faction through an eagerness to have a hand in committing offences without incurring punishment, while others took to flight and were lost to sight in other lands; many also who were caught there in the city were destroyed by their opponents or were put to death as a punishment by the Government.

[23] καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ νεανίαί πολλοὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐταιρίαν ξυνέρρεον οὐδεπώποτε πρότερον περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακότες, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεώς τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἐξουσία ἐνταῦθα ἡγμένοι.

[23] Many young men also flocked to this association, men who previously had never taken an interest in these affairs, but were now drawn to it by the lure of power and the opportunity for wanton insolence.

[24] οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν μίasma ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὠνομασμένον, ὅπερ οὐχ ἡμαρτήθη τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκτὸς ἔμεινε.

[24] For there is no unholy act which bears a name among men which was not committed during this period and remained without punishment.

[25] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σφῶν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας διέφθειρον, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν προσκεκρουκότας αὐτοῖς ἔκτεινον.

[25] Now at first they were destroying their rival partisans, but as time went on they began to slay also those who had given them no offence at all.

[26] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἀναπείσαντες ἀπεδείκνυν τοὺς σφετέρους ἐχθροὺς, οὗσπερ ἐκεῖνοι διεχρῶντο εὐθὺς ὄνομα μὲν Πρασίνων αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκόντες,

[26] Many too won them over by bribes and then pointed out their own personal enemies, and these they would destroy immediately, attributing to them the name of Greens, though they were in fact altogether unknown to them.

[27] ἀγνώτας δὲ σφίσι παντάπασιν ὄντας. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν σκότῳ ἔτι οὐδ' ἐν παραβύστῳ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας καιροῖς, ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως χώρῳ, ἀνδράσι τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις τῶν πρassoμένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντων.

[27] And these things took place no longer in darkness or concealment, but at all hours of the day and in every part of the city, the crimes being committed, it might well be, before the eyes of the most notable men. For the wrongdoers had no need to conceal their crimes,

[28] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπικαλύπτειν ἐδέοντο τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ἐπεὶ τοὶ αὐτοῖς οὐκ

ἐπέκειτο κολάσεως δέος, ἀλλὰ τις προσῆν καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀξίωσις, ἰσχύος τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐμποιοῦμένοις ἐπίδειξιν, ὅτι δὴ πληγῇ μιᾷ τῶν τινα παραπετωκότων γυμνὸν ἔκτεινον, ἐλπίς τε οὐδενὶ τοῦ ἔτι βιώσεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῆς διαίτης σφαλερῷ ἔμενε.

[28] for no dread of punishment lay upon them, nay, there even grew up a sort of zest for competitions among them, since they got up exhibitions of strength and manliness, in which they shewed that with a single blow they could kill any unarmed man who fell in their way, and no man longer dared to hope that he would survive among the perilous circumstances of daily life.

[29] πάντες γὰρ ἐγκεῖσθαι σφίσι τὸν θάνατον τῷ περιδεεῖς εἶναι ὑπόπτειον, καὶ οὔτε τόπος τις ὄχυρός οὔτε καιρὸς ἐχέγγυός τινι ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ κὰν τοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν τιμιωτάτοις κὰν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι λόγῳ οὐδενὶ διεφθείροντο, πίστις τε οὐδεμία πρὸς τε τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλῇ ἔθνησκον.

[29] For all suspected, because of their great fear, that death was pressing close upon them, and neither did any place seem to be safe nor any time to offer a guarantee of safety to any man, because men were being killed even in the most honoured of the sanctuaries and at the public festivals for no reason, and no confidence remained in either friends or relatives. For many were being killed through the treachery of those most closely akin to them.

[30] Ζήτησις μέντοι οὐδεμία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγίνετο. ἀλλὰ τὰ πάθη ἀπροσδόκητα πᾶσιν ἔπιπτε καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν οὐδεὶς ἤμυνε.

[30] No investigation, however, of the crimes which had been committed took place. But the calamity in all cases fell unexpectedly and no one would try to avenge the fallen.

[31] νόμου δέ τινος ἢ συμβολαίου δυνάμεις τις ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς τάξεως οὐκέτι ἐλέλειπτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον ἅπαντα τετραμμένα ξυνεταράχθη, τυραννίδι τε ἦν ἡ πολιτεία ἐμφορῆς μάλιστα, οὐ καθεστῶση μέντοι γε, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάστην τε ἀμειβομένη καὶ ἀεὶ ἀρχομένη.

[31] And in no law or contract was there left any effective power resting upon the security of the existing order, but everything was turned to a reign of increasing violence and confusion, and the Government resembled a tyranny, yet not a tyranny that had become established, but one rather that was changing every day and constantly beginning again.

[32] τῶν τε ἀρχόντων αἱ γνώμαι ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμέναις ἐώκεσαν, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς φόβῳ δεδουλωμένων τὸ φρόνημα, οἳ τε δικάζοντες τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ποιοῦμενοι γνώσεις τὰς ψήφους ἐδίδοσαν, οὐχ ἥπερ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δικάιᾳ τε καὶ νόμιμα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν διαφορομένων ἐκάστῳ τὰ ἐκ

τῶν στασιωτῶν δυσμενῇ τε καὶ φίλα ἐτύγγανεν ὄντα. δικαστῇ γὰρ ὀλιγορηκότη τῆς ἐκείνων προρρήσεως θάνατος ἢ ζημία ἐπέκειτο.

[32] And the decisions of the magistrates seemed like those of terrified men whose minds were enslaved through fear of a single man; and those who sat in judgment, in rendering their decisions on the points in dispute, gave their verdicts, not as seemed to them just and lawful, but according as each of the disputants had hostile or friendly relations with the Factions. For should any judge have disregarded the instructions of these men, the penalty of death hung imminently over him.

[33] Καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν δανεῖσται τὰ γραμματεῖα τοῖς ὀφληκόσι ξὺν βία πολλῇ οὐδὲν τοῦ ὀφλήματος κεκομισμένοι ἀπέδοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ οὔτι ἐκούσιοι ἐλευθέρους τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀφῆκαν.

[33] And many money-lenders were forced through sheer compulsion to restore to their debtors their contracts without having received back any part of their loan, and many persons not at all willingly set their slaves free.

[34] φασὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκάς τινας πολλὰ ὧν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς αὐτῶν δούλοις ἀναγκασθῆναι.

[34] And they say that certain women were forced by their own slaves to many acts that were sore against their will.

[35] ἤδη δὲ καὶ παῖδες οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς νεανίαις ἀναμιχθέντες τοὺς πατέρας ἠνάγκαζον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οὔτι ἐθελουσίους ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ χρήματα σφίσι προῖεσθαι.

[35] And already the sons of men of high station, having mingled with these lawless youths, were compelling their fathers to do much against their will and in particular to deliver over their money to them.

[36] πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσιοι παῖδες τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς κοίτην ἀνοσίαν οὐκ ἄγνοούντων ἠναγκάσθησαν τῶν πατέρων ἐλθεῖν.

[36] And many unwilling boys were compelled to enter into unholy intercourse with the Factionists, with the full knowledge of their fathers.

[37] καὶ γυναῖξι μέντοι ἀνδράσι ξυνοικούσαις ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ξυνέβη παθεῖν. καὶ λέγεται γυνὴ μία κόσμον περιβεβλημένη πολὺν πλεῖν μὲν ξὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τι προάστειον τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, ἐντυχόντων δὲ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ τῶν στασιωτῶν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴν ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐς δὲ ἄκατον τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἐμβιβασάντων, ἐσελθεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν ἄκατον ξὺν τοῖς νεανίαις, ἐγκελευσασμένη τῷ ἀνδρὶ λάθρα ἀλλὰ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεδιέναι φαῦλον:

[37] And women, too, while living with husbands, had to submit to this same treatment. And it is said that one woman, dressed in elegant fashion, was crossing with her husband to some suburb on the opposite mainland; and in the course of this crossing they were met by some of the Factionists, who tore her from her husband with a threat and placed her in their own boat; and as she entered the boat with the young men, she stealthily urged her husband to be of good courage and to fear no harm for her;

[38] οὐ γάρ τι ξυμβήσεσθαι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ ὕβρισθῆναι: ἔτι δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ξὺν πένθει μεγάλη ἐς αὐτὴν βλέποντος ἐς τε τὴν θάλασσαν καθεῖναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι.

[38] for, she said, she would not suffer any outrage to her person. And even while her husband looked upon her in great sorrow, she threw herself into the sea and straightway vanished from among men.

[39] Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ τούτοις δὴ τότε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τετολμημένα. ἥσσον δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἡνία ἢ τὰ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀμαρτηθέντα, ἐπεὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν κακούργων πεπονθόσι τὰ χαλεπώτατα μέρος ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς δι' ἀταξίας ἐμβάσης ἀνίας τὸ προσδοκᾶν αἰετὴν τὴν πρὸς τῶν νόμων τε καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τίσιν.

[39] Such, then, was the outrageous conduct of the Factionists at this time in Byzantium. Yet these things distressed the victims less than the wrongs committed by Justinian against the State, for in the case of those who have suffered the cruelest treatment at the hands of malefactors, the greatest part of the distress arising from a state of political disorder is removed by the constant expectation of punishment to be exacted by the laws and the Government.

[40] ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα εὐέλπιδες εἶναι ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὰ παρόντα σφίσι φέρουσιν ἄνθρωποι, βιαζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τῆς τῇ πολιτεία ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, περιαλγοῦσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆται τῆς τιμωρίας ἐς αἰετὴν τρέπονται.

[40] For in their confident hope of the future men bear their present ills more lightly and easily, but when treated with violence by the power in control of the State, they naturally grieve over their misfortunes the more and are constantly driven to despair by the fact that punishment is not to be expected.

[41] ἡμάρτανε δὲ οὐχ ὅτι μόνον προσποιεῖσθαι τοὺς κακουμένους ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι προστάτης τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καθίστασθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου:

[41] And Justinian offended not alone in that he refused absolutely to champion the cause of the wronged, but also because he did not object at all to making

himself the avowed protector of the Factionists;

[42] χρήματά τε γὰρ μεγάλα τοῖς νεανίαις τούτοις προΐετο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἕς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀξιώματα καλεῖν ἐδδικαίου.

[42] for he kept issuing great sums of money to these youths, and retained many of them about his own person, and some of them he even saw fit to summon to the magistracies and to other stations of honour.

VIII

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράττετο καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νόσημα ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενον τὸ κακὸν πανταχῇ ἐπέσκηψε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

These things, then, were being enacted both in Byzantium and in every other city. For the evil, like any other malady, beginning there fell like a scourge upon every part of the Roman Empire.

[2] βασιλεῖ δὲ τῶν πρassoμένων ἥκιστα ἔμελεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τις αἴσθησις τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγένετο, καίπερ αὐτόπτη τῶν δρωμένων ἐν τοῖς ἵπποδρομίῳις ἀεὶ γινομένῳ.

[2] But the Emperor Justinus paid not the slightest heed to what was passing, for he, in fact, had no power of perception at all, though he was an eye-witness at all times of what was being done in the hippodromes.

[3] ἡλίθιός τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἦν καὶ νωθεὶ ὄνῳ ἐμφορῆς μάλιστα καὶ οἶος τῷ τὸν χαλινὸν ἔλκοντι ἔπεσθαι, συχνά οἱ σειομένων τῶν ὥτων.

[3] For he was extraordinarily simple-minded and exceedingly like a stupid donkey, inclined to follow the man who pulls the rein, his ears waving steadily the while.

[4] Ἰουστινιανὸς ταῦτά τε ἔπρασσε καὶ ζύμπαντα τᾶλλα ἐκύκα. ὅσπερ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐπελάβετο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχῆς, χρήματα μὲν τὰ δημόσια εὐθὺς καταναλοῦν κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν ἅτε αὐτῶν κύριος γεγονώς.

[4] And Justinian was not only doing the things described but was also throwing everything else into confusion. Indeed, as soon as this man laid hold of the Government of his uncle, he straightway was eager to squander the public funds with complete recklessness, seeing he had become master of them.

[5] Οὕνων γὰρ τοῖς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνουσι πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προΐετο: ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐφόδοις ἀποκεῖσθαι συχναῖς ζυνέβαινε

[5] For he kept squandering very great sums for service to the State on those of the Huns who chanced from time to time to meet him; and as a result of this the land of the Romans came to be exposed to frequent inroads.

[6] Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἀπογευσάμενοι γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι Ῥωμαίων πλούτου μεθίεσθαι οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο τῆς ἐνταῦθα φερούσης ὁδοῦ.

[6] For when once these barbarians had tasted the wealth of the Romans, they could no longer keep away from the road leading to Byzantium.

[7] Πολλὰ δὲ ρίπτειν καὶ ἐς θαλαττίους οἰκοδομίας τινὰς ἡΐσιον, βιαζόμενος τὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐς αἰὲ ρόθιον.

[7] He also saw fit to throw much money into certain buildings along the sea, seeking to put constraint upon the incessant surge of the waves.

[8] ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἡίονος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει φιλονείκως ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἐπιρροαῖς ἔχων καὶ καθάπερ ἐξουσία πλοῦ του πρὸς τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος δύναμιν.

[8] For he kept moving outward from the beach by piling up stones, being determined to compete with the wash of the sea, and, as it were, seeking to rival the strength of the sea by the sheer power of wealth.

[9] τὰς τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰδίας ἐκάστων οὐσίας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἤγειρε, τοῖς μὲν ὅ τι δὴ ἔγκλημα οὐχ ἁμαρτηθὲν ἐπικαλέσας, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἅτε αὐτὸν δεδωρημένων τερατευσάμενος.

[9] And he gathered into his hands the private property of every Roman in the whole world, charging some of them with some crime or other which they had not committed, and in the case of others deluding their minds with the idea that they had made him a present.

[10] πολλοὶ δὲ φόνων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων τοιούτων ἀλόντες, εἴτα ἐξιστάμενοι αὐτῷ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων διέφυγον ὧν ἥμαρτον μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην:

[10] And many who had been convicted of murder and other such crimes handed over to him their entire fortunes and thus escaped paying the penalty for their misdeeds;

[11] ἔτεροι δὲ χωρίων, οὐ δέον, τοῖς πέλας τινῶν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀμφισβητοῦντες, ἐπεὶ καταδικαιτῆσθαι τῶν ἀντιδίκων οὐδαμῇ εἶχον τοῦ νόμου σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, οἱ δὲ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις αὐτὸν δωρησάμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, αὐτοὶ μὲν χάριτι ἀζημίῳ κερδάναντες τὸ γνῶριμοι γεγονέναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, τρόπῳ δὲ παρανομοτάτῳ καταδικάσασθαι τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἰσχύσαντες.

[11] and others who might, for instance, be urging against their neighbours a claim to certain lands to which they had no right, finding themselves unable, because the law was against them, to secure a judgment against their adversaries by arbitration, simply bestowed this disputed property upon the Emperor and so were free of the business, thus winning for themselves, by a gift which cost them nothing, an acquaintance with this man, and having succeeded by most illegal means in getting the better of their opponents at law.

[12] Οὐκ ἄπο δὲ καιροῦ ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ εἶδος τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σημήναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα οὔτε μακρὸς οὔτε κολοβὸς ἤγαν, ἀλλὰ μέτριος ἦν, οὐ μέντοι ἰσχνὸς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ εὖσαρκος, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὄψιν στρογγύλος τε καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφος· ἐπυρρία γὰρ καὶ δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ἀπόσιτος ὢν.

[12] And I think it not inappropriate to describe the appearance of this man. He was neither tall in stature not particularly short, but of a medium height, yet not thin but slightly fleshy, and his face was round and not uncomely; for his complexion remained ruddy even after two days of fasting.

[13] ὅπως δὲ ἅπαν αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος συλλήβδην σημήνω, Δομετιανῷ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παιδί ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμφερέστερος ἦν, οὐπὲρ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς κακοτροπίας ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπώναντο ὥστε οὐδὲ κρεουργήσαντες ὅλον ἐκλῦσαι τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ δόγμα ἐγγέγονει τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς μηδὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου ἐν γράμμασιν εἶναι μηδ' εἰκόνα ἡντιναοῦν αὐτοῦ διασώζεσθαι.

[13] But that I may describe his appearance as a whole in few words, I would say that he resembled Domitian, son of Vespasian, very closely, an Emperor who so impressed the Romans who suffered under him that even after they had chopped his whole body into pieces they felt that they had not satisfied their rage against him, but through a decree of the Senate determined that not even the name of this Emperor would appear on documents nor any likeness of him whatsoever be preserved.

[14] τό τε γοῦν ὄνομα τοῦτο πανταχόσε ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης γραμμάτων καὶ εἴ που ἄλλη τοῦτο γεγράφθαι ξυνέβη ἐκκεκολαμμένον ἰδεῖν μεταξύ τῶν ἄλλων πάρεστι μόνον, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν οὐδαμῇ φαίνεται οὔσα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅτι μὴ χαλκῇ μία ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε.

[14] His name, at any rate, everywhere in the inscriptions in Rome and wherever else it chanced to have been carved has been chiselled out, this name alone among all the others, as the observer may see, and not a single statue of him is to be seen anywhere throughout the Roman Empire, with the exception of one bronze statue, accounted for as follows.

[15] ἦν τῷ Δομετιανῷ γυνὴ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ἄλλως κοσμία, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὴ κακὸν τι οὐδένα εἰργάσατο πώποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε τις αὐτῇ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράξεων ἤρεσκε.

[15] Domitian had a wife of noble character and discreet, and neither had she herself ever harmed any man in the world nor was she pleased at all with any of the actions of her husband.

[16] διόπερ αὐτὴν ἄγαν ἀγαπωμένην ἢ βουλὴ τότε μεταπεμψαμένη αἰτεῖσθαι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη ἐκέλευεν.

[16] Consequently she was dearly beloved, and the Senate at that time summoned her and bade her ask whatever she wished.

[17] ἡ δὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἰκέτευε, τό τε Δομετιανοῦ σῶμα λαβοῦσα θάψαι καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ ἀναθεῖναι εἰκόνα χαλκῇν, ὅποι ἂν ἐθέλοι.

[17] And she begged only this, that she might take the body of Domitian and bury it and that she might set up one bronze statue to him wherever she wished.

[18] καὶ ἡ μὲν βουλή ξυνεχόρει ταῦτα: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας τῶν τὸν ἄνδρα κρεουργησάντων ἀπολεῖναι βουλομένη

[18] And the Senate conceded this. And the woman, wishing to leave to future ages a memorial of the inhumanity of those who had butchered her husband, contrived the following.

[19] μνημεῖα τῷ ὀπισθεν χρόνῳ ἐπενόει τάδε. τὰ Δομετιανοῦ ξυλλεξαμένη κρέα, ξυνθεῖσά τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἐναρμοσασμένη ἐς ἄλληλα κατέρραψε μὲν τὸ σῶμα ὅλον, τοῖς δὲ πλάσταις ἐνδειξαμένη ἐν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τὸ πάθος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἐκέλευεν.

[19] Collecting the flesh of Domitian, and putting the pieces accurately together and fitting them one to the other, she sewed up the whole body; then, displaying to the sculptors, she bade them represent in a bronze statue the fate which had befallen her husband.

[20] οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῖται τὴν εἰκόνα εὐθὺς ἐποίουν. λαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φερούσης ἀνόδου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνταῦθα ἰόντι, εἶδος τε τὸ Δομετιανοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος δηλοῦσαν ἐς τότε τοῦ χρόνου.

[20] So the artists straightway made the statue. The woman then took it and set it up on the street leading up to the Capitol, on the right as one ascends thither from the Forum, and it shews both the features and the fate of Domitian, even to the present day.

[21] εἰκάσειεν ἂν τις τό τε ἄλλο Ἰουστινιανοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ τοῦ προσώπου ἅπαντα ἦθι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰκόνι διαφανῶς εἶναι.

[21] And one might hazard a guess that the body of Justinian in general and particularly the face and all the characteristic features of his countenance are clearly embodied in this statue.

[22] Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶδος τοιοῦτός τις ἦν: τὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐς μὲν τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἂν φράσαιμι. ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε καὶ εὐπαράγωγος, ὃν δὴ μωροκακοήθη καλοῦσιν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀληθιζόμενος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ

νῶ δολερῶ ἅπαντα ἐς αἰὶ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων, καὶ τοῖς ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέλουσιν ἀποκείμενος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

[22] Such was Justinian in appearance; but his character I could not accurately describe. For this man was both an evil-doer and easily led into evil, the sort of a person whom they call a moral pervert, never of his own accord speaking the truth to those with whom he conversed, but having a deceitful and crafty intent behind every word and action, and at the same time exposing himself, an easy prey, to those who wished to deceive him.

[23] καὶ τις ἀήθης κρᾶσις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπεφύκει ἔκ τε ἀνοίας καὶ κακοτροπίας ξυγκεκραμένη. καὶ τάχα τοῦτο ἦν ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις τῶν τις ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων ἀπεφθέγξατο, ὥς καὶ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῶν χρωμάτων τῇ μίξει.

[23] And a certain unusual mixture had developed in him, compounded of both folly and wickedness. And possibly this illustrated a saying uttered by one of the Peripatetic philosophers in earlier times, to the effect that the most opposite elements are found in man's nature, just as in mixed colours.

[24] γράφω μέντοι ὧν μοι ἐφικέσθαι οὐ δυνατόν γέγονεν. ἦν τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εἴρων, δολερὸς, κατάπλαστος, σκότιος ὀργὴν, διπλοῦς, ἄνθρωπος δεινὸς, ὑποκρίνασθαι γνώμην τελεώτατος, καὶ δάκρυα οὐχ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τινος ἢ πάθους ἐκφέρων, ἀλλὰ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ καιροῦ κατὰ τὸ τῆς χρείας παρὸν, ψευδόμενος ἐς αἰὶ, οὐκ εἰκῇ μέντοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμματα καὶ ὄρκους δεινοτάτους ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυγκειμένοις πεποιημένος, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς κατηκόους τοὺς αὐτοῦ.

[24] (I am now writing, however, of matters in which I have not been able to attain competency.) But to resume, this Emperor was insincere, crafty, hypocritical, dissembling his anger, double-dealing, clever, a perfect artist in acting out an opinion which he pretended to hold, and even able to produce tears, not from joy or sorrow, but contriving them for the occasion according to the need of the moment, always playing false, yet not carelessly but adding both his signature and the most terrible oaths to bind his agreements, and that too in dealing with his own subjects.

[25] ἀνεχώρει δὲ τῶν τε ὁμολογημένων καὶ ὁμωμοσμένων εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὰ χεῖριστα, δέει τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσι βασάνων διώμοτα εἰς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἡγμένα.

[25] But he departed straightway from his agreements and his oaths, just like the vilest slaves, who, through fear of the tortures hanging over them, are induced to make confession of acts which they had denied on oath.

[26] φίλος ἀβέβαιος, ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, φόνων τε καὶ χρημάτων διάπυρος

ἐραστῆς, δύσερίς τε καὶ νεωτεροποιὸς μάλιστα, ἐς μὲν τὰ κακὰ εὐπαράγωγος, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ οὐδεμιᾷ συμβουλῇ ἤκων, ἐπινοῆσαι μὲν τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ὀξύς, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀγαθῶν καὶ αὐτὴν που τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀλμυρὰν εἶναι οἴομενος.

[26] He was a fickle friend, a truceless enemy, an ardent devotee of assassination and of robbery, quarrelsome and an inveterate innovator, easily led astray into wrong, but influenced by no counsel to adopt the right, keen to conceive and to execute base designs, but looking upon even the hearing about good things as distasteful.

[27] πῶς ἂν τις τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρόπων ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸς εἴη; ταῦτά τε καὶ πολλὰ ἔτι μείζω κακὰ οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἔχων ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἢ φύσις ἐδόκει τὴν κακοτροπίαν ἀφελομένη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταθέσθαι ψυχῇ.

[27] How could any man be competent to describe adequately the character of Justinian? These faults and many others still greater he manifestly possessed to a degree not in accord with human nature. On the contrary, Nature seemed to have removed all baseness from the rest of mankind and to have concentrated it in the soul of this man.

[28] ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς μὲν τὰς διαβολὰς εὐκολος ἄγαν, ἐς δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας ὀξύς. οὐ γάρ τι πρόποτε διερευνησάμενος ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας τοῦ διαβάλλοντος τὴν γνώσιν εὐθὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔγνω.

[28] And in addition to his other shortcomings, while he was very easy-going as to lending an ear to slanders, yet he was severe as to inflicting punishment. For he never paused for a thorough investigation before reaching a decision, but straightway upon hearing what the slanderer said, he would make his decision and order it published.

[29] ἔγραφέ τε γράμματα οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει, χωρίων τε ἀλώσεις καὶ πόλεων ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ ὅλων ἐθνῶν ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχοντα.

[29] And he did not hesitate to write orders that called for the capture of towns and the burning of cities and the enslavement of whole peoples, for no reason whatever.

[30] ὥστε εἴ τις ἄνωθεν ἅπαντα τὰ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνενεχθέντα σταθμώμενος ἀντισηκοῦν αὐτὰ τούτοις ἐθέλοι, δοκεῖ μοι ἂν πλείω φόνον εὐρέσθαι ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε ξυμβάντα ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ αἰῶνι γεγενῆσθαι τετύχηκε.

[30] Consequently, if one should care to estimate all the misfortunes which have befallen the Romans from the earliest times and then to balance against

them those of the present day, it seems to me that he would find a greater slaughter of human beings to have been perpetrated by this man than has come to pass in all the preceding time.

[31] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χρημάτων ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀναίσθητον κτῆσιν ἀοκνότατος ἦν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σκῆψιν ἡξίου τινὰ παραπέτασμα τοῦ δικαίου προβεβλημένος τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ἐπιβατεύειν: γενομένων δὲ οἰκείων ἐτοιμότητος ἦν ἀλογίστῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ περιφρονεῖν τε καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις προῖεσθαι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.

[31] And while he had no scruples whatever against the quiet acquisition of other men's money — for he never even made any excuse, putting forward justice as a screen in trespassing upon things which did not belong to him — yet when once these had become his own, he was perfectly ready to shew his contempt for the money, with a prodigality in which there was no trace of calculation, and for no reason at all to fling it away to the barbarians.

[32] καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χρήματα οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ἄλλον τινὰ ἔχειν τῶν ἀπάντων εἶα, ὥσπερ οὐ φιλοχρηματίας ἡσώμενος, ἀλλὰ φθόνῳ ἐς τοὺς ταῦτα κεκτημένους ἐχόμενος.

[32] And, to sum up the whole matter, he neither had any money himself, nor would he allow anyone else in the world to have it, as though he were not a victim of avarice, but simply consumed by envy of those who possessed money.

[33] ἐξοικίσας οὖν ῥᾶστα τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς πενίας δημιουργὸς ᾗτασι γέγονεν.

[33] Consequently he lightly banished wealth from the Roman world and became the creator of poverty for all.

IX

Ἰουστινιανῷ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι φράσαι τῇδε πη εἶχεν. ἔγημε δὲ γυναῖκα, ἣ ὄντινα τρόπον γενομένη τε καὶ τραφεῖσα καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς γάμον ξυναφθεῖσα πρόρριζον Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξέτριπεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

The traits, then, of Justinian's character, as far as we are able to state them, were roughly these. And he married a wife concerning whom I shall now relate how she was born and reared and how, after being joined to this man in marriage, she overturned the Roman State to its very foundations.

[2] Ἀκάκιος ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θηριοκόμος τῶν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ θηρίων μοίρας Πρασίνων, ὥνπερ ἀρκοτρόφον καλοῦσιν.

[2] There was in Byzantium a certain Acacius, keeper of the animals used in the circus, an adherent of the Green Faction, a man whom they called Master of the Bears.

[3] οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων τριῶν θήλεος γένους, Κομιτοῦς τε καὶ Θεοδώρας καὶ Ἀναστασίας, ὥνπερ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη οὕπῳ ἐπταέτης γεγονυῖα ἐτύγχανεν.

[3] This man had died a natural death during the reign of Anastasius, leaving three girls, Comito, Theodora and Anastasia, the eldest of whom was not yet seven years of age.

[4] ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐκπεσοῦσα ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς κοίτην ἦλθεν, ὃς δὴ ξὺν αὐτῇ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλεν.

[4] And the woman, now reduced to utter distress, entered into marriage with another husband, who, she thought, would later on assist her in both the care of the household and in her first husband's occupation.

[5] ὁ δὲ τῶν Πρασίνων ὀρχηστής Ἀστέριος ὄνομα χρήμασι πρὸς ἐτέρου ἀναπαισθεις τούτους μὲν τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀπέστησε, τὸν δὲ οἱ τὰ χρήματα δόντα ἐς αὐτὴν ἀντεκατέστησεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. τοῖς γὰρ ὀρχησταῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξῆν διοικεῖσθαι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἣ βούλονται.

[5] But the Dancing Master of the Greens, a man named Asterius, was bribed by another man to remove these persons from that office and to make no difficulty about putting in the position the man who had given him the money. For the Dancing Masters had authority to administer such matters as they wished.

[6] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ξύμπαντα ἢ γυνὴ ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ἀγηγεμένον εἶδε, στέμματα ταῖς παισὶν ἐν τε τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνθεμένη ἐς τὴν ἱκετείαν ἐκάθισεν.

[6] But when the woman saw the whole populace gathered in the Circus, she put garlands on the heads and in both hands of the three girls and cause them to sit as suppliants.

[7] ἀλλ' οἱ Πράσινοι μὲν προσίεσθαι τὴν ἱκετείαν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, Βένετοι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ κατεστήσαντο τῆς τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ ὁ θηριοκόμος ἐτετελευτήκει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔναγχος.

[7] And though the Greens were by no means favourable to receiving the supplication, the Blues conferred this position of honour upon them, since their Master of the Bears also had recently died.

[8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παιδιά ταῦτα ἐς ἥβην ἦλθε, καθήκεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα σκηνῆς αὐτίκα ἢ μήτηρ, ἐπεὶ εὐπρεπεῖς τὴν ὄψιν ἦσαν, οὐ μέντοι ὑπὸ χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάσας, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκάστη ἐδοξέν οἱ ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ὥραία εἶναι.

[8] And when these children came of age, the mother immediately put them on the stage there — since they were fair to look upon — not all three at the same time, but as each one seemed to her to be ripe for this calling.

[9] ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη Κομιτὼ ἤδη ἐν ταῖς καθ' αὐτὴν ἐταίραις λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει: Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ μετ' ἐκείνην χιτωνίσκον χειριδωτὸν ἀμπεχομένη δούλῳ παιδί πρέποντα τά τε ἄλλα ὑπηρετοῦσα εἶπετο καὶ τὸ βάθρον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αἰεὶ ἔφερεν, ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἐκείνη ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καθῆσθαι εἰώθει.

[9] Now Comito, the first one, had already scored a brilliant success among the harlots of her age; and Theodora, the next in order, clothed in a little sleeved frock suitable to a slave girl, would follow her about, performing various services and in particular always carrying on her shoulders the stool on which her sister was accustomed to sit in the assemblies.

[10] τέως μὲν οὖν ἄωρος οὔσα ἡ Θεοδώρα ἐς κοίτην ἀνδρὶ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, οὐδὲ οἷα γυνὴ μίγνυσθαι: ἡ δὲ τοῖς κακοδαιμονοῦσιν ἀνδρείαν τινα μισητίαν ἀνεμίσγετο, καὶ ταῦτα δούλοις, ὅσοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπόμενοι ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάρεργον τῆς οὔσης αὐτοῖς εὐκαιρίας τὸν ὀλεθρον τοῦτον εἰργάζοντο, ἐν τε μαστροπείῳ πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ παρὰ φύσιν ἐργασίᾳ τοῦ σώματος διατριβὴν εἶχεν.

[10] Now for a time Theodora, being immature, was quite unable to sleep with a man or to have a woman's kind of intercourse with one, yet she did engage in intercourse of a masculine type of lewdness with the wretches, slaves though they were, who, following their masters to the theatre, incidentally

took advantage of the opportunity afforded them to carry on this monstrous business, and she spent much time in the brothel in this unnatural traffic of the body.

[11] ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἔς τε τὴν ἡβὴν ἀφίκετο καὶ ὥραία ἦν ἤδη, εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς καθῆκεν αὐτὴν, ἑταῖρα τε εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει, οἷανπερ οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλουν πεζήν.

[11] But as soon as she came of age and was at last mature, she joined the women of the stage and straightway became a courtesan, of the sort whom men of ancient times used to call “infantry.”

[12] οὐ γὰρ αὐλήτρια οὐδὲ ψάλτρια ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν αὐτῇ ἤσκητο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῖς ἀεὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀπεδίδοτο μόνον ἐκ παντὸς ἐργαζομένη τοῦ σώματος.

[12] For she was neither a flute-player nor a harpist, nay, she had not even acquired skill in the dance, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically her whole body.

[13] εἴτα τοῖς μίμοις τὰ ἐς τὸ θέατρον πάντα ὠμίλει καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτηδευμάτων μετεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, γελωτοποιοῖς τισι βωμολοχίαις ὑπηρετοῦσα. ἦν γὰρ ἀστεία διαφερόντως καὶ σκώπτρια, ἀποβλεπτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου εὐθὺς ἐγεγόνει.

[13] Later on she was associated with the actors in all the work of the theatre, and she shared their performances with them, playing up to their buffoonish acts intended to raise a laugh. For she was unusually clever and full of gibes, and she immediately became admired for this sort of thing.

[14] οὐ γάρ τις αἰδοῦς τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ μετὴν ἢ διατραπεῖσάν τις αὐτὴν πώποτε εἶδεν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀναισχύντους ὑπουργίας οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐχώρει, καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἦν οἷα ῥαπιζομένη μὲν καὶ κατὰ κόρρης πατασσομένη χαριεντίζειν τε καὶ μέγιστα ἀνακαγχάζειν, ἀποδυσσάμενη τε τὰ τε πρόσω καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γυμνὰ ἐπιδείξαι, ἃ τοῖς ἀνδράσι θέμις ἄδηλά τε καὶ ἀφανῇ εἶναι.

[14] For the girl had not a particle of modesty, nor did any man ever see her embarrassed, but she undertook shameless services without the least hesitation, and she was the sort of a person who, for instance, when being flogged or beaten over the head, would crack a joke over it and burst into a loud laugh; and she would undress and exhibit to any who chanced along both her front and her rear naked, parts which rightly should be unseen by men and hidden from them.

[15] Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐχλεύαζε τε βλακεύουσα καὶ νεωτέραις ἀεὶ τῶν μίξεων ἐνδιαθρυπτομένη ἐπιτεχνήσεσι παραστήσασθαι τὰς τῶν ἀκολάστων

ψυχὰς ἐς αἰεὶ ἴσχυεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν αὐτὴ γελοιάζουσα τε καὶ βωμολόχως ἰσχιάζουσα τοὺς παραπετωκότας ἅπαντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀγενεῖους ὄντας ἐπεῖρα.

[15] And as she wantoned with her lovers, she always kept bantering them, and by toying with new devices in intercourse, she always succeeded in winning the hearts of the licentious to her; for she did not even expect that the approach should be made by the man she was with, but on the contrary she herself, with wanton jests and with clownish posturing with her hips, would tempt all who came along, especially if they were beardless youths.

[16] ἦσσαν γάρ τις οὕτως ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης οὐδαμῇ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς ξυναγώγιμον δεῖπνον πολλάκις ἐλθοῦσα ξὺν νεανίαις δέκα, ἢ τούτων πλείοσιν, ἰσχυῖ τε σώματος ἀκμάζουσι λίαν καὶ τὸ λαγνεύειν πεποιημένοις ἔργον, ξυνεκοιτάζετο μὲν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἅπασι τὴν νύκτα ὅλην, ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πάντες ἀπείποιεν, ἦδε παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκέτας ἰοῦσα τριάκοντα ὄντας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνεδυάζετο μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, κόρον δὲ οὐδ' ὥς ταύτης δὴ τῆς μισητίας ἐλάμβανε.

[16] Indeed there was never anyone such a slave to pleasure in all forms; for many a time she would go to a community dinner with ten youths or even more, all of exceptional bodily vigor who had made a business of fornication, and she would lie with all her banquet companions the whole night long, and when they all were too exhausted to go on, she would go on to their attendants, thirty perhaps in number, and pair off with each one of them; yet even so she could not get enough of this wantonness.

[17] Καὶ ποτε ἐς τῶν τινος ἐπιφανῶν οἰκίαν ἐλθοῦσα μεταξὺ τοῦ πότου θεωμένων αὐτὴν, ὥς φασι, τῶν ξυμποτῶν ἀπάντων, ἐς τὸ προὔχον ἀναβᾶσα τῆς κλίνης ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν ἀνασύρασά τε τὰ ἱμάτια οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι.

[17] On one occasion she entered the house of one of the notables during the drinking, and they said that in the sight of all the banqueters she mounted to the projecting part of the banqueting couch where their feet lay, and there drew up her clothing in a shameless way, not hesitating to display her licentiousness.

[18] ἡ δὲ κακὰ τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ φύσει, δυσφορουμένη ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τιτθοὺς αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἢ νῦν εἰσι τρυπῶν, ὅπως καὶ ἄλλην ἐνταῦθα μίξιν ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι δυνατὴ εἴη.

[18] And though she made use of three openings, she used to take Nature to task, complaining that it had not pierced her breasts with larger holes so that it might be possible for her to contrive another method of copulation there.

[19] καὶ συχνὰ μὲν ἐκύει, πάντα δὲ σχεδὸν τεχνάζουσα ἐξαμβλίσκειν εὐθὺς ἴσχυε.

[19] And though she was pregnant many times, yet practically always she was able to contrive to bring about an abortion immediately.

[20] Πολλάκις δὲ κὰν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπὸ θεατῇ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ γυμνὴ διὰ μέσου ἐγένετο, ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχουσα μόνον, οὐχ ὅτι μέντοι ἡσχύνετο καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ δεικνύναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνταῦθα γυμνῷ παντάπασι παρίεναι οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν ὅτι μὴ τῷ ἀμφὶ τοὺς βουβῶνας διάζωμα ἔχοντι. οὕτω μέντοι τοῦ σχήματος ἔχουσα,

[20] And often even in the theatre, before the eyes of the whole people, she stripped off her clothing and moved about naked through their midst, having only a girdle about her private parts and her groins, not, however, that she was ashamed to display these too to the populace, but because no person is permitted to enter there entirely naked, but must have at least a girdle about the groins.

[21] ἀναπεπτωκυῖά τε ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει ὑπτία ἔκειτο. θῆτες δέ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὸ ἔργον τόδε ἐνέκειτο, κριθᾶς αὐτῇ ὑπερθεν τῶν αἰδοίων ἐρρίπτουν, ἃς δὴ οἱ χῆνες, οἱ ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγγανον, τοῖς στόμασιν ἐνθένδε κατὰ μίαν ἀνελόμενοι ἦσθιον.

[21] Clothed in this manner, she sprawled out and lay on her back on the ground. And some slaves, whose duty this was, sprinkled grains of barley over her private parts, and geese, which happened to have been provided for this very purpose, picked them off with their beaks, one by one, and ate them.

[22] ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσα ἐξανίστατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πράξει ἐφάκει. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναίσχυντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναισχυντοποιὸς πάντων μάλιστα.

[22] And when she got up, she not only did not blush, but even acted as if she took pride in this strange performance. For she was not merely shameless herself, but also a contriver of shameless deeds above all others.

[23] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποδυσамένη ξὺν τοῖς μίμοις ἐν μέσῳ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς λорδουμένη τε καὶ τὰ ὀπίσω ἀποκεντῶσα τοῖς τε διάπειραν αὐτῆς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς οὐπὼ πεπλησιακόσι τὰ ἐκ παλαιστρας τῆς αὐτῇ εἰωθυίας βρενθυομένη.

[23] And it was a common thing for her to undress and stand in the midst of the actors on the stage, now straining her body backwards and now trying to penetrate the hinder parts both of those who had consorted with her and those who had not yet done so, running through with pride the exercises of the only

wrestling school to which she was accustomed.

[24] οὕτω δὲ ἀκολάστως ἐς τὸ σῶμα τὸ αὐτῆς ὕβριζεν, ὥστε τὴν αἰδῶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῆς φύσεως χώρα κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ ἔχειν ἐδόκει.

[24] And she treated her own body with such utter wantonness that she seemed to have her privates not where Nature had placed them in other women, but in her face!

[25] οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτῇ πλησιάζοντες ἐνδηλοι εὐθὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ κατὰ νόμον τῆς φύσεως τὰς μίξεις ποιοῦνται: ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων ἐντύχοιεν, ἀποκλινόμενοι σπουδῇ ὑπεχώρουν, μή του τῶν ἱματίων τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀψάμενοι μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ μιάσματος τούτου δόξαιεν.

[25] Now those who had intimacy with her immediately made it clear by that very fact that they were not having intercourse according to the laws of Nature; and all the more respectable people who chanced upon her in the market-place would turn aside and retreat in haste, lest they should touch any of the woman's garments and so seem to have partaken of this pollution.

[26] ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός. ἐς μέντοι τὰς συνθεατρίας ἀγριώτατα εἰώθει ἐς αἰεὶ σκορπιαίνεσθαι: βασκανία γὰρ πολλῇ εἶχετο.

[26] For she was, to those who saw her, particularly early in the day, a bird of foul omen. On the other hand, she was accustomed to storm most savagely at all times against the women who were her fellow-performers; for she was a very envious and spiteful creature.

[27] Ἐκβόλῳ δὲ ὕστερον Τυρίῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντι Πενταπόλεως ἐς τὰ αἰσχιστὰ ὑπηρετήσουσα εἶπετο, ἀλλὰ τι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσκεκρουκυῖα ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλαύνετο: διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἀπορεῖσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ξυνέπεσεν, ἅπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπορίζετο τὴν ἐς τὸ σῶμα παρανομίαν, ἥπερ εἴηστο, ἐργαζομένη.

[27] Later she was following in the train of Hecebolus, a Tyrian, who had taken over the administration of Pentapolis, serving him in the most shameful capacity; but she gave some offence to the man and was driven thence with all speed; consequently it came about that she was at a loss for the necessities of life, which she proceeded to provide in her usual way, putting her body to work at its unlawful traffic. She first went to Alexandria;

[28] ἐς μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὰ πρῶτα ἦκεν. ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἔω περιελθοῦσα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανῆκεν, ἐργασία χρωμένη ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη, ἣν γε ὀνομάζοντι, οἶμαι, ἀνθρώπῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἴλεως ὁ θεὸς εἴη, ὥσπερ οὐκ

ἀνεχομένου τοῦ δαίμονος χῶρόν τινα τῆς Θεοδώρας ἀκολασίας ἀγνῶτα εἶναι.

[28] later, after making the round of the whole East, she made her way back to Byzantium, plying her trade in each city (a trade which a man could not call by name, I think, without forfeiting forever the compassion of God), as if Heaven could not bear that any spot should be unacquainted with the wantonness of Theodora.

[29] Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τετέχθαι τε τῇδε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τετράφθαι ξυνέβη καὶ ἐς δημοσίους πολλὰς διαβοήτῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

[29] Thus was this woman born and reared and thus had she become infamous in the eyes both of many common women and of all mankind.

[30] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον αὐτῆς, ἠράσθη αὐτῆς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπλησίαζεν ὥς ἐρωμένη, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἀναγαγὼν ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα.

[30] But when she came back to Byzantium once more, Justinian conceived for her an overpowering love; and at first he knew her as a mistress, though he did advance her to the rank of the Patricians.

[31] δύνανιν τοίνυν ἐξαισίαν τινὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐπικεικῶς μεγάλα περιβαλέσθαι ἢ Θεοδώρα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσε. πάντων γὰρ ἥδιστον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐφαίνετο, ὃ δὴ ξυμβαίνειν τοῖς ἐκτόπως ἐρῶσι φιλεῖ, χάριτάς τε πάσας καὶ χρήματα πάντα τῇ ἐρωμένη χαρίζεσθαι.

[31] Theodora accordingly succeeded at once in acquiring extraordinary influence and a fairly large fortune. For she seemed to the man the sweetest thing in the world, as is wont to happen with lovers who love extravagantly, and he was fain to bestow upon his beloved all favours and all money.

[32] ἐγίνετό τε ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ ἔρωτος τοῦδε ὑπέκκαυμα. ζὼν αὐτῇ τοίνυν πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν δῆμον διέφθειρεν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

[32] And the State became fuel for this love. So with her help he ruined the people even more than before, and not in Byzantium alone, but throughout the whole Roman Empire.

[33] ἄμφω γὰρ μοίρας τῆς Βενέτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς στασιώταις τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν πράγματα ἔθεντο.

[33] For both being members of the Blue Faction from of old, they gave the members of this Faction great freedom regarding the affairs of State.

[34] χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ κακοῦ ἐλεωφῆκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[34] But long afterwards this evil abated for the most part, and in the following manner.

[35] Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη, ἐν δὲ τῇ νόσῳ ταύτῃ ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὅτι δὴ ἀποθάνοι· οἱ μὲντοι στασιῶται ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἡμάρτανον, καὶ τινα Ὑπάτιον οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα δι' ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερῷ διεχρήσαντο.

[35] Justinian happened to be ill for many days, and during this illness he came into such danger that it was even reputed that he had died. Meanwhile the Factionists were still carrying on those excesses which have been described, and in broad daylight, in the sanctuary of Sophia, they slew a certain Hypatius, a man of no mean station.

[36] ἐξειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ταραχῇ ἐς βασιλέα ἦλθε, τῶν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος, ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀπουσίας ἐλάβετο, τὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀτοπίαν ἐπὶ μέγα αἶρειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καταλέγων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα, ὅσα δὴ γενέσθαι τετύχηκε.

[36] Now after the crime had been committed, the tumult occasioned by the act reached the Emperor, and his courtiers, taking advantage of the absence of Justinian from the scene, all took pains to magnify to him the outrageous character of what had taken place, recounting from the beginning everything which had happened.

[37] τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχῳ ἐπέστελλε τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάντων ποιῆσθαι τὰς τίσεις, ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Θεόδοτος ὄνομα, ὃνπερ Κολοκύνθιον ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν.

[37] Then at length the Emperor commanded the Prefect of the City to inflict the penalties for all that had been done. Now this Prefect was named Theodotus, the one to whom they gave the nickname “Pumpkin.”

[38] καὶ ὃς διερευνώμενος ἅπαντα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν κακούργων ἐλεῖν τε καὶ διαχρήσασθαι νόμῳ ἴσχυσε, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαλαθόντες

[38] And he, making a full investigation of the affair, did succeed in apprehending and executing by due process of law many of the malefactors, though many hid themselves and thus saved their lives.

[39] ἐσώθησαν. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐπιαπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς πράγμασι Ῥωμαίων ἔδει. ὁ δὲ παράδοξον διασωθεὶς ἐξάπινα σωτηρίαν καὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον κτεῖναι ἄτε φαρμακέα καὶ μάγον εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρει.

[39] For it was destined that before long they themselves should rise to the control of the affairs of the Romans. As for the Emperor, he suddenly and unexpectedly recovered and thereupon immediately set about putting Theodotus to death as a poisoner and a magician.

[40] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅτῳ ποτὲ προσχήματι χρώμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαφθείρει, τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων τινὰς πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος ἠνάγκαζε λόγους ὡς ἥκιστα ὑγιεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ φθέγγεσθαι.

[40] But since he could find no pretext whatever which he might use to destroy the man, he tortured some of his associates most cruelly and compelled them to utter against the man statements which were utterly untrue.

[41] πάντων δέ οἱ ἐκποδῶν ἰσταμένων καὶ σιωπῇ τὴν ἐς τὸν Θεόδοτον ὀδυρομένων ἐπιβουλὴν, μόνος ὁ Πρόκλος τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίστωρος ἔχων ἀρχὴν καθαρὸν ἀπέφαινε τοῦ ἐγκλήματος εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θανάτου οὐδαμῇ ἄξιον.

[41] And as all stood aloof from him and in silence grieved over the plot against Theodotus, Proclus alone, who held the office of Quaestor, as its incumbent was called, declared that the man was innocent of the charge and in no way worthy of death.

[42] διὸ δὴ ὁ Θεόδοτος ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα βασιλέως κομίζεται γνώμη. γνοὺς δὲ ἤκειν τινὰς ἐνταῦθα, οἵπερ αὐτὸν διαφθεροῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἦν κρυπτόμενος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, οὕτω τε διαβιοὺς ἐτελεύτησε.

[42] So, by decision of the Emperor, Theodotus was conveyed to Jerusalem. But learning that certain men had come there in order to destroy him, he concealed himself the whole time in the sanctuary and continued so to live up to the time of his death.

[43] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Θεοδότῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. οἱ δὲ στασιῶται σφρονέσταισι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐγένοντο ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

[43] Such was the story of Theodotus. But the Factionists, from then on, became the most discreet persons in the world.

[44] οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἠνείχοντο, καίπερ σφίσι παρὸν ἀδεέστερον τῇ ἐς τὴν δίαίταν παρανομία χρῆσθαι.

[44] For they could no longer bring themselves to commit the same outrages as before, although the way was open for them to practice their lawlessness in their way of living more fearlessly than ever.

[45] τεκμήριον δέ: ὀλίγων γάρ τινων ὕστερον τόλμαν τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐνδειξαμένων

τίσις οὐδεμία ἐς αὐτοὺς γέγονεν.

[45] And the evidence is this, that when some few of them at a later time displayed a similar boldness, no punishment was meted out to them.

[46] οἱ γὰρ τοῦ κολάζειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν αἰεὶ ἔχοντες παρρησίαν τοῦ διαλανθάνειν τοῖσδε τὰ δεινὰ εἰργασμένοις παρείχοντο, ταύτη αὐτοὺς τῇ ξυγχωρήσει ἐς τὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπεμβαίνειν ἐνάγοντες.

[46] For those who from time to time had the authority to punish provided to those who were guilty of outrageous actions easy opportunity for concealment, thus spurring them on by this concession to trample down the laws.

[47] Ἔως μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλὶς περιῆν ἔτι, γυναῖκα ἐγγυητὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ποιήσασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ εἶχεν. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μόνον ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, καίπερ ἀντιστατοῦσα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν.

[47] Now as long as the Empress was still living, Justinian was quite unable to make Theodora his wedded wife. For in this point alone the Empress went against him, though opposing him in no other matter.

[48] πονηρίας μὲν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπωτάτω οὖσα ἐτύγχανεν, ἄγροικος δὲ ἦν κομιδῇ καὶ βάρβαρος γένος, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται.

[48] For the woman chanced to be far removed from wickedness, but she was very rustic and a barbarian by birth, as I have pointed out.

[49] ἀντιλαβέσθαι τε ἀρετῆς οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἀπειροτάτῃ οὖσα διατετέλεκε τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων, ἥ γε οὐδὲ ζῶν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ αὐτῆς ἰδίῳ ἅτε καταγελάστῳ ὄντι ἐς Παλάτιον ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' Εὐφημία ἐπικληθεῖσα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῇ βασιλίδι μὲν ἀπογενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν.

[49] And she was quite unable to take part in government, but continued to be wholly unacquainted with affairs of State, indeed, she did not enter the Palace under her own name, thinking it to be ridiculous, but bearing the assumed name of Euphemia. But at a later time it came about that the Empress died.

[50] ὁ δὲ ἡλιθιάζων τε καὶ κομιδῇ ἐσχατογέρων γενόμενος, πρὸς τῶν ἀρχομένων γέλωτα ὤφλεν, ὀλιγοῖα τε πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντες ἅτε τῶν πρassoμένων οὐ ξυνιέντος, ὑπερεώρων, Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ ζῶν δέει πολλὰ ἐθεράπευον. κυκῶν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ ξυνταράσσων ἀνεσώβει ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα.

[50] And the Emperor, having become foolish as well as extremely old, incurred the ridicule of his subjects, and since all were filled with utter contempt for him as not comprehending what was going on, they disregarded

him; but Justinian they cultivated with great fear. For by a policy of stirring things up and throwing them into confusion, he kept everything in a turmoil.

[51] τότε δὴ τὴν ἐγγύην πρὸς τὴν Θεοδώραν ἐνεχείρει ποιεῖν. ἀδύνατον δὲ ὄν ἄνδρα ἐς ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἦκοντα ἐταίρα γυναικὶ ξυνουκίζεσθαι, νόμοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἀπορρηθὲν, λῦσαι τε τοὺς νόμους τὸν βασιλέα νόμῳ ἑτέρῳ ἠνάγκασε καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἅτε γαμετῇ τῇ Θεοδώρα ξυνώκησε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι βάσιμον κατεστήσατο τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐταίρας ἐγγύην, τυραννῶν τε αὐτίκα ἐπεβάτευσεν τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τιμῆς προσχήματι συμπεπλασμένῳ τῆς πράξεως ἐπικαλύπτων τὸ βίαιον.

[51] Then at length he set about arranging a betrothal with Theodora. But since it was impossible for a man who had attained to senatorial rank to contract marriage with a courtesan, a thing forbidden from the beginning by the most ancient laws, he compelled the Emperor to amend the laws by a new law, and from then on he lived with Theodora as his married wife, and he thereby opened the way to betrothal with courtesans for all other men; and as a tyrant he straightway assumed the imperial office, concealing by a fictitious pretext the violence of the act.

[52] ἀνεῖπον γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ θείῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, δειμάτων περιουσία ἐπὶ ταύτην ἡγμένοι τὴν ψῆφον.

[52] For he was proclaimed Emperor of the Roman conjointly with his uncle by all men of high station, who were led to vote thus by an overwhelming fear.

[53] παρέλαβον τοίνυν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ Θεοδώρα πρότερον τῆς Πασχαλίας ἑορτῆς ἡμέραις τρισὶν, ὅτε δὴ οὔτε ἀσπάσασθαι τῶν φίλων τινὰ οὔτε εἰρηναῖα προσεῖπεῖν ἔξεστιν.

[53] So Justinian and Theodora took over the Roman Empire three days before the feast of Easter, a time when it is not permitted either to greet any of one's friends or to speak him peace.

[54] ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον Ἰουστῖνος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούς ἔτη ἑννέα, μόνος δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ξὺν Θεοδώρα τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν.

[54] And not many days later Justinus died a natural death, having lived nine years in office, and Justinian alone took over the throne with Theodora.

X

Οὕτω γοῦν ἡ Θεοδώρα, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τεχθεῖσα τε καὶ τεθραμμένη καὶ παιδευθεῖσα ἐς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐμποδισθεῖσα ἦλθεν.

So Theodora, born and nurtured and educated in the manner I have described, came to the dignity of Empress without having been impeded by any obstacle.

[2] οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ γήμαντι ὕβρεώς τις οἴησις γέγονεν, εἴ οἱ παρὸν ἐκ πάσης ἀπολεξαμένῃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πασῶν γυναικῶν μάλιστα εὖ τε γεγонуῖαν καὶ τροφῆς κρυφαίου μεταλαχοῦσαν, τοῦ τε αἰδεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀμελέτητον γεγεννημένην, καὶ σωφροσύνη ξυμφικισμένην, πρὸς δὲ τῷ κάλλει ὑπερφυᾷ καὶ παρθένον τινὰ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ὀρθότιτον οὔσαν.

[2] For not even a thought that he was doing an outrageous thing entered the mind of the man who married her, though he might have taken his choice of the whole Roman Empire and have married that woman who, of all the women in the world, was in the highest degree both well-born and blessed with a nurture sheltered from the public eye, a woman who had not been unpractised in modesty, and had dwelt with chastity, who was not only surpassingly beautiful but also still a maiden and, as the expression runs, erect of breast;

[3] ὁ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἄγος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ ἴδιον πεποιῆσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίου, ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν προδεδηλωμένων καταδύομενος, καὶ γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν ἄλλα τε περιβεβλημένη μεγάλα μιάσματα καὶ παιδοκτονίας πολλὰς ἐθελουσίων ἀμβλώσεων. ἄλλο τέ μοι ἐνδεῖν ἦθους πέρι μνημονεῦσαι τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν οἶμαι.

[3] but he did not disdain to make the common abomination of all the world his own, not dismayed by any of the misdeeds which we have previously recounted, and to lie with a woman who had not only encompassed herself round about with every other rank defilement but had also practised infanticide time and again by voluntary abortions. And I think that I need make mention of nothing else whatever in regard to the character of this man.

[4] ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη οὗτος ἂν ἀξίόχρεως ὁ γάμος σημῆναι διαρκῶς εἴη, ἐρμηνεύς τε καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ τρόπου καὶ λογογράφος γινόμενος.

[4] For this marriage would be amply sufficient to shew full well all the maladies of his soul, since it serves as both an interpreter and a witness and recorder of his character.

[5] ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἀλογήσας τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνῃ οὐκ ἀπαξιοῖ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι βδελυρὸς φαίνεσθαι, τούτῳ δὴ οὐδεμία παρανομίας ἀτραπὸς ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἀεὶ τοῦ μετώπου προβεβλημένος ῥᾷστά τε καὶ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐς τῶν πράξεων τὰς μιαιωτάτας χωρεῖ.

[5] Since that man who pays no heed to the disgrace from deeds previously committed and does not shrink from revealing himself to his associates as a loathsome character — for such a man no path of lawlessness is untrodden, but fortified by the effrontery that is never absent from his brow, he advances readily and with no effort to the vilest of actions.

[6] οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τις ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τὸ αἷσχος τοῦτο ἀναδουμένην τὴν πολιτείαν ὀρῶν δυσφορεῖσθαι τε καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπειπεῖν ἔγνω, καίπερ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἴσα θεῷ προσκυνήσοντες.

[6] Nor, in truth, did a single member of the Senate, when he saw the State putting on the crown of this disgrace, see fit to shew his disapprobation by forbidding the deed, though the Senators were all to do obeisance to the woman as though she were a god.

[7] ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις ἱερεὺς δεινοπαθῶν ἔνδηλος γέγονε, καὶ ταῦτα δέσποιναν αὐτὴν προσερεῖν μέλλοντες.

[7] Nay, not even a single priest shewed himself outraged, and that too, though they were going to address her thereafter as “Mistress.”

[8] καὶ ὁ πρότερον αὐτῆς θεατῆς δῆμος δοῦλος εὐθὺς οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αὐτῆς εἶναι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ὑπτίαις ἐδικαίου χερσίν.

[8] And the populace which previously had been spectators of her performances straightway demanded with upturned palms, in defiance of all decorum, that they might be in fact and in name her slaves.

[9] οὐδέ τις στρατιώτης ἡγρίωτο, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς Θεοδώρας πραγμάτων ὑφίστασθαι μέλλοι οὐδέ τις αὐτῇ ἄλλος ἀπήντησε τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πάντες, οἶμαι, τῷ ταῦτα οὕτω δεδόσθαι κεκλιμένοι ἐνεχώρησαν ξυμπεραίνεσθαι τὸ μίasma τοῦτο, ὥσπερ τῆς τύχης ἐπίδειξιν τῆς δυνάμεως πεποιημένης, ἣ δὴ ἅπαντα πρυτανευούση τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὥς ἥκιστα μέλει οὔτε ὅπως ἂν τὰ πραττόμενα εἰκότα εἶη οὔτε ὅπως ἂν ταῦτα κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγενῆσθαι δοκῇ.

[9] Nor did a single soldier rise in wrath at the thought that he was destined to undergo the perils of campaigning all in behalf of the interests of Theodora, nor did any other human being oppose her at all, — because, I suppose, they had been made submissive by the thought that these matters were so ordained for them, — but all^o allowed this outrage to be brought to fulfilment, as if

Fortune had made an exhibition of her power, to whom in truth, as she presides over all the affairs of mankind, it is a matter of no concern whatever either that the things which are done shall be reasonable or that they shall seem to men to have happened in accordance with reason.

[10] ἐπαίρει γοῦν τινα ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀλογίστῳ τινὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς ὕψος μέγα, ὥπερ ἐναντιώματα μὲν πολλὰ ξυμπεπλέχθαι δοκεῖ, ἀντιστατεῖ δὲ παρά τι ἔργον τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ἄγεται μηχανῇ πάσῃ ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτῇ διατέτακται, ἀπάντων ἐτοιμῶς ἐξισταμένων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων προΐούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ ἐχέτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω.

[10] At any rate she suddenly exalts one man to a great eminence by a sort of unreasoning exercise of her authority, though many obstacles seem to have grappled with him, and she opposes him in nothing whatever that he undertakes, nay, the man is carried along by any and every means to whatever post she has ordained for him, while all men without demur stand aside or retire before Fortune as she advances. But as to these matters, let them not only be as is pleasing to God but also be so set forth.

[11] Ἡ δὲ Θεοδώρα εὐπρόσωπος μὲν ἦν καὶ εὐχαρις ἄλλως, κολοβὸς δὲ καὶ ὠρακιῶσα οὐ παντάπασι μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπόχλωρος εἶναι, γοργόν τε καὶ συνεστραμμένον ἀεὶ βλέπουσα.

[11] Now Theodora was fair of face and in general attractive in appearance, but short of stature and lacking in colour, being, however, not altogether pale but rather sallow, and her glance was always intense and made with contracted brows.

[12] τῶν δὲ δὴ αὐτῇ βεβιωμένων ἐν τῇ θυμέλῃ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα λέγοντι οὐκ ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐπαρκέσαι, ὀλίγα δὲ ἅττα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς τρόπου τοῖς ἐπιγεννησομένοις ὅλην ἂν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν δήλωσιν ἱκανὸς εἶην.

[12] Now all time would not suffice for one to tell the most of her experiences in her life in the theatre, but by selecting in the preceding account a few incidents only I may have done enough to give a fair picture of the woman's character for the benefit of future generations.

[13] νῦν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τάνδρὸς τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐν ὀλίγῳ δηλωτέον ἡμῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τι ἀλλήλοιν χωρὶς ἐς τὴν δίαίταν ἐπραξάτην.

[13] But at the present time we must briefly make known her acts and those of her husband, for they did nothing whatever separately in the course of their life together.

[14] χρόνον μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἔδοξαν ἅπασι ταῖς τε γνώμαις ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς

ἐπιτηδεύμασι καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοιον ἰέναι, ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοῖν
ξυμπεπλάσθαι ἢ δόκησις αὕτη ἐγνώσθη, τοῦ μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντας τοὺς
κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐπαναστῆναι, ἀλλὰ διεστάναι τὰς γνώμας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπασι.

[14] For a long time, it is true, they were supposed by all to be diametrically
opposed to each other at all times in both their opinions and their ways of
living, but later it was realized that this impression was purposely worked up
by them in order that their subjects might not, by getting together in their
views, rise in revolt against them, but that the opinions of all their subjects
might be at variance regarding themselves.

[15] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς διαναστήσαντε καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔν γε
τοῖς ἀντιλεγόμενοις σκηπτομένῳ ἀλλήλοιον ἰέναι διεσπάσαντο οὕτως ἅπαντας,
ὥσπερ μοι λελέξεται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στασιώτας δείλονται.

[15] Now first of all they set the Christians at variance with one another, and by
pretending to go opposite ways from each other in rending them all asunder,
as will shortly be related by me. In the second place they kept the Factions
divided.

[16] καὶ ἡ μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῶν Βενέτων ἐπλάσσετο καὶ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ἀναπετάσασα ἐνεδίδου κόσμῳ ἐν
οὐδενὶ ἐξαμαρτάνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὰ ἀνήκεστα.

[16] And Theodora, on the one hand, would pretend with all her might to be
espousing the cause of the Blues, and by extending to them full freedom of
action against their opponents, she gave them licence, in a quite irregular way,
to commit their crimes and perform their pernicious deeds of violence.

[17] ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντι μὲν καὶ ἀποσκύζοντι λάθρα ἐφκει, κελεύθῳ δὲ
τῇ γυναικὶ ἀντιστατεῖν οὐχ οἷω τε ὄντι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεταμπισχόμενοι τὴν
τοῦ δύνασθαι δόξαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἦσαν.

[17] But Justinian, on the other hand, had the appearance of one who was vexed
and secretly resentful, yet unable to oppose his wife directly, and many times
the two even shifted the appearance of authority and pursued the opposite
course with reference to one another.

[18] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Βενέτους οἷα ἐξαμαρτάνοντας κολάζειν ἤξiou, ἡ δὲ τῷ
λόγῳ χαλεπαίνουσα ἐδυσφορεῖτο ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἑκοῦσα τάνδρὸς ἦσθηθει.

[18] For while he would insist on punishing the Blues as offenders, she, with
feigned anger, would make a scene because, as she would say, she had been
overruled by her husband against her will.

[19] Τῶν μέντοι Βενέτων οἱ στασιῶται, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, σωφρονέστατοι

ἔδοξαν εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ πέλας βιάζεσθαι ὅσα ἐξῆν οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουν, ἐν τε ταῖς περὶ τὰς δίκας φιλονεικίαις ἐδόκει μὲν ἐκάτερος ἐνὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἀμύνειν, νικᾶν δὲ αὐτοῖν τὸν λόγῳ τῷ ἀδίκῳ ξυνιστάμενον ἐπ'ἀνάγκης ἦν: οὕτω δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα χρημάτων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ληΐζεσθαι.

[19] But the partisans of the Blues seemed, as I have said, to be most temperate. For they did not think it right to coërcé one's neighbours to the utmost possible, and in the keen rivalries in connection with the lawsuits, while each side seemed to support one of the disputants, yet it was inevitable that the victory should fall to that one of the two who espoused the unjust cause, and that thus they should win for themselves as plunder most of the property of the disputants.

[20] πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ὅδε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῷ καταλέγων ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐνεβίβαζε τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τε καὶ εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἃ βούλονται, ἐπειδὴν δὲ πλούτου τι μέγα χρῆμα περιβεβλημένοι φανεῖν, εὐθύς τι προσκεκροκότες τῇ γυναικὶ διάφοροι ἦσαν.

[20] In fact many men who were counted by this Emperor among his intimates were elevated by him to positions where they had authority to act arbitrarily and to wrong the Government as they wished, but when they were seen to be in possession of a large sum of money, straightway they were found to have given some offence to the woman and to be at variance with her.

[21] ὧν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μεταποιεῖσθαι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεθεῖς εὖνοιαν τὰ ἐς τὴν σπουδὴν τάραχος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐγίνετο.

[21] At first, then, he did not hesitate to champion these men whole-heartedly, but later on, forgetting his good-will towards the poor fellows, he all of a sudden began to waver in his enthusiasm.

[22] καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτίκα εἰργάζετο αὐτοὺς ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὁ δὲ δῆθεν οὐκ ἐπαισθανόμενος τῶν πραττομένων σύμπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν οὐσίαν κτήσει ἀναισχύντῳ ἡσπάζετο.

[22] And she would then straightway ruin them utterly, while he, pretending not to observe what was passing, would seize their whole property, acquired though it was by a shameless procedure.

[23] τούτοις τε αἰεὶ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐν σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ξυμφεροῦντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐμφανὲς στασιάζειν ποιούμενοι, διαστήσασθαι τε τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα βεβαιότατα κρατύνεσθαι ἔσχον.

[23] Now in all this trickery they always were in full accord with each other, but openly they pretended to be at variance and thus succeeded in dividing

their subjects and in fortifying their tyranny most firmly.

XI

Ἐπειδὴ οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, συγχεῖν ἅπαντα εὐθὺς ἴσχυσεν. ἃ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν νόμῳ ἀπορρηθέντα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε, τὰ τε ὄντα καὶ ξυνειθισμένα καθελὼν ξύμπαντα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κεκομισμένος τὸ τῆς βασιλείας σχῆμα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἅπαντα μεταλλάσσοι ἐφ' ἑτερον σχῆμα.

Accordingly, when Justinian took over the Empire he immediately succeeded in bringing confusion upon everything. For things which previously had been forbidden by law he kept introducing into the constitution, and tearing down all existing institutions and those made familiar by custom, as if he had put on the imperial garb on the condition that he should change all things also into another garb.

[2] ἀρχάς τε γὰρ τὰς μὲν οὔσας ἀνῆρει, τὰς δὲ οὐκ οὔσας ἐφίστη τοῖς πράγμασι: τοὺς τε νόμους καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίει, οὐ τῷ δικαίῳ εἰκὼν οὐδὲ τῷ ξυμφόρῳ ἐς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ ἅπαντα νεώτερά τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμα εἶη. ἦν δέ τι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθετο.

[2] For instance, he would depose the existing officials and appoint new ones in control of the State's business; and he treated the laws and the divisions of the army in the same way, not yielding to demands of justice nor influenced to this course by any public advantage, but simply that everything might be new and might bear the impress of his name. And if there was anything which he was quite unable to transform at the instant, still he would at least put his own name upon it.

[3] Χρημάτων δὲ ἀρπαγῆς ἢ φόνου ἀνθρώπων κόρος αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλ' οἰκίας μὲν παμπληθεῖς ληϊσάμενος εὐδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρας ἐζήτει, προέμενος εὐθὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν, ἢ ἀνοήτοις οἰκοδομίαις λείας τῆς προτέρας τὰ χρήματα.

[3] As for seizing property and murdering men, he never got his fill of them, but after plundering numerous homes of affluent men he kept seeking new ones, straightway pouring out the proceeds of his earlier robbery in making presents to sundry barbarians or in erecting senseless buildings.

[4] καὶ μυρίους δὲ ἴσως λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνελὼν ἐς πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλήν αὐτίκα μάλα καθίστατο.

[4] And after he had slain perhaps myriads for no good reason, he straightway embarked on plans for the ruin of many more.

[5] εἰρήνης τοίνυν Ῥωμαίοις οὔσης ἐς πάντα ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἔχων ὅστις γένηται τῶν φόνων ἐπιθυμία πάντας βαρβάρους πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους ξυνέκρουε, τῶν δὲ Οὐννων τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς μετακαλῶν χρήματα μεγάλα σφίσιν ἀτόπῳ φιλοτιμίας προΐετο, φιλίας ἐνέχυρα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ταῦτα ποιούμενος· ὅπερ αὐτὸν ἐρρήθη καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας πεποιηκέναι.

[5] So then, the Romans being at peace with the whole world, and he by reason of his lust for blood not knowing what to do with himself, Justinian kept bringing all the barbarians into collision with one another, and summoning the leaders of the Huns for no good reason, he handed over to them with amazing prodigality huge donatives, pretending that he was doing this as a pledge of friendship; indeed it was said that he had done this even during the period of Justinus' reign.

[6] οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τῶν ξυναρχόντων τινὰς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεμπον, καταθέειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως κελεύοντες, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπεμπολεῖν τῷ ταύτην ὠνεῖσθαι λόγῳ οὐδενὶ βουλομένῳ δυνατοὶ εἶεν.

[6] And they, even after having received money, would send some of their fellow-leaders together with their followers, bidding them overrun and ravage the Emperor's land, so that they too might be able to sell peace to the man who for no good reason wished to purchase it.

[7] καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἡνδραπόδιζόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἔμμισθοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγίνοντο· ἕτεροι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ῥωμαίους καθίσταντο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν λείαν ἄθλα τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν ἐδέχοντο.

[7] And these then began straightway to enslave the Roman Empire, and they nevertheless were receiving pay in the meantime from the Emperor; and after these, others promptly took over the business of plundering the hapless Romans, and after the pillage they would receive, as rewards for the attack, the Emperor's generous gifts.

[8] οὕτω τε ἅπαντες ξυλλήβδην εἰπεῖν οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἥγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἀπαξάπαντα.

[8] Thus all the barbarians, one may almost say, omitting no season of the year, made raids in rotation, plundering and harrying absolutely everything without a moment's pause.

[9] ἀρχόντων γάρ εἰσι τοῖς βαρβάροις τούτοις ξυμμορίαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ περιήρχετο πόλεμος τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἀλογίστου λαβὼν, τὸ δὲ πέρας εὐρέσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνακυκλούμενος τὸν

[9] For these barbarians have many groups of leaders and war went the rounds — war that originated in an unreasoning generosity, and could never reach an end, but kept for ever revolving about its own centre.

[10] πάντα αἰῶνα. διὸ δὴ χῶρος μὲν τις ἢ ὄρος ἢ σπήλαιον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀδήλωτον οὐδαμῇ ἔμεινε, χώραις δὲ πολλαῖς πλέον ἢ πεντάκις ἄλῶναι συνέβη.

[10] Consequently, during this period no settlement, no mountain, no cave — nothing, in fact, in the Roman domain — remained unplundered, and many places had the misfortune to be captured more than five times.

[11] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸς Μήδων τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Σκλαβηγῶν καὶ Ἀντῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιήγηται λόγοις: ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῦδε ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου ὑπεῖπον, τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων ἐνταῦθά μοι ἦν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν.

[11] Yet all these things and all that was done by Medes, Saracens, Sclavenians, and Antae and the other barbarians have been set forth by me in previous Books; but, as I said at the beginning of this present Book, it was necessary for me to state in this place the causes of what happened.

[12] Καὶ Χοσρόη μὲν κεντηναρίων πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προέμενος, αὐτογνωμονήσας δὲ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς γέγονεν, Ἀλαμούνδαρόν τε καὶ Οὐννοὺς τοὺς Πέρσαις ἐνσπόνδους σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐταιρίζεσθαι, ὅπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπαρακαλύπτως εἰρηῇσθαι δοκεῖ.

[12] And though he paid out to Chosroes huge sums of gold in return for peace, still, acting on his own judgment in a senseless way, he became the chief cause of the breaking of the truce by his intense eagerness to gain the alliance of Alamundarus and the Huns who are allied to the Persians, a matter which I believe to have been mentioned without concealment in the narrative referring to them.

[13] ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰ ἐκ τῶν στάσεών τε καὶ πολέμων κακὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήγειρε καὶ ἐρρίπιζεν, ἐν τοῦτο βουλευσάμενος, αἵματος ἀνθρωπέιου τὴν γῆν πολλαῖς μηχαναῖς ἔμπλεων γίνεσθαι καὶ χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι πλείω, φόνον καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπενόει πολὺν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[3] And while he was stirring up the evils of faction and of war for the Romans and fanning the flames, with the one thought in mind that the earth should by many a device be filled with human blood and that he should plunder more money, he contrived another massacre of his subjects on a large scale, in the following manner.

[14] Χριστιανῶν δόξαι ἀπόβλητοι πολλαί εἰσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ αἰρέσεις καλεῖν νενομίσασιν, Μοντανῶν τε καὶ Σαββατιανῶν καὶ ὅσαις ἄλλαις πλανᾶσθαι αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασιν γινώμειν.

[14] There are in the whole Roman Empire many rejected doctrines of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call “heresies” — those of the Montani, the Sabbatiani, and all the others which are wont to cause the judgment of man to go astray.

[15] τούτους ἅπαντας δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκέλευε μετατίθεσθαι, ἄλλα τε ἀπειλήσας ἀπειθοῦσι πολλὰ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἢ ξυγγενεῖς μηκέτι παραπέμπειν οἷόν τε εἶναι.

[15] All these heretics he commanded to change their earlier beliefs, threatening many things in case of their disobedience, and in particular that it would be impossible for them in the future to hand down their property to their children or other relatives.

[16] τούτων δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν καλουμένων, καὶ διαφερόντως οἷσπερ ἡ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἡσκητο δόξα, πλοῦτόν τινα εἶχεν ἀκοῆς κρείττω.

[16] Now the shrines of these heretics, as they are called, and particularly those who practised the Arian belief, contained wealth unheard-of.

[17] οὔτε γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ ξύμπασα οὔτε τις ἄλλη μεγίστη μοῖρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τά γε εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν εἰκάζεσθαι τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔσχε.

[17] For neither the entire Senate nor any other major group of the Roman State could be compared with these sanctuaries in point of wealth.

[18] κειμήλιά τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ξυγκείμενα ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων ἀμύθητά τε καὶ ἀναρίθμητα ἦν, οἰκίαι τε καὶ κῶμαι παμπληθεῖς, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ πανταχόθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅση ἄλλη πλούτου ἰδέα ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἅτε οὐδενὸς αὐτὰ τῶν πρόποτε βεβασιλευκότων ὀχλήσαντος.

[18] For they had treasures of gold and of silver and ornaments set with precious stones, beyond telling or counting, houses and villages in great numbers, and a large amount of land in all parts of the world, and every other form of wealth which exists and has a name among all mankind, since no man who had ever reigned previously had ever disturbed them.

[19] πολλοί τε ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ταῦτα δόξης ὄντες ὀρθῆς, τῇ τῶν σφετέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων προφάσει ἐνθένδε ἀεὶ τοῦ βίου τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἶχον.

[19] And many persons, and that too of the orthodox faith, excusing themselves

by the occupations in which they were engaged, always depended upon the property of these sects for the means of their livelihood.

[20] τούτων μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν πρῶτον τὰς οὐσίας δημοσιώσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο ἐξαπινάως τὰ χρήματα πάντα. ἐξ οὗ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀποκεκλείσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου συνέβη.

[20] So the Emperor Justinian began by confiscating the properties of these sanctuaries, thus stripping them suddenly of all their wealth. From this it came about that thereafter most of them were cut off from their livelihood.

[21] Πολλοὶ δὲ εὐθὺς πανταχόσε περιόντες δόξης τῆς πατρίου τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠνάγκαζον μεταβάλλεσθαι.

[21] And many straightway went everywhere from place to place and tried to compel such persons as they met to change from their ancestral faith.

[22] ἄπερ ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀγροίκοις οὐχ ὅσια ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπαγγέλλουσιν ἀντιστατεῖν ἅπαντες ἔγνωσαν.

[22] And since such action seemed unholy to the farmer class, they all resolved to make a stand against those who brought this message.

[23] πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρήσαντο εὐσεβεῖν μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας οἰόμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πλεῖστος ὁμιλος γῆς τῆς πατρῴας ἐξιστάμενοι ἔφευγον, Μοντανοὶ δὲ, οἱ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ κατῴκηντο, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἱεροῖς τοῖς σφετέροις καθεύροντες τούτους τε τοὺς νεῶς αὐτίκα ἐμπρήσαντες ξυνδιεφθάρησαν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πᾶσά τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ φόνου τε ἦν καὶ φυγῆς ἔμπλεως.

[23] So, then, while many were being destroyed by the soldiers and many even made away with themselves, thinking in their folly that they were doing a most righteous thing, and while the majority of them, leaving their homelands, went into exile, the Montani, whose home was in Phrygia, shutting themselves up in their own sanctuaries, immediately set their churches on fire, so that they were destroyed together with the buildings in senseless fashion, and consequently the whole Roman Empire was filled with murder and with exiled men.

[24] Νόμου δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σαμαρείταις αὐτίκα τεθέντος ταραχὴ ἄκριτος τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέλαβεν.

[24] And when a similar law was immediately passed touching the Samaritans also, an indiscriminate confusion swept through Palestine.

[25] ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τε Καισαρείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὄκουν, παρὰ

φαῦλον ἡγησάμενοι κακοπάθειάν τινα ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτου φέρεσθαι δόγματος, ὄνομα Χριστιανῶν τοῦ σφίσι παρόντος ἀνταλλαζάμενοι τῷ προσχήματι τοῦτῳ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἀποσείσασθαι κίνδυνον ἴσχυσαν.

[25] Now all the residents of my own Caesarea and of all the other cities, regarding it as a foolish thing to undergo any suffering in defence of a senseless dogma, adopted the name of Christians in place of that which they then bore and by this pretence succeeded in shaking off the danger arising from the law.

[26] καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοις μὲν τι λογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπεικειάς μετῆν, πιστοὶ εἶναι τὰ ἐς δόξαν τήνδε οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίουں, οἱ μὲντοι πλεῖστοι ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἐκούσιοι, ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ ἡναγκασμένοι δόγμα τὸ πάτριον μετεβάλλοντο, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπὶ τε Μανιχαίους καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Πολυθεοὺς ἀπέκλιναν.

[26] And all those of their number who were persons of any prudence and reasonableness shewed no reluctance about adhering loyally to this faith, but the majority, feeling resentment that, not by their own free choice, but under compulsion of the law, they had changed from the beliefs of their fathers, instantly inclined to the Manichaeans and to the Polytheists, as they are called.

[27] οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ξύμπαντες ἄθροοι γεγεννημένοι ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν βασιλεῖ ἔγνωσαν, βασιλέα σφίσι τῶν τινα ληστῶν προβεβλημένοι, Ἰουλιανὸν ὄνομα, Σαβάρου υἱόν.

[27] And all the farmers, having gathered in great numbers, decided to rise in arms against the Emperor, putting forward as their Emperor a certain brigand, Julian by name, son of Savarus.

[28] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἀντεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἡττηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ διεφθάρησαν ζὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι.

[28] And when they engaged with the soldiers, they held out for a time, but finally they were defeated in the battle and perished along with their leader.

[29] καὶ λέγονται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων δέκα ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τοῦτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ χώρα ἡ πάσης γῆς ἀγαθὴ μάλιστα ἔρημος γεωργῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονε.

[29] And it is said that one hundred thousand men perished in this struggle, and the land, which is the finest in the world, became in consequence destitute of farmers.

[30] τοῖς τε τῶν χωρίων κυρίοις Χριστιανοῖς οὗσι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο ἐς μέγα κακὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ γέγονε σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐνθὲνδε μετακομιζομένοις φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον ἄδρόν τινα ὄντα ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα

βασιλεῖ φέρειν, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ ἢ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐντροπὴ γέγονεν.

[30] And for the owners of the land who were Christians this led to very serious consequences. For it was incumbent upon them, as a matter of compulsion, to pay to the Emperor everlastingly, even though they were deriving no income from the land, the huge annual tax, since no mercy was shewn in the administration of this business.

[31] Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καλουμένους τὴν δίδωξιν ἦγεν αἰκίζόμενός τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενος.

[31] He then carried the persecution to the “Greeks,” as they are called, maltreating their bodies and plundering their properties.

[32] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος δῆθεν μεταλαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκκρούοντες, οὗτοι δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἄλλοις οὐχ ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡλίσκοντο.

[32] But even those among them who had decided to espouse in word the name of Christians, seeking thus to avert their present misfortunes, these not much later were generally seized at their libations and sacrifices and other unholy acts. . . .

[33] τὰ γὰρ ἅμφὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς εἰργασμένα ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθέν μοι λόγοις λελέξεται.

[33] For the measures that were taken with regard to the Christians will be told by me in the following narrative.

[34] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν νόμῳ ἀπεῖργεν, οὐ τὰ μετὰ τὸν νόμον διερευνώμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάλαι ποτὲ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλόντας.

[34] Afterwards he also prohibited sodomy by law, not examining closely into offences committed subsequently to the law but concerning himself only with those persons who long before had been caught by this malady.

[35] ἐγίνετό τε ἢ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστροφή οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατηγόρου χωρὶς ἐπράσσετο ἢ ἐς αὐτοὺς τίσις, ἐνός τε ἀνδρὸς ἢ παιδὸς λόγος, καὶ τούτου δούλου, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, καὶ ἀκουσίου μαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκτημένον ἀναγκασθέντος,

[35] And the prosecution of these cases was carried out in reckless fashion, since the penalty was exacted even without an accuser, for the word of a single man or boy, and even, if it so happened, of a slave compelled against his will to give evidence against his owner, was considered definite proof.

[36] ἔδοξαν εἶναι ἀκριβῆς ἔλεγχος. τοὺς τε οὕτως ἀλικομένους τὰ αἰδοῖα περιηρημένους ἐπόμπευον. οὐκ ἐς πάντα μέντοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τὸ κακὸν ἦγετο, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἢ Πράσινοι εἶναι ἢ μεγάλα περιβεβλησθαι χρήματα ἔδοξαν ἢ ἄλλο τι τοῖς τυραννοῦσι προσκεκρουκότες ἐτύγχανον.

[36] Those who were thus convicted had their privates removed and were paraded through the streets. Not in all cases, however, but only upon those reputed to be Greens or to be possessed of great wealth or those who in some other way chanced to have offended the rulers.

[37] Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς μετεωρολόγοις χαλεπῶς εἶχον. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέπταις τεταγμένη ἀρχὴ ἠκίζετό τε ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας καὶ ξαίνουσα κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς ἐπὶ καμήλων φερομένους ἐπόμπευεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν γέροντάς τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιεικεῖς ὄντας, ἄλλο αὐτοῖς ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι σοφοὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας

[37] Furthermore, they were bitter against astrologers. Consequently, the official who was placed in charge of burglaries would maltreat them for no other reason than their being astrologers and, inflicting many stripes upon them, would parade them upon the backs of camels throughout the whole city, old men and persons who were in general respectable, though he had no other complaint against them, except that they wished to be wise in the science of the stars in a place like this.

[38] ἐν τοιούτῳ χώρῳ ἐβούλοντο εἶναι. ἔφευγον τοίνυν ἀνθρώπων διηγεκὲς πολλὸς ὄμιλος οὐκ ἐς βαρβάρους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς μακρὰν ὤκισμένους Ῥωμαίους, ἦν τε ἰδεῖν ἐν χώρᾳ τε αἰεὶ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη τοὺς πλείστους ξένους.

[38] So a great throng of persons were fleeing constantly, not only to the barbarians, but also to those Romans who lived at a great distance, and it was possible to see both in the country and in every city great numbers of strangers.

[39] τοῦ γὰρ διαλαθεῖν ἔνεκα γῆς τῆς πατρώας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἠλλάξαντο εὐπετῶς ἕκαστοι,

[39] For in order to escape detection they readily exchanged their respective native lands for foreign soil, just as if their home-country had been captured by an enemy.

[40] ὥσπερ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἀλούσης. τὸν μὲν οὖν πλοῦτον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων εἶναι δοκούντων ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη μετὰ γε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, τρόποις οἷσπερ εἴρηται Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ Θεοδώρα ληϊσάμενοι ἔσχον.

[40] So, then, the wealth of those reputed to be prosperous, both in Byzantium

and in every other city, that is, after the members of the Senate, was plundered and seized by Justinian and Theodora in the manner which has been described.

[41] ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα ξύμπαντα ἴσχυσαν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[41] But how they succeeded in depriving the Senators also of all their property, I shall now proceed to make known.

XII

Ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ζήνων ὄνομα, ἐκείνου Ἀνθεμίου υἱωνὸς, ὅσπερ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ πρότερα ἔσχε. τοῦτον δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες ἄρχοντα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καταστησάμενοι ἔστελλον.

There was a certain man in Byzantium named Zeno, grandson of that Anthemius who previously had attained to the royal power in the West. This man they had purposely made a Prefect of Egypt and sent him thither.

[2] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν χρημάτων τὸ πλοῖον τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐμπλησάμενος τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διέθετο: ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ σταθμός τε ἀργύρου ἀναρίθμητος καὶ χρυσώματα μαργάροις τε καὶ σμαράγδοις καλλωπισθέντα καὶ λίθοις ἄλλοις τοιούτοις ἐντίμοις: οἱ δὲ τινες ἀναπείσαντες τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων εἶναι δοκούντων τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐνθὲνδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκφορήσαντες, πῦρ δὲ ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ ἐμβεβλημένοι τῷ Ζήνωνι ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐκέλευον ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου τὴν τε φλόγα ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ξυνενηγέχθαι καὶ διολωλέναι τὰ χρήματα.

[2] But he loaded the ship with the most valuable property and made ready to put to sea; for he had an incalculable weight of silver plate and objects of gold adorned with pearls and emeralds and other such precious stones. They thereupon, bribing certain of those who seemed most loyal to them, removed the valuables from the ship with all speed, and casting fire into the hold of the vessel, ordered a message sent to Zeno that the fire had occurred spontaneously in his ship and that his property had been destroyed.

[3] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ζήνωνι μὲν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀπογενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ κύριοι τῆς οὐσίας εὐθὺς ἅτε κληρονόμοι γεγόνασι.

[3] And at a later time it came to pass that Zeno died suddenly, and they themselves, in the guise of heirs, immediately became owners of the property.

[4] διαθήκην γάρ τινα προὔφερον, ἥνπερ οὐ παρ' ἐκείνου ξυγχεῖσθαι διατεθρύλλεται.

[4] For they produced a sort of will, which common gossip said had not been written by him.

[5] Καὶ Τατιανοῦ τε καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ τῆς Ἰλαρᾶς τρόπῳ τῷ ὁμοίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κληρονόμους πεποιήνται, οἷπερ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα πρῶτοι ἐν γε Ῥωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἦσαν. τινῶν δὲ οὐ διαθήκας, ἀλλ' ἐπιστολάς διεσκευασμένοι τὴν οὐσίαν ἔσχον.

[5] And by a similar method they made themselves heirs of Tatianus and of Demosthenes and of Hilara, who both in other respects and in rank were

foremost members of the Roman Senate. And in some cases they fabricated, not wills, but letters, and so acquired the property.

[6] οὕτω γὰρ Διονυσίου τε κληρονόμοι γεγόνασιν, ὃς ἐν Λιβάνῳ ᾤκει, καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βασιλείου παιδὸς, ὃς δὴ ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν Ἑδεσσηνῶν ἐγγεγόνει πάντων, βία δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐκδέδοται τοῖς Πέρσαις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

[6] For it was in this way that they became heirs of Dionysius, who lived in Lebanon, and of John, son of Basilius, who, though he was the most distinguished of all the people of Edessa, was forcibly delivered into the hands of the Persians by Belisarius as a hostage, as has been related by me in the previous narrative.

[7] τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης οὐκέτι ἡφίει, ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις ἡλογηκέναι τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτῷ πρὸς Βελισαρίου δοθεὶς ἐτύγχανεν ἀποδίδοσθαι μέντοι ἅτε δορυάλωτον γεγονότα ἡξίου.

[7] For thereafter Chosroes refused to release this John, reproaching the Romans with having disregarded all the conditions on which he had been given over to him by Belisarius, but he did consent to sell him as having become a prisoner of war.

[8] ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μάμη ὑπεριούσα γὰρ ἔτι ἐτύγχανε τὰ λύτρα παρεχομένη οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ δισχιλίας λίτρας ἀργύρου τὸν υἱὸν ὠνήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν.

[8] And the man's grandmother, who happened to be still alive, provided the ransom to an amount not less than two thousand pounds of silver and with this was expecting to buy back her grandson.

[9] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ λύτρα ταῦτα ἐς Δάρας ἦλθε, μαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ συμβόλαιον γενέσθαι οὐκ εἶα, ὥς μὴ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους,

[9] But after this ransom had come to Daras, the Emperor, learning of it, refused to permit the agreement to be put into effect, in order, as he said, that the wealth of the Romans might not be conveyed to the barbarians.

[10] εἰπὼν, ὁ Ῥωμαίων κομίζεται πλοῦτος. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ μὲν Ἰωάννῃ νοσήσαντι ξυνέβη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύων ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπλάσας τινὰ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅτε φίλον οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν τὸν Ἰωάννην γράψαι ὥς οἱ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλθεῖν.

[10] And not much later it came to pass that John fell sick and departed this world, and the magistrate in charge of the city, forging some sort of a letter, stated that not long before John had written to him as a friend that it was his

will that his estate should go to the Emperor.

[11] πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ὀνόματα καταλέγειν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ὥνπερ αὐτόματοι κληρονόμοι γεγένηνται.

[11] I could not, however, enumerate the names of all the others whose heirs they have automatically become.

[12] Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἢ τοῦ Νίκα καλουμένη στάσις ἐγένετο, κατὰ μίαν διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων οὐσίας ἡξίουν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, τότε δὴ ἀθρόας σχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἀπάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τὰς οὐσίας δημοσιώσαντες, τὰ μὲν ἐπιπλα πάντα καὶ τῶν χωρίων ὅσα κάλλιστα ἦν ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο διεχείρισαν, ἀπολέξαντες δὲ τὰ φόρου πικροῦ τε καὶ βαρυτάτου ὑποτελεῖ ὄντα, φιλανθρωπίας προσχήματι τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις ἀπέδοντο.

[12] Now up to the time when what is known as the Nika insurrection took place, they saw fit to gather in the properties of the wealthy one by one; but when this revolt took place, as described in the previous narrative, they began to confiscate in a body the estates of practically all the members of the Senate, and they dealt as they wished with all the furnishings and the lands that were fairest, but they segregated those properties which were subject to a severe and very heavy tax and, with a pretence of generosity, handed them back to their former owners.

[13] διὸ δὴ πρὸς τε τῶν φορολόγων ἀγχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκναιόμενοι τόκοις ὀφλημάτων ἀειρρῦτοις τισὶ δυσθανατοῦντες ἀκούσιοι διεβίωσαν.

[13] So, being strangled by the tax-collectors and ground down by what we may term the ever-flowing interest on their debts, they unwillingly lived on in a life which was a lingering death.

[14] διὸ δὴ ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡμῶν οὐδεπώποτε ἔδοξαν οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δαίμονες παλαμναῖοί τινες καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι βροτολογῶ ἥστην, οἳ δὴ ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι ὅπως ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπεια γένη τε καὶ ἔργα ὡς ῥᾶστα καὶ τάχιστα διαφθεῖρουν ἱκανοὶ εἶεν, ἀνθρώπειόν τε ἡμίψυχοντο σχῆμα καὶ ἀνθρωποδαίμονες γεγεννημένοι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ζύμπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατέσεισαν.

[14] For such reasons, to me and to the most of us these two persons never seemed to be human beings, but rather a kind of avenging demons and, as the poets say, “a twin bane of mortals,” seeing that they purposed together how they might be able most easily and most quickly to destroy all races of men and their works, and, assuming human form and becoming man-demons, they harassed in this fashion the whole world.

[15] τεκμηριώσαι δ' ἂν τις τὸ τοιοῦτο πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ τῶν πεπραγμένων δυνάμει. τὰ γὰρ δαιμόνια τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ξυμβαίνει πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσسونτι διακεκρίσθαι.

[15] And one might draw such an inference from many indications and particularly from the power their actions revealed.

[16] πολλῶν ἀμέλει γεγονότων ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀνθρώπων τύχῃ ἢ φύσει φοβερῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, οἱ μὲν πόλεις, οἱ δὲ χώρας, ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔσφηλαν, ὅλεθρον δὲ ξυμπάντων ἀνθρώπων ξυμφοράς τε γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης οὐδεὶς ὅτι μὴ οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ἐργάζεσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔσχον, ὧν δὴ καὶ ἡ τύχῃ ὑπούργει τῇ γνώμῃ συγκατεργαζομένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθοράν

[16] For demons are distinguished from human beings by a marked difference. Indeed, he though many men in the long course of time either by accident or by nature have shewn themselves supremely terrible, some ruining by their own sole effort cities or countries or other such things, yet no man, with the exception of these two, has been able to accomplish the destruction of all mankind and to bring about calamities affecting the whole world;

[17] σεισμοῖς τε γὰρ καὶ λοιμοῖς καὶ ὑδάτων ποταμίων ἐπιρροαῖς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πλεῖστα διολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, ὥς μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται. οὕτως οὐκ ἀνθρωπείῳ, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ σθένει. τὰ δεινὰ ἔπρασσον.

[17] it is true, however, in their case that chance also assisted their purpose, co-operating in the destruction of men, for by earthquakes, by pestilence, and by the overflowing of the waters of rivers very great destruction was wrought at about this time, as will be told by me directly. Thus they performed their fearful acts, not by human strength, but another kind.

[18] Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα φάναι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ὡς οὐ Σαββατίου τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τινὸς υἱὸς εἶη.

[18] And they say that Justinian's mother stated to some of her intimates that he was not the son of her husband Sabbatius nor of any man.

[19] ἡνίκα γὰρ αὐτὸν κύειν ἔμελλεν, ἐπιφοιτᾶν αὐτῇ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ὁρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἰσθησὶν τινα ὅτι δὴ πάρεστιν αὐτῇ παρασχὼν ἅτε ἄνδρα γυναικὶ πλησιάσαντα, καθάπερ ἐν ὄνειρῳ ἀφανισθῆναι.

[19] For when she was about to conceive him, a demon visited her; he was invisible but affected her with a certain impression that he was there with her as a man having intercourse with a woman and then disappeared as in a dream.

[20] Τινὲς δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ παρόντων τε πόρῳ που τῶν νυκτῶν καὶ ξυγγινομένων ἐν Παλατίῳ δηλονότι, οἷσπερ ἐν καθαρῷ ἢ ψυχῇ ἦν, φάντασμά τι θεάσασθαι δαιμόνιον ἤθηες σφίσιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξαν.

[20] And some of those who were present with the Emperor, at very late hours of the night presumably, and held conference with him, obviously in the Palace, men whose souls were pure, seemed to see a sort of phantom spirit unfamiliar to them in place of him.

[21] ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν ἄφνω μὲν αὐτὸν θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἐξαναστάντα περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖν: συχνὸν γὰρ καθεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἴθιστο: τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ ἀφανισθείσης τὸ ἄλλο οἱ σῶμα τούτους δὴ τοὺς μακροὺς διαύλους ποιεῖν δοκεῖν, αὐτόν τε ἅτε οἱ τῶν ὁμμάτων περὶ τὴν θέαν ὡς ἥκιστα ὑγιαίνόντων, ἀσχάλλοντα καὶ διαπορούμενον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστάναι.

[21] For one of these asserted that he would rise suddenly from the imperial throne and walk up and down there (indeed he was never accustomed to remain seated for long), and the head of Justinian would disappear suddenly, but the rest of his body seemed to keep making these same long circuits, while he himself, as if thinking he must have something the matter with his eyesight, stood there for a very long time distressed and perplexed.

[22] ὕστερον μέντοι τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ σώματι ἐπανηκούσης τὰ τέως λειπόμενα οἶεσθαι

[22] Later, however, when the head had returned to the body, he thought, to his surprise, that he could fill out that which a moment before had been lacking.

[23] παρὰ δόξαν ἀναπιμπλάναι. ἄλλος δὲ παρεστάναι οἱ καθημένῳ ἔφη, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸ πρόσωπόν οἱ κρέατι ἀσήμῳ ἰδεῖν ἐμπερὲς γεγονός: οὔτε γὰρ ὄφρυς οὔτε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν ὄντας οὔτε ἄλλο τι τὸ παράπαν ἔφερε γνῶρισμα: χρόνου μέντοι αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὄψεως ἐπανῆκον ἰδεῖν. ταῦτα οὐκ αὐτὸς θεασάμενος γράφω, ἀλλὰ τῶν τότε θεάσασθαι ἰσχυριζομένων ἀκούσας.

[23] And another person said that he stood beside him when he sat and suddenly saw that his face had become like featureless flesh; for neither eyebrows nor eyes were in their proper place, nor did it shew any other means of identification whatsoever; after a time, however, he saw the features of his face return. These things I write although I did not see them myself, but I do so because I have heard the story from those who declare that they saw the occurrences at the time.

[24] Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ μοναχόν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλον πρὸς τῶν αὐτῷ γῆν τὴν ἔρημον ξυνοικούντων ἀναπεισθέντα σταλῆναι μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον τοῖς

ἄγχιστα σφίσιν ἐνῳκημένοις ἐπαμνυοῦντα, βιαζομένοις τε καὶ ἀδικουμένοις ἀνύποιστα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενον αὐτίκα εἰσόδου τῆς παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τυχεῖν:

[24] And they said that a certain monk, very dear to God, being persuaded by those who lived with him in the wilderness, set out to Byzantium in order to plead the cause of the people who lived very near the monastery and were being mistreated and wronged in an unbearable manner; and straightway upon his arrival he received admittance to the Emperor.

[25] μέλλοντα δὲ εἶσω παρ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, ἀμείψαι μὲν τὸν ἐκεῖνη οὐδὸν θατέρῳ τοῖν ποδοῖν, ἐξαπιναίως δὲ ἀναποδίζοντα ὀπίσω ἰέναι.

[25] But when he was about to go into his presence, he stepped over the threshold with one foot, but suddenly recoiled and stepped back.

[26] εὐνοῦχον μὲν οὖν τὸν εἰσαγωγέα καὶ τοὺς τῇδε παρόντας πολλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον λιπαρεῖν ἐπίπροσθεν βαίνειν, τὸν δὲ οὐδέν τι ἀποκρινάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραπληγί εοικότα ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, οὗ δὴ κατέλυε, γεγονότα: τῶν τέ οἱ ἐπομένων ἀναπνυθανομένων ὅτου ἔνεκα ταῦτα ποιοίη, φάναι λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς ὡς τῶν δαιμόνων τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενον ἴδοι, ᾧ δὴ συγγενέσθαι ἢ τι παρ' αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀξιόιη.

[26] Now the eunuch who was his conductor and the others present besought the man earnestly to go forward, but he, making no answer, but acting like a man who had suffered a stroke, departed thence and went to the room where he was lodged. And when his attendants enquired for what reason he acted thus, they said that he declared outright that he had seen the Lord of the Demons in the Palace sitting on the throne, and he would not care to associate with him or ask anything from him.

[27] πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ δαίμων τις ἀλιτήριος εἶναι, ὅς γε ποτοῦ ἢ σιτίων ἢ ὕπνου εἰς κόρον οὐδέποτε ἤλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀμυγέπη τῶν παρατεθέντων ἀπογευσάμενος ἁωρὶ νύκτωρ περιήρχετο τὰ βασιλεια, καίπερ ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς.

[27] And how could this man fail to be some wicked demon, he who never had a sufficiency of food or drink or sleep, but taking a taste at haphazard of that which was set before him, walked about the Palace at unseasonable hours of the night, though he was passionately devoted to the joys of Aphrodite?

[28] Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Θεοδώρας ἐραστῶν τινες, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἦν, νύκτωρ τι αὐτοῖς ἐπισκῆψαν δαιμόνιον ἐξελάσαι τοῦ δωματίου, ἵνα δὴ σὺν αὐτῇ ἐνυκτέρευον: ὀρχηστρίς δέ τις Μακεδονία ὄνομα ἐγεγόνει τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχεῦσι Βενέτοις, δύναμιν περιβεβλημένη πολλήν.

[28] And some of the lovers of Theodora say that when she was on the stage some sort of a demon descended upon them at night and drove them from the room in which they were spending the night with her. And there was a dancing-girl, Macedonia by name, belonging to the Blue Faction in Antioch, a woman who had acquired great influence.

[29] γράμματα γὰρ Ἰουστινιανῷ γράφουσα ἔτι τοῦ Ἰουστίνου διοικουμένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, οὓς ἂν βούλοιο τοῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφοῖς λογίμων ἀνὴρει οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐποίει ἀνάγραπτα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον γίνεσθαι.

[29] For by writing letters to Justinian while he was still administering the empire for Justinus, she without difficulty kept destroying whomsoever she wished among the notable men of the East and causing their property to be confiscated to the Treasury.

[30] ταύτην τὴν Μακεδονίαν φασὶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Λιβύης ποτὲ ἤκουσαν τὴν Θεοδώραν ἀσπαζομένην, ἐπειδὴ λίαν δυσφορομένην τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀσχάλλουσαν εἶδεν οἷς δὴ περιύβριστό τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἑκκεβολίου καὶ χρημάτων οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτὴ ἀπολώλει, πολλὰ παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ παραθρασύνειν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἅτε τῆς τύχης οἷας τε οὔσης καὶ αὖθις αὐτῇ χορηγοῦ γενέσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων.

[30] They said that once this Macedonia, when greeting Theodora as she came from Egypt and Libya, noticed that she was very distressed and vexed over the high-handed treatment to which she had been subjected by Hecebolius, and also because she had lost some money on that journey, and so she comforted her greatly and encouraged her by suggesting that Fortune was quite able to become once again for her a purveyor of great wealth.

[31] τότε λέγουσι τὴν Θεοδώραν εἰπεῖν ὡς καὶ ὄναρ αὐτῇ ἐπισκῆψαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην πλούτου ἔνεκα μηδεμίαν κελεύσαι ποιεῖσθαι φροντίδα.

[31] On that occasion, they said, Theodora remarked that in fact a dream had come to her during the night just past and had bidden her to lay aside all anxiety as far as wealth was concerned.

[32] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἵκοιτο, τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἄρχοντι ἐς εὐνὴν ἥξειν, τούτῳ τε ἅτε γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ξυνοικήσεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κυρίαν αὐτὴν πάντων χρημάτων γενήσεσθαι.

[32] For as soon as she should come to Byzantium, she would lie with the Lord of the Demons, and would quite certainly live with him as his married wife, and he would cause her to be mistress of money without limit.

XIII

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δὴ δόξης τοῖς πλείστοις εἶχεν. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν ἦν τὸ ἄλλο ἥθος οἷος δεδῆλωται, εὐπρόσιτον δὲ παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν καὶ πρᾶγον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὐδενὶ τε τῶν πάντων ἀποκεκλειῆσθαι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσόδου συνέβαινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστῶσιν ἢ φθεγγομένοις οὐδεπώποτε χαλεπῶς ἔσχευεν.

Now the case stood as I have said as regards the opinion of most of the people. And while Justinian was such as I have described in respect to his character in general, he still shewed himself approachable and kindly to those who came into contact with him; and no man whatever had the experience of being excluded from access to him, but on the contrary he was never angry even with those who failed to observe decorum as to standing or speaking in his presence.

[2] οὐ μέντοι διὰ ταῦτα ἠρυθρία τινὰ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπολουμένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὀργῆς πώποτε ἢ ἀκροχολίας τι ὑποφαίνων ἐς τοὺς προσκεκρουκτάς ἐνδηλος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶος μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, καθειμέναις δὲ ταῖς ὀφρύνειν, ὑφειμένη δὲ τῇ φωνῇ ἐκέλευε μυριάδας μὲν διαφθεῖραι μηδὲν ἡδικοκῶτων ἀνθρώπων, πόλεις δὲ καθελεῖν, χρήματά τε ἀνάγραπτα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πάντα ποιεῖσθαι.

[2] However, he did not, on that account, blush before any of those destined to be ruined by him. Indeed he never allowed himself to shew anger, either, or exasperation, and thus to reveal his feelings to those who had given offence, but with gentle mien and with lowered brows and in a restrained voice he would give orders for the death of thousands of innocent men, for the dismantling of cities, and for the confiscation of all monies to the Treasury.

[3] εἵκασεν ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἥθους προβατίου γνώμην τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχειν. ἦν μέντοι τις αὐτὸν ἰλεούμενος τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας ἱκεσίαις λιταῖς παραιτεῖσθαι πειρᾶτο, ἐνταῦθα ἡγριωμένος τε καὶ σεσηρῶς μεστοῦσθαι ἐδόκει, ὥς μὴ τινι τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων δοκούντων εἶναι ἐξαιτεῖσθαι ἐν ἐλπίδι τὸ λοιπὸν εἶη.

[3] And one would infer from this characteristic that he had the spirit of a lamb. Yet if anyone sought to intercede through prayers and supplications for those who had given offence and thus to gain for them forgiveness, then, “enraged and showing his teeth,” he would seem to be ready to burst, so that no one of those who were supposed to be intimate with him had any hope after that of getting the desired pardon.

[4] Δόξαν δὲ βέβαιον ἀμφὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἔχειν ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ φθόρῳ

τῶν κατηκόων. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἱερεῦσιν ἀδεέστερον τοὺς πέλας ξυνεχώρει βιάζεσθαι καὶ ληϊζομένοις τὰ τῶν ὁμόρων συνέχαιρεν, εὐσεβεῖν ταύτη ἀμφὶ τὸ θεῖον οἰόμενος.

[4] And while he seemed to have a firm belief as regards Christ, yet even this was for the ruin of his subjects. For he permitted the priests with comparative freedom to outrage their neighbours, and if they plundered the property of the people whose lands adjoined theirs, he would congratulate them, thinking that thus he was shewing reverence for the Deity.

[5] δίκας τε τοιαύτας δικάζων τὰ ὅσια ποιεῖν ᾤετο, ἣν τις ἱερῶν λόγῳ τῶν τι οὐ προσηκόντων ἀρπάσας νενικηκώς τε ἀπιὼν οἷχοιτο. τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ περιεῖναι τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν ἐναντίων ᾤετο εἶναι.

[5] And in adjudicating such cases, he considered that he was acting in a pious manner if any man in the name of religion succeeded by his argument in seizing something that did not belong to him, and, having won the case, went his way. For he thought that justice consisted in the priests' prevailing over their antagonists.

[6] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὰς τῶν περιόντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων οὐσίας, καὶ ταύτας τῶν τινι νεῶν εὐθὺς ἀνατιθεὶς τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο παραπετάσματι, ὥς μὴ ἐς

[6] And he himself, upon acquiring by means which were entirely improper the estates of persons either living or deceased and immediately dedicating them to one of the Churches, would feel pride in this pretence of piety, his object, however, being that title in these estates should not revert to the injured owners.

[7] τοὺς βιασθέντας ἢ τούτων αὐθις ἐπανίοι κτῆσις. ἀλλὰ καὶ φόνων ἀριθμὸν ἄκριτον διὰ ταῦτα εἰργάζετο. ἐς μίαν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῷ Χριστῷ δόξαν συναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας προσήματι πράσσων: οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἦν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες.

[7] Nay, more, he carried out an indefinite number of murders to accomplish these ends. For in his eagerness to gather all men into one belief as to Christ, he kept destroying the rest of mankind in senseless fashion, and that too while acting with a pretence of piety. For it did not seem to him murder if the victims chanced to be not of his own creed.

[8] οὕτως ἦν αὐτῷ κατεσπουδασμένος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς αἰὲ φθόρος, ἐπινοῶν τε ζῶν τῇ γαμετῇ οὐποτε ἀνίει τὰς ἐς τοῦτον φερούσας αἰτίας.

[8] Thus his single interest was the ceaseless destruction of men, and in

company with his spouse he never ceased contriving accusations leading to this end.

[9] ἄμφω γὰρ τώδε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀδελφὰς εἶχον, οὗ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαλλάσσειν τὸν τρόπον ξυνέβη, πονηρὸς μὲν ἑκάτερος ἦν, τὰ μέντοι ἐναντιώτατα ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοὺς ὑπηκόους διέφθειρον.

[9] For these two persons had their desires for the most part akin, and where they did actually chance to differ in their characters, though each of them was base, yet by displaying the most opposite tendencies they kept destroying their subjects.

[10] ὁ μὲν γὰρ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἐς τὴν γνώμην κουφότερος ἦν, ὑποκείμενος τοῖς ἀεὶ παράγειν ὅποι ποτ' ἐδόκει βουλομένοις αὐτὸν, ἢν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν ἢ ἀκερδίαν ἄγοι, θωπᾶς τε λόγους ἐνδελεχέστατα προσιέμενος.

[10] For he was lighter than dust in his judgment, always submitting himself to those who from time to time wished to lead him into evil according to their whims, — unless indeed the project involved an act of kindness or loss of gain — and endlessly listening to “fawning speeches.”

[11] ἔπειθον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κολακεύοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὅτι μετέωρος ἀρθείη καὶ ἀεροβατοίη.

[11] For his flatterers could persuade him with no difficulty that he was raised to the skies and “walking the air.”

[12] Καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ παρεδρεύων Τριβωνιανὸς ἔφη περιδεὴς ἀτεχνῶς εἶναι μὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναληφθεὶς λάθῃ ταῦτα. τοιοῦτους δὲ τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἦτοι σκώμματα ἐν τῇ τῆς διανοίας ἐποιεῖτο βεβαίῳ.

[12] And one occasion Tribonianus, who was acting as •Assessor to him, said that he was exceedingly fearful lest some day on account of his piety he might unawares be swept up into the heavens. Such praises, or rather gibes, he would interpret in accordance with the fixed conviction of his mind.

[13] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θαυμάσας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἅτε πονηρῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο. καὶ κακίσας τῶν τινα ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ ἐπαινέτης ἐγένετο λόγῳ, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς μεταβεβλημένος αἰτίας.

[13] But even when, should it so happen, he expressed his admiration for the virtues of some man, a little later he would be reviling him as a scoundrel. And after abusing one of his subjects, he would turn about and seem to praise him, shifting his ground for no cause at all.

[14] τὰ γὰρ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἦι ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καὶ ἐβούλετο ἐνδηλος εἶναι.

[14] For his thinking ran in a direction exactly contrary to what he himself said and to what he wished to appear.

[15] ὅπως μέντοι ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς φίλιαν τε καὶ ἔχθος εἶχεν, ὑπεῖπον ἤδη, τοῖς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον εἰργασμένοις τεκμηριώσας.

[15] I have already described his character with regard to personal friendship and enmity, citing as evidence for the most part the things the man actually did.

[16] ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλὴς τε καὶ ἄτρεπτος ἦν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἄγαν ἀβέβαιος. ὥστε ἀμέλει τῶν μὲν οἱ ἐσπουδασμένων κατειργάσατο πλείστους, φίλος δὲ τῶν πώποτε μισουμένων οὐδενὶ γέγονεν.

[16] For as an enemy, he was sure and unswerving, but to his friends very untrustworthy. Consequently he really caused the ruin of great numbers who had been cultivated by him, but he never became a friend to anyone whom he had once hated.

[17] οὓς δὲ μάλισα γνωρίμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖους ἔδοξεν ἔχειν, τούτους τῇ ὁμόζυγῃ ἢ ἄλλῳ ὀφροῦν χαριζόμενος ἀπολουμένους οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν προὔδωκε, καίπερ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας ἔνεκα τεθνήσκονται μόνης.

[17] But those whom he seemed to know best and to regard as most intimate he after no long time betrayed to their destruction by delivering them as a favour to his consort or to someone else, even though he was well aware that they would die solely because of their loyalty to him.

[18] ἄπιστος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι πλὴν γε δὴ τῆς τε ἀπανθρωπίας καὶ φιλοχρηματίας διαφανῶς ἦν. ταύτης γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποστήσαι δυνατὸν οὐδενὶ γέγονεν.

[18] For he was conspicuously untrustworthy in all things except, to be sure, his cruelty and his avarice. For to make him give up this last proved an impossible task for any man.

[19] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἃ πείθειν αὐτὸν ἢ γαμετὴ οὐκ εἶχε, χρημάτων αὐτῷ μεγάλων ἐλπίδας ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου ἐσομένων ἐμβαλομένη ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἦνπερ ἐβούλετο οὐτι ἐθελούσιον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφεῖλκε.

[19] But also in those matters in which his spouse was not able to persuade him, by injecting into the argument the hope of large sums of money to accrue from the transaction she could win over her husband quite against his will to the action she desired.

[20] κέρδους γὰρ οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς ἔνεκα καὶ νόμους τιθέναι καὶ αὖ πάλιν αὐτοῦς καθελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου.

[20] Indeed for the sake of unseemly gain he never refused either to set up laws or again to tear them down.

[21] Ἐδίκάζε τε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ἔνθα ἂν αὐτὸν μείζων τε ὀφθεῖσα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπόσχεσις ἄγοι.

[21] And he rendered judgment, not according to the laws which he himself had written, but according as he was influenced by the vision of a greater or more magnificent promise of money.

[22] καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γὰρ κλέπτοντι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας αἰσχύνην αὐτῷ φέρειν τινὰ οὐδαμῇ ᾔετο, ἥνίκα δὴ οὐχ ἀπαξάπαντα ἀφελέσθαι λόγῳ τινὶ εἶχεν ἢ ἔγκλημα ἐπενεγκὼν ἀπροσδόκητον, ἢ διαθήκης οὐ γεγενημένης προσχήματι.

[22] For he even believed that to take away the property of his subjects by small thefts brought no disgrace whatever upon him — in those cases, namely, where he was not able to take everything at once on some pretence, either by advancing an unexpected accusation or by the pretext of a will never made.

[23] ἔμεινέ τε αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος, οὐ πίστις ἢ δόξα πρὸς θεὸν ἀσφαλῆς, οὐ νόμος ὀχυρὸς, οὐ πρᾶξις βεβαία, οὐ συμβόλαιον οὐδέν.

[23] And while he ruled over the Romans, neither good faith nor belief in God remained secure, no law remained fixed, no transaction safe, no contract valid.

[24] στελλομένων δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ τινὰ πρᾶξιν, εἰ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλεκέναι ξυνέβη τῶν σφίσι παραπεπτωκότων πολλοὺς καὶ χρημάτων τι ληῖσασθαι πλῆθος, οὗτοι δὴ εὐθὺς εὐδόκιμοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐδόκουν τε εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι ἅτε δὴ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελέσαντες· εἰ δὲ φειδοῖ τινι ἐς ἀνθρώπους χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκοντο, δύνουσι τε αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ πολέμιος ἦν.

[24] And when any of his intimates were sent by him on some mission, if they had the fortune to destroy many of those whom they encountered and to plunder a quantity of money, they immediately seemed to the Emperor worthy both to be and to be called men of distinction, as having carried out with exactness all their instructions; but if when they returned to him they had shewn mercy to men in any way, he was offended with them thereafter and hostile.

[25] ἀπογνοὺς τε, ὥσπερ ἀρχαίτροπὸν τινὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φύσιν, ἐς τὴν

ὑπουργίαν οὐκέτι ἐκάλει. ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἐνδείκνυσθαι αὐτῷ ὡς πονηροὶ εἶεν, καίπερ σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐ ταύτη ἐχόντων.

[25] And despairing of the ability of these men, as being somehow out of date, he no longer called them to service. Consequently many were eager to shew him how base they could be, even though their usual conduct was not of such sort.

[26] ὑποσχόμενος δέ τισι πολλάκις καὶ ὄρκῳ ἢ γράμμασι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ὀχυρωτέραν πεποιημένος, εὐθὺς ἐθελούσιος ἐς λήθην ἀφῖκτο, δόξης τι φέρειν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο οἰόμενος.

[26] And in certain cases, after making a promise many times and making his promise more binding by an oath or by a writing, he straightway became wilfully forgetful, thinking that this conduct brought him some credit.

[27] καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ μόνον ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἔπρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται ἐμπροσθεν.

[27] And Justinian continued to act thus, not only to his subjects, but also to many of his enemies, as I have stated previously.

[28] Ἦν τε ἄυπνός τε ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν καὶ σιτίοις μὲν ἢ ποτῷ κατακορῆς οὐδαμῇ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ ἀπογευσάμενος ἀπηλλάσσετο.

[28] And he was not given to sleep, as a general thing, and he never filled himself to repletion with either food or drink, but he usually just touched the food with the tips of his fingers and went his way.

[29] ὥσπερ γάρ τι αὐτῷ πάρεργον τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸν ἀγγαρευομένης τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπόσιτος ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας δύο τὰ πολλὰ ἔμενεν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα ὁ πρὸ τῆς Πασχαλίας καλουμένης ἑορτῆς χρόνος ἐνταῦθα ἄγοι.

[29] For such matters seemed to him a kind of side-issue imposed upon him by Nature, for he often actually remained without food two days and nights, especially when the time before the festival called Easter led that way.

[30] τότε γὰρ πολλάκις ἡμέραιν δυοῖν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, γεγωνὶς ἄσιτος ὕδατί τε βραχεὶ ἀποζῆν ἐπηξίου καὶ βοτάναις ἀγρίαις τισὶν, ὥραν τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, καταδαρθῶν μίαν, εἶτα περιπάτους ἀεὶ

[30] For on that occasion he many times abstained from food for two days, as has been said, and insisted upon living on a little water and certain wild plants,^a and after sleeping perhaps one hour he would spend the rest of the

time walking about constantly.

[31] ποιούμενος τὸν ἄλλον κατέτριβε χρόνον. καίτοι εἰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐς πράξεις δαπανᾷν ἀγαθὰς ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ μέγα ἂν τι εὐδαιμονίας ἐκεχωρήκει τὰ πράγματα.

[31] And yet, if he had been willing to spend just this Easter-tide on good deeds, affairs would have advanced to a high pitch of prosperity.

[32] νῦν δὲ τῇ φύσεως ἰσχύϊ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πονηρῷ χρώμενος ξύμπασαν αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελεῖν ἵσχυσεν. ἐγρηγορέναι τε γὰρ διηνεκὲς καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ πονεῖσθαι οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦ ἔνεκα ἔργον πεποιήται ἢ ὥστε κομπωδестέρας ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι τὰς συμφοράς.

[32] But as it was, by employing his natural strength for the ruin of the Romans, he succeeded in pulling down to the ground their whole political structure. For he made it his task to be constantly awake and to undergo hardships and to labour for no other purpose than to contrive constantly and every day more grievous calamities for his subjects.

[33] ἦν γὰρ ὅπερ εἴρηται, διαφερόντως ὀξὺς ἐπινοῆσαι τε καὶ ταχὺς ἀποτελέσαι ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὥστε αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθὰ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέβαινε.

[33] For he was, as has been said, particularly keen in devising and swift in executing unholy deeds, so that in the end even his natural good qualities resulted in the undoing of his subjects.

XIV

Πραγμάτων γὰρ ἦν ἁωρία πολλή καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν, ὥνπερ μοι ὀλίγων ἐπιμνησθέντι σιωπῇ δοτέον τὰ λοιπὰ ξύμπαντα, ὡς μὴ ὁ λόγος ἀπέραντος εἴη.

For in the administration of affairs it was a time of the greatest confusion, and none of the customary procedures was maintained, as I shall shew by citing a few examples, while all the rest must be consigned to silence, so that my discourse might not be endless.

[2] πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐς βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχον οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ξυμφυλάσσειν ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν

[2] First of all, he neither himself possessed any quality appropriate to the imperial dignity nor cared to foster any such quality in others, but in speech and in dress and in thinking he played the barbarian.

[3] διάνοιαν ἐβαρβαρίζεν. ὅσα τε γράφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ βούλοιτο, οὐ τῷ τὴν κοιαιστωρος ἔχοντι τιμῇ, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἐπέστελλε διοικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε τὰ πλεῖστα, καίπερ οὕτω τῆς γλώττης ἔχων, ἐκφέρειν ἡξίου καὶ τῶν παρατυχόντων πολὺς ὄμιλος, ὥστε τοὺς ἐνθένδε ἡδικημένους οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτῳ ἐπικαλοῖεν.

[3] And as to all the rescripts which he wished to have written from himself, he would not send them, as was the custom, to the man holding the office of Quaestor to promulgate, but instead would generally insist upon reading them out himself, although his speech was uncouth, as I have just stated, and that too while a great throng of bystanders . . ., so that those who were wronged thereby had no one against whom they could lay a charge.

[4] τοῖς δὲ ἀσηκρῆτις καλουμένοις οὐκ ἀπεκέκριτο τὸ ἀξίωμα ἐς τὸ τὰ βασιλέως ἀπόρρητα γράφειν, ἐφ' ᾧπερ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐτετάχατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ εἴ που διατάσσειν τοὺς διαιτῶντας ἐν πόλει δεήσειεν, ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν γνῶσιν ἰτέον εἴη.

[4] And the confidential secretaries, as they are called, were not assigned the function of writing the Emperor's confidential matters — the purpose for which these secretaries were appointed originally — he not only wrote practically everything himself, but also, whenever it became necessary to give instructions to the public arbitrators in the city, he would tell them in writing what course they must take as regards the judgment they were to render.

[5] οὐ γὰρ εἶα τινὰ ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ τὰς ψήφους

διδόναι, ἀλλὰ αὐθαδιζόμενος ἀλογίστῳ τινὶ παρρησίᾳ κρίσεις τε αὐτὸς τὰς ἐσομένας ἐρρῦθμιζεν ἀκοῆς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς τῶν διαφορομένων λαβὼν καὶ ἀνάδικα εὐθὺς ἀβασανίστως τὰ δεδικασμένα ἐποίει οὐ νόμῳ τινὶ ἢ δικαίῳ ἡγμένος,

[5] For he would not allow anyone within the Roman Empire to give decisions on independent judgment, but with an obstinate determination and with a sort of unreasoning frankness he himself arranged in advance the decisions to be given, accepting hearsay from one of the contestants, and thus straightway, without investigation, he upset cases which had been adjudged, not because he had been influenced by any law or consideration of justice, but manifestly because he was overcome by base greed.

[6] ἀλλ' ἀπαρακαλύπτως αἰσχροκερδεῖα ἡσώμενος. δωροδοκῶν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἡσχύνετο, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰδῶ τῆς ἀπληστίας ἀφελομένης.

[6] For the Emperor felt no shame in accepting bribes, since his insatiable greed took away all shame from him.

[7] Πολλάκις δὲ τὰ τε τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι δεδοκιμασμένα ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐτελεύτησε κρίσιν.

[7] But often that which had been decided by the Senate and by the Emperor came up for another and final judgment.

[8] ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλή ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι ἐκάθητο, οὔτε τῆς ψήφου οὔτε τοῦ καλοῦ κυρία οὔσα, σχήματος δὲ μόνου καὶ νόμου ξυνειλεγμένη παλαιοῦ εἵνεκα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι τινα ὁφίοντο τῶν ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλεγμένων τὸ παράπαν ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ὅτε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ σύνοικος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαλαγχάνειν μὲν ἀλλήλοιν τῶν διαφορομένων ἐσκήπτοντο, ἐνίκα δὲ τὰ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ξυγκείμενα.

[8] For the Senate sat as in a picture, having no control over its vote and no influence for good, but only assembled as a matter of form and in obedience to an ancient law, since it was quite impossible for anyone whomsoever of those gathered there even to raise a voice, but the Emperor and his Consort generally pretended to divide between them the matters in dispute, but that side prevailed which had been agreed upon by them in private.

[9] ἣν δὲ τῷ δόξειεν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι παρανενομηκότι νενικηκέναι, ὅδε καὶ ἄλλο τι χρυσίον τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενος νόμον εὐθὺς διεπράττετο ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀπάντων ἐλθόντα τῶν πρόσθεν κειμένων.

[9] And if it seemed to any man who had broken the law that victory was not certain, such a person flung more gold to this Emperor and straightway secured a law going contrary to all laws which had been previously

established.

[10] ἦν δὲ καὶ τις ἕτερος τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἀπολωλότα ἐπιζητοίη, αὐθις αὐτὸν μετακαλεῖν τε καὶ ἀντικαθιστάναι αὐτοκράτωρ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, οὐδὲν τε ἐν τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως βεβαίῳ εἰστίκει, ἀλλ' ἐπλανᾶτο περιφερομένη πανταχόσε ἢ τῆς δίκης ῥοπή ὅπη ἂν αὐτὴν βαρήσας ὁ πλείων χρυσὸς ἀνθέλκειν ἰσχύοι ἔκειτό τε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Παλατίου καὶ προϋτίθετο οὐ δικαστικῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθετικῆς πωλητήρια.

[10] And if someone else should miss this cancelled law, the Emperor felt no reluctance about calling it back once more and re-establishing it, and nothing stood firmly in force, but the scales of justice wavered and wandered in every direction according as the larger amount of gold weighing them down availed to pull them in one direction or the other; Justice was established in the market-place, and that too though she had once dwelt in the Palace, and there one could find salesrooms where could be bought for a price not only court decisions but also legislation.

[11] Τοῖς δὲ ῥεφερενδαρίοις καλουμένοις οὐκέτι ἀπέχρη ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὰς τῶν ἰκετευόντων δεήσεις, ἐς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναγγεῖλαι μόνον, ἥπερ εἴωθει, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἰκέτῃ δοκῇ, ἀλλὰ ξυμφορήσαντες ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἄδικον λόγον, φενακισμοῖς μὲν τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ παραγωγαῖς τισιν ἐξηπάτων, τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ὑποκείμενον φύσει.

[11] And the Referendarii, as they were called, were no longer satisfied with merely referring to the Emperor the petitions of suppliants, and then informing the magistrates, in the usual way, what his decisions were concerning the petitioners, but collecting from the whole world the “unjust reason,” they kept deceiving Justinian with sundry sophistries and chicaneries, he being by nature an easy victim for those practising these tricks.

[12] ἔξω δὲ αὐτίκα γινόμενοι καὶ τῶν σφίσιν ὠμυληκότων τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καθείρξαντες χρήματα οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἀνεξελέγκτως ἐπράσσοντο ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῖς διαρκῇ εἴη.

[12] And as soon as they were outside the Palace and had taken measures to keep the litigants away from those with whom they themselves had talked, they proceeded to extract money — there being nobody to protect the rights of the litigants — in such a way that the business could not be proved against them and in such quantities as seemed to them sufficient.

[13] καὶ στρατιῶται οἱ τὴν ἐν Παλατίῳ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ παρὰ τοὺς διαιτῶντας γινόμενοι βιαίᾳ χειρὶ τὰς δίκας ἐσῆγον.

[13] And the soldiers who kept guard in the Palace would come before the public arbitrators as they sat in the Royal Stoa and force them to admit their

cases.

[14] πάντες τε ὥς εἶπεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντες τάξιν ὁδοὺς τότε κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐβάδιζον ἀπόρους τε καὶ ἀστιβήτους σφίσι τὰ πρότερα οὔσας, καὶ τὰ πράγματα πλημμελῶς πάντα ἐφέρετο, οὐδὲ ὀνόματός τινος ἰδίῳ μεταλαχόντα, ἐφκει τε ἡ πολιτεία βασιλίδι παιζόντων παιδίων.

[14] And practically all the soldiers at that time were abandoning their proper posts and, according to their own sweet will, walking in ways that were forbidden and had hitherto never been open to them to tread, and everything was being swept along pell-mell, not even retaining any proper designation of its own, and the commonwealth resembled a kingdom of children at play.

[15] ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι παριτέον, ὥσπερ τοῦδε ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου ὑπεῖπον. λελέξεται δὲ ὅστις ἀνὴρ πρῶτος δικάζοντα δωροδοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἀνέπεισε.

[15] But while the rest must be passed over by me, as I intimated when I began this account, yet it shall be told who the first man was to persuade this Emperor to accept a bribe while presiding at a trial.

[16] Λέων ἦν τις, Κίλιξ μὲν γένος, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς. οὗτος ὁ Λέων κράτιστος ἐγένετο κολάκων ἀπάντων, καὶ οἷος ταῖς τῶν ἀμαθῶν διανοίαις τὸ δόξαν ὑποβάλεσθαι.

[16] There was a certain Leon, a Cilician by birth, a man extraordinarily devoted to the love of money. This Leon came to be the mightiest of all flatterers and shewed a capacity for suggesting to the minds of stupid persons that which already had been determined upon.

[17] πειθῶ γάρ οἱ τινα ξυναιρομένην ἐς τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἐπὶ φθόρῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶχεν. οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρῶτος Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀναπειθεῖν ἀπεμπολεῖν χρημάτων τὰς δίκας.

[17] For he had a kind of persuasiveness which helped him, when dealing with the fatuity of the tyrant, to accomplish the destruction of his fellow-men. This man was the first to persuade Justinian to sell legal decisions for money.

[18] ἐπειδὴ τε κλέπτειν ὁδε ὁ ἀνὴρ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἔγνω, οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ὁδῷ προῖον τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρει, ὅστις τε δίκην λαχεῖν ἄδικον τῶν τινι ἐπεικῶν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, εὐθὺς παρὰ τὸν Λέοντα ἦει, καὶ μοῖραν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τινὰ ὁμολογήσας τῷ τε τυράννῳ καὶ αὐτῷ κείσεσθαι, αὐτίκα νενικηκῶς, οὐ δέον, ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ Παλατίου.

[18] And when that sovereign had once decided to follow, in his stealing, the plan which has been described, he never stopped, but this evil kept advancing

until it grew to a great size; and whoever was eager to lodge an unjust accusation against a citizen of the respectable sort proceeded straightway to Leon, and by promising that some portion of the disputed property should fall to both the tyrant and to him, he had forthwith won his case, however unjustly, before he left the Palace.

[19] καὶ Λέων μὲν χρήματα ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι μεγάλα κομιδῇ ἴσχυσε, χώρας τε πολλῆς κύριος γέγονε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν.

[19] And Leon succeeded in acquiring from this source a truly huge amount of money, and he came into possession of much land, and in so doing became the chief agent in bringing the Roman State to its knees.

[20] ἦν τε οὐδὲν τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὀχύρωμα, οὐ νόμος, οὐχ ὄρκος, οὐ γράμματα, οὐ ποινὴ ξυγκειμένη, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν, ὅτι μὴ Λέοντι καὶ βασιλεῖ χρήματα πρόεσθαι.

[20] Indeed there was no security for those who had entered into contracts, no law, no oath, no documents, no fixed penalty, no other resource at all except to fling out money to Leon and the Emperor.

[21] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς γνώμης τῆς τοῦ Λέοντος ἔμενεν, ἀλλὰ μισθαρνεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ἡξίου.

[21] Yet not even this process enjoyed the fixed approval of Leon's judgment, but he insisted upon getting money from the other side as well.

[22] κλέπτων γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ προστεθαρρηκότων ὀλιγωρεῖν τε καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ αἰσχύνην ὑπόπτυνεν εἶναι.

[22] For since he stole constantly in both directions, he never suspected that to neglect those who had put their confidence in him and to go against him involved any shame.

[23] οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, εἰ μόνον τὸ κερδαίνειν προσῆ, ἐδόξαζέν οἱ αὐτῷ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντι ἔσσεσθαι.

[23] For provided only that gain accrue, he believed that no disgrace would attach to him in playing off both sides.

XV

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Θεοδώρα δὲ ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐπεπῆγει τὴν γνώμην.

Such, then, was Justinian. As for Theodora, she had a mind fixed firmly and persistently upon cruelty.

[2] ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ ἀναπεισθεῖσα ἢ ἀναγκασθεῖσα εἰργάζετο οὐδὲν πώποτε, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπετέλει αὐθαδιαζομένη δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, οὐδενὸς ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τὸν παραπεπτωκότα τολμῶντος.

[2] For she never did anything at any time as the result of persuasion or compulsion by another person, but she herself, applying a stubborn will, carried out her decisions with all her might, no one daring to intercede for the victim who had given offence.

[3] οὐδὲ γὰρ χρόνου μῆκος, οὐ κολάσεως πλησμονή, οὐχ ἱκετείας τις μηχανή, οὐ θανάτου ἀπειλή, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖται τῷ παντὶ γένει ἐπίδοξος οὔσα, καταθέσθαι αὐτὴν τι τῆς ὀργῆς ἔπειθε.

[3] For neither length of time, nor surfeit of punishment, no trick of supplication, no threat of death — fully expected to fall from Heaven upon the whole race — could persuade her to abate one jot of her wrath.

[4] καὶ συλλήβδην Θεοδώραν τῷ προσκεκρουκότι καταλλαγεῖσαν οὐδεὶς ποτε εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὁ παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἔχθος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τριγένειαν παρέπεμπεν.

[4] And to state the matter briefly, no one ever saw Theodora reconciled with the one who had given her offence, even after the person had died, but the son of the deceased received the Empress' enmity as an inheritance from him, just as he received anything else that had been his father's, and passed it on to the third generation.

[5] ὁ γὰρ θυμὸς αὐτῇ κινεῖσθαι μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰν ἐτοιμότατος ἦν, ἐς δὲ τὸ λωφῆσαι ἀμήχανος.

[5] For her passion, while more than ready to be stirred to the destruction of men, was beyond any power to assuage.

[6] Τὸ μέντοι σῶμα ἐθεράπευε μειζόνως μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν, ἐλασσόνως δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμίαν.

[6] Her body she treated with more care than was necessary, yet less than she herself could have wished.

[7] ταχύτατα μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον, ἐς τὸ ἀκρατίζεσθαι ἐνθένδε ἐχώρει.

[7] For instance, she used to enter the bath very early and quit it very late, and after finishing her bathing, she would go thence to her breakfast. After partaking of breakfast she would rest.

[8] ἀκρατισαμένη δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν. ἀριστῶσα μέντοι καὶ δεῖπνον αἰρουμένη ἐς πᾶσαν ιδέαν ἐδωδύμων τε καὶ ποτῶν ἤρχετο, ὕπνοι τε αὐτῆς ἀεὶ μακρότατοι ἀντελαμβάνοντο, ἡμερινοὶ μὲν ἄχρι πρώτων νυκτῶν, νυκτερινοὶ δὲ ἄχρις ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος.

[8] At luncheon, however, and dinner she partook of all manner of foods and drinks; and sleep for long stretches of time would constantly lay hold of her, both in the daytime up to nightfall and at night up to sunrise;

[9] εἰς πᾶσάν τε οὕτως ἀκρασίας ἐκπεπτοκυῖα τρίβον ἐς τόσον ἡμέρας καιρὸν ἅπασαν διοικεῖσθαι ἡξίου τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

[9] and though she had to such an extent strayed into every path of incontinence for so long a portion of the day, she claimed the right to administer the whole Roman Empire.

[10] καὶ ἦν τῷ ἐπιστεῖλναι πρᾶξιν τινα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ αὐτῆς γνώμη, ἐς τοῦτο τύχης περιειστέλει τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς τε τιμῆς παραλυθῆναι ξὺν ὕβρει μεγάλη καὶ ἀπολωλέναι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ.

[10] And if the Emperor should impose any task upon a man without her consent, that man's affairs would suffer such a turn of fortune that not long thereafter he would be dismissed from his office with the greatest indignities and would die a most shameful death.

[11] Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ ἅπαντα πράσσειν ῥάδιον ἦν, οὐχ ὅσον τῷ τῆς διανοίας εὐκόλῳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἄυπνος ἦν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ εὐπρόσοδος πάντων μάλιστα.

[11] Now for Justinian it was rather easy to manage everything, not only because of his easy-going disposition, but also because he rarely slept, as has been stated, and was the most accessible person in the world.

[12] πολλὴ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἐξουσία ἐγένετο, καίτοι ἀδόξοις τε καὶ ἀφανέσι παντάπασιν οὖσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἐντυχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινολογεῖσθαι καὶ ἐξ ἀπορρήτων συγγίνεσθαι.

[12] For even men of low estate and altogether obscure had complete freedom, not merely to come before this tyrant, but also to converse with him and to enjoy confidential relations with him.

[13] παρὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλίδαν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὶ ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ εἰσιτητὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ προσήδρευον μὲν ἐς αἰὶ ἅπαντες ἀνδραποδώδη τινὰ προσεδρεύαν ἐν δωματίῳ στενῷ τε καὶ πνιγνῷ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. κίνδυνος γὰρ ἀπολελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὶ ἀνύποιστος ἦν.

[13] The Empress, on the other hand, could not be approached even by one of the magistrates, except at the expense of much time and labour, but, actually, they all had to wait constantly upon her convenience with a servile kind of assiduity, waiting in a small and stuffy anteroom for an endless time. For it was a risk beyond bearing for any one of the officials to be absent.

[14] ἴσταντο δὲ διηλεκτὰς ἐπὶ ἄκρων δακτύλων, αὐτὸς καθυπέρτερον ἕκαστος τῶν πέλας διατεινόμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἔχειν, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἔνδοθεν ἐξιώντες εὐνοῦχοι ὀρῶεν.

[14] And they stood there constantly upon the tips of their toes, each one straining to hold his head higher than the persons next to him, in order that the eunuchs when they came out might see him.

[15] ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν τινες μόλις τε καὶ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, ἐσιόντες δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν ξὺν δέει πολλῷ ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλλάσσοντο, προσκυνήσαντες μόνον καὶ ταρσοῦ ἑκατέρου ποδὸς ἄκρῳ χεῖλει ἀψάμενοι.

[15] And some of them were summoned at last, after many days, and going in to her presence in great fear they very quickly departed, having simply done obeisance and having touched the instep of each of her feet with the tips of their lips.

[16] φθέγγεσθαι γὰρ ἢ αἰτεῖσθαι τι μὴ ἐκείνης ἐγκελευομένης οὐδεμία παρρησία ἐγένετο. ἐς δουλοπρέπειαν γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἦλθε, δουλοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὴν ἔχουσα.

[16] For there was no opportunity to speak or to make any request unless she bade them to do so. For the Government had sunk into a servile condition, having her as slave-instructor.

[17] οὕτω τε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα διεφθείρετο τοῦ μὲν τυράννου τῷ ἄγαν εὐήθει δοκοῦντι εἶναι,

[17] Thus the Roman State was being ruined partly by the tyrant, who seemed too good-natured, and partly by Theodora, who was harsh and exceedingly difficult.

[18] Θεοδώρας δὲ τῷ χαλεπῷ καὶ λίαν δυσκόλῳ. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ εὐήθει τὸ ἀβέβαιον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δυσκόλῳ τὸ ἄπρακτον.

[18] For whereas in the good-nature of the one there was instability, in the difficult nature of the other there was a bar to action.

[19] Ἐν τοῖς μὲν οὖν τῆς τε γνώμης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐφαίνετο, κοινὰ δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἢ τε φιλοχρηματία καὶ ἡ τῶν φόνων ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.

[19] So in their thinking and in their habits of life the contrast between them was clear, yet they had in common their avarice, their lust for murder and their untruthfulness to all.

[20] ἄμφω γὰρ ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ψεύδεσθαι εἶχον, καὶ ἦν μὲν τις τῶν Θεοδώρα προσκεκρουκότων ἀμαρτάνειν λέγοιτό τι βραχύ τε καὶ λόγου οὐδαμῇ ἄξιον, αἰτίας εὐθὺς ἀναπλάσσουσα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδὲν προσηκούσας, ἐς μέγα τι κακοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤρην.

[20] For both of them were exceedingly gifted in lying, and if any of those who had offended Theodora was reported to be committing any wrong, even though it were trivial and utterly unworthy of notice, she straightway fabricated accusations which had no application to the man and thus she exaggerated the matter into a terrible crime.

[21] ἐγκλημάτων τε ἠκούετο πλῆθος καὶ καταλύσεως περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων ληΐζεσθαι δικαστήριον ἦν, καὶ δικασταὶ ξυνελέγοντο πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀγειρόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἔμελλον διαμαχέσασθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀρέσκειν τῇ ἐς τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπανθρωπία τῇ βασιλίδι τὸ βούλημα

[21] And she listened to a great mass of accusations, and there was a court which sat on questions of repealing the established laws, and judges assembled who were brought together by her, whose function it was to contend with each other as to which of them by the inhumanity shewn in the judgment should be able better than the others to satisfy the Empress' purpose.

[22] ἱκανὸς γένοιτο. οὕτω τε τοῦ παραπεπτωκότος τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτον ἐποίει, πικρότατα δὲ αὐτὸν αἰκισαμένη, καίπερ ἴσως εὐπατρίδην τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντα, ἢ φυγῇ ζημιοῦν ἢ θανάτῳ οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου.

[22] And thus she immediately caused the property of any man who had given offence to be confiscated to the public treasury, and after treating him with most bitter cruelty, though he might perhaps belong to an ancient line of patricians, she felt no hesitation whatever in penalizing him with either banishment or death.

[23] ἦν δέ γε τῶν αὐτῇ ἐσπουδασμένων τινὲ ἐπὶ φόνοις ἀδίκους ἢ ἐτέρῳ τῶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων ἀλῶναι ξυμβαίνειν, διασύρουσα καὶ χλευάζουσα τὴν τῶν

κατηγόρων ὁρμὴν σιωπᾶν τὰ προσπεσόντα οὔτι ἐθελουσίους ἠνάγκαζεν.

[23] But if any of her favourites chanced to be found guilty of wrongful manslaughter or of any other of the major offences, she by ridicule and mockery of the zeal of the prosecutors compelled them, much against their will, to hush up what had happened.

[24] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα εἰς γελωτοποιίαν μεταβάλλειν, ὅταν αὐτῇ δοκῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ θεάτρῳ ἔργον πεποιῆται.

[24] Indeed she also made it her business, whenever it seemed best to her, to change even the most serious matters to an occasion for buffoonery, as though she were on the stage in the theatre.

[25] καὶ ποτε ἦν τις τῶν πατρικίων γέρον τε καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἐν ἀρχῇ γεγωνῶς, οὔπερ ἐγὼ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς ἤκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὥς μὴ ἀπέραντον τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν ποιήσωμαι, τῶν αὐτῇ ὑπηρετούντων τινὰ ὀφείλοντά οἱ χρήματα μεγάλα εἰσπράξασθαι οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ἐσῆλθε παρ' αὐτήν, τόν τε συμβαλόντα αἰτιασόμενος καὶ δεηθησόμενος αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι τὰ δίκαια.

[25] And on a certain occasion one of the patricians, an old man who had spent a long time in office — whose name I shall by no means mention, though I know it well, that I may not indefinitely prolong the disgrace which fell upon him — being unable to collect a debt from one of the Empress' servants who owed him a large sum, appealed to her in order to lay a charge against the man who had made a contract with him and to entreat her to assist him to obtain justice.

[26] ὅπερ ἡ Θεοδώρα προμαθοῦσα τοῖς εὐνούχοις ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ πατρίκιος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἴκοιτο, κυκλώσασθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἅπαντας, ἐπακούειν δὲ αὐτῇ φθεγγομένη, ὑπειποῦσα ὅ τι αὐτοὺς ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι δεῖ.

[26] But Theodora, learning of his purpose in advance, instructed the eunuchs that when the patrician came before her, they should all stand about him in a circle and should listen attentively to her as she spoke, suggesting to them what words they should say in the manner of a “response.”

[27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πατρίκιος ἐς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἦλθε, προσεκύνησε μὲν ὥσπερ αὐτὴν προσκυνεῖν εἴθιστο, δεδακρυσμένῳ δὲ ἐοικώς ‘ὦ δέσποινα’, ἔφη, ‘χαλεπὸν πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρημάτων δεῖσθαι.

[27] And when the patrician entered the women's quarters, he did his obeisance before her in the customary manner, and with a face that seemed stained with tears, said, “Mistress, it is a grievous thing for a man of patrician rank to be in need of money.

[28] ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγνώμην τε καὶ ἔλεον φέρει, ταῦτα ἐς ὕβριν τῷδε
ξυμβαίνει τῷ ἀξιώματι ἀποκεκρίσθαι.

[28] For that which in the case of other men calls forth forgiveness and
compassion is accounted outrageous in men of my rank.

[29] ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ ὀτφοῦν ἀπορουμένῳ τὰ ἔσχατα πάρεστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπόντι
τοῖς χρήσταις ὄχλου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εὐθὺς ἀπηλλάχθαι, πατρίκιος δὲ ἀνὴρ οὐκ
ἔχων ὅθεν ἂν ἐκτίσαι τοῖς χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα ἱκανὸς εἴη μάλιστα μὲν
τοῦτο ἂν εἰπεῖν αἰσχυνθεῖη, εἰπὼν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε πείσαι ὥς οὐχ οἶόν τε ὄν
τῷδε πενίαν τῷ τάγματι ξυνοικίζεσθαι.

[29] For in the case of any other man in extreme destitution, it is possible,
simply by stating this fact to his creditors, to escape straightway from the
embarrassment, but if a man of patrician rank should not have the means to
meet his obligations to his creditors, most likely he would be ashamed to
mention it, but if he did mention it, he would never be believed, since all men
would feel that it is not a possible thing for poverty to be a housemate of a
man of this class.

[30] ἦν δέ γε καὶ πείση, τὰ πάντων αὐτῷ αἰσχιστά τε καὶ ἀνιαρότατα
πεπονθέναι ξυμβήσεται.

[30] But if he does win belief, it will fall to his lot to suffer the most shameful
and distressing affliction of all.

[31] οὐκοῦν, ᾧ δέσποινα, εἰσί μοι χρήσται, οἱ μὲν δανείσαντες τὰ σφέτερα
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδανεισμένοι.

[31] Now, my Mistress, I do have financial relations with men, some of whom
have loaned their substance to me, and some have borrowed from me.

[32] καὶ τοὺς μὲν δανείσαντας ἐνδεδεγέστατα ἐγκειμένους οὐχ οἷός τέ εἰμι
αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀποκρούσασθαι, οἱ δέ γε ὀφείλοντες, οὐ γὰρ πατρίκιοι
τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, εἰς σκῆψεις τινὰς ἀπανθρώπους χωροῦσιν.

[32] As for my creditors, who most persistently dog my steps, I am unable
through the shame proper to my position to put them off, while as for those
who are in debt to me, since they happen not to be patricians, they take refuge
in certain inhuman excuses.

[33] ἀντιβολῶ τοίνυν καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι βοηθησαί τέ μοι τὰ δίκαια

[33] Therefore I entreat and supplicate and beg you to assist me in obtaining my
rights and in escaping from my present ills." So he spoke.

[34] καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλάξαι κακῶν.’ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐμμελῶς, ‘πατρίκιε ὁ δεῖνα’, καὶ ὁ τῶν εὐνούχων χορὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀντεφθέγγατο,

[34] And the woman replied, in sing-song, “O Patrician So-and-So” (naming him), and the chorus of eunuchs, catching up the strain, said responsively, “It’s a large hernia you have!”

[35] ‘μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις’. αὐθις δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰκετεύσαντός τε καὶ ῥῆσιν τινα ἐμπερῇ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις εἰπόντος κατὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἡ τε γυνὴ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ ὁ χορὸς ἀντεφθέγγατο, ἕως ἄν ἀπειπὼν ὁ ταλαίπωρος προσεκύνησέ τε ἥπερ εἰώθει καὶ ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε ὄχγετο.

[35] And when the man again made supplication and uttered words resembling what he had said before, the woman replied again in the same strain and the chorus chanted the response, until the poor wretch in despair made his obeisance in the customary manner and departing thence went home.

[36] ἐν προαστείοις δὲ τοῖς ἐπιθαλαττίοις τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν τῇ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Ἡρίῳ διατριβὴν εἶχε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπομένων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος κακοπαθεῖα πολλῇ εἶχετο.

[36] And she lived the greatest part of the year in the suburbs on the seashore, and particularly in the place called Herion, and consequently the large retinue of attendants were grievously afflicted.

[37] τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων γὰρ ἐσπάνιζον καὶ θαλαττίοις ὁμίλουν κινδύνους, ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἢ τοῦ κήτους ἐνταυθὰ ποι ἐπισκίψαντος.

[37] For they had a scant supply of provisions and they were exposed to the dangers of the sea, particularly when a storm came down, as often happened, or when the whale made a descent somewhere in the neighbourhood.

[38] ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κακὰ οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα ὥντο εἶναι, ὅσον ἦν γε μόνον αὐτοῖς τρυφᾶν ἐξεῖη.

[38] However, they considered the ills of all mankind to be nothing at all, provided only that they should be able themselves to live in luxury.

[39] ὁποῖος δὲ ὁ Θεοδώρας πρὸς τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας ἐφαίνετο τρόπος, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, ὀλίγων δηλονότι ἐπιμνησθεῖς, ὥς μὴ ἀτελεύτητα πονεῖν δόξαμι.

[39] And I shall straightway make clear of what sort was the character of Theodora as revealed in her treatment of those who had given offence,

mentioning only a few details so that I may not seem to labour at an endless task.

XVI

Ἦνίκα Ἀμαλασοῦνθα τῆς Γόθοις ἀπαλλαξείουσα διατριβῆς μεταμπίσχεσθαί τε τὸν βίον ἔγνω, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον διενοεῖτο πορεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, λογισαμένη ἡ Θεοδώρα ὡς εὐπατρίδης τε ἡ γυνὴ καὶ βασιλὶς εἴη, καὶ ἰδεῖν μὲν εὐπρεπὴς ἄγαν, ἐπινοεῖν δὲ ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιο γοργὸς μάλιστα, ὑποπτον δὲ αὐτῆς ποιησαμένη τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ διαφερόντως ἄρρενωπὸν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλαφρὸν δείσασα, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεδρεῦειν τὴν γυναῖκα μέχρις ἐς θάνατον ἐν βουλῇ ἔσχεν.

At the time when Amalasuntha, desiring to leave the company of the Goths, decided to transform her life and to take the road to Byzantium, as has been stated in the previous narrative, Theodora, considering that the woman was of noble birth and a queen, and very comely to look upon and exceedingly quick at contriving ways and means for whatever she wanted, but feeling suspicious of her magnificent bearing and exceptionally virile manner, and at the same time fearing the fickleness of her husband Justinian, expressed her jealousy in no trivial way, but she schemed to lie in wait for the woman even unto her death.

[2] αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἀναπείθει τὸν ἄνδρα, Πέτρον μόνον αὐτὸν ἄτε πρεσβεύοντα ἐς Ἰταλίαν πέμψαι.

[2] Straightway, then, she persuaded her husband to send Peter, unaccompanied by others, to be his ambassador to Italy.

[3] ᾧ δὴ στελλομένῳ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐπέστελλεν ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαίροις δεδιήγεται λόγοις, ἵνα δὴ μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐκπύστους ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀληθείας δέει τῆς βασιλίδος ἀδύνατα ἦν.

[3] And as he was setting out, the Emperor gave him such instructions as have been set forth in the appropriate passage, where, however, it was impossible for me, through fear of the Empress, to reveal the truth of what took place.

[4] αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπήγγελλε μόνον, ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν, ἣν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ποιοίη,

[4] She herself, however, gave him one command only, namely, to put the woman out of the world as quickly as possible, causing the man to be carried away by the hope of great rewards if he should execute her commands.

[5] καταστησαμένη τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὃς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενόμενος 'οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ὀκνηρῶς ἐς ἄδικον φόνον ἰέναι, ἀρχῆς τινος ἴσως ἢ

χρημάτων ἐν ἐλπίδι κειμένων μεγάλων οὐκ οἶδα ἦντινα Θεودάτῳ παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενος διαχρήσασθαι τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἀνέπεισε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμεώς τε καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἔχθους.

[5] So as soon as he arrived in Italy — and indeed man's nature knows not how to proceed in a hesitant, shrinking way to a foul murder when some office, perhaps, or a large sum of money is to be hoped for — he persuaded Theodatus, by what kind of exhortation I do not know, to destroy Amalasuntha. And as a reward for this he attained the rank of Magister, and acquired great power and a hatred surpassed by none.

[6] Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθαν ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

[6] Such, then, was the end of Amalasuntha.

[7] ἦν δέ τις Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπιστολογράφος, Πρίσκος ὀνόματι, ἄγαν πονηρὸς μὲν καὶ Παφλαγῶν καὶ πρέπων τῷ προστάτῃ τὸν τρόπον ἀρέσκειν, λίαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν τῶν ὁμοίων οἰόμενος: διὸ δὴ καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων ὧν κύριος ὑπῆρχεν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τάχιστα γέγονε.

[7] But Justinian had a certain secretary, Priscus by name, a thorough villain and a blusterer, and very well qualified by character to satisfy his master, but very well disposed towards Justinian and believing that he enjoyed a similar goodwill on his part. Consequently, by unjust means, he very quickly became possessed of a large fortune.

[8] τοῦτον δὴ ἅτε ὀφρυάζοντά τε καὶ οἱ ἀντιτείνειν πειρώμενον ἡ Θεοδώρα ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα διέβαλε.

[8] But Theodora slandered the man to her husband, alleging that he bore himself with supercilious pride and was always trying to oppose her.

[9] καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδὲν ἦνυσεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτὴ μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον χειμῶνος μέσου εἰς ναῦν ἐμβιβάσασα ὅπῃ ἐβούλετο ἔπεμψε καὶ ἀποθρίξασα ἱερέα οὗτι ἐκούσιον ἡνάγκασεν εἶναι.

[9] And though at first she met with no success, she not much later, in the middle of the winter, put the man aboard ship and sent him away to a destination which the Empress had selected, and she caused his head to be shaved and compelled him quite against his will to be a priest.

[10] αὐτὸς δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενος ὅτι δὴ τῶν ποιουμένων οὐδὲν εἰδεῖη Πρίσκον μὲν οὐ διηρευνᾶτο ὅπῃ γῆς εἴη οὐδὲ ἐν μνήμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ ὥσπερ ληθάργῳ ἀλοὺς καθῆστο, τὰ μέντοι χρήματα ὀλίγων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων

[10] Justinian himself meanwhile gave the impression that he knew nothing of what was going on, and he made no investigation as to where in the world Priscus was nor did the man enter his thoughts thereafter, but he sat in silence as if overcome by lethargy, not forgetting, however, to plunder all the small remainder of the man's fortune.

[11] ἐλήϊσατο πάντα. ὑποψίας δὲ συμπεσούσης αὐτῇ ἐρωτολήπτῳ εἶναι εἰς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἓνα, Ἀρεόβινδον ὄνομα, βάρβαρον μὲν γένος, εὐπρεπῇ δὲ καὶ νεανίαν, ὃνπερ ταμίαν αὐτὴ καταστησασμένη ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπολύσασθαι βουλομένη τὸ ἔγκλημα, καίπερ, ὥς φασι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δαιμονίως ἐρῶσα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι πικρότατα αὐτὸν ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας αἰκίζεσθαι ἔγνω, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἔγνωμεν, οὐδὲ τις αὐτὸν ἄχρι νῦν εἶδεν.

[11] And at one time a suspicion arose that Theodora was smitten with love of one of the domestics, Areobindus by name, a man of barbarian lineage but withal handsome and young, whom she herself had, as it chanced, appointed to be steward; so she, wishing to combat the charge, though they say that she did love the man desperately, decided for the moment to maltreat him most cruelly for no real cause, and after we knew nothing at all about the man, nor has anyone seen him to this day.

[12] ἦν γάρ τι τῶν πρassoμένων ἀποκρύπτεσθαι αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἶη, τοῦτο δὴ ἄρρητόν τε καὶ ἀμνημόνευτον ἅπασιν ἔμεινε, καὶ οὔτε τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ ἀγγεῖλαι τῶν τινι ἀναγκαίων ἔτι ἐξῆν οὔτε τῷ μαρθάνειν βουλομένῳ πυνθάνεσθαι, κἂν πάνυ τις περίεργος ᾗν.

[12] For if it was her wish to conceal anything that was being done, that thing remained unspoken of and unmentioned by all, and it was thenceforth not permitted either for any man who had knowledge of the matter to report the fact to any of his kinsmen or for anyone who wished to learn the truth about him to make enquiry, even though he were very curious.

[13] τοιοῦτο γὰρ δέος ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τυράννων οὐδενὸς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν τινα τῶν προσκεκρουκότων οἶόν τε ἦν.

[13] For since there have been human beings there has never been such fear of any tyrant, for there was not even a possibility of concealment for one who had given offence.

[14] πλῆθος γὰρ κατασκόπων αὐτῇ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ πρassoμένα ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐσήγγελλον.

[14] For a throng of spies kept reporting to her what was said and done both in the market-place and in the homes of the people.

[15] ἡνίκα τοίνυν τοῦ παραπεπτωκότος τὴν κόλασιν ἐκφέρεσθαι οὐδαμῇ

ἤθελεν, ἐποίει τάδε.

[15] When, therefore, she did not wish the offender's punishment to be published abroad, she used to take the following course.

[16] τὸν ἄνθρωπον μετακαλεσαμένη, ἣν τις τῶν λογίων ἐτύγγανεν ὦν, μόνη τε αὐτῇ τῶν ὑπουργούντων τινὶ παραδοῦσα μόνῃ ἐπήγγελλεν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας αὐτὸν μετακομίσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

[16] She would summon the man, if he chanced to be one of the notables, and secretly would put him in the charge of one of her ministers and command him secretly to convey the man to the uttermost parts of the Roman Empire.

[17] καὶ ὃς ἄωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν κατακεκαλυμμένον αὐτὸν καὶ δεθέντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγονῶς, οὗ οἱ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπετέτακτο, ἐνταῦθα παρεδίδου λαθραιότερον τῷ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντι, φυλάσσειν τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐπιστείλας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπειπὼν μηδενὶ φράζειν, ἕως ἂν ἡ τὸν ταλαίπωρον ἢ βασιλὶς οἰκτιρίζεται ἢ χρόνον πολὺν τῇ ἐνταῦθα κακοπαθείᾳ δυσθανατίσας τε καὶ καταμαρανθεὶς τελευτήσειεν, ἀπηλλάσσετο.

[17] So he at an unseasonable hour of the night would put the man on board a ship, seeing that he was thoroughly bundled up and shackled, and also go on board with him, and he very stealthily delivered him over, at the point which had been indicated by the woman, to the man qualified for this service; then he departed after directing the man to guard the prisoner as securely as possible and forbidding him to speak of the matter to anyone until either the Empress should take pity on the poor wretch, or, after suffering for years a lingering death by reason of the miseries of his existence in that place and utterly wasting away, he should at last end his days.

[18] Καὶ Βασιανὸν δέ τινα Πράσινον, οὐκ ἄφανῇ νέον ὄντα, αὐτῇ διαλοιδορησάμενον δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχε. διὸ δὴ ὁ Βασιανὸς 'οὐ γὰρ ἀνήκοος ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐγεγόνει ἐς τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τὸν νεὸν φεύγει.

[18] And she also conceived an anger against a certain Vasianus, a youthful member of the Green Faction and not without distinction, for having covered her with abuse. For this each Vasianus (for he had not failed to hear of this anger) fled to the Church of the Archangel.

[19] ἡ δέ οἱ ἐπέστησεν αὐτίκα τὴν τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσαν ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲν μὲν τῆς λοιδορίας ἐπικαλεῖν ἐπαγγείλασα, ὅτι δὲ παιδεραστοίῃ ἐπενεγκοῦσα.

[19] And she immediately set upon him the official in charge of the people, commanding him to make no point of his abuse of her, but laying against him the charge of sodomy.

[20] καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναστήσασα ἠκίζετο ἀνυποίστω τινὶ κολάσει, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἅπας ἐπεὶ ἐν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς εἶδε σῶμα ἐλευθέριον τε καὶ ἀνειμένῃ ἄνωθεν διαίτῃ ἐντραφέν, ἀπήλγησάν τε τὸ πάθος εὐθὺς καὶ ξὺν οἰμωγῇ ἀνέκραγον οὐράνιον ὅσον ἐξαιτούμενοι τὸν νεανίαν.

[20] And the official removed the man from the sanctuary and inflicted a certain intolerable punishment upon him. And the populace, upon seeing a free-born man involved in such dire misfortunes, were all straightway filled with anguish at the calamity and in lamentation raised their cries to the heavens, seeking to intercede for the youth.

[21] ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον κολάσασα καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀποτεμομένη διέφθειρεν ἀνεξελέγκτως, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνεγράψατο.

[21] She, however, only punished him even more, and cutting off his private parts destroyed him without a trial and confiscated his property to the Treasury.

[22] οὕτως ἡνίκα ὀργῇ τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο, οὔτε ἱερὸν ὄχυρὸν ἐγεγόνει οὔτε νόμου τοῦ ἀπαγόρευσις οὔτε πόλεως ἀντιβόλησις ἐξελέσθαι τὸν παραπετωκότα ἱκανὴ ἐφαίνετο οὔσα, οὔτε ἄλλο αὐτῇ ἀπὴντα τῶν πάντων οὐδέν.

[22] Thus whenever this hussy became excited, no sanctuary proved secure nor did any legal prohibition hold, nor could the supplication of a whole city, as it were, as it was clearly shown, avail to rescue the offender, nor could anything else whatever stand in her way.

[23] καὶ Διογένην δέ τινα οἷα Πράσινον ὄντα δι' ὀργῆς ἔχουσα, ἄνδρα ἀστεῖον καὶ ποθεινὸν ἅπασί τε καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐδέν τι ἥσσον γάμων ἀνδρείων συκοφαντεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε.

[23] And being angry with a certain Diogenes, as being a Green, a man who was witty and liked by all, even by the Emperor himself, she nevertheless was determined to bring against him the slanderous charge of male intercourse.

[24] δύο γοῦν ἀναπέισασα τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκετῶν κατηγοροὺς τε καὶ μάρτυρας τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐπέστησε.

[24] Consequently she persuaded two of his own domestics to act as both accusers and witnesses and set them upon their owner.

[25] τοῦ δὲ οὐ κρύβδην ἐξεταζομένου καὶ λαθραιότατα, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίῳ, δικαστῶν ἡρημένων πολλῶν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀδόξων, διὰ τὴν Διογένηος δόξαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδόκουν ἀκριβολογουμένοις τοῖς δικασταῖς οἱ τῶν οἰκετῶν

λόγοι ἀξιόχρεοι ἐς τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ παιδαρίων ὄντων, Θεόδωρον τῶν Διογένοι ἀναγκαίων τινὰ ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν οἰκιδίοις καθεῖρξεν.

[25] And when he was first examined, not secretly and with the great privacy which is usually observed, but in a public trial, with many judges appointed who were men of note, all on account of the reputation of Diogenes, since it did not seem to the judges, as they sought to get at the exact truth, that the statements of the domestics were of sufficient weight to justify a decision, particularly as they were young boys, she confined Theodore, one of the connections of Diogenes, in the usual cells.

[26] ἐνταῦθα πολλαῖς μὲν θωπείαις, πολλοῖς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον αἰκισμοῖς περιῆλθεν. ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, νευρὰν βοεῖαν ἐς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀμφὶ τὰ ὦτα περιελίξαντας τὴν νευρὰν στρέφειν τε καὶ σφίγγειν ἐκέλευε.

[26] There she attacked the man with much cajolery and also with abuse. But since she met with no success, she caused the attendants to wind a leathern strap on the man's head, about his ears, and then ordered them to twist and so to tighten the strap.

[27] καὶ τοὺς μὲν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὺς Θεόδωρος ἐκπεπηδηκέναι τὴν οἰκείαν λιπόντας χώραν ὑπώπτευν, οὐδὲν μέντοι τῶν οὐ γεγονότων ἀναπλάσσειν ἔγνω.

[27] And Theodore believed that his eyes had jumped out of his head, leaving their proper seats, yet he was unwilling to fabricate any untruth.

[28] διὸ δὴ οἱ μὲν δικάσται ἅτε ἀμαρτυρήτου δίκης Διογένους ἀπέγνωσαν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐορτὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πανδημεῖ ἤγεν.

[28] So finally the judges acquitted Diogenes on the ground that the charge was unsupported by evidence, and the whole city in consequence celebrated a public holiday.

XVII

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆδε ἐχώρησεν. ἐρρήθη δὲ ἀρχομένῳ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅσα Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Φώτιον καὶ Βούζην αὐτῇ ἐργασθείη.

Such was the outcome of this affair. But at the beginning of this Book I told all that the Empress did to Belisarius and Photius and Bouzes.

[2] στασιῶται δὲ Βένετοι δύο Κίλικες γένος Καλλινίκῳ τῷ Κιλικίας Δευτέρας ἄρχοντι σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐπιστάντες χειρῶν ἀδίκων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤρξαν, τὸν τε αὐτοῦ ἱπποκόμον ἄγχιστά που ἐστῶτα καὶ ἀμύνειν τῷ κεκτημένῳ πειρώμενον ἔκτειναν, τοῦ τε ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ δῆμου θεωμένου παντός.

[2] And two members of the Blue Faction, Cilicians by birth, with a great tumult set upon Callinicus, Governor of the Second Cilicia, and proceeded to lay violent hands upon him, and they slew the man's groom who stood hard by and was trying to defend his master, while the Governor and the whole populace looked on.

[3] καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς στασιώτας ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τοῦδε ἀλόντας τοῦ φόνου ἐν δίκῃ ἀνεῖλεν, ἡ δὲ μαθοῦσα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Βενέτους προσποιεῖται ἐνδεικνυμένη, ἔτι αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ τῶν φονέων τάφῳ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.

[3] And he by process of law brought about the death of the factionists who were found guilty of this and of many other murders, but she, upon learning of this and making a display of the fact that she favoured the Blues, caused him to be impaled for no good reason and while he still held office, on the grave of the murderers.

[4] βασιλεὺς δὲ κλάειν τε καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὸν ἀπολωλότα σκηπτόμενος καθῆστο γρυλλίζων, πολλὰ τε τοῖς ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπουργηκόσιν ἀνατεινόμενος οὐδὲν ἔδρασε, τὰ μέντοι χρήματα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ληΐζεσθαι ὥς ἥκιστα ἀπηξίωσεν.

[4] And the Emperor, pretending to weep and lament over the murdered man, sat there groaning, and though he held many threats over those who had performed the deed, he did nothing; yet he by no means declined to plunder the money of the deceased.

[5] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα κολάσεις τῇ Θεοδώρα ἐπινόειν ἐπιμελὲς ἦν. πόρνας ἀμέλει πλεον ἢ πεντακοσίας ἀγείρασα ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση ἐς τριώβολον, ὅσον ἀποζῆν μισθαρνούσας, ἐς τε τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἡπειρον στείλασα ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Μετανοία μοναστηρίῳ καθεῖρξε τὸν βίον

μεταμφιέσασθαι ἀναγκάζουσα.

[5] But Theodora also concerned herself to devise punishments for sins against the body. Harlots, for instance, to the number of more than five hundred who plied their trade in the midst of the market-place at the rate of three obols — just enough to live on — she gathered together, and sending them over to the opposite mainland she confined them in the Convent of Repentance, as it is called, trying there to compel them to adopt a new manner of life.

[6] ὧν δὴ τινες ἐρρίπτουν αὐτὰς ἀφ' ὕψηλοῦ νύκτωρ, ταύτη τε τῆς ἀκουσίου μεταβολῆς ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[6] And some of them threw themselves down from a height at night and thus escaped the unwelcome transformation.

[7] Δύο δὲ κόραι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀδελφαὶ ἦτην, οὐκ ἐκ πατρός τε καὶ τριγονίας ὑπάτων μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀνέκαθεν αἵματος τοῦ πρώτου ἔν γε τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ γεγонуῖαι.

[7] There were two girls in Byzantium who were sisters; they were not only the offspring of a consular father and of three generations of Consuls, but drew their lineage from men who from remote times were of the foremost blood of the whole Senate.

[8] ταύταις ἤδη ἐς γάμον ἐλθούσαις ἀπολωλότων τῶν ἀνδρῶν χήραις γεγονέναι ξυνέπεσεν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἄνδρας ἢ Θεοδώρα δύο ἀγελαίους τε καὶ βδελυροὺς ἀπολέξασα συνοικίζειν αὐταῖς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν, ἐπικαλοῦσα μὴ σωφρόνως βιοῦν.

[8] These had previously entered into marriage, but it had come about by the death of their husbands that they became widows. And immediately Theodora selected two men — men who were not only of the common herd, but also disgusting fellows — and made it her business to mate them with the women, whom she charged with living unchaste lives.

[9] ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται δεῖσασαι, ἐς τὸ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερὸν φεύγουσιν, ἔς τε τὸν θεῖον λουτρῶνα ἐλθούσαις τῆς ἐνταῦθα κολυμβήθρας ἀπρίξ εἶχοντο.

[9] And they, fearing lest this be brought to pass, fled into the Church of Sophia, and coming into the holy baptismal chamber, they seized with their hands the font which is there.

[10] ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην αὐταῖς ἀνάγκην τε καὶ κακοπάθειαν προσετρίψατο ἢ βασιλίсса ὥστε αὐταῖς ἀπαλλαξιούσαις τῶν ἐνθὲνδε κακῶν τὸν γάμον αὐτῶν ἀνταλλάξασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ γέγονεν. οὕτως αὐτῇ ἄχραντος οὐδεὶς ἢ ἄσυλος μεμένηκε χῶρος.

[10] But the Empress Theodora inflicted upon them such dire constraint and suffering that in their desire to escape these woes they became eager enough to accept the marriage in place of them. Thus for her no place remained undefiled or inviolate.

[11] αὗται μὲν οὖν ἀνδράσι πτωχοῖς τε καὶ ἀπερριμμένοις πολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας ἀξίας ἀκούσαι ξυνωκίσθησαν, καίπερ εὐπατριδὼν σφίσι παρόντων μνηστήρων.

[11] So these women, against their wills, were united in marriage to men who were beggars and outcasts, much beneath them in standing, although noble suitors were at hand for them.

[12] ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐταῖς χήρα καὶ αὐτὴ γεγонуῖα οὔτε ἀνοιμῶσαι οὔτε

[12] And their mother, who also had become a widow, not daring to groan or to cry out at the calamity, attended the betrothal.

[13] ἀποκλαῦσαι τολμῶσα τὸ πάθος παρῆν τῇ ἐγγύῃ. ὕστερον δὲ ἀφοσιουμένη ἢ Θεοδώρα τὸ μίasma, δημοσίαις αὐτὰς παρηγορῆσαι ξυμποραῖς ἔγνω.

[13] But later Theodora, by way of expiating the scandal, decided to console them at the expense of public misfortunes. For she appointed both of the men magistrates.

[14] ἄρχοντα γὰρ ἐκάτερον κατεστήσατο. καὶ ταῖς μὲν κόραις παραψυχὴ οὐδ' ὥς γέγονε, πάθη δὲ ἀνέκιστα καὶ ἀνύποιστα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις σχεδόν τι ἅπασι πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις λελέξεται.

[14] But no comfort came to the girls even so, and woes incurable and unbearable fell from the hands of these men upon practically all their subordinates, as will be told by me in the later Books.

[15] Θεοδώρα γὰρ οὔτε ἀρχῆς οὔτε πολιτείας ἀξίωσις οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιμελὲς ἦν, εἰ τὸ βούλημα περανεῖται μόνον.

[15] For in Theodora there was respect of neither magistrate nor government, nor was anything else the object of her concern, provided only that her will was being accomplished.

[16] Ἐτύγγανε δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυήσασα τῶν ἐραστῶν, ἡνίκα ἔτι ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἦν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ ὅπῃ τοῦ καιροῦ αἰσθομένη πάντα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀμβλύσκειν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐποίει, ἄωρον δὲ ἀποκτινύναι τὸ βρέφος οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολλῶ ἀπελέλειπτο τοῦ ἀνθρωποειδὲς γένος γεγονέναι.

[16] Now she had chanced to conceive a child by one of her lovers while she was still on the stage, and being late about discovering her misfortune she did everything to accomplish, in her usual way, an abortion, but she was unsuccessful, by all the means employed, in killing the untimely infant, for by now it lacked but little of its human shape.

[17] διὸ δὴ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν προὐχώρει, τῆς πείρας ἀφεμένη τίκτειν ἠνάγκαστο. ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ τοῦ τεχθέντος πατὴρ ἀπορουμένην τε καὶ ἀσχάλλουσαν, ὅτι μήτηρ γενομένη τῷ σώματι ὁμοίως ἐργάζεσθαι οὐκέτι ἂν δυνατὴ εἴη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀληθῶς δὴ ὑπήσθετο ὥς διαχρήσεται τὸ παιδίον, ἀνείλετό τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ἐπονομάσας, ἐπεὶ ἄρσεν ἦν, ἐς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐς ἥνπερ ὥρμητο ἀπὼν ὄχρετο.

[17] Consequently, since she met with no success, she gave up trying and was compelled to bear the child. And when the father of the new-born child saw that she was distressed and displeased because after becoming a mother she would no longer be able to go on using her body as she had done, since he rightly suspected that she would destroy the child, he acknowledged the infant by lifting it up in his arms, and, naming it John, since it was a male, he went his way to Arabia, whither he was bound.

[18] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἤδη μεράκιον ἦν, τὸν πάντα λόγον αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἔφρασε.

[18] And when he himself was about to die, and John was now a young lad, his father told him the whole story of the mother.

[19] καὶ ὃς ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντι τὰ νόμιμα ποιήσας, χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τὰς εἰσόδους ἀεὶ ποιούμενοις τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀγγέλλει.

[19] And he, after performing all the customary rites over his father after his death, a little later came to Byzantium and announced the fact to those who had constant access to his mother.

[20] οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου αὐτὴν λογιεῖσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐπαγγέλλουσι τῇ μητρὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῆς Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς ἦκοι.

[20] And they, supposing that she would not reason otherwise than as a human being, reported to the mother that her son John had come.

[21] δεῖσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μὴ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος γένηται, τὸν παῖδά οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐκέλευεν ἦκειν.

[21] But the woman, fearing that the matter would become known to her husband, gave orders that the boy should come into her presence.

[22] ἐπεὶ τε εἶδε παραγενόμενον, τῶν οἰκείων τινὶ ἐνεχείρισεν,

[22] And when he came and she had seen him, she entrusted him to one of her domestics to whom she was always wont to delegate such matters.

[23] ὥπερ αἰεὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπέχειν εἰώθει. καὶ τρόπῳ μὲν ὅτῳ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνισται οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ἄχρι δεῦρο ἰδεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπογενομένης τῆς βασιλίδος ἔσχε.

[23] And by what method the poor wretch was spirited out of the world I cannot say, but no man to this day has been able to see him, even since the death of the Empress.

[24] Τότε καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ σχεδόν τι ἀπάσαις τὸν τρόπον διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. ἐξήμαρτον γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξουσία τῇ πάσῃ, οὐ φέροντος αὐταῖς κίνδυνόν τινα ἢ βλάβην τοῦ ἔργου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσαι μοιχείας ἀλοῖεν, αὗται κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ἔμενον, παρὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλίδα αὐτίκα ἰοῦσαι ἀντίστροφοὶ τε γενόμεναι καὶ δίκην οὐ γεγονότων ἐγκλημάτων ἀντιλαχοῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπῆγον.

[24] At that time it came to pass that practically all the women had become corrupt in character. For they sinned against their husbands with complete licence, since such acts brought them no danger or harm, because even those who were found guilty of adultery remained unscathed; for they straightway went to the Empress and turning the tables brought counter-suit against their husbands and haled them before the court though no charges had been made against them.

[25] περιῆν τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεξελέγκτοις οὔσι τὴν μὲν προῖκα ἐν διπλασίῳ ἀποτινύναι, μεμαστιγμένοις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθῆναι, καὶ αὖ πάλιν τὰς μοιχευτρίας ἐπιδεῖν κεκομψευμένας τε καὶ πρὸς τῶν μοιχῶν ἀδεέστερον λαγνευομένας. τῶν δὲ μοιχῶν πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τιμῆς ἔτυχον.

[25] And all the good the husbands got of it was to pay a fine double the wife's dowry, although no charge had been proved against them, and then to be scourged and, usually, led off to prison, and afterwards to look on while the adulteresses preened themselves and more boldly than ever accepted their seducers' embraces. And many of the adulterers actually attained honour from this conduct.

[26] διόπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάσχοντες πρὸς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνόσια ἔργα ἀσμενέστατα ἀμαστίγωτοι σιωπῇ ἔμενον, τὴν παρρησίαν αὐταῖς τῷ μὴ πεφωρᾶσθαι δοκεῖν ἐνδιδόντες.

[26] Consequently most men thereafter, though outrageously treated by their wives, were very glad to remain silent and escape the scourge, granting their

wives complete freedom by allowing them to think that they had not been detected.

[27] Αὕτη ἅπαντα πρυτανεύειν αὐτογνωμονοῦσα τὰ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἡξίου. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἱερωσύνας ἐχειροτόνει, ἐκεῖνο μόνον διερευνωμένη καὶ φυλασσομένη ἐνδελεχέστατα, μὴ καλὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς τις ὁ τὸ ἀξίωμα μετιὼν εἴη, καὶ οὐχ οἷός τέ οἱ ἐσόμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ὑπουργήσιν.

[27] This woman claimed the right to administer everything in the State by her own arbitrary judgment. For she controlled the election of the occupants of both the magistracies and the priesthoods, investigating and guarding very persistently against just one thing, namely, that the candidate for the dignity should not be an honourable or good man or one who would be likely to be incompetent to carry out her instructions.

[28] καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἅπαντας τῇ θείᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ τινὶ διωκεῖτο, τοῦ τε γαμεῖν πρότερον οὐδεμίαν ἄνθρωποι ἐγγύην ἐκουσίαν πεποίηται.

[28] And she regulated all marriages with an authority that may be described as grandmotherly.

[29] γυνὴ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ἐξαπινάϊως ἐγίνετο, οὐχ ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ἤρεσκεν, ὅπερ κὰν τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλομένη τῇ Θεοδώρᾳ εἶη.

[29] It was then for the first time that men and women gave up entering into a voluntary betrothal looking to marriage; for each man would all of a sudden find that he had a wife — not because she pleased him, as is customary even among the barbarians, but because this was the will of Theodora.

[30] ὅπερ αὖ καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις ἀνάπαλιν ξυνέβαινε πάσχειν. ἀνδράσι γὰρ ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐθελούσαις ἠναγκάζοντο.

[30] Thus women who were being married had precisely the same experience in their turn; for they were compelled to be united with husbands quite against their will.

[31] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἐκ τῆς παστάδος ἀποβιβάσασα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνυμέναιον τὸν νυμφίον ἀφῆκε, τοῦτο μόνον ξὺν ἀκροχολίᾳ εἰποῦσα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν ἀπαρέσκοι.

[31] And many a time Theodora even took the bride away from the bridal chamber for no reason at all and left the bridegroom unmarried, merely remarking in a burst of passion that the woman displeased her.

[32] ὅπερ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἔδρασε καὶ Λέοντα, ὅσπερ ῥεφερενδάριος ἦν τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ Σατορνῖνον, τὸν Ἑρμογένους τοῦ μαγίστρου γεγονότος ἐπὶ μνηστῇ.

τοῦτῳ γὰρ τῷ Σατορνίνῳ ἦν τις ἀνεμιαδῆ παρθένος μνηστή, ἐλευθέριος καὶ κοσμία, ἥνπερ οἱ Κύριλλος ὁ πατήρ καταγγύησεν Ἑρμογένους τοῦ βίου ἥδη ἀπολυθέντος.

[32] And she did this to many men, including Leon, who held the office of Referendarius, and to Saturninus the son of Hermogenes, who had been Magister, in the case of women to whom they were betrothed. For this Saturninus had an unwedded second cousin to whom he was betrothed, a free-born woman of seemly deportment whom her father Cyrillus had pledged to him, Hermogenes having already departed this life.

[33] πεπηγυίας τε αὐτοῖς τῆς παστάδος τὸν νυμφίον καθεῖρξεν, ἔς τε τὴν ἑτέραν παστάδα ἤχθη, ἔγημέ τε κωκύων καὶ οἰμώζων ὅσον τὴν Χρυσομαλλοῦς παῖδα.

[33] And after their bridal chamber had already been closed fast upon them, she took the bridegroom into custody and he was led to a second chamber, where, with great wailing and lament, he married the daughter of Chrysomallos.

[34] Χρυσομαλλῶ δὲ αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ὀρχηστρίς ἐγγόνει καὶ αὖθις ἑταίρα, τότε δὲ ζῖν ἑτέρα Χρυσομαλλοῦ καὶ Ἰνδαροῦ ἐν Παλατίῳ τὴν δαίταν εἶχεν.

[34] Now this Chrysomallos had long before been a dancer and again a courtesan, but at that time she was living in the Palace with another Chrysomallos and Indaro.

[35] ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ φαλλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτρῳ διατριβῆς τῇδε διωκοῦντο τὰ πράγματα.

[35] For instead of the phallus and the life in the theatre, they were managing their affairs here.

[36] ζυγκαταδαρθῶν δὲ ὁ Σατορνῖνος τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ διαπεπαρθενευμένην εὐρὼν ἔς τινα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξήνεγκεν ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄτρητον γήμαι.

[36] And when Saturninus had slept with the girl and found that she had lost her maidenhood, he reported to one of his intimates that he had married a girl who had been “tampered with.”

[37] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς Θεοδώραν ἦλθε, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευεν ἄτε ἀποσεμνυνόμενόν τε καὶ ὀγκωθέντα οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, μετέωρον αἶρειν, οἷα τὰ ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶντα παιδιά, ξαίνουσά τε κατὰ τῶν νότων πολλὰς ἀπεῖπεν αὐτῷ μὴ φλυάρεν εἶναι.

[37] And when this remark was brought to Theodora, she commanded the servants to hoist the man aloft, as one does children who go to school, because

he was putting on airs and assuming a lofty dignity to which he had no right, and she gave him a drubbing on the back with many blows and told him not to be a foolish babbler.

[38] Οἷα μέντοι καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Καππαδόκην εἰργάσατο ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρηθῇ. ἅπερ αὐτῇ διαπέπρακται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ χαλεπαινούσῃ, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανε ἑτεκμήριον δέ: τῶν γὰρ ὕστερον δεινότερα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐργασαμένων οὐδένα τοῦτο πεποιήται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ τε ἄλλα τῇ γυναικὶ καταντικρὺ ἐτόλμα ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλλεν, ὥστε αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν.

[38] Now the things which she did to John the Cappadocian have been told in the earlier narrative. These things were done by her to the man in anger, not on account of his offences against the State (and the proof is that later, when men did still worse things to her subjects, she treated no one of them in such a way), but because he was making bold to oppose the woman outright in other matters and especially because he kept slandering her to the Emperor, so that she came very near getting into a state of hostility with her husband.

[39] τῶν γὰρ αἰτιῶν, ὅπερ ὑπεῖπον, ἐνταυθὰ μοι μάλιστα τὰς ἀληθεστάτας ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν.

[39] But here, as I have said, I must by all means tell the reasons for her conduct which are absolutely true.

[40] ἡνίκα τε αὐτὸν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καθεῖρξε πεπονθότα ὅσα μοι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ προδεδήλωται, οὐδ' ὥς τινα ἔλαβε τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κολάσεως κόρον, ἀλλὰ ψευδομάρτυρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ διερευνωμένη οὐδέποτε ἀνίει.

[40] And even when she had got him imprisoned in Egypt after he had endured all the sufferings which I have previously described, even thus she did not reach any satiety of punishing the man, but she never ceased searching out false witnesses against him.

[41] τέτρασι δὲ ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον Πρασίνους εὐρέσθαι δύο τῶν ἐν Κυζίκῳ στασιωτῶν ἴσχυσεν, οἵπερ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι.

[41] And four years later she succeeded in finding two members of the Green Faction in Cyzicus who were said to be of those who had risen against the Bishop.

[42] καὶ αὐτοὺς θωπείαις τε καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἀπειλαῖς περιῆλθεν, ὥστε ἄτερος μὲν κατορρωδήσας καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαρθεὶς τὸ μίasma τοῦ φόνου ἐς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀνήνεγκεν.

[42] And she won over these men with flattering speeches and with threats,

with the result that one of them, in terror and at the same time uplifted by hopes, laid the sacrilege of the Bishop's murder at John's door.

[43] ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐλθεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνω, καίπερ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς βασάνου καταταθεὶς, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ καὶ τεθνήσκει αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπίδοξος ἦν.

[43] As for the other man, he refused absolutely to contradict the truth, though he was so racked by the torture that he was even expected to die immediately.

[44] διὸ δὴ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην τούτῳ δὴ τῷ παραπετάσματι διαχρήσασθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔσχε, τοῖν δὲ νεανίαιν τούτοιιν χεῖρας τὰς δεξιὰς ἔτεμε, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι ψευδομαρτυρεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, τοῦ δὲ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιφανῆς ἢ ἐπιβουλή ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται.

[44] Therefore, although she was unable, no matter what means she employed, to destroy John through this subterfuge, she cut off the right hands of these two young men, of the one because he had refused to bear false witness, and of the other in order to prevent her plot from becoming altogether manifest.

[45] τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πρασσομένων τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν πρασσομένων μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ξυνεῖναι.

[45] And though these intrigues were being carried on in the publicity of the market-place, Justinian pretended to know absolutely nothing of what was going on.

XVIII

Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ δαίμων τις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀνθρωπόμορφος ἦν, τεκμηριώσαιο ἂν τις τῷ μεγέθει σταθμώμενος ὧν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακῶν ἔδρασεν.

And that he was no human being, but, as has been suggested, some manner of demon in human form, one might infer by making an estimate of the magnitude of the ills which he inflicted upon mankind.

[2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἡ τοῦ δεδρακότος δύναμις ἐνδηλος γίνεται.

[2] For it is in the degree by which a man's deeds are surpassingly great that the power of the doer becomes evident.

[3] τὸ μὲν οὖν μέτρον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φράσαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένων οὐκ ἂν ποτε, μοι δοκεῖ, τῶν πάντων τινὶ ἢ τῷ θεῷ δυνατὰ εἶη.

[3] Now to state exactly the number of those who were destroyed by him would never be possible, I think, for anyone soever, or for God.

[4] θᾶσσον γὰρ ἂν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν πᾶσαν ψάμμον ἐξαριθμήσειεν ἢ ὅσους ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνήρηκε. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαριθμούμενος, ἥνπερ ἔρημον τῶν ἐνοικούντων ξυμπέπτωκεν εἶναι, μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας φημὶ ἀπολωλέναι.

[4] For one might more quickly, I think, count all grains of sand than the vast number whom this Emperor destroyed. But making an approximate estimate of the extent of territory which has become to be destitute of inhabitants, I should say that a myriad myriad of myriads perished.

[5] Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτον διήκουσα μέτρον οὕτως ἀπόλωλεν ὥστε ὁδὸν ἰόντι πολλὴν ἀνδρὶ ἐντυχεῖν χαλεπὸν τε καὶ λόγου ἄξιον εἶναι.

[5] For in the first place, Libya, which attains to so large dimensions, has been so thoroughly ruined that for the traveller who makes a long journey it is no easy matter, as well as being a noteworthy fact, to meet a human being.

[6] καίτοι Βανδύλων μὲν τῶν ὄπλα ἀρχὴν αἰρομένων ἐνταῦθα μυριάδες ὁκτὼ ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι, γυναιῶν δὲ καὶ παιδαρίων καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτῶν τίς ἂν εἰκάσειε μέτρον;

[6] And yet the Vandals who recently took up arms there numbered eight myriads, and as for their women and children and slaves, who could guess

their number?

[7] Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὤκημένων τὰ πρότερα καὶ γῆν γεωργούντων ἐργασίαν τε τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργαζομένων, ὅπερ μοι αὐτόπτη ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγονέναι τετύχηκε, πῶς ἂν τις τὸ πλῆθος διαριθμείσθαι ἱκανὸς εἴη τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων; τούτων δὲ πολλῶ ἔτι πλείους Μαυρούσιοι ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα, οἷς δὴ ἅπασι ζύν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ γόνῳ διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη.

[7] And as for the Libyans, those who formerly lived in the cities, those who tilled the soil, and those who toiled at the labours of sea — all of which I had the fortune to witness with my own eyes — how could any man estimate the multitude of them? And still more numerous than these were the Moors there, all of whom were in the end destroyed together with their wives and offspring.

[8] πολλοὺς δὲ αὖ τῇ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπισπομένων ἡ γῆ ἔκρυσεν. ὥστε εἴ τις μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐν γε Λιβύῃ πεντακοσίας ἰσχυρίζεται ἀπολωλέναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῷ πράγματι, οἶμαι,

[8] Many too of the Roman soldiers and of those who had followed them there from Byzantium the earth has covered. So that if one maintains that five hundred myriads of human beings perished in Libya, he would not by any means, I know, be doing justice to the facts.

[9] διαρκῶς εἴποι. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι Βανδύλων εὐθὺς ἡσσημένων οὐχ ὅπως κρατύνηται τὴν τῆς χώρας ἐπικράτησιν ἐπιμελὲς οἱ ἐγίνετο, οὐδ' ὅπως οἱ ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν φυλακὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εὐνοίᾳ τῶν κατηκόων εἴη προϋνόησεν, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριον αὐτίκα μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ μετεπέμπετο, τυραννίδα οἱ οὐδαμῶθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπεγκαλέσας, ὅπως τὸ ἐνθένδε διοικούμενος κατ' ἐξουσίαν Λιβύην καταπιὼν ὅλην ληΐζεται.

[9] And the reason for this was that immediately after the defeat of the Vandals, Justinian not only did not concern himself with strengthening his dominion over the country, and not only did he not make provision that the safeguarding of its wealth should rest securely in the good-will of its inhabitants, but straightway he summoned Belisarius to return home without the least delay, laying against him an utterly unjustified accusation of tyranny, to the end that thereafter, administering Libya with full licence, he might swallow it up and thus make plunder of the whole of it.

[10] Τιμητὰς ἀμέλει τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε καὶ φόρους ἐπετίθει πικροτάτους τινὰς οὐ πρότερον ὄντας. καὶ τῶν χωρίων προσεποιεῖτο, εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν, καὶ Ἀρειανοὺς τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μυστηρίων εἶργε.

[10] At any rate he immediately sent out assessors of the land and imposed certain most cruel taxes which had not existed before. And he laid hold of the estates, whichever were best. And he excluded the Arians from the sacraments

which they observed.

[11] καὶ ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς συντάξεσιν ὑπερήμερος ἦν, καὶ ἄλλως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγεγόνει βαρὺς. ἐξ ὧν αἱ στάσεις φυόμεναι τετελευτήκασιν εἰς ὄλεθρον μέγαν.

[11] Also he was tardy in the payment of his military forces, and in other ways became a grievance to the soldiers. From these causes arose the insurrections which resulted in great destruction.

[12] οὐ γὰρ μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσί ποτε ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ ξυγγεῖν τε καὶ ἀναθολοῦν ἐπεφύκει πάντα.

[12] For he never was able to adhere to settled conditions, but he was naturally inclined to make confusion and turmoil everywhere.

[13] Ἰταλία δὲ οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τριπλασία Λιβύης οὔσα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἢ ἐκείνη πανταχόθι γεγένηται. ὥστε δὴ μέτρον τῶν κἀνταῦθα

[13] And as to Italy, which has not less than three times the area of Libya, it has become everywhere even more destitute of men than Libya.

[14] ἀνηρημένων ἐγγύθεν ἡ δήλωσις ἔσται. ἡ γὰρ αἰτία τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία ξυμπεπτωκότων ἤδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται. ἅπαντά τε γὰρ ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῷ ἡμαρτήθη.

[14] Consequently the estimate of persons likewise destroyed here will be fairly easy. For the cause of what happened in Italy has already been explained by me in an earlier passage. Indeed all the errors which he made in Libya were repeated by him here also.

[15] καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους λογοθέτας προσεπιπέμψας ἀνεχαίτισέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν εὐθὺς ἅπαντα.

[15] And by adding to the administrative staff the Logothetes, as they are called, he upset and ruined everything immediately.

[16] κατέτεινε δὲ ἡ Γότθων ἀρχὴ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐκ Γάλλων τῆς γῆς ἄχρι τῶν Δακίας ὁρίων,

[16] Now the sway of the Goths extended, before this war, from the land of Gaul as far as the boundaries of Dacia, where the city of Sirmium is situated.

[17] οὗ δὲ πόλις τὸ Σίρμιόν ἐστι. Γαλλίας μὲν οὖν καὶ Βενετίων γῆν τὴν πολλὴν Γερμανοὶ ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἰταλίαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός.

[17] As for Gaul and Venetia, the Germans held the greater part of them at the

time when the Roman army came into Italy.

[18] Σίρμιον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία Γήπαιδες κατέχουσιν, ἅπαντα μέντοι συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημα.

[18] But the Gepaides control Sirmium and the country thereabout, which is all, roughly speaking, completely destitute of human habitation.

[19] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος, τοὺς δὲ νόσος τε καὶ λιμὸς διεχρήσαντο, ἃ δὴ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεσθαι πέφυκεν.

[19] For some were destroyed by the war, some by disease and famine, the natural concomitants of war.

[20] Ἰλλυριοὺς δὲ καὶ Θράκην ὅλην, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια, ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Χερρονησιωτῶν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν, Οὐννοὶ τε καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἄνται σχεδόν τι ἀνὰ πᾶν καταθέοντες ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ Ἰουστινιανὸς παρέλαβε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα εἰργάσαντο τοὺς ταύτη ἀνθρώπους.

[20] And Illyricum and Thrace in its entirety, comprising the whole expanse of country from the Ionian Gulf to the outskirts of Byzantium, including Greece and the Thracian Chersonese, was overrun practically every year by Huns, Sclaveni and Antae, from the time when Justinian took over the Roman Empire, and they wrought frightful havoc among the inhabitants of that region.

[21] πλέον γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐσβολῇ οἶμαι ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας εἴκοσιν εἶναι τῶν τε ἀνηρημένων καὶ ἡνδραποδισμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, ὥστε τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν ἀμέλει ταύτης πανταχόσε τῆς γῆς ζυμβαίνειν εἶναι.

[21] For in each invasion more than twenty myriads of Romans, I think, were destroyed or enslaved there, so that a veritable “Scythian wilderness” came to exist everywhere in this land.

[22] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ τε καὶ Εὐρώπῃ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ζυνενεχθέντα τοιαῦτά ἐστι. Σαρακηνοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐφ' οὓς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου μέχρι τῶν Περσίδος ὁρίων πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον διηνεκῶς καταθέοντες οὕτω δὴ ἐνδελεχέστατα κατειργάσαντο, ὥστε ὀλιγανθρωπότατα ζύμπαντα ἐγγέγονε τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, καὶ οὐ μήποτε ἀνθρώπων, οἶμαι, δυνατὰ εἶναι τὸ μέτρον τῶν οὕτως ἀπολωλότων διερευνημένῳ εὐρέσθαι.

[22] Such are the disasters wrought by the wars in Libya and in Europe. The Saracens meantime were overrunning the Romans of the East, from Egypt to the frontiers of Persia, throughout this whole period without interruption, and they accomplished such thorough-going destruction that this entire region

came to be very sparsely populated, and it will never be possible, I think, for any human being to discover by enquiry the numbers of those who perished in this way.

[23] Πέρσαι τε καὶ Χοσρόης τετράκις μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τάς τε πόλεις καθεῖλον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὓς ἂν λάβοιεν ἐν τε πόλεσι ταῖς ἀλίσκομέναις καὶ χώρα ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν κτείνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ζὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγόμενοι, ἔρημον τὴν γῆν κατεστήσαντο τῶν ἐνοικούντων, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκῆψαι ξυνέπεσεν.

[23] The Persians under Chosroes four times made inroads into the rest of the Roman domain and dismantled the cities, and as for the people whom they found in the captured cities and in each country district, they slew a part and led some away with them, leaving the land bare of inhabitants wherever they chanced to descend.

[24] ἔξ οὗ δὲ καὶ εἰς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἐσήλασαν, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Λαζοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διαφθεῖρεσθαι μέχρι δεῦρο ζυμβαίνει.

[24] And ever since the Persian invasion of the land of Colchis, the Colchians and the Lazi and the Romans have continued to be steadily destroyed up to the present day.

[25] Οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ Πέρσαις ἢ Σαρακηνοῖς ἢ Οὐννοῖς ἢ τῷ Σκλαβηνῶν γένει ἢ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν ἀκραϊφνέσιν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ζυνηνέχθη ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

[25] Moreover, neither the Persians on their part nor the Saracens nor the Huns nor the race of the Sclaveni nor any other of the barbarians have had the fortune to retire unscathed from Roman soil.

[26] ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς ἐφόδοις καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔν τε πολιορκίαις καὶ ζυμβολαῖς ἐναντιώμασι πολλοῖς προσεπταικότες οὐδὲν τι ἥσσαν ζυνδιεφθάρησαν.

[26] For in the course of their inroads, and particularly during the sieges and battles, they fell foul of many obstacles and were destroyed equally with their enemies.

[27] οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάρβαροι σχεδόν τι πάντες τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μαιφονίας ἀπώναντο.

[27] For not alone Romans but practically the whole barbarian world as well felt the influence of Justinian's lust for bloodshed.

[28] ἦν μὲν γάρ τε καὶ Χοσρόης αὐτός τε πονηρὸς τὸ ἦθος καὶ, ὥς μοι ἐν λόγοις

εἶρηται τοῖς καθήκουσι, τὰς μὲν αἰτίας αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὅδε παρείχετο πάσας.

[28] For not only was Chosroes himself likewise vicious in character, but he was also provided by Justinian, as has been stated by me in the appropriate place, with all the motives for waging war.

[29] οὐ γὰρ ἤξιον τοῖς καιροῖς ἐναρμόζειν τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ καιροῦ πάντα εἰργάζετο, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐξαρτυόμενος ἀεὶ νῶ δολερῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέλας πολέμου αἰτίας, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναπεπτωκώς τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔργων παρασκευὴν ὀκνηρῶς ἄγαν διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ποιούμενος, ἀντὶ τε σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα περισκοπῶν μὲν τὰ μετέωρα, περιέργος δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει γινόμενος, καὶ οὔτε τὸν πόλεμον μεθιείς, τῷ μαιφόνος τις καὶ παλαμναῖος εἶναι, οὔτε περιεῖναι τῶν πολεμίων οἷός τε ὦν, τῷ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ὑπὸ μικρολογίας περιεργάζεσθαι.

[29] For he did not think it worth while to adapt his activities to the opportune occasions, but he kept doing everything out of season, in times of peace and in periods of truce ever devising, with crafty purpose, occasions of war against his neighbours, and in times of war, on the other hand, growing lax for no good reason and carrying on the preparations for military operations too deliberately, all because of his parsimony, and instead of devoting himself to such things, scanning the heavens and developing a curious interest concerning the nature of God, and neither giving over the war, because of his bloodthirsty and abominable character, nor being, on the other hand, able to get the better of his enemy, because he was prevented by his niggardliness from busying himself with the necessary things.

[30] ταύτῃ τε αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡ γῆ ζύμπασα ἔμπλεως αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου ἔκ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ βαρβάρων σχεδόν τι πάντων διαρκῶς γέγονε.

[30] Thus during his reign the whole earth was constantly drenched with human blood shed by both the Romans and practically all the barbarians.

[31] Ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πανταχόθι γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ξυλλήβδην εἶπεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

[31] This, then, to state the case in a word, is what came to pass during this period of wars throughout the whole Roman Empire.

[32] τὰ δὲ κατὰ στάσιν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη ξυνενεχθέντα διαριθμούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἀνθρώπων φόνον ταύτῃ ξυμβῆναι ἢ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον οἶμαι.

[32] And when I reckon over the events which took place during the insurrections both in Byzantium and in each several city, I believe that no less

slaughter of men came about in this way than in actual warfare.

[33] τοῦ γὰρ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιστροφῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις ὡς ἥκιστα ὄντων, ἀλλὰ κατεσπουδασμένου τῷ βασιλεῖ θατέρου τοῖν μεροῖν μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ θάτεροι ἦγον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῷ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τῷ θαρσεῖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσιν τε καὶ ἀπόνοιαν αἰεὶ ἔβλεπον, καὶ πῇ μὲν ἄθροοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰόντες, πῇ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους μαχόμενοι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἓνα τὰς ἐνέδρας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ποιούμενοι ἐς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν αὐτοὶ τε εἰργάζοντο ἀλλήλους ἀνήκεστα ἔργα καὶ πρὸς τῆς τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστώσης ἀρχῆς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διεφθείροντο.

[33] For since justice and impartial chastisement for wrong-doing scarcely existed at all, but of the two Factions one was actually supported by the Emperor, assuredly the other party did not remain quiet either; on the contrary, because one group was being worsted and the other was full of confidence, they constantly had in view desperation and mad recklessness; and sometimes attacking each other in crowds and sometimes fighting in small groups, or even, if it so happened, setting ambuscades one against one, for two-and-thirty years without a pause they kept wreaking fearful vengeance upon one another, and at the same time they were being put to death by the magistrate, as a rule, who was charged with the control of the populace.

[34] ἡ μέντοι τίσις τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς τοὺς Πρασίνοους ἐγένετο. ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἡ ἐς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους αἰρετικούς κόλασις φόνου ἐνέπλησε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

[34] But the punishment for their crimes was, for the most part, levelled against the Greens. Furthermore, the punishment of the Samaritans and of those called heretics filled the Roman Empire with slaughter.

[35] ταῦτα δέ μοι ὅσον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἰρῆσθαι ἀπομνημονεύεται τανῦν, ἐπεὶ μοι ἱκανῶς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται.

[35] These things, however, are here mentioned by me merely in summary, inasmuch as they have been sufficiently recorded by me somewhat earlier.

[36] Ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐν σώματι γενόμενον δαίμονα τετύχηκε γενέσθαι ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὥνπερ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτὸς ἅτε βασιλεὺς καταστάς ἔδωκε: καὶ ὅσα μέντοι κατακεκρυμμένη δυνάμει καὶ φύσει δαιμονία διειργάσατο ἀνθρώπους κακὰ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[36] Such, then, were the calamities which fell upon all mankind during the reign of the demon who had become incarnate in Justinian, while he himself, as having become Emperor, provided the causes of them. And I shall shew, further, how many evils he did to men by means of a hidden power and of a demoniacal nature.

[37] τούτου γὰρ Ῥωμαίων διοικουμένου τὰ πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα πάθη ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, ἅπερ οἱ μὲν τῇ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τῇδε παρουσίᾳ ἰσχυρίζοντο καὶ μηχανῇ ξυμβῆναι, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ θεῖον τὰ ἔργα μισῆσαν ἀποστραφέν τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, χώραν δαίμοσι τοῖς παλαμναίοις ἐνδεδωκέναι ταῦτα διαπράξασθαι

[37] For while this man was administering the nation's affairs, many other calamities chanced to befall, which some insisted came about through the aforementioned presence of this evil demon and through his contriving, while others said that the Deity, detesting his works, turned away from the Roman Empire and gave place to the abominable demons for the bringing of these things to pass in this fashion.

[38] τῇδε. Ἔδεσαν μὲν γὰρ Σκιρτὸς ἐπικλύσας ὁ ποταμὸς μυρίων δημιουργὸς τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ἀνθρώποις συμφορῶν γέγονεν, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις γεγράφεται.

[38] Thus the Scirtus River, by overflowing Edessa, became the author of countless calamities to the people of that region, as will be written by me in a following Book.

[39] Νεῖλος δὲ ἀναβὰς μὲν ἥπερ εἰώθει, χρόνοις δὲ οὐκ ἀποβὰς τοῖς καθήκουσι, δεινὰ τινας τῶν ὠκημένων εἰργάσατο ἔργα, ἅπερ μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδιῆγται.

[39] The Nile also rose as usual but did not recede at the proper time, and thus caused serious loss on the part of some of the inhabitants, as has been told by me previously.

[40] Κύδνος δὲ Ταρσὸν περιβαλλόμενος σχεδόν τι πᾶσαν ἡμέρας τε αὐτὴν ἐπικλύσας πολλὰς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως αὐτὴν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ ἔδρασε.

[40] And the Cydnus River rose so as to surround practically the whole of Tarsus, and after flooding it for many days only subsided after it had done irreparable damage to it.

[41] σεισμοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχειάν τε καθεῖλον τὴν τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν πρώτῃ καὶ Σελεύκειαν, ἥπερ αὐτῆς ἐκ γειτόνων οἰκεῖται, καὶ τὴν ἐν Κίλιξιν ἐπιφανεστάτην Ἀνάζαρβον.

[41] And earthquakes destroyed Antioch, the first city of the East, and Seleucia which is close to it, as well as the most notable city in Cilicia, Anazarbus.

[42] αἶς τῶν ξυναπολωλότην ἀνθρώπων τὸ μέτρον τίς ἂν διαριθμεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἴη; προσθεῖν δὲ ἂν τις τά τε Ἰβώρα καὶ Ἀμάσειαν, ἡ πρώτη ἐν Πόντῳ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, Πολύβοτόν τε τὴν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ καὶ ἦν Πισίδαι

Φιλομηδὴν καλοῦσι, Λύχνιδόν τε τὴν ἐν Ἑπειρώταις καὶ Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ πολυανθρωπόταται ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν.

[41] And the number of persons who perished along with these cities who would be able to compute? And one might add to the list Iborra and also Amasia, which chanced to be the first city in Pontus, also Polybotus in Phrygia, and the city which the Pisidians call Philomede, and Lychnidus in Epirus, and Corinth, all of which cities have from ancient times been most populous.

[43] ταύταις γὰρ ἀπαξάπασαις ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σεισμῶ τε καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς ὀκειμένοις σχεδόν τι πᾶσι ξυνδιολωλέναι τετύχηκεν.

[43] For it befell all these cities during this period to be overthrown by earthquakes and the inhabitants to be practically all destroyed with them.

[44] ἐπιγενόμενος δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα τῶν περιγινομένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆνεγκε μοῖραν.

[44] And afterwards came the plague as well, mentioned by me before, which carried off about one-half of the surviving population.

[45] τοσούτων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο φθόρος, Ἰουστινιανοῦ πρότερον Ῥωμαίοις διοικουμένου τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ ὕστερον τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.

[45] Such was the destruction of life which took place, first when Justinian was administering the Roman State as Regent, and later when he held the imperial office.

XIX

Ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀφείλετο ἀπαξάπαντα ἐρῶν ἐρχομαι, ὅσιν ὀνείρου ὑπειπὼν πρότερον ἦν περ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τῶν τινι ἐπιφανῶν ἰδεῖν ξυνηγέχθη.

I shall now proceed to tell how he robbed the State of quite all its monies, first, however, telling about the vision of a dream which one of the notables chanced to see at the beginning of the reign of Justinus.

[2] ἔφη γάρ οἱ δοκεῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνείρῳ ἐστάναι μὲν που ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡίονα, ἣ δὲ Χαλκηδόνος καταντικρὺ ἐστίν, ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνῃ πορθμὸν ἐστῶτα μέσον.

[2] He said, namely, that in the dream it seemed to him that he was standing somewhere in Byzantium on the shore of the sea which is opposite Chalcedon, and that he saw this man standing in the middle of the strait there.

[3] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐκπιεῖν ὅλον, ὥστε οἶεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐστάναι, οὐκέτι τοῦ πορθμοῦ ταύτῃ ἐπιόντος, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕδωρ ἄλλο ρύπου τε πολλοῦ καὶ φορυτοῦ γέμον, βρύσαν ἐξ ὑπονόμων ἐκατέρωθεν ὄντων, ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν ἅμα, γυμνὸν τε αὖθις ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ πορθμοῦ χῶρον.

[3] And first he drank up all the water of the sea, so that he had the impression thereafter that the man was standing on dry land, since the water no longer filled the strait at this point, but afterwards other water appeared there that was saturated with much filth and rubbish and welled up from sewer-outlets which are on either side of the strait, and the man immediately drank even this too, and again laid the tract of the strait bare.

[4] Ἡ μὲν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὅψις ἐδήλου τοιαῦτα. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ οὕτως, ἡνίκα οἱ ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, χρημάτων δημοσίων ἐμπλεων τὴν πολιτείαν εὗρεν.

[4] Such were the things revealed by the vision of the dream. Now this Justinian, when his uncle Justinus took over the Empire, did find the Government well supplied with public money.

[5] Ἀναστάσιος γὰρ προνοητικώτατός τε ἅμα καὶ οἰκονομικώτατος πάντων αὐτοκρατόρων γενόμενος, δείσας ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μή οἱ ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξόμενος χρημάτων ὑποσπανίζων ἴσως τοὺς κατηκούς ληΐζεται, χρυσοῦ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος, τὸν βίον ξυνεμετρήσατο.

[5] For Anastasius had been both the most provident and the most prudent

administrator of all Emperors, and fearing, as actually happened, lest his future successor to the throne, finding himself short of funds, might perhaps take to plundering his subjects — he had filled all the treasuries to overflowing with gold before he completed the term of his life.

[6] οὐσπερ ἅπαντας Ἰουστινιανὸς ὥς τάχιστα διεσπάσατο, πῇ μὲν θαλασσίοις οἰκοδομίαις λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσαις, πῇ δὲ τῇ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φιλότῃ: καίτοι ᾧ ἦν τις αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐς ἄγαν ἀσώτῳ ἐσομένῳ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπαρκέσειν.

[6] All this money Justinian dissipated with all speed, partly in senseless buildings on the sea, and partly by his kindness to the barbarians; and yet one would have supposed that even for an Emperor who was going to be extremely prodigal these funds would last for a hundred years.

[7] ἰσχυρίζοντο γὰρ οἱ τοῖς θησαυροῖς τε καὶ ταμείοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν ἐφεστῶτες, Αναστάσιον μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔτη πλέον ἢ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἄρξαντα διακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀπολιπεῖν.

[7] For those who were in charge of all the treasures and treasuries and all the other imperial monies declared that Anastasius, after his reign over the Romans of more than twenty-seven years, left behind him in the Treasury three thousand two hundred centenaria of gold.

[8] ἐπὶ μέντοι Ἰουστίνου ἔτη ἐννέα τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, τούτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ξύγχυσίν τε καὶ ἀκοσμίαν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προστριψαμένου, τετρακισχίλια κεντηνάρια ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσκομισθῆναι οὐδενὶ νόμῳ, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων οὐδ' ὅτιον ἀπολελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτι περιόντος Ἰουστίνου πρὸς τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δεδαπανῆσθαι ἥπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηται λόγοις.

[8] But during the nine years of the reign of Justinus, while this Justinian was inflicting the evils of confusion and disorder upon the Government, they say that four thousand centenaria were brought into the Treasury by illegal means, and that of all this not a morsel was left, but that even while Justinus was still living it had been squandered by this man in the manner described by me in an earlier passage.

[9] ἅπερ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ σφετερίζεσθαι τε οὐ δέον καὶ ἀναλοῦν ἴσχυεν, οὐδ' ἂν τινα λόγον ἢ λογισμὸν ἢ μέτρον φανῆναι μηχανή τις οὐδεμία ἐστίν.

[9] For as to the amounts which, during all the time he was in power, he succeeded in wrongfully appropriating to himself and then spending, there is no means by which any man could give a reckoning or a calculation or an enumeration of them.

[10] ὥσπερ γάρ τις ποταμὸς ἀένναος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκδηιούμενος κατεληΐζετο τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐπέρρει δὲ ἅπαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐθύς.

[10] For like an everflowing river, while each day he plundered and pillaged his subjects, yet the inflow all streamed straight on to the barbarians, to whom he would make a present of it.

[11] Πλοῦτον οὕτω τὸν δημόσιον εὐθύς ἐκφορήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατηκόους τὸ βλέμμα ἤγε, πλείστους τε αὐτίκα τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο ἀρπάζων τε καὶ βιαζόμενος οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τε οὐδαμῇ γεγονότων ὑπάγων τοὺς εὐδαίμονας ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη δοκοῦντας εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολυθεῖαν, τοῖς δὲ δόξης ἐν Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ὀρθῆς αἵρεσιν, τοῖς δὲ παιδεραστίας, ἐτέροις ἱερῶν γυναικῶν ἔρωτας, ἢ ἄλλας τινὰς οὐ θεμιτὰς μίξεις, ἄλλοις στάσεως ἀφορμὴν, ἢ μέρους Πρασίνου στοργὴν, ἢ ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν, ἢ ὄνομα ὅτιοῦν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκῶν, ἢ κληρονόμος αὐτόματος τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἢ καὶ περιοῦσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, γινόμενος ἅτε ἐσποιητὸς πρὸς αὐτῶν γενόμενος.

[11] No sooner had he thus disposed of the public wealth than he turned his eyes towards his subjects, and he straightway robbed great numbers of them of their estates, which he seized with high-handed and unjustified violence, haling to court, for crimes that never happened, men both in Byzantium and in every other city who were reputed to be in prosperous circumstances, charging some with belief in polytheism, others with adherence to some perverse sect among the Christians, or with sodomy, or with having amours with holy women, or with other kinds of forbidden intercourse, or with fomenting revolt, or with predilection for the Green Faction, or with insult to himself, or charging crimes of any other name whatsoever, or by his own arbitrary act making himself the heir of deceased persons or, if it should so happen, of the living even, alleging that he had been adopted by them.

[12] αἱ γὰρ δὴ σεμνότεραι τῶν πράξεων αὐτῷ τοιαῦται ἦσαν. ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὴν γενομένην ἐπ' αὐτὸν στάσιν, ἣν Νίκα ἐκάλουν, διοικησάμενος πᾶσι κληρονόμος τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς εὐθύς γέγονεν ἤδη μοι ἐναγχος δεδιήγεται, καὶ ὅπως τῆς στάσεως πρότερον οὐκ ὀλίγων αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστου τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο.

[12] Such were the most august of his actions. As to the manner in which he so managed the insurrection which arose against him, the one which they called “Nika,” that he immediately became heir of all members of the Senate, and also how, before the insurrection, he had stolen the property of no small number of them, taking them individually and one at a time, has already been set forth by me in a recent chapter.

[13] Τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδένα ἀνιεῖς καιρὸν χρήμασιν ἐδωρεῖτο

μεγάλοις, ἑώους τε καὶ ἑσπερίους πρὸς τε ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίαις ὤκημένους καὶ γῆς πανταχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ἔθνη, ὥνπερ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν πρότερον εἶχομεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἰδόντες εἶτα τοῦ γένους ὄνομα ἔγνωμεν.

[13] And he never ceased pouring out great gifts of money to all the barbarians, both those of the East and those of the West and those to the North and to the South, as far as the inhabitants of Britain — in fact all the nations of the inhabited world, even those of whom we had never so much as heard before, but the name of whose race we learned only when we first saw them.

[14] αὐτοῖ τε γὰρ πυνθανόμενοι τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦθος ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὴ ἐκ πάσης γῆς ξυνέρρεον ἐς Βυζάντιον.

[14] For they, of their own accord, on learning the nature of the man, kept streaming from all the earth into Byzantium in order to get to him.

[15] καὶ ὃς οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει, ἀλλ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τι καὶ ἔρμαιον εἶναι οἰόμενος τὸν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαντλεῖν πλοῦτον, βαρβάροις δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἢ ῥοθίοις τισι θαλασσίοις προῖεσθαι, ἀεὶ καθ' ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ξὺν ἀδροῖς χρήμασιν ἀπεπέμπετο.

[15] And he, with no hesitation, but overjoyed at this situation, and thinking it a stroke of good luck to be bailing out the wealth of the Romans and flinging it to barbarians or, for that matter, to the surging waves of the sea, day by day kept sending them away, one after the other, with bulging purses.

[16] ταύτη τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἅπαντες κύριοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων παντάπασι γεγένηνται πλούτου, ἢ τὰ χρήματα πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι ἢ ληϊζόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ἢ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδόμενοι, ἢ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπεμπολοῦντες, τὴν τε τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψιν, ἣς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, ἐς τοῦτο τῷ ἰδόντι

[16] In this way the barbarians as a whole came to be altogether the owners of the wealth of the Romans, either by having received the money as a present from the Emperor or by plundering the Roman domain, or by selling back their prisoners of war, or by auctioning off an armistice, and thus the vision of the dream which I have just mentioned worked out to this result for the man who beheld it.

[17] ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε. καὶ ἄλλους μέντοι ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τῆς τῶν κατηκόων λεηλασίας τρόπους ἴσχυσεν, οἷπερ ἐς ὅσον δυνατὸς ἂν εἶην αὐτίκα μάλα λελέξονται, δι' ὃν οὐκ ἀθρόας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ τὰς πάντων οὐσίας ληϊζεσθαι διαρκῶς ἔσχε.

[17] However, Justinian succeeded in devising still other ways of exacting

booty from his subjects, ways which will be described directly, in so far as I may be able to do so, by which he succeeded completely, not all at once, but little by little, in plundering the property of all men.

Πρώτα τῷ δήμῳ οἱ ἑπαρχον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφίστη, ὃς δὴ ἔμελλε τοῖς τὰ πωλητήρια ἔχουσι πόρου ἐνιαυσίου ἐνθένδε διαλαγχάνων ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμβιβάζειν τοῦ τὰ ὄνια ὅπῃ βούλονται ἀποδίδοσθαι.

First of all, as a general thing he appointed over the people in Byzantium a Prefect, who, while splitting the annual revenue with those who controlled the markets, planned to give them authority to sell their merchandise at whatever price they wanted.

[2] καὶ περιεστήκει τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τριπλασίονα μὲν καταβαλλομένοις τιμήματα, ὅτῳ δὲ ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἐπικαλοῖεν,

[2] And the result for the people of the city was that, although they had to pay a threefold price for the provisions they bought, yet they had no one at all to whom they could protest on account of this.

[3] καλοῖεν, οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσι. μέγα τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου βλάβος ἠγείρετο. μέρος γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦδε φερομένης τοῦ πόρου πλουτεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ τῷ πράγματι ἐφεστῶσα ἀρχὴ ἤθελε.

[3] And great harm arose from this business. For since the Treasury received a share of this tax, the official in charge of these matters was eager to use this means of enriching himself.

[4] τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπηρεταὶ τῆς αἰσχυρᾶς ταύτης ὑπουργίας ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ οἱ τὰ πωλητήρια ἔχοντες τῆς τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἐξουσίας δραξάμενοι ἀνήκεστα ἔργα τοὺς τότε ὠνεῖσθαι δεομένους εἰργάζοντο, οὐχ ὅσον πολλὰ εἴρηται πολλαπλάσια τὰ τιμήματα κομιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δολώσεις ἐν τοῖς ὠνίοις μηχανώμενοι ἀμυθήτους τινάς.

[4] And next, the servants of the official who had undertaken this shameful service, and those who controlled the markets, seizing upon the licence to disregard the law, treated outrageously those who were obliged to buy at that time, not only collecting the prices many times over, as it has been reported, but also contriving certain unheard-of deceptions in the goods offered for sale.

[5] Ἐπειτα δὲ πολλὰ καταστησάμενος τὰ καλούμενα μονοπώλια τὴν τε κατηκόων σωτηρίαν ἀπεμπολήσας τοῖς τὸ ἄγος τοῦτο ἐνεργολαβεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν, αὐτὸς μὲν τίμημα τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀντιφορτισάμενος ἀπηλλάσσετο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβεβληκόσι παρείχετο τὴν ἐργασίαν

[5] In the second place, he set up a great number of what are called "monopolies," and sold the welfare of his subjects to those who wanted to

operate these abominations, and thus he, on the one hand, carried off a price for the transaction, and to those, on the other hand, who had contracted with him he gave the privilege of managing their business as they wished.

[6] ἢ βούλονται διοικήσασθαι. ὅπερ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἡμαρτάνετο κὰν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρχαῖς. βασιλέως γὰρ μοῖραν τινα οὐ πολλὴν ἀεὶ τῶν φορίων κομιζομένου αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πράγματι ἐφεστῶτες ἐκάστω ἀδεέστερον τοὺς σφίσι παραπίπτοντας ἐληΐζοντο.

[6] And he applied this same vicious method, without any concealment, to all the other magistracies. For since the Emperor always derived some small share from the peculations of the magistrates, for this reason these, and also those in charge of each function, kept plundering more fearlessly those who fell into their clutches.

[7] ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανῶν οἱ ἐς τοῦτο οὐσῶν τῶν πάλαι διατεταγμένων ἀρχῶν, ἐτέρας δύο ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπετεχνήσατο, καίτοι ἅπαντα μετῆι πρότερον τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἢ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσα ἀρχή.

[7] And just as if the offices which had long been established did not suffice him for this purpose, he invented two additional magistracies to have charge of the State, although before that time the Prefect of the City was wont to deal with all the complaints.

[8] ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀεὶ πλείους τε οἱ συκοφάνται εἶεν καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι θᾶσσον τῶν οὐδὲν ἐπταικότων ἀνθρώπων τὰ σώματα αἰκίζοιτο, ταύτας δὴ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπινοεῖν ἔγνω.

[8] But to the end that the sycophants might be ever more numerous and that he might maltreat much more expeditiously the persons of citizens who had done no wrong, he decided to institute these new offices.

[9] καὶ αὐταῖν τὴν ἐτέραν μὲν τοῖς κλέπταις δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπέστησεν, ὄνομα ταύτῃ ἐπιθείς πραιτώρα δήμων· τῇ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα τοὺς τε παιδεραστοῦντας ἐς ἀεὶ τίνυσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶν οὐ νόμιμα μιγνυμένους ἐπήγγελλε, καὶ εἴ τῳ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἤσκηται,

[9] And to one of the two he gave jurisdiction over thieves, as he pretended, giving it the name of “Praetor of the Plebs”; and to the other office he assigned the province of punishing those who were habitually practising sodomy and those who had such intercourse with women as was prohibited by law, and any who did not worship the Deity in the orthodox way, giving the name of “Quaesitor” to this magistrate.

[10] ὄνομα ταύτῃ ἐπιθείς κοιαισίτωρα. ὁ μὲν οὖν πραιτῶρ εἴ τινα ἐν τοῖς φορίοις λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια εὔρε, ταῦτα δὴ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀποφέρειν ἠξίου,

[10] Now the Praetor, if he found among the peculations any of great worth, would deliver these monies to the Emperor, saying that the owners of it were nowhere to be found.

[11] οὐδαμῇ φαίνεσθαι τοὺς τούτων κυρίους. ταύτη τε χρημάτων ἀεὶ τῶν τιμιωτάτων διαλαγχάνειν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ κοιναισίτωρ καλούμενος τοὺς παραπετωκότας κατεργαζόμενος, ἃ μὲν βούλοιτο, βασιλεῖ ἔφερεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπλούτει τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις οὐδενὶ νόμῳ.

[11] Thus the Emperor was always able to get a share of the most valuable plunder. And the one who was called Quaesitor, when he got under his power those who had fallen foul of him, would deliver to the Emperor whatever he wished to give up, while he himself would become rich none the less, in defiance of all law, on the property of other men.

[12] οἱ γὰρ δὴ τούτων τῶν ἀρχῶν ὑπέρεται οὔτε κατηγοροὺς ἐπὶ γόντο οὔτε μάρτυρας τῶν πεπραγμένων παρείχοντο, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀκατηγόρητοί τε καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτοι ὥς λαθραιότατα ἐντυχόντες ἐκτείνοντό τε καὶ ἀφηροῦντο τὰ χρήματα.

[12] For the subordinates of these officials would neither bring forward accusers nor submit witnesses of what had been done, but throughout this whole period the unfortunates who fell in their way continued, without having been accused or convicted, and with the greatest secrecy, to be murdered as well as robbed of their money.

[13] Ὑστερον δὲ ὁ παλαμναῖος οὗτος ταύταις τε καὶ τῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσῃ ἀρχῇ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπέστελλεν, ἐρίζειν σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰπὼν ὅστις αὐτῶν πλείους τε καὶ θᾶσσον διαφθεῖρειν ἱκανὸς εἴη.

[13] And later this monster commanded these magistrates and the Prefect of the City to take cognizance of all accusations alike, bidding them vie with one another to see which of them would be able to destroy the largest number of men and with the greatest speed.

[14] καὶ αὐτῶν ἓνα μὲν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐρέσθαι φασίν, ἣν ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς τίς ποτε διαβάλλοιτο, τίνος ἂν αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ πράγματος διάγνωσις εἴη: τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι, ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν προτερήσας τοὺς ἄλλους φθάνοι.

[14] And they say that one of them straightway asked him, if anyone should at any time slander the three of them, which one of them should have the jurisdiction in the case; whereupon the Emperor retorting, said: "Whichever one of you gets ahead of the others."

[15] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος καλουμένην ἀρχὴν διέθετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἥσπερ διαφερόντως ἐπεμελοῦντο οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες, ὅπως τε τὰ ἄλλα ἔμπειροι καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς νόμους μάλιστα εἶεν οἱ ταύτην διαχειρίσαντες καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατοι, ὥς οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλου ὀλέθρου τούτου γε τῇ πολιτείᾳ γενησομένου, εἴπερ οἱ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες ἢ ἀπειρία τινὶ ἔχοντο ἢ φιλοχρηματία ἐφεῖντο.

[15] Furthermore, he handled the office called the Quaestorship in unseemly fashion — an office which practically all previous Emperors had maintained with exceptional care, to the end that those who administered this office should be men of wide experience and, especially, skilled in matters involving the laws and also conspicuously incorruptible in money matters, on the ground that they could not fail to be most harmful to the State if those who held this office should either be handicapped by any inexperience or give rein to avarice.

[16] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης Τριβωνιανὸν κατεστήσατο, οὗπερ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις διαρκῶς εἴρητο.

[16] But this Emperor first of all appointed to this office Tribonianus, whose practices have been sufficiently described in the previous Books.

[17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τριβωνιανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, μοῖραν μὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, καίτοι παιδὸς τέ οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι καὶ πλήθους ἐκγόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, Ἰούνιλον δὲ Λίβυν γένος ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς κατεστήσατο ταύτης, νόμου μὲν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοὴν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ῥητόρων τις ἦν, γράμματα δὲ Λατῖνα μὲν ἐξεπιστάμενον, Ἑλληνικῶν μέντοι ἔνεκα οὐδὲ πεφοιτηκότα πρὸς γραμματιστοῦ πόποτε, οὐδὲ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτὴν ἐλληνίζειν δυνάμενον ἑπὶ πολλὰς ἀμέλει φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα προθυμηθεὶς ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετούντων γέλωτα ὥφλεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακότα, ὅς γε γράμματα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀπεμπολὼν ὥς ἥκιστα κατεδύετο.

[17] And when Tribonianus departed from among men, Justinian confiscated a portion of his property, although he was survived by a son and a large number of grandchildren when the final day of his life arrived; and he appointed Junilus, a Libyan, to this office, a man who had not even a hearsay acquaintance with the law, since he was not even one of the orators; and while he did understand Latin, yet, as far as Greek was concerned, he had neither attended an elementary school, nor was he able to pronounce the language itself in the Greek manner (indeed, on many occasions when he tried hard to speak a Greek word, he won the ridicule of his assistants); he was, furthermore, extraordinarily fond of shameful gain, as evidenced by the fact that he experienced no shame at all when he put up public sale documents belonging to the Emperor.

[18] ἐνὸς δὲ στατήρος χρυσοῦ ἕνεκα τὴν χεῖρα ὀρέγειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδαμῇ ὤκνει.

[18] And for one stater he never hesitated to extend his hand to those he met.

[19] οὐχ ἥσσόν τε ἢ ἑπτὰ ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον τοῦτον ἢ πολιτεία τὸν γέλωτα ὤφλεν.

[19] And for a space of no less than seven years the State was made ridiculous in this way.

[20] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰούνιλος ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου ἀφίκετο, Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀξιώματος κατεστήσατο, νόμων μὲν ὄντα οὐκ ἀμελέτητον, νέον δὲ κομιδῇ καὶ οὐπω ἀγωνίας δικανικῆς ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθόντα, κλεπτίστατον δὲ καὶ ἀλαζονικώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

[20] And after Junilus came to the end of his life, he appointed to this office Constantinus, a man who, while not unacquainted with the law, was very young and as yet had no experience of the keen struggles of the court-room, and withal was the most thieving and the most boastful of all men.

[21] οὗτος Ἰουστινιανῷ ποθεινότητός τε ἄγαν καὶ φίλτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κλέπτειν τε καὶ δικάζειν αἰεὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου.

[21] This man had come to be very close to Justinian and one of his dearest friends; for this Emperor never hesitated to use him as his agent in both stealing and deciding cases at law.

[22] διὸ δὴ χρήματα μεγάλα χρόνου ὀλίγου Κωνσταντῖνος ἔσχε καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ τι νὶ κόμπῳ ἐχρήτο, ἀεροβατῶν τε καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους περιφρονῶν, κἂν μὲν τινες αὐτῷ πολλὰ βούλοιντο χρήματα προέσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ κατατιθέντες τῶν οἱ πιστοτάτων τισὶ τὰ σφίσι ἐσπουδασμένα κατορθοῦν ἴσχυον.

[22] Consequently Constantinus amassed great sums of money in a short time, and he assumed a sort of superhuman pomposity, treading the air and contemplating all men with contempt; and if any were willing to hand out large sums of money to him, they would deposit this in the hands of some of his most faithful retainers, and thus succeed in carrying through the schemes on which they had set their hearts.

[23] αὐτῷ μέντοι ἐντυχεῖν ἢ συγγενέσθαι τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ γέγονε δυνατόν, ὅτι μὴ ἐς βασιλεία δρόμῳ ἰόντι ἢ ἀπαλλασσομένῳ ἐνθένδε οὐ βάδην, ἀλλὰ σπουδῇ τε καὶ τάχει πολλῶ τοῦ μή τινά οἱ ἀκερδῇ ἀσχολίαν τοὺς προσιόντας προστρίβεσθαι.

[23] But to meet the man personally or to confer with him was quite impossible for any man at all, except while he was racing to the Emperor or leaving his presence, not at a walk, to be sure, but with great haste and speed, calculated to prevent those he met from inflicting upon him any ungainful business.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε. βασιλεῖ τῷδε εἶχε. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ τῶν πραιτωρίων ἐπάρχου ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα κεντηνάρια πρὸς τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπράσσετο φόροις.

Thus were these matters handled by this Emperor. And by the Praetorian Prefect upward of thirty centenaria were collected each year in addition to the public taxes.

[2] οἷς δὴ ὄνομα τὸ ἀερικὸν ἐπιτέθεικεν, ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλῶν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ τεταγμένη τις οὐδὲ ξυνειθισμένη οὐσα ἢ φορὰ ἐτύγγανεν αὕτη, ἀλλὰ τύχη τινὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀέρος ἀεὶ αὐτὴν φερομένην ἐλάμβανε, δέον τῆς πονηρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖν ἔργα.

[2] To these he gave the name “air-tax,” to suggest, I presume, that this did not happen to be any regular or customary tax, but that he always got it by a stroke of luck, as though it came of itself out of the air, though in reality this sort of thing should be called villainy on his part.

[3] ὧν δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τεταγμένοι ἀδεέστερον ἀεὶ ταῖς ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους ληστείαις ἐχρῶντο.

[3] Under the shield of this name those who successively held this office kept up their brigandage towards their subjects with ever-increasing fearlessness.

[4] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀποφέρειν ἠξίουσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλοῦτον βασιλικὸν περιβάλλοντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

[4] And though they claimed to be delivering this money to the Emperor, they, on their part, found no difficulty in appropriating imperial wealth to themselves.

[5] ὧνπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπιστροφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐδικαίου ποιεῖσθαι, καιροφυλακῶν ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πλούτου τι μέγα περιβάλλονται χρῆμα, ἔγκλημα ὃ τι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκῶν ἀπροφάσιστον ἀθρόον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν ἱκανὸς εἶη. ὅπερ καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Καππαδόκην εἰργάσατο.

[5] But Justinian saw fit to take note of none of these things, watching for his opportunity with the idea that, as soon as ever they should appropriate some huge piece of wealth, bringing against them some accusation or other which would give no room for excuses, he would thus be able to seize their property all at once. Indeed, this is exactly what he did to John the Cappadocian.

[6] ἅπαντες οὖν ἀμέλει ὅσοι τῆς τιμῆς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐλαμβάνοντο

πλούσιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὐδενὶ γεγένηνται μέτρῳ, δυοῖν μέντοι χωρὶς, Φωκᾷ τε, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τοῦ δικαίου ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐπιμελητοῦ γεγονότος: κέρδους γὰρ ὅτουοῦν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀξιώματι καθαρὸς ἔμεινε, καὶ Βάσσου, ὃς δὴ ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν.

[6] Now every single man who held this office during this period suddenly became wealthy beyond measure, with only two exceptions, namely Phocas — whom I have mentioned in an earlier Book as being a man who shewed himself a most scrupulous respecter of justice; for this man remained clear of any gain whatsoever while in that office — and Bassus, who assumed the office at a later time.

[7] ὥνπερ οὐδέτερος ἐνιαυτὸν διασώσασθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀχρεῖοί τε καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ παράπαν ἀλλόκοτοι μηνῶν που ὀλίγων τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἔξω γεγένηται.

[7] Yet neither one of these two succeeded in holding the position a year, but, on the ground that they were useless and altogether alien to the spirit of the times, they were relieved of their office within some few months.

[8] ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστόν μοι διηγουμένῳ ἀτελεύτητος ὁ λόγος εἴη, ταῦτα κὰν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπράσσετο ταῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρχαῖς.

[8] But in order that my account may not be interminable, through my relating each separate thing, I might say that the same intrigues were being carried out in all the other magistracies in Byzantium.

[9] Πανταχόθι μέντοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποίει τάδε. τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολεξάμενος διεφθάρθαι ἀπεδίδοτο τὰς ἀρχὰς σφίσι χρημάτων μεγάλων.

[9] In all parts of the Roman Empire, however, Justinian's method was as follows. Picking out the basest men, he would sell to them at a great price the offices that were to be corrupted by them;

[10] σῶφρονι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ξυνέσεως ὅπωςτιοῦν μεταλαχόντι ἔννοια οὐδεμία ἐγένετο χρήματα οἰκεῖα προΐεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότας ληΐζηται.

[10] for no man of decency or any degree of intelligence would think for a moment of paying out his own money in order to buy the privilege of plundering those who had done no wrong.

[11] τοῦτό τε τὸ χρυσίον πρὸς τῶν ξυμβαλλόντων κεκομισμένος ἐς τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοὺς ἐνεβίβαζε τοῦ τοὺς κατηκόους πάντα ἐργάζεσθαι.

[11] Then, after collecting this money from those who were making the bargain

with him, he would confer upon them authority to treat their subjects in any way they pleased.

[12] ἀφ' ὧν ἔμελλον τὰς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπολοῦντες ἀπάσας πλούσιοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι αὐτοί.

[12] As a result of this, they were destined, after ruining all the districts under their jurisdiction, along with their entire population, to be very rich themselves from that time on.

[13] οἱ δὲ τὰς τῶν πόλεων τιμὰς ἐπὶ τόκοις ἀδροῖς τισιν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης δεδανεισμένοι καὶ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ ἀπαριθμήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, πᾶσαν κακοῦ ἰδέαν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἀεὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι οὐκ ἄλλου του ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ καθίσταντο ἢ ὅπως τοῖς χρήταις τὰ ὠμολογημένα τελέσειαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις τετάζονται, οὐκ ἔχοντος αὐτοῖς κίνδυνόν τινα ἢ ὕβριν τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δὲ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ πλείους τῶν σφίσι παραπεπτωκότων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀποκτείναντες ληΐζεσθαι ἴσχυον.

[13] These men, then, borrowed from the bank at a staggering rate of interest the amount of the prices they had paid for the cities, paid it to the man who had made the sale, and then, as soon as they reached their cities, proceeded to inflict upon their subjects every form of misery, having no concern for anything else than how they might meet their obligations to their creditors and themselves be rated thenceforth among the most wealthy, seeing that this business involved neither danger nor disgrace for them, but actually conferred upon them a certain amount of glory, in proportion to the number of those falling into their clutches whom they were able without any justification to kill and to plunder.

[14] τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φονέως τε καὶ ληστοῦ ὄνομα ἐς τὸ τοῦ δραστηρίου αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέβαιεν.

[14] For the titles of “murderer” and “brigand” came to be regarded by them as equivalent to “energetic”!

[15] ὅσους μέντοι τῶν ἐχόντων ἀρχὰς ἦσθετο πλούτῳ ἀκμάζοντας, τούτους δὴ σκήψεσι σαγηνεύσας εὐθὺς ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἀφηρεῖτο τὰ χρήματα.

[15] All these office-holders, however, whom Justinian observed to be abounding in wealth, he bagged on trumped-up charges and straightway wrested from them absolutely all their fortunes.

[16] Μετὰ δὲ νόμον τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔγραψε μετιόντας ὁμνύναι ἢ μὴν καθαρὸς ἀπὸ πάσης κλοπῆς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μήτε τι δώσειν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα

[16] But later he promulgated a law that all who sought the offices should take an oath that in very truth they would themselves be innocent of all theft, and that they would neither give nor take anything for the sake of the office.

[17] μήτε λήψεσθαι. ἀράς τε πάσας ἐπέβαλεν, ὅσαι πρὸς τῶν παλαιωτάτων ὀνομασμέναι εἰσὶν, ἥν τις τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐκβαίη.

[17] And he laid upon them all the curses which have been mentioned by men of most ancient times, in case anyone should depart from the written terms.

[18] ἀλλὰ τοῦ νόμου τεθέντος οὕτω ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ κατηραμένων ὀλιγορήσας, καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰσχύνῃς ἀδεέστερον τὰ τιμήματα τῶν ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ δημόσιον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔπραττεν.

[18] Yet when the law had been in force not yet a year, he himself, disregarding the written terms and the curses and the disgrace which would ensue, proceeded more fearlessly than before to negotiate the prices of the offices, not in secret, but in the public square of the market-place.

[19] οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνημένοι διώμοτοι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πάντα ἐσύλων.

[19] And those who purchased the offices proceeded, though under oath, to pillage everything still more than before.

[20] Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐπετεχνήσατο ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον. τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὥσπερ ἀξιωτάτας ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ᾤετο εἶναι, οὐκέτι ἀπεμπολεῖν ἔγνω ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα, μισθωτοὺς δὲ διερευνώμενος ἐχειροτόνει, τάξας αὐτοῖς ὅ τι δὴ μισθαροῦντας ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ φώρια πάντα.

[20] And later on he hit upon still another device, one transcending all report. He decided that he would no longer sell, as formerly, those offices which he considered most valuable both in Byzantium and the other cities, but he sought out hired agents and put them in office, instructing them, for a wage of whatever it was, to deliver to him all their plunder.

[21] οἱ δὲ τὴν μίσθωσιν κεκομισμένοι ἀδεέστερον ξυμφορήσαντες ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἅπαντα ἔφερον καὶ περιήρχετο μισθοφόρος ἐξουσία τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνόματι καταληϊζομένη τοὺς ὑπηκόους.

[21] And they, having taken their pay, proceeded to collect and carry off everything from the whole country quite fearlessly, and a hireling authority was thus going the rounds and, in the guise of the office, plundering the subjects.

[22] οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκριβολογούμενος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐκείνους ἐφίστη

τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ δὴ πάντων κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον μιαιώτατοι ἦσαν, αἰεὶ τε τὸ

[22] Thus the Emperor, making his calculations with nice exactness, kept putting in power constantly those who were in very truth the vilest rascals in the world, and he always succeeded in tracking down the abominable creatures he wanted.

[23] κακὸν τοῦτο ἰχνηλατῶν κατετύγχανεν. ἡνίκα οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς πρώτους πονηροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατεστήσατο ἐς φῶς τε αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξουσία τὴν κακοτροπίαν ἐξήνεγκεν, ἐθαυμάζομέν γε ὅπως δὴ κακότητα τοσαύτην ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἐχώρησεν.

[23] Indeed, when he appointed the first set of rogues to office and the licence of power brought to light their inherent villainy, we were in truth astonished that man's nature had room for depravity so great.

[24] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ χρόνῳ τῷ ἀρχὰς ἐκδεξάμενοι πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι παρελῶν ἴσχυσαν, διηποροῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄντινα τρόπον οἱ πρόσθεν πονηρότατοι δόξαντες τοσούτῳ παραλόγῳ ἅτε αὐτοὶ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γεγονότες ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις ἐπιτηδεύμασι, πρὸς τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἡσσήθησαν, αὐθὶς τε οἱ τρίτοι τοὺς δευτέρους ὑπερηκόντισαν πονηρίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἕτεροι τοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καινοτομήμασιν ὄνομα χρηστὸν τοῖς φθάσαι προσετρίψαντο.

[24] But when those who at some later time succeeded them in office were able to surpass these men by a very wide margin, men wondered among themselves how it was that those who formerly seemed most base were now outdone by their successors to such a degree that they now seemed to have been men of high character in their dealings, and the third group, in turn, overshot the second in every manner of wickedness, and after them still others, by their innovations in crime, caused an honourable name to be attached to their predecessors.

[25] μηχανομένου τε τοῦ κακοῦ πᾶσιν ἐκμεμαθηκέναι τῷ ἔργῳ ξυνέβη ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' ἄπειρον μὲν ἡ πονηρία φύεσθαι εἴωθε, μαθήσει δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐκτρεφομένη καὶ τῇ τῆς παρρησίας ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς τὸ λυμαινέσθαι τοῖς παραπίπτουσιν ἐξαγομένη ἐς τοσόνδε αἰεὶ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἐς ὅσον δύναται ἡ τῶν βλαπτομένων σταθμᾶσθαι δόξα.

[25] And with the long continuance of the evil all men have finally been taught by facts that whereas man's natural depravity is wont to grow beyond all limits, yet when it is nourished by the instruction of predecessors, and when, through the influence of the licence which complete immunity inspires, it is lured on to wreak foul injuries upon all who fall in its path, then it seems

invariably to attain to so great a bulk that not even the imagining of its victims is able to measure it.

[26] Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὖν τά γε ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ταύτη πη εἶχε. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ Οὐννων πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνδραποδίσασί τε καὶ λήισαμένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν οἱ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγοὶ βεβουλευμένοι ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἀπεπήδησαν, ἐπεὶ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ γράμματα εἶδον, ἀπεροῦντα σφίσι τὴν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπίθεσιν, ἀναγκαίων αὐτῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων ἐπὶ Γότθους ἴσως ἢ ἐπὶ ἄλλους πολεμίων τινάς.

[26] Such was the state of affairs for the Romans, as touching their magistrates. And many a time, when a hostile army of Huns had enslaved and plundered the Roman domain, the generals of Thrace and Illyricum, after purposing to attack the retreating enemy, recoiled when they saw a letter from the Emperor Justinian forbidding them to make the attack upon the barbarians, they being necessary to the Romans as allies against the Goths, it might be, or against some other enemy.

[27] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐληΐζοντο μὲν ὥς πολέμιοι καὶ ἡνδραποδίζοντο τοὺς τῆδε Ῥωμαίους, ξὺν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ λεία καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἅτε φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο.

[27] As a result of this, these barbarians used to plunder and enslave the Romans in those parts as enemies, and then, taking with them their prisoners and the rest of their plunder, they would retire to their own homes as friends and allies of the Romans.

[28] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γεωργῶν τῶν ἐνταυθὰ τινες, παίδων τε σφετέρων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθῳ ἐξηνδραποδισμένων ἡγμένοι, ἄθρόοι τε γεγενημένοι ἀναχωροῦσι πολλοὺς ἐτύγχανον κτείναντες, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἵππους ἴσχυσαν ξὺν πάσῃ ἀφελέσθαι τῇ λείᾳ, πραγμάτων μέντοι ἐς πείραν ἦλθον ἐνθὲνδε δυσκόλων.

[28] And often some of the farmers of that region, moved by the loss of their children and women, who had been reduced to slavery, gathered in a body, attacked the retreating foe, and succeeded in slaying many of them and in capturing their horses together with all the booty; then, however, they found themselves involved in serious difficulties.

[29] ἐκ Βυζαντίου γάρ τινες ἐσταλμένοι αἰκίζεσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ λωβᾶσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἡξίου, ἕως τοὺς ἵππους ἅπαντας δοῖεν οὔσπερ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφείλοντο.

[29] For certain men, sent out from Byzantium, saw fit to maul and mutilate their bodies and to impose fines upon them without the least compunction, until they gave up all the horses which they had wrested from the barbarians.

Ἦνίκα δὲ βασιλεύς τε καὶ Θεοδώρα τὸν Καππαδόκην Ἰωάννην ἀνέϊλον, ἀντικαθιστάναι μὲν ἐς τιμὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἤθελον, ἄνδρα δέ τινα πονηρότερον εὑρεῖν ἐπὶ κοινῆς ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο, περισκοπούμενοί τε τὸ τοιοῦτο τῆς τυραννίδος ὄργανον καὶ πάσας διερευνῶντες τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώμας, ὅπως ἔτι θάσσον τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀπολεῖν δύνωνται.

When the Emperor and Theodora had destroyed John the Cappadocian, they wished to appoint someone to his office in his stead, and they made it their common task to find some man of the baser sort, looking about to find such a tool of their tyranny and investigating thoroughly attitude of the candidates, to the end that they might be able still more speedily to ruin their subjects.

[2] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ παραυτίκα Θεόδοτον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατεστήσαντο, ἄνδρα οὐ καλοήθη μὲν, οὐ σφόδρα δὲ ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν γεγονότα.

[2] Now as a temporary measure they put in John's place in the office Theodotus, a man who, though not of good character, had never proved able to please them completely.

[3] ὕστερον δὲ ἅπαν διερευνώμενοι περιήρχοντο. εὗρον δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἀργυραμοιβὸν τινα Πέτρον ὀνόματι, Σύρον γένος, ὃνπερ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Βαρσύμην ἐκάλουν· ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ τραπέζης καθήμενος κέρδη αἰσχροτάτα ἐκ ταύτης δὴ ἐπορίζετο τῆς ἐργασίας, τὴν περὶ τοὺς ὀβολοὺς κλοπὴν εὖ μάλα τεχνάζων καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυμβάλλοντας αἰεὶ τῷ τῶν δακτύλων τάχει ἐκκρούων.

[3] After this they went about investigating every possibility. And unexpectedly they found a certain money-changer named Peter, a Syrian by birth, called by the surname of Barsymes. He had years before sat at the table where bronze coins are exchanged and was gaining most shameful returns from this business, contriving his theft of the ha'pennies with great skill and always baffling his customers by the swiftness of his fingers.

[4] δεξιὸς γὰρ ἦν κλέψαι μὲν τὰ τῶν αὐτῷ περιπεπωκότων ἀνέδην, ἀλοὺς δὲ ὁμόσαι καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ἀμάρτημα τῷ τῆς γλώττης περικαλύψαι θράσει.

[4] For he was clever enough to steal freely the possessions of those who fell in with him, and when caught, to give his oath and to cover the sin of his hands by the impudence of his tongue.

[5] ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατιώταις καταλεχθεὶς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀτοπίας ἐλήλακεν ὥστε Θεοδώρα ἀρέσκειν τε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀδίκων αὐτῇ

βουλμάτων ῥᾶστα ὑπουργεῖν τὰ ἀμήχανα.

[5] And when he had been enrolled as a member of the Pretorian Guard, he became so outrageous that he was exceedingly pleasing to Theodora and he gave her readiest assistance in the perplexing details of her wicked enterprises.

[6] διὸ δὴ Θεόδοτον μὲν, ὄνπερ μετὰ τὸν Καππαδόκην καταστησάμενοι ἔτυχον, τῆς τιμῆς αὐτίκα παρέλυσαν, Πέτρον δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπέστησαν,

[6] So they immediately released Theodotus from the office to which he had been appointed after the Cappadocian, and they appointed thereto Peter, who accomplished everything to the liking of them both.

[7] ὅσπερ αὐτοῖν διεπράξατο κατὰ νοὺν ἅπαντα. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατευομένους ἀποστερῶν τὰς συντάξεις ἀπάσας οὔτε αἰσχυνθεὶς οὔτε δείσας πώποτε ὤφθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀνίους τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον προὔθηκεν, ἀτιμοτέρας τε αὐτὰς καταστησάμενος ἀπεδίδοτο τοῖς ταύτην δὴ οὐκ ἀποκνοῦσι τὴν ἀνοσίαν ἐμπορίαν ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐφίεις διαρρήδην τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνησαμένοις ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς τε καὶ οὐσίαις ἧ βούλονται χρῆσασθαι.

[7] For though he deprived the soldiers on active service of all their pay, he was never seen to be moved by either shame or fear, nay, he even offered the offices for sale to a still greater extent than had been done before, and by making them less honourable he used to sell them to men who did not hesitate to carry on this unholy business, giving explicit permission to those who purchased the offices to treat the lives and property of their subjects as they wished.

[8] αὐτῷ τε γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταβεβληκότῃ τὸ τίμημα ἢ τοῦ συλᾶν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀρπάζειν ἐξουσία ξυνέκειτο. καὶ προΐει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τῶν βίων ὧνῃ,

[8] For a bargain was straightway concluded between him and the man who had paid down the price of the office that gave the latter full licence to plunder and pillage. Thus from the capital of the State there issued the traffic in human lives, and there Peter negotiated the contract for the destruction of the cities,

[9] ἐπράττετό τε τὸ συμβόλαιον τῆς τῶν πόλεων διαφθορᾶς ἔν τε τῶν δικαστηρίων τοῖς προὔχουσι καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιήρχετο ληστῆς ἔννομος, ὄνομα τῇ πράξει τιθεὶς τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμήμασι τῆς ἀρχῆς καταβεβλημένων χρημάτων, οὐκ ἐχούσης τινὰ ἐλπίδα τῆς τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἐπιστροφῆς.

[9] while in the highest courts and in the public square of the market-place there paraded a legalized brigand, who described his business as the recouping

of the monies put up as the price of office, there being no hope that his misdeeds ever would be punished.

[10] καὶ πάντων δὲ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπηρετούντων, πολλῶν τε καὶ δοκίμων ὄντων, τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἀεὶ ἐς αὐτὸν εἴλκε.

[10] And among all those who served this magistracy as subordinates, a numerous and notable company, he always drew to himself the basest men.

[11] τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐξήμαρτε μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ταύτην πρότερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον τὴν τιμὴν ἔσχον.

[11] But herein not he alone was guilty, but rather all who have assumed this office before and since.

[12] Ἡμαρτάνετο δὲ τοιοῦτο κὰν τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχῇ κὰν τοῖς Παλατίνοις, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ τὰ περιβᾶτα καλούμενα τό τε πατριμῶνιον ἐπιτελεῖν ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν εἰώθασιν, ἐν πάσαις τε συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ταῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις τεταγμέναις ἀρχαῖς.

[12] And a similar abuse was practised also in the office of the Magister, as he is called, and among the Palace officials who are wont to attend to the service that has to do with the treasures and with the funds known as privata and the administration of the patrimonium, and, broadly speaking, in all the regular offices established not only in Byzantium but also in the other cities.

[13] ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ὅδε ὁ τύραννος τὰ πράγματα διφκήσατο, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκάστη τοὺς τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι προσήκοντας πόρους πῇ μὲν αὐτὸς, πῇ δὲ ὁ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχων προσεποιοῦντο ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, οἱ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν ὑπουργοῦντες πενόμενοι τὰ ἔσχατα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον δουλοπρεπέστατα ὑπουργεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο.

[13] For since the time when this tyrant took charge of affairs, in each office the revenues which belonged to the minor officials were regularly claimed, without just reason, sometimes by Justinian himself, and sometimes by the man who held the office; and the men who served under their orders, being extremely poor, throughout this whole period were compelled to work under most servile conditions.

[14] Σίτου δὲ πολλοῦ κομιδῇ ἐς Βυζάντιον κεκομισμένου ἐσεσήπει μὲν ὁ πλεῖστος ἦδη, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτον πόλεσι ταῖς ἐφαῖς ἐπέβαλλε κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστη, καίπερ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς βρῶσιν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπέβαλλέ τε, οὐχ ἥπερ ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸν κάλλιστον σῖτον εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶ ἀξιότερον, ἦν τε τοῖς ὠνουμένοις ἐπάναγκες χρήματα μεγάλα προεμένοις ἐπὶ τιμήμασι φορτικοτάτοις, εἶτα τὸν σῖτον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ ἐς τινὰ ὑδροχόην ἀπορριπτεῖν.

[14] Now at one time a very great quantity of grain had been transported to Byzantium, but after the largest part of this had rotted already, he himself consigned it in proportionate quantities to each several city of the East, though it was not suitable to be eaten by man; and he consigned it, not at the price at which the finest grain is wont to be sold, but at a much higher price, and it was necessary for the purchasers, after spending very great sums of money to meet the very oppressive prices, to throw the grain into the sea or a sewer.

[15] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σίτου ἀκραιφνοῦς τε καὶ οὐπω σεσηπότος μέγα τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἀπέκειτο, καὶ τοῦτο πλείστων τῶν πόλεων ταῖς σίτου ὑποσπανιζούσαις ἀπεμπολεῖν ἔγνω.

[15] And since a huge supply of sound grain which had not yet rotted also lay in storage there, he decided to sell off this too to the very large number of the cities which were in some need of grain.

[16] ταύτῃ γὰρ διπλάσια τὰ χρήματα ἐποίει ἅπερ τοῖς ὑποτελέσι τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ σίτου τὰ πρότερα ἐλελόγιστο.

[16] For in this way he made double the money which the Treasury had previously paid to the tributary states for this same grain.

[17] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς νέωτα οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἢ τῶν καρπῶν φορὰ ἤκμαζεν, ἐνδεσετέρως μὲν ἢ κατὰ χρεῖαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁ σιταγωγὸς στόλος ἀφίκετο, Πέτρος δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενος, ἐκ τῶν ἐν τε Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Θράκῃ χωρίων πρίασθαι μέγα τι χρῆμα σίτου

[17] But the next year, when the crop of the grains was no longer bountiful to the same degree, the grain-fleet arrived in Byzantium with less than was needed, and Peter, being at a loss because of this situation, decided to buy from the farm-lands of Bithynia and Phrygia and Thrace a great supply of grain.

[18] ἡξίου. ἦν τε ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς ταύτῃ οἰκοῦσι μέχρι μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πόνῳ πολλῷ τὰ φορτία φέρειν, ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ξὺν κινδύνῳ αὐτὰ ἐσκομίζεσθαι καὶ βραχέα μὲν τιμήματα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι, τὴν ζημίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε μεγέθους καθίστασθαι ὥστε ἀγαπᾶν ἦν τις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὅν τε σῖτον οἴκῳ δημοσίῳ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τίμημα ἕτερον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατατιθέναι.

[18] And the inhabitants of these regions were compelled to transport with great labour the cargoes to the sea and to convey them to Byzantium at great peril, and to receive from him the small amounts which passed for prices; and the loss for them mounted up to such a figure that they were glad to be permitted to present the grain to a government warehouse and to deposit a further payment for the privilege.

[19] τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἄχθος ὅπερ καλεῖν συνωνήν νενομίσασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' ὥς σίτος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἱκανὸς ἐγεγόνει, πολλοὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλον.

[19] This is the burden which they are accustomed to call "requisition." But when even thus the supply of grain in Byzantium had not become sufficient to meet the need, many made bitter complaints of the situation to the Emperor.

[20] ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατευόμενοι σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντες ἅτε τὰς εἰθυίας οὐ κεκομισμένοι ξυντάξεις, θορύβῳ τε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταραχῇ πολλῇ εἶχοντο.

[20] And at the same time pretty nearly all the men in military service, seeing that they had not received their usual pay, gave themselves over to tumults and disturbances throughout the city.

[21] βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν ἤδη τε αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε καὶ παραλύειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤθελε διὰ τε ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη καὶ ὅτι χρήματα δαιμονίως μεγάλα ἠκηκόει αὐτῷ ἀποκεκρύφθαι,

[21] So the Emperor seemed at last to be vexed with the man and wished to relieve him of his office both on account of these facts which have been mentioned and also because he had heard that a prodigious amount of money had been hidden away by him, which, as it chanced, he had filched from the Government. And this was true.

[22] ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου σεσυληκῶς ἔτυχε. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. Θεοδώρα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα οὐκ εἶα. ἐκτόπως γὰρ τὸν Βαρσύμην ἠγάπα, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, τῆς τε πονηρίας ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ τοῖς κατηκόοις διαφερόντως λυμαίνεσθαι.

[22] But Theodora would not permit her husband to act; for she had an extraordinary affection for Barsymes on account of his depravity, as it seems to me, and because he was exceedingly efficient in bringing ruin upon the citizens.

[23] αὐτὴ τε γὰρ ὡμοτάτη ἦν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως καὶ τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας ἡξίου τὰ ἐς τὸν τρόπον αὐτῇ ἐπιτηδεῖως ὥς μάλιστα ἔχειν.

[23] For she herself was a very ruthless person and completely filled with inhuman cruelty, and she required that her minions should conform as closely as possible to herself in character.

[24] φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ καταμαγευθεῖσαν πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου ἀκούσιον αὐτῷ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν.

[24] But they say that she was put under a spell by Peter and shewed him favour against her will.

[25] περί τε γὰρ τοὺς φαρμακείας καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια περιέργως ἐσπουδάκει ὁ Βαρσύμης οὗτος, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Μανιχαίους ἐτεθήπει τε καὶ αὐτῶν προστατεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου.

[25] For this Barsymes had shewn an exceptional interest in sorcerers and in the evil spirits, and he had a great admiration for the Manichaeans, as they are called, and never hesitated to stand forth openly as their champion.

[26] καίτοι καὶ ταῦτα ἢ βασιλὶς ἀκούσασα οὐ μεθῆκε τὴν ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔτι διὰ ταῦτα περιστέλλειν τε καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἔγνω.

[26] And yet, even when the Empress heard of these reports, she did not abate her good-will towards the man, but she saw fit to both protect and cherish him even more on this account.

[27] μάγοις τε γὰρ καὶ φαρμακεῦσι καὶ αὐτὴ ὁμιλήσασα ἐκ παιδὸς ἅτε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦτο ἀγόντων διεβίω πιστεύουσά τε τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐς αἰεὶ ἔχουσα.

[27] For she too from childhood on had consorted with magicians and sorcerers, her habits of life seeming to lead her in this direction, and throughout her life she retained her faith in such things and always based her confidence upon them.

[28] λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν οὐ τοσοῦτον θωπεύουσα χειροήθη ποιήσασθαι, ὅσον τῇ ἐκ τῶν δαιμονίων ἀνάγκῃ.

[28] And it is also said that the way she made Justinian tractable was not so much by cajoling him as by applying to him the compulsion of the evil spirits.

[29] οὐ γάρ τις ἦν εὐφρων ἢ δίκαιος ὁδε ἀνὴρ ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀγαθὸν βέβαιος, ὥστε κρείσσων ποτὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ φόνων μὲν καὶ χρημάτων ἔρωτος διαφανῶς ἦσσαν, τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶσι καὶ κολακεύουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς εἶκων.

[29] For this man was not so right-minded or just a person or so steadfast in virtue as to be at any time superior to attempts upon him of the kind just mentioned, but, on the contrary, while conspicuously susceptible to the appeal of bloodshed and money, yet he found it easy enough to yield to those who tried to cozen and flatter him.

[30] ἔν τε πράξεσι ταῖς μάλιστά οἱ ἐσπουδασμέναις μετεβάλλετό τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ κονιορτῷ ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἐμπερῆς ἐγεγόνει.

[30] But even in those matters in which he took particular interest he used to reverse his position for no real reason and he had become absolutely like a

cloud of dust in instability.

[31] ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ ξυγγενῶν ἢ ἄλλως γνωρίμων ἐλπίδα τινά ποτε ἀσφαλῆ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις αὐτῷ ἐς αἰεὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐγίνοντο γνώμης.

[31] For this reason none of his relatives, and none of his acquaintances in general, ever based any confident hope on him, but, on the contrary, he had become subject to constant shiftings of his opinion as regards what he was to do.

[32] οὕτω τε καὶ τοῖς φαρμακεῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, εὐέφοδος ὦν καὶ τῇ Θεοδώρα πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑποχείριος ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἢ βασιλὶς ἄτε σπουδαῖον τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν Πέτρον ὄντα ὑπερηγάπα.

[32] Thus, being easily accessible to the sorcerers, as has been said, he very readily became tractable in the hands of Theodora also; and chiefly for this reason the Empress loved Peter exceedingly as being an expert in such matters.

[33] ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἥς τὰ πρότερα εἶχε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν παρέλυσε μόλις, Θεοδώρας δὲ ἐγκειμένης οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἄρχοντα τῶν θησαυρῶν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο, Ἰωάννην παραλύσας ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμῆς, ὅπερ αὐτὴν παρειληφὼς μισὶ που ὀλίγοις πρότερον ἔτυχεν.

[33] So the Emperor removed him only with difficulty from the office which he previously held, but at the insistence of Theodora he not long afterwards appointed him Master of the Treasuries, dismissing from this office John, who chanced to have assumed it only a few months earlier.

[34] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Παλαιστίνος, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἄγαν, καὶ οὔτε πορίζεσθαι χρημάτων ἀδίκων πόρους εἰδὼς, οὔτε τῷ λυμηνάμενος πώποτε τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

[34] Now this man was a native of Palestine, and a very gentle and good person, who neither was skilled in opening ways to wrongful gain nor ever had maltreated any man in the world.

[35] ἀμέλει καὶ διαφερόντως ἠγάπων αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς ἅπας. διὰ τοι τοῦτο Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ τὴν ὁμόζυγα οὐδαμῇ ἥρεσκεν, οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ τῶν σφίσιν ὑπουργούντων καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν παρὰ δόξαν τινὰ ἴδοιεν, ἱλγγιώντες καὶ δυσφοροῦμενοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πάσῃ μηχανῇ αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα διωθεῖσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο.

[35] In fact, the whole populace loved him with extraordinary devotion. And just for this reason he did not satisfy Justinian and his spouse at all, for as

soon as they unexpectedly discovered among their subordinates any man of high character, losing their heads and being vexed to the utmost, they eagerly sought by any and every means to push him out of the way at the earliest possible moment.

[36] Οὕτω γοῦν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ Πέτρος ἐκδεξάμενος θησαυρῶν τε τῶν βασιλικῶν προὔστη καὶ ξυφορῶν αὐθις μεγάλων αἰτιώτατος ἅπασι γέγονεν.

[36] It was in this way, at any rate, that Peter succeeded this John and took charge of the imperial treasuries, and he once more became the chief cause of great calamities for all.

[37] ἀποτεμνόμενος γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, ἅπερ ἐν παραψυχῇ λόγῳ πολλοῖς χορηγεῖσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πρὸς βασιλέως ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατέτακται, αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐ δέον ἐπλούτει καὶ μοῖραν ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖ ἀνέφερεν.

[37] For he cut off the greater part of the payment which it had been ordained from of old should be given by the Emperor each year to many in the guise of a “consolation,” and he himself, meanwhile, by improper means, grew rich on the public money and kept handing over a portion of it to the Emperor.

[38] οἱ δὲ τὰ χρήματα περιηρημένοι ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ περιεκάθηντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει ἐκφέρειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἔλασσον αὐτὸ καταστησάμενος, πρᾶγμα οὐδεπώποτε γεγονὸς πρότερον.

[38] And those who had been stripped of their money sat about in great sorrow, since he saw fit also to issue the gold coinage, not at its usual value, but reducing its value materially, a thing which had never been done before.

[39] Τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχεν. ὅπως δὲ τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους πανταχῇ διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[39] Such were the dealings of the Emperor in the matter of the magistrates. And I shall next proceed to tell how, in each division of the Empire, he ruined those who owned the lands.

[40] ἀπέχρη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας στελλομένων ἀρχόντων ἐπιμνησθεῖσιν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σημῆναι τὰ πάθη. πρῶτους γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες οὗτοι τοὺς τῶν χωρίων κυρίους βιαζόμενοι ἐληΐζοντο, καὶ ὥς δὲ τᾶλλα εἰρήσεται πάντα.

[40] Now it was sufficient for our purpose, in mentioning a short time ago the magistrates sent out to all the cities, to note also the sufferings of the common people. For the owners of land were the first whom these magistrates

oppressed and plundered; but even so all the remainder of the story shall be told.

XXIII

Πρῶτον μὲν εἰθισμένον ὄν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἕκαστον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς τῶν δημοσίων ὀφλημάτων λειψάνοις τοὺς κατηκόους δωρεῖσθαι πάντα, τοῦ μήτε τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τε καὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἐκτίνοιεν τὰ λείψανα ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντας διηνεκὲς ἀποπνίγεσθαι μήτε τοῖς φορολόγοις σκήψεις παρέχεσθαι, συκοφαντεῖν ἐγχειροῦσι τῶν τοῦ φόρου ὑποτελῶν τοὺς οὐδὲν ὀφείλοντας, οὗτος ἐς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν χρόνον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους εἰργάσατο.

First of all, though it had been customary from ancient times that each successive Emperor should make, not once, but many times, a donation to all their subjects of the arrears of their debts to the Treasury, in order, on the one hand, to prevent the destitute and those who had no means of paying these arrears from being strangled regularly, and, on the other hand, to avoid providing the tax-gatherers with pretexts in case they should try to denounce those who, though subject to the tax, owed nothing in arrears, this man, for a period of thirty-two years, has done nothing of the kind for his subjects.

[2] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπορουμένοις ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἀποδρᾶναι τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἔτι ἐπανιέναι.

[2] And for this reason it was necessary for the destitute to go away and in no case to return again.

[3] καὶ οἱ συκοφάνται τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ἀπέκναιον κατηγορίαν ἐπανασείοντες ἅτε τὸ τέλος ἐνδεεστέρως ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταβάλλοντας τῆς ἐγκειμένης τῷ χωρίῳ φορᾶς.

[3] And the denouncers kept harassing the more respectable farmers by holding over them the threat of an accusation, alleging that they had for a long time been paying their tax at a lower rate than that imposed upon their district.

[4] οὐ γὰρ ὅσον οἱ ταλαίπωροι τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐδεδίδεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνων τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος οὐδὲν προσῆκον βαρύνεσθαι φόροις.

[4] For the poor wretches had to fear not only the new payment of the tax, but also the possibility that they might be weighed down by the burden of taxes for so great a number of years for which they owed nothing.

[5] πολλοὶ γοῦν ἀμέλει τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ προέμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[5] In any case, many men actually handed over their property either to the blackmailers or to the Treasury and went their ways.

[6] ἔπειτα δὲ Μήδων μὲν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῆς Ἀσίας γῆν τὴν πολλήν, τῶν δὲ δὴ Οὐννων καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν καὶ Ἀντῶν ξύμπασαν Εὐρώπην ληϊσάμενων, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν καθελόντων ἐς ἔδαφος, τὰς δὲ ἀργυρολογησάντων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐξανδραποδισάντων ξὺν χρήμασι πᾶσιν, ἔρημόν τε τῶν οἰκητόρων καταστησάμενων χώραν ἐκάστην ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδρομαῖς, φόρον μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀφῆκε, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅσον ἐνιαυτοῦ ταῖς ἀλούσαις τῶν πόλεων μόνον.

[6] Furthermore, though the Medes and Saracens had plundered the greater part of the land of Asia, and the Huns and Sclaveni and Antae the whole of Europe, and some of the cities had been levelled to the ground, and others had been stripped of their wealth in very thorough fashion through levied contributions, and though they had enslaved the population with all their property, making each region destitute of inhabitants by their daily inroads, yet he remitted the tax to no man, with the single exception that captured cities had one year's exemption only.

[7] καίτοι εἰ καθάπερ Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς ἐπτάετες ταῖς ἀλούσαις τὰ τέλη ἐπιχωρεῖν ἔγω, οἶμαι ὃ ἂν οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸν πεποιῆσθαι τὰ δέοντα, ἐπεὶ Καβάδης μὲν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις ὡς ἥκιστα λυμηνάμενος ἀπιὼν ὄχρετο, Χοσρόης δὲ ἅπαντα πυρπολήσας ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε, μείζω τε προσετρίψατο τοῖς περιπεπωκόσι τὰ πάθη.

[7] And yet if he had seen fit, as did the Emperor Anastasius, to remit to captured cities all their taxes for seven years, I think that even thus he would not have been doing all he should have in view of the fact that, although Cabades had gone his way without doing the least damage to the buildings, yet Chosroes had not only fired every structure and razed it to the ground, but had also inflicted greater sufferings upon his victims.

[8] καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἷσπερ τὸ γελοιῶδες τοῦτο τοῦ φόρου ἀφῆκε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, πολλάκις μὲν δεξαμένοις τὸν Μῆδων στρατὸν, διηνεκὲς δὲ Οὐννων τε καὶ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν γῆν τὴν ἐφ' ἣν ληϊσάμενων, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦσσαν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βαρβάρων ταῦτα ἐργαζομένων ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Ῥωμαίους, βασιλεὺς οὗτος χαλεπώτερος εὐθύς γέγονε βαρβάρων ἀπάντων.

[8] And now to these men to whom he remitted this ridiculously small portion of the tribute, as to all the others likewise — men who had often supported the attacks of the Median army, and though Huns and Saracens had continuously ravaged the lands of the East, and though not less terribly the barbarians in Europe were also wreaking such destruction every day and unceasingly — to these men, I say, this Emperor shewed himself from the first more savage than all the barbarians together.

[9] συνωναῖς τε γὰρ καὶ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐπιβολαῖς τε καὶ διαγραφαῖς οἱ τῶν χωρίων κύριοι τῶν πολεμίων ἀνακεχωρηκότων αὐτίκα μάλα ἡλίσκοντο.

[9] For through “buying on requisition” and what are called “imposts” and “pro-rated assessments,” the owners of the land were immediately, once the enemy had withdrawn, reduced to ruin.

[10] ὅ τι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστί τε καὶ βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[10] Now what these terms are and what they mean I shall proceed to explain.

[11] Τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐκτρέφειν στρατὸν κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς κειμένης ἐκάστῳ φορᾶς, τιμημάτων καταβαλλομένων οὐχ ἥπερ ἐφίησιν ὁ παρὼν τῇ χρειᾷ καιρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἥπερ ἔξεστι καὶ διώριται, οὐ διερευνώμενοι δὲ, εἴπερ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ξυμβαίνει.

[11] The owners of property are compelled to provision the Roman army in proportion to the tax levied upon each owner, the deliveries being made, not where the season of the year at which the requisition is to be filled permits, but where the officials find it possible and have determined, and in making these requisitions no enquiry is made to see whether the farmers happen to have the required provisions on their land.

[12] περιέστηκέ τε τοὺς δειλαίους τούτους ἀνάγκη τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια στρατιώταις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐσκομίζεσθαι, πάντα ὄνουνμένους αὐτὰ τιμημάτων πολλῶν ἐς ἄγαν ἀξιοτέρων καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ χώρας, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μακράν που οὔσης καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ χωρίον ἀποκομίζειν, οὗ δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, μετρεῖν τε τοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν χορηγοῖς, οὐ καθάπερ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις νόμος,

[12] Thus it comes about that these wretched men are compelled to import provisions for both soldiers and horses, buying them all at very much higher prices than they are to receive, and that, too, in a market which, if it so happens, may be at a great distance from their farms, and then to haul back these provisions to the place where the army chances to be, and they must measure out these supplies to the Quartermasters of the army, not in the way accepted by all the world, but just as the Quartermasters wish.

[13] ἀλλ’ ἥπερ ἐκείνοις ἂν βουλομένοις εἴη. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅπερ συνωνὴ καλεῖται, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἅπασιν ἐκνεενυρίσθαι τοῖς τῶν χωρίων κυρίοις ξυμβαίνει.

[13] And this is the thing which is called “buying on requisition,” and the result of it has been that all the owners of farms have been bled to death.

[14] φόρον γὰρ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐχ ἥσσονα ἢ δεκαπλασίονα

ἐγκατατιθέναι σφίσιν ἐπάναγκες, οἷς γε οὐ μόνον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῷ στρατῷ χορηγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῖτον ἐς Βυζάντιον πολλάκις διακομίζειν ταῦτα πεπονθόσι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁ Βαρσύμης καλούμενος μόνος τὸ τοιοῦτο ἄγος ἐξαμαρτάνειν τετόλμηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ Καππαδόκης, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ μετὰ τὸν Βαρσύμην τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλαβόντες ἀξίωμα.

[14] For by this process they are compelled to pay their annual tax not less than tenfold, seeing that it has often fallen to their lot, not only to furnish supplies directly to the army, as stated, but also, on top of what they have suffered that way, to transport grain to Byzantium; for not alone Barsymes, as he was called, has dared to perpetrate this outrage, but even before him the Cappadocian, and later on those who succeeded Barsymes in the dignity of this office.

[15] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς συνωνῆς αὐτῇ πη ἔχει: τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὄνομα ὀλεθρὸς τίς ἐστὶν ἀπρόοπτος ἐξαπιναιῶς τοῖς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοις ἐπιγενόμενος πρόρριζόν τε αὐτοῖς ἐκτρίβων τὴν τοῦ βίου ἐλπίδα.

[15] Such in a general way was “buying on requisition.” But the term “impost” is used to describe a kind of unforeseen ruination that falls suddenly upon the owners of land and destroys root and branch their hope of a livelihood.

[16] χωρίων γὰρ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐρήμων τε καὶ ἀπόρων γεγεννημένων, ὧν δὴ τοῖς τε κυρίοις καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἤδη τετύχηκεν ἢ παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι, ἢ γῆν πατρῶαν ἀπολιποῦσι τοῖς ἐγκειμένοις σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα κακοῖς κρύπτεσθαι, οὐκ ἀπαξιούσιν ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς οὐπω διεφθαρμένοις παντάπασιν.

[16] For this is a tax on lands that have become abandoned or unproductive, the owners and farmers of which have already had the misfortune either to perish altogether or, abandoning their ancestral estates, to be now living in wretchedness because of the woes imposed upon them by reason of these imposts; and they do not hesitate to impose it upon any who have not yet been ruined altogether.

[17] Τοιοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ὄνομα ἐστὶν, ἐπιπολάσαν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ δὲ τῶν διαγραφῶν ὡς συντομώτατα φράσαντι ἀπηλλάχθαι τῇδὲ πη ἔχει.

[17] Such is the meaning of the term “impost,” a term which with good reason gained its widest currency during the period in question. But as for the “prorated assessments” — to dispose of the subject in the fewest possible words — the matter is about as follows.

[18] ζημίαις πολλαῖς ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους περιβάλλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἦν ἀνάγκη: ὥνπερ τὰς τε ἀφορμὰς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀφίημι λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὡς μὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἀπέραντος εἴη.

[18] That the cities should be subjected to many damaging exactions at all times and particularly during this period was inevitable; as to the motives that led to their imposition and the manner of their application, I forbear to discuss them on this occasion, lest my treatise become interminable.

[19] ταύτας οἱ τὰ χωρία ἔχοντες ἀπέτινον, τίμημα κατατιθέντες κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἐγκειμένης ἐκάστω

[19] These assessments were paid by the owners of the lands, each paying an assessed sum in proportion to the tax regularly levied upon him.

[20] φορᾶς. οὐκ ἄχρι δὲ τούτων αὐτοῖς τὸ κακὸν ἔστι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ ξύμπασαν περιλαβόντος τὴν τε ἄλλην οἰκουμένην καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τῶν τε γεωργῶν ἀφανίσαντος μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐρήμων ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς τῶν χωρίων γεγενημένων, οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐς τοὺς τούτων κυρίους.

[20] But trouble did not stop here; on the contrary, when the plague came, seizing in its grip the whole civilized world and especially the Roman Empire, and wiping out most of the farmers, and when for this reason the lands, as one might expect, had become deserted, the Emperor shewed no mercy to the owners of these lands.

[21] φόρον γὰρ τὸν ἐπέτειον οὔποτε ἀνίει πραττόμενος οὐχ ἥπερ ἐκάστω ἐπέβαλλε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γειτόνων τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὴν μοῖραν.

[21] For he never relaxed his exaction of the annual tax, not merely as he imposed it upon each separate person, but also exacting the share which fell to his deceased neighbours.

[22] προσῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὥνπερ ἐμνήσθην ἀρτίως ἄτε τοῖς τῶν χωρίων δεδυστυχηκόσι τὴν κτῆσιν ἀεὶ ἐγκειμένων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἀνὰ τὰ κάλλιστα τε καὶ τιμιώτατα δωματίων τῶν σφετέρων ὀκνημένοις ὑπηρετεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς φλυαυτοτάτοις τε καὶ ἀπημελημένοις τῶν οἰκιδίων δίαιταν ἔχειν.

[22] And in addition they also had to stand all the other exactions which I mentioned a moment ago as always falling upon those who were cursed with the ownership of farms, and over and above all these things, they had to house the soldiers, in the best and most expensive of their rooms and to wait upon them, while they themselves throughout this whole time lived in the meanest and the most dilapidated of their outhouses.

[23] Ἄπερ ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τε καὶ Θεοδώρας βασιλείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ οὔτε πόλεμον οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ λελωφηκέναι τετύχηκεν.

[23] All these evils kept constantly afflicting the people during the reign of Justinian and Theodora, for it so happened that neither war nor any other of the greatest calamities subsided during this time.

[24] ἐπεὶ δὲ δωματίων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο παριτέον ἡμῖν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οἰκίας βαρβάροις ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν παρεχόμενοι ἑπτακισμυρίοις μάλιστα οὖσιν, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν σφετέρων ὀνίνασθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσετρίβοντο δυσκόλοις ἑτέροις.

[24] And since we have made mention of rooms for billeting, we must not pass over the fact that the owners of the houses in Byzantium, having to turn over their dwellings there as lodgings for barbarians to the number of about seventy thousand, not only could derive no benefit from their own property, but were also afflicted by these other disagreeable conditions.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῷ εἰργασμένα σιωπῇ δοτέον, οἷς δὴ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐπέστησεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων χρήματα σφᾶς ὅτι πλεῖστα ξυλλέγειν ἐνθὲνδε κελεύσας, εὖ εἰδότας ὡς μοῖρα τῶν πορισθησομένων ἢ δωδεκάτῃ αὐτοῖς κείσεται.

Nor assuredly is his treatment of the soldiers to be consigned to silence; for over them he put in authority the most villainous of all men, bidding them collect from this source as much as they could, and these officers were well aware that the twelfth part of what they should thus procure should fall to them.

[2] ὄνομα δὲ λογοθέτας αὐτοῖς ἔθετο. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπενόουν τάδε. τὰς στρατιωτικὰς συντάξεις οὐχ ὁμοίως νόμος χορηγεῖσθαι ἐφεξῆς ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ νέοις μὲν ἔτι αὐτοῖς. οὗσι καὶ στρατευσαμένοις ἀρτίως ἐλάσσων ὁ πόρος, πεπονηκόσι δὲ καὶ μέσοις που ἤδη καταλόγου γεγενημένοις ἐπὶ μείζον χωρεῖ.

[2] And he gave them the title of "Logothetes." And these each year devised the following scheme. According to a law the military pay is not given to all alike year after year, but when the men are still young and have only recently joined the army, the rate is lower, while for those who have been in service and are now at about the middle of the muster-roll, it grows larger.

[3] γεγηρακόσι μέντοι καὶ μέλλουσι τῆς στρατείας ἀφίεσθαι πολλῷ ἔτι κομπωδεστέρα ἢ σύνταξις, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδίᾳ βιοῦντες ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχοιεν, καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ξυμμετρήσασθαι τὸν βίον ξυμβαίῃ, παραψυχὴν τινα τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολιπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν

[3] But when they have grown old and are on the point of being discharged from the army, the pay is very much more imposing, to the end not only that they may, when in future they are living as private citizens, have sufficient for their own maintenance, but may also, when it is their lot to have completely measured out the term of life, be able to leave from their own property some consolation to the members of their households.

[4] οἰκίαν δυνατοὶ εἶν. ὁ τοίνυν χρόνος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταδεεστέρους ἐς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἢ τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένων τοὺς βαθμοὺς ἀεὶ ἀναβιβάζων πρυτανεὺς κατὰ πρεσβεία τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου συντάξεις ἐκάστω.

[4] Thus time, by continuously promoting the soldiers who are lower down in the scale to the rank of those who have died or been discharged from the army, regulates on the basis of seniority the payments to be made from the

Treasury to each man.

[5] ἀλλ' οἱ λογοθέται καλούμενοι οὐκ εἶων ἐκ τῶν καταλόγων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὀνόματα, καίπερ ὁμοῦ διαφθειρομένων, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους συχνοὺς γινομένους, τῶν πλείστων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοὺς καταλόγους ἔτι ἐπλήρουν, καὶ ταῦτα χρόνου συχνοῦ.

[5] But the Logothetes, as they are called, would not allow the names of the deceased to be removed from the rolls, even when great numbers died at one time from other causes, and especially, as was the case with the most, in the course of the numerous wars. Furthermore, they would no longer fill out the muster-rolls, and that too for a long period.

[6] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περιειστῆκει τῇ μὲν πολιτείᾳ τὸν τῶν στρατευομένων ἀριθμὸν ἐνδεέστερον ἀεὶ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς περιουσί πρὸς τῶν πάλαι τετελευτηκότων διωθουμένοις ἐπὶ μοίρας παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς καταδεεστέρας ἀπολελεῖσθαι, τὰς τε ξυντάξεις ἐλαττώνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσήκουσαν κομίζεσθαι τάξιν, τοῖς δὲ λογοθέταις διαλαγχάνειν Ἰουστινιανῷ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον.

[6] And the result of this practice has proved unfortunate for all concerned — first, for the State in that the number of soldiers in active service is always deficient; secondly, for the surviving soldiers, in that they are elbowed out by those who have died long before and so find themselves left in a position inferior to what they deserve, and that they receive a pay which is lower than if they had the rank to which they are entitled; and, finally, for the Logothetes, who all this time have had to apportion to Justinian a share of the soldiers' money.

[7] Ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἄλλαις ζημιῶν ιδέαις πολλαῖς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέκναιον, ὥσπερ ἀμειβόμενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων, ἐπικαλοῦντες τοῖς μὲν ὡς Γραικοὶ εἶεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ παράπαν τινὶ γενναίῳ γενέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτεταγμένον πρὸς βασιλέως σφίσι στρατεῦοντο, καίπερ ἀμφὶ τούτῳ γράμματα βασιλέως ἐνδεικνυμένοις, ἅπερ οἱ λογοθέται διαβάλλειν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐτόλμων: ἄλλοις δὲ, ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐταίρων ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἀπολελεῖσθαι τινὰς ξυμβαίῃ.

[7] Furthermore, they kept grinding down the soldiers with many other forms of penalties, as though to requite them thus for the dangers incurred in the wars, charging some with being "Greeks," as though it were wholly impossible for any man from Greece to be a decent man, others with being in the service without an order from the Emperor, even though they could shew, on this point, an imperial order, which, however, the Logothetes with no hesitation had the effrontery to denounce; and others still they accused on the ground that for some days they had chanced to be absent from their comrades.

[8] ὕστερον καὶ τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων τινὲς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν στελλόμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διηρευνῶντο δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις τοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπιτηδεῖους ὄντας ὡς ἤκιστα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ἅτε ἀχρεῖους ὄντας ἢ γεγηρακότας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς ζώνας ἐτόλμων, οἷπερ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς προσαιτοῦντες τροφὴν δακρύων τε καὶ ὀλοφύρσεως ἀεὶ προφάσεις τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐγίνοντο πᾶσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ πείσωνται, χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπράττοντο, ὥστε πάντων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅτε τρόποις ἐκνευρισμένους πολλοῖς πτωχοτέρους τε γεγονέναι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν προθυμεῖσθαι ζυνέβη.

[8] Later on also some of the Palace Guards were sent out through the whole Roman Empire, and ostensibly they were in search of any among the armies who were quite unsuitable for active service; and they dared to strip the belts from some of these as being unfit or too old, and these thereafter had to beg their bread from the pious in the public square of the market-place, so that they became a constant cause for tears and lamentation on the part of all who met them; and from the rest they exacted great sums of money, to the end that they might not suffer the same fate, so that the soldiers, broken in manifold ways, had become the poorest of all men and had not the slightest zest for warfare.

[9] ὅθεν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πράγματα λελύσθαι ζυνέπεσεν. οὗ δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ λογοθέτης σταλεῖς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐθάρρει, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλοὺς χρήματα ἔπραττε, τῶν ἐς Θεωδέρικον καὶ Γότθους πεπολιτευμένων ἀμύνεσθαι φάσκων.

[9] It was for just this reason that the Roman power came to be destroyed in Italy. Indeed, when Alexander the Logothete was sent thither, he had the effrontery to lay these charges without compunction upon the soldiers, and he tried to exact money from the Italians, alleging that he was punishing them for their behaviour during the reign of Theoderic and the Goths.

[10] οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία πρὸς τῶν λογοθετῶν ἐπιέζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πᾶσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες τοῖς στρατηγοῖς παμπληθεῖς τε καὶ δόξη μεγάλοι τὰ πρότερα ὄντες, λιμῷ καὶ πενίᾳ δεινῇ ἤχοντο.

[10] And it was not alone the soldiers who were oppressed by destitution and poverty through the conduct of the Logothetes, but also the subordinates who served all the generals, formerly a numerous and highly esteemed group, laboured under the burden of starvation and dire poverty.

[11] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅθεν τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσι πορίσονται.

[11] For they had not the means wherewith to provide themselves with their customary necessities.

[12] Προσθήσω δέ τι τούτοις καὶ ἕτερον, ἐπεὶ με ὁ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγος ἐς τοῦτο ἄγει. οἱ Ῥωμαίων βεβασιευκότες ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις πανταχόσε τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐσχατιῶν ἀμπόλου κατεστήσαντο στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐφάν μάλιστα μοῖραν ταύτη τὰς ἐφόδους Περσῶν τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν ἀναστέλλοντες,

[12] And I shall add one further item to those I have mentioned, since the subject of the soldiers leads me thereto. The Roman Emperors in earlier times stationed a very great multitude of soldiers at all points of the Empire's frontier in order to guard the boundaries of the Roman domain, particularly in the eastern portion, thus checking the inroads of the Persians and the Saracens; these troops they used to call *limitanei*.

[13] οὗσπερ λιμιταναίους ἐκάλουν. τούτοις Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὕτω δὴ παρέργως τε καὶ φαύλως ἐχρῆτο, ὥστε τεσσάρων ἢ πέντε αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτῶν τῶν συντάξεων τοὺς χορηγοὺς ὑπερημέρους εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις εἰρήνη γένοιτο, ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ ταλαίπωροι οὗτοι ἅτε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσοντες χρόνου ῥητοῦ τὰς ὀφειλομένας σφίσι ξυντάξεις τῷ δημοσίῳ χαρίζεσθαι: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς στρατείας ὄνομα αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.

[13] These the Emperor Justinian at first treated so casually and so meanly that their paymasters were four or five years behind in their payments to them, and whenever peace was made between the Romans and the Persians, these wretches were compelled, on the supposition that they too would profit by the blessings of peace, to make a present to the Treasury of the pay which was owing to them for a specified period. And later on, for no good reason, he took away from them the very name of regular troops.

[14] τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ μὲν ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς φυλακτηρίων ἐκτὸς ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐβλεπον εἰς τῶν εὐσεβεῖν εἰωθότων τὰς χεῖρας.

[14] Thereafter the frontiers of the Roman Empire remained destitute of guards and the soldiers suddenly found themselves obliged to look to the hands of those accustomed to works of piety.

[15] Ἄτεροι στρατιῶται οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ πεντακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ Παλατίου κατέστησαν, οὗσπερ σχολαρίους καλοῦσι.

[15] Another group of soldiers, no fewer than three thousand five hundred in number, had been assigned originally to the guarding of the Palace; these are called *Scholarii*.

[16] καὶ αὐτοῖς συντάξεις ἀνέκαθεν πλείους ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὸ δημόσιον ἀεὶ χορηγεῖν εἴωθε. τούτους οἱ πρότεροι μὲν ἀριστίνδην ἀπολέξαντες ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν τιμὴν ἤγον.

[16] And the Treasury has been accustomed from earliest times always to pay these higher wages than all others. These men were picked for their excellence by earlier Emperors, being recruited for this honour from among the Armenians.

[17] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ζήνων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, πᾶσιν ἐξουσία ἐγένετο καὶ ἀνάνδροις καὶ ἀπολέμοις οὗσι παντάπασι τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπιβατεύειν.

[17] But since the time when Zeno succeeded to the throne, the way has been open for all, both cowards and wholly unwarlike men, to achieve the honour of this title.

[18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀνδράποδα κατατιθέντες τίμημα τὴν στρατείαν ὠνοῦντο ταύτην. ἡνίκα τοίνυν Ἰουστῖνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς πολλοὺς ἐς τὴν τιμὴν κατεστήσατο ταύτην, χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος.

[18] And as time went on, even slaves, by putting up a bribe, could purchase admission to this service. So when Justinus took over the Empire, this Justinian appointed many to this honourable service, thus securing for himself great amounts of money.

[19] ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτοις τοῖς καταλόγοις οὐδένα ἐνδεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν ᾗσθητο, ἐτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐς δισχιλίους ἐντέθεικεν, οὗσπερ ὑπεραρίθμους ἐκάλουν.

[19] But when at length he observed that there was no longer any vacancy in these ranks, he added to their number two thousand recruits, and these they used to call “supernumeraries.”

[20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ὑπεραρίθμους ἀπεσεύσατο αὐτίκα μάλα, τῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀποδοὺς σφίσιν.

[20] But when he himself took over the Empire, he shook off these supernumeraries with great speed, giving them no payment whatever.

[21] Ἐς μέντοι τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ τῶν σχολαρίων ἀριθμοῦ ὄντας ἐπενόει τάδε. ἡνίκα στράτευμα ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἢ Ἰταλίαν ἢ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς σταλήσεται ἐπίδοξον εἶη, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς ξυστρατεύουσιν ἐπήγγελλε συσκευάζεσθαι, καίπερ ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπιτηδείως αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς ἡκιστα ἔχειν, οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ἵνα μὴ γένηται δέισαντες χρόνου οἱ ῥητοῦ τὰς ξυντάξεις ἀφίεσαν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς σχολαρίοις πολλάκις ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν.

[21] But for those included in the regular body of the Scholarii he devised the following. When it was to be expected that an army would be sent against Libya or Italy or Persia, he would issue orders to them to pack up as though to

take part in the expedition, though he knew well that they were not at all fit for active service, and they, in terror, remitted their pay to him for a specified period in order that this might not be done. And it so happened that this befell the Scholarii many times.

[22] καὶ Πέτρος δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡνίκα τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου εἶχεν ἀρχὴν, αἰεὶ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτοὺς κλοπαῖς ἀμυθήτοις ἀπέκναιε.

[22] And Peter also, during the whole time while he held the office of Magister, as it is called, was constantly harassing them every day with unheard-of thefts.

[23] πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα ὑβρίζειν εἰδὼς, κλεπτίστατος δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ ῥύπου αἰσχροῦ ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως. τούτου τοῦ Πέτρου κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε τὸν Ἀμαλασούνθης φόνον τῆς Θεουδερίχου παιδὸς εἰργασμένου.

[23] For while he was indeed a mild man and not at all versed in offering insult, at the same time he was the biggest thief in the world and absolutely filled with shameful avarice. This Peter has been mentioned also in the previous books as having carried out the murder of Amalasuntha, daughter of Theoderic.

[24] Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ πολλὸν ἀξιώτεροι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλείω τὸ δημόσιον αὐτοῖς χορηγεῖν εἴωθεν ἅτε καὶ μείζω κατατιθεῖσι τοῦ τῆς στρατείας ὀνόματος τὰ τιμήματα, οἳ δὴ δομέστικοί τε καὶ προτίκτωρες ἐπικαλοῦνται καὶ ἀνέκαθεν ἀμελέητοί εἰσι πολεμίων ἔργων.

[24] And there are also others in the Palace held in much higher esteem, for the Treasury is accustomed to allow them a higher wage on the ground that they on their part have paid larger amounts for the name of belonging to the service; these are called Domestici and Protectores, and from ancient times they have been unpractised in deeds of war.

[25] τάξεως γὰρ καὶ προσώπου ἕνεκα μόνον ἐν Παλατίῳ εἰώθασι καταλέγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν οἳ μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ τε Γαλατίας ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ χωρίων ἑτέρων ἴδρυνται.

[25] For it is only for the sake of rank and for the appearance of the position that they are wont to have themselves enrolled among the Palace corps. And from ancient times some of these have had their residence in Byzantium, some in Galatia and some in other places.

[26] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους Ἰουστινιανὸς τρόπῳ αἰεὶ δεδισσόμενος τῷ εἰρημένῳ μεθίεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε τῶν προσηκουσῶν σφίσι συντάξεων.

[26] But these too Justinian was constantly intimidating in the manner

described, thus compelling them to relinquish the pay which belonged to them. And this shall be explained in summary.

[27] ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ τοῦτο εἰρήσεται. νόμος ἦν ἀνὰ πενταετηρίδα ἐκάστην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον δωρεῖσθαι χρυσίῳ τακτῷ.

[27] There was a law that every four years the Emperor should present to each one of the soldiers a specified sum of gold.

[28] πέμποντες δὲ ἀνὰ πεντάετες πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς παρείχοντο στατήρας χρυσοῦς στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ πέντε.

[28] So every fourth year they used to send messengers throughout every part of the Roman Empire and present five gold staters to each soldier.

[29] καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ πράσσεσθαι ἀεὶ μηχανῇ πάσῃ. ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἀνὴρ ὅδε διωκῆσατο τὴν πολιτείαν, τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν οὔτε διεπράξατο οὔτε ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ χρόνου δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν τριβέντος ἤδη, ὥστε καὶ λήθην τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τινά.

[29] And there could not be any failure in this matter at any time or by any means. But since the time when this man took over the administration of the State, he has neither done such a thing nor purposed to do it, though a period of thirty-two years has passed already, so that men have even come to forget this practice to some extent.

[30] Τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον τῆς ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους λεηλασίας ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. οἱ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἢ ὀπλιζόμενοι ἢ γράμματα διαχειρίζοντες ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν ὑπηρετοῦντες τάσσονται μὲν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ἀρχὴν ἔσχατοι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἀναβαίνοντες ἀεὶ ἐς τῶν ἀπογινομένων ἢ ὑπεξιώντων τὴν χώραν τάξεως ἕκαστοι τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τόδε χωροῦσιν, ἕως ἄν τις βαθμοῦ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τοῦ πρώτου ἤδη ἐς τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀφίκηται πέρας.

[30] And I shall pass on to explain still another of his methods of plundering his subjects. Those who mount guard or handle dispatches for the Emperor and the officials in Byzantium, or who perform any other service whatsoever, are assigned at first to the lowest ranks, and as time goes on they advance steadily to fill the places of those who have died or retired, and each of them keeps moving up from the rank he has held until such time as he mounts the topmost step and attains to the highest attainable point of this career.

[31] καὶ τοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἀξιώματος ἤκουσι χρήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ διατέτακται τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε πλέον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἢ ἐς ἑκατὸν χρυσοῦ ἀγείρεσθαι κεντηνάρια τούτοις, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε γηροκομεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὺς μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ὠφελείας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἔνθεν ζυνέβαινε, τῆς τε

πολιτείας τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ μέγα εὐπορίας ἀεὶ ταύτη ἐχώρει.

[31] For those who have achieved this high rank a salary has been assigned from of old, so huge that each year they gather in more than one hundred centenaria of gold, and it has come about that not only they themselves are cared for in old age but that many others also share with them, as a general thing, the assistance derived from this source, and the affairs of the State have in this way advanced to a high point of prosperity.

[32] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ὅδε τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀποστερήσας σχεδόν τι ἀπάντων, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις κακὰ ἤνεγκεν. ἀψαμένη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πενία πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχώρει, οἷς τι καὶ πρότερον ὠφελείας μετῆν.

[32] But this Emperor, by depriving them of practically all these revenues, has brought woes upon them and the rest of mankind. For poverty laid hold upon them first and then passed on through the rest who previously had had some share of their benefit.

[33] καὶ ἦν τις τὴν ξυμπεπτωκυῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐνθένδε ζημίαν ἐς ἔτη δύο καὶ τριάκοντα διαριθμοῖτο, εὐρήσει τὸ μέτρον ὥνπερ αὐτοὺς ἀποστερεῖσθαι ξυνέπεσε.

[33] And if anyone should calculate the loss which fell upon them from this source over a period of thirty-two years, he would arrive at the measure of the amount of which it was their misfortune to be deprived.

Τοὺς μὲν στρατευομένους οὕτως ὁ τύραννος ὅδε διεχρήσατο. ἅπερ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναύτας καὶ βαναύσους καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους, δι' αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἴργασται,

Thus were the men in service mishandled by this tyrant. And I shall now proceed to tell of his treatment of merchants and sailors and craftsmen and traders in the market-place and, through these, of all the others.

[2] φράσων ἔρχομαι. πορθμῷ δύο ἐκατέρωθεν Βυζαντίου ἐστὸν, ἄτερος μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἀβυδον, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου Πόντου, οὗ τὸ Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται.

[2] There are two straits on the two sides of Byzantium, the one at the Hellespont between Sestus and Abydus and the other at the mouth of the sea called Euxine, where is the place named Hieron.

[3] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πορθμῷ τελωνεῖον μὲν ἐν δημοσίῳ ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἄρχων δὲ τις ἐκ βασιλέως στελλόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ καθήστο, διερευνώμενος μὲν, ἦν ναῦς ὅπλα φέρουσα ἐς Βυζάντιον οὐ βασιλέως ἴοι γνώμη, καὶ ἦν τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγοιτο οὐ φερόμενος γράμματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ σημεῖα οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη· οὐ γὰρ θέμις τινὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀνάγεσθαι οὐκ ἀφειμένον πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχῇ ὑπουργοῦσιν πραττόμενος δὲ τοὺς τῶν πλοίων κυρίους τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενον ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ὁ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τοῦ ἔργου τούτου λαμβάνειν ἡξίου:

[3] Now on the Strait of the Hellespont there was no public Customs House at all, but a certain magistrate commissioned by the Emperor was stationed at Abydus, watching to see whether any ship bearing arms went towards Byzantium without the Emperor's permission, and also whether anyone was putting out from Byzantium without carrying a permit and seals from the men who have this function (for it is illegal for anyone to put out from Byzantium without being released by the men who serve the office of the official known as the "Magister"), and collecting from the masters of the ships a toll which was felt by no one, but which was, as it were, a sort of payment claimed by the man who held this office as compensation for his labour.

[4] ὁ μέντοι ἐπὶ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐτέρου στελλόμενος τὸν μισθὸν αἰεὶ πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος ἦν καὶ διερευνώμενος ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταῦτα τε, ἅπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ ἦν τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους κομίζοιτο, οἱ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνον ἴδρυνται Πόντον, ὥνπερ οὐ θέμις ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους κομίζεσθαι. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐξῆν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ναυτιλλομένων

προσίσθαι.

[4] But the man dispatched to the other strait had always received his salary from the Emperor, and he watched with great care for the things which I have mentioned and, in addition, to see whether anything was being conveyed to the barbarians who are settled along the Euxine Sea, of a sort which it is not permitted to export from the land of the Romans to their enemies. This man, however, was not permitted to accept anything from those who sailed that way.

[5] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τελωνεῖόν τε δημόσιον κατεστήσατο ἐν πορθμῷ ἑκατέρῳ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἄρχοντας δύο ἐς αἰὲν πέμπων μίσθωσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς παρείχετο τὴν ξυγκειμένην, ἐπήγγελλε δὲ χρήματά οἱ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐνθὲνδε ἀποφέρειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.

[5] But since the time when the Emperor Justinian took over the Empire, he has established a public Customs House on each strait, and sending out regularly two salaried officials, although he did provide the salary agreed upon, yet he directed them to use every means in their power to make a return to him from that source of as much money as possible.

[6] οἱ δὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ εὐνοίαν οἱ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες ἀπαξάπαντα πρὸς τῶν πλεόντων τὰ τῶν φορτίων τιμήματα ληϊζόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[6] And they, being concerned only with demonstrating to him their loyalty towards him, finished by plundering from the shippers the entire value of their cargoes.

[7] Ἐν μὲν οὖν πορθμῷ ἑκατέρῳ ταῦτα ἐποίει· ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ἐπενόει τάδε. τῶν τινά οἱ ἐπιτηδεῖων προϋστήσατο, Σύρον μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἀδδαῖον, ὃ δὴ ἐπήγγελλεν ἐκ νηῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα καταιρουσῶν ὄνησίν τινά οἱ πορίζεσθαι.

[7] Such were the measures he took at each of the two straits. And at Byzantium he hit upon the following plan. He gave a commission to one of his intimates, a Syrian by birth named Addaeus, instructing him to secure for him some profit from the ships which put in at that port.

[8] ὁ δὲ πλοῖα ἅπαντα τὰ καταίροντα ἐς τὸν Βυζάντιον λιμένα οὐκέτι ἐνθὲνδε ἠφίει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ναυκλήρους ἢ τοῖς τιμήμασιν ἐξημίου νηῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ ἀναφορεῖν ἐς τε Λιβύην καὶ

[8] And he from that time on would not allow any boat which put in to the harbour of Byzantium to depart from there unmolested, but he either penalized the ship-masters the value of their ships or else compelled them to put back to Libya and Italy.

[9] Ἰταλίαν ἠνάγκαζε. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι οὔτε θαλαττουργεῖν ἔτι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καύσαντες τὰ σφέτερα πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἄσμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[9] And some of them were unwilling either to take on a return cargo or to continue any longer in the maritime business, but were glad enough to get off by burning their own boats straightway.

[10] ὅσοις μέντοι ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐργασίας τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, οὗτοι δὴ τριπλασίαν πρὸς τῶν ἐμπόρων τὴν μίσθωσιν κεκομισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐφορτίζοντο τοῖς τε ἐμπόροις περιεστήκει ταύτην σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν πρὸς τῶν τὰ φορτία ὠνούμενων ἰάσασθαι, οὕτω τε λιμοκτονεῖσθαι πάσῃ μηχανῇ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ξυνέβαιεν.

[10] All those, however, who were obliged to make their living from just this occupation would first collect treble charges from the importing merchants and thereafter continue to take on cargoes; and as for the merchants, their way out of the difficulty was to make good their own loss at the expense of those who purchased the goods; and thus it came about that the Romans were being starved to death by every device.

[11] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆδε κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐφέρετο. ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ κέρματα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἵργασται, οὗ μοι παριτέον οἶομαι εἶναι.

[11] Such is the way things were going as regards the administration of affairs. But I think that I should not omit to mention also what was done by the imperial pair with reference to the small coinage.

[12] τῶν γὰρ ἀργυραμοιβῶν πρότερον δέκα καὶ διακοσίους ὀβολοὺς, οὓς φόλλεις καλοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς στατήρος χρυσοῦ προῖεσθαι τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσιν εἰωθότων, αὐτοὶ ἐπιτεχνώμενοι κέρδη οἰκεῖα ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ στατήρος δίδοσθαι τοὺς ὀβολοὺς διετάξαντο. ταύτῃ δὲ νομίσματος ἐκάστου χρυσοῦ ἕκτην ἀπέτεμον μοῖραν πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

[12] For while the money-changers formerly were accustomed to give to those who bargained with them in exchange for one gold stater two hundred and ten obols, which they call pholleis, these persons, contriving private gain for themselves, had it arranged that only one hundred and eighty obols should be given for the stater. In this way they cut off a seventh part of the value of every gold coin . . . of all men.

[13] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι τῶν ὀνίων τὰ πλεῖστα εἰς τὰ καλούμενα περιστήσαντες μονοπώλια, τοὺς τι ὀνήσασθαι βουλομένους ἀεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀπέπνιγον, μόνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνέφαπτα τὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐλέλειπτο πωλητήρια, μηχανῶνται καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς τάδε.

[13] But when these sovereigns had brought most of the merchandise under the control of the monopolies, as they are called, and every single day were strangling those who wished to buy anything, and only the shops where clothing is sold were left untouched by them, they devised this scheme for that business also.

[14] ἱμάτια τὰ ἐκ μετάξης ἐν Βηρυτῷ μὲν καὶ Τύρῳ πόλεσι ταῖς ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰώθει.

[14] Garments made of silk had been wont from ancient times to be produced in the cities of Beirut and Tyre in Phoenicia.

[15] οἱ τε τούτων ἔμποροί τε καὶ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ καὶ τεχνῖται ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὥκουν, ἐνθὲνδε τε ἐς γῆν ἅπασαν φέρεσθαι τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ζυνέβαιεν.

[15] And the merchants and craftsmen and artisans of these stuffs had lived there from ancient times, and this merchandise was carried thence to the whole world.

[16] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄντες ἀξιωτέραν ἀπεδίδοντο τὴν ἐσθῆτα ταύτην, αἰτιώμενοι μείζον μὲν ἢ πρότερον ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παρόντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καταβάλλεσθαι τὸ τίμημα Πέρσαις, πλείω δὲ νῦν τὰ δεκατευτήρια εἶναι ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, δόκησιν ἅπασιν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρεχόμενος ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτοίη, νόμῳ ἅπασιν ἀπέειπε μὴ πλέον ἢ ὀκτὼ χρυσῶν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐσθῆτος τὴν λίτραν εἶναι.

[16] And when, in the reign of Justinian, those engaged in this trade both in Byzantium and in the other cities were selling this fabric at an excessive price, excusing themselves with the statement that at the time in question they were paying the Persians a higher price than formerly, and that the customs-houses were now more numerous in the land of the Romans, the Emperor gave everyone the impression that he was vexed with this, and he made a general provision by law that one pound of this stuff should not cost more than eight gold pieces.

[17] καὶ προστίμημα ἔκειτο τοῖς παραβησομένοις τὸν νόμον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων στερεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀμήχανά τε καὶ ἄπορα ἐδόκει παντάπασιν εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν τοὺς ἐμπόρους μείζονος τιμῆς τὰ φορτία ταῦτα ἐωνημένους ἐλάσσονος αὐτὰ τοῖς ζυμβάλλουσιν ἀποδίδοσθαι.

[17] And the penalty appointed for those who should transgress this law was to be deprived of all the money they had. This seemed to the people altogether impossible and out of the question. For it was not possible for the importing merchants, having bought these cargoes at a higher price, to sell them to the

dealers for less.

[18] διὸ δὴ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐργολαβεῖν οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἐπικλοπώτερον δὲ φορτίων τῶν σφίσιν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐποιούντο κατὰ βραχὺ τὰς πράξεις, δηλονότι τῶν γνωρίμων τισιν, οἷσπερ τὰ τοιαῦτα καλλωπίζειν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν προἰεμένοις ἐν ἡδονῇ ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ ἐγίνετο.

[18] Therefore they no longer cared to engage in the importation of this stuff, and they gradually disposed of the remainder of their cargoes by rather furtive methods, selling no doubt to certain of the notables who found a satisfaction in making a shew of such finery through the lavish expenditure of their money — or, in a certain sense, they were obliged to do so.

[19] ὧν δὴ ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπιψιθυρίζοντων τινῶν αἰσθομένη, καίπερ οὐ βασανίσασα τὰ θρυλούμενα, ξύμπαντα εὐθὺς τὰ φορτία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφείλετο, καὶ χρυσίον αὐτοὺς ἐς κεντηνάριον ἐπιτιμησαμένη. ἄρχει δὲ ταύτης ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐργασίας ὁ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἐφεστῶς θησαυροῖς.

[19] And when the Empress became aware of these transactions through the whisperings of certain persons, though she did not investigate the gossip that was going round, she immediately took the entire cargoes away from the men and, in addition, imposed upon them a fine of a centenarium of gold. . . . But this particular business is under the control, among the Romans at least, of the official in charge of the imperial treasures.

[20] Πέτρον οὖν τὸν Βαρσύμην ἐπὶ ταύτης καταστησάμενοι τῆς τιμῆς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπεχώρουν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἀνόσια ἔργα.

[20] Consequently, having appointed Peter surnamed Barsymes to this position not long afterwards, they indulged him in doing execrable things.

[21] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἅπαντας τὸν νόμον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐδικαίου τηρεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεχνίτας αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀναγκάζων ἐργάζεσθαι ἀπεδίδοτο, οὐκέτι ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς βαφῆς μὲν τῆς προστυχούσης τὴν οὐγκίαν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ κατὰ ἕξ χρυσῶν, βάμματος δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ὅπερ καλεῖν ὀλόβηρον νενομίκασι, πλέον ἢ τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι χρυσῶν.

[21] For while he required all other men strictly to observe the law, the craftsmen of this trade he required to work for himself alone, and he would sell dyes, no longer furtively but in the public square of the market-place, at the rate of no less than six gold pieces the ounce for the ordinary quality, but more than twenty-four pieces for the imperial dye which they are wont to call holoverum.

[22] καὶ βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐνθένδε μεγάλα χρήματα ἔφερεν, αὐτὸς δὲ

περιβαλλόμενος πλείω ἐλάνθανεν,

[22] And while he produced large sums from that source for the Emperor, he himself gained still more without being observed, and this practice, which began with him, has always continued.

[23] ὅπερ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενον ἐς αἰὶ ἔμεινε. μόνος γὰρ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου ἔμπορός τε ἀπαρακαλύπτως καὶ κάπηλος τοῦ ἐμπολήματος τοῦδε καθίσταται.

[23] For he alone, up to the present time, is established, with no attempt at concealment, as both importer and retailer of this merchandise.

[24] ἔμποροι μὲν οὖν ὅσοι πρότερον τὴν ἐργασίαν ταύτην μετήεσαν ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάστη θαλαττουργοί τε καὶ ἔγγειοι ἐφέροντο ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας κακά.

[24] Consequently the importers who in former times had engaged in this trade both at Byzantium and in the other cities, on sea and on land, now had to endure, as was to be expected, the hardships arising from this procedure.

[25] ἐν δὲ πόλεσιν ὁ δῆμος σχεδόν τι ὅλος ταῖς εἰρημέναις προσαιτητῆς ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐγένετο. βάνηυσοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ χειρῶνακτες λιμῷ παλαίειν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἠναγκάζοντο, πολλοί τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν μεταβαλλόμενοι φεύγοντες ὤχοντο ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη.

[25] And in the other cities practically the whole population found itself suddenly reduced to beggary. For the mechanics and the hand-workers were naturally compelled to struggle with hunger, and many in consequence changed their citizenship and went off as fugitives to the land of Persia.

[26] μόνος δὲ αἰὶ ὁ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἄρχων ἐνεργολαβῶν τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο μοῖραν μὲν βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, πόρων τῶν ἐνθένδε ἀποφέρειν ἡξίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλείω φερόμενος δημοσίαις συμφοραῖς ἐπλούτει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκεν.

[26] But always the Master of the Treasures stood alone as sole manager of this business, and while he did consent to deliver to the Emperor a portion of its profits, as has been said, he carried off the greater portion for himself and was enriching himself through public calamities. So much then for this.

Ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον τῶν πόλεων τοὺς κόσμους καὶ τὰ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα πάντα ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πόλει ἐκάσῃ καθελεῖν ἴσχυσεν αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν.

We shall now tell how he succeeded in destroying the marks of distinction and all the things which confer honour and beauty both in Byzantium and in every other city.

[2] πρῶτα μὲν καταλύειν τὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀξίωμα ἔγνω. τὰ τε γὰρ ἑπαθλα αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, οἷσπερ τρυφᾶν τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι τῆς συνηγορίας ἀφειμένοι εἰώθασι, καὶ διωμότους συνίστασθαι τοὺς διαφερομένους ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑβρισμένους ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμία ἐγένοντο.

[2] First he decided to abolish the rank of rhetor; for he straightway deprived the rhetors of all their competitive prizes in which they had formerly been wont to revel and take great pride when they had discharged their function as advocates, and he ordered those at variance with one another to litigate directly under oath; and being thus scorned, the rhetors fell into great despondency.

[3] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδαιμόνων δοκούντων εἶναι ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πάσας, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, ἀργεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τοῦτο ἐλέλειπτο.

[3] And after, as has been said, he had taken away all the properties of the Senators and of the others who were considered prosperous, both in Byzantium and throughout the whole Roman Empire, there was nothing left for this profession thereafter other than to remain idle.

[4] οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ἄνθρωποι λόγου ὅτουοῦν οὐδὲν ἄξιον, οὔπερ ἂν καὶ ἀμφισβητοῖεν ἀλλήλοις. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ὀλίγοι, ἐξ ἐνδόξων δὲ λίαν κοιμῆ ἄδοξοι πανταχόθι γεγονότες τῆς γῆς πενία μὲν, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, πολλῇ εἶχοντο, μόνην δὲ ὑβριν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου φερόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[4] For men possessed nothing of any value whatsoever, concerning which they might dispute with one another. Immediately, thereafter, having become few in number instead of many and being everywhere held in no esteem at all though they had formerly been most highly esteemed, they were oppressed by extreme poverty, as was to be expected, and in the end gained nothing from their profession except insults alone.

[5] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐλευθερίων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. τὰς τε γὰρ σιτήσεις, ἃς οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔταξαν, ταύτας δὴ οὗτος ἀφείλετο πάσας.

[5] Nay more, he also caused physicians and teachers of free-born children to be in want of the necessities of life. For the allowances of free maintenance which the former Emperors had decreed should be given to men of these professions from the public funds he cancelled entirely.

[6] καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅσους οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες ἀπάσας πολιτικῶν σφίσιν ἢ θεωρητικῶν οἴκοθεν πεποιήνται πόρους, καὶ τούτους μεταγαγὼν φόροις ἀναμίξαι τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐτόλμησε.

[6] Furthermore, all the revenues which the inhabitants of all the cities had been raising locally for their own civic needs and for their public spectacles he transferred and dared to mingle them with the national income.

[7] καὶ οὔτε ἱατρῶν τις ἢ διδασκάλων τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγίνετο λόγος οὔτε δημοσίας τις ἔτι οἰκοδομίας προνοεῖν ἴσχυσεν οὔτε λύχνα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐκάετο οὔτε τις ἦν ἄλλη παραψυχὴ τοῖς ταύτας οἰκοῦσι.

[7] And thereafter neither physicians nor teachers were held in any esteem, nor was anyone able any longer to make provision for public buildings, nor were the public lamps kept burning in the cities, nor was there any other consolation for their inhabitants.

[8] τὰ τε γὰρ θεάτρα καὶ ἵππόδρομοι καὶ κυνηγέσια ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅπαντα ἤργει, οὗ δὴ οἱ τὴν γυναῖκα τετέχθαι τε καὶ τεθράφθαι καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι ξυνέβαιεν.

[8] For the theatres and hippodromes and circuses were all closed for the most part — the places in which, as it happened, his wife had been born and reared and educated. And later he ordered these spectacles to close down altogether,

[9] ὕστερον δὲ ταῦτα δὴ ἄργεῖν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκέλευσε τὰ θεάματα, τοῦ μὴ τὰ εἰωθότα χορηγεῖν τὸν δημόσιον πολλοῖς τε καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀναριθμοῖς οὖσιν,

[9] even in Byzantium, so that the Treasury might not have to supply the usual sums to the numerous and almost countless persons who derived their living from them.

[10] οἷς ἐνθένδε ὁ βίος. ἦν τε ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῇ λύπη τε καὶ κατήφεια, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκήψασαι πάθος, καὶ βίος πᾶσιν ἀγέλαστος.

[10] And there was both in private and in public sorrow and dejection, as

though still another affliction from Heaven had smitten them, and there was no laughter in life for anyone.

[11] ἄλλο τε τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐφέρετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν διηγήμασιν, οἵκοι τε οὔσι καὶ ἀγοράζουσι κὰν τοῖς ἱεροῖς διατρίβουσιν ἢ συμφοραὶ τε καὶ πάθη καὶ καινотέρων ἀτυχημάτων ὑπερβολή.

[11] And no other topics whatever arose in the conversation of the people, whether they were at home or in the market-place or were tarrying in the sacred places, than disasters and calamities and misfortunes of novel kind in surpassing degree.

[12] Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ λείπεται, τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ὕπατοι Ῥωμαίων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐγινέσθην δύο, ἄτερος μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ.

[12] Such was the situation in the cities. And that which remains to be told is worth recounting. Two Consuls of the Romans were chosen each year, the one in Rome and the other in Byzantium.

[13] ὅστις δὲ εἰς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκαλεῖτο αὐτήν πλεον ἢ κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ εἴκοσιν ἔς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀναλοῦν ἔμελλεν, ὀλίγα μὲν οἰκεῖα,

[13] And whoever was called to this honour was sure to be required to spend more than twenty centenaria of gold on the State, a small portion of this being his own money but the most of it supplied by the Emperor.

[14] τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος. ταῦτά τε τὰ χρήματα ἔς τε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥνπερ ἐμνήσθην, καὶ ἔς τῶν βίων τοὺς ἀπορωτέρους ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον φερόμενα καὶ διαφερόντως ἔς τοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα ἔς ἀεὶ τῇ πόλει ἀνίστη.

[14] This money was distributed to those whom I have mentioned and to those, as a general thing, who were altogether destitute of means of subsistence, and particularly to performers on the stage, and thus provided constant support for all civic undertakings.

[15] ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, οὐκέτι καιροῖς τοῖς καθήκουσι ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολλοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ὕπατος καθίστατο χρόνου, τελευτῶντες δὲ οὐδὲ ὄναρ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐώρων, ἐξ οὗ δὴ πενία τινὶ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐσφίγγετο τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τὰ μὲν εἰωθότα τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρεχομένου, τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τρόποις ἅπασι πανταχόθεν ἀφαιρουμένου.

[15] But since the time when Justinian took over the Empire, these things were no longer done at the appropriate seasons; but although at first a Consul was

appointed for Romans after a long interval, yet finally the people never saw that official even in a dream, and consequently mankind was being most cruelly pinched by a kind of poverty, since the Emperor no longer provided his subjects with what they had been wont to receive, but kept on depriving them in every way and everywhere of what they still possessed.

[16] Ὡς μὲν οὖν τὰ δημόσια καταπιὼν ξύμπαντα χρήματα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὁ λυμεὼν οὗτος ἕκαστόν τε ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ξύμπαντας τὰς οὐσίας ἀφῆρηται,

[16] Now how this despoiler has been swallowing up all the public monies and how he has been fleecing the members of the Senate of their property, both individually and all of them in common, has, I think, been sufficiently described.

[17] διαρκῶς δεδιγηῆσθαι οἶμαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐδαίμονας δοκοῦντας εἶναι συκοφαντία περιὼν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ χρήματα ἴσχυσεν, ἱκανώτατά μοι εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω, οὐ μέντοι στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἄρχουσι πᾶσιν ὑπηρετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Παλατίῳ στρατευομένους, γεωργοὺς τε καὶ χωρίων κτήτορας καὶ κυρίους καὶ οἷς ἐν λόγοις τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναυκλήρους καὶ ναύτας βαναύσους τε καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὁ βίος, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας, ἐς οὓς δυκνεῖσθαι βλάβος τὸ ἐκ τοῦδε συμβαίνει.

[17] And how he has circumvented by blackmailing methods the others likewise who are reputed to be prosperous, and has succeeded in robbing them of their money, this I consider to have been told by me quite adequately; aye, and the soldiers and those who serve all the magistrates and those who serve in the Palace as guards, and the farmers and the owners and masters of lands, and those whose profession is oratory, — nay more, the shipping-merchants and the owners of ships and the sailors, and the mechanics and day-labourers and the tradesmen of the market-place and those who derive their living from performances on the stage, and, furthermore, all the other classes, I may say, which are reached by the damage which issues from this man.

[18] Οἷα δὲ τοὺς τε προσαιτητὰς καὶ ἀγελαίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ πτωχοὺς τε καὶ λῶβῃ πάσῃ ἐχομένους εἰργάσατο, αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν: τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν λόγοις λελέξεται.

[18] And we shall proceed forthwith to tell how he treated the beggars and the common folk and the poor and those afflicted with every form of physical handicap; for his treatment of the priests will be described in my subsequent books.

[19] πρῶτα μὲν, ὅπερ εἴρηται, ἅπαντα περιβεβλημένος τὰ πωλητήρια καὶ ὠνίων

τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων τὰ λεγόμενα καταστησάμενος μονοπώλια πλέον ἢ τριπλάσια τιμήματα πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπράττετο.

[19] First of all, having taken control, as has been said, of all the shops and having established what are called the monopolies of all the most indispensable goods, he proceeded to exact from the whole population more than threefold the usual prices.

[20] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπεὶ ἀνὰριθμὰ μοι ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε λόγῳ ἀτελευτήτῳ καταλέγειν φιλονεικοῖην· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοὺς ἄρτους ὠνούμενων πικρότατα ἐς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐσύλει, οὓς δὴ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ πάσῃ λῶβῃ ἔχομένους ἀνθρώπους μὴ οὐκ ὠνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατον.

[20] Now as to his other doings, inasmuch as they have seemed to me past counting, I, for my part, could not aspire to catalogue them even in an endless narrative; but I will say that from the purchasers of bread he stole most cruelly at all times, men who, being manual labourers and impoverished and afflicted with every physical handicap, could not possibly avoid buying bread.

[21] αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τρία κεντηνάρια φέρεσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐνθένδε ἡξίου, ὅπως οἱ ἄρτοι ἀξιώτεροι ᾧσι καὶ σποδοῦ ἐμπλεῶ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς αἰσχροκερδείας ἀσέβημα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὀκνηρὸς ἦει·

[21] For in order to realize from this source as much as three centenaria each year, he required that the loaves should be both more expensive and full of ash; for this Emperor did not hesitate to resort to even so impious an act of shameful covetousness as this.

[22] ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ σκίψει οἰκεῖα κέρδη ἐπιτεχνώμενοι οἷς ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη αὐτοὶ μὲν ῥᾶστα ἐς πλοῦτόν τινα περιστάντο μέγαν, λιμὸν δὲ τοῖς πτωχοῖς χειροποίητον ἐν εὐθηνούσι χρόνοις αἰεὶ παρὰ δόξαν εἰργάζοντο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ σῖτον ἐτέρωθεν τινι εἰσκομίζεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἅπασιν τούτους δὴ ὠνούμενους ἄρτους ἐσθίειν.

[22] And those who were charged with this office, using this pretext as an excuse for contriving some private gains, did indeed find it easy to attain great wealth of a sort, but in so doing they were constantly, strange as it seemed, creating for the poor a man-made famine in times of abundance; for it was absolutely forbidden that any man should import even corn^o from elsewhere, but it was required of all that they should buy and eat these loaves.

[23] Τὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὀχετὸν διερρωγότα τε ὀρώντες καὶ μοῖραν ὕδατος ὀλίγην τινὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντα ὑπερεώρων τε καὶ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν αὐτῶν προέσθαι ἠθέλον, καίπερ ὁμίλου αἰεὶ ἄμφι τὰς κρήνας ἀποπνιγομένου πολλοῦ, καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἀποκεκλεισμένων ἀπάντων· καίτοι ἐς οἰκοδομίας θαλασσίους τε καὶ ἀνοήτους ἄλλας μέγεθος χρημάτων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προῖετο,

πανταχόθι τῶν προαστείων ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὥσπερ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοὺς οὐ χωροῦντων, ἐν οἷς δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότες διαβιοῦν ἐς αἰὶ ἤθελον.

[23] And though they saw that the city's aqueduct had been broken and was delivering only a small fraction of the water into the city, they took no notice of the matter and would not consent to spend any money on it whatever, in spite of the fact that a great throng of the people, bursting with indignation, was always gathered at the fountains, and that all the baths had been closed. And yet he squandered a great mass of money for no good reason on buildings over the sea and other senseless structures, building new ones in all parts of the suburbs, as if the palaces in which all the earlier Emperors had been content to live throughout their lives could not contain his household.

[24] οὕτως οὐ χρημάτων φειδοῖ, ἀλλὰ φθόρου ἀνθρώπων ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ ὀχετοῦ οἰκοδομίας ὀλιγορεῖν ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦδε ἐτοιμότερος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων χρήματά τε προσποιεῖσθαι κακῶς, καὶ ταῦτα χειρόνως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα προέσθαι.

[24] Thus it was not from motives of economy, but in order to effect the destruction of human beings, that they saw fit to neglect the building of the aqueduct, for no man in the whole world since the beginning of time has been more ready than this Justinian both to acquire money basely and then immediately more foolishly to squander it.

[25] δυοῖν τοίνυν ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐν τε ποτῶ καὶ τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πενομένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς οὗσιν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἄρτου, δι' ἀμφοῖν αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ μοι δεδιήγεται, βασιλεὺς ὁδε ἔβλαψε, τὸ μὲν ἄπορον σφίσι, τὸν δὲ πολλῶ ἀξιώτερον ἐργασάμενος.

[25] Of the two resources, then, namely food and drink, which had been left to those in extreme destitution, both were used by this Emperor to their injury, as I have stated, since he made the one, namely water, impossible to get, and the other, bread, far more expensive to buy.

[26] Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ προσαιτητάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρωθι ὀκημένων τινὰς ἔδρασε ταῦτα, ὥσπερ μοι αὐτίκα λελέξεται.

[26] And he treated thus not only the beggar class of Byzantium, but also, in some instances, those who lived elsewhere, as will immediately be told by me.

[27] Ἰταλίαν γὰρ Θεωδέρικος ἐλὼν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ῥώμῃ Παλατίῳ στρατευομένους αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, ὅπως τι διασώζοιτο πολιτείας ἐνταῦθα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἰχνος, μίαν ἀπολιπὼν σύνταξιν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστω.

[27] For when Theoderic captured Italy, he left where they were those who were serving as soldiers in the Palace at Rome, in order that at least a trace of the ancient polity might be preserved there, leaving each man a small daily wage; and these soldiers were very numerous.

[28] ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι παμπληθεῖς ἄγαν. οἳ τε γὰρ σίλεντιάριοι καλούμενοι καὶ δομέστικοι καὶ σχολάριοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, οἷς δὴ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπελέλειπτο ἢ τὸ τῆς στρατείας ὄνομα μόνον, καὶ ἡ σύνταξις αὕτη ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν ἀποχρῶσα μόλις αὐτοῖς, ἅπερ ἕς τε παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους Θεοδέρικος αὐτοῦς παραπέμπειν ἐκέλευσε.

[28] For the Silentarii, as they are called, and the Domestici and the Scholarii were among them, though in their case nothing military remained except the name of the army, and this pay which barely sufficed to maintain them; and Theoderic commanded that this custom be transmitted to their offspring and descendants.

[29] τοῖς τε προσαιτηταῖς οἱ παρὰ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεῶν δίαιταν εἶχον, τρισχιλίους σίτου μεδίμνους χορηγεῖν αἰεὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισεν: ἅπερ ἅπαντες οὗτοι διαγεγόνασιν κομιζόμενοι ἕως Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ψαλίδιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο.

[29] And to the beggars who had their station beside the Church of Peter the Apostle, he ordered that the Treasury should for ever supply each year three thousand measures of corn. These pensions all these beggars continued to receive until Alexander, called “Snips,” arrived in Italy.

[30] πάντα γὰρ εὐθὺς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ περιελεῖν ἔγνω. ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν τε πρᾶξιν προσήκατο ταύτην καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχεν. ἐν ταύτῃ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰργάσατο τάδε.

[30] For this man decided immediately, without any hesitation, to abolish them all. Upon learning this, Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, put the stamp of his approval upon this course of action and held Alexander in still higher honour than formerly. During this journey Alexander did the following disservice to the Greeks also.

[31] Τοῦ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις φυλακτηρίου οἱ τὰ ἐκείνη γεωργοῦντες χωρία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπεμελοῦντο, ἐκ περιτροπῆς τε τὸ ἐνταῦθα τεῖχος ἐφύλασσαν, ἡνίκα δὴ ἔφοδος βαρβάρων τινῶν ὥς ἐπισκίψει ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐπίδοξος ἦν.

[31] The outpost at Thermopylae had from early times been under the care of the farmers of that region, and they used to take turns in guarding the wall there, whenever it was expected that some barbarians or other would make a descent upon the Peloponnesus.

[32] ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τότε Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος προνοεῖν Πελοποννησίων σκηπτόμενος οὐκ ἔφη γεωργοῖς τὸ ταύτη φυλακτήριον ἐπιτρέψειν.

[32] But when Alexander visited the place on the occasion in question, he, pretending that he was acting in the interests of the Peloponnesians, refused to entrust the outpost there to the farmers.

[33] στρατιώτας οὖν ἐνταῦθα εἰς δισχιλίους καταστησάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου χορηγεῖσθαι σφίσι τὰς συντάξεις διώρισεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πασῶν πόλεων τὰ τε πολιτικὰ καὶ θεωρητικὰ ξύμπαντα χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ τῷ προσήματι τούτῳ μετήνεγκεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνθένδε οἱ στρατιῶται οὗτοι σιτίζονται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐταῖς οὔτε τις ἐν δημοσίῳ οἰκοδομία ἀνενεώθη οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οἷόν τε ἦν γίνεσθαι.

[33] So he stationed troops there to the number of two thousand and ordained that their pay should not be provided from the imperial Treasury, but instead he transferred to the Treasury the entire civic funds and the funds for the spectacles of all the cities of Greece, on the pretext that these soldiers were to be maintained therefrom, and consequently in all Greece, and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any other needful thing be done.

[34] Ἰουστινιανὸς μέντοι τὰ τῆδε διωκημένα τῷ Ψαλιδίῳ οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει ἐπέρρωσε.

[34] Justinian, however, without any hesitation confirmed these measures of “Snips.”

[35] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε κεχώρηκεν. ἰτέον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πτωχοὺς. Ἥφαιστός τις ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ῥήτορσιν ἐγγέγονει, ὅσπερ παραλαβὼν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχὴν τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῦ στασιάζειν κατέπαυσε, φοβερός τοῖς στασιώταις φανείς, ἔσχατα δὲ ἐσχάτων κακὰ τοῖς τῆδε ὥκημένοις ἐνδέδεικται πᾶσι.

[35] So then these matters were moving on in the manner described. But we must now proceed to the subject of the poor in Alexandria. There had been a certain Hephaestus among the rhetors there, who took over the government of Alexandria, and while he did put an end to the factional strife of the populace, shewing himself an object of terror to the factious, he had brought upon all the inhabitants of the city the utter extreme of extreme misfortune.

[36] πάντα γὰρ εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πωλητήρια ἐς τὸ καλούμενον μονοπώλιον καταστησάμενος ἄλλον μὲν ἐμπόρων οὐδένα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐργάζεσθαι εἶα, μόνος δὲ ἀπάντων αὐτὸς γεγονὼς κάπηλος παρεδίδοτο τὰ ὄνια πάντα, δηλονότι τὰς τούτων τιμὰς τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ σταθμώμενος,

ἀπεπνίγετό τε τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνει ἢ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν, οὗ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πενομένοις τὰ πρότερα εὖωνα διαρκῶς ἐγεγόνει πάντα, μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ἄρτῳ ἐπίεζε.

[36] For straightway bringing all the shops of the city into what is called the monopoly, he would permit none of the merchants to engage in this business, but having, alone of them all, become himself a retailer, he would sell every kind of merchandise, obviously gauging their price by the arbitrary power of his office, and the city of Alexandria was like to burst with anger because of the scarcity of the necessities of life — a city where, in former times, all things had been exceedingly cheap even for those in extreme poverty; and he pinched them particularly in the matter of the bread.

[37] τὸν γὰρ σῖτον αὐτὸς ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων ὠνεῖτο μόνος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐς μέδιμνον ἓνα ἐτέρῳ ἐνδιδοὺς πρίασθαι, ταύτῃ τε τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄρτων τιμήματα διετίθετο ἥπερ ἐβούλετο.

[37] For he did all the buying of grain from the Egyptians himself, permitting no one else to purchase so much as a single peck, and thus he determined the size of the loaves and the price of bread just as he wished.

[38] πλοῦτον τοίνυν καὶ ἀμύθητον αὐτὸς τε δι' ὀλίγου περιεβάλετο καὶ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀμφὶ τούτῳ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνεπλήσατο.

[38] Thus in a short time he acquired for himself fabulous wealth and fulfilled the Emperor's desire in this matter.

[39] καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὁ δῆμος δέει τοῦ Ἥφαιστου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰδοῖ τῶν οἱ ἐς αἰὲ ἐσκομιζομένων χρημάτων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὑπερηγάπα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[39] And while the populace of Alexandria, through fear of Hephaestus, endured their plight in silence, the Emperor, out of respect for the money that kept coming in to him constantly, loved the man exceedingly.

[40] Βουλευσας δὲ Ἥφαιστος οὗτος ὅπως τὴν βασιλέως διάνοιαν πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξελεῖν δύνηται, προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε.

[40] And this Hephaestus, in order that he might be able still more to captivate the Emperor's mind, contrived this further scheme.

[41] Διοκλητιανὸς Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὺς αὐτοκράτωρ σίτου μέγα τι χρῆμα δίδοσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισε.

[41] Diocletian, a former Emperor of the Romans, had decreed that a huge

amount of grain be given by the Treasury every year to the needy among the Alexandrians.

[42] ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος τηνικάδε διαδασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἄχρι δεῦρο παρέπεμψαν.

[42] And the populace, having distributed this grain among themselves in the first instance, have transmitted this custom to their descendants even down to the present day.

[43] ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἐνθένδε μυριάδας ἐς διακοσίας ἐπετείους μεδίμνων τοὺς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζοντας ἀφελόμενος τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐντέθεικε, βασιλεῖ γράψας ὥς οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ ἧ ἕξιμφerei τοῖς πράγμασι μέχρι νῦν ταῦτα οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι κομίζονται.

[43] But Hephaestus, from the time in question, wrested from those destitute of the necessities of life as much as two million measures annually and placed it in the warehouses of the State, writing to the Emperor that these people had until now been receiving the grain wrongfully, and not to the advantage of the public interest.

[44] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἐμπεδώσας τὴν πρᾶξιν διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτὸν μείζονος ἔσχεν, Ἀλεξανδρέων δὲ ὅσοι ταύτην εἶχον τοῦ βίου ἐλπίδα, ταύτης δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας ἀπώναντο.

[44] And consequently the Emperor confirmed the action and held him in still greater favour, and those of the Alexandrians who had this one hope of a livelihood suffered most cruelly as a result of this inhumanity.

XXVII

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ εἰργασμένα τοσαῦτά ἐστιν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγῳ ἐπαρκεῖν δύνασθαι.

Now the deeds done by Justinian were so many in number that all eternity would not be able to suffice for the account of them.

[2] ὀλίγα δέ μοι ἄττα ἐκ πάντων ἀπολεξαμένῳ εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει, δι' ὃν αὐτοῦ ἐνδηλον καὶ τοῖς ὀπισθεν γεννησομένοις τὸ ἥθος ἅπαν διαφανῶς ἔσται, καὶ ὡς εἴρων τε ἦν καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε ἱερέων οὔτε νόμων αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, οὔτε δήμου κατεσπουδασμένου αὐτῷ δοκοῦντος εἶναι, οὐ μὴν οὔτε τινὸς τὸ παράπαν αἰδοῦς ἢ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας συμφόρου ἢ ὅτου τι προὔργου ἐς αὐτὴν γένοιτο, ἢ ὅπως σκήψεώς τινος τὰ πρασσόμενα τυχεῖν δύναιτο, οὔτε ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν ἐσῆει, ὅτι μὴ μόνη ἀφαίρεσις τῶν ἐν πάσῃ γῇ κειμένων χρημάτων. ἄρξομαι δὲ ἐνθένδε.

[2] But it will suffice for me to collect and mention some few examples from the whole number by which his whole character will be clearly revealed to men of future generations also: that he was a dissembler and cared not either for God or for priests or for laws, nor for the populace, though in seeming it was favoured by him, nor, further, for any decency whatsoever nor for the advantage of the State or for any benefit that might accrue to it, or that his actions might be able to find some excuse, nor did any consideration weigh with him other than simply and solely the snatching of all the money there was in the world. And I shall begin with this last.

[3] Ἀρχιερέα κατεστήσατο Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὐτὸς Παῦλον ὄνομα. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ῥόδων τις, Φοῖνιξ γένος, ἔχων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχήν.

[3] The Emperor designated a chief priest over the Alexandrians, Paulus by name. And it chanced that a certain Rhodon, a Phoenician by birth, at that time held sway in Alexandria.

[4] ᾧ δὴ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς ἅπαντα Παύλῳ ὑπηρετεῖν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπως δὴ ἀτελεύτητον μένοι τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένων μὴδέν.

[4] This man he instructed to support Paulus with all zeal in everything, so that not one of his orders might remain unfulfilled.

[5] ταύτῃ γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων τοὺς αἵρετικούς ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐν Καλχηδόνι σύνοδον ὥετο δυνατόν ἔσεσθαι.

[5] For in this way he thought he should be able to win the adherence of the heretics among the Alexandrians to the Council of Chalcedon.

[6] ἦν δέ τις Ἀρσένιος, Παλαιστίνος γένος, ὅσπερ Θεοδώρα τῇ βασιλίδι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐπιτήδειος γεγονώς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύνανται πολλὴν μεγάλα τε περιβαλλόμενος χρήματα ἐς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ἦλθε, καίπερ μιαιφώτατος ὢν.

[6] There was a certain Arsenius, a native of Palestine, who had been serviceable to the Empress Theodora in a very important matter, and from this circumstance he had acquired great power and a vast amount of money and had achieved the dignity of the Senate, although he was an utter scoundrel.

[7] οὗτος Σαμαρείτης μὲν ἦν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν προέσθαι δύναμιν ὀνόματος ἀντιλαβέσθαι τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ἔγνω.

[7] This man was, in fact, a Samaritan, but in order not to lose the power he held, he had seen fit to adopt the name of a Christian.

[8] ὁ μὲντοι πατήρ τε καὶ ἀδελφὸς τῇ τούτου δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες διαγεγόνασιν μὲν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει, περιστέλλοντες τὴν πάτριον δόξαν, γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνήκεστα τοὺς Χριστιανούς εἰργάζοντο πάντας.

[8] His father and brother, however, relying upon this man's power, had continued on in Scythopolis, preserving their ancestral faith, and, under instructions from him, they were working outrageous wrongs upon all the Christians.

[9] διὸ δὴ οἱ πολῖται σφίσιν ἐπαναστάντες ἄμφω ἔκτειναν θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ, κακά τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη Παλαιστίνοις ἐνθὲνδε γενέσθαι.

[9] Consequently the citizens rose against them and killed them both with a most cruel death, and many evils came to pass for the people of Palestine from that cause.

[10] τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν οὔτε Ἰουστινιανὸς οὔτε βασιλεὺς κακὸν τι ἔδρασαν, καίπερ αἰτιώτατον γεγονότα δυσκόλων ἀπάντων, ἀπεῖπον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Παλάτιον μηκέτι ἰέναι: ἐνδεδεχέσθαι γὰρ τούτου διὰ ἕνεκα πρὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἠνωγλοῦντο.

[10] And at that time neither Justinian nor the Empress did Arsenius any harm, though he had been the chief cause of all the difficulties, but they did forbid him to come to the Palace any longer; for they were being harassed most persistently by the Christians on account of this matter.

[11] οὗτος Ἀρσένιος βασιλεῖ χαριεῖσθαι οἰόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζὺν τῷ Παύλῳ ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν στέλλεται, ὥς δὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπηρετήσων καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς πειθῶ συγκατεργασόμενος αὐτῷ δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.

[11] This Arsenius, thinking to gratify the Emperor, not long afterwards set out in company with Paulus for Alexandria, in order to assist him in other matters and in particular to help him with all his might to bring about obedience on the part of the Alexandrians.

[12] ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ἥνικα οἱ τοῦ Παλατίου ἀποκεκλείσθαι ξυνέπεσε, τῶν ἐν Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἀμελέτητος γεγονέναι δογμάτων ἀπάντων.

[12] For he declared that at the time when he had the ill-fortune to be excluded from the Palace, he had not neglected the study of all the doctrines of the Christians.

[13] ὅπερ τὴν Θεοδώραν ἠνίασε: τὴν ἐναντίαν γὰρ ἐσκήπτετο τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοῦτο ἰέναι, ὥς μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἴρηται.

[13] But this annoyed Theodora; for she pretended to go against the Emperor in this, as I have stated previously.

[14] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐγένοντο, διάκονόν τινα Ψόην ὄνομα Ῥόδωνι Παῦλος παρέδωκε τεθνηξόμενον, φάσκων δὴ αὐτὸν μόνον οἱ αὐτῷ ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῦ μὴ τὰ βασιλεῖ δεδογμένα ὑποτελέσαι.

[14] So when Paulus and Arsenius had arrived at Alexandria, Paulus delivered to Rhodon a certain deacon named Psoes to be put to death, claiming that he alone was the obstacle which prevented him from executing the Emperor's decisions.

[15] τοῖς δὲ βασιλέως γράμμασι Ῥόδων ἡγμένος, συχνοῖς τε οὔσι καὶ λίαν σπουδαίοις, αἰκίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔγνω. καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς βασάνου κατατεινόμενος αὐτίκα θνήσκει.

[15] And Rhodon, acting under the guidance of the Emperor's messages, which were both frequent and exceedingly urgent, decided to torture the man. And he died at once when racked by the torture.

[16] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς βασιλέα ἦλθεν, ἐγκειμένης ἰσχυρότατα τῆς βασιλίδος, ἅπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παύλῳ τε καὶ Ῥόδωνι καὶ Ἀρσενίῳ εὐθὺς ἐκίνει, ὥσπερ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπηγγελμένων ἐπιλελησμένων ἀπάντων.

[16] Now when word of this came to the Emperor, he immediately, at the very vehement insistence of the Empress, set everything in motion against Paulus and Rhodon and Arsenius, as if he had forgotten utterly the instructions which he had given to these very men.

[17] Λιβέριον οὖν τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἄνδρα πατρικίον καταστησάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν δοκίμων ιερέων τινὰς ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔστειλε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ποιησομένους διάγνωσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ῥώμης ἀρχιδιάκονος Πελάγιος ἦν, τὸ Βιγιλίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑποδὺς πρόσωπον, ἐπιτεταγμένον οἱ τοῦτο γε πρὸς τοῦ Βιγιλίου:

[17] So he appointed Liberius, one of the Patricians of Rome, as Governor of Alexandria and he sent some of the notable priests to that city to make a review of the situation, among them being the Archdeacon of Rome, Pelagius, assuming the rôle of the Chief Priest Vigilius, as he had been ordered to do by Vigilius.

[18] τοῦ τε φόνου ἐληλεγμένου Παῦλον τῆς ιερωσύνης εὐθὺς καθεῖλον, φυγόντα δὲ Ῥόδωνα ἐς Βυζάντιον τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἀφείλετο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποίησατο, καίπερ τρισκαίδεκα ἐπιστολάς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐνδειξαμένου, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἄγαν ἐπαγγέλλων τε ἅπαντα τῷ Παύλῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀντιτείνειν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἐπιτελέσαι τὰ δόξαντα δυνατός εἴη.

[18] And when the murder had been proved, they immediately removed Paulus from his priesthood; and when Rhodon fled to Byzantium, the Emperor cut off his head and confiscated all his property to the Treasury, although the man displayed thirteen letters which the Emperor had written to him urging and earnestly insisting and commanding that he support Paulus in all things and not oppose him in anything whatsoever, to the end that he might be able to execute the Emperor's decisions touching the faith.

[19] Ἀρσένιον τε Λιβέριος γνώμῃ Θεοδώρας ἀνεσκολόπισε, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιοῦν βασιλεὺς ἔγνω, καίπερ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐπεγκαλεῖν ἔχων ἢ ὅτι ξὺν τῷ Παύλῳ δίαίταν εἶχε.

[19] And Liberius, by the will of Theodora, impaled Arsenius, and the Emperor saw fit to confiscate his property, although he had no charge to bring against him other than that he consorted with Paulus.

[20] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ αὐτῷ εἵργασται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτά μοι εἴρηται αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[20] Now as to whether these things were rightly done by him or otherwise I cannot say, but the reason why I have recounted these things I shall declare immediately.

[21] ὁ Παῦλος χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκων ἐπτά τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενος ἡξίου τὴν ιερωσύνην ἀπολαβεῖν ἅτε αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ νόμῳ ἀφηρημένους.

[21] Paulus some time later came to Byzantium and offered the Emperor seven centenaria of gold, demanding that he receive back the priesthood, on the ground that it had been illegally wrested from him.

[22] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τὰ τε χρήματα ἐδέξατο πράως καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχεν, ἀρχιερέα τε ὡμολόγησεν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὐτὸν καταστήσεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καίπερ ἐτέρου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντος, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυνοικήσαντάς τε καὶ ὑπουργεῖν τετολμηκότας ἔκτεινέ τε αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο.

[22] And Justinian accepted the money courteously and kept the man in honour, and he agreed to make him Chief Priest of Alexandria immediately, though another held that honour, just as if he did not know that he himself had both slain and robbed of their property men who had lived with him and had dared to serve him.

[23] ὁ μὲν οὖν Σεβαστὸς ἐς ἄγαν διατεινόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, Παῦλος δὲ διαρρήδην ἐπίδοξος ἦν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπολήψεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ.

[23] So the Augustus was taking up the matter with great vehemence and enthusiasm, and Paulus was definitely expected to resume the priesthood in any case.

[24] ἀλλὰ Βιγίλιος τηνικάδε παρὼν εἴκειν βασιλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτάττοντι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνων. ἔφασκε γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τε εἶναι ψῆφον τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸς ἀνάδικον διειργάσθαι,

[24] But Vigilius, who was now present, absolutely refused to yield to the Emperor if he should issue such a command. For he said that he could not possibly cancel his own vote — meaning the opinion rendered by Pelagius.

[25] τὴν Πελαγίου παραδηλῶν γνῶσιν. οὕτως ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ὅτι μὴ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεως αἰεὶ ἔμελεν. εἰρήσεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε.

[25] Thus this Emperor had no concern for anything except to be for ever depriving others of money. And another incident shall be told, as follows.

[26] Φαυστῖνος ἦν τις, Παλαιστῖνος γένος, Σαμαρείτης μὲν γεγονὼς ἄνωθεν, ὀνόματος δὲ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ νόμου.

[26] There was a certain Faustinus, born in Palestine, a Samaritan by descent, but under the constraint of the law he had espoused the name of Christian.

[27] οὗτος ὁ Φαυστῖνος ἐς τε βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν, ἥσπερ αὐτὸν παραλυθέντα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐς τε τὸ Βυζάντιον

ἥκοντα τῶν τινες ἱερέων διέβαλλον ἐπενεγκάμενοι ὡς Σαμαρειτῶν νόμιμα περιστέλλει, καὶ Χριστιανὸς δράσειε τοὺς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ὠκημένους ἀνόσια ἔργα.

[27] This Faustinus had risen to the senatorial rank and was ruler of the land; but a little later he was removed from this office and came to Byzantium, where some of the priests began to slander him, alleging that he was observing the rites of the Samaritans and basely mistreating the Christians living in Palestine.

[28] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀγριαίνεσθαι τε καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖσθαι διὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα ὑφ' ὅτουοῦν διασύροιτο.

[28] And Justinian appeared to be furious and deeply resentful on this account, that while he was ruling over the Romans the name of Christ should be insulted by anyone.

[29] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τὴν διάγνωσιν πεποιημένοι τοῦ πράγματος φυγῇ τὸν Φαυστῖνον ἐξημίωσαν, βασιλέως ἐγκειμένου σφίσι.

[29] So when the Senate made an investigation of the matter, they penalized Faustinus with banishment because of the Emperor's importunity.

[30] βασιλεὺς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ χρήματα ὅσα ἐβούλετο κεκομισμένος ἀνάδικα εὐθὺς τὰ δεδικασμένα ἐποίησε.

[30] But the Emperor received from him all the money he wanted and immediately recalled the decision which had been made.

[31] Φαυστῖνος δὲ αὐθις τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα ἔχων, βασιλεῖ τε ὠμίλει ἐπίτροπός τε καταστάς τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τε καὶ Φοινίκῃ βασιλικῶν χωρίων ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα κατειργάζετο ὅσα οἱ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη.

[31] So Faustinus, once more in possession of his former dignity, consorted with the Emperor, and when he was appointed Overseer of the Imperial Domains in Palestine and Phoenicia, he felt more free to put through all the measures that were in accord with his own wishes.

[32] ὅντινα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς τρόπον τὰ Χριστιανῶν δικαιώματα περιστέλλειν ἤξιου, καίπερ οὐ πολλῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶνδε βραχέων ὄντων τεκμηριοῦν ἔστιν.

[32] As to the methods, then, by which Justinian saw fit to defend the claims of the Christians, although it is not much that we have related, yet it is possible to form a conclusion from it, brief though it be.

[33] ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει κατέσειε χρημάτων κειμένων
βραχυτάτῳ δηλωθήσεται λόγῳ.

[33] And how without any hesitation he shattered the laws when money was in
sight shall be disclosed very briefly.

XXVIII

Πρίσκος τις ἐν τῇ Ἐμεσηνῶν ἐγένετο πόλει, ὅσπερ ἀλλότρια γράμματα μιμεῖσθαι εὐφυῶς ἐξηπίστατο, τεχνίτης τε ἦν περὶ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο δεξιὸς ἄγαν.

There was a certain Priscus in the city of Emesa who had a great natural ability in imitating the handwriting of others, and he was a very clever artist at this evil business.

[2] ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἐμεσηνῶν ἐκκλησία τῶν τινος ἐπιφανῶν κληρονόμος γεγενημένη χρόνοις τισὶ πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν.

[2] Now it happened that the Church of Emesa had a good many years before become the heir of one of the notables.

[3] ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πατρίκιος μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, Μαρμιανὸς δὲ ὄνομα, γένει λαμπρὸς καὶ περιουσία χρημάτων.

[3] The man in question was of patrician rank, one Mammianus by name, a man of distinguished family and great wealth,

[4] ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ Πρίσκος διερευνησάμενος πόλεως τῆς εἰρημένης τὰς οἰκίας πάσας, εἴ τινας εὗρε τε πλούτῳ ἀκμάζοντας καὶ πρὸς ζημίαν χρημάτων μεγάλων διαρκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτων διερευνησάμενος ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοὺς προπάτορας, γράμμασιν αὐτῶν παλαιοῖς ἐντυχῶν, βιβλίδια πολλὰ ὥς παρ' ἐκείνων γεγραμμένα πεποιήται, ὁμολογούντων πολλὰ χρήματα τῷ Μαρμιανῷ ἀποδώσειν ἅτε παρακαταθήκης λόγῳ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνου κεκομισμένων.

[4] and during the reign of Justinian Priscus investigated all the families of the above-named city, and if he found any persons who both abounded in wealth and were capable of sustaining great losses of money, he would carefully trace out their ancestors, and when he chanced upon old letters of theirs, he made many documents purporting to have been written by them, in which they promised to pay to Mammianus large sums of money on the ground that they had received this as a deposit from him.

[5] τό τε ὁμολογημένον ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς καταπλάστοις γραμματείοις χρυσίον ξυνήει οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐς ἑκατὸν κεντηνάρια.

[5] And the total amount acknowledged in these forged documents amounted to no less than a hundred centenaria.

[6] καὶ ἀνδρὸς δέ τινος, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τηνικάδε τοῦ χρόνου καθήμενος,

ήνικα ὁ Μαρμιανὸς περιῆν, δόξαν τε πολλήν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἔχων, ἅπαντα ἐπετέλει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν γραμματεῖα, ἕκαστον οἰκείοις ἐπισφραγίζων αὐτοὺς γράμμασιν, ὥνπερ ταβελλίωνα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ γράμματα δαιμονίως μιμησάμενος τοῖς διοικουμένοις τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑμεσηνῶν ἐκκλησίας παρέδωκεν, ὡμολογηκόσι μοῖραν αὐτῷ τινα κεῖσθαι τῶν ἐνθένδε πορισθησομένων χρημάτων.

[6] And selecting the writing of a certain man who had been wont to have a seat in the market-place at the period when Mammianus was alive, a man who had a great reputation for truth and for virtue in general, and who used to execute all the documents of the citizens, sealing each personally with his own writing (such a person the Romans call tabellio), Priscus, after making a marvellous imitation of this man's writing, delivered the documents to those who administered the affairs of the Church of Emesa, they having promised that a share of the money to be derived from that source should fall to him.

[7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ νόμος ἐμποδὼν ἴστατο, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας δίκας ἀπάσας ἐς τριακοντοῦτιν παραγραφὴν ἄγων, ὀλίγας δὲ ἄττας καὶ τὰς ὑποθηκαρίας καλουμένας τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν μήκει ἐκκρούων,

[7] But since the law stood in the way, which provided that all ordinary cases should be subject to a thirty-year limitation, yet some few cases, including cases involving mortgages, should be extended to include a period of forty years, they hit upon the following expedient.

[8] μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ προέμενοι ἐδέοντο σφίσι τὸν τῶν πολιτῶν ὄλεθρον οὐδὲν ὀφληκόντων ξυγκατεργάεσθαι.

[8] Coming to Byzantium and paying out great sums of money to this Emperor, they besought him to co-operate with them in accomplishing the destruction of the citizens who had been found guilty of nothing.

[9] ὁ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κεκομισμένος μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ νόμον ἔγραψεν, οὐ χρόνοις τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς καθήκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτῶν ἑκατὸν πλήθει δικῶν τῶν αὐταῖς προσηκουσῶν ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν Ἑμέσῃ μόνον κύρια εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

[9] And he, after he had got the money, without the least hesitation published a law that Churches should be debarred from prosecuting their claims, not after the regular period of time, but after the lapse of full one hundred years, and providing that this should be valid, not in Emesa alone, but throughout the whole Roman Empire.

[10] Ἑμεσηνοῖς τε τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο διαιτῶν ἔταξε Λογγινόν τινα δραστήριόν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἰσχυρὸν ἄγαν, ὃς καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχὴν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ

ὕστερον ἔσχεν.

[10] And to arbitrate this question for the people of Emesa he designated a certain Longinus, an energetic man and very powerful in body, who later also held the office of Mayor of Byzantium.

[11] οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν τινι τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην κεντηναρίοιν ἐκ βιβλίων τῶν εἰρημένων λαχόντες δυοῖν, κατεδικάσαντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὐθὺς, ὃ τι καὶ ἀπολογήσαιτο οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος διὰ τε χρόνου τοσόνδε μῆκος καὶ ἄγνοιαν τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων.

[11] And those who managed the affairs of the Church lodged, to begin with, a case for two centenaria, based on the documents mentioned, against one of the citizens, and they immediately secured the man's conviction, since he was utterly unable, both because of such a lapse of time and because of his ignorance of what had been done at the time in question, to make any defence whatever.

[12] ἐν πένθει δὲ μεγάλῳ ἐκάθηντο οἱ τε ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ὁμῶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐκκείμενοι καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οἱ τῶν Ἐμεσηνῶν λογιμώτατοι.

[12] And all men were filled with great sorrow, and above all the most notable among the men of Emesa, as being all equally exposed to the denouncers.

[13] τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ ἐς τοὺς πλείστους ἤδη τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιρρέοντος προμήθειάν τινα τοῦ θεοῦ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε.

[13] And since the evil was by now spreading out over the majority of the citizens, it so happened that a providence of God, one may say, occurred as follows.

[14] Πρίσκον ὁ Λογγῖνος τὸν τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σκαιώρημα ἐργασάμενον ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ κομίζειν οἱ τὰ γράμματα ἐκέλευσεν, ἀναδυόμενόν τε τὴν πράξιν ἐρράπισε δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.

[14] Longinus commanded Priscus, the author of this mischief, to bring together before him all the documents, and when he declined to do so, he struck him with great violence.

[15] ὁ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἰσχυροῦ λίαν τὴν πληγὴν οὐδαμῇ ἐνεγκὼν ἔπεσεν ὕπτιος, τρέμων δὲ ἤδη καὶ περιδεὴς γεγονώς, ὅλως τε Λογγῖνον ἠσθῆσθαι τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπονοῶν ὠμολόγει, οὕτω τε τῆς σκαιωρίας ἀπάσης ἐς φῶς ἐνεχθείσης τὴν συκοφαντίαν πεπαῦσθαι ξυνέβη.

[15] And he, unable to support the blow of a very strong man, fell on his back, and by this time trembling and in a state of panic he suspected that Longinus

knew entirely what he had done and so confessed the truth; thus the entire devilry was brought to light and the denouncing ceased.

[16] Ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐς τοὺς νόμους ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην εἰργάζετο τοὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗς Ἑβραῖοι τιμῶσι καταλύειν ὅδε βασιλεὺς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν.

[16] Yet these constant and daily tamperings with the laws of the Romans were not the only harm he did, but the Emperor also took pains to abolish the laws which the Hebrews honour.

[17] ἦν γάρ ποτε αὐτοῖς ἐπανιών ὁ χρόνος τὴν Πασχαλίαν ἑορτὴν πρὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀγαγὼν τύχοι, οὐκ εἶα ταύτην τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καιροῖς τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἄγειν, οὐδὲ τι ἐν ταύτῃ δεξιοῦσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίμων.

[17] If it ever happened, for instance, that the year in its recurring rounds brought on the Feast of the Passover before the festival of the Christians, he would not allow the Jews to celebrate this at the proper time nor to make any offering to God at that feast nor to perform any of the rites customary among them.

[18] πολλοὺς τε αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τεταγμένοι ἅτε προβατείων κρεῶν ἐν τούτῳ γευσασμένους τῷ χρόνῳ, τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν παρανομίας ὑπάγοντες χρήμασιν ἐζημίουν πολλοῖς.

[18] And many of them used to be brought to trial as having tasted the flesh of lambs at this time by those who were in positions of authority, and these punished them by heavy fines, arraigning them for violation of the laws of the State.

[19] ἔργα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀνάριθμα ἐξεπιστάμενος οὐκ ἂν τι ἐνθείην, ἐπεὶ πέρας δοτέον τῷ λόγῳ. ἀποχρήσει γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἦθος σημῆναι.

[19] And though I know well of countless other such actions on the part of Justinian, I shall not add anything, for an end must be set to my discourse. For the man's character will be disclosed with sufficient clearness by what has been said.

Ὅτι δὲ εἶρων τε καὶ κατάπλαστος ἦν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τὸν Λιβέριον τοῦτον, οὐπερ ἐμνήσθην ἀρτίως, παραλύσας ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς, Ἰωάννην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο Αἰγύπτιον γένος, ἐπίκλησιν Λαξαρίωνα.

That he was insincere and a dissembler I shall straightway make clear. The Liberius whom I have just mentioned he dismissed from the office he held and appointed in his place John surnamed Laxarion, an Egyptian by birth.

[2] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Πελάγιος ἔγνω Λιβεριῷ φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὢν, τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴπερ ὁ ἀμφὶ Λαξαρίωνα λόγος ἀληθὴς εἴη.

[2] And when Pelagius, who was a very close friend of Liberius, learned of this, he enquired of the Emperor whether the report about Laxarion was true.

[3] καὶ ὃς εὐθὺς ἀπηρνήσατο μηδὲν πεπραγέναι τοιοῦτο ἀπισχυρισάμενος, γράμματά τε αὐτῷ πρὸς Λιβέριον ἐνεχείρισεν, ἐντελλόμενος βεβαιότατα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχεσθαι, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῆς τρόπῳ μεθίεσθαι.

[3] And he straightway denied the report, insisting that he had not done any such thing, and he put in his hands a letter to Liberius, instructing him to hold on to this office most firmly and by no means to relinquish it.

[4] οὐ γὰρ ταύτης ἐθέλειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αὐτὸν παραλῦσαι. ἦν δέ τις τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ θεῖος, Εὐδαίμων ὄνομα, ἐς τε τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἦκων καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος πολλὰ ἐπίτροπος τέως τῆς βασιλέως οὐσίας ἰδίας.

[4] For it was not his will, he said, to remove him from the office at the present time. And John had an uncle in Byzantium named Eudaemon, who, having risen to senatorial rank and having acquired great wealth, was for a time administrator of the Emperor's personal estate.

[5] οὗτος Εὐδαίμων ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἠκηκόει ἅπερ ἐρρήθη, καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλέως ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ ἐν βεβαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἴη.

[5] This Eudaemon, upon hearing the statements we have mentioned, also enquired of the Emperor whether his nephew's office was secure.

[6] ὁ δὲ ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Λιβέριον ἐγγράπτο ἀρνησάμενος, πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην γράμματα γράψας ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐπέστελλεν.

[6] Whereupon the Emperor denied what he had written to Liberius and wrote a letter to John instructing him to lay claim to the office with all his might;

[7] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτῷ νεώτερον ἀμφ' αὐτῇ βεβουλεῦσθαι. οἷσπερ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀναπεισθεὶς Λιβέριον ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταγωγίου ἅτε αὐτῆς παραλελυμένον ἐκέλευε.

[7] for, he said, he on his part had not planned any change regarding it. And John, having been convinced by these statements, commanded Liberius to retire from his official quarters as having been dismissed from his office.

[8] Λιβέριος δὲ αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔφασκεν, ἡγμένος δηλονότι τοῖς βασιλέως καὶ αὐτὸς γράμμασιν.

[8] But Liberius refused absolutely to obey him, he also obviously having been led to do so by the Emperor's letters.

[9] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λιβέριον ἦει, ὁ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἀντίστασιν εἶδε. μάχης τε γενομένης, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ Ἰωάννης αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων.

[9] So John armed his followers and proceeded to attack Liberius, while the latter, together with his supporters, prepared for resistance. And a fight took place in which many were killed, including John himself, the holder of the office.

[10] Εὐδαίμονος οὖν ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου, μετάπεμπτος εὐθὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁ Λιβέριος ἦν, ἥ τε σύγκλητος βουλὴ τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιούμενη τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀπεψηφίσατο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπελθόντος, ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένου τὸ μίasma ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

[10] Liberius was therefore immediately summoned to Byzantium, Eudaemon urging this step vigorously, and the Senate, making a determination of the facts in the case, acquitted the man on the ground that the outrage had occurred while he was not an aggressor, but was acting in self-defence.

[11] βασιλεὺς μέντοι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως αὐτὸν ἐξημίωσε χρήμασι λάθρα.

[11] But the Emperor did not drop the matter until he had punished him by a fine of money, imposed secretly.

[12] Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀληθίζεσθαι τε ἠπίστατο καὶ εὐθύγλωστος ἦν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀρεργόν τι τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἄπο τοῦ καιροῦ οἶμαι εἶναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐδαίμων οὗτος ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ξυγγενῶν μὲν οἱ ἀπολελεϊμμένων πολλῶν, οὔτε διαθήκην τινὰ διαθέμενος οὔτε τι ἄλλο τὸ παρὰπαν εἰπών.

[12] It was in this wise, in sooth, that Justinian knew how to tell the truth and practised straightforwardness of speech! But it is not, I think, inopportune to

add a matter that is incidental to this narrative. For this Eudaemon died not long afterwards, having neither disposed of his estate by will nor made any statement whatever, although he had many relatives surviving.

[13] ὑπὸ χρόνον τε τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τις ἄρχων γεγωνὼς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ὄνομα Εὐφρατᾶς ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου, ἀδελφιδοῦν μὲν ἀπολιπὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ διαθέμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ πολλῇ ἐς ἄγαν

[13] And at about the same time a certain man, Euphratas by name, who had been overseer of the Palace eunuchs, departed this life, leaving a nephew but without having made any disposition of his estate, which was very great.

[14] οὔσῃ. ἄμφω δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο, κληρονόμος γεγενημένος αὐτόματος καὶ οὐδὲ τριώβολόν τινα τῶν νομίμων κληρονόμων προέμενος.

[14] And the Emperor seized both these estates, of his own arbitrary act making himself the heir and giving not a farthing to any of the lawful heirs.

[15] τοσαύτῃ αἰδοῖ ἐξ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕτως ἐχρήτο.

[15] Such respect for the law and for the kinsmen of his intimates was shewn by this Emperor!

[16] οὕτως καὶ τὰ Εἰρηναίου πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν τελευτήσαντος δικαίωμα οὐδ' ὅτιον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχων ἀφείλετο.

[16] In the same way he had seized the property of Eirenaeus who had died a long time before, although he had not a shadow of a claim to it.

[17] Τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐχόμενον ὑπὸ χρόνον τε τὸν αὐτὸν γεγωνὸς οὐκ ἂν σιωπῶην. Ἀνατόλιός τις ἦν ἐν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τῷ λευκώματι τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχων. τούτου τὴν παῖδα γαμετὴν γυναῖκα τῶν τις Καισαρέων πεποίηται,

[17] And the incident directly connected with those just mentioned, which occurred at about the same time, I could not pass by in silence. There was a certain Anatolius who held chief place in the senatorial roster of Ascalon. This man's daughter had been duly married by one of the Caesareans, Mamilianus by name, a man of a very notable house.

[18] Μαμιλιανὸς ὄνομα, οἰκίας ἐπιφανοῦς ἄγαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ κόρη ἐπὶ κληρος, ἐπεὶ μόνης αὐτῆς Ἀνατόλιος ἐγγόνει πατήρ.

[18] And the girl was an heiress, since she was the only child of Anatolius.

[19] νόμῳ δὲ ἄνωθεν διωρισμένον, ἐπειδὴν βουλευτὴς τῶν τινος πόλεων οὐκ

ἀπολελειμμένων οἱ παίδων γόνου ἄρρενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθεῖη, τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ὑπὸ τούτου χρημάτων τὸ μὲν τεταρτημόριον δίδοσθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως βουλευτηρίῳ, πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς κληρονόμους τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀπόνασθαι, γνώρισμα ἡθους τοῦ οἰκείου κἀνταῦθα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνδεικνύμενος, νόμον ἑναγχος ἐτύγχανε γράψας, ἔμπαλιν τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διοικούμενον ὅπως δὴ, ἐπειδὴν βουλευτῆς ἅπαις τελευτῇ γόνου ἄρρενος τῆς οὐσίας οἱ μὲν κληρονόμοι τὸ τέταρτον ἔχοιεν, τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα τὸ τε δημόσιον καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λεύκωμα φέροντο.

[19] Now it had been prescribed by ancient law that whenever a Senator of any one of the cities should depart this life without leaving male children, the fourth part of the property left by this man should be given to the Council of the city, while the natural heirs of the deceased should enjoy the rest; but the Emperor here too gave evidence of his own true character, for he happened to have promulgated a law recently, which arranged matters in just the opposite way, providing, namely, that when a Senator died without male issue, his natural heirs should receive the fourth part of his estate but that all the rest should be taken over by the Treasury and entered in the roster of the city's Senate.

[20] καίτοι οὐδεπώποτε δημόσιον ἢ βασιλεὺς ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι χρημάτων βουλευτικῶν μετασχεῖν ἔσχε.

[20] And yet never since the creation of man has either Treasurer or Emperor been empowered to share in senatorial property.

[21] τούτου τοίνυν κειμένου τοῦ νόμου, Ἀνατολίῳ μὲν ἐπεγένετο ἡ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου, ἡ δὲ τούτου παῖς τὸν τούτου κλῆρον πρὸς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως βουλευτήριον κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐνείματο, καὶ αὐτῇ γράμματα βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν οἱ τοῦ λευκώματος ἔγραψαν, τῆς περὶ τούτων αὐτὴν ἀφιέντες ἀντιλογίας ἅτε τὰ σφίσι προσήκοντα κεκομισμένοι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως.

[21] So while this law was in force, the final day of life came upon Anatolius, and his daughter divided the estate with the Treasury and the Council of the city in accordance with the law, and both the Emperor himself and the magistrates in charge of the roster of Ascalon wrote letters to her releasing her from the counter-claim in this matter, since they had received their due correctly and justly.

[22] ὕστερον καὶ Μαμιλιανὸς ἀπελύθη τοῦ βίου, ὅσπερ Ἀνατολίῳ κηδεστῆς ἐγεγόνει, παιδὸς οἱ ἀπολελειμμένης μιᾶς, ἥπερ καὶ μόνῃ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔσχε.

[22] Later on Mamilianus also departed this life, the man who had been son-in-

law to Anatolius, and he left a single daughter, who alone acquired her father's estate, as was to be expected.

[23] μετὰ δὲ καὶ αὕτη περιούσης ἔτι οἱ τῆς μητρὸς ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, ἀνδρὶ μὲν ξυνοικισθεῖσα τῶν λογίμων τινὶ, μήτηρ δὲ οὔτε θήλεος οὔτε ἄρσενος γενομένη γόνου.

[23] But later on she too, while her mother still survived, reached the term of her life, having been married to one of the notables but having become mother of neither female nor male child.

[24] ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανὸς πάντων ἀντελάβετο τῶν χρημάτων εὐθὺς, ἐκεῖνο ἀποφθεγξάμενος τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὥς τὴν Ἀνατολίου παῖδα γυναῖκα γραῦν οὔσαν τοῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς πλουτεῖν χρήμασιν οὐχ ὅσιον εἶη.

[24] But Justinian seized upon all the property forthwith, letting fall the amazing statement that for the daughter of Anatolius, now an old woman, to be enriched by her husband's and her father's money was an impious thing!

[25] ὅπως δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μὴ ἐν τοῖς προσαιτηταῖς τὸ ἐνθὲνδε τετάξεται, στατῆρα χρυσοῦν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τὴν γυναῖκα φέρεσθαι ταύτην διώρισεν, ἕως ἂν περὶ, τοῦτο θέμενος ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, δι' ὧν τὰ χρήματα ἐληΐσατο ταῦτα, ὥς τὸν στατῆρα προεῖται τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τοῦτον: 'ἔθος γάρ μοι', ἔφη, 'τά τε ὅσια καὶ εὐσεβῆ πράττειν'.

[25] But in order that the woman might not henceforth be assigned to the ranks of the beggars, he ordered that this woman should receive a gold stater each day, as long as she lived, inserting in the document by means of which he had plundered all this money the statement that he relinquished the stater for the sake of piety: "For it is my custom," he said, "to do whatever is pious and righteous."

[26] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀπόκρι λέγειν, ὅπως μὴ ὁ λόγος κατακόρως ἔχοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων γε ὄντι δυνατὸν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι.

[26] But concerning these matters it suffices to give these facts, that my account may not lead to surfeit, since it is not possible for any human being to mention them all.

[27] ὅτι δὲ οὐ Βενέτων τῶν οἱ ἐσπουδασμένων δοκούντων εἶναι λόγον τινὰ πεποιῆται χρημάτων παρόντων, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[27] But that he has taken no account even of any adherent of the Blues, who were supposed to be his favourites, when money was at stake, I shall now make clear.

[28] Μαλθάνης τις ἐγεγόνει ἐν Κίλιξι Λέοντος ἐκείνου γαμβρὸς, ὃς περιεῖπεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν εἶρηται, τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου ρεφερενδαρίου τιμὴν.

[28] There was a certain Malthanes in Cilicia, son-in-law of that Leon who held, as mentioned above, the office of Referendarius as it is called.

[29] τοῦτον βίας ἀναστέλλειν ἐπέστελλε τὰς ἐν Κίλιξι. ταύτης τε τῆς σκήψεως ὁ Μαλθάνης λαβόμενος ἀνήκεστα κακὰ Κιλικίων τοὺς πλείστους εἰργάζετο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενος τὰ μὲν τῷ τυράννῳ ἔπεμπε, τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐδικαίου πλουτεῖν.

[29] This man he directed to put a stop to the acts of violence in Cilicia. And laying hold of this pretext, Malthanes committed outrageous wrongs upon the majority of the Cilicians, and as he plundered their money, he sent some to the tyrant, while he saw fit to enrich himself with the remainder.

[30] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὰ σφίσι παρόντα σιωπῇ ἔφερον, Ταρσέων δὲ ὅσοι Βένετοι ἦσαν τῇ ἐκ βασιλέως παρρησίᾳ θαρσοῦντες ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Μαλθάνην οὐ παρόντα σφίσι πολλὰ ὑβρίζον.

[30] Now all the rest endured their misfortunes in silence, but such of the men of Tarsus as were Blues, being bold in the licence which the Emperor's favour gave them, heaped many insults upon Malthanes in the public market-place when he was not present among them.

[31] ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Μαλθάνης ἔγνω, πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς Ταρσὸν εὐθὺς ἀφίκετο νύκτωρ περιπέμπων τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ὀρθρου βαθέος καταλύειν ἐκέλευεν.

[31] And when Malthanes learned this, he straightway came to Tarsus by night, bringing a large force of soldiers, and sending them around to the houses at early dawn, he ordered them to take lodgings therein.

[32] ἔφοδον δὲ οἰόμενοι ταύτην οἱ Βένετοι εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. ξυνέβη τοίνυν ἄλλα τε κακὰ ἐν σκότῳ γενέσθαι καὶ Δαμιανὸν,

[32] And the Blues, thinking this to be a raid, defended themselves as well as they could. And many other mishaps took place in the darkness, but the worst was that Damianus, a member of the Senate, fell by a shot from a bow.

[33] ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς, τοξεύματι βληθέντα πεσεῖν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Δαμιανὸς οὗτος τῶν τῇδε Βενέτων προστάτης. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν, οἱ τε Βένετοι δυσφορούμενοι θορύβῳ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολλῶ εἶχοντο, καὶ βασιλέα μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ πράγματι ἠνώχλουν ἄγαν, Λέοντα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μαλθάνην ξὺν δεινότηταις ἀπειλαῖς πολλὰ ἐδυσφύμουν.

[33] Now this Damianus was the patron of the Blues there. And when news of this came to Byzantium, the Blues were angry and raised a great tumult throughout the city, and they plagued the Emperor about the matter exceedingly, and they vilified Leon and Malthanes roundly together with most terrible threats.

[34] καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἀγριαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐσκήπτετο. γράμμα οὖν εὐθὺς ἔγραψε, ζήτησίν τε καὶ τίσιν τῶν τῷ Μαλθάνῃ πεπολιτευμένων κελεύων γενέσθαι.

[34] And the Emperor pretended to be no less angry than they at what had happened. So he straightway wrote a letter ordering an investigation and punishment of the public acts of Malthanes.

[35] ἀλλὰ Λέων αὐτῷ χρυσίου προέμενος πλῆθος τοῦ τε θυμοῦ αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς Βενέτους στοργῆς ἔπαυσε, τοῦ τε πράγματος ἀνεξετάστου μενεηκότος Μαλθάνην βασιλεὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντα ξύν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἔσχευ.

[35] But Leon, by handing over to him a vast quantity of gold, caused him to give up at once both his anger and his fondness for the Blues, and though the matter had remained uninvestigated, when Malthanes came into the Emperor's presence in Byzantium, the latter received him with great friendliness and held him in honour.

[36] ἐξιόντα δὲ οἱ Βένετοι ἐκ βασιλέως τηρήσαντες πληγὰς αὐτῷ προσετρίψαντο ἐν Παλατίῳ καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ αὐτῶν τινες διεκώλυσαν, οἳ γε πρὸς Λέοντος χρήματα ἤδη κεκομισμένοι λάθρα ἐτύγγανον.

[36] But when he went out from the Emperor's presence, the Blues, who had been watching for him, rained blows upon him in the Palace, and they would have destroyed him had not some of them prevented it, these being the men who chanced to have already received money in secret from Leon.

[37] καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐλεεινοτάτην καλοίη, ἐν ἣ βασιλεὺς μὲν δωροδοκήσας ἀνεξέταστα κατέλειψε τὰ ἐγκλήματα, στασιῶται δὲ βασιλέως ἐν Παλατίῳ ὄντος ἐπαναστῆναι τῶν τινι ἀρχόντων οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἐτόλμησαν,

[37] And yet who would not call that State most pitiable in which an Emperor, having accepted a bribe, left the briber's crimes uninvestigated, and factionists, on the other hand, while the Emperor was there in the Palace, dared without any compunction to set upon one of the magistrates and to commit an unjust attack upon him?

[38] ἀδίκων τε χειρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄρξαι; τίσις μέντοι τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα οὐδεμία οὔτε εἰς τὸν Μαλθάνην ἐγένετο οὔτε εἰς τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάntας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ εἴ τις βούλοιτο τὸ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τεκμηριούσθω ἥθος.

[38] As for punishment, however, none was inflicted on account of these misdeeds, either upon Malthanes or upon his assailants. From these things, if anyone should wish, let him estimate the character of the Emperor Justinian.

Εἰ δέ τινα καὶ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ζυμφορίου ποιεῖται λόγον, τὰ ἐς δρόμον τε αὐτῷ τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους εἰργασμένα δηλώσει.

And as to the question whether Justinian had any consideration for the welfare of the State, the things he did to the public post and to the spies will be illuminating.

[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις γεγενημένοι, προνοήσαντες ὅπως ἅπαντά τε σφίσιν ἐπαγγέλλοιτο τάχιστα καὶ μηδεμιᾷ διδῶτο μελλήσει, τὰ τε πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἐν χώρα ἐκάστη ζυμπίπτοντα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ στάσιν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀπρόοπτον συμβαίνοντα πάθος τὰ τε πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πανταχόθι πρασσόμενα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅπως τε οἱ τοὺς φόρους παραπέμποντες τοὺς ἐπετείους διασώζοιτο βραδυτῆτός τε καὶ κινδύνου χωρὶς, δημόσιον ὅζύν τινα πανταχόσε πεποίηται δρόμον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[2] For the Roman Emperors of earlier times, by way of making provision that everything should be reported to them speedily and be subject to no delay, — such as the damage inflicted by the enemy upon each several country, whatever befell the cities in the course of civil conflict or of some unforeseen calamity, the acts of the magistrates and of all others in every part of the Roman Empire — and also, to the end that those who conveyed the annual taxes might reach the capital safely and without either delay or risk, had created a swift public post extending everywhere, in the following manner.

[3] ἐς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ σταθμοὺς κατεστήσαντο, πῇ μὲν ὀκτὼ, πῇ δὲ τούτων ἐλάσσους, οὐ μέντοι ἥσσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἢ κατὰ πέντε.

[3] Within the distance included in each day's journey for an unencumbered traveller they established stations, sometimes eight, sometimes less, but as a general thing not less than five.

[4] ἵπποι δὲ ἴσαντο ἐς τεσσαράκοντα ἐν σταθμῷ ἐκάστῳ. ἵποκόμοι δὲ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ τῶν ἵππων μέτρου ἐτετάχατο ἐν πᾶσι σταθμοῖς.

[4] And horses to the number of forty stood ready at each station. And grooms in proportion to the number of horses were detailed to all stations.

[5] συχναῖς δὲ ἵππων δοκιμωτάτων ὄντων διαδοχαῖς ἐλαύνοντες ἀεὶ οἷσπερ ἐπίκειται τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, δέκα τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἀμείβοντες ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐπρασσον ἅπαντα ὅσα μοι ἀρτίως δεδήλωται, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν χωρίων πανταχῇ κύριοι, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἐν μεσογείοις τὰ χωρία ὄντα

ἐτύγχανεν, εὐδαιμονέστατοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦσαν.

[5] And always travelling with frequent changes of the horses, which were of the most approved breeds, those to whom this duty was assigned covered, on occasion, a ten-days' journey in a single day, and accomplished all those things which have just been mentioned; and furthermore, the owners of the land everywhere, and particularly if their lands happened to lie in the interior, were exceedingly prosperous because of this system.

[6] τοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος σφίσι καρποὺς ἵππων τε καὶ ἵπποκόμων τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀποδιδόμενοι,

[6] For every year they sold the surplus of their crops to the Government for the maintenance of horses and grooms, and thus earned much money.

[7] χρήματα μεγάλα ἐφέροντο. ξυνέβαινέ τε διὰ ταῦτα τῷ δημοσίῳ δέχεσθαι μὲν αἰεὶ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους ἐκάστῳ φόρους, ἀντιπαραδέχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐσκομίζουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καὶ προσῆν τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ δέοντα.

[7] And the result of all this was that while the treasury regularly received the taxes assessed upon each man, yet those who paid the taxes received their money but also again immediately, and there was the further advantage that the State business has been accomplished.

[8] Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρότερα ταύτη πη εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ οὗτος πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ἐκ Καλχηδόνης ἄχρι ἐς Δακίβιζαν καθελὼν δρόμον ἠνάγκασε πάντας ἐκ Βυζαντίου εὐθὺς ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Ἑλενούπολιν οὕτι ἐθελουσίους ναυτίλλεσθαι.

[8] Now in earlier times this was the situation. But this Emperor first of all abolished the post from Chalcedon as far as Daciviza and compelled all the couriers, much against their will, to proceed from Byzantium directly to Helenopolis by sea.

[9] πλέοντες οὖν ἐν ἀκάτοις βραχείαις τισίν, οἷαι διαπορθμεύεσθαι τῇδε εἰώθασι, χειμῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπιπεσόντος, ἐπὶ μέγα κινδύνου χωροῦσι. τῆς γὰρ ἀναγκαίου σπουδῆς ἐγκειμένης σφίσι καιροφυλακεῖν τε καὶ προσδέχεσθαι μέλλουσιν τὴν γαλήνην ἀδύνατά ἐστιν.

[9] When they make the passage, then, in small boats of the kind the folk are accustomed to use in crossing the strait, in case a storm happens to descend upon them, they come into great danger. For since the haste which is obligatory keeps urging them on, it is impossible for them to watch for the right weather and wait for the next calm.

[10] ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὁδὸν φέρουσιν τὸν δρόμον ἐπὶ

σχήματος τοῦ πρόσθεν ὄντος εἶασεν εἶναι, ἐς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ζύμπασαν ἔω μέχρι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ἡμέρας ὁδῷ κατὰ σταθμὸν ἓνα κατεστήσατο μόνον, οὐχ ἵππων μέντοι,

[10] And, in the second place, while on the route leading into Persia he did allow the previous arrangement to stand, yet for all the rest of the East as far as Egypt he allowed one station only for each day's journey, using not horses, however, but mules and only a few of them.

[11] ἀλλ' ὄνων ὀλίγων. διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν ξυμβαίνοντα ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη μόλις τε καὶ ὄψε τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐσαγγελλόμενα ἐπικουρίας οὐδεμιᾶς τυγχάνειν εἰκὸς, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀγροὺς κεκτημένοι καρπῶν τῶν σφετέρων σεσηπότων τε καὶ εἰκὴ κειμένων ἀνόνητοι ἐς αἰεὶ γίνονται.

[11] It is no wonder, consequently, that the things which take place in each country, being reported both with difficulty and too late to give opportunity for action and behind the course of events, cannot be dealt with at all, and the owners of the lands, with crops rotting on their hands and going to waste, continually lose all their profits.

[12] Τὰ δὲ τῶν κατασκόπων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἄνδρες πολλοὶ ἐν δημοσίῳ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἐσιτίζοντο, οἱ δὴ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντες ἐν τε τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλείοις γινόμενοι ἢ ἐμπορίας ὀνόματι ἢ τρόπῳ ἑτέρῳ, ἔς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνώμενοι ἕκαστα, ἐπανάγοντες ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν πάντα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπαγγέλλειν ἠδύναντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπόρρητα.

[12] And the matter of the spies is as follows. Many men from ancient times were maintained by the State, men who would go into the enemy's country and get into the Palace of the Persians, either on the pretext of selling something of by some other device, and after making a thorough investigation of everything, they would return to the land of the Romans, where they were able to report all the secrets of the enemy to the magistrates.

[13] οἱ δὲ προὔμαθον ἐφύλασσόν τε καὶ ἀπρόοπτον οὐδὲν ξυνέπιπτε σφίσι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χρῆμα κὰν τοῖς Μήδοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν. Χοσρόης μὲν οὖν μείζους, ὥσπερ φασι, πεποιημένος τὰς τῶν κατασκόπων ξυντάξεις προμηθείας τῆς ἐνθὲνδε ἀπήλαυσεν.

[13] And they, furnished with this advance information, would be on their guard and nothing unforeseen would befall them. And this practice had existed among the Medes also from ancient times. Indeed Chosroes, as they say, increased the salaries of his spies and profited by this forethought.

[14] οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐλάνθανε τῶν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις γινομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀναλώσας καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν κατασκόπων ὄνομα ἐξέτριπεν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἡμαρτήθη καὶ Λαζικὴ πρὸς τῶν

πολεμίων ἐάλω, Ῥωμαίων οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένων ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶη.

[14] For nothing that was happening among the Romans escaped him. Justinian, on the other hand, by refusing to spend anything at all on them blotted out from the land of the Romans even the very name of spies, and in consequence of this action many mistakes were made and Lazica was captured by the enemy, the Romans having utterly failed to discover where in the world the Persian king and his army were.

[15] ἀλλὰ καὶ καμήλους παμπληθεῖς τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρέφειν εἰώθει, αἱ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ πολέμους ἰόντι ἅπαντα φέρουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἶποντο.

[15] Nay more, the State had also been wont from ancient times to maintain a great number of camels, which followed the Roman army as it moved against an enemy and carried all the provisions.

[16] καὶ οὔτε τοῖς γεωργοῖς τότε ἀγγαροφορεῖν ἐπάναγκες ἦν οὔτε τι ἐνδεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις τῶν ἀναγκαίων ξυνέβαινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτας περιεῖλεν Ἰουστινιανὸς σχεδόν τι ἀπάσας. διὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἰόντος τὰ νῦν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.

[16] And in those days neither were the farmers obliged to provide transportation nor did the soldiers find themselves in want of any of the necessities; but Justinian abolished these too, practically all of them. So now-a-days, when a Roman army proceeds against the enemy, none of the needful measures can possibly be taken.

[17] Τὰ μὲν οὖν σπουδαιότατα τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπεφέρετο τῇδε. οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον καὶ τινος αὐτοῦ τῶν γελοίων ἐπιμνησθῆναι.

[17] Now the most important affairs of the State were going on badly in this fashion. And there is no harm in mentioning also one of Justinian's absurdities.

[18] τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ῥητόρων Εὐάγγελός τις ἦν οὐκ ἄσημος ἀνὴρ, ὅσπερ ἐπιφόρου οἱ τοῦ τῆς τύχης πνεύματος γενομένου χρημάτων τε ἄλλων καὶ χώρας πολλῆς κύριος γέγονεν.

[18] There was among the orators of Caesarea a certain Evangelus, a man of no little distinction, who, since the breeze of fortune had blown favourably for him, had become owner of other property and especially of much land.

[19] ὕστερον δὲ καὶ κόμην ἐπιθαλασσίαν τινὰ, Πορφυρεῶνα ὄνομα, τριῶν χρυσίου κεντηναρίων ἐπρίατο. ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο

αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον εὐθὺς ὀλίγην αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ τιμήματος προέμενος μοῖραν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀποφθεγγάμενος, ὡς Εὐαγγέλῳ ῥήτορι ὄντι οὐ μήποτε εὐπρεπὲς εἶη κώμης τοιαύτης κυρίῳ εἶναι.

[19] And later on he even purchased a village on the seashore, Porphyreon by name, paying three centenaria of gold. Learning of this, the Emperor Justinian immediately took the place away from him, giving him some small portion of its value, with the remark that it would never comport with the dignity of Evangelus, an orator, to be the owner of such a town.

[20] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων, ἀμηγέπη αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθέντες, παυσόμεθα λέγειν.

[20] But I shall say nothing more about these matters, now that I have, after a fashion, made mention of them.

[21] Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεοχρωθέντων καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι. πάλαι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος βουλὴ παρὰ βασιλέα ἰοῦσα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε προσκυνεῖν εἴθιστο. πατρίκιος μὲν τις ἀνὴρ παρὰ μαζὸν αὐτοῦ προσεκύνει τὸν δεξιόν.

[21] And among the innovations of Justinian and Theodora in the administration of the Government there is also the following. In ancient times the Senate, as it came into the Emperor's presence, was accustomed to do obeisance in the following manner. Any man of patrician rank saluted him on the right breast.

[22] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ καταφιλήσας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξίει, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες γόνυ κλίναντες βασιλεῖ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀπηλλάσσοντο.

[22] And the Emperor would kiss him on the head and then dismiss him; but all the rest first bent the right knee to the Emperor and then withdrew.

[23] βασιλῖδα μέντοι προσκυνεῖν οὐδαμῇ εἴθιστο. παρὰ δὲ Ἰουστινιανόν τε καὶ Θεοδώραν τὰς εἰσόδους ποιούμενοι οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἅπαντες καὶ ὅσοι τὸ πατρικίων ἀξίωμα εἶχον ἐπιπτον μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ στόμα, χειρῶν δὲ καὶ ποδῶν ἐς ἄγαν σφίσι τετανυσμένων τῷ χεῖλει ποδὸς ἐκατέρου ἀνάμεινοι ἐξάνισταντο.

[23] The Empress, however, it was not at all customary to salute. But in the case of Justinian and Theodora, all the other members of the Senate and those as well who held the rank of Patricians, whenever they entered into their presence, would prostrate themselves to the floor, flat on their faces, and holding their hands and feet stretched far out they would touch with their lips one foot of each before rising.

[24] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἀνεδύετο ταύτην, ἥ γε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις

προσιεσθαι Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ὑπ' αὐτῇ κειμένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίου, πρᾶγμα πῶποτε οὐ γεγονὸς ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου.

[24] For even Theodora was not disposed to forego this testimony to her dignity, she who acted as though the Roman Empire lay at her feet, but was by no means averse to receiving even the ambassadors of the Persians and of the other barbarians and to bestowing upon them presents of money, a thing which had never happened since the beginning of time.

[25] καὶ πάλαι μὲν οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενόμενοι αὐτόν τε βασιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα βασιλίδα ἐκάλουν, ἀρχόντων τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἕκαστον ὅπῃ αὐτῷ ἀξιώματος περὶ τὰ παρόντα ἔχοι.

[25] And while in earlier times those who attended upon the Emperor used simply to call him “Emperor” and his consort “Empress,” and used to address each one of the other magistrates in accordance with his standing at the moment,

[26] ἦν δέ τις τούτοις ὁποτέρῳ ἐς λόγους συμμιξας βασιλέως ἢ βασιλίδος ἐπιμνησθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσπότην τε ἀποκαλοῖν καὶ δέσποιναν, ἢ καὶ μὴ δούλους τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων ὀνομάζειν πειρῶτο, τοσοῦτος δὴ ἀμαθὴς τε καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀκόλαστος ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἅτε ἡμαρτηκὼς τὰ πικρότατα καὶ ὑβρίσας ἐς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆι.

[26] yet if anyone should enter into conversation with either one of these two and should use the words “Emperor” or “Empress” and fail to call them “Master” or “Mistress,” or should undertake to use any other word but “slaves” in referring to any of the magistrates, such a person would be accounted both stupid and too free of tongue, and, as though he had erred most grievously and had treated with gross indignity those whom he should by no means have so treated, would leave the imperial presence.

[27] Καὶ τὰ πρότερα μὲν ὀλίγοι τε καὶ μόλις ἐν βασιλείοις ἐγίνοντο, ἐξ ὅτου δὲ οὗτοι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον, ἄρχοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐνδελεχέστατα διατριβὴν εἶχον.

[27] And whereas in former times very few persons entered the Palace, and that too with difficulty, yet since the time when these succeeded to the throne, both magistrates and all others together remained constantly in the Palace.

[28] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ νόμιμα πράσσειν γνώμη αὐτονόμου ἔξῃ.

[28] And the reason was that in the old days the magistrates were permitted to do what was just and lawful according to their own judgment.

[29] οἱ τε οὖν ἄρχοντες διοικούμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα ἐν τοῖς καταγωγίοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔμενον, οἱ τε ἀρχόμενοι βίαιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ὀρῶντες οὔτε ἀκούοντες βασιλέα, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, ὀλίγα ἠνώχλουν.

[29] Hence the magistrates, being occupied with their own administrative business, used to remain in their own lodgings, and the subjects of the Emperor, since they neither saw nor heard of any act of violence, bothered him, as was to be expected, very little.

[30] οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῶν κατηκόων ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐς αἰὲ ἔλκοντες ἅπαντας σφίσι δουλοπρεπέστατα προσεδρεύειν ἠνάγκαζον· ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν εἰς ἡμέραν σχεδόν τι ἐκάστην τὰ μὲν δικαστήρια πάντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ ὄχλον τε καὶ ὕβριν καὶ ὠθισμὸν μέγαν καὶ δουλοπρέπειαν ἐς αἰὲ ζύμπασαν.

[30] But these rulers, always drawing all matters into their own hands to the ruin of their subjects, compelled everybody to dance attendance upon them in most servile fashion; and it was possible to see, practically every day, all the law-courts, on the one hand, for the most part empty, but at the Emperor's Court, on the contrary, one would find crowds and insolence and mighty pushing and all the time nothing but servility.

[31] οἱ τε αὐτοῖν ἐπιτήδειοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι τὴν τε ἡμέραν διηνεκῶς πᾶσαν καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς αἰὲ πολλήν τινα μοῖραν ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶτες ἄυπνοί τε καὶ ἀπόσιτοι παρὰ καιροὺς τοὺς εἰωθότας γινόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἐς τοῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῖς τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρίσθαι ζυνέπεσε.

[31] And those who were supposed to be intimate with the royal pair, standing there continuously the entire day and regularly during the greater portion of the night, being without sleep and without food at the usual hours, were done to death, and this was all that their seeming good fortune amounted to.

[32] τούτων μέντοι ἀφειμένοι πάντων διεμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅπῃ ποτὲ Ῥωμαίων τὰ χρήματα εἶη.

[32] And when at length they were set free from all this, the poor fellows would quarrel with each other over the question of what had become of the money of the Romans.

[33] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν βαρβάροις ἅπαντα εἶναι, οἱ δὲ βασιλέα ἔφασκον ἐν οἰκίσκοις πολλοῖς καθεύδοντα ἔχειν.

[33] For whereas some maintained that it was all in the possession of the barbarians, others said that the Emperor kept it shut up in a large number of special rooms.

[34] ὁπηνίκα οὖν ἢ ἄνθρωπος ὃν ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπέλθη τοῦ βίου, ἢ ἅτε τῶν δαιμόνων ἄρχων ἀπολύσῃ τὸν βίον, ὅσοι τηνικάδε περιόντες τύχῳσι, τὰληθὲς εἴσονται.

[34] So when Justinian either, if he is a man, departs this life, or, as being the Lord of the evil spirits, lays his life aside, all who have the fortune to have survived to that time will know the truth.

The Buildings of Justinian

BOOK I.

[1] Οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, οὐδὲ λόγου δυνάμει θαρσῶν, οὐδὲ χωρίων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐς τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν γραφὴν ὥρμηκα· ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὑφ' οὗ ἂν παρρησίας ἐς τόδε ἀγοίμην.

[1] It is not because I wish to make a display of skill, nor through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for venturing so bold an intention.

[2] ἀλλὰ μοι πολλάκις ἔννοια γέγονεν ὁπόσων τε καὶ πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον ἱστορία ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεσθαι εἴωθε, παραπέμπουσά τε εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγόνους τῶν προγεγενημένων τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ἀνταγωνιζομένη τῷ χρόνῳ κρυφαῖα ποιεῖσθαι διατεινομένῳ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν εὐφημίαις αἰεὶ τῶν ἀναλεγομένων αὐτὴν ἐπαίρουσα, τῆς δὲ κακίας ἐπιλαμβανομένη διηνεκές, ταύτῃ τε ἀποκρουομένη τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν.

[2] Yet the thought has many times occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which are wont to accrue to states through History, which transmits to future generations the memory of those who have gone before, and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion; and while it incites to virtue those who from time to time may read it by the praise it bestows, it constantly assails vice by repelling its influence.

[3] τούτου οὖν δὴ μόνου ἐπιμελητέον ἡμῖν, ὅπως δὴ ἔνδηλα τὰ πεπραγμένα διαφανῶς ἔσται καὶ ὑφ' ὅτου ἐργασθεῖη τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα δέ, οἶμαι, οὐδὲ γλώσση τραυλιζούσῃ τε καὶ ἰσχυροφῶνῳ οὔσῃ ἀμήχανά ἐστι.

[3] Wherefore our concern must be solely this — that all the deeds of the past shall be clearly set forth, and by what man, whosoever he might be, they were wrought. And this, I believe, is not an impossible task, even for a lisping and thin-voiced tongue.

[4] χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εὐγνώμονας μὲν ἱστορία ἐς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐνδείκνυται γεγονέναι τῶν ἀρχομένων τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας, ἐν μείζουσι δὲ jaυτοῖς ἐκτετικέναι τὰ χαριστήρια, οἳ γε, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπὶ καιροῦ μὲν τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἡγησαμένων ἀπώναντο, ἀθάνατον δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένων τῇ μνήμῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν διασώζουσι.

[4] Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their

rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them.

[5] διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων πολλοὶ ἀρετῷσι μὲν τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ζηλοῦντες τιμὰς, ἐς δὲ τὰς βλασφημίας χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἀναδύονται. ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα ὑπεῖνον αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[5] Indeed it is through this very service that many men of later times strive after virtue, by emulating the honours of those who have preceded them, and, because they cannot endure censure, are quite likely to shun the basest practices. And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose.

[6] Ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγονεν, ὃς τὴν πολιτείαν πλημμελῶς κινουμένην παραλαβὼν μεγέθει μὲν αὐτὴν μείζω τε καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν εἰργάσατο, ἐξελάσας ἐνθὲνδε τοὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιασαμένους αὐτὴν βαρβάρους, ὥσπερ μοι λεπτολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται λόγοις.

[6] In our own age there has been born the Emperor Justinian, who, taking over the State when it was harassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious, by expelling from it those barbarians who had from of old pressed hard upon it, as I have made clear in detail in the Books on the Wars.

[7] καίτοι λέγουσὶ ποτε Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀνεπισημόνως ἔχοι πόλιν μικρὰν ποιῆσαι μεγάλην.

[7] Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large.

[8] ὁ δὲ δὴ οὐκ ἀμελέτητός ἐστιν ἐμπορίζεσθαι πολιτείας ἐτέρας· πολλὰς ἀμέλει προσεποίησεν ἤδη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἀλλοτρίας καθ' αὐτὸν οὐσας, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργηκεν οὐ πρότερον οὐσας.

[8] But this Sovereign does not lack the skill to produce completely transformed states — witness the way he has already added to the Roman domain many states which in his own times had belonged to others, and has created countless cities which did not exist before.

[9] πλανωμένην δὲ εὐρὼν τὴν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν τὰ πρότερα ἐς πολλὰ τε ἀναγκαζομένην ἰέναι, συντρίψας ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάνας φερούσας ὁδοὺς, διεπράξατο ἐν τῶν βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἐστάναι κρηπίδος. ἢ πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους λαβὼν τῷ τε παμπληθεῖς οὐ δέον γεγονέναι σκοτεινοὺς ὄντας καὶ ξυγχομένους διαφανῶς τῷ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλοις ἰέναι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν

ὄχλου αὐτοὺς τῆς τερθρείας ἀποκαθάρας, τὸ δὲ ἐς ἀλλήλους διχοστατεῖν βεβαιότατα κρατυνόμενος διεσώσατο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλευούσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίας ἀφείξ, τοὺς δὲ βίου δεομένους πλούτῳ πεποιημένους κατακορεῖς καὶ τύχην αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπηρεάζουσαν βιασάμενος, εὐδαίμονι βίῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ξυνώκισεν.

[9] And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation of a single faith.

[11] ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πανταχόθεν ὑποκειμένην τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν στρατιωτῶν τε πλήθει ἐπέρρωσε καὶ ὀχυρωμάτων οἰκοδομίαις ἀπάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας ἐτειχίστατο.

[10] Moreover, finding the laws obscure because they had become far more numerous than they should be, and in obvious confusion because they disagreed with each other, he preserved them by cleansing them of the mass of their verbal trickery, and by controlling their discrepancies with the greatest firmness; as for those who plotted against him, he of his own volition dismissed the charges against them, causing those who were in want to have a surfeit of wealth, and crushing the spiteful fortune that oppressed them, he wedded the whole State to a life of prosperity.

[12] Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν ἐτέροις μοι συγγέγραπται λόγοις, ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ οἰκοδομουμένῳ δεδημιούργηται, ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται. ἄριστον μὲν δὴ βασιλέα γεγονέναι Κύρον τὸν Πέρσῃν φασίν, ὃν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας.

[11] Furthermore, he strengthened the Roman domain, which everywhere lay exposed to the barbarians, by a multitude of soldiers, and by constructing strongholds he built a wall along all its remote frontiers.

[13] εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτός τις ἦν ὁ Κύρος ἐκεῖνος οἷος δὴ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ παιδεύεται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι.

[12] However, most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings, so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits which he wrought as a builder. They do indeed say that the best king of whom we know by tradition was the Persian Cyrus, and that he was chiefly responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race.

[14] τάχα γάρ που καὶ ἡ τοῦ γεγραφότος αὐτὰ δεξιότης κεκομψευμένη δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου ἐγκαλλώπισμα τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι διαρκῶς ἵσχυσε.

[13] But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing.

[15] τοῦ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (ὃν δὴ καὶ φύσει βασιλέα καλῶν τις, οἶμαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ὥς ἡπίος ἐστὶ, καθ' Ὅμηρον), εἴ τις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν βασιλείαν διασκοποῖτο, παιδιὰν τινα τὴν Κύρου ἀρχὴν οἴσεται εἶναι.

[14] For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts.^a But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by inheritance, since he is, as Homer says, “as gentle as a father”), if one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child’s play.

[16] τεκμηριώσῃ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἢ μὲν πολιτεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται, τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἢ διπλάσια γεγενημένη, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ σκαιωρησάμενοι μέχρι ἐς φόνον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίπερ ἐξεληλεγμένοι διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσιν ἀξίωμα.

[16] The proof of this will be that the Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other hand, those who treacherously formed the plot against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

[17] Τανῦν δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, ὥς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτὰς θεωμένοις ξυμβαίῃ ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα.

[17] But now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man.

[18] πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τῶν προγεγενημένων οὐκ ἐμπεδωθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄπιστα γέγονεν. εἷη δ' ἂν εἰκότως τὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ πάντα τῷ λόγῳ κρηπίς.

[18] For already many works of men of former times which are not vouched for

by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a foundation for my narrative.

[19] ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔργου, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον, πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεναι τηλαυγές.

[19] For “o’er a work’s beginnings,” as the old saying has it, “we needs must set a front that shines afar.”

[20] Ἄνδρες ἀγελαῖοί ποτε καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπαναστάντες τὴν Νίκα καλουμένην στάσιν εἰργάσαντο, ἥπερ μοι ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδιήγηται λόγοις.

[20] Some men of the common herd, all the rubbish of the city, once rose up against the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, when they brought about the rising called the Nika Insurrection, which has been described by me in detail and without any concealment in Books on the Wars.

[21] ἐνδεικνύμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον, ἀλλ’ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅτε ἀποφράδες τὰ ὄπλα ἀντήραν, ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτόλμησαν (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεῶν ἐπικαιριώτατα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι), ἐπεχώραει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς διαπράσσεσθαι τὸ ἀσέβημα, προειδὼς εἰς ὅσον τι κάλλος τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν μεταστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

[21] And by way of shewing that it was not against the Emperor alone that they had taken up arms, but no less against God himself, unholy wretches that they were, they had the hardihood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call “Sophia,” an epithet which they have most appropriately invented for God, by which they call His temple; and God permitted them to accomplish this impiety, foreseeing^o into what an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be transformed.

[22] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηνθρακωμένη τότε ζύμπασα ἔκειτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιαύτην ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὥστε, εἰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν τις ἐπύθετο πρότερον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς διολωλέναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἴη καὶ τοιάνδε γενέσθαι, δείξας τι αὐτοῖς τῶν νῦν φαινομένων ἐκτύπωμα, δοκοῦσιν ἄν μοι ὡς συντομώτατα εὗξασθαι πεπονθυῖαν σφίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεάσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν μεταβάλοιτο σχῆμα.

[22] So the whole church at that time lay a charred mass of ruins. But the Emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church so finely shaped, that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its

place, shewing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form.

[23] ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀφροντιστήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν σπουδῇ ἴετο, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἤγειρεν ἅπαντας.

[23] At any rate the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather all the artisans from the whole world.

[24] Ἀνθέμιος δὲ Τραλλιανός, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλουμένη μηχανικῇ λογιώτατος, οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένων πολλῶ, τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑποῦργει σπουδῇ, τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὰ ἔργα ρυθμίζων, τῶν τε γενησομένων προδιασκευάζων ἰνδάλματα, καὶ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν αὐτῷ ἕτερος, Ἰσίδωρος ὄνομα, Μιλήσιος γένος, ἔμφρων τε ἄλλως καὶ πρέπων Ἰουστινιανῷ ὑπουργεῖν βασιλεῖ.

[24] And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building, not only of all his contemporaries, but also when compared with those who had lived long before him, ministered to the Emperor's enthusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the future construction; and associated with him with another master-builder, Isidorus by name, a Milesian by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to assist the Emperor Justinian.

[25] ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς, προκαταστησαμένου τοὺς ἐς τὰ πραχθησόμενα χρησιμωτάτους αὐτῷ ἐσομένους.

[25] Indeed this also was an indication of the honour in which God held the Emperor, that He had already provided the men who would be most serviceable to him in the tasks which were waiting to be carried out.

[26] καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νοῦν εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγασθεῖη τούτου διὰ ἔνεκα, ὅτι διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα τοὺς καιριωτάτους ἀπολέξασθαι ἔσχε.

[26] And one might with good reason marvel at the discernment of the Emperor himself, in that out of the whole world he was able to select the men who were most suitable for the most important of his enterprises.

[27] Θέαμα τοίνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλιστευμένον γεγένηται, τοῖς μὲν ὁρῶσιν ὑπερφυές, τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι παντελῶς ἄπιστον· ἐπὶ ἥρται μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὕψος οὐράνιον ὅσον, καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινένευκεν ὑπερκειμένη τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει, κοσμοῦσα μὲν αὐτήν, ὅτι αὐτῆς

ἔστιν, ὠραῖζομένη δέ, ὅτι αὐτῆς οὕσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε δὴ ἐνθὲνδε ἡ πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται.

[27] So the church has become a spectacle of marvellous beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible. For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands on high and looks down upon the remainder of the city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but glorying in its own beauty, because, though a part of the city and dominating it, it at the same time towers above it to such a height that the whole city is viewed from there as from a watch-tower.

[28] εὖρος δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ μῆκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἀποτετόρνενται, ὥστε καὶ περιμήκης καὶ ὅλως εὐρεία οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται. κάλλει δὲ ἀμυθήτῳ ἰάποσεμνύνεται.

[28] Both its breadth and its length have been so carefully proportioned, that it may not improperly be said to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually broad. And it exults in an indescribable beauty.

[29] τῷ τε γὰρ ὄγκῳ κεκόμψενται καὶ τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ τοῦ μέτρου, οὔτε τι ὑπεράγαν οὔτε τι ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ζυνειθισμένου κομπωδεστέρα καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου κοσμιωτέρα ἐπικεκῶς ἐστι, φωτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ὑπερφυῶς πλήθει.

[29] For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither excess nor deficiency, since it is both more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than those which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and in the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble.

[30] φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι, τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν περικέχυται.

[30] Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine.

[31] καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεῷ πρόσωπον (εἴη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ τῶν θεῶ ἱερουργοῦσι τὰ ἄρρητα) τρόπῳ τοιῷδὲ δεδημιούργηται.

[31] And the face itself of the church (which would be the part which faces the rising sun, that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God) was constructed in the following manner.

[32] οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχει, οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐθείας πεποιημένη, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πλαγιῶν ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βραχύ, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέσα ὑποχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ σχῆμά τε κατὰ ἥμισυ τὸ στρογγύλον ἰοῦσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς ὕψος ἀπτόμον ἐπανέστηκεν.

[32] A structure of masonry (oikodomia) is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding at the middle, so that it forms the shape of half a circle, which those who are skilled in such matters call a half-cylinder (hêmiky lindron); and so it rises precipitously to a height.

[33] ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὑπερβολὴ ἐς σφαίρας τεταρτημόριον ἀποκέκριται, ὑπερθὲν τε μηνοειδὲς τι αὐτῇ ἕτερον τοῖς προσεχέσι τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπῆρται, τῇ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖα θαυμάσιον, τῷ δὲ σφαλερῷ τῆς συνθέσεως δοκοῦντι εἶναι φοβερὸν ὅλως.

[33] The upper part of this structure ends in the fourth part of a sphere (sphaira), and above it another crescent-shaped (mênœides) structure rises, fitted to the adjoining parts of the building, marvellous in its grace, but by reason of the seeming insecurity of its composition altogether terrifying.

[34] δοκεῖ γάρ πη οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ ἐπηωρῆσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπικινδύνως τοῖς ἐνθάδε οὔσι μετεωρίζεσθαι. καίτοι διαφέροντως ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστήρικται.

[34] For it seems somehow to float in the air on no firm basis, but to be poised aloft to the peril of those inside it. Yet actually it is braced with exceptional firmness and security.

[35] τούτων δὲ δὴ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα κίονες ἐπ’ ἐδάφους εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ κατ’ εὐθὴ ἐστῶτες, ἀλλ’ εἴσω κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμικύκλον ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ ἀλλήλοις ὑπεξιστάμενοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεράνωθεν οἰκοδόμημα μηνοειδὲς ἀποκρέμαται.

[35] On either side of this are columns arranged on the pavement; these likewise do not stand in a straight line, but they retreat inward in the pattern of the semicircle (hêmikyklon) as if they were yielding to one another in a choral dance, and above them hangs a structure of crescent shape (mênœides).

[36] τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ κατ’ ἀντικρὺ τὰς εἰσόδους ἔχων ἐγγήγερται τοῖχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε κίονες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπερθὲν ὁμοιότατα τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐστήκασιν.

[36] And on the side opposite the east is reared a wall containing the entrances (eisodoi), and on either side of this there stand in a semicircle (hêmikyklon) not only the columns themselves but also the structure above them, all this being very similar to the columns and structure I have just described.

[37] κατὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νεῷ μέσα λόφοι χειροποίητοι ἐπανεστήκασι τέσσαρες, οὓς καλοῦσι πεσσούς, δύο μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν, δύο δὲ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις, κίονας ἐν μέσῳ ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἔχοντες.

[37] And in the centre of the church stand four man-made eminences (lophoi), which they call piers (pessoi), two on the north side and two on the south, opposite and equal to each other, each pair having between them just four columns.

[38] πεποίηγται δὲ οἱ λόφοι λίθοις εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετοι, λογάδην μὲν συνειλεγμένοι, ἐς ἀλλήλους δὲ πρὸς τῶν λιθολόγων ἐπισταμένως ἐναρμοσθεῖσιν, ἐς ὕψος μέγα. εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς εἶναι σκοπέλους ὀρῶν ἀποτόμους.

[38] The piers (lophoi) are composed of huge stones joined together, carefully selected and skilfully fitted to one another by the masons, and rising to a great height. One might suppose that they were sheer mountain-peaks.

[39] ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀψῖδες τέσσαρες ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνέχουσι· καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἄκρα ξύνδουο ξυνιόντα εἰς ἄλληλα ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ ἡρήρεισται τῶν λόφων τούτων, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐπηρμένα εἰς ἀπέραντον ὕψος ἡώρηται.

[39] From these spring four arches (apsides) which rise over the four sides of a square, and their ends come together in pairs and are made fast to each other on top of these piers (lophoi), while the other portions rise and soar to an infinite height.

[40] τῶν δὲ ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο κατὰ κενοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπανεστήκασι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, αἱ δὲ λειπόμεναι οἰκοδομίαν τέ τινα καὶ κίονας μικροὺς κομιδῇ ἔνερθεν ἔχουσιν.

[40] And while two of the arches rise over empty air, those namely on the east and the west sides, the other two have under them certain structural elements (oikodomia), including a number of rather small columns.

[41] ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν κυκλοτερὴς οἰκοδομία ἐν στρογγύλῳ ἐπῆρται· ὅθεν αἰεὶ διαγελαῖ πρῶτον ἡ ἡμέρα.

[41] Upon the crowns of the arches rests a circular structure (kykloterês oikodomia), cylindrical (strongylon) in shape; it is through this that the light of day always first smiles.

[42] ὑπεραίρει γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν γῆν ζύμπασαν, καὶ διαλείπει τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κατὰ βραχύ, ἐξεπίτηδες παρειμένον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τοὺς χώρους, οὗ δὴ τὸ δηρημένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας συμβαίνει εἶναι, φέγγους διαρκῶς ἀγωγούς εἶναι.

[42] For it towers above the whole earth, as I believe, and the structure is interrupted at short intervals, openings having been left intentionally, in the spaces where the perforation of the stone-work takes place, to be channels for the admission of light in sufficient measure.

[43] τῶν δὲ ἀψίδων τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐξειργασμένης, ἐς τρίγωνα τέσσαρα μεταξὺ τὸ ἔργον ἀποτετέλεσται.

[43] And since the arches where they are joined together are so constructed as to form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between the arches produces four triangles (trigôna).

[44] καὶ ἡ μὲν τριγώνου ἐκάστη κρητὶς πεπιεσμένη τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν ἀψίδων ἐνέρσει ὀξεῖαν ποιεῖται τὴν κάτω γωνίαν, συναναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν εὐρυνομένη τῇ μεταξὺ χώρα ἐς τὸ κυκλοτερές τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς λειπομένας ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται.

[44] And while each supporting end (krêpis) of a triangle, having been contracted to a point by the coming together of each pair of arches, makes the lower point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its width is extended by the intermediate surface,

[45] τούτου δὲ τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς παμμεγέθους ἐπανεστηκυῖά τις σφαιροειδῆς θόλος ποιεῖται αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον.

[45] it ends in the segment of a circle (kykloterês) which it supports, and forms the remaining angles at that level. And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome (sphairoeidês tholos) which makes the structure exceptionally beautiful.

[46] δοκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ σφαίρᾳ τῇ χρύσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη καλύπτειν τὸν χῶρον.

[46] Yet it seems not to rest upon solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden dome (sphaira) suspended from Heaven.

[47] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐς ἄλληλά τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐν μεταρσίῳ ἐναρμοσθέντα, ἐκ τε ἀλλήλων ἠωρημένα καὶ μόνοις ἐναπερειδόμενα τοῖς ἄγχιστα οὔσι, μίαν μὲν ἁρμονίαν ἐκπρεπεστάτην τοῦ ἔργου ποιοῦνται, οὐ παρέχονται δὲ τοῖς θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τι ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ μετέλκει τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ μεταβιβάζει ῥᾶστα ἑαυτό.

[47] All these details, fitted together with incredible skill in mid-air and floating off from each other and resting only on the parts next to them, produce a single and most extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not permit the spectator to linger much over the study of any one of them, but each detail

attracts the eye and draws it on irresistibly to itself.

[48] ἀγχίστροφός τε ἢ τῆς θέας μεταβολὴ ἐς αἰὶ γίγνεται, ἀπολέξασθαι τοῦ ἐσορῶντος οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος ὃ τι ἂν ποτε ἀγασθεῖη μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

[48] So the vision constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others.

[49] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀποσκοποῦντες πανταχόσε τὸν νοῦν, τὰς τε ὀφρῦς ἐπὶ πᾶσι συννενευκότες, οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσι ξυνεῖναι τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται αἰεὶ ἐνθένδε καταπεπληγμένοι τῇ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἀμηχανία. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδὲ πη ἔχει.

[49] But even so, though they turn their attention to every side and look with contracted brows upon every detail, observers are still unable to understand the skilful craftsmanship, but they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight. So much, then, for this.

[50] Μηχαναῖς δὲ πολλαῖς βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Ἀνθέμιος ὁ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ οὕτω δὴ μετεωριζομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεπράξαντο εἶναι· ὥσπερ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπάσας ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι τε ἄπορον καὶ λόγῳ φράσαι ἀμήχανον, μία δέ μοι μόνον ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται ἢ δύναιτ' ἂν τις σύμπασαν τοῦ ἔργου τεκμηριῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν.

[50] It was by many skilful devices that the Emperor Justinian and the master-builder Anthemius and Isidorus secured the stability of the church, hanging, as it does, in mid-air. Some of these it is both hopeless for me to understand in their entirety, and impossible to explain in words; I shall record only one of them for the present, from which it should be possible to gain an impression of the strength of the whole work.

[51] ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε· οἱ λόφοι, ὧν περ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις πεποιήνται, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων ἐπιβολῇ ἐν τετραγώνῳ διαπεπόνηται,

[51] It is as follows: The piers (lophoi) which I have just mentioned are not constructed in the same way as other structures, but in the following manner. The courses of stone were laid down so as to form a four-cornered shape,

[52] σκληρῶν μὲν φύσιν, ἐργασίαν δὲ λείων, ἐντομὴν δέ, εἰ μὲν τὰ προὔχοντα ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοῦ λόφου πλευρῶν μέλλοιεν, ἐγγωνίων, εἰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ κεκλήρωνται χώραν, ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ γεγενημένων.

[52] the stones being rough by nature but worked smooth; and they were cut to the angles when they were destined to form the projecting corners of the sides

of the pier, but when they chanced to be assigned to a position between the angles, they were cut in rectangles (tetrapleuron).

[53] συνήρμοσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ τίτανος, ἥνπερ ἄσβεστον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄσφαλτος, ἡ Σεμιράμιδος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φιλοτιμία, οὐκ ἰάλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μόλιβδος ἐς τέλμα χυθεῖς, καὶ μεταξύ πανταχόσε χωρήσας, τῶν τε λίθων τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ ἐντετηκῶς καὶ συνδέων ἀλλήλοις αὐτούς.

[53] These were held together neither by lime (titanos), which they call “asbestos”, nor by asphalt, the material which was the pride of Semiramis in Babylon, nor by any other such thing, but by lead (molibdos) poured into the interstices (telma), which flowed about everywhere in the spaces between the stones and hardened in the joints (harmonia), binding them to each other.

[54] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ἐπὶ τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῶ ἴωμεν.

Χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδήλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, κεραννῦσα τὸν κόμπον τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῷ.

[54] Thus were these parts constructed; but let us proceed to the remaining portions of the church.

The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold,^b which adds glory to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails, shining out in rivalry with the gold.

[55] στοαὶ τέ εἰσιν ἑκατέρωθι δύο, οἰκοδομία μὲν τοῦ νεῶ οὐδεμία διειργόμεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζον αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσαι τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μέτρον, καὶ τῷ μήκει μέχρι ἐς τὸ πέρας συνεξικνούμεναι, τὸ δὲ γε ὕψος καταδεέστεραι.

[55] And there are two stoa-like colonnades (stoi), one on each side, not separated in any way from the structure of the church itself, but actually making the effect of its width greater, and reaching along its whole length, to the very end, while in height they are less than the interior of the building.

[56] καὶ αὐταῖς δὲ ἢ τε ὀροφὴ θόλος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐγκαλλώπισμα. ταῦταιν δὲ ταῖν στοαῖν ἄτερα μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐχομένους διακεκλήρωται, γυναιξὶ δὲ ταὐτὸ ποιομέναις ἢ ἄλλη ἀνεῖται.

[56] And they too have vaulted ceilings (orophê tholos) and decorations of gold. One of these two colonnaded stoas has been assigned to men worshippers, while the other is reserved for women engaged in the same exercise.

[57] παραλλάξ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ διαφέρουσι δήπου ἀλλήλαιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐταῖν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς ἰκάλλος διήκει καὶ ὠραῖζει τὸ ἐμπερές.

[57] But they have nothing to distinguish them, nor do they differ from one another in any way, but their very equality serves to beautify the church, and their similarity to adorn it.

[58] τίς δ' ἂν τῶν ὑπερώων τῆς γυναικονίτιδος ἐρμηνεὺς γένοιτο, ἢ τάς τε παμπληθεῖς διηγοῖτο στοὰς καὶ τὰς περιστύλους αὐλάς, αἷς ὁ νεὼς περιβέβληται;

[58] But who could fittingly describe the galleries (hyperôa) of the women's side (gynaikonitis), or enumerate the many colonnades and the colonnaded aisles (peristylai aulai) by means of which the church is surrounded?

[59] τίς δὲ τῶν τε κιόνων καὶ λίθων διαριθμήσαιτο τὴν εὐπρεpeίαν, οἷς τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώπισται; λειμῶνι τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν ὥραϊφ τὸ ἄνθος.

[59] Or who could recount the beauty of the columns (kiones) and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom.

[60] θαυμάσειε γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοάζον, καὶ οἷς τὸ φοινικοῦν ἐπανθεῖ καὶ ὧν τὸ λευκὸν ἀπαστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὗς ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ποικίλλει χροιαῖς ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος ἡ φύσις.

[60] For he would surely marvel at the purple of some, the green tint of others, and at those on which the crimson glows and those from which the white flashes, and again at those which Nature, like some painter, varies with the most contrasting colours.

[61] ὀπηγίκα δέ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ ἴοι, ξυνήσι μὲν εὐθὺς ὥς οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνευται. ὁ νοῦς δέ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαιρόμενος ἀεροβατεῖ, οὐ μακρὰν που ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν μάλιστα οἷς αὐτὸς εἴλετο.

[61] And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen.

[62] καὶ τοῦτο οὐ τὴν πρώτην μόνον ἰδόντι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐκάστω ταῦτο τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὀψεως αἰεὶ ἀρχομένης.

[62] And this does not happen only to one who sees the church for the first time, but the same experience comes to him on each successive occasion, as though the sight were new each time.

[63] τούτου κόρον οὐδεὶς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ παρόντες μὲν τῷ ἱερῷ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις γεγήθασιν, ἀπόντες δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλόγοις ἀποσεμνύνονται.

[63] Of this spectacle no one has ever had a surfeit, but when present in the church men rejoice in what they see, and when they leave it they take proud delight in conversing about it.

[64] ἔτι μέντοι τῶν κειμηλίων τοῦ νεῷ τοῦδε τά τε χρυσώματα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις ξύμπαντα μὲν φράσαι ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἀμήχανον ἅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν· ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ τεκμηριοῦσθαι τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγομένοις ἐφίημι·

[64] Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church — the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here — it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example.

[65] ὁ γὰρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ μάλιστα χῶρος ἀβέβηλος καὶ μόνοις ἱερεῦσι βατός, ὥνπερ καλοῦσι θυσιαστήριον, λιτρῶν ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἐπιφέρεται τέτταρας.

[65] That part of the shrine which is especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the Inner Sanctuary (thysiaστήριον), is embellished with forty thousand pounds' weight of silver.

[66] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίας, ἥνπερ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, συνελόντι τε καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ διαριθμησαμένῳ εἰπεῖν, λόγῳ τε βραχυτάτῳ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιολογώτατα φράσαι, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ.

[66] So the church of Constantinople (which men are accustomed to call the Great Church), speaking concisely and merely running over the details with the finger-tips, as it were, and mentioning with a fleeting word only the most notable features, was constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian.

[67] οὐ χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονουμένη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[67] But it was not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul, as I shall straightway shew.

[68] τῶν ἀψίδων, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως (λῶρους δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μηχανοποιοὶ ἐπικαλοῦσι) μία τις, ἥ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν, ἐπανειστήκει μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἤδη, οὐπω δὲ ὅλη κατὰ τὸ μέσον συντετέλεστο, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἔτι.

[68] One of the arches which I just now mentioned (lōri the master-builders call them), the one which stands toward the east, had already been built up from either side, but it had not yet been wholly completed in the middle, and was still waiting.

[69] οἱ δὲ πεσσοὶ ὧν δὴ ὑπερθεν ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐγίνετο, τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὸ μέγεθος, ἀμηγέπη ἐξαπινάίως ἀπορρηγνύμενοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν διαλυθησομένοις ἐώκεσαν.

[69] And the piers (pessoι), above which the structure was being built, unable to carry the mass which bore down upon them, somehow or other suddenly began to crack, and they seemed on the point of collapsing.

[70] οἱ μὲν οὐ ἀμφί τε Ἀνθέμιον καὶ Ἰσίδωρον τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσι περίφοβοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, δυσέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ γεγενημένοι.

[70] So Anthemius and Isidorus, terrified at what had happened, carried the matter to the Emperor, having come to have no hope in their technical skill.

[71] αὐτίκα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτῳ μὲν ποτε ἡγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῷ δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ γάρ ἐστι μηχανικός, ἐς τὸ πέρας αὐτοῖς περιελίξαι τὴν ἀψίδα ταύτην ἐπήγγελλεν. αὕτη γάρ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνεχομένη τῶν ἔνερθεν πρεσσῶν οὐκέτι δεήσκει.

[71] And straightway the Emperor, impelled by I know not what, but I suppose by God (for he is not himself a master-builder), commanded them to carry the curve of this arch to its final completion. "For when it rests upon itself," he said, "it will no longer need the props (pessoι) beneath it."

[72] καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος ἦν, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι κόλαξ τε ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μάρτυρες πάρεισι τῶν τινικάδε πεπραγμένων πολλοί, οὐκ ὀκνητέα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου λειπόμενά ἐστιν.

[72] And if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible; but since there are available many witnesses of what then took place, we need not hesitate to proceed to the remainder of the story.

[73] οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῆται τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποίουν, ἡ δὲ ἀψὶς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἠώρητο πᾶσα, ἐπισφραγίζουσα τῇ πείρᾳ τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας ἀλήθειαν.

[73] So the artisans carried out his instructions, and the whole arch then hung secure, sealing by experiment the truth of his idea.

[74] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀψίδας αἱ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τοιόνδε ξυνηνέχθη

γενέσθαι.

[74] Thus, then, was this arch completed; but in the process of building the other arches, indeed, those namely which are turned toward the south and the north, the following chanced to take place.

[75] οἱ μὲν λῶροι καλούμενοι τοῦ νεῷ τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐξωγκωμένοι ῥώρηντο, βαρυνόμενα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεπονήκει τὰ ἐνερθεν πάντα, κιονές τε οἱ τῆδε ὄντες χάλικας σμικρὰς ὥσπερ ἀποξυσθέντες ἀφίεσαν.

[75] The so-called *lōri* had been raised up, carrying the masonry of the church, but everything underneath was labouring under their load, making the columns (*kiones*) which stood there throw off tiny flakes, as if they had been planed.

[76] καὶ αὖθις μὲν ἄθυμοι τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσιν οἱ μηχανικοὶ γεγενημένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα ἐσήγγελλον.

[76] So once more the master-builders were dismayed at what had happened and reported their problem to the Emperor.

[77] αὖθις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. τούτων δὴ τῶν πεπονηκότων τὰ ἄκρα, ὅσα τῶν ἀψίδων ἐπέψαυε, διελεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐκέλευσεν, ἐντιθέναί δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴν τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὕγρον ἀπολωφήσειεν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα.

[77] And again the Emperor met the situation with a remedy, as follows. He ordered them immediately to remove the upper parts (*akra*) of the masonry which were strained, that is, the portions which came into contact with the arches, and to put them back much later, as soon as the dampness of the masonry should abate enough to bear them.

[78] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἡ δὲ κτίσις διαγέγονε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οὔσα. φέρεται δὲ τι καὶ μαρτύριον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου τοιόνδε.

[78] These instructions they carried out, and thereafter the structure stood secure. And the Emperor, in this way, enjoys a kind of testimonial from the work.

[2] [2] [1] Ἀγορά τις πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα· καλοῦσι δὲ Αὐγουσταῖον τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ἐνταῦθα ξυνθῆκαι λίθων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἐπτά ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποίηται, κατὰ μὲν ἀπόβασιν ξυγκείμεναι πᾶσαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάστη τῆς ἐνερθεν οὔσης ἐλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν λίθων ἕκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθμὸν γεγονέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείνῃ ἀγειρομένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βάθρων καθῆσθαι.

[1] Before the Senate House there happened to be a sort of market-place, which the people of Byzantium call the Augusteum. In that place there is a structure of stones, which is made up of not less than seven courses, laid in a rectangle, all fitted to each other at their ends, but each course being narrower than that beneath, and set back, with the result that each of the stones becomes, from the way it is set, a projecting step, so that people assembled there sit upon them as upon seats.

[2] ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λίθων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπανεστήκεν ἐξαίσιον ὅσον, οὐ μονοειδῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἐν περιδρόμῳ εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετος, ἐγγωνίοις μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ οὖσιν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐμπειρία τῶν λιθοδόμων ἐναρμοσθεῖσι.

[2] And at the top of the stones there rises a column of extraordinary size, not a monolith, however, but composed of large stones in circular courses, cut so as to form angles on their inner faces, and fitted to one another by the skill of the masons.

[3] χαλκὸς δὲ ἄριστος ἐν τε πίναξι καὶ στεφάνοις διαχυθεὶς περιβάλλει πανταχόθι τοὺς λίθους, ἐν μὲν τῷ βεβαίῳ συνδέων, ἐν κόσμῳ δὲ αὐτοῦς συγκαλύπτων, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα σχεδόν τι πάντα καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐς τοῦ κίονος τὸν τύπον ἀπομιμούμενος.

[3] And finest brass, cast in panels and garlands, covers the stones on every side, both serving to bind them securely, and covering them with adornment, and giving the shaft throughout, but particularly at the base and the capital, the appearance of a column.

[4] ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὗτος τὸ μὲν χρῶμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ ἀκιβδήλου πραότερος, τὴν δὲ ἄξίαν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέων ἰσοστάσιος ἀργύρῳ εἶναι.

[4] This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver.

[5] ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ὑπερμεγέθης ἵππος, τετραμμένος πρὸς ἕω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ βαδιουμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ.

[5] And on the summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east, a very noteworthy sight. He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward.

[6] ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν μετεωρίζει, ὥς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπιπροσθεν γῆς, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἠρήρεται οὗ ὑπερθέν ἐστιν, ὥς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὥς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ ἐστήξιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἶεν.

[6] Indeed he holds his left foot in the air, as though he^ο were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so that they may be ready whenever he decides to move.

[7] τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἵπῳ χαλκῇ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν κολοσσῶ ἐμφερέης. ἔσταλται δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς ἡ εἰκὼν.

[7] Upon this horse is mounted a colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles,

[8] οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδεταί καὶ τὰ σφυρά ἐστι κνημίδων χωρὶς.

[8] that is, the costume he wears is known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves.

[9] εἴτα ἡρωϊκῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασειοίτο παρεχόμενον, αἶγλη τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει.

[9] Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down, and a dazzling light flashes forth from it.

[10] φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς εἶναι τὸν ὀπωρινὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀστέρα. βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν ἡνιόχησιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιούμενος.

[10] One might say, in poetic speech, that here is that star of Autumn. And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians.

[11] καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαιᾷ πόλον, παραδηλὼν ὁ πλάστης ὅτι γῆ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ θάλασσα δεδούλωται πᾶσα, ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δοράτιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὅπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπίκειται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπóρισται κράτος.

[11] And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war.

[12] προτεινόμενος δὲ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις καθῆσθαι οἴκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

[12] And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further. So much, then, for this statue.

[13] Ἐκκλησία δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁμορον οὕσαν καὶ συγκαταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πρότερον τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγέθη ἐδείματο, ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σχεδὸν τι ἀπάντων, μετὰ γε τῆς Σοφίας τὸν νεῶν, οὐδενὸς δεύτερον.

[13] The church called after Eirenê, which was next to the Great Church and had been burned down together with it, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia.

[14] ἦν δέ τις μεταξὺ ταύταιν δὴ ταῖν ἐκκλησίαιν ξενὼν, ἀνθρώποις ἀναιμένοιο ἀπορουμένοις τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα, εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῖεν.

[14] And between these two churches there was a certain hospice, devoted to those who were at once destitute and suffering from serious illness, those who were, namely, suffering in loss of both property and health.

[15] τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τις θεοσεβὴς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο, Σαμψὼν ὄνομα. ἔμεινε δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς τοῖς στασιώταις ἀνεπαφὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησία ἐκατέρῃ συγκαταφλεχθεῖς ἀπολώλει.

[15] This was erected in early times by a certain pious man, Samson by name. And neither did this remain untouched by the rioters, but it caught fire together with the churches on either side of it and was destroyed.

[16] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς, κάλλει μὲν κατασκευῆς ἀξιώτερον, πλήθει δὲ οἰκιδίων παρὰ πολὺ μείζω· προσόδῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐπετείων δεδῶρηται χρημάτων μεγάλων, ὅπως δὴ πλείοσιν ἐς αἰὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνθρώποις ἰῶτο τὰ πάθη.

[16] The Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, making it a nobler building in the beauty of its structure, and much larger in the number of its rooms. He has also endowed it with a generous annual income of money, to the end that through all time the ills of more sufferers may be cured.

[17] κόρον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἢ πλησμονῇν τινα ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων, δύο ξενῶνας ἐτέρους ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἔθετο ἐν ταῖς Ἰσιδώρου τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίου καλουμέναις οἰκίαις, τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας αὐτῷ τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἔργων ξυνεπιλαμβανομένης τὸ ἱερώτατον.

[17] But by no means feeling either a surfeit or any sort of weariness in

shewing honour to God, he established two other hospices opposite to this one in the buildings called respectively the House of Isidorus and the House of Arcadius, the Empress Theodora labouring with him in this most holy undertaking.

[18] τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀλλὰ ἱερὰ ζύμπαντα, ὅσα τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνέθηκε, τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν, ὥστε λεπτολογεῖσθαι μὲν ἄμφ' αὐτοῖς ἀμήχανα εἶναι.

[18] All the other shrines which this Emperor dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size, that it is impossible to write about them in detail.

[19] οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰὼν ἱεπαρκέσοι κατάλογον πεποιημένοις ἀποστοματίσαι πρὸς ὄνομα τούτων δὴ ἕκαστον. ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν ἀποχρήσει.

[19] For neither the power of language, nor the whole span of eternity, would suffice us to make a catalogue and by name descant upon each one of these. It will suffice us to have said thus much.

[3] [3] [1] Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας νεών. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεπιστάμεθα βουλομένῳ εἶναι, καὶ διαφανῶς εἰσηγεῖται ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἰτέον.

[1] We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God.

[2] πολλὰς τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇ θεοτόκῃ ἐδείματο πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς οὕτω δὴ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις καὶ χρημάτων ὄγκῳ ἐξεργασθείσας ὑπερφυεῖ, ὥστε ἦν τις αὐτῶν μίαν κατὰ μόνας θεῶτο, εἰκάσειεν ἂν τοῦτο αὐτῷ μόνον εἰργᾶσθαι τὸ ἔργον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ἡσχολημένον ἅπαντα τῆς βασιλείας κατατρίῃσαι τὸν χρόνον.

[2] The Emperor Justinian built many churches to the Mother of God in all parts of the Roman Empire, churches so magnificent and so huge and erected with such a lavish outlay of money, that if one should see one of them by itself, he would suppose that the Emperor had built this work only and had spent the whole time of his reign occupied with this alone.

[3] ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου ἱερὰ μοι γεγράφεται. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἓνα τῆς θεοτόκου νεών ὠκοδομήσατο πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις· αὐτῷ γὰρ λογιστέον καὶ τὰ Ἰουστίνῳ εἰργασμένα τῷ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν κατ' ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς διακείτο· ἐπιθαλάσσιος δὲ ὁ νεὼς ἐστιν, ἱερώτατος τε καὶ σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ἐπιμήκης μὲν, κατὰ λόγον δὲ

περιβεβλημένος τῷ μήκει τὸ εὖρος, τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἄλλω οὐδενὶ ἀνεχόμενος ὅτι μὴ τμήμασι λίθου Παρίου ἐν κίονων λόγῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶσι.

[3] But now, as I said, I must describe the sanctuaries of Byzantium. One of the churches of the Mother of God he built outside the fortifications in a place called Blachernae (for to the Emperor's credit there must also be reckoned the buildings erected by his uncle Justinus, since Justinian administered the government also during his uncle's reign on his own authority). This church is on the sea, a most holy and very stately church, of unusual length and yet of a breadth well proportioned to its length, both its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns.

[4] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ νεῷ μέρη κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστᾶσιν οἱ κίονες, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα ὑποστέλλονται εἶσω.

[4] And in all the other parts of the church these columns are set in straight lines, except at the centre, where they recede.

[5] μάλιστα δὲ ἂν τις ἀγασθεῖη τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦδε εἶσω γενόμενος τὸ μὲν ὑπέρογκον τοῦ σφαλεροῦ χωρὶς τεταγμένον ὄρων, τὸ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τοῦ ἀπειροκάλου ἐλεύθερον.

[5] Anyone upon entering this church would marvel particularly at the greatness of the mass which is held in place without instability, and at the magnificence which is free from bad taste.

[6] Ἔτερον δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Πηγῇ ἀνέθηκεν. ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ δάσος κυπαρίσσω ἀμφιλαφές, λειμὼν ἐν ἀπαλαῖς ταῖς ἀρούραις τεθηλῶς ἄνθεσι, παράδεισος εὐφορῶν τὰ ὠραῖα, πηγὴ ἀποφοιτὶ βλύζουσα γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πότιμον, ἱεροπρεπῇ ἐπικικῶς πάντα.

[6] He dedicated to the Virgin another shrine in the place called Pegê. In that place is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding in flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water — all especially suitable to a sanctuary.

[7] ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος χῶρος· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν νεῶν οὐδὲ ὀνόμασιν ἐπαξίοις συλλαβεῖν ῥάδιον, οὐδὲ διανοίᾳ σκιαγραφῆσαι, οὐδὲ διαψιθυρίσαι τῷ λόγῳ.

[7] Such are the surroundings of the sanctuary. But the church itself is not easy to describe in such terms as it deserves, nor can one readily form a mental vision of it, nor do it justice in whispering speech.

[8] τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον εἰπεῖν ἀποκρήσει, ὥς τῶν ἱερῶν κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ὑπεραίρει τὰ πλεῖστα.

[8] It must suffice to say only this, that it surpasses most shrines both in beauty and in size.

[9] ταῦτα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἱερὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως πεποιήται τείχους, τὸ μὲν ἀρχομένου παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡῖονα, τὸ δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Χρυσῶν καλουμένων Πυλῶν, ἃς δὴ ἄμφι τὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πέρας συμβαίνει εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ ἄμφω ἀκαταγώνιστα φυλακτήρια τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως εἶεν.

[9] Both these churches were erected outside the city-wall, the one where it starts beside the shore of the sea, the other close to the Golden Gate, as it is called, which chanced to be near the end of the line of fortifications, in order that both of them may serve as invincible defences to the circuit-wall of the city.

[10] ἔτι μέντοι κἂν τῷ Ἡραίῳ, ὅπερ Ἱερὸν καλοῦσι τανῦν, τῇ θεοτόκῳ νεῶν οὐκ εὐδιήγητον κατεστήσατο.

[10] Also in the Heraeum, which they now call the Hieron, he built a church to the Mother of God which it is not easy to describe.

[11] Ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Δεύτερον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἱεροπρεπές τε καὶ ἀγαστὸν ὅλως ἀνέθηκεν ἔδος Ἄννη ἀγία, ἣν τῆς μὲν θεοτόκου γεγονέναι μητέρα τινὲς οἶονται, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ τιτθῆν.]

[11] In that section of the city which is called Deuteron he erected a most holy and revered church to St. Anna, whom some consider to have been the mother of the Virgin and the grandmother of Christ.

[2] ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἥπερ ἐβούλετο γεγονῶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ τριγονίας ἀνέχεται καὶ γενεαλογεῖται τὰ ἐκ μητρὸς ἀνθρώπῳ ἴσα.

[12] For God, being born a man as was His wish, is subjected to even a third generation, and His ancestry is traced back from His mother even as is that of a man.

[13] τούτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ νεῶ οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν ἄμφι τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιὰν ἐσχάτην Ζωῇ μάρτυρι σεμνὸν ἐπιεικῶς ἔδος πεποίηται.

[13] Not far from this same church, near the last street within the city, he built a very imposing shrine to the martyr Zoë.

[14] Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἱερὸν εὗρεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ βραχύ τε καὶ ἀφεγγές ἄγαν καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἀνεῖσθαι πρέπον πρὸς σενάτορός τινος τῶν

πατρικίων ἐν χρόνῳ γεγεννημένον τῷ ἔμπροσθεν, κοιτώνισκῳ οἰκίας ἀτεχνῶς ἐμφορὲς οὐδὲ λίαν εὐδαίμονος.

[14] He found a shrine of the Archangel Michael in Byzantium which was small and very badly lighted, utterly unworthy to be dedicated to the Archangel; it was built in earlier times by a certain patrician senator, quite like a tiny bedroom of a dwelling-house, and that, too, of the house of one who is not very prosperous.

[15] διὸ δὴ καθεῖλε μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, ὥς μή τι αὐτῷ τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθεῖν.

[15] So he tore this down, even to the lowest foundations, so that no trace of its earlier unseemliness might remain.

[16] εὐμέγεθες δὲ τεκτινόμενος κατὰ τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον τρόπον, ἐς κάλλος μεταβιβάζει θαυμάσιον οἶον.

[16] And increasing its size to the proportions which it now displays, he transformed it into a marvellously beautiful building.

[17] ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τέμενός ἐστιν, οὐ κατὰ πολὺ δὲ φαίνεται προέχον τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μῆκος. τῆς δὲ πλευρᾶς ἥ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄκρα παχὺς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῖχος λίθοις ἐν πλήθει ξυγκειμένοις ἀποτετόρνενται, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα ἐξ ὑπαγωγῆς ἀποχωρῶν ὑποστέλλεται.

[17] For the church is in the form of a rectangle (tetrapleuron), and the length appears not much greater than the width. And at either end of the side which faces the east a thick wall was perfectly constructed of many fitted stones, but in the middle it is drawn back so as to form a recess.

[18] καὶ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μὲν ἀνέχουσι τὸν νεῶν κίονες χροιαῖς τισι ποικιλλόμενοι φύσει. ὁ δὲ καταντικρὺ πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον τοῖχος ταῖς εἰς τὸν νεῶν εἰσαγούσαις διήρηται θύραις.

[18] On either side of this rise columns of naturally variegated hues which support the church. The opposite wall, which faces approximately the west, is pierced by the doors which lead into the church.

[4] [4] [1] Ἐς δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλους τὸ πιστὸν ἐπιδέδεικται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. πρῶτα μὲν Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ νεῶν οὐ πρότερον ὄντα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μεδείματο παρὰ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν, ἥ Ὀρμίσδου τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπώνυμος ἦν.

[1] His faith in the Apostles of Christ he displayed in the following manner. First he built a church of Peter and Paul, which had not previously existed in

Byzantium, alongside the imperial residence which in former times was called by the name of Hormisdas.

[2] ταύτην γὰρ οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν Παλάτιον εἶναι δοκεῖν τε καὶ πρέπειν τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ τῆς οἰκοδομίας διαπραξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοκράτωρ κατέστη Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλείοις ἐνήψεν.

[2] For he had contrived that this building, which was his private residence, should both seem to be a palace, and by the magnificence of its structure be as handsome as one; and when he became Emperor of the Romans he joined it to the Palace proper.

[3] οὗ δὴ καὶ τέμενος ἄλλο ἀγίοις ἐπιφανέσι Σεργίῳ τε καὶ Βάκχῳ ἐδείματο, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τέμενος ἄλλο ἐκ πλαγίου τούτῳ παρακείμενον.

[3] There too he built another shrine to the famous Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and then also another shrine which stood at an angle to this one.

[4] ἄμφω δὲ τούτῳ τῷ νεῷ οὐκ ἀντιπροσώπω, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας ἀλλήλοιν ἐστᾶσι, συνημμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐνάμιλλοι ὄντες, καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐπικοινωνοῦμενοι, καὶ ἴσα ἀλλήλοις τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα περιβεβλημένοι, καὶ ἄτερος θατέρου οὔτε κάλλους περὶ οὔτε μεγέθους οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς πλεονεκτῶν ἢ ἐλασσούμενος δείκνυται.

[4] These two churches do not face each other, but stand at an angle to one another, being at the same time joined to each other and rivalling each other; and they share the same entrances (eisodoi) and are like each other in all respects, even to the open spaces (kraspeda) by which they are surrounded; and each of them is found to be neither superior nor inferior to the other either in beauty or in size or in any other respect.

[5] ὁμοίως μὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερος τῇ αἴγλῃ τῶν λίθων ὑπεραστράπτει τὸν ἥλιον, ὁμοίως δὲ χρυσοῦ περιουσίᾳ πανταχόθι κατακορῆς ἐστι καὶ κατακομᾷ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν.

[5] Indeed each equally outshines the sun by the gleam of its stones, and each is equally adorned throughout with an abundance of gold and teems with offerings.

[6] ἐνὶ μέντοι διαλλάσσουσι μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μῆκος αὐτοῖν τῷ μὲν κατ' εὐθὺ διαπεπόνηται, τῷ δὲ οἱ κίονες ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστᾶσιν.

[6] In just one respect, however, they do differ. For the long axis (mêkos) of one of them is built straight, while in the other church the columns stand for the most part in a semi-circle (hêmikyklos).

[7] ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μία μὲν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων στοὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος τῷ περιμήκης εἶναι ὠνομασμένη· ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ προπύλαια πάντα, ἣ τε αὐλὴ καὶ μεταυλοὶ θύραι καὶ τὸ προσήκειν τοῖς βασιλείοις.

[7] But whereas they possess a single colonnaded stoa, called a narthex because of its great length, for each one of their porches (prothyra), they have their propylaea (propylaia) entirely in common, and they share a single court (aulê), and the same doors leading in from the court (metauloi thyrai), and they are alike in that they belong to the Palace.

[8] οὕτω δὲ ἄμφω ἀγαστὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ὥστε διαφανῶς τῆς τε πόλεως ὅλης καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν βασιλείων ἐγκαλλώπισμα τυγχάνει ὄντα.

[8] These two churches are so admirable that they manifestly form an adornment of the whole city, and not merely of the Palace.

[9] Μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ὑπερφυῶς σέβων ἐποίει τοιαύδε. ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις νεῶς ἅπασι μήκει τε χρόνου κατασεισθεὶς ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι ἐστήξειν γεγωνὸς ὑποπτος.

[9] Afterwards, as shewing very special honour to all the Apostles together, he did as follows. There was in Byzantium from ancient times a church dedicated to all the Apostles; but having by now been shaken by the passage of time, it had fallen under the suspicion that it would not continue to stand.

[10] τοῦτον περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὅλον οὐχ ὅσον ἀνανεώσασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους πέρι ἀξιώτερον καταστήσασθαι.

[10] This the Emperor Justinian pulled down entirely, and he was at pains not simply to restore it, but to make it more worthy both in size and in beauty.

[11] ὑπετέλεσε δὲ τὸ σπουδάσμα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εὐθεῖαι συνημμέναι κατὰ μέσον ἀλλήλοιν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ σχήματος πεποιήνται δύο, ἡ μὲν ὀρθὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύνοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὖσα, ἐγκαρσία δὲ ἡ ἕτερα πρὸς τε ἄρκτον τετραμμένη καὶ ἄνεμον νότον.

[11] He carried out his effort as follows. Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other at the middle in the form of a cross, one extending east and west, and the other which crossed this running north and south.

[12] τοίχοις μὲν ἐκ περιφεροῦς ἀποπεφραγμένοι τὰ ἔξωθεν, ἐντὸς δὲ περιβαλλόμεναι κίοισιν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω ἐστῶσι· κατὰ δὲ ταῖν δυοῖν εὐθείαιν τὸ ζευγμα, εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ μέσον αὐταῖν μάλιστα, τοῖς οὐκ ὀργιάζουσιν ἄβατος τετέλεσται χώρος, ὃνπερ ἱερατεῖον, ὡς τὸ εἰκόσ, ὀνομάζουσι.

[12] On the outside these lines were defined by walls on all of the sides, while on the inside they were traced by rows of columns standing above one another. At the crossing of the two straight lines, that is to say at about the middle, there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the “sanctuary” (hierateion).

[13] καὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ μὲν ἑκάτερα πλευραὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐγκαρσίῳ κειμένης εὐθείας ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τῆς μέντοι ὀρθῆς ἢ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον ἐς τόσον τῆς ἐτέρας πεποιήται μείζων ὅσον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σχῆμα.

[13] The two arms (pleurai) of this enclosure which lie along the transverse line are equal to each other, but the arm which extends toward the west, along the upright line, is enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross.a

[14] τῆς δὲ ὀροφῆς τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἱερατείου καλουμένου καθύπερθεν τῷ τῆς Σοφίας ἱερῷ κατὰ γε τὰ μέσα ἐμπερη εἵργασται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐλασσοῦσθαι μεγέθει συμβαίνει.

[14] That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built, in the centre at least, on a plan resembling that of the Church of Sophia, except that it is inferior to it in size.

[15] αἱ τε γὰρ ἀψίδες τέσσαρες οὔσαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡώρηνται τε καὶ συνδέονται ἀλλήλαις τρόπον καὶ τὸ κυκλοτερές ὑπερανεστηκὸς κατὰ τὰς θυρίδας διήρηται, τό τε σφαιροειδὲς ἐπικυρτούμενον ὑπερθεν μετεωρίζεσθαι που δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, καίπερ ἀσφαλείας εὖ ἔχον.

[15] The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner, and the circular drum (kykloteres) which stands upon them is pierced by the windows, and the dome (sphairoeides) which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it is well supported.

[16] τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέσον τῆδε πεποιήται· κατὰ δὲ τὰς πλευρὰς τέσσαρας οὔσας, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτα τῷ μέσῳ τὸ μέγεθος εἵργασται, τούτου δὴ μόνου ἐνδέοντος, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ σφαιρικοῦ ἔνερθεν οὐ διήρηται ἢ οἰκοδομία θυρίσιν.

[16] Thus, then, was the central portion of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, as I have said, were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes (sphairikon) the masonry is not pierced by windows.

[17] ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγίστευμα τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο, καταφανεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι πεποίηνται πᾶσιν ὡς γεγῆθασί τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ καὶ κατακόρως ἐναβρύνονται.

[17] And at the time when this shrine was completed by him, the Apostles made it manifest to all men how they delight in the honour shewn them by the Emperor and glory in it exceedingly.

[18] σώματα γοῦν τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου ἄδηλά τε καὶ ὅλως κρυφαῖα τὰ πρότερα ὄντα τηνικάδε πᾶσιν ἐνδὴλα γέγονεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιούντων, οἶμαι, τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιχωρούντων αὐτῷ διαρρήδην ὀρῶντί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπομένῳ τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας τε καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσφαλείας ἀπόνασθαι. ἐγνώσθη δὲ ὧδε.

[18] At any rate the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy, which previously had been invisible and altogether concealed, became at that time visible to all men, signifying, I believe, that they did not reject the faith of the Emperor, but expressly permitted him to see them and approach them and touch them, that he might thereby enjoy their assistance and the safety of his life. This was made known in the following way.

[19] Κωνστάντιος μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεὼν ἔς τε τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδείματο, τὰς θήκας γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα βασιλεύσουσιν ἐνταῦθα τάξας, οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξὶν οὐδέν τι ἥσπον· ὅπερ καὶ διασώζεται ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον· οὗ δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθετο.

[19] The Emperor Constantius had built this church in honour of the Apostles and in their name, decreeing that tombs for himself and for all future Emperors should be placed there, and not for the rulers alone, but for their consorts as well; and this custom is preserved to the present day. Here also he laid the body of his father Constantine.

[20] ἀποστόλων δὲ σώματα ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ὡς ἥκιστα πῃ ἐπεσημήνατο, οὐδέ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐφαίνετο χῶρος σώμασιν ἀγίοις ἀνεῖσθαι δοκῶν.

[20] But neither did he give any intimation whatever that the bodies of the Apostles were there, nor did any place appear there which seemed to be given over to the bodies of the holy men.

[21] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοικοδομουμένου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν λιθουργοὶ τὸ ἔδαφος διώρυσσον ὅλον, τοῦ μὴ τι ἄκοσμον τῇδε λελεῖσθαι· θήκας δὲ ξυλῖνας ἐνταῦθά πῃ ἀπημελημένας τεθέανται τρεῖς, γράμμασιν ἐγκειμένοις σφίσι δηλοῦσας, ὡς Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου τῶν ἀποστόλων σώματα εἶεν·

[21] But when the Emperor Justinian was rebuilding this shrine, the workmen dug up the whole soil so that nothing unseemly should be left there; and they saw three wooden coffins lying there neglected, which revealed by inscriptions upon them that they contained the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy.

[22] ἅπερ ἀσμενέστατα βασιλεύς τε αὐτὸς καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ξύμπαντες εἶδον, πομπὴν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πανήγυριν ἐπιτετελεκότες, τῇ τε περὶ αὐτοὺς τιμῇ ἐξοσιωσάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ περιστείλαντες τὰς θήκας αὐθις τῇ γῇ ἔκρυσαν, οὐκ ἄσημον οὐδὲ ἀγείτονα λιπόντες τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ σώμασιν ἀποστόλων ἀνειμένον καταστησάμενοι ξὺν εὐσεβείᾳ.

[22] And the Emperor himself and all the Christians saw these with the greatest joy, and having arranged a procession in their honour and a festival, and having performed the customary holy rites over them and having put the coffins in order, they laid them once more in the ground, not leaving the place unmarked or solitary, but piously ordaining that it be dedicated to the bodies of the Apostles.

[23] εὐδὴλον δὲ ὡς ἀμειβόμενοι, ὅπερ μοι εἴρηται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι οἶδε τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς βασιλέως τιμῆς πεφάνασι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τανῦν.

[23] And it is plain, as I have said, that it was in requital for this honour which the Emperor shewed them, that these Apostles appeared to men on this occasion.

[24] βασιλέως γὰρ εὐσεβοῦντος οὐδὲ ἀποφοιτᾷ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν τὰ θεῖα πραγμάτων ἵαλλ' ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τε καὶ ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῇ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλίᾳ φιλεῖ.

[24] For when the Emperor is pious, divinity walks not afar from human affairs, but is wont to mingle with men and to take delight in associating with them.

[25] Τίς δ' ἂν τὸν Ἀκακίου σιωπῇ νεῶν; ὅνπερ καταπεπονηκότα περιελὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν θεμελίων ἀνέστησε, μέγεθος περιβεβλημένον θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον· ὃς κίοσι μὲν ἐπῆρται πανταχόθι λευκοῖς ὑπεράγαν, λίθῳ δὲ τὰ ἐδάφη παραπλησίῳ ἡμφίεσται, ὥνπερ ἀπαστράπτει τοσοῦτον ἡ αἴγλη ὥστε καὶ δόξαν παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ χιόσιν ὁ νεὼς ἅπας κατάρρυστός ἐστι.

[25] Who could pass over in silence the Church of Acacius? This had fallen into ruin, and he took it down and rebuilt it from the foundations, so as to make it a building of marvellous size. It is carried on all sides on columns of astonishing whiteness, and the floor is covered with similar stone, from which such a brilliant light is reflected that it gives the impression that the whole church is coated with snow.

[26] στοαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ προβέβληνται δύο, περίστυλος μὲν ἀτέρα οὔσα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἀγορὰν νενευκυῖα.

[26] And two stoas are thrown out in front of it, one of them making a court (peristylos), the other facing the market-place.

[27] μικροῦ με τὸ μαρτύριον ἐκεῖνο παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὃ Πλάτωνι ἀνεῖται ἅγιον, ἱεροπρεπὲς τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄν καὶ σεμνὸν ἄγαν, οὐ πολλῶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἄποθεν ἢ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν· ἐτι μέντοι καὶ τὸν Μωκίῳ μάρτυρι ἀνιμμένον νεών, οὐπερ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα μεγέθει ἐλάσσω.

[27] I have almost omitted to mention that martyr's shrine which is dedicated to St. Plato, a truly holy and much revered building, not far from the market-place which bears the name of the Emperor Constantine; also the church dedicated to the martyr Mocius, to which all other shrines yield in size.

[28] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ Θύρσου μάρτυρος ἔδος καὶ μὴν τὸ Θεοδώρου ἁγίου τέμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κείμενον ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ῥησίῳ, καὶ τὸ τε Θέκλης μάρτυρος ἱερόν, ὃ παρὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως λιμένα ἐστὶν ὄνπερ ἐπώνυμον Ἰουλιανοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Θεοδότης ἁγίας ἐν προαστείῳ καλουμένῳ Ἑβδόμῳ.

[28] There is also the resting-place of the martyr Thyrsus, and likewise the precinct of St. Theodore, situated outside the city at a place called Rhesium, as well as the sanctuary of the martyr Thecla, which is hard by the harbour of the city which chances to bear the name of Julian, and that of St. Theodota in the suburb called Hebdomum.

[29] ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Ἰουστίνου βασιλεύοντος ἐκ θεμελίων ἐδείματο, ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μὲν οὐ ῥάδια λόγῳ, ἰθαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ὄψει κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμήχανα.

[29] All these our present Emperor built from the foundations during the reign of his uncle Justinus, and they are not easy to describe in words, and one cannot admire them sufficiently when they are seen.

[30] ἔλκει τὸν λόγον ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγαθονίκου τοῦ ἁγίου νεὼς καὶ βιάζεται οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι ἔχοντα οὐδὲ ὀνόματα ἐφαρμόσαι τοῖς πράγμασι. διόπερ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει· φράσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐτέροις ἀφίεμεν, οἷς ἂν ὁ λόγος ἀκμάζων τε καὶ οὐπω πεπονηκῶς παντάπασιν εἴη.

[30] But the Church of St. Agathonicus now draws my narrative and constrains me, though I no longer have the voice or the words to do justice to it. So I must content myself with mention of this church, and leave it to others to describe its beauty and its magnificence in every detail — others whose power

of utterance is fresh and not yet wholly spent.

[5] [5] [1] Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τεμένη ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἡπειρον εὔρεν οὐ πρόποντα τῶν τινι ἀνεῖσθαι ἀγίων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον, ὅνπερ Κέρας οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Κεροέσση τῇ Βύζαντος μητρὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ ἐπωνύμως καλοῦσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιδέδεικται πολυτέλειαν ἐπιτηδεῖως βασιλεῖ ἔχουσαν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω, ὑπειπὼν πρότερον ὄντινα διακοσμεῖ τρόπον ἢ θάλασσα τὸ Βυζάντιον.

[1] There are other shrines also, both in the place called Anaplus and on the shore of the opposite continent, which he found in a condition unworthy to be dedicated to any of the saints, as well as along the inlet which the inhabitants call Ceras, after Ceroessa, the mother of Byzas, the founder of the city; and in all these he displayed a munificence altogether befitting an Emperor, as I shall presently shew, after first explaining how the sea adorns Byzantium.

[2] Πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐν καλῷ τίθεται ἀμφ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα, ἐγκολλουμένη τε καὶ εἰς πορθμοὺς ξυναγομένη καὶ χεομένη ἐς πέλαγος μέγα, ταύτῃ τε τὴν πόλιν εὐπρόσωπόν τε διαφερόντως ἐργαζομένη καὶ σκέπας λιμένων ἡσύχιον τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις παρεχομένη, τὰ τε εἰς τὴν δίαιταν εὐπορον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν εὐδαίμονα.

[2] Besides the city's other blessings the sea is set most beautifully all about it, forming curving bays, contracting into narrow straits, and spreading into a great open sea; and thus it makes the city exceptionally beautiful, and offers the quiet shelter of harbours to navigators, thereby abundantly providing the city with the necessities of life and making it rich in all useful things.

[3] πελάγη γὰρ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὄντα, ὃ τε δὴ Αἰγαῖος καὶ ὁ Εὐξείνος καλούμενος Πόντος, ξυνηῶσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ξυγκρουόμενα τῇ τοῦ ροθίου ἐπιμῖξι, ταύτῃ τε τὴν ἡπειρον τῇ ἐσβολῇ βιαζόμενα, καλλωπίζουσι κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν.

[3] For in reality there are two seas embracing it, the Aegean on the one side and the sea called the Euxine on the other; these unite with each other to the east of the city, and rushing together as they mingle their waves, and pushing back the solid land by this invasion, they beautify the city as they surround it.

[4] πορθμοὶ τοίνυν αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσι τρεῖς, ἀλλήλοις μὲν ἀπερηρυσμένοι, ἐς κάλλος δὲ αὐτῇ διατεταγμένοι καὶ χρεῖαν, περιπλεῖσθαι μὲν ἥδιστοι ἅπαντες, ἀποσκοπῆσθαι δὲ ποθεινοί, ἐνορμίσασθαι δὲ λίαν εὐλιμένες.

[4] So it is encircled by three straits which open into one another, so disposed that they both adorn and serve the city, all of them most delightful for sailing, each a pleasurable sight for the eye, and very commodious for anchorage.

[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν μέσος ἐκ Πόντου προῖων τοῦ Εὐξείνου εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως ὡς διακοσμῆσων αὐτὴν ἵεται, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἡπείρω διακεκλήρωται.

[5] And the middle one of them, coming down from the Euxine Sea, flows straight toward the city, as though to beautify it, and on either side of it the two continents are placed.

[6] ὧν δὴ ταῖς ὄχθαις πεπίεσται, ἐπιφρίττων τε καὶ γαυρουμένῳ εὐκίως ὅτι δὴ ἐποχούμενος τῇ τε Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ προσβαίνει τῇ πόλει.

[6] And it is pressed in by their banks, so that it ripples and seems to plume itself because it approaches the city mounted upon both Asia and Europe.

[7] δόξαις ἂν ποταμὸν τεθεᾶσθαι ἐπίπροσθεν προσηνεῖ τῷ ρείθρῳ ἰόντα. ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ θλίβεται μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ταῖς ἀκταῖς, τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ λειμώνων κάλλη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρου ἐνδεικνύμενος ὑποκείμενα τῇ τῆς πόλεως ὄψει.

[7] One would imagine that he was looking upon a river moving toward him with gentle current. And the strait which lies on the left of this is confined by its shores on either side for a very great distance, displaying the woods and the lovely meadows and all the other details of the opposite shore which lie open to view from the city.

[8] εὐρύνεται δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξωθούμενος αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῆς ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἀποκομίζων.

[8] Then from that point it broadens as it is thrust away from the city toward the south, and carries the coast of Asia very far from the city.

[9] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς περιβάλλον διαμένει τὴν πόλιν τὸ ρόθιον ἄχρι ἐς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ δὲ δὴ τρίτος πορθμὸς τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἐχόμενος ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, ἐκ δὲ Σύκων τῶν καλουμένων ἀρχόμενος, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει τῆς πόλεως πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ ἐς κόλπον τελευτῶν παύεται.

[9] Yet the wash of the sea continues to envelop the city up to its western boundary. The third strait, which branches off from the first toward the right, commencing at Sycae, as it is called, extends for a very great distance along the side of the city which faces the north, and terminates in the bay which forms its end.

[10] οὕτω μὲν οὖν στεφανοῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡ θάλασσα, ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ λειπόμενον ἡ γῆ, μεταξὺ τοσαύτῃ οὔσῃ, ὅσον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἵστεφάνην ἐνταῦθα ξυνδεῖσθαι.

[10] Thus the sea forms a garland about the city; the remainder of the city's boundary is formed by the land which lies between the two arms of the sea, and is of sufficient size to bind together there the crown of waters.

[11] πραῦνεται δὲ διηνεκὲς ὁ κόλπος οὗτος καὶ ἀναθολοῦσθαι οὐδαμῇ πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ ὀρίων τῷ κλύδωνι κειμένων ἐνταῦθα καὶ σάλου τὸ ἐνθένδε παντὸς τῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰργομένου τιμῇ.

[11] This bay is always calm, being so fashioned by nature that it is never roiled, just as if limits were set there for the turbulent waters and all billows were excluded from that area so as to do honour to the city.

[12] χειμῶνος δέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, καὶ ἀνέμων σκληρῶν τοῖς τε πελάγεσι καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ ἐπιτεσόντων, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὴν εἰσοδὸν ἵκωνται τοῦ κόλπου αἱ νέες, ἀκυβέρνητοί τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἴασι καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτως ὁρμίζονται.

[12] And in winter, even should violent winds chance to fall upon the open spaces of the sea and upon the strait, as soon as ships reach the entrance to the bay, they proceed for the rest of the way without a pilot and are anchored without precautions.

[13] ἐς σταδίους μὲν γὰρ πλεῖν ἢ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ περίμετρον τοῦ κόλπου διήκει, λιμὴν δὲ ὅλος πανταχῇ ἐστίν· ὥστε ἀμέλει ὁρμιζομένης ἐνταῦθα νηὸς ἢ μὲν πρύμνα τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐπῆρται, ἢ δὲ πρῶρα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάθεται, ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στοιχείων ἀμιλλωμένων, ὁπότερον ἂν αὐτοῖν δύναιτο μᾶλλον τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργολαβεῖν ὑπουργίαν.

[13] For the circuit of the bay extends to a distance of more than forty stades, and furnishes anchorage throughout its whole extent; so that when a ship anchors there the stern rides upon the sea while the prow rests upon the land, as if the two elements contended with each other to see which of them would be able to render the greater service to the city.

[6] [6] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κόλπου τοῦδε τοιαῦτά ἐστι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κάλλος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξ οἰκοδομίας πεποιημένος ἐπιφανέστερον ἐξειργάσατο.

[1] Such is the nature of this bay. And the Emperor Justinian adorned it with buildings on all sides and thus made it still more notable.

[2] τό τε γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ κόλπου Λαυρεντίου ἀγίου μαρτύριον ἀφεγγές τε τὰ πρότερα ὃν καὶ σκότους ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεον μεθαρμοσάμενος, ὥς διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον ἀνέθηκε τρόπον.

[2] On the left of the bay he found the martyr's shrine of St. Lawrence, which previously had been without a ray of light and practically filled with darkness, and he remodelled it, to speak briefly, and consecrated it in the form in which

it is now seen.

[3] καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις τοιοῦτον δεδημιούργηκεν οἶός μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται.

[3] Over against this, in the quarter called Blachernae, he built the Church of the Virgin which I just described.

[4] ἐπέκεινά τε Πρίσκῳ τε καὶ Νικολάῳ ἁγίοις ἱερὸν ᾠκοδομήσατο, καινουργήσας αὐτὸς, οὗ δὴ οἱ Βυζάντιοι ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, πῇ μὲν σέβοντές τε καὶ τεθηπότες τοὺς ἁγίους ἰενδήμους σφίσι γινομένους, πῇ δὲ τῆς τοῦ τεμένους ἀπολαύοντες εὐπρεπείας, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ρόθιον βιασάμενος βασιλεὺς ὕπερθ' ἐν τε τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνθέμενος τὰ θεμέλια τὸ ἱερὸν κατεστήσατο.

[4] Further on he established a shrine to St. Priscus and St. Nicholas, an entirely new creation of his own, at a spot where the Byzantines love especially to tarry, some worshipping and doing honour to these saints who have come to dwell among them, and others simply enjoying the charm of the precinct, since the Emperor forced back the wash of the sea and set the foundations far out into the water when he established this sanctuary.

[5] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πέρας ἐν τε τῷ ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ τέμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κοσμᾷ τε καὶ Δαμιανῷ ἁγίοις ἀνεῖται· οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ποτε νενοσηκότα πικρότατα καὶ δόκησιν παρεχόμενον ὅτι δὴ ἀποθάνοι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀπολελειμμένον ἅτε δὴ ἐν νεκροῖς κείμενον, ἐς ὅσιν ἐλθόντες ἐσώσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ ὀρθὸν ἔστησαν.

[5] At the far end of the bay, on the ground which rises steeply in a sharp slope, stands a sanctuary dedicated from ancient times to Saints Cosmas and Damian. When the Emperor himself once lay seriously ill, giving the appearance of being actually dead (in fact he had been given up by the physicians as being already numbered among the dead), these Saints came to him here in a vision, and saved him unexpectedly and contrary to all human reason and raised him up.^a

[6] οὓς δὴ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀμειβόμενος ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ὅλην ἐναλλάξας τε καὶ μετασκευασάμενος τὴν προτέραν οἰκοδομίαν ἄκοσμόν τε καὶ ἄδοξον οὕσαν οὐδὲ ἀξιόχρεων τηλίκους ἁγίοις ἀνεῖσθαι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει τὸν νεῶν κατελάμπρυνε καὶ φωτὸς αἴγλη, ἅλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ πρότερον ὄντα ἀνέθηκεν.

[6] In gratitude he gave them such requital as a mortal may, by changing entirely and remodelling the earlier building, which was unsightly and ignoble and not worthy to be dedicated to such powerful Saints, and he beautified and

enlarged the church and flooded it with brilliant light and added many other things which it had not before.

[7] ἐπειδὴν τέ τινες ἀρρωστήμασιν ὁμιλήσαιεν ἱατρῶν κρείττοσιν, οἷδε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπογόνοντες ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην αὐτοῖς ὑπολελειμμένην ἐλπίδα χωροῦσι, καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν ταῖς βαρέσι πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεών.

[7] So when any persons find themselves assailed by illnesses which are beyond the control of physicians, in despair of human assistance they take refuge in the one hope left to them, and getting on flat-boats they are carried up the bay to this very church.

[8] ἀρχόμενοι τε τοῦ εἰσπλου εὐθὺς ὁρῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο ἀποσεμνυνόμενόν τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐγνωμοσύνῃ καὶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν.

] [8] And as they enter its mouth they straightway see the shrine as on an acropolis, priding itself in the gratitude of the Emperor and permitting them to enjoy the hope which the shrine affords.

[9] Τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐπὶ θάτερα μαρτύριον οἰκοδομησάμενος βασιλεὺς οὐ πρότερον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀνθίμῳ μάρτυρι παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ κόλπου ἡϊόνα.

[9] Across the bay the Emperor built a martyr's shrine which had not existed before, by the very strand of the bay, and dedicated it to the martyr Anthimus.

[10] καὶ τὰ μὲν κράσπεδα τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραῦνομένη ἐπικλυζόμενα τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροῇ τὸ εὐχαρι ἐπικικῶς ἔχει.

[10] The foundations of the shrine are washed by the caressing flow of the sea in an altogether charming manner.

[11] οὐ γὰρ ξὺν θορύβῳ τὸ κλυδώνιον ἐπανεστηκὸς εἶτα εἰς τοὺς ἐκεῖνι λίθους ἀράσσεται, οὐδὲ μεγάλα τὸ κῦμα ἠχῆσαν, οἷά γε τὰ θαλάττια, καὶ σχιζόμενον ἀποκρίνεται εἰς εἶδος ἀφρῶδες, ἀλλὰ πρόεισι μὲν προσηγνές, σιωπηλὸν δὲ ὃν ἐπιψαύει τῆς γῆς, ἀναστρέφει δὲ μόνον.

[11] For the incoming waves do not rise up with a roar and break on the stones there, nor do the breakers thunder aloud like those of the sea and divide and break up in a foaming mass, but the water comes forward gently, and silently touches the land and then quietly draws back.

[12] ἐκδέχεται δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐλὴ ὁμαλὴ τε καὶ λίαν ὑπτία, μαρμάρους μὲν πανταχόθι κεκομψευμένη καὶ κίοσιν, ὅψει δὲ ὠραϊζομένη τῇ ἐς τὴν

θάλασσαν.

[12] And extending back from the beach is a smooth and very level court (aulê), adorned on all sides with marbles and with columns and glorying in its view over the sea.

[13] στοὰ μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ὁ νεὸς ἐντὸς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐς ὕψος ἐπὶ ῥηται λίθων εὐπρεπεῖα καὶ χρυσῷ κατακεχυμένῳ καλλωπιζόμενος.

[13] Beyond this is a stoa with the church inside rising in the form of a quadrangle to a great height and made beautiful by the charm of its stones and by the gold applied to them.

[14] τοσοῦτον δὲ προέχει μόνον τοῦ εὗρους τὸ μήκος ἐς ὅσον δὴ χῶρον τὸν ἀβέβηλον, ἐν ᾧ ὄργια τὰ ἄρρητα τελεῖσθαι θέμις, κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν ἣ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται διήκειν ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[14] And the length exceeds the width only by the extent of the sanctuary, where alone the sacred mysteries may be performed, along the side which faces towards the east. So much, then, for this.

[7]

[7] [1] 'Ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλπου τὸ στόμα Εἰρήνης μάρτυρος νεὸς ἵδρυται. ὃς δὴ οὕτω μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅλος ἐξείργασται ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι.

[1] Beyond this, just about at the opening of the bay, was built a Church of the Martyr Eirenê. This entire church was constructed by the Emperor on such a magnificent scale that I, at least, could not possibly do it justice.

[2] ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀμφὶ τοῦ κόλπου τῇ εὐπρεπεῖα, ὥσπερ ὄρμῳ περιφέρει ἐγκαλλώπισμα τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐντέθεικεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεὸς ἐπεμνήσθην, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνη ξυνενεχθὲν οὐ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου τῇδε γεγράψεται.

[2] For seeking to rival the sea in lending beauty to the land about the gulf, he set all these shrines, as in an encircling necklace, round about it. But since I have mentioned this Church of Eirenê, it will not be amiss for me at this point to recount also the incident which happened there.

[3] ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο λείψανα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ τεσσαράκοντα· οἱ στρατιῶται μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἐν λεγεῶνι δὲ δυοδεκάτῃ ἐτάττοντο, ἣ ἐν πόλει Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἱδρυτο.

[3] Here from ancient times were buried the remains of no fewer than forty holy men; these had chanced to be Roman soldiers who served in the Twelfth Legion, which in ancient times had been posted in the city of Melitenê in Armenia.

[4] ἥνίκα τοίνυν οἱ λιθοδόμοι διώρυσσον οὐπὲρ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, κιβώτιον

εὖρον γράμμασι σημαῖνον ὡς λείψανα ἔχοι τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

[4] So when the masons were excavating in the place which I have just mentioned, they found a chest shewing by an inscription that it contained the remains of these very men.

[5] ὅπερ ἐξήνεγκε λεληθὸς τέως ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ θεός, ἅμα μὲν πιστούμενος ἅπαντας ὡς τὰ βασιλέως ἀσμενέστατα ἐνδέδεκται δῶρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείψασθαι διατεινόμενος χάριτι μείζονι.

[5] And God brought to light this chest, which thus far had been forgotten, with an express purpose, partly to assure all men that He had accepted the Emperor's gifts most gladly, and partly because He was eager to repay this great man's beneficence with a greater favour.

[6] ἐτύγχανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἄγαν τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, ἐπεὶ ρεύματος δεινόν τι χρῆμα κατὰ τὸ γόνυ ἐπιπεσὼν συντριβῆναι ταῖς οὐδαίνοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἐποίει· οὐπὲρ οἱ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἦν.

[6] It chanced that the Emperor Justinian was suffering from a grievous affliction, since a dangerous discharge had set in at the knee and caused him to be tortured with pain; and for this he himself was chiefly responsible.

[7] ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀπάσαις αἵπερ τὴν Πασχαλίαν ἐορτὴν προτερεύουσαι νηστεῖαι καλοῦνται, σκληρὰν τινα βιοτὴν ἔσχε μὴ ὅτι βασιλεῖ ἀλλόκοτον οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀμηγέπη τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀπομένῳ.

[7] For during all the days which precede the Feast of Easter, and which are called days of fasting, he observed a severe routine which was unfit not only for an Emperor, but for any man who was concerned in any way with state affairs.

[8] δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν διεγεγόνει ἐς αἰὲ ἀπόσιτος ὢν, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθροῦ βαθέος διηνεκὲς ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενος καὶ προεγρηγορῶς τῆς πολιτείας, αἰεὶ τε αὐτῆς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ διαχειρίζων τὰ πράγματα, ὀρθριὸς τε καὶ μεσημβρινός, καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἐπινυκτίδιος.

[8] Indeed he had gone two whole days quite without food, and that too while rising regularly from his bed at early dawn and keeping watch over the State, and constantly managing its affairs by word and deed from early dawn to midday and equally into the night.

[9] πόρρω γὰρ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς κοίτην ἰὼν ἐξανίστατο αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὥσπερ χαλεπῶς τοῖς στρώμασιν ἔχων.

[9] And although he went to his couch late in the night, he immediately rose

again, as if he could not endure his bed.

[10] καὶ ἡνίκα δέ που τροφήν αἵροίτο, οἶνου μὲν καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδωδίων ἐκτὸς ἔμενε, βοτάνας δὲ ἥσθιε μόνον, καὶ ταύτας ἀγρίας ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος τεταριχευμένας ἀλσί τε καὶ ὄξει, ὃ τε πότος αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγίνετο μόνον.

[10] And when he did take nourishment, he abstained from wine and bread and other foods and ate only herbs, and those, too, wild ones thoroughly pickled with salt and vinegar,^b and his only drink was water.

[11] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτοις κατακορῆς γέγονε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα δαῖτα αἵροίτο, ἀπογευσάμενος τούτων δὴ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐδωδίων, εἶτα μεθίει, οὐπω ἐδηδοκῶς τὰ αὐτάρκη.

[11] Yet he never took a sufficiency even of these, but whenever he did take a meal, he merely tasted these foods he liked and then left them before he had eaten enough.

[12] ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπικουρίαν ἐνενικήκει, καὶ χρόνος τῷ βασιλεῖ πολὺς ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ὁδύνας ἐτρίβη.

[12] Hence, then, his malady gathered strength and got beyond the help of the physicians, and for a long time the Emperor was racked by these pains.

[13] μεταξὺ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων λειψάνων ἀκούσας, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἀφέμενος τέχνης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγε, τὴν ὑγίαν ἐπισπώμενος τῇ ἐς αὐτὰ πίστει, καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο.

[13] But during this time he heard about the relics which had been brought to light, and abandoning human skill, he gave the case over to them, seeking to recover his health through faith in them, and in a moment of direst necessity he won the reward of the true belief.

[14] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῖς τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτίθεντο γόνυ, ἀφανίζεται δὲ τὸ πάθος εὐθύς, σώμασι δεδουλωμένοις θεῷ βιασθέν. ὅπερ ἀμφίλεκτον ὁ θεὸς οὐ ξυγχωρῶν εἶναι, σημεῖον τῶν πραττομένων ἐνδέδεικται μέγα.

[14] For as soon as the priests laid the reliquary on the Emperor's knee, the ailment disappeared entirely, driven out by the bodies of men who had been dedicated to the service of God. And God did not permit this to be a matter of dispute, for he shewed a great sign of what was being done.

[15] ἔλαιον γὰρ ἐξαπινάως ἐπιπρεῦσαν μὲν ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, ὑπερβλύσαν δὲ τὸ κιβώτιον, τῷ τε πόδε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ βασιλέως κατέκλυσεν ὅλην ἀλουργὸν οὔσαν.

[15] For oil suddenly flowed out from these holy relics, and flooding the chest poured out over the Emperor's feet and his whole garment, which was purple.

[16] διὸ δὴ ὁ χιτὼν οὕτω καταβεβρεγμένος διασώζεται ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, μαρτύριον μὲν τῶν τῆνικάδε γεγεννημένων, σωτήριον δὲ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα πάθεσι περιπεσουμένοις τισὶν ἀνηκέστοις.

[16] So this tunic, thus saturated, is preserved in the Palace, partly as testimony to what occurred at that time, and also a source of healing for those who in future are assailed by any incurable disease.

[8]

[8] [1] Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑπογέγραπται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ Κέρας ὁ κόλπος, καὶ πορθμοὶν δὲ τοῖν ἄλλοιιν δυοῖν, ὧν περ ἐπεμήσθη ἄρτίως, οἰκοδομίας τὰς ἡϊόνας ἐς μέγα τι κάλλος ἐξείργασται]τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[1] Thus was the bay called the Horn given distinction by the Emperor Justinian. And by erecting buildings he elaborated into a thing of great beauty the shores of the other two straits which I have just mentioned, in the following manner.

[2] ἱερὰ δύο τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ ἀνειμένα καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοιν ἐστῶτα τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐκατέρωθι ξυνέβαιναν εἶναι, θάτερον μὲν ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλῳ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ ἀκτῇ.

[2] There happened to be two sanctuaries dedicated to the Archangel Michael, standing opposite one another on either side of the strait, the one at the place called Anaplus, on the left bank as one sails toward the Euxine Sea, the other on the opposite shore.

[3] Προόχθους μὲν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἀκτὴν, ὅτι δὴ προβέβληται, οἶμαι, κατὰ πολὺ τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος, νῦν δὲ Βρόχοι ἐπικαλεῖται, διαφθειρούσης τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγνοίας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου.

[3] The men of ancient times called this point Proöchthi, because, I suppose, it projects far out from the shore-line there, but now it is called Brochi, for with the passage of time names are corrupted through the ignorance of local residents.

[4] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δύο τεμένη οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς κατερρακωμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου θεώμενοι καὶ περίφοβοι γεγεννημένοι ὥς μὴ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα σφίσιν ἐμπέσοιεν, βασιλέως ἐδέοντο ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἅμφω ἐφ' οὗπερ σχήματος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν.

[4] And the priests of these two shrines, seeing them utterly dilapidated by time and having become fearful that they would fall in upon them at any moment,

petitioned the Emperor to restore both of them to their ancient form.

[5] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐκκλησίαν τινὰ ἢ γίνεσθαι πρῶτον, ἢ καταπεπονηκυῖαν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ χρημάτων βασιλικῶν, οὐκ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

[5] For it was not possible, during the reign of this Emperor, for any church either to be built for the first time or to be restored when it had fallen into disrepair except with imperial funds, not alone in Byzantium, but in every part of the Roman Empire.

[6] βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτίκα τῆς προφάσεως τυχὼν τῆσδε καθεῖλε μὲν ἐκάτερον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὥς μὴ τι αὐτοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθῆναι. ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνάπλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[6] So the Emperor no sooner had found this pretext than he at once tore them both down to the foundations, so that none of their previous untidiness was left. He rebuilt the one at Anaplus in the following way.

[7] πετρῶν ἐμβολῇ τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν εἴσω περιελίξας ἐς σκέπας λιμένος, τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡϊόνα ἐς μεταμόρφωσιν ἀγορᾶς ἤνεγκεν.

[7] By a stone quay he made the shore-line there curve inward to form a sheltered harbour and he transformed the sea-beach into a market.

[8] ἡσύχιος γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐνταῦθα ἡ θάλασσα οὔσα τῇ γῇ ἐπικοινωνεῖται συναλλαγᾷ.

[8] For the sea at that point is very calm, and makes possible trading with the land.

[9] ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις οἱ τῶν ἐμπόρων θαλάσσιοι παρὰ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν πετρῶν ὀρμισάμενοι συμβάλλονται τοῖς ἐγγείοις ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων τὰ ἐμπολήματα.

[9] And the sea-traders tie up their skiffs along the stone quay and from their decks exchange their merchandise for the products of the land.

[10] αὐλὴ μετὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἀγορὰν τοῦ νεῷ πρόκειται. καὶ μαρμάρους μὲν ὠραίοις τε καὶ χιόσιν ἡ αὐλὴ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιοι.

[10] Behind this shore-market extends the court (aulè) in front of the church. In colour this court resembles beautiful marbles and snow.

[11] οἱ δὲ τοὺς περιπάτους τῇδε ποιούμενοι εὐπρεπεῖα μὲν ἥδονται λίθων, γεγῆθασι δὲ θαλάσσης ὅψει, ἐναβρύνονται δὲ κοιναῖς ταῖς αὔραις ἐκ τε τοῦ

ῥοθίου ἐπεγειρομέναις καὶ λόφων ἐπανεστηκότων τῇ γῇ.

[11] Those who promenade here delight in the beauty of the stones, while they rejoice in the view of the sea and revel alike in the breezes wafted from the water and in those that descend from the hills which tower over the land.

[12] στοὰ τὸν νεὼν περιβάλλει ἐγκύκλιος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὼ διαλιποῦσα μόνον. ἐπὶ μέσης τὸ ἱερὸν χρώμασι μυρίοις πεποίκιλται λίθων.

[12] A circular (enkyklios) stoa surrounds the church and is lacking only on the side towards the east. In the centre stands the church, adorned with stones of an infinite variety of colours.

[13] ὄροφος ἐν θόλῳ μετάρσιος ὑπερῴρηται. τί ἂν τις διαριθμησάμενος ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἔργου φράσοι τὰς ἡωρημένας στοάς, τὰς ὑπεσταλμένας οἰκοδομίας, τὸ τῶν μαρμάρων ἐπίχαρι, οἷς δὴ οἱ τε τοῖχοι καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη παντάπασι περιβέβληνται;

[13] The roof soars aloft in the form of a dome (tholos). How could any man do justice to the work in describing the lofty stoas, the secluded buildings within the enclosure, the charm of the marbles with which both walls and pavements are everywhere arranged?

[14] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος ἐξάισιον πανταχόσε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καθάπερ αὐτῷ πεφυκὸς περικέχεται.

[14] In addition to these an extraordinary amount of gold has been applied to every part of the shrine and looks just as if it had grown upon it.

[15] τοσαῦτα εἰπόντι καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τέμενός μοι δεδήλωται, ὅπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἑναγχος ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ καλουμένῳ ἀνέθηκεν.

[15] This same description can be applied equally well to the shrine of John the Baptist, which the Emperor Justinian recently dedicated to him at Hebdomum, as it is called.

[16] ἐμφερέστατα γὰρ ἄμφω ἀλλήλοιν τὰ τεμένη τυγχάνει ὄντα, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθαλάσσιον τὸ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[16] For these two shrines happen to resemble each other closely, except that the shrine of the Baptist chances not to be on the sea.

[17] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ καλουμένῳ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ναὸς τῇδε πεπόνηται.

[17] Now the Church of the Archangel in the place called Anaplus was built in this way.

[18] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἀκτὴν ὀλίγῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διέχει τις χῶρος, ὁμαλὸς μὲν φύσιν, συνθέσει δὲ λίθων ὑψοῦ ἀνέχων.

[18] And on the opposite bank is a site somewhat removed from the sea, naturally level and raised to a height by courses of stone.

[19] ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δεδημιούργηται ἱέμενος, εὐπρεπεῖα μὲν ἐξάισιον, μεγέθει δὲ πρῶτον, πολυτελεία δὲ ἀνακεῖσθαι μὲν τῷ Μιχαὴλ πρέπον, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ.

[19] There has been built the other shrine of the Archangel, a work of extraordinary beauty and unrivalled in size, and because of its magnificence worthy both of Michael, to whom it is dedicated, and of the Emperor Justinian, who dedicated it.

[20] τούτου δὲ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ νεῷ τέμενος ἅγιον τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνεενώσατο τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ καταπεπονηκὸς πολλῷ πρότερον, οὗ δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ διερευνησασθαι καὶ λόγῳ σημῆναι· ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἡ παλαιὰ τῆς ἱστορίας προσδοκώμενη μοῖρα.

[20] Not far from this place he restored in the same way a holy shrine of the Virgin which had fallen into disrepair a long time before, and it would be a long task to study this building and describe in words its majesty. But here follows the long-awaited portion of my narrative.

[9] [9] [1] Ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀκτὸς ἀξιοθέατα ἐκ παλαιοῦ βασιλεία ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα. ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνέθεκε τῷ θεῷ ἅπαντα, τὸν ἐνθένδε τῆς εὐσεβείας καρπὸν τῆς παραυτίκα παραφυγῆς ἀλλαξάμενος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[1] On this shore there chanced to have been from ancient times a remarkable palace. This the Emperor Justinian has dedicated wholly to God, exchanging immediate enjoyment for the reward of piety thereby obtained, in the following manner.

[2] ὄμιλος ἦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου γυναικῶν ἐν μαστροπείῳ λελαγνευμένων οὐχ ἐκούσιον, ἀλλὰ βίαιαν τινὰ μισητίαν.

[2] There was a throng of women in Byzantium who had carried on in brothels a business of lechery, not of their own free will, but under force of lust.

[3] τῆς γὰρ πενίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑπὸ πορνοβοσκῷ τρεφομέναις ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀκολασταίνειν ἐπάναγκες ἦν, ἀνδράσι τε ἀγνώσι καὶ παραπετωκόσιν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐσποδιοῦντο συνδυαζόμεναι.

[3] For it was maintained by brothel-keepers, and inmates of such houses were

obliged at any and all times to practise lewdness, and pairing off at a moment's notice with strange men as they chanced to come along, they submitted to their embraces.

[4] πορνοβοσκῶν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐταιρία πολλή, ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας διαχειρίζοντων ἐμπόλημα, ἐν τε τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὥραν ἀποδιδομένων τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ δουλαγωγούντων τὸ σῶφρον.

[4] For there had been a numerous body of procurers in the city from ancient times, conducting their traffic in licentiousness in brothels and selling others' youth in the public market-place and forcing virtuous persons into slavery.

[5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα (τὴν γὰρ εὐσέβειαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνοῦμενοι ἅπαντα ἔπρασσον) ἐπενόουν τάδε.

[5] But the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora, who always shared a common piety in all that they did, devised the following plan.

[6] τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν τοῦ τῶν μαστροπειῶν ἄγους ἐκάθηραν, ἐξελάσαντες τὸ τῶν πορνοβοσκῶν ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἡτὰς πενία τλαιπωρουμένας πολλῇ ἀκολασίας τῆς δουλοπρεποῦς ἡλευθέρωσαν, βίοτον μὲν σφίσιν αὐτόνομον, ἔλευθέραν δὲ τὴν σωφροσύνην πεπορισμένοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωκῆσαντο τῇδε.

[6] They cleansed the state of the pollution of the brothels, banishing the very name of brothel-keepers, and they set free from a licentiousness fit only for slaves the women who were struggling with extreme poverty, providing them with independent maintenance, and setting virtue free. This they accomplished as follows.

[7] παρὰ ταύτην δὴ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, βασιλείᾳ πρότερον ὄντα μοναστήριον μεγαλοπρεπὲς κατεστήσαντο καταγώγιον ταῖς μεταμελουμέναις γυναιξίν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ βίῳ ἐσόμενον·

[7] Near that shore of the strait which is on the right as one sails toward the Sea called Euxine, they made what had formerly been a palace into an imposing convent designed to serve as a refuge for women who repented of their past lives,

[8] ἐφ' ᾧ τῇ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀσχολία γενησομένη περικαθῆραι τὰς ἁμαρτάδας δύναται εἶεν τῆς ἐν μαστροπειῷ διαίτης.

[8] so that there through the occupation which their minds would have with the worship of God and with religion they might be able to cleanse away the sins of their lives in the brothel.

[9] διὸ δὴ καὶ Μετάνοιαν τοῦτο δὴ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ διαιτητήριον ὁμωνύμως τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπονομάζουσι.

[9] Therefore they call this domicile of such women “Repentance,” in keeping with its purpose.

[10] καὶ πολλαῖς μὲν χρημάτων προσόδοις οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι τὸ μοναστήριον δεδώρηνται τοῦτο, πολλὰ δὲ οἰκία κάλλει τε καὶ πολυτελείᾳ διαφερόντως ἐξαίσια, ταῖς γυναιξὶ παραψυχὴν ἐσόμενα, ὠκοδομήσαντο, ὥς μηδενὶ ἀναγκασθεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ τῆς σωφοσύνης ἐπιτηδεύματα τρόπῳ ὀφροῦν ἀποκνήσουσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[10] And these Sovereigns have endowed this convent with an ample income of money, and have added many buildings most remarkable for their beauty and costliness, to serve as a consolation for the women, so that they should never be compelled to depart from the practice of virtue in any manner whatsoever. So much, then, for this.

[11] Ἐς δὲ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐνθένδε ἰόντι ἄκρα τις ἀπορρῶξ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ προβέβληται ἡϊόνα, ἐφ’ ἧς μαρτύριον Παντελεήμονος ἀγίου εἰστίκει, ἀρχὴν τε ἀπημελημένως πεποιημένον καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ πεπονηκὸς ἄγαν· ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τοῦτόν τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ μάλιστα οἰκοδομησάμενος τὸν ἐκείνη τανῦν ὄντα νεών, τῷ τε μάρτυρι διεσώσατο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κάλλος ἐντέθεικεν, ἐκατέρωθι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα πηξάμενος.

[11] As one goes on from there toward the Euxine Sea, a certain sheer promontory is thrust out along the shore-line of the strait, on which stands a martyr’s shrine of St. Panteleemon, which had been carelessly built to begin with and had suffered greatly from the long passage of time; this the Emperor Justinian removed completely from the spot and in its place built in a very magnificent manner the church which now stands on this site, and he thus preserved to the martyr his honour and at the same time added beauty to the strait by setting these shrines on either side of it.

[12] τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν χώρῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀργυρωνίῳ πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταγώγιον οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβήσατο.

[12] Beyond this shrine, in the place called Argyronium, there had been from ancient times a refuge for poor persons who were afflicted with incurable diseases.

[13] ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ διερρωγὸς ἤδη τὰ ἔσχατα προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ἀνεενώσατο, γενησόμενον τοῖς οὕτω ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνάπαυλαν. ἀκτὴ δὲ τίς ἐστι Μωχάδιον ὄνομα τοῦ χώρου ἐγγὺς ὃ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται.

[13] This, with the passage of time, had already fallen into a state of extreme disrepair, but he restored it with all enthusiasm, so that it should provide a lodging for those who suffered in this way. And there is a certain promontory named Mochadium near the place which is now called Hieron.

[14] ἐνταῦθα νεὼν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἄλλον ἐδείματο ἱεροπρεπῇ τε διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἱερῶν ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐδενὸς ἀξιώματι ἀποδέοντα.

[14] There he built another church to the Archangel, one of peculiar sanctity and inferior in esteem to none of the shrines of the Archangel which I have just mentioned.

[15] Καὶ Τρύφωνι δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὸν μάρτυρι, πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἐς κάλλος ἀποτετορνευμένον ἀμύθητον ὅλως, ἐν τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγυῖᾳ ἣ τοῦ Πελαργοῦ ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν.

[15] He also dedicated a shrine to the martyr Tryphon which was finely built at a great cost of labour and of time so that it became an object of altogether indescribable beauty, in a street of the city which is named Pelargus.

[16] ἔτι δὲ Μηνᾶ καὶ Μηναίῳ μάρτυσιν ἔδος ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ ἀνέθηκεν. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ εἰσιόντι ἐς τὰς Χρυσᾶς καλουμένας Πύλας Ἰας ἀγίας μαρτύριον εὐρὼν καταπεπτωκός, πολυτελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνεενώσατο.

[16] Furthermore he dedicated a shrine to the martyrs Menas and Menaeus in the Hebdomum. And on the left as one enters the gate which is known as the Golden Gate, this Emperor found a martyr's shrine of St. Ia, fallen in ruins, which he restored with all sumptuousness.

[17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἱεροῖς εἰργασμένα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν διαπεπονημένα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἕκαστα διαριθμεῖσθαι χαλεπὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἄπορον.

[17] Such were the labours accomplished by the Emperor Justinian in connection with the holy places in Byzantium; but to enumerate all the sacred edifices which he built through the length and breadth of the whole Roman Empire is a difficult, nay, an altogether impossible task.

[18] ἀλλ' ἥνίκα ἡμῖν δεήσει πόλεως ἢ χωρίου τοῦ πρὸς ὄνομα ἐπιμνησθῆναι, καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἱερὰ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ γεγράφεται.

[18] However, when it becomes necessary for us to mention any city or district by name, the sanctuaries in that place shall be recorded at the proper point.

[10] [10] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν τε Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ τοῖς τῇδε

προαστείοις οὕτως Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ·

[1] So the churches, both in the city of Constantinople and in its suburbs, were built as stated by the Emperor Justinian; but it is not easy to recount in my narrative each one of the other buildings erected by him.

[2] τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων αὐτῷ οἰκοδομημάτων πεποιημένων ἕκαστον μὲν ἐπελθεῖν οὐ ράδιον λόγῳ, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ φράσαι, τά τε πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα τῆς τε ἄλλης πόλεως καὶ τῶν βασιλείων καταφλεχθέντα τε καὶ καθηρημένα ἐπ' ἔδαφος ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον μετεστήσατο· ἅπερ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λεπτολογεῖσθαι οὐτὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι·

[2] But to speak comprehensively, the majority of the buildings and the most noteworthy structures of the rest of the city, and particularly of the Palace area, had been burned and razed to the ground when he undertook to rebuild them and to restore them all in more beautiful form.

[3] ἅπαντα γάρ μοι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται λόγοις. τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται, ὥς τῶν βασιλείων τά τε προπύλαια καὶ ἡ καλουμένη Χαλκὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως καλούμενον οἶκον, ἕκ τε τῶν βασιλείων τό τε βαλανεῖον ὃ Ζεῦξιππος αἱ τε μεγάλαι στοαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπόνυμός ἐστι, τούτου δὴ ἔργα τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα.

[3] Yet it has seemed to me not at all necessary at the present time to recount these in detail, for they all been described with care in my Books on the Wars. At this point, only this shall be set down, that this Emperor's work includes the propylaea (propylaia) of the Palace and the so-called Bronze Gate as far as what is called the House of Ares, and beyond the Palace both the Baths of Zeuxippus and the great colonnaded stoas and indeed everything on either side of them as far as the market-place which bears the name of Constantine.

[4] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τὴν Ὀρμίσδα ἐπόνυμον οἰκίαν, ἄγχιστα οὖσαν τῶν βασιλείων, παραλλάξας τε καὶ ὅλως ἐς τὸ ἐπιφανέστερον μεθαρμοσάμενος, ὥς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπιεικῶς πρέπειν, τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐντέθεικεν, εὐρύτερόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιώτερον ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.

[4] And besides these he remodeled the building known as the House of Hormisdas, which is close by the Palace, so altering and transforming it altogether into a more noble structure as to be really in keeping with the royal residence, to which he joined it, making it greater in width and consequently much more admirable.

[5] Ὅστις δὲ τις ἀγορὰ πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων περίστυλος. Ἰαύγουσταῖον καλοῦσι τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ταύτης ἐν λόγοις ἐπεμνήσθησαν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ἥνικα τῆς Σοφίας περιηγησάμενος τὸν νεὼν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα τῷ

βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ κίονος ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ λίθοις συνθέτου ἀνατεθεῖσαν δεδήλωκα.

[5] And there is before the Palace a certain market-place surrounded by columns (peristylas), which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaeum. This I have mentioned previously when in the account of the Church of Sophia I described the bronze statue of the Emperor commemorating the work, set upon a very tall column made of fitted blocks.

[6] ταύτης ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἱδρύται, λόγου μὲν τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ κρεῖττον, Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔργον.

[6] To the east of this market-place stands the Senate House, surpassing description by reason of its costliness and every element of its construction, the work of the Emperor Justinian.

[7] ἔνθα δὴ ξυνιοῦσα ἔτους ἀρχομένου ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν ἄγει, τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀργιάζουσα ἐς αἰὶ νόμιμα.

[7] There the Senate of the Romans assembles at the beginning of the year and celebrates an annual festival, observing always the ancient tradition of the State.

[8] ἔξ δὲ αὐτοῦ κίονες ἐπίπροσθεν ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν δύο τὸν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τοῖχον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες ὃς πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ὀλίγῳ ἐκτός, τὸ μὲν εἶδος λευκοὶ ἅπαντες, μέγεθος δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν ἐν γῇ, οἷμαι, κίωνων τῇ πάσῃ.

[8] Six of its columns stand in front of it, two of which have between them the wall of the Senate House which faces the west, while the four others stand a little beyond it; all of them are white in colour, and in size, I believe, they are the largest of all columns in the whole world.

[9] στοὰν δὲ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κίονες ὄροφον ἐν θόλῳ ἐλίττουσαν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω τῆς στοᾶς ἅπαντα μαρμάρων μὲν κάλλει διακεκόσμηται τοῖς κίοσι τὸ εἶδος ἴσων, ἀγαλμάτων δὲ πλήθει ὑπεράνω ἐσώτων θαυμασίως ὥς ὑπογέγραπται.

[9] And the columns form a porch (stoa) which carries a roof curving into a vault (tholos), and the whole upper portion of the colonnade is adorned with marbles which rival the columns in their beauty, and the roof is wonderfully set off by a great number of statues which stand upon it.

[10] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τὰ βασιλέως οἰκία ἐστί, καὶ νέα μὲν τὰ βασιλεία σχεδόν τι πάντα, Ἰουστινιανῷ δέ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ, φράσαι δὲ αὐτὰ λόγῳ ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσει μὲν τοὺς γενησομένους εἰδέναι ὅτι δὴ ἅπαντα τούτου δὴ ἔργον τοῦ

βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα.

[10] Not far from this market-place is the residence of the Emperor, and practically the whole Palace is new, and, as I have said, was built by the Emperor Justinian; but it is impossible to describe it in words and it must suffice for future generations to know that it happens to be entirely the work of this Emperor.

[11] ὥσπερ δέ φασι, τὸν λέοντα ἐξ ὄνυχος ἴσμεν, καὶ τούτων δὴ οὕτω τῶν βασιλείων τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος οἱ τάδε ἀναλεγόμενοι εἴσονται. τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ προτεμενισμόν ἐστιν ὃ καλοῦσι Χαλκῆν.

[11] We know the lion, as they say, by his claw, and so those who read this will know the impressiveness of the Palace from the vestibule (protemenisma). So this entrance, which they call Chalkê, is of the following sort.

[12] ὀρθοὶ τοῖχοι οὐρανομήκεις ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐστᾶσι τέσσαρες, τὰ μὲν ἅλλα ἰσοστάσιοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, μήκει δὲ ἅμφω, ὃ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένως καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τῶν ἐτέρων οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέοντες.

[12] Four straight walks stand in a quadrangle (tetragonos) rising heaven-high, equal to each other in all respects except that those which face south and north, respectively, are both slightly shorter than the others.

[13] προβέβληται δέ τις ἀμφὶ τὴν γωνίαν αὐτῶν ἐκάστου λίθων εὖ μάλα εἰργασμένων ἀνάστασις, τῷ τοίχῳ ἐς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐξ ἐδάφους συναναβαίνουσα, τετράπλευρος μὲν, ἐνημμένη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μίαν τῷ τοίχῳ πλευράν, οὐ διακόπτουσα τοῦ χώρου τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ κόσμου αὐτῷ ἐντιθεῖσα τῇ τοῦ ἐμφεροῦς ἁρμονίᾳ.

[13] At each corner there projects a sort of structure (anastasis) of very carefully worked stones, ascending with the wall from the ground to its very top, having four sides, to be sure, but joined to the wall on one side, not detracting from the beauty of the structure, but actually adding a sort of grace to it by the harmony of the similar proportions.

[14] ὑπερηώρηνται δὲ αὐτῶν ἀψίδες ὀκτώ, τέσσαρες μὲν ἀνέχουσιν τὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παντὸς ὄροφον ἐν σφαιροειδεῖ μεταρσίῳ ἐπικυρτούμενον, αἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλαι δύο μὲν πρὸς νότον, δύο δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον τῷ γεινιῶντι ἐναπεριδόμεναι τοίχῳ, τὸ μεταξὺ τέγος ἐν θόλῳ ἠωρήμενον ἐξαιροῦσιν.

[14] Above them rise eight arches, four of which support the roof which curves over the centre of the whole structure in the form of a suspended dome (sphairoeidês), while the others, two toward the south and two toward the north, rest upon the adjoining walls and lift on high the vaulted (tholos) roof which is balanced between them.

[15] ἐναβρύνεται δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, οὐ τῷ κηρῷ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι ἐνταῦθα παγεῖσα, ἀλλ' ἐναρμοσθεῖσα ψηφῖσι λεπταῖς τε καὶ χρώμασιν ὠραῖσμέναις παντοδαποῖς· αἱ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπομιμοῦνται.

[15] And the whole ceiling boasts of its pictures, not having been fixed with wax melted and applied to the surface, but set with tiny cubes of stone beautifully coloured in all hues, which represent human figures and all other kinds of subjects.

[16] ὅποια δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ γράμματά ἐστιν ἐγὼ δηλώσω. γέφ' ἐκάτερα μὲν πόλεμὸς τέ ἐστι καὶ μάχη, καὶ ἀλίσκονται πόλεις παμπληθεῖς, πῇ μὲν Ἰταλίας, πῇ δὲ Λιβύης· καὶ νικᾷ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦντι Βελισαρίῳ, ἐπάνεισι δὲ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ στράτευμα ἔχων ἀκραιφνὲς ὅλον ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ λάφυρα βασιλεῖς τε καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐξάισια.

[16] The subjects of these pictures I will now describe. On either side is war and battle, and many cities are being captured, some in Italy, some in Libya; and the Emperor Justinian is winning victories through his General Belisarius, and the General is returning to the Emperor, with his whole army intact, and he gives him spoils, both kings and kingdoms and all things that are most prized among men.

[17] κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐστᾶσιν ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ βασίλισ Θεοδώρα, εἰκότες ἄμφω γεγηθόσι τε καὶ νικητήρια ἐορτάζουσιν ἐπὶ τε τῷ Βανδύλων καὶ Γότθων βασιλεῖ, δορυαλώτοις τε καὶ ἀγωγίμοις παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι.

[17] In the centre stand the Emperor and the Empress Theodora, both seeming to rejoice and to celebrate victories over both the King of the Vandals and the King of the Goths, who approach them as prisoners of war to be led into bondage.

[18] περιέστηκε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος, ἐορτασταὶ πάντες. τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ ψηφίδες δηλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσώποις ἱλαρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπανθοῦσαι.

[18] Around them stands the Roman Senate, all in festal mood. This spirit is expressed by the cubes of the mosaic, which by their colours depict exultation on their very countenances.

[19] γαυροῦνται οὖν καὶ μειδιῶσι τῷ βασιλεῖ νέμοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἡμίαισται δὲ μαρμάρων εὐπρεπεῖα τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς τὰς ὑπεράνω ψηφίδας, οὐχ ὅσα ἐπανεστήκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφεξῆς ὅλον.

[19] So they rejoice and smile as they bestow on the Emperor honours equal to those of God, because of the magnitude of his achievements. And the whole interior of the building, as far as the mosaics above, is clothed with handsome marbles, not only the upright surfaces, but the whole of the pavement as well.

[20] τῶν δὲ μαρμάρων ἔνια μὲν λίθου Σπαρτιάτου ἐκεῖ σμαράγδω ἴσα, ἔνια δὲ πυρὸς φλόγα μιμοῦνται· λευκὸν δὲ τῶν πλειόνων τὸ εἶδος, οὐ λιτὸν μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὑποκυμαίνει κυαναναγεῖ ὑπογεγραμμένον μεταξὺ χρώματι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.

[20] Some of these marbles are of Spartan stone which rivals the emerald, while some simulate the flame of fire; but the most of them are white in colour, yet the white is not plain, but is set off with wavy lines of blue which mingle with the white. So much, then, for this.

[11][11] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Προποντίδος ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὴ τῆς πόλεως, βαλανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐστίν. ὅπερ Ἀρκαδιανὰ μὲν ἐπικαλεῖται, Κωνσταντινουπόλιν δὲ πηλίκην οὖσαν ἐπικοσμεῖ.

[1] As one sails from the Propontis up toward the eastern side of the city, there is on the left a public bath. This is called Arcadianae, and it is an ornament to Constantinople, large as the city is.

[2] αὐλὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἰεδείματο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως προβεβλημένην, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐκεῖνη διατριβὴν ἔχουσιν ἐς περιπάτους ἀεὶ ἀναιμένην, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς περιπλέουσιν.

[2] There this Emperor built a court (aulê) which lies outside the city, and it is always open to those who tarry there for promenades and to those who anchor there as they are sailing by.

[3] ταύτην ἥλιος καταλάμπει μὲν ἀνίσχων τῇ αἴγλῃ, ἐκτρεπόμενος δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω ἐπισκιάζει. ταύτην ἡ θάλασσα περιρρεῖ ἀτρεμῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ περιχεομένη τῷ ρείθρῳ, ποταμοῦ τρόπον ἐκ Πόντου ἰοῦσα· ὥστε καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς περιπλέουσιν οἱ τοὺς περιπάτους ποιούμενοι.

[3] This is flooded with light when the sun rises, and when it passes on toward the west it is pleasantly shaded. And the unruffled sea flows quietly about this court, encircling it with its stream, coming in from the Pontus like a river, so that those who are promenading can actually converse with those who are sailing by.

[4] ἡ γὰρ θάλασσα κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἄβυσσον μέχρι ἐς τῆς αὐλῆς τὴν κρηπῖδα πλώμιος ἐνταῦθα ταῖς ναυσὶ γίνεται, τῆς δὲ γαλήνης τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τοὺς ἐκατέρωθι ὄντας ἐπιμίγνυσιν ἐς τοὺς διαλόγους ἀλλήλοις.

[4] For the sea preserves its depth even though it reaches up to the very foundations of the court and so is navigable there for ships, and by reason of the deep calm which prevails it brings together those on land and those on the sea so that they can converse with each other.

[5] τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ γειτόνημα τῇ αὐλῇ τῇδὲ πη ἔχει, καλλωπιζομένη μὲν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν ὄψει, περιπνεομένη δὲ ἀπαλαῖς οὐσαις ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς αὖραις.

[5] Such, then, is the side of the court which borders on the sea, adorned by the view over it, and breathed upon by the gentle breezes which come from it.

[6] καὶ κίωνων δὲ καὶ μαρμάρων κάλλει ὑπερφυεῖ τὰ τε αὐτῆς ἐδάφη καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεν καλύπτεται πάντα· ὧν ἡ αἴγλη ὑπεράγαν λευκὴ τίς ἐστι, ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἐπικεικῶς ἀπαστράπτουσα.

[6] Columns and marbles of surpassing beauty cover the whole of it, both the pavement and the parts above. And from these gleams an intensely brilliant white light as the rays of the sun are flashed back almost undimmed.

[7] καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτὴν κοσμοῦσι παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν χαλκαῖ, αἱ δὲ τῷ λίθῳ ἐπιξυσθεῖσαι, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. εἰκάσαις ἂν ἡ Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἢ τοῦ Σικωνίου Λυσίππου ἔργον ἢ Πραξιτέλους αὐτὰς γεγονέναι.

[7] Nay more, it is adorned with great numbers of statues, some of bronze, some of polished stone, a sight worthy of a long description. One might surmise that they were the work of Pheidias the Athenian, or of the Sicyonian Lysippus or of Praxiteles.

[8] ἐνταῦθα καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπὶ κίονος ἔστηκε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνατέθεικεν ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐλῆς χαριστήριον.

[8] There also the Empress Theodora stands upon a column, which the city in gratitude for the court dedicated to her.

[9] καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰκὼν εὐπρόσωπος, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλίδος τῷ κάλλει ἐλάσσων, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς τὴν εὐπρεπείαν λόγῳ τε ἵφρᾶσαι καὶ ἰνδάλματι ἀπομιμεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι παντάπασιν ἀμήχανα ἦν· ἀλουργὸς δὲ ὁ κίων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκτυπώματος ὅτι δὴ βασιλίδα φέρει διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος.

[9] The statue is indeed beautiful, but still inferior to the beauty of the Empress; for to express her loveliness in words or to portray it in a statue would be, for a mere human being, altogether impossible.^c The column is purple, and it clearly declares even before one sees the statue that it bears an Empress.

[10] Ὅπερ δὲ ὕδατος εὐπορίας πέρι ἐνταῦθα διαπεπνῶνται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. θέρους ὥρα ἢ βασιλὶς πόλις ὕδατος ὑπεσπάνιζεν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καίπερ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους καιροὺς διαρκὲς ἔχουσα.

[10] I shall now describe the labours which were carried out here by this Emperor to ensure an abundant water-supply. In the summer season the imperial city used to suffer from scarcity of water as a general thing, though at the other seasons it enjoyed a sufficiency.

[11] τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τηνικάδε αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντος ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας αἱ πηγαὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποβλυστάνουσαι καταδεεστέραν παρείχοντο τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν τῇ πόλει.

[11] Because that period always brings droughts, the springs, running less freely than at the other seasons, used to deliver through the conduits a less abundant flow of water to the city.

[12] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενόει τοιάδε. κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως στοάν, ἵνα δὴ τὰς δίκας παρασκευάζονται οἱ τε ρήτορες καὶ εἰσαγωγεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελοῦνται, αὐλή τις ἐστὶν ὑπερμεγέθης, περιμήκης μὲν καὶ εὗρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ἐν τετραπλευρῷ δὲ περίστυλος οὖσα, οὐκ ἐπὶ γεώδους ἐδάφους τοῖς αὐτὴν δειμαμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πέτρας πεποιημένη.

[12] Wherefore the Emperor devised the following plan. At the Imperial Portico, where the lawyers and prosecutors prepare their cases, as well as all others who are concerned with such matters, there is a certain very large court (aulê), very long, and broad in proportion, surrounded by columns (peristylus) on the four sides (tetrapleuron), not set upon a foundation of earth by those who constructed it, but built upon living rock.

[13] στοαὶ τε τὴν αὐλήν περιβάλλουσι τέσσαρες, κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην ἐστῶσαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τῶν στοῶν μίαν, ἥπερ αὐτῆς τέτραπται πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἐς βάθους μέγα τι χρῆμα κατορύξας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀποβαλλομένοις τῇ περιουσίᾳ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐς θέρος ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ θησαυρὸν ἔθετο.

[13] Four colonnaded stoas surround the court, standing one on each side. Excavating to a great depth this court and one of the stoas (that which faces toward the south), the Emperor Justinian made a suitable storage reservoir for the summer season, to contain the water which had been wasted because of its very abundance during the other seasons.

[14] δεχόμενα γὰρ τὰ ἔλутра τάδε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ὑπερβλύζοντος στενοχωρουμένοις μὲν τοῖς ὕδασι τότε χαρίζεται χώραν, ποθεινῶν δὲ αὐτῶν γινομένων ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχεται πόρον.

[14] For receiving this overflow of the aqueduct when its stream is spilling over, this cistern both furnishes a place for the water which for the moment can find no space, and provides a supply for those who need it when water becomes scarce.

[15] οὕτω μὲν μὴ προσδεῖν Βυζαντίοις ποτίμων ὑδάτων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διεπράξατο.

[15] Thus the Emperor Justinian made provision that the people of Byzantium should not be in want of fresh water.

[16] Καὶ βασιλεία δὲ ἀλλαχόθι δεδημιούργηκεν αὐτὸς καινουργήσας ἔν τε τῷ Ἡραίῳ, ὃ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ἰουκουνδιάναις ταῖς καλουμέναις· ὧν δὴ οὔτε τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς σὺν τῷ ἐς τέχνην ἡκριβωμένῳ, οὔτε τὸν ὄγκον ἂν σὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ φράσαι ποτὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι.

[16] He has also built palaces at various places, completely new ones, one at the Heraeum, which they now call Hieron, and another at the place called Jucundianae. But I could never adequately describe in fitting words either their magnificence and their exquisitely detailed workmanship or their massive bulk.

[17] ἄλλ' ἀποχρήσει ταῦτα εἰπεῖν βασιλείᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ γεγονέναι παρόντος τε καὶ ἐπιτεχνωμένου, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεριόπτου, ὅτι μὴ χρημάτων, καθισταμένου. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι μὴ καὶ λόγου κρατεῖν.

[17] It will be sufficient to say simply that they are regal and that they were built under the personal supervision of the Emperor and with the help of his skill, while nothing was disregarded, excepting only money. The sum of this indeed was so great that it cannot be computed by any reckoning.

[18] Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ λιμένων σκέπας ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πρότερον ὄν. ἀκτὴν γὰρ εὐρὼν ἐκατέρωθι τοῖς τε ἀνέμοις καὶ ταραχῇ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀποκειμένην, σωτήριον εἶναι τοῖς πλέουσι κατεστήσατο ὧδε.

[18] There too he skilfully contrived a sheltered harbour which had not existed before. Finding a shore which lay open to the winds from two directions and to the beating of the waves, he converted it into a refuge for voyagers in the following way.

[19] τὰς κιβωτοὺς καλουμένας ἀναρίθμους τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις πεποιημένος, ἀμφοτέρωθεν τε αὐτὰς τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγκαρσίας ἀπορριψάμενος, αἰεὶ τε τῶν προτέρων καθύπερθεν ἐτέρων ἐν τάξει ἐπιβολὴν ἐντιθέμενος, τοίχους πλαγίους ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλων ἀνέστησε δύο ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου κρηπίδων μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ᾧ δὴ αἱ νέες ἐναπεριδόμεναι πλέουσι.

[19] He prepared great numbers of what are called "chests" or cribs, of huge size, and threw them out for a great distance from the shore along oblique lines on either side of the harbour, and by constantly setting a layer of other chests in regular courses upon those underneath he erected two very long walls, which lay at an angle to each other on the opposite sides of the harbour, rising from their foundations deep in the water up to the surface on which the ships float.

[20] πέτρας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποτόμους ταύτῃ ἐμβέβληται. ὧν δὲ πρὸς τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀρασσομένων, ἀποκρουομένων τε τὴν τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ ἀνέμου χειμῶνος ὥρα καταβάντος σκληροῦ, διαμένει τὰ ἐντὸς ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντα τῶν τοίχων, μεταξὺ μᾶς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσόδου.

[20] Then upon these walls he threw rough-cut stones, which are pounded by the surf and beat back the force of the waves; and even when a severe storm comes down in the winter, the whole space between the walls remains calm, a single entrance being left between the breakwaters for the ships to enter the harbour.

[21] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη πεποιήται, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται, καὶ στοάς τε καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδόν τι πάντα·

ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλείων ἐλασσοῦσθαι μηδέν.

[21] In that place also he erected holy shrines, as I have already recounted, and stoas and markets and public baths, and practically all the other types of buildings, so that this quarter is in no way inferior to the Palace-quarter within the city.

[22] καὶ λιμένα δὲ ἄλλον ἐτεκτίνατο ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, ἐν τοῖς Εὐτροπίου ἐπωνύμοις, τοῦ Ἡραίου τοῦδε οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, κατὰ ταῦτα εἰργασμένον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥντερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως.

[22] And he also constructed another harbour on the opposite mainland, in the place which bears the name of Eutropius, not far distant from this Heraeum, executed in the same manner as the harbour which I have just mentioned.

[23] Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν πόλει δεδημιουργημένα τῇ βασιλίδι, ὥς διὰ βραχυτάτων εἰπεῖν, ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ὁ δὲ μόνον ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀπολέλειπται αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[23] Now building operations carried out by the Emperor Justinian in the imperial city, to describe them in the briefest terms, were about such as I have recounted. The one detail which remains to be mentioned here I shall straightway set forth.

[24] τῇδε τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχοντος, διὰ μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ πάσης γῆς ὁμιλος ἀνθρώπων τῇ πόλει παντοδαπὸς ἐπείσέρχεται.

[24] Since the Emperor maintains his residence here, it results from the very magnitude of the Empire that a throng of men of all conditions comes to the city from the whole world.

[25] παραγίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ πράξει τινὶ ποδηγούμενος ἢ ἐλπίδι ἢ τύχῃ, πολλοὶ δέ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται, βασιλέως δεησόμενοι, τῇ πόλει ἔνδημοι γίνονται διὰ βίαν τινὰ ἢ πιέζουσιν ἢ ἐγκειμένην ἢ μέλλουσιν.

[25] Each of them is led to come either by some errand of business or by some hope or by chance; and many indeed come whose affairs are not in a happy state at home, in order to petition the Emperor; and all these become residents of the city because of some compulsion which is either urgent, imminent, or threatening.

[26] οἷσπερ συμβαίνει πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ οἰκίας ὑποσπανίζειν, οὐχ οἷοις τε οὖσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς προέσθαι μίσθωσιν.

[26] And in addition to their other difficulties, it comes about that these persons

are also in want of quarters, being unable to pay the hire of any stay here.

[27] ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσαν. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης ὡς ἀγχοτάτω, ἵνα δὴ Στάδιον ὁ χῶρος καλεῖται (ἀγῶσι γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεῖτό τισι) ξενῶνας ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐδείμαντο, τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενησομένους καταλυτήρια.

[27] This difficulty the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora solved completely for them. For very close to the sea, in the place called Stadium (for in ancient times, I suppose, it was given over to games of some kind), they built a very large hospice, destined to serve as a temporary lodging for those who should find themselves thus embarrassed.

BOOK II.

[1] [1] Ὅσα μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ προαστείων ἱερὰ τεμένη βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς νέα ἰδρύσατο, καὶ ὅσα καταπεποιηκὸτα διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἀνενεώσατο, τὰ τε ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα πεποιήται, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

[1] All the new churches which the Emperor Justinian built both in Constantinople and in its suburbs, and all those which, having been ruined by the passage of time, he restored, as well as all the other buildings which he erected here, have been described in the preceding Book.

[2] τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἡμῖν ἰτέον, οἷσπερ τὰς ἐσχατίας περιέβαλε Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπάναγκες ἂν εἴη καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα διαπνεεῖσθαι.

[2] From this point we must proceed to the defences with which he surrounded the farthest limits of the territory of the Romans. Here indeed my narrative will be constrained to halt painfully and to labour with an impossible subject.

[3] οὐ γὰρ τὰς πυραμίδας ἀφηγησόμεθα, τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βεβασιλευκότων τὸ διαθρυλλούμενον ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐς χάριν ἀποκεκριμένον ἀνόνητον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὀχυρώματα σύμπαντα, οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσώσατο, τειχισάμενός τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀμήχανον τοῖς βαρβάροις καταστησάμενος τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν. ἐκ δὲ ὀρίων τῶν Μηδικῶν ἄρξασθαι οὐ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

[3] For it is not the pyramids which we are about to describe, those celebrated monuments of the rulers of Egypt, on which labour was expended for a useless show,^a but rather all the fortifications whereby this Emperor preserved the Empire, walling it about and frustrating the attacks of the barbarians on the Romans. And it seems to me not amiss to start from the Persian frontier.

[4] Ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς, πόλιν αὐτοῖς Ἀμιδαν ἀποδόμενοι, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται, βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀναστάσιος ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Περσικῶν ὄρων κώμην ἄδοξόν τινα τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν, Δάρας ὄνομα, τείχει περιβαλεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχε, πόλιν τε αὐτὴν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐσομένην τοῖς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι.

[4] When the Persians retired from the territory of the Romans, selling to them the city of Amida, as I have related in the Books on the Wars, the Emperor Anastasius selected a hitherto insignificant village close to the Persian boundary, Daras by name, and urgently set about enclosing it with a wall and making it into a city which should serve as a bulwark against the enemy.

[5] ἐν δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπειρημένον, ὥσπερ ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος ἔθετο πρὸς τὸ Περσῶν γένος, μηδετέρους ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκεῖν ἐν γειτόνων που τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ὁρίοις κειμένῳ ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι, προτεινόμενοι Πέρσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐμπόδιοι τῷ ἔργῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἐγίνοντο, καίπερ Οὐννικοῦ πολέμου πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀσχυλίᾳ.

[5] But since it was forbidden in the treaty which the Emperor Theodosius once concluded with the Persian nation, that either party should construct any new fortress on his own land where it bordered on the boundaries of the other nation, the Persians, citing the terms of the peace, tried with all their might to obstruct the work, though they were hard pressed by being involved in a war with the Huns.

[6] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ ταῦτα ὀρῶντες ὀξύτερον τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προτερῆσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες πρὶν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πρὸς Οὐννοὺς ἀγώνισιν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν.

[6] So the Romans, observing that they were for this reason unprepared, pressed on the work of building all more keenly, being anxious to get ahead of the enemy before they should finish their struggle with the Huns and come against them.

[7] ὑποψία οὖν τῇ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων περίφοβοι ὄντες καὶ καταδοκοῦντες ἀεὶ τὰς ἐφόδους, οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐξῆγον, τοῦ τάχους αὐτοῖς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς σπουδῆς παραιρουμένου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀσφάλειαν.

[7] Consequently, being fearful by reason of suspicion of the enemy, and continually expecting their attacks, they did not carry out the building with care, since the haste inspired by their extreme eagerness detracted from the stability of their work.

[8] τῷ γὰρ συντόμῳ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε ξυνοικίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τῷ ὄξει τὸ ἀκριβὲς φιλεῖ ἔπесθαι.

[8] For stability is never likely to keep company with speed, nor is accuracy wont to follow swiftness.

[9] οὕτω τοίνυν ἐπισπερχῶς ἀπειργάσαντο τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνάστασιν οὐκ ἰάνανταγώνιστον τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποιημένοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτῷ ἀναγκαῖον ὕψος ἐνθέμενοι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐμβεβλημένοι ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖν τοὺς λίθους, ἢ αὐτῶν ἐν δέοντι εἰργασμένοι τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἢ τῷ τέλματι τῆς τιτάνου κατὰ λόγον ἐναρμοσάμενοι.

[9] They therefore carried out the construction of the circuit-wall in great haste, not having made it fit to withstand the enemy, but raising it only to such a height as was barely necessary; indeed they did not even lay the stones

themselves carefully, or fit them together as they should, or bind them properly at the joints with mortar.

[10] χρόνου οὖν ὀλίγου (χίوسي τε γὰρ καὶ ἡλίου θερμῇ τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σφαλερῷ ἀντέχειν οἱ πύργοι ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον) διερρωγένοι αὐτῶν τοῖς πλείστοις ξυνέβη. οὕτω μὲν τὰ πρότερα ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὰ τεῖχη ἀνέστη.

[10] So within a short time, since the towers could not in any way withstand the snows and the heat of the sun because of their faulty construction, it came about that the most of them fell into ruin. So were the earlier walls built at the city of Daras.

[11] Ἐννοια δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὡς οὐ περιόψονται Πέρσαι ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτείχισμα Ῥωμαίοις ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ πανοικεσία μὲν προσβαλοῦσι, τέχνας δὲ κινήσουσι πάσας ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τειχομαχῆσειν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὄμιλος μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλεφάντων ἔσται, οἴσουσι δὲ ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους, οἷς ὑποκείμενοι ἀντὶ θεμελίων ἐστήξουσι, καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπώτερον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις περιηγόμενοι καὶ φέροντες τεῖχος γνώμη τῶν κεκτημένων ὅπη παρατύχοι ἐπόμενον·

[11] The Emperor Justinian perceived that the Persians, as far as lay in their power, would not permit this outpost of the Romans, which was a menace to them, to stand there, but they would of course assault it with all their might, and would use every device to conduct siege operations on even terms with the city; and that a great number of elephants would come with them, and these would bear wooden towers on their shoulders, under which they would stand, supporting them like foundations; and worse still, that they would be led about wherever the enemy needed them and would bear a fortress which would follow along wherever, according to the judgement of their masters, it should happen to be needed;

[12] ἐπεμβαίνοντες δὲ οἱ πολέμοι βαλοῦσι μὲν κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἔνδον Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ ὑπερδεξίων ἐπιθήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους χειροποιήτους ἐπαναστήσουσι, καὶ μηχανὰς τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐπάξονται πάσας.

[21] and that the enemy would mount these towers and shoot down upon the heads of the Romans inside the city, and attack them from a higher level; that, furthermore they would raise up artificial mounds against them, and would bring up all manner of siege-engines.

[13] ἦν δέ τι τῇ πόλει Δάρας ἀξύμφορον ἐπιγένηται, πάσης μὲν προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀντιτεταγμένη δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διαφανῶς, οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν κείσεται πρὸ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἡ πολιτεία κατασεισθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον. ἐβούλετό τε διὰ ταῦτα ὀχύρωμα τῷ χωρίῳ περιβαλεῖν ἐπαξίως τῆς

[13] And if any misfortune should befall the city of Daras, which was thrown out like an earthwork before the whole Roman Empire and was obviously placed as a threat to the enemy's land, the disaster for us would not stop there, but a great part of the State would be seriously shaken. For these reasons he wished to surround the place with defences in keeping with its practical usefulness.

[14] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος (κολοβόν τε γὰρ ἦν κοιμίδῃ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμαχώτατον) ἀπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὅλως τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι.

[14] First of all he rendered the wall (which, as I have said, was very low and therefore very easy for an enemy to assault) both inaccessible and wholly impregnable for an attacking force.

[15] τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπάλξεις πρότερον οὕσας λίθων ἐνθήκη ξυναγαγὼν ἀπέσφιγξεν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ἵχνη αὐταῖς μόνα ἐς θυρίδων ἀπολιπὼν σχῆμα, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν συγκεχωρηκῶς ἀνεωγέναι, ὅσον δὴ καὶ χεῖρα διεῖναι, καὶ τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐνθένδε λελεῖφθαι.

[15] For he contracted the original apertures of the battlements by inserting stones and reduced them to very narrow slits, leaving only traces of them in the form of tiny windows, and allowing them to open just enough for a hand to pass through, so that outlets were left through which arrows could be shot against assailants.

[16] ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ὕψος τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπετεχνήσατο ἐς τριάκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, οὐχ ὅλον ἐνθέμενος τὸ πάχος τῷ τείχει, ὥς μὴ τῶν θεμελίων τῇ τῶν ἐγκειμένων περιουσίᾳ βαρυνομένων ἀνήκεστόν τι τῷ ἔργῳ ξυμβαίῃ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκείνη ἀέρα λίθων περιβολῇ περιελίξας, στοὰν τε ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ περιβόλου περὶδρομον ἐργασάμενος, ὑπὲρ τε τὴν στοὰν τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπιβαλὼν, ὥστε διώροφον μὲν πανταχόσε τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τρεῖς γεγενέσθαι τὰς χώρας τῶν τε ἀμυνομένων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκρουμένων ἐφόδους.

[16] Then above these he added to the wall a height of •about thirty feet, not building the addition upon the whole thickness of the wall, lest the foundations should be overloaded by the excessive weight which bore upon them, so that the whole work would suffer some irreparable damage, but he enclosed the space at that level with courses of stones on the outside and constructed a colonnaded stoa (stoa) running all around the wall, and he placed the battlements above this portico, so that the wall really had a double roof throughout; and at the towers there were actually three levels for the men

who defended the wall and repelled attacks upon it.

[17] κατὰ μέσους γάρ πη τοὺς πύργους σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα ἐνθέμενος αὐθις ἐνταῦθα ἐντέθεικεν ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, τριώροφον ταύτη τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεργασάμε·

[17] For at about the middle of each tower he added a rounded structure (sphairikon schêma) upon which he placed additional battlements, thus making the wall three-storeyed.

[18] Ἐπειτα δὲ κατανενοηκῶς ὅτι δὴ καὶ τῶν πύργων διεφθάρθαι πολλούς, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ξυνηνέχθη ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ, καθελεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν, ἐν γειτόνων ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων καὶ καιροφυλακούντων τε καὶ διηνεκὲς ἰχνεύοντων εἴ ποτε τοῦ περιβόλου μοίρας ἀτειχίστου τινὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν οἷοί τε ὥσιν· ἐπενόει δὲ τάδε.

[18] Then he observed that it had come about that many of the towers, as I have said, had fallen into ruin in a short time, yet it was entirely out of the question to pull them down, since the enemy were constantly in the neighbourhood watching their opportunity and continually scouting to see whether they might not find some part of the defences dismantled at any time. But he hit upon the following plan.

[19] τούτους μὲν τοὺς πύργους αὐτοῦ εἶασεν, ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ ἐτέραν ἐμπείρως ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐδείματο ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας εὖ ἔχουσαν, ταύτη τε τοὺς πεπονηκότας τῶν τοίχων ἐρύματι ἐτέρῳ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐτειχίσατο.

[19] He left these towers in place, and outside each of them he cleverly erected another structure in the form of a rectangle, which was built securely and with every possible care, and thus, by means of a second set of defences, he safely enclosed those parts of the wall which had suffered.

[20] ἓνα δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν καλούμενον τῆς Φρουρᾶς ἐπικαιριώτατα καθελὼν ἀνφοδομήσατο ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀφείλετο δέος.

[20] But one of the towers, called the “Tower of the Guard,” he pulled down at a favourable moment and rebuilt so that it was safe, and everywhere he removed the fear which had arisen from the weakness of the circuit-wall.

[21] καὶ τῷ προτειχίσματι δὲ κατὰ λόγον διαρκὲς ὕψος ἐπισταμένως ἐντέθεικεν.

[21] He also wisely added sufficient height, in due proportion, to the outworks.

[22] ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὥρυξεν, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν χώρῳ τε ὀλίγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐτέρῳ· ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα,

ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[22] And outside these he dug a moat, not in the way in which men are wont to make them, but only for a short distance and in a novel manner; and the reason for this I shall explain.

[23] Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπρόσβατα τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἅτε οὐκ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ χωρίου ἐστῶτα οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἔχοντος πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιτηδείως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἄναντες ἐν τε σκληρῷ καὶ ὀρθίῳ κειμένου, ἔνθα οὔτε διώρυχα οἷόν τέ ἐστιν οὔτε προσβολὴν γενέσθαι τινά.

[23] The greater part of the defences, as it happens, are in general unapproachable for an attacking party, since they do not stand on level ground and offer no favourable opportunity for assault to an approaching force; but they stand along a steep slope of a rough and precipitous character, where it is not possible for a mine to be dug or for any attack to be made.

[24] ἥ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον ἢ πλευρὰ τέτραπται, μαλθακὴ τε οὖσα καὶ γεώδης ἢ χώρα καὶ πρὸς διώρυχας εὐκόλος ἄγαν, εὐέροδον αὐτῇ ποιεῖ τὴν πόλιν.]

[24] But on the side which is turned toward south, the soil is deep and soft and consequently easy to mine, so that it makes the city assailable on this side.

[25] τάφρον οὖν ἐνταῦθα μηχανοειδῆ, εὐρους τε καὶ βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ μακρῷ κατορύξας, ἐκάτερον αὐτῆς τῷ προτειγίσματι τὸ πέρας ἐνῆψεν, ὕδατος μὲν αὐτὴν διαρκῶς ἐμπλησάμενος, ἄβατόν τε παντάπασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις καταστησάμενος, ἐν μοίρᾳ δὲ αὐτῆς τῇ ἐντὸς προτειγίσμα θέμενος ἕτερον· ὃ δὴ ἐφεστῶτες ἐν πολιορκίᾳ φρουροῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ τε περιβόλου καὶ προτειγίσματος τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, ὅπερ τοῦ τείχους προβέβληται.

[25] So in that place he dug a crescent-shaped moat, with sufficient breadth and depth and extending to a great distance, and joined either end of this to the outworks and filled it amply with water, rendering it altogether impassable for the enemy; and on its inner side he set up another outwork. On this the Romans take their stand and keep guard in time of siege, freed from anxiety for the circuit-wall and the other outwork which is thrown out before the main wall.

[26] ἐτύγγανε δὲ τοῦ τε τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτειγίσματος μεταξὺ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αἱ καταντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀμμόδιος χωρίου εἰσὶ, μέγα τι χρῆμα χόματος κείμενον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμιοι λανθάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει διώρυχας ἔνερθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ποιούμενοι.

[26] And it happened that between the main wall and the outwork, at the gate

which faces toward the village of Ammodius, there lay a great mound of earth, under cover of which the enemy were able to be in large measure unobserved while making mines against the city under the circuit-wall.

[27] ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν καὶ περικαθήρας εὖ μάλα τὸν χώρον, ταύτῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνεχαίτισε.

[27] This mound he removed from the spot and he cleared up the place thoroughly, and thus frustrated any secret attack on the wall by the enemy.

[2] [2] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος αὐτῷ τῇδὲ πῇ πεποιήται. καὶ ὕδατος δὲ εἰργάσατο ἔλυτρα πῇ μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξύ, πῇ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ νεῷ ὃς Βαρθολομαίῳ ἀποστολῷ ἀνεῖται πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον.

[1] Thus did he construct these fortifications. He likewise made reservoirs for water both in the space between the circuit-wall and the outworks and also close by the church which is dedicated to the Apostle Bartholomew, situated toward the west.

[2] ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ προαστείου τῆς πόλεως διέχοντος αὐτῆς σημείον δυοῖν, ὃ δὴ Κόρδης ἐπικαλεῖται.

[2] And a river also flows from a suburb of the city which is •two miles distant from it and is called Cordes.

[3] ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ σκοπέλω δύο ἀνέχετον ὑπεράγαν σκληρῷ· πρόεισί τε μεταξύ τῆς ἐκατέρου ὑπωρείας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας φερόμενος ἵππων ὀρῶν, μάλιστά τε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄτρεπτός τε καὶ ἀνεπαφός ὢν·

[3] On either side of it rise two cliffs which are exceedingly rugged. This river flows down between the heights on either side of it all the way to the city, carried along the bases of the mountains, and for just this reason it cannot be turned aside or tampered with by the enemy;

[4] οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι βιάζεσθαι πῇ αὐτὸν ἐν ὑπτίῳ τῆς γῆς. ἐπισπῶνται δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[4] for there is no flat ground where they might be able to turn it from its course. And it is drawn into the city in the following way.

[5] ὁχετὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιήνται μέγαν, ὀβελοῖς δὲ σιδηροῖς τὸ τοῦ ὁχετοῦ στόμα συχνοῖς τε καὶ ὡς παχυτάτοις καταλαβόντες, τοῖς μὲν ὀρθοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἐγκαρσίοις, διεπράξαντο τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιτιτὰ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος.

[5] They have constructed a large channel extending out from the circuit-wall, and covered the mouth of the conduit with a great number of the thickest possible iron bars, some upright and some horizontal; and thus they have arranged that the water can enter the city without endangering the fortifications.

[6] οὕτω τοίνυν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιὼν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη ἔλутра ἐμπλησάμενος, περιηγόμενός τε ὅποι ποτὲ δοκοίη τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις, εἴτα ἐκβάλλει ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ τῆς πόλεως χώραν, ἐμφεροῦς αὐτῷ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσαγωγῇ πεποιημένης τῆς ἐκβολῆς.

[6] In this way the water flows into the city and fills its reservoirs and then is conducted wherever the inhabitants wish, and finally flows out at another part of the city, the opening for its discharge being made like that by which it enters the city.

[7] περιῶν τε τὰ ταύτῃ πεδία ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐπετὴ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πόλιν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν.

[7] And winding about the plain near by, it used to make the city easy to besiege; for it was not a difficult matter, thanks to the bountiful supply of water, for the enemy to encamp there.

[8] ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ παρόντα ἐν βούλῃ ἐποιεῖτο, διασκοπούμενος εἴ τινα τῷ πράγματι ἄκεσιν εὔροι.

[8] So in order that this should not happen the Emperor Justinian took the situation under careful consideration, seeking diligently to find some remedy for the condition.

[9] ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἰώμενος, ἀπαυτοματίσας τὴν πρᾶξιν μελλήσει τὴν πόλιν οὐδεμία διεσώσατο. ἐγίνετο δὲ δὴ ὧδε.

[9] And God provided the solution for the impossible problem which confronted him, settling the matter out of hand and saving the city without the least delay. This took place as follows.

[10] Τῶν τις ἐκείνη στρατευσαμένων, εἴτε τινὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρου ἰδὼν εἴτε αὐτόματος εἰς τοῦτο ἡγμένος, τῶν περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τεχνιτῶν ἐταιρισάμενος πόλιν ὁμίλον, διώρυχα ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γεγενῆσθαι, δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ὕδωρ γὰρ πότιμον ἐνταῦθα εὐρήσειν ἐκ μυχῶν ἀποβλύζον τῆς γῆς.

[10] One of the men serving in the army in this place, either in consequence of a dream or led to do it of his own accord, gathered a great throng of the

workmen who were engaged in the building operations and bade them dig a long trench within the circuit-wall, shewing them a certain spot where he said that they would find sweet water welling up from the recesses of the earth.

[11] κυκλοτερῇ τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐς ποδῶν μήκος πεντεκαίδεκα ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ βάθος κατῆγε.

[11] He made the pit in the form of a circle •fifteen feet across and drove it down to a great depth.

[12] τοῦτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τῶν τεχνιτῶν τούτων πεποιήται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβήσεσθαι κακὸν ἔμελλεν, ἐς πᾶν ξυμφέρον διὰ τῆς κατώρυχος ἀπεκρίθη Ῥωμαίοις.

[12] This pit proved to be the salvation of the city, not indeed by any foresight of these workmen, but an event here, which would have been a disaster, turned out entirely to the advantage of the Romans, all on account of the pit.

[13] ὄμβρων γὰρ μεταξὺ ἐξαισιῶν καταρραγόντων, ὁ ποταμὸς οὐπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου μορμύρων ἀρθεῖς τε ἐπὶ μέγα κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τηλικόνδε γεγενημένον οὔτε τῶν εἰσόδων οὔτε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἦπερ τὰ πρότερα.

[13] For during this time extraordinarily heavy rains fell, and the river, which I just mentioned, rose in high flood before the circuit-wall and no longer flowed in its usual bed, and it became so swollen that neither the opening by which it entered the city nor the conduit could contain it as formerly.

[14] ξυνίστατο οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ξυνάγων τὸν ροῦν, ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ βάθος κατατείνων πολὺ, καὶ πῇ μὲν λιμνάζων, πῇ δὲ κυρτούμενός τε καὶ κυματίας γεγενημένος.

[14] So it backed up and gathered its stream against the wall, rising to a great height and depth; in some places it was stagnant, but elsewhere it was rough and turbulent.

[15] τὸ μὲν οὖν προτείχισμα βιασάμενος καθεῖλεν εὐθύς, κατασεύσας δὲ καὶ πολλὴν τινα τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας πολὺς τε ρεύσας τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνει σχεδόν τι ὅλην, καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν τε ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωπούς καὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὰς οἰκίας περιπολήσας, ἐπίπλων τε ἐνθένδε καὶ ξυλίνων τευχῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων φορυτὸν μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἐς ταύτην τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐμπεσὼν ἀφανίζεται ὑπόγειος γεγενημένος.

[15] Consequently it broke through the outer defences and levelled them at once, and it also carried away a great portion of the main wall, and forcing open the gates and flowing in a mighty stream it spread over practically the

whole city, and it circulated through the market-place and the streets and even through the houses, sweeping onward a great mass of furniture and wooden utensils and other such objects; then plunging into this pit it disappeared underground.

[16] ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὀρίων ἐκδούς, ἐν χώρῳ ἐφάνη σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα διέχοντι μάλιστα Δάρας πόλεως, οἷσπερ ἐπηγάγετο ἐκ τῶν τῇδε οἰκιῶν γνωσθεῖς· διεφάνη γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος.

[16] Not many days later it emerged near the confines of Theodosiopolis, reappearing in a place •about forty miles from the city of Daras, and it was recognised by the objects which it had carried off from the houses of that city; for the whole of the rubbish came to light there.

[17] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γινόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, περιπλέους τε τοῦ ὕδατος τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἰεργασάμενος, φέρεται μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔξω διὰ τῶν ἐξόδων αἵπερ αὐτῶ πεποιήνται ἐξεπίτηδες πρὸς τῶν δειμαμένων τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιύγῃται.

[17] And since then, in times of peace and in prosperity, this river has flowed into the centre of the city and filled the storage-reservoirs with water to overflowing and then has been borne out of the city by the exits made for this purpose by those who built the city, as I have just explained.

[18] ἀρδεύων δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ποθινὸς ἅπασι τοῖς περιοικοῦσιν ἐς αἰ γίνεται. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πολεμίων στρατὸς ὡς πολιορκήσων τὴν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἱοί, τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν σιδηρῶν ὀβελῶν ἐξόδους ἐπιβύσαντες τοῖς καταράκταις καλουμένοις, αὐτίκα τε τὸν ποταμὸν μεταπεφυκέναι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν μεταπορεύεσθαι βιασάμενοι ἀνάγκῃ χειροποιήτῳ, ἐπὶ τε τὴν διώρυχα καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε περιάγουσι χάος.

[18] And it waters the land in that region and is always eagerly welcomed by all those who dwell round about. But whenever a hostile army comes up to besiege the city, they close the exits through the iron bars by means of sluice-gates (katarraktais), as they are called, straightway forcing the river, by this artificial constraint, to alter its course and change its exit, and they conduct it to the pit and the chasm which leads away from it.

[19] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμιοι πιεζόμενοι τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ διαλύειν ἀναγκάζονται τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐθύς. Μιρράνης ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καβάδου βασιλεύοντος ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων, τούτοις τε πᾶσιν ἀναγκασθεῖς, ἄπρακτος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεχώρησε.

[19] And as a result of the enemy are hard pressed by lack of water and are

compelled immediately to abandon the siege. Indeed Mirrhanes, the Persian general during the reign of Cabades, came there to lay a siege, but was compelled by all these difficulties to retire after no long time without having accomplished anything.

[20] καὶ Χοσρόης αὐτὸς πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγκεχείρηκε τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιβουλῇ.

[20] And Chosroes himself, a long time later, came there for the same purpose with a great army and undertook to attack the city.

[21] ὕδατος τε ἀπορίας πέρι ἀμηγάνων, καὶ ἀποσκοπούμενος τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ὑπερβολήν, ἄμαχόν τε αὐτὴν διαρκῶς ὑπώπτευεν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα μεταγνούς, εὐθυωρὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος καταστρατηγηθεὶς προμηθείᾳ.

[21] But finding himself in straits for want of water, and viewing the imposing height of the circuit-wall, which he suspected was quite impregnable, he changed his purpose and departed, marching straight for the Persian territory, outwitted by the foresight of the Roman Emperor.

[3] [3] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν πόλει Δάρας οὕτῳ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς κατεστήσατο· ὄντινα δὲ προσεποιήσε τρόπον τῇ πόλει μηκέτι αὐτῇ πάθος πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυμβῆναι τοιοῦτον, τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην αὐτῷ ξυνεπιλαμβανομένου τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[1] These projects, then, were carried out as I have said by the Emperor Justinian at the city of Daras. I shall now relate how he brought it about that this city should never again suffer such damage from the river, a matter in which God manifestly assisted his effort.

[2] Χρυσῆς ἦν τις Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, μηχανοποιὸς δεξιός, ὅσπερ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ὑπηρετῶν, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τε ἐν πόλει Δάρας καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ γεγονότα ἐξείργασται.

[2] There was a certain Chryses of Alexandria, a skillful master-builder, who served the Emperor in his building operations and built most of the structures erected in the city of Daras and in the rest of the country.

[3] οὗτος ὁ Χρυσῆς ἀπεδήμει μὲν ἡνίκα δὴ ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πάθος ξυνέπεσεν· ἀκηκοὺς δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐς κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεχώρησεν. ὅψιν δὲ ὀνείρου τοιάνδε εἶδεν·

[3] This Chryses was away at the time when the disaster caused by the river befell the city of Daras, and after he heard the news he went to his bed in distress over the misfortune. And he saw a vision as follows.

[4] ἐδόκει οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄνειρῳ τις ὑπερφυῆς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κρείσσων ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι μηχανὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλειν τε καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἣ ἂν διακωλύειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἱκανὴ εἶη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῆς πόλεως μηκέτι μορμύρειν.

[4] It seemed in his dream that a certain creature of enormous size and in other respects too mighty to resemble a man, prescribed and gave directions for a certain device which would be able to prevent the river from again running wild to the ruin of the city.

[5] καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα θεῖον ὑποτοπήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι, τὴν τε μηχανὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψιν ἐς βασιλέα γράψας ἀνήνεγκε, σκιαγραφήσας τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου διδασκαλίαν.

[5] He immediately surmised that the suggestion came from God, and wrote an account of the device and of the vision and sent it to the Emperor, shewing by a sketch the instructions received from the dream.

[6] ἐτύγχανε δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἄγγελος ἦκων ἐς βασιλέα ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυνεχθέντα πάντα ἐσηγήειλε.

[6] It chanced that not long before this a messenger had come to the Emperor from the city of Daras, who reported to him all the damage which had been caused by the river.

[7] βασιλεὺς δὲ τότε τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι ξυνταραχθεὶς καὶ περιώδυνος γεγονώς, τοὺς τὰ μηχανικὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντας εὐθὺς ἵμετεκάλει, Ἀνθέμιόν τε καὶ Ἰσίδωρον, ὧν περ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην.

[7] Thereupon the Emperor was greatly perturbed and deeply grieved by what had happened, and he straightway summoned the eminent master-builders Anthemius and Isidorus, whom I have mentioned previously.

[8] καὶ τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα ἐπικοινωνοῦμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανὴ γένοιτο, ὥς μή τι περαιτέρω τῇ πόλει ξυμβαίῃ· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν ἑκάτερος ὑποθήκην τινὰ ἔφραζε τὴν οἱ δοκοῦσαν ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχειν· βασιλεὺς δέ, θείας δηλονότι ἐπινοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης τινός, οὕπῳ τὰ Χρυσοῦ ἰδὼν γράμματα, ἐπενόει τε καὶ ἐσκιαγράφει αὐτογνωμονήσας ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ὃ δὴ τοῦ ὀνείρου ἐκτύπωμα ἦν.

[8] And he communicated the details of what had happened and enquired of the men what contrivance could possibly be made, so that no such calamity might again befall the city. Each of them gave some suggestion which seemed to himself well adapted to the situation. But the Emperor, obviously moved by a divine inspiration which came to him, though he had not yet seen the letter of Chryses, devised and sketched out of his own head, strange to say, the very plan of the dream.

[9] ἔτι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἠωρημένης καὶ τοῦ πρακτέου σφίσιν ἐν ἀδήλῳ ὄντος, διέλυσαν τὸν διάλογον.

[9] However, while their opinion was still unsettled, and it was not clear to them what should be done, they adjourned the conference.

[10] ἡμέραις τε τρισὶν ὕστερον ἦκε τις βασιλεῖ τὴν τε τοῦ Χρυσοῦ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρου μηχανῆς τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐνδεικνύμενος.

[10] And three days later there came a man who shewed to the Emperor the letter of Chryses and the drawing of the device of the dream.

[11] καὶ ὃς μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μηχανικοὺς αὐθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῇ μνήμῃ ἐκέλευεν ὅσα δὴ σφίσιν ἀμφὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ πρότερον δοκοῦντα εἶη.

[11] The Emperor again summoned the master-builders, and bade them to call to mind their previous thoughts on this problem.

[12] οἱ δὲ ἀπεστομάτιζον ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅσα τε αὐτοὶ τεχνάζοντες εἶπον καὶ ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἀπαυθαδιασάμενος ἐπήγγειλε γενέσθαι.

[12] And they repeated all the details in order, both what they had devised themselves and what the Emperor had daringly proposed should be done.

[13] καὶ τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε πρὸς τοῦ Χρυσοῦ σταλέντα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐπιδείξας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου γεγонуῖαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσομένῳ ὄψιν τε καὶ σκιαγραφίαν, κατεστήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ, ἐν νῷ ποιουμένους ὡς ἅπαντα ὁ θεὸς συνδιαπράσσειται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνοίσοντα.

[13] Then the Emperor shewed them the man who had been sent by Chryses, and his letter, and told them of the vision of what was to be done which had been seen in the dream, and the sketch which had been made, and caused them to marvel greatly, as they considered how God becomes a partner with this Emperor in all matters which will benefit the State.

[14] ἐκράτει τοίνυν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίταξις, ὑποχωροῦσης μηχανοποιῶν σοφίας καὶ τέχνης.

[14] So the Emperor's plan won the day, while the wisdom and skill of the master-builders yielded place to it.

[15] καὶ γίνεται ὁ Χρυσῆς αὐθις ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐπιτεταγμένον οἱ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποτελέσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα ἰσπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὑποθήκη ἐπήγγελλεν. ἐποίει τε τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[15] And Chryses again went to the city of Daras, with instructions from the

Emperor to carry out with all zeal the scheme which had been described, just as the intimation of the dream had dictated. And he carried out the instructions in the following manner.

[16] Ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως προτειχίσματος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, μεταξύ σκοπέλου ἑκατέρου, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον ὁ ποταμὸς προῖων φέρεται, ἀντιτείχισμα ἐτεκτῆνατο ὕψους τε καὶ εὗρους ἱκανῶς ἔχον.

[16] At a place •about forty feet removed from the outer fortifications (proteichisma) of the city, between the two cliffs between which the river runs, he constructed a barrier (antiteichisma) of proper thickness and height.

[17] οὐπὲρ τὰ πέρατα οὕτω δὴ ὄρει ἑκατέρῳ πανταχόθι ἐνήηγεν, ὥς τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἦν καὶ σφοδρότατα ἐπιρρεύσειεν, ἐνταῦθα ἐσιτητὰ μηδαμῇ ἔσεσθαι.

[17] The ends of this he so mortised into each of the two cliffs, that the water of the river could not possibly get by that point, even if it should come down very violently.

[18] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον οἱ περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὶ φράκτην ἢ ἀρίδα καλοῦσιν, ἢ ὃ τί ποτε ἄλλο ἐθέλουσιν.

[18] This structure is called by those skilled in such matters a dam (phraktes) or flood-gate (aris), or whatever else they please.

[19] οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας δὲ τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μηνοειδὲς τετραμμένον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ κύρτωμα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ κείμενον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντέχειν τῷ ρείθρῳ βιαζομένῳ δυνατόν εἴη.

[19] This barrier (antiteichisma) was not built in a straight line, but was bent into the shape of a crescent, so that the curve, by lying against the current of the river, might be able to offer still more resistance to the force of the stream.

[20] θυρίδας δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἔς τε τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ἄνω πεποιήται, ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ πλημυροῦντι ἐξαπιναίως, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνίστασθαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπάναγκες εἶη καὶ μὴ παντὶ τῷ ροθίῳ περαιτέρω χωρεῖν, ἐκροῇν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὁπὰς ἀφιέντι βραχεῖάν τινα τοῦ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντος ὄγκου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολήγειν ἀεὶ, τῷ δὲ τείχει λελυμασμένῳ μηδέποτε εἶναι.

[20] And he made sluice-gates (thyrides) in the dam, in both its lower and its upper parts, so that when the river suddenly rose in flood, should this happen, it would be forced to collect there and not go on with its full stream, but discharging through the openings only a small volume of the excess accumulation, would always have to abate its force little by little, and the city-wall would never suffer damage.

[21] ἡ γὰρ ἔκροη ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ξυνισταμένη ὅσπερ ἐς τεσσαράκοντα διήκων πόδας, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, τῆς τε ἀρίδος καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξύ ἐστίν, οὐδαμῇ τὸ παράπαν βιαζομένη, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς ξυνεθισμένας εἰσόδους κατὰ λόγον χωροῦσα ἐς τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν ἐνθένδε εἰσβάλλει.

[21] For the outflow collects in the space which, as I have said, extends for •forty feet between the dam and the outer fortifications, and is under no pressure whatever, but it goes in an orderly fashion into the customary entrances and from there empties into the conduit (ochetagogia).

[22] καὶ τὰς πύλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον βιασάμενος ἐξαπιναιῖος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνεπέτασε, περιελὼν ἐντεῦθεν, λίθοις μὲν παμμεγέθεσι τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐφράξατο χώραν, ἐπεὶ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ κείμεναι τῷ ποταμῷ ὑπερβλύζοντι εὐέφοδοι ἦσαν.

[22] And the city gate itself, which the river had earlier burst open by its sudden pressure, he removed from that place, and he walled up with very large stones the place which it had formerly occupied, because lying on level ground, as it did, it was easily reached by the river when it was in flood.

[23] ἄγχιστα δέ πη ἐν χώρῳ ἀνάντει κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες τοῦ περιβόλου αὐτὰς ἔθετο, οὗ δὴ τῷ ποταμῷ βάσιμα ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω διαπεπόνηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.

[23] And he set this gate near by at a place higher up where the circuit-wall was on a steep slope, to which the river could not possibly come. Thus were these works carried out by this Emperor.

[24] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν πόλει πολλὴ ὕδατος πέρι ἀμηχανία τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ ἀναβλυστάνουσιν εἶχον ἐνταῦθά πη κρήνην, οὔτε ὀχετῷ περιεχομένην ἐς τὰς ἀγυῖας αἱ τῇδε εἰσιν, οὔτε τισὶ θησαυριζομένην ἐκείνῃ ἐλύτροις, ἀλλ' οἷς μὲν ἀγχοτάτω ὁ ποταμὸς κατὰ τὰς ἀμφόδους ἐφέρετο, οἶδε ἀταλαιπώρως ἀρϋόμενοι τῷ γειτονήματι ῥᾶστα ἔπινον, οἷς δὲ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκροῆς τὰ οἶκοι ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τούτοις δυοῖν τὸ ἕτερον ἐπάναγκες ἦν, ἢ τὰ ἔσχατα πονουμένοις πιεῖν, ἢ δίψῃ ἐχομένοις ἀπολωλέναι.

[24] And there was a great difficulty regarding water for the people living in this city. For they had neither any spring welling up there, nor water conveyed about the streets of the city by a conduit (ochetos); neither was it stored there in any cisterns; but while^othose very near whose streets the river flowed drew their drinking-water without any trouble because of its proximity, those whose homes chanced to be very far from the river's course, were obliged to choose one of these two alternatives — either to take a vast deal of trouble in order to obtain drinking-water at all, or to perish of thirst.

[25] ἀλλ' ὀχετὸν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐτεκτῆνατο μέγαν, ᾧ δὴ τὸ τὸ ὕδωρ

περιαγαγὼν πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῇδε ὥκημένοις διέλυσεν.

[25] But the Emperor Justinian built a great conduit by which he led the water about to every part of the city, and thus relieved the straits of the inhabitants.

[26] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ πεποιήται δύο, τὴν τε μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Βαρθολομαίου νεών. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καταλυτήρια ἐδείματο παμπληθῆ, ὅπως δὴ τοὺς τῇδε ὥκημένους μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλοῖεν.

[26] Furthermore, he constructed two shrines, both the Great Church, as it is called, and the Church of the Apostle Bartholomew. He also built numerous barracks for the soldiers, in order that they might cause no annoyance whatever to the inhabitants.

[27] Καὶ Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως τό τε τεῖχος καὶ τὸ προτείχισμα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω γενόμενα χρόνοις καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑποπτα ὄντα ἐξίτηλα γενήσεσθαι, οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον νέα τινὶ καταλαβὼν οἰκοδομία τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.

[27] Likewise both the wall and the outworks of the city of Amida, which had been built long before, and, because of their age, seemed likely to fall in ruins, he not long afterwards replaced by new structures and thus restored the safety of the city.

[28] ὅσα δὲ κὰν τοῖς φρουρίοις αὐτῷ εἵργασται, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τούτων δὴ τυγχάνει τῶν πόλεων ὄντα, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[28] All else that he did in the fortresses which chance to be within the territory of these cities I shall now proceed to relate.

[4] [4] [1] Ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἰόντι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη χώρα τις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστὶν ἀναμάξεντός τε καὶ ἄφιππος ὅλως, κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ μάλιστα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐς χῶρον σιμὸν καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, Ῥάβδιος ὄνομα.

[1] As one goes from Daras into the Persian country there lies on the left a territory which cannot be traversed at all by waggons or even by horses, extending to a distance of about two days' journey for an unencumbered traveller and ending in a steep and precipitous bluff which is called Rhabdios.

[2] ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥάβδιος φερούσης ὁδοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὰ Περσῶν ὅρια ἐπὶ μακρότατον ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[2] And on both sides of this road leading to Rhabdios the Persian territory stretches out to a very great distance.

[3] ὅπερ μοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀγαμένῳ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀναπυνθανομένῳ ὄντινα τρόπον Ῥωμαίοις προσήκουσα ὁδὸς τε καὶ χώρα γῆν ἑκατέρωθι τὴν πολεμίαν διακεκλήρωται, ἀπήγγελλον τινες ὡς εἶη μὲν Περσῶν τὸ χωρίον ποτέ, δεομένῳ δὲ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀμπέλοις τινὰ κατακορῇ κώμην ἐπὶ Μαρτυροπόλεως οὕσαν δώσειε, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἀνταλλαζάμενος.

[3] At first I was amazed at this, and I made enquiry of the natives how it came about that a road and district which belonged to the Romans had land of the enemy on either side of it; and some of them explained that the place had belonged to the Persians at one time, but that at the petition of the Persian King one of the Roman Emperors had handed over a certain vine-producing village near Martyropolis and had received this place in exchange for it.

[4] τὸ μὲν οὖν Ῥάβδιος ἐπὶ πετρῶν οἰκεῖται ἀποτόμων τε καὶ ὅλως ἀγρίῳν αἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπανεστήκασι θανμάσιον ὅσον.

[4] Rhabdios stands on precipitous and wholly wild rocks, which rise there to an astonishing height.

[5] ἔνερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὅπερ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἀγρόν, ἀγασθέντες, οἶμαι, τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι δὴ ἐν μέσῳ χωρίον Περσικῶν κείμενον Ῥωμαίοις προσήκει.

[5] And beneath it is a place which they call the Field of the Romans, I suppose because they marvelled, at first, that though this lies in the midst of Persian territory, it belongs to the Romans.

[6] οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἀγρὸς κεῖται μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν ὑπτίῳ, γὰγαθῶν δὲ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ληίοις κομιδῇ εὖπορος.

[6] This Field of the Romans lies on flat ground, and is very productive of the crops which grow on corn^o-lands.

[7] τεκμηριώσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖσδε, ὅτι δὴ πανταχόθεν τὸν χῶρον περιβάλλουσι τὰ Περσῶν ὄρια.

[7] One might conjecture this also from the circumstance that Persian territory surrounds the place on every side.

[8] Πολισμὰ ἐστὶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιφανὲς ἄγαν, ὄνομα Σισαυράνων, ὅπερ ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐξελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅμιλον πολὺν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἰπέων ζῦν Βλησχάμη τῷ σφῶν ἡγεμόνι δορυαλώτους πεποιημένους.

[8] There is a fortress in Persia of very great note, Sisaوران by name, which the Emperor Justinian once captured and levelled to the ground, taking captive

a great throng of Persian horsemen along with their leader Bleschames.

[9] τοῦτο πόλεως μὲν Δάρας ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν διέχει δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ῥάβδιος σημείois διέστηκε τρισὶ μάλιστα.

[9] This is separated from the city of Daras by a journey of two days for an unencumbered traveller, and is •about three miles distant from Rhabdios.

[10] πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἀφύλακτός τε ἦν ὁ χῶρος ὅδε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παντελῶς ἄσημος. οὐκοῦν οὔτε φρουρᾶς οὔτε ὀχυρώματος οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἀγαθοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαχε πώποτε.

[10] At first this region was unguarded and was of no consequence whatever to the Romans. For it had never been garrisoned nor had it been fortified, and it had not received any other care from them.

[11] Πέρσαις ἀμέλει οἱ τὸν ἀγρὸν γεωργοῦντες, οὗπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι ἀγγαροφοροῦντες, πεντήκοντα ἐπετείους χρυσοῦς ἔφερον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀδεέστερον κεκτήσονται τὰ αὐτῶν ἰδία καὶ καρπῶν δύνωνται τῶν τῇδε φυομένων ὀνίνασθαι.

[11] Indeed it was to the Persians that those who farmed the “Field” which I just mentioned paid fifty staters annually, just as though they were paying ordinary taxes, on condition that they might possess their own lands free from fear and be able to profit by the crops which grew upon them.

[12] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅπαντα αὐτοῖς μεταπεφυκέναι διεσκευάσατο. τειχίσματι γάρ τὸ Ῥάβδιος περιβαλὼν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν τὴν ὑπερβολήν, αἵπερ ἐκείνη ἀνέχουσιν, ἀπρόσοδον αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποίηται τὸ χωρίον, δηλονότι ξυλλαμβανούσης τῆς φύσεως.

[12] But the Emperor Justinian arranged to alter all this for their benefit. He encircled Rhabdios with a wall built along the crest of the rocks which rise there, thus making the place inaccessible for the enemy, that is, with the assistance of nature.

[13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕδατος οἱ τῇδε ὤκημένοι ἐσπάνιζον, ἐν τῇ τῶν σκοπέλων ἀκρωρεία πηγῆς ὡς ἥκιστα οὔσης, ταμειᾶ τε ὑδάτων εἰργάσατο δύο καὶ τὰς ἐκείνη πέτρας πολλὰχὲρ διορύξας παμπληθεῖς ὑδάτων θησαυροὺς διεπράξατο μεῖναι, ὅπως δὴ ξυρρεόντων ὑετίων ἐνταῦθα ὑδάτων ἀδεέστερον αὐτοῖς οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι δύνωνται χρῆσθαι, ὡς μὴ τοῦ ὕδατος πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀπορίᾳ εὐάλωτοι εἶεν.

[13] Then, since those who dwelt there had a scanty supply of water — for no spring was to be found on the summit of the rocks — he constructed two cisterns and dug channels into the rock there in many directions, so that he

made many reservoirs for water, in order that when the rain-water collected in these the inhabitants might be able to use them in security, and then they might not be captured easily when hard pressed for lack of water.

[14] Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ὄρει κείμενα, ἅπερ ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς Ἀμιδαν διήκειν ζυμβαίνει, τό τε Κιφὰς καὶ Σαυράς καὶ Μάργδης τε καὶ Λούρνης τό τε Ἰδριφθὸν καὶ Ἀταχὰς καὶ Σίφριός τε καὶ Ῥιπαλθάς καὶ Βανασυμέων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Σινὰς καὶ Ῥάσιος, καὶ Δαβανάς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστὶ, γελοιότατα δῆθεν τῷ σχήματι ἀποτεθριγκωμένα τὸ πρότερον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἕς τε τὸ νῦν φαινόμενον κάλλος τε καὶ ὀχύρωμα μεταθέμενος ἀνάλωτα εἶναι καὶ προβεβλησθαι Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς βεβαιότατα κατεστήσατο.

[14] And all the other forts which lie in the mountains, forming a line from there and from the city of Daras all the way to Amida, namely Ciphas and Sauras and Margdis and Lournês and Idriphthon and Atachas and Siphriûs and Rhipalthas and Banasymeôn, and also Sinas and Rhasios and Dabanas, and all the others which have been there from ancient times, and which had previously been fenced about in most ridiculous fashion, he rebuilt and made safe, transforming them to their present aspect as to both beauty and strength, and making them impregnable, so that actually they are thrown out as a mighty bulwark to shield the land of the Romans.

[15] ἐνταῦθα ὄρος οὐρανόμηκες ἀποκρέμαται, ἀπόκρημνόν τε καὶ προσελθεῖν ἀμήχανον ὅλως.

[15] In that place there is a lofty mountain towering to the sky, exceedingly steep and altogether inaccessible.

[16] ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ ὑπόκειται χώρα γεώδης τε καὶ μαλθακὴ λίαν, ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἀρόσαι, θρέμμασι δὲ ἀτεχνῶς εὖνομος. ἐπεικῶς γὰρ τῇ πόα χλοάζει.

[16] And in the plain below the soil lies deep and soft, an excellent surface for plowing and extremely good for pasture, for it is covered with a great abundance of forage.

[17] παμπληθεῖς δὲ κῶμαι παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας τοῦ ὄρους εἰσὶν. οἰκοῦσί τε αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι τὰ μὲν ἐς κτήσιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὐδαίμονες, εὐάλωτοι δέ, εἴ τις προσίοι.

[17] There are numerous villages along the foot-hills of the mountain, inhabited by people who are indeed happy in their possession of the necessities of life, but would be easy to capture, if anyone should attack them.

[18] ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπηγώρωσεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, φρούριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ δειμάμενος, ἵνα δὴ τὰ σφίσιν ἐναποθέμενοι τιμιώτατα, ἐπειδὴν

προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμοι, ἀνατρέχοντες διασώζονται· Βασιλέων δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμασται.

[18] This situation the Emperor Justinian corrected for them by building a fort on the very tip of the mountain, so that they might store their most valuable property there and also, fleeing thither, save themselves whenever the enemy should come against them; and this fort is named Basileôn.

[19] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀμιδαν φρούρια, πηλῷ τε περιβεβλημένα καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις βάσιμα παντάπασιν ὄντα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐς τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὸ ἀκριβέστατον μετεστήσατο.

[19] Furthermore, he carefully rebuilt the forts about the city of Amida which had been enclosed by mud walls and were entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and he so transformed them all that they were perfectly secure.

[20] ἐν οἷς τό τε Ἀπάδνας καὶ τὸ Βιρθὸν πολίχινόν ἐστιν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι πρὸς ὄνομα οὐκ εὐπετές ἐστι.

[20] Among these are Apadnas and the little town of Virthon; for it is not easy to mention all separately by name.

[21] συνελόντα δὲ εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα πρότερον τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὑποκείμενα τανῶν ἀνантаγώνιστα πεποίηκεν εἶναι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσοποταμία τῶ Περσῶν γένει ἄβατος διαφανῶς ἐστιν.

[21] But, to speak briefly, he has made impregnable at the present time all the places which previously lay exposed to assailants. And as a result of this, Mesopotamia is manifestly inaccessible to the Persian nation.

[22] Οὐ σιωπητέον δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ Βάρας φρουρίῳ ἐξεῦρεν, οὔπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐντὸς ἄνυδρα τὸ παράπαν ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐν ὄρει δὲ ὑψηλῷ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες τὸ Βάρας τοῦτο πεποιῆται.

[22] But I must not pass by in silence the device which he hit upon in the fort Baras which I have just mentioned. It so happened that inside the fort there was no water at all, for this Baras was built on the steep slope of a very high mountain.

[23] ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥς ἀπωτάτω ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ μετὰ τὸ πρηνὲς κρήνη ἦν, ἣνπερ ἐδόκει ἀξύμφορον εἶναι τῷ τειχίσματι τοῦ φρουρίου περιβαλεῖν, ὥς μή τις αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ἐν ὑπτίῳ κειμένη εὐάλωτος εἴη. ἐπενόει δὲ τάδε·

[23] Outside the fort, however, at a very great distance, there was a spring at the foot of the mountain, beyond the slope; but it had seemed inadvisable to

enclose this within the fortifications of the stronghold, so that no part of the defences might lie on level ground and so be easy to capture. Therefore he devised the following plan.

[24] τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου διορύσσειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς μάλιστα ἵκωνται. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὑπετελέσθη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν, ἐπιρρέον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη. οὕτω τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον δεδημιούργηται ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὕδατος πέρι ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω φαίνεται κείμενον.

[24] He bade them dig within the fortifications until they came approximately to the level of the plain. And when this work was completed according to the Emperor's instructions, water was found there, contrary to all expectation, running in from the spring. Thus not only is the fortress placed in a position of safety, but it proves to be properly situated as regards water also.

[5] [5] [1] Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, τῆς παρὰ ἵποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων προβεβλημένης, τὸν περίβολον, ὃνπερ ὁ χρόνος κατεργάσασθαι μάλιστα ἴσχυσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐδίδου θαρρεῖν, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἅπαντας ἐξέπλησσε, δεδισσόμενος ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσεῖται, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος διακωλύειν τὰς γε κατὰ Μεσοποταμίαν Περσῶν ἐσβολὰς ἱκανῶς ἔσχευεν.

[1] In the same way he restored the circuit-wall of Theodosiopolis, which stands on the River Aborrhias as a bulwark of the Roman Empire; for time had succeeded most completely in breaking it down, so that it afforded no assurance of safety to the people there, but rather kept them all in a constant state of terror for fear that it would fall upon them in the not distant future. But this Emperor rebuilt the greater part of the wall and thus succeeded effectually in checking the inroads of the Persians at least on the Mesopotamian border.

[2] Οἷα δὲ καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ ἐπιδέδεικται εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ἦν μὲν τὰ πρότερα ὁ Κωνσταντίνης περίβολος τό τε ὕψος κλίμακι ἀλωτὸς τὴν τε ἄλλην κατασκευὴν εὐέφοδος ἄγαν, ὥσπερ τι πάρεργον γεγεννημένος τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

[2] The work that he carried out in Constantina is also worthy of mention. Formerly the circuit-wall of this city was of such a height that it could be scaled with a ladder, and its whole method of construction made it easy to attack, built as it was by men of former times in a casual sort of way.

[3] τοσούτῳ γὰρ διειστήκεισαν οἱ πύργοι ἀλλήλων ὥστε εἰ προσβαλοῦντές τινες ἐς τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν προσίοιεν, οὐκ εἶχον οἱ κατὰ τοὺς πύργους ἐστῶτες

καθ' ὅτι ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀποκρούοιντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χρόνου μήκει πεποννηκῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ καταπεπωκέναι οὐ μακράν που ἐγένετο.

[3] Indeed the towers were so widely separated that if any attackers advanced to make an assault upon the space between them, the defenders posted on the towers had no means of driving them back. Moreover the wall had suffered from the passage of time, and for the most part had come to be not very far from a state of collapse.

[4] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτο τῇ πόλει προτείχισμα ἦν οἷον ἐπιτείχισμα κατ' αὐτῆς γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖν. οὐ πλέον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς πόδας τρεῖς ἐγγέγονει τὸ πάχος, καὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι πηλῷ σύνθετον, τὰ μὲν κάτω ἐς ὀλίγον ἐκ λίθου μυλίου ἀνεστηκός, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λευκολίθου καλουμένου, σφαλεροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ μαλακοῦ λίαν. ὥστε δὴ ὅλον ἦν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν εὐάλωτον.

[4] Furthermore, the outworks (proteichisma) protecting the city were of such a sort that they looked like a wall built for the purpose of attacking it (epiteichisma). In fact their thickness had not been made more than three feet, and even that was held together with mud, the lower courses for a short space being built of hard stone suitable for making mill-stones (lithos mylites), but the upper portion consisting of so-called "white stone" (leukolithos), which is untrustworthy and very soft. So the whole place was easy for assailants to capture.

[5] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν πεποννηκότα τοῦ περιβόλου νέα τινὶ ἀνεσώσατο οἰκοδομία, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα τετραμμένα καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον.

[5] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with new masonry those portions of the circuit-wall which had suffered, particularly the parts which faced the west and the north.

[6] τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐρύματος πανταχῇ μεταξὺ πύργοιν δυοῖν ἄλλον ἐντέθεικε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πύργοι ἅπαντες ὡς ἀγγιστάτω ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τοῦ περιβόλου προβέβληνται.

[6] And in all parts of the defences he inserted a new tower between each pair of towers, and consequently all the towers stood out from the circuit-wall very close to one another.

[7] ὅλῳ δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πᾶσι πύργοις μέγα τι χρῆμα ὕψους ἐνθέμενος ἄμαχον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀχύρωμα κατεστήσατο.

[7] Also he added greatly to the height of the whole wall and of all the tower, and thus made the defences of the city impregnable to the enemy.

[8] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόδους τοῖς πύργοις κεκαλυμμένας πεποιημένους, τριωρόφους τε αὐτοὺς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς τεκτηνόμενος κυρτώμασι γεγονυῖαις θόλων, πυργοκάστελλον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε.

[8] And he also built covered approaches (anodoi) to the towers, and made them three-storied (triōrophoi) by adding courses of stones curved in the form of vaults (tholoi); thus he made each one of them a pyrgo-castellum, as it was called and as it actually was.

[9] καστέλλους γὰρ τὰ φρούρια τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ὕδασιν ἡ Κωνσταντῖνα τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἔπασχε πρότερον.

[9] For they call forts castella in the Latin tongue. Furthermore, Constantina in former times used to suffer terribly for want of water.

[10] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτός, ὅσον ἐκ σημείου ἑνός, πηγαί τε εἰσι ποτίμων ὑδάτων καὶ ἄλσος ἐνθένδε φύεται ἐπιεικῶς μέγα, οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις· τὰ μέντοι ἐντός, ἵνα δὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ὀμαλοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει τὰς ἀγυῖας συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄνυδρός τε ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ δίψη τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ οἱ τῇδε ὥκημένοι ἐς ἀεὶ εἶχοντο.

[10] Outside the city, about a mile away, there are springs of sweet water and then a very large grove planted with trees which reach to the sky; but within the walls, where the streets happen to be sloping, and not level, the city had been without water from early times, and the inhabitants always suffered from thirst and from the great difficulty of obtaining water.

[11] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὄχετῳ τὸ ρεῖθρον μεταβιβάσας τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, κρήναις τε τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρύτοις διακοσμήσας, οἰκιστῆς ἂν αὐτῆς δικαίως καλοῖτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τάσδε τὰς πόλεις ταύτη Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἴργασται.

[11] But the Emperor Justinian brought the stream within the wall by means of an aqueduct, and adorned the city with ever-flowing fountains, so that he might justly be called its founder. All this, then, is what was done by the Emperor Justinian for these cities.

[6] [6] [1] Ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαίων φρούριον παρὰ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν τοῖς Μεσοποταμίας ἐσχάτοις, ἵνα ἰδῇ Ἀβόρρας ποταμὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμιγνύμενος τὴν ἐκβολὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται.

[1] And there was a Roman fortress beside the Euphrates River on the frontier of Mesopotamia at the point where the Aborrhhas River mingles with the Euphrates, into which it empties.

[2] τοῦτο Κιρκήσιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται, βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐν τοῖς

ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο.

[2] This is called Circesium, and was built by Emperor Diocletian in ancient times.

[3] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ τανῦν βασιλεὺς χρόνου τε μήκει εὐρὼν συντριβὲς γεγονός, ἀπημελημένον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον ὄν, ἐς ὀχύρωμα βεβαιότατον μετεστήσατο, πόλιν τε διεπράξατο μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει περιφανῇ εἶναι.

[3] And our present Emperor Justinian, finding it dilapidated through the passage of time and neglected besides and in general ungarded, transformed it into a very strong fortress and brought it about that it became a city conspicuous for its size and beauty.

[4] Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν γὰρ τηνικάδε τὸ φρούριον πεποιήται τοῦτο οὐχ ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ τείχει περιβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπεξαγαγὼν τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου οἰκοδομίαν καὶ πύργον ἑκατέρωθι ἀπεργασάμενος ἔσχατον, ἀπολιπὼν δὲ τὴν ἐνθὲνδε τοῦ χωρίου πλευρὰν ἀτείχιστον ὅλως, ἀποχρῆναι, οἶμαι, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ ἐς τὸ τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα τῇδε ἡγούμενος.

[4] For Diocletian, when he constructed this fortress, did not surround it with a wall on all sides, but carried out the construction of the circuit-wall only as far as the River Euphrates, and he finished off the work at each of the two ends with a terminal tower, but after that he left that side of the site wholly unwallled, believing, I suppose, that the water of the river would serve as a protection for the fort on that side.

[5] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τὸν ἔσχατον πύργον, ὃς δὴ ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥόθιον παραζῶον ἐνδεδεχέστατα κατέσεισεν ὅλον, ἐνδηλὸς τε ἦν ὡς, εἰ μὴ βοηθοίη τις ὃ τι τάχιστα, καταπεσεῖται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα.

[5] However, as time went on, the terminal tower which faced toward the south was undermined by the ceaseless wash of the water, and entirely wrecked, and it became evident that, unless someone brought help with the greatest speed, it would collapse immediately.

[6] ἐφάνη τοίνυν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ κεκομισμένος ἀξίωμα, πάσης ἐπιμελῆσθαι καὶ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

[6] Then appeared the Emperor Justinian, entrusted by God with this commission, to watch over the whole Roman Empire and, so far as was possible, to remake it.

[7] ὃς δὴ οὐ μόνον τὸν πεπονθότα πύργον ἐσώσατο, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος αὐτὸν μὲν λίθῳ καὶ φύσει σκληρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἀτείχιστον πλευρὰν ξύμπασαν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιέβληκε τείχει, διπλασιάσας αὐτῇ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀσφάλειαν.

[7] Indeed he not only preserved the damaged tower by rebuilding it with hard stone, such as would be suitable for making mill-stones, but he also enclosed the entire unwallled side of the fortress with a wall of the greatest strength, thus doubling its stability by adding the protection given by the circuit-wall to that afforded by the river.

[8] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ προτείχισμα ἐχυρώτατον προσεποίησεν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει, καὶ διαφερόντως οὗ δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἢ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπιμιζία τρίγωνον ἀποτελεῖ σχῆμα, ταύτῃ τε τὰς ἐνθὲνδε τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο.

[8] In addition to this, he added very strong outworks to the defences of the city, and especially where the junction of the two rivers forms a triangle he thus made any attack by the enemy impossible.

[9] καὶ στρατιωτικῶν δὲ καταλόγων ἄρχοντα τῇδε καταστησάμενος, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσι, διηνεκὲς ἐνταῦθα καθιζησόμενον, ἀποχρῶν φυλακτῆριον πεποίηκεν εἶναι τῇ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῇ.

[9] And he stationed here a commander of select troops, one whom they call a Duke or “leader,” who was to be stationed there permanently, and he thus constituted the place an adequate bulwark of the government of the State.

[10] καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον δέ, ὅπερ δημοσία τὴν χρεῖαν τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις παρέχεται, ἀνόνητον ὅλως τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ γεγεννημένον ἐνεργεῖν τε τὰ ξυνειθισμένα οὐκέτι ἔχον, ἐς τὸν νῦν ὄντα μετέθηκε κόσμον.

[10] The bath, too, which serves the common use of all the people living in the city, had become entirely useless because of the incursion of the river, with the result that it was no longer capable of providing its usual service; and so he transformed it to its present state of splendour.

[11] ὅσα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρέματο πρότερον ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστῶτα κατὰ τὸ τῶν λουτρῶν τῇ χρεῖᾳ συνοῖσον (ὧν δὴ ἐνερθε τὸ πῦρ καίεται, χυτρώποδός τε καλεῖν αὐτὰ νενομίκασι), ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιρροῇ ἀποκείμενα πρόσθεν εὐρών, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν τῷ βαλανεῖῳ διεφθαρμένην, λίθων μὲν αὐτὸς ἐμπεδώσας ἐπιβολαῖς ὅσα πρότερον ἀπεκρέματο, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐτέραν καθύπερθεν ἀποκρεμάσας οἰκοδομίαν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπρόσοδα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστίν, ἀνεσώσατο τὴν ἐνθὲνδε εὐπάθειαν τοῖς τῇδε φρουροῖς. τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Κιρκησίου ἐς τόνδε τὸν τρόπον δεδημιούργηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.

[11] For all the receptacles which previously were poised on solid masonry and were destined to serve the purposes of the bath (it is beneath these that fire is kept burning, and they are wont to call them cauldrons) — all these, he found, had already been exposed to the invasion of the water, and consequently the bath had been rendered useless; so he strengthened with courses of stone all that had formerly been poised there, as I have explained, and built another structure above it, where the river cannot reach it, and thus he restored to the troops there the enjoyment which they gained from the bath. In such a way was the work at Circesium carried out by this Emperor.

[12] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Κιρκήσιον φρούριόν ἐστι παλαιόν, Ἀννούκας ὄνομα, οὗπερ ἐρείπιον τὸ τεῖχος εὐρὼν οὕτω δὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀνακοδομήσατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὥς μηδὲ τῶν τινος ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων ὀχυρώματος περὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τὸ λοιπὸν φέρεσθαι.

[12] Beyond Circesium is an ancient fort, Annoucas by name, whose wall, which he found a ruin, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt in such magnificent style that thereafter it took second place in point of strength to no single one of the most notable cities.

[13] τρόπον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ φρούρια, ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Θεοδοσιούπολιν κεῖται, τὰ μὲν ἀτείχιστα τὸ πρότερον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πηλῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε γελωτοποιία τετειχισμένα αἰμασιᾶς τρόπον, φοβερὰ τε τοίνυν καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀπρόσβατα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εἰργάσατο·

[13] In the same way those forts which lie about the city of Theodosiopolis, some of which had previously been without walls, while some were walled with mud and the ridiculous construction that goes with mud-work, like a wall made of loose stones, he made truly formidable, as they now are, and altogether unapproachable for their assailants;

[14] τό τε Μαγδαλαθὼν σὺν ἑτέροις δυοῖν ἅπερ αὐτοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν τυγχάνει ὄντα, καὶ Θαννούριος δύο, μικρόν τε καὶ μέγα, καὶ Βιμισδεὼν καὶ Θήμερες, ἔτι δὲ Βιδάμας καὶ Δαυσαρῶν καὶ Θιόλλα, Φιχάς τε καὶ Ζαμαρθᾶς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα.

[14] these include Magdalathôn with two others which chance to be on either side of it, and two named Thannourios, one large and one small, and Vimisdeôn, and Themeres, as well as Vidamas, Dausarôn, Thiolla, Phichas and Zamarthas, and, one may say, all the rest.

[15] ἦν δέ τις χώρος παρὰ Θαννούριος τὸ μέγα, ᾧ δὴ ἐπιχωριάζειν Σαρακηνοῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις διαβαίνουσι ποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν πολλὴ ἐξουσία ἐγίνετο, ἐνθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοις διασκεδάννυσθαι μὲν ἀνά τε τὴν ὕλην δασεῖάν τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφεῖ οὐσαν καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, καταθεῖν τε ἀδεέστερον τοὺς

ὀκνημένους ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία Ῥωμαίους.

[15] And there was a certain spot near the larger Thannourios at which the hostile Saracens, after crossing the Aborrhhas River, had complete freedom to resort, and making that their headquarters they would scatter through the thick leafy forest and over the mountain which rises there, and then they would descend with impunity upon the Romans who lived in the places round about.

[16] ἀλλὰ νῦν πύργον κομιδῇ μέγαν ἐκ λίθου σκληροῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ δειμάμενος ἐνταῦθα τε φρουρὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην καταστησάμενος ἀναστέλλειν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς παντελῶς ἴσχυσε, τοῦτον ἐπιτεχνήσάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν πρόβολον.

[16] But now the Emperor Justinian has built a very large tower of hard stone at this point, in which he has established a very considerable garrison, and thus has succeeded completely in checking the inroads of the enemy by devising this bulwark against them.

[7] [7] [1] Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου Ἑδέσσης τε καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ Καλλινίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιχνῶν ἀπασῶν ἱεπιμνησθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐταὶ τοῖν ποταμοῖν μεταξὺ κεῖνται.

[1] Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Mesopotamia. And it is necessary for me at this point in my narrative to mention Edessa and Carrhae and Callinicum and all the other towns which chance to lie in that region, for these too are situated between the two rivers.

[2] τὴν Ἑδεσσαν ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ τὸ ρεῦμα βραχύς, Σκιρτὸς ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐκ χωρίων πολλῶν ξυνάγων τὸ ρεῖθρον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν φέρεται μέσῃν.

[2] The city of Edessa is situated on a river of small volume, Scirtus by name, which collects its water from a wide area and flows into the middle of the city.

[3] ἐνθένδε τε ἐξιὼν ἐπίπροσθεν ἵεται, ἐπειδὴν αὐτάρκη παρέχεται τῇ πόλει τὴν χρειάν τῶν τε εἰσόδων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκβολῶν δι' ὁχεταγωγίας κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος πεποιημένων τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

[3] And after leaving the city, it flows on further, after it has furnished the city with an abundant supply, effecting its entrance and its exit through channels in the wall constructed by men of former times.

[4] οὗτός ποτε ὁ ποταμός, ὄμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, ὑπερπεφυκώς τε ὑψοῦ ἀνείχε καὶ ὥς καταλύσων τὴν πόλιν ἐπήει.

[4] On one occasion this river, swollen by heavy rains, rose to an altogether

extraordinary height and came upon the city as if bent on destroying it.

[5] τοῦ τοίνυν προτειχίσματος καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου καθελὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πολλήν τινα μοῖραν τὴν πόλιν περιεβάλετο σχεδόν τι ὅλην, ἔργα τε ἀνήκεστα τῇδε εἰργάσατο. τῶν τε γὰρ οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐξίτηλα ἐξαπιναιῶς πεποιῖται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τριτημόριον διεχρήσατο.

[5] Consequently it levelled to the ground a large part of the outworks and of the circuit-wall and covered practically the whole city, doing irreparable damage. For in a moment it wiped out completely the finest of the buildings and caused the death of one third of the population.

[6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς μὴ ὅτι ἀνέσώσατο τῇ πόλει τὰ καθηρημένα εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, ἐν οἷς ἦ τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀντίφορος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως μὴ τι αὐτῇ καὶ αὐθις τοιοῦτο ξυμβαίῃ διεπράξατο σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ.

[6] But the Emperor Justinian immediately not only restored all the ruined parts of the city, including the church of the Christians and the structure called Antiphorus, but also made effective provision that such a calamity should not occur again.

[7] πορείαν γὰρ ἐτέραν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῷ ποταμῷ νεοχμουῖν ἴσχυσε, τοιᾷδε αὐτὸν περιελθὼν τέχνῃ.

[7] For he succeeded in making a new channel for the river before the circuit-wall, circumventing it by the following device.

[8] τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὑπτιὰ τε καὶ χθαμαλὰ πρότερον ἦν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ὄρος ἀπότομον, οὐκ ἐπιχωροῦν αὐτῷ ἐπικλίνειν που ἢ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ξυνειθισμένης ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν διωθούμενον ἀνάγκῃ τῇ πάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ξυμποδίζον, ἥνικα ἂν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺ φέροιτο.

[8] The land on the right of the river was formerly both flat and low, while on the left stood a steep hill, which did not permit the stream to turn aside at all or deviate from its customary course, but drove it against the city by sheer compulsion; for on the right there was nothing to check it when it rushed straight towards the city.

[9] τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ὄρος ἀποτεμὼν ὅλον κοῖλα μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ γλαφυρότερα τῆς αὐτοῦ πορείας κατεσκεύαστο, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῖχον ὑπερμεγέθη ἐκ λίθων ἀμαξιαίων συνέστησεν, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὁ ποταμὸς μέτριος φέρεται, μήποτε ἀποστεροῖτο τῆς ἐνθὲνδε ὠφελείας ἡ πόλις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τύχη τινὶ ἐς ὕψος ἀρθεῖς ὑπερβλύζοι, μέτρια μὲν τις αὐτοῦ ἐκροὴ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα χωροίῃ, τοῦ δὲ ῥοθίου τὸ ἐπιγινόμενον ἐς

τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀναγκαστὸν Ἷοι, ἐς τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου τὰ ὀπισθεν οὐ μακράν που ὄντος, τέχνη τε ἀνθρωπεΐα καὶ γνώμη προμηθεὶ παρὰ δόξαν νενικημένον.

[9] So he cut down this whole hill, and while making the land on the left of the river hollow deeper than its own bed, on the right he set up a huge wall of stones, each a load for a waggon, so that as long as the river flowed with its usual temperate stream, the city would never be deprived of its benefit, but whenever by any chance it rose to a great height and overflowed, a moderate portion of it would flow as usual into the city, while the excess of the stream would pass under constraint into the channel devised by Justinian and be led behind the hippodrome which is not far away, thus being vanquished, contrary to all expectation, by human skill and foresight.

[10] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς πόλεως γινομένῳ ἐντὸς ὀρθὴν τινα πορείας ἀνάγκην ἀπεργασάμενος, ὕπερθεν τε οἰκοδομίαν ἐκατέρωθι ἐπικρεμάσας, ὥς μὴ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ δύναίτο, καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν τῇ πόλει ἐσώσατο καὶ δέους αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐνθένδε ἀπήλλαξεν.

[10] In addition to this, he also compelled the river to follow a practically straight course after it gets inside the city, and above it he raised a structure resting on either bank so that it could not be diverted from its course, and he thus not only preserved the benefit which the city gained from the river, but also freed the city from the fear of it.

[11] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ Ἐδέσσης τεῖχος καὶ προτείχισμα οὐδέν τι ἴσσον διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ταπτόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.

[11] Moreover, it happened that the main wall of Edessa and its outworks had suffered from the passage of time no less than they had from the flood and for the most part were fit only to be called ruins.

[12] διὸ δὴ ἄμφω ἀνοικοδομησάμενος βασιλεύς, νέα τε αὐτὰ κατεστήσατο καὶ πολλῷ ἐχυρώτερα ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

[12] Therefore the Emperor rebuilt both of them and made them new and much stronger than they had been formerly.

[13] μοῖρα δέ τις τοῦ Ἐδέσσης περιβόλου φρουρίου κέκτηται, ἥς δὴ ἔκτοσθεν τις ἐπανειστήκει λόφος ὡς πλησιαίτατα ὑποκειμένη ἐπικύπτων ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει·

[13] And a certain section of the circuit-wall of Edessa contains a fort outside of which rose a hill, which stood very close by and commanded the city spread out beneath it.

[14] ὄνπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταλαβόντες ἐπιτείχισμά τι οἱ γέπυχώριοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίηται, ὥς μὴ ἐπίμαχον ποιοίη τὴν πόλιν.

[14] The inhabitants of early times, perceiving that this hill constituted a threat to the city-wall, had brought it inside the circuit-wall, so that it might not render the city vulnerable.

[15] ἀλλὰ ταύτη ἐπιμαχωτέραν αὐτὴν παρὰ πολὺ ἀπειργάσαντο· διατείχισμα γὰρ ὥς βραχύτατον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναιμένῳ τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ παιδαρίοις τειχομαχίαν ἐμμελετῶσιν ἀλώσιμον ἦν.

[15] But by this they caused the city to be actually much more vulnerable, for a very small cross-wall, lying on the exposed ground, was an easy thing to capture even for children playing at storming a wall.

[16] οὗ δὴ ἐνθὲνδε καθηρημένου ἕτερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ τεῖχος ἀνέστη, βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ διαπόνημα, δέος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως καθύπερθε γενησομένης οὐδαμῇ ἔχον, συγκαταβαῖνον δὲ τῇ ὑπωρεῖα μέχρι ἐς τὸ πρανεὺς ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐναρμοζόμενον.

[16] So after this had been torn down, another wall was built on the crest of the hill, the work of the Emperor Justinian, which did not have to fear any attack to be made from a higher position, and this descended along the slope as far as the level ground at either end and was joined to the circuit-wall.

[17] Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ Καλλινίκου πόλεως τὰ τε τεῖχη καὶ τὰ προτειχίσματα καθελών, ἅπερ ὁ πολὺς αἰὼν μεταξὺ ἐπιρρεύσας διέφθιρε, τανῦν τε ἀκραιφνῇ ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀμαχώτατα κατεστήσατο.

[17] Furthermore, he also took down the walls and the outworks of Carrhae and of the city of Callinicum, which were falling into ruin because of their great age, and once more made them, as they now are, entire and completely invulnerable.

[18] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούριον ὃ ἐν Βάτναις ἦν, ἀτείχιστόν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένον τὰ πρότερα ὄν, τείχεσιν ἐχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον μετήνεγκε κόσμον.

[18] He also surrounded with very strong walls the fortress at Batnae which previously had been unwallled and neglected, and transformed it into the fine condition in which it is now seen.

[8] [8] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρόπῳ, ᾧπέρ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ τε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ὀσροηνῆς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεποιήται.

[1] So these structures were erected by the Emperor Justinian in the manner

which I have described in Mesopotamia and in Osroenê, as it is called.

[2] ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὅρια τῇδὲ πη ἔχει·

[2] And I shall describe the fashion in which his work was carried out on the right of the Euphrates River.

[3] γειτονοῦσιν ἐκατέρων ἀλλήλοις χωρία, ὁρμώμενοί τε ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμφοτέρω καὶ διαμάχονται καὶ συμβάλλουσι τὰς συναλλαγάς, οἷά γε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ἵόπηνίκα τοῖς τε ἥθεσι καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις διάφοροι ὄντες χώραν τινὰ ὁμορον ἔχουσιν.

[3] The other boundaries between the Romans and the Persians are in general of such a sort that the territories of the two peoples are adjacent to each other, and both peoples push out from their own territory and either fight with each other or compose their differences, as people will whenever nations differing in customs and in government hold any land on a common boundary.

[4] ἐν δέ γε τῇ πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγενῇ χώρα, τανῦν δὲ καλουμένη Εὐφρατησία, οὐδαμῇ ἀλλήλων ἄγχιστα ὥκηνται. χώρα γὰρ ἔρημος καὶ ἄγονος ὅλως διορίζει ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὅρια, περιμάχητόν τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα.

[4] However, in the territory anciently called Commagenê, but now known as Euphratesia, they do not live close to each other at all. For a land which is altogether bare and unproductive separates the Roman and the Persian territory for a great distance, and this contains nothing worth fighting for.

[5] ἐκάτεροι μέντοι ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἥπερ ἄγχιστα γῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν οἰκουμένης τυγχάνει οὓσα φρούρια παρέργως ὠκοδομήσαντο ἐκ πλίνθου ὠμῆς·

[5] Both of them, however, have built forts carelessly of unbaked brick in the desert which chances to lie nearest to the land which they inhabit;

[6] ἅπερ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδεμιᾶς παρὰ τῶν πέλας ἔτυχε πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἀμφοτέρω τῇδε ὠκῆσαντο, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἂν καὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐφεῖντο.

[6] these forts never suffered attack from their neighbours, for both peoples lived there without enmity, since they possessed nothing which their adversaries might desire.

[7] βασιλεὺς δὲ Διοκλητιανὸς τρία φρούρια τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ ἐδείματο, ὥπερ ἓν, Μαμβρί ὄνομα, καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνεενώσατο βασιλεὺς.

[7] The Emperor Diocletian had built three forts, such as I have described, in this desert, one of which, Mambri by name, had fallen into decay in the long course of time and was restored by the Emperor Justinian.

[8] Τούτου δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκ σημείων μάλιστα πέντε ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθι ἰόντι Ζηνοβία ποτὲ Ὀδονάθου γυνὴ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος πόλιν ὥκισέ που ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις βραχεῖαν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει.

[8] At a distance of •about five miles from this fort on the road to Roman territory, Zenobia, wife of Odonathus, who was ruler of the Saracens in that district, once founded a small city in earlier times and gave her name to it;

[9] Ζηνοβίαν γὰρ αὐτήν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπωνόμασεν. ἀλλὰ πολλὸς ἄγαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος ἐρείπιον αὐτῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιούντων, ἔρημόν τε αὐτὴν τῶν ἐνοικούντων παντάπασι διεργάσατο.

[9] for the name she gave it was Zenobia, as was fitting. But the long period of time that had elapsed since those events had reduced its circuit-wall to a ruin, since the Romans were quite unwilling to take care of it, and thus it had come to be altogether destitute of inhabitants.

[10] παρῆν οὖν Πέρσαις κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἡνίκα ἂν ἦ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, ἐν μέσοις γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀνηκόις ἔτι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου οὖσιν.

[10] So it was possible for the Persians freely, whenever they wished, to get into the middle of Roman territory before the Romans had word of the hostile inroad.

[11] ἀλλὰ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος σύμπασαν, οἰκητόρων τε κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων καὶ διαρκὲς ἄγαν καταστησάμενος φυλακτήριον, πρόβολον μὲν εἶναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐπιτείχισμα δὲ διεπράξατο Πέρσαις·

[11] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt Zenobia completely and he filled it quite full of inhabitants, and he stationed there a commander of select troops and a thoroughly adequate garrison, and made it a bulwark of the Roman Empire and a frontier barrier against the Persians;

[12] ὃς γε οὐχ ὅσον τὸ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐχυρωτέραν εἰργάσατο ἢ πρότερον ἦν. σκόπελοι γὰρ αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσιν ὥς ἀγχοτάτω·

[12] indeed he did not simply restore its previous form, but he actually made it very much stronger than it was before.

[13] τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ ταῦτα ἔζην τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐνθένδε βάλλειν.

[13] It is surrounded by cliffs which stand very close to the city, and for this reason it was possible for the enemy to shoot down from their summits upon the heads of the defenders of the circuit-wall.

[14] ὅπερ ἀποκρούεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ τῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ὑπερβολῇ ἐτέραν ἐνήψε κατ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ τῶν σκοπέλων γειτόνημα, προκάλυμμα τοῖς ἐνθένδε μαχομένοις αἰεῖ ἐσομένην. περὰ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν καλοῦσι ταύτην, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ ἀποκρέμασθαι τοῦ τείχους δοκεῖ.

[14] This he was anxious to prevent, and so he built a certain additional structure on the top of the circuit-wall, at precisely the place where the cliffs are nearest, designed to serve permanently as a shelter for the men fighting there. Such a structure they call “wings” (ptera), because it appears to droop, as it were, from the wall.

[15] ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ζηνοβίας εἰργάσατο φράσαι ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγείτονι οὔσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν κινδύνους αἰεῖ ἐσομένην, ἐπικουρίας δὲ τυχεῖν Ῥωμαίων πλησιοχώρων οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῇ οὐκ ἂν δυναμένην, βεβαιότητος, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἐπιμελείας μάλιστα πάντων ἡξίωσεν· ὀλίγα δέ μοι ἄττα τῶν τῇδε πεπραγμένων γεγράψεται.

[15] However, it is impossible to describe all that the Emperor accomplished at Zenobia, since, seeing that it occupies a site far removed from any neighbour and on this account is sure to be always in danger, and that it is unable to secure succour because there are no Romans who live near at hand, the Emperor considered the city worthy, as well he might, of his unceasing attention above all other places. Nevertheless I shall describe a few of the things that were done there.

[16] Παραρρεῖ μὲν τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τοῦ ἡλίου, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ ἐκείνη περιβόλου ἰών, ὁρῶν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ῥύψηλῶν ἀνεχόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ διασκεδάννυσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τοῦ γειτονήματος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁρῶν, ταῖς τε ὄχθαις σκληραῖς οὖσαις πεπιεσμένος καὶ ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα ξυνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἐπειδὰν αὐτῷ ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων ὑπερβλύζειν ξυνενεχθεῖη, ἐπιχυθεὶς τῷ τείχει, εὐθὺς οὐκ ἀμφὶ τὰ θεμέλια μόνον, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπέκλυζεν.

[16] By the side of Zenobia flows the Euphrates River, passing to the east of it and coming very close to the circuit-wall on that side; but since high mountains rise beside the river at this point, the stream cannot spread out at all, but by reason of the proximity of these mountains and because it is constrained by its banks, which are hard, it would gather its stream into an

extraordinarily narrow space whenever it chanced that rains caused it to rise in flood, and would pour out against the wall and immediately rise, not only about the foundations but even as far as the battlements.

[17] οὗ δὴ τῷ ῥοθίῳ καταβεβρεγμένου ξυνέβαινε τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ζυγχεῖσθαι τῶν λίθων ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τε αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ξυνθήκης ἐστάναι.

[17] And when the wall had once been soaked through by the water, the result was that the river loosened the courses of stones and thereafter the wall stood upon a dangerous conglomeration of stones.

[18] ἀλλὰ παμμεγέθῃ ἐκ λίθου μυλίου πρόβολον τῷ περιβόλῳ ἰσομήκη ἀπεργασάμενος ἐνταῦθα μὲν αἰεὶ ἐνοχλεῖν τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλυδώνιον ὑπερβλύζοντος κατηνάγκασεν, ἐλεύθερον δὲ τὸ παράπαν τῆς ἐνθένδε λώβης τὸ τεῖχος ἀφῆκεν, ἣν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ ποταμὸς κυμαίνων ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρηται μέγα.

[18] But he constructed a huge protective wall (probolos) of hard stone of equal length with the circuit-wall, and caused this to check at that point the turbulence of the river when it rose, and so freed the wall entirely from harm from this source, even should the river rise to a great height in its most violent state.

[19] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸν περίβολον, ὃς δὴ αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, πεπονηκότα παντάπασι χρόνου μήκει εὐρών, παρέλυσεν μὲν σὺν τῷ προτειχίσματι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ οὐχ ἥπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα αἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομαὶ στενοχωροῦμεναι μάλιστα τοὺς ταύτῃ ὀκημένους ἡνίων.

[19] He also found that portion of the city's circuit-wall which faces the north dangerously weakened by the passage of time; so he first took it down, along with the outworks, clear to the ground, and then rebuilt it, yet not as it had been before, for at that point the buildings of the city had been especially crowded, causing trouble to those who lived there.

[20] ἀλλὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑπερβὰς τῶν τε θεμελίων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος χώραν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτήν, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τεῖχος ἐδείματο ἀξιοθέατόν τε καὶ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον, ταύτῃ εὐρυτέραν παρὰ πολὺ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν πεποιημένους.

[20] But he went beyond the place where the foundations of the circuit-wall and the outworks had formerly stood, even beyond the moat itself, and there he built the wall, which is a remarkable sight in itself and exceptionally beautiful, thus materially increasing the area of Zenobia.

[21] ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφος τις ἄγχιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰστήκει πρὸς ἰδύοντά που τὸν

ἥλιον· ἐξ οὗ δὴ παρὴν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν αἰὲν βαρβάρους βάλλειν κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀδεέστερον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐστῶτας.

[21] Furthermore, a certain hill stood very close to the city on the side toward the west, from which it was possible for the barbarians, whenever they attacked the city, to shoot down with impunity upon the heads of the defenders, and even upon the heads of those who stood in the middle of the city.

[22] τούτῳ οὖν τῷ λόφῳ τείχισμα ἐνάσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐντὸς τε αὐτὸν τῆς Ζηνοβίας καταστησάμενος, ἔξυσε μὲν ὅλον ἐνδελεχέστατα, ὥς μή τις κακουργήσων ἐνθένδε ἀνίοι, τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο τοῦ λόφου ὑπερθεῖν ἔθετο, ἀπρόσοδόν τε ὅλως τὴν πόλιν οὕτως τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀπειργάσατο.

[22] So the Emperor Justinian connected the fortifications with this hill on both sides, and thus brought it inside Zenobia; and he escarped the whole hill throughout, so that no one might climb it to work harm from there, and placed another fortification on its summit and thus made the city altogether inaccessible to those who wished to assault it.

[23] τοῦ μὲν γὰρ λόφου ἐκτὸς κοίλῃν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐς ἅγαν συμβαίνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγγυτέρω ἰέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀδύνατον.

[23] For beyond the hill it chances that the ground is very low and for this reason it is impossible for the enemy to approach it at all closely.

[24] ὑπὲρ γῆν δὲ τὴν κοίλῃν εὐθὺς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέχει ἃ πρὸς ἥλιον δύοντα τέτραπται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῇ πόλει τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπρυτάνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀνέθηκε καὶ στρατιωτικῶν σημείων οἰκίας.

[24] And immediately above the depression rise the mountains which face toward the west. Yet this Emperor did not provide only for the safety of this city, but he erected churches there and barracks for the military forces;

[25] ἔτι μέντοι λουτρῶνας καὶ στοὰς προσεποίησεν αὐτῇ δημοσίᾳς. ἐς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Ἰσίδωρος τε καὶ Ἰωάννης μηχανοποιοὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχοντο, Βυζάντιος μὲν Ἰωάννης, Ἰσίδωρος δὲ Μιλήσιος γένος, Ἰσιδώρου ἀδελφιδοῦς οὐπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, νεανῖαι μὲν ἄμφω, δύναμιν δὲ φύσεως ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συνακμάσαντες ἔργων.

[25] nay more, he added to it public baths and stoas. For all these operations the master-builders Isidorus and John gave their assistance — John a Byzantine

and Isidorus a Milesian by birth, nephew of the Isidorus whom I have mentioned before. Both of them were young men, but they displayed a natural ability beyond their years, and they had come to their full maturity with their experience in the Emperor's undertakings.

[9] [9] [1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν τὸ Σούρων πόλισμα, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ κείμενον, οὕτω δὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον τὸ τεῖχισμα εἶχεν ὥστε Χοσρόην προσβαλόντα ποτὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἡμιώριον ἀπεκρούσατο, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἐάλω Πέρσαις.

[1] After Zenobia is the fortress of Sura, situated on the Euphrates River, which had such contemptible defences that when Chosroes, on one occasion, attacked, it did not hold him off for so much as a half-hour, but was captured immediately by the Persians.

[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ Καλλίνικον, Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τὸ πολίχνιον ὅλον τείχει τε ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν καὶ προτειχίσματι κρατυνόμενος μηκέτι εἶκειν προσβάλλουσι πολεμίους διεσκεύασατο.

[2] This too, like Callinicum, was rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, who surrounded the entire fortress with a very stout wall, which he strengthened by outworks and thus brought it about that it should no longer yield to the enemy's assaults.

[3] Ἔστι δέ τις νεὼς Σεργίῳ ἀνειμένος ἐν τῇ Εὐφρατησίᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ ἀγίῳ, ὃν δὴ σέβοντές τε καὶ τεθηπότες οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι Σεργιούπολιν τε ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τευχίσματι βραχυτάτῳ περιβεβλήκεσαν, ὅσον τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Σαρακηνοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν.

[3] There is a certain church in Euphratesia, dedicated to Sergius, a famous saint, whom men of former times used to worship and revere, so that they named the place Sergiopolis, and they had surrounded it with a very humble wall, just sufficient to prevent the Saracens of the region from capturing it by storm.

[4] ἀδύνατοι γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν εἰσι Σαρακηνοὶ φύσει, καὶ τι αὐτῶν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, τεῖχισμα φαυλότατον καὶ πηλῷ σύνθετον ἐμπόδιον τῇ ὁρμῇ γίνεται.

[4] For the Saracens are naturally incapable of storming a wall, and the weakest kind of barricade, put together with perhaps nothing but mud, is sufficient to check their assault.

[5] ἀλλ' ὕστερον ὁ νεὼς οὗτος κειμηλίων προσόδῳ δυνατός τε καὶ ἀπόβλεπτος διὰ παντὸς ἦν.

[5] At a later time, however, this church, through its acquisition of treasures, came to be powerful and celebrated.

[6] ὁ δὴ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα εὐθὺς ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ πεποιήται, τείχει τε ἀξιολογωτάτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περιβέβληκε, καὶ ὑδάτων θησαυρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα πλήθειν αὐτοῖς ἐσκεύασατο.

[6] And the Emperor Justinian, upon considering this situation, at once gave it careful attention, and he surrounded the church with a most remarkable wall, and he stored up a great quantity of water and thus provided the inhabitants with a bountiful supply.

[7] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἰκίας τε καὶ στοὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομίας τῷ χωρίῳ ἐντέθεικεν ἃ δὴ πόλεως ἐγκαλλωπίσματα γίνεσθαι εἴωθεν.

[7] Furthermore, he added to the place houses and stoas and the other buildings which are wont to be the adornments of a city.

[8] ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρὰν τῇδε στρατιωτῶν εἰς καιρὸν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων ἰδρύσατο.

[8] Besides this he established there a garrison of soldiers who, in case of need, defended the circuit-wall.

[9] Χοσρόης ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἐν σπουδῇ πεποιημένος τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν στράτευμά τε αὐτῇ ἐπὶ πολιορκία πολὺ ἐπιστήσας ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε ὀχυρώτατος ἰσχύϊ τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσε.

[9] Chosroes, indeed, the King of the Persians, made a great effort to capture the city, sending a great army to besiege it; but because of the strength of the defences he accomplished nothing and abandoned the investment.

[10] Καὶ πολίσματα δὲ καὶ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς τῶν Εὐφρατησίας ὁρίων ὄντα τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιμελείας ἤξιώσε, Βαρβαλισσοῦ τε καὶ Νεοκαισαρείας καὶ τοῦ Γαβούλων καλουμένου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Εὐφράτῃ τῷ ποταμῷ Πεντακωμίας καὶ τοῦ Εὐρωποῦ· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἡμερίου τὰ τείχη εὐρὼν πῇ μὲν παρέργως τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας γεγεννημένα, πῇ δὲ καὶ μόνῳ περιβεβλημένα πηλῷ, πιεζόμενα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐκαταφρόνητα παντάπασιν ὄντα, καθεῖλε μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς λίθον ἐπιβολαῖς σκληρῶν μάλιστα δειμάμενος εὐθὺς ἅπαντα, εὐρους τε καὶ ὕψους μέγα τι χρῆμα τῷ ἔργῳ κατὰ λόγον ἐνθέμενος, καὶ ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα τεκτηνάμενος πανταχόσε τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων παμπληθῆ, ταῦτά τε κατακορῇ ὕδασι νύμβριοις καταστησάμενος ἅπαντα· ἰδρυσάμενος δὲ καὶ φρουρῶν ὄμιλον, ἐς τὴν νῦν φαινομένην ἀσφάλειαν καρτερώτατα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν μετεβίβασεν.

[10] The Emperor bestowed the same careful attention on all the towns and forts which lie on the farthest borders of Euphratesia, namely Barbalissus and Neocaesarea, and Gaboulôn, as it is called, and the Pentacomia which is on the Euphrates River, and Europus. Also he found the walls of the place called Hemerium to be in part carelessly built and of unsafe construction and in part actually to consist of nothing but mud, while the place suffered from great scarcity of water, so that it was in every way an object of contempt to the enemy; so he razed it to the ground and immediately rebuilt it all carefully with courses of very hard stone, rightly giving the work generous proportions of both breadth and height, and he fashioned many cisterns for water in all parts of the defences, filling all these amply with rain-water; moreover, he established a large garrison there and so brought about the state of security which we now see there, and made the city's dominance sure.

[11] ἃ δὴ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἂν τις διασκοπούμενος τάς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαθοεργίας ὑπεριδών, τούτου δὴ μόνου φαίη ἂν εἶνεκα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν, τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει διηνεκὲς πρυτανεύοντος.

] [11] And if one should consider these fortresses very carefully, disregarding all the other useful works of the Emperor Justinian, he would say that it was solely for this purpose that he succeeded to the imperial power, since God unceasingly provides for the safety of the Roman people.

[12] Πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν, ἥπερ ἀπασῶν πρώτη τῶν τῇδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὕσα, λαβὼν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς ἐπιβουλεῦειν ἐθέλουσι, προμηθεὶ διεσώσατο γνώμη.

[12] In addition to these he also found Hierapolis, which happens to be the first of all the cities of that region, lying exposed to those who wished to attack it, and by his prudent foresight he assured its safety.

[13] χώραν τε γὰρ ἔρημον τὰ πρότερα περιβεβλημένην πολλὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν, τῶν μὲν ἄνομήτων αὐτὴν περιόδων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἐπιτομώτερον δὲ σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστησάμενος τὸν περίβολον, ἔς τε τὸ τῆς χρείας ἀναγκαῖον ξυναγαγὼν ἐχυρωτάτην τανῦν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα διεπράξατο τὴν πόλιν εἶναι.

[13] Previously it had enclosed a large tract of barren land, and consequently was undefended; so he relieved it of this senseless expanse and made the circuit-wall shorter as well as more safe, reducing it to a measure calculated to meet the actual need of the situation, and thus bringing it about that the city is among the strongest of the present day.

[14] οὗ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἀγαθὸν εἴργασται. πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐκ μυχῶν τῆς γῆς ἄνεισιν

ἐν μέσῃ πόλει διηνεκῶς, λίμνην τέ τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖαν ποιεῖται.

[14] Here too he conferred the following benefit. An unfailing supply of drinking-water springs up from the recesses of the earth in the midst of the city and makes a broad lake there.

[15] τοῦτο πολεμίων μὲν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, προσεδρευόντων γίνεται τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, ἐν δὲ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἔξωθεν εἰσαγομένων ὑδάτων πολλῶν.

[15] And whenever an enemy chances to lay siege to the place, this water proves the salvation of the city; but in good times the lake becomes unnecessary to it, because abundant water is brought in from outside.

[16] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ συμβεβιωκότες οἱ τῇδε ὤκημένοι, ἀνάγκης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐς πείραν ἐλθόντες, ἐν ὀλιγοῖα τοῦτο πεποιήνται. οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ὑπὲρ τῶν οὕτω παρόντων κακῶν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ βουλεύεσθαι.

[16] And as time went on, the inhabitants of the place, having enjoyed a long-continued peace and experiencing no need, treated this spring with neglect. For in times of prosperity human nature knows not how to take thought against ills not yet at hand.

[17] ῥύπου τοίνυν τὴν λίμνην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐνεπλήσαντο, νηχόμενοι τε καὶ πλυνοὺς ἐνταῦθα ποιούμενοι καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες φορυτοὺς ἅπαντας . . .

[17] So they kept filling the lake constantly with pollution, both swimming and washing clothes in it and throwing all manner of rubbish into it. . . .

[18] Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ Εὐφρατησίᾳ χωρία, Ζεῦγμά τε καὶ Νεοκαισάρεια, ἃ δὴ πολίχνη μὲν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα ἦσαν, τείχεσι ἰδὲ περιεβέβληντο αἵμασις τρόπον.

[18] There were also two other towns in this district of Euphratesia, Zeugma and Neocaesarea, which went by the name of fortified towns, but were enclosed by fortifications resembling walls of loose stones.

[19] τῷ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οἰκοδομίας κολοβῷ ἐσβατὰ πόνων οὐδενὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνετο, ἀδεέστερον ἐς αὐτὰ ἐσπηδᾶν ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ στενῷ λίαν ἀφύλακτα, οὐκ ἔχόντων τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρῶν ὅποι ἂν ἐστῶτες ἀμύνοντο.

[19] And because these were made too low when they were built, they were accessible to the enemy without any effort, since they could leap upon them without fear, while their extreme narrowness made them impossible to defend, since the garrison of the town had no place whatever where they might stand

and carry on the defence.

[20] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τείχεσιν ἀληθέσι περιβαλὼν εὖρους τε καὶ ὕψους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ κρατυνόμενος, πόλεις τε διεπράξατο καλεῖσθαι δικαίως καὶ κρείσσους εἶναι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλῆς.

[20] But the Emperor Justinian surrounded these places too with real walls of adequate breadth and height, and he made them strong in their other equipment, and so brought it about that they are justly called cities and are too well built for hostile attacks.

[10] [10] [1] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πόλεων τὰς Χοσρόῃ ἄλυσσας (ἡνίκα ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἀλογήσας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ταῖς ἀπεράντοις σπονδαῖς καὶ τὰ διδόμενά οἱ ἐπ' αὐταῖς χρήματα, καὶ βασκανία μὲν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, οἷς δὲ Λιβύης τε καὶ Ἰταλίας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γέγονε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα πίστιν περὶ ἐλάσσοτος τῆς ἐς ταῦτα λύσεως πεποιημένος. καιροφυλακήσας δὲ ἀπολελειμμένον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν αὐτάγγελος ἐσβέβληκεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, ἀνηκῶν ἐτι Ῥωμαίων ὄντων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου), ἐς τοῦτο δὴ μετεστήσατο βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀσφαλείας καὶ κόσμου, ὥστε ἀπάσας εὐδαιμονεστέρας κατὰ πολὺ τανῦν ἢ πρότερον εἶναι, καὶ μηκέτι περὶ τὰς τῶν κακουργησόντων Ἰβερῶν ἐφόδους περιδεεῖς εἶναι, μηδὲ τινι μηχανῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ὑπόπτως ἔχειν.

[1] He also turned his attention to the cities which had been captured by Chosroes. (This was when that barbarian ignored the oaths he had sworn at the time of the “endless peace” and the money given him to secure this peace; when he was filled with malice against the Emperor Justinian because he had become master of Italy and of Libya by conquest, and was moved less by the obligation of his oaths than by his rage at the Emperor’s successes. So he watched for the right time, and when the greater part of the Roman army was away in the West, he invaded the Roman territory without any previous notice, before the Romans could hear of the approach of the enemy). So the Emperor Justinian transformed these cities to such a state of safety and beauty that they are all much more prosperous at the present time than they were formerly, and no longer need either be fearful of the inroads of the villainous barbarians, or apprehensive for any reason of their attacks.

[2] Μάλιστα δὲ ἀπασῶν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣ νῦν Θεοῦπολις ἐπικέκληται, κόσμου τε καὶ ὁχυρώματος ἐνεπλήσατο πολλῷ μείζονος ἢ πρότερον εἶναι ξυνέβαινε.

[2] Above all he made Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, both fairer and stronger by far than it had been formerly.

[3] ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ περίβολος μακρὸς τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ περιόδων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως, πῇ μὲν τὰ πεδία περιβάλλων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πῇ δὲ τὰς τῶν σκοπέλων ὑπερβολάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλείοσιν ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποκείμενος.

[3] In ancient times its circuit-wall was both too long and absolutely full of many turnings, in some places uselessly enclosing the level ground and in others the summits of the mountain, and for this reason it was exposed to attack in a number of places.

[4] συστείλας δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον, οὐ ταῦτα φρουρεῖν ἄπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς πεποίηκε μόνην.

[4] But the Emperor Justinian, contracting this wall as would best serve the need, carefully remade it so as to guard, not the same districts as before, but only the city itself.

[5] τὰ μὲν γὰρ κάτω τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα ἡ πόλις ἐπικινδύνως εὐρύνετο, ἐν μαλακῇ τε πεδίῳ κειμένη καὶ περιουσία τειχίσματος ἀφύλακτος οὔσα, μεταβιβάζει ὡς ἐνδοτάτῳ, ἐπικαιριώτατα στενοχωρήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν πόλιν, περιστελλομένην τῷ πεπιέσθαι.

[5] As for the lower part of the circuit-wall, where the city was dangerously spread out (since it lay in a soft plain and could not be defended because of a superfluity of wall), he changed its course by drawing it inward as much as possible, it having gained protection by being compressed.

[6] ποταμὸν δὲ Ὀρόντην, ὅσπερ αὐτὴν παρέρρει ἐν περιόδοις τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν, διωθήσατο μεταπορευθέντα τὸ ρεῖθρον τῷ περιβόλῳ γειτονεῖν,

[6] And the River Orontes, which had flowed past the city, as it formerly was, in a winding course, he thrust over so that it ran in a new bed, hugging the circuit-wall.

[7] αὖθις ὀχεταγωγίᾳ τὸν ροῦν ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ περιελίξας, ταύτῃ τε καὶ τὸ σφαλερὸν τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.

[7] He did this by winding the stream round again by means of an artificial channel as near the wall as possible. In this way he both relieved the city of the danger arising from its excessive size and recovered the protection afforded by the Orontes.

[8] ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε νεοχμώσας γεφύρας ἐτέρας ζεύγματα τῷ ποταμῷ νέα ἐντέθεικε, περιαγαγὼν δὲ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς χρείας αὐτόν, μεῖτ' αὖτε τὴν προτέραν ἀπέδωκε

πορείαν τῷ ῥείθῳ.

[8] And by building other bridges there he furnished new means of crossing the river; and after changing its stream for as great a distance as was necessary, he then restored it to its former course.

[9] τὰ μέντοι ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνώδες αὐτῷ κατὰ τάδε διαπεπύνηται. ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ ἤνπερ Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, πέτρα τις τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνταῦθα κειμένη καὶ λίαν ἐπιμαχώτατον αὐτὸν τιθεμένη.

[9] The upper part, in the mountainous portion, he managed as follows: on the summit of the mountain which they call Orocassias there happened to be a rock outside the wall and very close to it, nearly matching in height the circuit-wall in this place and making it quite vulnerable.

[10] Χοσρόη ἀμέλει ἐνθένδε ἡ πόλις ἐάλω, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐρρήθη. τὰ δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἐρημός τε χώρα ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ δύσδοδος ἦν·

[10] It was from this point in fact that the city was taken by Chosroes, as is related in my description of the event. The region within the circuit-wall was for the most part bare and difficult to traverse,

[11] πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι διακεκλήρωνται τὸν χῶρον ἐκεῖνον, ἀδιεξόδους τὰς ἐνθένδε ποιούμεναι τρίβους, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίου ἐνταῦθά τις, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων τοῦ τείχους ὄντος.

[11] for high rocks and impassable ravines divide up that district, so that the paths from that place have no outlet. Thus the wall there is just as if it belonged to some other city and not to Antioch at all.

[12] χαίρειν τοίνυν πολλὰ τῇ πέτρᾳ φράσας, ἥπερ ἐν γειτόνων τῷ τείχει οὔσα εὐάλωτον αὐτὸ διαφανῶς ἐσκαίωρητο, ὡς πορρωτάτω αὐτῆς περιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω, ἀβουλίας πέρι τῶν πρότερον αὐτὴν δειμαμένων ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς πείρας πεποιημένος τὴν μάθησιν.

[12] So he bade a long farewell to the rock, which, being close to the wall, was fiendishly devised to make the wall easy to capture, and decided to build the defences of the city as far away from it as possible, having learned from the experience of events the folly of those who had built the city in former times.

[13] χώραν τε ὁμαλὴν μάλιστα τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς τὴν τὰ πρότερα κρημνώδη οὔσαν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀνόδους ταύτη πεποιήται οὐχ ὅσον ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἱππεῦσι βασίμους, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἀμαξηλάτους τὸ λοιπὸν οὔσας.

[13] Moreover he made quite level the region within the wall, which formerly had been precipitous, building ascents there which would in the future be passable, not only for men on foot, but for cavalry, and would even serve as waggon-roads.

[14] ἀλλὰ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πεποιήται τούτοις τοῦ τείχους ἐντός. φρέαρ τε ὥρυξεν ἐν πύργῳ ἐκάστῳ, τὴν πρότερον ἀνυδρίαν ἐνταῦθα οὖσαν ὑδάσιν ὑετίοις ἰώμενος.

[14] He also built baths and reservoirs on these hills inside the wall. And he dug a cistern in each tower, remedying by means of rain-water the want of water which had previously existed there.

[15] Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τῷ χειμάρρῳ πεποιήται, ὃς γὰρ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀρέων κάτεισιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ὄρη μὲν ἀπότομα δύο τῇ πόλει ἐπῆρται, ἀλλήλοιν ζυνιόντα ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ.

[15] It is proper to describe also what he did with the torrent which comes down from these mountains. Two precipitous mountains rise above the city, approaching each other quite closely.

[16] τούτων θάτερον μὲν Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον Σταυρίν κέκληται. ἀπολήγοντα δὲ πη αὐτὰ νάπη τις ζεύγνυσι καὶ χαράδρα μεταξὺ οὖσα, χειμάρρουν ἀποτελοῦσα, ἐπειδὰν ὕοι, Ὀνοπνίκτην ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων κατιῶν ὑπερθέν τε τοῦ περιβόλου φερόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐξανιστάμενος, διεσκεδάννυτο μὲν ἐς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως στενωπούς, ἀνήκεστα δὲ κακὰ τοὺς ταύτῃ ὥκημένους εἰργάζετο.

[16] Of these they call the one Orocassias and the other is called Staurin. Where they come to an end they are joined by a glen and ravine which lies between them, which produces a torrent, when it rains, called Onopnictes. This, coming down from a height, swept over the circuit-wall and on occasion rose to a great volume, spreading into the streets of the city and doing ruinous damage to those who lived in that district.

[17] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου τὴν ἄκessin Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς εὔρατο τρόπον τοιῷδε. πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὄνπερ ἄγχιστα τῆς χαράδρας ζυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς ὁ χειμάρρους ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα ἴετο, τοῖχον ἐδείματο ὑπερμεγέθη, ἐκ κοίλης χαράδρας διήκοντα ἐς ἐκάτερον τοῖν ὀροῖν μάλιστα, ὡς μηκέτι περαιτέρω ἰέναι κυματοῦντι τῷ ποταμῷ δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρότερον ζυνιστάμενος ἐνταῦθα λιμνάζει.

[17] But even for this the Emperor Justinian found the remedy, in the following way: Before that part of the circuit-wall which happens to lie nearest to the ravine out of which the torrent was borne against the fortifications, he built an immense wall or dam, which reached roughly from the hollow bed of the

ravine to each of the two mountains, so that the stream should no longer be able to sweep on when it was at full flood, but should collect for a considerable distance back and form a lake there.

[18] ἐν δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ θυρίδας ποιησάμενος ἐνθένδε ἀπορρέοντα ὑπολήγειν κατὰ βραχὺ ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτῳ τὸν χειμάρρουν διεσκευάσατο, οὐκέτι λάβρως τῷ παντὶ ῥεύματι τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλλοντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερβλύζοντά τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεργαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πράως τε καὶ προσηνῶς ὑπορρέοντα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, αὕτη τε τῇ ἐκροῇ διὰ τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας ἰόντα ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν βουλομένοις ἢ περιάγειν οὕτω μέτριον γεγενημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

] [18] And by constructing sluice-gates in this wall he contrived that the torrent, flowing through these, should lose its force gradually, checked by this artificial barrier, and no longer violently assault the circuit-wall with its full stream, and so overflow it and damage the city, but should gently and evenly glide on in the manner I have described and, with this means of outflow, should proceed through the channel wherever the inhabitants of former times would have wished to conduct it if it had been so manageable.

[19] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας περιβόλῳ τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. καὶ ξύμπασαν δὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καταφλεχθεῖσαν ἀνωκοδομήσατο τὴν πόλιν αὐτός.

[19] This, then, was what the Emperor Justinian accomplished concerning the circuit-wall of Antioch. He also rebuilt the whole city, which had been completely burned by the enemy.

[20] τετεφρωμένων γὰρ πανταχόσε καὶ καθηρημένων ἀπάντων, λόφων τε μόνον ἐκ πόλεως ἐξηνθρακωμένης ἐπανεστηκότων πολλῶν, ἄπορον τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐγένετο τὴν τε χώραν ἐπιγνῶναι τῆς ἐκάστου ἰδίας οἰκίας γενομένης τὰ πρῶτα ἐκφορήσασι τὸ συμπτωθὲν ἅπαν, οἰκίας τε πυρκαϊᾶς περικαθῆραι τὰ λείψανα, ἔτι μέντοι δημοσίων στοῶν ἢ περιστύλων αὐλῶν οὐδαμῇ οὐσῶν, οὐδὲ ἀγορὰς πῃ καθισταμένης, οὐδὲ τῶν στενωπῶν τὰς ἀγυῖας διαιρούντων τῇ πόλει, οἰκίας τινὸς οἰκοδομίαν ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι.

[20] For since everything was everywhere reduced to ashes and levelled to the ground, and since many mounds of ruins were all that was left standing of the burned city, it became impossible for the people of Antioch to recognise the site of each person's house, when first they carried out all the debris, and to clear out the remains of a burned house; and since there were no longer public stoas or colonnaded courts in existence anywhere, nor any market-place remaining, and since the side-streets no longer marked off the thoroughfares of the city, they did not any longer dare to build any house.

[21] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμίᾳ μελλήσει ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως τὰ καθηρημένα

μετενεγκών, ἐλευθρόν τε τὸν ταύτῃ ἀέρα ξὺν τοῖς ἔνερθεν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων καταστησάμενος, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἐδάφη πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως λίθοις ἀμαξιαίοις ἐκάλυπεν·

[21] But the Emperor without any delay transported the debris as far as possible from the city, and thus freed the air and the ground of all encumbrances; then he first of all covered the cleared land of the city everywhere with stones each large enough to load a waggon.

[22] ἔπειτα δὲ στοαῖς τε καὶ ἀγοραῖς αὐτὴν διακρίνας, καὶ διελὼν μὲν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἀμφοδούς ἀπάσας, ὀχετοὺς δὲ καὶ κρήνας καὶ ὑδροχόας καταστησάμενος, ὅσοις ἡ πόλις κεκόμψευται, θεατρά τε αὐτῇ καὶ βαλανεῖα πεποιημένος, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δημοσίαις οἰκοδομαῖς ἀπάσαις κοσμήσας, αἷσπερ εὐδαιμονία διαφαίνεσθαι πόλεως εἶωθε· τεχνιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδημιούργων πλῆθος ἐπαγαγὼν ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι παρέσχετο δέιμασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἰδίας οἰκίας.

[22] Next he laid it out with stoas and market-places, and dividing all the blocks of houses by means of streets, and making water-channels and fountains and sewers, all those of which the city now boasts, he built theatres and baths for it, ornamenting it with all the other public buildings by means of which the prosperity of a city is wont to be shewn. He also, by bringing in a multitude of artisans and craftsmen, made it more easy and less laborious for the inhabitants to build their own houses.

[23] οὕτω τε Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιφανεστέραν γεγονέναι τανῦν ἢ πρότερον ἦν ξυνηνέχθη.

[23] Thus it was brought about that Antioch has become more splendid now than it formerly was.

[24] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα τῇ θεοτόκῃ πεποιήται μέγα, οὗ δὴ τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐπελθεῖν λόγῳ ἀμήχανον· ὃ δὴ καὶ προσδόφ' ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων.

[24] Moreover, he built there a great Church to the Mother of God. The beauty of this, and its magnificence in every respect, it is impossible to describe; he also honoured it with an income of a very large sum.

[25] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Μιχαὴλ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ νεὼν παμμεγέθη ἐδείματο. προὐνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρρωστήμασι πονουμένων ἐνταῦθα πτωχῶν, οἰκία τε σφίσι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω καταστησάμενος ἅπαντα, χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσι, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξί, καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τοῖς ξένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενομένοις ἐνταῦθα ἐνδύμοις.

[25] Moreover, he built an immense Church for the Archangel Michael. He

made provision likewise for the poor of the place who were suffering from maladies, providing buildings for them and all the means for the care and cure of their ailments, for men and women separately, and he made no less provision for strangers who might on occasion be staying in the city.

[11] [11] [1] Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδος πόλεως τὸν περίβολον, ἐπισφαλῶς τε ἀρχὴν γεγονότα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτῶν κατερρακωμένον, σὺν τῷ προτειχίσματι ἀνανεωσάμενός τε καὶ πολλῶ ἔχυρώτερον καταστησάμενος ἢ πρότερον ἦν, ἐς τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον πεποίηται τρόπον.

[1] In the same manner he also repaired the circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had been faultily built in the first place and had been wrecked by the years; he restored this along with the outworks and rendered it much more defensible than before, and gave it the form which we now see.

[2] Ἦν δέ τι ἐπὶ Συρίας κομιδῇ ἀπημελημένον πολίχνιον, Κῦρος ὄνομα, ὅπερ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἰᾶνω χρόνοις ἐδείμαντο, δορυάλωτοι μὲν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀποκεκομισμένοι πρὸς τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, παρὰ Κύρου δὲ βασιλέως ἀφειμένοι πολλῶ ὕστερον· διὸ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον τὸ χωρίον ἐκάλεσαν, ταῦτα τῷ εὐεργέτῃ ἐκτίνοντες χαριστήρια.

[2] There was a certain utterly neglected fortress in Syria, Cyrus by name, which the Jews built in early times, when they have been carried off as captives from Palestine into Assyria by the army of the Medes and were released much later by King Cyrus; and for this reason they named the place Cyrus, paying this tribute of gratitude to their benefactor.

[3] προῖόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἡ Κῦρος τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερώφθη καὶ ἀτείχιστος ὅλως μεμένηκεν.

[3] And as time went on this place came to be neglected in general and remained altogether without walls.

[4] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅμα μὲν πρόνοιαν τῆς πολιτείας ποιούμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους Κοσμᾶν τε καὶ Δαμιανὸν τὰ μάλιστα σέβων, ὧν δὴ ἀγχιστά πη τὰ σώματα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κεῖται, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ, τείχους τε ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔχυρωτάτου καὶ φρουρῶν πλήθει καὶ οἰκοδομῶν δημοσίων μεγέθει, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τῷ ἐς ἅγαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖ, πεποίηται Κῦρον.

[4] But the Emperor Justinian, both out of his forethought for the safety of the State, and at the same time shewing especial honour to the Saints Cosmas and Damian, whose bodies lie close by even up to my day, made Cyrus a flourishing city and one of great note through the safety afforded by the strongest possible wall, by the greatest strength of its garrison, by the size of its public buildings, and by the imposing scale of its other appointments.

[5] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς ὕδατος ἄπορα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἔκτοσθε δὲ ὑπερφυῖς τις ἐγγέγονει πηγὴν, περιουσίᾳ μὲν πλήθους ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀνόνητος δὲ τοῖς τῇδε ὤκημένοις παντάπασι οὐσα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ὅθεν ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀρύοντο ὕδωρ, ὅτι μὴ πόνῳ τε καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ.

[5] The interior of this city had been destitute of water from ancient times; outside of it there had been a certain extraordinary spring which provided a great abundance of water fit for drinking, yet it was utterly useless to the inhabitants of the city, since they had no means of drawing water from the spring except with great toil and danger.

[6] περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίνετο χρῆσθαι, κρημνώδους χωρίου καὶ ὅλως ἀβάτου μεταξὺ ὄντος· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐνεδρεῦουσιν ὑποχείριοι ῥᾶστα ἐγίγνοντο.

[6] For it was necessary, in order to get to it, for them to make use of circuitous paths, since a steep and altogether impassable area lay between; thus they could easily fall into the hands of the enemy if they should happen to lie in ambush.

[7] διώρυχα τοίνυν ἔκτοσθε τῆς πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς τὴν κρήνην οὐκ ἀπαρακαλύπτως, ἀλλὰ κεκρυμμένως ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα πεποιημένος, ἄπονόν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος παρέσχετο χρεῖαν.

[7] So he dug a channel outside the city all the way to the spring, not allowing it to be seen, but concealing it as carefully as possible, and thus he provided the inhabitants with a supply of water without toil or risk.

[8] Καὶ Χαλκίδος δὲ πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ὅλον, ἔς τε τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον ὄντα ἐχρῶν διαφερόντως ἀνενέωσατο οἰκοδομίᾳ, καὶ προτειχίσματι ἐκρατύνατο.

[8] Also he restored the entire circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had fallen down to the ground and anyhow was unsuitable for defence, by means of exceptionally stout masonry, and he strengthened it with outworks.

[9] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Σύρων πολίσματά τε καὶ φρούρια τὸν αὐτὸν κεκοσμηκῶς τρόπον ζηλωτὰ ἐπιεικῶς κατεστήσατο.

[9] Furthermore, he improved the other towns and forts of the Syrians in the same manner and made them altogether objects of envy.

[10] Οὕτω μὲν Συρίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεσώσατο. πόλις δὲ πού ἐστιν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τῆς παρὰ Λίβανον, Παλμύρα ὄνομα, ἐν χώρῳ μὲν πεποιημένη τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ἀγείτονι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων Σαρακηνῶν διόδου κειμένη.

[10] Thus did the Emperor Justinian assure the safety of Syria. And there is a city in Phoenicia by Lebanon, Palmyra by name, built in a neighbourless region by men of former times, but well situated across the track of the hostile Saracens.

[11] τούτου γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν ἔνεκα καὶ ὠκοδομήσαντο πρότερον, ὥς μὴ λάθοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐξάπινα ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἐμβάλλοντες.

[11] Indeed it was for this very reason that they had originally built this city, in order, namely, that these barbarians might not unobserved make sudden inroads into the Roman territory.

[12] ταύτην βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἔρημον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένην ὀχυρώμασί τε λόγου μείζουσιν ἐπιρρώσας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑδάτων περιουσίας καὶ φυλακτηρίου στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος, τὰς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν.

[12] This city, which through lapse of time had come to be almost completely deserted, the Emperor Justinian strengthened with defences which defy description, and he also provided it with abundant water and a garrison of troops, and thus put a stop to the raids of the Saracens.

BOOK III.

[1] [1] Χώραν μὲν τὴν ἐφ' ὧν οὕτως Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐκρατύνατο, ἥπερ μοι ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἀρξαμένῳ δέ μοι ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσας ὁρίων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς περιηγεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐρύματα γεγενημένα, οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐνθὲνδε ἰέναι, οἳ δὴ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀμίδης ἄχρι ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν ἐτέραν προσοικοῦσι Πέρσας.

[1] Thus the Emperor Justinian strengthened the territory of the East with fortifications, as I have set forth in the preceding Book. And since I began at the Persian frontier of the Roman Empire in describing the defences built by him, it has seemed to me not inappropriate to pass on from there to Armenia, which adjoins Persia from the city of Amida as far as the second Theodosiopolis.

[2] μέλλοντι δέ μοι τῶν ἐκείνη οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι προυργιαίτατον φαίνεται εἶναι ὑπειπεῖν πρότερον ὅτινα δὴ τρόπον σφαλερῶς ἄγαν βιοτεύοντας τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν βεβαιοτάτα μετηρμόσατο.

[2] But now that I am about to mention the buildings of that region, it seems to me highly opportune to describe first how this Emperor brought the Armenians out of a very precarious way of life into their present state of complete safety.

[3] οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅσον οἰκοδομίας τούτους τοὺς κατηκόους ἐσώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ προνοίᾳ, ἥπερ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα γεγράφεται. ἀρκτέον δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν.

[3] For it was not by means of buildings alone that he saved these subjects of his, but also by his foresight in other matters, as I shall presently shew. But I must go back a little to begin.

[4] Βασιλεὺς μὲν ὁμογενὴς πάλαι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις καθίστατο, ἥπερ τοῖς ἀναγραψαμένοις τῶν ἱστορίων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα δεδιήγεται.

[4] The Armenians of ancient times used to have a king of their own race, as is recorded by those who have written the history of the earliest period.

[5] ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καθεῖλε, Πέρσαι μὲν δεδουλωμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πάρθοι δὲ Μακεδόσιν ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ περιγενόμενοι ἐξήλασάν τε αὐτοὺς ἐνθὲνδε καὶ τὰ μέχρι ἐς Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἔσχον, ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς ἑτὶ πεντακόσια ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μαμαίας Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς γέγονε.

[5] And when Alexander of Macedon overthrew the King of the Persians, the Persians remained quietly in subjection, but the Parthians rose against the Macedonians and overcoming them in the struggle, drove them out of the country and gained the territory as far as the Tigris River, and the Persian state remained subject to them after that for five hundred years, until Alexander, son of Mamaea, became Emperor of the Romans.

[6] καί ποτέ τις τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλέων τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενίοις βασιλέα κατεστήσατο, Ἀρσάκην ὄνομα, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησί. μὴ γάρ τις Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ἀρσακίδας οἰέσθω εἶναι.

[6] At one time, one of the kings of the Parthians appointed his brother, Arsaces by name, King of the Armenians, as the history of the Armenians declares. I say this lest anyone think the descendants of Arsaces are Armenians.

[7] εἰρήνη γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔτη τὰ πεντακόσια κατὰ τὸ ἵξυγγενὲς διαγέγονε.

[7] At least peace continued between them for these five hundred years because of the kinship.

[8] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένη καθήστο, τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑποχείριος ὢν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον παῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἀρσάκῃ τινὶ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ δύο, Τιγράνης τε καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὀνόματα.

[8] And the King of the Armenians had his seat in Greater Armenia, as it was called, being subject to the Roman Emperor from an early period; but at a later time two sons were born to a certain Arsaces, King of Armenia, Tigranes and Arsaces by name.

[9] ὅσπερ, ἐπεὶ ἔμελλε τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι, διαθήκας τιθεῖς, ἄμφω τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖται διαδόχους αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἰσοστάσιον διορίσας ἑκατέρῳ τὸ κράτος, ἀλλὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ τετραπλασίαν ἀπολιπὼν μοῖραν.

[9] When this king was about to reach the end of his life, he made a will in which he made both of the boys his successors in the kingdom, not assigning an equal weight of power to each of them, but leaving to Tigranes a four-fold portion.

[10] Ἀρσάκης μὲν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ οὕτω βασιλείαν διοικησάμενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Ἀρσάκης δὲ ὁ παῖς, ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτῷ ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυνέβη ἀγανακτῶν τε καὶ δυσφορούμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγε, τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν βασιλείαν μηχανῇ πάσῃ ἐλπίδα ἔχων καὶ ἄδικον οὖσαν τὴν πατρὸς γνώμην ἀβέβαιον καταστήσεσθαι.

[10] So the father Arsaces, having made this disposition of the royal power, departed from the world, but his son Arsaces, being resentful and angry

because his portion proved to be inferior, laid the matter before the Roman Emperor, hoping that by using every device he might destroy the power of his brother and nullify his father's purpose as being unjust.

[11] Θεοδοσίος δὲ τότε, Ἀρκαδίου υἱὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν κοιμῶν, Ῥωμαίων ἥρχε. τίσιν τε δειμαίνων τὴν ἐκ βασιλείως Τιγράνης Πέρσαις αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρισε, τὴν βασιλείαν παραδιδούς, περὶ πλείονός τε πεποιημένος ιδιώτης ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὰ δίκαια θέσθαι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν Ἀρμενίων αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως.

[11] At that time Theodosius, son of Arcadius, who was still quite a boy, was ruling over the Romans. And Tigranes, fearing the vengeance of the Emperor, placed himself in the power of the Persians and handed over his kingdom to them, considering it preferable to live as a private individual among the Persians, than to make a fair settlement with his brother and with him to rule over the Armenians righteously and justly.

[12] καὶ Ἀρσάκης δὲ οὐδέν τι ἤσπον τὴν ἐκ Περσῶν τε καὶ τ' ἀδελφοῦ ἐπιβουλὴν δέισας ἐξέστη τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπὶ ξυνθήκαις τίσιν αἱ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδῆλονται λόγοις.

[12] Arsaces meanwhile still feared the hostility of the Persians and of his brother and resigned his own kingship in favour of the Emperor Theodosius, on certain conditions which I have described in the Books on the Wars.

[13] καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα περιμάχητος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων γεγένηται χώρα, ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ ξυνέβησαν, Πέρσας μὲν τὴν Τιγράνου μοῖραν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὴν Ἀρσάκου ἔχειν.

[13] And for a time the territory of the Armenians was fought over by the Romans and the Persians, but at length they reached an agreement that the Persians should hold the portion of Tigranes and the Romans that of Arsaces.

[14] ἐπὶ τούτοις τε σπονδαὶ ἀμφοτέροις ξυνετελέσθησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις αἰεὶ καθίστη ὅντινά ποτε καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη.

[14] On these conditions a truce was agreed upon by both sides and thereafter the Roman Emperor always appointed a ruler for the Armenians, whomever he wished and whenever he wished.

[15] κομητὰ τε Ἀρμενίας ἐκάλουν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτον.

[15] And they used to call this ruler even to my time the Count of Armenia.

[16] Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἷα τε ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων

ἐφόδους, οὐ παρόντων αὐτῇ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, κατανενοηκῶς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὕτως ἀτάκτως τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀεὶ φερομένην, ταύτην τε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐάλωτον οὔσαν, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε καθεῖλε, στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἐπέστησε, στρατιωτικῶν τε καταλόγων αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο πλῆθος ἀξιόχρεων ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς ἀντιτάσσασθαι.

[16] Such a government, however, was not able to repel the attacks of its enemies, since it had at its disposal no regular troops, and therefore the Emperor Justinian, observing that Armenia was always in a state of disorder and was, for this reason, an easy prey for the barbarians, abolished this form of administration and placed a general in charge of Armenia and assigned to him military forces sufficient to withstand the inroads of the enemy.

[17] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένη Ἀρμενίᾳ διωκῆσατο ὧδε, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὔσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε, καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκαλοῦντο ταύτας, ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον.

[17] Such was the disposition he made for Greater Armenia, as it is called, but in the other Armenia, which extends inside of the Euphrates River as far as the city of Amida, five Armenian satraps held the power, and these offices were always hereditary and held for life.

[18] σύμβολα μέντοι αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐδέχοντο μόνον. ἄξιον δὲ τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι ἐς ἀνθρώπου ὄψιν ἀφίξεται.

[18] However, they received the symbols of office only from the Roman Emperor. It is worth while to describe these insignia, for they will never again be seen by man.

[19] χλαμὺς ἡ ἐξ ἐρίων πεποιημένη, οὐχ οἷα τῶν προβατίων ἐκπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θαλάσσης συνειλεγμένων.

[19] There is a cloak made of wool, not such as is produced by sheep, but gathered from the sea.

[20] πίννους τὰ ζῶα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν ἐρίων ἔκφυσις γίνεται. χρυσῷ δὲ ἡ τῆς πορφύρας κατηγήλειπτο μοῖρα, ἐφ' ἧς εἶωθεν ἡ τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἐμβολὴ γίνεσθαι.

[20] Pinnos the creature is called on which this wool grows. And the part where the purple should have been, that is, where the insertion of purple cloth is usually made, is overlaid with gold.

[21] περόνη χρύση τῇ χλαμύδι ἐπέκειτο, λίθον ἐπὶ μέσης περιφράττουσά τινα

ἐντιμον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ὑάκινθοι τρεῖς χρυσαῖς τε καὶ χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἀπεκρέμαντο.

[21] The cloak was fastened by a golden brooch in the middle of which was a precious stone from which hung three sapphires by loose golden chains.

[22] χιτῶν ἐκ μετάξης ἐγκαλλωπίσμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχόθεν ὠραῖσμένος ἃ δὴ νενομίκασι πλούμια καλεῖν.

[22] There was a tunic of silk adorned in every part with decorations of gold which they are wont to call plumia.

[23] ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνυ φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἃ δὴ βασιλέα μόνον Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδεῖσθαι θέμις.

[23] The boots were of red colour and reached to the knee, of the sort which only the Roman Emperor and the Persian King are permitted to wear.

[24] Στρατιώτης δὲ Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε τῷ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ οὔτε σατράπαις ἤμυνε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολέμια κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ διωκοῦντο.

[24] Roman soldiers, however, never fought under the orders of the king of the Armenians or of the satraps, but these rulers conducted their wars independently.

[25] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύοντος Ἴλλου τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ τετυραννηκόσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα διαφανῶς συντάσσεσθαι τινες τῶν σατραπῶν ἔγνωσαν.

[25] But at a later time, during the reign of Zeno, some of the satraps decided to array themselves openly with Illus and Leontius, who had revolted against the Emperor.

[26] διὸ δὴ Λεόντιόν τε καὶ Ἴλλου Ζήνων βασιλεὺς ὑποχειρίους πεποιημένος, σατράπην μὲν ἓνα φαυλοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ ὥς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Βελαβιτίνῃ καλουμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ προτέρου σχήματος εἶασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καθελὼν ἅπαντας οὐκέτι ἐς τοὺς κατὰ γένος σφίσι προσήκοντας ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους ἀεὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι διώρισε ταύτην, οὗς ἂν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἴη, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις διώρισται Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαῖς.

[26] Consequently, when the Emperor had reduced Leontius and Illus to subjection, he left in the former status only one satrap, who held a very inferior province which was not of any importance, in the region called Belabitinê; all the others he removed and no longer permitted them to transmit the office to those connected with them by kinship, but he ordained that on

each occasion different men of the Emperor's choosing should succeed to these offices, just as is the rule in all the other offices of the Romans.

[27] στρατιῶται μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς εἶποντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων τινές, ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα εἶθιστο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολέμιους προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.

[27] Even so, these officials were not in command of Roman soldiers, but only of a few Armenians, as had been customary previously, with the result that they were unable to repel the attacks of an enemy.

[28] ἃ δὴ καταμαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθὲνδε εὐθύς, δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπέστησε τούτοις·

[28] And when this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he immediately did away with the title of Satrap and appointed over these provinces two Dukes, as they are called;

[29] οἷς δὴ ξυνεστήσατο μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους παμπληθεῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ξυμφυλάξουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅρια· ὀχυρώματα δὲ δεδημιούργηκεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάδε.

[29] and he put under them a very large force of regular Roman troops to assist them in guarding the Roman frontier. He also built strongholds for them as follows.

[2]

[2] [1] Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ χωρίων, ὅπως δὴ ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδιηγημένοις προσεχῶς ἄγοιτο. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα, τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ἔθνεσιν ἄρχοντα, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσιν, ἐν πόλει Μαρτυροπόλει καλουμένῃ ιδρύσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐν φρουρίῳ ὅπερ Κιθαρίζων καλοῦσιν.

[1] I shall start from the places in Mesopotamia, so that my account may proceed in order from the points which I have described previously. One of the rulers of the Armenian provinces, whom they call Duke, he established in the city called Martyropolis, and the other in a stronghold which they call Citharizôn.

[2] ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὰ χωρία τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ πόλις ἐστί που Μαρτυρόπολις ὄνομα παρ' αὐτὸν ποταμὸν Νύμφιον κειμένη καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις ὥς ἀγχοτάτω πρόσοικος οὔσα, ἐπεὶ ὁ Νυμφίος ποταμὸς διορίζει ἐνταῦθα τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ἥθη.

[2] And I shall make clear just where in the Roman Empire these places actually are. In the part of Armenia called Sophanênê there is a certain city known as Martyropolis which lies on the very bank of the Nymphius River, quite close to the enemy, because the Nymphius River at that point divides the Roman from the Persian territory.

[3] ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀρξανηνή ἡ χώρα οἰκεῖται Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὐσα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀπημελημένη Ῥωμαίοις τούτοις δὴ ἀεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέκειτο.

[3] For across the river lies the territory of Arxanênê, which has been subject to the Persians from early times. Even so the city had been neglected by the Romans and lay always exposed to these barbarians.

[4] ὥστε ἀμέλει Καβάδης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύοντος ἐσέβαλε Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, διὰ Μαρτυροπόλεως τὸ ἰστράτευμα ἀγών, ἐπεὶ Ἀμίδης ὀλίγῳ πλέον ἡμέρας ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ διειστήκει.

[4] In consequence of this, indeed, Cabades, King of the Persians, invaded the Roman territory during the reign of Anastasius, directing his march by way of Martyropolis, since it lay a little more than a one-day's journey from Amida for an unencumbered traveller.

[5] ὥσπερ δέ τι πάρεργον ὁδοῦ διαχειρίζων καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου παρενθήκην τινὰ εὐθυωρὸν τὴν πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, οὐ τειχομαχήσας ἢ προσβολὴν τινὰ ἢ προσεδρεῖαν πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ δηλώσας ὅτι δὴ ἀφίξεται μόνον.

[5] And as if he were still dealing with some minor detail of his journey, an incidental task of his campaign, he captured this city out of hand, not by storming the wall or by making any kind of assault or siege, but simply by sending an announcement that he would arrive.

[6] εὖ γὰρ εἰδότες οἱ τῆδε ὀκημένοι ὡς οὐδὲ βραχεῖάν τινα χρόνου στιγμὴν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνθέξουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἀγχοῦ τῶν Μήδων στρατὸν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ τηνικάδε Σοφανηνῆς σατραπεύοντι καὶ τῆς σατραπείας ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ τὸ σχῆμα, Καβάδῃ προσῆλθον εὐθύς, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Μαρτυρόπολιν αὐτῷ ἐνδιδόντες, φοροὺς τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες.

[6] For the inhabitants of the city, knowing well that they would not be able to hold out even for one short moment against the attacking force, when they learned that the army of the Medes had arrived close by, immediately approached Cabades in company with Theodorus, who at that time was Satrap of Sophanênê, clothed in his robes of office, and placed themselves and Martyropolis at his disposal, bearing in their hands the public taxes of two years.

[7] οἷς δὴ ὁ Καβάδης ἡσθεὶς τῆς μὲν πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας ἀπάσης, ὡς τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ προσηκούσης, ἀπέσχετο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀθῶους ἀφῆκεν, οὔτε τι λυμηνάμενος οὔτε τι τῆς πολιτείας μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ Θεόδωρον αὐτὸν σατράπην αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ αὐτῷ ἅτε οὐ γεγονότι ἀγνώμονι τὰ σύμβολα ἐγκεχειρικῶς τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς τὴν χώραν φυλάζοντι Πέρσαις.

[7] And Cabades was pleased with this and withheld his hand from the city and from the whole district, as belonging to the Persian Kingdom, and he let the people go unharmed, neither inflicting any damage nor changing the form of the government, but he appointed Theodorus himself their Satrap, entrusting to him, since he had shewn himself not indiscreet, the tokens of the office, with the intention that he watch over the land for the Persians.

[8] οὕτω τε τὸ στράτευμα πρόσω ἀπαγαγὼν πολιορκία τε Ἀμιδαν ἐξελὼν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπῆλauen, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων ἐρρήθη.

[8] Then he led his army forward, captured Amida by siege, and marched back into the land of Persia, as I have related in the Books on the Wars.

[9] βασιλεὺς τε Ἀναστάσιος ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν Μαρτυρόπολιν ὀχύρωμα οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἐκ πολεμίων διασώσασθαι προσβολῆς, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ Θεόδωρον τε καὶ Σοφانهνοὺς ἡγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας αὐτοῖς τῆς πράξεως ἔχειν ὠμολόγει πολλάς.]

[9] And the Emperor Anastasius, understanding that it was not possible to defend Martyropolis from hostile assault, since it had no defences, not only shewed no resentment against Theodorus and the people of Sophanenê, but actually expressed deep gratitude to them for their action.

[10] ταύτης οὖν τῆς Μαρτυροπόλεως τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτύγχανε τὸ μὲν πάχος διῆκον ἐς πόδας μάλιστα τέσσαρας, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν· ὥστε τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν οὐ τειχομαχοῦσιν οὐδὲ μηχανὰς προσβάλλουσι μόνον εὐέφοδον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσπηδῆσαι ἱκανῶς πρόχειρον.

[10] Indeed the circuit-wall of this Martyropolis was really •about four feet in thickness, while it was only •twenty feet high. In consequence, the wall could not only be easily assaulted by the enemy if they stormed it or brought up their siege engines, but it was quite easy for them simply to scramble over it.

[11] Διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε· τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς τὴν γῆν διορύξας, θεμέλιά τε αὕτη ἐνθήμενος τείχισμα ὠκοδομήσατο ἕτερον ἐς ποδῶν πάχος διῆκον τεττάρων, χώραν διαλιπὼν μεταξὺ τεττάρων ἐτέρων τὸ εὖρος, ἐς ὕψος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀναστήσας ποδῶν εἴκοσιν, ἴσον τῷ προτέρῳ παντάπασιν ἐσκεύασατο εἶναι.

[11] Therefore the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan: Outside the

circuit-wall he dug a trench, and laying foundations there he built a second wall with a thickness of four feet, leaving a space of four feet between the two walls; and he raised the new wall also to a height of twenty feet and made it in all respects equal to the first.

[12] μετὰ δὲ λίθους τε καὶ τίτανον ἐς χώρον τὸν μεταξὺ τείχους ἐκατέρου ἐμβεβλημένος ἐς μίαν τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν δυοκαίδεκα τὸ πάχος ποδῶν τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετέρονται.

[12] Then, by throwing stones and mortar into the space between the two walls, he brought this work to perfection by forming one solid structure with a thickness of •twelve feet.

[13] ὕπερθεν τε κατὰ πάχος τὸ αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐς ὕψος τοσοῦτον ἐντέθεικεν, ὅσον ξυνέβαινε τὸ πρότερον εἶναι.

[13] Above this he added, in about the same thickness, the same height which the earlier wall had had.

[14] ἀλλὰ καὶ προτείχισμα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα οἷς δὴ πόλεως ὀχύρωμα διασώζεται.

[14] He also constructed admirable outworks for the city and all the other things without exception on which a city's defences are based.

[3]

[3] [1] Ἐκ δὲ Μαρτυροπόλεως ἐς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον ἰόντι χωρίον ἐστὶ Φεισῶν ὄνομα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ κεῖμενον τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ, Μαρτυροπόλεως δὲ ὀλίγον ἔλασσον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας διέχον.

[1] As one goes westerly from Martyropolis, there is a place called Pheisôn, which is also situated in Armenia, in the section called Sophanenê, a little less than a day's journey distant from Martyropolis.

[2] τούτου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπέκεινα, ὅσον ἐκ σημείων ὀκτὼ μάλιστα, ὄρη ἀπότομα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα ξυνιόντα ἐς ἄλληλα στενωποὺς ἀπεργάζονται δύο, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλοιν ὄντας οὕπερ νενομίκασι Κλεισούρας καλεῖν.]

[2] Beyond this place, at about the eighth milestone, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains come together to form two passes, very close to each other, which they are wont to call cleisurae.

[3] τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Περσαρμενίας ἐπὶ Σοφανηνὴν πορευομένους, εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων εἴτε διὰ τοῦ Κιθαρίζων φρουρίου ἴοιεν, ἀμήχανά ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τούτων δὴ τῶν δύο στενωπῶν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι.

[3] And when travellers go from Persarmenia to Sophanênê, either from the Persian territory itself or by way of the fortress of Citharizôn, it is necessary for them to get there by way of these two passes.

[4] καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ἰλλυρισὸν μὲν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον Σαφχάς.

[4] The natives call the one of them Illyrisum and the other Saphchae.

[5] ὅπως μὲν οὖν ἀναστελλοίτο τοῖς πολέμοις ἡ ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸς ἀσφαλείας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἅξια ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν μεμένηκε τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποις.

[5] And for the purpose of checking the enemy's advance in that region, these places were, as it happened, worth making thoroughly defended and well equipped in every way. Yet they remained altogether unguarded by the men of earlier times.

[6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν τε τῷ Φεισῶν κὰν τοῖς στενωποῖς ὀχυρώματά τε ἀξιοθέατα καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἀνανταγώνιστον καταστήσάμενος, ἄβατον βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ χώρας τῆς Σοφανηνῆς καλουμένης τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[6] But the Emperor Justinian, by establishing admirable forts at Pheisôn and in the passes and posting in them invincible garrisons, has made this region altogether inaccessible to the barbarians. Such were the things done by the Emperor Justinian in the territory called Sophanenê.

[7] Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κιθαρίζων χωρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ Ἀσθιανίνης τῆς καλουμένης ἐστί, φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὄν ἐν χώρῳ λοφώδει ὑπερφυές τε καὶ δαιμονίως ἄμαχον κατεστήσατο·

[7] And at the place named Citharizôn, which is in Asthianinê, as it is called, he established a fortress which had not existed before, a huge and extraordinarily impregnable stronghold, situated in a hilly region.

[8] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ διαρκὲς ὕδωρ ἐσαγαγὼν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῇδε ὀκημένοις ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ πεποιημένος, τὸν ἕτερον δοῦκα, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ζὺν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρᾷ ἱκανωτάτῃ ἰδρύσατο. ταύτῃ τε τοῖς τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἔθνεσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνέσώσατο.

[8] He also brought into it an abundant supply of water and made all other proper arrangements for the inhabitants, and stationed there the second of the Dukes, as I have said, with a very numerous garrison of soldiers. And he thereby guaranteed the safety of the Armenian provinces.

[9] Ἐκ δὲ Κιθαρίζων ἕς τε Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι

Χορζάνη μὲν ἡ χώρα καλεῖται, διήκει δὲ ἐς ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάλιστα οὔτε λίμνης τινὸς ὕδατι οὔτε ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρῳ οὔτε ὄρεσι τὴν δίοδον ἐν στενῷ εἵργουσι διοριζομένη τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁρίων αὐταῖς ἀναμιῖς κειμένων,

[9] As one goes from Citharizôn to Theodosiopolis and the other Armenia, the land is called Chorzanê; it extends for a distance of about three days' journey, not being marked off from the Persian territory by the water of any lake or by any river's stream or by a wall of mountains which pinch the road into a narrow pass, but the two frontiers are indistinct.

[10] ὥστε οἱ ταῦτη ὠκημένοι, Ῥωμαίων ἢ Περσῶν ὄντες κατήκοοι, οὔτε τι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέος ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις πη ἐς ἐπιβουλήν εἰσιν ὑποπτοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικηδεύουσι καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συμβάλλονται καὶ τὰ ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπικοινωνοῦνται.

[10] So the inhabitants of this region, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Persians, have no fear of each other, nor do they give one another any occasion to apprehend an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming.

[11] ἦν δέ ποτε οἱ τῶν ἐτέρων ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους στρατῷ ἴωσιν, ἐπιτεταγμένοι σφίσι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφυλάκτους ἀεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους εὐρίσκουσι.

[11] And if the commanders on either side ever make an expedition against the others, when they are ordered to do so by their sovereign, they always find their neighbours unprotected.

[12] χωρία μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέροις πολυανθρωπότατα ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ἐστίν, ἔρμα δὲ οὐδετέροις πη ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν.

[12] Their very populous towns are close to each other, yet from ancient times no stronghold existed on either side.

[13] παρῆν οὖν ἐνθὲνδε τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν δίοδον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθι ποιεῖσθαι, ἕως βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διακωλυτῆς αὐτῷ γέγονε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. χωρίον ἦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς χώρας Ἀρταλέσων ὄνομα.

[13] It was possible, therefore, for the Persian King to proceed by this route with comparative ease and convenience in passing through into Roman territory, until the Emperor Justinian blocked his way in the following manner. There was a town in the middle of this region named Artalesôn

[14] τοῦτο τείχει ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριόν τε ἀμαχώτατον ἐξεργάσατο

καὶ στρατιωτικούς καταλόγους τῇδε ἰδρύσατο, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα ἐς αἰὲς ἐφεστάναι διώρισεν, ὥνπερ δοῦκα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. οὕτω τε τὴν ἐκείνη ἐσχατιὰν ἐτειχίσατο ξύμπασαν.

[14] which he surrounded with a very strong wall and converted into an impregnable fortress; and he stationed there detachments of regular troops which by his orders were always to be commanded by an officer whom the Romans, in the Latin tongue, call a Dux. By these measures he fortified the whole of that remote frontier.

[4]

[4] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας διαπεπόνηται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[1] These things were accomplished by the Emperor in the manner described. I shall now go on to tell about all the other works which by his diligence he executed in the other Armenia.

[2] Σάταλα πόλις ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλπίδος εἰστίκει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἰτῆς γῆς ὀλίγῳ διέχει, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χθαμαλῷ κεῖται, λόφοις τε πολλοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἐπανεστηκόσιν ὑπόκειται, περιβόλων τε αὐτῇ διὰ ταῦτα ἔδει τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀμηχάνων ἐλεῖν.

[2] The city of Satala had been in a precarious state in ancient times. For it is situated not far from the land of the enemy and it also lies in a low-lying plain and is dominated by many hills which tower around it, and for this reason it stood in need of circuit-walls which would defy attack.

[3] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιαύτῃ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οὔση τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος σφαλερότερα ἦν, φαύλως τε ἀρχὴν τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ παρέργως πεποιημένον καὶ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἤδη τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐκασταχοῦ διερρωγότες.

[3] Nevertheless, even though its surroundings were of such a nature as this, its defences were in a perilous condition, having been carelessly constructed with bad workmanship in the beginning, and with the long passage of time the masonry had everywhere collapsed.

[4] ἀλλὰ τοῦτο περιελὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅλον, περίβολον ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα νέον, ὑψηλὸν μὲν ὅσον ὑπερπεφυκέναι τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν λόφους δοκεῖν, εὐρυνόμενον δὲ ὅσον ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπανεστηκέναι τό γε τοῦ ὕψους ὑπέρογκον.

[4] But the Emperor tore all this down and built there a new circuit-wall, so high that it seemed to overtop the hills around it, and of a thickness sufficient to ensure the safety of its towering mass.

[5] καὶ προτείχισμα δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον λόγου πηξάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε. καὶ φρούριον δὲ Σατάλων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἐχυρὸν ἄγαν ἐν χώρᾳ Ὀσροηνῶν καλουμένην ὥκοδομήσατο.

[5] And he set up admirable outworks on all sides and so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. He also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osroenê.

[6] Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν ἀκρωνυχίᾳ λόφου κατακρήμνου πεπονημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ὃ δὴ Πομπήιος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐξελὼν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γεγονὼς ἐκρατύνατό τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ Κολώνειαν ἐπωνόμασε·

[6] There was a certain fortress in that region erected by men of ancient times on the crest of a precipitous hill, which in early times Pompey, the Roman general, captured; and becoming master of the land by his victories, he strengthened this town materially and named it Coloneia.

[7] καὶ τοῦτο οὖν χρόνῳ πεπονηκὸς τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνεσώσατο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.

[7] This also the Emperor Justinian, finding that it had suffered much through the ravages of so long a time, restored with all his resources.

[8] καὶ χρήματα μέντοι προέμενος ἀνάριθμα τοῖς τῇδε ὥκημένοις, ἐρύματα ἐκασταχοῦ διεπράξατο ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἀγροῖς ἢ νέα δείμασθαι, ἢ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σαθρὰ γεγονότα.

[8] Furthermore, by granting great sums to the inhabitants of this region he brought it about that everywhere on their own land either new defences were built or those which had fallen into decay were restored.

[9] ὥστε ἅπαντα σχεδόν τι τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἵξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείῳς τυγχάνει ἔργα ὄντα.

[9] Thus practically all the fortifications which can be found there are, as it happens, the work of the Emperor Justinian.

[10] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ φρούρια ὥκοδομήσατο τό τε Βαιβερδὼν καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἄρεων. καὶ τὸ Λυσίορμον ἀνεσώσατο πεπονηκὸς ἤδη σὺν τῷ Λυταρariζών.

[10] In that region also he constructed the forts called Baiberdôn and Areôn. He likewise restored Lysiorum, which had already fallen into ruin, as well as Lytatarizôn.

[11] ἐν τε χωρίῳ, ὅπερ Γερμανοῦ καλοῦσι Φοσσᾶτον, φρούριον ἐδείματο νέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σεβαστείας καὶ Νικοπόλεως τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις πόλεων τὰ τεῖχη, ἐπεὶ καταπεσεῖσθαι πάντα ἔμελλον, τεταλαιπωρημένα τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος πεποίηται νέα.

[11] And at the place which they call Germani Fossatum he built a new fort. Furthermore, he rebuilt the walls of Sebasteia and Nicopolis, cities of Armenia, for they were all on the point of collapsing, having suffered from the long passage of time, and he made them new.

[12] καὶ ἱερῶν δὲ καὶ μοναστηρίων ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας ἐξείργασται. ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ Θεοδοσιουπόλει νεὼν τῇ θεοτόκῃ ἀνέθηκε, καὶ μοναστήρια ἐν τε χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Πέτριος, καὶ τῷ Κουκαρίζῳ ἀνενεώσατο.

[12] He also carried out the building of churches and monasteries there. In Theodosiopolis he dedicated a church to the Mother of God, and he restored monasteries in the place called Petrios and in Coucarizôn.

[13] ἐν τε Νικοπόλει τὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καλούμενον μοναστήριον, καὶ ἱερὸν Γεωργίῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζανοῖς ἐδείματο.

[13] In Nicopolis he built the monastery named after the Forty-five Saints, and in Bizani a church to the martyr George.

[14] τῆς τε Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα μοναστήριον ἀνενεώσατο τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων ἐπικαλούμενον.

[14] And close to Theodosiopolis he restored a monastery named after the Forty Martyrs.

[15] Ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν μικροῖς καλουμένοις οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ λόχος Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἵδρυτο.

[15] There was in antiquity a certain town in Lesser Armenia, as it is called, not far from the Euphrates River, in which a detachment of Roman soldiers was posted.

[16] Μελιτηνὴ μὲν τὸ χωρίον, λεγῶν δὲ ὁ λόχος ἐπωνομάζετο. ἐνταῦθα πη ἔρυμα ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐπὶ χώρας ὑπτίας ἐδείμαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀποχρώντος ἕς καταλύσεις ἔχον καὶ ὅπως σφίσι τὰ σημεῖα τῇδε ἐναποκεῖσονται.

[16] The town was Melitenê, and the detachment was called a “legion.” In that place the Romans in former times had built a stronghold in the form of a square, on level ground, which served adequately as barracks for the soldiers

and provided a place where they could deposit their standards.

[17] μετὰ δὲ Τραϊανῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι δεδογμένον, ἐς πόλεώς τε ἀξίωμα ὁ χώρος ἀφίκεται καὶ μητρόπολις ἵκατέσθῃ τῷ ἔθνει.

[17] Later on, by decision of the Roman Emperor Trajan, the place received the rank of a city and became the metropolis of the province.

[18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Μελιτηνῶν πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. ἐπεὶ τε ἐρύματος ἐντὸς ἐνοικήσασθαι οὐκέτι εἶχον (ἐς γὰρ ὀλίγον τινα ξυνήει χώρον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται) ἰδρύσαντο ἐν τῷ ταύτης πεδίῳ, ἵνα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποιήται καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄρχων καταγῶγια καὶ τήν τε ἀγοράν ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐμπολημάτων πωλητήριά ἐστι, τάς τε τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιάς πάσας καὶ στοὰς καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ θεάτρα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλεως μεγάλης ἐς κόσμον διήκει.

[18] And as time went on, the city of Melitenê became large and populous. But since the people were no longer able to live inside the fortifications (for it was reduced to a small space, as I have said) they settled in the adjoining plain, and here their shrines have been erected and the residences of the magistrates and their market-place, and all the other places for the sale of goods, and all the streets and stoas and baths and theatres of the city, and whatever else contributes to the embellishment of a great city.

[19] τῷ τε τρόπῳ τούτῳ Μελιτηνὴν ἀτείχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι. Ἀναστάσιος μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς αὐτὴν ξύμπασαν τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἐγκεχείρηκεν·

[19] In this way it came about that Melitenê was for the most part unwallled. Accordingly the Emperor Anastasius undertook to surround the whole of it with a wall;

[20] οὕτῳ μέντοι τὸ βούλευμα ἀποτελέσας τὸν βίον συνεμετρήσατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν βεβαιοτάτα κατατειχισάμενος μέγα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ὀχύρωμά τε καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα Μελιτηνὴν ἀπειργάσατο.

[20] before, however, he had carried out his purpose he fulfilled the measure of his life. But the Emperor Justinian built about it on all sides a very strong wall and made Melitenê a mighty stronghold for the Armenians and a thing of beauty.

[5]

[5] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ εἰργάσατο· ὅσα δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πεποιήται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[1] These works he built in the Armenia which is on the right of the Euphrates River; and I shall go on to tell what was done by him in Greater Armenia.

[2] ἥνικα Θεοδοσίος ὁ Ῥωμαῖον βασιλεὺς τὴν Ἀρσάκου ἐπικράτειαν ἔσχεν, ἥπέρ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγεται, φρούριον ἐπὶ τινος τῶν λόφων ὠκοδομήσατο τοῖς προσιοῦσιν εὐάλωτον, ὃ δὴ Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπωνόμασε.

[2] When Theodosius, the Emperor of the Romans, took over the dominion of Arsaces, as I have just related, he built on one of the hills a fort which was easy for assailants to capture, and he named it Theodosiopolis.

[3] τοῦτο Καβάδης τότε ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἥνικα δὴ Ἀμίδης εὐθὺ ἵετο, παριῶν εἶλεν.

[3] This city Cabades, who was then King of Persia, captured in passing when he was marching on Amida.

[4] Ἀναστάσιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο, τὸν λόφον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιημένος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ φρούριον τὸ Θεοδοσίου εἰστήκει.

[4] The Roman Emperor Anastasius not much later built a city there, enclosing within the circuit-wall the hill on which stood the fortress of Theodosius.

[5] καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀφῆκεν, ἐξίτηλον δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσίου ποιῆσθαι τοῦ πρότερον οἰκιστοῦ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ νεοχμουῖσθαι μὲν τὰ καθωμιλημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς αἰὲν πέφυκεν, ὀνομάτων δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν μεθίεσθαι οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχει.

[5] And he gave his own name to the city, yet he was quite unable to obliterate that of Theodosius, the earlier founder; for although familiar names are wont constantly to be changed by men for new, nevertheless the older names cannot easily be relinquished.

[6] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τεῖχος εὐρύνετο μὲν ἱκανώτατα, οὐ κατὰ λόγον δὲ τοῦ εὗρους ἀνεῖχε.

[6] This wall of Theodosiopolis was of adequate extent, but it did not rise to a height proportionate to its thickness.

[7] τὸ γὰρ ὕψος αὐτῷ ἐς τριάκοντα ἐξικνεῖτο μάλιστα πόδας· ταύτη τε πολεμίοις τειχομαχοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐγεγόνει λίαν εὐάλωτον.

[7] In fact it attained a height of only •about thirty feet, and for this reason it had proved to be very easy for an enemy to capture by assault, particularly for the Persians.

[8] ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίμαχον, οὔτε γὰρ προτείχισμα οὔτε τάφος αὐτῷ ἦμυνεν.

[8] In other ways too it was vulnerable; for it was protected neither by outworks nor by a moat.

[9] ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶρος τις ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐπεμβαίνων τῇ πόλει τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπανειστήκει. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀντεμηχανήσατο τάδε. πρῶτα μὲν τάφρον ὡς βαθυτάτην ἐν κύκλῳ ὀρύξας, χαράδραις αὐτὴν ὀρῶν ἀποτόμων ἐμφορεστάτην εἰργάσατο.

[9] Indeed, there was actually a certain elevation which came very close to the city and overtopped the circuit-wall. Consequently the Emperor Justinian took the following measures to meet the situation. First of all he dug a very deep ditch all around, making it very like the ravines between lofty mountains.

[10] ἔπειτα δὲ χῶρον τὸν ὑπερπεφυκότα κατατεμὼν ἔς τε ἀνεκβάτους κρημνοὺς καὶ σήραγγας ἀδιεξόδους μετεστήσατο τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν· ὅπως δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὑψηλὸν τε εἶη διαφερόντως καὶ ὅλως ἀνανταγώνιστον, εἴ τις προσίοι, προσεπετεχνήσατο ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Δάρας εἰργάσατο.

[10] Next he sliced off the elevated ground, so transforming it as to make a series of impassable cliffs and of gulches affording no outlet. And in order that the wall might be exceptionally high and altogether impregnable, in case anyone should attack it, he added all the details which he had incorporated in the fortifications of Daras.

[11] τὰς γὰρ ἐπάλξεις ἀποσοφίγξας ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα ὅσον ἐνθένδε βάλλειν τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας δυνατὰ εἶναι, ἔμβολόν τε αὐταῖς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς ἐν περιδρόμῳ περιελίξας, ἐντέθεικεν ἐμπείρως ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, προτειχίσματί τε αὐτὸ περιβαλὼν κύκλῳ ἐμφορέστατον τῷ ἐν πόλει Δάρας περιβόλῳ πεποιῆται, πύργον ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐχυρὸν τεκτινόμενος.

[11] For he made the embrasures quite narrow, just wide enough for the defenders to be able to shoot from them, and by adding courses of stones he built thereon a storey like a gallery all round, and then cleverly added other embrasures above them; and surrounding the wall with outworks on all sides he made it much like the circuit-wall of Daras, fashioning each tower as a strong fortress.

[12] οὗ δὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις στρατηγὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καταστησάμενος κρείσσους τοὺς Ἀρμενίους διεπράξατο τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι ἢ δεδιέναι τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον.

[12] Here he stationed all the troops and the General of the two Armenias, and thus he made the Armenians thenceforth too strong to be afraid of the attacks of the Persians.

[13] Ἐς μέντοι τὰ Βιζανὰ οὐδὲν εἴργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τὸ χωρίον, πεδία τε ἅμφ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἰππήλατά ἐστιν, ὕδατος δὲ σηπεδόνες πολλαὶ ξυνισταμένου ἐνταῦθα εἰσι.

[13] In Bizana, however, nothing was done by this Emperor, for the following reason. This town lies on level ground, and about it for a great distance stretch plains suitable for cavalry manoeuvres, and there are many pools of standing water there.

[14] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιμαχώτατον, τοῖς δὲ οἰκήτορσι λοιμωδέστατον αὐτὸ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[14] Consequently it is not only very open to the enemy's attack, but most unhealthy for the inhabitants.

[15] ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὑπεριδὼν ἐτέρωθι πόλιν ἐδείματο αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον, ἀξιολογωτάτην τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὅλως ἐν χωρίῳ Τζουμινᾶ καλουμένῳ, ὅπερ σημείους μὲν τρισὶ Βιζανῶν διέχει, ἐν κρημνῳδεὶ δὲ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐεξίας ἀέρων εὖ ἔχει.

[15] For these reasons he passed over this town and in another situation built a city bearing the Emperor's own name, a very noteworthy and altogether impregnable place, in the district called Tzumina, which is three miles removed from Bizana, situated on very precipitous ground and enjoying excellent air.

[6]

[6] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πη ἔχει. τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὰ Τζάνων ἔθνη ἀναγράψασθαι μοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου οὐ τι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρόσοικοι Ἀρμενίοις εἰσίν.

[1] These, then, are the things which the Emperor Justinian did in Armenia. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to record at this point in my account what he did for the Tzani, for they are neighbours of the Armenians.

[2] αὐτόνομοι μὲν Τζάνοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἄναρχοι ὄκουν, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτὴν ἔχοντες, θεοὺς μὲν τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ ὄρνις καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ζῷα ἡγούμενοί τε καὶ σέβοντες, ἐν ὄρεσι δὲ οὐρανομήκεσί τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσι τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα δίαιταν ἔχοντες, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμῇ γεωργοῦντες, ἰάλλὰ ληστεύοντές τε καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις αἰεὶ ἀποζῶντες.

[2] From ancient times the Tzani have lived as an independent people, without rulers, following a savage-like manner of life, regarding as gods the trees and birds and sundry creatures besides, and worshipping them, and spending their whole lives among mountains reaching to the sky and covered with forests,

and cultivating no land whatever, but robbing and living always on their plunder.

[3] αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἀμελέτητοί εἰσιν ἐργάζεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἡ χώρα σφίσιν, ἔνθα δὴ μὴ ὄρη τά γε ἀποτομώτατα περιβέβληται, λοφώδης ἐστίν.

[3] For they themselves are not skilled in cultivating the soil, and their country, at least where it is not occupied by the steepest mountains, is hilly.

[4] οὐ γήλοφοι δέ εἰσι τὰ ἐπανεστηκότα τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ γεώδη οὐδὲ οἷα καρποὺς ἀφείναι, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, ἀλλὰ τραχέα τε ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ σκληρὰ ὑπεράγαν καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάντων δεινῶς ἄφορα.

[4] These uplands are not rolling hills, neither do they provide soil such as would produce harvests, if one should cultivate them, but they are excessively rough and extremely hard and altogether unfavourable to any crops.

[5] καὶ οὔτε ἀρόσαι τὴν γῆν οὔτε ἀμήσασθαι λήιον οὔτε λειμῶνι ἐντυχεῖν ἐνταῦθά πη δυνατὰ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δένδροις, οἷσπερ ἡ Τζανικὴ τέθηλεν, ἀκάρποις τε οὖσιν ἄνθει καὶ ὅλως ἀγόνις, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχονται καιροὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ἡ γῆ τῷ τῆς ὥρας ὑγρῷ τε καὶ ψυχρῷ βάλλεται, νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμὴ ὀνίνησιν, ἀλλὰ χειμῶνι τε ἀπεράντῳ ξυνώκισται ἡ χώρα καὶ χιόσιν αἰδίους κατάρρυσός ἐστι.

[5] It is not possible either to irrigate the land or to harvest corn;^o one cannot find meadow-land in that region, indeed even the trees which grow in Tzanica bear no fruit and are entirely unproductive, for seasons do not regularly follow one another, and the earth is not visited at one period by a cold wet season, while at another the sun's heat quickens it, but the land is held in the grip of an endless winter and buried under everlasting snows.

[6] διὰ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτόνομοι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τζάνοι ἐβίουσαν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡττήθησάν τε Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ, Τζίττα στρατηγοῦντος Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἀπογνόντες εὐθὺς προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες, πρὸ τῆς ἐπικινδύνου ἐλευθερίας τὴν ἄπονον δουλείαν ἐλόμενοι σφίσι.

[6] For this reason the Tzani in ancient times used to live in independence, but during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian they were defeated in battle by the Romans under the general Tzittas, and abandoning the struggle they all straightway yielded to him, preferring the toilless servitude to the dangerous liberty.

[7] καὶ τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὖσεβὲς αὐτίκα μετέθεντο ἅπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγενημένοι, τὴν τε δίαίταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεθρημόσαντο, ληστείας μὲν ἀφέμενοι πάσης, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντες ἐπὶ πολέμους αἰεὶ τοὺς

σφετέρους ἰοῦσι.

[7] And they immediately changed their belief to piety, all of them becoming Christians, and they altered their manner of life to a milder way, giving up all brigandage and always marching with the Romans whenever they went against their enemies.

[8] δείσας δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μή ποτε Τζάνοι μεταπορευσάμενοι τὴν δίαιταν αὐθις τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγριώτερον μεταστρέψωνται ἐπενόει τοιάδε.

] [8] And the Emperor Justinian, fearing that the Tzani at some time might alter their way of life and change their habits back to the wilder sort, devised the following measures.

[9] Δύσοδος ἦν ἡ Τζανικὴ λίαν καὶ ἄφιππος ὅλως, κρημνοῖς τε πανταχόθεν καὶ χώροις περικεκλεισμένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑλώδεσιν, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται.

[9] Tzanica was a very inaccessible country and altogether impossible for horses, being shut in on all sides by cliffs and for the most part by forests, as I have said.

[10] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τζάνοις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἀμήχανον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγριωμένοι θηρίων τρόπον τὴν δίαιταν εἶχον.

[10] As a result of this it was impossible for the Tzani to mingle with their neighbours, living as they did a life of solitude among themselves in the manner of wild beasts.

[11] τὰ τοίνυν δένδρα ἐκτεμών ἅπαντα, οἷσπερ τὰς ὁδοὺς ξυνέβαινε ξυμποδίζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνη δυσχωρίας μεθαρμοσάμενος, εὐπετεῖς τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἵππασίμους καταστησάμενος, ἐπιμίγνυσθαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ προσχωρεῖν τῇ ὁμίλῃ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πεποίηκεν.

[11] Accordingly he cut down all the trees by which the routes chanced to be obstructed, and transforming the rough places and making them smooth and passable for horses, he brought it about that they mingled with other peoples in the manner of men in general and consented to have intercourse with their neighbours.

[12] ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίαν ἐν χωρίῳ Σχαμαλινίχων καλουμένῳ δειμάμενος, ἱερᾶσθαι τε διεπράξατο καὶ μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνειν λιταῖς τε τὸν θεὸν ἰλεοῦσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, συνιέντες ὡς ἄνθρωποι εἶεν.

[12] After this he built a church for them in a place called Schamalinichôn, and caused them to conduct services and to partake of the sacraments and

propitiate God with prayers and perform the other acts of worship, so that they should know that they were human beings.

[13] καὶ φρούρια δὲ οἰκοδομησάμενος πανταχόθι τῆς χώρας φρουρούς τε ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἰδρυσάμενος βεβαιοτάτα, Τζάνοις ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὰς ἐπιμιξίας ἀκωλύτους πεποίηκεν.

[13] And he built forts in all parts of the land, assigned to them very strong garrisons of Roman soldiers, and gave the Tzani unhampered intercourse with other peoples.

[14] ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ Τζανικῆς τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐδείματο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[14] I shall now tell where in Tzanica he built these forts.

[15] Χώραν ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐς τρίοδον ἀποκεκριμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. Ῥωμαίων τε γὰρ καὶ Περσαρμενίων τὰ ὅρια καὶ Τζάνων αὐτῶν τῇδε ἀρξάμενα ἐνθὲνδε διασκεδάννυται.

[15] It happens that a certain point in that land forms the meeting-place of three roads; for the boundaries of the Romans and the Persarmenians and the Tzani themselves begin here and extend out from this point.

[16] ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον, οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ὄνομα Ὅρονῶν, ἐξείργασται, κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῆς εἰρήνης πεποιημένος.

[16] Here he constructed a very strong fortress which had not existed previously, Horonôn by name, making it the mainstay of the peace of the region.

[17] ἐνθεν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Τζανικῇ ἐσβατὴ γέγονεν· οὗ δὴ καὶ ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσιν.

[17] For the Romans were first able to enter Tzanica from that point. Here too he established a military commander called a Duke.

[18] ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν Ὅρονῶν διέχοντι, οὗ δὴ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων τὰ ὅριά ἐστιν (ἐπεὶ ἐς ἔθνη πολλὰ διακέκρινται Τζάνοι), ἐνταῦθα τι ὀχύρωμα πεποιημένον ἦν τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ἐρείπιον ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι γεγεννημένον, Χαρτῶν ὄνομα.

[18] And at a place two days' journey distant from Horonôn, where the territory of the Tzani who are called Ocenitae commences (for the Tzani are divided into many tribes), there was a sort of stronghold built by men of former times, Chartôn by name, which long before had already become a ruin through neglect.

[19] ὅπερ ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐνοικεῖν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐνταῦθα διεπράξατο μέγα τι χρήμα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐκοσμίαν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρεῖν.

[19] This the Emperor Justinian restored, and he caused a large population to live there and to preserve order in the country.

[20] τῷ δὲ ἐνθένδε ἰόντι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον φάραγξ ἐστὶ κρημνώδης, κατατείνουσα μέχρι ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· οὗ δὴ φρούριον, Βαρχῶν ὄνομα, ἐδείματο νέον.

[20] And as one goes from there towards the east, there is a precipitous ravine which extends around to the north; here he built a new fortress, Barchôn by name.

[21] ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν ὑπωρείαν ἐπαύλεις εἰσὶν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων βόες αὐλίζονται, οὗσπερ ἐκτρέφουσιν οὐ τοῦ ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν ἕνεκα, ἐπεὶ ἀργοὶ τε τὸ παράπαν οἱ Τζάνοι εἰσὶ καὶ γεωργικῶν ἀλλότριοι πόνων, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ οὔτε ἀρόματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλα τῆς γεωργίας διαπονήματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε γάλα ἐς αἰὶ βδάλλειν καὶ σιτίζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν κρέασι.

[21] Beyond this at the foot of the mountain are folds where the cattle of the Ocenite Tzani, as they are called, find shelter; and they breed these cattle, not in order to plough the earth — for the Tzani are altogether indolent and averse to the tasks of husbandry, as I have said, and they neither plough nor perform the other labours of husbandry — but in order to have a constant supply of milk and to eat their flesh.

[22] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα, οὗ Κενὰ τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνθένδε τοι ἰόντι ἐπὶ δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ Σισιλισσῶν ὄνομα φρούριόν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν πεποιημένον, ἔρημον δὲ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος γεγεννημένον ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς διαρκὲς Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν, ὥσπερ κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, φυλακτῆριον κατεστήσατο.

[22] Beyond the foothills of the mountain, where the place called Cena lies in the level country, as one goes approximately westward there is a fort named Sisilissôn; this had been built in ancient times, but, with the passage of time, had come to be deserted; so the Emperor Justinian restored it and established there a sufficient garrison of Roman soldiers, just as in all the others.

[23] ἔνθεν δὲ ἰόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον χωρὸς τίς ἐστιν, ὃνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Λογγίνου φоссάτον, ἐπεὶ Λογγίνος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἰϋωμαίων στρατηγός, Ἰσαυρος γένος, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τζάνους ποτὲ τῇδε πεποίηται τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[23] And as one goes on from that fort, there is a certain place on the left, towards the north, which the natives call Longini Fossatum, because in earlier times Longinus, a Roman general, an Isaurian by birth, had made an expedition against the Tzani on one occasion and built his camp there.

[24] ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὄνομα Βουργουσνός δεδημιούργηκεν, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Σισιλισσῶν διέχον.

[24] In that place this Emperor built a fortress called Bourgousnoes, one day's journey distant from Sisilissôn.

[25] ὅπερ Σισιλισσῶν φρούριόν ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μικρὸν ἐρρήθη ἔμπροσθεν, ἐξεργασμένον βεβαιότατα.

[25] This fort of Sisilissôn too was rendered very strong by this same Emperor, as was stated a little above.

[26] ἐντεῦθεν ὅρια τῷ Τζάνων τῶν Κοξυλίνων καλουμένων ἐστίν· οὗ δὴ φρούρια νῦν πεποιήται δύο, τό τε Σχαμαλινίχων καλούμενον καὶ ὅπερ Τζανζάκων ἐπονομάζουσιν· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλον ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

[26] From there begins the territory of the Coxyline Tzani, as they are called; and here has now made two forts, one called Schamalinichôn and the other is the one they call Tzanzacôn; and here he posted another military commander.

[7]

[7] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Τζάνοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ μετ' αὐτοὺς χώρα, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνιον οἰκεῖται Πόντον, πόλις ἐστὶ που, Τραπεζοῦς ὄνομα· οὗ δὴ ἀπορίας ὑδάτων οὔσης, ὅχετόν ἐτεκτῆνατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὅνπερ Εὐγενίου καλοῦσι μάρτυρος, ταύτη τε τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῇδε ὀκημένοις διέλυσεν.

[1] These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in Tzanica. In the land beyond this which lies along the Euxine Sea there is a city named Trapezus; and since there was a scarcity of water in that city, the Emperor Justinian built an aqueduct which they call the Aqueduct of the martyr Eugenius, and thus he put an end to the scarcity for the inhabitants of this place.

[2] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἀμασεΐᾳ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνενεώσατο, χρόνῳ πεπονηκότα πολλῷ.

[2] Both there and in Amaseia he restored most of the churches, which had been damaged by the long passage of time.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Τραπεζουντίων ὄρους χωρίον ἐστὶ Ῥιζαῖον ὄνομα, ὃ δὴ καινουργήσας αὐτὸς ὀχύρωμα περιβέβληκε λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον.

[3] And beyond the confines of Trapezus there is a place called Rhizaeum which he restored himself, throwing about it a novel system of defences which surpass any description or report of them.

[4] πόλεων γὰρ τῶν Πέρσαις ὁμόρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦσσαν μεγέθους πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας δεδημιούργηται.

[4] For it was so fashioned as to be inferior in point of size and safety to no one of the cities on the Persian frontier.

[5] Καὶ φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς Λοσόριον ὄνομα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στενωποὺς ἐτειχίσατο οὕσπερ Κλεισούρας καλεῖν νενομικάσιν, ὅπως δὴ ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῆς ἐπὶ Λαζικὴν ἰεῖσόδου οἱ πολέμιοι εἶεν.

[5] He also built a fortress in Lazica named Losorium, and he fortified the mountain-passes of the country which they are wont to call cleisurae, with the purpose, of course, that the enemy might be shut off from the entrance into Lazica.

[6] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαζοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀρχαίαν τε οὖσαν καὶ σαθρὰν τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ γεγενημένην, ἀνενεώσατο.

[6] Nay more, he restored the Christian church in Lazica, which was old and had become weakened in its masonry.

[7] οὕτω καὶ Πέτραν ἐν Λαζοῖς πόλιν ἀξιοθέατον κατεστήσατο, ἥνπερ Λαζοὶ μὲν ἀβουλία τῇ σφετέρᾳ παρέδοσαν Πέρσαις, Χοσρόην ἐνταῦθα στρατῶ μεγάλῳ ἐπαγαγόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Περσῶν καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι καὶ τοὺς μὲν κτείναντες τοὺς δὲ δορυαλώτους πεποιημένοι, ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ αὖθις οἱ βάρβαροι κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, ἥπερ μοι ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδῆλωται λόγοις.

[7] He likewise founded Petra in Lazica, an admirable city, which the Lazi through their own folly handed over to the Persians, bringing Chosroes there with a great army; but the Romans prevailed over the Persians in the struggle and killed a part of the enemy and made the rest captive and razed the city, so that the barbarians might not again be able, by coming there, to work mischief, all of which has been set forth by me in the Books on the Wars.

[8] ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι δεδιήγεται, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ἰόντι λίμνην φρούρια δύο, Σεβαστούπολιν τε καὶ Πιτυοῦντα, καθεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες στρατεύμα στέλλειν ἐνταῦθα διὰ

σπουδῆς ἔχειν τοὺς τε τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα καθέξοντας.

[8] In the same place I have explained how the Romans dismantled two fortresses, Sebastopolis and Pityûs, on the opposite coast as one goes from Lazica to the Maeotic Lake, because they had heard that Chosroes was eager to send an army with men to take possession of these fortresses.

[9] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταύτην δὴ τὴν Σεβαστούπολιν ἀνανεωσάμενος ξύμπασαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν περιβόλῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι πεποιημένος ἀνάλωτον, ταῖς δὲ ἀγυιαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις διακοσμήσας, τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν τανῦν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα κατεστήσατο.

[9] But at a later time the Emperor Justinian restored the whole of Sebastopolis and made it impregnable by means of its circuit-wall and other defences, adorned it with streets and with various buildings besides, and produced the present city, which is remarkable among the cities of the world for its beauty and its size.

[10] Καὶ μὴν καὶ Βοσπόρου καὶ Χερσῶνος πόλεων, αἵπερ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν ἐπιθαλασσίδια μετὰ λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τοὺς Ταύρους καὶ Ταυροσκύθας ἐν ἐσχάτῳ οἰκοῦνται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, πεπονηκότα παντάπασι τὰ τεῖχη εὐρὼν ἐς μέγα τι κάλλους τε καὶ ἀσφαλείας κατεστήσατο χρῆμα.

[10] Moreover, in the case of the coastal cities Bosphorus and Chersôn, which lie on the shore there beyond the Maeotic Lake and the Taurians and Tauroscythians, at the extremity of the Roman Empire, he found that the walls had fallen completely into ruin, and he made them remarkably beautiful and thoroughly safe.

[11] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ φρούρια πεποιήται τό τε Ἀλούστου καλούμενον καὶ τὸ ἐν Γορζουβίταις.

[11] In that region he built two fortresses, that called Aloustou and the one among the Gorzoubitae.

[12] διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον τῷ ἐρύματι ἐκρατύνατο, ἥπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βεβαρβαρωμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς Οὐννοις κειμένην ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς μετήνεγκε κράτος.

[12] He strengthened the defences of Bosphorus particularly, which in ancient times had been a barbarous city lying under the power of the Huns, but which he himself had brought under Roman sway.

[13] ἔστι δέ τις ἐνταῦθα χώρα κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, Δόρυ ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ

παλαιοῦ Γότθοι ὄκηνται οἱ Θεουδερῖχφ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἰόντι οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐθελοῦσιοι αὐτοῦ μέιναντες, Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἐμέ εἰσιν ἔνσπονδοι· ξυστρατεύουσί τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολέμιους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσιν, ἥνικα ἂν βασιλεῖ βουλομένω εἴη.

[13] And there is a certain region along the coast there called Dory, where Goths have lived from ancient times, those namely who had not followed Theoderic when he went into Italy, but remained there of their own accord, and even up to my day they are on terms of alliance with the Romans. And they march with the Romans against their enemies whenever the Emperor so wishes.

[14] ἐξικνοῦνται δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ τὰ τε πολέμια ἔργα εἰσὶν ἄριστοι τὰ τε ἐς τὴν γεωργίαν αὐτουργοὶ δεξιοί, καὶ φιλοξενώτατοι δέ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

[14] Their number comes to three thousand, and they are both excellent soldiers and skilfull tillers of the soil, and the most hospitable people in the world.

[15] αὕτῃ δὲ ἡ χώρα τὸ Δόρυ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ κεῖται, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τραχεῖα οὔτε σκληρά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ τε καὶ εὐφορος καρπῶν τῶν ἀρίστων.

[15] The land of Dory itself lies on high ground, yet it is neither rough nor hard, but good soil and productive of the best crops.

[16] πόλιν μὲν οὖν ἥ φρούριον οὐδαμῇ τῆς χώρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτης, κατείργεσθαι περιβόλοις τισὶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένων τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἀσμενέστατα ὤκημένων ἀεί.

[16] However, Emperor built no city or fortress in any part of this land, since the men of the country would not suffer themselves to be confined in any fortified places but always lived most happily in an open plain.

[17] ὅπῃ ποτὲ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίον βάσιμα εὐπετῶς τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ταύτας δὴ τειχίσμασι μακροῖς τὰς εἰσόδους περιβαλὼν, τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐφόδου φροντίδας ἀνέστειλε Γότθοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πῃ ἔχει.

[17] But wherever the region seemed easily accessible to assailants, he shut off these approaches with long walls and thereby freed the Goths from fear of invasion. So much, then, for this.

[18] Πόλιν δέ τινα ἐπιθαλασσίαν οἰκοῦσι Θρᾷκες παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου, Ἀγχιάλον ὄνομα, ἥσπερ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ μνησθείμεν ἂν, περιηγούμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία.

[18] There is a certain city on the coast of the Euxine Sea, inhabited by

Thracians, Anchialus by name, which properly we should mention in describing the land of Thrace.

[19] ἐπεὶ δὲ τανῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν διελέλυθεν ὅσα παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου δεδημιούργηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ, οὐδέν τι χεῖρον ἀφηγήσασθαι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὅσα δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ταύτης ἐδείματο.

[19] But since in the present place our treatise has enumerated the buildings of this Emperor along the shore of the Euxine Sea, it is in no way inappropriate to describe at this point in our narrative what he built at this town of Anchialus.

[20] ἐνταῦθα οὖν πηγαὶ θερμῶν φύσει ὑδάτων ἀναβλυστάνουσι, τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀπαυτοματίζουσαι βαλανεῖα τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις·

[20] At that place, then, natural springs of warm water bubble forth, not far from the city, providing natural baths for the people there.

[21] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χώρον ἀτείχιστον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα ὑπερεώρων οἱ προβεβασилευκότες τὰ πρότερα, καίπερ ἐν γειτόνων ὤκεμένων αὐτῷ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθνῶν τοσούτων τὸ πληθος.

[21] The Emperors of earlier times used to allow this place to remain unwalled from ancient times, though such a host of barbarians dwelt near by;

[22] ἐπεχωρίαζόν τε αὐτῷ οἱ νενοσηκότες τὰ σώματα, μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παραψυχὴν κομιζόμενοι.

[22] and sick persons used to visit the place, gaining relief at the cost of danger.

[23] τειχίῃ τοῖνυν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀκίνδυνον διεπράξατο σφίσι τὴν ἄκεσιν εἶναι.

[23] Therefore the Emperor Justinian made it a walled city, as it now is, and thus made the cure free from danger.

[24] τὰ μὲν οὖν γῆς τῆς ἐώας, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Τζανικῆς ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον τῆδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[24] So the strongholds of the East, as well as those of Armenia and Tzanica, and those on both shores of the Euxine Sea, were thus built by the Emperor Justinian.

[25] ἡμῖν δὲ ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἰτέον ὥσπερ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ πεποιήται.

[25] From this point we must proceed to the buildings which he erected in the

rest of Europe.

BOOK IV.

[1] [1] Πέλαγος μέγα νηὶ διαπλεῦσαι ἀπαρασκευῶ μοχθηρόν τε ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ κινδύνων μεγάλων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεων. ταὐτὸ δέ ἐστι τὰς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκοδομίας λόγῳ φαυλοτάτῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

[1] To cross a great sea in an ill-appointed ship is a miserable task, I think, beset with the greatest dangers. And it is the same thing to recount the buildings of the Emperor Justinian with impotent words.

[2] ψυχῆς γὰρ μεγέθει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰοῦτος τά τε ἄλλα, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας οὐδέν τι ἥσσον λόγου διαπέπρακται κρείσσω.

[2] For through the greatness of his mind this Emperor has accomplished things which surpass description, in buildings no less than in practically all other matters.

[3] ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἐναρμόσασθαι τῷ τῆς χρείας ἀξιώματι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων ἔργα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα οὐδὲ εἰς συγγραφὴν διαπεπόνηται πρόχειρα.

[3] And in Europe, being consumed by the desire to make his services fit the magnitude of the need which existed for them, he has carried out works which are not easy to enumerate or simple to describe in writing.

[4] γεγένηται γὰρ ἐπαξίως τῷ τε γειτονήματι ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου καὶ τῇ ἐνθὲνδε διὰ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους τῇ χώρᾳ βαρβάρους ἀνάγκη.

[4] For these works have been executed with due regard for the nearness of the Ister River and for the consequent necessity imposed by the barbarians who threaten the land.

[5] ἔθνη γὰρ αὐτῇ γειτονοῦντα διακεκλήρωται Οὐννικά τε καὶ Γοτθικά, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ταύροις καὶ τὰ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀνταίρει, καὶ ὅσα Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄττα, εἴτε Σαυρομάτας Ἀμαξοβίους εἴτε Μετανάστας ταῦτα δὴ ἐκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναγραφάμενοι τὰ ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θηριῶδες ἀνθρώπων γένος ἢ νέμεσθαι, ἢ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐνταῦθα ζυμβαίνει.

[5] For it has as neighbours nations of Huns and of Goths, and the regions of Taurus and of Scythia rise up again it, as well as the haunts of the Sclaveni and of sundry other tribes — whether they are called by the writers of the most ancient history Hamaxibian or Metanastic Sauromatae, and whatever other wild race of men really either roams about or leads a settled life in that region.

[6] οἷς δὴ ἀπέραντα πολεμῳσεῖουσιν ὑπαντιάζειν διατεινομένῳ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πάρεργόν τε οὐδὲν ποιουμένῳ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐρύματά τε περιβάλλεσθαι ἀνάριθμα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀμύθητα φυλακτῆρια καταστήσασθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολεμίοις ἀνεπικηρυκεύτοις τε καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτοις ἐμπόδια εἶη.

[6] And in his determination to resist these barbarians who were endlessly making war, the Emperor Justinian, who did not take the matter lightly, was obliged to throw innumerable fortresses about the country, to assign to them untold garrisons of troops, and to set up all other possible obstacles to an enemy who attacked without warning and who permitted no intercourse.

[7] οἷς δὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξ αἰτίας ἐγειρομένοις ποιεῖσθαι νόμος, οὐδὲ μετὰ πρεσβείαν ἐπενεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ξυνθήκαις διαλυσαί τισιν, ἣ κατὰ χρόνον ἀνακωχεῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἰεγγειρησαι μὲν ἀπροφασίστως, καταλυσαι δὲ σιδήρῳ μόνῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ λειπόμενα βαδισόμεθα.

[7] Indeed it was the custom of these peoples to rise and make war upon their enemies for no particular cause, and to open hostilities without sending an embassy, and they did not bring their struggles to an end through any treaty or cease operations for any specified period, but they made their attacks without provocation and reached a decision by the sword alone. But still we must proceed owing to the remainder of our story.

[8] ἔργου γὰρ ἀρξαμένους τρόπῳ ὁτφοῦν ἐς πέρας ἀφῆχθαι ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτελεύτητον ἀπολιπόντας ὀπίσω ἰέναι.

[8] For when we have begun a task it will be better to go through to the end in any fashion whatever than to depart leaving it unfinished.

[9] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἂν οὐκ ἔξω κατηγορίας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶη, βασιλέα μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον εἰργᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποκνεῖν λόγους.

[9] Certainly my action would not be free from blame, if, after our Emperor has performed the work, I for my part, should shrink from telling of what he has done.

[10] μέλλοντας δὲ τὰ Εὐρωπαϊα τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως διαριθμεῖσθαι οἰκοδομήματα, ὀλίγα ἄττα ἀμφὶ τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπειπεῖν ἄξιον.

[10] But now that we are on the point of enumerating the buildings of this Emperor in Europe, it is proper first to make a few observations regarding this land.

[11] Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλουμένου πελάγους ἐπιρροή τις διωθουμένη τε καὶ

ἀποσαλεύουσα τῆς ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναβαίνει, καὶ σχίζουσα τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ποιεῖται τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἡπειρώτας τε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη ἔθνη, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Καλαβροὺς ἔχουσα, ἐν τε πορθμῷ ἐπὶ μακρότατον θλιβομένη περιλαμβάνει τὴν ἡπειρον σχεδόν τι πᾶσαν.

[11] There is a narrow arm or bight which is pushed out from the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, and strays away from the remainder of the sea and goes up into the mainland, and dividing the continent for a great distance it forms the Ionian Gulf, having on the right the Epirotes and the other peoples of that region and on the left Calabria; then, being compressed into a narrow inlet for a very long way, the sea bounds practically the whole continent.

[12] καθύπερθε δὲ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ θαλάσσῃ φερόμενος ποταμὸς Ἴστρος γῆς τῆς Εὐρώπης νησοειδῆ τὴν γῆν τίθεται.

[12] And the River Ister, flowing higher up, and opposite the sea, makes the land of Europe an island, as it were.

[13] ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομήματα πολλά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πεποίηται.

[13] In that region this Emperor built many noteworthy buildings.

[14] πᾶσαν γὰρ Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τειχισάμενος ἀπρόσβατον κατεστήσατο βαρβάροις εἶναι οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ ὥκνηται.

[14] Indeed he fortified the whole of Europe so safely that he rendered it inaccessible to the barbarians who live beyond the Ister River.

[15] Ἀλλὰ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρκτέον πατρίδος, ἣ πασῶν μάλιστα τά τε πρωτεῖα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦδε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ ἱλόγου δοτέον.

[15] But I must commence from the native land of the Emperor, to which of all places must be given first rank in all other respects, and with this I must begin my present account.

[16] αὐτῇ γὰρ ἂν μόνῃ ὀγκουθθαί τε καὶ διαθρύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι πρέποι βασιλέα Ῥωμαίους θρεψαμένη τε καὶ παρασχομένη τοιοῦτον, οὗ δὲ τὰ ἔργα καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν καὶ γραφῇ παρακαταθέσθαι ἀμήχανον.

[16] For to this land alone is it given to rejoice and swell with pride and enjoy the solemn dignity of having bred and presented to the Romans an Emperor whose works it is impossible to tell in words or to record in writing.

[17] Ἐν Δαρδάνοις που τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίων ὄρους ὥκνηται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἄγχιστα ὅπερ Βεδερίανα ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον

Ταυρίσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἔνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστὴς ὥρμηται.

[17] Among the Dardanians of Europe who live beyond the boundaries of the Epidamnians, close to the fortress which is called Bederiana, there was a hamlet named Taurisium, whence sprang the Emperor Justinian, the founder of the civilised world.

[18] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεῖ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνία ἐκάστη πύργον ἐνθέμενος Τετραπυργίαν εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε.

[18] He therefore built a wall of small compass about this place in the form of a square, placing a tower at each corner, and caused it to be called, as it actually is, Tetrapyrkia.

[19] παρ' αὐτὸ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἐδείματο, ἥνπερ Ἰουστινιανὴν ὠνόμασε Πρῖμαν (πρώτη δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται) ταῦτα τῇ θρεψαμένη τροφεῖα ἐκτίνων.

[19] And close by this place he built a very notable city which he named Justiniana Prima (this means “first” in the Latin tongue), thus paying a debt of gratitude to the home that fostered him.

[20] καίτοι Ῥωμαίους ἐχρῆν ἅπαντας τοῦτο δὴ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνοῦσθαι τὸ ὄφλημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ σωτῆρα ἐθρέψατο ἢ χώρα κοινὸν ἅπασιν.

[20] Yet all Romans should have shared this debt among themselves, for this land nourished a common saviour for all of them.

[21] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὀχετὸν τεκηνάμενος ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρῦτοις διεπράξατο ἐπιεικῶς πλήθειν.

[21] In that place also he constructed an aqueduct and so caused the city to be abundantly supplied with ever-running water.

[22] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῇ ὑπέρογκά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ διαπεπόνηται ἄζια.

[22] And many other enterprises were carried out by the founder of this city — works of great size and worthy of especial note.

[23] θεοῦ μὲν τεμένη διαριθμεῖσθαι οὐ ῥάδια, καταγώγια δὲ ἀρχόντων φράζεσθαι λόγῳ ἀμήχανα, στοῶν μεγέθη, ἀγορῶν κάλλη, τὰς κρήνας, τὰς ἀγυιάς, τὰ βαλανεῖα, τὰ πωλητήρια.

[23] For to enumerate the churches is not easy, and it is impossible to tell in words of the lodgings for magistrates, the great stoas, the fine market-places, the fountains, the streets, the baths, the shops.

[24] πόλις ἀπλῶς μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετὰ δαίμων καὶ οἷα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης μητρόπολις εἶναι· εἰς ἀξιώματος γὰρ τοσόνδε ἥκει.

[24] In brief, the city is both great and populous and blessed in every way — a city worthy to be the metropolis of the whole region, for it has attained this rank.

[25] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀρχιερέα διακεκλήρωται, τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων αὐτῇ, ἅτε πρώτη τὸ μέγεθος οὔση, ἐξισταμένων. ὥστε καὶ ἀνθυπούργηκε τῷ βασιλεῖ κλέος·

[25] It has also been allotted to the Archbishop of Illyricum as his seat, the other cities conceding this honour to it, as being first in point of size. Thus this city has won honour for the Emperor in requital for his favour;

[26] ἡ μὲν γὰρ τροφίμῳ ἀποσεμνύνεται βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖται δεδημιουργηκέναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μοι ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει.

[26] for while it prides itself upon its foster-son, he for his part takes a corresponding pride in that he built the city. But this will be enough for me to tell;

[27] ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς λεπτολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσηκούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλασσοῦσθαι αὐτῆς ἅπαντα λόγον ἐπάναγκες.

[27] indeed it is impossible to describe everything in detail, for since the city is the Emperor's own, any account of it necessarily falls short of the reality.

[28] Ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Βεδερίανα τὸ φρούριον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ὅλον πολλῷ ὀχυρώτερον κατεστήσατο. ἦν δέ τις ἐν Δαρδάνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ πόλις ἣπερ Οὐλπιᾶνα ὠνόμαστο.

[28] He also rebuilt the entire fortress of Bederiana and made it much stronger. And there was a certain city among the Dardanians, dating from ancient times, which was named Ulpiana;

[29] ταύτης τὸν περίβολον καθελὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον (ἦν γὰρ σφαλερὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀχρεῖος) ἄλλα τε αὐτῇ παμπληθῇ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα ποιησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν νῦν μεταθέμενος εὐκοσμίαν, Σεκουῶνδαν αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὴν ἐπωνόμασε.

[29] he tore down most of its circuit-wall, for it was seriously damaged and

altogether useless, and he added a very great number of improvements to the city, changing it to its present fair aspect; and he named it Justiniana Secunda

[30] σεκοῦνδαν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν Λατῖνοι λέγουσι. καὶ ἄλλην δὲ αὐτῇ πλησίον ἐδείματο πόλιν οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, ἣνπερ Ιουστινούπολιν τῷ θεῷ ὁμωνύμως ἐκάλεσεν.

[30] (secunda is the Latin word for second). Near it he built another city where none had existed before, which he called Justinopolis from his uncle's name.

[31] ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαρδικῆς τε καὶ Ναῖσουπόλεως, ἔτι μέντοι Γερμαῆς τε καὶ Πανταλείας διερρωγότα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ τεῖχη εὐρὼν οἰκοδομησάμενός τε ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄμαχα τοῖς πολεμίοις διεπράξατο εἶναι.

[31] Furthermore, he found the walls of Sardica and Naïsopolis, as well as those of Germaê and of Pantalia, in ruins from the passage of time, and he built them up securely and made them such that they could defy the enemy.

[32] καὶ πολίχνια δὲ τούτων δὴ μεταξὺ ἐδείματο τρία, Κρατίσκαρά τε καὶ Κουιμέδαβα καὶ Ρουμισιάνα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τάσδε τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνέστησε.

[32] Between these he built three small forts, Cratiscara and Quimedaba and Roumisiana. Thus he raised these cities from their foundations.

[33] πρόβολον δὲ ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῶν τε καὶ πάσης Εὐρώπης Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, ἐρύμασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἡῖονα περιβάλλει συχνοῖς, ὥσπερ μοι γεγράφεται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, φυλακτῆριά τε στρατιωτῶν πανταχόθι τεθεῖται τῆς ἀκτῆς, ἀναχαιτίζοντα τὴν διάβασιν βεβαιότατα τοῖς τῇδε βαρβάροις.

[33] And wishing, as he did, to make the Ister River the strongest possible line of first defence before them and before the whole of Europe, he distributed numerous forts along the bank of the river, as I shall soon describe, and he placed garrisons of troops everywhere along the shore, in order to put the most rigid check upon the crossing of the barbarians there.

[34] ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐξειργασμένων, ὑπόπτως ἐς τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἐλπίδος τὸ σφαλερὸν ἔχων, λογισάμενός τε ὡς εἰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτῳ δὴ ποτε τρόπῳ διαπορθμεύσασθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἐπιθήσονται ἀφυλάκτοις τὸ παράπαν τοῖς ἀγροῖς οὔσι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μὲν ἐξανδραποδιοῦσιν ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας, χρήματα δὲ ληΐσονται πάντα, οὐκ ἐπὶ κοινῇ αὐτοῖς μόνον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀχυρώμασιν ἀπέλιπεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίαν πεποιήται.

[34] But even after he had completed all these precautions, he was still uneasy because of the uncertainty of human plans; and since he reflected that if it

should ever be possible for the enemy to break through somehow, they would then fall upon fields which would be entirely unguarded, would enslave the whole population, from the youths upwards, and would plunder all their property, he did not leave their common safety to depend upon the forts along the river alone, but he also provided individual safeguards for them;

[35] οὕτω συνεχῇ τὰ ἐρύματα ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἀπεργασάμενος ὥστε ἀγρὸς ἕκαστος ἢ φρούριον ἀποτετόρνευται, ἢ τῷ τετειχισμένῳ πρόσκοκός ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ τῇ Ἡπείρῳ τῇ τε νέᾳ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ καλουμένη.

[35] for he made the defences so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified; and he did this both here and in New Epirus, as it is called, and in Old Epirus.

[36] οὗ δὴ καὶ πόλις αὐτῷ πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανούπολις, ἢ πρότερον Ἀδριανούπολις καλουμένη.

[36] Here too he built the city of Justinianopolis, which formerly was called Adrianopolis.

[37] Ἀνενεώσατο δὲ Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Φωτικὴν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ὀνομασμένην. αἱ δύο αὐταὶ πολίχαι, ἢ τε Φωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη, ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ τῆς γῆς ἔκειντο, ὕδασι περιρρέομεναι τῇδε λιμνάζουσι.

[37] And he restored Nicopolis and Photicê and the place called Phoenicê. These two towns, namely Photicê and Phoenicê, stood on low-lying ground and were surrounded by stagnant water which collected there.

[38] διὸ δὴ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς εἶναι ἀμήχανα ἐπὶ στερρᾷς θεμελίῳ συνθήκης περιβόλους αὐταῖς ἀναστῆναι, αὐτὰς μὲν ἐπὶ σχήματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φρούρια δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγχοτάτω ἐν τε ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ ἐδείματο.

[38] Consequently the Emperor Justinian, reasoning that it was impossible for walls to be built about them on foundations of solid construction, left them just as they were, but close to them he built forts on rising ground which is exceedingly steep.

[39] ἦν δὲ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἀρχαία, ὕδασι ἐπιεικῶς κατακορῆς οὖσα, ὀνόματός τε τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως ἀξίου ἐπιτυχοῦσα. Εὐροία γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν ὀνομάζετο.

[39] There was a certain ancient city in this region, abundantly supplied with water and endowed with a name worthy of the place; for it was called Euroea from ancient times.

[40] ταύτης δὲ τῆς Εὐροίας οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν λίμνη κέχυται καὶ νῆσος κατὰ μέσον ἀνέχει καὶ λόφος αὐτῇ ἐπανάστηκε.

[40] Not far from this Euroea a lake spreads out with an island in its midst upon which rises a hill.

[41] διαλείπει δὲ ἡ λίμνη τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τινὰ ἐν εἰσόδου μοῖρα τῇ νήσῳ λελεῖσθαι.

[41] And a break is left in the lake just large enough so that a kind of approach to the island remains.

[42] ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τῆς Εὐροίας μεταβιβάσας οἰκήτορας, πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην οἰκοδομησάμενος ἐτειχίσατο.

[42] The Emperor moved the inhabitants of Euroea to this place, built a very strong city, and put a wall about it.

[2]

[2] [1] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑπειρον ὅλην Αἰτωλούς τε καὶ Ἀκαρνανᾶς παραδραμόντι ὃ τε Κρισαῖος ἐκδέχεται κόλπος καὶ ὃ τε Ἴσθμός ἢ τε Κόρινθος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία. ἔνθα δὴ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας ἡξίωνται.

[1] Beyond the whole of Epirus and Aetolia and Acarnania, as one skirts the coast, one comes to the Crisaeian Gulf and the Isthmus and Corinth and the other parts of Greece. These regions made demands upon his very utmost wisdom.

[2] μάλιστα δὲ πάντων θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὅπόσοις περιβάλοις ἐτειχίσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. τῶν τε γὰρ ἄλλων προϋνόησε πάντων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀνόδων.

[2] And above all else one might wonder at the number of walled cities with which he fortified the Roman Empire. For he made provision for all of them and especially for the by-paths up the mountains at Thermopylae.

[3] πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ τεῖχη ἐς ὕψος αὐτῶ ἀνέστη μέγα. ἦν γάρ, εἴ τις προσίοι, εὐπετῶς ἀλωτὰ καὶ οὐ τετειχισμένα τὰ ὄρη, ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἀλλ' ἀποτετριγγωμένα ἐδόκει εἶναι.

[3] First of all he raised the walls there to a very great height. For the mountains which rise in that region were easy to capture, if one should assault them, they being not really walled, but simply supplied with what appeared to be a cornice of masonry.

[4] οἷς δὴ καὶ διπλᾶς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐντέθεται πάσας. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ κὰν τῶ

φρουρίῳ ἐξείργασται, ἵππερ ἑνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν παρέργως οὕτω πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

[4] On all these walls he even placed double battlements, and he likewise carried out this same improvement in the fortress which had stood there from an ancient date, carelessly constructed, as it was, by men of former times.

[5] διαρκές τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕψος ἐντέθεικε καὶ διπλοῦς τοὺς προμαχῶνας πεποίηται.

[5] For he built it up to an adequate height and made the ramparts double.

[6] πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ παντάπασιν ὄντι ταμιεῖον ὑετίων ὑδάτων ἐπετεχνήσατο.

[6] In addition to this he also devised for the fort, which was entirely without water, a storage-cistern for rain-water.

[7] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνόδους πολλὰς ἀφυλάκτους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὰ πρότερα οὕσας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐτειχίσσατο.

[7] Furthermore, he carefully walled off many paths up the mountains which previously had been both unguarded and unwalled.

[8] θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις εἰκότως τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι δὴ χρόνον ἑνταῦθα κατατρίψας πολύν, μίαν τινὰ στενὴν ἀτραπὸν εὔρατο, καὶ ταῦτα προδοτῶν Ἑλλήνων τυχόν, ὁδῶν τε ἀτειχίστων ἐκείνῃ πολλῶν καὶ ἀμαξιτῶν σχεδόν τι ὄσων.

[8] One might marvel with good reason at the Persian King for spending so much time there and finding only a single narrow path, and that too with the help of Grecian traitors, while in fact there are many unwalled routes there which are practically waggon-roads.

[9] ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα τοὺς πρόποδας ἐπικλύζουσα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀνεστομωμένας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι τὰς ἐνθένδε ἀνόδους, καὶ σιηράγων τε καὶ χαλαδρῶν ἀδιεξόδων ἑνταῦθα οὐσῶν, ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τειχίσμασιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς περιβαλέσθαι τὰ διηρημένα τῇ φύσει, τῇ τε πρὸς τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων ὀκνήσει ἀταλαίπωρον ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ κατέλιπον, ἐς τὴν ἐσομένην βαρβάρους τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄγνοιαν ἀποθέμενοι τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας.

[9] The sea, washing the base of the mountains, continually made new ascents from this point; and since glens and impassable ravines abound there, it seemed to the men of ancient times impossible to close up thoroughly with walls the openings which had been made by nature; and because of their

reluctance to undertake a difficult task, they carelessly abandoned their safety to chance, basing their hope of salvation on the assumption that the barbarians would be ignorant of the road.

[10] ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἀπολέγοντες αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι, τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυσκολώτατα δόξαντα εἶναι οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶν οἶονται ῥάδια ἔσεσθαι.

[10] For since men always shrink from hard work, they imagine that what has seemed very difficult to them will not be easy for any others.

[11] διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἂν τις ἔτι φιλονεικοίῃ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγένηται, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα προμηθέστατον γεγονέναι καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελέστατον, ᾧ γε οὐδὲ θάλασσα χαλεπὴ γέγονε, γειννιδῶσά τε τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ περιχεομένη καὶ ἐπικλύζουσα, ἐν κλυδωνίῳ τε καὶ ψάμμῳ ὑγρᾷ τοῖς θεμελίοις στηρίζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις διαφανῶς ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀνθρώπων τε προσχωρεῖν τέχνη καὶ βιαζομένοις ὑπέεικιν.

[11] So no man will any longer dispute the assertion that the Emperor Justinian has shewn himself most provident and most exceptionally careful as compared with all other men who have ever lived, seeing that even the sea, though it comes close to the mountains and surrounds them and beats against them, has not proved an obstacle sufficient to prevent the foundations from being securely laid in the midst of the surging water and on the wet sand, or to forestall the most striking union of the most opposite elements, which are thus forced to yield to man's skill and to bow to his superior power.

[12] οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τάς τε λόχμας καὶ νάπας ἀλλήλαις ἀνάψας, οὐδὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ ὄρει ἐναρμολογῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅλην τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι, κατέπαυσε τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηκόων σπουδὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρία πολλὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς ἐτεκτήνατο, ἅξια τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπείας βεβουλευμένος, ἣ βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀκαταγώνιστον γίνεται.

[12] Yet this Emperor, even after joining the forests and the glens to each other, and fastening the sea to the mountain, and encircling all Greece with strongholds, did not stop his zeal for his subjects, but he also constructed many forts inside the wall, planning for all the contingencies which sway man's fortune,

[13] ὥστε εἰ τοῖς τείχεσι τούτοις τρόπῳ ὀφθῶν ἢ χρόνῳ ἀλῶναι ξυμβαίῃ, ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τὰ φυλακτήρια διασώζοιτο.

[13] so that if these walls in any manner or at any time chanced to be captured, the garrisons might still be maintained in the fortresses.

[14] καὶ μὴν καὶ σιτῶνας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὑδάτων ἔλντρα πανταχόθι πεποιήται, στρατιώτας τε φρουροὺς ἐς δισχιλίους μάλιστα τῇδε ἰδρύσατο· ὁ

οὐδέ τις τῶν πρώων βασιλέων πώποτε ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου πεποίηκεν.

[14] Furthermore, he placed granaries and reservoirs of water in safe places everywhere and established there about two thousand soldiers as a garrison, a thing which not one of the former Emperors has done in all time.

[15] ἀφύλακτα γὰρ τὸ παράπαν τὰ τείχη ταῦτα ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, ἀγροίκων τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς τῶν πολέμιων καταθεόντων μεθαρμοσάμενοι τὴν δίαίταν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τε αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες τὰ πολέμια, ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν, ἀλώσιμοί τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπειρία τοῦ ἔργου ῥᾶστα ξὺν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγίνοντο, ταύτη τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ ἢ χώρα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀπέκειτο ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις.

[15] For these walls were entirely unguarded from early times even to my day, and some of the peasants from the neighbourhood, when the enemy came down, would suddenly change their mode of life, and becoming makeshift soldiers for the occasion, would keep guard there in turn; and because of their inexperience in the business they, together with Greece itself, proved an easy prey to the enemy, and on account of this niggardliness the country through its whole extent lay open to the oncoming barbarians.

[16] Οὕτω μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἐρύματα ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ πόλεων δὲ ἀπασῶν, αἵπερ αὐτῶν ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐξικανοῦσιν οὔσαι, ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ τείχη ὠκοδομήσατο ἰσχυρά, ἐν τε Σάκκῳ καὶ Ὑπάτῃ καὶ Κορακίοις καὶ Οὐννῷ καὶ Βαλέαις καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Λεονταρίῳ.

[16] Thus did the Emperor Justinian secure the defences at Thermopylae. And in all the cities outside the pass, which in that region are sufficiently numerous, he very carefully built strong walls, both at Saccus and Hypatê and Coracii and Unnum and Baleae and at Leontarium, as it is called.

[17] ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποιήται τάδε. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα ἰόντι, ὄρη δύο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀλλήλοιν ὥς ἀγχοτάτω ξυνηῶσι, στενωπὸν ἐν βραχεῖ ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν (κλεισούρας νενομίκασι τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν).

[17] At Heraclea he did as follows. As one descends from Illyricum into Greece, one is confronted by two mountains which rise very close together for a long distance, forming between them a narrow pass of the sort which they are wont to call cleisurae.

[18] πηγὴ δὲ κατὰ μέσον κάτεισιν, ἐν μὲν ὥρᾳ θερινῇ πότιμον ἀποβλύζουσα καὶ καθαρὸν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἐς ρύακά τε ἀποκεκριμένη βραχύν.

[18] A small stream comes down between them, in the summer season flowing with pure drinking-water from the mountains which rise there and forming a

tiny brook.

[19] ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὕοι, χειμάρρους ἐνταῦθα ἐπικυρτοῦται ὑψηλός τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐκεῖνη σκοπέλων ἀπὸ τῶν χαραδρῶν συνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα.

[19] Whenever it rains, however, an exceedingly deep and very violent torrent billows down, gathering its volume chiefly from the streams which course down from the mountain peaks thereabout.

[20] ἐνθὲνδε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰσιτητὰ ἐπὶ τε Θερμοπύλας οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ταύτη Ἑλλάδα.

[20] At that point it was possible for the barbarians with no difficulty to effect an entrance both against Thermopylae and into that part of Greece.

[21] τοῦ δὲ στενωποῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄχυράματα ἦν, πῇ μὲν Ἡράκλεια πόλις, ἥσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, πῇ δὲ ὁ Μυροπόλης καλούμενος, οὐκ ὀλίγη διεστηκώς χώρα.

[21] But on either side of the pass there had been two fortresses from early times, on the one side the city of Heraclea, which I have just mentioned, and on the other, separated by no small distance, Myropoles, as it is called.

[22] ταῦτα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ὄχυράματα ἐν ἐρειπίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς καὶ διατειχίσματι τὸν στενωπὸν ὄχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, τούτῳ τε συνάψας ὄρος ἐκάτερον τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις τὴν διόδον ἀνεχαίτισε, τῷ δὲ χειμάρρῳ ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λιμνάζοντι τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, εἴτα ἐφύπερθεν αὐτοῦ φερομένῳ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ἰέναι.

] [22] Both these fortresses had lain in ruin from ancient times, so the Emperor Justinian rebuilt them and closed the pass with a very strong cross-wall which he made fast to each of the two mountains, thus blocking the entrance for the barbarians, and the stream when it is in flood is now forced to form a pond inside the wall and then to flow over it and go on wherever it chances.

[23] Καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας αἵπερ ἐντός εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπαντας.

[23] He also rendered secure all the cities of Greece which are inside the walls at Thermopylae, renewing their circuit-walls in every case.

[24] κατερρίψαν γὰρ πολλῶ πρότερον, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν σεισμῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἐξαισίων, Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιᾶσι κὰν τοῖς ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας χωρίοις χρόνου μὲν μήκει πεπονηκότες, ἐπιμελησαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδενός

τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

[24] For they had fallen into ruin long before, at Corinth because of terrible earthquakes which had visited the city; and at Athens and Plataea and the towns of Boeotia they had suffered from the long passage of time, while no man in the whole world took thought for them.

[25] ἐπίμαχον δὲ ἢ ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν εἶασεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προεργηγορότι τῶν κατηκόων ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι καταθέοντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, τὰ γε ἅμφί Θερμοπύλας χωρία, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθωνται οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἔσσεσθαι ὑπερβεληκόσι τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦτο, τειχίρους πανταχόθι γεγενημένης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἐθελοκακήσουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὡς πολιορκεῖν σφίσι πόλιν ἐκάστην ἐπάναγκες ἔσται.

[25] But he left nothing vulnerable or unguarded, for after vigilantly caring for the safety of his subjects, he felt convinced that even if the barbarians should chance to overrun the country about Thermopylae, they would, as soon as they learned that after surmounting this obstacle they would have gained no advantage (the rest of Greece having been fortified at every point), give up immediately in despair, knowing that it would be necessary for them to besiege each individual city.

[26] προσδοκία γὰρ μηχανομένη ταλαιπωρεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, οὐδὲ ἀναβαλλομένης ὠφελείας ἐφίεται, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδεται τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ὀκνήσεως τὴν μέλλουσαν τύχην.

[26] For when expectation is prolonged, it cannot endure the strain, nor does it even desire a profit which is delayed; but it simply abandons the contingent chance of success through waiting.

[27] Ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀτειχίστους ἐμάνθανεν εἶναι, λογισάμενος ὅτι δὴ οἱ πολὺς τετρίψεται χρόνος, εἰ κατὰ μιᾶς ἐπιμελοῖτο, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὅλον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐτειχίσατο, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ καταπεπτώκει τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη.

[27] When the Emperor Justinian, after he had accomplished all this, learned that all the cities of the Peloponnesus were unwalled, he reasoned that obviously a long time would be consumed if he attended to them one by one, and so he walled the whole Isthmus securely, because much of the old wall had already fallen down.

[28] φρουρίᾳ τε ταύτῃ ἐδείματο καὶ φυλακτήρια κατεστήσατο. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ ἄβατα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἅπαντα πεποίηκεν εἶναι τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία, εἰ καὶ τι ἐς τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλας ὀχύρωμα κακουργήσοιεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε κεχώρηκε.

[28] And he built fortresses there and established garrisons. In this manner he made all the towns in the Peloponnesus inaccessible to the enemy, even if somehow they should force the defences at Thermopylae. Thus were these things done.

[3]

[3] [1] Πόλις δὲ ἦν τις ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας, Διοκλητιανούπολις ὄνομα, εὐδαίμων μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν γεγεννημένη, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου βαρβάρων οἱ ἐπιπεσόντων καταλυθεῖσα καὶ οἰκητόρων ἔρημος γεγонуῖα ἐπὶ μακρότατον· λίμνη δὲ τις αὐτῇ ἐν γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἣ Καστορία ὠνόμασται. καὶ νῆσος κατὰ μέσον τῆς λίμνης τοῖς ὕδασι περιβέβληται.

[1] There was a certain city in Thessaly, Diocletianopolis by name, which had been prosperous in ancient times, but with the passage of time and the assaults of the barbarians it had been destroyed, and for a very long time it had been destitute of inhabitants; and a certain lake chances to be close by which was named Castoria. There is an island in the middle of the lake, for the most part surrounded by water;

[2] μία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν εἴσοδος ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἐν στενῷ λέλειπται, οὐ πλεον ἢ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα διήκουσα πόδας.

[2] but there remains a single narrow approach to this island through the lake, not more than •fifteen feet wide.

[3] ὄρος τε τῇ νήσῳ ἐπανέστηκεν ὑψηλὸν ἄγαν, ἥμισυ μὲν τῇ λίμνῃ καλυπτόμενον, τῷ δὲ λειπομένῳ ἐγκείμενον.

[3] And a very lofty mountain stands above the island, one half being covered by the lake while the remainder rests upon it.

[4] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὸν Διοκλητιανουπόλεως ὑπεριδὼν χῶρον ἄτε που διαφανῶς εὐέφοδον ὄντα καὶ πεπονθότα πολλῷ πρότερον, ἄπερ ἐρρήθη, πόλιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὀχυρωτάτην ἐδείματο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει.

[4] Wherefore this Emperor passed over the site of Diocletianopolis, since it was manifestly easy of access and had long been in a state of collapse, as has been stated, and built a very strong city on the island, and, as was right, he allowed it bear his own name.

[5] ἐπὶ μέντοι Ἐχιναίου τε καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Φαρσάλου καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ἐν αἷς Δημητριάς τέ ἐστι καὶ Μητρόπολις ὄνομα καὶ Γόμποι καὶ Τρίκα, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος, ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐκρατύνατο, χρόνῳ τε καταπεπονηκότας μακρῷ, εὐπετῶς τε ἁλωτοὺς ὄντας, εἴ τις προσίει.

[5] Furthermore, he restored the circuit-walls of Echinaeus and of Thebes and Pharsalus and of all the other cities of Thessaly, including Demetrias and Metropolis, as it is called, and Gomphi and Tricca, making them safe and strong, since they had all suffered with the passage of time and could be captured easily, if anyone should attack them.

[6] Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίγμεθα, φέρε δὴ, τῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ τε τὸ ὄρος τὸ Πήλιον καὶ ἸΠηνειὸν ποταμὸν ἴωμεν.

[6] But now that we have reached Thessaly, let us direct our account at once to Mt. Pelion and the Peneus River.

[7] ῥεῖ μὲν ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ Πηλίου πρῶν τῷ ρείθρῳ ὁ Πηνειός, ὠράϊσται δὲ αὐτῷ περιρρεομένη πόλις ἡ Λάρισσα, τῆς Φθίας ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι οὔσης, τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου τὸ διαπόνημα.

[7] This river flows from Mt. Pelion with a gentle stream which encircles and beautifies the city of Larissa; Phthia is no longer in existence, this being the work of the long passage of time.

[8] φέρεται δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος εὖ μάλα προσηνῶς ἄχρι ἐς θάλασσαν. εὐφορός τε οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα καρπῶν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτίμοις ὕδασι κατακορῆς ἄγαν, ὥνπερ ὀνίνασθαι ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον περίφοβοι ὄντες οἱ τῇδε ὤκημένοι διηνεκὲς καὶ καραδοκοῦντες ἀεὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγκείμεσθαι σφίσιν· ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ὀχύρωμα ἦν, ὅπη ἂν καταφυγόντες σωθήσονται.

[8] And this river flows on with a very easy descent all the way to the sea. The country is indeed productive of all kinds of crops and has a surfeit of drinking-water, yet the inhabitants of the region could not derive the least enjoyment from these things because they were in a state of constant terror and ever expected the barbarians to fall upon them, since there was no stronghold anywhere in this district where they might take refuge and find safety.

[9] ἀλλὰ καὶ Λάρισσαν καὶ Καισάρειαν, πεπονηκότων σφίσιν ὑπεράγαν τῶν ἐρυσμάτων, σχεδόν τι ἀτειχίστους εἶναι ξυνέβαινε.

[9] Even Larissa and Caesarea, since their defences had suffered excessively, had come to be practically unvalled.

[10] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅμφω τείχη ἰσχυρότατα ποιησάμενος γνησίᾳ τὴν χώραν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ξυνώκισεν.

[10] But the Emperor Justinian made the defences of both very strong, and in this way brought the blessings of true prosperity to the region.

[11] οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ἄποθεν ὄρη ἀνέχει ἀπόκρημνα, οὐρανομήκεσιν ἀμφιλαφεῖ δένδροις· οἰκεῖα δὲ Κενταύροις τὰ ὄρη.

[11] And not far away rise precipitous mountains, covered with lofty trees — the home of the Centaurs.

[12] καὶ γέγονε Λαπίθαις ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς τὸ Κενταύρων γένος ἡ μάχη, ὥς οἱ μῦθοι ἡμῖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰσχυρίζονται, νεανιευόμενοι γεγονέναι ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ ζῶων φύσιν τινὰ δυοῖν σύμμικτον.

[12] This was the spot where the battle of the Lapiths took place against the race of the Centaurs, as our myths have it from of old, childishly pretending that in early times a strange race of men existed, compounded of the nature of two creatures.

[13] ἀφῆκε δέ τι καὶ τῷ μύθῳ ἐν προσηγορίᾳ μαρτύριον ὁ παλαιὸς χρόνος, φρουρίου ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὄρεσιν ὄντος. Κενταυρόπολις γὰρ τὸ χωρίον καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται.

[13] Ancient times have also left a certain testimony to the myth in a name applied to a fort in the mountains there; for the place is called Centauropolis even to my day.

[14] οὐπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη σὺν Εὐρυμένη τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐνταῦθά πη ὄντι καὶ ταὐτὸ πεπονθότι ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐκράτύνατο.

[14] The wall of this fort, which had already fallen down, as well as the fortress of Eurymenê, near by, which was in the same state, was rebuilt and strengthened by the Emperor Justinian.

[15] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνενεώσατο, ὥνπερ τὰ ὀνόματα σὺν τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τετειχισμένοις ἐν καταλόγῳ γεγράφεταιί μοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.

[15] This Emperor restored also many other forts in Thessaly, the names of which I shall include a little further on in the list of towns in Macedonia which have been provided with walls.

[16] Ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπολειφθεῖ μένον ἄρρητον, ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἡμῖν τὴν νῆσον ἰτέον, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηνῶν τε καὶ Μαραθῶνος ἄγχιστα ἔστηκεν.

[16] But now, in order that no portion of Greece may be left unmentioned, we must go to the island of Euboea, for it stands close to Athens and Marathôn.

[17] Εὐβοία τοίνυν ἡ νῆσος ἥδε προβέβληται μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλάδος εἰς θάλασσαν,

δοκεῖ δέ που ἀπενεχθῆναι, μιᾶς μὲν οὔσης τῆς γῆς πρότερον, ἀποσχισθείσης δὲ πορθμῷ ὕστερον·

[17] This island of Euboea is thrown out into the sea in front of Greece, and it looks as if it had been cut off somehow from the mainland, having been one with the continent formerly, but later split off by a strait.

[18] ῥήγνυσι γάρ τις τὴν ἡπειρον ἐνταῦθα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἀμφὶ Χαλκίδα πόλιν, ἐν στενῷ τε ξυνιοῦσα καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐκατέρωθι σφιγγομένη ἐς ρύακος εὖρος.

[18] An arm of the sea breaks the continent there near the city of Chalcis, collecting itself in a narrow stream and being compressed by its banks to the breadth of a brook.

[19] καὶ νῆσος μὲν τὸ ἀποτετμημένον τῆς γῆς γέγονεν· Εὐριπος δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἐπωνόμασται.

[19] The portion of land which is thus cut off forms an island, and the strait is called Euripus.

[20] τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ Εὐβοία τυγχάνει οὔσα· ζεῦγμα δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ μία τις ἐγκειμένη ποιεῖται δοκός· ἥνπερ ἐπιτιθέντες μὲν, ἡνίκα ἂν ἡ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἡπειρῶται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ εἰς γῆν τὴν ἀντιπέρασ πεζοὶ ἴασιν, ἀφαιρούμενοι δὲ ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις διαπορθμεύονται τὸν ἀνάπλου καὶ νησιῶται γίνονται αὖθις, ἐνός τε ξύλου ἐπιβολῇ καὶ ἀφαιρέσει καὶ πεζεῦουσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται· . . . ἐντὸς καθειργμένην καλοῦσι Παλλήνην.

[20] Such then is Euboea; and a bridge over the strait is formed by a single timber laid across it. This the natives put in place whenever they wish, and thus they seem to be mainlanders when they cross on foot to the opposite shore; but when they remove it and cross the strait in boats, they become islanders again, so that by the placing or removal of one timber they may either walk or go in boats . . . they call the enclosed portion Pallenê.

[21] τὴν μέντοι εἴσοδον ἰδιατερίσματι τὸ παλαιὸν καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ταύτη τε τὴν ἐκατέρωθι συζεύξαντες θάλασσαν, πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ποτίδαιαν, τανῦν δὲ Κασανδρίαν ὀνομάζουσιν.

[21] The natives in ancient times had closed the entrance with a cross-wall, with which they had linked together the two seas; and they had built there a city which in former times they called Potidaea, but now Cassandria.

[22] οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας ὁ χρόνος διέφθειρε πάσας ὥστε δὴ Οὐννικόν τι ἔθνος οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, ὥσπερ τι διαχειρίζοντες οἷόν τι πάρεργον, τό τε ξύναμμα τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφοβοι

ἐξεῖλον, καίπερ ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πώποτε.

[22] But time so ruined all the buildings in this place that a Hunnic tribe, in overrunning that region not long ago, destroyed the city and the wall without fear, quite as if they were doing something just by the way, though since the world began they had never stormed a wall.

[23] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε πρόφασις ἀρετὴν τε καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι.

[23] But this too provided the Emperor Justinian with an opportunity to display his skill and his magnanimity.

[24] τοῖς γὰρ ξυμπίπτουσι χαλεποῖς ἀντίξουν ποιούμενος ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων τὰ πονηρότατα ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις ἀγαθοεργίαις εὐθὺς μεταβιβάζεται ἐς τύχην ἀμείνω.

[24] For, by always bringing his wisdom to bear in circumventing the difficulties he meets with, he straightway uses beneficent measures, thus transforming the greatest disasters into a happier state of affairs.

[25] καὶ Παλλήνης ἀμέλει πόλιν τε τὴν προβεβλημένην τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον διατείχισμα τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἅμαχόν τε καὶ ἀνανταγώνιστον διεπράξατο διαφανῶς εἶναι.

[25] So in this way he brought it about that both the city of Pallenê, which stands as a bulwark of the whole region, and the cross-wall at the entrance of the peninsula, became manifestly impregnable and able to defy any who should wish to attack them.

[26] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν πράξεσιν αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν διαπεπόνηται.

[26] These things, then, were done by him as his service to Macedonia.

[27] Ῥεῖ δέ τις ποταμὸς Θεσσαλονίκης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, Ῥήχιος ὄνομα· ὃς δὴ χώραν ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ γεώδη περιερχόμενος τὰς ἐκβολὰς εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἐκείνη ποιεῖται.

[27] Not far from Thessalonica flows a certain river, Rhechius by name, which wanders through a goodly land of deep soil and then empties into the sea near by.

[28] προσηγῆς δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐστί, γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πότιμον, ἡ γῆ χθαμαλή, ἀρόματα πολλά, ἔλος εὖνομον.

[28] The river flows with a steady current, the water is calm and drinkable, and

the ground is level with many ploughed fields and bottom-lands with good pasturage.

[29] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν εὐδαιμονίας ἡ χώρα εὖ ἔχει, ἰβάρβαροις δὲ λίαν εὐέφοδος οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν, οὔτε φρούριον ἐν σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἔρμα ἔχουσα.

[29] In these respects the land is blessed, but it used to be completely exposed to the barbarians, having neither fortress nor any other defence in a space of •forty miles.

[30] διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρά τε τὰς τοῦ Ῥηχίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνα φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐχυρώτατον, καινουργήσας αὐτός, ὅπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπωνόμασται.

[30] Consequently the Emperor built a new fort of great strength beside the mouth of the Rhechius River, near the shore of the sea, and it has been named Artemisium.

[4] [4] [1] Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇδε τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης πεποιήται μοῖρα εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. καὶ εἰ μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων τισὶ μακράν τε ὠκημένοις καὶ πολιτείαν ἐτέραν ἔχουσι τὸν κατάλογον ἐποιούμεθα τῶν τῇδε φρουρίων ἅπερ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται, ἵνα δὴ ἔμελλεν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος εἶναι, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μυθολόγος τε ἂν τῶν ἔργων τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως.

[1] It is proper to tell also how many other strongholds he constructed in this part of Europe. If we were making this catalogue of the forts in this region — those namely which were constructed by the Emperor Justinian — for the benefit of some other nations of men who lived far away, with a different form of government, in some place where the record would lack the testimony of witnesses, I know well that my account would seem fabulous and altogether incredible because of the mere number of the forts built.

[2] νῦν δὲ (ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις οὐ μακράν που τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἄγαν οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἡμῖν ἄνθρωποι) φέρε δὴ νεανειευσάμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχέγγυον οὖσαν, ἀπαριθμησόμεθα μηδεμίᾳ ὀκνήσει τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰς χώρας τὰς μοι ἐναγχος δεδηλωμένας πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἢ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐρυμάτων ἀνανεούμενος, ἢ νέα τείχη ἐπιτεχνώμενος.

[2] But as matters stand, since these things are to be seen at no great distance, and visitors from these regions are very numerous in our midst, let us, boldly telling the truth, well vouched for as it is, proceed with unbounded confidence to enumerate without any hesitation all the forts which the Emperor Justinian has built throughout the regions which I have just described, either by

restoring those fortifications which were in ruins or by contriving new walls.

[3] οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον ὥς ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐπελθεῖν ἅπαντα, ὥς μὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιμιξία ὄχλος τις ἐπιγένηται τῷ λόγῳ πολὺς.

Ἰ Φρούρια μὲν οὖν νέα πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἠπείρῳ νέα γεγένηται τάδε·

Βουλπιανσός.

Ἐπίστερβα.

Σκημινίτης.

Ἰονα.

Στεφανιακόν.

Ἄργος.

Ἀλίουλα.

Δυρράχιν.

Ὁ ἅγιος Σαβιανός.

Γέμενος.

Βακουστή.

Ἰλιστρος.

Πάταπα.

Ἐπιδοῦντα.

Βάκουστα.

Μάρτις.

Εἰρήνη.

Σπερέτιον.

Ἀοίων.

Στρέδην.

Γυναικομίτης.

Ἰ Λάβελλος.

Ἐπίλεον.

Πισκιναί.

Δεύφρακος.

Δολέβιν.

Ἡδονία.

Τιτιάνα.

Κιθινάς.

Οὐλίβουλα.

Βρεβατή.

Θησαυρός.

Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

Τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου.

Κεθρέων.

Ἄπις.

Πήλεον.

Κώμη.

Πακούε.

Σκυδρέων πόλις.

Ἀντίπαγραι.

Τίθουρα.

Βρέβετα.

Βοῦπος.

Ἐνδύνεια.

Διόνυσος.

Τοῦ Πτωχείου.

Τυρκανός.

Κάπαζα.

Πούψαλος.

Γάβραιον.

Ἰ Διόνοια.

Κλημεντιανά.

Ἰλλύριν.

Κιλικαί.

Ἀργυάς.

Θέρμα.

Ἀμάντεια.

Παρέτιον.

Ἐν δὲ Ἡπείρῳ παλαιᾷ, νέα μὲν φρούρια ἐγένοντο τάδε·

Παρμός.

Ὀλβος.

Κιόνιν.

Μαρκιανά.

Ἄλγος.

Κείμενος.

Ξηροπόταμος.

Εὐρώπη.

Χίμαιραι.

Ἠλέγα.

Ὀμόνοια.

Ἄδανον.

Ἀνεενώθη δὲ τάδε·

Μουρκίαρα.

Κάστινα.

Γενύσιος.

Ἰ Πέρκος.

Μαρμάρατα.

Λίστρια.

Πετρωνιανά.

Κάρμινα.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Σαβίνου.

Καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ Κώμη κινστάρνα.

Μάρτιος.

Πέζιον.

Ὅναλος.

Καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰουστινιανοπόλεως^ο καὶ Φωτικῆς· φρούρια δύο τοῦ ἁγίου Δονάτου.

Συμφύγιον.

Προνάθιδον.

Ἠδωνες.

Κάστελλος.

Βουλιβάς.

Πάλυρος.

Τράνα.

Ποσειδών.

Κολοφωνία.

Ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας.

Κάνδιδα.

Κολοβώνα.

⌋ Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου.

Μελίχιζα.

Πασκᾶς.

Αὐλών.

Βολβός.

Βριγίζης.

Ὅπτᾶς.

Πλευρόν.

Κάμινος.

Θέρμα.

Βογᾶς.

Νεάπολις.

Κάλαρνος.

Μουσεῖον.

Ἀκρέμβα.

Ἀδριάνιον.

Ἔδανα.

Σίκλαι.

Νύμφιον.

Μέτιζος.

Ἀργικιανόν.

Βάζινο.

Κασσωπᾶς.

Παρθίων.

Γεντιανόν.

] Πρινίανα.

Θήστεον.

Κύρρου.

Γουρρασών.

Κουμαρκίανα.

Λιμνηδήριον.

Βουρβοώδην.

Βάβας.

Κρυνίανα.

Πέλεκον.

Λάγης.

Κραταιά.

Φασκίαι.

Πλακιδιανά.

Ὕγεά.

Λιμναί.

Ὅπτιον.

Χάραδρος.

Κάσσωπες.

Ἀνενεώθη καὶ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας φρούρια τάδε·

Αλκῶν.

Λόσσοнос.

Γερωντική.

Πέρβυλα.

Κερκινέου.

Σκιδρεοῦς.

Φράκελλαν.

Ἰ Ἐπὶ Δαρδανίας δὲ πεποίηται τάδε. νέα μὲν·

Λαβέριον.

Κάστιμον.

Ῥαβεστόν.

Καστέλλιον.

Ἀκρένζα.

Τεριάς.

Δροῦλλος.

Βικτωρίας.

Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

Κεσίανα.

Τεζούλη.

Οὔσιανά.

Βεσίανα.

Μασκᾶς.

Λίστη.

Κελλιριανά.

Ζυσβάες.

Γένζανα.

Πετρίζην.

Εὐτυχιανά.

Μουλατώ.

Βελάς.

Κάτταρος.

Κατταρηκός.

Πέντζα.

Κατταφέτερος.

Ἰ Δάβανος.

Κούβινος.

Γέρματζα.

Βικτωριανά.

ἸΑζετα.

Δουρβουλιανά.

Σούρικον.

Κούσινες.

Τουττιανά.

Βαλλεσιανά.

Βήλλα.

Κατρέλατες.

Κασύελλα.

Μανίανα.

Πρισκούπερα.

Μιλετής.

Δαρδάπαρα.

Κέσουννα.

Βερινιανά.

Λάσβαρος.

Καστελλοβρέταρα.

Έδετζίω.

Δίνιον.

Κέκωλα.

Έμαστος.

Καστελῶνα.

Καπόμαλβα.

Σέρετος.

Πτωχεῖον.

Κουινώ.

Βέρζανα.

Βεσαῖανα.

Ἰ Ἄρσα.

Βλεζώ.

Λάβουτζα.

Κύντου.

Βερμέζιον.

Κατράσεμα.

Ῥοτοῦν.

Κοβέγκιλες.

Μαρκελλιανά.

Πριμονιανά.

Παμίλιнос.

Ἀρία.

Ὑπὸ πόλιν Σαρδικήν·

Σκούπιον.

Στένες.

Μαρκίπετρα.

Βρίπαρον.

Ῥωμανιανά.

Στρούας.

Πρωτίανα.

Μακκουιανά.

Σκοπέντζανα.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καβετζῶ χώρᾳ, νέον μὲν Βαλβαί ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

Βυρσία.

Σταμαζώ.

Κλεσβέστιτα.

Δουΐανα.

Ἰ Τούρικλα.

Μέδεκα.

Πεπλαβιός.

Κοῦναι.

Βίνεος.

Τρισκίανα.

Παρνοῦστα.

Τζίμες.

Βιδζώ.

Στενεκόρτα.

Δανεδέβαι.

Ἀρδεία.

. . . νέα μέν·

Βουγάραμα.

Βέτζας.

Βρεγεδάβα.

Βόρβρεγα.

Τουροῦς.

Ἀνενεώθη δέ·

Σαλεβρίες.

Ἀρκοῦνες.

Δουρίες.

Βουτερίες.

Βαρβαρίες.

Ἀρβατίας.

Κουτζούσουρα.

Ἑταιρίες.

Ἰταβερίες.

Βόττες.

Βιτζιμαίας.

Βαδζιάνια.

Βάνες.

Βιμηρός.

Τουσουδεάας.

Σκουάνες.

Σκεντουδίες.

Σκάρες.

Τουγουρίας.

Βεμάστες.

Στραμεντίας.

Λίγνιος.

Ἰταδεβά.

Ὑπὸ πόλιν Γέρμεννε, νέον μὲν Σκαπλιζώ· ἀνενεώθη δέ·

Γερμάς.

Κανδαράς.

Ῥολλιγεράς.

Σκινζερίες.

Ῥιγινοκάστελλον.

Σουεγωγμένεσε.

Ὑπὸ πόλιν Παντά·

Τάρπωρον.

Σουάβαστας.

Χερδούσκερα.

Βλέβοις.

Ζεαπουρίες.

] Ἐν χώρα Σκασσετάνα·

Ἄλαρον.

Μαγιμιάς.

Λουκουνάντα.

Βάλανσον.

Βούττις.

Ὑπὸ πόλιν δὲ . . . νέα μέν·

Καλβεντία.

Φαράνορες.

Στρανβάστα.

Ἄλδανες.

Βαραχτέστες.

Σάρματες.

Ἄρσενα.

Βράρκεδον.

Ἐραρία.

Βερκάδιον.

Σαβινίριβες.

Τιμίανα.

Κάνδιλαρ.

Ἄρσαζα.

Βικούλεα.

Καστέλλιον.

Γρόφφες.

Γάρκες.

Πίστες.

Δούσμανες.

Βράτζιστα.

Ἰ Όλόδορις.

Κασσία.

Γράνδετον.

Οὐρβρίανα.

Νώγετο.

Γούρβικον.

Λαύτζονες.

Δουλίαρες.

Μεδίανα.

Τιούγκωνα.

Καστέλλιον.

Ἀνενεώθη δέ·

Ἔρκουλα.

Μουτζιανικάστελλον.

Βούρδωπες.

Κάλις.

Μιλλάρεκα.

Δέδβερα.

Χεσδούπαρα.

Ἐν χώρα Ῥεμισιανισία·

Βρίττουρα.

Σούβαρας.

Λαμπωνίανα.

Στρόγγες.

Δάλματας.

Πριμίανα.

Φρερραρία.

Τόπερα.

Ἰ Τόμες.

Κούας.

Τζερτζενούτζας.

Στένες.

Αιάδαβα.

Δέστρεβα.

Πρετζουρίες.

Κουμούδεβα.

Δευριάς.

Λούτζολο.

Ὶρεπόρδενες.

Σπέλογκα.

Σκοῦμβρο.

Βρίπαρο.

Τουλκόβουργο.

Λογγίανα.

Λουποφαντάνα.

Δαρδάπαρα.

Βουρδόμινα.

Γριγκιάπανα.

Γραῖκος.

Δρασίμαρκα.

Ἐν χώρᾳ Ἀκουενισίῳ, νέον μὲν Τιμαθοχιώμ. τὰ δὲ ἀνανεωθέντα·

Πέτρες.

Σκουλκόβουργο.

Βινδιμίολα.

] Βραίολα.

Ἀργανόκιλι.

Καστελλόνοβο.

Φλωρεντίανα.

Ὶρωμυλίανα.

Σεπτέκασαι.

Ἀργένταρες.

Αὐριλιána.

Γέμβερο.

Κλέμαδες.

Τουρρίβας.

Γρίβο.

Χάλαρο.

Τζούτρατο.

Μουτζίπαρα.

Στένδας.

Σκαρίπαρα.

Ἰ Ὀδριούζο.

Κιτίπενε.

Τρασίανα.

Πότες.

Ἄμουλο.

Σέτλοτες.

Τιμακίολον.

Μερίδιο.

Μεριοπόντεδε.

Τρεδετετιλίους.

Βραίολα.

Μώτρεσες.

Βικάνοβο.

Κουαρτίανα.

Τουλιόβαλλαι.

Πόντζας.

Ζάνες.

[3] It will be preferable to set them all down together in catalogue form so that my narrative may not become utterly irksome by interspersing a crowd of place-names here and there in it.

Now the following new forts were built by the Emperor in New Epirus:

Boulpiansus

Episterba

Sceminites

Aona

Stephaniacum

Argus

Aliula

Dyrrachin

St. Sabianus

Gemenus

Bacustê

Alistrus

Patapa

Epidunta

Bacusta

Martis

Eirenê

Speretium

Aoiôn

Stredên

Gynaecomites

Labellus

Epileum

Piscinae

Deuphracus

Dolebin

Hedonia

Titiana

Cithinas

Ulibula

Brebatê

Thesaurus

The following were restored:

St. Stephen's

Cethreôn

Apis

Peleum

Comê

Pacuê

The city of Scydreôn

Antipagrae

Tithyra

Brebeta

Bupus

Endyneia

Dionysus

Ptocheiou

Tyrcanus

Capaza

Pupsalus

Gabraeum

Dionoia

Clementiana

Illyrin

Cilicae

Argyas

Therma

Amanteia

Paretium

And in Old Epirus the following new forts were built:

Parmus

Olbus

Cionin

Marciana

Algus

Ceimenus

Xeropotamus

Europê

Chimaerae

Helega

Homonoia

Adanum

And the following forts were restored:

Murciara

Castina

Genysius

Percus

Marmarata

Listria

Petroniana

Carmina

St. Sabinus'

And a cistern in the fort of Comê

Martius

Pezium

Onalus

And from Justinianopolis and Photicê, two forts of St. Donatus

Symphygium

Pronathidum

Hedones

Castellus

Bulibas

Palyrus

Trana

Poseidôn

Colophonia

In Macedonia:

Candida

Colobona

Basilica Amyntou

Melichiza

Pascas

Aulon

Bolbus

Brigizes

Optas

Pleurum

Caminus

Therma

Bogas

Neapolis

Calarnas

Museum

Acremba

Adrianium

Edana

Siclae

Nymphium

Metizus

Argicianum

Bazinus

Cassopas

Parthiôn

Gentianum

Priniana

Thesteum

Cyrrou

Gourassôn

Cumarciana

Limnederium

Bourboöden

Babas

Cryniana

Pelecum

Lagês

Crataea

Phasciae

Placidiana

Hygea

Limnaae

Optium

Charadrus

Cassopes

And these forts were restored in Thessaly:

Alcôn

Lossonus

Geronticê

Perbyla

Cercineou

Scidreûs

Phracellan

In Dardania the following were built. New:

Laberium

Castimum

Rhabestum

Castellium

Acrenza

Terias

Drullus

Victorias

And the following were restored:

Cesiana

Tezulê

Usiana

Besiana

Mascas

Listê

Celliriana

Zysbaes

Genzana

Petrizên

Eutychiana

Mulatô

Belas

Cattarus

Cattarecus

Pentza

Cattapheterus

Dabanus

Cubinus

Germatza

Victoriana

Azeta

Durbuliana

Suricum

Cusines

Tuttiana

Ballesiana

Bella

Catrelates

Casyella

Maniana

Priscupera

Miletês

Dardapara

Cesuna

Beriniana

Lasbarus

Castellobretara

Edetziô

Dinium

Cecola

Emastus

Castelona

Capomalba

Seretus

Ptocheium

Cuinô

Berzana

Besaïana

Arsa

Blezô

Labutza

Quintou

Bermezium

Catrasema

Rhotun

Cobenciles

Marcelliana

Primoniana

Pamilinus

Aria

Near the city Sardicê:

Scupium

Stenes

Marcipetra

Briparum

Romaniana

Struas

Protiana

Maccuniana

Scopentzana

And in the district of Cabetzus, Balbae was built new, and the following were restored:

Byrsia

Stamazô

Clesbestita

Duiana

Turicla

Medeca

Peplabius

Cunae

Bineüs

Trisciana

Parnusta

Tzimes

Bidzô

Stenecorta

Danedebae

Ardeia

. . . the following new:

Bugarama

Betzas

Bregedaba

Borbrega

Turûs

And the following were restored:

Salebries

Arcunes

Duries

Buteries

Barbaries

Arbatias

Cutzusura

Etaeries

Itaberies

Bottes

Bitzimaemas

Badziania

Banes

Bimerus

Tusudeaas

Scuanes

Scentudies

Scares

Tugurias

Bemastes

Stramentias

Lignius

Itadeba

Near the city Germenne, Scaplizo was built new, and the following were restored:

Germas

Candaras

Rolligeras

Scinzerias

Rhiginocastellum

Suegogmense

Near the city Pauta:

Tarporum

Suabastas

Cherduscera

Blebois

Zeapuries

In the district of Scassetana:

Alarum

Magimias

Lucunanta

Balausum

Buttis

Near the city . . . the following were built new:

Calbentia

Pharanores

Stranbasta

Aldanes

Barachtetes

Sarmates

Arsena

Brarcedum

Eraria

Bercadium

Sabiniribes

Timiana

Candilar

Arsaza

Biculea

Castellium

Groffes

Garces

Pistes

Dusmanes

Bratzista

Holodoris

Cassia

Grandetum

Urbriana

Nogeto

Gurbicum

Lautzones

Duliares

Mediana

Tiuncona

Castellium

And the following were restored:

Hercula

Mutzianicastellum

Burdopes

Calis

Millareca

Dedbera

Chesdupara

In the district of Remisianisia:

Brittura

Subaras

Lamponiana

Stronges

Dalmatas

Primiana

Phrerraria

Topera

Tomes

Cuas

Tzertzenutzas

Stens

Aeadaba

Destreba

Pretzouries

Cumudeba

Deurias

Lutzolo

Rhepordenes

Spelonca

Scumbro

Briparo

Tulcoburgo

Longiana

Lupophantana

Dardapara

Burdomina

Grinciapana

Graecus

Drasimarca

In the district of Aquisisium, Timathochiôm was built new, and the following were restored:

Petres

Sculcoburgo

Vindimiola

Braeola

Arganocili

Castellonovo

Florentiana

Romyliana

Septecasae

Argentares

Auriliana

Gembero

Clemades

Turribas

Gribo

Chalaro

Tzutrato

Mutzipara

Stendas

Scaripara

Odriuzo

Cipipene

Trasiana

Potes

Amulo

Setlotes

Timaciolum

Meridio

Meriopontede

Tredetetilious

Braeola

Motreses

Vicanovo

Quartiana

Julioballae

Pontzas

Zanes

[5] [5] [1] Οὕτω μὲν σύμπασαν τὴν μεσόγειον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐτειχίσατο. τρόπον δὲ ὄντινα καὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύμασί τε καὶ φυλακτηρίοις στρατιωτῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[1] Thus did the Emperor Justinian fortify the whole interior of Illyricum. I shall also explain in what manner he fortified the bank of the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, by means of strongholds and garrisons of troops.

[2] οἱ Ῥωμαίων τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτοκράτορες τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ὀκημένοις βαρβάροις τὴν τοῦ Δανουβίου διάβασιν ἀναστέλλοντες ὀχυρώμασί τε κατέλαβον τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν ξύμπασαν, οὐ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαχῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα πολίσματά τε καὶ φρούρια τῇδε δειμάμενοι.

[2] The Roman Emperors of former times, by way of preventing the crossing of the Danube by the barbarians who live on the other side, occupied the entire bank of this river with strongholds, and not the right bank of the stream alone, for in some parts of it they built towns and fortresses on its other bank.

[3] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐξεργάσαντο οὐκ ἀμήχανα προσελθεῖν, ἢ τις προσίοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον δὴ μὴ ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡϊόνα λελεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ τειχομαχεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωστο.

[3] However, they did not so build these strongholds that they were impossible to attack, if anyone should come against them, but they only provided that the bank of the river was not left destitute of men, since the barbarians there had no knowledge of storming walls.

[4] τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐρυμάτων αὐτοῖς ἀμέλει ἀπεκέκριτο ἐς πύργον ἓνα, μονοπύργιά τε, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἀνθρωποὶ τε ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἵδρυντο.

[4] In fact the majority of these strongholds consisted only of a single tower,

and they were called appropriately “lone towers,” and very few men were stationed in them.

[5] καὶ τοῦτο τῆνικάδε ἀπέχρη τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων δεδίσσεσθαι γένη, ὥστε δὴ ἀναδύεσθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίθεσιν.

[5] At that time this alone was quite sufficient to frighten off the barbarian clans, so that they would not undertake to attack the Romans.

[6] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀττίλας στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσβεβληκῶς, τὰ τε ὀχυρώματα πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε, καὶ γῆν Ῥωμαίων ὑπαντιάζοντός οἱ οὐδενὸς ἐληΐσατο τὴν πολλήν.

[6] But at a later time Attila invaded with a great army, and with no difficulty razed the fortresses; then, with no one standing against him, he plundered the greater part of the Roman Empire.

[7] ἀλλ’ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνφοδομήσατό τε τὰ καθηρημένα, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ πρότερα ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τὸ καρτερώτατον μάλιστα, καὶ πλεῖστα ἔτι ἐπετεχνήσατο καινουργήσας αὐτός.

[7] But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt the defences which had been torn down, not simply as they had been before, but so as to give the fortifications the greatest possible strength; and he added many more which he built himself.

[8] ταύτῃ τε παντάπασιν ἀνεσώσατο ἀπολωλυῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ἅπερ ἅπαντα ὄντινα γεγένηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[8] In this way he completely restored the safety of the Roman Empire, which by then had been lost. And I shall explain how all this was accomplished.

[9] Κάτεισι μὲν ἐξ ὀρέων τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς ποταμὸς Ἴστρος, οἱ τανῦν Γάλλοι ἐπικαλοῦνται· χώραν δὲ περιβάλλει πολλήν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παντελῶς ἔρημον, ἐνιαχῇ δὲ βαρβάρους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσαν, θηριώδη τέ τινα δίαιταν ἔχοντας καὶ ἀνεπίμικτον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις.

[9] The River Ister flows down from the mountains in the country of the Celts, who are now called Gauls; and it passes through a great extent of country which for the most part is altogether barren, though in some places it is inhabited by barbarians who live a kind of brutish life and have no dealings with other men.

[10] Δακίας δὲ ὡς ἀγχοτάτω γενόμενος, ἐνταῦθα διορίζων φαίνεται πρῶτον τοὺς τε βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπ’ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχουσι, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐν δεξιᾷ οὔσαν.

[10] When it gets close to Dacia, for the first time it clearly forms the boundary between the barbarians, who hold its left bank, and the territory of the Romans, which is on the right.

[11] διὸ δὴ Ῥιπησίαν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἰαυτὴν Δακίαν· ῥῖπα γὰρ ἡ ὄχθη τῇ Λατίων καλεῖται φωνῇ.

[11] Consequently the Romans apply the term Ripesia to this part of Dacia, for ripa signifies bank in the Latin tongue.

[12] πόλιν οὖν παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν, ὄνομα Σιγγιδόνον, ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείμαντο πρώτην.

[12] Accordingly they had made a beginning by building on the bank there in ancient times a city, by name Singidunum.

[13] ταύτην δὲ βάρβαροι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐλόντες ἔς τε τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες εὐθύς, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων παντάπασι κατεστήσαντο.

[13] This the barbarians captured in time, and they immediately razed it, leaving the place quite destitute of inhabitants.

[14] τρόπον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων κατεστήσαντο τὰ πλεῖστα.

[14] They did precisely the same thing to most of the other strongholds.

[15] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνανεωσάμενος ξύμπασαν καὶ τειχίσματι ὀχυρωτάτῃ περιβαλὼν, πόλιν περιφανῇ τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν πεποίηκεν αὐτῆς.

[15] But the Emperor Justinian restored the entire city and surrounded it with a very strong fortification, and thus made it once more a famous and important city.

[16] φρουρίον τε ἄλλο διαφερόντως ἐχυρὸν ἀνέστησε νέον, πόλεως Σιγγιδόνου ὁκτὼ μάλιστα σημείοις διέχον, ὅπερ Ὁκταβὸν λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι καλοῦσιν.

[16] And he set up another new fortress of exceptional strength •about eight miles distant from Singidunum, which they call by the appropriate name of Octavus.

[17] ἐπίπροσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ πόλις ἦν ἀρχαία τὸ Βιμινάκιον, ἣν περ ὁ βασιλεὺς (ἐκ θεμελίων γὰρ ἀπωλώλει τῶν ἐσχάτων πολλῶ πρότερον) ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ξύμπασαν ἀπέδειξε νέαν.

[17] Beyond it was the ancient city of Viminacium, which the Emperor rebuilt entire and made new, for it had long before been ruined down to its uttermost

foundations.

[6] [6] Ἐκ δὲ Βιμινακίου προϊόντι ὀχυρώματα τρία πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνι
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Πιγκούς τε καὶ Κούπους καὶ Νοβάς.

[1] As one goes on from Viminacium there chance to be three strongholds on
the bank of the Ister, Pinci and Cupi and Novae.

[2] οἷς δὴ πρότερον ἢ τε οἰκοδομία μία καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ πύργου ἑνὸς ἔκειτο.
ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ τε οἰκία καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἕς τε πλῆθος καὶ
μέγεθος ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις ἀνενεγκὼν μέγα, πόλεων αὐτοῖς ἀξιώματα
οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος ἐντέθεικε.

[2] These were formerly both single in construction and when named were
single towers. But now the Emperor Justinian has greatly increased the
number of the houses and enlarged the defences at these places, and thereby
has properly given them the rank of cities.

[3] Νοβῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεῖρω πύργος ἐκ παλαιοῦ
ἀπημελημένος ἐστήκει, ὄνομα Λιτερατά· ὅνπερ οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι Λεδέρατα
ἐκάλουν.

[3] And opposite Novae in the mainland on the other side of the river, had
stood from ancient times a neglected tower, by name Literata; the men of
former times used to call this Lederata.

[4] ὃν δὴ ἕς φρούριον μέγα τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἐχυρώτατον ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς
βασιλεὺς μετεστήσατο.

[4] This the present Emperor transformed into a great fortress of exceptional
strength.

[5] μετὰ Νοβὰς δὲ φρούρια Κανταβαζά τε καὶ Σμόρνης τε καὶ Κάμψης καὶ
Τανάτα καὶ Ζέρνης καὶ Δουκεπράτου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεῖρῳ ἄλλα τε
πολλὰ φρούρια ἐκ θεμελίων τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐδείματο.

[5] After Novae are the forts of Cantabaza, Smornês, Campsês, Tanata, Zernês,
and Ducepratum. And on the opposite side he built a number of other forts
from their lowest foundations.

[6] μετὰ δὲ Καπούτβοες ὠνόμασται, τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος Τραϊανοῦ
ἔργον, καὶ πολίχνιον ἐφεξῆς παλαιόν, Ζάνες ὄνομα.

[6] Farther on is the so-called Caput Bovis, the work of the Roman Emperor
Trajan, and beyond this is an ancient town named Zanes.

[7] οἷσπερ ἅπασιν ἐρύματα περιβαλὼν ἐχυρώτατα προβόλους εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας ἀνανταγωνίστους πεποιῆται.

[7] And he placed very strong defences around all these and so made them impregnable bulwarks of the State.

[8] τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ζάνες οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν φρούριον μὲν ἐστὶ, Πόντες ὄνομα· ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκροήν τινα ἐνταῦθα ἐκβάλλων, αὐτὴ τε περιπολῶν ὀλίγην τινὰ τῆς ἀκτῆς μοῖραν, ἐπιστρέφει αὖθις ἐς ῥοὺν τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναμίγνυται.

[8] And not far from this Zanes there is a fort, Pontes by name. The river throws out a sort of branch there, and after thus passing around a certain small portion of the bank, it turns again to its own stream and is reunited with itself.

[9] ποιεῖ δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ αὐτόματος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοίαις ἀναγκασθεῖς.

[9] It does this, not of its own accord, but compelled by human devices.

[10] ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα Πόντες τε ὁ χῶρος ἐκλήθη καὶ ἀναγκαστὸν περιάγουσιν αὐτόσε τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[10] The reason why the place was called Pontes, and why they made this forced diversion of the Ister at this point, I shall now make clear.

[11] Ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανός, θυμοειδής τε ὢν καὶ δραστήριος, ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντι ἐφείκει, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀπέραντος αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλεία εἴη, ἀλλὰ ποταμῷ Ἰστρῳ ὀρίζεται.

[11] The Roman Emperor Trajan, being of an impetuous and active temperament, seemed to be filled with resentment that his realm was not unlimited, but was bounded by the Ister River.

[12] ζεῦξαι οὖν αὐτὸν γεφύρα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχεν, ὥς διάβατός τε αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐμπόδιος εἴη ἐς τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους ἰόντι.

[12] So he was eager to span it with a bridge that he might be able to cross it and that there might be no obstacle to his going against the barbarians beyond it.

[13] ὅπως μὲν οὖν τὴν γέφυραν ἐπήξατο ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐν σπουδῇ γένοιτο, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνός, ὁ καὶ παντὸς γεγωνὸς ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἔργου, φραζέτω.]

[13] How he built this bridge I shall not be at pains to relate, but shall let Apollodorus of Damascus, who was the master-builder of the whole work,

describe the operation.

[14] οὐ μέντοι τις τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονεν ὄνησις ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ὃ τε Ἰστρος ἐπιχυθεὶς ὕστερον καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐπιρρεύσας καθεῖλον.

[14] However, the Romans derived no profit from it subsequently, because later on the bridge was completely destroyed by the floods of the Ister and by the passage of time.

[15] πεποιήται δὲ Τραϊανὸς τότε καὶ φρούρια δύο τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ αὐτοῖν Θεοδώραν μὲν ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, Πόντες δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ Δακίας ὁμωνύμως τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκλήθη.

[15] At the same time Trajan built two forts, one on either side of the river; the one on the opposite bank they named Theodora, while the one in Dacia was called Pontes from the work —

[16] πόντην γὰρ τὴν γέφυραν Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γινομέναις ναυσὶν ἄπλους τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν, τῶν τῆς γεφύρας αὐτόθι ἐρειπίων τε καὶ θεμελίων κειμένων, τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναγκάζουσι μεταπορεύεσθαι τὸν αὐτοῦ δρόμον καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἀνακυκλεῖν αὐτῆς, ὅπως ἂν πλώϊμον καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐτὸν ἔχουεν.

[16] for the Romans call a bridge pontem in the Latin tongue. But when boats reached that point, the river was no longer navigable, since the ruins and the foundations of the bridge lay in the way; and it is for this reason that they compel the river to change its course and to go about in a detour, so that they may keep it navigable even beyond that point.

[17] ἄμφω μὲν οὖν καταπεπονηκότα τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα διὰ τε χρόνου μῆκος καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα ἐπισκηψάντων ἐνταῦθα βαρβάρων διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβη.

[17] Both these forts had suffered so much from the passage of time, and more still from the assaults of the barbarians, that they had come to be utterly destroyed.

[18] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Πόντην μὲν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, νέα τε καὶ ἀμάχῳ ἐπιεικῶς ἀνανεωσάμενος οἰκοδομία, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀνεσώσατο· τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ὄντος, ὅπερ Θεοδώραν καλοῦσιν, ἅτε ἀποκειμένου τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις, προσήκειν οἱ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ᾤετο· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐστῶτα μετὰ τὴν Πόντην ὀχυρώματα ᾠκοδομήσατο καινουργήσας αὐτός, ἅπερ καλεῖται Μαρεβούργου τε καὶ Σουσίανα, Ἀρμάτα τε καὶ Τιμένα, καὶ Θεοδωρούπολιν τε καὶ Στιλιβούργου καὶ Ἀλικανιβούργου.

[18] And the Emperor Justinian restored Pontes, which is on the right of the river, providing it with new and thorough impregnable defences, and thus re-

established the safety of Illyricum. However, the fort on the other side of the river, the one which they call Theodora, he considered in no way worthy of his attention, exposed as it was to the barbarians there. But the strongholds which now stand beyond Pontes he himself built new; these are named Mareburgou and Susiana, Harmata and Timena, and Theodoropolis, Stiliburgou and Halicaniburgou.

[19] Ἦν δέ τι πολίχνιον ἐγγὺς κείμενον, Ἀκυες ὄνομα, οὗπερ ὀλίγα ἄττα σαθρὰ γεγονότα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηνόρθωσε.

[19] There was a certain small town near by, Acues by name, which had fallen partly into decay; this the Emperor put in order.

[20] καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο Βουργονόβορε καὶ Λακκόβουργο, καὶ τὸ Δορτικὸν ἐπικαλούμενον φρούριον, ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλον γεγενημένον ἐς ὀχύρωμα νῦν ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο.

[20] Beyond that lay Burgonobore and Laccoburgo, and the fortress called Dorticum, utterly effaced by time, which he made into a fort now very strong.

[21] καὶ πύργον ἓνα, Ἰουδαῖος καλούμενον, φρούριον διεσκευάσατο κεκαλλιστευμένον καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι.

[21] And he remodelled a stronghold called Judaeus, which had consisted of a single tower, and made it a splendid fortress in name and in fact.

[22] καὶ τὸ δὴ Βουργουάλτου ὠνομασμένον, ἔρημόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀοίκητον τὰ πρότερα ὄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶρον ἕτερον περιβόλῳ ἐτειχίσατο νέῳ ὥνπερ ἐπικαλοῦσι Γόμβες.

[22] Nor did he neglect the fort named Burgualtu, which previously was desolate and wholly without inhabitants, but also surrounded with a new circuit-wall another place which they call Gombes.

[23] καὶ τὸ Κρίσπας ἔρυμα καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Λογγινιάνα καὶ Ποντεσέριον ἐδείματο, ἔργον διαφερόντως ἐξάριστον.

[23] Also he rebuilt the defences of Crispas, which had suffered with the passage of time, likewise Longiniana and Ponteserium, an exceptionally fine piece of work.

[24] ἐν δὲ Βονωνία τε καὶ Νοβᾷ προμαχεῶνας διερρηκόντας ἀνεεώσατο. καὶ Ῥατιαρίας πόλεως ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ὀρθὰ ἐστήσατο.

[24] In Bononia and Novus he restored the parapets which had crumbled. And all the parts of the city Ratiara which had collapsed he re-erected.

[25] καὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον ἢ βραχέα κομιδῇ ὄντα ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρεν, ἢ συνέστειλε τὸ περιττὸν ἀφελόμενος, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῷ ὑπεράγαν βραχεῖ ἢ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ εὐέφοδα εἶη· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει Μωκατίανα μὲν πύργον ἓνα κατὰ μόνας τὰ πρότερα ὄντα φρούριον τανῦν τελεώτερον κατεστήσατο.

[25] He improved many other places in accordance with their particular needs, either making very small places large, or curtailing their size where it was excessive, so that they might not be easy for an enemy to attack either because of excessive smallness or because of too great size; thus, for example, Mocatiana, which previously was a single tower standing alone, he converted into the more complete fortress which it now is.

[26] τὸ δέ γε Ἀλμοῦ, χώραν περιβεβλημένον πολλήν, ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγὼν σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἅμαχον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰργάσατο.

[26] On the other hand, the fortress of Almou, which used to cover a large area, he brought into small compass and thus made it safe and able to defy the assaults of the enemy.

[27] καὶ πολλαχῇ δὲ πύργον ἓνα κατὰ μόνας ἐστῶτα εὐρὼν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὄντα, φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον κατεστήσατο.

[27] In many places, finding a single tower standing by itself and therefore an easy prey for assailants, he converted it into a very strong fortress;

[28] ὁ δὲ καὶ περὶ τε Τρίκεσαν καὶ Πούτεδιν πεποίηκε. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὀχυρώματα τοῦ ἐν Κεβρῷ τὰ καταπεπονηκότα θαυμασίως ὥς ἐπηνώρθωσε· φρούριόν τε οὐ πρότερον ὂν ἐν Βιγранаῇ δεδημιούργηκε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα ἕτερον ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐφ' οὗ δὲ πύργος εἰς τὰ πρότερα ὂν εἰστήκει μόνος, ὄνομα Ὀνος.

[28] this he did, for example, with Tricesa and Putedis. Furthermore, he restored in a marvellous way the damaged defences at Cebus. At Bigranae he constructed a fortress which had not existed before, and very close to it a second one, Onus by name, where a single tower had previously stood.

[29] ἐλέλειπτο δὲ μόνα πόλεως ἐδάφη οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν· Αὐγουῤστες ὀνομάζετο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἢ πόλιν.

[29] And not far away there were the bare foundations of a city which in early times used to bear the name of Augustus.

[30] νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὄνομα ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ καὶ ἀκραιφνὴς ὅλη πρὸς Ὑουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως γεγεννημένη, ὁμιλεῖ οἰκητόρων ἐπικεικῶς πλήθει.

[30] But now, still bearing its ancient name, though all made over new by the

Emperor Justinian and quite complete, it knows a rather numerous population.

[31] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ ἐν Αἰδάβῃ ἐρύματος ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ Βαριάνα πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κειμένην ἀνέστησεν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Βαλεριάναν, ἔρυμα πρότερον οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, ἐτείχισατο.

[31] Also he restored the damaged portion of the defences of Aëdabê, and put in order the city of Varianaa which had long lain in ruins. In addition, he built a wall around Valeriana, which previously had no defences.

[32] Πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ χωρίων οὐ παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κειμένων τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἄποθεν ὄντων ἐπεμελήσατο, πεσυμένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τειχίσματί τε αὐτὰ περιβέβληκεν ἀμάχοις τισί.

[32] Furthermore, he gave his attention to towns which do not lie upon the bank of the river but stand at a great distance from it — towns which were about to fall in ruins for the most part — and he encircled them with walls which are practically impregnable.

[33] Κάστρα Μάρτις τε καὶ Ζητνουκόρτου καὶ Ἰσκὸς τὰ χωρία ἐπικαλεῖται ταῦτα. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην φρούριον παλαιόν, Οὔννων ὄνομα, ἐπιμελείας ἤξιωσε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ πολλῆς.

[33] These places are named Castra Martis and Zetnucortou and Iscus. And an ancient fort named Hunnôn, on the bank of the river, he treated as worthy of attention in all respects and particularly in the matter of its circuit-wall.

[34] ἔστι δὲ τις χώρος]οῦ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τούτου δὴ τοῦ Οὔννων φρουρίου, ἔνθα δὴ ὀχυρώματα δύο Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἦν, ἐν μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς Παλατίολον ὄνομα, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Συκίβιδα.

[34] There is a certain place not far removed from this fort of Hunnôn where there are two fortresses, one on either side of the Ister River, the one in Illyricum named Palatiolum, and the one on the other side, Sycibida.

[35] ταῦτα καθηρημένα τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν, ἐπέκεινά τε φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο, παλαιὸν ἔρυμα, ὅπερ Οὔτως ὠνόμασται.

[35] These, which had been ruined by time, the Emperor Justinian restored and thereby checked the incursions of the barbarians of that region; and beyond them he built a fort at an ancient stronghold which was named Utôs.

[36] ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὁρίων φρούριον ἀνωκοδομήσατο, Λαπιδαρίας ὄνομα, καὶ πύργον ἓνα ἐστῶτα μόνον, Λουκερναριαβούργου καλούμενον, ἐς φρούριον ἀξιοθέατον μετεστήσατο.

[36] And at the extremity of the Illyrian territory he built a fort named Lapidarias, and he transformed into a notable fortress a single tower which had stood alone, called Lucernariaburgou.

[37] ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διαπέπρακται. οὐ μόναις δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις τὴν χώραν ἐτειχίσατο ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι πᾶσιν ἀξιολογωτάτας καταστησάμενος τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο.

[37] These then were the works executed by the Emperor Justinian in Illyricum. Yet it was not with buildings alone that he fortified this land, but he also established very considerable garrisons of troops in all the strongholds and thereby warded off the assaults of the barbarians.

[7] [7] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰλλυριῶν ὀχυρώματα παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ἐπὶ Θράκης δὲ νῦν ἰτέον ἡμῖν τὰ ἐρύματα, ὅσα δὴ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἴργασται.

[1] Such, then, are the strongholds of Illyricum along the Ister River. But we must now go on to the fortified towns of Thrace, those namely which were built by the Emperor Justinian along the river-bank there.

[2] οὐ γάρ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἅπασαν πρότερον περιηγησαμένῳ τὴν ταύτῃ ἡϊόνα οὕτω δὴ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειαν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα.

[2] For it has seemed to me not improper, after first describing the coast of that region, then to take up also the record of what he did in the interior.

[3] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Μυσοὺς ἐνθένδε ἴωμεν, οὓςπερ ἀγχεμάχους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἰλλυριοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσι.

[3] First, then, let us proceed to Mysia, the home of men whom the poets call hand-to-hand fighters, for their country borders upon Illyricum.

[4] μετὰ τὸν χῶρον οὖν ὅνπερ Λουκερναριαβοῦργον καλοῦσι, Σεκούρισκα τὸ φρούριον ᾧ κοδομήσατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καινουργήσας αὐτός.

[4] So beyond that place which they call Lucernariaburgou the Emperor Justinian built the fortress Securisca, a new work of his own.

[5] ἐπέκεινά ῃτε τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐν Κυντοδήμου ἀνενεώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐδείματο οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, ἣνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδωρόπολιν ἐπωνόμασεν.

[5] Beyond this he restored the parts of Cyntodemus which had suffered. And still further on he built a city which had not existed previously, and this he named Theodoropolis, after the Empress.

[6] ἔτι μέντοι φρουρίων τοῦ τε Ἰατρῶν καλουμένου καὶ Τιγᾶς τὰ πεπονθότα νέᾳ τινὶ διεσώσατο οἰκοδομία, καὶ τοῖς Μαξεντίου πύργον ἐντέθεικεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ προσδεῖν ᾔετο.

[6] Furthermore, he preserved the fortresses called Iatrôn and Tigas by building anew the parts which had suffered, and to the fort of Maxentius he added a tower, which he thought it needed.

[7] καὶ τὸ Κυντῶν ἐδείματο φρούριον οὐ πρότερον ὄν. μεθ' ὃ δὴ τὸ Τρασμαρίσκας ὀχύρωμά ἐστι· οὐπὲρ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ Κωνσταντῖνός ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φρούριον οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ὀικοδομήσατο, Δάφνην ὄνομα, οὐκ ἀξύμορον νενομικῶς εἶναι φυλάσσεσθαι ταύτη τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκατέρωθεν.

[7] And he built the fort of Cyntôn which had not existed before. Beyond this is the stronghold Trasmariscas. Just opposite this, on the other bank of the river, Constantine, Emperor of the Romans, once built with no small care a fort, Daphnê by name, thinking it not inexpedient that the river should be guarded on both sides at this point.

[8] ὃ δὴ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου βάρβαροι μὲν ἀφανίζουσι τὸ παράπαν, Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀνὸικοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐκ θεμελίων ἀρξάμενος.

[8] As time went on, the barbarians destroyed this entirely; but the Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, beginning at the foundations.

[9] μετὰ δὲ Τρασμαρίσκαν ἔρυμά τε τὸ Ἀλτηνῶν, καὶ ὅπερ καλοῦσι Κανδιδιάνα, καθηρημένον πρὸς αὐτῶν πολεμίων πολλῷ πρότερον, ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε κατὰ λόγον τῆς χρείας.

[9] And beyond Trasmariscas is the stronghold Altenôn and one which they call Candidiana, destroyed long before by the same enemy, which he repaired with all the care that they deserved.

[10] ἔστι δὲ τρία ἐξῆς ὀχυρώματα παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνα, Σαλτουπύργος τε καὶ Δορόστολος καὶ Συκιδάβα.

[10] And there are three forts, Saltupyrigus, Dorostolus and Sycidaba, one after the other along the bank of the Ister,

[11] ὧν δὴ ἐκάστου τὰ πεπονθότα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηνώρθωσε.

[11] which the Emperor put in order by carefully repairing such parts of each one as had suffered.

[12] καὶ Κούηστρις δέ, ὅπερ κεῖται τῆς ἀκτῆς ἔκτοσθεν, ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ὁμοίαν πεποιήται. καὶ Πάλματις ἐν στενῷ κείμενον μεῖζόν τε κατεστήσατο καὶ διαφερόντως εὐρύτερον, καίπερ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄν.

[12] He displayed a similar care in the case of Questris, which lies back from the river. And Palmatis, which was cramped for space, he enlarged and made very much broader, though it is not on the bank of the river.

[13] οὗ δὴ ἄγχιστα καὶ φρούριον Ἄδινα καινουργήσας ἐδείματο, ἐπεὶ διηνεκὲς διαλανθάνοντες Σκλαβηνοὶ ἰβάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ἐνεδρεῦοντές τε κεκρυμμένως αἰ τοὺς τῆδε ἰόντας ἄβατα ἐποιοῦν τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία.

[13] Close to this he built also a new fort named Adina, because the barbarian Sclaveni were constantly laying concealed ambuscades there against travellers, thus making the whole district impassable.

[14] καὶ φρούριον δὲ τὸ Τιλικίων ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κείμενον ἔρυμα.

[14] He likewise built the fortress of Tiliciôn and a stronghold which lies to its left.

[15] Οὕτω μὲν καὶ Μυσοῖς τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀκτῆς ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἔσχε καὶ ταύτης πλησίον.

[15] Such was the condition of the fortresses of Mysia on the bank of the Ister River, as well as those near it.

[16] ἐπὶ Σκύθας δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν βαδιοῦμαι· ἔνθα δὴ φρούριον πρῶτον Κυρίλλου ἀγίου ἐπώνυμον ἐστίν, οὗπερ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνωκοδομήσατο οὐκ ἀπημελημένως Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς.

[16] Next I shall proceed to Scythia; there the first fortress is the one named for St. Cyril, of which the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with care those portions which had suffered with time.

[17] ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτοῦ ἦν μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχύρωμα, Οὐλμιτῶν ὄνομα, βαρβάρων δὲ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐκείνῃ τὰς ἐνέδρας πεποιηκότων, διατριβὴν τε αὐτόθι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐσχηκότων, ἔρημόν τε παντάπασι γέγονε, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι.

[17] Beyond this from ancient times there was a stronghold, Ulmitôn by name, but since the barbarian Sclaveni had been making their ambuscades there for a great length of time and had been tarrying there very long, it had come to be wholly deserted and nothing of it was left except the name.

[18] ὅλον τοίνυν ἐκ θεμελίων δειμάμενος, ἐλεύθερα τῆς τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπιθέσεως τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς κατεστήσατο εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία.

[18] So he built it all up from the foundations and thus freed that region from

the menace and the attacks of the Sclaveni.

[19] ἔστι δέ που μετὰ τοῦτο Ἴβιδά πόλις, ἥς δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλὰ ἐπεπόνθει, ἅπερ ἀνανεωσάμενος οὐδεμίᾳ μελλήσει ἐχυρωτάτην διεπράξατο εἶναι.

[19] Beyond this is the city of Ibida, whose circuit-wall had suffered in many places; these he renewed without delay and made the city very strong.

[20] φρούριόν τε δεδημιούργηκε νέον αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ Αἴγισσον ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ φρούριον Σκυθίας ἐν ὑστάτῳ κεῖται, Ἄλμυρις ὄνομα, οὗ δὴ τὰ πολλὰ σαθρὰ γεγονότα διαφανῶς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος διεσώσατο.

[20] And beyond it he built a new fortress, a work of his own, which they call Aegissus. At the extremity of Scythia lies another fortress, Halmyris by name, a great part of which had become manifestly insecure, and this he saved by rebuilding it.

[21] ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης μοίρᾳ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον.

[21] All the other strongholds also within the bounds of Europe are worthy of mention.

[8] [8] [1] Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἔν τε Δαρδάνοις καὶ Ἑπειρώταις καὶ Μακεδόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνεσιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρὸν οἰκοδομήματα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται, ἤδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγεται.

[1] All the building that was done by the Emperor Justinian in Dardania, Epirus, Macedonia and the other parts of Illyricum, also in Greece and along the Ister River has already been described by me.

[2] ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἴωμεν, ἀρίστην πηγνύμενοί τινα τοῦ λόγου κρηπὶδα τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου χωρία, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἡ πόλις οὐ τῷ κρατεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρίων προέστηκε φύσει, τῇ μὲν Εὐρώπῃ ὥσπερ τις ἀκρόπολις ἐπεμβαίνουσα, φραττομένη δὲ τῆς διοριζούσης αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας θαλάσσης τὸ πέρας.

[2] Next let us go to Thrace, laying down as the fairest foundation, as it were, for our narrative the environs of Byzantium, since this city is preëminent in Thrace not only because of its power, but also by reason of its natural site, planted as it is on Europe like a kind of acropolis and finally setting a guard over the sea which divides it from Asia.

[3] ἤδη μὲν οὖν τάς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς πόλεως κτίσεις, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περιβόλου δεδημιούργηκεν, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλώκα λόγοις. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἐρῶν

ἔρχομαι.

[3] I have already described in the preceding narrative all the buildings of the city itself, including the work which was done for the shrines, both inside and outside the walls of Constantinople. I shall now proceed from that point.

[4] Φρούριόν ἐστὶν ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὅπερ Στρογγύλον ὁμωνύμως τῇ τοῦ ἐρύματος συνθέσει καλοῦσιν.

[4] In a suburb of the city there is a fortress which they call Strongylum from the form in which it is built.

[5] ἐντεῦθεν ἢ ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον ὁδὸς ἄγουσα, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνώματος οὔσα, ὄμβρων, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπιπεσόντων, τελματώδης τε καὶ δυσπάριτος τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν ἐγίνετο.

[5] The road which leads from that point to Rhegium was for the most part uneven; and if rain chanced to fall it became a bog and was difficult for travellers to get through.

[6] νῦν δὲ λίθοις αὐτὴν καταστρώσας ἀμαξιαίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐπετὴ τε κατεστήσατο καὶ ἄπονον ὅλως.

[6] But now this Emperor has paved it with blocks of stone each large enough to load a waggon and so has made it altogether practicable and easy.

[7] μῆκος μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇδε ἄχρι ἐς Ῥήγιον· εὐρύνεται δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον ἀμάξας οὐ στενοχωρεῖν δύο ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις ἰούσας.

[7] In length, this road extends all the way to Rhegium and its breadth is such that two waggons, going in opposite directions, have no lack of room.

[8] τραχεῖς οἱ λίθοι διαφερόντως· εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς μυλίστας εἶναι· εὐμεγέθεις τέ εἰσι μάλιστα. ὥστε δὴ ἕκαστος γῆν μὲν ἐπικαλύπτει πολλήν, ἐς ἄγαν δὲ ὑψοῦ ἀνέχει.

[8] The paving-stones are exceptionally coarse, so that you would expect them to be mill-stones; and they are of goodly size. Consequently each one covers much ground and stands very high.

[9] ἐς δὲ τό ὁμαλὲς καὶ ἵτό γε λεῖον ἐπιεικῶς ἐξεργασμένοι, οὐ ἐνῆφθαι τῇ συνθέσει, οὐδέ πη ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μεμυκέναι, ἀλλὰ συμπεφυκέναι δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

[9] They are very carefully worked so as to form a smooth and even surface, and they give the appearance not simply of being laid together at the joints, or

even of being exactly fitted, but they seem actually to have grown together. So much, then, for this.

[10] Λίμνην δέ τινα εἶναι ἄγγιστα τοῦ Ῥηγίου καλουμένου ξυμβαίνει ἐς ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσι ποταμοὶ ἐκ χωρίων τῶν ὑπερθεν τῆδε φερόμενοι.

[10] There chances to be a kind of lake very close to this place called Rhegium, into which pour streams that flow from the adjacent uplands.

[11] διακέχυται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν· ὥστε μία τις ἀμφοτέραιν ἄκτὴ ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα τυγχάνει οὖσα.

[11] This lake extends as far as the sea so that in the very narrow tongue of land between them they have a common shore.

[12] ταύτην δὲ ἄμφω ἐπικλύζουσι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀντικυματοῦσαι, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιμυκόμεναι, αἰεὶ τε ἀλλήλαις εὐθὺ ἵενται τὴν ἡϊόνα ἐπικοινωνόμεναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὡς πλησιαίτατα ἴκονται, ἀναχαίτίζουσι τὴν ἐπιρροήν, ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἐπιστρέφουσαι, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὅρια σφίσι πηξάμεναι.

[12] Both sea and lake wash against this shore as their waters roll against its opposite sides, and they bellow against each other as they constantly rush straight on towards one another, sharing a common beach. But when they come very close, they check their flow and turn upon themselves, just as if they had fixed their limits there.

[13] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλαις οὗ ἀναμίγνυνται, πορθμόν τινα μεταξὺ ἔχουσαι, ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότερα ποτὲ αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ὕδωρ διακεκλήρωται.

[13] However, there is a place where the waters mingle, having a sort of strait between them, and it is uncertain to which of them belongs the water of the strait.

[14] οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἐς τὴν λίμνην αἰεὶ φέρεται οὔτε διηνεκὲς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ λίμνη ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλ' ὁμβρων μὲν ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, ἐπιπνεύσαντός τε ἀνέμου νότου, ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ὁ πορθμὸς προῖων φαίνεται.

[14] Neither does the current of the sea always flow into the lake nor does the lake continuously empty into the sea; but when heavy rains have fallen, and when the south wind has been blowing, the water of the channel seems to flow out from the lake,

[15] ἣν δὲ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἴοι, ἡ θάλασσα τὴν λίμνην ἐπικλύζειν δοκεῖ. ἐν τούτῳ μέντοι ἡ θάλασσα τῷ χώρῳ ἐς βράχος κατατείνει παμμέγεθες, ὀλίγης τινὸς ἀπολελειμμένης μεταξὺ χώρας ἥπερ διήκει ἐς ἄβυσσον·

[15] but if the wind comes from the north, the sea seems to be flooding into the lake. At this point, moreover, the sea is shallow for a considerable distance, with the exception of a very small space where the depth is great.

[16] ἐς τόσον δὲ στενὴν τυγχάνει οὖσα, ὥστε δὴ καὶ Μύρμηξ ὠνόμασται. οὗτος δὲ ὁ πορθμός, ὃ τε τὴν ἰθάλασσαν καὶ τὴν λίμνην ζευγνύων, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, πάλαι μὲν γεφύρα ξυλίνῃ διαβατὸς ἦν ἐπὶ κινδύνῳ μάλιστα τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ξύλοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνδιεφθείροντο·

[16] Indeed this is so narrow that it is called Myrmex. The strait which joins the sea and the lake, as I have said, was crossed in ancient times by a wooden bridge, with great danger for those passing that way, because they were often destroyed together with the bridge-timbers if they happened to collapse.

[17] νῦν δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς λίθοις λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις ἐς ἀψῖδος μετεωρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα, τὴν ἐκείνην διάβασιν ἀκίνδυνον κατεστήσατο.

[17] But now the Emperor Justinian has carried the bridge on a huge arch built of picked stones, and thus he has made the crossing there free from danger.

[18] Τοῦ δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐπέκεινα πόλις ἐστὶ που, Ἀθύρας ὄνομα, ἥσπερ τοὺς οἰκήτορας δίψῃ δεινотάτῃ ἐχομένους εὐρὼν τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσε σφίσιν, ἔλυστρον ἐνταῦθα δειμύμενος, θησαυρίζων μὲν ἐπικαιριώτατα τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν περιουσίαν, πρυτανεύων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ περιβόλου.

[18] Beyond Rhegium is a certain city named Athyras, whose inhabitants he found suffering from extreme scarcity of water; this difficulty he remedied for them by building a reservoir there, in which by storing at just the right time the unnecessary excess of water, he dispensed it as needed to the inhabitants. He also rebuilt such parts of the circuit-wall as had suffered.

[19] Ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀθύραν τις χῶρος, ὃνπερ Ἐπισκοπεῖα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.

[19] Beyond Athyras is a certain place which the inhabitants call Episcopia.

[20] ὃν δὴ κατανενοηκὼς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς ὑποκείμενον, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δέ, ὡς οὐδαμῇ ὀχυρώματος ὄντος, ἀφύλακτα παντάπασιν ὄντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, φρούριον ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο· οὗ δὴ τοὺς πύργους πεποίηται οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρὸς τοιῷδε.

[20] The Emperor Justinian, perceiving that this lay exposed to the assaults of the enemy, and that a large expanse of country here was altogether unguarded, since no stronghold at all existed, built a fortress in that place; and he built the

towers there, not in the customary manner, but as follows.

[21] προὔχει τις ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου οἰκοδομία, στενωτάτη μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς οὔσα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐς εὖρος μέγα· ἐφ' οὗ δὴ ἕκαστος ἐξείργασται πύργος.

[21] At regular intervals a structure is built out from the circuit-wall, very narrow at first, but finally spreading out to a great breadth; on this in each case a tower was erected.

[22] ταύτη τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ τείχους ἰέναι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν πύργων κατὰ μέσον γινόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ κατὰ κορυφὴν πρὸς τῶν ἐκείνη φρουρῶν ῥᾶστα βαλλόμενοι διαφθεύονται.

[22] Thus it is impossible for the enemy to get close to the wall anywhere, because when they get into a precarious position between the towers they are easily shot at from both sides and from above by the guards there and are destroyed.

[23] τάς τε πύλας ἔνταυθα οὐ κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα τῶν πύργων μεταξὺ ἔθεντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας κατὰ τὸ ἐν στενῷ προὔχον τοῦ τείχους, οὐχ ὁρωμένας τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν διαλανθανούσας.

[23] The gates too he did not place in the customary position between the towers, but at an angle, in the narrow part of the projection which runs out from the wall, where they could not be seen by the enemy but were masked behind the towers.

[24] ἐνταῦθα Θεόδωρος βασιλεῖ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχετο, σιλεντιάριος τὴν ἀρχήν, συνετὸς μάλιστα.

[24] In that place Theodore, a very clever man who held the office of silentarius, was of service to the Emperor.

[25] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔρυμα τῇδε πεποιήται. ἐπὶ τείχη δὲ τὰ μακρὰ ἐνθὲνδε ἰόντας ὀλίγα ὑπειπεῖν ἄξιον.

[25] Thus were these fortifications built. And it is proper, proceeding thence to the long walls, to explain them briefly.

[9] [9] [1] Ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Ἰσπανίας γῆν τὴν Εὐρωπαϊάν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ποιούμενη μέχρι μὲν ἐς Θράκην κατὰ ταῦτά χωρεῖ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἐνθεν δὲ σχιζομένη πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἧς στέλλεται μοῖραν, πῇ δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐγκαρσία γεγενημένη τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον ἀποτελεῖ πόντον.

[1] The Sea, commencing from the Ocean and from Spain, goes on in a single direction, approximately eastward, keeping Europe on its left as far as Thrace,

but at that point it divides itself and while one portion goes towards the East, another part of it turns gradually, at an oblique angle, and forms the Euxine Sea, as it is called.

[2] ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικομένη ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νύσσης τινὸς καμπὴν ποιεῖται ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως, πλάγια τε πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον γιγνομένη ἐν πορθμῶ ἵεται, ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θράκης τὰ τε πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐργαζομένη.

[2] When it reaches Byzantium, it makes a bend about the eastern portion of the city, as if rounding a turning-post, and bending much more obliquely, it runs in the form of a strait, turning the front and back portions of Thrace into an isthmus, as one would expect.

[3] οὐχ ὅτι ἐς ἐκροὰς ἐνταῦθα ἡ θάλασσα μερίζεται δύο, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσθμοῖς εἶωθεν, ἀλλὰ περιστρεφομένη τε θαυμασίως ὡς καὶ περιβαλλομένη ἐκατέρωθεν Θράκην τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου προάστεια πάντα.

[3] This does not mean that the sea is divided here into two separate bays, as is wont to happen at other isthmuses, but it circles round in a marvellous way, from two sides surrounding Thrace and especially all the suburbs of Byzantium.

[4] οἰκοδομοῦνται δὲ καὶ περιστέλλουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι τὰ προάστεια οὐχ ὅσον ἐς χρεῖαν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὕβριν τε καὶ τρυφὴν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου ἐξουσία ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἰοῦσα ποιεῖ.

[4] The people there build and adorn their suburbs, not only to meet the actual needs of life, but they display an insolent and boundless luxury and all the other vices that the power of wealth brings when it comes to men.

[5] ἐπιπλά τε κατατίθενται ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ καὶ διαπονήματα ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐνδελεχέστερα ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν καταθεῖν τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπιναιῶς ξυνενεχθεῖη, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις προστριβεσθαι τὴν ζημίαν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ κακοῖς ἄγαν τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις βαρύνεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία.

[5] And they accumulate much furniture in their houses and make it a point to keep costly objects in them. Thus, when it comes about that any of the enemy overrun the land of the Romans suddenly, the damage caused there is much greater than in other places, and the region is then overwhelmed with irreparable calamities.

[6] ὁ δὲ ἄναστέλλειν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων ἐν χώροις οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα τοῦ Βυζαντίου διέχουσι μακρὰ οἰκοδομησάμενος τείχη, ἅμφω τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς ἀκτὰς ἔξευξεν, οὗ δὲ

ἀλλήλαιν διεστήκασιν ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν μάλιστα· ταύτη τε ἅπαντα ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ καθεστάναι τὰ ἐντὸς ᾤετο.

[6] The Emperor Anastasius had determined to put a stop to this and so built long walls at a distance of not less than •forty miles from Byzantium, uniting the two shores of the sea on a line where they are separated by about a two-days' journey.

[7] ἦν δὲ ἄρα μειζόνων τοῦτο συμφορῶν αἴτιον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν οἰκοδομίαν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐξεργάσθαι, ἢ φρουρεῖσθαι ζῶν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ.

[7] By this means he thought that everything inside was placed in security. But in fact this was the cause of greater calamities. For neither was it possible to make safe a structure of such great length nor could it be guarded rigorously.

[8] ἐπειδὴν τε μοῖρα τινὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκήψαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιοῦντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀπροσδόκητοι κακὰ οὐκ εὐδιήγητα ἐξεργάζοντο.

[8] And whenever the enemy descended on any portion of these long walls, they both overpowered all the guards with no difficulty, and falling unexpectedly upon the other people they inflicted loss not easy to describe.

[9] Ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς τὰ τε πεπονθότα τούτων δὴ ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ τε σφαλερὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχυρώτατον κρατυνάμενος τῶν φρουρῶν ἔνεκα, προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε.

[9] But the Emperor rebuilt those portions of these walls which had suffered, and making the weak parts very strong for the sake of the guards, he added the following devices.

[10] τὰς μὲν ἐξόδους, αἵπερ ἐκ πύργου ἐκάστου ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐχομένους ἐξάγουσιν, ἐφράζατο πάσας.

[10] He blocked up all the exits from each tower leading to those adjoining it;

[11] ἄνοδον δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἔντοσθεν ἐτεκτίνατο μίαν· ἦνπερ ἐπὶ καιροῦ καθειργνύντες οἱ ταύτη φρουροὶ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφρουνοῦσι τοῦ περιβόλου ἵεντὸς γενομένους· ἐπεὶ πύργος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἕκαστος αὐτὸς κατὰ μόνας τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπόρρη.

[11] and he built from the ground up a single ascent inside each individual tower, which the guards there can close in case of emergency and scorn the enemy if they have penetrated inside the circuit-wall, since each tower by itself was sufficient to ensure safety for its guards.

[12] καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς τὰ ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐνδελεχέστατα διεπράξατο, τὰ τε ἄλλα πεποιημένος ἥπερ μοι ἑναγχος εἴρηται καὶ πόλεως Σηλυβρίας ἀνανεωσάμενος ὅσα πεπονθότα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτύγχανεν.

[12] Also inside these walls he diligently made provision for safety, not only doing what has just been mentioned, but also restoring all the parts of the circuit-wall of the city of Selymbria which happened to have been damaged.

[13] ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

[13] These things then were done by the Emperor Justinian at the long walls.

[14] Ἡράκλεια δὲ ἡ πόλις ἥδε, ἡ παραλία, ἡ ἐν γειτόνων, ἡ Πέρινθος (ἥ πάλαι μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐδίδοσαν, νῦν δὲ διὰ μετὰ γε Κωνσταντινούπολιν τὰ δευτερεῖα παρέχονται) διγῶσά τε καὶ λίαν αὐχμῶσα ἑναγχος ἔκειτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἄνυδρος ἦν ἡ ἀμφ’ αὐτὴν χώρα, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀπημέλητο ταῦτα τοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ δειμαμένοις τὴν πόλιν (ἐπεὶ καὶ κατάρρυτος Εὐρώπη ταῖς κρήναις, καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ὀχετοὺς ἔμελεν), ἀλλὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα ποιῶν ὁ χρόνος τῇ πόλει τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν ἀνῆρκεν, ἢ καταγεγρακυῖαν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ὑπεριδὼν, ἢ τῷ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν φθορὰν ποδηγούμενος. ὀλίγου τε ἀοίκητος διὰ τοῦτο Ἡράκλεια ἐλέλειπτο εἶναι.

[14] The well-known city of Heraclea which is situated on the coast near by, the ancient Perinthus — which in former times men regarded as the first city of Europe, though it now takes a place second to Constantinoplea — suffered cruelly from lack of water in recent times. This was not because the country about it had no water, nor yet because this matter was neglected by the ancient builders of the city (for Europe has an abundance of springs and the men of ancient times were careful to build aqueducts), but because Time, following its custom, had destroyed the city’s aqueduct, since it either failed to notice that its masonry had become enfeebled by age, or else was leading the people of Heraclea to their own destruction through their neglect of it; and the city was nearly left depopulated for this reason.

[15] ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ βασιλείᾳ ὁ χρόνος ἐποίει ἀξιοθέατα ἐπικεικῶς ὄντα.

[15] And Time was having the same effect upon the palace there, a very admirable building.

[16] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶς μάλιστα, τὴν πόλιν ιδὼν, ὕδασι τε αὐτὴν ποτίμοις καὶ ιδιαιδέσιν ἐπέκλυσε, καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὥς ἥκιστα ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα.

[16] But when the Emperor Justinian saw the city, he in no careless fashion, but rather in a manner befitting an Emperor, flooded it with crystal-clear drinking-water, and he, far from permitting the city to be deprived of the honour of its palace, rebuilt it throughout.

[17] Ἡρακλείας δὲ ἄποθεν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν χωρίον ἐπιθαλασσίδιον ἦν, Ῥαιδεστός ὄνομα, παράπλου μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καλῶς κείμενον, εὐλίμενον δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον τοῖς ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ ναυτιλλομένοις καταίρειν τε καὶ ἀποφορτίζεσθαι προσηνῶς μάλιστα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἀνάγεσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐμπλησάμενοις τοῦ γόμου τὰ πλοῖα· βαρβάροις δὲ ἀποκείμενον καταθέουσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐξαπιναίως τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τῷ μῆτε ἀποτετριγχόμενον μῆτε τῇ φύσει δυσπρόσοδον εἶναι.

[17] One day's journey distant from Heraclea was a town on the coast named Rhaedestus, well situated for the voyage to the Hellespont, with a good harbour well adapted for the business of the sea, so that merchant vessels could put in and unload their cargoes very conveniently and then put out to sea again with no difficulty after loading their freight. But it lay exposed to the barbarians, who sometimes overran that region in unexpected raids, because it was not protected even by makeshift defences nor was it naturally difficult of access.

[18] ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις δέει τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπεροφθὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐγένετο.

[18] Consequently the place came to be disregarded and neglected by the merchants through fear of the risk.

[19] νῦν δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐχ ὅσον τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐσώσατο πάντας.

[19] But now the Emperor Justinian has not only provided for the safety of the place but has also saved all those who dwell round about.

[20] ἐπὶ Ῥαιδεστοῦ γὰρ ἀνέστησε πόλιν, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνὴν, μεγέθει δὲ διαφερόντως ὑπέρογκον.

[20] For he erected at Rhaedestus a city which is not only strongly defended by its wall, but is also of extraordinary size.

[21] οὐ δὴ βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἅπαντες εἰς καιρὸν καταφεύγοντες σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζονται.

[21] Hither on occasion all those who dwell near by flee for refuge when the barbarians fall upon them, and they thus save themselves and their property.

[10] [10] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ῥαιδεστοῦ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. ὅσα

δὲ αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ Χερρονήσῳ διαπεπόνηται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[1] Such were the works carried out by the Emperor Justinian at Rhaedestus. I shall go on to tell what he did in the region of the Chersonese.

[2] προβέβληται μὲν πάσης ἡ Χερρόνησος τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν Θράκης. ἐπεμβαίνουσα γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐχομένη τοῦ πρόσω, δόκησιν παρέχεται ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν χωρεῖ.

[2] The Chersonese extends out from all that portion of Thrace. It projects boldly into the sea and seems to be pressing onward, giving the impression that it is advancing toward Asia.

[3] ἀκτὴ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἐλαιοῦντα προὔχουσα μία, σχίζει τε εἰς δύο τὴν θάλασσαν μοίρας, καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἀποτεμενομένη τῆς ἄλλης ἡπείρου, καὶ προσιοῦση ἐπίπροσθεν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑποχωροῦσα, τὸν Μέλανα καλούμενον ποιεῖ κόλπον.

[3] It has a single projecting point at the city of Elaeus, and this divides the sea into two parts, while the promontory itself is cut off from the rest of the mainland by the water, and curves inward before the advancing sea to form the so-called Gulf of Melas.

[4] νῆσος δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὀλίγου δέοντος γίνεται, ὄνομα τῷ ποιουμένῳ προσῆκον κτωμένη. Χερρόνησος γάρ, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, ὀνομάζεται, ἰσθμῷ διειργομένη βραχεῖ μὴ νῆσος παντάπασιν εἶναι.

[4] The remainder of it almost forms an island, acquiring a name appropriate to the shape which it assumes, for it is called Chersonese, most likely because it is prevented only by a tiny isthmus from being altogether an island.

[5] κατὰ τοῦτον οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἰσθμὸν παρέργως τε καὶ λίαν ἀπημελημένως ἐδείματο διατεῖχισμα κλίμακι ἁλωτόν.

[5] At this isthmus the men of former times built a cross-wall of a very casual and indifferent sort which could be captured with the help of a ladder,

[6] κῆπον γάρ πού τινα εἰκὴ κείμενον αἵμασιᾶ περιβάλλειν οἴομενοι, ἰσχνόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὑπερανεστηκὸς ἐξειργάσαντο.

[6] because, I suppose, they thought they were building an earthen wall around a casually placed garden-plot, and so built it of meagre dimensions and rising only slightly from the ground.

[7] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκατέρωθι τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ θάλασσαν προβόλους τεκτηνάμενοι βραχεῖς τε καὶ φαύλους, οὔσπερ καλεῖν νενομίκασι μώλους, τὴν μεταξὺ

χώραν τοῦ τε ῥοθίου καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφράξαντο, οὐ ταύτη τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀπωσόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους παρακαλέσοντες· οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀποπειρασομένοις εὐάλωτον.

[7] And facing the sea at either side of the isthmus they constructed wretched little bastions, of the sort which people are wont to call “moles,” and with these they closed the gap between the water and the circuit-wall, not with the expectation of repelling attacking forces at this point, but rather in order to invite them to effect an entrance; so contemptible did they make them and so easy to capture for any who should attack.

[8] ἡγούμενοι δέ τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄμαχον πεποιῆσθαι ὀχύρωμα, τούτου δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα φυλακῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιοῦν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε φρούριον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἔρυμα ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, καίπερ ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐς τριῶν κατατεινούσης ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν.

[8] But they thought they had set up a kind of invincible bulwark against the enemy and so decided to regard everything inside this circuit-wall as requiring no further protection, for there actually was neither fort nor any other stronghold on the Chersonese, though it extends to a length of almost three day's journey.

[9] ἔναγχος ἀμέλει γοῦν οἱ περὶ καταθέοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἐγκεχειρήκασιν μὲν ὥς ἀποπειρασόμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα εἰσόδου, δεδιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ταύτη φρουροὺς ἐσπεπηδήκασιν ὥσπερ τι ἄθυρμα παίζοντες, ἐντός τε τοῦ περιβόλου γεγένηται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

[9] Indeed the enemy, while overrunning the land of Thrace recently, did actually undertake to force the entrance by the beach, and frightening off the guards there they leaped inside just as if they were playing a game, and they got inside the defences with no trouble.

[10] Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἀμφὶ τῶν κατηκόων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ διασκοπούμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίει τάδε.

[10] So the Emperor Justinian, with his constant solicitude for the safety of his subjects, did as follows.

[11] πρῶτα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐξίτηλον τὸ παλαιὸν γεγένηται τεῖχος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἵχνους οἱ ἀπολελειμμένου τινός.

[11] First of all he demolished completely the old wall, so that not so much as a trace of it was left.

[12] ἕτερον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἀνέστη, ὅπερ ἐπεικῶς εὐρυνόμενον

ὑποῦ ἀνέχει.

[12] And he straightway erected another wall, upon the same ground, very broad and rising to a great height.

[13] ὑπεράνω τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀνειλημμένη θόλος ἐν στοᾷς τρόπῳ ὄροφον ποιεῖται, καλύπτουσα τοὺς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους.

[13] Above the battlements a set-back vaulted structure in the manner of a colonnaded stoa makes a roof to shelter those who defend the circuit-wall.

[14] ἄλλοι τε τῇ θόλῳ προμαχῶνες ἐγκείμενοι διπλασιάζουσι τοῖς τῇδε τειχομαχοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον.

[14] And other breastworks resting upon the vaulted structure double the fighting for those who lay siege to the wall.

[15] ἔπειτα δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθι ἐς τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ πέρατα πρὸς αὐταῖς που τῆς θαλάσσης ταῖς ῥαχίαις μάλιστα, προβόλους πεποιήται, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν τοῦ ῥοθίου διήκοντας, τῷ δὲ τείχει ξυναπτομένους, ὕψους δὲ πέρα τῷ ἐρύματι ἐναμίλλους ὄντας.

[15] Furthermore, at either end of the wall, at the very edge of the sea, he made bastions (proboloi) extending far out into the water, which were joined to the wall and rivalled its defences in height.

[16] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τοῦ περιβόλου ἔκτοσθεν οὖσαν περικαθάρως τε καὶ κατορύξας ἐνδελεχέστατα μέγα τι αὐτῇ εὗρους τε καὶ βάθους ἐντέθεται χρῆμα.

[16] He also cleared the moat outside the wall and dug it out very thoroughly, adding a great deal to its width and to its depth.

[17] καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους ἐν τούτοις ἰδρύσατο τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσι πᾶσι βαρβάροις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανοὺς ὄντας, ἣν τι τῆς Χερρονήσου ἀποπειρῶνται.

[17] Furthermore, he stationed detachments of soldiers on these long walls, sufficient to offer resistance to all the barbarians if they should make any attempt upon the Chersonese.

[18] οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας καταστησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον οὐδέν τι ἥσπον ὀχυρώματα προσεποίησεν.

[18] And after he had made all this firm provision for its safety, he also built additional strongholds for the people inside;

[19] ὥστε εἰ τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσιν (ἀπέστω δὲ τοῦ λόγου) παθεῖν τι ξυμβαίη, οὐδὲν τι ἥσσον Χερρονησιώτας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι.

[19] so that if (God forbid) any mischance should befall the long walls, the inhabitants of the Chersonese would none the less be in safety.

[20] πόλιν τε γὰρ Ἀφροδισιάδα ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβάλλετο, ἀτειχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν, καὶ Κίβεριν πόλιν, ἐπ' ἐδάφους κειμένην, τειχήρη πεποιημένος ξυνώκισεν·

[20] For he surrounded the city of Aphrodisias with very strong defences, though it had been unwalled for the most part before that, and he put walls around the city of Ciberis which was lying dismantled, and provided it with inhabitants.

[21] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ ξενῶνας ὠκοδομήσατο οἰκία τε παμπληθὴ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πέφυκεν ἐπιφανῇ ἐνδείκνυσθαι πόλιν.

[21] He also built there baths and guest-houses and numerous dwellings, and all the other things which make a city notable.

[22] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Καλλίπολιν καλουμένην βεβαιότατα ἐτειχίσατο, ἐλπίδι τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἀτειχιστον ἀπολελειμμένην τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποις.

[22] Furthermore, he provided Callipolis, as it is called, with a very strong wall, a city which had been left unwalled by the men of earlier times because of the faith which was placed in the long walls.

[23] οὗ δὴ καὶ σιτῶνας τε καὶ οἰνώνας ἐδείματο δαπάνῃ τῇ πάσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας.

[23] There too he built storehouses for grain and for wine amply sufficient for all the wants of the soldiers in Chersonese.

[24] Ἔστι δὲ τις Ἀβύδου καταντικρὺ πόλις ἀρχαία, Σηστός ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πρότερα παρέργως κειμένη, ὀχύρωμά τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα.

[24] There was a certain ancient city opposite Abydus, Sestus by name, which again had been carelessly planned in earlier times and had no defences.

[25] λόφος δὲ αὐτῇ τις ἰσχυρῶς ἀπότομος ἐπανεστήκεν· ἵνα δὴ φρούριον ἐδείματο ἀπρόσβατον ὅλως, εἶναι τε, εἴ τις ἐγχειροίῃ, ἀμήχανον.

[25] A certain very steep hill towers above it, on which he built an altogether inaccessible fortress, which cannot possibly be taken by any assailant.

[26] Σηστοῦ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν τὴν Ἐλαιοῦντα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. πέτρα τε τῆς

θαλάσσης ἀπορραγεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἀνέχει, ἄκραν οὐρανομήκη ἐξαίρουσα τειχίρη φύσιν.

[26] And it happens that at no great distance from Sestus is situated Elaeus, where a precipitous rock rises from the sea, culminating in a lofty headland which is a natural fortress.

[27] φρούριον οὖν καὶ τῇδε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐδείματο, δυσπάριτόν τε καὶ τοῖς προσιούσι παντελῶς ἄμαχον.

[27] So this Emperor built a fort there too, which is hard to get past and altogether impregnable for assailants.

[28] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν Θεσκῷ φρούριον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους ἰδρύσατο, περιβόλῳ κρατυνάμενος ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα· ταύτη γτε τοῖς Χερρωνησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πανταχόθεν αὐτὸς προσεποίησε.

[28] Furthermore, he founded the fortress at Thescus on the other side of the long wall, strengthening it by means of an especially strong circuit-wall. Thus he ensured the safety of the inhabitants of Chersonese from every side.

[11] [11] [1] Μετὰ δὲ Χερρόνησον Αἴνος οἰκεῖται πόλις, ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας ὠνομασμένη. Αἰνείας γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου.

[1] Beyond the Chersonese stands the city of Aenus, which bears the name of its founder; for he was Aeneas, as they say, son of Anchises.

[2] ταύτης ὁ περίβολος εὐάλωτός τε ἦν τῷ χθαμαλὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὅσον γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνεῖχεν ὕψος·

[2] The circuit-wall of this place was easy to capture not only because of its lowness, since it did not rise even to the necessary height,

[3] καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην τινὰ εἴσοδον κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ γειτόνημα εἶχεν, ἀμυγέπη ἐπιψαύοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοθίου.

[3] but because it offered an exposed approach on the side toward the sea, whose waters actually touched it in places.

[4] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνέστησε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς ὕψος, μὴ ὅτι ἀλῶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἀμήχανον.

[4] But the Emperor Justinian raised it to such a height that it could not even be assailed, much less be captured.

[5] ἐπεξαγαγὼν δὲ καὶ πανταχόσε φραζάμενος ἀνάλωτον Αἶνον παντάπασι κατεστήσατο.

[5] And by extending the wall and closing the gaps on every side he rendered Aenus altogether impregnable.

[6] καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγεγόνει· ἔμεινε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἡ χώρα καταθεῖν εὐπετῆς· ἐπεὶ Ῥοδόπη ὀχυρωμάτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑπεσπάνιζεν.

[6] Thus the city was made safe; and yet the district remained easy for the barbarians to overrun, since Rhodopê from ancient times had been lacking in fortifications.

[7] ἦν δὲ τις κώμη ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, Βέλλουρος ὄνομα, πλούτου μὲν δυνάμει καὶ πολυανθρωπία ἴσα καὶ πόλις, τῷ μέντοι τειχέρας οὐδαμῇ εἶναι ληϊζομένοις διηνεκὲς ἐπαρκοῦσα βαρβάροις, ἀγροῖς τε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κειμένοις πολλοῖς γε οὕσι ταυτὸ πάσχουσα.

[7] And there was a certain village in the interior, Vellurus by name, which in wealth and population ranked as a city, but because it had no walls at all it constantly lay open to the plundering barbarians, a fate which was shared by the many fields lying about it.

[8] καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕτως πολιρίζει τε καὶ ἀποτευχίζει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπαξίαν τίθεται εἶναι.

[8] Our Emperor made this a city and provided it with a wall and made it worthy of himself.

[9] καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥοδόπης πόλεων ὅσα δὴ ἐνδεῖν ἢ καταπεπονηκέναι ξυνηνέχθη τῷ χρόνῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνέστησεν.

[9] He also took great pains to put in order all such parts of the other cities in Rhodopê as had come to be defective or had suffered with time.

[10] ἐν αἷς Τραϊανούπολις τε καὶ Μαξιμιανούπολις μείσιν, ὧν περ ἐπηνώρθωσε τὰ ἐν τοῖς προβόλοις σαθρὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται.

[10] Among these were Trajanopolis and Maximianopolis, where he restored the parts of the bastions which had become weak. Thus were these things done.

[11] Ἀναστασιούπολις δὲ ἡ τῇδε οὖσα τειχέρας μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλία κειμένη ἀφύλακτον εἶχε τὴν ταύτην ἡϊόνα. τὰ πλοῖα πολλάκις ἀμέλει ἐνταῦθα καταίροντα ὑποχείρια βαρβάροις Οὐννοῖς ἐξαπινάϊως γεγένηται· ὥστε καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐνθένδε τὰς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπικειμένας ἠνώχλησαν.

[11] The city of Anastasiopolis in this region was indeed walled even before this, but it lay along the shore and the beach was unprotected. Consequently

the boats putting in there often fell suddenly into the hands of the barbarian Huns, who by means of them also harassed the islands lying off the coast there.

[12] Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς διατειχίσματι τὴν παραλίαν περιβαλὼν ὅλην, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ καὶ τοῖς νησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.

[12] But the Emperor Justinian walled in the whole sea-front by means of a connecting wall and thus restored safety both for the ships and for the islanders.

[13] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ὀχετὸν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ᾧ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει μέχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐς ὑπέρογκον ἀνέστησεν ὕψος.

[13] Furthermore, he raised the aqueduct to an imposing height all the way from the mountains which rise here as far as the city.

[14] ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Ῥοδόπῃ πόλις ἀρχαία, Τόπερος ὄνομα, ἣ ποταμοῦ μὲν ρεῖθρα περιβάλλεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, λόφον δὲ αὐτῇ ἐπανεστηκότα ὄρθιον εἶχεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν Σκλαβηνοῖς βαρβάροις ἐάλω.

[14] And there is a certain ancient town in Rhodopê, Toperus by name, which is surrounded for the most part by the stream of a river, but had a steep hill rising above it. As a result of this it had been captured by the barbarian Sclaveni not long before.

[15] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς μέγα τῷ περιβόλῳ ὕψος ἐντέθεικεν· ὥστε ὑπεραίρει τοσοῦτ' ὃν λόφον, ὅσῳ δὴ αὐτοῦ καταδεέστερος τὰ πρότερα ἦν.

[15] But the Emperor Justinian added a great deal to the height of the wall, so that it now overtops the hill by as much as it previously fell below its crest.

[16] καὶ στοὰν μὲν ἐπ' ἀνέστησεν ἐν θολωτῷ τείχει, ὅθεν δὴ τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀμυνόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς διαμάχονται, τῶν δὲ πύργων ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι.

[16] And he set a colonnaded portico with a vaulted roof on its wall, and from this the defenders of the city fight in safety against those attacking the wall; and he equipped each one of the towers so as to be a strong fort.

[17] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου μέχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διατειχίσματι περιβαλὼν ἐκρατύνατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιήται.

[17] He also secured the interval between the circuit-wall and the river by shutting it off with a cross-wall. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian as I have said.

[18] Καὶ ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ὀχυρώματα εἰργασται ἀμφί]τε τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην καὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Αἰμίμοντον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[18] And I shall describe all the fortresses which were made by him through the rest of Thrace and through what is now called Haemimontum.

[19] πρῶτα μὲν Φιλιππουπόλεως τε καὶ Βεροίας, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀδριανουπόλεως τε καὶ Πλωτίνουπόλεως τὰ τε ἐνδέοντα καὶ καταπεπονηκότα σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ὥκοδομήσατο· ἐπεὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμαχωτάτας ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, καίπερ ἔθνεσι γειτονούσας βαρβάρων πολλοῖς.

[19] First of all he built with great pains those parts which were lacking, and those which had suffered, in Philippopolis and Beroea, and also at Adrianopolis and Plotinopolis, (for these happened to be very vulnerable), though they lay close to many tribes of barbarians.

[20] καὶ φρούρια δὲ ἀνάριθμα ἐπὶ Θράκης ἰδρύσατο πάσης, δι' ὧν τὴν χώραν, ἀποκειμένην τὰ πρότερα ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς, παντάπασιν τανῶν ἀδήλωτον κατεστήσατο. ἔστι δὲ τὰ φρούρια, ὅσα ἡμᾶς μεμνησθαι αὐτῶν, πρὸς ὄνομα τάδε.

Ἐν Εὐρώπῃ·

Λυδικαί.

Ἐλαῖαι.

Ἐν Ῥοδόπῃ τὰ καινούργια·

Κασεήρα.

Θεοδωρούπολις.

Τὸ τοῦ Θράσου.

Σουδανέλ.

Μούνδεπα.

Θαρσάνδαλα.

] Δένιζος.

Τόπαρον.

Δαλάταρβα.

Βρέ.

Κουσκάβιρι.

Κούσκουλις.

Θράκης.

Βόσπαρα.

Βεσούπαρον.

Καπιστούρια.

Βηρίπαρα.

Ίσγίπερα.

Όζόρμη.

Βηρηΐαρος.

Ταμονβαρί.

Σκέμνας.

Καράσθυρα.

Πίνζος.

Τουλεοῦς.

Άρζον.

Καστράζαρβα.

Ζωσίτερσον.

Βέργισον.

Δίγγιον.

Σάκισσος.

Κουρτουζοῦρα.

Ποταμουκάστελλον.

Εἰσδίκαια.

Τὸ ἐμπόριον Ταυροκεφάλων.

Βηλαϊδίπαρα.

Σκίτακες.

Βέπαρα.

Πουσινόν.

Ὑμαυπάρουβρι.

Σκαριωτασαλούκρα.

Αὐγούστας.

Οὐρδαούς.

Τοῦ ἀγίου Τραϊανοῦ.

Δέρταλλος.

Σολβανοῦ.

Βάσκον.

Ζίγκυρο.

Ἰ Αἰμιμόντου.

Ζημάρκου.

Κηριπάρων.

Κασιβόνων.

Τὸ Οὔκου.

Ἀντωϊνον.

Γεσιλαφοσσᾶτον.

Χεροῖνον.

Προβίνου.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.

Βουρδέπτω.

Ῥακούλη.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.

Τζίταετοῦς.

Νηλαστύρας.

Γετρίνας.

Βρέδας.

Βῆρος.

Θωκύωδης.

Βία.

Ἀναγογκλί.

Σούρας.

Αὐθιπάρου.

Δορδᾶς.

Σαρμαθών.

Κλεισοῦρα.

Ὑλασιάναι.

Θρασαρίχου.

Βαῖκα.

Χρῦσανθος.

] Μαρκέρωτα.

Ζδεβρήν.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.

Ἄσγαρζος.

Βουρτούδιζ.

Ταυρόκωμον.

Νίκη.

Καβοτούμβα.

Δείξας.

Γητριστάους.

Δέβρη.

Προβίνου.

Κάρβερος.

Τηεσιμόντη.

Ἀσγίζους.

Δαλάταρβα.

Θεοδωρούπολις.

Τζυειδών.

Τζονπολέγων.

Βασίβουνον.

Ἀγχίαλος.

Μαρκιανόν.

Κυρίδανα.

Βεκοῦλι.

Τὰ Θρακῶν λειπόμενα. Παρά τε τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον καὶ ποταμὸν Ἰῆστρον,
κάν τῃ μεσογείᾳ, οὕτως·

Μυσίας παρὰ μὲν ποταμὸν Ἰῆστρον·

Ἐρκούλεντε.

Σκατρίνα.

Απρίαρα.

Ἐξεντάπριστα.

Δεονίανα.

Λιμώ.

Ὀδυσσός.

Βίδιγς.

Ἀρῖνα.

Νικόπολις.

Ζικίδεβα.

Σπίβυρος.

Πόλις Κάστελλον.

Κιστίδιζος.

Βαστέρνας.

Μέταλλος.

Βηρίπαρα.

Σπαθιζός.

Μαρκέρωτα.

Βόδας.

Ζισνούδεβα.

Τουρούλης.

Ἰουστινιανούπολις.

Θερμά.

Ἰ Γεμελλομοῦντες.

Ἀσίβα.

Κούσκαυρι.

Κούσκουλι.

Φοσσᾶτον.

Βισδίνα.

Μαρκιανούπολις.

Σκυθιάς.

Γραψώ.

Νονώ.

Τροσμής.

Νεαῖοδουνώ.

Ῥεσιδίνα.

Κωνσταντιανά.

Καλλάτις.

Βασσίδινα.

Βελεδίνα.

Ἄβριττος.

Ῥουβούστα.

Δνισκάρτα.

Μοντερεγῖνε.

Βέκις.

Ἀλτῖνα.

Μανροβάλλε.

Τίγρα.

] Σκεδεβά.

Νόβας.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογείᾳ·

Κοπούστορος.

Βιργινασώ.

Τιλλιτώ.

Ἀγκυριανά.

Μουριδεβά.

Ἰτζης.

Καστελλόνοβο.

Παδισάρα.

Βισμαφά.

Βαλεντινιάνα.

Ζάλδαπα.

Αἰξίοπα.

Καρσώ.

Γρατίανα.

Πρέϊδισ.

Ἀργαμώ.

Παυλίμανδρα.

Τζάσκλης.

Πούλχρα Θεοδώρα.

Τόμις.

Κρέας.

Κατασσοῦ.

Νίσκονις.

Νοβεΐουστινιανά.

Πρεσιδίω.

Ἐργαμία.

[20] And in all parts of Thrace he established countless fortresses, by which he has now made entirely free from devastation a land which formerly lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy. These fortresses, so far as I recall them, are as follows:

In Europe:

Lydicae

Elaeae

In Rhodopê, new:

Caseëra

Theodoropolis

Thrasou

Sudanel

Mundepa

Tharsandala

Denizus

Toparum

Dalatarba

Bre

Cuscabiri

Cusculis

Of Thrace:

Bospara

Besuparum

Capisturia

Beripara

Isgipera

Ozormê

Bereïarus^o

Tamonbari

Scemnas

Carasthyra

Pinzus

Tuleûs

Arzum

Castrazarba

Zositersum

Bergisum

Dingium

Sacissus

Curtuxura

Potamùcastellum

Eisdicaea

The trading-port of the Taurocephali

Belaïdipara

Scitaces

Bepara

Pusinum

Hymauparubri

Scariotasalucra

Augustas

Urdaûs

St. Trajan's

Dertallus

Solbanû

Bascum

Zincyro

Of Haemimontum:

Zemarcû

Ceriparon

Casibonon

Ucû

Antonum

Gesilafossatum

Cheroenum

Probinû

St. Theodore's

Burdepto

Raculê

St. Julian's

Tzitaētûs

Belastyras

Getrinas

Bredas

Verus

Thocyodis

Via

Anagoncli

Suras

Authiparû

Dordas

Sarmathon

Clisura

Hylasiana

Thrasarichû

Baeca

Chrysanthus

Marcerota

Zdebrên

St. Theodore's

Asgarzus

Burtudgiz

Taurocomum

Nicê

Cabotumba

Deixas

Getristaus

Debrê

Probinû

Carberus

Teësimontê

Asgizûs

Dalatarba

Theodoropolis

Tzyeidon

Tzonpolegon

Basibunum

Anchialus

Marcianum

Cyridana

Beculi

The remaining Thracian fortresses; also those along the Euxine Sea and the Ister River, and in the interior, as follows:

In Mysia, on the Ister River:

Erculente

Scatrina

Appiara

Exentaprista

Deoniana

Limô

Odyssus

Vidigis

Arina

Nicopolis

Zicideba

Spibyryus

The city Castellum

Cistidizus

Basternas

Metallus

Beripara

Spathizus

Marcerota

Bodas

Zisnudeba

Turulês

Justinianopolis

Therma

Gemellomontes

Asilba

Cuscauri

Cusculi

Fossatum

Bisdina

Marcianopolis

Scythias

Grapsô

Nonô

Trosmês

Neaïodunô

Residina

Constantiana

Callatis

Bassidina

Beledina

Abrittus

Rubusta

Diniscarta

Monteregine

Becis

Altina

Manroballe

Tigra

Scedeba

Novas

In the interior:

Copustorus

Birginasô

Tillitô

Ancyriana

Murideba

Itzês

Castellonovo

Padisara

Bismapha

Valentiniana

Zaldapa

Axiopa

Carsô

Gratiana

Preïdis

Argamô

Paulimandra

Tzasclis

Pulchra Theodora

Tomis

Creas

Catassû

Nisconis

Novejustiniana

Presidiô

BOOK V.

[1] [1] Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ δεδημιουργημένα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἐς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ λειπόμενα ἱτέον ἡμῖν.

[1] The buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian in all Europe have been recorded, as far as possible, in the preceding Book. We must now go on to the remaining parts of Asia.

[2] ὅσα μὲν οὖν πόλεων τε καὶ φρουρίων ἐρύματα, ἐτέρας τε οἰκοδομίας κατὰ τὴν ἑώραν πεποιήται χώραν, ἐξ ὁρίων τῶν Μηδικῶν ἄχρι που ἐς Παλμύραν πόλιν, ἥ ἐν Φοίνιξι τοῖς ἐπὶ Λιβάνου τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἥδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν δεδηλωσθαι οἶμαι.

[2] All the fortifications of cities and the fortresses, as well as the other buildings which he erected throughout the East, from the boundary of Persia as far as the city of Palmyra, which chances to be in Phoenicia by Lebanon — these, I think, have been sufficiently described by me above.

[3] ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην αὐτῷ εἵργασται ἢ τειχιζομένῳ ἢ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπανορθοῦντι δυσπάρिता καὶ κινδύνων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα (πῇ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπικειμένων κρημνώδη ὄντα, πῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ γειτονήματι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἀποπνίγοντα), ἢ πόλεων ἰωμένῳ παθήματα πάντα, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι ἀρχόμενος ἐνθένδε.

[3] So at present I shall tell also of all that was done by him in the rest of Asia and in Libya, either in fortifying, or in repairing the roads where they were difficult to travel and wholly beset with dangers (sometimes, because mountains towered above them, where they were too steep, sometimes where, since there was a river near by, travellers were caught in it and drowned), or, finally, in repairing all the parts of cities which had become defective — all this I shall proceed to tell, beginning at this point.

[4] Χῶρόν τινα πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἐν ὀρθίῳ κείμενον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, λοφώδη οὐ γεώδη οὐδὲ δυνατόν ἀφεῖναι καρπούς, εἴ τις πειρῶτο, ἀλλὰ σκληρόν τε καὶ τραχὺν ὅλως.

[4] There chanced to be a certain place before the city of Ephesus, lying on a steep slope hilly and bare of soil and incapable of producing crops, even should one attempt to cultivate them, but altogether hard and rough.

[5] ἐνταῦθα νεῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἀνέθηκαν, θεολόγος δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος οὗτος ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ τὰ

γε ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου δεδιήγεται φύσιν.

[5] On that site the natives had set up a church in early times to the Apostle John; this Apostle has been named “the Theologian,” because the nature of God was described by him in a manner beyond the unaided power of man.

[6] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς βραχύν τε ὄντα καὶ καταπεπονηκότα τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου καθελὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς τοσόνδε μεθρημόσατο μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους, ὥστε δὴ, ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν, ἐμφερέστατος καὶ παντάπασιν ἐνάμιλλος τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐν πόλει τῇ βασιλίδι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀνέθηκε πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται λόγοις.

[6] This church, which was small and in a ruined condition because of its great age, the Emperor Justinian tore down to the ground and replaced by a church so large and beautiful, that, to speak briefly, it resembles very closely in all respects, and is a rival to, the shrine which he dedicated to all the Apostles in the imperial city, which I have described above.

[7] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐξείργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ σωτήριόν τι πόλει τε τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργαζομένοις πεποιήται, ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών· ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα φέρεται·

[7] This, then, was done at Ephesus by this Emperor. And on our neighbouring island of Tenedos he made provision for the welfare of the imperial city and of those who labour on the sea, which I shall describe immediately, with the following introductory observation.

[8] ἄμφω γὰρ αἱ ἡπειροὶ ἀλλήλαις ὥς ἀγχοτάτω ἐνταῦθα ἰοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ ποιοῦνται ἀρχὴν ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ Ἀβυδὸν, ἐπειδὴν τε αἱ νέες ἐνταῦθα ἴκωνται, ὅσαι δὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εὐθὺ ἵενται, τῇδε ὁρμίζονται.

[8] The sea at the Hellespont flows in a very narrow channel, since the two continents at that point approach very close to each other and form the beginning of the strait at Sestus and Abydos; and when ships which are holding a direct course for Constantinople reach that point, they cast anchor.

[9] ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐνθένδε ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ νότου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἀνέμου σφίσιν.

[9] And it is impossible for them to go further unless they have a wind blowing from the south.

[10] ἡνίκα οὖν ὁ σιταγωγὸς στόλος ἐκ πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, εἰ μὲν ἐμπέσοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον σφίσι, δι’ ὀλίγου μὲν οἱ ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν

διαχειρίζοντες καταίρουσι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τοὺς Βυζαντίους λιμένας, ἀποφορτιζόμενοι δὲ ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅπαντες ὥρας δευτέρον τε καὶ τρίτον διαπεραιώσονται στόλον.

[10] So when the grain fleet from Alexandria reaches that point, if the wind blows favourably for them, those having this business in charge bring their ships into the harbours of Byzantium in a short time; then, after discharging their cargoes, they depart with all speed, so that before the winter season they may complete a second or even a third voyage.

[11] ὅσοις δὲ αὐτῶν βουλομένοις ἦ, καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐμπολημάτων ἐνθὲνδε ἀντιφορτισάμενοι ἀναστρέφουσιν.

[11] And those of them who wish to do so, also take on a return cargo of merchandise from that place before they sail back.

[12] εἰ μέντοι ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἴοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ σεσηπέναι συνέβαινεν.

[12] If, however, the wind blew against them at the Hellespont, it came about that both the grain and the ships had to lie there rotting.

[13] ἅπερ ἐν προνοίᾳ πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς διαφανῶς ἰεπιδέδεικται ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ἂν ἀμήχανον οὐδὲν γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἦν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ἀνταγωνίζοιτο.

[13] The Emperor Justinian took this situation under consideration, and made a clear demonstration that nothing could prove impossible for man, even though he have the greatest difficulties to contend with.

[14] ἐν Τενέδῳ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ, ἣ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἄγχιστά ἐστι, σιτῶνα ἐπετεχνήσατο τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἀποφορτίσασθαι διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, εὖρος μὲν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ ποδῶν ἐνενήκοντα, μῆκος δὲ ποδῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων, ἐς ὕψος τε ἄφατον ἐπικεικῶς κατατείνοντα.

[14] For on the island of Tenedos, which is very close to the strait, he contrived a granary large enough to allow the whole fleet to unload, •in breadth not less than ninety feet and in length two hundred and eighty feet, and rising to a very great height.

[15] οὗ δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεργασμένου, ὀπηνίκα ἂν τοῦ δημοσίου σίτου παραπομποὶ ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀνέμων ἐναντιώμασι συμποδίζοντο, οἶδε τὸν φόρτον ἐν τῷ σιτῶνι καταθέμενοι τούτῳ καὶ χαίρειν φράσαντες τῷ τε βορρᾷ καὶ ζεφύρῳ πολλὰ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, ἐς πλοῦν ἕτερον συσκευάζονται.

[15] And since the time when this was built by the Emperor, whenever the carriers of public grain reach that point and are impeded by adverse winds, they deposit their cargoes in this storehouse, and bidding a happy farewell to the north wind and the west, they make ready for the next voyage.

[16] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζονται, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὁπηνίκα ἂν τὸν ἐνθὲνδε ἀπόπλουν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ γενέσθαι ξυμβαίη, πλοίοις ἐτέροις τὸν σῖτον ἐκ Τενέδου διακομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπικείται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη.

[16] And they for their part go straightway about their business, and at a later time, when the voyage from there to Byzantium comes to be practicable, those who are assigned to this office convey the grain from Tenedos in other ships.

[2] [2] [1] Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς πόλις, Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμος οὕσα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως μητρός. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὠρμησθαι φασί, κώμης οὐκ ἀξιολόγου τὰ πρότερα οὕσης.

[1] There is a certain city in Bithynia which bears the name of Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine, for they say that Helen was born in this village, which formerly was of no consequence.

[2] ἥπερ τὰ τροφεῖα Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκτίνων ὀνόματι μὲν καὶ ἀξιώματι πόλεως τὸ χωρίον δεδωρήται τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδὲ βασιλικὸν οὐδὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῇδε πεποίηται, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας διέμεινε τύχης, κεκόμψενται δὲ μόνῳ τῶν πόλις κεκληῖσθαι καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τῆς τροφίμου Ἑλένης ἀποσεμνύεται.

[2] But Constantine, by way of repaying the debt of her nurture, endowed this place with the name and dignity of a city. However, he has built there nothing in a style of imperial magnificence, but, though the place remained outwardly as it had been before, it will now boast merely of the title of city and pride itself in the name of its foster-child Helen.

[3] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἀπολογούμενος τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προπάτορος, πρῶτα μὲν ὕδατος ἀπορία πιεζομένην τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν καὶ δίψῃ ἐπιεικῶς δεινῇ ἐχομένην, ὀχετὸν αὐτοσχεδιάζει θαυμάσιον οἶον, ὕδωρ τε αὐτῷ παρέχεται ἀπροσδόκητον ἰδεῖν, τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις οὐ πιεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λούεσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τρυφῶσιν ἄνθρωποι εὐπορίαν κατακόρως ὕδατος ἔχοντες.

[3] But our Emperor, as if seeking to excuse his imperial predecessor's want of propriety, first of all observed that the city was suffering from shortage of water and was cruelly oppressed by thirst, and so he improvised a marvellous aqueduct and provided it with an unlooked-for supply of water, sufficient for the people there not only to drink but also to use for bathing and for all the other luxuries in which men indulge who have an unstinted supply of water.

[4] πρὸς δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποιήται οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ἕτερόν τε ἀνωκοδομήσατο διεφθαρμένον τε καὶ εἰκὴ κείμενον τῷ τε σπανίζειν, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι καταπεσὸν ἦδη.

[4] Besides this he made for them a public bath which had not existed before, and he rebuilt another which was damaged and lay abandoned, and already lay in ruin because of the scarcity of water which I have mentioned and because of neglect.

[5] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ βασιλεία καὶ στοὰς καὶ καταλυτήρια ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐδείματο τῇδε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιδέδεικται αὐτὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα.

[5] Nay more, he built here churches and a palace and stoas and lodgings for the magistrates, and in other respects he gave it the appearance of a prosperous city.

[6] Ταύτης δὲ ρεῖ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχιστα ποταμός, ὅνπερ ὁμώνυμος τῷ σχήματι Δράκοντα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.

[6] Close to this city flows a river which the natives call Dracon from the course which it follows.

[7] περιστρέφεται γὰρ ἐλίσσόμενος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἀντιπεριάγων τὰς δίνας, σκολιῷ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ, πῇ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ, πῇ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ προσιών· ὥστε ἀμέλει διαβαίνειν αὐτὸν πλεῖν ἢ εἰκοσάκις ἐπάναγκές ἐστι τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι.

[7] For it twists about and winds from side to side, reversing its whirling course and advancing with crooked stream, now to the right and now to the left. Consequently it is actually necessary for those visiting there to cross it more than twenty times.

[8] πολλοῖς τε οὕτω διεφθάρθαι ξυνέβαινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξαπιναιῶς παρὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα πλημύροντος.

[8] Thus it has come about that many have lost their lives when the river has risen in sudden flood.

[9] πρὸς δὲ καὶ δάσος ἀμφιλαφές καὶ καλάμου τῇδε φυομένου μέγα τι χρῆμα συμποδίζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολὴν χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸν ἐσκευωροῦντο εἶναι τοῖς ἐκείνη χωρίοις.

[9] Furthermore, a dense wood and a great expanse of reeds which grew there used to obstruct its exit to the sea and made it more troublesome for the regions round about.

[10] χρόνῳ γοῦν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ὄμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, λιμνάζων τε καὶ κυρτούμενος καὶ σκεδαννύμενος ἰεπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς γῆς, ἀνῆκεστα κακὰ εἵργασται.

[10] Indeed, not long ago, when it had been swollen by heavy rains, it backed up and rose in flood and spread far out over the land and caused irreparable damage.

[11] χωρία τε γὰρ παμπληθῇ καθεῖλε προρρίζους τε ἀμπέλους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐλαίας τε καὶ δένδρων ἄλλων παντοδαπῶν ἀνάριθμα πρέμνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αἱ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγγανον οὔσαι, πάθεσί τε ἄλλοις ὑπερμεγέθεσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπέτριψεν.

[11] For it ruined many districts, uprooted vines and even olive trees and countless other trees of all sorts, trunks and all, not sparing the houses which stood outside the circuit-wall of the city and inflicting other severe losses upon the inhabitants.

[12] οὕσπερ ἐποικτισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τὰ μὲν ἄλση περικαθήρας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολάς, ὥς μηκέτι αὐτῷ διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπ' ἀναγκας εἴη· τὰ δὲ ὄρη κατὰ μέσον ἀποτεμῶν ἃ δὴ ἀνέχει ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἀποτόμοις καὶ κρημνώδεσι χώραις ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν ἐξειργάσατο.

[12] And feeling compassion for them, the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan. He cleared off the woods and cut all the reeds, thus allowing the river a free outlet to the sea, so that it might no longer be necessary for it to spread out. And he cut off in the middle the hills which rise there, and built a waggon-road in places which formerly were sheer and precipitous;

[13] ταύτη τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὔσι πεποίηκεν εἶναι. καὶ γεφύρας δύο ἐς ἄγαν εὐρείας τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἐντέθειται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀκινδύνως αὐτὸν διαβαίνουσι τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαντες.

[13] and in this way he made the crossing of the river for the most part unnecessary for those who dwelt there. Also he placed two very broad bridges over this river, and in consequence everyone now crosses it without danger.

[3] [3] [1] Οἷα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Βιθυνοῖς Νίκαιαν ἐξείργασται ἀγαθὰ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. πρῶτα μὲν τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν, παντάπασί τε διεφθαρμένην καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχομένην, ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπασαν, ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν κατακορῇ διεπράξατο εἶναι.

[1] And it is proper to tell of the benefits which he also bestowed upon Nicaea in Bithynia. First of all, he restored the entire aqueduct, which was completely

ruined and was not satisfying the need, and thus he provided the city with abundant water.

[2] ἔπειτα δὲ ἱερά τε καὶ μοναστήρια τὰ μὲν γυναιξὶ τὰ δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐδείματο.

[2] Then he built churches and monasteries, some for women and some for men.

[3] καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη βασιλεία, ἐκ μοίρας ἤδη καταπεπτωκότα τινός, ἀνενεώσατο σπουδῇ ἅπαντα, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν τῷ καταλυτηρίῳ τῶν βερεδαρίων καλουμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ διεφθαρμένον.

[3] And the palace there, which already had in part collapsed, he carefully restored throughout; and he also restored a bath at the lodgings of the veredarii, as they are called, which had lain in ruin for a long time.

[4] ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον ὡς ἰαγχοτάτω χειμάρρους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐπισκῆπτειν φιλεῖ, ἄπορον ὅλως ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ταύτη ὁδόν.

[4] To the west of this city and very close to it a torrent is wont to smite almost everything, making the road there altogether impassable.

[5] καὶ γέφυρα μὲν τις ἐνταῦθα πεποιήται τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ἥ προϊόντος χρόνῳ προσβάλλουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου ἐπιρροὴν (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω διασκευασθεῖσα ἐτύγχανεν) ὑπεχώρησέ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένῳ καὶ ἀπιοῦσα σὺν αὐτοῦ ὄχετο, οὐδὲ ἵχνος αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ἀπολιποῦσα, οὗ πρότερον ἦν.

[5] A bridge had been built over it by the men of earlier times, which, as time went on, was quite unable to withstand the impact of the torrent, since it had not been properly constructed, as it chanced; and finally it yielded to the pressure of the surge and was swept away with it without leaving a trace in the spot where previously it had stood.

[6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυραν ἐπήξατο ἐνταῦθα ἐτέραν ἐς τόσον ὕψους τε καὶ εὗρους διήκουσαν, ὥστε δὴ αὐτῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ πολλοστημόριον τὴν προτέραν οὐσαν γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἥ τὸν χειμάρρουν, ἡνίκα μορμύρει, κατὰ πολὺν ὑπεραίρουσα ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διασώζεται τοὺς ταύτη ἰόντας.

[6] But the Emperor Justinian planted another bridge there of such height and breadth, that the previous bridge seemed to have been only a fraction of the new one in point of size; and this bridge rises high above the torrent when it is in flood and keeps in perfect safety those passing that way.

[7] Ἐν δὲ Νικομηδεῖα τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἀνενεώσατο· μοῖρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη καταπεπτώκει, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου ἀπροσδόκητος ὅτι

δὴ ἀνοικοδομηθῆσεται γεγεννημένη.

[7] In Nicomedia he restored the bath called Antoninus, for the most important part of it had collapsed, and because of the great size of the building it had not been expected that it would be rebuilt.

[8] ὁ μέγας δὲ ποταμὸς οὗτος, ὃν περ Σάγαριν καλοῦσι νῦν, σφοδρῶ μὲν κατιῶν ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ρείθρῳ, ἐπὶ μέσης δὲ πεφυκὼς ἄβυσσος, εὐρυνόμενος δὲ θαλάσση ἴσα, διαγέγονε μὲν τὰ γε εἰς γέφυραν ἀνεπαφὸς πᾶσιν, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀκάτων δὲ συνδέοντες πλῆθος καὶ φορμηδὸν αὐτὰς ἀλλήλαις ἐναρμολογούμενοι, ἐνταῦθα διαπορθεύεσθαι τολμῶσι πεζοί, ὥσπερ ποτὲ δέει τοῦ Ξέρξου τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ τῶν Μήδων στρατός.

[8] And that great river which they now call the Sagaris, rushing down, as it does, with its impetuous stream and having a great depth at the centre and broadening out till it resembles a sea, had always been, since the world began, left untouched by a bridge; instead they lash together a great number of skiffs and fasten them together cross-wise, and people venture to cross these on foot, as once the Persian host, through fear of Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont.

[9] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνεπικινδύνως αὐτοῖς γίνεται. πολλάκις γὰρ ὁμοῦ τοῖς δεσμοῖς συλλαβὼν τὰς ἀκάτους ἀπάσας, εἴτα τὴν διάβασιν ἀνεχαίτισε τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι.

[9] But even this is not without danger for them, for many a time the river has seized and carried away all the skiffs, together with their cables, and thus put a stop to the crossing of travellers.

[10] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυραν ταύτῃ ἐγκεχειρήκεν ἐποικοδομεῖσθαι τανῦν. ἀρξάμενός τε τοῦ ἔργου ἤδη πολλὴν ἐς αὐτὸ διατριβὴν ἔχει· ὅπερ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὑποτελέσει οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, τεκμηριούμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα συνεπιλαμβάνεται ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα.

[10] But the Emperor Justinian has now undertaken the project of building a bridge over the river. Having already begun the task, he is now much occupied with it; and I know well that he will complete it not long hence, finding my assurance in this — that God coöperates with him in all his labours.

[11] οὐκοῦν ἀπέραντον αὐτῷ ἐνθύμημα οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου, καίτοι ἐπὶ πλείστοις τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξεν.

[11] Indeed it is for this reason that no project of his has failed of fulfilment up to the present time, though in the beginning he has seemed in many cases to be undertaking impossible things.

[12] Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὁδὸς ἐς τὰ Φρυγῶν ἥθη ἐνθένδε ἰόντι, ἔνθα δὴ ἀνθρώποις τε ἀναρίθμοις καὶ ζώοις ἑτέροις χειμῶνος ὥρα διολωλέναι ξυνέβαινε·

[12] There is a certain road in Bithynia leading from there into the Phrygian territory, on which it frequently happened that countless men and beasts too perished in the winter season.

[13] γεώδης γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἡ χώρα οὖσα, μὴ ὅτι ὄμβρων ἐξαισίων καταρραγέντων ἢ χιόνων πολλῶν ἐπικεχυμένων τε καὶ διαλυθεισῶν ἐν ἐσχάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεκάδων ἐπιπεπτωκυῖων, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ ἀπόρευτον ξυνισταμένη, τὰς τε ὁδοὺς τεναγώδεις ἐργαζομένη, τοὺς τῆδε ἰόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέπνιγεν.

[13] The soil of this region is exceedingly deep; and not only after unusual deluges of rain or the final melting of very heavy snows, but even after occasional showers it turns into a deep and impassable marsh, making the roads quagmires, with the result that travellers on that road were frequently drowned.

[14] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον αὐτός τε μεγαλοφροσύνη ψυχῆς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὸν κίνδυνον τοῖς παριοῦσι διέλυσαν.

[14] But he himself and the Empress Theodora, by their wise generosity, removed this danger for wayfarers.

[15] ἐς ἡμέρας γὰρ ὁδοῦ ἡμῖς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ λίθοις παμμεγέθεσι σκέπας τῇ λεωφόρῳ ἀπεργασάμενοι ἐπὶ στερραῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ παρίεναι διεσκευάσαντο τοὺς τῆδε ἰόντας. ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.

[15] They laid a covering of very large stones over this highway for a distance of one half a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller and so brought it about that travellers on that road could get through on the hard pavement. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in this way.

[16] Πηγαὶ δὲ θερμῶν φύσει ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὑδάτων ἀναβλυστάνουσιν ἐν χώρῳ ὄνπερ ἐπονομάζουσι Πύθια.

[16] A natural spring of hot water bubbles up in Bithynia, at a place known as Pythia.

[17] ταύτας ἔχουσι παραψυχὴν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ διαφερόντως Βυζάντιοι, ἄλλως τε ὅσοις νοσώδεσι συμβαίνει εἶναι.

[17] This spring is used as a cure by many and particularly by the people of Byzantium, especially those who chance to be afflicted by disease.

[18] ἔνθα δὴ πολυτέλειαν ἐπιδέδεικται βασιλεῖ πρόπουσαν· βασιλεία τε γὰρ ὠκοδομήσατο οὐ πρότερον ὄντα

[18] There indeed he displayed a prodigality befitting an Emperor. He built a palace which had not been there before,

[19] καὶ λουτρῶνα ἐν δημοσίῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ φυομένων θερμῶν ὑδάτων πεποιήται. πηγὰς τε ποτίμων ὑδάτων ὥς ἑκαστάτω ἀποβλυσούσας ἐς τόνδε τὸν χώρον ὀχεταγωγίᾳ διακομίσας, τὸν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἐπιχωριάζοντα περιεῖλεν αὐχμὸν.

[19] and made a public bath supplied by the hot water which rises there. And by means of an aqueduct he conveyed to this place springs of drinking-water which gush forth at a very great distance, and thus abated the lack of sweet water which previously had prevailed there.

[20] ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τὸ τέμενος καὶ τὸ τῶν νοσούντων ἀναπαυστήριον, μεῖζω τε καὶ κατὰ πολὺ ἐπιφανέστερα κατεστήσατο.

[20] In addition to this, he enlarged and made much more notable both the Church of the Archangel and the infirmary for the sick.

[4] [4] [1] Ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Γαλάταις, ὅνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Σίβεριν, τῶν μὲν καλουμένων Συκεῶν ἄγχιστα, πόλεως δὲ Ιουλιουπόλεως ἀπὸ σημείων μάλιστα δέκα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον.

[1] There is a river in Galatia which the natives call Siberis, close to the place called Sycae, •about ten miles from Juliopolis toward the east.

[2] ὃς δὴ πολλάκις ἐξαπιναιῶς ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν ἐκείνῃ ὁδῷ ἰόντων πολλοὺς ἐφθειρεν.

[2] This river often rose suddenly to a great height and caused the death of many of those travelling that way.

[3] οἷσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαγγελλομένοις συνταραχθεὶς διακωλυτῆς τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε, τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ οἷω πλημύροντι ποταμῷ μάχεσθαι, ἕτερον δὲ τοῖχον ἐν προβόλου σχήματι τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸ πεπονημένος· ὃν δὴ πρόμαχον καλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα σοφοί.

[3] The Emperor was disturbed when these things were reported to him, and he put a stop to the evil thenceforth by bridging the river with a strong structure capable of resisting the stream when in flood, and by adding another wall in the form of a jetty on the eastward side of the bridge; such a thing is called a promachon or breakwater by those skilled in these matters.

[4] καὶ νεῶν δὲ αὐτῆς ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τοῖς παριοῦσι σωτήριον χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐσόμενον.

[4] He also built a church to the west of the bridge to be a refuge for travellers in the winter season.

[5] ταύτης δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἠνώχλει τε καὶ κατέσειε ποταμός, ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν παραρρέων.

[5] As to this Juliopolis, its circuit-wall used to be disturbed and weakened by a river which flows along its western side.

[6] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ἀντιτείχισμα τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπὶ πόδας οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πεντακοσίους καταστησάμενος. ταύτη τε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔρυμα οὐκέτι ἐπικλυζόμενον διεσώσατο.

[6] This Emperor, however, put a stop to that, by setting up a wall flanking the circuit-wall for a distance of •not less than five hundred feet, and in this way he preserved the defences of the city, which were no longer deluged by the stream.

[7] Ἐν δὲ Καππαδόκαις ἐποίει τάδε. Καισάρεια μὲν πόλις ἐνταῦθα μεγίστη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τυγχάνει οὔσα. τεῖχος δὲ αὐτὴν περιέβαλλε τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀμετρίας ἐπιμαχώτατόν τε ὄν καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὅλως.

[7] In Cappadocia he did the following. The city of Caesarea there has been from ancient times very large and populous. But it was surrounded by a wall which, by reason of its immoderate extent, was very easy to attack and altogether impossible to defend.

[8] χώρας τε γὰρ οὐ τι ἀναγκαίης τῇ πόλει περιεβάλλετο μέγα τι χρῆμα, καὶ τῇ ἐς ἄγαν περιουσίᾳ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν εὐέφοδον ἦν.

[8] For it embraced a great expanse of land which was not at all necessary to the city, and by reason of its excessive size it was easily assailable by an attacking force.

[9] λόφοι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐπανεστήκασιν ὑψηλοί, οὐκ ἄγχιστα πη ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἀποθεν· οὐσπερ ὁ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστὴς ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου καταλαβεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, ὥς μὴ ἐπιτείχισμα κατ' αὐτῆς εἶεν, τῷ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὀνόματι τὰ σφαλερώτατα ἐξείργασατο.

[9] High hills rise there, not standing very close together, but far apart. These the founder of the city was anxious to enclose within the circuit-wall so that they might not be a threat against the city; and in the name of safety he did a thing which was fraught with danger.

[10] πεδία τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κήπους ἐτειχίσατο, καὶ σκοπέλους τε καὶ θρεμμάτων νομάς.

[10] For he enclosed within the walls many open fields and gardens as well as rocky cliffs and pasture-lands for flocks.

[11] ἔνθα δὴ οὐδὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον οἰκοδομήσασθαι τι οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος ἔμεινεν.

[11] However, even at a later time the inhabitants of the place decided not to build anything in this area, but it remained exactly as it had been.

[12] εἰ δέ που καὶ οἰκία τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ταῦτα δὴ ἀγείτονα κατὰ μόνας ὄντα διαγεγόνασιν ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου.

[12] Even such houses as did chance to be in this district have continued to be isolated and solitary up to the present day.

[13] καὶ οὔτε τὰ φυλακτήρια κατὰ λόγον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξικνεῖσθαι φυλακὴν εἶχεν, οὔτε αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοσοῦδε ὄντος ἐν δυνάμει ἐγίνετο τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. ἀτείχιστοί τε δοκοῦντες εἶναι περίφοβοι διηνεκὲς ἦσαν.

[13] And neither could the garrison maintain a proper defence in keeping with the extent of the wall, nor was it possible for the inhabitants to keep it in repair, seeing that it was so large. And because they seemed to be unprotected, they were in constant terror.

[14] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἰαναγκαῖα τοῦ περιβόλου περιελών, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρύματι ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιστείλας, ὀχύρωμα μὲν κατεστήσατο ἀμαχώτατον εἰ τις προσίοι, διαρκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐπέρρωσε. Καισαρεῦσι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐν Καππαδόκαις οὕτω τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διεσώσατο.

[14] But the Emperor Justinian tore down the unnecessary portions of the circuit-wall and surrounded the city with a wall which was truly safe, and made defences which would be thoroughly impregnable in case of attack; and then he made the place strong by the addition of a sufficient garrison. Thus did he guarantee the safety of the inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

[15] Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν Καππαδόκαις Μωκησὸς ὄνομα, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ κείμενον, σαθρὸν δὲ οὕτω γεγεννημένον ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν καταπεπτώκει, τὰ δὲ ἔμειλλεν.

[15] There was a certain fortress in Cappadocia, Mocus by name, situated on level ground, but it had sunk into such a state of disrepair that part of it had

fallen down and the rest was on the point of doing so.

[16] ὅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καθελὼν τεῖχος ὠκοδομήσατο κομιδῇ μέγα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ πάλαι φρουρίου ἐν χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν ὀρθίῳ καὶ ἀμηχάνῳ προσελθεῖν, εἴ τις προσίοι.

[16] All this the Emperor Justinian pulled down, and he built a very strong wall to the west of the old fortress, on a site which lay above a very steep slope and was quite inaccessible if anyone should try to attack it.

[17] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη πολλὰ καὶ ξενῶνας καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐδείματο καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνδείκνυται πόλιν εὐδαίμονα.

[17] There too he built many churches and hospices and public baths and all the other structures that are the mark of a prosperous city.

[18] ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα ἦλθεν· οὕτω γὰρ πόλιν τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔθνους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Καππαδόκαις τοιαῦτα ἐγγέγονει.

[18] Consequently it rose even to the rank of a metropolis, for thus the Romans call the leading city of a province. These things, then, were done in Cappadocia.

[5] [5] [1] Ἐκ πόλεως δὲ Ἀντιοχείας, ἣ νῦν Θεούπολις ἐπικέκληται, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἰόντι παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν προάστειόν ἐστι, Πλατανῶν ὄνομα· ταύτης δὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τρίβος τε ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφιγγομένη ἐκ τῶν παρατεταμένων ὁρῶν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ὄμβρων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐπικλυσάντων ἐξίτηλος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγενημένη μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς διεξόδους παρείχετο ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν.

[1] As one goes from the city of Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, into Cilicia, there is a suburb lying very close to the road, Platanôn by name; and not far from this city lay a path which had long been compressed into a very narrow track by the overhanging mountains; and after being washed by rains for a long time it was destroyed for the most part and afforded only dangerous passage to travellers.

[2] ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκοῇ ἔλαβεν, ἐν βουλῇ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ πεποιημένως, ἄκεσιν εὐθὺς τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρετο.

[2] When the Emperor Justinian heard of this, he took the matter under careful consideration and straightway found a remedy for the trouble.

[3] χρήματα γὰρ προέμενος ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα, ὅρη τε τὰ ἐκείνη ἀνέχοντα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐκτεμὼν ἅπαντα καὶ νενικηκὼς τὰ ἀμήχανα, ὁδὸν ἀμαξήλατον ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀπόκρημνα ἐν τε τῷ ὑπίτι

καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ διεσκευάσατο, διαφανῶς ἐνδειξάμενος ὡς γνώμη προμηθεΐ καὶ χρημάτων ὑπερορώση οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄπορον γένοιτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξειργάσθαι.

[3] He spent a sum of money past reckoning, cutting through, for a great distance, all the mountains which rose there to a great height and overcoming impossible obstacles; and he constructed a waggon-road, contrary to all reason and expectation, making flat and open ground of what had previously been broken by precipices, thereby clearly demonstrating that nothing could prove impossible for a man of discerning judgment who was ready to disregard expense. This, then, was done as I have said.

[4] Πόλις δέ ποῦ ἐστὶν ἐν Κίλιξιν ἡ Μοψουεστία, τοῦ μάντεως, ὃς φασὶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον. ταύτην ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ Πύραμος, τῇ μὲν πόλει γινόμενος ἐγκαλλώπισμα, γεφύρα δὲ μόνη διαβατὸς ὤν.

[4] There is in Cilicia a certain city called Mopsuestia, said to be the work of that ancient seer. Alongside this flows the Pyramus River, which, while it adds beauty to the city, can be crossed only by a bridge.

[5] χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ ἐπιρρεύσαντος πεπονηκέναι τῆς γεφύρας τὰ πλεῖστα ξυνέβη. ἐφκει τε πεσουμένοις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, καὶ τοῖς διαβαίνουσι διὰ τοῦτα ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἦν.

[5] But as much time passed it came about that the greater part of the bridge had suffered; indeed it seemed to be on the point of falling at any moment and for this reason death faced those who crossed it.

[6] πρᾶγμα τε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπινενοημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, τῇ τῶν προεστηκότων ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐγένετο κινδύνου τε πολλοῦ καὶ φόβου αἷτια.

[6] Thus a structure which was devised by men of former times for the preservation of life came, by reason of the negligence of the authorities, to be a source of great danger and a thing to be feared.

[7] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς τὰ διερρηκόντα ἐπανορθώσας σπουδῇ ἅπαντα τῇ τε γεφύρᾳ καὶ τοῖς παριοῦσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο, τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπέδειξεν αὖθις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀκινδύνως ἀναδουμένην εὐπρέπειαν.

[7] But our Emperor with great care set right all the damaged parts and once more restored the safety of the bridge and of those who crossed it, and caused the city to plume itself again, and without risk, on the river's beauty.

[8] Ἔστι δέ τις μετ' αὐτὴν Ἄδανα πόλις, ἥς δὴ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ποταμὸς φέρεται Ἰσάρως ὄνομα, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὀρῶν κατιών.

[8] Beyond it there is a certain city named Adana, on the eastern side of which the Sarus River flows, coming down from the mountains of Armenia.

[9] ναυσίπορος δὲ ὁ Σάρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατός. γέφυρα οὖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῇδε ὑπερφυῖς τε ἀποτετόρνενται καὶ λόγου ἀξία.

[9] The Sarus is navigable and quite impossible for men on foot to ford. So in ancient times an enormous and very notable bridge was constructed here. It was built in the following fashion.

[10] γεγένηται δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων μὲν εὐμεγέθων οἰκοδομαίαι πολλαχθὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπανεστήκασιν ἐς μέγα τι πάχος διήκουσαι, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὖρος ξυνεξικνούμεναι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος πολλῶν ὑπεράλλουσαι τῷ ὑπεραίροντι.

[10] At many points in the river piers of massive blocks of stone were reared upon its bed, built to a great thickness and forming a line extending across the entire width of the stream and in height rising far above high water.

[11] ὑπερθέν τε δυοῖν κατὰ μέσον ἀψίδες ἐν τῷ μετεώρῳ ἐπηρμέναι ἀνέχουσιν ὕψους ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα. ταύτης δὲ τῆς τῶν λίθων ξυνθήκης, ἥ κατὰ τὸ ὕδωρ οὔσα ἐτύγχανεν, ἅτε ῥοθίῳ μαχομένης πολλῶν, ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἀπέραντον ὅσον διεφθάρθαι τὰ πλεῖστα ξυνέβη.

[11] Above each pair of piers spring arches which rise to a great height, spanning the open space between them. The portion of this masonry which chanced to be below the water and so was constantly battered by its powerful current had, in a space of time beyond reckoning, come to be mostly destroyed.

[12] οὐκ εἰς μακράν τε ἡ γέφυρα πᾶσα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐμπεσεῖσθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἐγένετό τε αἰὲν ἐν εὐχῇ τῶν διαβαινόντων ἐκάστῳ ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν διαβάσει τὴν τοῦ χρόνου στιγμήν διαμεῖναι μόνον ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν γέφυραν.

[12] So the whole bridge appeared likely after no long time to fall into the river. It had come to be always the prayer of each man who crossed the bridge that it might remain firm if only during the moment of his crossing.

[13] ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πορείαν ὀρύξας, ἐκεῖσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταπορεύεσθαι διωθήσατο, ὕδατος δὲ χωρὶς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν λαβὼν, ἥσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἄρτίως, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πεπονθότα περιελὼν ἀνφοδομήσατο οὐδεμίᾳ μελλήσει, τὸν τε ποταμὸν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πρόσθεν ὁδὸν ἐπανήγαγεν, ἣν κοίτην καλοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε κεχώρηκε.

[13] But the Emperor Justinian dug another channel for the river and forced it to change its course temporarily; and then getting the masonry which I have

just mentioned free from the water and removing the damaged portions, he rebuilt them without any delay and then returned the river to its former path, which they call the “bed.” Thus then were these things done.^a

[14] Κύδνος δὲ ποταμὸς κατὰ πόλιν μέσσην Ταρσὸν φέρεται. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαπεπραγμένος φαίνεται πώποτε, ἅπαξ δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνηέχθη ποτὲ τὰ ἀνήκεστα διεργάσασθαι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε.

[14] At Tarsus, the Cydnus River flows through the middle of the city. It appears that in general it had caused no damage at any time, but on one occasion it chanced that it did cause irreparable loss, for the following reason.

[15] τοῦ μὲν καιροῦ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς ἑαρινὰς ἦν· νότος δὲ ἄνεμος ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπνεύσας πολὺς τὰς χιόνας διέλυσε πάσας, αἷς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐπιπτεοῦσαι τὸ ὄρος ὃ Ταῦρος ἐκεκάλυπτο σχεδόν τι ὅλον.

[15] It was about the time of the spring equinox, and a strong south wind which arose suddenly had melted all the snow which had fallen through the winter season, blanketing practically the whole Taurus range.

[16] ῥύακες οὖν ὑδάτων πανταχόθεν ξυνέρρεον τῶν ἐκείνη σκοπέλων, αἱ τε χαράδραι χειμάρρους ἀφίεσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ κρήναις πολλαῖς αἱ τε ὑπώρειαι καὶ οἱ πρόποδες ὀρών τῶν Ταυρείων κατάρρυτοι ἦσαν.

[16] Consequently streams of water were pouring down from the heights everywhere and each of the ravines discharged a torrent, and both the summits and the foothills of the Taurus mountains were deluged.

[17] τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύδνος τοῖς ὕδασι κυματίας γεγενημένος, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν γειτόνων ὄντα ἐπεσέβαλλον, ἅμα δὲ οἱ καὶ ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, τὰ μὲν Ταρσέων προάστεια πάντα, ὅσα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένα ἐτύγχανε, κατακλύσας εὐθὺς ἐξίτηλα τὸ παράπαν ἐποίει· ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ μορμύρων ἦει καὶ τὰς γεφύρας βραχείας οὖσας περιελὼν τὰς τε ἀγορὰς συνείχεν ἀπάσας τὰς τε ἀγυῖας ὑπερέβλυξε καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῖς καὶ ὑπερώοις ἐπιπολάζων ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρει.

[17] So by reason of this water the Cydnus rose in flood, for the streams kept pouring their water into it, since it was close to the mountains, and it was further swollen by heavy rains which fell at the same time; consequently the river flooded and immediately wiped out completely all the suburbs which were situated to the south of the city. Then it went roaring against the city itself, and tearing out the bridges, which were small, it covered all the market-places, flooded the streets, and wrought havoc by entering the houses and rising even to their upper storeys.

[18] νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἐν κινδύνῳ διαγέγονε καὶ σάλῳ τοιούτῳ,

καὶ μόλις ἐν ὑστάτῳ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπολωφήσας ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι γέγονεν αὖθις.

[18] Night and day the whole city continued in this critical and uncertain situation, and it was only tardily and at length that the river subsided little by little and returned once more to its accustomed level.

[19] ἄπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. πρῶτα μὲν ἐτέραν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διεσκευάσατο τῷ ποταμῷ κοίτην, ὅπως ἐνταῦθα διασχιζόμενος ἐκατέρωθί τε μερίζων τὸν ῥοὺν κατὰ ἥμισυ γεγωνὸς μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ταρσὸν ῥοι.

[19] When the Emperor Justinian learned of this, he devised the following plan. First he prepared another bed for the river above the city, in order that the stream might be separated there into two parts and might divide its volume so that only about half of it should flow toward Tarsus.

[20] ἔπειτα δὲ τὰς γεφύρας παρὰ πολὺ εὐρυτέρας πεποιημένος κρείσσους ἀπειργάσατο εἶναι ἢ πλημμύροντι βιασθῆναι τῷ Κύδνῳ. ταύτη τε διεπράξατο φόβου καὶ κινδύνου ἐκτὸς ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν.

[20] Then he made the bridges very much broader and so strong that the Cydnus in flood could not sweep them away. Thus he brought it about that the city stands forever freed from fear and from danger.

[6] [6] [1] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Κίλιξιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτη πη ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν τῇ θεοτόκῃ ἀνέθηκεν, ὅπερ ἄλλο εἰκασθῆναι οὐδὲν οἶόν τέ ἐστι.

[1] Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Cilicia. And in Jerusalem he dedicated to the Mother of God a shrine with which no other can be compared.

[2] νέαν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ὅπερ δὴ ὁποῖόν ποτὲ ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών, ὥς ἡ πόλις ἥδε λοφώδης μὲν ἐστίν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐ γεώδεις δὲ οἱ λόφοι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τραχεῖ καὶ ἀποκρήμνῳ ἐπανεστήκασι, τὰς ἀμφοδούς ἐν κλίμακος τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρθίου ἐς τὸ πρानεῖς κατατείνοντες.

[2] This is called by the natives the “New Church”; and I shall explain of what sort it is, first making this observation, that this city is for the most part set upon hills; however these hills have no soil upon them, but stand with rough and very steep sides, causing the streets to run straight up and down like ladders.

[3] τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἐνὸς χωρίου

συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἥ ἐπὶ λόφου πεποιημένα, ἥ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον τῆς γῆς, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει.

[3] All the other buildings of the city chance to lie in one group, part of them built upon a hill and part upon the lower level where the earth spreads out flat; but this shrine alone forms an exception.

[4] ἐπέστελλε γὰρ αὐτὸ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι γενέσθαι τῶν λόφων, δηλώσας ὅποιον τά τε ἄλλα δεῖσει καὶ τὸ εὖρος αὐτῷ καὶ μήκος εἶναι.

[4] For the Emperor Justinian gave orders that it be built on the highest of the hills, specifying what the length and breadth of the building should be, as well as the other details.

[5] οὐκ ἀπέχρησέ τε κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν πρὸς τοῦ ἔργου τὴν χρεῖαν ὁ λόφος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀπελέλειπτο πρὸς τε ἄνεμον νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ ὀργιάζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θέμις.

[5] However, the hill did not satisfy the requirements of the project, according to the Emperor's specifications, but a fourth part of the church, facing the south and the east, was left unsupported, that part in which the priests are wont to perform the rites.

[6] διὸ δὴ ἐπενόουν τάδε οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο. ἀπορριψάμενοι τὰ θεμέλια εἰς γῆς τῆς ὑπτίας τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκοδόμημα πεποιήνται συνεπανεστηκὸς τῷ σκοπέλῳ.

[6] Consequently those in charge of this work hit upon the following plan. They threw the foundations out as far as the limit of the even ground, and then erected a structure which rose as high as the rock.

[7] ἐπειδὴ τε ἄνω κατὰ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν ἐγένοντο, τῶν τοίχων καθύπερθε θόλους ἐνθέμενοι συνάπτουσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει.

[7] And when they had raised this up level with the rock they set vaults upon the supporting walls, and joined this substructure to the other foundation of the church.

[8] ταύτῃ τε ὁ νεὼς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς ἱδρύεται, πῇ δὲ ἠώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῷ λόφῳ.

[8] Thus the church is partly based upon living rock, and partly carried in the air by a great extension artificially added to the hill by the Emperor's power.

[9] ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας οἱ λίθοι οὐ τοιοῦδε εἰσὶ μέγεθος, ὁποίους ἴσμεν.

[9] The stones of this substructure are not of a size such as we are acquainted with,

[10] πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οἱ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε διαμαχόμενοι ὕψος τε ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ σκοπέλῳ διαπονούμενοι, τῶν ξυνειθισμένων ὀλιγορηκότες ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνώτα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐχώρουν,

[10] for the builders of this work, in struggling against the nature of the terrain and labouring to attain a height to match the rocky elevation, had to abandon all familiar methods and resort to practices which were strange and altogether unknown.

[11] πέτρας οὖν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ὑποτεμνόμενοι ἅπερ οὐρανομήκη ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις ἀνέχει, ξύσαντές τε αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως, ἐνταῦθα ἦγον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

[11] So they cut out blocks of unusual size from the hills which rise to the sky in the region before the city, and after dressing them carefully they brought them to the site in the following manner.

[12] ἀμάξας μὲν ταῖς πέτραις ἐτεκτίναντο μεγέθει ἴσας, ἓνα δὲ λίθον ἐνετίθεντο ἀμάξῃ ἐκάστη, βόες τε ἀριστίνδην πρὸς βασιλέως ξυνειλεγμένοι κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα σὺν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τὸν λίθον ἐφεῖλκον.

[12] They built waggons to match the size of the stones, placed a single block on each of them, and had each waggon with its stone drawn by forty oxen which had been selected by the Emperor for their strength.

[13] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς ταύτας δὴ φέρειν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐκτέμνοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ὄρη ἐσιτητὰ ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις ἀμάξαις ἐποίουν, οὕτως τε περιμήκη ἀπειργάσαντο τὸν νεών, ἥπερ βουλομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦν.

[13] But since it was impossible for the roads leading to the city to accommodate these waggons, they cut into the hills for a very great distance, and made them passable for the waggons as they came along there, and thus they completed the length of the church in accordance with the Emperor's wish.

[14] εὐρὸς τε αὐτῷ κατὰ λόγον πεποιημένοι, τέγος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἱερῷ ὥς ἥκιστα εἶχον.

[14] However, when they made the width in due proportion, they found themselves quite unable to set a roof upon the building.

[15] ὄρυμούς τε οὖν καὶ δάση πάντα περιόντες, καὶ εἴ ποῦ τι χωρίον ἠκούετο οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις, ὕλην τινὰ εὖρον ἀμφιλαφῇ, κέδρους φέρουσιν ἐς ὕψος ἐξικνουμένας ἀπέραντον ὅσον, αἷς δὴ τὴν ὀροφὴν τῷ νεῷ ἔθεντο, ὕψος αὐτῷ κατὰ μέτρον πεποιημένοι, ἐς ὅσον τε εὐρύνεται καὶ ἐς τὸ μῆκος ἐξάγεται.

[15] So they searched through all the woods and forests and every place where they had heard that very tall trees grew, and found a certain dense forest which produced cedars of extraordinary height, and by means of these they put the roof upon the church, making its height in due proportion to the width and length of the building.

[16] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπεΐα καὶ τέχνῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξεργάσατο. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς ἀμειβομένη αὐτὸν τῇ τιμῇ, καὶ ζυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο.

[16] These things the Emperor Justinian accomplished by human strength and skill. But he was also assisted by his pious faith, which rewarded him with the honour he received and aided him in this cherished plan.

[17] τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἱερῷ πανταχόσε κίωνων ἔδει τό τε εἶδος οὐκ ἀποδεόντων τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος κάλλους καὶ τοιούτων τὸ μέγεθος οἷοι δὴ ὄντες ἀντέχειν ἐς τὸ ἄχθος τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν ἔμελλον.

[17] For the church required throughout columns whose appearance would not fall short of the beauty of the building and of such a size that they could resist the weight of the load which would rest upon them.

[18] ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ κειμένη τῆς θαλάσσης πολλῶ ἀποθεν, ὄρεσί τε πανταχόθεν ἀποπεφραγμένη ἀποτόμοις τισίν, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἄπορον τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὸ ἔδαφος ἐποίει κίονας ἐτέρωθεν εἰσκομίζεσθαι.

[18] But the site itself, being inland very far from the sea and walled about on all sides by quite steep hills, as I have said, made it impossible for those who were preparing the foundations to bring columns from outside.

[19] ἀλλὰ βασιλέως δυσφορουμένου τῇ τοῦ ἔργου ἀμηχανίᾳ, λίθου φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτηδεῖως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγχιστα ὄρεσιν ἔδειξεν, ἣ οὐσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἣ νῦν γενομένην.

[19] But when the impossibility of this task was causing the Emperor to become impatient, God revealed a natural supply of stone perfectly suited to this purpose in the near by hills, one which had either lain there in concealment previously, or was created at that moment.

[20] ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα δὲ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν.

[20] Either explanation is credible to those who trace the cause of it to God;

[21] ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει πάντα σταθμώμενοι πολλὰ ἐς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμεθα, τῷ δὲ θεῷ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἄν ἄπορον οὔτ' ἀμήχανον γένοιτο.

[21] for while we, in estimating all things by the scale of man's power, consider many things to be wholly impossible, for God nothing in the whole world can be difficult or impossible.

[22] κίωνων τοίνυν ἐνθένδε μέγα τι χρήμα ὑπερμεγεθῶν τε καὶ ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα, πανταχόθεν ὑποστηρίζουσι τὸν νεών, οἱ μὲν ἔνερθεν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς στοὰς αἱ περιβάλλουσι τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον, πλὴν τῆς πρὸς ἑω τετραμμένης πλευρᾶς· ὥνπερ δύο ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεῶ θύρας ὑπερφυεῖς ἄγαν καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ τῇ πάσῃ κίωνων ἴσως οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι.

[22] So the church is supported on all sides by a number of huge columns from that place, which in colour resemble flames of fire, some standing below and some above and others in the stoas which surround the whole church except on the side facing the east. Two of these columns stand before the door of the church, exceptionally large and probably second to no column in the whole world.

[23] στοά τις ἐκδέχεται ἐντεῦθεν ἕτερα ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὠνομασμένη, οἶμαι, τῷ μὴ εὐρύνεσθαι.

[23] Here is added another colonnaded stoa which is called the narthex, I suppose because it is not broad.

[24] αὐλὴ μετὰ ταύτην κίουσιν ὁμοίοις ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνεχομένη· θύραι μέταυλοι ἱεροπρεπεῖς οὕτως, ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἔξω ἰοῦσιν ὁποῖω ποτὲ θεάματι ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι. προπύλαια τὸ ἐνθένδε θαυμασία οἶα, καὶ τις ἐπὶ κίωνων δυοῖν ἐπαιρομένη ἀψὶς ἐς ἄφατον ὕψος.

[24] Beyond this is a court with similar columns standing on the four sides. From this there lead doors to the interior (metauloi thyrai) which are so stately that they proclaim to those walking outside what kind of sight they will meet within. Beyond there is a wonderful gateway (propylaea) and an arch (apsis), carried on two columns, which rises to a very great height.

[25] προϊόντι δὲ πρόσω ἡμίκυκλα δύο, ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωπα ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁδοῦ ἐστᾶσι· ξενῶνες δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον· ἄτερος μὲν ξένοις ἐνδημοῦσι καταλυτήριον, ὃ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἀναπαστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς.

[25] Then as one advances there are two semi-circles (hemikykla) which stand

facing each other on one side of the road which leads to the church, while facing each other on the other side are two hospices, built by the Emperor Justinian. One of these is destined for the shelter of visiting strangers, while the other is an infirmary for poor persons suffering from diseases.

[26] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ προσόδῳ ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένα αὕτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν.

[26] And the Emperor Justinian endowed this Church of the Mother of God with the income from a large sum of money. Such were the activities of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem.

[7] [7] [1] Ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, Νεάπολις ὄνομα· ἐφ' ἧς δὴ ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνέχει, Γαριζὶν ὄνομα.

[1] In Palestine there is a city named Neapolis, above which rises a high mountain, called Garizin.

[2] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοί τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολήν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν· οὐχ ὅτι νεῶν τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρωρείαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθέησαν πάντων μάλιστα.

[2] This mountain the Samaritans originally held; and they had been wont to go up to the summit of the mountain to pray on all occasions, not because they had ever built any temple there, but because they worshipped the summit itself with the greatest reverence.

[3] ἥνίκα δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι ὦν τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ὡμίλει, γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς γυναῖκα τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων διάλογος· αὕτῃ τε ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει πυνθανομένη ὑπεῖπεν ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐχ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται προσκυνήσουσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσι, τοὺς Χριστιανούς παραδηλώσας· ἐγένετό τε προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἔργον ἢ πρόρρησις.

[3] But when Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and went among the people there, He had a conversation with a certain woman who was a native of the place. And when this woman questioned Him about the mountain, He replied that thereafter the Samaritans would not worship on this mountain, but that the true worshippers (referring to the Christians), would worship Him in that place; and as time went on the prediction became a fact.

[4] οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀψευδεῖν τὸν ὄντα θεόν.

[4] For it was not possible that He who was God should not utter truth.

[5] ἐγένετο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύοντος ἀθρόοι ἐξαπιναίως οἱ Σαμαρεῖται γενόμενοι ἐπεισπηδῶσιν ἐν Νεαπόλει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν καλουμένην ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διαχρῶνται, καὶ ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπος τότε, Τερεβίνθιος ὄνομα, καταλαβόντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐστῶτα τραπέζης, καὶ ἱεουργοῦντα τὰ ἄρρητα ξίφεσι παίοντες, ἄλλως τε συγκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς τῶν χειρῶν ἀφαιροῦνται δακτύλους, ἔς τε τὰ μυστήρια ὕβρισαν, ὥς δρᾶσαι μὲν Σαμαρείταις προσήκει, σιωπᾶν δὲ ἡμῖν.

[5] And it came about as follows. During the reign of Zeno, the Samaritans suddenly banded together and fell upon the Christians in Neapolis in the church while they were celebrating the festival called the Pentecost, and they destroyed many of them, and they struck with their swords the man who at that time was their Bishop, Terebinthius by name, finding him standing at the holy table as he performed the mysteries; and they slashed at him and cut off the fingers from his hand; and they railed at the mysteries, as is natural for Samaritans to do, while we honour them with silence.

[6] ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς οὗτος αὐτίκα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενος, τῷ τότε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων, ἐπέδειξε τε τὸ πάθος καὶ τὰ ξυνεγεχθέντα σημάνας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς προρρήσεως ὑπομνήσας, τιμωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἐδεῖτο γενέσθαι.

[6] And this priest straightway came to Byzantium and appeared before the ruling Emperor and displayed what he had suffered, setting forth what had happened and reminding the Emperor of the prophecy of Christ; and he begged him to avenge all that had been done.

[7] Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι ξυνταραχθεῖς, κόλασιν τε ἀποχρώντως ἐς τοὺς τὰ δεῖνα δεδρακότας πεποιηται οὐδεμία ὀκνήσει· ἐκ τε ὄρους τοῦ Γαριζίν τοὺς Σαμαρεῖτας ἐξέλασας, εὐθὺς Χριστιανοῖς τε αὐτὸ παραδίδωσιν, ἐκκλησίαν τε ἄνω δειμάμενος τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, τειχισάμενος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀποτριγνώσας.

[7] The Emperor Zeno was greatly disturbed by what had happened, and with no delay inflicted punishment in due measure upon those who had done the terrible thing. He drove out the Samaritans from Mt. Garizin and straightway handed it over to the Christians, and building a church on the summit he dedicated it to the Mother of God, putting a barrier, as it was made to appear, around this church, though in reality he erected only a light wall of stone.

[8] καὶ φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο κάτω μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐ πλέον ἢ δέκα.

[8] And he established a garrison of soldiers, placing a large number in the city below, but not more than ten men at the fortifications and the church.

[9] οἷς δὴ Σαμαρεῖται ἀχθόμενοι ἥσχαλλον μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δυσφορούμενοι ἀπηξίουν τὰ σφίσι παρόντα, δέει δὲ τῷ ἐκ βασιλέως δυσωπούμενοι σιωπῇ εἶχοντο.

[9] The Samaritans resented this, and chafed bitterly in their vexation and deplored their condition, but through fear of the Emperor they bore their distress in silence.

[10] προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου, Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, τοῖόνδε τι ξυνηγέθη γενέσθαι.

[10] But at a later time, when Anastasius was holding the imperial office, the following happened.

[11] τινὲς τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν, γυναικὸς ὑποθήκη ἀναπεισθέντες, ἀναβαίνουσι μὲν παρὰ δόξαν κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ὄρους κρημνῶδες, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀνόδου ἢ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐνταῦθα ἄγει ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλασσομένης, ἐνθὲνδε αὐτοῖς ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἀδύνατα ἦν.

[11] Some of the Samaritans, incited by a woman's suggestion, unexpectedly climbed the steep face of the mountain, since the path which leads up from the city was carefully guarded and it was impossible for them to attempt the ascent by that route.

[12] ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξαπναιῶς γενόμενοι κτείνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς, μετακαλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαμαρείτας φωνῇ ἐξαισίᾳ.

[12] Entering the church suddenly, they slew the guards there and with a mighty cry summoned the Samaritans in the city.

[13] οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δειμαίνοντες συνεπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκεχειρηκόσιν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον.

[13] They, however, through fear of the soldiers, were by no means willing to join the attempt of the conspirators.

[14] οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον ὁ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτροπεύειν (Προκόπιος δὲ ἦν ἐξ Ἐδέσσης πόλεως, ἀνὴρ λόγιος) τοὺς τὰ δεῖνα δεδρακότας συλλαβὼν ἔκτεινε.

[14] And not long afterwards the governor of the district (he was Procopius of Edessa, a man of learning) arrested the authors of the outrage and put them to death.

[15] τοῦ μέντοι ὀχυρώματος οὐδ' ὥς τις λόγος ἢ πρόνοια παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τηνικάδε γεγένηται.

[15] Yet even after that no thought was taken for the fortifications, and no provision for proper defence was made at that time by the Emperor.

[16] ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καίπερ τοὺς Σαμαρείτας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μεταθέμενος καὶ καταστησάμενος Χριστιανούς εἶναι, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ Γαριζὶν ἐκκλησίας τείχισμα ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος εἶασεν ἀποτετριγχωμένον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐτέρῳ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐκτοσθεν τείχει περιβαλὼν ἄμαχον διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι.

[16] But during the present reign, although the Emperor Justinian has converted the Samaritans for the most part to a more pious way of life and has made them Christians, he left the old fortifications around the church on Garizin in the form in which it was, that is, merely a barrier, as I have said; but by surrounding this with another wall on the outside he made the place absolutely impregnable.

[17] ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ πέντε Χριστιανῶν ἀνενεώσατο πρὸς τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν καταφλεχθέντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε εἴργασται.

[17] There too he restored five shrines of the Christians which had been burned down by the Samaritans. Thus, then, have these things been done.

[8][8][1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ πάλαι μὲν Ἀραβία, νῦν δὲ Παλαιστίνη τρίτῃ καλουμένῃ, χώρα μὲν ἔρημος ἐπὶ μακρὸν κατατείνει, καρπῶν τε καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἄφορος. καὶ ὄρος ἀπότομόν τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἀποκρέμαται ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καλουμένης θαλάσσης, Σινὰ ὄνομα.

[1] In what was formerly called Arabia and is now known as “Third Palestine,” a barren land extends for a great distance, unwatered and producing neither crops nor any useful thing. A precipitous and terribly wild mountain, Sina by name, rears its height close to the Red Sea, as it is called.

[2] οὐδὲν δέ μοι ἄμφι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἀναγράψασθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντά μοι τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον, Αἰθιοπίας τε τοὺς Αὐξωμίτας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν Σαρακηνῶν γένη ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδῆλωται λόγοις· ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι διδιήγηται, ὄντινα τρόπον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν Φοινικῶνα προσεποίησε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.

[2] There is no need at this point in my account to write a description of that region because everything has been set forth in the Books on the Wars, where I gave a full description of the Red Sea and what is called the Arabian Gulf, as well as of the Ethiopians and Auxomitae and the tribes of the Homerite Saracens. At that point I shewed also in what manner the Emperor Justinian added the Palm Groves to the Roman Empire.

[3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τούτου διὰ ἕνεκα λέγειν ἀφήμι, ὥς μὴ ἀπειροκαλίας ἀνενέγκοιμι δόξαν.

[3] Therefore I omit mention of these things, that I may not acquire a reputation for bad taste.

[4] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Σινᾷ ὅρει μοναχοὶ ὥκηται, οἷς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος ἡκριβωμένη τις μελέτη θανάτου, ἐρημίας τῆς σφίσι φιλάτης ἀδεέστερον ἀπολαύουσι.

[4] On this Mt. Sina live monks whose life is a kind of careful rehearsal of death, and they enjoy without fear the solitude which is very precious to them.

[5] τούτοις δὴ τοῖς μοναχοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς (ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφεῖντο, ἀλλὰ κρείσσους τῶν ἰανθρωπείων ἀπάντων εἰσίν, οὐδέ τι κεκτηῖσθαι οὐδὲ θεραπεύειν τὰ σώματα, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν ὀνίνασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν) ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδομήσατο, ἥνπερ τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐξῆ εὐχομένοις τε καὶ ἱερωμένοις διαβιῶναι.

[5] Since these monks have nothing to crave — for they are superior to all human desires and have no interest in possessing anything or in caring for their bodies, nor do they seek pleasure in any other thing whatever — the Emperor Justinian built them a church which have dedicated to the Mother of God, so that they might be enabled to pass their lives therein praying and holding services.

[6] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἐδείματο τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ ἔνερθεν·

[6] He built this church, not on the mountain's summit, but much lower down.

[7] ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρείᾳ διανυκτερεύειν ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ κτύποι τε διηνεκὲς καὶ ἕτερα ἅττα θειότερα νύκτωρ ἀκούσονται, δύναιν τε καὶ γνώμην τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ἐκπλήσσουντα.

[7] For it is impossible for a man to pass the night on the summit, since constant crashes of thunder and other terrifying manifestations of divine power are heard at night, striking terror into man's body and souls.

[8] ἐνταῦθά ποτε τὸν Μωσέα φασὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους παραλαβόντα ἐξενεγκεῖν.

[8] It was in that place, they say, that Moses received the laws from God and published them.

[9] ἐς δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ᾠκοδομήσατο, φυλακτήριόν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀξιολογώτατον κατεστήσατο, ὥς

μὴ ἐνθὲνδε Σαρακηνοὶ βάρβαροι ἔχοιεν ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐρήμου οὔσης, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐσβάλλειν ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης χωρία.

[9] And at the base of the mountain this Emperor built a very strong fortress and established there a considerable garrison of troops, in order that the barbarian Saracens might not be able from that region, which, as I have said, is uninhabited, to make inroads with complete secrecy into the lands of Palestine proper.

[10] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται. ὅσα δὲ καὶ τοῖς μοναστηρίοις πεποιήται τοῖς τῇδὲ τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐώαν οὖσιν, αὐτίκα δὴ μοι ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ γεγράφεται.

[10] Thus, then, were these things done. All that he did in the monasteries of this region and throughout the rest of the East I shall now record in the form of a summary.

[9] [9] [1] Μοναστήρια μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνενεώσατο τάδε.

[1] These, then, were the monasteries restored in Jerusalem:

[1] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Θαλελαίου.

[1] The Monastery of St. Thalelaeus.

[2] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου.

[2] The Monastery of St. Gregory.

[3] τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

[3] Also St. Panteleëmon's in the Desert of Jordan.

[4] Ξένωνα ἐν Ἱεριχῷ.

] [4] A hospice in Jerichô.

[5] ἐκκλησίαν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Ἱεριχῷ.

[5] A Church of the Mother of God in Jerichô.

[6] τὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

[6] The Monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem.

[7] τὸ τῶν Λαζῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.

- [7] The Monastery of the Lazi in the Desert of Jerusalem.
- [8] τὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Ἑλαιῶν.
- [8] The Monastery of St. Mary on the Mount of Olives.
- [9] τὸ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἑλισσαίου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.
- [9] The Monastery of the Spring of St. Elissaeus in Jerusalem.
- [10] τὸ Σιλέθεως.
- [10] The Monastery of St. Siletheus.
- [11] τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ῥωμανοῦ.
- [11] The Monastery of the Abbot Romanus.
- [12] ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνενέωσε.
- [12] At Bethlehem he restored the wall.
- [13] τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου ἐν Βηθλεὲμ.
- [13] The Monastery of the Abbot John in Bethlehem.
- [14] Φρέατα δὲ ἡ δεξαμενὰς ᾠκοδομήσατο οὕτως·
- [14] He also built wells or cisterns as follows:
- [15] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμουὴλ φρέαρ καὶ τεῖχος.
- [15] at the Monastery of St. Samuel, a well and a wall;
- [16] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ζαχαρίου φρέαρ.
- [16] at that of the Abbot Zacharias, a well;
- [17] εἰς τὸ Σωσάννης φρέαρ.
- [17] at that of Susanna, a well;
- [18] εἰς τὸ Ἀφελίου φρέαρ.
- [18] at that of Aphelius, a well;
- [19] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ φρέαρ.

[19] at St. John's on the Jordan, a well;

[20] εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν ὄρει καλουμένῳ Κισσερῶν φρέαρ.

[20] at St. Sergius' on the mountain called Cisserôn, a well;

[21] τὸ τεῖχος Τιβεριάδος.

[21] the wall of Tiberias;

[22] τὸ ἐν Βόστρᾳ πτωχεῖον.

[22] the Poor-house in Bostra.

[23] Φοινίκης·

τὸν οἶκον τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Πορφυρεῶνι.

[23] In Phoenicia, the following:

the House of the Virgin in Porphyreôn;

[24] μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ ἐν ὄρει.

[24] the Monastery of St. Phocas on the Mount;

[25] τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι.

[25] the House of St. Sergius in Ptolemaïs;

[26] ἐν Δαμασκῷ οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Λεοντίου.

[26] in Damascus, the House of St. Leontius;

[27] ἀπὸ Ἀπάμειαν πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ ἀνενέωσατο.

[27] near Aramea, he restored the Poor-house of St. Romanus;

[28] τεῖχος τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρωνος.

] [28] the wall of the Blessed Marôn;

[29] ὑπὸ Θεούπολιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δάφνης ἀνενέωσεν.

[29] near Theopolis, he restored the Church of Daphnê;

[30] ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τὸν ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.

[30] in Laodicea, he restored St. John's.

[31] Μεσοποταμίας·

μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.

[31] In Mesopotamia: he restored a Monastery of St. John;

[32] μοναστήρια Δέλφραξις, Ζηβίνου, Θεοδότου, Ἰωάννου. Σαρμαθῆς, Κυρήνου, Βεγαδαίου.

[32] the Monasteries of Delphrachis, Zebinus, Theodotus, John, Sarmathê, Cyrenus, Begadaeus;

[33] μοναστήριον εἰς τὸ Ἀπάδνας ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ.

[33] A Monastery of Apadnas in Isauria;

[34] πόλεως Κουρίκου λουτρὸν καὶ πτωχεῖον ἀνενέωσε.

[34] At the city of Curicum, he restored a Bath and a Poor-house;

[35] τὸ πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Κόνωνος.

[35] the Poor-house of St. Conôn;

[36] τὸν ἀγωγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνενέωσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ.

[36] He renewed the aqueduct of the same in Cyprus;

[37] οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμά καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ.

[37] The House of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Pamphylia;

[38] πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ ἐν Ἐμπορίῳ ἐπὶ κλην ἐπινείου πόλεως Πέργης τῆς Παμφυλίας.

[38] The Poor-house of St. Michael in the Emporium, as it is called, of the harbour-city of Perga in Pamphylia.

BOOK VI.

[1] [1] Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιήται. ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐξείργασται τάδε. Νεῖλος ποταμὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἐπιρρεύσας ὃ δὴ Χαιρέου ἐπονομάζεται, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἵεται, ὅρια τὰ γε Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀπολιπών.

[1] Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian. And at Alexandria he did the following. The Nile River does not flow all the way to Alexandria, but after flowing to the town which is named from Chaereüs, it then turns to the left, leaving aside the confines of Alexandria.

[2] διὸ δὴ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι, ὥς μὴ ἀμοιροίη τὸ παράπαν ἡ πόλις, διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου κατορύξαντες βαθεῖάν τινα βραχεῖα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκροῇ διεπράξαντο ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. οὗ δὴ καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἐκροὰς ἐκ λίμνης Μαρίας ἐσβάλλειν ζυμβαίνει.

[2] Consequently the men of former times, in order that the city might not be entirely cut off from the river, dug a very deep canal from Chaereüs and thus by means of a short branch made the river accessible to it. There too, as it chances, are the mouths of certain streams flowing in from Lake Maria.

[3] ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος μεγάλαις μὲν ναυσὶ πλώϊμα οὐδαμῇ γίνεται, ἐς λέμβους δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον σίτον ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου μεταβιβάσαντες οὕσπερ καλεῖν διαρήματα νενομίκασιν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν διακομίζουσιν, ἵνα δὴ ἐξικνεῖσθαι δυνατὰ ἐστὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ποταμῷ, καὶ κατατίθενται ἐν χώρῳ ὅνπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καλοῦσι Φιάλην.

[3] In this canal it is by no means possible for large vessels to sail, so at Chaereüs they transfer the Egyptian grain to boats which they are wont to call diaremata, and thus convey it to the city, which they are enabled to reach by way of the canal-route, and they deposit it in the quarter of the city which the Alexandrians call Phialê.

[4] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἐς στάσιν πολλάκις καθισταμένῳ ἐνταῦθα διολωλέναι τῷ σίτῳ ξυνέβη, βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τειχίσματι τόνδε τὸν χώρον περιβαλὼν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνεχαίτισε.

[4] But since it often came about that the grain was destroyed in that place by the people rising in sedition, the Emperor Justinian surrounded this district with a wall and so prevented the damage to the grain.

[5] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίου ἡμᾶς ἤγαγε τῆς Λιβύης ὁμόρου τανῦν ὁ λόγος,

φέρει δὴ καὶ ὅποσα διαπέπρακται αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα δηλώσωμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λιβύην
ξύμπασαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕτος ὑπὸ βαρβάροις κειμένην εὐρὼν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐνήψε
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.

[5] Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian.

But inasmuch as our account has now led us to Egypt, the close neighbour of Libya, let us now set forth how many things were done by him there also, since this Emperor found all Libya too lying under the power of barbarians and joined it to the remainder of the Roman Empire.

[6] Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φερόμενος δίχα τέμνει τὴν
ἐκείνη γῆν ἄχρι ἐς θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ σχιζομένη τῷ ρείθρῳ καὶ ὀνόμασι
διακέκριται τὸ ἐνθένδε δυοῖν.

[6] The Nile River, flowing out of India into Egypt, divides that land into two parts as far as the sea. The land, thus divided by the stream, is thenceforth designated by two separate names:

[7] τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀσία ὠνόμασται μέχρι που ἐς Φᾶσιν τὸν
Κόλχον, ὅσπερ Ἀσίαν τε διορίζει καὶ γῆν τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἡ μέχρι ἐς πορθμεῖα
τὰ Κιμμέρια καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν.

[7] the region on the right of the river is called Asia as far as Colchian Phasis, which divides Asia from the continent of Europe, or even all the way to the Cimmerian Strait and the River Tanaïs.

[8] τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἔνεκα διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα σοφοί, ἧπερ ἐν
λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται περιηγουμένῳ τὸν Εὐξείνῳ
καλούμενον πόντον.

[8] In regard to this question those who are learned in these matters are in conflict with one another, as has been made clear in the Books on the Wars in the course of my description of the sea called Euxine.

[9] τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Νείλου Λιβύη ἐκλήθη μέχρι ἐς ὠκεανόν, ὅσπερ ἐς
δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον ἐκατέραν ἡπειρον διορίζει, ἐκροήν τε ἀφιεῖς τινα καὶ
θάλασσαν τήνδε ποιούμενος.

[9] And the land on the left of the Nile bears the name of Libya as far as the Ocean, which on the west marks the boundary between the two continents by sending out a certain arm which opens out into this sea of ours.

[10] ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη Λιβύη ξύμπασα ὀνόματα κατὰ χώραν ἐκάστην ἕτερα ἅττα
διακεκλήρωται, ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνη ἐπιγενομένων, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἐπικληθεῖσα.

[10] All the rest of Libya has received several different names, each region being designated, presumably, by the name of the people who dwell there.

[11] ἡ μέντοι ἐκ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁρίων ἄχρι ἐς πόλιν Κυρήνην διήκουσα ἐπὶ Πενταπόλεως ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ μόνου τοῦ ὀνόματος Λιβύη καὶ νῦν ἐπικέκληται.

[11] However, the territory extending from the confines of Alexandria as far as the cities of Cyrenê, comprising the Pentapolis, is now the only region which is called by the name of Libya.

[12] ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας διέχουσα, Ταφόσιρις ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ ταφῆναι τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ὅσιριν λέγουσιν.

[12] In that territory is a city one day's journey distant from Alexandria, Taphosiris by name, where they say that the god of the Egyptians, Osiris, was buried.

[13] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καταλυτήρια καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐδείματο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς.

[13] In this city the Emperor Justinian built many things, and in particular the residences of the magistrates and baths.

[2] [2] [1] Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἀπημελημένα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.

[1] The greatest part of this land of Libya chanced to have been desert, which was in general neglected.

[2] καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ προεγρηγορῶς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς προμηθεῖ γνώμη, ὥς μή τι αὐτῇ παθεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν πλησιοχώρων ξυμβαίη, ὀχυρώματά τε δύο καὶ φυλακτήρια κατεστήσατο, ὧν θάτερον μὲν Παρατόνιον ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἀντίπυργον δὲ τὸ ἕτερον ἐπικέκληται, οὐ πόρρω Πενταπόλεως κείμενον.

[2] Yet our Emperor takes thought for this land also with watchful care, so that it might not have the ill fortune to suffer anything from inroads of the Moors who inhabit the adjoining country; and to this end he established there two strongholds with garrisons, one of which they call Paratonium,^o while the other, which lies not far from the Pentapolis, has received the name Antipyrgum.

[3] διέχει δὲ ἡ Πεντάπολις Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί.

[3] And the Pentapolis is removed from Alexandria by a twenty days' journey

for an unencumbered traveller.

[4] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Πενταπόλει καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Τεύχειραν τὴν πόλιν ἐρύματι ἐτειχίσατο ἐχυρωτάτῳ.

[4] In this region of Pentapolis the Emperor Justinian surrounded the city of Teuchira with very strong fortifications.

[5] καὶ Βερνίκης τὸν περίβολον ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνφοδομήσατο τῶν ἐσχάτων.

[5] The circuit-wall of Bernicê he rebuilt from its lowest foundations.

[6] οὗ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον πεποιήται, δημοσίᾳ παρεχόμενον τῇ πόλει τὴν χρεῖαν.

[6] In that city he also built a bath for the use of the people.

[7] ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς Πενταπόλεως ἐσχατιαῖς, αἵπερ εἰσὶ τετραμμένοι πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ὅχρωματα ἐν δυοῖν μοναστηρίοις ἐξείργασται, οἷσπερ Ἀγριολώδῃ τε καὶ Δινάρθισον ὀνόματα ἐστίν· ἅπερ ἐπιτειχίσματα κεῖται τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις,

[7] Furthermore, on the extreme boundary of the Pentapolis which faces the south, he constructed fortresses in two monasteries which bear the names Agriolodê and Dinarthisum;

[8] τῷ μὴ καταθέοντας ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐπισκῆπτειν ἐξαπινάϊως ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων.

[8] and these stand as bulwarks against the barbarians of that region, so that they may not come down stealthily into Roman territory and suddenly fall upon it.

[9] Ἔστι δέ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις, Πτολεμαῖς ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν εὐδαίμων τε γεγενημένη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀποκριθεῖσα.

[9] There is a certain city there, Ptolemaïs by name, which in ancient times had been prosperous and populous, but as time went on it had come to be almost deserted owing to extreme scarcity of water.

[10] τῶν γὰρ οἰκητόρων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος δίψει ἐχόμενοι πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστάντες ἀπεχώρησαν ὅπῃ ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν.

[10] For the great majority of the population, driven by thirst, had moved from there long ago and gone wherever each one could.

[11] ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὀχетаγωγίαν τῇ πόλει τὸ

πρότερον αὐτῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπέδωκε σχῆμα. Πενταπόλεως δὲ πόλις ἐσχάτη ἐστὶ πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, Βόρειον ὄνομα.

[11] Now, however, this Emperor has restored the city's aqueduct and thus brought back to it its former measure of prosperity. The last city of Pentapolis towards the west is named Boreium.

[12] οὗ δὴ τὰ ὄρη συννενευκότα τε πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε στενοχωρία ξυμπεφραγμένα, τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν εἰσόδων ἀποκεκλείσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους διασκευάζονται.

[12] Here the mountains press close upon one another, and thus forming a barrier by their crowding, effectively close the entrance to the enemy.

[13] ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, ἵεν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν βεβαιότατα σὺν πάσῃ τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρᾳ διεπράξατο εἶναι.

[13] This city, which had been without a wall, the Emperor enclosed with very strong defences, thus making it as safe as possible for the future, together with the whole country round about it.

[14] Πόλεις δὲ πού εἰσι δύο ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἐνὸς ᾠκημέναι·

[14] And there are two cities which are known by the same name, each of them being called Augila.

[15] Αὐγίλα γὰρ ἑκάτερα ἐκλήθη. αὗται τοῦ Βορείου διέχουσιν ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν μάλιστα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, τετραμμέναι μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἀρχαῖαι δὲ οὔσαι καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀρχαιότροπα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχουσαι· θρησκείαν γὰρ πάντες καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν τῆς πολυθεΐας ἐνόσουν.

[15] These are distant from Boreium about four days' journey for an unencumbered traveller, and to the south of it; and they are both ancient cities whose inhabitants have preserved the practices of antiquity, for they all were suffering from the disease of polytheism even up to my day.

[16] ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ τε Ἀμμωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι ἀνέκειτο ἕδη.

[16] There from ancient times there have been shrines dedicated to Ammon and to Alexander the Macedonian.

[17] οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐσφαγιάζοντο μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείαν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.

[17] The natives actually used to make sacrifices to them even up to the reign

of Justinian.

[18] ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄμιλος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱεροδούλων καλουμένων πολὺς. νῦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὰ σώματα τοῖς κατηκόοις ἐκποριζόμενος τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διασώσασθαι ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ποιούμενος, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὥκημένων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ πάντα προϋνόησε τρόπον.

[18] In this place there was a great throng of those called temple-slaves. But now the Emperor has made provision, not alone for the safety of the persons of his subjects, but he has also made it his concern to save their souls, be thus he has cared in every way for the people living there.

[19] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα διαφερόντως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίωσε καὶ τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐδίδασκε δόξαν Χριστιανούς πανοικεσία πεποιημένος καὶ μεταπορευόμενος λελυμασμένα σφίσι τὰ πάτρια ἤθη.

[19] Indeed he by no means neglected to take thought for their material interests in an exceptional way, and also he has taught them the doctrine of the true faith, making the whole population Christians and bringing about a transformation of their polluted ancestral customs.

[20] οἷς δὴ καὶ νεῶν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐδείματο, φυλακτήριον ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἀληθείας ἐσόμενον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη ἔσχε.

[20] Moreover he built for them a Church of the Mother of God to be a guardian of the safety of the cities and of the true faith. So much, then, for this.

[21] Βόρειον δὲ ἡ πόλις Μαυρουσίους γειτνιώσα βαρβάρους φόρου ὑποτελὴς οὐ γεγένηται ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου· οὐδέ τινες πώποτε δασμολόγοι ἢ φορολόγοι ἐς αὐτὴν ἵκοντο, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι.

[21] The city of Boreium, which lies near the barbarian Moors, has never been subject to tribute up to the present time, nor have any collectors of tribute or taxes come to it since the creation of man.

[22] οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ὥκηντο ἐκ παλαιοῦ αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα. οὗ δὴ καὶ νεῶς ἦν ἀρχαῖος αὐτοῖς, ὥνπερ ἐσέβοντό τε καὶ ἐτεθήπεσαν μάλιστα, δειμαμένον τοῦτο Σολομῶνος, ὥσπερ φασί, βασιλεύοντος Ἑβραίων τοῦ ἔθνους.

[22] The Jews had lived close by from ancient times, and they had an ancient temple there also, which they revered and honoured especially, since it was built, as they say, by Solomon, while he was ruling over the Hebrew nation.

[23] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μεταγνῶναί τε τὰ πάτρια

ἦθη, καὶ Χριστιανοὺς γεγονέναι διαπραξάμενος, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίας μεθιρμόσατο σχῆμα.

[23] But the Emperor Justinian brought it about that all these too changed their ancestral worship and have become Christians, and he transformed their temple into a church.

[3] [3] [1] Μετὰ τούτους αἱ Σύρταις εἰσὶν αἱ μεγάλαι ὠνομασμέναι. ἐφ’ οὗ δέ εἰσι σχήματος αὗται, καὶ ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τούτου μεταλαγχάνουσι τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

[1] Beyond these lie the Great Syrtes, as they are called. And I shall explain what their form is and why they are given this name.

[2] προβέβληταί τις ἐνταῦθα ἡϊών· σχιζομένη δὲ αὐτὴ τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροῇ, τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ ἀφανιζομένη, ἀποβαίνειν δοκεῖ, καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ὑποχωροῦσα ὀπίσω ἰέναι· ἐς κόλπον δὲ μνηοειδῆ ἐπὶ μακρότατον τέτραπται.

[2] A sort of shore projects there, but is itself divided by the influx of the sea, and being hidden by the water it seems to disappear and to retreat back into itself; and it forms by its curve a very long crescent-shaped gulf.

[3] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχομένης πλευρᾶς διάπλους ἐς τετρακοσίους διήκει σταδίους· τοῦ δὲ μνηοειδοῦς τὸ περίμετρον ἐς ἡμερῶν ἕξ ὁδὸν κατατείνει.

[3] The chord of the crescent extends to a distance of four hundred stades, but the perimeter of the crescent amounts to a six-days’ journey,

[4] ταύτης γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα πεπιεσμένη τῆς ἡπείρου ἐντὸς τὸν κόλπον ποιεῖται.

[4] for the sea, thrusting itself inside of this arm of the mainland, forms the gulf.

[5] ἐπειδάν τε ναὺς ἀνέμῳ ἢ κλύδωνι βιαζομένη τοῦ διάπλου ἐντὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν γένηται, τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐτῇ ἐπανιέναι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ συρομένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἔοικε, καὶ διαφανῶς ἐπίπροσθεν αἰεὶ ἰέλκομένη.

[5] When a ship driven by the wind or wave gets inside the opening and beyond the chord of the crescent, it is then impossible for it to return, but from that moment it seems “to be drawn” (suresthai) and appears distinctly to be dragged steadily forward.

[6] καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, οἶμαι, τὸν χώρον οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι τοῦ πάθους τῶν νεῶν ἔνεκα Σύρταις ὠνόμασαν.

[6] From this fact, I suppose, the men of ancient times named the place Syrtes because of the fate of the ships.

[7] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διανεῦσαι τοῖς πλοίοις ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα δυνατὰ γεγένηται. πέτραι γὰρ ὕφαλοι διακεκληρωμένοι τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ κόλπου πλώϊμα οὐ ξυγγωροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς βράχεσι τὰς ναῦς διαχρῶνται.

[7] On the other hand, it is not possible for the ships to make their way to the shore, for submerged rocks scattered over the greater part of the gulf do not permit sailing there, since they destroy the ships in the shoals.

[8] μόνοις δὲ τοῖς λέμβοις οἱ πλωτῆρες τούτων δὴ τῶν νηῶν οἱοί τε εἰσι διασώζεσθαι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς διεξόδους ποιοῦμενοι.

[8] Only in small boats are the sailors of such ships able to save themselves, with good luck, by picking their way amid perils through the outlets.

[9] Τριπόλεως τῆδε τῆς καλουμένης τὰ ὄρια ἐστὶ, Μαυρούσιοί τε βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσι, Φοινικὸν ἔθνος. οὗ δὴ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶ Κιδαμὴ ὄνομα.

[9] Here are the boundaries of Tripolis, as it is called. It is inhabited by the barbarian Moors, a Phoenician race. Here too is a city, Cidamê by name;

[10] ἐνταῦθά τε Μαυρούσιοι ᾤκηνται Ῥωμαίων ἔνσπονδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες· οἵπερ ἅπαντες πεισθέντες Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, δόγματι τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἐθελοῦσιν προσεχώρησαν.

[10] and in it live Moors who have been at peace with the Romans from ancient times. All these were won over by the Emperor Justinian and voluntarily adopted the Christian doctrine.

[11] Πακάτοι δὲ οὗτοι τανῦν οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ἐπεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αἰεὶ σπονδὰς ἔχουσι· πάκεν γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ.

[11] These Moors are now called pacati, because they have a permanent treaty with the Romans; for peace they call pacem in the Latin tongue.

[12] Πενταπόλεως δὲ Τρίπολις ἡμερῶν διέχει ὁδῷ εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί.

[12] Tripolis is a twenty-days' journey from the Pentapolis for an unencumbered traveller.

[4] [4] [1] Πόλις ἐνθὲνδε ἡ Λεπτιμάγνα ἐκδέχεται, μεγάλη μὲν καὶ πολυάνθρωπος τὸ παλαιὸν οὖσα, ἔρημος δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ψάμμου τε πλήθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἀπημελῆσθαι καταχωσθεῖσα.

[1] Next after this comes the city of Leptis Magna, which in ancient times was large and populous, though at a later time it came to be deserted for the most part, being through neglect largely buried in sand.

[2] καὶ ταύτης δὲ τὸν περίβολον ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς, οὐ τοσοῦτον μέντοι, ὅσος τὸ πρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἥσσονα, ὥς μὴ τῷ μεγέθει σφαλερὰ καὶ αἴθις ἡ πόλις εἴη, καὶ πολεμίοις μὲν ἁλωτῇ, ψάμμῳ δὲ πρόχειρος.

[2] Our Emperor built up the circuit-wall of this city from the foundations, not however on as large a scale as it was formerly, but much smaller, in order that the city might not again be weak because of its very size, and liable to capture by the enemy, and also be exposed to the sand.

[3] νῦν δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν καταχωσθὲν ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος εἶασεν οὕτω δὴ ψάμμῳ ἐς λόφους συνειλεγμένη κεκαλυμμένον, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐτειχίσατο ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα.

[3] At present, indeed, he has left the buried portion of the city just as it was, covered by the sand heaped up in mounds, but the rest of the city he has surrounded with a very strongly built wall.

[4] καὶ ἱερὸν μὲν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ θεοτόκῳ τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν, ἐκκλησίας δὲ τέτταρας ἐδείματο ἄλλας.

[4] Here he dedicated to the Mother of God a very notable shrine, and built four other churches.

[5] πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνωκοδομήσατο τὰ τῇδε γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καὶ καταπεπωκότα βασιλεία, Σεβήρου βασιλείως τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον· ὃς δὴ ἐνθὲνδε ὀρμώμενος μνημεῖα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὰ βασιλεία τάδε ἀπέλιπεν.

[5] Furthermore, he rebuilt the palace, which had been built here in early times and now lay in ruins, the work of the ancient Emperor Severus, who was born in this place and so left this palace as a memorial of his good fortune.

[6] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ λόγου τὸ ξυνενεχθὲν ἐπὶ Λεπτιμάγνης ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὥς ἥκιστα σιωπήσομαι. ἤδη μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, οὕπῳ δὲ πόλεμον τὸν Βανδιλικὸν ἀνηρημένου, Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι, βιασάμενοι τοὺς Λιβύης τότε κυρίους Βανδίλους, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν παντάπασι κατεστήσατο.

[6] Now that I have reached this point in the narrative, I cannot pass over in silence the thing which happened in Leptis Magna in our time. When the Emperor Justinian had already taken over the imperial authority, but had not yet undertaken the Vandalic War, the barbarian Moors, those called Leuathae, overpowered the Vandals, who were then masters of Libya, and made Leptis Magna entirely empty of inhabitants.

[7] ἐν χώροις δὲ λοφώδεσι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διατριβὴν τινα ἔχοντες Λεπτιμάγνης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, φλόγα πυρὸς ἐξαπινάϊως ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τεθέανται.

[7] While they were tarrying for a time with their leaders on hilly ground not far from Leptis Magna, they suddenly saw a flame of fire in the middle of the city.

[8] πολεμίους τε ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐνδήμους ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐβοήθουν πολλῷ.

[8] Supposing that local enemies had got in there, they ran to the rescue with great speed.

[9] ἀνθρώπων τε οὐδένα εὐρόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μάντεις τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγον, οἳ δὴ τῷ ξυμβεβηκότῃ τεκμηριούμενοι τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν οἰκισθήσεσθαι προὔλεγον.

[9] Finding no one there, they took the matter to the soothsayers, who, by an inkling of what has since happened, predicted that Leptis Magna would soon be inhabited again.

[10] οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον ἀφικόμενος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸς Λιβύην τε τὴν Ἰάλλην καὶ Τρίπολιν ἔσχε, Βανδιλίων τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων καθυπέρτερος τῷ πολέμῳ γεγενημένος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

[10] Not long after that the Emperor's army came and occupied both Tripolis and the rest of Libya, gaining ascendancy over both the Vandals and the Moors in the war. However, I shall return to the point at which I digressed from my account.

[11] Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποιήται, τὸν τε περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐκ θεμελίων τῶν ἐσχάτων ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τοῖς τε βαλανείοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐς πόλεως αὐτὴν κατεστήσατο σχῆμα.

[11] In this city the Emperor Justinian also built public baths, and he erected the circuit-wall of the city from its lowest foundations, and by means both of the baths and of all the other improvements gave it the character of a city.

[12] τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῇ βαρβάρους, οἱ Γαδαβιτανοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται, κατακόρως ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καλουμένην ἀθεΐαν δοξάζοντας, Χριστιανοὺς διεπράξατο γενέσθαι τανῦν προυθυμία τῇ πάσῃ.

[12] The barbarians who live close by, those called Gadabitanì, who up to that

time were exceedingly addicted to what is called the Greek form of atheism, he has now made zealous Christians.

[13] ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαβραθὰν ἐτειχίσατο πόλιν, οὗ δὴ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείματο.

[13] He also walled the city of Sabrathan, where he also built a very noteworthy church.

[14] Πόλεις δὲ δύο εἰσὶ ταύτης ἐν ἐσχάτῳ τῆς χώρας, Τάκαπά τε καὶ Γίργις, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον Σύρτεις τὰς μικρὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[14] There are two cities at the extremity of this land, Tacapa and Girgis, between which lie the Lesser Syrtes.

[15] ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον. ἡ θάλασσα ἐν στενῷ θλιβομένη ἀπεργάζεται μηνοειδῆ κόλπον, ἥπερ γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας Σύρτεις ἐρρήθη.

[15] There a thing happens every day which is truly wonderful. The sea, compressed into a narrow space, forms a crescent-shaped gulf, just as I have said happens at the other Syrtes.

[16] ἀναβαίνει δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον πλέον ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἀμφὶ τε τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπάνεισιν αὐθις, ἐπιλιποῦσα ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τὴν ἡϊόνα ταύτην κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀκταῖς.

[16] The sea comes up on the mainland more than a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, but towards evening it returns again, leaving the shore there dry as on other coasts.

[17] οἱ τε ναῦται εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναγόμενοι θάλασσαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ γεγενημένην, τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τὰ εἰωθότα ναυτίλλονται, ἀμφὶ δειλὴν δὲ πάντως ὄψιαν ὡς ἐν γῇ αὐλισόμενοι συσκευάζονται, κοντοὺς τινας ἐν παρασκευῇ μακροὺς ἔχοντες.

[17] The sailors put out over the mainland, which is temporarily transformed into a sea, and during the day they sail as far as possible by the usual means, but in the late afternoon they make preparations to bivouac as if on land, having certain long poles in readiness.

[18] ἐπειδάν τε τάχιστα τοῦ ῥοθίου αἰσθωνται ὑπόπτως ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔχοντος, οἶδε κοντοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ διαχειρίζοντες ἐκπηδῶσιν ὁκνήσει οὐδεμία ἐκ τῆς νεώς.

[18] As soon as they observe that the water is threatening to draw back, with no

delay they leap out of the ships holding the poles and dragging them along.

[19] νηχόμενοι δὲ πρῶτον, εἴτα ἐστήκασιν, ἥνικα ἂν σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ οὐχ ὑπεραίροι τὰ πρόσωπα.

[19] At first they swim, and then they stand as soon as the water does not rise above their faces.

[20] ἐκ τε τῶν ἄκρων τοὺς κοντοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσουδίσαντες ἐν ξηρῷ ἤδη γεγενημένης ἢ ἐσομένης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὀρθοὺς ἱστᾶσιν, ὑποκεισομένους τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ μετεωρίζοντας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὥς μὴ ἐπικλινᾶν ἐπὶ θάτερα συντριβὲς γένηται.

[20] And they plant the ends of their poles in the earth as soon as it has become dry or is on the point of becoming so, and they set them upright so as to prop up the boat from both sides and keep it upright, in order that it may not fall over to either side and be crushed.

[21] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὀρθου βαθέος ἢ μὲν ἡπειρος μεταμφιασμένη τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπικυρτοῦται κυμαίνουσα, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ.

[21] On the following day, at early dawn, the mainland again transforms itself into the sea with its rolling waves, and the boats are lifted and float away.

[22] οἱ τε ναῦται περιελόντες ἐπικαιριώτατα τοὺς κοντοὺς ναυτίλλονται αὐθις.

[22] The sailors meanwhile remove the poles at just the right moment and proceed to sail once more.

[23] παράλλαξιν τε οὐδεμίαν τοῦ ἔργου γενέσθαι ζυμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἢ τῶν στοιχείων διαδοχὴ ἐπγίνεται.

[23] This goes on without any variation, but every day the alternation of the elements takes place.

[5] [5] [1] Μετὰ δὲ Τρίπολιν τε καὶ Σύρτεις ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ Λιβύην τὴν ἄλλην ἴωμεν.

[1] After Tripolis and the Syrtes, let us go on to the rest of Libya.

[2] ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, ἡ μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη τῶν τῇδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὖσα, τοσοῦτον πρότερον ὑπειπουδισιν, ὥς ἥνικα Γιζέριχός τε καὶ Βανδίλοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἐνθύμημα ἐπιγέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώλεθρόν τε καὶ πρέπον βαρβάρους.

[2] We must begin from Carthage, which chances to be the largest and the most noteworthy of the cities in this region, prefacing our account with the remark that when Gizerich and the Vandals acquired Libya, a device occurred to them

which was both pernicious and worthy of barbarians.

[3] ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐλογίσαντο σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν ἀτειχίστων ὄντων τῶν τῇδε χωρίων, ὥς μή τι καταλαβόντες αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι Βανδίλους κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν.

[3] They reasoned that they would be better off if all the towns of the region should be without walls, so that the Romans might not capture any of them and thus be able to harm the Vandals.

[4] ἅπαντα οὖν τὰ τεῖχη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλον εὐθύς. βάρβαροι γὰρ ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευόνται μὲν ὥς ὀξύτατα, ἐπιτελοῦσι δὲ ὥς ταχύτατα ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη.

[4] So they immediately tore down all the walls to the ground. All the barbarians, as a general thing, are very keen in planning damage to the Romans, and they are very swift in executing whatever they decide upon.

[5] μόνον ἰδὲ αὐτοῖς τό τε Καρχηδόνος καὶ ὀλίγα ἄλλα ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦσαν σχήματος ἔμειναν, ὥνπερ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀπαξιοῦντες, διαφθορεῖν αὐτὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφῆκαν.

[5] Only Carthage and a few other places were left by them just as they were, for they declined to concern themselves with these, and left them for time to destroy.

[6] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς (ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐπαινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεφροκῶτων τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγουμένου τε καὶ ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ ξυλλαμβάνοντος) Βελισάριόν τε καὶ στρατεύμα ἐπὶ Λιβύην πέμψας, Γελίμερά τε καὶ δύναμιν τὴν Βανδίλων καθεῖλε, πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς δορυαλώτους πεπονημένους, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται.

[6] But the Emperor Justinian (although no man approved of his purpose and all actually shuddered at the undertaking, and only God furthered the project and promised help and support) sent Belisarius and an army against Libya; and he broke the power of Gelimer and the Vandals, killing many and making the rest captives, as I have recounted in the Books of the Wars.

[7] καὶ τὰ μὲν καθηρημένα τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ ὀχυρωμάτων ἀνενεώσατο ἅπαντα, ἕτερα δὲ παμπληθῇ ἐπετεχνήσατο νεοχμώσας αὐτός.

[7] He restored all the dismantled strongholds in Libya, every one of them, and he also added a great many new ones himself.

[8] Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Καρχηδόνος, τῆς νῦν καὶ Ἰουστινιανῆς, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,

καλουμένης ἐπεμελήσατο, διερρηγκῶτα μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα, καὶ τάφρον ἐν περιδρόμῳ διορύξας οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν.

[8] First, then, he cared for Carthage, which now, very properly, is called Justinianê, rebuilding the whole circuit-wall, which had fallen down, and digging around it a moat which it had not had before.

[9] ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη, τῇ μὲν θεοτόκῳ, ὅπερ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐστί, καὶ τούτου ἐκτὸς τῶν τινι ἐπιχωρίων ἁγίων ἁγία Πρίμη.

[9] He also dedicated shrines, one to the Mother of God in the palace, and one outside this to a certain local saint, Saint Prima.

[10] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ στοὰς ἐκατέρωθι τῆς Μαριτίμου ἀγορᾶς καλουμένης ἐδείματο, καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀξιοθέατον, ὅπερ ἐπωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδοριανᾶς ἐπωνόμασαν.

[10] Furthermore, he built stoas on either side of what is called the Maritime Forum, and a public bath, a fine sight, which they have named Theodorianae, after the Empress.

[11] ἐδείματο δὲ καὶ μοναστήριον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἐπιθαλασσίδιον, ἄγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος ὅπερ Μανδράκιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύματί τε αὐτὸ ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἀνανταγώνιστον ἀπειργάσατο.

[11] He also built a monastery on the shore inside the circuit-wall, close to the harbour which they call Mandracium, and by surrounding it with very strong defences he made it an impregnable fortress.

[12] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνης τῆς νέας Ἰουστινιανῶ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ χώρᾳ τῇ ἄμφ' αὐτήν, ἣ Προκονσουλᾶρία ὠνόμασται, πόλις ἀτείχιστος ἦν, Βάγα ὄνομα, μὴ ὅτι βαρβάροις ἐπιούσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχῃ τινὶ παριούσιν ἀλωτὴ οὔσα.

[12] These things, then, were done by Justinian at modern Carthage. In the surrounding region, which is called Proconsularis, there was an unwalled city, Vaga by name, which could be captured not only by a planned attack of the barbarians, but even if they merely chanced to be passing that way.

[13] ταύτην ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πόλιν τε διεπράξατο εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διασώσασθαι οἶαν τε εἶναι.

[13] This place the Emperor Justinian surrounded with very strong defences and made it worthy to be called a city, and capable of affording safe protection

to its inhabitants.

[14] οἱ δὴ τετυχηκότες τῆς χάριτος ἐς τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος τιμὴν Θεοδοριάδα καλοῦσι τὴν πόλιν.

[14] And they, having received this favour, now call the city Theodorias in honour of the Empress.

[15] φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ ὃ Τούκκα καλοῦσιν.

[15] He also built in this district a fortress which they call Tucca.

[6] [6] [1] Ἐν Βυζακίῳ δὲ πόλιν, Ἀδράμυτος ὄνομα, ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ οἰκεῖται, μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὄνομά τε καὶ ἀξίωμα κληρωσαμένη ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐπεὶ πρώτην αὐτὴν μεγέθει τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[1] In Byzacium there is a city on the coast, Adramytus by name, which has been large and flourishing from ancient times, and for this reason it won the name and rank of metropolis of the region, since it chances to be first in point of size and, in general, of prosperity.

[2] ταύτης Βανδίλοι μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὥς μή ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς ἀντιλαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν· Μαυρουσίῳις τε καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖα ἀπέκειτο.

[2] The Vandals had torn the circuit-wall of this city down to the ground, so that the Romans might not be able to use it against them. And it lay conveniently exposed to the Moors when they overran that region.

[3] Λίβυες δὲ κατὰ ταύτην οἰκήτορες, ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας ἐπιμελούμενοι, τὰ διηρημένα τῶν τοίχων ἀποτριγχώσαντες τὰς οἰκίας ἀλλήλαις ἐνήψαν·

[3] Nevertheless, the Libyans who lived there tried to make provision, so far as they could, for their own safety, and so they made a barricade out of the ruins of the walls and joined their houses together;

[4] ἐξ ὧν δὴ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διαμαχόμενοι ἐν τε τῷ σφαλερῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τῷ ἐπικινδύνῳ ἡμύνοντο.

[4] and from these they would fight against their assailants and try to defend themselves, though their hope was slight and their position precarious.

[5] ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἡ σωτηρία διηνεκὲς καὶ ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους ἐστῶσα, πολεμουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μαυρουσίῳιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Βανδίων

[5] So their safety always hung by a hair and they were kept standing on one leg, being exposed to the attacks of the Moors and to the neglect of the Vandals.

[6] ἀλλ' ἡνίκα Λιβύης κύριος τῷ πολέμῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς γέγονε, τεῖχος τε τῇ πόλει εὐμέγεθες ἄγαν περιβαλὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καταστησάμενος ἀξιοχρεῶν θαρσεῖν τε ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς τῇδε ὄκημένους πεποιήται ἀφροντιστῆσαί τε πολεμίων ἀπάντων.

[6] However, when the Emperor Justinian became master of Libya by conquest, he put an exceedingly massive wall about the city and stationed there an adequate garrison of troops, thus giving the inhabitants assurance of safety and enabling them to disdain all enemies.

[7] διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὴν καλοῦσι τανῦν, σῶστρα τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐκτίνοντες, μόνῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ παρενθήκῃ τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτῳ ἂν καὶ βασιλέως τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείβοντο οὔτε αὐτοὶ εἶχον οὔτε οὗτος ἐβούλετο.

[7] For this reason they now call the place Justinianê, thus repaying the Emperor for their deliverance and displaying their gratitude simply by the adoption of the name, since they had no other means by which they could requite the Emperor's beneficence, nor did he himself wish other requital.

[8] Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βυζακίου παραλία χωρίον ὅπερ ἐκάλουν Καπούτβαδα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐνταῦθα καταπλεύσας τὰ πρῶτα ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στόλος Λιβύων τῆς γῆς ἐπεβάτευεν, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευεν.

[8] There was also a certain other town on the coast of Byzacium which the inhabitants used to call Caputvada. At that point the Emperor's fleet landed and there the troops first set foot on the land of Libya, when they made the expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals.

[9] οὐ δὴ καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον ἐκεῖνο καὶ λόγου κρεῖσσον ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιδέδευκται ὁ θεὸς δώρημα, ὅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδῆλωται λόγοις.

[9] In that place also God revealed that marvellous and indescribable gift to the Emperor which I have described in the Books on the Wars.

[10] ἀνύδρου γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος, ὕδατος τε ἀπορία πολλῇ πιεζομένου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἡ γῆ, πρότερον ἐπὶ ξηροῦ βεβαιοτάτα οὔσα, πηγὴν ἀνῆκεν οὗ δὴ τὸ χαράκωμα οἱ στρατιῶται εἰργάζοντο.

[10] For although the locality was exceedingly arid, so that the Roman army was very hard pressed by lack of water, the ground, which previously had been completely dry, sent up a spring at the place where the soldiers were building their stockade,

[11] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὥρυσσον, ἡ δὲ ἀνεβλύστανεν. ἥ τε γῆ αὐχμὸν ἀποβαλοῦσα τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ μεθαρμοσαμένη τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ὕδατι ποτίμῳ ὑγρὰ ἐγεγόνει.

[11] for as they dug, the water began to gush forth. So the earth threw off the drought which prevailed there, and transforming its own character became saturated with drinking-water.

[12] ταύτῃ τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ στρατοπεδεύσαντές τε καὶ αὐλισάμενοι, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὥς ἐς τὴν μάχην συσκευασάμενοι, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ συντέμω, Λιβύην ἔσχον.

[12] Because of this circumstance they built a satisfactory camp in that place and spent that night there; and on the next day they prepared for battle and, to omit what intervened, took possession of Libya.

[13] μαρτυρίῳ τοίνυν διηγεκεῖ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον πιστούμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ δὴ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἀμηχανώτατα εὐκόλα γίνεται, ἐς πόλιν αὐτίκα μεταβίβασαι τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο βεβούλευται, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνὴν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς πόλεως ὄγκον ὑπογεγραμμένην εὐδαίμονος, καὶ γέγονεν ἔργον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνθύμημα.

[13] So the Emperor Justinian, by way of bearing witness to the gift of God by means of a permanent testimony — for the most difficult task easily yields to his wish — conceived the desire to transform this place forthwith into a city which should be made strong by a wall and distinguished by its other appointments as worthy to be counted an impressive and prosperous city; and the purpose of the Emperor has been realized.

[14] τεῖχος τε γὰρ ἀποτετόρνενται καὶ πόλις, καὶ ἀγροῦ τύχη ἐξαπιναίως ἀμείβεται.

[14] For a wall has been brought to completion and with it a city, and the condition of a farm land is being suddenly changed.

[15] οἱ τε ἄγροικοι τὴν ἐχέτλην ἀπορριψάμενοι πολιτικῶς βιοτεύουσιν, οὐκ ἄγροικον δίαταν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀστείαν διαχειρίζοντες.

[15] And the rustics have thrown aside the plough and lead the existence of a community, no longer going the round of country tasks but living a city life.

[16] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀγοράζουσιν ἐνταῦθα διημερεύοντες, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν σφίσιν

ἀναγκαίων ἐκκλησιάζουσι, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλουσι, τᾶλλα τε ἅπαντα πράσσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἐς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἔχει.

[16] They pass their days in the market-place and hold assemblies to deliberate on questions which concern them; and they traffic with one another, and conduct all the other affairs which pertain to the dignity of a city.

[17] Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τῷ ἐπιθαλασσίῳ πεποιήται. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ ἔσχατα, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὴν βάρβαροι προσοικοῦσι Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπιτειγίσματα κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήται δυνατώτατα, ἐξ ὧν δὴ οὐκέτι οἰοί τε εἰσι καταθεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

[17] This then was done in Byzacium on the sea. In the interior of this land and to its farther parts, where barbarian Moors live hard by, he built very powerful outposts against them, because of which they are no longer able to overrun the Roman dominion.

[18] πόλεις τε γὰρ τὰς ἐνταῦθα οὔσας ἐν ἔσχατιᾷ τῆς χώρας ἐκάστην τείχεσιν ἐχυροῖς ἄγαν περιβαλὼν, αἷς αἱ προσηγορίαι Μάμμης τε καὶ Τελεπτή καὶ Κούλουλις, καὶ φρούριον τειχισάμενος, ὅπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Αὐμέτρα, ἐξεγγύους ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

[18] He surrounded each one of the cities with very strong walls, since they stand on the rim of the territory; these bear the names Mammes, Teleptê and Cululis. He also constructed a fort which the natives call Aumetra, and in these places he stationed trustworthy garrisons of troops.

[7] [7] [1] Τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Νομιδίῳ τῇ χώρᾳ τειχίσματί τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλακτηρίοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν, ὥνπερ ἕκαστα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

[1] In the same way he assured the safety of the land of Numidia by means of fortifications and garrisons of soldiers, each one of which I shall now mention.

[2] ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν Νομιδίᾳ, ὅπερ Αὐράσιον ἐπικέκληται, οἷον δὴ γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐτέρῳθι ὥς ἥκιστα ζυμβαίνει εἶναι.

[2] There is a mountain in Numidia which is called Aurasius, such as chances to be found nowhere else at all in the civilized world.

[3] τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος οὐρανόμηκες μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀποτόμῳ ἀνέχει, ἐς περίμετρον δὲ ἡμερῶν μάλιστα διήκει ὁδῷ τριῶν. καὶ προσιόντι μὲν ἀπρόσβατόν ἐστιν, ἀνάβασιν οὐδεμίαν ὅτι μὴ ἐν ἀποκρήμνῳ ἔχον.

[3] For this mountain rises steeply to a towering height and its perimeter extends to a distance of about three days' journey. It offers no path as one

approaches it, having no ascent except over cliffs.

[4] ἄνω δὲ γενομένων γεώδης τε ἡ χώρα καὶ ὁμαλὴ τὰ πεδία καὶ ὁδοὶ προσηνεῖς, λειμῶνες εὐνομοί, παράδεισοι κατάφυτοι δένδροις, ἀρώματα πάντα.

[4] But after one gets to the top there is deep soil and level plains and easy roads, meadows good for pasture, parks full of trees and plough-land everywhere.

[5] καὶ πηγαὶ μὲν ἀποβλύζουσαι τῶν τῆδε σκοπέλων, γαληνὰ δὲ τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθει ῥοθίου ἐπικυρτούμενοι, καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων παραδοξότατον, τὰ τε λήϊα καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει διπλάσιον μεγέθους πέρι τὸν καρπὸν φέρουσιν ἢ ἐν Λιβύῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐφέυκε γίνεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄρους τοῦ Αὐρασίου ταύτη πη ἔχει.

[5] Springs bubble out from the cliffs there, their waters are placid, there are rippling rivers which flow chattering along, and strangest of all, the grain-fields and the trees on this mountain produce crops which are double in size compared with those which are wont to grow in the rest of Libya. Such is the condition of Mt. Aurasius.

[6] Βανδίλοι δὲ αὐτὸ σὺν πάσῃ Λιβύῃ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶχον, οὓς δὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀφελόμενοι τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο.

[6] The Vandals held it originally along with the rest of Libya, but the Moors wrested it from them and settled there.

[7] Μαυρουσίους δὲ καὶ Ἰαυδαν, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἐξελάσας ἐνθένδε Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἄλλῃ προσεποίησε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.

[7] The Emperor Justinian, however, expelled from there the Moors, and Iaudas who ruled over them, and added this mountain to the rest of the Roman Empire.

[8] προνοήσας τε ὥς μὴ καὶ αὐθις οἱ βάρβαροι κακουργοῖεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, πόλεις μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐρήμους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὸ παράπαν εὐρὼν ἐτειχίσατο, Πεντεβαγάνην τε λέγω καὶ Φλωρεντιανὴν καὶ Βάδην τε καὶ Μήλεον καὶ Ταμουγάδην, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούρια δύο Δάβουσίν τε καὶ Γαιανά, φυλακτῆρια δὲ στρατιωτῶν διαρκῇ ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, οὐδεμίαν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπελίπετο.

[8] As a precaution in order that the barbarians might not again make trouble by getting a foothold there, he fortified cities about the mountain which he found deserted and altogether unwallled. I refer to Pentebagae and Florentianae and Badê and Meleum and Tamugadê, as well as two forts,

Dabusis and Gaeana; also he established there sufficient garrisons of soldiers, thus leaving to the barbarians there no hope of attacking Aurasius.

[9] καὶ χώραν δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ Αὐράσιον ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις ὥς ἤκιστα οὕσαν τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἀφείλετο. πόλεις τε ἐνταῦθα ἐτειχίσατο δύο, τὴν τε Φρίκην καὶ Σίτιφιν.

[9] The district beyond Aurasius, which had not been under the Vandals at all, he wrested from the Moors. There he walled two cities, Fricê and Sitifis.

[10] ἐν δὲ δὴ πόλεσι ταῖς ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας τῆς ἄλλης κειμέναις ἀνανταγώνιστα ἐρύματα κατεστήσατο. αἷς αἱ προσηγορίαι αἶδε εἰσί· Λαριβουζουδούων, Παρατουρών, Κιλανά, Σικκαβενερία, Τίγισις, Λαμφουαομβά, Καλαμάα, Μέδαρα, Μέδελα.

[10] At the cities situated in the rest of Numidia, the names of which follow, he set up impregnable defences: Laribuzuduôn, Paraturôn, Cilana, Siccaveneria, Tigisis, Lamfouaomba, Calamaa, Medara, Medela;

[11] ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούρια δύο, ἡ Σκιλή τε καὶ Φώσαλα. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε.

[11] besides these, two forts, Scilê and Foscala. So much, then, for this.

[12] Πόλις δὲ πού ἐστιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Σαρδοῖ, ἣ νῦν Σαρδινία καλεῖται, Τραϊανοῦ Φόρον αὐτὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

[12] There is a city on the island Sardô, which is now named Sardinia, called by the Romans Traiani Forum.

[13] ταύτην τειχίρη πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανός, οὐ πρότερον οὕσαν, ἀλλὰ Μαυρουσίους τοῖς νησιώταις, οἱ Βαρβαρικῖνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅπνῃκα ἂν ληΐζεσθαι βουλομένοις ἦ, ἐν προχείρῳ κειμένην.

[13] This Justinian has supplied with a wall which it did not have before, but instead it lay exposed to the island Moors, who are called Barbaricini, whenever they wished to plunder it.

[14] Ἐν δὲ Γαδείροις, κατὰ θάτερα τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν, ἡ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστι, κατὰ τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν φρούριον ἦν ποτε Σέπτον ὄνομα, ὅπερ ἐδείμαντο μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, Βανδύλων δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμελουμένων καθεῖλεν ὁ χρόνος.

[14] And at Gadira, at one side of the Pillars of Heracles, on the right side of the strait, there had been at one time a fortress on the Libyan shore named Septum; this was built by the Romans in early times, but being neglected by

the Vandals, it had been destroyed by time.

[15] ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνόν, φυλακτηρίῳ δὲ ἰσχυρόν κατεστήσατο.

[15] Our Emperor Justinian made it strong by means of a wall and strengthened its safety by means of a garrison.

[16] οὗ δὴ καὶ νεῶν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ἀναψάμενος μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰ τῆς πολιτείας προοίμια, παντὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῷ γένει ταύτῃ ἄμαχον τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ποιούμενος.

[16] There too he consecrated to the Mother of God a noteworthy church, thus dedicating to her the threshold of the Empire, and making this fortress impregnable for the whole race of mankind.

[17] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἀμφύλεκτον δὲ οὐδὲν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδηλον ἀνθρώποις διαφανῶς πᾶσιν, ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ὀρίων ἄχρι ἐς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἃ δὴ πέρατά ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἐρύμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλακτηρίοις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκρατύνατο.

[17] So much for these things. There can be no dispute, but it is abundantly clear to all mankind, that the Emperor Justinian has strengthened the Empire, not with fortresses alone, but also by means of garrisons of soldiers, from the bounds of the East to the very setting of the sun, these being the limits of the Roman dominion.

[18] ὅσα μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ οἰκοδομημάτων μαθεῖν ἴσχυσα ἢ αὐτόπτης γεγενημένος ἢ τῶν θεασαμένων αὐτήκοος, ὅση δύναμις τῷ λόγῳ ἐπῆλθον.

[18] As many, then, of the buildings of the Emperor Justinian as I have succeeded in discovering, either by seeing them myself, or by hearing about them from those who have seen them, I have described in my account to the best of my ability.

[19] ἐξεπίσταμαι δὲ ὡς πολλὰ με καὶ ἄλλα παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἢ ὀχλῷ λαθόντα ἢ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα μείναντα.

[19] I am fully aware, however, that there are many others which I have omitted to mention, which either went unnoticed because of their multitude, or remained altogether unknown to me.

[20] ὥστε εἴ τῳ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσται διερευνήσασθαί τε ἅπαντα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεῖναι, προσέσται αὐτῷ τὰ τε δέοντα πεπραχέναι καὶ φιλοκάλου κλέος ἀπενεγκεῖν.

[20] So if anyone will take the pains to search them all out and add them to my treatise, he will have the credit of having done a needed work and of having won the renown of a lover of fair achievements.

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The Buildings of Justinian

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The Biography



The Hippodrome of Constantinople, modern day Istanbul — Procopius witnessed here the Nika Riots of January 532, which Belisarius and his fellow general Mundus repressed with a massacre.

INTRODUCTION TO PROCOPIUS by H. B. Dewing



Procopius is known to posterity as the historian of the eventful reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.), and the chronicler of the great deeds of the general Belisarius. He was born late in the fifth century in the city of Caesarea in Palestine. As to his education and early years we are not informed, but we know that he studied to fit himself for the legal profession. He came as a young man to Constantinople, and seems to have made his mark immediately. For as early as the year 527 he was appointed legal adviser and private secretary^[1] to Belisarius, then a very young man who had been serving on the staff of the general Justinian, and had only recently been advanced to the office of general. Shortly after this Justinian was called by his uncle Justinus to share the throne of the Roman Empire, and four months later Justinus died, leaving Justinian sole emperor of the Romans. Thus the stage was set for the scenes which are presented in the pages of Procopius. His own activity continued till well nigh the end of Justinian's life, and he seems to have outlived his hero, Belisarius.

During the eventful years of Belisarius' campaigning in Africa, in Italy, and in the East, Procopius was moving about with him and was an eyewitness of the events he describes in his writings. In 527 we find him in Mesopotamia; in 533 he accompanied Belisarius to Africa; and in 536 he journeyed with him to Italy. He was therefore quite correct in the assertion which he makes rather modestly in the introduction of his history, that he was better qualified than anyone else to write the history of that period. Besides his intimacy with Belisarius it should be added that his position gave him the further advantage of a certain standing at the imperial court in Constantinople, and brought him the acquaintance of many of the leading men of his day. Thus we have the testimony of one intimately associated with the administration, and this, together with the importance of the events through which he lived, makes his record exceedingly interesting as well as historically important. One must admit that his position was not one to encourage impartiality in his presentation of facts, and that the imperial favour was not won by plain speaking; nevertheless we have before us a man who could not obliterate himself enough to play the abject flatterer always, and he gives us the reverse, too, of his brilliant picture, as we shall see presently.

Procopius' three works give us a fairly complete account of the reign of Justinian up till near the year 560 A.D., and he has done us the favour of setting forth three different points of view which vary so widely that posterity has sometimes found it difficult to reconcile them. His greatest work, as well as his earliest, is the *History of the Wars*, in eight books. The material is not

arranged strictly according to chronological sequence, but so that the progress of events may be traced separately in each one of three wars. Thus the first two books are given over to the Persian wars, the next two contain the account of the war waged against the Vandals in Africa, the three following describe the struggle against the Goths in Italy. These seven books were published together first, and the eighth book was added later as a supplement to bring the history up to about the date of 554, being a general account of events in different parts of the empire. It is necessary to bear in mind that the wars described separately by Procopius overlapped one another in time, and that while the Romans were striving to hold back the Persian aggressor they were also maintaining armies in Africa and in Italy. In fact the Byzantine empire was making a supreme effort to re-establish the old boundaries, and to reclaim the territories lost to the barbarian nations. The emperor Justinian was fired by the ambition to make the Roman Empire once more a world power, and he drained every resource in his eagerness to make possible the fulfilment of this dream. It was a splendid effort, but it was doomed to failure; the fallen edifice could not be permanently restored.

The history is more eneral than the title would imply, and all the important events of the time are touched upon. So while we read much of the campaigns against the nations who were crowding back the boundaries of the old empire, we also hear of civic affairs such as the great Nika insurrection in Byzantium in 532; similarly a careful account is given of the pestilence of 540, and the care shewn in describing the nature of the disease shews plainly that the author must have had some acquaintance with the medical science of the time.

After the seventh book of the *History of the Wars* Procopius wrote the *Anecdota*, or *Secret History*. Here he freed himself from all the restraints of respect or fear, and set down without scruple everything which he had been led to suppress or gloss over in the *History* through motives of policy. He attacks unmercifully the emperor and empress and even Belisarius and his wife Antonina, and displays to us one of the blackest pictures ever set down in writing. It is a record of wanton crime and shameless debauchery, of intrigue and scandal both in public and in private life. It is plain that the thing is overdone, and the very extravagance of the calumny makes it impossible to be believed; again and again we meet statements which, if not absolutely impossible, are at least highly improbable. Many of the events of the *History* are presented in an entirely new light; we seem to hear one speaking out of the bitterness of his heart. It should be said, at the same time, that there are very few contradictions in statements of fact. The author has plainly singled out the empress Theodora as the principal victim of his venomous darts, and he gives an account of her early years which is both shocking and disgusting, but which, happily, we are not forced to regard as true. It goes without saying that such a work as this could not have been published during the lifetime of the author, and it appears that it was not given to the world until after the death of Justinian in 565.

Serious doubts have been entertained in times past as to the authenticity of the *Anecdota*, for at first sight it seems impossible that the man who wrote in the calm tone of the *History* and who indulged in the fulsome praise of the panegyric *On the Buildings* could have also written the bitter libels of the *Anecdota*. It has come to be seen, however, that this feeling is not supported by any unanswerable arguments, and it is now believed to be highly probable at least, that the *Anecdota* is the work of Procopius. Its bitterness may be extreme and its calumnies exaggerated beyond all reason, but it must be regarded as prompted by a reaction against the hollow life of the Byzantine court.

The third work is entitled *On the Buildings*, and is plainly an attempt to gain favour with the emperor. We can only guess as to what the immediate occasion was for its composition. It is plain, however, that the publication of the *History* could not have aroused the enthusiasm of Justinian; there was no attempt in it to praise the emperor, and one might even read an unfavourable judgment between the lines. And it is not at all unlikely that he was moved to envy by the praises bestowed upon his general, Belisarius. At any rate the work *On the Buildings* is written in the empty style of the fawning flatterer. It is divided into six short books and contains an account of all the public buildings of Justinian's reign in every district of the empire. The subject was well chosen and the material ample, and Procopius lost no opportunity of lauding his sovereign to the skies. It is an excellent example of the florid panegyric style which was, unfortunately, in great favour with the literary world of his own as well as later Byzantine times. But in spite of its faults, this work is a record of the greatest importance for the study of the period, since it is a storehouse of information concerning the internal administration of the empire.

The style of Procopius is in general clear and straightforward, and shews the mind of one who endeavours to speak the truth in simple language wherever he is not under constraint to avoid it. At the same time he is not ignorant of the arts of rhetoric, and especially in the speeches he is fond of introducing sounding phrases and sententious statements. He was a great admirer of the classical writers of prose, and their influence is everywhere apparent in his writing; in particular he is much indebted to the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, and he borrows from them many expressions and turns of phrase. But the Greek which he writes is not the pure Attic, and we find many evidences of the influence of the contemporary spoken language.

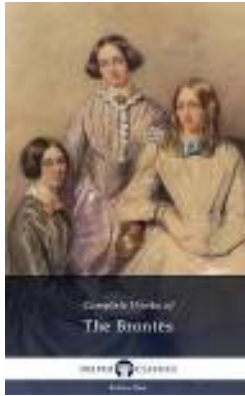
Procopius writes at times as a Christian, and at times as one imbued with the ideas of the ancient religion of Greece. Doubtless his study of the classical writers led him into this, perhaps unconsciously. At any rate it seems not to have been with him a matter in which even consistency was demanded. It was politic to espouse the religion of the state, but still he often allows himself to speak as if he were a contemporary of Thucydides.

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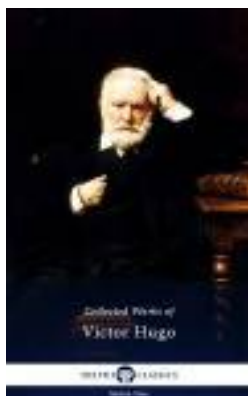
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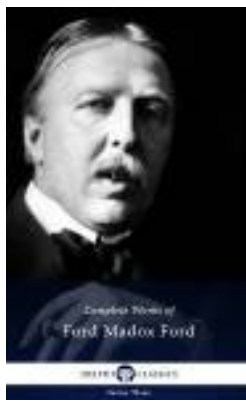
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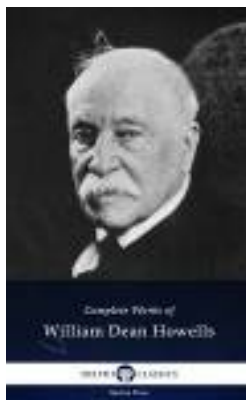
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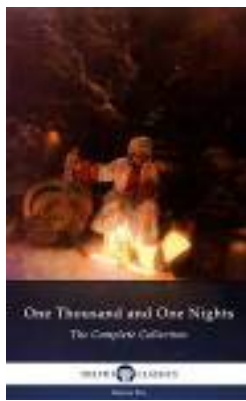
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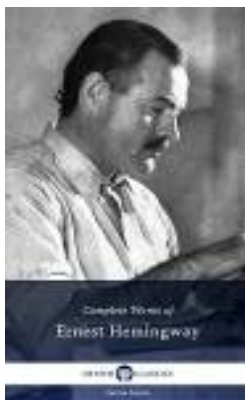
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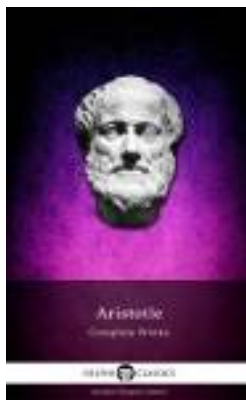
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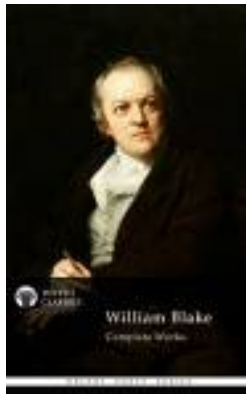
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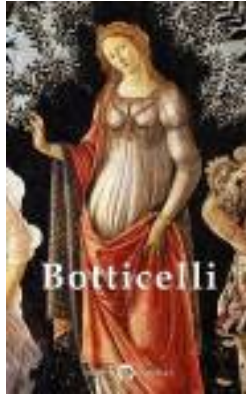


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